Saygıdeğer Okurlar,

bilig'in 105. sayısını istifadenize sunmaktayız. Bu sayıda Türk dünyasının güncel sorunlarına ışık tutan ve Türk kültür mirasını ele alan birbirinden değerli 7 makale ve 1 kitap tanıtımı bulunmaktadır. Bu çalışmaların, Türk dünyasının bilimsel üretiminin insanlığın ortak bilim havuzu içerisinde görünürlüğünün ve saygınlığının artmasına katkı sağlayacağına inanıyoruz.

2023 yılı Türkiye Cumhuriyeti'nin kuruluşunun 100. yıl dönümü olması nedeniyle ayrı bir anlam taşımaktadır. Asırlık bir çınar hâline gelen Türkiye Cumhuriyeti; siyasi, askerî ve ekonomik gücü yanında sürekli büyüyen beşerî ve kültürel zenginliği ile küresel ve bölgesel politikaların yönlendiricisi bir devlettir. 1991 yılında SSCB'nin dağılması ve yeni bağımsız Türk devletlerinin ortaya çıkması, Türkiye Cumhuriyeti'nin gelişiminde önemli bir dönüm noktası olmuştur. Artık Türkiye dendiğinde 780 bin kilometre karelik yüz ölçüme, 85 milyonluk bir nüfusa, 1 trilyon dolara yaklaşan üretim gücüne sahip bir devlet değil; Avrasya'da 4,5 milyon kilometre kareye yayılan bir coğrafyada 300 milyonluk bir aileye sahip, yaklaşık 4 trilyon dolarlık ekonomik kapasiteyi kullanan Türk dünyasının öncüsü bir devlet akla gelmektedir. Bu olgudan hareketle Ocak 2024'te çıkacak olan bilig'in 108. sayısını "Türkiye Cumhuriyeti'nin 100. Yılında Türk Dünyası" dosya konusuyla hazırlamayı hedeflemekteyiz. Bu konudaki değerli çalışmalarınız bekliyor, 29 Ekim Cumhuriyet Bayramı'nızı şimdiden kutluyoruz.

Türk Devletleri Teşkilatı bünyesinde her alanda yürütülen bütünleşme çabaları ile Türkiye, diğer Türk devletleri ile birlikte büyümektedir. Bu bağlamda Türkiye'nin büyüyen ve genişleyen alanlarından biri de yükseköğretim ve bilim sahasıdır. 2012'de Bişkek'te düzenlenen Türk Konseyi/ Türk Devletleri Teşkilatı zirvesinin konusu "Eğitim, Bilim ve Kültürel İşbirliği" olmuştur. Burada alınan kararlar çerçevesinde 2014 yılında Türk Üniversiteler Birliği kurulmuştur. Günümüzde 7 ülkeden 40'tan fazla üniversitenin üye olduğu bu yapı, Türk dünyası ortak yükseköğretim alanının oluşum sürecini hızlandırmak için faaliyet göstermektedir. Türk dünyası ortak yükseköğretim alanının kurulması sürecinde 1992 yılında atılan ilk adımlardan biri olan Hoca Ahmet Yesevi Uluslararası Türk-Kazak Üniversitesinin bilimsel yayını olan *bilig* de, sosyal bilimler alanında küresel bir marka olarak bu amaca hizmet etmektedir. Türk dünyasından kıymetli akademisyenlerimizi *bilig* çatısı altında buluşturma ve Türk bilim camiasının gür sesi olma çabalarımıza destek veren tüm kişi ve kurumlara şükranlarımızı sunar, iyi okumalar dileriz.

Prof. Dr. Fırat PURTAŞ
Yayın Yönetmeni

Dear Readers,

We present you the 105th issue of *Bilig*. In this issue, there are seven articles and a book presentation, which shed light on the current problems of the Turkic world and deal with the Turkish cultural heritage. We believe that these studies will contribute to the increase of the visibility and prestige of the scientific production of the Turkic world in the common scientific pool of humanity.

The year 2023 has a different meaning since it is the 100th anniversary of the founding of the Republic of Turkey. The Republic of Turkey, which is a century-old sycamore, is a country that not only has political, military, and economic power, but also guides regional and global policies with its ever-growing human and cultural wealth. The disintegration of the USSR in 1991 and the emergence of new independent Turkic states were an important turning point in the development of the Republic of Turkey. When it comes to Turkey, it is no longer a country with a surface area of 780 thousand square kilometers, a population of 85 million, and a production power nearly one trillion dollars; but a pioneering country of the Turkic world that has an economic capacity of approximately four trillion dollars with a population of 300 million in a geography spreading to four and half million square kilometers in Eurasia. Based on this fact, we aim to prepare the 108th issue of *bilig*, which will be published in January 2024, with the subject "Turkic World in the 100th Anniversary of the Republic of Turkey". We await your valuable work on this issue, and we congratulate you in advance on the 29 October Republic Day.

With the integration efforts carried out in every field within the Organization of Turkic States, Turkey is growing together with other Turkic states. In this context, one of the growing and expanding fields of Turkey is higher education and science. The topic of the Turkic Council/ Organization of Turkic States summit held in Bishkek in 2012 was "Education, Science and Cultural Cooperation". Within the framework of the decisions taken here, the Association of Turkic Universities was established in 2014. Today, with more than 40 universities from seven countries, this structure operates to accelerate the formation process of the Turkic World common higher education area. *Bilig*, the scientific publication of Hoca Ahmet Yesevi International Turkish-Kazakh University, which was one of the first steps taken in 1992 in the process of establishing a common higher education area of the Turkic world, also serves for this purpose as a global brand in the field of social sciences. We would like to express our gratitude to all people and institutions that support our efforts to bring together our valuable academics from the Turkic world under the rood of *bilig*, and to be the loud voice of the Turkic scientific community, and wish you a good read.

Prof. Dr. Fırat PURTAŞ
Editor in Chief

Дорогие читатели,

Представляем Вашему вниманию 105-й выпуск журнала «Билиг». Мы публикуем семь научных статей и одну рецензию, которые проливают свет на актуальные проблемы тюркского мира и тюркского культурного наследия. Уверены, что эти исследования будут способствовать повышению узнаваемости и престижа науки тюркского мира в мировом научном пространстве.

2023 год имеет особое значение, - это год 100-летия Турецкой Республики. Турецкая Республика перешагнула вековой рубеж; помимо своей политической, военной и экономической мощи она стала государством, которое направляет глобальную и региональную политику благодаря своему постоянно растущему человеческому и культурному богатству. Распад СССР в 1991 году и появление новых независимых тюркских государств стали важным поворотным моментом в развитии Турецкой Республики. Ныне Турция уже не просто государство с площадью 780 тысяч квадратных километров, населением 85 миллионов человек и производственной мощностью, приближающейся к 1 триллиону долларов; она стала государством-лидером тюркского мира, которое имеет 300-миллионную семью и использует экономический потенциал около четырех триллионов долларов на территории Евразии, охватывающей 4,5 миллиона квадратных километров. Основываясь на этих реалиях, мы приступаем к подготовке 108-го выпуска журнала с основной темой «Тюркский мир и 100-летие Турецкой Республики», который увидит свет в январе 2024 года. Ожидая ваш научный вклад в указанную тему, направляем наши поздравления с Днем Республики 29 октября.

Благодаря усилиям по интеграции, предпринимаемым во всех областях в рамках Тюркского совета, Турция растет вместе с другими тюркскими государствами. В этом контексте одной из растущих и расширяющихся областей Турции является высшее образование и наука. Темой саммита Тюркского совета/Организации тюркских государств, состоявшегося в Бишкеке в 2012 году, было «Образование, наука и культурное сотрудничество». В рамках принятых решений в 2014 году была создана Ассоциация тюркских университетов. Сегодня эта структура, членами которой являются более 40 университетов из 7 стран, действует для ускорения процесса формирования единого пространства высшего образования тюркского мира. «Билиг» - научное издание Международного турецко-казахского университета имени Ходжи Ахмеда Ясави, которое стало одним из первых шагов, предпринятых в 1992 году в процессе создания общего пространства высшего образования тюркского мира, также служит этой цели в качестве глобального бренда в области социальных наук. Хотелось бы выразить благодарность всем ученым и учреждениям, которые помогают нам быть голосом тюркского научного сообщества и поддерживают наши усилия по объединению ученых тюркского мира под крышей «Билиг». Желаем вам приятного чтения!

Профессор Фырат Пурташ

Главный редактор

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Araştırma Makalesi / Research Article

How Does Macroeconomic and Socio-political Index Affect the Real GDP per Qualified Worker? Evidence from Turkic Republics[*]

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Abstract

In this study, we concentrated on the socioeconomic factors affecting the level of real GDP per qualified worker. For this purpose, we have used the macroeconomic and socio-political performance index for Turkic Republics. By using these newly established indices, determinants of the level of real GDP per qualified worker are analyzed for the first time in the literature. From the empirical investigation, we found that certain threshold levels significantly affect the real GDP level per qualified worker. Therefore, the policymakers of these countries should seriously consider these threshold levels for macroeconomic and socio-political performance index for conducting a well-organized policy for the prosperity of their countries.

Keywords

Macroeconomic Performance Index, Socio-political Performance Index, Openness, Capital, Real GDP per Qualified Worker.

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Introduction

Socio-political and macroeconomic indicators and economic problems that have been proposed in recent studies have begun to be examined in more detail. While the sources of economic growth were linked only to macroeconomic variables in previous literature, it has been shown in new studies that they can be affected by different variables such as institutions, religion, and other related variables. In addition to this, the importance of indices formed from such different variables has started to increase. Indices created from social and economic variables better describe the movements of economic variables, and thus, leading indicators that policymakers can follow can be prepared. This study will use two indices created for the Turkic Republics[1]. Macroeconomic performance and socio-political indices[2] will be used to examine the effects on the productivity of trained human resources. As it is known, in the recent growth literature, examining the productivity of trained human resources, which is one of the essential internal factors of growth, is a vital tool for explaining economic growth. Within the framework of this question, which constitutes the central motivation axis of this study, results will help the Turkic Republics' policymakers issue effective policies. In addition, examining human capital, an essential determinant of economic growth, with these indices will contribute to the macroeconomics literature. Therefore, it is helpful to explain the details of socio-economic and macroeconomic performance indices.

Carrying short-term gains in economies to long-term importance is essential in ensuring sustainability. Per capita income increases can be achieved in the short term with cyclical policies. In order to make income increases permanent, it is useful to consider proactive policies and apply the policies brought by the day. Ensuring macroeconomic stability is one of the leading conditions to ensure a sustainable increase in welfare. What is meant by not being able to provide macroeconomic stability can be perceived as the sustainability of instant gains in macroeconomic indicators (such as growth, inflation, and unemployment). Again, one of the macroeconomic variables may impose a burden on the other. Therefore, it is difficult to achieve simultaneous gains in all macroeconomic variables. This situation reveals the difficulties of ensuring macroeconomic stability. The gains made in macroeconomic variables can create compromises within themselves, as

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well as have an impact on other channels. Factors such as the rule of law, freedom of expression, democracy, and income distribution can be given as examples of such channels. Although such factors do not appear to be related to the economic operation, they can significantly impact the quality and functionality of the operation. This situation reveals the importance of realizing socio-political developments and ensuring macroeconomic stability when carrying per capita income increases in the long term.

The macroeconomic performance index (MPI) has been created to measure the macroeconomic stability that can increase per capita income in Turkic Republics. Although the index consists of macroeconomic variables, it offers the opportunity to make a holistic assessment by considering the gains and losses in the variables. The socio-political performance index (SPI) has also been developed to measure socio-political development, an influential factor in reinforcing per capita income growth. With SPI, Turkic Republics' functioning, inclusiveness, and development of political institutions can be monitored. The analyses revealed that macroeconomic stability, socio-political development, openness, and capital per employee negatively affect output per employee up to a certain threshold. In addition, when the threshold value for the specified variables is exceeded, the reflections of the positive effect on output per employee begin to show themselves.

On the other hand, time is needed to reach and cross a certain threshold. This is an important indicator for both voters and policymakers. In order to be able to jump a threshold in increasing welfare, the quality of growth comes to the fore. It is essential to overcome productivity problems to make progress in the quality of growth. Therefore continuously increasing the total factor productivity in a country, it is essential to provide innovations and developments in education, health, and technology. Such developments can broaden the quality of the product range in countries. Although the increase in the quality of the goods and services produced may contribute to the increase in output per employee, it may not be sufficient to create a holistic effect. Countries need to be able to make accurate and sincere signaling decisively for the quality increases that can be achieved in the product structure to be continuous. To be able to create a stable and reliable port and improve the investment environment, the first pillar of signaling is the economic side. In this context, countries need to be able to implement

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rule-based and dynamic policies in order to achieve stability. These policies should be transparent, predictable, and auditable. In particular, the audit side should operate independently of politics. It is essential to ensure the rule of law, freedom of expression, and property rights on the reliability side. The expansion of democracy and freedoms can reduce uncertainties on the one hand and increase competition on the other hand. More clearly, socio-political developments may become the key to economic development over time.

In the empirical application section of the study, preliminary tests were carried out to select the most suitable model for the data. As a result of these tests, the nonlinear panel data model, which suggests using a model with threshold effects, is chosen as the most appropriate model. As a result of these models, it has been observed that the productivity of human capital increases when certain thresholds are exceeded in the macroeconomic performance and socio-political variables of Turkic Republics. In order to better examine these effects, a new section called index methodology is included, and information will be given about the economic and political developments of the countries under investigation.

The following part of the study constitutes literature review in the second section, index methodology in the third section, empirical investigation in the fourth section and conclusion in the last section.

Literature Review

There are a limited number of studies examining the macroeconomic, socio-political or institutional performances of the Turkic Republics together. However, with the increasing importance of the Turkic Republics in recent years, the economic and socio-political performances of this country group have begun to be examined in more detail.

Yorucu's study examined the regional income convergence between the years 1992-2010 for the Turkic Republics of Azerbaijan, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan, and Uzbekistan. In the study, beta and sigma convergence tests were applied to evaluate income and institutional convergence. While the results of the analysis show that income convergence has occurred for Azerbaijan, Kazakhstan and Turkmenistan, no convergence at the institutional level can be mentioned for any country.

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Tunay's study used panel VAR and panel causality tests for Azerbaijan, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Uzbekistan, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan, and Türkiye to attempt to explain the potential consequences of macroeconomic imbalances between the years 2000 and 2014. The research findings show that macroeconomic imbalances have a detrimental impact on economic functioning and that nations are sensitive to external shocks. It is advised to take a long-term approach that will improve the efficiency of production factors, decrease foreign dependence through R&D investments, and minimize excessive consumer expenditures in order to prevent such a volatile structure and to minimize macroeconomic imbalances.

In Eyüboğlu's study, the TOPSIS approach was used to examine the macroeconomic performance of Azerbaijan, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan, and Uzbekistan between 2004 and 2013. In accordance with the findings of analysis, Azerbaijan, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan, and Uzbekistan all experienced successful macroeconomic performance throughout a ten-year period while Tajikistan and Kyrgyzstan did not.

The study of Uludağ and Ümit used the DEMATEL and COPRAS methods to assess the macroeconomic and production performances of Azerbaijan, Kazakhstan, Turkmenistan, Uzbekistan, and Türkiye from 2008 to 2016. The findings of the investigation indicated that Turkmenistan and Türkiye, both of which have strong macroeconomic performances, are the nations with the lowest levels of value-added output, while Uzbekistan and Kazakhstan, both of which have weak economies, have the greatest levels. In addition, the study emphasized the importance of Turkic Republics placing emphasis on industrial activities and R&D investments in order to achieve both successful macroeconomic performance and value-added production.

The goal of Ozek's study is to determine whether there is any connection between political stability and economic growth in Turkey, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Uzbekistan, Tajikistan, and Turkmenistan for the years 2002 to 2018. Panel unit root co-integration test, panel VAR causality test and Kose and Emirmahmutoglu Panel causality tests were applied. The analysis results generally show that macroeconomic indices including trade openness, exchange rate, inflation, and unemployment rates are likely to be influenced by political stability.

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Index Methodology

The performances of the countries' economies are generally of great importance in terms of the course and position of the countries. Because of this situation, countries attach particular importance to evaluating their economies. For many years, macroeconomic indicators such as growth rate, inflation rate, or unemployment rate have been used for such evaluations. Such evaluations can be carried out by considering the relevant indicators individually or creating an index that provides a holistic perspective. Although evaluating the selected variables individually is useful for seeing specific points, it is insufficient to see the whole. For this reason, it has been seen that evaluations have been made through indices for a long time (see Okun, *The Political Economy of Prosperity*; Barro). For this reason, it has been decided to create macroeconomic and socio-political performance indices to carry out the evaluations of the economies.

Macroeconomic Performance Index

When evaluating the economies of the countries in the Turkic Republics, it was decided to create an index based on the above determinations instead of taking macroeconomic indicators one by one. The index called macroeconomic performance index (MPI) consists of four variables. The growth rate was chosen as the first indicator of the index. The reason for making this choice is that the growth rate is one of the most fundamental variables that will show the macroeconomic course.

Inflation is also significant in terms of showing the ability of administrations to manage the economy (Fischer 487 cited in İsmihan 129). People at all levels of society follow inflation rates rigorously. This is because inflation directly affects the purchasing power of people. Based on the combination of all these determinations, it was decided to include the inflation rate as the second variable in the index.

Unemployment is one of the most fundamental problems in economies. Unemployment can cause heavy costs to both national economies and societies. In addition, unemployment indicates that the labor force is not used actively and reveals that the resource is inefficient (Mankiw 208). For these reasons, the unemployment rate is included as the third variable in the index.

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The deficits given in the current account balance show the foreign exchange needs of the countries on one side and the foreign dependency levels of the countries on the other. Moreover, in cases where the financing of the deficit in the current account balance is unsustainable, the countries' economies become more fragile (Çolak and Aktaş 98). Considering the importance of these determinations, the ratio of current account balance to GDP was chosen as the last variable in the index.

All variables used in MPI are listed below (see Figure 1). The data of the variables used in MPI were obtained from the World Bank – World Development Indicators and IMF – World Economic Outlook databases.
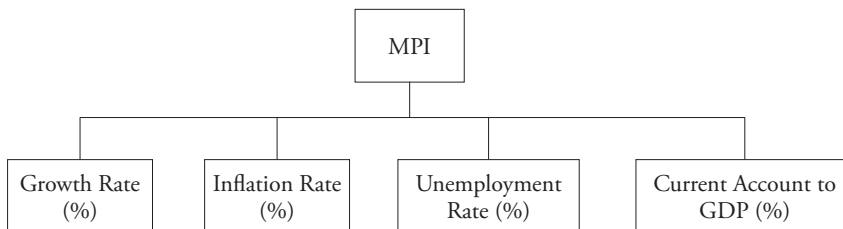
Figure 1. Macroeconomic performance index - variables

After determining the variables to be used in MPI, it was decided to use the human development index (HDI) calculation method in calculating the index. The method used in HDI allows the data to be normalized, allowing the variables used in the index to take values between 0 and 100 (for details of the method used for HDI see. (UNDP) and Figure 2). While the increase in the index value indicates that steps have been taken to ensure macroeconomic stability, the decreases in the index value can be interpreted as a deterioration in the macroeconomic performance. Apart from that, MPI for countries is calculated by giving equal weight to each variable. Results for MPI is shown in Figure 4.

$$\frac{x - x_{min}}{x_{max} - x_{min}}$$

Here x is the actual value, x_{min} = the minimum value of the variable x, and x_{max} = the maximum value of the variable x.

Figure 2. Human development index (HDI) method

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Socio-political Performance Index

It is seen that most of the economic evaluations for countries focus on macroeconomic indicators in the previous literature. In addition, it is useful to investigate the different perspective of the economic evaluation. In addition to the performances displayed in macroeconomic indicators, it cannot be ignored that institutional factors, social events, or political developments also play a role in the functioning mechanism of economies. Furthermore, the importance of institutional developments in ensuring the continuity of economic functioning cannot be denied (Rodrik and Subramanian). More clearly, it would be beneficial to focus on indicators that can represent institutional or socio-political characteristics and macroeconomic factors during the analysis of economies. For these reasons, it may not be appropriate to evaluate the economy alone with the macroeconomic performance index created with the help of macroeconomic indicators in the study. Therefore, it has been decided to create a new index (socio-political performance index - SPI) to measure socio-political quality. The starting point of the SPI constitutes the idea of collectively monitoring the country's institutional, social, and political developments. Even though many sources are available in selecting components to be used in SPI, there are difficulties in accessing data for the countries included in the study. For this reason, the data of the variables planned to be included in the SPI were obtained from the Varieties of Democracy (V-Dem) data set. Variables for SPI It is shown in Figure 3.

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                          │   SPI   │
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│Expanded Freedom│ │Equality before│ │    Equal      │ │   Freedom of  │
│of Expression  │ │the law and    │ │ distribution  │ │  association  │
│     Index      │ │individual     │ │of resources   │ │     index     │
│                │ │liberty index  │ │    index      │ │               │
└───────────────┘ └───────────────┘ └───────────────┘ └───────────────┘
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Figure 3. Socio-political performance index - variables

The first indicator used in the SPI, the expanded freedom of expression index, measured the extent to which governments respect the freedom of the press and media, the freedom of individuals to discuss political issues, and the academic-cultural freedom of expression (Coppedge et al. 52). With the index of equality before the law and individual liberty index, which is

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the second indicator, it is also aimed to measure the extent to which the laws are applied transparently and impartially, as well as to measure the access of individuals to justice, the reliability of their property rights, the freedom of work, free movement and belief (Coppedge et al. 55). The countries' third indicator that measures equality in the distribution of resources (especially equality of opportunity in education and health) is the index of equal distribution of resources. The fourth indicator, freedom of association index, measures how political parties and non-governmental organizations are allowed to carry out their activities (Coppedge et al. 51). Following the selection of the SPI's variables, the human development index (HDI) computation technique was chosen to calculate the index. The method used in HDI allows the data to be normalized, allowing the variables used in the index to take values between 0 and 100. While the increase in the index value indicates the increase in the quality and inclusiveness of the institutions, the decrease in the index value indicates that there are deteriorations in the socio-political structure. Apart from that, SPI for countries is calculated by giving equal weight to each variable. The results are shown in Figure 5.
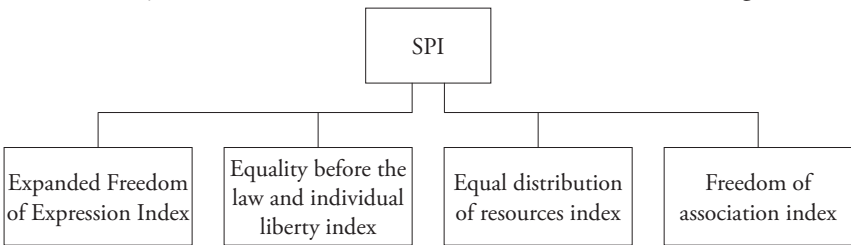
The Economic Performance of Turkic Republics throughout the Sample Period

The successful economic performances of the countries are primarily due to the flourishing of macroeconomic arrangements. In addition, factors such as trust in property rights within countries, degrees of freedom of expression and press freedom, and a fair and independent judiciary are also directly influential on economic performance (Acemoglu and Robinson; Rodrik and Subramanian). On the other hand, since politicians are worried about being re-elected, they often turn to practices to save the day instead of the policies they specify during election periods. For the solution of an economic problem that arises within the country, policies are focused only on the solution of that problem, but the potential adverse effects of these policies on other segments are not taken into account. To put it more clearly, the unprepared and unplanned steps taken to recover macroeconomic indicators mostly reflect negatively on socio-political indicators. Arthur Okun also emphasized trade-offs between economic gains and equality (Okun, *Equality and Efficiency: The Big Trade-Off* 120). For these reasons, while examining the performances of the economies of the countries, the socio-political aspects as well as the macroeconomic indicators should be focused on.

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There was average vision for the Turkic Republics in terms of growth performance between 1992-2019, and the annual average growth rate was 4.13%. A more negative picture was seen in the inflation rates in the 1992-2019 period, and the annual average inflation rate was 42.99% for the Turkic Republics. The average unemployment rate of the Turkic Republics in the 1992-2019 period was 7.97%. When the ratio of the current account balance to GDP in the Turkic Republics was examined, a deficit of 3.63% was mentioned on average for the years 1992-2019. The macroeconomic performance index (MPI) created using these indicators reveals that the Turkic Republics performed slightly above the average between 1992 and 2019 and the annual average MPI was 66.40. On the other hand, the socio-economic performance index (SPI) remained below the average performance in the same period and the annual average SPI was 38.85. More detailed information about the periods identified in Table 7, Figure 4 and Figure 5.

Empirical Investigation

Empirical Model

Focusing only on economic variables in evaluating long-term economic performance is a problem. Therefore, this approach reveals that the socio-political environment of individuals in economies is not directly taken into account. However, the previous literature did not consider this lack of information. Thus, we have considered these issues in our model proposal to remedy this deficiency. Hence, we have included the macroeconomic and socio-political performance indices on efficiency.

$$YH_{i,t} = \mu_i + \beta_1 MPI_{i,t-1} + \beta_2 SPI_{i,t-1} + \beta_3 OPEN_{i,t-1} + \beta_4 KH_{i,t-1} + u^*_{i,t} \qquad (1)[3]$$

Methodology and the Empirical Analysis

Unit Root Test for Identification for Integration Orders and Stochastic Behaviour

Panel unit root tests, including linear, nonlinear, and time-varying structures in deterministic parts, were used to determine and analyze the stochastic behavior of the data. Since the methodology sections are very long, we will explain these models in the Appendix. Panel unit root test results are given in Table 1 and Table 2 below.

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Table 1

Unit Root Tests

IPS

	Intercept	Intercept & Trend	Status
YH	-0.859	-2.718**	Stationary
MPI	-2.570**	-2.163	Stationary
SPI	-1.321	-2.057	Unit Root
KH	-0.940	-2.209	Unit Root
OPEN	-2.464**	-2.996*	Stationary

UO

	Intercept	Intercept & Trend	Status
YH	-0.906	-3.355*	Stationary
MPI	-2.738*	-2.025	Stationary
SPI	-2.056	-3.298*	Stationary
KH	-1.208	-2.191	Unit Root
OPEN	-2.849*	-2.854*	Stationary

EO

	Intercept	Intercept & Trend	Status
YH	1.821	8.415*	Stationary
MPI	4.547**	3.720	Stationary
SPI	3.326	11.975*	Stationary
KH	2.871124	7.002085**	Stationary
OPEN	7.209602*	5.338266**	Stationary

CEO

	Intercept	Intercept & Trend	Status
YH	1.813809	5.134034*	Stationary
MPI	5.053378*	3.113145	Stationary
SPI	3.569537*	4.572720*	Stationary
KH	1.889006	4.433663*	Stationary
OPEN	4.330669**	5.066344*	Stationary

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OSS

	Intercept	Intercept & Trend	Status
YH	-1.903137	-3.278277	Unit Root
MPI	-2.762346	-3.833991*	Stationary
SPI	-2.988541**	-3.444753	Stationary
KH	-2.105543	-3.333177	Unit Root
OPEN	-3.095129*	-3.770094**	Stationary

OHS

	Model A	Model B	Model C	Status
YH	-4.172751*	-3.684145**	-3.643893	Stationary
MPI	-3.135461**	-3.930171*	-	Stationary
SPI	-1.933411	-	-4.310058***	Stationary
KH	-	-3.404764	-3.709594	Unit Root
OPEN	-3.652864*	-4.176144*	-4.439870**	Stationary

OCE

	Model A	Model B	Model C	Status
YH	12.151613*	7.674829***	7.036854	Stationary
MPI	6.220475*	8.677861*	-	Stationary
SPI	3.780246	-	11.754471**	Stationary
KH	-	6.203410	7.521194	Unit Root
OPEN	8.415909***	9.410973***	10.090020***	Stationary

Note: *, **, and *** indicates the %10, %5 and %1 significance level. UO indicates Ucar and Omay test using ESTAR function in testing process which is classified as state dependent nonlinearity. EO indicates Emirmahmutoglu and Omay test using AESTAR function in testing process which is classified as state dependent nonlinearity. CEO indicates Çorakcı et al. test using TAR function in testing process which is classified as state dependent nonlinearity. OSS indicates Omay, Shahbaz, et al. test using Fourier function in testing process which is classified as time varying (multiple smooth structural break) nonlinearity. OHS indicates Omay, Hasanov, et al. test using LSTR function in testing process which is classified as time varying (one smooth, moderate and sharp structural break) nonlinearity. OCE indicates Omay, Çorakcı, et al. test using LSTR and ESTAR function in testing process which is classified as hybrid (state dependent nonlinearity around one smooth, moderate and sharp structural break) nonlinearity.

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Table 2

Summary Table for Unit Root Testing

	UO	EO	CEO	OSS	OHS	OCE
YH	√	√	√	x	√	√
MPI	√	√	√	√	√	√
SPI	√	√	√	√	√	√
KH	x	√	√	x	x	x
OPEN	√	√	√	√	√	√
Status	ESTAR	AESTAR	TAR	Fourier	LSTR	LSTR-ESTAR
	State Dependent	State Dependent	State Dependent	Time Dependent	Time Dependent	Hybrid

√: Stationary, x: Unit Root

As can be seen from the Table 1 and Table 2, state dependent nonlinearity is better fit the data under investigation. Therefore, our data has witnessed nonlinearity. As can be seen from Table 1 and the summary in Table 2 individual data exhibits an extreme nonlinear behavior. Depending on the data's nonlinear stochastic characteristics, we decided to test whether the nonlinearity is the main features of the model under investigation by employing the linearity test. We employed this nonlinearity test in the first stage to linear panel data estimation residual terms. Therefore, we can conclude from this estimation that we have remaining nonlinearity in the estimated model. This model misspecification was then identified by using the nonlinear unit root tests. In the nonlinear unit root test phase, we employed many different structures of nonlinearity. The first crucial nonlinear structure is state-dependent nonlinearity. This state-dependent nonlinear structure characterizes a symmetric exponential smooth transition model and then an asymmetric exponential smooth transition model. The important feature of the ESTAR model is to capture size nonlinearity where the small arbitrage does not lead to a mean reverting process. However, the large deviations provide a globally stationary process (Ucar and Omay). Omay, Shahbaz, et al.'s study explains the details of this process very well. Using the AESTAR model (Emirmahmutoglu and Omay test), we further checked whether this size nonlinearity may include an asymmetry in its

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process. The unit root test results have shown that the AESTAR process better describes the stochastic process of the data under investigation.

On the other hand, we have used threshold nonlinearity (TAR), which includes this kind of asymmetric behavior. Çorakcı et al.'s study explains this process using the logistic smooth transition structure and inherited sign nonlinearity. Sign nonlinearity explains the business's cycle behavior or conjectures that shape all other economic variables. Therefore, this nonlinearity better describes economic behaviors in some economic data than exponential smooth transition, which better describes the financial variables. The time-dependent nonlinear test Omay, Shahbaz, et al. and Omay, Hasanov, et al. use Fourier and logistic smooth transition functions, respectively. Omay, Shahbaz, et al.'s study test was designed for multiple smooth breaks, whereas the Omay, Hasanov, et al.'s study was designed for one-time smooth sharp and moderate breaks. Both tests have their advantages with respect to each other. However, both tests have been performed relatively well for finding the stationary of the data under investigation; the state-dependent tests power against both tests when we look at the result in Table 2. Thus, depending on the unit root test results, we prefer to use the state-dependent nonlinear model where we can impose logistic or exponential smooth transition behavior together. A polynomial function is the best and easiest way to impose such complex nonlinear behavior on the model. One of the model types in which the polynomial model is examined is the Panel Smooth Transition Regression (PSTR) model. Determination tests of the model to be applied with the testing method known as linearity or homogeneity test are carried out step by step. In the next part of the study, the model estimation phase will be started by making use of this structure of the PSTR model.

Following the results which we obtained in Table 1 and Table 2, we further investigate the nonlinear behaviour of the data by using linearity tests. For this reason, we follow the steps which are proposed by Teräsvirta et al.'s study. In the next section we briefly explain the Specification and Estimation of Nonlinear Heterogeneous Panel Model.

Specification and Estimation of Nonlinear Heterogeneous Panel Model

In this study, we will follow the Panel Smooth Transition Regression (PSTR) identification process to obtain the nonlinear panel estimates of our study.

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For this purpose, we conduct all the steps of the PSTR identification process to find the best model for our nonlinear panel estimation. Therefore, we will briefly explain the PSTR model and the identification process.

Panel Smooth Transition Regression PSTR allows for a small number of extreme regimes where transitions in-between are smooth (González et al.). Let us first consider the simplest case with two extreme regimes:

$$y_{it} = \mu_i + \beta_0^{'} x_{it} + \beta_1^{'} x_{it} F(s_{it}, \gamma, c) + u_{it} \tag{2}$$

for $i = 1,...,N$, and $t = 1,...,T$, where N and T denote the cross-section and time dimensions of the panel, respectively. The dependent variable y_{it} is a scalar and denotes output per worker for the seven Turkic Republics countries. In this study, the independent variable k-dimensional vector x_{it} of time-varying exogenous variables are selected to be MPI (MPI_t), SPI (SPI_t), KH (KH_t), and OPEN ($OPEN_t$). μ_i Represents the fixed individual effects, and finally μ_{it} are the errors. Transition function $F(s_{it}; \gamma,c)$ is a continuous function of observable variable s_{it}. It is normalized to lie between 0 and 1, which denote the two extreme values for regression coefficients (González et al.). Following Granger and Terasvirta, they consider the following logistic transition function for the time series STAR models:

$$F(s_{it}; \gamma, c) = \left(1 + \exp\left(-\gamma \prod_{j=1}^{m}(s_{it} - c_j)\right)\right)^{-1} \text{ with } \gamma > 0 \text{ and } c_m \geq ... \geq c_1 \geq c_0 \tag{3}$$

where $c = (c_1,...,c_m)'$ is an m-dimensional vector of location parameters, and the slope parameter γ denotes the smoothness of the transitions. A value of 1 or 2 for m, often meets the common types of variation. In cases where $m = 1$, low and high values of s_{it} correspond to the two extreme regimes. Given that $\gamma \rightarrow \infty$, the logistic transition function $F(s_{it}; \gamma,c)$ becomes an indicator function $I[A]$, which takes a value of 1 when event A occurs and 0 otherwise. Thus, the PSTR model reduces to Hansen's two-regime panel threshold model. Whereas for $m = 2$, $F(s_{it}; \gamma,c)$ takes a value of 1 for both low and high s_{it}, minimizing at $(\frac{c_1+c_2}{2})$. In that case, if $\gamma \rightarrow \infty$, $F(s_{it}; \gamma,c)$ reduces into a three-regime threshold model. Indeed given

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$\gamma \to 0$, the transition function $F(s_{it}; \gamma, c)$ will reduce into a homogenous or linear fixed effects panel regression for any value of m^2.

The empirical specification procedure for PSTR models consists of following steps González et al.; however, we have changed their identification strategy into polynomial nonlinear panel estimation strategy with slight changes:

1. Specify an appropriate linear (homogenous) panel estimation model for the series under investigation.

2. Test the null hypothesis of linearity (homogeneity) against the alternative of PSTR or a similar type of nonlinearity. If the linearity is rejected, the 3rd stage of the procedure will be continued. Here we have used the linearity test for the homogenous panel estimation residuals.

3. Estimate the parameters in the selected nonlinear panel data model. In the first step, we will try the square type of nonlinearity which produces an exponential smooth transition type of function.

4. Evaluate the square type of nonlinearity in the panel data model using diagnostic tests. If the model is sustained concerning the cubic form of nonlinearity using the F test, continue with the five stages. If it is not sustained or does not pass the diagnostic check, modify the model if necessary.

5. Use the model for descriptive purposes.

Linearity (Homogeneity) tests are necessary for the estimation of PSTR models which contain unidentified nuisance parameters. To overcome this problem, one may replace the transition function $F(s_{it}; \gamma, c)$ by its first-order Taylor expansion around $\gamma = 0$ following (Luukkonen et al.). This will yield the following auxiliary regression:

$$y_{i,t} = \mu_i + \beta_0^{'*} x_{i,t} + \beta_1^{'*} x_{i,t} s_{i,t} + \ldots + \beta_m^{'*} x_{i,t} s_{i,t}^m + u_{i,t}^* \tag{4}$$

where $\beta_1^*, \ldots, \beta_m^*$ are the parameter vectors. Consequently, testing $H_0: \gamma = 0$ in (2) is equivalent to testing the null hypothesis $H_0^*: \beta_1^* = \ldots = \beta_m^* = 0$ in (4). This test can be done by an *LM* test (see Table 3).

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Table 3
Linear Model Estimation

Variable	Coefficient
MPI	-0.005 ** (0.002)
SPI	-0.001 (0.001)
OPEN	-0.003 *** (0.001)
KH	1.027 *** (0.012)
constant	1.853*** (0.204)
F	1954.29 ***
R²	0.97

Note: *, **, and *** indicates the %10, %5 and %1 significance level.

Denoting the panel sum of squared residuals under H_1 as SSR_0 (which is the two-regime PSTR model), the corresponding F-statistic is then defined by:

$$LM_F = \frac{(SSR_0 - SSR_1)/mk}{SSR_0/(TN - N - m(k+1))}$$

(5)

with an approximate distribution of $F\ (mk, TN - N - m(k+1))$. A set of candidate transition variables are tested to detect the one for which linearity is strongly rejected. Besides, linearity tests also serve to determine the appropriate order of m of the logistic transition function in the equation (3). We have used the residuals from the homogenous panel data estimation and the heterogeneous individual country test results (see Table 4).

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Table 4

Linearity Test Results for Individual and Panel (Luukkonen et al.)

Country	LM test
Azerbaijan	3.312 **
Kazakhstan	2.860 **
Kyrgyzstan	1.872
Tajikistan	6.294 ***
Türkiye	4.805 ***
Turkmenistan	5.205 ***
Uzbekistan	3.160 **
Heterogeneous Panel	3.930 **
Homogenous Panel	2.661 ***

Note: *, **, and *** indicates the %10, %5 and %1 significance level.

As shown in Table 4, individual heterogonous F-test results show that the relationship between dependent and independent variables must be modeled nonlinearly except in Kyrgyzstan. For common nonlinearity, we used the group mean estimation of heterogeneous and homogenous panel settings for the last two rows of Table 4. The F test statistics show us that nonlinear panel estimation must be used. Following our identification procedure, we proceed with stage 3 as we have given in the identification processes that first of all, we have to use the square polynomial for selecting the nonlinear dynamics. Therefore, we will identify a better nonlinear structure for our nonlinear panel estimation from a specific to general identification procedure.

The nonlinear estimation phase of the panel smooth transition model is started with the linear model; hence in the first stage, we have estimated the linear fixed effect panel data model in Table 3. This linear fixed effect nonlinear estimation is a base for the nonlinearity test. However, we have used a different approach than PSTR models by applying the homogeneity test to the estimated linear fixed effect residuals. Therefore, in Table 4, we documented the individual country test as well as the homogenous and heterogeneous panel data estimation linearity test results. The test results, which are documented in Table 4, show evidence that a highly nonlinear

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structure is inherited in the sample. Therefore, the nonlinear panel unit root tests results obtained in Table 1 and summarized in Table 2 are consistent with the results acquired in Table 4. This consistent result sheds better light on the model selection we decided on above. The polynomial panel data model can capture highly nonlinear structures using classical regression techniques without further complexity. Therefore, we are proceeding with the nonlinear polynomial data estimation with evidence obtained in Table 1 through Table 4.

The following model is a square polynomial nonlinear panel data model:

$$y_{i,t} = \mu_i + \beta_0^{'*} x_{i,t-1} + \beta_1^{'*} x_{i,t-1}^2 s_{it} + u_{it}^* \tag{6}$$

More specifically, the model with the relevant variable is as follows:

$$YH_{i,t} = \mu_i + \beta_1 MPI_{i,t-1} + \beta_2 MPI_{i,t-1}^2 + \beta_3 SPI_{i,t-1} + \beta_4 SPI_{i,t-1}^2 + \beta_5 OPEN_{i,t-1} + \beta_6 OPEN_{i,t-1}^2 + \beta_7 KH_{i,t-1} + \beta_8 KH_{i,t-1}^2 + u_{i,t}^* \tag{7}$$

This polynomial form is an approximation of exponential smooth transition (ESTAR) by using the Hendry methodology from specific to general then, we will use the cube form and see whether the Logistic smooth transition model is more suitable for our model. Therefore, the square polynomial nonlinear panel estimation is as conducted.

In Table 5, we have estimated the identified square polynomial panel data estimation depending on the tests provided in Table 1 to Table 4. This estimated polynomial panel data model displays the nonlinear relation between dependent variable YH and independent variables MPI, SPI, OPEN, and KH. The signs and significance obtained in Table 5 for the model depicted that the square model characterizes the relationship among the variables well. Therefore, we are left only one step to make inferences from this model to have a misspecification test.

For diagnostic purposes, we used the cube form of the nonlinear panel model and the F test to determine whether we have better estimates or nonlinear forms for our model. This stage of the identification process is named as remaining nonlinearity in PSTR model identification.

$$y_{i,t} = \mu_i + \beta_1^{'*} x_{i,t-1} + \beta_2^{'*} x_{i,t-1}^2 + \beta_3^{'*} x_{i,t-1}^3 + u_{i,t}^* \tag{8}$$

More specifically the model with the relevant variable is as follows:

$$YH_{i,t} = \mu_i + \beta_1 MPI_{i,t-1} + \beta_2 MPI_{i,t-1}^2 + \beta_3 MPI_{i,t-1}^3 + \beta_4 SPI_{i,t-1} + \beta_5 SPI_{i,t-1}^2 + \beta_6 SPI_{i,t-1}^3 +$$
$$\beta_7 Open_{i,t-1} + \beta_8 Open_{i,t-1}^2 + \beta_9 Open_{i,t-1}^3 + \beta_{10} KH_{i,t-1} + \beta_{11} KH_{i,t-1}^2 + \beta_{12} KH_{i,t-1}^3 + u_{i,t}^* \tag{9}$$

Table 6

Diagnostic Check for square polynomial

Country	Wald square	Wald Cube
Azerbaijan	7.35 ***	4.32 **
Kazakhstan	3.20 **	2.36
Kyrgyzstan	11.73 ***	1.01
Tajikistan	2.85 *	1.35
Türkiye	4.24 **	0.98
Turkmenistan	13.44 ***	2.66 *
Uzbekistan	2.66 *	14.68 ***
Group Mean	6.49*	3.9 *

Note: *, **, and *** indicates the %10, %5 and %1 significance level.

As can be seen from Table 6, square form of the polynomial has a better F test with all the countries in the sample except for Uzbekistan. Moreover, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, and Türkiye's F test value for selecting between square form polynomial with respect to cubic form is insignificant, which shows us that square form is better for these countries. For Azerbaijan and Turkmenistan, the contribution of the cube is decreasing, which shows us that the influence is negligible. Only Uzbekistan was significantly affected by the cube component of the polynomial. However, to find a common nonlinear dynamic, it is better to confine the model to a square polynomial form. There may be an alternative where we neglect Uzbekistan from the sample, but still, we are using the heterogeneous panel structure; skipping Uzbekistan will not differ too much in our estimates. Therefore, we decided to include Uzbekistan in the sample.

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When the macroeconomic performance index (MPI) exceeds the threshold value of 52.676, the significant negative effect has been passed to the significant positive effect. The index of 52.676 is at approximately the midpoint. A one-unit change in the MPI until it reaches the threshold value causes a decrease in the productivity of -0.017 units of human resources productivity. The low macroeconomic performance may have reduced the productivity of qualified human resources for two reasons. Firstly, it may have reduced their contribution to production in factories with low-capacity utilization due to the low productivity in the macroeconomy. The second main reason is that the low economic conditions reduce job satisfaction and purchasing power, causing a decrease in the productivity of the qualified workforce. After the threshold value is passed, these adverse effects disappear, and each increase in the MPI creates a productivity increase of 0.00017. According to the "feedback" theory, the increase in the productivity of the skilled labor force, which is the basic element of economic growth, will increase growth and thus macroeconomic performance. For this reason, it would be beneficial for policymakers of the Turkic Republics, whose MPI is below 52.676, to make macro-prudential and long-term plans to increase the index. They can elevate this self-sustaining process and thereby increase economic well-being.

When the sociopolitical performance index (SPI) exceeds the threshold value of 41.666, the statistically significant negative effect turns into a statistically significant positive effect. Until the SPI reaches the threshold value, a 1-unit increase in this index creates 0.005 units decrease in productivity. After the threshold value is exceeded, this effect turns positive, and a 1-unit increase in the SPI creates 0.0006 units increase in productivity. It is seen that the developments in the sociopolitical environment have contributed to the increase in per capita production by reducing the level of polarization in the society and creating a more liberal environment after a certain threshold has passed. In other words, it is seen that the quality of institutions increases as property rights, freedom of expression, and equality of opportunity expand in Turkic Republics. The reflection of this situation shows that the improvements in the socio-political structure after exceeding a certain threshold will positively contribute to economic growth sustainability.

Contrary to other variables, the external openness variable increases productivity until it reaches the threshold value and shows a decreasing effect on productivity

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after the threshold value. The threshold value for this variable is 97. Accordingly, it increases the efficiency by 0.00194 units until it reaches the outward opening threshold. After the threshold value is exceeded, this effect causes a decrease of 0.00001 units. When the openness rate is low, when the country's economy is relatively closed to the outside, it is not possible to buy products from abroad. In other words, imports are at low levels. While imports are low, worker productivity is high, meaning the country has to produce itself. In other words, import substitution is made. The fact that the openness ratio starts to increase beyond the threshold; that is, when the import levels rise excessively, indicates the decrease in the production level in the country. In other words, it points out that the real sector in the country has contracted, and labor productivity has begun to decline. The threshold value for the variable KH is 6.613 units. Like MPI and SPI variables, this variable creates a negative effect until it reaches the threshold value and a positive effect after exceeding it. Accordingly, a one-unit increase in the variable KH creates a decrease of 1.82885 units until the threshold value is reached, and after exceeding the threshold value, it causes an increase of 0.13826 units. This situation indicates that positive results can be obtained in outputs per employee at the point of maintaining patient and stable capital investments in Turkic Republics.

Conclusion

Economic performance reviews are often handled through macroeconomic variables. On the other hand, long-term gains are at the core of economic performance. To monitor such economic returns, it is necessary to go beyond it with macroeconomic indicators. In order to make long-term signaling correctly, it is necessary to observe the developments on the side of governance and institutions (in other words, in the socio-political structure) while concentrating on the factors that will ensure macroeconomic stability.

In this study, we examined how the productivity of the skilled workforce is affected by socio-political and macroeconomic performance indices. As a result of the polynomial panel data estimation, we made in the Turkic Republics that we selected as the study group, a threshold of 52.676 was encountered in the MPI. It was mentioned that there is a negative feedback effect in Turkic Republics' economies below this threshold value. Policymakers emphasized that long-term economic precautionary policies should increase this negative feedback effect.

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Similar results are also valid for the socio-political structure. In order for the SPI, which is an indicator of the socio-political structure, to affect the output per employee positively, a specific threshold value (SPI=41.666) must be passed. To ensure effective performance of the institutions in Turkic Republics, clear, examinable, and rule-based policies must be implemented. Also, the production capacity, which includes investments in human capital and technology, can be improved by taking crucial steps (such as securing property rights, the rule of law, and independence of the judiciary) to enhance the investment atmosphere in Turkic Republics and achieve effective economic development.

Macroeconomic values are the main means to reviewing economic performance, at the center of which are long-term gains. Macroeconomic indicators do not suffice for these long-term economic outcomes to be monitored. It is essential to concentrate not only on the factors that will guarantee macroeconomic stability, but also on the surveillance of the developments in the socio-political structure. In this axis, to increase the output per employee sustainably in Turkic Republics, the importance of consolidating the socio-political structure and providing macroeconomic stability cannot be denied. Although the studies' analyses confirm the validity of such determinations, they have positive or negative effects on the level of output per employee depending on the level of macroeconomic and socio-political gains. More clearly, in this study, we examined how the productivity of the skilled workforce is affected by socio-political and macroeconomic performance indices. As a result of the polynomial panel data estimation that we made in the Turkic Republics selected as the study group, a threshold of 52.676 was encountered in the MPI. It was mentioned that there is a negative feedback effect in Turkic Republics' economies below this threshold value. Policymakers emphasized that long-term economic precautionary policies should increase this negative feedback effect. Similar results are also valid for the socio-political structure. In order for the SPI, which is an indicator of the socio-political structure, to affect the output per employee positively, a particular threshold value (SPI=41.666) must be passed. It will yield useful results to adopt policies that are controllable, lucid, and rule-based, which leads the institutions in Turkic Republics to operate efficiently. Furthermore, securing property rights, the rule of law, and independence of the judiciary are factors that will enhance the

investment conditions in Turkic Republics, and they are the key actions to be taken in order to improve the production capacity, which, in turn, will help with a more effective economic advancement.

The threshold value must be exceeded to affect the output in macroeconomic performance in Turkic Republics positively; considering the averages between 1992 and 2019, only Türkiye has been able to go beyond the threshold value. The countries that could exceed the threshold value determined by the socio-political performance were Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, and Türkiye. On the other hand, the degree of exceedance of the threshold value is not far beyond the threshold value. This situation emphasizes the necessity of applying the economic and governance policies for output increases per employee in Turkic Republics, going beyond saving the day with continuity and patience.

Contribution Rate Statement

The authors' contribution rates in this study are equal.

Conflict of Interest Statement

There is no conflict of interest with any institution or person within the scope of this study. There is no conflict of interest between the authors.

Notes

1   Turkic Republics were selected following the Tunay study: Azerbaijan, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, Türkiye, Turkmenistan and Uzbekistan.
2   Details of macroeconomic performance and socio-political indices can be found in the Çelik study.
3   See the variables details in the Appendix.
4   For more detailed discussion, see (González et al.).

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Appendix

Data Definitions and Sources

Y (output) is measured by real GDP. GDP series were provided by World Bank - World Bank – World Development Indicators

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H (human capital) was obtained as follows, H= h.L, where h is the h is the average education level per employee and L is the number of employed persons. Average education level per employee series were obtained by UNDP and number of employed persons' series provided by Penn World Table and Total Economy Database.

YH (= LN(Y/H)) represents output per human capital at logarithmic level.

MPI (macroeconomic performance index) were obtained from the World Bank – World Development Indicators and IMF – World Economic Outlook databases.

SPI (socio-political performance index) were provided by the Varieties of Democracy (V-Dem)

OPEN (openness) was obtained as follows, $(\frac{Export + Import}{GDP}.100)$. Openness series were obtained by IMF – World Economic Outlook databases.

K (physical capital stock) series provided by UN Stats.

KH (= LN(K/H)) represents physical capital stock per human capital at logarithmic level.

Nonlinear Panel Unit Root Tests

Structure	State Dependent	
Name of the tests	**UO (2009)** (Ucar and Omay)	**EO (2014)** (Emirmahmutoglu and Omay)
Function	ESTAR (1)	AESTAR (1)
Testing Model	$\Delta y_{i,t} = \alpha_i + \phi_{1i} y_{i,t-1} G(.)$	$\Delta y_{i,t} = \alpha_i + G(.)\left[S(.)\rho_{i,1} + (1 - S(.)\rho_{i,2}) \right] y_{i,t-1}$
Functional Forms	$G\left(y_{i,t-1}; \gamma_i\right) = \left[1 - e^{\left(-\gamma_i y_{i,t-1}^2\right)} \right]$	$G\left(y_{i,t-1}; \gamma_i\right) = \left[1 - e^{\left(-\gamma_i y_{i,t-1}^2\right)} \right]$ $S\left(y_{i,2,t-1}; \gamma_{i,2}\right) = \left[1 - e^{\left(-\gamma_{i,2} y_{i,t-1}\right)} \right]^{-1}$
Linearized Versions	$\Delta y_{i,t} = \alpha_i + \phi_{1i} y_{i,t-1}^3$	$\Delta y_{i,t} = \alpha_i + \phi_{1i} y_{i,t-1}^3 + \phi_{2i} y_{i,t-1}^4$

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Structure	Structural Break	
Name of the tests	**OHS (2018)** (Omay, Hasanov, et al.)	**OOS (2021)** (Omay, Shahbaz, et al.)
Function	LSTR	Fourier
Testing Model	$\Delta y_{i,t} = \alpha_i + \theta_1(t) + \phi_{1i} y_{i,t-1}$	$\Delta y_{i,t} = \alpha_i + \theta_2(t) + \phi_{1i} y_{i,t-1}$
Functional Forms	$F(t; \gamma_{i,3}, \tau_i) = \left[1 + e^{\gamma_{i,3}(t - \tau_i - T)} \right]$ A) $\theta_1(t) = a_0 + a_1 F(.)$ B) $\theta_1(t) = a_0 + a_1 F(.) + b_0 t$ C) $\theta_1(t) = a_0 + a_1 F(.) + b_0 t + b_1 t F(.)$	$\theta_2(t) = \beta_1 + \beta_2 \sin(.) + \beta_3 \cos(.)$ $\sin(.) = \sin\left(\dfrac{2\pi k t}{T}\right),$ $\cos(.) = \cos\left(\dfrac{2\pi k t}{T}\right)$

Structure	State Dependent	State and Time Dependent Hybrid
Name of the tests	**CEO (2017)** (Çorakcı et al.)	**OCE (2017)** (Omay, Çorakcı, et al.)
Function	Threshold AR process (TAR)	LSTR trend Remaining part TAR
Testing Model	$\Delta y_{i,t} = \alpha_i + \rho_{1,i} I_i y_{i,t-1} + \rho_{2,i} (1 - I_i)_i y_{i,t-1}$	$\Delta y_{i,t} = \alpha_i + \theta_1(t) + \rho_{1,i} I_i y_{i,t-1} + \rho_{2,i} (1 - I_i)_i y_{i,t-1}$
Functional Forms	*if* $\quad I_i = 1 \rightarrow \tau_i > 0$ *else* $\quad I_i = 0 \rightarrow \tau_i < 0$	**Nonlinear Trend** $F(t; \gamma_{i,3}, \tau_i) = \left[1 + e^{\gamma_{i,3}(t - \tau_i - T)} \right]$ A) $\theta_1(t) = a_0 + a_1 F(.)$ B) $\theta_1(t) = a_0 + a_1 F(.) + b_0 t$ C) $\theta_1(t) = a_0 + a_1 F(.) + b_0 t + b_1 t F(.)$ **Stochastic Part** *if* $\quad I_i = 1 \rightarrow \tau_i > 0$ *else* $\quad I_i = 0 \rightarrow \tau_i < 0$

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Table 5
Polynomial Panel Estimation

Country	MPI	MPI²	SPI	SPI²	OPEN	OPEN²	KH	KH²	Constant
Azerbaijan	-0.02036 (0.01429)	0.00027 ** (0.00011)	-0.00922 (0.00830)	0.00014 (0.00008)	0.00663 (0.00884)	-0.00003 (0.00006)	-0.72723 * (0.36444)	0.13896 *** (0.03910)	6.61717 *** (0.81210)
Kazakhstan	0.00024 (0.00385)	0.00003 (0.00003)	-0.00261 * (0.00138)	0.00000 (0.00001)	0.00357 (0.0028)	-0.00003 * (0.00002)	-2.74643 ** (1.16163)	0.14391 ** (0.05379)	25.21095 *** (6.21159)
Kyrgyzstan	-0.04259 *** (0.00873)	0.00034 *** (0.00007)	-0.00631 (0.00403)	0.00007 (0.00004)	0.01780 ** (0.00642)	-0.00009 ** (0.00003)	-2.71255 ** (1.02917)	0.18342 *** (0.06330)	20.09847 *** (4.21384)
Tajikistan	-0.04259 * (0.02162)	0.00038 ** (0.00017)	-0.00822 (0.01101)	0.00007 (0.00010)	0.00116 (0.01088)	-0.00004 (0.00005)	-0.61677 (3.54348)	0.04980 (0.28844)	10.67665 (10.19983)
Türkiye	-0.01236 (0.01394)	0.00008 (0.00011)	-0.00238 ** (0.00096)	0.00003 *** (0.00000)	-0.01096 ** (0.00521)	0.00010 (0.00007)	-1.04459 (1.81435)	0.08676 (0.11665)	12.85251 (7.27984)
Turkmenistan	0.00734 (0.00732)	0.00001 (0.00005)	-0.00416 (0.00244)	0.00007 ** (0.00002)	0.00065 (0.00257)	-0.00000 (0.00001)	-3.66724 *** (0.58106)	0.29643 *** (0.04166)	18.46424 *** (2.06960)
Uzbekistan	-0.01505 ** (0.00695)	0.00010 ** (0.00005)	-0.00250 (0.00447)	0.00001 (0.00006)	-0.00524 (0.00714)	0.00004 (0.00008)	-1.28716 (2.40437)	0.06853 (0.09724)	20.06772 (14.89243)
Group Mean	-0.01791 *	0.00017 *	-0.0050 **	0.00006 **	0.00194 **	-0.00001 **	-1.82885 *	0.13826 *	16.28395
Threshold Value	52.676		41.666		97.0		6.613		

Note: * , ** , and *** indicates the %10, %5 and %1 significance level.

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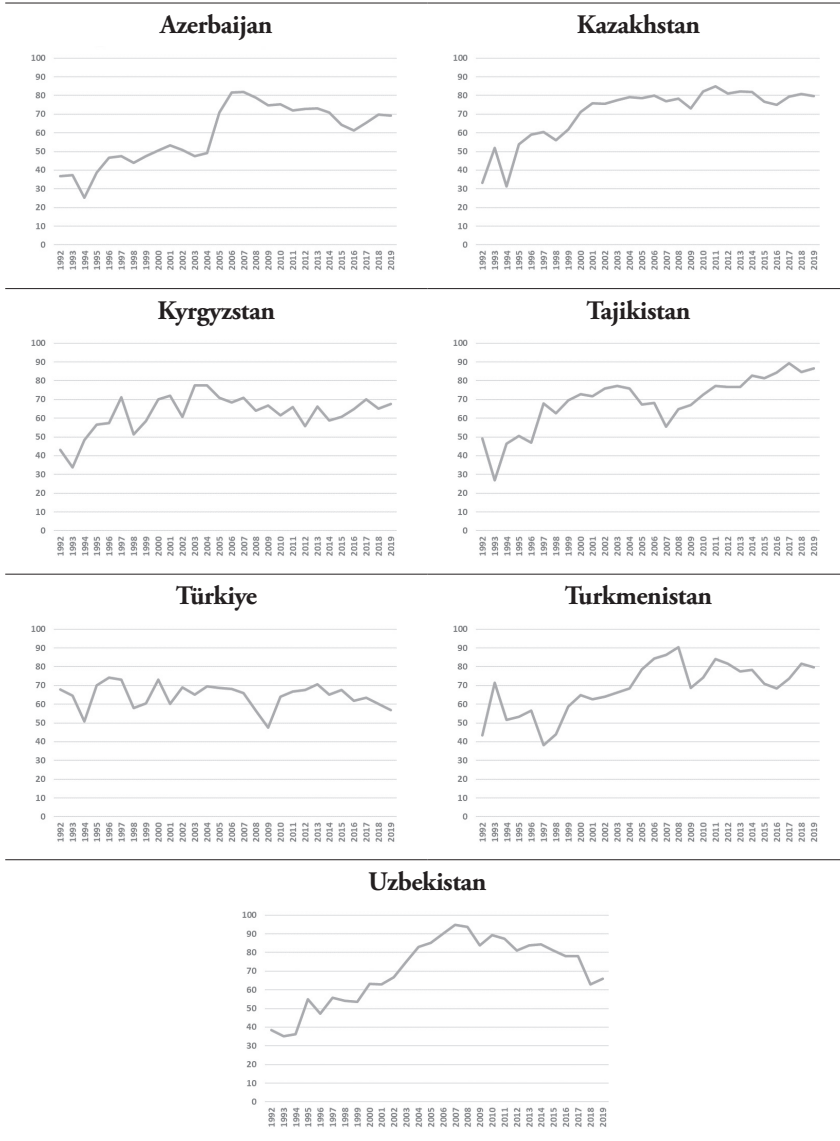
Table 7

Summary Tables: Macroeconomic and Socio-political Performance in Turkic Republics

Periods	Azerbaijan						Kazakhstan					
	Growth Rate (%)	Inflation Rate (%)	Unemployment Rate (%)	Current Account to GDP (%)	MPI	SPI	Growth Rate (%)	Inflation Rate (%)	Unemployment Rate (%)	Current Account to GDP (%)	MPI	SPI
1992-1995	-18.33	833.25	4.95	-11.88	34.52	56.91	-10.02	732.6	5.16	-17.33	42.49	86.75
1995-1998	5.64	11	8.6	-23.53	44.15	31.3	0.09	19.45	12.52	-3.5	57.34	62.2
1998-2001	9.46	5.62	10.9	-12.35	48.8	30.89	8.57	13.58	12.44	-2.7	66.21	56.65
2001-2004	9.63	6.79	9.53	-17.7	50.21	23.88	9.57	11.14	9.23	-2.65	77.02	49.63
2004-2007	29.09	15.62	7.05	4.1	70.92	13.63	9.76	18.29	7.89	-2.88	78.71	42.95
2007-2010	8.34	5.6	5.89	28.08	77.77	12.58	3.9	14.81	6.55	-1.5	77.69	40.79
2010-2013	2.66	8.18	5.3	23.1	73.29	11.35	6.06	11.42	5.41	2.03	82.7	30.8
2013-2016	0.22	1.05	4.96	6.63	67.43	13.26	2.16	6.97	5.04	-1.4	78.93	21.39
2016-2019	1.4	9.14	4.94	5.6	66.42	12.37	4.23	9.34	4.88	-3.28	78.69	13.47
1992-2019	4.69	37.02	6.8	0.55	59.19	23.78	3.64	41.14	7.51	-3.87	70.63	45.33

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Periods	Türkiye						Turkmenistan					
	Growth Rate (%)	Inflation Rate (%)	Unemployment Rate (%)	Current Account to GDP (%)	MPI	SPI	Growth Rate (%)	Inflation Rate (%)	Unemployment Rate (%)	Current Account to GDP (%)	MPI	SPI
1992-1995	3.45	85.79	8.42	-0.63	63.34	53.25	-7.99	915.19	4	0	54.91	71.23
1995-1998	5.76	98.62	7	-0.58	68.8	55.36	0.41	176.77	10.45	-13.55	48.03	39.6
1998-2001	-0.84	52.19	7.37	-0.35	62.88	66.77	8.64	26.19	11.78	-9.4	57.59	21.42
2001-2004	7.32	24.01	10.03	-1.08	65.97	89.13	2.82	23.49	9.4	2.93	65.39	13.92
2004-2007	6.98	7.55	9.77	-4.65	68.06	90.85	11.68	9.49	7.01	9.23	79.48	16.47
2007-2010	1.33	8.13	10.45	-4.5	58.45	81.97	9.94	21.5	4.68	0.63	79.86	32.72
2010-2013	8.13	7.3	9.08	-6.45	67.25	75.02	11.98	7.32	4.07	-5.48	79.36	37.19
2013-2016	4.78	7.79	9.92	-4.05	66.24	47.23	7.65	-3.15	4.14	-12.3	73.8	39.51
2016-2019	3.75	13.75	11.56	-2.45	60.55	7.62	6.33	1.32	4.22	-5.95	75.86	50.62
1992-2019	4.48	30.07	9.34	-2.75	64.52	61.92	5.54	57.99	6.49	-2.87	68.66	37.11

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Uzbekistan					
Periods	Growth Rate (%)	Inflation Rate (%)	Unem-ployment Rate (%)	Current Account to GDP (%)	MPI	SPI
1992-1995	-2.82	805.79	5.73	-2.65	41.24	50.44
1995-1998	3.72	61.23	10.67	-2.55	53	32.15
1998-2001	4.1	45.54	12.51	0.83	58.43	23.62
2001-2004	5.21	28.82	9.66	3.8	71.93	14.91
2004-2007	7.95	22.26	6.58	7	88.24	5.28
2007-2010	8.22	30.24	5.07	5.95	90.34	6.16
2010-2013	7.31	16.27	5.05	3.63	85.4	7.73
2013-2016	6.67	11.13	5.1	1.85	81.88	9.91
2016-2019	5.15	21.25	5.67	-2.5	71.24	35.43
1992-2019	5.01	59.89	7.26	1.35	70.22	6

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Figure 4. Macroeconomic performance details of Turkic Republics
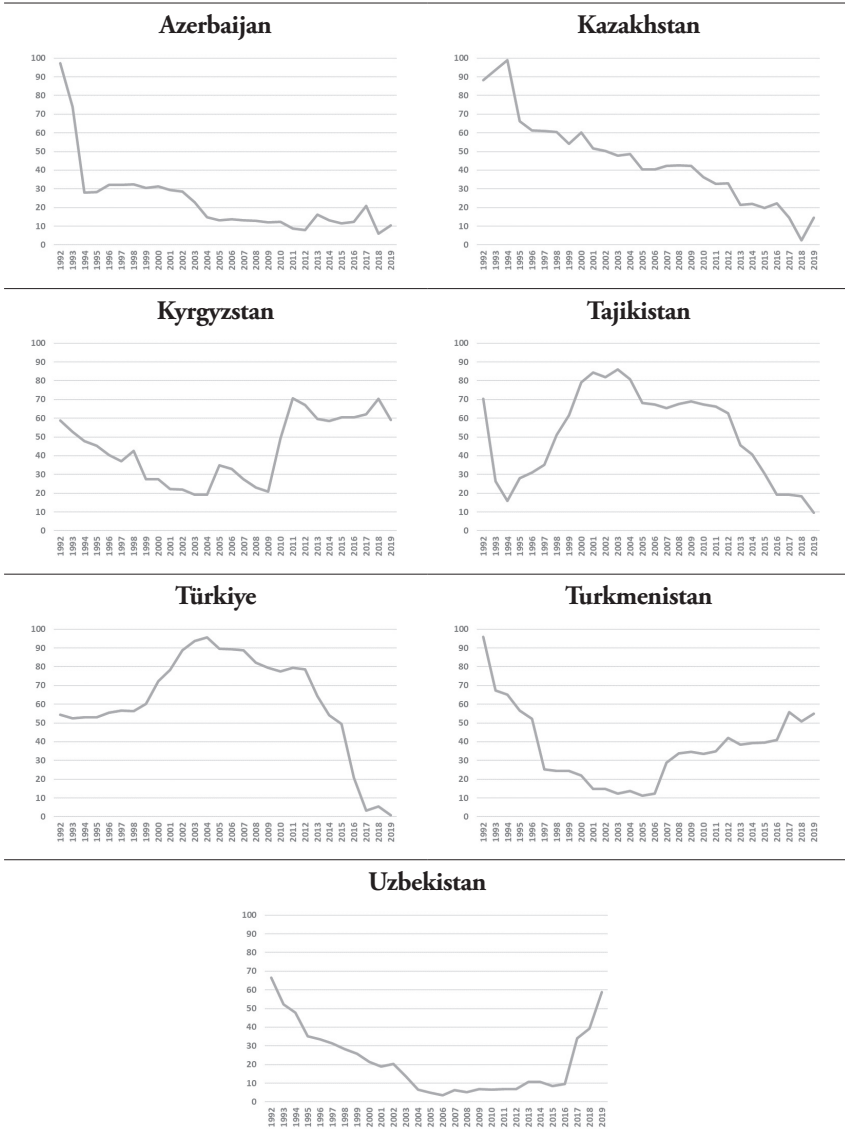
Figure 5. Socio-political performance details of Turkic Republics

Makroekonomik ve Sosyo-politik Endeks Nitelikli Çalışan Başına Reel GSYH'yi Nasıl Etkiler? Türk Cumhuriyetleri'nden Kanıtlar[*]

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Öz

Bu çalışmada, nitelikli çalışan başına reel GSYH düzeyini etkileyen sosyoe-konomik faktörler üzerinde durulmuştur. Bu amaçla Türk Cumhuriyetleri için makroekonomik ve sosyo-politik performans endeksleri oluşturulmuştur. Yeni oluşturulan bu endeksler kullanılarak, nitelikli çalışan başına düşen reel GSYH düzeyinin belirleyicileri literatürde ilk kez analiz edilmektedir. Ampi-rik sonuçlar, belirli eşik düzeylerinin nitelikli çalışan başına reel GSYH düze-yini önemli ölçüde etkilediğini göstermektedir. Sonuç olarak, çalışmada yer verilen ülkelerin politika yapıcıları, ülkelerinin refahı açısından iyi organize edilmiş politikalar yürütmek için makroekonomik ve sosyo-politik perfor-mans endekslerin eşik değerlerini ciddi şekilde göz önünde bulundurmalıdır.

Anahtar Kelimeler

Makroekonomik Performans Endeksi, Sosyo-politik Performans Endeksi, Dışa Açıklık, Sermaye, Nitelikli Çalışan Başına Reel GSYH.

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Как макроэкономический и социально-политический индекс влияет на реальный ВВП на одного квалифицированного работника? Данные по Тюркским республикам[*]

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Аннотация

В данном исследовании мы сосредоточились на социально-экономических факторах, влияющих на уровень реального ВВП на одного квалифицированного работника. Для этой цели мы использовали индекс макроэкономических и социально-политических показателей тюркских стран. С использованием этих вновь установленных индексов впервые в литературе анализируются детерминанты уровня реального ВВП на одного квалифицированного работника. В результате эмпирического исследования мы обнаружили, что определенные пороговые уровни существенно влияют на реальный уровень ВВП на одного квалифицированного работника. Поэтому политикам этих стран приходится

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серьезно рассматривать эти пороговые уровни индекса макроэкономических и социально-политических показателей для проведения хорошо организованной политики на благо своих стран.

Ключевые слова
Индекс макроэкономической эффективности, индекс социально-политической эффективности, открытость, капитал, реальный ВВП на квалифицированного работника.

Araştırma Makalesi / Research Article

Hunlardan Kalan Kültürel Miras: Çin Kaynaklarında "Batur" Unvanı[*]

Gökçen Kapusuzoğlu[**]

Öz

Türk tarihinin erken dönemlerinin aydınlatılması için kullanılan temel kaynaklardan Çin kaynakları, pek çok farklı dönemin önemli olaylarını ve kişilerini özenle kayıt altına almıştır. Hunlar dönemi ile Qing Hanedanı dönemi arasında geçen yüzlerce yıllık zaman dilimi de aynı tutumla kayda geçirilmiştir. Hun Tanrıkut'u Mo-du'ya Türkçe karşılık olarak önerilen Bahadır/Batur adı Çince kaynaklarda çok farklı şekillerde yazılmış ve farklı dönemlerde kullanımı devam etmiştir. Özellikle Yuan Hanedanı ve Qing Hanedanı dönemlerinde yaygın olarak kullanıldığı kaynaklarda görülmektedir. Çalışmada bu adın/unvanın farklı yazılış biçimleri kaynaklara göre tasnif edilmiş ve kayıtlardan örnekler verilerek sözcüğün kullanılış amacı ve biçimi gösterilmiştir.

Anahtar Kelimeler

Çin Kaynakları, Yuan Hanedanı, Qing Hanedanı, Mo-du Tanrıkut, Batur.

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Giriş

Hunlar dönemindeki Mo-du[1] Tanrıkut'a (冒頓 ?- MÖ 174) Türkçe karşılık olarak Hirth tarafından Bagatur/Bahadır karşılığı[2] önerilmiştir (Hirth 255). Ülkemizdeki pek çok bilim insanı tarafından da bu öneri kabul edilmiştir. Batur sözcüğü de Türk Dil Kurumuna göre Bahadır sözcüğünün anlamdaşıdır (TDKGTS). Ayrıca Hirth de Çince kaynaklardaki Batur sözcüğünün Bahadır'ın dönüşümü olduğunu ifade etmiştir (Hirth 249). Bu ad, tarihsel olarak yaşayan bir addır. Milattan önceki dönemlerden günümüze kadar kullanımı süregelen adın, Çin tarihinin farklı evrelerinde, farklı biçimlerde yazılışı ve kullanımı farklı kaynaklarda kaydedilmiştir. Hunlar döneminde bir ad olarak ortaya çıkan sözcük, tarihsel süreç içerisinde kullanılagelerek Qing döneminde bir unvana dönüşmüştür. Günümüzde ise Moğolistan'ın başkentine[3] adını vermesinin yanı sıra erkek çocuklarına verilen bir addır. Bu adın kaynaklarda pek çok farklı şekilde yazılması da tarihsel süreçte varlığını devam ettirmesi ile açıklanabilmektedir.

Türkçede bahadır, yiğit anlamlarına gelen Batur adı ile Moğolcada "Baatar/баатар" olarak karşılaşılmaktadır (Clauson 313). Çincede farklı yazılış biçimleri olmasına rağmen anlam bakımından aynıdırlar. Örneğin, Çinceye Moğolcadan geçen Ba-du-lu (拔都魯) ile Mançu dilinden geçen Ba-tu-lu (巴圖魯) kahraman, cesur asker anlamına gelmektedir (İnayet 96, 98). Batur, Moğol döneminde çoğunlukla ad olarak kullanılırken; Qing Hanedanı döneminde geleneksel unvanlardan birine dönüşmüş ve savaşlarda başarılı olanlara tevdi edilmiştir. 1616 yılından 1851 yılına kadar 33 kişiye tevdi edilen unvan, çoğunlukla Mançu kökenli kişilere verilmiştir. 1795 yılından itibaren unvanın kullanımı azalmıştır ve bu sürede Wang Wenxiong (王文雄) adlı tek bir Çinliye Batur unvanı verilmiştir (He 1).

Unvan, Moğol idaresi ile Ming ve Qing Hanedanları döneminde farklı şekillerde yazılmıştır. Bu dönemleri anlatan kaynaklar olan *Yuan Tarihi, Ming Tarihi* ve *Qing Shi Gao*'da unvandan söz edilmiştir. Bunun yanında *Moğolların Gizli Tarihi*'nde ve *Yeni Yuan Tarihi*'nde unvanın farklı yazılış biçimleri yer almaktadır. *Yuan Tarihi*'nde bu unvanın ilk iminin farklı yazıldığı çeşitli kayıtlar bulunmaktadır. Örneğin: Ba-du-er (八都兒), Ba-du-er (拔都兒), Ba-du-er (把都兒). Bunlar "Batur" sözcüğünün farklı yazılmış şekilleridir fakat anlamları aynıdır. İsim ve unvan olarak kullanımının yanı sıra, Batur bir orduya da adını vermiştir. Sadık ve cesur askerlerden müteşekkil bir ordu kurulmuştur.

Bu orduya Batur Ordusu denilmiştir ve Batur sözcüğünün farklı yazılış şekilleriyle (Ba-du-lu Ordusu 拔都魯軍, Ba-du-lu Ordusu 霸都魯軍, Ba-du-lu Ordusu 八都魯軍, Ba-du Ordusu 拔都軍) kayıtlara geçmiştir.

Aşağıda unvanın farklı yazılış biçimleri kaynaklara göre tasnif edilmiş ve kayıtlardan seçilen örnekler verilerek sözcüğün kullanılış amacı ve biçimi gösterilmiştir.

Yuan Tarihi'nde Batur

Batur unvanının farklı yazılışlarından biri "Ba-du-lu 霸都魯"dur ve resmî tarih yazımı arasında yalnızca *Yuan Tarihi*'nde bu şekilde bir kullanım görülmektedir. Unvan, eserin "Ordu 2" başlıklı bölümündeki metinde, Yuan döneminin Hükümdarı Koruma Ordusunda (怯薛/Keşig) yer alan görevlilerden söz edilirken geçmektedir:

"…Sadık [ve] cesur askerlere Ba-du-lu (Batur) denir. Cesur olup düşmanı olmayan askerlere Ba-tu (Batu/拔突) denir. Adlarının türü farklı olmalıdır, hepsi Hükümdarlık Sağ/Sol [Birlikleri'nde] görev yapan, çalışan [ve] nöbet tutan kişiler olmalarına rağmen, [adı batur olanların] yaptığı görev daha belirgindi. Örneğin, Dört Hükümdarlık Ordusu'nun yönetiminden [sorumlu olur] ve Hükümdarlık Ordusu Komutanı'na liderlik ederlerdi" (YS 2525).

Bu yazılış şekli ile yine *Yuan Tarihi*'nde biyografiler bölümünde bir isim olarak karşılaşılmaktadır (YS 2937). Ancak daha sonra bu kişi hakkında detaylı bilgi verilirken yazılış şekli değişmiş ve unvanın bir başka yazılışı olan "Ba-tu-lu 霸突魯" şeklinde kaydedilmiştir. Buna göre; Moğol kökenli Mu-hua-li'nin (木華黎 1170-1223) soyundan gelen Ba-tu-lu (Batur), Kubilay Han ile sefere çıkmış, orduya öncülük etmiş ve onun güvenini kazanmıştır. Daha sonra 1304 yılında da kendisine çeşitli unvanlar bahşedilmiştir (YS 2942).

Bu yazılış biçiminin *Yuan Tarihi*'nde geçtiği bir başka yer ise Ta-hai Temür (塔海帖木兒) adlı kişinin biyografisidir. Burada, Ta-hai Temür'ün 1278 yılında iki yüz kişilik [Ba-] du-lu Ordusu ile Song Hanedanı ordusunu Bai Shui Jiang'da yenilgiye uğrattığı, savaş gemilerinden birine el koyduğu ve adamlarından otuz kişiyi rehin aldığı kaydedilmiştir (YS 3277). Bu cümlede Ba-du-lu sözcüğünün ilk imi olan Ba düşmüştür. Metne sonradan eklenen notlandırmada ise "Batur ordusunun askerleri öldüğü için buradaki "ba" imi düşmüştür" açıklaması yapılmıştır (YS 3277).

Yuan Tarihi'nde unvanın bir başka yazılış şekli de Ba-du (霸都)'dur. Yuan döneminin komutanlarından Liu Guojie (劉國傑1233-1304) biyografisinde hükümdarın ona Huanyuan Büyük Komutanı unvanı ile Ba-du unvanı verdiği kaydedilmiştir. Devamında ise "Ba-du Çin dilinde cesur asker demektir" ifadesi kullanılmıştır (YS 3808).

Yuan Tarihi'nde Batur'un farklı yazılış biçimlerinden bir diğeri Ba-du-lu (拔都魯)'dur. Hükümdar Dingzong (孛兒只斤貴由 1206-1248) döneminin anlatıldığı 1247 yılına tarihlenen kayıtlarda Ba-du-lu (拔都魯) sözcüğü şöyle kullanılmıştır: "O ay [sekizinci ay], [Hükümdar] her yüz Moğol ailesinden birinin Ba-du-lu olarak adlandırılmasını emretti" (YS 39).

Yine *Yuan Tarihi*'nde Cengiz Han'ın altıncı kuşak torunu He Shang'ın biyografisinde, babası Hu-du-si'nın (忽都思) Hükümdar Yuan Ruizong ile birlikte Jin Komutanı'nın ordusunu Jun Zhou'da yenilgiye uğratması üzerine Ba-du-lu unvanını kazandığı kaydedilmiştir (YS 3256). Bunun yanında, Yuan Hanedanı döneminin ilk yıllarında görev yapan komutanlardan Zhang Rou'un (張柔 1190-1268) *Yuan Tarihi*'ndeki biyografisinde, bastırdığı bir isyanın akabinde kendisine Ba-du-lu unvanı verildiği kaydedilmiştir (YS 3473). Bu kayıtlar, "Batur"un Moğol döneminde hem ad hem de unvan olarak kullanıldığını göstermektedir.

Yuan Tarihi'nde Batur'un unvan olarak verildiğini gösteren iki kayıt daha yer almaktadır. Jin Hanedanı'nın son döneminde görev yapan komutanlardan Kıtan kökenli Yelü Liuge'nın (耶律留哥 1165-1220) biyografisinde iki oğluna da başarıları sebebiyle Ba-du-lu unvanı verildiği kaydedilmiştir (YS 3514-3515).

Son olarak, Batur'un bu yazılış biçimi ile *Yuan Tarihi*'nde bir gemiye verilen isim olarak karşılaşılmaktadır. *Yuan Tarihi*'ndeki Japonya monografisinde 1274 yılına tarihlenen kayıtlarda, Moğolların Japonya'ya saldırısı sırasında kullanılmak üzere yola çıkan bir gemiden "Batur Hafif Hızlı Gemisi (拔都魯輕疾舟)" olarak söz edilmiştir (YS 4628). Bu, askerleri karaya çıkaran hafif ve hızlı gemilere verilen bir addır (Luo 122). Kahraman ve cesur anlamına gelen sözcüğün, bu özelliklere sahip olduğu düşünülen askerleri taşıyan gemiye ad olarak verildiği anlaşılmaktadır. Bu durum, Batur adının Moğolların askerî yapısı içinde ne denli yaygın kullanıma sahip olduğunu göstermektedir.

Yuan Tarihi'nde geçen bir başka yazılış Ba-du-er (拔都兒)'dır. *Yuan Tarihi* içinde yapılan taramalarda bu yazılış biçiminin cümle içerisinde farklı şekillerde kullanıldığı görülmüştür. Bunlardan biri; kişilere verilen ikinci bir isim olarak kullanılmasıdır. Örneğin, Yuan Hanedanı dönemi komutanlarından Kıpçak soyundan gelen Shan-che Batur'un (苫徹拔都兒) adı bu şekilde yazılmıştır (YS 3031). Aynı şekilde Zhe-mi-si Batur (折米思拔都兒) ve Bu-li-he Batur (不里合拔都兒) şeklinde ikinci isim olarak kayıtlara geçmiştir (YS 2435, 2511).

Yuan Tarihi'nin 1282 yılının beşinci ayına tarihlenen kayıtlarında ise sözcük, bir orduya verilen ad olarak "…Başkentteki Batur Ordusu'na yazlık giysi verildi" cümlesinde geçmektedir (YS 243).

Aynı yazılış, *Yuan Tarihi*'nde iki farklı cümlede herhangi bir kişinin adı verilmeden kullanılmıştır. Bunlar; "Büyük Komutan Batur ve beraberindekilerin öncü kuvvet olarak gitmeleri emredildi" cümlesi ile "Batur ve beraberindekiler savaşmak üzere onları karşıladı" cümleleridir (YS 61-62). Bu cümlelerde Büyük Komutan Batur olarak ifade edilen kişinin kim olduğu tam olarak anlaşılamamaktadır. Bu cümlelerin yer aldığı Hükümdar Kayıtları'nın dördüncü tomarında Batur ifadesi farklı şekilde yazılmış ve yine bir kişinin adı verilmeden "Ye-gu (也古)[4] ve Batur (拔突兒)" şeklinde ifade edilmiştir (YS 59).

Yuan dönemi komutanlarından Xi-er-ji-si'nın (昔兒吉思) *Yuan Tarihi*'nde yer alan biyografisinde torunu Sa-li-man'a (撒里蠻) Arık Böke'ye karşı verilen savaştaki başarıları nedeniyle Batur unvanı verildiği kaydedilmiştir (YS 3015). Aynı şekilde An-da-er-tu (按答兒禿) ve Ha-la-ha-sun'a (哈剌哈孫 1257-1308) da savaşlarda gösterdikleri başarılar sebebiyle Batur unvanı verilmiştir (YS 2918).

Yuan Tarihi'ndeki yazılışlardan bir başkası Ba-tu-er (拔突兒)'dir. Sözcük, Kubilay Han'a dair bilgilerin kaydedildiği Hükümdar Kayıtları'nda dört kez geçmektedir. Bunlardan ilki yukarıda da söz edilen "Ye-gu ve Batur" ifadesinde kullanılmıştır (YS 59).

Sonraki kullanım, "Büyük Komutan Ba-tu-er ve beraberindekiler, geminin önderliğinde aceleyle Yue Zhou'a [yöneldiler]…" cümlesinde geçmektedir. Ardından da "Kışın onuncu ayda… Ba-tu-er, Yue [Zhou]'dan geri döndü" denilmiştir (YS 62). Sözcüğün bu yazılış biçimiyle kullanıldığı son yer ise

"Niutou Dağı'ndan ayrılıp, Linan'a yönelmeleri söylenirken, Büyük Komutan Ba-tu-er ve beraberindeki komutanlarla bütün orduları Hubei'i kuşatmak üzere [orada] kaldılar" cümlesidir (YS 63). Batur sözcüğünün bu yazılış şeklinde, cümlelerde bir ad kullanılmaksızın Büyük Komutan Batur ifadesi tercih edilmiştir.

Yuan Tarihi'nde geçen bir başka kullanım da Ba-du-er (八都兒)'dir. Sözcüğün kullanım alanı şimdiye kadar tespit edilen diğerlerinden farklı değildir. Diğer yazım biçimleri gibi bu da eserde ad ve unvan olarak kullanılmıştır. Bu, Yuan döneminde sözcüğün yazılışı değişse de kullanım amacının aynı kaldığını göstermektedir.

Yuan Tarihi'nin Hükümdar Kayıtları bölümünün 1318 yılının üçüncü ayına tarihlenen kayıtlarında Batur, saraya bağlı görevlilerden birinin adı olarak geçmektedir. "Ninghai Beyi Ba-du-er'a altın mühür hediye edildi" (YS 582).

Aynı şekilde, eserin biyografiler bölümündeki Ya-hu-dou (牙忽都) biyografisinde de ad olarak kullanılmıştır. "Tuo-lie Temür (脫列帖木兒) öldüğünde oğlu Ba-du-er başa geçti. Ba-du-er öldüğünde, üç oğlu vardı…" (YS 2910).

Batur'un ikinci ad olarak kullanıldığı kayıtlar da vardır. Bunlardan bazı örnekler şöyledir. *Yuan Tarihi*'nin Askeriye başlıklı bölümünde "…Bie-su-dai (別速觰) [ve] Hu-bie-lie Batur'a (忽別列八都兒) Başkent Ordusunun komutanı olarak, iki bin kişilik Moğol ordusuna liderlik etmeleri emredildi…" cümlesi kaydedilmiştir (YS 2539). Aynı şekilde Che-li'nin biyografisinde, "1328 yılının sekizinci ayında, [Shi-lie-men], Zhiyuan [unvanlı] Tuo-tuo Mu-er'a itaat edip Chaohe Nehri'ne geldi. Huo-wan-zhe Ba-du-er [ve] Ai-de-jin'den oluşan on iki kişi, sekiz kişiyi öldürüp, dört kişiyi de yakalayarak başkente döndüler" cümlesi kaydedilmiştir (YS 3285). Bu örneklerde Batur'un ikinci ad olarak kullanıldığı görülmektedir. Bir başka kayıtta ise unvan olarak verildiği görülmektedir:

"Wanyan Shizhu'nun…babası Nazhu, Taizu'ya bağlandı. [Ona] itaat edip batı bölgelerine, Hexi'ye saldırdı. Sonra da Taizong'a [itaat edip, onun] emrinde Fengxiang'a, Tong Zhou'ya saldırdı. Başarılı oldu, Ba-du-er unvanı verildi…" (YS 3886).

Batur'un *Yuan Tarihi*'nde geçen bir başka yazılış şekli Ba-du-lu'dur (八都魯). Bu şekilde *Yuan Tarihi*'ndeki kullanımına ek olarak, *Song Hanedanı Kayıtları*'nda da iki ayrı kayıtta geçmektedir.

Yuan Tarihi'nde sayısal olarak fazla geçtiği gözlemlenen sözcüğün, aslında bu eser içerisinde çoğunlukla aynı kişilerden bahsederken kullanıldığı görülmektedir. *Yuan Tarihi*'ndeki pek çok yazılış biçiminde olduğu gibi burada da Batur ikinci ad olarak kullanılmıştır. Bunlardan biri Yuan Hanedanı'nın son dönemlerindeki komutanlardan ve aynı zamanda Vezir Bolod Temür'ün (孛羅帖木兒) babası olan Dashi Batur'dur (答失八都魯). Kayıtlardan örnek vermek gerekirse;

"Dashi Ba-du-lu'ya orduyu taşıyıp, Chenliu'ya yerleştirmesi emredildi" (YS 927).

"Dashi Ba-du-lu saldırarak düşmanı nehrin iki yanından kuşattı, onları büyük yenilgiye uğrattı…" (YS 928).

"Dashi Ba-du-lu'nun oğlu Bolod Temür'e, Henan Eyaleti'nin Devlet İşleri Düzenleyicisi olması emredildi…" (YS 941).

Eserde geçen bir diğer örnek Baiyan Batur'dur (拜延八都魯). Baiyan Batur'un biyografisinde Batur adını sonradan aldığı kaydedilmiştir (YS 3023). Eserde Batur'u ikinci adı olarak kullanan diğer örnek ise Liu Ha-la Batur'dur (劉哈剌八都魯). Her ikisinin de *Yuan Tarihi*'nde kendilerine ayrılmış birer biyografisi bulunmaktadır (YS 3023, 3973). Bunlardan Baiyan Batur savaşçı kimliğiyle; Liu Ha-la Batur ise idareci kimliğiyle ön plana çıkmıştır.

Bu yazılış şekli, *Song Hanedanı Kayıtları*'ndaki ilk örnekte bir Uygur komutanın adı olarak geçmektedir. "Uygur Ai Li Ba-du-lu, yüz küsur savaşçıyı komuta ediyordu…" (SS 12377).

Sözcüğün Uygur kökenli birinin adı olarak kayıtlarda geçmesi, bu unvanın/adın kullanımının Moğol dönemiyle sınırlı olmadığına, Türk kültür çevresinden diğer halklar arasında da kullanım alanı bulduğuna işaret etmektedir.

Bir diğer kayıt ise *Song Hanedanı Kayıtları*'ndaki Güney Song dönemi komutanlarından Cao Youwen'ın (曹友聞 ?-1236) biyografisinde 1236 yılında Moğollarla yapılan savaştan söz edilen kayıtlarda yer almaktadır. Burada Batur sözcüğü ile düşman komutanı olarak addedilen Moğol bir komutanın adı olarak karşılaşılmaktadır. "Kuzey askerleri doğuya geldi, on bini hızlıca savaşa girdi, düşman komutanı Ba-du-lu on bin küsur askere sahipti…" (SS 13236).

Yuan Tarihi'nde geçen son kullanım Ba-du (拔都)'dur. Çincede diğer yazılışlardan bir im eksik olarak yazılmıştır. Doğrudan Batur anlamına gelmeyen

ancak onunla aynı kökten gelen bu adı, Cengiz Han'ın torunu Batu Han[5] kullanmıştır. Sözcüğün Moğolcası Бат /Baťtır. Batu, yukarıda da söz edildiği gibi yazılış olarak Batur'dan ayrılmasının yanı sıra kullanım olarak da ayrılmaktadır. Batur çoğunlukla ya unvan ya da ikinci ad olarak kullanılırken; Batu'nun birinin doğduktan sonra aldığı ilk ad olduğu anlaşılmaktadır.

Ming Tarihi'nde Batur

Yuan Tarihi dışında Batur adının geçtiği bir başka kaynak *Ming Tarihi*'dir. Bu eserde Batur adı tek bir şekilde Ba-du-er (把都兒) olarak yazılmıştır. Eserde, özellikle Hükümdar Kayıtları'nda Batur ile bir savaşçının adı olarak karşılaşılmaktadır. Ming Shizong'un yönetim dönemi olan 1548 ve 1552 yılına tarihlenen kayıtlara aşağıdaki cümleler örnek verilebilir:

"…Ba-du-er, Guangning'e saldırdı, [savaşa] katılan Komutan Yan Zhen savaşarak öldü" (MS 238).

"…Ba-du-er [ve] Xin-ai, Xinxing Kalesi'ni işgal ederek [kalenin] yönetici seviyesindekilere savaşarak ölmelerini emrettiler" (MS 240).

Ming dönemi idarecilerinden Wang Yu'nün (王忬) biyografisinde de Batur, benzer bir şekilde kullanılmıştır.

"…Ba-du-er, Xin-ai [ve] pek çok boy Hui Zhou'da garnizon kurdular…" (MS 5399)

Bu örneklerin yanı sıra, *Ming Tarihi*'nde Batur'un ikinci ad olarak kullanıldığı kayıtlar da görülmektedir.

"Qiejin Taiji'nin[6] yeğeni Qing Ba-du-er[7] Gansu'ya saldırdı…" (MS 5981)

Ming Tarihi'nde Batur adının görüldüğü bir diğer kayıt, Batı Bölgeleri tomarında yer alan Herat monografisidir.

"… [Herat'ın] Beyi Şah Ruh Ba-du-er, elçi gönderip An ile birlikte saraya haraç sundu" (MS 8609).

Şahruh[8] adı, Çince resmî tarihler içerisinde yalnızca *Ming Tarihi*'nde toplam altı kez görülmektedir. Bu kayıtlardan yalnızca birinde "Şahruh Batur (沙哈魯把都兒)" olarak geçmektedir. Şahruh, kahraman bir asker olarak anılmaktadır (Grousset 496). Batur unvanı da genellikle bu anlamda kullanıldığı için *Ming Tarihi*'nde böyle nitelendirildiği ve kendisinden böyle söz edildiği düşünülmektedir.

Qing Shi Gao'da Batur

Batur adının kaynaklardaki bir başka yazılışı Ba-tu-lu (巴圖魯)'dur. Bu ya-zılış şekli yalnızca *Qing Shi Gao*'da geçmektedir ve eserde beş yüzden faz-la yerde görülmektedir. Ba-tu-lu, tıpkı diğer kullanımlarda olduğu gibi ad olarak kullanılmasının yanı sıra, Qing Hanedanı döneminde savaşçılara bir başarı nişanı olarak tevdi edilmiştir. Mançu dilinde "ᠪᠠᡨᡠᡵᡠ" şeklinde yazı-lan ve kahraman, cesur asker anlamına gelen unvan, Moğol dilinden Mançu diline geçmiştir. Qing Hanedanı döneminde ilk Batur unvanı 1585 yılında Mu-er-ha-ji'ye (穆爾哈齊) verilmiştir (Qi ve Liu 17).

Qing Shi Gao'da çok yerde geçen ifade kimi kayıtlarda unvan olarak; kimi kayıtlarda birinin ilk veya ikinci adı olarak geçmektedir. Unvan olarak kul-lanılması ile ilgili aşağıdaki kayıtlar örnek olarak verilmiştir:

"Dokuzuncu ayda, Sun Dali ve beraberindeki seksen üç kişi, Rui Qinwang ile birlikte [Qingshan] Geçidi'ne girip başarı elde ettiler, her birine farklı memuriyetler verilerek Ba-tu-lu unvanı bahşedildi" (QSG 69).

"Vali Yardımcısı Mian Xun eşkıyanın peşinden gidip Feng Xian'de yenilgiye uğrattı, [kendisine] Ba-tu-lu cesaret unvanı bahşedildi" (QSG 730).

"Wang Zhen, Jiangxi [ilçesindeki] Ji An [bölgesine] yardıma gitti, onla-rın zaferine dahil oldu, [kendisine] Ba-tu-lu cesaret unvanı bahşedildi …" (QSG 743).

"Bölge Komutanı Li Chaobin, Anhui Dong Liu'yu [ve] Jian De'yı geri alın-ca [kendisine] Ba-tu-lu cesaret unvanı bahşedildi…" (QSG 751).

Yukarıdaki dört örnekte unvanın bir cesaret unvanı olduğu açıkça ifade edil-miştir. Bu yazılış şeklinin unvan olarak kullanımının yanı sıra ilk ve ikinci ad olarak kullanıldığı kayıtlardan örnekler de aşağıdaki gibidir:

"Ba-tu-lu Zhun Ta, Moğol Yönetici oldu" (QSG 65).

"Ba-tu-lu Zhan [ve] Du Erma Devlet İşleri Bakanı oldular" (QSG 122).

"Hükümdarın büyükbabasının ağabeyi Li Dun Ba-tu-lu'ya öldükten sonra Askerî Başarıları Olan İlçe Beyi unvanı verildi…" (QSG 2586).

Batur sözcüğünün *Qing Shi Gao*'da geçen ve unvanın Türkçe sesletimine oldukça yakın olan bir başka yazılışı Ba-tu-er (巴圖爾)'dır.

Kayıtlarda bu yazılış biçiminin de hem tek başına bir ad hem de ikinci ad olarak kullanıldığı görülmektedir. Bunun yanında özellikle Moğol kökenli halklardan olan Cungarların yöneticilerinin adlarının öncesinde veya sonrasında Batur unvanını kullandıkları görülmektedir (Paulenz 92):

"Cungarların[9] boy beyi Ba-tu-er Hun Taiji [Erdeni Batur], konargöçer Altayların gücüne güvenerek bütün Oyratları[10] hizmetine almak istiyordu" (QSG 14494).

Qing döneminin dört Moğol boyundan biri olan Ka-Er-Ka Zha-Sa-Ke-Tu Han Boyu'ndan (喀爾喀扎薩克圖汗部) söz eden bir başka kayıtta da şöyle geçmektedir.

"[Zha La Er Hun Taiji'nin] … ikinci oğlu Noyan Tanhatan Ba-tu-er … aynı sorumluluğu aldı…" (QSG 14434).

Bu örneklerin yanı sıra *Qing Shi Gao*'da Tibet'te kurulan Moğol kökenli Hoşut Hanlığı'nda[11] da Batur unvanının kullanıldığını gösteren kayıtlar vardır:

"Hoşut boyundan Kun-dou-lun-wu Bashi, Dou-er-ge-qi Noyan olarak adlandırılır. On altı oğlu vardır… diğeri Qing Ba-tu-er, diğeri Yi-na-ke Ba-tu-er…" (QSG 14504).

Qing Shi Gao'da, Qing dönemindeki Kazak boyunda da Batur unvanının kullanıldığını gösteren kayıtlar vardır:

"[Kazakların] hanları A-bu-le-ban-bu-te'dır, yani A-bi-li-sı. Üç tane Ba-tu-er'ları vardır. İlkine Tuli Bay denir, ikincisine Huige erde denir, üçüncüsüne Sasake Bay denir. Ancak gerçekte devletin başı Tuli Bay'dır" (QSG 14720).

Yukarıdaki cümlede üç tane Batur olduğu ve bir tanesinin devletin başı olduğunun ifade edilmesi, Kazaklarda Batur'un yönetici veya idareci anlamında kullanıldığını göstermektedir.

Günümüzde Türkçede de bir isim olarak kullanılan Batur, Kazakçada, Kırgızcada ve Başkurtçada Türkçeye benzer bir sesletimle "Batır" olarak telaffuz edilmektedir. Aynı şekilde anlamında da herhangi bir değişiklik olmaksızın sırasıyla yiğit, kahraman ve gözü kara anlamlarına gelmektedir (TDKKTLS).

Moğolların Gizli Tarihi ve *Yeni Yuan Tarihi*'nde Batur

Batur sözcüğünün bir başka yazılış şekli olan Ba-a-tu-er (把阿禿兒), *Moğolların Gizli Tarihi* ve *Yeni Yuan Tarihi* adlı eserlerde geçmektedir. Bu eserlerde yer alan kayıtlarda, çoğunlukla ikinci ad olarak kullanılmıştır. Örneğin;

"…Meng Nian Tudun'un yedi oğlu vardı… adı Na-chen Ba-a-tu-er'dı" (MGT Tom 1).

"Hu-li-er Ba-a-tu-er Naymanlara kaçtı" (XYS Tom 117).

Bu yazılış şekli, sözcüğün "Baatar" olan Moğolca aslından doğrudan ses benzerliği yoluyla Çinceye geçtiğini ve Çince imlerle yazılmış hâli olduğunu göstermektedir.

Sonuç

Çalışmada Batur adının/unvanının toplam on üç farklı yazılış biçimi saptanmıştır. Bunlardan dokuzu *Yuan Tarihi*'nde, bir tanesi *Ming Tarihi*'nde, ikisi *Qing Shi Gao*'da geçmektedir. Ayrıca *Moğolların Gizli Tarihi*'nde ve *Yeni Yuan Tarihi*'nde de bir farklı yazılış vardır. Batur sözcüğü, Çin kaynakları içerisinde en çok Moğol dönemini anlatan kaynak olan *Yuan Tarihi*'nde geçmektedir. Sözcüğün kaynaklardaki kullanımlarında, hem birine doğduktan sonra verilen ilk ad olarak, hem kişi adlarının ardından "yiğit, bahadır" anlamlarında ikinci ad olarak, hem de bir cesaret unvanı olarak verildiği görülmüştür. Özellikle Türkçe sesletime yakın olan Ba-tu-er yazım şeklinin yalnızca Moğollarda değil, Moğol kökenlilerin kurdukları devletlerde ve Türk kültür coğrafyasından diğer halklarda görülüyor olması, farklı yazılış biçimlerine rağmen unvanın nesiller boyunca yaşamaya devam ettiğini göstermektedir.

Hunlar döneminde Mo-du Tanrıkut'a verilen adın, Mançu dönemine kadar varlığını sürdürmesi, geçen bu sürede farklı pek çok kavim tarafından kullanılmış olması, kültürel devamlılığı göstermesi açısından önem arz etmektedir. Bunun yanında, Batur'un günümüzde de hâlen kullanılan bir ad olması Hunların bıraktığı kesintisiz kültürel mirası gözler önüne sermektedir.

Çıkar Çatışması Beyanı

Çalışma kapsamında yazarın herhangi bir kurum veya kişi ile çıkar çatışması bulunmamaktadır.

Kısaltmalar

MGT: *Moğolların Gizli Tarihi*

MS: *Ming Tarihi* (bk. Zhang).

QSG: Qing Shi Gao (bk. Zhao).

SS: Song Hanedanı Kayıtları (bk. Y. Song).

TDKGTS: Türk Dil Kurumu Güncel Türkçe Sözlük

TDKKTLS: Türk Dil Kurumu Karşılaştırmalı Türk Lehçeleri Sözlüğü

XYS: Yeni Yuan Tarihi (bk. Ke).

YS: Yuan Tarihi (bk. L. Song).

Açıklamalar

1 Sözcük, Türkçe çalışmalarda farklı şekillerde okunmuştur. Örneğin, Gömeç "Mo-tun" olarak, Ercilasun "Motun" olarak, Onat, Ercilasun, Orsoy ve Taşağıl "Mo-tu" olarak okumuşlardır (Gömeç 53; Ercilasun 19; Onat vd. 5; Taşağıl 16). Bu eserlerde kullanılan transkripsiyon sisteminin Pinyin değil Wide Giles olduğunu belirtmek gerekir. Sözcükte geçen "t" harfi "d" olarak okunmalıdır. Otkan ise doğru okunuş şeklinin "Mo-du" olduğunu ifade etmiştir (Otkan 13).

2 Hirth'in yanı sıra Parker da Mo-du için "Bahadır" anlamında "Baghdur" karşılığını önermiştir (Onat vd. 107). Kafesoğlu, "Beğ-tun" önerisini getirirken; Gömeç ise Mo-du'ya karşılık olarak "Börü Tonga"yı önermektedir (Kafesoğlu 60; Gömeç 53).

3 Türkçe Ulanbatur olarak okunan şehrin Moğolca yazılışı Ulaanbaatar/ Улаанбаатар'dır ve "Kızıl Bahadır" anlamına gelmektedir.

4 Ye-gu, Cengiz Han'ın kardeşi Qasar'ın oğludur.

5 Batu Han (1209-1256), Cuci'nin oğludur. Altın Orda Devleti'nin kurucu hanıdır. *Yeni Yuan Tarihi*'nde biyografisi bulunmaktadır (XYS Tom. 106). Ayrıca Batu Han'a Sayın Han da denilmektedir (Ötemiş Hacı 31). Bu adın Çince yazılışı 撒因汗/Sa-yin Han'dır.

6 Moğol kökenli siyasetçi ve düşünür olan Qiejin Taiji (切盡台吉) Ming döneminde Ordos'un yöneticisi olarak görev yapmıştır (Baidu Ansiklopedisi).

7 Moğol kökenli ve Börçigin boyundan gelen Qing Batur (青把都兒 ? - 1591), Ming döneminde Karaçin boyunun yöneticisi olarak görev yapmıştır. 1517-1519 yılları arasında Yuan Hanedanı'nı yöneten Bars Bolud'un (巴爾斯博羅特濟農) torunudur. (Baidu Ansiklopedisi).

8   Şahruh (沙哈魯1377-1447), Timurlu Devleti'nin kurucusu Timur'un dördüncü oğludur. Şahruh için Batur unvanının kullanılması ilginçtir. Çünkü Türkçe kaynaklarda adından sonra genellikle bir soyluluk unvanı olan "mirza" kullanılmakta ve Şahruh Mirza olarak geçmektedir. Ancak *Ming Tarihi*'ndeki bu kayıt, Moğol kökenli bir devlet olan Timurlularda da bu unvanın kullanıldığını göstermektedir. Bu da kültürel devamlılık açısından önemlidir.

9   Cungar Hanlığı (準噶爾), Batı Moğol halklarından Oyratlar tarafından 1634 yılında kurulmuştur. Detaylı bilgi içi bk. (Grousset 563).

10 Oyratlar (衛拉特 , 厄魯特), Moğolistan'ın batısından Çin'in kuzeybatısına kara olan bölgede yaşayan Moğol kavmidir.

11 Hoşut Hanlığı (和碩特) Moğol kökenlidir, 1642 yılında kurulmuş, 1717 yılında Cungarlar tarafından yıkılmıştır.

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Cultural Heritage Remaining from the Huns: Title of "Batur" in Chinese Sources*

Gökçen Kapusuzoğlu**

Abstract

In the Chinese classics, the main sources for elucidating the early periods of Turkic history, important events and people from many different eras were meticulously recorded. The hundreds of years between the Huns and the Qing Dynasty were also recorded with the same attitude. The name Bahadır/Batur, which was proposed as the Turkic equivalent of the name Chanyu Mo-du, was spelled very differently in Chinese sources and continued to be used in different eras. Especially during the Yuan and Qing Dynasty periods, it is clear from the sources that the name was widely used. This study classifies the different spellings of this name/title according to the sources and shows the purpose and form of use of the words through examples from the records.

Keywords

Chinese Sources, Yuan Dynasty, Qing Dynasty, Mo-du Chanyu, Batur.

Культурное наследие хуннов: титул «батур» в китайских источниках[*]

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Аннотация

В китайских классических источниках скрупулёзно зафиксированы основные источники для освещения ранних периодов тюркской истории, важные события и лица самых разных эпох. Сотни лет между гуннами и династией Цин также были записаны с такой же тщательностью. Имя Бахадыр/Батур, которое было предложено в качестве тюркского эквивалента хуннского титула Чаньюй Мо-ду, в китайских источниках писалось совершенно по-разному и продолжало использоваться в разные эпохи. Из источников ясно, что этот титул широко использовался, особенно в периоды династий Юань и Цин. Это исследование классифицирует различные варианты написания этого имени/титула в соответствии с источниками и показывает цель и форму использования слов на примерах из записей.

Ключевые слова

Китайские источники, династия Юань, династия Цин, Моду Чаньюй, Батур.

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Araştırma Makalesi / Research Article

Tang Hanedanlığı Dönemi Çin Müziği ve Türk Kavimlerinin Çin Müziğine Etkileri[*]

Nuray Pamuk Öztürk[**]

Öz

Tang Hanedanlığı, Çin tarihinde kültürel ve edebi zenginliğin en fazla gö-rüldüğü dönemdir. Bu dönemde Türk kavimleriyle yaşanan askerî müca-deleler dışında Türk kültürünün Çin kültürüne yansımaları da açıkça gö-rülmektedir. Kültürel yansımalardan bir tanesi olan müzik, çalışmamızın ana konusunu oluşturmaktadır. Türk kavimlerinin geniş bir coğrafi alanı kapsıyor olması sebebiyle konu, etkileşimin en fazla olduğu Göktürkler, Uygurlar ve Kırgızların müzik kültürleriyle sınırlandırılmıştır. Önce bu üç Türk kavminin müzik kültürleri hakkında bilgi verilmiştir. Çalışmanın de-vamında Tang dönemi Çin müziği anlatılmış, adı geçen Tük kavimlerinin müziklerinin Çin müziğine etkisi üzerinde durulmuştur. Türk müziğinin etkisiyle Çin müziği; yeni müzik sistemlerinin oluştuğu, pek çok müzisye-nin yetiştiği, yenilendiği, zenginleştiği bir döneme girmiştir. Bu dönemde beş tanesi Türk kültürüne ait müzikler olan On Müzik Türü oluşturulmuş; pek çok Türk kökenli müzisyen Çin'de ünlenmiş; İmparatorluk Müzik Akademisinde yeni müzik sistemleri hakkında eğitim verilmiş, yetiştirilen müzisyenlerin birçoğu saray orkestrasında görevlendirilmiş; yeni müzikler, müzik aletleri ve danslar halk arasında beğeni toplamış ve yayılmıştır.

Anahtar Kelimeler

Tang Hanedanlığı, Göktürkler, Uygurlar, Kırgızlar, Türk Müziği, Çin Müziği, Kültürel Etkileşim.

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Giriş

Geleneksel Çin düşünce sistemi içerisinde müziğin önemli bir yeri vardır. Törenler ve müzik, antik Çin'de yaşamın temelini ifade eden iki önemli öğedir. Li Kuralları[1] insanların yaşamlarını ve davranışlarını yönlendirirken, müzik bu eylemlerin dışa vurulmasını sağlayan iç kuvvet olarak nitelendirilmektedir. Müzik, sadece davullar ve zillerden ibaret olarak değil, düşünce ve sözlerin ahenkli bir şekilde dile getirilmesi olarak görülmektedir. Müzik, ilk dönemlerde törenlerde ya da dinî amaçlı kullanılsa da daha sonraki dönemlerde eğlence amaçlı kullanılmaya başlanmıştır (Moule 163-164). Walter Kaufmann (9), geleneksel Çin müziği ile antik çağ müziği hakkında bilgi verirken Tang döneminin Çin müzik kültüründe bir ayrılma noktası olduğuna şöyle vurgu yapmaktadır:

> Antik çağlara ait müzik kalıntıları mevcut olmadığından, eski Çin'in geleneksel müziği ile antik çağ müziğinin birbiriyle kıyaslanması mümkün değildir. Antik dönemlere ait Konfüçyüs ritüel müzikleri de doğrudan veya güvenilir bir kaynak sunmadığı için karşılaştırmaya dâhil edilmemektedir. Bu müzikler, daha çok gerçek performansa dayalı, sanatçıların o an söylediği, daha sonraki dönemlere sözlü olarak aktarılmaya çalışılan eserlerdir. Doğaçlama, anlatım, kişiden kişiye aktarma yöntemleri ile sonraki nesillere ulaştırıldığı için güvenilir kanıtlar olarak kesin bilgiler içerdiğinin söylenmesi doğru olmaz. Antik çağ nota sistemleri en iyi ihtimalle Tang döneminden ileriye ulaşmamaktadır. Bu nedenle kullanımı çok azdır.

Tang döneminde, Türkistan[2] bölgesinde yaşayan Türk kavimleriyle yoğun kültürel iletişim içerisine girilmiştir. Bu iletişim sonucunda da karşılıklı etkileşim yaşanmıştır. Etkileşim, Tang dönemi soylularından halkına kadar Çin toplumunun her kesiminde kendini göstermiştir. Kültürel etkileşimlerden Türk kavimlerinin müzik kültürünün Tang dönemi Çin müziğine etkileri belirgindir. Bu etkiler sonucunda Çin müziğini zenginleştiren, değiştiren, yeni müzik sistemlerinin oluşmasına zemin hazırlayan bir döneme girilmiştir. Sui Hanedanlığı zamanında oluşturulmaya başlanan Dokuz Müzik Türü, Tang döneminde sınırlarını çizmiştir. Bu doğrultuda Türk müziklerinin de etkisiyle Çin müziği hem nitelik bakımından çeşitlenmiş ve gelişmiş hem de sayı bakımından artış göstermiştir.

Müziğin gelişmesi ile doğru orantılı olarak dans alanında da gelişmeler yaşanmıştır. Bu dönemde Göktürk ve Uygur kökenli birçok dansçı, özellikle sarayda verilen davetlerde, törenlerde, kutlamalarda yer almaya başlamıştır. Saray eğlenceleri için Türkistan'dan orkestralar ve özellikle desenli halı üzerinde dans edebilen dansçılar getirtilmiştir (Eberhard, *Çin Tarihi* 222; Kaufmann 152-153).

Türk Kavimlerinin Müzik Kültürü

Eski Türk topluluklarında müzik önemli bir yere sahiptir. Çandarlıoğlu (101), Türklerin sözlü olarak ifade ettikleri bestelere *ır* veya *yır*, sazlarla çaldıkları bestelere ise *küg* denildiğini, hakanların huzurunda *küg* ve *yır*lardan her gün dokuz tanesinin çalınması gerekliliğinin hükümdarlık alameti olduğunu aktarmaktadır.

Türk kavimlerinin, yaşam tarzları gibi göçebe müzik kültürleri vardır. Genel olarak hafif, kolay temin edilebilecek malzemeden, taşıması ve yapımı kolay müzik aletleri bulunmaktadır. 1952 yılında Xi-an şehrinin doğusunda yapılan arkeolojik kazılarda Tang döneminde yapılmış olduğu tahmin edilen duvar resimleri bulunmuştur. Bu resimlerden bazılarında müzik aletleri ve dansçılar resmedilmiştir. Resimlerde gözleri koyu renkli, uzun burunlu, yüzleri *Hu*'lara[3] benzeyen, başlarına beyaz kumaşlar sarmış, üzerlerine uzun kollu gömlek giymiş, bellerine siyah kemer takmış, sarı renk ayakkabıları olan ve sarılı yeşilli halılar üzerinde dans eden dansçılar bulunmaktadır. Bu dansçıların sağ taraflarında başka bir sarı halı vardır. Halı üzerinde beş kişiden oluşan, iki sıra hâlinde dizilmiş bir orkestra bulunmaktadır; ön sırada üç kişi diz üstü oturmaktadır ve ellerinde dikey olarak tuttukları *di* (笛)[4], *beş telli pipa* (五弦琵琶 *wuxian pipa*)[5] ve *konghou* (箜篌)[6] vardır. Arka sıradaki iki kişiden bir tanesi *xiao* (萧)[7] çalmakta, diğeri ise sağ elini öne doğru uzatmış şekilde beklemekte ve herhangi bir müzik aleti çalmamaktadır. Dansçıların sol tarafında başka bir sarı halı vardır. Halının üzerinde altı kişiden oluşan, iki sıra hâlinde bir orkestra bulunmaktadır. Ön taraftaki üç kişi dizleri üzerine oturmuş *pipa*, *sheng* (笙)[8] ve *bo* (钹)[9] çalmaktadır. Arka sırada yer alan üç kişiden biri *di* çalmakta, diğeri bir tahta parçasına vurarak ritim tutmakta, üçüncü kişi ise sol elini öne uzatmış şekilde hiçbir müzik aleti çalmadan beklemektedir (Guan 46).

Bu resimlerden Türk kavimlerinin hem kıyafetleri hem de müzik aletleri hakkında bilgi sahibi olmaktayız. Aynı zamanda müzik ve dansı uyumlu bir şekilde bir arada sürdürdüklerini görmekteyiz. Tang dönemi yabancı kavimlerin müziklerini anlatan bazı resimlerde yine deve sırtına serilmiş halı üzerinde *pipa*, *di* gibi müzik aletlerini çalan müzisyenler bulunmaktadır.

Türk kültürünün geniş bir coğrafyayı kapsıyor olması konunun geniş bir çerçeveden bakılarak incelenmesini gerektirmektedir. Tang Hanedanlığının kuzey ve kuzeybatı kesiminde yaşayan birçok Türk kökenli göçebe, yarı göçebe, atlı göçebe kavim bulunmaktadır. Hanedanlık, bu kavimlerle zaman zaman siyasi, kültürel, ekonomik ilişki ve iletişimde bulunmuş; zaman zaman da askeri mücadele içerisine girmiştir. Bu kavimlerin sayısı çok fazla olduğu için çalışmada, etkileşimin en belirgin olduğu kavimlerin müzik kültürleri üzerinde durulacaktır. Bunlar; MÖ 4. yüzyılda ortaya çıkmış Hunların devamı olan Göktürkler (Taşağıl, *Göktürkler I-II-III* 9) (Göher Vural 119-123), tarihî süreçte Göktürklerin hâkimiyetine son veren üçlü ittifakın bir kolu olan Uygurlar[10] ve Uygurlarla sürekli mücadele içerisinde olan Kırgızlardır (Taşağıl, *Çin Kaynaklarına Göre* 77-79; Kıldıroğlu 54-55).

Göktürkler

Göktürkler döneminde müzik, biçim ve nitelik bakımından hem gelişmiş hem de çeşitlenmiştir. Göktürkler başarılı bir şekilde sürdürülen siyasi ve askerî politikalar sonucunda sınırlarını genişletmiştir. Genişleyen sınırlarla beraber kervan yolları, önemli ticaret noktaları da kontrol altına alınmıştır. Bu noktaların ekonomik olarak kağanlığa katkı sağlamalarının yanı sıra kültürel anlamda da önemleri büyüktür. Başta Çin olmak üzere, Hindistan, Tibet, İran ve birçok kültürün Türk kültürü ile kesişim noktası olan bu yerlerde karşılıklı etkileşim de net bir şekilde görülebilmektedir. Bu bağlamda Göktürk müziği farklı bölgelere yayılmış ve diğer müzik türlerinden de etkilenmiştir. Bu durum müziğin gelişmesinde, çeşitlenmesinde etkili olmuştur.

Göktürkler döneminde müzik ve dans, toplu eğlencelerin ayrılmaz bir parçasıdır. Müzik; eğlence ve festivallerin yanı sıra günlük hayatta, edebiyat ve sanat türlerinde de kendisini göstermektedir. Giraud (235), Göktürklere ait metinler incelendiğinde müzikal nitelikte bir üslubun dikkat çektiğine vurgu yapmaktadır. Ona göre Hendiadyoin[11] adı verilen figürler, tekrarlanan

sözcükler, simetrik cümleler, ikiye bölünebilen cümleler düzyazı üslubunun müzikal olmasını sağlamaktadır.

Bu dönemde Göktürk müzik türleri arasındaki farklar net bir şekilde görülmektedir. Göktürk müziğini; dinî müzik, tuğ müziği, destan müziği, toplantı-tören ve festival müziği, günlük hayatı konu alan müzikler, ağıtlar olmak üzere sınıflandırılmaktadır (Göher Vural 157-164). Müzikteki pentatonik[12] yapı belirginleşmiş, perde sayıları artmış, makamlar genişletilmiştir. Göktürk döneminde *davul, kopuz, arp/çeng, pipa, kös, zil* ve üflemeli çalgılardan *kaval* ve *flüt* önde gelen müzik aletleridir.

Uygurlar

Türk kavimleri arasında müzik türü ve müzik aleti bakımından en fazla çeşitliliğine sahip olan kavim Uygurlardır. Uygurların resmî çalgıları *altın süslemeli boru* ve küvürdetmek (gümbürdetmek) fiilinden türemiş olan *kövrük* (ya da *küvrük*) adı verilen altın süslemeli bir tür davuldur. Altın süslemeli bu davul ve boru ile yine altın süslemeli sancaklar Uygurlar tarafından kağanlık simgeleri olarak kabul edilmektedir (Göher Vural ve Solmaz 294-295). Uygurların, Mani dinini kabul etmeleri, yerleşik hayata geçmeleri gibi etmenlerden dolayı eğitim konusunda kurumsallaşmış bir yapıya sahip oldukları bilinmektedir. Düzenli bir eğitim sisteminin olması okuryazarlık oranın yüksek olmasına fırsat vermektedir. Bu durum müzik eğitiminin de gelişmesine yardımcı olmuş, başarılı müzisyenler yetişmiştir. Bu kişiler yeni müzisyenlerin yetişmesi için çaba harcamış, Uygur müziğinin farklı coğrafyalara yayılmasını sağlamışlardır. 6. yüzyılın Uygur müzisyenlerinden Sucup'un on iki melodiyi çok iyi bildiği ve bu melodiyi Çin'e götürdüğü hakkında bilgiler verilmektedir (Baykuzu 128). Bu melodi Çin müziğine önemli bir yenilik getirmiştir. Aynı zamanda Çinli müzisyenlerin Uygurlara gelerek müzik dersi aldıkları, Türklere özgü bazı müzik aletlerini Çin'e götürdükleri aktarılmaktadır. Sucup'un yanı sıra Sui döneminden itibaren Vaycra Kilti, Beyminda, Pi Şiğu, Vaycraçin, He Mianzi, Sao Xiaokui başta olmak üzere birçok müzisyen Çin'e giderek Uygur müziğinin yayılmasını sağlamıştır (İnayet 68-70; Hidayet Ekrem 116-117).

Türk kültüründe şarkıların yazılı değil sözlü olarak aktarıldığı, usta müzisyenlerin öğrencilerini yetiştirerek bu ezgileri ve müzikleri daha sonraki nesillere aktardığı bilinmektedir. Ancak Uygurlar döneminde usta çırak iliş-

kisinin dışına çıkılarak ve yazıp okuyarak müzik yapma yönteminin uygulandığı, doğaçlamanın yanı sıra bestelemenin de önem kazandığı düşünülmektedir (Göher Vural 227).

Uygurların, resmî törenlerde kullanılan *altın süslemeli davul* ve *boru*nun yanı sıra çok çeşitli müzik aletleri vardır. *Kopuz, ney/flüt, surnay/zurna, burğa/boru, baliman, berbab, ravab, kumul ğirceki, arp/çeng* bu müzik aletlerinin başında gelmektedir. Müzik, Uygur yaşamında resmî törenlerde, dinî törenlerde, bayramlarda, eğlencelerde ve günlük yaşamda geniş yer kaplamaktadır.

Kırgızlar

Kırgızlar, çeşitli sanat ve zanaat dallarında eserler ortaya koymuşlardır. Bunların arasında edebi türler dikkat çekmektedir. Edebi türler içerisinde ise destanlar önemli bir yere sahiptir. Destanlar, Kırgız tarihi ve kültürü hakkında bilgi edinmemizi sağlamaktadır. Bu destanlar aracılığı ile Kırgız müzik kültürü hakkında da bilgi sahibi olmaktayız. Kırgızların en önemli destanlarından olan Manas Destanında, farklı müzik aletleri ve bu müzik aletlerinin farklı amaçlar doğrultusunda kullanıldığı görülmektedir. Örneğin; *davul*, askerî müzik içerisinde ordunun harekete geçmesi, taktik verme vb. amaçla kullanılmaktadır. Bunun yanı sıra siyasi simge olarak hükümdarlığı ifade etmektedir. Genel anlamda ise haberleşme amacıyla kullanılmaktadır. Askerî müzik içerisinde davulun yanı sıra *zurna* da önemli bir yere sahiptir (Göher Vural ve Solmaz 291-295). Ses tınılarının güçlü olması ve uzak mesafelerden dahi duyulabilir özellikte olmaları bu iki müzik aletinin yaygın kullanılmasının sebepleri arasında gösterilebilir.

Kırgızlar, dinî törenlerde de davulu yaygın olarak kullanmaktadır. Şamanizm inancına sahip olan Kırgızların, dini törenlerini yöneten kişilere Gan veya Kam denilmektedir (Eberhard, *Çin'in Şimal* 69; Taşağıl, *Çin Kaynaklarına Göre* 85). Bu kişiler törenlerde davulun yanı sıra *kopuz* adı verilen müzik aletini de kullanmışlardır. Davulların kasnağı kayın veya sedir ağacından yapılmaktadır. Derisi için ise geyik, dağ keçisi veya tay derisi kullanılabilmektedir (Gömeç 122-123).

Davula ek olarak Kırgızların müzik aleti olarak *flüt*, *pipa*, *Tatar pipası*, *düdük*, *plaka* ve *zil*leri bulunmaktadır. Kırgız müzik aletleri ile ilgili olarak Eberhard, *flüt*'ün Çince karşılığı olarak *di*'yi ve *Tatar pipası*'nın Çince karşılığı olarak *bi-li*'yi kullanmaktadır. Bunların yanı sıra *şinğ flavı*, *dümbelek*

ve *gonğ* adı verilen müzik aletlerinin varlığından söz etmektedir (Eberhard, *Çin'in Şimal* 69; Taşağıl, *Çin Kaynaklarına Göre* 85).

Bahsedilen Türk kavimlerinin müzik kültürlerinin ortak noktaları bulunmaktadır. İnceleme yaparken en dikkat çeken nokta ise müzik aletlerine verdikleri isimlerdir. Örneğin; Kırgızların ve Göktürklerin *flüt*, Uygurların *ney/flüt* dedikleri müzik aletine Çinliler *di*; Kırgızların *Tatar pipası* dedikleri müzik aletine Uygurlar *baliman/bi-li/pi-pi/Tatar borusu*, Çinliler *bi-li*; Uygurların *berbab* dedikleri müzik aletine Göktürkler, Kırgızlar ve Çinliler *pipa*; Uygurların *kumul* ğirceki dediği müzik aletine Çinliler *erhu*; Göktürklerin ve Uygurların *arp*/çeng dediği müzik aletine Çinliler arp anlamına gelen *shuqin (竖琴)*[13] demektedir. Bu durum değişimin ve kendi alışkanlıklarına ve kültürlerine uyarlamanın nasıl devam ettiğini göstermektedir.

Tang Hanedanlığı Çin Müzik Kültürü ve Türk Kavimlerinin Etkileri

Tang Hanedanlığı, Çin müziğine altın çağını yaşatan dönem olmuştur. Tang döneminde özellikle İmparator Tang Taizong'un (唐太宗 627-649)[14] başarılı politikaları ve kültür-sanata verdiği değer sayesinde müzik alanında birçok gelişme olmuş ve çok sayıda müzisyen yetiştirilmiştir. Müzik türleri daha önceki dönemlerde olduğu gibi sarayla sınırlı kalmamış, halk arasında da beğeni toplamıştır

Tang dönemi Çin müziği temel olarak iki kısma ayrılmaktadır. Bunlardan ilki sarayda ya da dinî törenlerde çalınan, Tören Müziği veya Saray Müziği anlamına gelen *Ya Müziği (雅乐)*; diğeri ise bütün yerel törenlerde, tiyatrolarda, sokaklarda çalınan Halk Müziği anlamına gelen *Su Müziği (俗乐)*[15]'dir (Corbett-Smith 574). Bu iki müzik türü arasında belirgin farklar bulunmaktadır. Tang döneminde şiirlerin bestelenerek şarkı haline dönüştürülmesi çok yaygındır. *Ya Müziği*, resmi denetim altında bulunmakta ve genel olarak *davul*[16] ve diğer vurmalı çalgılar eşliğinde, klasik ve serbest nazımlı Tang şiirlerinin bestelenmesinden oluşmaktadır. *Ziller* ve *taş çanlar* bu müzik türünde baş müzik aleti olarak kullanılmaktadır.

Su Müziği, kendi içerisinde farklı müzik sistemlerini barındırmaktadır. *Su Müziği*nde genel olarak halkın yaşamını konu edinen eserler yer almaktadır. *Su Müziği* içerisinde yer alan müzik sistemlerinden bir tanesi *Yan Müziği*[17] *(燕乐)*'dir. *Yan Müziği*, *Su Müziği*nin temel ifade şeklidir ve genel olarak akşam yemeklerinde icra edilen bir müzik sistemidir. Geleneksel müzik tür-

lerinde gelişme yaşanması ile birlikte *Yan Müziği* sarayda çalınmaya başlamıştır. Böylelikle halk müziği olan *Su Müziği*, Tang sarayındaki eğlence ve törenlerde yer almaya başlamıştır (Xu 419) (Moore). 712-755 yılları arasında yönetimi devralan, Tang Hanedanlığına ikinci altın çağını yaşatan imparator olan Tang Xuanzong (唐玄宗 712-756) döneminde sarayda müziğin etkisi üst seviyelere ulaşmıştır. Öyle ki, bu dönemde İmparatorluk Müzik Akademisinde birçok öğrenci eğitim görmüş, eğitim gören yüzlerce öğrenciden en iyileri saray orkestrasında müzisyen olarak görev almıştır.

Tang döneminde orkestralarda müzik aletlerine göre düzenleme yapılmamaktadır. Orkestralar ayakta duran ve oturan bölüm olarak iki kısma ayrılmaktadır. Oturan bölüm gösteri yapılan salonun üst tarafında, ayakta duran bölüm ise alt tarafında performans sergilemektedir. Ayakta duran bölümde müzisyenler ve dansçılar yer almakta, müzisyenler de belli ölçülerde dansa eşlik etmektedir. Ayakta duran bölümde sekiz müzik sistemi görünmektedir. Bunlar; *An Müziği (安乐), Taiping Müziği (太平乐), Pozhen Müziği (破阵乐), Qingshan Müziği (庆善乐), Dading Müziği (大定乐), Shangyuan Müziği (上元乐), Shengshou Müziği (圣寿乐), Guangsheng Müziğidir (光圣乐).* Oturan bölümde yer alan müzisyenler az ölçüde danslara eşlik etmektedir. Oturan bölümde altı müzik sistemi görünmektedir. Bunlar; *Yan Müziği (宴/燕乐), Changshou Müziği (长寿乐), Tianshou Müziği (天授乐), Niaoge Wansui Müziği (鸟歌万岁乐), Longchi Müziği (龙池乐), Xiao Pozhen Müziğidir (小破阵乐).* Bahsedilen müzik sistemlerinde kullanılan müzik aletlerinin birçoğu Türkistan bölgesinde yer alan etnik ulusların müzik kültürlerine aittir (Xu 419-420) (Du You). Oturan bölümde yer alan müzisyenlerin yüksek seviyede sanat anlayışına ve teknik bilgiye sahip olması gerekmektedir. Bu bağlamda, ayakta duran bölümde yer alan müzisyenlerin teknikleri ikinci sırada yer almaktadır.

Tong Dian'e göre *An Müziği*, İmparator Zhou Wudi döneminde oluşturulmuştur. Bu dönemde *An Müziği*, Zhou Hanedanlığı döneminde Şehir Dansı anlamına gelen Chengwu (城舞) olarak da anılmaktadır. Seksen kişilik bir dansçı grubu bulunmaktadır. Bu dansçılar altın takılar ve deri şapkalar takmakta, saçlarına dik şekil vermekte ve *Hu*'lar gibi dans etmektedir. *Taiping Müziğine, Beş Yön Aslan Dansı (Müziği) de* denilmektedir. *Pozhen Müziği* ve *Qingshan Müziği*, İmparator Tang Taizong zamanında oluşturulmuştur. *Dading Müziği*, İmparator Tang Gaozong zamanında oluşturulmuş, *Pozhen Müziği*nden türetilmiştir. Yüz kırk dansçıdan oluşan bir

gösteri grubu bulunmaktadır. *Shangyuan Müziği*, İmparator Tang Gaozong zamanında oluşturulmuştur. Seksen kişilik bir dansçı grubu bulunmaktadır. *Shengshou Müziği*, İmparator Tang Gaozong zamanında oluşturulmuştur. Yüz kırk kişilik bir dansçı grubu bulunmaktadır. *Guangsheng Müziği*, İmparator Tang Xuanzong zamanında oluşturulmuştur. Seksen kişilik bir dansçı grubu bulunmaktadır. *Yan Müziği*, Sui döneminde oluşturulan Dokuz Müzik Sistemi içerisinde bulunan müziklerden bir tanesidir. Tang Hanedanlığı kadın imparatoru Wu Zetian (武则天) zamanında değişikliğe uğramıştır. *Changshou Müziği*, Wu Zetian yönetiminin Changshou yılında (692-694 yılları arası) oluşturulmuştur. Dansçı sayısı on ikidir. *Tianshou Müziği*, yine Wu Zetian yönetiminin Tianshou yılında (690-692 yılları arası) oluşturulmuştur. Dansçı sayısı dörttür. *Niaoge Wansui Müziği*, Wu Zetian'in yönetiminin son döneminde oluşturulmuştur. Dansçı sayısı üçtür. *Longchi Müziği*, Tang Xuanzong zamanında değişikliğe uğramış bir müzik sistemidir. Yetmiş kişilik dansçı grubu bulunmaktadır. *Xiao Pozhen Müziği*, Tang Xuanzong zamanında oluşturulmuştur. Bu müzik sistemi ayakta duran bölüme ait olan Pozhen Müziğinden türetilmiştir. Dansçı sayısı dörttür (Du You).

Çin'in günümüz Shanxi eyaletinin Anxi şehrinin batısında yapılan arkeolojik kazılarda Tang dönemine ait mezarlar keşfedilmiştir. Bu mezarlarda yapılan kazılarda üç renkli, deve üzerinde oturan müzisyen figürlerinin olduğu kalıntılar ve üzerinde müzisyen figürleri olan üç renkli çömlekler bulunmuştur. Bu kalıntıların Kaiyuan (开元)[18] öncesi döneme ait olduğu tahmin edilmektedir. Develerin yüksekliği 50 cm'dir. Vücutları cilalı beyaz renktedir. Sadece omuz ve alt karınları koyu sarı renktedir. Bu figürün en dikkat çekici özelliklerinden biri sırtına kazınan insan figürlerinin konulduğu platformdur. Platformun üzerine dikdörtgen şeklinde, kenarları örgülerle çevrilmiş bir örtü kazınmıştır. Bu küçük örtü üzerinde sekiz kişilik bir orkestra yer almaktadır. Birbirinden farklı görünüşe sahip yedi erkek müzisyen figürü platformun dörtkenarını kaplayacak şekilde oturmaktadır. Üzerlerinde yuvarlak yakalı, dar kollu *Hu* kıyafetleri bulunmaktadır. İnsan figürlerinin yüksekliği 12 cm'dir. Bu müzisyenler ellerinde *sheng, xiao, pipa, shuqin* ve *di* adı verilen müzik aletlerini tutmaktadır. En sonda yer alan insan figürü alkışlıyormuş gibi yapılmıştır. Platformun ortasında dans eden bir dansçı kız bulunmaktadır. Bu kızın saçları topuz şeklinde toplanmıştır ve yüzü kırmızı renktedir. Başı dik, göğsü dışarı, sağ eli öne doğru havaya kalkmış, kıyafetinin sol kolu yukarı katlanmış şekilde yapılmıştır (Jiao 82-83).

Tang müziği içerisinde önemli bir yere sahip olan *Yan Müziğinde*, dans gösterileri ve müzik performansları bir aradadır. Bu müzikli gösteriler *Da Ezgisi (大曲)* ve *Fa Ezgisi (法曲)* olarak iki kısma ayrılmaktadır. *Da Ezgisi*, müzik ve dansın bir arada sergilendiği bir ezgidir. En önemli özelliklerinden biri vokal müziğin ve dansçıların şarkılarla uyum içerisinde hareket etmeleridir. Bu ezgi genel olarak şiirlerin bestelenerek klasik Çin müziğiyle bir araya getirilmesi ile oluşur. Gösterilerde nakaratlar tekrar tekrar yinelenir ve dans çeşitliliği çok fazladır. *Fa Ezgisi* ise halk arasında yaygın olan şarkı ve danslarda kullanılmaktadır. Bu ezgiye *Qingshan Müziğinde* çok rastlanmaktadır. Seslerin doğal ve akıcı olması en önemli özelliklerinden bir tanesidir. Bu ezgi de müzik aleti olarak; *nao (铙)*[19], *bo, zhong (钟)*[20], *qing (磬)*[21], *xiao* ve *pipa* yaygın şekilde kullanılmaktadır.

Sui döneminde *Fa Ezgisi* üzerinde değişiklikler yapılmıştır. Tang Hanedanlığı imparatoru Tang Xuanzong döneminde *Fa Ezgisi* üzerinde yine bazı değişiklikler yapılmış, ezgiye yeni sesler eklenmiştir. Tang Xuanzong döneminde orkestralarda oturan bölümde yer alan üç yüz müzisyen içerisinden seçilen kişiler, sarayda dans ve şarkı dersleri vermeye başlamıştır. Bu değişikliklerden sonra *Fa Ezgisi*nin adı *Xian Shao Ezgisi (仙韶曲)* olarak değiştirilmiştir. İmparator Tang Xuanzong döneminde kayıt altına alınan "Gökkuşağı ve Keşiş Dansı" bu ezginin temsilci eserleri arasında gelmektedir.

Tang dönemi ezgilerinde sık sık yenilenmeler olmuş, bu yenilenmeler sonucunda benzer ezgiler ortaya çıkmaya başlamıştır. Örneğin; "Kavak-Söğüt Dalları (杨柳枝)" Sui döneminde ortaya konulmuş bir eserdir. Tang Hanedanlığının Kaiyuan döneminde yedi imli dört mısralı şiirlerin bestelenmesi ile müzik dünyasına girmiştir. Bir diğer örnek ise; İmparator Tang Dezong (唐德宗 472-805) zamanında, damadı Wang Shiping (王士平) ile kızı Yi Yang (义阳)'ın arası düğünden kısa bir süre sonra açılmıştır. Bir süre sonra da ayrılmışlardır. Bu durum aydın kesim arasında müzikli gösteri olarak yayılmıştır. Bu dönemde halk arasında da bazı hikâyeler yeni sesler eklenerek müzikli gösterilere dönüştürülmüştür. Zamanla bu bir akım haline gelmiştir. Tang Hanedanlığın sonlarına doğru ise yeni bir ezgi popüler hâle gelmiştir. *Pai Dan (拍弹)* adı verilen bu tür, anlatım ve hareketlerin bir arada olduğu şarkılı gösterilerdir. Song Hanedanlığı döneminde bu türe *Dan Ezgisi (弹曲)* adı verilmiştir (Xu 423).

Sui Hanedanlığının son imparatoru Sui Yangdi (隋炀帝 569-618), müzik sistemlerinde ve müzik aletlerinde yeniliğe açık bir politika yürütmüş ve saray müzisyenlerinden saray müziğinin derlenip sınıflandırılmasını istemiştir. Bu çalışmanın sonucunda da Dokuz Müzik Türü (九部乐) ortaya çıkmıştır. 618 yılında Tang Hanedanlığı kurulmuştur. Tang Hanedanlığı, Sui Hanedanlığı zamanında oluşturulmuş Dokuz Müzik Türünü devam ettirmiştir. Sui döneminde saray müziği alanında çalışmalar yapmış olan Bai Mingda (白明达)[22] çok değerli bir müzisyendir ve Tang döneminde de müzik alanındaki çalışmalarına devam etmiştir (Wu 90-92).

Tang imparatorlarından Tang Xuanzong, azınlık müzikleri ve yabancı müziklerin etkilerine destek vererek Çin saray müziğinin gelişmesine katkıda bulunmuştur. Saray müziğinin derlenip düzenlenmesi için çalışmalar yapmıştır. Sui döneminde oluşturulan Dokuz Müzik Türünün geliştirilerek On Müzik Türünün oluşturulması için çalışmalar yapılmasını sağlamıştır. Tang döneminde oluşturulan On Müzik Türü, saray müziğinin gelişmesi adına atılmış önemli bir adım olarak görülmektedir. Kaydedilmiş müziklerin büyük bölümü, azınlıkların müzikleri ve yabancı kavim ve devletlerin müziklerinden oluşmaktadır.

Tablo 1

Güney Kuzey Hanedanlıkları Döneminden Sui-Tang Hanedanlığı Dönemine Kadar Oluşturulmuş Müzik Türleri (Xie 162)

	Önceki Liang	Sonraki Liang	Kuzey Wei	Kuzey Zhou	Sui		Tang	
Yayılma ve Eklenme Zaman	Jianxing Sonrası (345-353)	Da-an'ın ilk yılının öncesi ve sonrası (384-386)	Yanhe Öcesi ve Sonrası (431-436)	Tianhe Üçüncü Yılı (658)	Kaihuang'ın Başlangıcı (581 ve sonrası)	Daye'nin Ortası (605+618)	Wude İlk Yılı (618 ve sonrası)	Zhenguan on altıncı yılı (642)
Eklenen					Yedi Müzik Türü	Dokuz Müzik Türü	Dokuz Müzik Türü	On Müzik Türü
Müzik Adı							宴乐 (Yan Yue)	宴乐 (Yan Yue)
		*		清商伎 (Qing shang Ji)		清商 (Qing shang)	清商 (Qing shang)	清商 (Qing shang)
	秦汉伎 (Qin Han Ji)	西凉 (Xiliang)		国伎 (Guo Ji)		西凉 (Xiliang)	西凉 (Xiliang)	西凉 (Xiliang)

Müzik Adı

		高昌 (Gaochang)				高昌 (Gaochang)
	龟兹 (Qiuci)	龟兹 (Qiuci)	龟兹伎 (Qiuci Ji)	龟兹 (Qiuci)	龟兹 (Qiuci)	龟兹 (Qiuci)
	疏勒 (Shule)			疏勒 (Shule)	疏勒 (Shule)	疏勒 (Shule)
		康国 (Kang guo)		康国 (Kang guo)	康国 (Kang guo)	康国 (Kang guo)
	安国 (An Guo)		安国伎 (An Guo Ji)	安国 (An Guo)	安国 (An Guo)	安国 (An Guo)
天竺 (Tianzhu)			天竺伎 (Tianzhu Ji)	天竺 (Tianzhu)		
					扶南 (Funan)	扶南 (Funan)
	高丽 (Gaoli)		高丽伎 (Gaoli Ji)	高丽 (Gaoli)	高丽 (Gaoli)	高丽 (Gaoli)
			文康伎 (Wenkang Ji)	礼毕 (Li Hua)	（礼毕）(Li Hua)	（谦后）(Yan Hou)

Bu müzik türleri; *Yan Müziği (燕 - 宴乐)*, *Qingshang* Müziği (*清商乐)*, *Xiliang* Müziği (*西凉乐)*, *Gaochang* Müziği (*高昌乐)*, *Qiuci* Müziği (*龟兹乐)*, *Shule* Müziği (*疏勒乐)*, *Kang Guo Müziği (康国乐)*, *An Guo* Müziği (*安国乐)*, *Funan* Müziği (*扶南乐) ve Gaoli* Müziği (*高丽乐)*'dir.

Yan Müziği (燕 - 宴乐)

Çalışmanın önceki bölümlerinde bu müzik türü ile ilgili ayrıntılı bilgi verilmiştir. *Su Müziği* içerisinde yer alan müzik sistemlerinden bir tanesidir. *Yan Müziği*, *Su Müziği*nin temel ifade şeklidir ve genel olarak akşam yemeklerinde icra edilen bir müzik türüdür. Sui–Tang Hanedanlıkları döneminde misafirleri ağırlarken yemeklerde çalınmaktadır. Daha sonraki dönemlerde hem içerik bakımından zenginleşmiş hem de daha yaygın bir hâl almıştır. Tang Hanedanlığı sonrasında da bu müzik türünün etkileri devam etmiştir.

Qingshang Müziği (清商乐)

Kuzey-Güney Hanedanlıkları içerisinde yer alan Kuzey Wei (386-534) döneminde ortaya çıkmış bir müzik türüdür. 420 yılından sonra Çin'in siyasi merkezinin güneye kaymasıyla birlikte bu müzik türü yerel halk

müziği ile etkileşim içerisine girmiştir. Bu etkileşim değişimi beraberinde getirmiştir ve zamanla kendine has özelliklerini kaybetmeye başlamıştır. Sui Hanedanlığı döneminde bu müzik türü üzerinde yeni düzenlemeler yapılmış ve *Qingshang Müziği* adı verilmiştir.

Xiliang Müziği (西凉乐)

Batı Liang Müziği anlamına gelen bu müzik türü, Kuzey-Güney Hanedanlıkları döneminde Kansu Bölgesi ve Sarı Irmağın batısında yer alan Liangzhou bölgesine ait bir müzik türüdür. Tang müziği ve Kuça müziğinin kaynaşmasıyla ortaya çıkmıştır. Bu müzik türü, ilk olarak Sui Hanedanlığı döneminde oluşturulan yedi müzik türü içerisine *Guoji (国伎)* adı ile dâhil olmuş, daha sonraki dönemde oluşturulan Dokuz Müzik Türü içerisine girdiğinde ise Batı Liang Müziği adını almıştır. Tang Hanedanlığı döneminde de etkisini sürdürmüştür. Batı Liang Müziği türünde, Tang Taizong'un kendisinin yazdığı bir şiirin (Dokuz Başarı Dansı), imparatorun kendi isteğiyle bestelendiği ve atmış dört genç erkekten oluşan bir dans grubu tarafından sahnelendiği aktarılmaktadır (Wu 92).

Gaochang Müziği (高昌乐)

Turfan Müziği anlamına gelmektedir. İlk olarak Kuzey Zhou Hanedanlığı döneminde oluşturulmuştur. Ancak Sui Hanedanlığı döneminde Dokuz Müzik Türü oluşturulurken bu müzik türüne yer verilmemiştir. Batı Wei ve Turfan bölgesinin ortak müzik özelliklerini taşımaktadır. Ortaya çıktığı ilk dönemlerde Turfanlı kadın dansçılar tarafından icra edilmektedir. Sui Hanedanlığı imparatoru Sui Wendi'nin yönetiminin ilk altı yılında *Gaochang Müziği, Shengming Müziği (圣明乐)* içerisinde bir ezgi olarak değerlendirilmiştir. İmparator daha sonra bu müzik türünü dinlemiş ve çok beğendiği için üzerinde çalışmalar yapılmasını emretmiştir. Tang Hanedanlığı dönemi Zhenguan'ın on altıncı yılının on birinci ayında *Gaochang Müziği*, On Müzik Türüne dâhil edilmiştir (Du You).

Müzik ve dansın bir arada olduğu *Gaochang Müziği* gösterilerinde iki dansçı yer almaktadır. Bu dansçılar kolları desenli beyaz bir ceket ve kırmızı deri ayakkabı giymekte; bellerine kırmızı deri kemer, alınlarına kırmızı bant takmaktadır. Müzik aleti olarak birer tane *davul, bel davulu, jilou davulu, jie davulu*; ikişer adet *xiao, yatay flüt, bi-li, pipa, beş telli pipa*'nın yanı sıra bir adet *konghuo* kullanılmaktadır (Jiu Tang Shu 74).

Qiuci Müziği (龟兹乐)

Kuça Müziği anlamına gelmektedir. Kuzey-Güney Hanedanlıkları döneminden bu yana Çin müzik sisteminde yer almaktadır. Sui-Tang Hanedanlıkları döneminde oluşturulan müzik sistemleri içerisinde yer alan bu müzik türü, *Yan Müziği* içinde önemli bir yere sahip olmuştur. Diğer müzik türleri *Yan Müziği* içinde bu tür kadar etkili olamamıştır (Wu 93).

Shulei Müziği (疏勒乐)

Kaşgar Müziği anlamına gelmektedir. Çin'in kuzey batısında yer alan Kaşgar bölgesinden gelen bir müzik çeşididir. Kuzey Wei Hanedanlığı hükümdarı Çin'in kuzeyinde yer alan kavimlerle ilişkiler kurmuş ve bu ilişkilerin sonucunda bu müzik türü Çin'e gelmiştir (Wu 93). Tang Hanedanlığı döneminde bu bölgenin Çinliler tarafından istila edilmesi ile bölgenin müziği başta Çin sarayı olmak üzere halk arasında da yayılmıştır.

Kangguo Müziği (康国乐)

Semerkant Müziği anlamına gelmektedir. Orta Asya'da yer alan Semerkant'tan Çin'e gelmiş bir müzik türüdür. Kuzey-Güney Hanedanlıkları dönemi, Kuzey Zhou Hanedanlığı hükümdarı Wu Huangdi'den sonraki dönemde Göktürk soyundan biri tarafından Çin'e getirilmiştir. Sui-Tang Hanedanlıkları döneminde de etkisi devam eden bir müzik türüdür (Wu 93).

Anguo Müziği (安国乐)

Orta Asya'da yer alan Buhara'dan gelmiş bir müzik çeşididir. Kuzey Wei Hanedanlığı döneminde, ülkenin batısında yer alan ülkelere özgü bir müzik türüdür. Daha sonraki dönemlerde Sarı Irmak'ın ortalarına kadar yayılmıştır. Sui Hanedanlığı döneminde de etkileri devam etmiş, oluşturulan müzik sistemi içerisinde yerini almıştır. Tang döneminde müzik alanındaki gelişmelerden etkilenmiş ve gelişme göstermiştir.

Funan Müziği (扶南乐)

Sui Hanedanlığı zamanında oluşturulan Dokuz Müzik Türü içerisinde *Tianzhu Müziği*'nin altında yer almıştır. Bu müzik türünde müzik aletleri ve şarkı sözleri Hint müziği ile benzerlik göstermektedir. Bu sebeple ilk başlarda ayrı bir müzik formu olarak görülmemiş fakat Dokuz Müzik Türü oluşturulurken farklılıklar göz önünde bulundurularak ayrı bir müzik türü

olarak kaydedilmiştir. Tang döneminde oluşturulan On Müzik Türü içerisinde de yer almaya devam etmiştir (Ji 41-42).

Funan Müziği aynı zamanda saray kayıtlarında da bulunmaktadır. Yabancı kültürlerden gelen bir müzik türü olup, Çin müzik kültürü ile etkileşim içerisine girmiştir. Bu müzik türü ve diğer Çin müziğine giren yabancı müzik türlerinin Çin saray müziği üzerindeki etkileri uzun süre devam etmiştir. Müzik üzerindeki etkinin bu kadar belirgin olmasının sebebi; Sui-Tang Hanedanlıkları döneminde yabancı kavimlerle özellikle de kuzey ve kuzeybatıda bulunan Türk kavimleriyle yaşanan etkileşimin büyük olmasıdır (Cheng 43-44).

Gaoli Müziği (高丽乐)

Kore müziği anlamına gelmektedir. Bu müzik türü hem Sui Hanedanlığı döneminde oluşturulan Dokuz Müzik Türü içerisinde hem de Tang Hanedanlığı zamanında oluşturulan On Müzik Türü içerisinde yer almıştır. Resmî olarak saray müzik kayıtları içerisinde bulunmaktadır.

Bu müzik türü ilk olarak Kuzey Zhou Hanedanlığı döneminde Çin tarafından tanınmıştır. Sui-Tang Hanedanlıkları zamanına gelindiğinde ilk oluşturulan müzik kayıtları içinde yer almasa da daha sonraki dönemlerde müzik formları içine girmeyi başarmıştır. Zhenguan (贞观)'ın[23] on altıncı yılında Tang müzik sistemine dâhil edilmiştir. Tang Xuanzong'un yönetime geçtiği dönemde bu müzik türüne büyük önem verilmiş ve gelişmesi için çaba harcanmıştır. Bu müzik türüyle ilgili olarak Tang Huiyao'da (唐会要) "Zhenguan'ın ortasında iki ülke yıkıldı, başka müzikler geldi. O günden sonra *Gaoli Müziği*nden yirmi beş melodi çalındı. Zhenyuan'in son döneminde o şarkılar öğrenildi, kıyafetler giyildi." denilmektedir (Tang Huiyao).

Tang döneminde oluşturulan müzik sistemi ve türleri incelendiğinde Çin müziği üzerindeki Türk müziği etkisi belirgin bir şekilde ortaya çıkmaktadır. Oluşturulan on müzik türünden beş tanesi Türklere özgü müziklerdir. Bununla birlikte kalan beş müzik türünden üçü Çinlilere ait olup diğer ikisi yabancı devletlerin müzikleridir.

Sonuç

Çin müziğinde nota sistemi bulunmaktadır. Şarkılar armonik bir düzene sahiptir. Müzik aletleri de çok çeşitli, yapımı zor ve karmaşıktır. Çin toplumunun yaşam şekli müzik aletlerinin çeşitliliğinde de etkilidir. Çin halkı

yerleşik toplum yapısına sahip olduğu için bazı müzik aletlerinin boyutları taşımaya elverişli olmayacak kadar büyük ve ağırdır. Türk müzik aletleri basit malzemelerden yapılmaktadır ve karmaşık bir düzene sahip değildir. Çalarken çok belirgin nota sistemi olmayıp, çalan kişinin ruh hâline göre şarkıların ezgisi şekillenmektedir. Bu sebeple Çin toplumunun Türklerin müzik kültürünü benimsemesi uzun sürmemiştir (Huang 33).

Tang sarayında verilen davetlerde, törenlerde, kutlamalarda özellikle Türkistan bölgesinden getirilen dansçılar ve müzikleri önemli yere sahiptir. Jiu Tang Shu'da (70), "Zhou Wu Di (周武帝, 561-578), Göktürk (Tujue) asıllı bir kızla evlendiği zaman batı ülkelerinden pek çok kişi gelip onu tebrik ettiler. Bu arada Qiuci (Kuça), Shule (Kaşgar), An (Buhara) ve Kang (Semerkant) gibi yerlerden çok sayıda müzisyen Chang'an'a (Tang Hanedanlığının başkenti) geldiler." denilmektedir.

Sui Shu'da ise şöyle söylenmektedir:

> Zhou Wu Di döneminde Qiuci (Kuça) asıllı Suzhi Po (苏祇婆) adında bir müzisyen Göktürk (Tujue) asıllı gelin adayı ile Çin'e gelmiştir. Bu kişi *Pipa (*琵琶*)* adındaki çalgıyı çok iyi çalabilen bir müzisyendir. *Pipa* çalarken yedi değişik ses (yedi nota) çıkarınca bunu nasıl yaptığını sordular. Şöyle yanıt verdi: Babam, Türkistan bölgesinde ün yapmış bir müzisyendir. Babadan oğula, nesilden nesile biz bu yedi notayı çok uzun zamandan beri iyi biliriz.

Bu dönemden itibaren Çinlilerin çok büyük ilgi gösterdikleri yedi nota sistemi, Çin müziği için bir dönüm noktası olmuştur. Yukarıda adı geçen müzisyen Suzhi Po'nun bazı kaynaklarda Kuça asıllı müzisyen Sucup Akari olduğu aktarılmaktadır (Hidayet Ekrem 116; Göher Vural 164-165).

Tang döneminin önemli generallerinden olan An Lushan (安禄山), Yingzhou'da yaşamıştır. Babası Semerkantlı, annesinin ise Türklerin (Tujue, 突厥) A Shi De (阿史德氏) soyundan geldiği aktarılmaktadır (Aktaş 172). An Lushan, asker olmasının yanı sıra *Hu* danslarını çok iyi bilen biri olarak anlatılmaktadır. Bunun yanı sıra imparator Tang Xuanzong'un gözde cariyelerinden olan Yang Guifei'in (杨贵妃) (asıl adı Yang Yuhuan'dır (杨玉环)) *Hu* danslarını çok iyi yapabilen bir dansçı olduğu bilgisi verilmektedir (Guan 44).

Tang döneminde halk arasında, azınlık etnik gruplara mensup birçok müzisyen bulunmaktadır. Bu konuyla ilgili Tang dönemi şairlerinden Libai (李白), Hu'ları Di Çalarken Dinlemek (观胡人吹笛) adlı şiirinin bir bölümünde şöyle söylemektedir:

> Hu'lar yeşim *di*'ler çalıyor, Yarısı Qin müziğinden.
> Ekimde Wu Dağında gün ağarıyor, erik çiçekleri Jinting'e[24] düşerken.

Aynı dönem şairlerinden Gao Shi (高适), Wang Qi[25] İle Yumen Guan'da *Di* Dinlemek (和王七玉门关听吹笛) adlı şiirinin bir bölümünde söyle söylemektedir:

> *Hu*'lar kulenin[26] önünde *di* çalarken
> Üst katta yalnızlık parlak ayda kaybolur.

Yine Tang dönemi şairlerinden Li He (李贺), Ejderha Gecesi Şarkısı (龙夜吟) şiirinin bir bölümünde Türkistan bölgesinde yer alan etnik gruplardan olan müzisyenler için şöyle söylemektedir:

> Kıvırcık saçlı *Hu* çocuklarının gözleri yeşil
> Yüksek katlardan sessiz geceye bambu sesleri yükselir.

Müziğin yanı sıra şiirlerinde yabancı kavimlerin danslarından bahseden şairler de vardır. Bunlardan bir tanesi olan Wen Tingjun (温庭筠), Soğuk Kuzey'de Chilei Şarkısı (敕勒歌塞北) adlı şiirinde söyle söylemektedir:

> Chilei'in[27] altın duvarı, Yinshan'da hanedanlığın yaşı yok.
> Çadırın dışında rüzgâr, kar, sarayın önünde ay ışığı parlar.
> Qiang çocukları yeşim taşından borular çalar,
> *Hu* kadınları çiçekli işlemeleriyle salınır.

Görüldüğü gibi; Türk kavimlerinin Çin müziğine etkisi sadece müzik ve dans üzerinde olmamış, edebiyat alanında da kendini göstermiştir. Tang Hanedanlığı Çin şiirine altın çağını yaşatan dönemdir. Dönemin en bilinen şairleri de Türklere ait müzikleri ve dansları konu alan eserler ortaya koymuşlardır. Bu durum müzik, edebiyat ve kültürel etkileşim alanındaki zenginliğin ve çeşitliliğin bir göstergesi olarak nitelendirilebilir.

Çıkar Çatışması Beyanı

Çalışma kapsamında yazarın herhangi bir kurum veya kişi ile çıkar çatışması bulunmamaktadır.

Açıklamalar

1 Li Kuralları: Toplumsal hayatı düzenleyen kuralları ve tören kurallarını ifade etmek için kullanılmaktadır.

2 Türkistan: Çin'in Batı Bölgesi (西域) olarak adlandırdığı bölgedir. Tang döneminde Hanedanlığın kuzey, batı ve kuzey batı bölgelerinde yer alan devlet ve kavimlerin topraklarını nitelemek için kullanılmıştır.

3 *Hu* (胡), Çin'in kuzey ve kuzeybatısında yaşayan göçebe kavimlere verilen genel bir isimdir. Han Hanedanlığı döneminde Hunlar ve Tibetliler için kullanılmıştır. Daha sonraki dönemlerde, Soğdlular, Türkler, Moğollar, Mançular ve Çin'in kuzeyinde ve kuzeybatısında bulunan halkları nitelemek için kullanılmıştır. Ayrıntılı bilgi için bk. (Kırilen).

 Çin'in kuzey ve kuzeybatısında yaşayan göçebe kavimlerden Çin müziğine geçmiş olan bazı müzik aletlerinin isimlerinde *Hu* kelimesi yer almaktadır. Bu durum enstrümanın kökeni hakkında araştırma yapılırken dikkat edilmesi gereken noktalardan biridir.

4 *Di* (笛): Nefesli müzik aletleri grubunda yer almaktadır. Yedi ses deliğinden oluşan, yatay tutularak çalınan bir müzik aletidir. Araştırmacı Bai Haiyan (104), bu gruba giren müzik aletlerinden bahsederken; "Dik tutularak çalınan bambu flüte *Xiao*, yatay tutularak çalınan bambu flüte *Di* adı verilmektedir." demektedir. Tang döneminde uzunlukları ve özellikleri farklı olan dört *di* çeşidi bulunmaktadır. Bunlardan biri yeşim taşından diğeri ise oyma taşlardan yapılmaktadır. Diğer iki grup *di* ise bambudan yapılmaktadır. Bu durum Tang döneminde *di* yapımında kullanılan malzemeler hakkında bilgi vermektedir. Bu dönemde *di*'nin ses renginde değişiklikler olmuştur. Tang döneminde bu müzik aletine bir zar ekleyerek sesinin değişmesini sağlayan ilk kişi Liu Xiying (刘系应)'dir. Bambu *di*'nin üfleme deliği ve parmak delikleri arasına bir zar deliği açmış, dilin içine bambu kamışın duvarına bir kat zar yerleştirmiştir. Böylelikle ses kalitesinin daha güçlü; sesin daha net ve anlaşılır, sanatsal açıdan daha zengin olmasını sağlamıştır. *Di*'yi batı tarzı yan flütten ayıran en belirgin özellik yapıştırılan bu zarın ses üzerindeki etkisidir (Bai 104). *Di*, farklı kaynaklarda ney, flüt, düdük olarak isimlendirilmektedir. Eberhard (69) *di*'nin Türkçe karşılığını *flüt* olarak belirtmektedir. Ancak müzik aletinin hangi özellikleri doğrultusunda bu benzetmenin yapıldığına dair bilgiye rastlanmamıştır.

5 *Pipa* (琵琶 *pipa*): Armut gövdeli, dik tutularak çalınan, *kopuz* benzeri bir müzik aletidir. Standart *Pipa* da dört tel bulunurken bazılarında tel sayısı beştir.

6 *Konghou* (箜篌): Telli bir müzik aletidir. Günümüzde Çin arpı da denilmektedir. Bilinen arp türünden farklı ses tablasına ve tel sayısına sahiptir. Arp'da teller yatay bir ses tablası üzerine dikey şekilde tek sıra halinde dizilirken; *Konghuo*'da teller, birbirine paralel iki sıra halinde dizilmektedir. Paralel teller arasına yerleştirilmiş armut biçiminde ahşap bir ses tablası bulunmaktadır.

7 *Xiao (箫)*: Dik tutularak çalınan bir çeşit üflemeli müzik aletidir. Uygurlar bu müzik aletini *burğa* olarak adlandırmaktadır. İlk ortaya çıktığı dönemlerde büyük baş hayvan ve keçiboynuzundan yapılmıştır, daha sonraki dönemlerde bakırdan yapılmaya başlanmıştır. 20-30 cm. uzunluğunda, parmak deliği olmayan bir müzik aletidir (Arslan ve Öger 14-15).

8 *Sheng (笙)*: Birçok tüpten oluşan nefesli bir müzik aletidir. Qin öncesi dönemde, *sheng* tüplerinin sayısı 12 veya 18'dir. Tang ve Song Hanedanlıkları döneminde *sheng* tüplerinin sayısı 17 veya 19'a yükseltilmiştir.

9 *Bo (钹)*: Kelime olarak zil anlamına gelmektedir. Genel olarak farklı boyutlarda ve bakır malzemeden yapılmaktadır. Yuvarlak şekildedir ve çift olarak çalınmaktadır. Sui döneminde oluşturulan Dokuz Müzik Türü içerisinde yer alan *Tianzhu* Müziğinde yaygın olarak kullanılan bir müzik aletidir. *Tianzhu* Müziğinin Dokuz Müzik Türü içerisine girmesiyle bu müzik aleti de Çin müziğinde yaygın olarak kullanılmaya başlanmıştır. Tang döneminde oluşturulan On Müzik Türünün yedisinde bu müzik aleti kullanılmaktadır.

10 734 yılında Bilge Kağan'ın ölümünün ardından II. Göktürk Kağanlığı zayıflamaya başlamıştır. Bu durumu fırsat bilen ve askerî gücü olan boylar isyan çıkarmıştır. Çıkan isyanlar sonucunda Basmıllar, Uygurlar ve Karluklar birleşerek II. Göktürk Kağanını öldürmüştür. Uygurlar ve Karluklar, Basmılların reisini yönetici olarak seçmiştir. Uygurlar doğu kanadı yabguluğu, Karluklar batı kanadı yabguluğu olarak belirlenmiştir. Bu üç boy, Tang Hanedanlığının desteğini alarak II. Göktürk Kağanlığını 744'te ortadan kaldırmıştır. Ayrıntılı bilgi için bk. (Ce Fu Yuan Gui; Taşağıl, *Çin Kaynaklarına Göre* 67-68).

11 İkileme, anlatım gücünü artırmak, anlamı pekiştirmek, kavramı zenginleştirmek amacıyla, aynı sözcüğün tekrar edilmesi veya anlamları birbirine yakın yahut karşıt olan ya da sesleri birbirini andıran iki sözcüğün yan yana kullanılmasıdır. İkileme Osmanlıcada "atf-ı tefsirî"; Fransızcada "redoublement, hendiadyoin"; İngilizcede "reduplication dual, hendiadyoin"; Almancada "Verdoppellung, Zwillingsformen, Hendiadyoin" terimleriyle karşılanır (Toprak 277).

12 Pentatonik ölçek, oktav başına beş nota bulunan müzikal bir ölçektir.

13 *Shuqin (竖琴)*: Arp müzik aletinin Çince karşılığıdır. Çin arpından farklı olarak tek sıra hâlinde dizilmiş kırktan fazla telden oluşmaktadır.

14 Gökenç Gülez (26), Tang Taizong'un birçok alanda yaptığı reformların yanı sıra, çoklu kültür etkileşimi ve din konusundaki hoşgörüsü ile de dikkat çektiğinden bahsetmektedir.

15 *Su Müziği (俗乐)*: Saray müziğinin dışında, halk arasında yaygın olan müzik türüdür. *Su* kelimesi "halka ait" anlamının yanı sıra "ayak takımı, zevksiz, kaba, basit" anlamına da gelmektedir.

16 Çin Davulu: metal bir gövdeye sahiptir. Türk davullarının aksine üst kısmında deri değil saç gibi ince metalden bir malzeme bulunmaktadır. Küçüklü büyüklü birçok boyutta Çin davulu bulunmakta ve sopa ile çalınmaktadır. Bu davullar aynı zamanda haberleşme görevi de görmektedir.

17 *Yan Müziği (燕乐)*, söylenişi aynı fakat Çince yazılışı farklı olan *Yan Müziği (宴乐)* şeklinde de kullanılmaktadır.

18 Kaiyuan (开元): Tang Xuanzong'un hükümdarlığının ilk yirmi sekiz yılına (713-741) verilen addır. Sonraki on dört yılına (742-756) Tianbao (天宝) adı verilmektedir.

19 *Nao (铙)*: Farklı boyutlardaki zillerin genel adıdır. Vurmalı müzik aletleri sınıfına girmektedir. Şekil olarak daha önce bahsettiğimiz *bo* adı verilen müzik aletine benzemektedir. *Bo*'dan farkı ortasındaki çıkıntının daha küçük olmasıdır. Farklı boyutlarda ve amaçlarda kullanılmaktadır. Müzik aleti olmasının yanı sıra haberleşme, ikaz ve savaş sırasında taktik verme amacıyla davullarla birlikte kullanılmıştır.

20 *Zhong (钟)*: Çan anlamına gelmektedir. Farklı boyutlardaki çanları nitelemek için kullanılmaktadır. Bakır ya da demir malzemeden yapılmaktadır. Bir yükseltiye asılarak sopa ile çalınmaktadır.

21 *Qing (磬)*: Kıvrımlı bir şekilde kesilmiş taş veya yeşim taşından yapılmış, sopa ile çalınan bir tür çan.

22 Bai Mingda (白明达), Sui imparatoru Sui Yangdi' nin yeni bir saray müziği tarzı ortaya çıkarması için görevlendirdiği bir müzisyendir. Kuça şehrinde doğduğu aktarılan müzisyenin adının Akari Manda olduğu söylenmektedir (Hidayet Ekrem 117).

23 İmparator Tang Taizong'un yönetiminin 627-649 yılları arasında geçen süreyi anlatmak için kullanılmaktadır.

24 Jingting Dağı (敬亭山): Günümüzde Xuancheng şehri sınırları içerisinde yer alan bir dağ adı.

25 Wang Qi (王七), Gao Shi ile aynı dönem şairlerinden olan Wang Zhihuan'ı (王之涣) ifade etmek için kullanılmıştır.

26 Şiirde geçen Shu Lou (戍楼) kelimesi, sınır bölgesinde yer alan muhafızların gözetleme kulesi veya garnizon binası anlamına gelmektedir.

27 Chilei, Dingling olarak da adlandırılan eski bir Türk kavmidir. Tarihî kaynaklarda Dingling olarak ifade edilmektedir ve yaygın kullanımıdır.

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Chinese Music of the Tang Dynasty And The Effects Of Turkish Music to Chinese Music*

Nuray Pamuk Öztürk**

Abstract

Tang Dynasty, was the main period of cultural and literary wealth in Chinese history. In this period, apart from the military struggles with the Turkish tribes, the reflections of Turkish culture on Chinese culture are also very evident. Music, which is one of them, constitutes the main subject of our study. Since the Turkish tribes cover a wide geographical area, the subject is limited to the musical cultures of the Gokturks, Uyghurs and Kyrgyzs, whose interaction is the most. First, we gave information about the musical cultures of these three Turkish tribes, then explained the Chinese music of the Tang period and focused on the influence of the Turkish tribes music on Chinese music. With the influence of Turkish music Chinese music entered a period in which new music systems were formed, many musicians were raised, renewed and enriched. In this period, Ten Musical Types, five of which belong to Turkish music culture, were created; many Turkish musicians became famous in the Tang dynasty; new music systems were taught at the Imperial Academy of Music and many of these musicians who learned the new music systems were assigned to the palace orchestra, new music types, musical instruments and dances were admired and spread among the Chinese people.

Keywords

Tang Dynasty, Gokturks, Uyghurs, Kyrgyzs, Turkish Music, Chinese Music, Cultural Interaction.

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Китайская музыка династии Тан и влияние тюркской культуры на китайскую музыку[*]

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Аннотация

Династия Тан была главным периодом культурного и литературного богатства в истории Китая. В этот период, помимо военной борьбы с тюркскими племенами, также очень очевидны отражения тюркской культуры в китайской культуре. Музыка, как один из элементов культуры, составляет основной предмет нашего изучения. Поскольку тюркские племена охватывают широкий географический ареал, тематика ограничивается музыкальными культурами гоктюрков, уйгуров и кыргызов, взаимодействие которых наиболее интенсивно. В начале нашего исследования дана информация о музыкальных культурах этих трех тюркских племен, вслед за этим описывается китайская музыкальная культура периода Тан и анализируется влияние музыки тюркских племен на китайскую музыку. Под влиянием тюркской музыки китайская музыка вступила в период, когда формировались новые музыкальные системы, многие музыканты воспитывались, обновлялись и обогащались. В этот период были созданы десять музыкальных типов, пять из которых принадлежат тюркской музыкальной культуре; многие тюркские музыканты прославились при династии Тан; новые музыкальные системы преподавались в Императорской музыкальной академии, и многие из этих музыкантов, изучивших новые музыкальные системы, были назначены в дворцовый оркестр, новые виды музыки, музыкальные инструменты и танцы вызывали восхищение и распространялись среди китайцев.

Ключевые слова

Династия Тан, гоктюрки, уйгуры, кыргызы, тюркская музыка, китайская музыка, культурное взаимодействие.

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Araştırma Makalesi / Research Article

Framing Perception: British Press Coverage of the 1896 Ottoman Bank Raid[*]

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Abstract

This study aimed to explore how British newspapers framed the Ottoman Bank Raid in 1896 and how they might have functioned in the political and social reconstruction of Ottoman Empire within the international sphere. A qualitative inductive framing analysis was carried out. The results of textual analysis revealed two main frames: (i) human interest: internal unrest and fracture within the Ottoman Empire and (ii) emphasis on unification: isolation policy within international relations. While the former frame mainly included disinformation regarding the number of Armenians killed or wounded, combined with constant use of negative metaphors for Ottoman Empire and Muslim population, the latter frame focused on national, international support and forceful intervention of Europe rather than diplomatic pressure.

Keywords

The Ottoman Bank Raid, Armenian Attack, British Press, Framing, Perception, Public Opinion.

Introduction

Framing political issues in news has always been a focus of research indicating the significance of media in molding public opinion. Throughout the 19th century, the press was the principal medium of news distribution and had a major impact on shaping public perceptions. It is obviously necessary to take into account the limitation of the concept of "public" in order to interpret the influence of the press on public opinion in a study conducted on a particular period of history. Inadequacy of civilian information and documents to define the distinction between civil and public obliged us to explain the press influence on "public opinion" through a historical fact in the current study. This study taking agenda setting role of media one-step further focused on framing to shape the interpretation of reality in the political realm. Based on framing theory, this research aims to investigate how British newspapers turned the Ottoman Bank Raid[1] into an international conflict through utilizing different frames since media portrayal of the incidents matters to set the public perception towards the political and social reconstruction of Ottoman Empire within the international sphere. Based on theoretical framework and historical background, this research seeks to answer one main question: What are the dominant frames emerged in British media coverage of the Ottoman Bank Raid?

Earlier studies such as that of scholars (Lewy; Georgeon; Uras; Çilesiz; Yavuz) focused on the impacts of Ottoman Bank Raid through drawing attention to the issue from a political perspective or discussing the raid in the Ottoman Armenian Press (Eraslan) but this research would be the first to explore framing of the raid by British print media. In addition, while previous research was mostly descriptive, this study aimed to discuss the framing of the issue based on the reconstruction of the Ottoman Empire and draw attention to the role of media on policy-making.

Theoretical Framework

Framing theory introduced by Goffman within a sociological perspective is a multidisciplinary paradigm has received scholarly attention in media studies over the assumption that news media coverage influences public opinion as many other key theories put forward in mass communication. The basic premise laying behind the concept of framing is that selecting and highlighting

certain aspects of an issue while excluding others, framing can shape public's interpretation of reality including the issues in the political realm. Framing refers to "a central organizing idea for making sense of relevant events and what is at issue" (Gamson 157). News, delivering a reconstruction of public perception of reality, is a window (Tuchman 1) through which some forms of perceived reality is selected and highlighted (Entman, "Framing" 52) and those frames "makes the world beyond direct experience look natural" (Gitlin 6) promoting a specific interpretation of reality for the target audience (Entman, "Framing Bias" 164). Lippmann draws attention to the fact that those pictures inside the heads of people are their public opinion (18). As people form opinions towards different issues of which they lack direct experience, they have to depend on not only mediated information but also analysis provided by mass media to shape public thinking on a variety of subjects including politics (Iyengar and Kinder 2).

The concept of framing is an extension of agenda-setting addressing a correlation between media coverage of particular issues and public agenda. Mass media gatekeeping involving selection of information to display has a significant role in shaping political reality. The amount of coverage and placement of issues inform the public about the importance of news stories (McCombs and Shaw 176). On the other hand, framing, taking the media coverage a step further, is based on the assumption that media influence public perception through providing interpretation frames to consider the issues from a particular point of view. While agenda setting refers to the amount of issue coverage, framing focuses on the production of meanings influencing attitude and behaviour defining public opinion. The process of news production process starts with gatekeeping addressing a selective power and continues with agenda setting in which gatekeepers decide how much salience to give news story. The third step referring to agenda extension indicates the decision to present the story (Kuypers 183-184). The location, repetition and association of information with cultural symbols are some strategies employed to make information in a media text more salient[2] (Entman, "Framing" 53). For Scheufele and Tewksbury (12), framing is both macro level and micro level construct. As a macro construct, framing addresses presentation of information by media professionals in a way that reduces the complexity of issues for their audience. This should not be considered as a deception strategy but rather

a necessary tool for information processing. Framing also describes how audience form impressions or judgements through mediated information. However considering agenda setting and gatekeeping power of media to shape public opinion, it is necessary to understand how political actors use the this selective power of media to frame public perception through intentional constructions. Therefore, research on framing in communication and political science takes a social constructivism approach and focuses on how frames of political elites influence public opinion and it often takes a negative connotation as elites can manipulate public attitude for their own interests (Chong and Druckman 109, 120) as framing has an important role "in the exertion of political power" (Entman, "Framing" 55) and thus is to be discussed within a political context.

Methodology

We carried out a qualitative inductive framing analysis in which frames emerged during research process. In order to identify the frames, we employed constant comparative technique for qualitative analysis consisting of 4 steps; "(i) comparative assignment of incidents into categories, (ii) elaboration and refinement of categories, (iii) searching for relationships and themes among categories, (iv) simplifying and integrating data into a coherent theoretical structure" (Wimmer and Dominick 120). Researchers read the articles several times and took notes to identify frames based on the steps and in order to explore how the incidents framed, they used textual analysis which allowed them to deeply explore what the frames represented in the broader political context. They took notes about the use of language (including figurative language and the tone to reveal ideology) and identified the frames through interpreting body texts of the articles as well as headlines as a headline is considered "the most salient cue to activate certain semantically related concepts in readers' minds" (Pan and Kosicki 59).

Sampling and Data Collection

The sample was assembled by using a newspaper archive database (British Newspaper Archive) to retrieve news articles between the dates of August 27 and Sept. 17, 1896 covering the Ottoman Bank Raid. By using key term "ottoman bank" in the initial advanced search, a total of 213 news items and 21 newspapers were retrieved in May, 2020. We only searched for articles

so excluded advertisements or family notices, which did not specifically refer to the event. Duplicate articles and one Welsh language newspaper were not included, either. We selected at least one article for each day from all newspapers. We also used another archive database (*The Times*) and retrieved news articles between the sampled days. The final sample included 22 newspapers.

Results

Human Interest: Internal unrest and fracture within the Ottoman Empire

The most common frame utilized by British newspapers was the human interest emphasizing "plight" of Armenians. This frame focused on the number of "victims" by the Armenian side and press censorship in the Ottoman Empire that would be used to justify disinformation flow by British newspapers. The main news sources of consisted of Consular reports and reports by English residents and "well-informed" inhabitants. Early coverage of the raid on August 27th and 28th included brief description of the event and the attack on the bank premises. It was predominantly focused on provocation by the Armenian side and seriousness of event ("Rioting in Constantinople", *The Times* 3; "Revolotionary Outbreak", *South Wales Echo* 3). For instance, Times dated August 28, highlighted the disorder in the city caused by Armenians citing, "Owing to the insensate proceedings of some few Armenians, many hundreds of lives have been sacrificed in Constantinople" ("The Rioting in Constantinople" 3). However, some were accusing the Ottoman Government to lay all the burden of other recent raids on Armenian shoulders ("The Riot", *The Aberdeen Journal* 4).

News stories of August 28 and following days were more descriptive giving the details of the entire incident. The articles covered the number of people killed or wounded people much on the following days and were dominated by violence-oriented reporting through sensationalizing the number of victims using a fear-driven language. The newspapers gave a wide coverage on Armenians' entrance to the bank, the raid, the events occurred in different parts of Istanbul following the raid and the arrangement to convey Armenians holding the bank on board Sir Edgar Vincent's Yacht to convey them from Turkish territory by The Powers. However, the tone of the coverage remarkably changed highlighting anarchy at Constantinople ("The

New Armenian", *Graphic* 8; "The Riots", *Liverpool Mercury* 5). For instance, some newspapers reported about a refuse cart of the Municipality piled with the corpses of Armenians porters and on the top, there was a dying man. Many killed had fractured skulls ("The Constantinople Horrors", *Lloyd's Weekly Newspaper* 1; "The Armenian Emeute", *South Wales Daily News* 5).

While they were reporting a difficulty in calculating the number of victims as many people were reported to be disappeared and many bodies were thrown to the sea, they were reporting quite different and rounding numbers in various articles although Turkish authorities denied the figures declaring that they were grossly exaggerated ("The Reign of Terror", *The Daily News* 5). For instance, newspapers of August 30th and 31st reported the number of victims to reach several thousands ("Massacre at Constantinople", *Reynolds's Newspaper* 8; "The Armenian Emeute", *South Wales Daily News* 5). On the following day the number would reach more than ten thousand ("Constantinople", *South Wales Daily News* 4). However, the newspapers dated Sept. 2 and 9 reported that 5000 people massacred last week ("Constantinople Riots", *The Bristol Mercury* 5; *The Derby Mercury* 4). It is important to note that British newspapers did not agree with the data offered by Turkish authorities. One newspaper reported Sublime - Porte to admit the number reached 2000 ("Armenian Horrors", *South Wales Daily News* 5). However, this number contradicted the official Ottoman reports on the victims. According to Turkish official circles, the number of Armenian victims is about eleven hundred and it is alleged that many Turks were killed and buried by mistake with the Armenians ("The Turkish Atrocities", *The Belfast Newsletter* 5). There was also a difference between the numbers reported by Embassies and official reports but also amongst the Western Powers. They failed to agree on the number of Armenians who were killed. According to reports of Embassies, the number of the people who were killed is between 5000 and 6000. Russian officials estimated the number of deaths at 6000 and it was the lowest estimate ("Armenian Horrors", *South Wales Daily News* 5; "Further Details", *The Glasgow Herald* 8). In order to combat international disinformation flow, Turkish official circles had to deliver telegrams to Reuters accusing British press. The Daily News gave a wide coverage to the report headlined as: 'The "blind rage" of the press'. The report was accusing some London writers of forgetting two facts which were the murders committed by the Armenians were crimes

which had indirect impacts on Europe especially England and origin of the organization as more than 438 killed or wounded Ottoman soldiers showed the strongest evidence of its deliberate implementation by the Armenians against the Imperial Government ("The Blind Rage", *The Daily News* 5).

Press censorship in the Ottoman Empire was among the most highlighted issues by the British newspapers at the time ("The Reign of Terror", *The Daily News* 5). Continuing the policy of expanding the sovereignty of the state in the 1890s, Abdul Hamid II strived to take the border and peripheral lands of the empire under tighter political control and this resulted in oppressive censorship policies during his reign (Georgeon 306). Poor information flow caused by censorship was mainly used to reinforce the plight occurring within the borders of the Empire. For instance on Sept. 1, a Wales-based newspaper, reported that until the letters arrived from English residents living in Istanbul, they would not learn the truth expected to give details of "murderous doings of the Sultan and his dehumanised butchers" as the telegrams that have been revised by Turkish censorship are untrustworthy. Turkish Government was accused of not telling the "fearful truth" ("Constantinople", *South Wales Daily News* 4).

The tone of the much coverage towards Turks is negative and accusatory and that accusation was reinforced with figurative language through the main use of metaphors as semiotic tools to create a direct comparison instead of similes. Direct metaphors were deemed to play a significant role to shape public attitude and behaviour towards issues as they highlight certain aspects. Throughout the news texts, we observed that metaphors were mainly used for the Empire, the Sultan and Muslim population. For instance, Istanbul was mainly depicted as a city "converted into a slaughter house" in which "dehumanised butchers" ("Constantinople", *South Wales Daily News* 4) who are "blood thirsty" Muslims (The Armenain Emeute", *South Wales Daily News* 5) were killing innocent Armenians who are described as "only righteous men in this modern Gomorrah" ("The Reign", *The Daily News* 5) and The Times would report on August 29, they were making the streets in the lower part of Galata wet with Armenian blood ("The Rioting in Constantinople", *The Times* 3). The newspapers heavily used "sick man" metaphor to address the Empire which was ruled by "an inhuman bigot" ("Constantinople", *South Wales Daily News* 5), "tiger in human form" ("The Constantinople Riot", *The*

Bristol Mercury 5), and "bloodthirsty despot" ("Constantinople Riots: 5000 People Massacred", *The Bristol Mercury* 5) whose "purpose is to exterminate the Armenians" ("The Riots in Constantinople", *The Times* 3). When there was an account accusing Armenians, it was reported to be discredited. For instance, upon the notification of an occurrence in which soldiers killed two Armenians, Tevfik Pasha, Minister of Foreign Affairs of the period, replied that the Armenians had threatened the soldiers with their revolver. However, according to the newspaper it was not probable because in the other account the soldiers tried to arrest Armenians without any apparent motive and when they *probably* resisted the attempt, Armenians were killed ("The Armenain Emeute", *South Wales Daily News* 5). The identification of what is being probable or not indicates opinionated reporting rather than factual one. The situation was highly polarized. The Turkish version put forth by the Ottoman government argued that their response was necessary to a terrorist attack carried out by Armenians. However, the British version maintained that the Armenians were the innocent victims by the Ottoman government.

Emphasis on Unification: Isolation Policy within International Relations

The other major frame focused on the unification of Great Powers in Europe against the Ottoman Empire. This policy would isolate the Empire in the world stage. For instance a newspaper of the Sept. 1st would mention growing hostility towards Turks in Germany (the country reported to be the last country to expect hostility ("Deeds of Fiendish Bestiality", *Cardiff Times* and *South Wales Weekly News* 5)) due to Austrian and Russian negotiations ("Constantinople", *South Wales Daily News* 4) and another newspaper referring dull anniversary of the Sultan Abdul Hamid II's accession in Paris highlighted French changing attitude towards Ottoman Empire citing that "it is a sign of the times that Frenchmen of position are becoming ashamed to be seen at Turkish functions" ("The Reign", *The Daily News* 5). For Abdul Hamid II, the most negative aspect of the crisis between 1894 and 1896, is his image. All his attempts to regain his and his regime's reputation was being destroyed . The Western public, horrified by the scale of the incidents, turned all their anger towards the sultan (Georgeon 355).

The textual analysis of the reports indicated the growing anxiety and stress on the lack of European diplomatic pressure. Stressing the rivalry between the

powerful countries, most newspapers argued that the reign of Abdul Hamid II and all the "massacres" are the result of the jealousies of the Christian Powers ("The Massacres", *The Daily News* 5; "London Correspondence", *The Freeman's Journal* 4; "Constantinople", *South Wales Daily News* 4; *The Leeds Mercury* 4). Christianity, which was the largest religion in Europe was portrayed as a unifying power and it is thus could be regarded as the emergence of religion as an early media framing instrument. "Turkey is secure in the European jealousy and suspicion of England causing extraordinary indifference to the sufferings of the Armenians and this has disgraced Christian Europe." ("Lost Armenia", *The Freeman's Journal* 4) The sympathy for the Armenians gained a religious dimension and European Christianity was united against the Sultan. British press was demanding action.

British newspapers, covering dozens of news on the raid until August 31st, started to include correspondents' reports on conspiracy theories about the origin of the raid onwards. The newspapers included accounts to prove that The Turkish Government carried out an attack to justify a general massacre on Armenians and a newspaper on 3 September, reported that the acoounts were based on "well-informed inhabitants" rather than official sources viewed as untrustworthy by British newspapers ("The Situation in Constantinople", *The Belfast News-Letter* 7). The article in an Irish nationalist newspaper started asking whether the anarchy at Constantinople was the beginning of the end with the Turk in Europe or it was only another intentionally organized plot for the extermination of the Armenians and argued that it was a put up job. The article's evidence was the escape of chief performers and the passivity of the troops. ("London Correspondence", *The Freeman's Journal* 4) *The Bristol Mercury* indicated Turks organizing the attack on the bank as it provided justification for onslaught on Armenians. Everybody knew the conditions one faced when one rebelled and Constantinople is about the last city where Christian people chose to rebel. However, those agents were allowed to leave the country ("The Presidential Campaign", *The Bristol Mercury* 5). In similar vein, another newspaper article on September 3, based on the accounts supplied by eye-witnesses as they were more valuable "for the better guidance of public opinion of Europe with regard to the supreme question of what to do with the Turk..", argued that the attack was planned and carried out not by Armenians but by the Turkish Government as an excuse for the massacre so the Government permitted the massacre of

five thousand innocent and defenceless people ("Occasional Notes", *Pall Mall Gazette* 2). The attack on the bank was reported to be executed by the Palace mainly argued to be "well earned, just as any other Armenian attack on the Turkish authorities has been well earned" ("Constantinople Riots", *The Bristol Mercury* 5).

British newspapers also gave much coverage on collective note sent to the Sublime-Porte by representatives of European Powers stressing the organised character of the mob and demanding an inquiry to punish the guilty parties. ("The Situation in Constantinople", *The Times* 3; "Crisis", *The Leeds Mercury* 5; "The Turkish Atrocities", *The Belfast Newsletter* 5; "The Reign of Terror", *The Daily News* 5; "The Note", *Lloyd's Weekly Newspaper* 1) In proof of their contention as to the organised attack on the Armenians, the Powers pointed to the fact that bands of fanatics appeared simultaneously at different parts of the city and that they were led by Softas, soldiers and police officers ("The Armenian Atrocities", *The Freeman's Journal* 5) One newspaper mocked with Sultan's imaginary reply: "Of course he will swear upon the Koran and by the Prophet that he knew nothing of the outbreak, and could not prevent it." ("Constantinople", *South Wales Daily News* 4) Besides, the collective note and rejecting to illuminate the Embassies on the anniversary of Sultan's accession would be regarded as little courage shown by Ambassadors ("At Home", *The Hampshire Telegram* 4) but British newspapers mostly stressed going beyond diplomatic pressure.[3] The Sultan has sent a reply the communication of the Powers and the Sultan gives a denial to their charges. His reply was regarded as a defiance of Europe. ("The Turkish Atrocities", *The Belfast Newsletter* 5; "From Week", *Newcastle Courant* 4). The Sultan was reported to show his contempt for the Powers, "the ruler of the rottenest Empire in the world flouts the mighty Powers of Europe treating their representatives as men whose word is not to be believed." (*The Leeds Mercury* 5). The report also drew a comparison between the plan of Armenians and The Fenian Rising of 1867 against British Rule in Ireland. However, they were not assisted unlike Armenian Revolutionary Committee with the direct and indirect support of international politics. It was a protest against the European interference in Ottoman affairs. European powers used the Armenian problem as an ostensible reason in order to weaken the Empire. (Lewy 14) While this document was reported to be "a defiance and insult" and a statement to increase rage in Great

Britain against Türkiye, it was also observed that some newspapers included the coverage of European Press blaming England for the unrest to weaken the opponent of her interests in Asia and concluded that Lord Salisbury had to choose acting alone or not acting, although it was obvious that he would prefer the latter alternative (Lost Armenia, *The Freeman's Journal* 4). Furthermore, another newspaper blamed the Sultan and his ministers for attributing the whole unrest to English intrigue through circulating that the bombs were provided by England to the Armenians ("The Turkish Atrocities", *The Belfast Newsletter* 5).

The newspapers also gave much coverage on the fear of European residents, claims from British residents whose property had been destroyed during the incidents and assurance of their safety calling for the intervention of Europe ("The Armenain Emeute", *South Wales Daily News* 5). However, it should have been beyond diplomatic pressure. The need for immediate and direct force was mainly emphasized ("Armenian Horrors", *South Wales Daily News* 4) although the Powers remained passive. That media perspective from which the attitude of European Powers towards the issue was told could be regarded as an effort leading them to act together. The passive treatment of Eastern questions by European countries was indicated to be the reason of events ("The Constantinople Massacres", *The Ipswich Journal* 2). The only solution would be the deposition of Abdul Hamid II ("The Presidential Campaign", *The Bristol Mercury* 5) which was "under the serious consideration of the Powers" (*The Leeds Mercury* 4; "The Crisis", *The Derby Mercury* 3) and a newspaper on September 1 cited "the days of the Ottoman Empire are numbered" ("The Situation in Constantinople", *The Belfast News-Letter* 7). Any delay might prevent the European unity and could allow Abdul Hamid II to escape punishment ("Armenian Massacres", *South Wales Echo* 3). The European press everywhere blamed Abdul Hamid II for the massacres "an autocratic ruler known for giving minute attention to the internal affairs of his empire." (Lewy 30).

Employing religion in their arguments for both national and international support ("Constantinople Riots", *The Bristol Mercury* 5), a newspaper of Sept. 15 reported that British people were ready for a war.

> "The Constantinople myth is dead and buried. The integrity of the Ottoman Empire-that miserable figment of cowardly imagination which has cost so much blood and treasure- no longer deceives anyone in this country at least. Let any civilised Power in Europe partition Turkey as it pleases…" ("Why Cry Peace", *The Northern Echo* 3).

Another newspaper highlighted the need for national protests to direct public opinion citing, "Public opinion in this county is powerful enough to demand the sacrifice of Abdul Hamid II as the first step towards the reform- or the partition- of the Ottoman Empire." (*The Glasgow Herald* 4).

Although Armenian efforts got international support as they achieved to create crisis and demonstrated to "arm chair politicans" and so Eastern question was reported to be a sign of hope, ("The Assassin Ruler", *Reynolds's Newspaper* 4) for some newspapers it causes almost total failure. A newspaper on August 27 reported that they seemed more in keeping with Bashi-Bazouks rather than Armenians. "If the rebels had gone for the Yıldız and given the Sultan an unceremonious fusillade, we might have called them patriots. But an attack on a bank-more particularly the Ottoman Bank- is nothing more or less than a brigandage." ("Occasional Notes", *Pall Mall Gazette* 2). Nine years later, The Dashnak-Armenian Revolutionary Federation would make a failed attempt[4] to assassinate the Sultan ("The Attempt", *Pall Mall Gazette* 2).

Conclusion

The construction of news frames and its impact on audience as way of forming public perception has been a focus of research in communication studies since media portrayal of issues influences the distribution of public opinion and policy decisions. This study is an attempt to assess the image of Ottoman Empire in international relations adopted a qualitative news frame analysis of the Ottoman Bank Raid in British newspapers under study. It is thus the research aimed to reveal how the facts were reported through different frames rather than finding out *truth*. The study has some limitations. We have not taken the impact of ideological stances of newspapers into account as this would extend the scope of the research. In addition, we used a database to reach news articles in a limited time span. The results led to several conclusions.

The textual analysis of news items revealed two main frames. Human interest frame focusing internal unrest and fracture within the Ottoman Empire included sub-frames of disinformation regarding the number of Armenians killed or wounded as well as press censorship in the Ottoman Empire. The second frame that emphasized unification of European Powers indicated an isolation policy within international relations. Furthermore, the incident involved many countries so the research provided an assessment of how media could construct a sphere for political debate. The raid would be discussed within ethnic and cultural diversities so the distinction between Muslim and non-Muslim populations would turn into a Turkish Armenian question establishing a direct interest with the Sultanate. Therefore, the attention of European Powers would be drew on the Empire. The discussion by British newspapers on unification of the Powers through the use of religion for both national and international support, deposition of the Sultan as well as forceful intervention of Europe rather than diplomatic pressure demonstrated how media could set the public perception towards the political and social reconstruction of Ottoman Empire within the international sphere. Third, the tone of the coverage of newspapers towards Turks was highly accusatory. It was reinforced with constant use of negative metaphors to describe the Empire, the Sultan and Muslim population. Those were considered as important to shape perception towards Turks as they highlighted certain aspects. In conclusion, we have presented in this paper the dominant frames emerged in British media coverage of Ottoman Bank Raid and highlighted the contribution of media to construction of perception to support certain interpretations of the Empire.

Contribution Rate Statement

The authors' contribution rates in this study are equal.

Conflict of Interest Statement

There is no conflict of interest with any institution or person within the scope of this study. There is no conflict of interest between the authors.

Notes

1 Armenians living in the Ottoman Empire were encouraged by the successes of oppressed nationalities such as Greeks and Bulgarians and different secret Armenian societies began to organize armed struggle during the early 1880s (Lewy 16-17). In 1896, a group of Armenian Dashnak members, attacked and seized the Ottoman Bank in İstanbul, the capital of the Ottoman Empire and threatened to explode the bank if their demands for reforms in Armenia were not met (Lewy 28; Georgeon 346). Since they attempted to raise awareness by European powers whose intervention was considered necessary due to the weakness of the Armenia side, they attacked the Ottoman Bank which was in partnership with *French* and *British* financiers at the time (Georgeon 272). For further historical background information see Esat Uras, *Tarihte Ermeniler ve Ermeni Meselesi.* 1976, Belge Yayınları; Guenter Lewy, *The Armenian Massacres in Ottoman Turkey: A Disputed Genoside.* 2005, The University of Utan Press; François Georgeon, *Sultan Abdülhamid*, Translated by: Ali Berktay. 2006, Homer Kitabevi. For information on Armenian revolutionary committees see Chapter 1 in Edward J. Erickson, *Osmanlılar ve Ermeniler: Bir İsyanın ve Karşı Harekatın Tarihi*, Translated by: İbrahim Türkmen. 2015, Timaş Yayınları. Also for more information about the coverage of the raid in the foreign media see Fikrettin Yavuz, *Osmanlı Devleti Dış Politikasında Ermeni Sorunu: 1896 Osmanlı Bankası Baskını Örneği.* 2009, Sakarya U., PhD dissertation, pp: 207-259.

2 Entman defines salience as "making a piece of information more noticeable, meaningful, or memorable to audiences" ("Framing" 53).

3 For information on the transformation of public symbols related to sultanate, see Selim Deringil. *İktidarın Sembolleri ve İdeoloji II. Abdülhamit Dönemi* (1876-1909). (G.Ç. Güven, Trans.), Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 2002, pp. 35-56.

4 The assassination attempts carried out by the Armenians against the Turkish statesmen were first started with the attempt against Sultan Abdul Hamid II. In 1905, a failed assassination attempt took place at Yıldız Mosque. They parked a carriage containing explosives to be exploded when Sultan Abdul Hamid II would leave the mosque. However, the Sultan arrived later than planned and the bomb exploded in the middle of the crowd, killing 26 people. The Great Powers also played a role in the assassination attempts against Abdul Hamid II as his reign prevented the collapse of the Ottoman Empire and the Great Powers from achieving their goals in the Ottoman geography. The murder of Abdul Hamid II would have allowed both the Armenians and the Powers to achieve their goals. (Karakoç 107-117)

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Algının Çerçevelenmesi: İngiliz Basınında 1896 Osmanlı Bankası Baskını[*]

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Öz

Bu çalışma, İngiliz gazetelerinin 1896 yılındaki Osmanlı Bankası Baskınını nasıl çerçevelediğini ve Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun uluslararası alandaki siyasi ve sosyal yeniden inşasında bu çerçevelerin rolünü incelemeyi amaçlamıştır. Nitel bir tümevarımsal çerçeveleme analizi gerçekleştirilmiştir. Metin analizinin sonuçları iki ana çerçeve ortaya çıkarmıştır: (i) insani ilgi: Osmanlı İmparatorluğu içinde iç çekişme ve bölünme ile (ii) birleşme vurgusu: uluslararası ilişkilerde izolasyon politikası. Birinci çerçeve, Osmanlı İmparatorluğu ve Müslüman nüfusa yönelik olumsuz metaforların kullanılmasıyla birlikte, öldürülen veya yaralanan Ermenilerin sayısına ilişkin dezenformasyonu içerirken, ikinci çerçeve, diplomatik baskıdan ziyade Avrupa'nın ulusal, uluslararası desteğine ve güçlü müdahalesine vurgu yapmaktadır.

Anahtar Kelimeler

Osmanlı Bankası Baskını, Ermeni Saldırısı, İngiliz Basını, Çerçeveleme, Algı, Kamuoyu.

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Формирование восприятия: освещение в британской прессе рейда на османский банк в 1896 г. [*]

Левент Урер [**]
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Аннотация

Это исследование было направлено на изучение того, как британские газеты преподнесли захват Османского банка в 1896 году, и какую роль этот фрейминг сыграл в политической и социальной реконструкции Османской империи в международной сфере. Был проведен качественный индуктивный анализ фрейминга. Результаты текстового анализа выявили два основных фрейма: (i) человеческий интерес: внутренние беспорядки и раскол в Османской империи и (ii) акцент на объединении: политика изоляции в международных отношениях. В то время как первый фрейм в основном включал дезинформацию о количестве убитых или раненых армян в сочетании с постоянным использованием негативных метафор в отношении Османской империи и мусульманского населения, последний фрейм был сосредоточен на национальной, международной поддержке и силовом вмешательстве Европы, а не на дипломатическом давлении.

Ключевые слова

Захват Османского банка, нападение армян, британская пресса, фрейминг, восприятие, общественное мнение.

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Araştırma Makalesi / Research Article

Türkiye's Diaspora Engagement Policy: Change in Perspective Since 2010*

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Abstract

This paper focuses on the diaspora engagement policy of Türkiye, which affects the lives of more than 6.5 million Turkish citizens and their descendants. The main research question raised in this paper is "What has changed in the Turkish diaspora engagement policy since 2010 with the establishment of the Presidency for Turks Abroad and Related Communities (YTB)?" Following an analysis of the diaspora engagement policy of Türkiye in the socio-economic, political-legal and socio-cultural spheres, it is concluded that since 2010, in order to maintain a connection with the transnational diaspora, long-distance nationalism has emerged as a prominent factor. The novelty of the policy lies in its redefinition of the target groups, the features of the diaspora, and the policy goals, actors, tools and stakeholders. Türkiye has begun to target the reintegration of post-migrant generations with Türkiye in the socio-cultural sphere through new policy tools, and the long-distance nationalist perspective of its diaspora engagement policy has thus led to the transformation of Türkiye into a "transnational nation-state".

Keywords

Turkish diaspora, Diaspora engagement policy, long-distance nationalism, transnationalism, Türkiye, International migration.

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Introduction

With the growing interest in international migration, a considerable shift has been seen toward studies of citizenship, immigrant integration and immigrant networks from the perspective of the host country. The consequences of international migration started to be discussed from the perspective of the countries of origin in the 1990s, leading to a rise in the attention paid to diaspora engagement policies by academia, as well as scholarly interest in the institutions and policies established in the countries of origin aimed at accessing their migrant populations.

As Mügge (23) argues, migrant transnationalism and homeland involvement are both dynamic concepts. The policy responses of homelands aim primarily to capture the dynamic nature of their diaspora and fulfill their needs and expectations while pursuing their own policy agenda. In this regard, in diaspora engagement policies, the perspective of "transnationalism from above" is generally preferred, and among the varied policy tools, a prioritization of the target groups within the diaspora has become evident.

In the present study, the engagement policy of Türkiye towards its emigrant diaspora (Turks abroad – Yurtdışı Türkler) will be investigated, with particular focus on the perspective of the YTB – the government institution overseeing issues related to the diaspora of the Republic of Türkiye. The study will investigate the change in the perspective of the Turkish diaspora engagement policy since 2010, when the YTB was established, based on such open sources as legislation, policy documents, reports, plans, publications, the YTB website, development plans, government programs and the 2019 annual plan of the Presidential Office.

In order to avoid anachronistic misunderstandings, it is important to note that even before accepting the diaspora concept, the Republic of Türkiye had maintained a diaspora policy since its establishment (Aksel 205-208).[1] Turks abroad were considered separate from "External Turks", as while the former refers to emigrants and their descendants, the latter are "co-ethnics" – being the kin and relative communities. The scope of this study is limited to Turks abroad, being the emigrant-origin diaspora of Türkiye.

Turks living abroad first entered the policy agenda with the migration of labor from Türkiye, mainly to Europe, as a result of labor recruitment

agreements struck in the 1960s. Family reunifications were the main drivers of migration between the 1970s and 1980s, while the Turkish diaspora started to become more heterogenous with the departure of ethnic and religious minorities and leftist groups with appeals for asylum during the 1980s and 1990s. Different institutions were given responsibility for Turkish emigrants following the onset of labor migrations from Türkiye in the 1960s, including the Ministry of Labor and Social Security - Foreign Relations and Abroad Worker Services General Directorate, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Directorate of Religious Affairs (Bilgili and Siegel 281-283).

The initial policies identified the target groups as workers abroad and overseas workers at the outset. With the realization of the permanency of Turkish workers with emigrations from Türkiye for family reunification during the 1970s and 1980s, the target group started to be defined in policies as "expatriates *(gurbetçi)"* between the 1980s and 1990s, and as "citizens living/working abroad" starting from the 1980s.

Türkiye refrained from referring to the diaspora concept, declining to use the term either for the kin or its citizens not only in its institutional frameworks, but also in policy documents and related discourse (Yaldız 62). This could be attributed to the negative connotations of the term in Turkish, given its common usage to refer to such ethnic and religious groups as Armenians, Greek and Jews in the Ottoman era whose members left the Ottoman territories for Europe and the United States (Tölölyan 4; Köşer-Akçapar and Bayraktar-Aksel 135-136). Furthermore, the political engagement of the Armenian diaspora related to the allegations of genocide against Türkiye have also contributed to the negative perceptions on the concept in Türkiye.

The term diaspora started to be used to refer to Turkish emigrants and their descendants following the establishment of the YTB and introduction of institutionalized policies. The term first appeared in an official document under the title of "Our Citizens Living Abroad and Related Communities" in the 64th Governmental Plan of the Prime Ministry of Türkiye (154-155), although no explanation was provided. The YTB, as the body in Türkiye with responsibility for the diaspora, used the term "diaspora" first in its 2017 Annual Activity Report. Then in 2019, the Strategic Plan of the YTB

became the first document to provide a definition of the Turkish diaspora, using the term to refer not only to Turkish citizens abroad, but also kin and related communities with a historical perspective, and international students receiving education in Türkiye under Turkish scholarships with the proximity perspective.

There is an emerging body of literature on the Turkish diaspora(s) and the related engagement policies that defines the diaspora either in a broad sense by including kin and related communities (Yaldız; for details see Öktem 12), or in a narrow sense, referring only to Turkish emigrants (Şahin-Mençütek and Baser 2018; Adamson 2019; Aydın, *The New* 2014). In the present article, the narrower understanding of the term is embraced that defines Turkish emigrants and their descendants living abroad (Turks abroad)[2] as the Turkish diaspora.

The body of existing literature on Türkiye's engagement with its diaspora is focused mainly on the chronology of its policies in this area, and beginning of 2000s is generally underlined as the beginning of the reorientation of Turkish foreign policy with the entry into power of the AKP (Justice and Development Party) government following the 2002 general elections (Aydın and Ostergaard-Nielsen 403). Among the previous studies, there have been those that interpret the engagement with the diaspora as foreign policy tool (Köşer-Akçapar and Bayraktar-Aksel 138; İçduygu and Bayraktar-Aksel 183; Adamson 224; Ünver 188; Aydın, Turkish Diaspora Policy 175), while others highlight the institutional structure and the policies of different stakeholders. The present study marks 2010, as the year of the establishment of the YTB under the Prime Ministry of the Republic of Türkiye, as a turning point. Although Türkiye ceased referring to Turks abroad as the emigrant community, referring to them rather as the transnational community at the beginning of 2000s, it intervened in this transformation in 2010 through the institutionalization of the diaspora engagement policy and the adoption of a long-distance nationalist perspective.

This article is presented in two main parts. The first part presents the conceptual and theoretical framework of the study, while the second part presents an analysis of the shift in the diaspora engagement policies of Türkiye in three distinct areas: political-legal, socio-economic and socio-cultural.

Diaspora Engagement: Transnationalism and Long-Distance Nationalism

Although there is a lack of consensus on the definition of the diaspora concept, diaspora engagement policies refer mainly to those governing the relationships of diasporas residing outside of their home country of origin with their homeland. In this context, while trying to understand diaspora-related issues, there are two concerns: (1) The relationship between the diaspora and the nation-state, and (2) the new form of nationalism in both the diaspora and the home country perspective (Braziel and Mannur 7). While the former concern relates to transnationalism, the latter focuses mainly on long-distance nationalism. Prior to opening a discussion on transnationalism and long-distance nationalism, the diaspora concept is discussed in the following section.

Old Definition to New Phenomenon: Emigrant Diaspora

The term "diaspora" means, etymologically, "scattering the seeds" and refers historically to those who were ejected involuntarily from their homeland (Anthias 560). For a long time, the term was used in reference to those exiled from their homelands and dispersed across many lands, and was associated with oppression and moral degradation, with references made to the Greek, Jewish and Armenian groups. As Safran highlights, literature on immigrant ethnic communities paid "little if any attention ... to diasporas" (83), just as studies of nationalism and ethnonationalism declined to discuss the concept. Since then, however, diaspora studies within the context of immigrant communities have gradually attracted the attention of the academy (Brubaker 1; Sheffer 16-17; Cohen 17-18).

Sheffer (16) posed an important question, inquiring "why and when migrants form a diaspora or join an already existing one" to highlight the features of diaspora, while other studies have identified four characteristics of the recent understanding of the concept: (1) the voluntary or involuntary dispersion of a group of people to more than one location, (2) sharing myths about their homeland, (3), having a commitment to their homeland and (4) sharing a group identity and a sense of belonging (Faist, *Diaspora and Transnationalism* 11; Gamlen 6). Safran (83–4) added two more characteristics to this diaspora concept when referring to immigrant communities, being the preservation of a return perspective, and feelings

of alienation and exclusion based on the belief that they have not been fully accepted by the host society. The International Organization for Migration (IOM 304) has underlined the importance of maintaining links with one's homelands and with each other based on the shared sense of history, identity or mutual experiences in the destination country in the formation of a diaspora. After conducting an analysis of the most common definitions and features of the diaspora in academic literature, Grossman proposed a decontested definition of the concept: "a transnational community whose members (or their ancestors) emigrated or were dispersed from their original homeland but remain oriented to it, and that preserve a group identity" (1267). In the rest of this article, Grossman's definition of the diaspora concept is employed, with the main features of diaspora being considered as their sharing of myths about their homeland, their commitment to their homeland and the preservation of their group identity.

Transnationalism from Above: Policies across Borders

Within the context of diaspora studies, the terms "diaspora" and "transnational communities" are often used interchangeably, leading to some confusion. Despite the fact that all diaspora communities have a transnational character, not all transnational populations are considered diaspora (Faist, *Diaspora and Transnationalism* 21).

The technological advances in communication and transportation and the increasing impact of globalization that arose with the end of Cold War eased the interactions between communities residing in different countries. The subsequent new realities resulted in the rise of transnationalism and different uses of the term, one of which related to interactions with the diaspora (Vertovec 449-450). This new situation led to the introduction of a transnational perspective in studies of both migration and the diaspora in which the aim was to understand the multi-located immigrants who had established multi-stranded social groups beyond the borders of their nation-states and societies of origin and residence (Levitt and Glick Schiller 1006; Portes et al. 219; Faist, *The Volume* 207-209; Basch et al. 8).

While studies of "transnationalism from below" primarily take the form of micro level analyses and studies of immigrants, families and immigrant communities, the "transnationalism from above" perspective takes macro

level analyses of nation-states and international organizations as the unit of analysis (Smith and Guarnizo 25-9). Despite taking all five actors (the immigrant group, and the states and societies of the countries of origin and residence) as the subjects of research into transnationalism, it is the country of origin and "transnationalism from above" that are the main focus of the present study.

In summary, since the 1990s, the policy goals ensuring the Turkish diaspora's ties with Türkiye, their sense of belonging, and their integration into the civil and political life of the countries in which they reside are transnational in nature. The atmosphere in their countries of residence (in terms of xenophobia, racism, discrimination) since the 1990s has motivated the Turkish diaspora to strengthen their transnational activities and identities. Although Türkiye has recognized the transnational ways of being and living of Turks abroad since the 2000s, it wasn't until 2010 that a new policy perspective was introduced to respond their newly emerging needs, and can be considered a result of the long-distance nationalist shift in diaspora policies. This new perspective is discussed in the following section.

Nationalism without Borders: Long-Distance Nationalism

In referring to long-distance nationalism at the beginning of 1990s, Benedict Anderson brought a new understanding to the concept of nationalism that was not territorially bounded. "The concept of a territorial homeland governed by a state that represents the nation" is important for long-distance nationalism and is similar to the classical understanding of nationalism (Glick Schiller and Fouron 20). Long-distance nationalism broadens the understanding of one's membership of a nation across borders, providing a link between people who live in various locations under different states who share a common identification with a territorial homeland and government. In line with long-distance nationalist perspective, the Turkish diaspora is considered within the context of the Turkish nation, and in this way, the national policies of Türkiye or national understandings are able to extend beyond the Turkish territory.

Both long-distance nationalism and diaspora refer to a sense of collective belonging and identification. While the former associates this sense with a nation-state, the later relates it to other forms of cross-border memberships

(Glick Schiller and Fouron 23). This article adopts the long-distance nationalist perspective in its definition of diaspora. In this way, other transborder linkages that are based on religion and shared history and proximity through transnational activities such as education networks are excluded from the scope of the study. Furthermore, the negative connotations of both diaspora and long-distance nationalism are not covered under this research, since the main aim is to discuss Türkiye's policies related to its engagement with its diaspora.

Long-distance nationalism has two aspects: sentimental and practical. While the sentimental side is related with feelings, the practical side covers the involvement of migrants and their descendants in the political, economic, legal, social and cultural life of their home country. First, in the context of the sentimental aspect, the diaspora engagement policies of Türkiye aim to foster feelings of belonging to Türkiye as a home country, and the Turkish community as a nation in which the Turkish culture forms the basis of its identity. The policies make use of the culturally loaded understanding of citizenship in this sense.

Second, participation in elections in Türkiye, organizing demonstrations related to national issues (Armenian allegations), sending remittances to Türkiye, making investments in their hometowns, participating in social and cultural activities, undergoing education in Türkiye, fulfilling one's military service obligation, and joining mother-tongue courses for the post-migrant generations are some of the expectations of the Turkish diaspora with a long-distance nationalist perspective.

This perspective led to the formation of a "transnational nation-state", according to which "both the nation and the authority of the government it represents extend beyond the state's territorial boundaries and incorporate dispersed populations" (Glick Schiller and Fouron 20-1), and brings responsibilities to Türkiye beyond its borders. The Turkish government makes the claim that it represents Turkish citizens abroad, extending the scope of its provided services to those residing in other nations, leading to both the government and nation taking on a transnational character. Although the transnational character of Türkiye's policies towards its diaspora started to be established in the 1990s, it was through the establishment of the YTB in 2010 that it gained a long-distance nationalist perspective. The

policy goal of reintegrating post-migrant generations into Türkiye and the Turkish nation, mainly in the socio-cultural sphere, is a clear reflection of this perspective.

Diaspora Engagement Policy of Türkiye: The Recreation of a Nation across Borders

There is an emerging body of literature with focus on the diaspora engagement policies. Ragazzi (77-8) put forward an approach for the comparative analysis of diaspora policies that involved the definition of active and supplementary variables. In his classification of state typologies, Ragazzi employs active variables under the headings of state and bureaucratic control and policies, distinguishing between those that are: (1) symbolic, (2) religious and cultural, (3) social and economic and (4) related to citizenship. He assesses the relationship between four state typologies (expatriate, closed, global-nation and managed labor) and explanatory models with supplementary variables under three hypotheses, being structural-instrumental, ethnic affiliation and political-economic. Köşer-Akçapar and Bayraktar-Aksel (141-52) discuss the diaspora engagement policies of Türkiye and state-led transnationalism from four perspectives, being institutional, ideological, political and relational. In their comparison of diaspora policies, Pedroza and Palop Garcia (168-70), on the other hand, propose the use of an Emigrant Policies Index (EMIX) that incorporates policy and administration components. While the focus of the administration component is only the institutional setting at home and abroad, the policy component has 10 subcomponents, referring to the policies related to citizenship, suffrage, political competition, institutional participation, economy, obligations, culture, exit and transit, social affairs and symbolic aspects.[3] Scholars have also focused on the motivation of states in their engagement with their diasporas. Delano and Gamlen (44-6) in this regard explain the policies under the titles of tapping (utilitarian- and development-based), embracing (identity-based) and governing (international cooperation-based), while in Arkılıç's analysis of the diaspora policies of Türkiye, the explanatory factors are discussed at three levels, being domestic, transnational and international (7-14).

Immigrant integration literature tends to draw upon the sphere/dimension approach when assessing the integration of immigrants into their country

of residence (Lacroix 12; Entzinger and Biezeveld 10-30; Heckmann 15-8), with emphasis particularly on the socio-economic, political-legal and socio-cultural aspects of immigrant integration. The present study adopts the sphere approach that puts forward in immigrant integration literature for the assessment of Türkiye's diaspora engagement policies. This is a conscious preference, based on the similarities between Türkiye's diaspora engagement policies[4] and the immigrant integration perspective of European countries. This sphere approach also allows reflection on the long-distance nationalist shift in Türkiye's diaspora engagement policies since 2010 aimed at associating the Turkish diaspora – and more specifically, the post-migrant generations – with Türkiye and the Turkish nation. To highlight the novelty of the diaspora engagement policy perspective, the applied policies are analyzed chronologically, starting with the mass labor migration from Türkiye in the 1960s, in the socio-economic, political-legal and socio-cultural spheres.

Socio-Economic Sphere: Shift from an Expectation- to a Responsibility-Based Perspective

In the 1960s and the early 1970s, labor migration was employed as a policy tool to reduce unemployment and to increase the influx of foreign currency through remittances. This contributed also to the industrialization of Türkiye by reducing the deficit in the balance of the payments and easing the lack of foreign currency (Sayari 92). Remittance inflows accounted for 109 percent of the foreign trade deficit in the balance of payment in 1972, and 154 percent in 1973, and an avarage of 30 percent a year between 1974 and 1978 (Artukoğlu 22). Despite the later increase in the the role of remmitance inflows in the balance of payments, it has never returned to the 1972 levels.

A shift in the governmental perspective of remittances can be noted that started in 2004, when the expenditures made by Turkish citizens residing abroad during their stays in Türkiye started to be classified as "tourism revenue" rather than "labor revenue" (Artukoğlu 25). Tourism revenues are divided into two separate categories, being those from foreign sources and those of Turkish citizens residing abroad.[5] In this regard, remittances have lost their significance for the Turkish economy over time.

In the field of social security and retirement, since the 1960s, bilateral social security agreements have been signed with many countries in which Turkish citizens reside,[6] and the social security of Turkish citizens working abroad is ensured by Article 62 of 1982 constitution. Furthermore, in 1978, Türkiye gave the right to Turks abroad to retire also in Türkiye under certain conditions with the introduction of Law No. 2147. However, in 1985, Law No. 3201 applied restrictions on the pension conditions for Turks abroad who continued to work abroad or to receive social security benefits from abroad. With an amendment in 2019, the conditions for retirement were further tightened by raising the social security contribution for the days borrowed in the calculation of retirement.

Conscription was an important issue for Turks abroad, especially for the post-migrant generations, although the conditions have been made more flexible in time in response to transnational agendas and needs. Compulsory military service could be postponed until the age of 29 in 1979,[7] and in 1980, those obliged to complete their military service were given the option to pay a fee of 20,000 DM and do just 2 months of military service. Both the age limit and the cost of reducing one's military service obligation for Turkish citizens residing abroad have increased and reduced time to time depending on the defense needs of the country and the state of the economy (Bayraktar-Aksel 136). For example, the duration of military service was reduced to one month in 1992, and it was abolished in 2018 under the condition that the person would undergo distance education provided by the Ministry of National Defense.[8]

In 2011, in order to inform the Turkish diaspora about their rights and duties in Türkiye in such matters as customs, traffic, health, social security, retirement, education, military service and taxes, the "Pocket Guide for Turkish Citizens Abroad" was issued, and in 2015 it was transformed into a smartphone and tablet application that is updated regularly (YTB, *2015 Faaliyet Raporu*).

The YTB has also sought to maintain a broader connection with the Turkish diaspora in the countries in which they reside by providing administrative and financial support to local NGOs since 2011. The name of the program has changed over time, being known as the İMECE[9] program at the time of its inception in 2013 (İ. Yıldız 62), transforming into the YTB Financial

Assistance Program in 2015. The financial assistance programs have become the main tool for the initiation of activities, with specific programs launched reflecting the policy priorities in the political-legal and socio-cultural spheres (YTB, *Mali Destek Programları*). Under such financial assistance programs, the YTB has provided approximately 100 million TL of funding to more than 1,000 projects in 70 countries since 2011 (YTB, *Sivil Toplum Destekleri*).

There are also policy goals targeting the regulation of the reverse brain drain of leading scientists (Presidency of Strategy and Budget -PSB-, *11. Developmental Plan* 144). Considering the scope of the programs (TUBİTAK Support Program for the International Leader Researcher) and policy goals (PSB, *11. Developmental Plan* 106), this could also be referred to as the employment of the science diaspora for the transfer of know-how rather than reverse brain drain, and as such, a "Database of Researchers Abroad" (ARBIS-Y) was launched in 2014 (TÜBİTAK 2014). For a limited period, TÜBİTAK also ran a program entitled the "2232 Return to Homeland Research Scholarship Program" aiming to attract the attention of Turkish scientists and convince them to return in 2017. The program gained an international character in 2018, and shifted its goal from the reversal of brain drain to brain gain.

In summary, there has been a clear shift in diaspora engagement policies, from expectations of socio-economic contributions to the development of Türkiye through remittance inflows and investments from the Turkish diaspora, to a sense of responsibility of the government for the well-being of Turks abroad. While they were referred to as workers abroad in the 1960s, they started to be defined as expatriates and citizens living abroad in the 1980s, as Euro-Turks in the 2000s and as the diaspora since 2010 (Bayraktar-Aksel 210). With the acceptance of the transnational character of the Turkish diaspora and the change in the characteristics of the diaspora members, some revisions have been made to the policy tools since 2010, bringing changes to the conscription rules, tightening the conditions of retirement of Turks abroad in Türkiye by increasing social security contributions and implementing brain gain programs. Since 2010, in line with the long-distance nationalist policy perspective, Türkiye has started to apply a responsibility-based approach, contributing to the institutionalization of

the diaspora through financial assistance programs in support of NGOs in their countries of residence.

Political-Legal Sphere: Acceptance of the Transnational Character of the Turkish Diaspora

The policies applied at the time of the initial migrations (in the 1960s and 1970s) were aimed mainly at regulation the migration of labor in line with socio-economic concerns. At this time, the State Planning Organization[10] and the Turkish Employment Service were the main administrative institutions overseeing the regulation of labor migration (Akgündüz 4-5). Political considerations started to emerge in the 1980s with the recognition of the permanency of Turkish immigrants, and two important legislative initiatives were launched to maintain Türkiye's ties with its citizens abroad aimed at ensuring their continued interest in Turkish political life. The first of these was the Amendment to the 1964 Citizenship Law in 1981[11] that legalized dual citizenship (Kadirbeyoğlu 4; İçduygu and Bayraktar-Aksel 177). The second initiative was detailed in Article 62 of the 1982 Constitution, and highlighted the policy priorities for Turkish citizens working abroad as being to safeguard their ties with Türkiye and ensure family unity, the education of the children, and the satisfaction of cultural needs and social security. These legislative changes aimed at regulating Türkiye's relations with its citizens abroad could be considered the first steps toward a long-distance nationalist perspective, the Turkish Constitution having previously limited the notions of nation and membership of the nation to citizens living in Türkiye.

The recognizing membership of the Turkish nation both within and outside Türkiye led to some paradoxical situations in the era following the 1980 coup d'etat. On the one hand, dual citizenship led to the reintroduction of Turkish emigrants to the nation, and responded to their transnational needs, while on the other hand, the emphasis on "Turkish historical and moral values" stated in the preamble to the 1982 Constitution marked a divergence from the Kemalist ideology in the understanding of constitutional citizenship (İçduygu et al. 196-7), and Islam started to be injected as a core element of the Turkish identity and unity, together with Turkish ethnicity (Bayraktar-Aksel 114-5; Heper 49-50). This, however, has led to the exclusion of some groups (Kurds, Alevis etc.) from the Turkish identity and unity, and has emerged as a hurdle in the way oy the inclusivity policy of Türkiye when

it comes to its emigrants (Bayraktar-Aksel 114-5). As a result, the excluded groups started to demand recognition from abroad with a long-distance nationalist perspective, which led to the further heterogenization of the Turkish diaspora and export of political disputes in the homeland.

Legislative changes were introduced in the political-legal sphere aimed at sustaining the legal ties of Turks abroad with Türkiye and facilitating their active political participation in both their countries of residence and origin, starting from the end of the 1980s. First, the participation of Turkish citizens living abroad in Turkish elections was permitted through votes cast at the custom gates, beginning 75 days prior to the elections, with an amendment to the Election Law in 1987 (Article 94 of Law No. 3377). Second, with an amendment to the Turkish Citizenship Law in 1995, Türkiye established a privileged non-citizen category (quasi citizenship) for Turkish emigrants and their descendants through the introduction of the "Pink Card" (replaced by the "Blue Card" in 2009) (Kadirbeyoğlu 9; Çağlar 273-9).[12] Although holders of a Pink Card, and later a Blue Card, had in principle almost the same rights as Turkish citizens,[13] they did not give a privileged position to their holders in practice due to the bureaucratic hurdles at the time of implementation that remained until 2012.

Third, a 1995 amendment to the Turkish Constitution (Law No. 4121) cleared the way for Turkish political parties to set up branches outside Türkiye. Attempts were also made to sustain the political participation and representation of Turks abroad, and the monitoring of the problems faced by Turks abroad through different mechanisms. Fourth, the Parliamentary Investigation Committee for the Scrutiny of the Administrative, Financial, Economic, Social and Cultural Problems faced by Workers Employed and Residing Abroad was established in 1993, followed in 1998 by the Advisory Committee for Turkish Citizens Living Abroad and the High Committee for Turkish Citizens Living Abroad, operating under the Prime Ministry (Bayraktar-Aksel 137), with responsibilities that included following the agenda of Turks residing abroad and developing better transnational policies.

Fourth, as a result of the work of these committees, the ability of Turkish citizens abroad to take part in elections without having to return to Türkiye entered the legislative agenda, although despite the 1995 amendments facilitating external voting (amendment No. 4121 to Article 67 of the

Constitution, and amendment No. 4125 to the Election Law), the Supreme Election Council (YSK), which is responsible for organizing and managing elections abroad, failed to implement the amendments until 2008 due to practical and legal concerns. In 2008, a bill detailing the methods to be employed as regards to external voting was introduced but could not implemented until 2012.[14]

The long-distance nationalist perspective was accommodated in the legislative changes made related to citizenship and the political participation of the Turkish diaspora in the 1980s, but despite the policy incentives stated in the legislation, the implementation was limited, either due to the inefficiency of the policy tools, or the absence of a responsible institutional organization. With the establishment of the YTB, the implementation of this long-distance nationalist policy perspective has been sustained through the application of policy tools that respond to the transnational needs of the Turkish diaspora.

First, to facilitate external voting, amendments to the Electoral Law entered into force in May 2012 (No. 6304) detailing the methods of external voting, and an overseas voters' registry has subsequently been created, while the roles of the Supreme Election Council (YSK) and the diplomatic missions in the organization and management of elections abroad have been defined (Okyay; Abadan Unat et al. 3-4). In the 2014 presidential elections, the Turkish diaspora was for the first time able to cast their vote in a Turkish election in the countries in which they reside. Second, the problems encountered in the implementation of the rights of Blue Card holders have gradually been resolved since 2012 through legislative initiatives and bureaucratic efforts (Can and Tuna 28-31).

In 2012, in order to facilitate the participation of Turkish diaspora in the processes that have a direct effect on them, the Advisory Committee on Turkish Citizens Abroad was established on 28 December, 2012, involving 78 representatives from the countries in which Turkish citizens are concentrated. The main responsibility of the Advisory Committee has been to assist in the drawing up of the policy agenda related to the Turkish diaspora. Although the Committee was active in its initial year, the fierce conflict between the AKP government and the Fethullah Gülen movement (referred to later as FETO – the Fethullah Gülen terrorist organization) had

both a direct and indirect effect on the efficiency of the committee after 2013, and the Committe gradually became inactive (Yanaşmayan et al. 28; Bayraktar-Aksel 235).

Türkiye has handled the citizenship issue and the rights-based understanding based not only on the country of origin (Türkiye) but also the country of residence, since 2010, and the importance of acquiring citizenship of one's country of residence started to be stressed at all levels. In 2011, Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdoğan underlined the importance of acquiring citizenship, integration and active participation in the political and social lives of the countries of residence of Turkish citizens while preserving their culture in his speeches in Strasbourg and Dusseldorf (Cumhuriyet; Deutsche Welle). In this context, the YTB launched financial assistance programs with NGOs supporting the Turkish diaspora in their fight against discrimination and in their participation in the social and political lives of the countries in which they reside, while supporting participation and justice for all in the national and international sphere (YTB, *Mali Destek Programları*). The YTB also organizes International Legal Training Seminars and Regular Turkish Jurists Meetings to discuss the legal concerns of the Turkish diaspora, and to facilitate the setting of an agenda, dealing with such issues as violations of human rights, discrimination and islamophobia, and the rights of Turkish citizens derived from the EU-Türkiye association law (YTB, *2015 Faaliyet Raporu* 31). Attacks targeting the Turkish diaspora are recorded and annual figures are published in an attempt to ensure the maintenance of their rights (YTB, *Yurtdışı Vatandaşlara Yönelik Saldırılar*).

Following this analysis of the engagement policies of Türkiye in regards to its diaspora in the political and legal sphere, it can be concluded that Türkiye has maintained a long-distance nationalist perspective in its legislation since the 1980s, and this perspective which already existed in theory, was actually put into practice in 2010. This implementation has been sustained with the introduction of policy tools that recognize the transnational character of the Turkish diaspora. In this regard, Türkiye seeks to facilitate the access of the Turkish diaspora to their rights derived both from Türkiye and their countries of residence, and has since 2010 been fielding solutions that reflect the long-distance nationalist perspective in regards to the transnational concerns and problems of its diaspora in the political-legal sphere.

Socio-Cultural Sphere: Post-Migrant Generations as the New Target Group

Within the socio-cultural sphere, the diaspora engagement policy of Türkiye focuses mainly on ensuring family unity and mother tongue education, responding to the cultural needs and protecting the social ties of the diaspora with Türkiye. Although these issues entered the agenda as part of the family reunification efforts and due to religious concerns in 1970s, they have were first referred to the 1982 Constitution, in which the government was charged with taking the necessary measures. Therefore, as an outcome of this long-distance nationalist perspective in the Constitution and Citizenship Law, starting in the 1980s, transnational policy tools started to be implemented in the socio-cultural sphere to communicate with Turkish citizens working abroad and their families. During the first Turgut Özal government (1983-1987), Turkish teachers and imams started to be appointed by the Ministry of Education and the Directorate of Religious Affairs, respectively (Ostergaard-Nielsen 108).

The legislation facilitating the appointment of Turkish teachers and imams (priest) was put into practice with the cooperation of the countries of residence, although since the 2000s, the countries of residence have changed their perspective on the appointment of civil servants, especially imams, from the homeland (Y. Yıldız; Gündoğdu), being concerned mainly by Türkiye's transnational policies. This reversal may be attributed to four issues: (1) The existence of post-migrant generations who were born and raised in the countries of residence; (2) the shift in integration policies in the countries of residence, problematizing the immigrants' transnational lives (Kolbaşı-Muyan, Avrupa'da Göçmen Politikaları); (3) the shift in social policies from a liberal perspective to a neo-liberal one (Kolbaşı-Muyan, Hollanda Göçmen Entegrasyonu Politikaları 178-84); and (4) the rise of the far right discourse in the public and political sphere, which gives impetus to the Islamophobic and xenophobic atmosphere.

Against such a backdrop, the diaspora engagement policy since 2010 has mainly targeted the socio-cultural sphere and the post-migrant generations.[15] Accordingly, while mother tongue education and the recognition of Turkish culture by Turkish children abroad have been determined as key policy goals, with young Turkish people residing abroad identified as the main

target group (PSB, *11. Developmental Plan* 169; *2020 Presidential Annual Programme* 183). Creative diaspora engagement policy tools in the socio-cultural sphere have been implemented to address the negative atmosphere in the countries of residence. In order to reintegrate the post-migrant generations with Türkiye in the socio-cultural sphere, the YTB has devised policy tools in four specific areas: mother tongue, cultural mobility,[16] education and family-related issues.

First, in order to increase the mother tongue language skills of post-migrant generations, the YTB has launched a number of different programs, such as the Turkish Hour Program (previously called the Anatolia Weekend School), Anatolia Reading Houses, the Bilingual preschool education program and the M.A. Program for Teaching Turkish to Turkish Children Living Abroad (with a dissertation) (YTB, *Turkish and Education*). Second, as a diaspora engagement policy tool targeting post-migrant generations, *cultural mobility programs* have been launched, including the Evliya Çelebi Anatolia Cultural Tours, Turks Abroad Youth Camps, Summer Camps, Türkiye Internships, the Diaspora Youth Academy, Young Leaders and Technofest. All of these have facilitated the visit of post-migrant generations to Türkiye, thus enhancing their knowledge of the country, its culture, society and life in Türkiye, improving their transnational network. Third, in order to support education and the success of Turkish students abroad, the YTB has launched *award and scholarship programs,* such as the High School Graduation Exams Success Awards, the Fuat Sezgin Outstanding Success Award and a Thesis Research Scholarship (YTB, *2020 İdare Faaliyet Raporu*). As there having been no programs involving the mobility of the diaspora members organized since March 2020 due to the COVID 19 pandemic, the YTB transferred its activities to virtual platforms, with the Media Academy, Self-Development Academy, Kids Academy, Media Awards and Play Certificate Program being just some of the examples of the virtual meetings being held to reach out to the young children within the Turkish diaspora during the pandemic (YTB, *2020 İdare Faaliyet Raporu*).

Fourth, since family is the most important means of cultural transmission, family matters and the raising of children are main areas of interest of Türkiye's engagement policies related to its diaspora. In the early years following the establishment of the YTB, issues related to the State Youth

Welfare Office (*Jugendamt* in Germany and *Jeugdzorg* in the Netherlands) came to the agenda as part of the assimilation concerns of Turkish children who were taken from their parents for their wellbeing, and placed under the protection of native families (YTB, *2012 Faaliyet Raporu* 26). Recently, modular training programs on family concerns targeting the Turkish diaspora have been presented as a policy goal in response to similar concerns (PSB *11. Developmental Plan* 149).

In addition to these four priorities of the YTB in its diaspora engagement policies in the socio-cultural sphere, it is also seeking to strengthen transnational ties with welcome programs for the Turkish diaspora upon their return to Türkiye and magazines targeting the Turkish diaspora. First, with the "Homeward Bound" (Memleket Yolunda) program, the YTB welcomes and sees off the Turkish diaspora who are visiting their home country at the border gates. Help and welcome desks can be found at the border gates of not only Türkiye, but also Serbia, thus ensuring their safe and comfortable travel (YTB, *YTB Memleket Yoluna*). Second, the YTB published "Artı 90" four times a year between 2012 and 2016, and more recently introduced two magazines, "Memleketim" and "Telve", to the interest of the diaspora, disseminating its perspective and strengthening relations within the Turkish diaspora, but mainly among the post-migrant generations.[17]

In the socio-cultural sphere of diaspora engagement policy of Türkiye it is also important to refer the programs in the religious domain. In addition to appointing imams from Türkiye, the Presidency of Religious Affairs introduced an International Islamic Theology program in 2006, in which members of the diaspora, and more specifically the post-migrant-generations, take religion classes on Islam and religious social work in order to work in their countries of residence (Erşahin 130-1).

In conclusion, since 2010 the changes in the socio-cultural sphere of diaspora engagement policy have led to a change of the target group and features of the diaspora. Türkiye started to focus on the reintegration of its post-migrant generations within Türkiye in the socio-cultural sphere. In order to sustain the success of the policies, it responds to the transnational character of the diaspora in policy implementation by organizing mother tongue classes under diaspora NGOs, as well as visits to Türkiye for the the promotion of historical, moral, national and cultural values; training and

educations in sustaing the interaction between post-migrant generations in different countries in transnational social spaces. Thus 2010, exercises a long-distance nationalist shift in the transnational diaspora-engagement policy perspective.

Conclusion

The intention of this paper is to contribute to the body of literature on the growth of state diasporic engagement policies and policy tools, questioning the shift in the diaspora policies of Türkiye since 2010 in this regard with the establishment of the YTB. It can be concluded that the transnational shift, aiming to reach out to Turkish citizens living abroad, started with the introduction of long-distance nationalist perspective in the legal sphere in the 1980s. Türkiye began to understand the inefficiency of the old policy tools in reaching out to Turks abroad in practice in the mid-2000s. With the establishment of the YTB in 2010, Türkiye introduced a more comprehensive diaspora policy that had a long-distance nationalist perspective, with the uniqueness of the policy being notable in its redefinition of its target group, the features of its diaspora, and the policy goals, actors, tools and stakeholders in diaspora engagement, along with its more institutionalized stance. To begin with, the post-migrant generations are defined as one of the core target groups in Turley's diaspora engagement policy. Second, the transnational ways of being and living of the Turkish diaspora, and especially the post-migrant generations, have been accepted, with both the "neither from here nor from there" and the "from both here and there" perspectives being welcomed. Third, the goal of Turley's diaspora policy has been redefined, and the reintegration of the Turkish diaspora into Türkiye more in the socio-cultural sphere has been added. Fourth, countries of residence have been added as actors in Türkiye's diaspora engagement policies, in addition to the Turkish diaspora and Türkiye as a home country. Fifth, policy tools have changed and diverged according to the needs of the different target groups within the Turkish diaspora. In addition to the introduction of new policy tools, existing policy tools have also been adopted to respond the transnational needs of the Turkish diaspora. In this regard, religious and Turkish mother tongue training programs have been introduced in Türkiye for members of the Turkish diaspora to aid recruitment in their countries of residence. The sixth and final novelty

in Türkiye's diaspora policy has been the redefinition of stakeholders in the implementation of diaspora engagement policies. In this regard in addition to governmental institutions, Turkish diaspora NGOs have been considered as primary stakeholders in diaspora policies. Through financial assistance programs, Turkish diaspora NGOs have played a vital role in the implementation of the policy. It has been concluded after an analysis of its diaspora policy perspective that Türkiye is a "transnational nation-state" that pursues long-distance nationalist policies to reach its diaspora.

As a concluding remark, the diaspora community is turning into an independent social phenomenon with its own unique dynamics. For an analysis of the diaspora engagement policies and/or the dynamics of the diaspora, it is important to also include the perspectives and policies of the countries of residence in future studies. Studies of the activities of the diaspora in transnational social spaces would also contribute to our understanding of the dynamics of the diaspora.

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Conflict of Interest Statement

There is no conflict of interest with any institution or person within the scope of this study.

Notes

1   Türkiye had targeted the settlement of immigrants *(muhacir)* until the 1940s, after which co-ethnic policies targeted the citizens of the country of Turkish origin, as well as their kin and relatives, Turkish factors and external Turks (Aksel 210). During the 1990s, policies targeting Turkish Republics and Communities Meskhetian Turks (Ahıska Türkleri) were followed by the state minister responsible for "External Turks" (Dış Türkler) and the Turkish Cooperation and Coordination Agency (TİKA) (Öge 50-58).

2   The terms "Turkish diaspora" and "Turks abroad" synchronosly, meaning without any ethnic connotation, in the present study, referring to the emigrant origin Turks abroad. In this sense, the Turkish diaspora comprises not only Turkish citizens living abroad (including those who hold also other nationalities)

but also blue card holders who have Turkish citizenship by birth, and who have renounced their citizenship after obtaining the necessary permissions, as well as other people of other nationalities with the right to Turkish citizenship and/or a blue card.

3 Government awards recognizing the achievements of members of the diaspora community serve to motivate them in their respective fields, and in communication campaigns, emigrant conferences and national days for the diaspora. These and similar activities can be considered outcomes of symbolic policies.

4 The aims of the Turkish diaspora engagement policy are stated on the website of the YTB: (1) preserving their sense of belonging to Türkiye, (2) retention of their mother tongue, culture and identity, and (3) strengthening the social rank of the Turkish diaspora in the countries in which they reside.

5 In 2018, the average expenditures of foreigners in Türkiye throughout their stay was 601 US dollars per person, compared to 801 US dollars for Turkish citizens residing abroad (PSB, *2020 Presidential Annual Programme* 183)

6 Until July 2021, Türkiye has signed Bilateral Social Security Agreements with 35 countries (for more information see https://www.csgb.gov.tr/digm/contents/ dis-iliskiler/ikili-anlasmalar/sosyalguvenlikanlasmalari). Although the European countries with which Türkiye had signed labour recruitment agreements were the main partners during the initial years, later their geographical scope has broadened with the increase in the migration routes

7 The possibility of postponement of the compulsory miitary serrvice for diaspora members further extended to the age of 32 in 1984.

8 Amendment No. 7146 to the Military Service Law, introduced on 26.07.2018

9 "Imece"is a Turkish word that is used in rural areas to refer to cooperation and collective work for the benefit of the community and/or members of the community.

10 The State Planning Organization was replaced by the Ministry of Development in 2011. Since the closure of the Ministry of Development after 2018 elections, Presidency of Strategy and Budget (PSB) has been officially in charge.

11 Amendment to the 1964 Citizenship Law (1981). Enter into force on 17.02.1981, No: 17254 https://www.tbmm.gov.tr/tutanaklar/KANUNLAR_ KARARLAR/kanuntbmmc064/kanunmgkc064/kanunmgkc06402383.pdf (Accessed on 24.06.2021)

12 Law No. 4112/1995 amending Law No. 403/1964 on Turkish Citizenship

13 Aside from certain rights that are strongly associated with citizenship, such as voting and being elected, the fulfillment of military service and engagement as

a public servant, Pink Card holders could theoretically enjoy all of the rights enjoyed by Türkiye's citizens.

14 The methods of external voting were first defined in a 2008 bill that introduced voting by mail, electronic voting, and voting in diplomatic representations and at border stations, as alternative voting methods. The Constitutional Court, however, revoked the clause on postal voting, claiming it to be unconstitutional (Decision no.2008/113). With the decision of the YSK in February 2011 (no.120) the possible implementation of absentee voting by allowing voting at the diplomatic representations in Germany for the 2011 general elections were ruled out due to the limited time for implementation.

15 YTB president Abdullah Eren spoke about the importance of the socio-cultural sphere, and underlined the benefits of transnational ways of being and living in his welcome message entitled "Powerful Diaspora Powerful Türkiye in the 10th Year of the YTB", highlighting the three principals of the YTB related to the Turkish diaspora: (1) the retention of the identity and culture of Turks abroad, (2) preserveing their sense of belonging with the homeland in liberal and unique ways, and (3) enhancing their social, political and economic status in their country of residence (Eren 2-3).

16 Cultural mobility is used in this article to refer to the mobility programmes of the YTB and other institutions targeting the Turkish diaspora.

17 While "Artı 90" refers to the area code of Türkiye in phone calls, "Memleketim" can be translated as "my homeland" while "Telve" refers to coffee grounds in reference to Turkish.

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Türkiye'nin Diaspora Politikası:
2010'dan Bu Yana Bakış Açısında Değişim[*]

Gizem Kolbaşı-Muyan[**]

Öz

Bu çalışma, Türkiye'nin altı buçuk milyonun üzerinde vatandaşı ve onların soylarını ilgilendiren diaspora politikasına odaklanmaktadır. Makalede 2010 yılında Yurtdışı Türkler ve Akraba Topluluklar Başkanlığı'nın kurulması ile Türkiye'nin diaspora politikasında ne değiştiği sorusuna yanıt aranmaktadır. Türkiye'nin diaspora politikası sosyoekonomik, siyasi-hukuki ve sosyokültürel alanlarda incelendiğinde, 2010'dan itibaren ulusötesi Türk diasporasına ulaşmak için uzak mesafe milliyetçiliği yaklaşımının öne çıktığı sonucuna varılmıştır. Bu çerçevede, hedef kitle, diasporanın temel özellikleri, politika hedefleri, aktörleri, araçları ve paydaşları uzak mesafe milliyetçiliği bakış açısı ile yeniden tanımlanmıştır. Türkiye, bu dönemde göç sonrası nesillerin yeni ulusötesi politika araçları ile Türkiye'ye özellikle sosyokültürel alanda yeniden entegrasyonunu sağlamayı hedeflemektedir. Bu haliyle diaspora politikalarında Türkiye'nin uzak mesafe milliyetçi bakış açısı onu "ulus-ötesi ulus-devlet"e dönüştürmektedir.

Anahtar Kelimeler

Türk diasporası, Diaspora politikası, ulusötesicilik, uzak mesafe milliyetçiliği, Türkiye, uluslararası göç.

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Политика Турции по взаимодействию с диаспорой: изменение точки зрения с 2010 года[*]

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Аннотация

Эта статья посвящена политике Турции по взаимодействию с диаспорой, которая затрагивает жизни более 6,5 миллионов турецких граждан и их потомков. Основной исследовательский вопрос, поднятый в этой статье, звучит так: «Что изменилось в политике взаимодействия с турецкой диаспорой с 2010 года, когда было создано Управление по делам турок за рубежом и связанных с ними общин (YTB)?». После анализа политики вовлечения диаспоры Турции в социально-экономической, политико-правовой и социокультурной сферах делается вывод, что с 2010 г. для поддержания связи с транснациональной диаспорой национализм на расстоянии как фактор выдвинулся на передний план. Новизна политики заключается в переопределении целевых групп, особенностей диаспоры, а также целей политики, ее инструментов и стейкхолдеров. Турция начала ориентироваться на реинтеграцию поколений постмигрантов с Турцией в социально-культурную сферу с помощью новых инструментов политики, и долгосрочная националистическая перспектива ее политики взаимодействия с диаспорой, таким образом, привела к трансформации Турции в состояние «транснациональной нации».

Ключевые слова

турецкая диаспора, политика привлечения диаспоры, дистанционный национализм, транснационализм, Турция, международная миграция

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Araştırma Makalesi / Research Article

The Origins of the Unity Idea in the Turkic World[*]

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Abstract

As the Turks outside the Ottoman Empire lost their independence from 1885 and the ideas such as Ottomanism and Pan-Islamism were overwhelmed with the *zeitgeist*, the idea of unity emerged as a worldview and a new image of civilization in the Turkic World, which reinterpreted its civilizational identity within the framework of a multilevel reconstruction period. This study addresses the reconstruction of the centuries-long historical and cultural heritage of the Turkic world by the representatives of this idea based on the unity of language, i.e. having language as a unifying element, from a historical perspective. In this framework, studies published in five different languages were analyzed.

Keywords

Turkic World, Turkish Language, Turkic Civilization, Turks, Unity Idea.

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Introduction

The last quarter of the nineteenth century is a period when political authority eroded in the Turkic World but national awakening gained utmost pace. Upon Turkestan's conquest by the Russians in 1885, the political and cultural independence of the Turks outside the Ottoman Empire was abolished. The occupation of Turkish Homelands and the utter decline of the Ottoman Empire caused crises in the Turkic World in every aspect. Significant changes occurred in the world and throughout the Turkic Homelands in the nineteenth century. These changes inflicted deep wounds in Turkic Homelands and Turkic Peoples. Especially after the Russian occupation, political pressures, persecutions, and exiles increased all the more in Turkestan. Turkestan's Turkish nationalist intellectuals and political leaders were hit the most by these pressures. Therefore, "The Idea of Unity in the Turkic World" became one of the most important agenda items for these intellectuals.

The Young Turks movement in Türkiye and especially the generation of Ziya Gökalp, Ömer Seyfeddin, and Yusuf Akçura, who came after the generation of Namık Kemal, Ziya Pasha, and Ahmed Mithat Efendi, struggled to simplify the Turkish language in the context of Turkish Hearth Association and the Journal of Turkish Homeland (Dumont 317). They believed that in this way, they could ensure the awakening of Türkiye's Turks while getting along better with the Turkic World. One of the most important national awakening symbols for the Turkic World in this period was Gaspıralı İsmail Bey, or Ismail Gasprinskii, (1851-1914). Gaspıralı is the heart and the main theoretician of the unity idea for the Turkic World. Gaspıralı İsmail Bey received education in Moscow and stayed in Istanbul and Paris for rather long periods. Suggesting a program for the unity of Muslims in Russia, Gaspıralı İsmail Bey regarded the constitution of a written language that may be understood by all of the Turks from the Balkans to the inner parts of China, as the first condition in this sense. According to Gaspıralı, this language would be understood everywhere from the Balkans to China and would be made use of by both Bosporus boatmen and cameleers of Kashgar. Being published by Gaspıralı İsmail Bey, the Tercüman Newspaper was regularly read by well-educated intellectuals all over the Turkic World, with Istanbul being in the first place, and attracted attention as a respected

paper in especially Azerbaijan and Crimea (Bozkurt 61-88). The Füyüzât Journal, published by Hüseyinzade Ali Bey in Azerbaijan, was the strongest representative of Gaspıralı's idea of unity around a common language. Just like Gaspıralı İsmail Bey, Hüseyinzade Ali Bey also believed that it was not only possible but also critical to ensure unity in the Turkic World around literary language, based on the Istanbul dialect of Turkish language, i.e. Istanbul Turkish (Abdürreşidov 12-21; Hüseynli 81-83). Significant steps were taken in the cultural field in Azerbaijan between 1905 and 1920, and an intelligentsia that would assume the country's leadership was formed. Azerbaijani Turkish intellectuals such as Mehmet Emin Resulzade, Hüseyinzade Ali, and Ahmet Ağaoğlu, made considerable contributions to Turkish nationalism in Türkiye and to the development of the idea of unity in the Turkic World. In the late nineteenth century, a remarkable tendency towards Turkish nationalism started to be witnessed among Kazakh intellectuals as well. As opposed to the Westernizers who displayed a submissive attitude towards Western and Russian thinking, Kazakh Turkish nationalists were more interested in Chagatai literature and traditional Kazakh folklore and tried to stay away from the impact of Russian culture. Most famous ones among these Turkish nationalist intellectuals were Alihan Nurmuhammedoğlu Bökeyhan, Ahmet Baytursun, Mir Yakub Dulatoğlu and Magcan Cumabay.

The idea of unity in the Turkic World was started to be discussed and uttered from these dates and has continued so far in various levels. This idea was addressed at national and international levels especially during the transition and crisis periods and was considered as a way out. The idea of unity in the Turkic World was brought to the agenda by various intellectuals and politicians at various times, with pre-and post-World War I periods, the inter-war period, the Cold War period, and the period after the dissolution of the USSR. It is deemed appropriate in this study to dwell on these persons, who are addressed hereby as founding fathers of these ideas.

There are too many people to refer to in this regard. The most noteworthy among them are (according to historical order): İsmail Gaspıralı, Ziya Gökalp, Yusuf Akçura, Ömer Seyfettin, Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, Mustafa Çokay, Mehmet Emin Resulzade, Hüseyinzade Ali Turan, Mehmet Emin Yurdakul, Mirseyyid Sultan Galiyev, Zeki Velidi Togan, Sabri Maksudi

Arsal, Münevver Kari, Abdülhamit Süleyman Çolpan, Abdurrauf Fıtrat, Mağcan Cumabay, Hüseyin Nihal Atsız, İşenaali Arabayev and Alparslan Türkeş.

The aforementioned people fought for the ideal world where everyone has the right to speak and to be listened to and saw the Turkish language and the idea of unity in the Turkic World as important means to realize this ideal. Although the work done by the aforementioned people for the realization of the idea of unity in the Turkic World cannot be denied, as it will be analyzed in the following sections of this study, it would not be correct to limit the long-term and multidimensional studies required for the institutionalization of this ideal, with only the aforementioned names. Indeed, despite the tireless efforts of the said people, a Turkish-based institutionalization could not be exactly achieved in those periods. Therefore, it would be more appropriate to call them the architects, sources of inspiration, and tireless defenders of the idea of unity in the Turkic World.

Formation of the Idea of Unity in the Turkic World: Awakening and Reform

The period when the unity in the Turkic World started to be widely discussed and talked about was the period when Turkish and Muslim populations initiated their efforts to redefine and reconstruct their identity in the face of the rise of Western civilization. It is in fact possible to call this period an era of awakening for Turkish and Muslim communities. After starting in the field of religion in and around the city of Kazan, this awakening continued as an educational reform movement (*Ceditçilik*- Jadidism) and transformed into a widespread movement in the form of political and nationalist activities at the beginning of the twentieth century (Kanlıdere, "Rusya" 168).

Of course, it is plausible to suggest that national awakening movements which emerged in the Turkic world were affected by the contemporary developments in various parts of the world that involved national dynamism. It may be argued that the rise of movements with nationalist traits in countries like Japan, Russia, and Iran rendered the intelligentsia of the Turkic world, with Ottoman Türkiye being in the first place, closer to these movements (Zürcher 89). Similar developments occurred in both Türkiye and Turkestan. Emerging in Istanbul in 1908, the Young Turk

Revolution attracted Turkish intellectuals in Russia to Istanbul. At the time, Istanbul became an intellectual hub for intellectuals coming from Russia and Turkestan. During this period, an increasing level of cultural affinity occurred between the Ottoman Empire (also known as *Devlet-i Aliyye*) and Russian Turks in parallel with an intense exchange of views. Intellectuals from Kazan, Crimea, Caucasia, and Turkestan played important roles in Ottoman political and cultural life (Kanlıdere, "Rusya" 175).

Gaspıralı İsmail Bey and Jadidism (*Ceditçilik*)

The first name that comes to mind when the idea of unity in the Turkic World is mentioned, is beyond doubt İsmail Gaspıralı. İsmail Gaspıralı was born in Avcıköy which is located near Bahçesaray of Crimea. (Kırımlı 5) Gaspıralı's education in Russian schools pushed him towards national sentiments and the anti-Turkish attitude in Tsardom of Russia helped the formation of his national conscience (Kırımer 16; Saray, *Gaspıralı İsmail*). He started to serve as a Russian teacher in Bahçesaray in 1868 (Ortaylı 11) and left Crimea for Paris in 1872 to receive education (Devlet, "İsmail Bey" 17). As he spent two years in Paris, İsmail Gaspıralı had the opportunity to witness Western civilization closely. After returning to Istanbul in 1874, Gaspıralı stayed in this city for a while and then went to Crimea. In 1878, he was selected as Deputy Mayor of Bahçesaray. The following year, Gaspıralı became the mayor and continued to serve as such until 1884 (Kırımlı 6). He was married to Zühre Hanımefendi (Madam Zühre), Yusuf Akçura's aunt, in 1882 and thereby became relative with Yusuf Akçura as well (Duran 89).

Being a Tatar Turk from Crimea, İsmail Gaspıralı reflected his regret for the failure of Turks to form a unity, by saying, "If we continue this way, the future of the Turks in Russia is dark" (M. Şahin 30). If Turkish communities in Russia that were called with different names but had common kinship bonds continued to the current separation, they would encounter the risk of being lost within the Slavic sea surrounding them. And they had to act together if they wanted to put an end to the divisions. As Mehmet Şahingöz emphasizes in the section İsmail Gaspıralı Bey and Selname-i Türki, where he deals with the first publications of Gaspıralı, İsmail Bey emphasizes the greatness and importance of the Turkish-Tatar peoples. The emphasis in question goes as follows with the words taken from Şahingöz (175): "There is a great nation, the Turkish-Tatar nation, living in parts of Asia and Europe.

This nation is fragmented, scattered, weak, this nation has lagged behind other nations in terms of knowledge, ingenuity, wealth and civilization. If it continues like this, it is natural to fight for survival and to be destroyed by other nations. The real issue arises from this fact: What is the reason for the weakness of the Turkish-Tatars, why are they left behind? What should be done to save the Turkish-Tatar nation from destruction?"

Gaspıralı was concerned that Turks may be assimilated in the Tsardom of Russia. With the belief that Turks could survive by unifying around a common Turkish language, Gaspıralı designed a newspaper to achieve his ideal. Addressing all of the Turkic World, this newspaper was published in a simplified Turkish language. The name of this newspaper was Tercüman (meaning Translator), which was published with the motto of "*Unity in language, idea, and work*" (Landau 93). With his Tercüman newspaper published in 1883, İsmail Gaspıralı almost blazed a trail for a national and intellectual awakening of all of the Turkic World, with Russian Turks being in the first place. Intellectual, cultural and political movements of Russian Turks in the modern sense, started with his such initiatives (Bozkurt 61-88). According to the reform program envisaged by İsmail Gaspıralı, schools and madrasahs should have been improved, a common literary language should have been formed among Turkic peoples, and education of women should have been prioritized as much as that of men (Kanlıdere, "Rusya" 173).

The most important initiative of İsmail Gaspıralı towards reform was the school named *usûl-i cedit* (meaning "new method of education") he opened in 1884 (Abdirashidov 7; Saifnazarov and Ernazarov 57). The easy method of reading as applied in Gaspıralı's *usûl-i cedit* school, which was established in Bahçesaray, Crimea, became all the more widespread and reached to other Turkic-Islamic regions of Russia in a short time. İsmail Gaspıralı made efforts to raise national conscience among firstly the Turks of Russia and then the Turks in the world, by way of its activities in the areas of education and culture. In fact, the first signs of Gaspıralı's educational personality and his views on the rise of the Turkish world, which we have discussed in terms of Jadidism, are seen in Salname-i Türki (Şahingöz 177).

One of the most important activities of İsmail Gaspıralı on the idea of unity in the Turkic World was his initiatives to form a common Turkish language (Gubaĭdullin 148-153). His idea was to process and simplify Istanbul's

Turkish language based on the Crimean dialect, which was a mediator between Ottoman and Tatar dialects, and to transform Istanbul Turkish into a common literary language for all Turks. Turkish language should have been cleared of unnecessary words that had been taken from Persian and Arabic languages and should have been rendered so simple that people could understand. Having become widespread thanks to Gaspıralı's Tercüman Newspaper, this language was effective on intellectuals of Crimea, Volga-Ural region, Caucasia, and Turkestan. A comprehensive literary was formed by those who wrote in this language (Kanlıdere, "Rusya" 173). However, İsmail Gaspıralı's common Turkish language movement was hindered and the development of local languages was encouraged during the USSR period.

The consciousness of Turkishness was at the top level in İsmail Gaspıralı at all times. This may be witnessed in his following remark: *"The essence of my political beliefs and views is that 'I am a Turk who is the son of a Turk'. Unless I am a Turk first, I can be neither an aristocrat nor a democrat. I can be among neither populists nor socialists. If someone tells me, 'Your condition is miserable. Give up the idea of Turkishness, in other words, nationalism, and enjoy happiness', I would prefer misery over happiness to be achieved in that manner. Failure to be me is neither plausible nor conscientious for me."* (Gaspıralı 332). The reason behind why Gaspıralı emphasized that he was a Turk with decisive statements was his reaction to the term Tatar which was used for Muslims of Russia (Duran 95). Gaspıralı mentioned that there was no nation like Tatar and those who were called Tatar were in fact Turkish (Şahingöz 176). Tsardom of Russia knew that it would be impossible for it to hold Turks under its control in case the Turks living in Russian-occupied regions were unified. Therefore, the Tsardom of Russia tried to divide Turks into various nations in different names. In this way, Tsardom of Russia tried to eliminate the Turkish nation, which the former could not assimilate for years by denominating Turks as Tatar, Kyrgyz, Kazakh, Azeri, Uzbek, Turkmen, and Bashkir (Hablemitoğlu 10). Gaspıralı delimited the definition of Turkishness by the Turkish language. He explained this limitation as follows: *"In terms of language, the communities known with the names such as Yakuts of Eastern Siberia, Siberian Turks, Baraba, Kazakh, Kyrgyz, Karakalpak, Bashkir, Nogai, Kazanian, Kumuk, Uyghur, Uzbek, Taranci, Sart, Azerbaijan and Ottoman, as well as the Urughs, talk in the Turkish language; they are all Turks. Although*

the Turkish subjects of Russia are called 'Tatar', this is an attribution, an error.
The people called as 'Tatar' by Russians and as 'Nogai' by Bukharans are in fact
Turks" (Yüksel 31-32). Although İsmail Gaspıralı could not ensure complete
unity of language in the Turkic World through Tercüman Newspaper, he
paved the way for Turks' conscious Turkish nationalism. The main idea of
Gaspıralı İsmail Bey was to gather the Turkic World around the common
Turkish language via Tercüman Newspaper (Jeong 62-63). To this end, he
preferred the Istanbul dialect of Turkish as the common language in his
newspaper. According to Gaspıralı, the Istanbul dialect should be simplified
by removing complex phrases from it so that it could be understood
throughout the whole Turkic World (Duran 103).

One of the most important contributions of the Jadidism movement
was the fact that it laid the ground for national and political awareness.
Developments in the area of press and publications, as well as the
developments such as increased cultural relations with the Ottoman Empire
and rising number of students enrolled in Russian schools, strengthened
national and political awareness among the Turks of Russia and Turkestan
at the beginning of the twentieth century. The sense of Turkishness came
to the fore gradually among the Muslims of Russia and the identification
of Turks of Russia started to be used widely instead of Muslims of Russia
(Kanlıdere, "Rusya" 174). Jadidism movement developed in Turkestan in the
late nineteenth century and early twentieth-century thanks to the impact of
Crimea and Kazan. The impacts of İsmail Gaspıralı's Tercüman Newspaper
and the *usûl-i cedit* schools, as well as the reformist movements coming
from Istanbul, Cairo, and India were effective in the development of new
ideas in Turkestan (Bennigsen 119). 1905 Russian and 1908 Ottoman
Constitutional Monarchy (*Meşrutiyet*) movements as well as the ideas of
struggle against colonialism in India had significant effects on the formation
of political awareness in Turkestan. Besides, also the technical and economic
developments emerging after the Russian occupation had a significant role
in the formation of ideas of novelty and change in Turkestan (Kanlıdere,
"Rusya" 183).

The Awakening Extending from Russia to Turkestan

The effects of awakening and reform that started in Turkic-Muslim regions
in Russia, reached Turkestan as a whole amid the nineteenth century. The

development of seaways and railways not only connected the people of Turkestan with their cognates in the Ottoman Empire but also led to the fact that they were impacted by the press and publication activities there. At the time, writings of opinion leaders such as Mithat Paşa, Namık Kemal, and Ziya Paşa, could reach up to Turkestan. The effects of journalism came to Turkestan from Crimea, Kazan, Azerbaijan, and Istanbul. Having been published by İsmail Gaspıralı, Tercüman Newspaper had a considerable impact in Turkestan (Bozkurt 61-88). The modernization of the postal service facilitated the spread of newspapers. Turkestan's intelligentsia carefully followed the newspapers and journals coming from Kazan, Orenburg, Baku, and Tbilisi (Bozkurt 151-173). During the pilgrimage season, the pilgrims returning to their hometowns over Istanbul clandestinely brought Istanbul's newspapers and journals with them to their own countries by hiding them among their personal belongings such as quilts, pillows, and clothing. Mahmud Hoca Behbudi (Mahmud Khoja Bedbudi), who was among Jadidist ulema (religious scholars), thought that newspapers served as society's spiritual leaders. Indeed, newspapers had important functions in this period. Newspapers cracked the monopoly of the ulema on information (Khalid, "Printing" 195). As an increased level of freedom was granted to the press following the 1905 revolution, Tatars of Turkestan published newspapers in Turkestan's Turkish dialect, which was known also as *the Turkî* language. These were followed by newspapers and journals published by Uzbeks (Kanlıdere, "Turkistan'da" 200). The newspapers and journals published in this period were mostly based in Tashkent. Modern-style schools, newspapers, and political activities in Turkestan all started in Tashkent. Until 1905, only one single newspaper named "The Newspaper of the State of Turkestan" was published in the Turkish language in Turkestan. Mahmud Hoca Behbudî and other Jadidists published articles in this newspaper under aliases. After that date, several other newspapers and journals were published in the Turkish language. Initial newspapers and journals happened to have short lifespans. Just after giving their messages, they were closed by the intervention of the government (Kanlıdere, "Turkistan'da" 201).

Tatar Turks have an undisputed place in Turkestan's modernization. As is known, madrasahs in Bukhara became a source of information for Tatar youth until the nineteenth century. After that date, however, Tatars of

Russia assumed the role of enlightening their cognates in Turkestan. First Uzbek books were published in Kazan. The first printing house in Tashkent was established by a Tatar from Kazan (Turdiyev 4-16). The first *usûl-i cedit* schools in Turkestan, too, were established by them. Gaspıralı İsmail Bey impressed the youth of Bukhara and Samarkand during his visit to these cities. As the spokesman of reformist ideas, Tercüman Newspaper was closely followed by the intellectuals of Turkestan. (Kanlıdere, "Turkistan'da" 196).

Concerned about the activities of Tatars toward the Turkic World, the Tsardom of Russia took serious measures from the very beginning. In 1886, Tsardom of Russia banned ownership of real estate by non-Christians in Turkestan to prevent the Tatars from influencing Turkestan (Kanlıdere, "Kuzey" 29). Relatedly, as Şahingöz argues, the non-Slavic part of the empire was never taken under arms. Turkestan and Kazakh steppes were exempted from military service with the regulations of Tsarist Russia in 1886 (Şahingöz, "I. Dünya Savaşında" 838). In 1911, it was stipulated that the teachers working in Muslim schools should have the same ethnic origin/nationality as their students. İsmail Gaspıralı asserted that unity among Turks could not be hindered in this way. Because the unity of Turks was based on religion, history, and kinship (Kanlıdere, "Turkistan'da" 197). In the face of the Russian government's such measures, the people of Turkestan opened their *usûl-i cedit* schools. Russian government always looked at the activities of Jadidist intellectuals in Turkestan with suspicion. It was suspected that usûl-i cedit schools and Jadidist intellectuals would arouse nationalist sentiments in the region, thereby paving the way for national awareness. It was concerned that the people of Turkestan would develop relations with the Ottoman Empire and other Turkic-Muslim communities. As soon as Russian officials realized that Jadidism went beyond being a mere educational reform in Bukhara and evolved toward a national movement, they took countermeasures (Kanlıdere, "Turkistan'da" 197).

A Significant Tool for Unity Ideal: Newspapers

A newspaper titled *Buhara-yı Şerif* was published in the Persian language in March 1912 in a printing house in Kagan (Khalid, *The Politics* 123). Starting from June of the same year, the said newspaper started to publish a supplement in the Turkish language titled "Turan". Facing challenges in continuing publication due to financial difficulties, the newspaper was

banned in early 1912 since it was criticized by negative developments in the Emirate. The newspaper was published in 153 and its supplement, Turan in 49 volumes (Tekcan 175-176). In April 1913, Mahmud Hoca Behbudî published a newspaper titled Semerkand (Samarkand) (Schinasi 469). The newspaper was published in the Turkestan dialect of the Turkish language. Following the footsteps of İsmail Gaspıralı, Behbudî defended the idea that a common Turkish written language should be formed (Kanlıdere, "Turkistan'da" 202). In this period, the intellectuals of Turkestan entered into a temporary collaboration with reformist socialist Russians. Vadim Chaikin, a Russian from that Ecole, published a newspaper named Golos Türkistana (Voice of Turkestan) in Andijan in 1913 (Irnazarov). In this newspaper, local people's complaints about cotton sowing were expressed. Chaikin, Ubeydullah Hoca, Zeki Velidi Togan, and Münevver Karî published the Turkish version of this newspaper. The newspaper addressed topics such as granting equal rights to Turks with Russians and the necessity of modern education. Published in Tashkent in 1914, this newspaper was edited by Ubeydullah Hoca (Togan 355-356). Popular Turkish intellectuals such as Münevver Kari, Abdullah Avlani, A. Süleyman Çolpan, Tevalla, and Hamza Hakimzade wrote articles in this newspaper (Kanlıdere, "Turkistan'da" 202; Aydemir 78-81).

The curiosity for learning the developments at the fronts during First World War increased the newspaper reading rate among the people of Turkestan. Despite the ban on the newspapers coming from outside Turkestan, the newspapers published in Kazan and Azerbaijan were brought to Turkestan in several ways. With the collapse of the Tsarist regime in 1917, newspaper and journal publications were revived. Münevver Karî published a newspaper called *Necat* (Salvation) after the 1917 February revolution. This newspaper focused on the idea of Turkic unity and put forward the acts of persecution during the Tsardom era. Abdullah Battal Taymas, an intellectual from Kazan, published a newspaper called Şûrâ-yı İslam (Islamic Council) in May 1917 (Devlet, *Millet ile Sovyet* 43-45). Turkish nationalists such as Karî, Behbudî, Fıtrat, Çolpan, Mustafa Çokay, and Ahmet Baytursun wrote articles for this newspaper. Uluğ Turkestan, another newspaper published during the same period, fought for the people of Turkestan to be influential in the country's administration. Turkestan Central Council published a newspaper called Keneş (Council), with Zeki Velidi Togan as its chief editor.

1917 Revolution: Hopes and Disappointment

Toppling down the Tsarist regime, the 1917 revolution initially came with quests for hope, freedom, and democracy. Especially Turks of Russia and Turkestan held important congresses in this period and discussed what the future would bring about, alongside forming political parties (Şahingöz and Tekinsoy 737-752). In addition, the Alliance Party (İttifak Partisi) of the Tatars of Kazan, Kazakhs, and Tatars of Crimea formed parties named Alash-Orda (Shaymukhanova et. al 330-333) and National Party (*Milli Fırka*) (Wilson 22-31) respectively. Also, Azerbaijani Turks formed two separate parties, being Hummet that leaned toward socialism, and Equality (Müsavat) that had Turkish nationalist orientation (Çelik 68-74). Formed under the Khiva and Bukhara Khanates respectively, the organizations named Young Khivans (Genç Hiveliler) and Young Bukharans (Genç Buharalılar) carried out clandestine activities (Hatunoğlu 4-12). The common denominator of all these groups was their support for unity among Turkic communities (Kanlıdere, "Sovyet" 194). Closely following Anatolia's national struggle in this period, Bukharans decided to provide the Ankara government 100 million golden rubles as assistance under the leadership of Osman Kocaoğlu (Bayraktar 313). Transferred through Russia, only ten percent of this assistance could reach Anatolia (due to Russians' deductions). Coming as support from Turkestan to the national struggle, this assistance has been a concrete example of the ties of affection, and of how open the channels of communication were, among them at the time. This assistance has been known wrongly as Soviet assistance in our history. Regarding this assistance, Raci Çakırgöz, who was among the Turkish military officers contributing to the establishment of the Bukhara army, explained that he was among those who were tasked with counting the golds in Bukhara treasure and loading a hundred million golden rubles on train wagons to send to Moscow, and told about the amount of assistance: "*According to what I have learned after coming to Turkey, only 10 million of the total 100 million golden rubles that Bukhara government had sent to Ankara government, could reach Ankara. Having the role of intermediary in this transaction, Moscow took 90 million golds for its treasury as a transportation charge! This is the inside of the Russian assistance mentioned in our history.*" (Kocaoğlu 45-48). In 1921, Bukhara Republic sent a two-person delegation to Ankara (Bayramol 46). This delegation brought various gifts including also three swords and a Koran with them to

Ankara and presented these gifts to the parliament on behalf of the Bukhara Republic (Saray, *Atatürk'ün Sovyet* 76; Bayramol 46).

While there was only one Turkish newspaper in Tashkent during the Tsarist administration, multiple Turkish newspapers found the opportunity to be published at the same time thanks to the proper atmosphere after 1918. Despite the low number of literate people, the circulation of these newspapers gradually increased. However, these days of freedom did not last long. In parallel with the strengthening of the Soviet regime, all the printing houses, newspapers, and journals in Turkestan were seized (Khalid, "Printing" 197). These were replaced by a state-sponsored press to act under state control. Printing houses, newspapers, and journals were transferred to the proponents of the Soviet regime. The only functions of newspapers and journals would then be to report the orders and announcements of the state and to serve to the benefit of the Communist ideology (Kanlıdere, "Turkistan'da" 202).

İsmail Gaspıralı tried to open new kinds of schools in Bukhara with the support of Abd al-Ahad Khan, Emir of Bukhara, with whom he had the chance to meet in Crimea (Şafakçı 1055-1057). Usûl-i cedit schools were opened in Bukhara firstly for the children of Tatars residing there. In 1902, a Tatar teacher named Kerimov opened a new-style school in Kagan for Tatar children. However, the school had to be closed after a few months of its opening due to lack of financial support and as a result of pressures coming from conservative segments of society (Becker 202). Osman Hodja opened a new school in Bukhara in 1912. Other new schools were also opened in 1913 and the first half of 1914.

The most famous figure of the Jadidist movement in Turkestan is Mahmud Hoca Behbûdi. With his works focusing wholly on the crises and problems in the Islamic world, Abdurrauf Fıtrat is another intellectual inquiring about the reasons for the decline of Bukhara Khanate. In his view, a reason for the backwardness witnessed in Islamic communities was the situation of ulema (Mixon 25-27). Fıtrat criticized hodjas' taking of bribes from their students in his famous work titled Münazara (Discussion). Moreover, he explained the benefits and characteristics of Jadidist schools. Also, the impacts of the Ottoman Empire were witnessed in the intellectual and political organizations of Turkestan's Jadidists. Starting its activities in the

early twentieth century and especially after 1908's Young Turk revolution (Köstem 6), the Party of Union and Progress (İttihat ve Terakki Partisi) significantly affected the youth in Turkestan. Famous Uzbek poets and intellectuals such as Abdurrauf Fıtrat, Mukimiddin, and Osman Hodja, met with Young Turk leaders when they were in Istanbul, and they were impressed by their views. (Kurat 521-522). Being inspired by Young Turks' struggle against the ruling of Sultan Abdulhamid II, these Uzbek intellectuals aimed to realize a similar revolution in Bukhara and Khiva. To that end, they established an underground organization titled "Young Bukharans" in 1909 (Badan 10). And the reformist youth in Khiva Khanate came together under the name of "Young Khivans". Abdurrauf Fıtrat was impressed with reformist movements during his education in Istanbul and wrote several works, in which he expressed the concepts not yet discovered by the intellectuals of Turkestan, such as freedom and constitutional monarchy (Kanlıdere, "Rusya" 185). Although he never visited Istanbul, Münevver Karî, a leader of the Jadidist movement in Bukhara, saw Istanbul as the cultural and educational center of the Turkic World and encouraged his students to visit this city.

Among the Turks of Russia, Azerbaijan became the first to come up with an independence movement. In May 1918, Azerbaijani Turks declared their independence (Prezident Kitabxanası). The city of Ganja was selected as the capital because Baku was under the control of Bolsheviks and Armenian Dashnaks at the time. An autonomous republic was declared in Turkestan in 1917, with Kokand as its capital (Altımışova 92). The Bashkir Republic was established in Bashkortostan under the leadership of Zeki Velidi Togan, and Alash-Orda Government was formed in Kazakhstan (Şahingöz and Tekinsoy 737-752).

These initiatives were suppressed by the Bolshevik forces after a while. As he did not want to be in a position of an occupier in the eyes of the people of Turkestan, Lenin decided to adopt a softer stance toward them. In April 1918, Turkestan Autonomous Soviet Republic was established as per Moscow's directive (Yevgeniyevich 42-46). Turkestan Autonomous Soviet Republic did not cover all Turkestan, but only the south of Kazakhstan, the north of Uzbekistan, and the territories of today's Turkmenistan and Kyrgyzstan (Kanlıdere, "Sovyet" 195). Its capital was the city of Tashkent,

and it was affiliated with Soviet Federal Soviet Republic. Being the first republic established under the name of Turkestan, this country survived until October 1924. After this date, the Soviet regime tried to abolish the idea of Turkestan with all its power. One of the most remarkable witnesses of this era is Mustafa Çokay, a political leader of Turkestan Jadidists who served as the founding speaker of parliament, foreign minister, and then president of Turkestan National Autonomy and foreign minister of Alash-Orda National Autonomy (Kapağan 262-263). Mustafa Çokay lived in different and challenging periods such as the Tsarist regime, national autonomies, Bolshevik revolution, Soviet Administration, and ultimately immigration. Although his worldview and journey evolved from the autonomy of the pre-immigration period to the independence of the post-immigration period, it nevertheless revolved around a single idea: the case and national struggle of Turkestan (Hıdıraliyev 161). Mustafa Çokay thought that it would be unnecessary to sloganize the idea of the political unity of Turks, which was impossible due to the conditions of the time, in the political arena, or to prove it to certain people. He was of the opinion that such a unity already existed and was developing day by day in sentiments and thoughts (Hıdıraliyev 179). Therefore, it may be asserted that Mustafa Çokay defended first and foremost cultural unity in the Turkic World, but also political unity in Turkestan.

Istanbul became the center of attraction for the Turkic World especially between 1908 and 1914. Moreover, in the north, the city of Kazan became a center of science, culture, and art for the communities of Turkic origin residing in Russia. Intellectual and scientific movements of the Turks of Russia were developed in Kazan and then reached Turkestan, Kazakhstan, and Eastern Turkestan. However, the First World War and the developments of the post-war period negatively affected both of these centers. Istanbul quickly started to lose its feature of being a center for the Turkic World. After the Ottoman Empire was defeated and the Party of Union and Progress was closed out, the intellectuals of the Turkic World lost their anchorage (Köstem 6). Conditions deteriorated even further during the USSR period. The schools, printing houses, madrasahs, and book companies based in Kazan were closed (Kanlıdere, "Rusya" 185). The intellectuals in support of the unity of the Turkic World needed to flee from Turkestan and those who could not be incarcerated and killed by the Soviet administration.

Sultan Galiyev: The Turk Who Could Rise to the Top Level in Soviet Hierarchy

Sultan Galiyev was another figure who fell victim to Soviet administration's wrath as he was in support of unity of the Turkic World (Radikovna 82-84). Mir Seyyid Sultan Galiyev was a Turk who could rise to the top levels in the hierarchy of the Soviet regime and Communist Party. Sultan Galiyev and his friends regarded all Muslims and proletariat as a nation because they were all subject to colonial pressure. Therefore, Galiyev did not tolerate attacks against Islam. Known as nationalist communists, Galiyev and his friends drew attention to the harmonization potential of some principles of Marxism and Islam (Çay 103-146). Galiyev indicated that Islam had a progressive system, involving collectivism, equality, hard work, and zakat. Sultan Galiyev, too, was charged with being a bourgeoisie nationalist and was arrested in 1923 (Guadagnolo 1-44). Sultan Galiyev continued his activities secretly during the period from this first arrest of his until 1928, when he was expelled from the party, persisting to organize nationalist communists with his new arguments. Sultan Galiyev anticipated the establishment of an independent Turan State covering the Middle Volga Region, Azerbaijan, Dagestan, Northern Caucasia, and Turkestan. Perceiving this as a clear threat against its unity, Moscow eliminated Sultan Galiyev and other nationalist communists in ten years (Kanlıdere, "Sovyet" 199; L. Şahin 47-49).

Yusuf Akçura: An Intellectual in Search of the Ideal of Unity from Kazan to Istanbul

One of the first names that come to mind when the idea of unity in the Turkic World is mentioned, is Yusuf Akçura. Akçura was born on 2 December 1879 in Simbir, a city in Kazan. He needed to move to Istanbul due to financial difficulties when he was seven years old (Akçura, *Yeni Türk* 9). In his fifty-nine years long life, Yusuf Akçura witnessed earth-shaking events. He lived in a period when there were intense relationships with Turks of Russia. He became part of these relationships and even played the role of a leader in many of them (Kanlıdere, "Yusuf Akçura" 236). In Yusuf Akçura's intellectual development, his brother-in-law İsmail Gaspıralı had a special role. Also, Akçura expressed this himself on several occasions. Yusuf Akçura described İsmail Gaspıralı as a perfect teacher, a reflective author, a very talented journalist and a tireless servant of Turkism (Akçura,

Türkçülüğün Tarihi 92-93). Although Yusuf Akçura was affiliated with the northern branch of the Turkic world, as an individual living within the cultural environment of the southern Turkic world, he had a perception of Turkism that covers the whole Turkic world (Vurucu 113).

In 1904, when he returned to Crimea, Akçura wrote his famous article titled *Üç Tarz-ı Siyaset* (Three Styles of Politics) and published it on a Turkish newspaper based in Cairo. In this article, Akçura analyzed three ideological currents that were being discussed in the Ottoman Empire at the time, namely Ottomanism, Islamism, and Turkism, with their various aspects. Believing that Ottomanism was no more a policy that could be realized, Akçura anticipated that Islamism would face various challenges and emphasized that potentially the most realistic policy would be Turkism. Although he did not come up with certain conclusions regarding Islamism and Turkism, his emphasis in the article is on Turkism (Akçura, *Üç Tarz-ı Siyaset*).

Being prosecuted as a result of increasing pressure imposed on Turks by Tsarist Russia, Akçura returned to Istanbul in 1908, when the Second Constitutional Monarchy was declared in Ottoman Empire. Whereas he became one of the founders of "Turkish Association", the first organization in the Ottoman Empire based on Turkish nationalism, he also gave Turkish Political History lectures at the university called *Darülfünun* (Akçura, *Târih-i Siyâsî*). On 18 August 1911, he established the Turkish Homeland Community and published the Turkish Homeland Journal, together with Mehmet Emin Yurdakul, Ahmet Hikmet Müftüoğlu, Hüseyinzade Ali and Doctor Akil Muhtar. In this journal, generally, the Turkic World was tried to be introduced to Turkish readers (Duran 117). On the other hand, on 12 March 1912, Akçura established the Turkish Heart Association together with Mehmet Emin Yurdakul, Ahmet Ferit Bey, Ahmet Ağaoğlu and Doctor Fuad Sabit Bey.

Yusuf Akçura saw the relief for the Ottoman Empire in Turkism and the policy of unity in the Turkic World. Defending the idea that Ottomanism would not be able to ensure unity, Akçura expressed his view on this matter in an article he published in 1903: "*After this much development of the idea of nationalism and the emergence of this much hatred among various nations and especially between two religions, it is impossible to form a nation by gathering*

together and reconciling various elements of the Empire" (Akçura, *Türkçülüğün Tarihi* 187). According to Akçura, who asserted that the policy of Turkism was more convenient for the Ottoman Empire than the policies of Islamism and Ottomanism, the only impediment before the policy of Turkism was Tsarist Russia. According to Akçura, the policy of Turkism could not be defined by the borders of the Ottoman Empire, it was greater than that: "*As the policy of Islamism, also the policy of Turkism is universal and not constrained with the Ottoman* borders. Indeed, one should look at the other points of the world inhabited by Turks" (Akçura, *Üç Tarz-ı Siyaset* 43).

In Akçura's view, Turks had a population of 45 to 50 million at the time and composed of five groups: Ottoman Turks, Azeri (Caucasus) Turks, Crimean Turks, Northern Turks, and Eastern Turks (Kazakhstan-centered Turkestan and Eastern Turkestan) (Akçura, "Türklük" 160-162). Yusuf Akçura defined the Turkic World as the following: "*Imagine the old-world hemisphere. There are three continents there. Remove and dispose of the torn, rag-looking part that corresponds to the north-west; and twist and pull off the three-cornered, last and heavy continent on the south-west through the channel line which was dug by the weak arms of people; pare off three or four bulges dangling from the bottom of the right side... Then, you will be left with the main body of the old world. This body is the place of Turks as a whole, it is our heritage*" (Akçura, "Türklük" 160). According to Akçura, this geography where Turks resided is the historical heritage of Turks. The dominant power in this geography must be the Turkish nation. Unification of Turks, who have common language, races, religion, and traditions and were scattered around most of Asia and eastern Europe, would elevate Turks to an advantageous position among other nations (Akçura, *Üç Tarz-ı Siyaset* 61-62).

Ziya Gökalp: Diyarbakır-born Mastermind of Turkish Nationalism

Another prominent figure in terms of the idea of unity in the Turkic World is Mehmed Ziya Gökalp who was from the city of Diyarbakır. Known as the founding father of Turkish nationalism in the Ottoman Empire and the Turkish Republic, Ziya Gökalp was born in Diyarbakır on 23 March 1876. He was among the descendants of the noble families of Müftüzadeler and Pirinçzadeler in Diyarbakır (Jongerden and Verheij 353; Kösoğlu, *Türk Milliyetçiliğinin* 65). With the declaration of the Second Constitutional Monarchy, Gökalp established and led the Diyarbakır branch of the Union

and Progress Community and accelerated his cultural and scientific activities. Ziya Gökalp gave various lectures at the Diyarbakır branch of the Union and Progress Community, with freedom and constitutional monarchy being in the first place (Heyd 33; Altın 493-495). In 1911, Gökalp started to write for the journal named Genç Kalemler (Young Pens) published by prominent Turkish nationalists of the time, such as Ömer Seyfettin and Ali Canip (Georgeon 36). His famous poem titled "*Turan*" was published in this journal in March 1911 (Heyd 639). Upon the elections for Meclis-i Mebusan (Chamber of Deputies) that was held in 1912, he was selected as a member of parliament from Ergani. In 1913, he published a series of articles titled "Turkisation, Islamisation, and Contemporarisation[1] (*Türkleşmek, İslamlaşmak, Muasırlaşmak*)" in the Turkish Homeland Journal. Gökalp claimed in this series of articles that these three currents were not in contradiction with each other, and rather they were complementary (Gökalp, *Türkleşmek*).

Shortly after coming to power in 1919, the Damat Ferit Pasha government started to arrest members of the Union and Progress Community. On 30 March 1919, Ziya Gökalp, too, was arrested and sent to prison (Yıldız 266). Being tried together with other Unionists, Ziya Gökalp was found guilty and sent to exile in Malta together with sixty other people on 26 May 1919 (Şehsuvaroğlu 41). His period of exile in Malta came to an end as a result of an agreement signed between Ankara and English governments on the exchange of prisoners, and Gökalp returned to Istanbul on 19 May 1921 (Beysenoğlu 21). Ziya Gökalp then moved to Diyarbakır, his hometown, to give lectures there and encouraged people by organizing meetings and conferences giving support for the National Struggle (Kösoğlu, *Türk Milliyetçiliğinin* 107). As from June 1922, he started to publish Küçük Mecmua (Little Magazine) together with Ali Nüzhet Göksel, a teacher (Gökalp, *Küçük Mecmua*). He was selected as a member of parliament from Diyarbakır in the renewed elections of August 1923 for the Grand National Assembly of Türkiye. He continued his intellectual and cultural studies during his service as a parliamentarian (Şehsuvaroğlu 53-55).

As Gaspıralı İsmail, also Ziya Gökalp believed that the Istanbul dialect of Turkish language should be the common language of the whole Turkic World. According to Gökalp, it was a duty for all Turks to render Istanbul Turkish a

literary language for the whole Turkic World. If this task was fulfilled, Turks would then become one nation (Gökalp, *Türkleşmek* 63). As Yusuf Akçura, also Ziya Gökalp believed that for the Ottoman Empire, relief from the crisis could be achieved via Turkish nationalism and the idea of unity in the Turkic World. Gökalp divided the idea of unity in the Turkic World into three levels, being Türkiye(ism), Oghuzism (Turkmenism) and Turanism (*Türkiyecilik, Oğuzculuk (Türkmencilik), Turancılık*), and mentioned that, from a realist point of view, Türkiye(ism) was the one to focus on, as per the conjuncture of the time (Gökalp, *Türkçülüğün* 43-44). According to Nevzat Kösoğlu, Gökalp prioritized Türkiye(ism) because the Ottoman Empire was defeated during the First World War and the newly established Republic of Türkiye was not ready for the Oghuzism and Turanism levels (Kösoğlu, *Türk Milliyetçiliğinin* 157).

Gökalp denominated Oghuzes as Turkmens and thought that it would be easier for them to unify because they were closer to each other in terms of culture and language. Therefore, Gökalp proposed Oghuzism as a short-term ideal and especially noted that this should be a cultural unity, not a political one. According to Ziya Gökalp, what was aimed with Turanism, which was the long-term ideal of Turkish nationalism, was the unification of Oghuzes, Tatars, Kyrgyz, Uzbeks, and Yakuts in terms of language, literature, and culture (Gökalp, *Türkçülüğün*). Gökalp regarded Turanism as an important factor for the development of Turkish nationalism/Turkism: *"Unification of a hundred million Turks as a nation is a strong source of excitement for advocates of Turkism. Without the ideal of Turan, Turkism would not have been developed this much. Yet who knows? Maybe also the realization of the ideal of 'Turan' will be possible in the future. The ideal realizes the future. The 'nation-state' which was an imaginary ideal yesterday for Turks, became the truth in Turkey today."* (Gökalp, *Türkçülüğün* 43-44). With these statements, Ziya Gökalp left an objective to next-generation Turkish nationalists as a heritage: Cultural cooperation with Turkic communities outside Türkiye and, if possible, political integration in the future. By saying, *"Homeland is neither Turkey for Turks, nor Turkestan/ Homeland is a great and infinite country: Turan"* (Gökalp, *Kızıl Elma* 21-22) in his famous poem, Ziya Gökalp referred to 'Turan' as the ultimate homeland for the Turkish nation. Turkish people were in quest of renewed enthusiasm and new targets while the Turkic World was losing its greatest empire in the early twentieth

century. Ziya Gökalp's idea of Turan became a response to this quest for enthusiasm (Kösoğlu, *Türk Dünyasında* 14).

Ziya Gökalp emphasized that Turkic communities were slow in improvement because the Turkish language was not attributed sufficient importance, and a gap emerged between the public and the elite. He defended simplification of language and enlivening of Turkish language and mentioned that unity of language must be established in the Turkic World. This language unification would not only cover Anatolia, but it would be one that may be understood throughout the whole Turkic World. Dwelling on how and in what ways language simplification needs to be made, Gökalp said that the Istanbul dialect, the most beautiful dialect of the Turkish language must be taken as basis in this regard (Gökalp, *Türkleşmek* 63). Gökalp attributed utmost importance to the use of a common Turkish language for the unity of the Turkic World and referred to Istanbul Turkish as the common language for the whole Turkic World (Timurtaş 97), and opposed to the development of local dialects as a new language.

According to Ziya Gökalp, Turkic World is the vast geography called Turan, where all Turks reside. In the dictionary, Turan means Turks; and in time, it gained the meaning of the geography where Turks live. Mentioning that the term Turk was used only for those living in Anatolia at the time, Gökalp stated that Oghuz Turks, who were close to Anatolian Turks from every aspect, would soon be called Turks as well (Bars 47). Ziya Gökalp suggested naming other Turkic tribes such as Uzbeks, Yakuts, and Kyrgyzes, which remained a bit far from Anatolia, as Turan instead of Turk for the time being, because they had developed their own cultures. However, he stressed that Turan is also the name of the geography where all Turks lived (Gökalp, *Türkçülüğün* 42-43). Ziya Gökalp did not exactly indicate the borders of Turan, however, he named all the countries where the Turkish language was spoken, as Turan (Grigoriadis and Opçin-Kıdal, 487-489).

Ziya Gökalp is the first person to use the term of ideal (*mefkûre*). He also attributed sociological content to this term. Gökalp conceptualized this term as the fact that communities realize their own identities during times of huge crises on the occasion of which national identities replace individual identities. Ideal mainly means that current reality is perceived by individuals during harsh times of society. According to Gökalp, the idea is a source

of power that vitalizes society, stimulates lazybones, and transforms a lazy person into a hard-working one and selfish people into altruists (Kösoğlu, *Türk Milliyetçiliği* 43). Consequently, Ziya Gökalp became the person who rendered the idea of unity in the Turkic World an ideal.

Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, who is the founder of the Republic of Türkiye and who referred to Ziya Gökalp as his intellectual mastermind, regarded the Turkic World as one of his top agenda items. The Turkish Republic followed a stable and prudent foreign policy in pursuit of certain fundamental objectives from 1923, its founding year. It was Atatürk who determined and shaped the main principles of Turkish foreign policy during the Republican era (Öksüz 95). For Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, the unity that needs to be achieved primarily in the Turkic World is cultural unity. In this regard, he stated: *"For the Turks living outside Turkey, firstly cultural matters must be the area of interest. Indeed, we have handled the case of Turkism favorably in this way. We attach utmost importance to great Turkish history, sources, and rich dialects of the Turkish language and old Turkish works. We do not ignore the language and cultures of even Yakut Turks residing beyond Baikal Lake."* (Karakoç 26). Atatürk made the reform to shift to the Latin alphabet on 1 November 1928 as a result of the transition of Turkic peoples by Soviets to the same alphabet, to prevent the emergence of further cultural gaps in the Turkic World and of regularly carrying out relations with the West. With this alphabet change, great potential emerged for addressing the cultural gap with the Turkic World. However, being afraid about the idea of the unity of the Turkic World, the Soviet Union imposed usage of the Cyrillic alphabet on Turks before the Second World War, trying to break the cultural ties between Türkiye and the Turkic World (Aslan 357-374).

Conclusion

As a result, the Turkic World was reinterpreted by the founding fathers of the idea of unity in the Turkic World in terms of its geography, history, culture, and socio-economic structure, in a different way than other systems of thought. It is observed that, despite socio-economic challenges during the emergence and development of the idea of unity in the Turkic World, Turkish culture preserved its dynamism at a certain level in many areas, intellectual discussions were held, and press activities continued unabated. The founding fathers tried to interpret the meaning of historical events which involved the Turkic World, made intellectual discussions about the

future, and published an amazing number of publications in this respect. For the founding fathers, unity in the Turkic World is not an option, but an obligation and a matter of life and death for the Turks. For them, the idea of unity in the Turkic World was the primary national ideal of Turkism.

It is important to note that the founding fathers were inspired by the historical and cultural heritage of the Turkic World and by the Turkish Civilization. Despite the periods of crisis, they believed in the originality of their civilization and embarked on establishing their worldview based on their belief that the potential is great in this regard. Because they believed that each civilization may develop with its dynamics. Founding fathers developed a futuristic discourse in a sense. They were inspired by the tradition but focused on the future. Because they reinterpreted Turkish civilization identity and, in this way, this identity was rendered more comprehensive, more acceptable, and more practical. Ultimately, the idea of unity in the Turkic World is a multidimensional and multilevel system of thought, a worldview, and imagination of civilization, reinterpreting and constructing the civilizational identity of the Turkic World and its surroundings. The representatives of this idea that emerged as the representatives of Turkish Civilization, which features an original geographical, historical, political, cultural, and socio-economic character, shed light on the reawakening of the 1990s. With the dissolution of the USSR in the 1990s, this idea was revitalized and reinterpreted in a continuum but with some elements of change. It was observed that, under the new conditions, this idea had some important effects on both intellectual lives and the minds of the administrative elite. Representatives of this idea reinterpreted the civilization identity of the Turkic World based on Turkish Civilization, by taking into account the century-long historical experience of the Turkic World and the cultural heritage taken over from various civilizational basins. They strove for reconstructing the area of life, the borders of which were drawn as the Turkic World, in political, social, economic, and cultural terms.

Contribution Rate Statement

The authors' contribution rates in this study are equal.

Conflict of Interest Statement

There is no conflict of interest with any institution or person within the scope of this study. There is no conflict of interest between the authors.

Notes

1 Contemporarisation (Muasırlaşmak): It has been used to catch up on the most advanced practices and technics of the age.

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Türk Dünyasında Birlik Fikrinin Kökenleri[*]

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Öz

1885 yılından itibaren Osmanlı İmparatorluğu dışındaki Türklerin bağımsızlıklarını kaybetmeleri ve Osmanlıcılık, Ümmetçilik gibi fikirlerin zamanın ruhuna yenik düşmesiyle birlikte, medeniyet anlayışını çok katmanlı bir yeniden inşa sürecine tabii tutan Türk Dünyasında birlik fikri, bir dünya görüşü ve yeni bir medeniyet tasavvuru olarak ortaya çıkmıştır. Bu çalışma; Türk Dünyasının asırlara dayanan tarihi ve kültürel mirasının, dilde birlik fikrinin diğer bir ifadeyle dilin birleştirici bir unsur olarak ele alınması yaklaşımının temsilcileri tarafından, nasıl yeniden inşa edildiğini ele almaktadır. Bu kapsamda beş farklı dilde neşredilmiş araştırmalardan istifade edilmiştir.

Anahtar Kelimeler

Türk Dünyası, Türk Dili, Türk Medeniyeti, Türkler, Birlik Fikri.

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Истоки идеи единства в тюркском мире[*]

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Аннотация

Поскольку тюрки за пределами Османской империи потеряли свою независимость с 1885 года, а такие идеи, как османизм и панисламизм, были подавлены духом времени, идея единства возникла как мировоззрение и новый образ цивилизации в тюркском мире, который переосмыслил ее цивилизационную идентичность в рамках многоуровневого периода реконструкции. В данном исследовании рассматривается реконструкция многовекового историко-культурного наследия тюркского мира представителями этой идеи на основе единства языка, т.е. наличия языка как объединяющего элемента, с исторической точки зрения. В этих рамках использовались исследования, опубликованные на пяти разных языках.

Ключевые слова

Тюркский мир, тюркский язык, тюркская цивилизация, тюрки, идея единства.

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Araştırma Makalesi / Research Article

An Evaluation of India's Central Asian Policy in the Context of Regional Interests*

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Abstract

In this study, the transformations in Central Asian policies from the post-cold war period of India to the present will be discussed. In this context, the influence of India in the power struggle in Central Asia, the basis on which India has relations with the region, and the place of this spiral of ties in India's economy will be tried to be revealed in the context of foreign policy analysis. The main determination of the study is that despite the changes in the internal and external conjuncture of India in the historical process of more than a century, their relations have not been broken, and there has always been a unique, exceptional and always special type of economic and security relations. Another finding is that it has the potential to provide strategic benefits to India in geopolitical competition. The historical development of the relations between India and Central Asian countries and how it can be shaped in the future have been tried to be revealed. This study concludes with an analysis of the current threats for India's national security policy.

Keywords

India, Central Asia, India-Central Asia Relations, Eurasia, Non-aligned Movement.

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Introduction

The South Asian region has attracted attention throughout history due to its geographical location, natural resources, and religious and cultural structure. Because of this interest, this region has been seen as a colonial area at various times for centuries, resulting in the determination of defense-based strategies in the foreign policy preferences of the states. India's independence, the formation of a Hindu elite base, and the cold war period in the aftermath and the accompanying period resulted in India's defensive policies. Central Asia, which was under the monopoly of the USSR during the Cold War, entered into bilateral relations with other states in the context of the USSR's world policies. After the collapse of the USSR, this region participated in relations with Russia, the USA, and China, and the developing regional states established various links in the context of the policies of these major countries.

Although India does not have a common border with Central Asia, it has various historical ties due to its proximity. Central Asia was closed to the outside world during the Cold War years, as it became part of a spiral of relations with India and USRR. India, which is in the group described as 'Non-aligned' due to the conjuncture brought by the period, established close relations with the USSR due to Pakistan's proximity to the USA. It has followed various policies of rapprochement with the Central Asian states. Indian Prime Minister Nehru's visit to Tashkent and Almaty after his visit to the USSR in 1955 can be described as India's first relations with this region after its independence. However, these bilateral relations continued in cultural and economic terms in the years after this period as part of the context of bilateral relations with Russia.

After the disintegration of the USSR, the security problems that emerged in Central Asia increased the security concerns of India. After the Central Asian states participated in bilateral relations with China and Pakistan, the Taliban's expansion in Central Asia, and the rise of the Kashmir problem, India tried to prevent these developments, which it saw as a threat to its national security in the post-cold war period. So, India has cooperated with the Central Asian states to reach various bilateral agreements on counter-terrorism. Furthermore, parallel to the development of the Indian economy due to the September 11 attacks, India started to attach importance to

Central Asia in terms of energy due to its increasing energy needs. Recently, India, which has followed a policy of developing direct relations with the region due to its rapidly growing economy and regional interests, has been establishing various bilateral alliances with the states in the area in order to meet the basic needs of the Make in India program and the context of regional security.

In this study, the transformations in Central Asian policies from the post-cold war period of India to the present will be discussed. The influence of India in the power struggle in Central Asia, the basis on which India has relations with the region, and the place of this spiral of ties in India's economy will be tried to be revealed in the context of foreign policy analysis.

Limited Relations under the Non-Aligned Movement

The concept of the Cold War, which was defined as a reflection of the power struggle between the USA and the USSR after World War II, transformed the structure defined as the international system and brought along a bipolar competition. In this established system, differential groupings have emerged which follow a balanced policy to keep themselves out of polarization due to security concerns as well as ideological and economic interests. The Non-Aligned Movement emerged precisely as a result of this polarization, at a time when states followed a policy of balance. These 3rd group of countries, which wanted to determine their destiny during the period called the liquidation of colonialism to the Cold War period, focused primarily on developing their economies instead of being involved in the tense environment of the cold war. The main goal in this context was to strengthen their existing economic structures and not be a party to the conflict between these two poles.

There is lack of agreement in the literature on understanding of this period since Non-Aligned movement is perceived as defence policy rather than a block. For example, while Alam interprets this situation as a search for identity through the concepts of Self-respect, the autonomy of decision-making, and civilizational entity (Alam 284); Devdutt, in contrast, describes this environment as a reaction to capitalism and socialism (Devdutt 383). Whereas Harshe focuses on the thesis that this environment is a cultural synthesis (Harshe 401), Srivastava directs the literature with the antithesis

that the grass is crushed while the elephants are chirping (Srivastava 71). Countries involved in this movement stayed close to the East or West bloc and received various aid from time to time. However, in general terms, we can conclude that this organization constitutes an alternative other than the East/West block, which is embodied in the Non-Aligned Movement.

Although there is no geographical border between India and Central Asian countries, the Central Asian region has vital importance for India, especially in terms of security paradigms, from the independence of India to the present day. Even though the power centers in this region are generally considered to be of origin from the USA, Russia, and China. For India, stability and economic relations are also the triggers of its internal problems. Both the common cultural heritage dating back to the 16th century and the 'partial' geographical proximity are also associated with the cultural heritage of India.

The strategic importance of Central Asia forced India to get closer to the USSR during the cold war (Singh 72). The region's geographical proximity to Pakistan, Afghanistan, and China aligns with India's security interests. This situation led India to take a role in peacemaking and stability establishment. Blank states that the basic level of relations in India's Central Relations in the period from the 2nd World War to the present was shaped by the threat of terrorism that may come from this region (Blank 327-328). Instability factors such as the power vacuum, ethnic tensions, sectarian conflicts, and internal conflicts that emerged in Central Asia due to the collapse of the USSR increased India's security concerns. The claims of the Taliban administration on Kashmir and the expansionist policies of China and Pakistan have also brought India into the various security norms and armament movement. In this context, India has tried to establish a balance against China and Pakistan in Central Asia by making bilateral agreements with the region's countries on counter-terrorism and technical assistance (Afzal 160). After the September 11 attacks, the US operation in Afghanistan and the subsequent developments allowed India to enter new alliances and approaches. As a result of the increasing fear of terrorism in India in the post-9/11 period, the energy supply required for the sustainability of economic development, and the search for new alliances against the bilateral integrated polarization, various partnerships and economic alliances have been opened

between India and the USA (Hathaway 7). The USA, which established close relations with Pakistan at the beginning of the cold war, started to carry out various joint activities with India towards the end of the cold war.

The power balance policy between the East/West bloc also took its place in the concept of balance politics in these two blocs in the tensions between India and Pakistan. According to Chiriyankandath, this situation indicates that it is the result of the party policies followed by Pakistan rather than the independence of India from any bloc (Chiriyankandath 205). For example, India, which initially followed a policy of neutrality between the two blocs, Pakistan's membership in SEATO, and its close relations with the Western bloc pushed India to develop bilateral joint ties with Soviet Russia. This non-alignment policy of India, which continued with the Bandung Conference in the following years, resulted in the India-USA rapprochement with the Sino-India. Even though Kennedy's visit to India was interpreted as an axis shift in bilateral relations in this region, the Pakistan-India war and the immigration waves in the 1970s and the nuclear armament moves of the USA in Pakistan kept India in ties with Russia (Chiriyankandath 205).

These bilateral relations continued until the end of the cold war. The most significant advantage of this situation for India was the development of relations with Central Asia, which was described as the backyard of the USSR at that time, and the increase of various military and economic partnerships. Mohan states that Russia considered India as the most prominent strategic partner (Mohan 27). But in the context of Central Asia, it should be noted that India's leading strategic goal is to prevent Central Asia from becoming a market for the activities of rival countries. Considering the increase in separatist movements in Kashmir, any increase in the activities of countries whose foreign policies had an 'Islamic' soft power motif meant a security risk for India. Bilateral relations with Russia were important in this respect. The religious conflict environment in the Middle East, which was another problematic region, was far from being a danger for India, brought India closer to the USSR. Central Asian countries had to deal with their national identity problems and policies (Roy 104). But theoretically, a common denominator has also been found in the relations with this closeness with Russia has also been the determinant of India's Central Asian policy after the cold war.

Changes in Indian Foreign Policy: Transition from Non-alignment to Multilateralism

The post-cold war period is generally characterized as a phase of policy change for India. The most crucial stage of this transformation is the steps taken in foreign and economic policies. India, which was involved in a balanced approach close to the eastern bloc and the Non-Aligned movement during the cold war, has determined a diplomatic vision to pursue liberal economic policies that can integrate itself into the global economy (Chiriyankandath 207). The most critical step of this process is the steps followed to solve the political problems with Pakistan and China (Mohan 28). In addition, the opening of the country's economy to the outside by focusing on Western-oriented policies and the mission of pursuing peaceful policies with all countries have also been the determining factors of India's general foreign policy. The cooperation policies with the USA, the importance given to economic integration with Central Asia, the rapprochement with China and Pakistan for security issues, bilateral relations with Afghanistan and Tajikistan for the solution of the internal security problem, and finally, the ongoing cooperation with Russia constitute the main elements of the foreign policy. It has made a significant contribution to the growth and development of the Indian economy by taking all these missions within the liberal policies desired to be undertaken. The most critical issue in the procedures followed during this period is the Kashmir issue.

The Kashmir issue is perhaps the most challenging regional issue to resolve. This issue, which is the most crucial priority of Indian foreign policy, has been the primary determinant of India's cooperation with Pakistan since its establishment. India sees Kashmir as an inseparable part of itself and accuses Pakistan of supporting the jihadist forces. The rejection of all accusations makes reconciliation and solutions impossible. There was even a nuclear crisis due to this region. This situation, known today as the Kirgil crisis, includes many tragedies, from the military coup attempt in Pakistan to the region's lack of investment to the situation of mass migration. However, there were diplomatic attempts for bilateral relations due to India's liberal policies, and as a result, a joint declaration was published. A highway connection with Pakistani-controlled Kashmir was opened, and steps were taken to develop economic relations between the two countries.

Another critical policy of India in the post-cold war period was diplomatic initiatives in the border problems with China. The softening that started with bilateral relations after the visit of Vajpayee to China continued with increasing commercial ties. In this period, the trade volume between the two countries made China the largest investor in India, especially in technology transfer, and China's infrastructure and investments in India significantly increased (Dahlman 45-53). India, which wanted to break the developments in China-Pakistan relations during the cold war and gain regional power, made various cooperation in the economic field after the two countries resolved their land disputes to a large extent in the post-cold war. In this context, India became a member of the SCO and followed a policy of balancing the increasing Chinese influence in Central Asia. China's investments in Central Asia and its economic power are undeniable. Even today, a vast Chinese hegemony still dominates this region economically. India, which especially wants to improve its economic relations, has carried out its diplomatic activities to not be adversely affected by the possible Chinese influence by solving its political problems with China (Baladas 4).

India, which sees Russia as a balancing element, gave importance to the Moscow-Beijing-Delhi alliance. Thus, it tried to find a place for itself in the market by balancing the economic and demographic Chinese influence in Central Asia. In an environment dominated by liberal ideas based on political relations and economic cooperation, India's balancing of its interests with the two big giants on the same denominator is like a summary of India's policies. The most prominent example of this summary was the policies aimed at gathering these three countries on a common denominator in Central Asia.

After the Cold War, the USA was the most significant economic initiative in Central Asia. In particular, the USA, which attaches great importance to this region to break Russia's hegemony here, adopted the views of Frederick Starr, known as the 'Greater Central Asia Project', as a diplomatic mission and the 'Silk Road Paper', mainly known as 'A Partnership for Central Asia', has 36 pages. The main criterion in India's relations with the USA is policy initiatives that will subsidize its economic interests in this region by collaborating in the interests of the USA. In addition to these policies, the USA has a Turkmenistan-Afghanistan-Pakistan-India (TAPI)

Pipeline project, also known as Trans-Afghan Pipeline (TAP) project. The country that most supported the US intervention to break the influence of the Taliban was India (Aras and Croissant 140). The developments in Afghanistan during this period were the biggest obstacle to India's expansion (Kulkarni). It aimed to fasten India's import-dependent energy policies with energy from Central Asia. However, the growing fear of terrorism in the region has also reduced India's support for the TAPI project. The unstable environment in Afghanistan and the Central Asian region under Taliban rule resulted in India's redefining its Central Asian policies. This energy corridor project, which could not be completed due to geographical factors, is now interrupted by political instability.

India was the country that invested the most in Afghanistan after the Taliban regime. Stabilization in Afghanistan was key to India's national security. For this reason, India has given support to Afghanistan in many projects for its restructuring. At that time, these aids were around 588 million dollars on average (Norfolk 8). The Indian government sent its experts in various fields to Afghanistan and made many investments in developing the country and economic integration. India puts more effort into creating this region, Mullen says that India spends a lot of effort in restoring cultural ties and carrying out cultural relations together with economic developments and economic considerations in India's relations (Mullen 7). Also, the Indian government has various missions to eliminate the dangers from this region; Sharma noted that the Indian government adopted a diplomatic mission to protect itself from the adverse effects of security concerns and drug trafficking and that India made various initiatives in intergovernmental relations (Sharma 3).

High-level visits between the two countries, the fact that then-president Hamid Karzai studied in India and attached great importance to ties with India, and various mutually signed agreements on the fight against terrorism, agriculture, health, and education contribute to the development of relations between the two countries. These relations were the main guarantee of the security of the TAP project. The TAP was tried to be developed through Turkmenistan after the Taliban took over the administration in Afghanistan. With the US invasion of Afghanistan, the TAP project was further developed with Turkmenistan, Pakistan, and Afghanistan. The project was

further developed with the USA's support of India and Russia's interest in this project. However, the weak stability in Afghanistan at that time made it difficult for Russia to be included. There was an attempt to transport Iranian natural gas to India via Pakistan. However, the opposition of the USA to this development prevented the realization of this project (Motkin).

Changing Balances in Central Asia and India's Economic Cooperation

Since 2014, with the announcement of the Make in India program, India has started to follow a comprehensive path on a very different level of economic model in the world. With the Make in India program, which aims to boost India's manufacturing industry, foreign investment has been encouraged through FDI policies in several sectors that were previously dependent on imports. Additionally, new plans have been put in place to improve infrastructure and increase production capacity, which in turn will lead to a rise in living standards and decrease India's reliance on Asian-based production (Panwar 34). Aiming to break the model of Central Asia, India started to develop its policies in Central Asia. India established various bilateral relations, which is not a continuation of both the uniform bilateral relations of the cold war and the liberal policies after it. India has embarked on policies to develop and expand its relations with this region, especially within the scope of energy and security policies (Wariko 11-15). The Make in India program acts as a decisive actor in India's foreign policy and a catalyst for further developing bilateral relations.

India's first initiatives with Central Asia in this period started with Prime Minister Modi's visit to five Central Asian countries within the scope of the 'Central Asian Cooperation Policy' in 2015. The main objective of these visits is India's adopting a more provocative approach and economic cooperation. It leads to search in a new way. While China aims to realize the dream of a new and developed silk road with its projects, it uses geography and finance. On the other hand, India takes political action to improve the scope of its economic relations (Menon and Rajiv). Trying to develop the content and functionality of the Make in India program, India has followed policies aimed at increasing the security of the energy corridor and its market share.

Today, for India, there is a situation where the regional security problems in Central Asia are spreading to its own country. The increasing radical activity in this region has become a significant security concern within the states. Extreme actions in Syria and Afghanistan show that thousands of people participated in these activities, especially in Central Asia. It is estimated that close to 10% of the foreign fighters from Asia are from Central Asia (Lemon, Mironova and Tobey 17). Even the efforts of these radical groups to return to the Central Asian areas as a result of the suppression of extreme activities raises a security concern in itself. Considering ISIS's search for influence in Central Asia, cooperation with the states in the fight against terrorism makes it inevitable on India's agenda. China and India both see ties as necessary in terms of security and regional stability in the context of developments in Afghanistan. Each state is active in providing aid to the region through aid and education programs, and both are aware of the importance of the region's energy resources. This situation pushes both states to develop policy in the context of the Shanghai Cooperation Organization (Joshi). This and similar security concerns have paved the way for India to cooperate in the institutional structure for defense cooperation at a bilateral level. As a result, various defense and military cooperation agreements were signed with Kyrgyzstan and Turkmenistan. The most concrete step taken is the bilateral agreements with Kyrgyzstan. The main target of these negotiations was joint exercises with Kyrgyzstan and Mountain Training Centers established (Hussein and Kashgarian).

In addition, military exercises were held in Probal Dostyk between India and Kazakhstan (Samachar). The main objective of these exercises, which are held regularly every year, is to focus on the fight against terrorism in urban and rural areas. The two countries have been trained in joint training camps (Menon and Rajiv). The military exercises deployed in Lebanon under the command of India are a part of this program. In addition, the initiatives of the President of Uzbekistan toward military cooperation during his visit to India in 2020 are concrete steps to improve stability. During this visit, and collaboration between the two countries was conceptualized by establishing a joint working group in the military field.

Energy security for India is evolving into different dimensions day by day. Today, the concept of security is still perceived as maintaining the status quo

for India and keeping the terrorist threat away from this region. For India, maintaining the status quo is understood as internal turmoil and non-state actors and as climate change energy supply, and loss of regional control. It is thought that this situation will only be successful for India by increasing deterrence and being indispensable in international alliances. In this sense, another basis of India's relations with Central Asia is in the energy field. To secure its energy needs, India follows policies to develop civil nuclear cooperation. In this context, a contract was signed to purchase 5000 tons of uranium in Kazakhstan (MEA). Negotiations for this uranium purchase are still ongoing today. At the same time, a supply agreement was signed with Uzbekistan to purchase uranium.

With the energy resources, India aims to increase its energy security and reduce its dependence on a single country or region by spreading foreign dependency. India focuses on multilateral engagements with Central Asia at the bilateral level. India negotiated with Iran for various multilateral projects, signed a customs contract to improve the transportation network through Iran, and tried to develop an integrated system with this cooperation with Oman and Turkmenistan. Although the US-Iran tension puts these bilateral relations in danger, India aims to eliminate the embargo imposed on Iran with its diplomatic vision. While this situation still seems to be a speculation today, this cooperation is still active in the current case. Also, an essential step of dual multi-platforms has been taken economically. The 'Joint Asia Working Group' was created for a free trade agreement involving Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, and India. The feasibility report submitted by this group officially put this trade agreement into operation. Because of these relations, India joined the Shanghai Cooperation Organization as a full member Indian. These agendas had previously affected Russia and China. With its involvement of India and Pakistan in the SCO, this organization now represents almost half of the world's population. As a matter of fact, this situation ensures that India stays in touch with Central Asia and makes India an essential power in a platform where it can raise the economic and security trump cards it may have for the world.

The participation of Pakistan and India in the SCO was interpreted as an increase in anti-Western sentiment in this region at first (Aris 457-482). India's participation in the SCO is to realize security-oriented regional

cooperation (Nishtha 85). However, since the organization's establishment, it has been structured under the influence of two great powers, Russia and China. This situation was described as part of Russia and China's economic environmental defense policies. The SCO's anti-Western norms have placed China and Russia in a status quo against the USA, establishing hegemony. With the full membership status of Pakistan and India, this situation is no longer a fear; it has made each state a balancer in the security and economic areas of the regional states. With the rise of China in the post-cold war, Russia saw India as a balancing factor. Russia, which is afraid of China's Belt and Road Initiative (BRI) programs, has made sales with India in military equipment, especially in defense.

Russia perceived India as an actor preventing the expansion of China rather than a market. In contrast, India viewed Russia as a guarantor under the SCO against Chinese expansion (Munir and Keshari 101). Post-Cold War China-India relations are full of border opposition (Zhu 16). Although India's security-oriented policy in its relations with China, especially with Pakistan, provides new gains to the power in domestic politics, it weakens India's influence in the global scale. Both states have stepped into various references in the post-2013 period, and border problems have caused tension between the two countries, especially in the last period. The relations between Central Asian states and India will cause a diplomatic crisis between China and India in the future due to market interests. Both countries look at as a market.

This bilateral cooperation recently developed mutual understanding, and dialogue between India and Central Asian countries. These breakthroughs, which are a spiral of positive relations for India, have allowed India to engage with the region, not as a part of bilateral and multilateral relations. Foreign-dependent policies of the Cold War and post-war period are now of great importance for India to strengthen the uniform and independent decision-making mechanism. The India-Central Asia Dialogue held in Samarkand became the determinant of these policies. It is undeniable that the term geography has had a political and economic interest in Central Asia for centuries. India's policy of connecting with Central Asia and the EU's projects in Central Asia seems likely to be the most decisive period for the 21st century. India's diplomatic vision today is a more fluid and

dynamic environment than in the past. Today, a period of stability in which the United States is the sole superpower has ended. This period has been replaced by an environment that we can describe as the second cold war period based on friction, in which China and Russia are also involved. Developing countries are trying to stop being a pole on the side of the great powers as in the past and follow a policy of neutrality as in the cold war period in the history. In this perspective, India is trying to follow a policy to protect its regional interests by being in a strategic position in important functional groups such as SCO, BRICS, G20, etc. Although the future of such groupings brings along a geopolitical dilemma, it seems that this situation will overshadow the functionality of the security concept in the future.

India still maintains its multiple bilateral relations. At the Interaction and Confidence-Building Measures in Asia (CICA) conference held in Kazakhstan in the last quarter of 2021, Indian foreign minister Jaishankar also visited Kyrgyzstan after he visited Kazakhstan and met with Raşid Meredov, the foreign minister of Turkmenistan (Menon and Rajiv). The talks in question are essential in India's steps towards improving its economic and political ties with Central Asia. In addition to these talks, it is possible to say that the relations between India and the Central Asian states have made progress recently. In particular, the India-Central Asia Dialogue meetings and the India-Central Asia Business Council support this situation.

Today, Central Asian countries follow a policy of opening up to the world after gaining independence. For the past five years, regional states have been engaging in multidimensional relations both regionally and globally. One of the countries that they want to strengthen their ties per these policies in India. India's rapidly growing economy and the search for partners at the international level for various domestic development policies is an opportunity for Central Asian countries. The economic rapprochement between India and the Central Asian countries will profoundly contribute to the development of this region. Central Asian countries, trying to increase their economic cooperation, want to reach the seas through South Asia. One of the most important examples of this is Mazari Sharif – Kabul – Peshawar Railway Project, which is planned to be realized between Uzbekistan and Pakistan. This project is a bridge designed to be established between Central

Asia and South Asia. Including India in this project may be an essential step toward improving relations between the two regions in the future. However, Pakistan does not favor this view. On the other hand, India is looking for large markets and strong collaborations for its growing economy. It is an indispensable factor for sustainable development in developing countries today for these projects. Due to the function of the established economic corridors, India attaches more importance to its relations with this region than in the past. However, the most critical problem in India's relations with the Central Asian countries is that there is no geographical connection between them. The only way to overcome this problem lies in improving relations with Pakistan.

Pakistan's current attitude does not constitute a very positive situation for the solution to this problem. Since resolving this problem is difficult today, India tries to solve its trade relations with this region through the Iranian border and air corridor. But the US's attitude towards Iran jeopardizes these plans. One of the most critical topics of Jaishankar's recent trips is security and radicalization in Afghanistan. The existence of radical terrorist organizations in Afghanistan depends on the stability and functionality of the economic corridors in Central Asia and South Asia (Rowden). Therefore, efforts are being made to solve the radical activities in this region, both in terms of the internal stability of India and the sustainability of the investments made in Central Asia. Today's Central Asian countries now have to make more efforts to reduce their dependence on Russia. China's various investments and Russian influence in this region were seriously balanced in the current political environment. The possible difficulties that Central Asian countries may face shortly also present great opportunities for China and India. In addition, with the Taliban's takeover of power in Afghanistan, India followed a policy of developing relations with the countries in this region through diplomatic relations. When the danger of economic instability is added to the increasing security concerns in the region, this situation naturally brings the threat of radicalization in the current situation. Recently, there has been a global academic interest in comparing competition between countries and regions. The Taliban's re-emergence in Afghanistan, the fact that ISIS is still effective, and Pakistan's deterrent policies in the region are among the dangers that may come to India from this region. Terrorism, a tool of violence, has not yet withdrawn from these two regions. In this case, it

still continues to be a significant risk for India today. India's multicultural structure and the fact that it controls a wide geographical area reveal the fact that order can be maintained by preserving the current status quo in this region. Even the existence of a possible danger forces India to act within this mission in its relations with this region.

One of the most critical advantages of Central Asia for India is its energy resources. Turkmenistan is one of the largest centers in the world in terms of natural gas reserves. There are also sizeable natural gas reserves in Kazakhstan. These reserves make the region more valuable for India, whose economy is increasing. In particular, implementing the TAP project further strengthens India's relations with this region. This corridor is basically a vital route of the historical Silk Road. Although the rivalry in the historical process has weakened the relations between India and Central Asian countries over time, it remains for India today.

India's diplomatic relations over security, trade, and energy resources and the versatile, balancing, and pragmatic policies of Central Asian countries are also an important opportunity for re-establishing bilateral relations. It seems that the parties will continue to develop their bilateral relations in this context in the coming periods. It is undeniable that potential cooperation will improve economic development and regional stability. One of the main methods of solving the problems in Afghanistan for the security of the economic and political stability of Central Asia and India is this regional cooperation. Therefore, this spiral of regional relations, which is followed today, is of great importance in the future.

Conclusion

In this article, India's relations with the states in the Central Asia, its policies from the cold war period to the present, are evaluated in the context of regional interests. This evaluation was made over three periods, India's relations with the Central Asian states were examined as the Cold War, post-Cold War, and last periods. During the Cold War, India's policies of the non-alignment period, the influence of the USSR in this region, the effect of geographical factors on the policies of the period, and Indian foreign policy within the framework of Nehru principles were examined. In the post-cold war period, India's adaptation policies, India's relations with

Central Asian states within the scope of liberal economic policies, India's search for regional alliances, the US-India relations after the September 11 attacks, India's Central Asian policy, India's bilateral relations with Central Asian countries within the scope of Shanghai Cooperation Organization and various military and economic cooperation of India with Central Asian countries were examined. In the last chapter, in which India's current foreign policies are analyzed, the scope of India's Make in India program, its economic relations with Central Asian states within this scope, the effect of India's foreign policy change on its relations with Central Asian countries, India's relations with the Central Asian countries, the impact of the recent high-level meetings and conferences at the ministerial level and the regional competition in India's relations with the Central Asian states were analyzed.

India's Central Asian policies in the post-cold war period carried out bilateral relations in the context of the USSR, since the Central Asian region was closed to the outside world in this period, and this region was partially open to India because of the USSR-India rapprochement. The origins of the sympathy of the Central Asian states towards India also come from this period. In addition, due to the proximity of this region to Pakistan, Afghanistan, and China, India's interest in Central Asia was only on a cultural scale. Security dimension is also of great importance in India's view of Central Asia. The possible terrorist threat to India from this region, claims of Pakistan and China on Kashmir led India to seek various alliances to eliminate such problems in its relations. Although India took part in the non-aligned movement during the cold war, as a result of the Pakistan-USA rapprochement, India started to get closer with the USSR. In this rapprochement, the Central Asian region, which was closed to the outside world, pushed closer to India.

The power vacuum, ethnic tensions, and internal conflicts that emerged in Central Asia in the post-Cold War period also increased India's security concerns. In addition, China and Pakistan's close relations with Central Asian countries during this period, the Taliban's attempt to establish an activity in Kashmir increased security concerns in India's security concerns and pushed India to develop relations with this region within the scope of security paradigms. In the post-September 11 period, India's close stance to the United States in its relations with this region can also be evaluated as

a reflection of these security concerns. However, to meet the energy need arising due to the rapid increase in the growth of the Indian economy, the fundamental economic approach in its relations with this region has been in the context of energy. Although India's lack of direct transportation channels such as land and railway between India and the Central Asian region hindered India's trade relations with the region's countries, India's inclusion in the SCO, free trade zone formations, and various cooperation conferences. This collective situation enabled India to join the natural gas pipelines, and cultural and commercial ties with this region were strengthened with the Great Central Asia Initiative. Moreover, India entered into various military alliances with the countries in the region, and in this context, India established an army base in Farkhor, Tajikistan. The primary purpose of the military partnerships established is to follow a policy of balance against the military alliances of China and Pakistan and to take security measures against terrorist attacks that may come from this region.

With the Make in India program, India has started to follow a comprehensive path on a very different economic model in the world. In this context, it has started to make various policy changes in Central Asian relations. India, which attaches great importance to its relations with this region due to meeting the basic needs of its economy and the market need to be brought by economic growth, has preferred to establish direct bilateral relations with the states of the region instead of various triple alliance searches in the past. India's relations with Central Asian countries developed significantly in the context of diplomatic, economic, and security. As a diplomatic initiative, the trust conferences of the foreign ministers and the India-Central Asia dialogue programs have a great importance in the relations of India-Central Asian countries. With the new energy and economic corridors that were established, economic alliances were found with other states. The influence of Pakistan and China in the markets in this region was tried to be broken. The transformation of the scope of the Make in India program from a development policy to a regional development policy, especially in the last period, is another development observed. Finally, security concerns arising from Kashmir and Taliban influence are overcome with military alliances and joint military operations established with regional states.

Today, India continues to maintain relations with the Central Asian region amid such developments. Although India places great importance on these relations, it appears that India's policies towards the region and the challenges it faces may become increasingly difficult to address in the future. There is a lot of regional competition, and geographical factors significantly hinder India's influence. Today's regional cooperation of India is not very effective compared to Türkiye, Russia, and China. Türkiye's relations with this region have increased significantly, especially in the cultural, economic, and military fields. In addition, Türkiye's regional cooperation with Pakistan and China affects even India's relations with Central Asia. Even in Kashmir, it cannot be said that India has found support.

On top of that, the change of government in Afghanistan and the increasing terrorism and internal conflicts in the Central Asian regions in the last period seriously threaten the security of India. However, it is evident that India's influence in the market is also disruptive, especially since India's high-tech production capacity and R&D ratios have not reached the desired levels, the foreign dependency in the military field is increasing day by day, and the market's efficiency is shifting from finished goods to semi-finished goods and raw materials. Once for all, the fact that the borders started to close together with the pandemic process and the emerging global economic crises seem to affect India's foreign policy relations with this region in the future. But no matter what, the fact that India has now taken a unique diplomatic stance and steered its economic and political relations in this context indicates that India has taken a different perspective on a global scale and that it has a crucial importance with its rapidly growing economy. These developments will increase the reputation of India.

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Soğuk Savaştan Günümüze Hindistan'ın Orta Asya Politikasının Bölgesel Çıkarlar Bağlamında Değerlendirilmesi[*]

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Öz

Bu çalışmada Hindistan'ın Orta Asya devletleri ile olan ilişkileri Hindistan'ın bölgesel çıkarları bağlamında değerlendirilmiştir. Bu bağlamda, ilk bölümde soğuk savaş döneminde Hindistan'ın Orta Asya politikası analiz edilmiş olup, bağlantısızlık politikası kapsamında SSCB bağlamındaki ilişkileri ve Orta Asya'nın güvenliğindeki rolü değerlendirilmiştir. İkinci bölümde ise Hindistan'ın bağlantısızlık politikasının Orta Asya devletleri ile olan ilişkilere ne gibi etkiler yaptığı analiz edilmiştir. Mevcut durumun tartışıldığı son bölümde ise Orta Asya'daki ülkeler ile ikili ilişkilerin yanı sıra çeşitli diplomatik konferanslar, antlaşmalar ve Şangay İşbirliği Örgütü kapsamında serbest ticaret bölgeleri ve ekonomik koridorların gerekliliği değerlendirilmiştir. Çalışmanın temel çıkarımı tarihsel bağlamda Hindistan'ın iç ve dış politikasında meydana gelen değişikliklere rağmen Orta Asya ülkeleri ile olan kültürel, ekonomik ve askeri ilişkilerin kopmamış olması üzerinedir. Diğer bir bulgu ise jeopolitik rekabette Orta Asya ülkelerinin Hindistan'a stratejik fayda sağlama potansiyeline sahip olduğudur. Bu çalışma, Hindistan'ın ulusal güvenlik politikasının karşı karşıya olduğu güncel tehlikelerin analizi ile sona ermektedir.

Anahtar Kelimeler

Hindistan, Orta Asya, Hindistan-Orta Asya İlişkileri, Avrasya, Bağlantısızlar Hareketi.

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Оценка центральноазиатской политики Индии в контексте региональных интересов[*]

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Аннотация

В этом исследовании рассматривается трансформация политики Индии в Центральной Азии с периода после окончания «холодной войны» в Индии до настоящего времени. В этом контексте делаются попытки проанализировать с точки зрения внешней политики и раскрыть влияние Индии в борьбе за власть в Центральной Азии, анализируется основа, на которой Индия строит отношения с регионом, и место этой спирали связей в экономике Индии. В рамках политики неприсоединения Индии оценивались ее отношения с СССР и роль Индии в обеспечении безопасности в Центральной Азии. В последней части, где обсуждается текущая ситуация, оценивается необходимость зон свободной торговли и экономических коридоров в рамках различных дипломатических конференций, соглашений и Шанхайской организации сотрудничества, а также двусторонних отношений со странами Центральной Азии. Основное определение исследования состоит в том, что, несмотря на изменение внутренней и внешней конъюнктуры Индии в историческом процессе более чем за столетие, их отношения не были нарушены, и всегда существовал уникальный, исключительный и всегда особый тип отношения в сфере

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экономики и безопасности. Еще один вывод заключается в том, что он может обеспечить стратегические преимущества Индии в геополитической конкуренции. Предпринята попытка раскрыть историческое развитие отношений между Индией и странами Центральной Азии и то, как они могут складываться в будущем. Это исследование завершается анализом текущих угроз, стоящих перед политикой национальной безопасности Индии.

Ключевые слова

Индия, Центральная Азия, отношения Индии и Центральной Азии, Евразия.

Yayın Değerlendirme / Book Reviews

Abdiraşidov, Zaynabidin. *İsmail Gaspıralı ve XX. Yüzyılın Başlarında Türkistan (Temaslar–İlişkiler–Tesir).* Çev. Hatice Kerimoğlu. Selenge Yayınları, 2022.[*]

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> *"Hiç kimse Kırımlı İsmail Bey Gaspirinski kadar bütün Türklük gayesini vuzuh, sebat ve ısrarla nazariyatta takip fiiliyatta tatbike sayetmemiştir."*
> *Yusuf AKÇURA*

Dilde, fikirde, işte birlik şiarıyla Kırım'dan yola çıkan ve kısa sürede bütün Türk dünyasını tesiri altına alan nevi şahsına münhasır bir isim olan İsmail Bey Gaspıralı, yaşadığı dönemden günümüze uzanan süre zarfında önemli bir şahsiyet olarak ön plana çıkmış ve etki ettiği alanlarda derin izler bırakmıştır. Bu noktadan hareketle İsmail Bey Gaspıralı ve onun ortaya koyduğu fikirlerle alakalı pek çok çalışma yapılmıştır[1]. Ancak Gaspıralı'nın düşünce dünyasının Türkistan'a etkisi üzerine yapılan çalışmalar ayrıca bir öneme sahiptir. Bu noktada özellikle Türkistan'daki reform ihtiyacına bağlı olarak yaşanan gelişmeleri Gaspıralı'nın fikirleri üzerinden değerlendiren önemli bir eser ön plana çıkmaktadır. Bu eser 2022 yılının Ocak ayında Selenge Yayınları tarafından basılan ve Zaynabidin Abdiraşidov'a ait olan Rusçadan Türkçeye çevirisi ise Hatice Kerimoğlu tarafından yapılan çalışmadır.

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19. yüzyılın sonlarında Türkistan toplumunda baş gösteren reform ihtiyacı İsmail Bey Gaspıralı'nın düşünsel temellerini oluşturduğu ve meşalesini yaktığı Ceditçilik fikriyle vücut bulmuştur. Gaspıralı'nın başlattığı Ceditçilik hareketi özellikle 20. yüzyılın ilk çeyreğinde Rus işgali altında bulunan Türkistan coğrafyasında Türklük bilincinin korunmasında ve gelişmesinde büyük rol oynamıştır. Nitekim bu eser, İsmail Bey Gaspıralı'nın ortaya koyduğu düşüncelerin Türkistan coğrafyasına ne ölçüde etki ettiğini anlamak adına mühim bir çalışmadır. Keza İsmail Bey Gaspıralı, Türkistan Ceditçileri için manevi bir öğretmen ve reform hareketinin sembolü olmuştur.

Kitap giriş ve sonuç kısmı dışında beş bölümden oluşmaktadır. Çalışmanın giriş bölümünde yazar, Gaspıralı'nın hangi şart ve koşullar altında çalışmalarını sürdürdüğü ile ilgili bir çerçeve ortaya koymuş ve yaşadığı zorlukları ele alarak Ceditçilik'in serencamını ortaya koymuştur. Özellikle Ceditçilik'in ortaya çıkışını Müslüman okullarında yapılan reformlarla ilişkilendiren düşünürlerin yaklaşımlarını okuyucuya sunmuştur. Bunun yanı sıra Gaspıralı'nın Cedit Hareketi'nin ilk aşamasında Rusya Müslümanlarını tek bir çerçeve içine almaya çalıştığı tespit edilse de sonrasında bu yaklaşımın Gaspıralı tarafından doğru olmadığının kabulü ile birlikte meseleye yaklaşımını değiştirdiği ve yerel destekçilerinden gelen her türlü girişime destek vermeye başladığı görülmüştür. Ayrıca Zaynabidin, çalışmasında ele aldığı Türkistan'ı, Hive ve Buhara Hanlıkları'ndan ayırmayarak, coğrafi bir bölge olarak Rusya'nın işgal ettiği Rus Türkistan'ını da içine alacak şekilde değerlendirmiştir. Zira 19. yüzyılın sonunda idari olarak Türkistan toprakları; Rus Türkistan'ı, Buhara ve Hive Hanlıklarından oluşmakla birlikte bahsi geçen hanlıklar resmî olarak bağımsız, siyasi ve ekonomik olarak Rusya'ya bağımlıydı.

Eserin "Reformların Ön Koşulları" başlıklı ilk bölümünde 19. yüzyılın sonlarında Türkistan'da ortaya çıkan reform ihtiyaçları eğitim boyutuyla ayrıntılı olarak irdelenmiştir. Bu minvalde Türkistan idaresinin eğitim doktrini, Türkistan'daki Rus eğitim kurumları, Rus ve yerli okullar nezdinde Ruslaştırma politikası ve geleneksel eğitim sistemi üzerinde durulmuştur. Özellikle 19. yüzyılın ikinci yarısında Türkistan'da geleneksel eğitim sistemi üzerinde durulurken, bu sistemin ezberci bir yapıya sahip olması, Ceditçiler tarafından eleştirilmiştir. Dolayısıyla Ceditçiler, modern eğitim sistemine duydukları arzudan ötürü geleneksel kalıpları değiştirmeye çalışmışlardır[2].

• Özkan, Abdiraşidov, Zaynabidin. İsmail Gaspıralı ve XX. Yüzyılın Başlarında Türkistan
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Şüphesiz bu çalışmanın ve çabanın mimarı Ceditçilik anlayışını getiren İsmail Bey Gaspıralı olmuştur[3]. Ceditçilik'in her ne kadar 19. yüzyılın başlarında ortaya çıktığı düşünülse de Gaspıralı'nın *Usûl-i Cedit* metoduyla 1884 senesinde Kırım'da açtığı okulla başlamıştır. Bunun yanı sıra bir Kırım Türkü olan eğitimci İsmail Bey Gaspıralı 19. yüzyılın sonunda ve 20. yüzyılın başında sadece Rusya Müslümanları arasında değil, birçok Şark memleketleri Müslümanları arasında, Transkafkasya ve Orta Asya bölgesinde Müslüman mekteplerin en büyük reformcusu olarak ön plana çıkmış ve bu bölgelerde de okulların açılmasına aracı olmuştur[4].

Çalışmanın "Türkistan'da İsmail Gaspıralı'ya Karşı Tutum" başlıklı ikinci bölümünde Türkistan'da İsmail Bey Gaspıralı'ya yönelik yaklaşım tüm boyutlarıyla irdelenmiştir. Kitabın ilk bölümünde de ele alındığı üzere Gaspıralı'nın Türkistan'daki Rus idaresinin eğitim politikalarını yakından takip ettiği bilinmektedir. Buna karşılık Türkistan'daki üst düzey yerel Rus idarecileri ve bazı Ruslar tarafından iyi tanınan Gaspıralı farklı tanımlamalara maruz kalmıştır. Türkistan'da bulunan üst düzey yerli yetkililer Gaspıralı'nın eğitim aktivitelerine ve onun kişiliğine bağlı olarak onu ulusal bir lider olarak tanımlarken, yerel Rus yetkililer ise Gaspıralı'yı siyasi bir hasım olarak görmüştür[5]. Ne var ki bu algılamalardan öte Gaspıralı'nın yeni eğitim modeli ve anlayışı Türkistan'daki eğitim kurumlarında da reformu öngörüyordu. Gaspıralı Türkistan Genel Valiliğine Müslüman okullarda reform yapılması gerektiğini ve eğitim modelinde kolaylaştırmaya gidilmesini salık veriyordu. Özellikle Gaspıralı'nın mevcut mekteplerdeki altı yıl olan eğitim süresini iki yıla indirme arzusu yeni öğretim modelinin özünü açıklıyordu. İlköğretimin ana dilde yapılması gerektiğine dikkat çeken Gaspıralı, muallimlerin yerel halk temsilcilerinden oluşmasını istiyordu. Gaspıralı'nın bu reform talepleri Kırım'da başarıyla uygulanabilmiştir. Ancak Türkistan Genel Valiliği tarafından Gaspıralı'nın amacının farklı olduğu düşünülmüş ve Rus eğitimciler tarafından bir rakip olarak görülmüştür[6]. Tam da bu noktada ilgili bölümde Türkistanlı Müslümanların Gaspıralı ile ilişkisi iki yönden ele alınmıştır. Bunlardan ilki Buhara ve Hive hükümdarlarının ve yetkililerinin -resmî yerel çevrelerin- Gaspıralı ile kurduğu münasebet, ikincisi ise Türkistan'daki yerli aydınların Gaspıralı ile geliştirdiği ilişki olmuştur. Bu ilişkiler ayrı ayrı başlıklar altında incelenmiş ve okuyucuya sunulmuştur.

Kitabın "Yeni Usul Mekteplerinin Tarihi ve Uygulama" başlıklı üçüncü bölümünde yeni bir yol arayışında olan Gaspıralı'nın Türkistan seyahatlerine değinilmiştir. Bu kapsamda "Yeni Usul" nerede ve nasıl çıkmıştır? Rusya Müslümanları ve *Usûl-i Cedit* arasındaki etkileşimin boyutu nedir? Bu sorulara bağlı olarak Türkistan'da Yeni Usul Mekteplerin açılması ve İsmail Bey Gaspıralı'nın Türkistan seyahati kapsamında ilk tanışma olarak nitelendirilen Bahçesaray'dan Taşkent'e gerçekleştirdiği seyahat ve siyasi destek arayışı için yaptığı Semerkant seyahatine yer verilmiştir. Her ne kadar İsmail Bey Gaspıralı öncesinde Rusya Müslümanları arasında eğitim kurumlarının ıslah edilmesi fikri ortaya çıksa da eğitimde yenileşme kavramını tam olarak uygulamaya koyan kişi şüphesiz İsmail Bey Gaspıralı olmuştur. Esasında Gaspıralı'nın yenileşme ve reform isteği; Müslüman toplumlarda düzen sağlama, modernleşme ve toplumu zamanın getirdiği değişikliklere hazır hâle getirme amacıyla şekillenmiştir. Tüm bunları hayata geçirilebilmek için gerekli olan temel ise Müslüman ilkokullarındaki eğitim kalitesinin artırılmasıdır. Nitekim Gaspıralı için milletlerin geleceği ancak ve ancak okula ve eğitime bağlı olarak gelişim gösterebilir. Bu noktadan hareketle yola çıkan Gaspıralı, Avrupa pedagojisinin mimarlarından Jan Amos Komenskiy'nin fikirlerini anlamaya çalışmış ve anladıklarını kendi modelinde tatbik etmiştir. Ayrıca yine önemli bir pedagog olan Johann Heinrich Pestalozzi'nin öğretilerinden faydalanmıştır. Her iki pedagog ve düşünürün öğretilerini anlayarak bu öğretileri geliştiren Gaspıralı, sistemi genişletmiş ve ona kendisi yeni kurallar eklemiştir. Bu kuralları, yöntemleri ve öğretileri geliştiren, değiştiren ve Müslüman geleneklerine uygun hale getiren Gaspıralı, *Usûl-i Cedit* anlayışı ile hayata geçirmiştir. *Usûl-i Cedit* Gaspıralı için hayati öneme sahiptir. Zira bu yöntemin uygulanması ile birlikte Rusya Müslümanlarının kısa sürede yeni bir gelişme düzeyine erişeceğine inanmıştır[7]. Gaspıralı'nın yeni eğitim metodunu eski eğitim metoduyla mukayese eden ve bunu tablolaştırarak ilgili bölüme ekleyen Zaynabidin, konunun anlaşılması ve ortaya çıkan farklılıkları bir bütün olarak görmek adına okuyucuya sunmuştur.

Kitabın dördüncü bölümünde yazar, millî meseleler konusunda aydınların nasıl pozisyon aldığını kurulan cemiyetler ve yürütülen siyasi faaliyetler üzerinden incelemiştir. Özellikle ihdas edilen Müslüman hayır kurumlarının değerlendirmesini Rus kanunları çerçevesinde yapmıştır. Hayır kurumlarının kurulabilmesi için neler gerektiğine ilişkin mevcut Rus kanunlarının

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tarihsel serencamı enine boyuna incelenmiş ve dört dönemde ele alınmıştır. Dönemsel incelemenin akabinde İslam dininin en yaygın hayırseverlik kurumu olan zekât ve sadakaya ilişkin Rus toplumunun menfi bakışı net bir şekilde ortaya konmuştur. Zira Rus toplumuna göre yürütülen devlet politikası doğrudur ve gayrimüslim bir ülkede zekât ve sadaka olmamalıdır. Nitekim dönemin Rus kanunlarında Müslüman hayır kurumlarına ilişkin kavramlar yoktur. Dahası bu kavramların resmî olarak kullanımı yasaktır. Ancak Gaspıralı İsmail, Rusya'da 19. yüzyılın ikinci yarısında yapılan reformlar ve yeni bir burjuvazinin ortaya çıkmasına bağlı olarak örgütlü hareketlerin yapılabilmesine imkân tanıyan ortamın oluşması neticesinde sosyal faaliyetlerin yardım ve eğitim kurumları aracılığıyla yapılmasına izin verilmesini fırsata çevirerek çıkardığı *Tercüman Gazetesi* aracılığıyla bir propaganda kampanyası başlatmıştır[8]. Her yerde hayır kurumlarının açılmasını ve bu kurumlar aracılığıyla bağış toplanacak bir sitemin inşasını sağlamaya çalışmıştır. Gaspıralı'nın bu gayretleri ve çalışmaları sonuç vermiş 20. yüzyılın başlarından itibaren Rusya Müslümanlarına ait hayır kurumlarının sayısı artmaya başlamıştır. Tam da bu noktada Zaynabidin çalışmasında Rus İmparatorluğu'nda bulunan hayır kurumlarının adedini şehirlerde ve şehir dışında olmak üzere bölgesel olarak tasnif etmiş ve bunu tablolaştırarak okuyucuya sunmuştur. Yine aynı şekilde İmparatorlukta ve Türkistan'da sosyal yardım sağlayan toplam kurum sayısını, bu kurumların bölgelere dağılımına göre sermayelerini, gelir ve giderleri ile yardımlardan faydalanan kişi sayılarını yine tablolar hâlinde okuyucuya sunmuştur. Bu bağlamda verilen tablolar konunun anlaşılması ve çalışmanın zenginliği açısından okuyucuya fayda sunmaktadır. Buna ek olarak bu bölümde son olarak yazar, Türkistan Müslümanlarının hayırseverliği konusunu ele alarak Türkistan'daki ilk Müslüman hayır cemiyetlerini ve siyasi hareketleri değerlendirmiştir.

Türkistan Müslüman basınına içeriden ve dışarıdan bir bakış açısıyla ele alınan çalışmanın beşinci bölümünde Rusya Müslümanlarında basın faaliyetleri ve Rus İmparatorluğu'ndaki ilk Müslüman gazeteler incelenmiştir. Ayrıca İsmail Bey Gaspıralı'nın çıkardığı *Tercüman Gazetesi*'nde Türkistan'ın kendisine nasıl yer bulduğu ve *Tercüman Gazetesi* üzerinden Türkistan'daki Müslüman basının ne durumda olduğu analiz edilmiştir. Tüm bu konulara değinilmesi önem arz etmektedir. Zira 20. yüzyılın başlangıcı Rus İmparatorluğu'nda yaşayan Müslümanlar için

oldukça elverişli bir dönem olmuştur. Özellikle Rus İmparatorluğu'nun Japonya'yla girdiği savaştan mağlup olarak ayrılması, içeriden ve dışarıdan baskılara karşı koyamamasına neden olmuştur. Bu baskılar karşısında 1905 yılında Rus imparatoru tarafından yayınlanan manifestoyla ülkedeki tüm gruplara özgürlük verilmiştir. Yine bu manifestoyla Rusya Müslümanları için ulusal bir basın kurma hakkı tanınmıştır. Tıpkı diğer bölümlerde olduğu gibi bu bölümde de Zaynabidin, gerekli kaynakçalara erişim sağlayarak dönemin Müslüman kitapları ve diğer basılı yayınları satan kitapçıların sayısına ilişkin verileri okuyucuyla paylaşmıştır. Rus İmparatorluğu'nda 19. yüzyılın son çeyreğinde Tiflis'te yayımlanan *Ziya-i Kafkasya* Gazetesi ilk çıkartılan Türkçe gazete olarak kabul edilmektedir. Yine 1880'li yıllarda Rus topraklarında çıkartılan beş gazete mevcuttu: *Ziya, Ekinçi, Keşkül, TVG* ve *Tercüman*. Mevcut gazetelerden Gaspıralı İsmail'in *Tercüman Gazetesi*, Müslüman basının kurucusu olma özelliğine sahiptir. Gaspıralı İsmail gazetecilik faaliyetleri için büyük çaba harcamış ve pek çok farklı yayın için izin alma gayreti gösterse de her seferinde menfi cevaplarla karşılaşmıştır. Ancak o ümidini ve azmini hiçbir zaman yitirmemiştir. *Millete hizmet etmek istiyorsan, elinden gelen işle başla* sözüyle kendi yol haritasını çizmiştir ve bu uğurda mücadele etmiştir. Bu mücadeleleri sonucunda 10 Nisan 1881'de *Tercüman Gazetesi*'nin ilk sayısını çıkarmıştır. *Tercüman Gazetesi*, çıktığı günden itibaren yirmi yıl boyunca Rusya'da yayın yapan tek özel gazete unvanına sahip olmuştur. Gazete sadece Rusya Müslümanlarına değil, çevre ülkelerdeki Müslümanların da sorunlarını ve meselelerini kapsayacak şekilde hazırlanıyordu. Tam da bu aşamada yazarın basın yayın faaliyetlerine ilişkin tespitleri ve çıkan gazetenin Kırım'dan Taşkent'e, İstanbul'dan Kazan'a kadar dünyanın çeşitli bölgelerinde okunup anlaşılabildiğine ilişkin analizleri oldukça önemlidir. Keza yine aynı şekilde Gaspıralı'nın çıkardığı gazetede Türkistan'ı tüm yönleriyle el alma çabası ve Rus hükûmetinin Türkistan'da izlediği iskân, toprak ve eğitim politikasına geniş ölçüde yer verdiğinin belirtilmesi de önemlidir[9].

İsmail Bey Gaspıralı, hakkında pek çok eser kaleme alınmış; hayatı, fikirleri, gayretleri, çalışmaları ve Ceditçilik anlayışı başta olmak üzere birçok konu incelenmiştir. Ancak Zaynabidin'e ait bu eseri farklı ve orijinal kılan 19. yüzyılın sonunda okul reformuyla başlayan Rus Ceditçiliğinin 20. yüzyılın başlarında büyük bir sosyo-politik güç hâline geldiğinden hareketle Türkistan'a etkisinin irdelenmiş olmasıdır. Zira etkili ve etkin bir

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reformcu olarak Gaspıralı faaliyetlerinin en başından itibaren Türkistan'a, yerli Müslüman toplumuna, bölgenin sorunlarına ve endişelerine, kültürel ve tarihsel değerlerine özel bir ihtimamla eğilmiştir. Bu ilgi ve merak Türkistan'daki eğitim politikasını ve Rus okullarının mevcut durumunu kendi gazetesi olan *Tercüman*'da teferruatlı bir şekilde incelemesine sebep olmuştur. Duyduğu rahatsızlıklardan ötürü Müslüman eğitim sistemini reforme etmeyi kendisine amaç edinen Gaspıralı ortaya koyduğu *Usûl-i Cedit* ile bunu başarmak için büyük mücadeleler vermiştir. Dolayısıyla Türkistan Ceditçileri için Gaspıralı, yeni Müslüman lider tipinin canlı bir sembolü hâline gelmiştir. Türkistan Ceditçileri, *Tercüman Gazetesi*'ni yakinen takip etmiş, Gaspıralı İsmail Bey'in fikirlerinin takipçisi olmuş ve yaptıkları tüm faaliyetlerinde Gaspıralı İsmail Bey tarafından desteklenmiştir.

Nitekim Zaynabidin Abdiraşidov tarafından Rusça olarak kaleme alınan ve Rusçadan Türkçeye çevirisini Hatice Kerimoğlu'nun yaptığı, Selenge Yayınlarından çıkan "İsmail Gaspıralı ve XX. Yüzyılın Başlarında Türkistan" isimli eser; zengin kaynakçası, akıcı üslubu ve sarih anlatımıyla literatüre kazandırılmış önemli bir eser olma özelliğine sahiptir. Özellikle çalışmada Özbekistan Cumhuriyeti Merkez Devlet Arşivi, Tataristan Cumhuriyeti Halk Arşivi, Rus İmparatorluğu Dış Politika Arşivi, Rusya Federasyonu Devlet Arşivi ve Rusya Devlet Tarihi Arşivinden faydalanılması kapsamlı bir çalışma olduğunun göstergesidir. Yine aynı şekilde eserde başvurulan birincil ve ikincil kaynakların çeşitliliği çalışmayı güçlendirmiştir. Ayrıca kitabın son kısmında ek olarak verilen 1901 yılı itibariyle Türkistan Genel Valiliği sınırları içinde bulunan hayır kurumlarının oblastlar özelinde değerlendirilmesi çalışmayı güçlendiren bir husus olarak ön plana çıkmaktadır. Son kısımda bulunan dizin bölümü de anahtar kelimelere ve kavramlara erişimi kolaylaştırmaktadır.

Açıklamalar

1 Şüphesiz bu çalışmalar arasında en kapsamlı olanlardan bir tanesi baş editörlüğünü Hakan Kırımlı'nın üstlendiği ve pek çok yazarın yer aldığı, Kırım Türkleri Kültür ve Yardımlaşma Derneği tarafından 2004 yılında çıkarılan "İsmail Bey Gaspıralı İçin" isimli çalışmadır: bk. Kırımlı, Hakan. *İsmail Bey Gaspıralı İçin*. Ankara: Kırım Türkleri Kültür ve Yardımlaşma Derneği Genel Merkezi Yayınları, 2004.

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2 Bunun yanı sıra Gaspıralı İsmail'in faaliyetleri ve Ceditçilik hareketi için bk. Yaman, Ertuğrul. *Gaspıralı İsmail ve Türkçede Birlik*. Akçağ Yayınları, 2015.

3 Ayrıca İsmail Bey Gaspıralı'nın hayatına ilişkin ayrıntılı bilgi için bk. Acar, Aykut, Ahmet Özkan ve Ozan Yetkin. "İsmail Bey Gaspıralı ve Türk Birliği Düşüncesi." *Uluslararası Medeniyet Çalışmaları Dergisi,* cilt: 3, sayı: 1, 2018, ss. 9-19.

4 Nitekim Gaspıralı, Bahçesaray'da var olan eğitim sisteminin zorluğundan kaynaklanan problemi aşmak için nispeten daha kolay olan "usûl-i savtiyye" olarak bilinen "fonetik metodu"nu uygulayarak "Usûl-i Cedit" olarak adlandırılan "yeni usûl" mekteplerini ilk defa faaliyete sokan kişi olması hasebiyle oldukça önemlidir. Gaspıralı, Kırım'da uyguladığı bu "yeni usûl" metodun Buhara, Taşkent, Semerkand, Buhara, Kazan, Ufa ve Orenburg gibi şehirlere de yayılmasını sağlamış ve bu bölgelerde pek çok mektebin açılmasına vesile olmuştur, bk. Turdiyev, Şirali. "İsmail Bey Gaspıralı ve Türkistan." Kırımlı, Hakan. *İsmail Bey Gaspıralı*. Ankara: Kırım Türkleri Kültür ve Yardımlaşma Derneği Genel Merkezi Yayınları, 2004, ss. 625-629.

5 İsmail Bey Gaspıralı'nın Usul-i Cedit eğitim anlayışı başta olmak üzere şahsiyetine, fikirlerine ve ülkücülüğüne ilişkin ayrıntılı bilgi için bk. Hablemitoğlu, Necip. *Gaspıralı İsmail*. Pozitif Yayınları, 2017.

6 Özellikle Gaspıralı'nın ilk mekteplerde medreseleri ıslah etme düşüncesine ilişkin ayrıntılı bilgi için Kırım Cumhuriyeti Harbiye ve Hariciye Bakanı, siyaset adamı Cafer Seydahmet Kırımer tarafından ele alınan çalışmaya bk. Kırımer, Cafer Seydahmet. *Gaspıralı İsmail Bey "Dilde, Fikirde, İşde Birlik"*. Dü. Ramazan Bakkal. 3. İstanbul: Biyografi Net Yayıncılık, 2021.

7 *"İsmail Gaspıralı, eğitim anlayışıyla Rusya Müslümanlarının modernleşmesinde yeni bir kapı açmıştır. Okuma-yazma öğretiminin hızlanması, Müslümanlar arasında yeni bir neslin yetişmesini sağlamıştır. Usûl-i Cedid eğitimin yaygınlaşması, ilk mektep kitaplarının ortaya çıkması, yeni edebî türlerde eserler verilmesi daha geniş bir ifade ile Rusya Türklerinin-Müslümanlarının dünya görüşünün değişmesinde Gaspıralı neredeyse tek başına başarılı olmuştur".* Usûl-i Cedit eğitim anlayışına dair ayrıntılı bilgi için bk. Türkyılmaz, Selçuk. *İsmail Gaspıralı ve Rusya Türklerinde Millî Uyanış, Usul-i Cedid Eğitim*. Ketebe Yayınları, 2018.

• Özkan, *Abdiraşidov, Zaynabidin. İsmail Gaspıralı ve XX. Yüzyılın Başlarında Türkistan (Temaslar–İlişkiler–Tesir). Çev. Hatice Kerimoğlu. Selenge Yayınları, 2022.* •

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8 İsmail Bey Gaspıralı'nın Kırım'da çıkarmış olduğu Tercüman Gazetesi'ne ilişkin ayrıntılı bilgi için bk. Devlet, Nadir. *İsmail Gaspıralı; Unutturulan Türkçü, İslamcı, Modernist.* Başlık Yayın Grubu, 2011.

9 Özellikle Ceditçilik ve basın faaliyetlerinin Türkistan'da nasıl bir görünüme sahip olduğunu ayrıntılı olarak incelemek için bk. Öztürk, Gülcennet. "Türkistan'da Ceditçilik ve Basın Faaliyetleri." *İletişim Çalışmaları Dergisi,* sayı: 1, 2016, ss. 95-115.

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Yayın İlkeleri

bilig, Türk Dünyasının kültürel zenginliklerini, tarihî ve güncel gerçeklerini ve problemlerini bilimsel ölçüler içerisinde ortaya koymak amacıyla yayımlanmaktadır.

bilig'e gönderilecek yazılarda; alanında bir boşluğu dolduracak özgün bir makale olması veya daha önce yayımlanmış çalışmaları değerlendiren, bu konuda yeni ve dikkate değer görüşler ortaya koyan bir inceleme olma şartı aranır. Türk Dünyasıyla ilgili yazar ve yapıtları tanıtan, yeni etkinlikleri duyuran yazılara da yer verilir.

Makalelerin *bilig*'de yayımlanabilmesi için, daha önce bir başka yerde yayımlanmamış veya yayımlanmak üzere kabul edilmemiş olması gerekir. Daha önce bilimsel bir toplantıda sunulmuş bildiriler, bu durum açıkça belirtilmek şartıyla kabul edilebilir.

bilig, Kış/Ocak, Bahar/Nisan, Yaz/Temmuz ve Güz/Ekim olmak üzere yılda dört sayı yayımlanır. Her yılın sonunda derginin yıllık dizini hazırlanır ve Kış sayısında yayımlanır. Dergi, Yayın Kurulu tarafından belirlenen yurt içi ve dışındaki kütüphanelere, uluslararası indeks kurumlarına ve abonelere, yayımlandığı tarihten itibaren bir ay içerisinde gönderilir.

Yazıların Değerlendirilmesi

bilig'de makale başvurusu bilig.yesevi.edu.tr web adresinden "Makale Yönetim Sistemi"ne kaydolarak yapılır. E-posta ile gönderilen makaleler değerlendirmeye alınmaz.

bilig'e gönderilen yazılar, önce dergi ilkelerine uygunluk açısından incelenir. Uygun görülmeyenler düzeltilmesi için yazarına gönderilir. Yayın için gönderilen makalelerin değerlendirilmesinde akademik tarafsızlık ve bilimsel kalite en önemli ölçütlerdir. Yayın ilkelerine uygun yazılar Yayın Kurulu tarafından incelenir. Dergi kapsamına giren ve değerlendirme için uygun bulunanlar, ilgili alanda uzman hakemlere gönderilir. Hakemlerin isimleri gizli tutulur ve raporlar Makale Yönetim Sisteminde saklanır. Hakem raporlarından biri olumlu, diğeri olumsuz olduğu takdirde, yazı, üçüncü bir hakeme gönderilebilir veya Yayın Kurulu, hakem raporlarını inceleyerek nihai kararı verebilir. Yazarlar, hakem ve Yayın Kurulunun eleştiri ve önerilerini dikkate alırlar. Katılmadıkları hususlar varsa, gerekçeleriyle

birlikte itiraz etme hakkına sahiptirler. Yayına kabul edilmeyen yazılar, sistemden silinmez. Yazıların yayımlanmasında nihai karar Yayın Kuruluna aittir.

bilig'de yayımlanması kabul edilen yazıların telif hakkı *Ahmet Yesevi Üniversitesi Mütevelli Heyet Başkanlığı*'na devredilmiş sayılır. Yayımlanan yazılardaki görüşlerin sorumluluğu ve yazım tercihleri, yazarlarına aittir. Yazı ve fotoğraflardan, kaynak gösterilerek alıntı yapılabilir.

Yayın Politikası

bilig'de yayımlanan bütün makaleler aynı zamanda tam metin olarak bilig.yesevi. edu.tr web adresinde açık erişimli olarak yer almaktadır.

bilig'de makale değerlendirme ve yayın aşamasında yazardan hiçbir şekilde ücret alınmaz. Yazara da telif ücreti ödenmez.

Yazım Dili

bilig'de Türkçe ve İngilizce makaleler yayımlanır. Makalelerin Türkçe, İngilizce ve Rusça özlerine (abstracts) yer verilir.

Yazım Kuralları

bilig'de 97. Sayıdan itibaren MLA atıf sisteminin yazım kuralları uygulanmaktadır. Alıntılar, göndermeler ve kaynakça ile ilgili temel hususlar aşağıda örneklerle gösterilmiş olup örneği bulunmayan kaynaklar için MLA atıf sisteminin 8. versiyonu (https://style.mla.org/) esas alınmalıdır.

Makalelerin, aşağıda belirtilen şekilde sunulmasına özen gösterilmelidir:

1. Başlık: İçerikle uyumlu, içeriği en iyi ifade eden bir başlık olmalı ve **koyu** harflerle yazılmalıdır. Makalenin başlığı, en fazla 10-12 kelime arasında olmalıdır.

2. Yazar ad(lar)ı ve adres(ler)i: Makale dosyasında yazar ad(lar)ı ve adres(ler) i bulunmamalıdır. Yazar(lar)la ilgili bilgiler başvuru sırasında Makale Yönetim Sisteminde ilgili alanlara yazılmalıdır.

3. Öz: Makalenin başında, konuyu kısa ve öz biçimde ifade eden ve en az 75, en fazla 150 kelimeden oluşan Türkçe öz bulunmalıdır. Öz içinde, yararlanılan kaynaklara, şekil ve çizelge numaralarına değinilmemelidir. Özün altında bir satır boşluk bırakılarak, en az 5, en çok 8 sözcükten oluşan anahtar kelimeler verilmelidir. Anahtar kelimeler makale içeriği ile uyumlu ve kapsayıcı olmalıdır. Makalenin sonunda; yazı başlığı, öz ve anahtar kelimelerin İngilizce ve Rusçaları bulunmalıdır. Rusça özetler gönderilmediği takdirde dergi tarafından ilave edilir.

4. Ana Metin: A4 boyutunda (29.7x21 cm.) kâğıtlara, MS Word programında, *Times New Roman* veya benzeri bir yazı karakteri ile 12 punto, 1.5 satır aralığıyla yazılmalıdır.

Sayfa kenarlarında 2.5 cm boşluk bırakılmalı ve sayfalar numaralandırılmalıdır. Yazılar öz ve kaynakça dâhil 7.000 (yedi bin) kelimeyi geçmemelidir. Metin içinde vurgulanması gereken kısımlar, koyu değil eğik harflerle yazılmalıdır. Metinde tırnak işareti eğik harfler gibi çifte vurgulamalara yer verilmemelidir.

5. Bölüm Başlıkları: Makalede, düzenli bir bilgi aktarımı sağlamak üzere ana, ara ve alt başlıklar kullanılabilir. Ana başlıklar (ana bölümler, kaynaklar ve ekler) koyu ve ilk harfleri büyük; ara başlıklar, yalnız ilk harfleri büyük; alt başlıklar ise ilk harfleri büyük ve italik yazılmalıdır.

6. Tablolar ve Şekiller: Tabloların numarası ve başlığı bulunmalıdır. Tablo çiziminde dikey çizgiler kullanılmamalıdır. Yatay çizgiler ise sadece tablo içindeki alt başlıkları birbirinden ayırmak için kullanılmalıdır. Tablo numarası üste, tam sola dayalı olarak dik yazılmalı; tablo adı ise, bir alt satırda her sözcüğün ilk harfi büyük yazılmalıdır. Tablolar metin içinde bulunması gereken yerlerde olmalıdır. Şekiller siyah beyaz baskıya uygun hazırlanmalıdır. Şekil numaraları ve adları şeklin soluna hizalı şekilde yazılmalıdır. Şekil numarası nokta ile bitmelidir. Hemen yanından sadece ilk harf büyük olmak üzere şekil adı dik yazılmalı ve kaynağı verilmelidir. Aşağıda tablo örneği sunulmuştur.

Tablo 1

Türk Üniversitelerinde Uluslararası Öğrenciler (2017-2018)

	Erkek	Kadın	Toplam
Toplam Uluslararası Öğrenci Sayısı	81706	43324	125030
TÜRKSOY Tam ve Gözlemci Üye Ülkeler	24309	11686	35995
Azerbaycan	12911	4177	17088
Kazakistan	1051	1014	2065
Kırgızistan	1105	821	1926
Moldova	175	225	400
Özbekistan	435	405	840
Rusya	808	621	1429
Türkmenistan	7824	4423	12247
Türkiye'deki Üniversitelerdeki Toplam Lisansüstü ve Lisansüstü Öğrenci Sayısı	2622936	2168678	4791614
Uluslararası Öğrenci Oranı	3,12%	2,00%	2,61%

Kaynak: "Uyruğa Göre Öğrenci Sayıları Raporu." *YÖK*, 17 Ağustos 2019, https://istatistik.yok.gov.tr/

7. Resimler: Yüksek çözünürlüklü, baskı kalitesinde taranmış halde makaleye ek olarak gönderilmelidir. Resim adlandırmalarında, şekil ve çizelgelerdeki kurallara uyulmalıdır.

Şekil, çizelge ve resimler toplam 10 sayfayı (yazının üçte birini) aşmamalıdır. Teknik imkâna sahip yazarlar, şekil, çizelge ve resimleri aynen basılabilecek nitelikte olmak şartı ile metin içindeki yerlerine yerleştirebilirler.

8. Alıntı ve Göndermeler: Doğrudan alıntılar tırnak içinde verilmelidir. 2.5 satırdan az alıntılar satır arasında; 2.5 satırdan uzun alıntılar satırın sadece solundan 2 cm içeride, blok hâlinde ve 1.5 satır aralığıyla yazılmalıdır. Dipnot kullanımından mümkün olduğunca kaçınılmalı, bu kullanıma yalnız açıklamalar için başvurulmalı ve otomatik numaralandırma yoluna gidilmelidir.

Metin içinde göndermeler, parantez içinde aşağıdaki şekilde yazılmalıdır:

(Köprülü 15).

İki yazarlı yayınlarda yazarların soyadları aşağıdaki şekilde yazılmalıdır:

(Taner ve Bezirci 22).

Üç ve daha fazla yazarlı yayınlarda, metin içinde sadece ilk yazarın soyadı ve "ve diğerleri/vd." yazılmalıdır:

(Gökay ve diğerleri 18).

(Gökay vd. 18).

Metin içinde, gönderme yapılan yazarın adı veriliyorsa kaynağın sadece sayfa numarası yazılmalıdır:

Tanpınar (131), bu konuda …

Aynı yazara ait iki veya daha fazla esere gönderme yapılırsa yazar soyadından sonra yayının ilk birkaç kelimesi yazılarak ayırt edilmelidir:

(Dilçin, *Divan Şiiri* 86).

(Dilçin, *Fuzuli'nin Şiiri* 110).

Aynı soyadı taşıyan yazarlara ait yayınlarda soyadından önce yazar adı kısaltılarak yazılmalıdır:

(S. Kaplan 41).

(M. Kaplan 16).

Sayfa numarası bulunmayan elektronik yayınlarda sadece soyadı ya da başlık yazılmalıdır.

Yazarı belirtilmeyen ansiklopedi vb. yayınlarda ise eser ismi yazılmalıdır, eser ismi uzun ise ilk 2-3 kelimesi yazılmalıdır.

Kişisel görüşmeler, metin içinde soyadı belirtilerek gösterilmeli, ayrıca kaynaklarda da tarihle birlikte belirtilmelidir.

9. Kaynaklar: Metnin sonunda, yazarların soyadına göre alfabetik olarak düzenlenmelidir. Yararlanılan kaynağın yazarı soyadı önce belirtilecek şekilde gösterilmelidir.

Örnek:

İsen, Mustafa. *Tezkireden Biyografiye.* Kapı Yayınları, 2010.

Köprülü, Mehmet Fuat. *Azeri Edebiyatının Tekâmülü.* MEB Yayınları, 1961.

Kaynağın iki yazarı varsa öncelikle çalışmada ismi önce yazılmış yazarın soyadı bilgisi ile başlanır, künye bilgilerinin alfabetik sıralanmasında ilk yazardan sonrakilerin soyadlarının öne alınmasının işlevi yoktur.

Örnek:

Taner, Refika, ve Asım Bezirci. *Edebiyatımızda Seçme Hikâyeler*. Gözlem Yayınları, 1981.

Kaynağın üç ve daha fazla yazarı varsa, ilkinin soyadı ve adı, sonra "ve diğerleri/vd." yazılmalıdır.

Örnek:

Altaev, Zhakypbek ve diğerleri. "Essence and Typology of Intellect in al-Farabi's Epistemology." *bilig,* no. 95, 2020, ss. 79-95.

Kitap ve dergi adları eğik yazılmalı; makale, kitap bölümü gibi kaynaklar tırnak içinde gösterilmelidir. Kitap künyesinde sayfa numara bilgisi gerekmezken; dergi, ansiklopedi maddesi, kitap bölümü gibi kısa yapıtlarda yararlanılan bölüme ait sayfa aralığı bilgisi mutlaka yer almalıdır.

Örnek:

Berk, İlhan. *Poetika.* Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 1997.

Demir, Nurettin. "Türkçede Evidensiyel." *bilig*, no. 62, 2012, ss. 97-117.

Aydıngün, İsmail, ve Ayşegül Aydıngün. "Crimean Tatars Return Home: Identity and Cultural Revival." *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies,* vol. 33, no. 1, 2007, ss. 113-128.

Kitabı çeviren, derleyen, yayıma hazırlayan ya da editörlük yapan varsa ismine yazar ve eser bilgisinden sonra yer verilmelidir.

Örnek:

Shaw, Stanford. *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu*. Çev. Mehmet Harmancı, Sermet Matbaası, 1982.

Aydemir, Yaşar. "Lâmiî Çelebi'nin Mecmualara Yansıyan Şiirleri." *Bursalı Lâmiî Çelebi ve Dönemi*, ed. Bilal Kemikli ve Süleyman Eroğlu, Bursa Büyükşehir Belediyesi Yayınları, 2011, ss. 149-172.

Yazar ismi yoksa editör, hazırlayan ya da derleyen ismi başta verilmelidir:

Tarlan, Ali Nihat, haz. *Hayâlî Divanı*. Akçağ Yayınları, 1992.

Ansiklopedi maddelerinde madde yazarının biliniyorsa soyadı ve adından sonra, sırasıyla tırnak içinde maddenin başlığı, ansiklopedinin tam adı, cilt numarası, yayınevi, yazılış tarihi ve sayfa aralığı belirtilmelidir:

Örnek:

İpekten, Haluk. "Azmî-zâde Mustafa Hâletî." *İslâm Ansiklopedisi*, 4. cilt, Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı Yayınları, 1991, ss. 348-349.

Tezler kaynak gösterilirken sırasıyla tez yazarının soyadı ve adından sonra, *eğik harflerle* tezin tam başlığı, tez tipi, tezin hazırlandığı üniversitenin adı, tezin yazıldığı tarih yer almalıdır:

Örnek:

Karakaya, Burcu. *Garîbî'nin Yûsuf u Züleyhâ'sı: İnceleme-Tenkitli Metin-Dizin*. Yüksek Lisans Tezi. Ahi Evran Üniversitesi, 2012.

Yazmalar "Yazar. Eser Adı. Kütüphane, Koleksiyon, Katalog numarası, yaprağı." şeklinde kaynak gösterilmelidir.

Örnek:

Âsım. *Zeyl-i Zübdetü'l-Eş'âr*. Millet Kütüphanesi, A. Emirî Efendi, No. 1326, vr. 45a.

İnternette yer alan bir çalışmaya atıfta bulunmak için yazarın soyadı, adı, yazının başlığı, yayıncı (web site adı), yayın tarihi, bağlantı adresi bilgilerini vermek yeterlidir.

Örnek:

Gökçek, Fazıl. "Mehmet Akif Ersoy." *Türk Edebiyatı İsimler Sözlüğü*, 03 Ocak 2018, http://teis.yesevi.edu.tr/madde-detay/ersoy-mehmet-akif.

Kişisel görüşmelerde, kaynak kişinin soyadı, adı, görüşme türü ve tarihi şu şekilde yazılmalıdır:

Demir, Adem. Telefon görüşmesi. 22 Mayıs 2018.

Henüz yayınlanmamış ama yayınlanmak üzere kabul edilmiş makale atıfları da şu şekilde gösterilebilir.

Örnek:

Bayram, Bülent. "G.T. Timofeyev'in Notları Çerçevesinde 20.Yüzyıl Başında Orta İdil'de Çuvaşların Etnik-Kültürel İlişkileri." *bilig,* (yayımlanacak), doi: 10.12995/bilig.9801.

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bilig aims to present the cultural riches as well as the historical and contemporary realities and problems of the Turkic world within a scientific framework.

Submissions to *bilig* should be original articles that will fill a gap in the field or to be a review that evaluates previously published studies and produces new and worthwhile ideas. *bilig* also publishes essays introducing authors and works and announcing new and recent activities related to the Turkic world.

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In *bilig*, the style of the MLA citation system are applied as of the 97th issue. The main points regarding citations, references and bibliography are shown below with examples, and the 8th version of the MLA citation system (https://style.mla.org/) should be taken as a basis for sources without examples.

The following rules should be observed while preparing an article for submission to *bilig*:

1. Title of the article: The title should suit the content and express it in the best way, and should be written in **bold** letters. The title should consist of no more than 10-12 words.

2. Name(s) and address(es) of the author(s): The article file should not contain the name(s) and address(es) of the author. Information regarding the author(s) should be written in the relevant fields in the Manuscript Handling System during the application.

3. Abstract: The article should include an abstract in Turkish at the beginning. The abstract should explain the topic clearly and concisely in a minimum of 75 and a maximum of 150 words. The abstract should not include references to sources, figures and charts. Keywords of 5 to 8 words should be placed at the end of the abstract. There should be a single space between the body of the abstract and the keywords. The keywords should be comprehensive and suitable to the content of the article. The English and Russian versions of the title, abstract and keywords should be placed at the end of the article. In case the Russian abstract is not submitted, it will be added later by the journal.

4. Body Text: The body of the article should be typed on A4 (29.7x21cm) paper on MS Word in size 12 Times New Roman or a similar font using 1,5 line spacing. Margins of 2,5 cm should be left on all sides and the pages should be numbered. Articles should not exceed 7.000 words including the abstract and bibliography. Passages that need to be emphasized in the text should not be bold but italicized. Double emphases like using both italics and quotation marks should be avoided

5. Section Titles: The article may contain main and sub-titles to enable a smoother flow of information. The main titles (main sections, bibliography and appendices) should be bold and their first letters be capitalized; subtitles, only the first letters should be capitalized; sub-headings should be written in italics with their first letters capitalized.

6. Tables and Figures: Tables should have numbers and captions. In tables vertical lines should not be used. Horizontal lines should be used only to separate the subtitles within the table. The table number should be written at the top, fully aligned to the left; the table caption should be in the lower line and the first letter of each word in the caption should be capitalized. Tables should be placed where they are most appropriate in the text. Figures should be prepared in line with black-and-white printing. The numbers and captions of the figures should be written aligned to the left of the figure. The figure number should be written in italics, ending with a period. The caption should immediately follow the number. The caption should not be written vertically, with only the first letter capital, and the references should be stated. Below is a sample table.

Table 1

International Students at Turkish Universities (2017-2018)

	Male	Female	Total
Total Number of International Students	81706	43324	125030
TÜRKSOY Member and Observer Member States	24309	11686	35995
Azerbaijan	12911	4177	17088
Kazakhstan	1051	1014	2065
Kyrgyzstan	1105	821	1926
Moldova	175	225	400
Uzbekistan	435	405	840
Russia	808	621	1429
Turkmenistan	7824	4423	12247
Total Undergraduate and Graduate Students Number at Universities in Türkiye	2622936	2168678	4791614
International Student Ratio	3,12%	2,00%	2,61%

Reference: "The Report of the Number of the Students regarding" *YÖK*, 17 August 2019, https://istatistik.yok.gov.tr/

7. Pictures: Pictures should be attached to the articles scanned in high-resolution print quality. The same rules for figures and tables apply in naming pictures.

The number of pages for figures, tables and pictures should not exceed 10 pages (one-third of the article). Authors having the necessary technical equipment and software may themselves insert their figures, drawings and pictures into the text provided these are ready for printing.

8. Quotations and Citations: Direct quotations should be placed in quotation marks. Quotations shorter than 2.5 lines should be placed within the flowing text. If the quotation is longer that 2.5 lines, it should be turned into a block quote with a 1.5 cm indentation only from the right and left, and the font size should be 1 point smaller. Footnotes and endnotes should be avoided as much as possible. They should only be used for essential explanations and should be numbered automatically.

Citations within the text should be given in parentheses as follows:

(Köprülü 15).

When sources with two authors are cited, the surnames of the authors should be given as follows:

(Taner and Bezirci 22).

When sources with three or more authors are cited, the surname of the first author is given and 'et. al' is added.

(Gökay et. al 18).

If the text already includes the name of the cited author, only the page number should be given:

In this respect, Tanpınar (131) says …

When two or more works belonging to the same author are cited, the first few words of the publication should be distinguished after the author's surname:

(Dilçin, *Divan* Şiiri 86).

(Dilçin, *Fuzulî'nin* Şiiri 110).

In manuscripts belonging to authors with the same surname, the name of the author should be shortened before the surname:

(S. Kaplan 41).

(M. Kaplan 16).

In electronic manuscripts with no page number, only the surname or title should be written.

In encyclopaedias and other sources without authors, only the name of the source should be written. If the title is long, the first 2-3 words should be given.

Personal interviews should be cited within the text by giving the surnames and dates should also be cited in the bibliography.

9. References: References should be placed at the end of the text, the surnames of authors in alphabetical order. The work cited should be entered with the surname of the author placed at the beginning:

Example:

İsen, Mustafa. *Tezkireden Biyografiye.* Kapı Yayınları, 2010.

Köprülü, Mehmet Fuat. *Azeri Edebiyatının Tekâmülü.* MEB Yayınları, 1961.

If a source has two authors, the surname of the first author should be placed first; it is not functional to place the surname of the other authors first in alphabetical order.

Example:

Taner, Refika, and Asım Bezirci. *Edebiyatımızda Seçme Hikâyeler*. Gözlem Yayınları, 1981.

If a source has more than three authors, the surname and name of the first author should be written, and the other authors should be indicated by et.al.

Example:

Altaev, Zhakypbek et. al. "Essence and Typology of Intellect in al-Farabi's Epistemology." *bilig,* no. 95, 2020, ss. 79-95.

The titles of books and journals should be italicized; article titles and book chapters should be placed in quotation marks. Page numbers need not be indicated for books. Shorter works like journals, encyclopedia entries and book chapters, however, require the indication of page numbers.

Example:

Berk, İlhan. *Poetika.* Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 1997.

Demir, Nurettin. "Türkçede Evidensiyel." *bilig*, no. 62, 2012, ss. 97-117.

Aydıngün, İsmail, and Ayşegül Aydıngün. "Crimean Tatars Return Home: Identity and Cultural Revival." *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies,* vol. 33, no. 1, 2007, ss. 113-128.

Translator's, compiler's and editor's names (if there are any) should follow the author and title of the work:

Example

Shaw, Stanford. *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu*. Çev. Mehmet Harmancı, Sermet Matbaası, 1982.

Aydemir, Yaşar. "Lâmiî Çelebi'nin Mecmualara Yansıyan Şiirleri." *Bursalı Lâmiî Çelebi ve Dönemi*, ed. Bilal Kemikli ve Süleyman Eroğlu, Bursa Büyükşehir Belediyesi Yayınları, 2011, ss. 149-172.

If there is no author name, the name of the editor, preparer or compiler should be given first:

Tarlan, Ali Nihat, pre. *Hayâlî Divanı*. Akçağ Yayınları, 1992.

For **encylopedia entries**, if the author of the encylopedia entry is known, the author's surname and name are written first. These are followed by the date of the entry, the title of the entry in quotation marks, the full name of the encyclopedia, its volume number, place of publication, publisher and page numbers:

Example:

İpekten, Haluk. "Azmî-zâde Mustafa Hâletî." *İslâm Ansiklopedisi*, 4. cilt, Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı Yayınları, 1991, ss. 348-349.

For **theses and dissertations**, the surname and name of the thesis author should be followed by the full title of the thesis in italics, the thesis type, the name of the university where the thesis was prepared, the date the thesis was written:

Example:

Karakaya, Burcu. *Garîbî'nin Yûsuf u Züleyhâ'sı: İnceleme-Tenkitli Metin-Dizin*. Yüksek Lisans Tezi. Ahi Evran Üniversitesi, 2012.

Handwritten manuscripts should be cited in the following way: Author. Title of the Work. Library. Collection. Catalogue number sheet.

Example:

Âsım. *Zeyl-i Zübdetü'l-Eşʿâr*. Millet Kütüphanesi, A. Emirî Efendi, No. 1326, vr. 45a.

To cite **a study found on the Internet**, it is sufficient to provide the author's surname, name, title of the article, publisher (website name), date of publication, and link address.

Example:

Gökçek, Fazıl. "Mehmet Akif Ersoy." *Türk Edebiyatı* İsimler *Sözlüğü*, 03 Ocak 2018, http://teis.yesevi.edu.tr/madde-detay/ersoy-mehmet-akif.

In personal interviews, the surname, name, interview type and date of the source person should be given as follows:

Demir, Adem. Phone Call. 22 May 2018.

An article accepted for publication but not yet published can be cited in the following way:

Example:

Bayram, Bülent. "G.T. Timofeyev'in Notları Çerçevesinde 20.Yüzyıl Başında Orta İdil'de Çuvaşların Etnik-Kültürel İlişkileri." *bilig,* (yayımlanacak), doi: 10.12995/bilig.9801.