



bilig

Türk Dünyası Sosyal Bilimler Dergisi
Journal of Social Sciences of the Turkic World

KIŞ WINTER 2025 • SAYI ISSUE 112

bilig

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Journal of Social Sciences of the Turkic World

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Yayın Türü

3 aylık, yaygın, süreli

Tasarım&Baskı Design&Printed by

SFN Televizyon Tanıtım Tasarım Yayıncılık Ltd. Şti.
+90 (312) 472 37 73
www.sfn.com.tr

Basım Yeri: ANKARA

Basım Tarihi: 31/01/2025

ISSN: 1301-0549

E-ISSN: 2822-6348

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Kıymetli Okurlar,

bilig'in yeni sayısını sizlere ulařtırmaktan mutluluk duymaktayız. Bu sayıda yedi arařtırma makalesi yer almaktadır. Bunlar arasında yer alan ve 2008-2022 yılları arasında *bilig*'de yayımlanan 686 arařtırma makalesinin bibliyometrik analizini yapan alıřma yayın kurulu olarak bize ıřık tutmaktadır. Bahsi geen alıřma *bilig*'de yayınlanan makaleleri ortak yazarlık, lke ve kurumsal ađ analizleri ile atıf analizi erevesinde deđerlendirmektedir. İerik ve atıf analizleri yntemi kullanılarak yapılan alıřmanın vardığı temel sonulardan biri, makalelerin ođunlukla Trke ve tek yazarlı olduđu řeklindeyir. Bir diđer nemli sonu ise *bilig*'e en fazla katkının Trkiye'deki niversitelerden sađlandığı; zellikle Hacettepe niversitesi, Gazi niversitesi ve Ankara niversitesinin ne ıktığı ynndeyir.

bilig yayın kurulu olarak kalitemizi artırmaya ynelik tm grř ve nerileri nemsemekteyiz. Bu bađlamda WoS'ta taranan Trkiye adresli dergilerle srekli iřtiřare hlindeyiz. TR Dizin srecini yneten ULAKBİM'in ynlendirmelerini dikkatle takip etmekteyiz. Makale kalitesini ykseltmek, yazar ve hakem eřitliliđini artırmak, yayımlanan alıřmaları ilgilisine ulařtırmak, etik kurallara riayet gibi hususlar deđiřmeyen nceliklerimizdir.

2008-2022 yılları arasına ynelik *bilig*'in bibliyometrik analizini yapan alıřma; İngilizce makalelerin sayısının artırılması, yayın kuruluna yurt dıřından akademisyenlerin davet edilmesi, zel sayıların yayınlanması gibi bazı tavsiyelerde de bulunmaktadır. 2022-2025 arası iin *bilig*'in bibliyometrik analizi yapılırsa bunların ođunun gerekleřtirilmesi ynnde ilerleme sađlandığı grlecektir.

Dergiye en ok katkı sađlayan niversiteler arasında Hacettepe, Gazi ve Ankara niversitelerinin olması da tesadf deđildir. Zira bu niversiteler arařtırma niversitesi niteliđine sahip, bařarı sıralamasında nde gelen yksekđretim kurumlarıdır. Bu bađlamda *bilig*'in, bu niversitelerin bařarisını destekleyen bir akademik yayın olduđu sonucu ıkarılabileceđi gibi en bařarılı niversitelerin en kaliteli akademisyenlerinin makalelerinin yayımlandığı bir dergi olduđu sonucuna da varılabilir. Elbette niversite eřitliliđinin artırılması, *bilig*'in gerek anlamıyla bir Trk dnyası dergisi olması iin daha ok gayret edeceđiz.

Son olarak bu sayının hazırlanmasına katkı sunan yazar ve hakemlerimize teřekkr ederken, *bilig*'in bu gnlere gelmesinde emeđi geen tm akademik ve idari personeli de řkran ve minnetle yd ediyoruz. Yeni yılın ilk ayında size ulařan bu sayı mnasebetiyle 2025 yılının milletimize ve tm insanlıđa gzellikler getirmesi temennisiyle yeni yılınızı kutluyoruz.

Prof. Dr. Fırat PURTAŐ

Editr

Dear Readers,

We are pleased to present you the new issue of *bilig*. There are seven research articles in this issue. Among them, the bibliometric analysis of 686 research articles published in *bilig* between 2008-2022 sheds light on us as the editorial board. This study evaluates the articles published in *bilig* within the framework of co-authorship, country and institutional network analysis and citation analysis. One of the main conclusions of the study using the content and citation analysis method is that the articles are mostly in Turkish and single-authored. Another important conclusion is that most of the contributions to *bilig* come from universities in Turkey; especially Hacettepe University, Gazi University and Ankara University stand out.

As *bilig*'s editorial board, we welcome all opinions and suggestions on how we can improve our quality. In this context, we are in constant consultation with the Turkish journals indexed in WoS. We carefully follow the instructions of ULAKBIM, which manages the TR Index process. Our unchanging priorities are to improve the quality of articles, increase the diversity of authors and referees, deliver the published works to the relevant people, and adhere to ethical rules.

The study, which conducts a bibliometric analysis of *bilig* for the period 2008-2022, also makes some recommendations, such as increasing the number of articles in English, inviting academics from abroad to the editorial board, and publishing special issues. A bibliometric analysis of *bilig* for the period 2022-2025 will show that progress has been made in implementing most of these recommendations.

It is no coincidence that Hacettepe, Gazi and Ankara Universities are among those that contribute the most to the journal. This is because these are research universities and leading universities in terms of success ranking. In this context, it can be concluded that *bilig* is not only an academic publication that supports the success of these universities but also a journal in which the articles of the highest quality academics of the best universities are published. We will make more efforts to increase the diversity of universities and to turn *bilig* into a journal of the Turkic world in the true sense.

All in all, while thanking our authors and referees who have contributed to the preparation of this issue, we also remember with gratitude and appreciation all the academic and administrative staff who have contributed to the development of *bilig* to this day. On the occasion of this issue, which reaches you in the first month of the new year, we wish you a Happy New Year, hoping that the year 2025 will bring beauty to our nation and to all humanity.

Prof. Dr. Firat PURTAŞ

Editor

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Araştırma Makalesi / Research Article

Bibliometric Analysis of *bilig* from 2008 to 2022*

Yıldız Kocasavaş**

Hülya Aşkın Balcı***

Selen Özcivanoğlu****

Abstract

This study aims to analyse the bibliometric characteristics of 686 research articles published between 2008 and 2022 in *bilig*, which was published in 1996 and indexed by the Social Sciences Citation Index since 2008. Within the scope of the study, co-authorship, countries, and authorship trends in the context of institutional network analysis were examined and citation analysis was carried out. The methodology of the study consists of content and citation analysis. VOSviewer, a software tool, was used to create and visualise bibliometric networks. As a result of the analyses, it was seen that most of the studies published in *bilig* were in Turkish, and in terms of the number of authors, single-author articles were found the most. In the evaluation made according to the institutions, it was seen that the most contributions were made by researchers from Hacettepe University, Gazi University and Ankara University. It was determined that the studies in the

* Date of Arrival: 18 August 2023 – Date of Acceptance: 7 June 2024

You can refer to this article as follows:

Kocasavaş, Yıldız, Hülya Aşkın Balcı, and Selen Özcivanoğlu. "Bibliometric Analysis of *bilig* from 2008 to 2022." *bilig*, no. 112, 2025, pp. 01-32, <https://doi.org/10.12995/bilig.7597>.

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journal were on literature, art, history, international relations and political science, linguistics, culture, sociology, economy, entrepreneurship, education, migration, geography, religion, management, communication, and technology. It was found that the most cited publication was the study on communication published in 2010.

Keywords

bilig, bibliometrics, citation analysis, Turkic world, scientific journal.

bilig'in 2008-2022 Yılları Arasındaki Bibliyometrik Analizi*

Yıldız Kocasavaş**

Hülya Aşkın Balcı***

Selen Özcivanoglu****

Öz

Bu çalışmada, 2008-2022 yılları arasında *bilig* Türk Dünyası Sosyal Bilimler Dergisinde yayımlanan 686 araştırma makalesinin bibliyometrik analizi yapılmıştır. Analizlerde ortak yazarlık, ülke ve kurumsal ağ analizleri ele alınmış ve atıf analizi gerçekleştirilmiştir. İçerik ve atıf analizleri yöntemi kullanılarak yapılan çalışmada, makalelerin çoğunlukla Türkçe ve tek yazarlı olduğu belirlenmiştir. Dergiye en fazla katkının Türkiye'deki üniversitelerden sağlandığı, özellikle Hacettepe, Gazi ve Ankara Üniversitelerinin öne çıktığı görülmüştür. Makaleler; edebiyat, sanat, tarih, uluslararası ilişkiler, kültür, sosyoloji, ekonomi, eğitim, göç, coğrafya, din, yönetim, iletişim, bilim ve teknoloji gibi konuları kapsamaktadır. En çok atıf alan yayının, 2010'da İngilizce yayımlanan iletişim konulu makale olduğu tespit edilmiştir.

Anahtar Kelimeler

bilig, bibliyometri, atıf analizi, Türk dünyası, bilimsel dergi.

* Geliş Tarihi: 18 Ağustos 2023 – Kabul Tarihi: 7 Haziran 2024

Bu makaleyi şu şekilde kaynak gösterebilirsiniz:

Kocasavaş, Yıldız, Hülya Aşkın Balcı, ve Selen Özcivanoglu. "Bibliometric Analysis of *bilig* from 2008 to 2022." *bilig*, no. 112, 2025, ss. 01-32, <https://doi.org/10.12995/bilig.7597>.

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Introduction

Today, data obtained from scientific research are shared through written and printed materials and social networks. One of the fastest and most effective ways of sharing scientific results is scientific journals (Arık and Türkmen 1). Journals, which are the most important means of scientific communication, facilitate interaction in the scientific world by sharing the results of research and analysis with the academic environment (Karagöz and Koç Ardıç 420). Social Sciences Citation Index (SSCI), which is the leading index in maintaining universal scientific quality and quality standards in the field of social sciences, is the index where social sciences and educational sciences journals are mostly scanned. The journals included in the index are the journals that are most followed by the scientific world, have proven their quality, and publish at certain standards. There are 8 journals from Türkiye in the SSCI 2021 journal list. One of them is *bilig*.

bilig is a science-culture journal that started its publication life in 1996 within Ahmet Yesevi University. Since the 75th issue, the editorial board of the journal, which has been edited by Prof. Dr. Fırat Purtaş, consists of academicians from different branches of social sciences who are pioneers in their fields. *bilig*, that is published four issues a year as Winter/January, Spring/April, Summer/July, and Autumn/October, is one of the few journals indexed by SSCI in the field of Social Sciences in Türkiye.

bilig aims to reveal the cultural richness, historical and current realities, and problems of the Turkic world within scientific criteria and to propose solutions to these issues. Started 27 years ago with this aim, *bilig* is a social sciences journal that has gained international status. Since 2008, the journal has been indexed in SSCI in the field of Area Studies, and according to the data obtained from Web of Science, 686 research articles were published between 2008-2022. The aim of this study is to examine the development and evolution of the journal since its entry into Web of Science. The following research question was determined in line with the studies in the literature and the aims of the research:

- *What are the trends in bilig publications according to authorship trends, topics, and citations?*

bilig provides a micro-universe for analysing trends in the literature of the Turkic world. With this in mind, the limitations of the previous study by Al et al. (1), which covers the bibliometric analysis of 100 studies published by *bilig* after its entry into citation indexes, were seen and the framework of the study was extended until 2022. The evaluations in the previous study were made within the scope of the institutions of the authors in *bilig*, the multi-authorship feature of the journal, the most frequently cited source types, the most frequently cited journals, and the aging rate of the literature according to the bibliographies of the publications. In this study, 686 research articles published between 2008 and 2022 were analysed in terms of co-authorship, authors' countries, institutional network analysis, topics, and citations.

In the study, first, the literature and research questions were summarised and information about the research method was given. After the presentation of the findings, in the discussion and conclusion section, a series of findings are interpreted and a framework for future research is drawn.

Literature Review

Bibliometrics is defined as “a quantitative method involving the analysis of books, journals, conference proceedings and other written communication tools using mathematical and statistical techniques” (Evren and Kozak 61). According to Garfield, “it can be used to determine the most effective authors in the relevant literature and to evaluate a single journal” (cited in Yalçın 206). By utilising the bibliometric approach, it is possible to observe the studies published in a branch of science through statistical techniques in terms of data such as citations, author links, keywords, topics discussed and to evaluate their progress (Çavuşgil Köse 101).

One of the most effective ways of producing and disseminating scientific knowledge is scientific journals. In this respect, scientific journals have an indispensable value for the development of science in the world (Arık and Türkmen 1). The characteristics of the studies published in scientific journals are as important as the studies themselves. Because the characteristics of the studies can provide information about the function and functioning of the scientific structures that emerged in that period (Kutluca and Demirkol 109). For this reason, it is important to examine some trends related to journals through bibliometric analyses.

In their study, Al, Soydal and Yalçın (1) determined that most of the studies in *bilig* are in Turkish, according to the evaluation made according to the institutions to which the people who published articles in the journal are affiliated, the highest contribution was made by researchers from Gazi, Hacettepe and Başkent Universities, and 65% of the sources cited in *bilig* are books. CiteSpace software was used to reveal the relationships between the cited authors. Aksoy (145), using the bibliometric mapping method, one of the bibliometric analysis methods, determined that the articles published in the field of business administration in *bilig* journal were mostly two-authored, the majority of the authors were affiliated to Akdeniz University, Ege University and Ahmet Yesevi University respectively, 36.84% of the articles were written in the fields of management and 26.32% in the fields of marketing, the keyword range varied between 3-9, there were 36 sources per article on average, 89.47% of the articles were written in Turkish. Atasoy (1155) examined writing teaching researches with the bibliometric analysis method; in the visual presentation of bibliometric analyses, using VOSviewer software, he found that the journal with the highest number of publications on writing teaching is Reading and Writing, the number of publications has shown a continuous increase from 1990 to 2020, researchers are grouped into five clusters as those who approach writing teaching from linguistic, technology-based, psychological, second language, first literacy perspective, researchers in countries that are close to each other in terms of location cooperate and cite each other. Kayadibi (505), who conducted a bibliometric analysis of academic studies on “listening” in the category of educational research in the WoS database, visualised the social network analysis of the keywords of 7664 academic studies on listening through the VOSviewer (Version 1.6.16) package program, one of the bibliometric analysis tools. As a result of the analyses, it was determined that the most publications on listening in the WoS database were made in 2018. It was determined that mostly English publications were made in the field.

Methodology

The method of the research is content and citation analysis. Content and citation analysis allows an in-depth understanding of the scientific impact and subject trends of *bilig* journal. Between 2008 and 2022, 686 refereed articles published in *bilig* were analysed. The study dates to 2008 when *bilig*

started to be indexed in Web of Science. In addition, VOSviewer software was used for the creation and visualisation of bibliometric networks. The population of the study consists only of research articles in *bilig* journal.

The bibliometric analysis for *bilig* journal consists of three stages. In the first stage, under the title of authorship trends, the number of authors of the articles subject to the research was determined and analysed according to the periods. This analysis investigates the intensity of scientific collaboration, the tendency towards interdisciplinary studies, and the national and international visibility of the journal. In the co-authorship section, the number of authors of the articles subject to the research was determined; the number of articles with one author, two authors, three authors and more than three authors were presented in the table according to the periods. Then, the countries and institutions of the researchers were determined, and the data were tabulated.

In the second stage, keyword analysis was used to define the topics. A dataset of 2888 different keywords were obtained, and these words were categorised according to their content and semantic similarities to form topics. Then, the keywords were ranked in descending order to determine the most frequently used words. Afterwards, the abstract, keywords and findings of 686 articles were analysed one by one and each article was handled under the relevant category. The selection of an appropriate subject category for an academic article can often be subjective and challenging, particularly in the context of interdisciplinary research. Consequently, keywords and findings from interdisciplinary studies were primarily categorized according to the most relevant topics. Figure 1 shows the most frequently used keywords in *bilig* journal.

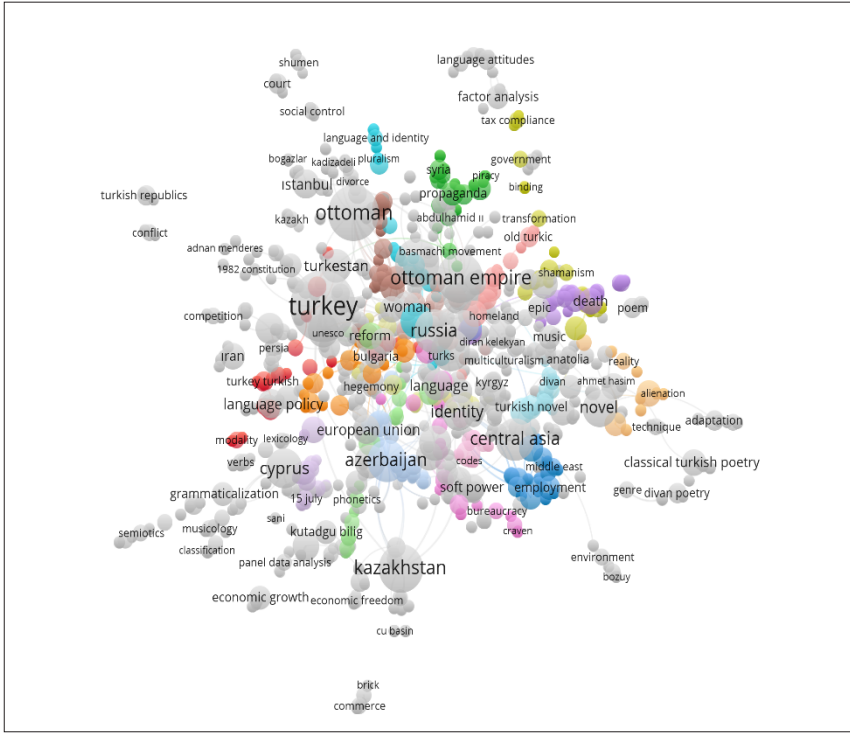


Figure 1. Most Frequently Used Keywords in *bilig* Journal (Web of Science)

In the third stage, citation analysis was performed to measure the scientific impact of the journal. Citation data for *bilig* publications were obtained from Web of Science via VOSviewer. To better observe the development of the journal, most of the tables are presented in three periods (2008-2012, 2013-2017, 2018-2022). Citation analysis reveals which topics were covered in the journal in which periods and which of these topics attracted attention in the literature.

This study has two main limitations. Firstly, although *bilig* started to be published in 1996, the issues of the journal before 2008 were not included in the scope of the research since it has been indexed in the field of Area Studies in SSCI since 2008. Secondly, among the genres published in the journal, only research articles were analysed, and other genres were not included in the scope of the study.

Findings

The findings of this study are presented in three sections below: Authorship trends, topics, and citations.

Writing Dispositions

In this section, an evaluation is made in terms of the number of authors and the distribution of authors according to their countries and institutions.

Co-authorship and Countries

Table 1 shows 686 articles published in *bilig* between 2008 and 2022 with contributions from 21 countries. The findings reveal that Türkiye directly contributed 605 articles. The second largest contributor is Kazakhstan with 32 research articles and the third country is Kyrgyzstan with 17 research articles. 96.3 per cent of the articles come from Asia, 2.7 per cent from Europe and 1 per cent from North America. The continents where the journal does not attract attention are South America, Africa, and Australia. In addition, 76.8% of the studies sent to *bilig* are in Turkish and 23.2% are in English. The high number of publications from Türkiye and Turkic Republics and accordingly from Asia can be attributed to the fact that the journal predominantly includes studies from the Turkic world. Although English and Russian abstracts are included in the articles, the low number of English publications is an important finding in terms of affecting the international visibility of the journal.

VOSviewer enables to show the co-authorship between countries by creating a network map. The country with the highest relationship strength is Türkiye due to the large number of publications. According to the data obtained from VOSviewer, Kazakhstan has the strongest relationship with Türkiye. There is also a high relationship between Türkiye, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Azerbaijan. However, it is seen that the United States of America, Uzbekistan, South Korea, the United Kingdom, the Netherlands, China, Canada, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Kuwait, and India do not have many relations with these countries other than Türkiye. The fact that many cultural, historical, and political fields related to the Turkic world are dealt with as research topics in the publications has led to the conclusion that the strength of the relations among the Turkic Republics is high.

73.7% of the studies were single authored, 19.4% were two authored, 4.7% were three authored and 2.2% were more than three authored. In this respect, only 26.3% of the studies have a profile with more than one author. It is noteworthy that while the tendency to publish single-authored publications in the journal is quite strong, the tendency to publish multi-authored publications is low. Considering the importance of collaborative and coordinated work in scientific research, it is thought that the fact that nearly three quarters of the 686 articles within the scope of the research are single-authored is an important finding in terms of showing that most of the authors prefer to work individually.

While the number of publications was 234 in the first period, this number reached 262 in the second period, and 190 research articles were included in the journal in the last period. The highest number of articles was in the period covering the years 2013-2017. The decrease in the number of articles published in the journal in the last period, when the Covid-19 global pandemic was also experienced, is a striking finding and suggests whether the interest in the field tends to decrease. Details are shown in Table 1.

Table 1
Co-authorship and Country-Specific Authorship Trends¹

	2008-2012		2013-2017		2018-2022		Total	
Language	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Turkish	206	88,8	190	72,5	131	69	527	76,8
English	28	12	72	27,5	59	31	159	23,2
Co-authorship								
Single	191	81,7	185	70,6	130	68,5	506	73,7
Two	33	14,1	53	20,2	47	24,7	133	19,4
Three	9	3,8	16	6,1	7	3,7	32	4,7
More than three	1	0,4	8	3	6	3,1	15	2,2
Total	234	100	262	100	190	100	686	100
Country								
Türkiye	215	92	227	84,4	163	83,2	605	86,5
Other	19	8	42	15,6	33	16,8	94	13,5

Continental								
North America	3	1,3	4	1,5	0	0	7	1
Europe	6	2,6	13	4,8	0	0	19	2,7
Asia	225	96,1	252	93,7	196	100	673	96,3

Enterprise Network Analysis

Table 2 shows the institutions that contribute the most to *bilig*. The results show that 299 (43.6%) of the 686 articles published between 2008-2022 were contributed by the institutions listed in the table. In total, 686 studies are associated with 276 different institutions. The three most contributing institutions are Hacettepe University, Gazi University and Ankara University, respectively. When the institutions that contribute the most to the journal are analysed, it is seen that universities other than Kyrgyzstan-Turkey Manas University are universities operating in Türkiye. Figure 1 also shows the cooperation between the institutions contributing to the journal. Accordingly, the fact that the institutions within the borders of the country contributed the most articles indicates that the journal is a national journal.

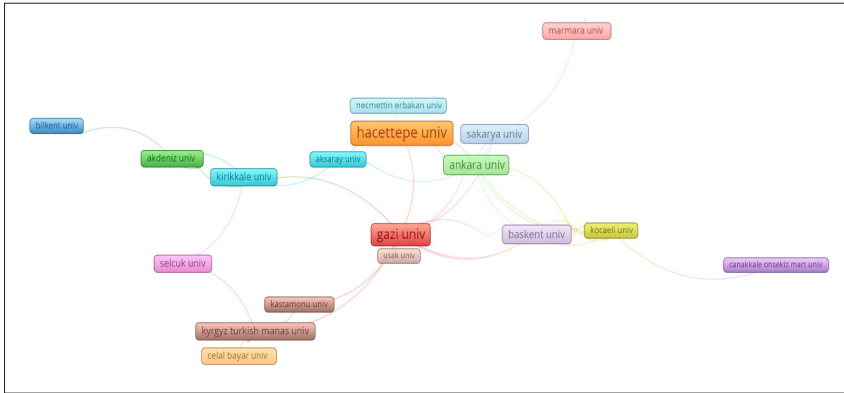


Figure 2. Inter-Institutional Cooperation (Web of Science)

There are also increases and decreases in the number of publications specific to institutions. For example, while there is a periodic increase in the number of publications of Sakarya University, there is a periodic decrease in the number of publications of Gazi and Başkent Universities. There are fluctuations in the number of publications of Hacettepe and Ankara Universities. In 2018,

Ankara Hacı Bayram Veli University, which was established by separating from Gazi University, has recently published research, while Süleyman Demirel University has no recently published studies.

According to URAP (University Ranking by Academic Performance) data, when the number of publications of universities in Türkiye between 2004-2014 is analysed, it is seen that Istanbul University, Hacettepe University and Ankara University ranked first. According to 2019-2022 data, Hacettepe University ranks first among Turkish universities in terms of the number of publications. It can be thought that universities, which are required to publish more in accordance with the appointment criteria, are ranked high in terms of the number of articles sent to the journal that is the subject of the research for this reason. According to URAP, Hacettepe University, which has been in the top 500 in the world rankings in terms of the number of publications in many years, has contributed the most articles to the journal indexed in SSCI since 2008, which is also in line with this data.

Table 2
Authorship Trends by Institution²

Institutions	2008-2012	2013-2017	2018-2022	Total	%
Hacettepe University	18	23	16	57	19
Gazi University	19	13	9	41	13,7
Ankara University	7	11	5	23	7,7
Sakarya University	4	6	9	19	6,3
Baskent University	8	7	2	17	5,7
Kyrgyzstan-Turkey Manas University	1	8	5	14	4,7
Selcuk University	8	2	3	13	4,3
Kirikkale University	6	6	1	13	4,3
Erciyes University	8	2	2	12	4
Istanbul University	2	4	4	10	3,3
Akdeniz University	6	2	2	10	3,3
Ankara Hacı Bayram Veli University	0	0	10	10	3,3
Ankara Yıldırım Beyazıt University	0	2	8	10	3,3
Ege University	5	4	1	10	3,3

Süleyman Demirel University	6	4	0	10	3,3
Anadolu University	3	5	2	10	3,3
Ataturk University	6	3	1	10	3,3
Dokuz Eylul University	1	5	4	10	3,3

Topics

The 15 most frequently used topics in the journal are given in Table 3. The 12 articles that were not included in these topics were included in the other topics heading. In all three periods, the most frequently analysed subject was literature and art, followed by history. In parallel with the decrease in the total number of articles in the last period, there is also a decrease in the subject areas. Culture and sociology is the only subject whose number has increased in the last period.

Table 3

Topics

Topics	2008-2012	2013-2017	2018-2022	Total	% Ratio
Literature and Art	51	55	38	144	21
History	39	32	32	103	15
International Relations and Political Science	18	42	30	90	13,1
Language and Linguistics	34	40	15	89	13
Culture and Sociology	14	13	26	53	7,7
Economics and Entrepreneurship	16	23	6	45	6,5
Education	12	13	9	34	5
Migration	12	6	6	24	3,5
Geography	11	6	4	21	3,1
Religion	4	10	6	20	3
Management/Organisation	9	3	3	15	2,2
Contact	3	7	4	14	2
Science and Technology	5	2	2	9	1,3
Psychology	2	3	2	7	1
Energy	1	3	2	6	0,9
Other Topics	3	4	5	12	1,7
Total	234	262	190	686	100

Literature and Art

In the 144 articles identified within the scope of literature and art, it is seen that concepts such as world, children's, folk and divan literature, music, theatre, poets and writers, novel analyses come to the fore. Literature and art are one of the most preferred subjects in every period. The keywords novel, poetry, children's literature, short story, metaphor, classical Turkish poetry, Dostoevsky, Turkish music, Kutadgu Bilig, Tanzimat, value, Hoca Ahmet Yesevî, Mesnevî, Turkish cinema, Istanbul draw attention. When the most cited articles in this field are analysed; Akar and Özkan (123) evaluated the couplets in Kutadgu Bilig in the context of values education and concluded that the work is an important source in terms of truthfulness and honesty values, and Gökbnar et al. (231) tried to reveal how the emotional burden created by the severe economic depression and the social traces of the Wealth Tax are reflected in Turkish novels. Canbaz Yumuşak (47) also examined utopias and dystopias in Turkish literature periodically and analysed the content of utopian novels shaped according to the changes in social life.

History

In the 103 articles identified within the scope of the subject, especially Ottoman History and Turkic Republics come to the fore. Asian and European countries, democracy, Turkish world, important personalities in history, constitutionalism and reforms are also among the topics examined within the scope of this subject. The most common keywords in the field of history are Kemalism, Atatürk, Türkiye, Cyprus, Central Asia, Ottoman Empire, Russia, Turkish world, revolution, enlightenment, Turkish revolution, national identity, multi-party life, Istanbul. History is the second most analysed subject in *bilig*. When the most cited studies under this heading are examined, İçener's (107) study, which focuses on the epic struggle of the people in the 15 July coup attempt and draws attention to the negative discourses of the foreign press, stands out. Ünlü Bilgiç (123), in his study, focuses on anti-Americanism and argues that this opposition dates to the 1945s. Taş (25) tried to determine the nature and function of the shühûdu'l hâlin in the Ottoman period based on documents.

International Relations and Political Science

Among the 90 articles identified within the scope of international relations and political science, studies on Türkiye's foreign policy, the European Union, modernisation, foreign policy, security, and international relations stand out. Especially in 2016, after the coup attempt in Türkiye, the number of publications on this subject increased and the number of publications under this title reached the highest number in the second period. As keywords, the concepts of European Union, foreign policies, internationalisation, nationalism, Fetö, foreign policy, Cold War Period, defence industry, crisis resolution, soft power, public diplomacy, cyber security, human rights come to the fore. Fidan and Aras' (47) article discussing Russia's efforts to complement its geopolitical relations with geoeconomic relations to develop its economic interests and political influence in the African continent is the most cited article in this field. Balta and Demir (1), in their study, emphasised the role of history education and historical memory in international politics and evaluated the profile drawn by the West for its own interests for the Ottoman Empire and Türkiye in history textbooks in Russia. In their study, Toprak et al. (199) conducted a survey and revealed the general characteristics of the Turkish electorate in terms of political, socio-economic, ethnic, and religious identities.

Language and Linguistics

In 89 articles identified within the scope of the subject; languages and dialects, language policies, Turkish, vocabulary, sociolinguistics, bilingualism, grammar are examined. In addition, it is also seen that language and education issues are handled together in some studies.³ Language, Turkish, syntax, Turkish dialects, sign language, language policy, linguistics, vocabulary, intertextuality are frequently encountered keywords. Altınkamış and Ağırdağ (59), in their study, which received the most citations in the journal, examined the language use preferences of Turks in Belgium in terms of intergenerational differences and determined the language attitudes of bilinguals towards Turkish. Aydın (1) analysed how noun phrases and clauses perform the predicate function in Turkish according to the model developed by Tesnière. Johanson (73) analysed subordinate clauses in syntactic context and emphasised the determinism of semantic value.

Culture and Sociology

In the 53 articles identified within the scope of the subject; the sub-topics of specific traditions of nations, marriage, gender, family relations, national identity, social norms, social transformation, identity construction, folklore are analysed. The most frequently encountered keywords are culture, acculturation, cultural transmission, ethnicity, society, Turkish culture, Asian studies, family, ritual, tradition, assimilation, folklore, mythology, values, marriage, divorce, carnival. The most cited article in the journal is the study of Burcu et al. (63), which reveals the role of traditional practices regarding early marriage based on the narratives of women who have been married under the age of 18 in Türkiye. Tuztaşı and Aşkun (273) tried to explain the meanings attributed to the ideal “Turkish house”. Küçük (185) examined the concept of colour from ethnological, cultural, and sociological perspectives through Turkish mythology, legends and epics.

Economics and Entrepreneurship

The 45 research articles on economics and entrepreneurship cover the sub-topics of economic growth, unemployment, investment, trade, and finance. Power, partnership, business, unemployment, pricing, employment, foreign investment, welfare, economic freedom, globalisation, trade relations, multinational companies are the prominent concepts among the key words. Within the scope of this title, commercial relations between countries, various agreements and cooperation, the problem of unemployment, and views on domestic and foreign investment are analysed. Yavan’s (237) study published in the journal is the most cited economics article. The study analyses the historical development, sectoral structure, and geographical distribution of Turkish firms’ direct investments abroad. Şimşek et al. (1) presented sectoral trade information between Türkiye and Russia and revealed that this bilateral trade has increased without facing internal and external political conflicts. Gedikli et al. (27) analysed the relationship between life expectancy and health expenditures in the Turkish Republics over a 10-year period.

Education

The 34 articles on education include language education, education of foreign students, international students, analysing textbooks and educational

problems. For this reason, the title of education is also related to the subject of language and linguistics, and since several researches are related to language education, they cover both fields. Education, language, foreign student, curriculum, textbook, educational research, primary education, higher education are the most frequently encountered keywords within this topic. The article by Ağırdağ et al. (7) published in the journal is the most cited study on this subject. In this study, the opinions of teachers about the use of Turkish language by Turkish children in Belgian primary schools were investigated and it was concluded that despite the negative views of teachers, quantitative analyses did not provide evidence to support these negative views. Akçadağ (29) determined the training needs of teachers regarding methods, techniques, measurement, and evaluation and whether these needs showed a significant difference according to seniority and gender. Kılıçlar et al. (157) investigated the effect of adaptation problems experienced by students from the Turkish world who settled in universities in Türkiye on their academic achievement. When the most cited studies on education are examined, it is noteworthy that these studies also draw an interdisciplinary profile with other subjects such as language, linguistics, and migration.

Migration

The 24 articles on migration cover the sub-headings of immigration, the situation of asylum seekers, bilingualism, immigration policies and social integration. Migration, identity, immigration, values, adaptation, language attitudes, assimilation, internal migration, refugees, asylum seekers, citizenship, social integration are the most frequently encountered keywords in this subject, which is closely related to education, language, and international relations. When the most cited articles within the scope of migration are analysed, Şahin's (103) study, which examines the level of Turkish immigrants in Germany adopting German culture and maintaining Turkish culture in the context of differences between generations, stands out. Utaş Akhan and Batmaz (23) found that socio-economic variables are important in determining the satisfaction status of immigrants who migrated from Bulgaria to Türkiye and live in various neighbourhoods of Istanbul, and that those who find a job suitable for their profession and qualifications are more satisfied than others.

Geography

In the 21 articles identified within the scope of the subject; human geography, regional characteristics, political geography, population movements, demographic structure, climate changes, ancient cities and Asian studies are included. The most frequently repeated keywords in the subject of geography, which is closely related to history, culture and tradition, are Asia, population, climate change, environmental problems, ancient city, Istanbul, demographic structure, cities, regions, economic geography, borders, music, spatial elements. When we look at the most cited studies on this subject, Gümüşçü's (79) article in which he analyses the existence and characteristics of village borders with examples from Türkiye and focuses on state borders draws attention. Özcan (193) tried to define the elements shaping the spatial organisation of Anatolian cities that were restructured on the settlement heritage inherited from Byzantium during the Seljuk period.

Religion

Within the scope of religion, Islamic civilisation, Sufism, Alevi-Bektashi tradition, folk beliefs, Shamanism, religious identity and secularisation are discussed. Islam is the most frequently encountered keyword in this subject. This is followed by Muslims, Islamic civilisation, death, faith, shaman, Sufism, Mevlânâ, Ahmet Yesevî, non-Muslims, monasteries, folk beliefs, freedom of will. It is thought that the Fetö coup attempt in Türkiye was also effective in the increase of studies on religion, especially in 2016. Lorasdağı's (105) study on the impact of globalisation on religion in Türkiye in the case of MÜSİAD, an Islamic-oriented business association, is the most cited article in the journal. Yılmaz and Kamalova (217) explained that the praise of woman and soil, the demand for fertility, and the integration of death and birth in Karakalpak rituals overlap with Bakhtin's observations on carnival and grotesque.

Management/Organisation

The 15 articles on management/organisation cover the sub-headings of leadership and effective management, job satisfaction, commitment to work environment, work ethics, manager and supervisee relations, classroom management skills, mobbing. The most common keywords in the studies on this subject are organisation, management, leadership, job

satisfaction, mobbing, job commitment, work ethics, organisational justice. Çokluk and Yılmaz's (75) study is the most cited article on management/organisation in the journal. The study focused on the relationship between teachers' organisational commitment and school administrators' leadership behaviours. Cemaloğlu and Ertürk (67) tried to determine the direction of intimidation to which teachers and school principals are exposed and concluded that intimidation is generally downward.

Contact

The 14 articles on communication cover the sub-headings of media, internet, journalism, newspapers and magazines, social media, publishing, communication strategies, online media. In this subject, media, social media, telecommunication, television discourse, journalism, newspaper, magazine, press, internet, social network, Facebook, twitter, digital surveillance are the keywords encountered. Gülnar et al.'s (161) study on communication is the most cited article in the journal between 2008 and 2022. In this study, it was aimed to discover the purposes of users of personal photo and video sharing sites, and 7 motives that are effective in the use of these sites were revealed. Ayhan and Balcı (13) evaluated the internet usage habits and motives of university students in Kyrgyzstan in terms of uses and gratifications approach.

Science and Technology

Measurement and evaluation techniques, quantitative and qualitative data analyses, scientific measurements, statistics, information technologies, bibliometrics, meta-analysis are examined in 9 articles. The most frequently used keywords are method-technique, bibliometric analysis, computers, information technology, statistical method, scientific collaboration. The study of Al et al. (1) published in the journal in 2010, in which they analysed 100 publications published in *bilig* within the scope of citation indexes in terms of bibliometric properties, is the most cited article on this subject. In another study, Al ("Avrupa Birliği Ülkeleri" 1) evaluated Türkiye in terms of publication and citation performance and compared it with the European Union countries and found that Türkiye is in the group of countries with low citation performance in all areas covered by the research.

Psychology

In 7 articles on psychology; attitudes and motivation, social psychology, addiction, prejudice, social identities subtopics are discussed. Especially in the field of education, studies on the attitudes and motivation of students and teachers stand out. Social psychology, internet addiction, prejudice, psychiatry, attitude, motivation, burnout, psychological well-being, self-perception are the keywords used in psychology. When the most cited articles on this subject are analysed, Özmete's (361) study in which he adapted this measurement tool into Turkish by determining the need for a measurement tool that allows a multidimensional evaluation of the lives of married women and men with the changing family structure and increasing divorce rate comes to the fore. Balcı and Ayhan (275), in their research conducted in Kyrgyzstan, tried to determine people's television viewing habits and motivations, and identified 5 motivations that are effective in television viewing.

Energy

In the 6 research articles on energy, especially the topics of oil and energy security attract attention. In addition, energy relations and cooperation between countries, energy policies and projects, energy resources are among the sub-topics examined. It is seen that energy is a subject directly related to both international relations and economy and entrepreneurship. Oil, energy security, nuclear energy, natural gas, pipeline project, energy policy, resource richness are the most frequently preferred keywords within the scope of this subject. When the studies on energy are examined; Kartal (163) investigated the relationship between energy security and growth between 1992-2016 with a panel data set consisting of Turkic world countries, Aslanlı (27) evaluated the emergence process, development, current situation, and contribution of Trans-Caspian cooperation to the cooperation between Turkic Republics.

Other Topics

Twelve research articles, which could not be included in the aforementioned 15 topics, are handled within the scope of other topics. Tourism research, research on the classification of objects, studies on personal care and aesthetics, editorial proposals, biographies of some intellectuals are evaluated under the

title of other subjects. Deveci Bozkuş (1) evaluated the works written by the Armenian intellectual class in Ottoman Turkish in general terms. Soykan (177) aims to classify all possible objects by defining everything as an object of reason, mind, memory, consciousness, spirit, and imagination.

Citation Analysis

In the citation analysis, the most cited articles shown in Table 4 were included. This section was analysed in parallel with the topics shown in Table 3.

The most cited article with 30 citations is “Motivations of Facebook, YouTube and Similar Websites Users” which is a joint study of Gülнар, Balcı, and Çakır. The researchers aimed to discover the motives of users of personal photo and video sharing websites such as YouTube and Facebook and revealed 7 motives that have an effect on the use of these websites.

The subjects of the two studies shown in Table 4, in which Orhan Ağırdağ is the author, are Turkish usage and language attitudes of Turkish students living outside Türkiye. In the article titled “Speaking Turkish in Belgian Primary Schools: Teacher Beliefs Versus Effective Consequences”, which is a joint study of Ağırdağ, Jordens and Van Houtte on education, investigated teachers’ beliefs about the use of Turkish language by Turkish children in Belgian primary schools and discussed the lack of evidence to support teachers’ rather negative views on the use of Turkish language and this study received 27 citations.

Al, Soydal and Yalçın’s study titled “Evaluation of *bilig* in terms of Bibliometric Properties”, which was evaluated within the scope of science and technology, received 15 citations, while Burcu, Yıldırım, Samyaman and Sirma’s study titled “The Fate of Flowers: A Qualitative Research on Women’s Early Marriage in Turkey” received 11 citations. Yavan’s study received 11 citations, Akçadağ’s study received 10 citations, while Altınkamış and Ağırdağ and Lorasdağı’s articles received 8 citations and were among the most cited articles.

When the most cited articles are analysed in terms of institutions, Hacettepe University draws attention, and this data coincides with the data in the table of the most contributing institutions. While 3 authors from Selçuk University are included in the list with their joint studies, Ankara University also stands out among the institutions where the most cited articles come from. While 5

institutions in Table 4 consist of universities operating in Türkiye, there are 3 institutions from abroad. While this situation provides data on the national dimension of the journal, it also shows that although the number of English publications is less than Turkish publications, it is easier to find a place among the most cited publications. It is also noteworthy that half of the most cited articles are in Turkish and half in English. This finding suggests that articles published in English are in a more advantageous position than those written in Turkish in terms of international visibility and, accordingly, receiving citations from authors abroad. However, although most of the studies are single authored, it is also seen that the most cited studies have three or more than three authors. This situation suggests that interdisciplinary studies receive more citations. In the journal, 474 articles published between 2008 and 2022 have not yet been cited, and this finding draws attention to the need for the journal to increase its visibility in the international arena.

Table 4
Most Cited Articles in Web of Science Database⁴

No	Article	Authors	Subject	Institution	Year	Attribution	Year Average
1	Motivations of Facebook, You Tube and Similar Web Sites Users	Bırol Gülnar, Şükrü Balcı, Vedat Çakır	Contact	Selcuk Uni., Selcuk Uni., Selcuk Uni.	2010	30	2,3
2	Speaking Turkish in Belgian Primary Schools: Teacher Beliefs Versus Effective Consequences	Orhan Ağırdağ, Kathelijne Jordens, Mieke Van Houtte	Education	University of Amsterdam, KU Leuven and Ghent University.	2014	27	3
3	Bibliyometrik Özellikleri Açısından <i>bilig</i> 'in Değerlendirilmesi	Umut Al, İrem Soydal, Haydar Yalçın	Science and Technology	Hacettepe Uni., Hacettepe Uni., Ege Uni.	2010	15	1,1
4	Çiçeklerin Kaderi: Türkiye'de Kadınların Erken Evliliği Üzerine Nitel Bir Araştırma	Esra Burcu, Filiz Yıldırım, Cigdem Sema Sirma, Secil Samyaman	Culture and Sociology	Hacettepe Uni, Ankara Uni, Baskent Uni, Hacettepe Uni	2015	11	1,3

5	Türkiye'nin Yurt Dışındaki Doğrudan Yatırımları: Tarihsel ve Mekânsal Perspektif	Nuri Yavan	Economics and Entrepreneurship	Ankara Uni.	2012	11	1
6	Öğretmenlerin İlköğretim Programındaki Yöntem Teknik Ölçme ve Değerlendirme Konularına İlişkin Eğitim İhtiyaçları	Tuncay Akçadağ	Education	On Dokuz Mayıs Uni.	2010	10	0,7
7	Determinants of Language Use and Attitudes Among Turkish Speakers in Flanders: A Focus On Generational Difference.	N. Feyza Altinkamis, Orhan Ağırdağ	Language and Linguistics	University of Ghent, University of Amsterdam.	2014	8	0,9
8	The Relationship between Islam and Globalization in Turkey in the Post-1990 Period: The Case of MUSIAD	Berrin Koyuncu Lorasdağı	Religion	Hacettepe Uni.	2010	8	0,6

Discussion

Evaluation of Findings

According to the findings obtained because of this study, which aims to examine the development of the journal since the journal entered the Web of Science by revealing the bibliometric profile of the articles published in *bilig* journal between 2008-2022:

- With 262 articles, the period with the highest number of articles published is the 2013-2017 period, while the number of articles decreased to 190 between 2018-2022. Whether this downward trend will continue in the following years is one of the facts to be investigated.

- Of the studies published in the journal, 527 are in Turkish and 159 are in English. The reason for the higher number of articles published in Turkish than in English can be considered as the fact that *bilig* is a journal focusing on the studies of the Turkic world. Although English and Russian abstracts are included, the fact that most of the publications are in Turkish reduces the possibility of citation by researchers abroad and negatively affects the international recognition of the journal.
- When the number of authors of the articles in *bilig* is analysed, it is determined that single-author articles are in majority. In this respect, it is possible to state that the authors who contribute to the journal do not tend to publish jointly. This finding reveals the individual working habits of the authors and coincides with the publishing tendencies of researchers in the field of social sciences.
- Most contributions to the journal were made from Türkiye and other Turkic Republics. It has been observed that the tendency of the Turkish Republics such as Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Azerbaijan, Cyprus, especially Türkiye, to studies of the Turkic world is higher.
- Most of the 276 different institutions submitting articles to the journal are domestic institutions. The top three contributing institutions are Hacettepe University, Gazi University and Ankara University, respectively. It is noteworthy that all three institutions are in Ankara. This finding is important in terms of showing that the journal has a local character.
- Literature and art, history, international relations and political science, language and linguistics, culture and sociology are the most frequently encountered subjects in the journal. Unlike other subjects, the subject of culture and sociology has increased in the recent period. This result suggests that the cultural characteristics of the Turkic world are a subject that has recently attracted the attention of researchers. In addition, in some articles, studies to be evaluated within the scope of several subjects were identified. This shows that interdisciplinary studies are included in the journal. In the second period, there was an increase in literature and arts, international relations and political science, economy and entrepreneurship, education, religion, and communication. It is thought that the coup attempt in Türkiye in 2016 was effective in increasing the tendency towards these subjects.

- When the most cited articles in *bilig* were analysed, it was seen that the study on communication, which received 30 citations, ranked first. Most of the institutions where the most cited articles are published are universities in Türkiye and Hacettepe University stands out. Half of the 8 most cited articles were written in Turkish and half in English. This finding is important in terms of showing that articles written in English are more likely to be cited as they have high visibility abroad. In addition, although the most preferred subjects are literature, and arts and history, these subjects were not found among the most cited articles. Table 5 shows the number of cited articles and the total number of citations according to five-year periods. Accordingly, 209 of the 686 articles received at least one citation. It was determined that 474 articles published in the journal have not received any citations yet. The decrease in the number of cited articles and citations in the recent period suggests the visibility of new publications.

Table 5

Citation Trends by Periods

	2008-2012	2013-2017	2018-2022	Total
Published Article	234	262	190	686
Cited Article	83	93	33	209
Attributions	255	237	50	542

Comparison with Previous Studies

Similar to this study examining the trends of *bilig* journal, Al, Soydal and Yalçın in 2010 analysed 100 articles published in *bilig* since 2008 and found that 87% of the publications were in Turkish, indicating that the predominance of Turkish publications is a common situation in journals originating in Türkiye. It is seen that the rate of English publications has increased in the last 12 years, but it has not reached a sufficient rate. Yalçın (208) found that 98.2% of the 171 articles he analysed in Millî Folklore were published in Turkish. Gökçen and Arslan (48) analysed the studies published in the field of Turkish education in scientific journals scanned by WoS and found that 71.8% of the publications were in English and

explained this situation with the fact that English is the common language of the global scientific world.

Karagöz and Şeref (226), in their bibliometric analysis of the Journal of Values Education, concluded that the articles were mostly produced by a single author. Polat et al. (23) also analysed the Journal of Atatürk University Faculty of Fine Arts and found that the rate of single-author articles was as high as 86.8%. The findings obtained from these studies coincide with the findings of this study on authorship tendency.

Karagöz and Koç Ardiç (432) found that Gazi University, MoNE and Abant İzzet Baysal University are the institutions that contribute the most to the Journal of Mother Tongue Education, while Yalçın (208) stated that Bilkent University, Gazi University, Selçuk University and Hacettepe University are the institutions that contribute the most to the Journal of National Folklore. Hacettepe University, Gazi University and Selçuk University are also among the institutions that contribute the most to the journal *bilig*.

Similar to the findings in *bilig*, Karagöz and Şeref (236) concluded that one fourth of the articles in the Journal of Values Education did not receive any citations and the citations reflected the national dimension of the journal. Şeref and Karagöz (310) analysed academic publications on Mevlâna Celâleddin Rumî in terms of bibliometric indicators and concluded that while Türkiye is the most active country in research on Mevlâna, the most cited publications originate from the USA and Denmark which is related to the language of publication.

Conclusion

Bibliometric studies are important in terms of recognising scientific journals closely, determining their productivity and current status, providing researchers with comprehensive information about the field, and investigating the place and effects of publications within the discipline. In this study, *bilig*, a scientific journal for Turkic world studies, is analysed within the scope of authorship tendencies, subject and citation analysis.

The bibliometric analysis of *bilig*, which has been published continuously since 1996 to reveal the cultural richness, historical and current realities of the Turkic world within scientific measures and to propose solutions to these issues, will contribute both to the field and to the researchers working in this

field. From this point of view, it is important and necessary to consider *bilig*, which provides a scientific environment for the studies of the Turkic world, in the context of bibliometric indicators. This study contributes to the field in determining the current situation of publication trends in *bilig*.

Revealing the place and impact of the publications in the journal within the discipline and their deficiencies through bibliometric analyses plays a role in taking measures to improve the quality of publications and determines the sources that feed the field. For this purpose, the bibliometric profile of the journal by analysing the publications in *bilig* has shown the general situation with holistic data to new researchers who will conduct research in this field and has enabled studies to be carried out in this direction by determining the subjects that have not yet been researched in the Turkish world.

Conducting similar studies in the following periods may contribute to the literature and researchers in terms of following the scientific development of the journal and identifying changes in its trends. Future studies with larger data may play a role in reaching the desired level of research by providing the opportunity to evaluate the development of the journal with more detailed analyses. Conducting similar studies to increase the visibility of the journal in the international arena, to increase interdisciplinary publications by collaborating with scientists in different fields of study, to increase citation rates, to increase the interest in the journal and Turkish world studies to a high level can be a guide in making the necessary decisions.

Recommendations

bilig is one of the few Turkish journals in SSCI. For the journal to consolidate this position and take its place as an internationally respected journal with its studies that shed light on the Turkic world, it is possible to list the suggestions as follows:

- Steps can be taken to increase the number of publications in English or to make long abstracts in English compulsory.
- To increase the visibility of the journal, researchers from abroad can be included in the author staff.
- By giving more space to interdisciplinary studies in the journal where multi-authorship is low, both the multi-authorship rate and the

visibility of the journal in the international platform can be increased by encouraging joint publications with researchers abroad.

- The diversity of topics can be increased by prioritising new topics and different perspectives on the Turkic world.
- The number of citations can be increased by issuing special issues for the most cited topics.

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 The VOSviewer programme used in the study automatically added 13 files (editorials, book reviews, etc.) that are not included in the scope of research articles to the system in the section where the continental distribution of publications is evaluated, but it is understood that these files will not affect the results of our research due to the very small number of these files.
- 2 The table shows the institutions that contributed ten or more articles to the journal.
- 3 Articles on language education are included in the subject of education.
- 4 The table includes articles with at least eight citations.

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Araştırma Makalesi / Research Article

A Comparative Analysis of the Energy Policies of China and Russia in Kazakhstan*

Sharifa Giritlioglu**

Abstract

The objective of this study is to analyze the energy policies of China and Russia in Kazakhstan. Firstly, the historical context of energy cooperation between Kazakhstan, China, and Russia will be examined. Secondly, the distinctive approaches taken by each country will be evaluated. Finally, the impact of these two regional powers on Kazakhstan's energy policy will be assessed. Kazakhstan holds a prominent position in the global energy sector owing to its considerable reserves of oil and natural gas. China and Russia acknowledge Kazakhstan's crucial role as an energy source and invest significantly in its energy industry. Though both countries use Kazakhstan's energy resources, they have distinct approaches. China adopts a proactive and assertive stance towards Kazakhstan, entering into advantageous agreements and investing in infrastructure initiatives. On the contrary, Russia maintains a passive stance by concentrating on preserving its current energy infrastructure and strengthening its hold over Kazakhstan's energy reserves. To summarize, the energy strategies pursued by China and Russia in Kazakhstan carry substantial ramifications for the creation and transaction of energy resources within the region.

Keywords

Kazakhstan, China, Russia, energy policy, oil, natural gas, pipelines.

* Date of Arrival: 30 November 2023 – Date of Acceptance: 7 June 2024

You can refer to this article as follows:

Giritlioglu, Sharifa. "A Comparative Analysis of the Energy Policies of China and Russia in Kazakhstan." *bilig*, no. 112, 2025, pp. 33-61, <https://doi.org/10.12995/bilig.7772>.

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Çin ve Rusya'nın Kazakistan'daki Enerji Politikalarının Karşılaştırmalı Analizi*

Sharifa Giritlioglu**

Öz

Bu araştırmanın amacı Çin ve Rusya'nın Kazakistan'daki enerji politikalarını analiz etmektir. Öncelikle Kazakistan ile Çin ve Rusya arasındaki enerji iş birliğinin tarihsel bağlamı incelenecektir. İkinci olarak her ülkenin benimsediği farklı yaklaşımlar değerlendirilecektir. Son olarak bu iki bölgesel gücün Kazakistan'ın enerji politikasına etkileri ele alınacaktır. Kazakistan, önemli petrol ve doğalgaz rezervleri nedeniyle dünya enerji sektöründe öne çıkan devletlerden biridir. Çin ve Rusya, Kazakistan'ı hayati bir enerji kaynağı olarak kabul etmektedir ve bu nedenle ülkenin enerji endüstrisine önemli yatırımlar yapmaktadır. Ancak, Kazakistan'ın enerji kaynaklarını ortak kullanmalarına rağmen, Çin ile Rusya'nın bu konuda yaklaşımları farklılık göstermektedir. Çin, avantajlı anlaşmalar ve altyapı projelerine yatırım yaparak Kazakistan'a karşı proaktif ve iddialı bir duruş sergilemektedir. Öte yandan Rusya, mevcut enerji altyapısını korumaya ve Kazakistan'ın enerji kaynakları üzerindeki kontrolünü sağlamlaştırmaya odaklanarak daha pasif bir yaklaşımı tercih etmektedir. Sonuç olarak, Çin ve Rusya'nın Kazakistan'da izlediği enerji politikalarının bölgenin enerji kaynaklarının üretimi ve ticareti üzerinde kayda değer etkileri bulunmaktadır.

Anahtar kelimeler

Kazakistan, Çin, Rusya, enerji politikası, petrol, doğal gaz, boru hatları.

* Geliş Tarihi: 30 Kasım 2023 – Kabul Tarihi: 7 Haziran 2024

Bu makaleyi şu şekilde kaynak gösterebilirsiniz:

Giritlioglu, Sharifa. "A Comparative Analysis of the Energy Policies of China and Russia in Kazakhstan." *bilig*, no. 112, 2025, ss. 33-61, <https://doi.org/10.12995/bilig.7772>.

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Introduction

The issue of energy is one of the most prevalent challenges worldwide. Over time, the increasing demand for energy has compelled developing nations to adopt innovative strategies and approaches to develop new sources of energy, making use of their natural resources. The Republic of Kazakhstan is an important strategic country for both the People's Republic of China (PRC) and Russia in terms of ensuring energy security. While it is considered as an important source of energy for China, which demands increasing amounts of energy for its rapidly developing economy, for Russia, which has been under sanctions by Western countries in recent years, Kazakhstan has become of great importance in terms of energy transfer.

Considering the current conjuncture, the impact of China and Russia on international relations has garnered significant attention from researchers, not only exploring broader global issues but also reassessing specific aspects of their foreign policy in regions like Central Asia, Africa, and the Middle East, including areas such as energy policy, economy, soft power, and more. A comprehensive evaluation of the foreign policy objectives of both countries reveals nuanced directions.

This research aims to provide a comprehensive analysis of the energy policies of China and Russia towards Kazakhstan, utilizing sources in Russian, Chinese, and English languages. A considerable body of research in Russian examines Russia's energy policies towards Central Asia and Kazakhstan. Scholars such as S. M. Makarova, A. Malashenko, A. V. Beloglazov, E. Alifirova have provided insights into Moscow's approach to the region. Additionally, works by A. Suraganov, S. S. Zhiltsov, and I. B. Mamedov delve into the intricacies of energy relations between Russia and Kazakhstan. Various perspectives on Moscow and Beijing's approaches to Kazakhstan's energy policy have been investigated by K. Syroezhkin, A. Petersen, A. Dankov, and S. T. Ikramov further enriching the discourse on energy cooperation in the region.

Chinese scholarship offers valuable perspectives on economic cooperation and energy policies between China and Central Asian countries, with a particular focus on Kazakhstan. Scholars like Wang Haiyan, Shan et al.,

Qin, and Qiu et al. contribute to the understanding of China's energy strategies in the region.

Studies published in English provide a broader perspective on energy cooperation involving Russia, China, and Kazakhstan. Researchers such as C. B. Alvarez, R. M. Cutler, Z. Saurbek, G. A. Movkebaeva, Janet Xuanli Liao, V. Schulhof, Yabo Zhao et al., and N. Nogayev offer valuable insights into the dynamics of energy relations in the region. Moreover, English literature addresses the competitive dynamics of the "triangle" involving China, Russia, and the USA. Works by S. Blank, L. Dittmer, G. Mitchell, and K. Muqtedar shed light on the geopolitical dimensions of energy cooperation and competition in Central Asia.

While there is a substantial amount of scientific work in Russian, Chinese, and English, most are fragmentary, and there has been no special study on Sino-Russian-Kazakhstan energy relations after 2021. Thus, this study aims to comprehensively analyze the issue, considering multiple perspectives to promote understanding and collaboration.

This paper presents a comparative analysis of China and Russia's energy policies in Kazakhstan. It also examines the evolving international context in the region, which is being shaped by the energy policies of these two influential countries. The complex context not only justifies but also encourages Kazakhstan to develop external partnerships. Kazakhstan is focused on developing partnerships and expanding its economy through energy trade, with China and Russia being the main purchasers. The energy policies of these countries have a significant impact on regional stability in Kazakhstan and Central Asia.

This study aims to evaluate Kazakhstan's energy potential and achieve several key objectives. First, it will assess the energy potential of Kazakhstan. Additionally, it will evaluate the significance of Kazakhstan for both China and Russia by examining their energy policy priorities in the country. The study will also compare their energy policies and identify current and potential areas of competition within the energy sector. Furthermore, the research seeks to identify the preconditions that could lead to geopolitical changes in the region because of a result of China's growing strength and Russia's diminishing influence.

The main argument of this paper asserts that the security of energy supplies for China and Russia within Kazakhstan plays a crucial role in shaping both regional stability and global dynamics. As the influence of these two major powers expands into Central Asia, this study argues that conducting a comparative analysis of their energy strategies in Kazakhstan provides a unique perspective for comprehending the evolving geopolitical landscape. This involves assessing Kazakhstan's importance to both China and Russia, closely examining their energy policy priorities and delineating areas of collaboration and competition. By doing so, the paper unveils the intricate network of strategic interests that forms the foundation of their engagements. Additionally, the research delves into the conditions that might precipitate potential geopolitical shifts in the region, influenced by the growing strength of China and the altering influence of Russia. Through a thorough examination of Kazakhstan's energy potential and a comparative scrutiny of the energy policies of China and Russia, this study aims to offer valuable insights into the intricate interplay of energy, geopolitics, and international relations in Central Asia.

The research is organized into four main phases. Initially, the study examines the present state of Kazakhstan's energy sector. The second stage provides a comprehensive analysis of China's energy policies in Kazakhstan, while the third stage delves into Russia's energy policies in the same context. In these stages, the strengths and weaknesses of China and Russia are identified and compared. Ultimately, the study concludes with a comprehensive assessment of both countries' energy policies in Kazakhstan.

Initially, the study focused on analyzing the energy potential of Kazakhstan, as well as the current state of its respective energy sector. This was achieved through a review of official statistical data and relevant literature. Subsequently, a comprehensive review and critical analysis of China and Russia's current national energy policies was carried out, with reference to official government documents and programs. A comparison was made between China's and Russia's energy policies based on the outcomes of the first three stages of analysis.

The Energy Potential of Kazakhstan

The Republic of Kazakhstan, with its geostrategic significance marked by geographical, economic, and military attributes, holds a key position that allows it to influence Central Asian processes, especially in regional security. As a substantial state sharing borders with China and Russia, Kazakhstan plays a pivotal role in ensuring security and fostering economic advancement in the adjacent regions of China and Russia. The dynamics of interstate cooperation among the PRC, Russia, and Kazakhstan offer valuable insights for the examination of international relations and foreign policy.

Transitioning to the subsequent section, we will delve into the examination of Kazakhstan's energy potential, shedding light on the rich resources and reserves that position the country as a crucial player in the global energy landscape. This comprehensive overview will provide essential insights into the factors influencing continued foreign investment and the role of Kazakhstan in shaping the trajectory of the energy sector. As an active participant in the international community, Kazakhstan's contributions to the global energy balance and security underscore its role as a responsible state cognizant of its geopolitical significance in ensuring international stability and security.

Presently, Kazakhstan, a leading energy producer in Central Asia, depends on the primary hydrocarbon resources of the area, specifically oil and natural gas. Thanks to its modest population and minimal energy consumption, Kazakhstan primarily exports hydrocarbons, making it a net exporter in Central Asia (Movkebaeva 82). Most of Kazakhstan's exported hydrocarbons travel through Russian territory or pipelines (Saurbek 79). Kazakhstan's interest in China's construction of additional pipelines and gas pipelines to East Asia, from the perspective of diversification, offers an additional economic and political incentive.

As of now, over 200 oil fields have been discovered on the land of Kazakhstan. Around 62% of Kazakhstan's land is estimated to hold oil and gas reserves. The western region of Kazakhstan holds a considerable portion of these deposits, situated in the provinces of Atyrau, Mangistau, West Kazakhstan, Aktobe, and Kyzylorda. The largest oil fields in terms of recoverable reserves are Kashagan (1-2 billion tons), Tengiz (0.75-1.125 billion tons),

Karachaganak (1.35 trillion m³ of gas and 1.2 billion tons of oil), Uzen (1.1 billion tons), Kalamkas (67.6 million tons), and Zhetybay (68 million tons) (Ministry of Energy of the Republic of Kazakhstan).

Kazakhstan ranks 12th globally in terms of proven oil reserves, with a total of 3.9 billion tons. Natural gas reserves amount to 2.7 trillion m³, ranking 14th in the world (EY 2). Kazakhstan's proven oil and condensate reserves are currently at a level that would account for over 45 years of production (Ishekenova). Oil production amounted to 85.9 million tons in 2021, with domestic consumption accounting for 23% of the total. Gas production was 54.2 billion m³, with 61% consumed domestically. Over the past 30 years, Kazakhstan has increased oil production by 3.5 times, and in terms of production for 2021 it ranks 13th in the world (2% of global production) (Suraganov 3).

In 2020, Kazakhstan produced approximately 2 million barrels per day of oil and gas condensate, a historic high. However, its refining capacity remained largely underdeveloped during the 1990s and 2000s despite having the largest oil production in the region. During this period, the country had to import almost 30% of its oil products from neighboring countries. In 2009, the Kazakh authorities initiated a program to modernize the refining industry, acknowledging the country's economic vulnerability resulting from its reliance on external petroleum product supplies (Kross et al. 13). In 2018, the modernization of refineries in Atyrau, Pavlodar, and Shymkent enabled Kazakhstan to produce enough petroleum products to meet domestic demand. As a result, the country now has the largest refining capacity in Central Asia and is a net exporter of products to Europe and Central Asia. Thanks to the refinery modernization programs in the country, local consumers now have a stable and reliable domestic supply of petroleum products (Nogayev).

The stable growth of hydrocarbon production in Kazakhstan enabled the country to become one of the top 10 oil exporting countries. Oil and gas production in Kazakhstan is expected to significantly increase in the short term due to favorable conditions and increased demand in the energy markets. In 2024 oil production is expected to be around 100 million tons (Ministry of Energy of the Republic of Kazakhstan).

The biggest oil development and production projects in Kazakhstan are Tengizchevroil LLP, North Caspian Operating Company B.V., and Karachaganak Petroleum Operating B.V. The oil and gas production structure comprises some of the largest multinational corporations including Chevron (USA), ExxonMobil (USA), CNPC (China), ENI (Italy), Shell (Great Britain), Lukoil (Russia), Total (France) and others. National Campaign KazMunayGaz is the leader in the oil and gas industry in Kazakhstan with full integration at all stages of the value chain (Suraganov 7). Although there is high diversification and the national company has a significant share of participation, the majority of the oil and gas production is controlled by foreign partners. Foreign investors receive approximately 35% of export earnings each year. Additionally, the contracts with foreign companies (Tengizchevroil LLP – 2033 (Tengizchevroil LLP), North Caspian Operating Company B.V. – 2041 (EY 3), Karachaganak Petroleum Operating B.V. – 2038 (Karachaganak Petroleum Operating B.V.)) are set to expire on the aforementioned dates.

The Tengiz field has recoverable crude oil reserves estimated at 750 million to 1.1 billion tons (6–9 billion barrels). Since 1993, the Tengizchevroil (TCO) LLP partnership, consisting of Chevron (50%), ExxonMobil (25%), KazMunayGas NC (20%), and Russian Lukoil (5%), has been developing the field (EY 3; Tengizchevroil LLP). The Tengiz field is estimated to contain 3.1 billion metric tons (25 billion barrels) of oil, with an additional 200 million metric tons (1.6 billion barrels) in the Korolev field. The total recoverable crude oil in both fields is estimated to be 1.4 billion metric tons (11.5 billion barrels). The Tengiz reservoir has a large areal extent, measuring 20 kilometers (12 miles) by 21 kilometers (13 miles). In 2008, TCO completed its Sour Gas Injection and Second-Generation Plant (SGI/SGP) expansion project. The average daily production capacity has exceeded 80 thousand metric tons per day (640 thousand barrels) of crude oil and 25 million cubic meters per day of natural gas in recent years. From January to September 2023, crude production reached 21.7 million metric tons (173.1 million barrels). During the first nine months of 2023, TCO sold more than 932,000 metric tons of LPG and over 1.9 million tons of sulfur. Additionally, TCO produced and supplied approximately 6 billion cubic meters of sales gas to Kazakhstan's gas pipeline network, with almost all of it being supplied to the domestic market (Tengizchevroil LLP).

The North Caspian PSA contract area comprises Kashagan, the largest offshore field discovered in 2000, with proven recoverable oil reserves of 761.1 million tons. The owners of Kashagan will also explore other structures in the area, including Kalamkas-Sea, South West Kashagan, Aktoty, and Kairan. The project is currently operated by the North Caspian Operating Company (NCOC), which is jointly owned by foreign investors. Italian ENI (16.81%), US ExxonMobil (16.81%), Netherlands and UK Royal Dutch Shell (16.81%), France Total (16.81%), Chinese CNPC (8.33%), Japanese INPEX (7.56%), and local investor KazMunaGas NC (16.88%). In 2019, the National Centre of Oil and Gas Coordination (NCOC) completed the first turnaround of its onshore and offshore facilities, achieving a production rate of 380,000 barrels per day (EY 5). Since 1993, the NCOC has produced almost 90 million tons of oil and 55 billion cubic meters of gas, according to Kazakh officials. The project has attracted investments worth over \$60 billion, invested more than \$17 billion in local content development, and employed nearly 10,000 people. During the peak of construction, over 40,000 people were involved in the project. Kazakh Prime Minister A. Smailov stated that the North Caspian Operating Company (NCOC) has important tasks ahead to increase production through full-scale field development. Experts suggest that the production potential of Kashagan could reach 1.6 million barrels of oil per day, equivalent to approximately 75 million tons per year (Smailov).

The Karachaganak field is regarded as a primary resource for increasing production due to its status as one of the world's largest oil and gas fields. Its development is the responsibility of Karachaganak Petroleum Operating B.V. (KPO B.V.), a joint venture between several Western companies led by BG Group and ENI. The field has estimated recoverable reserves of 9 billion barrels (1.2 billion tons) of oil and gas condensate, as well as 1.35 trillion cubic meters of natural gas reserves. In 2012, the Karachaganak Petroleum Operating B.V. consortium produced 10.2 million tons of oil. In the same year, KazMunayGas NC acquired a 10% stake from the current shareholders and joined the project. For a considerable period, Karachaganak was the only significant oil and gas project in Kazakhstan that did not involve the state. The consortium is composed of the British BP Group (29.25%), the Italian ENI (29.25%), the US Chevron (18%), the Russian Lukoil (13.5%), and the local KazMunayGas NC share is 10% (EY 5). In 1997, Venture Partners

teamed up with the former State Oil & Gas Authority to develop the extensive reserves of Karachaganak. They signed a Final Production Sharing Agreement (FPSA) that will enable the partnership to operate Karachaganak until 2038. Since signing this agreement, they have invested over \$29.8 billion in the operations and have applied industry-leading hydrocarbon technology to one of the world's most complex reservoirs. In 2022, the production of hydrocarbons in Karachaganak reached 128.5 million barrels of oil equivalent. Approximately 57.3% of the total gas produced, which amounts to 11 billion cubic meters, was re-injected to maintain reservoir pressure (Karachaganak Petroleum Operating B.V.).

Oil is primarily transported through pipelines, which are the most cost-effective and eco-friendly mode of transportation. Over 80% of Kazakhstan's oil production is exported, while the remainder is directed towards domestic processing. The primary operators are (ORK; Suraganov 8); Routes of the Caspian Pipeline Consortium: The Tengiz-Novorossiysk pipeline has a capacity of 67.0 million tons and is 1,510 kilometers long. Only 452 kilometers of this pipeline pass through Kazakhstan. Routes of KazTransOil JSC: These routes include transportation from a Kazakhstan refinery to Uzen-Atyrau-Samara, the Aktau port, transshipment to the Caspian Pipeline Consortium Route, and Atasu-Alashankou. These routes have a capacity of 17.5 million tons (Atyrau-Samara) and 5.2 million tons (Aktau port), respectively. The length of the pipeline is 5,372 kilometers. The routes of the Kazakhstan-China Pipeline LLP are: Atasu-Alashankou and Kenkiyak-Kumkol. The pipeline has a capacity of 20.0 million tons and a length of 1,759 kilometers. Routes of MunaiGas LLP: The route runs from Kenkiyak to Atyrau, is 449 kilometers long, and has a capacity of 6.0 million tons (Suraganov 8; ORK 8-9).

Since the mid-2000s, Kazakhstan's authorities have focused on producing, processing, and exporting natural gas. Kazakhstan's natural gas reserves are smaller than Russia's and Turkmenistan's reserves in the post-Soviet region. Natural gas production has increased almost six times since Kazakhstan gained independence (Liao 494-95). Kazakhstan has a widespread system of main and distribution gas pipelines. JSC NC "QazaqGaz" is the national operator for gas and gas supply infrastructure in Kazakhstan, responsible for managing the transportation of marketable gas through main gas pipelines.

Kazakhstan's gas transmission system covers a total length of more than 56,000 kilometers of gas distribution network, with over 20,000 kilometers of main gas pipelines and 56 compressor stations. The main operators in Kazakhstan are (ORK 5; Suraganov 9):

- Routes of Intergas Central Asia JSC: The routes cover Kazakhstan, Russia, Uzbekistan, and Turkmenistan, with a capacity of 198 billion m³ and a length of 15,260 kilometers.
- Routes of Asian Gas Pipeline LLP: The routes run from Kazakhstan to China, with a capacity of 55 billion m³ and a length of 3,916 kilometers.
- Routes for the Beineu-Shymkent Gas Pipeline LLP: It has a capacity of 15 billion cubic meters and is 1,454 kilometers long.
- The routes of JSC KTG-Aimak are used for the domestic market and cover a distance of 59,182 kilometers (ORK 7-8).

Oil accounts for 51.5% and gas 3.8% of all goods exported from Kazakhstan in 2021. For 2020, the figures were 50.5% and 5.3%, respectively. Over 96% of the oil was exported via pipelines, with more than 70% of the total volume sent to European countries. China has been the main consumer of Kazakh gas in recent years (Suraganov 10). The historical agreements between Russia and Kazakhstan enable the provision of gas supplies to the Orenburg gas processing plant. Additionally, these supplies are exported to Europe via Gazprom channels (Ikramov 75).

Around 60% of Kazakhstan's merchandise exports come from oil and gas condensate. 99% of the National Fund is replenished with proceeds from the oil and gas sector. In the last decade, transfers from the National Fund to the Republican budget have amounted to 30-45%. After considering the export customs duties on crude oil and oil products, 30-50% of the state budget is replenished through the revenue raised by the oil and gas industry. The amount of revenues to the National Fund directly depends on the price of oil (EY 6). Building upon the historical significance of oil and gas as primary contributors to Kazakhstan's foreign direct investment, averaging 46% over the past decade (Suraganov 12), sustaining robust investment becomes imperative for the continued growth of the industry.

Energy Policy of the People's Republic of China in Kazakhstan

Expanding on the evaluation of Kazakhstan's energy potential, the focus transitions to examining the energy policies pursued by the PRC within the context of Kazakhstan. This part of the paper investigates China's strategic engagement with Kazakhstan, delving into policy frameworks, diplomatic strategies, and collaborative initiatives designed to address China's growing energy demands.

The significance of China's energy policy towards Kazakhstan has escalated due to deepening economic ties between the two nations and China's increasing need for energy resources. The PRC has instituted various measures to secure its energy supplies from Kazakhstan, including investments in Kazakhstan's energy sector, the construction of pipelines, and the establishment of energy cooperation agreements. Given Kazakhstan's strategic location, it emerges as a crucial transit country for China, facilitating access to energy resources in Central Asia. China's interest in Kazakhstan is primarily driven by considerations of energy security and logistics. Kazakhstan's abundant reserves of oil, gas, and coal make it an attractive avenue for China to diversify its energy sources and reduce dependence on the Middle East. Furthermore, China's focus on Kazakhstan aligns with three key factors: energy security, logistical advantages, and the strategic imperative to promote Chinese energy companies globally. This global expansion is bolstered by China's "going global" plan (Wang 27), which is part of the broader Belt and Road Program, providing additional infrastructure support for Chinese energy investments in Kazakhstan. This interconnected approach underscores the multifaceted dimensions of China's energy strategy in Kazakhstan and its broader international ambitions (Qin 52).

The swift expansion of the Chinese economy in the early 21st century led to heightened demand for energy resources, widened Beijing's economic prospects, and established conditions for reinforcing political leverage in Central Asia (Dankov). Official records show that the quantity of oil consumption in China was 450 billion tons in 2022. China's energy demands have increased by four times over the past decade, with an estimated consumption of 480 billion cubic meters of natural gas projected for 2030 (Shan et al. 1295; Qiu et al 3; Statista).

In 2003, during the state meeting on economic work, the leadership of China identified “finance” and “oil” as two significant factors for ensuring the country’s economic security. By 2022, China’s reliance on imported oil has reached 57%, whereby over 58.8% of the imported oil primarily comes from the Middle East. Nonetheless, the situation in the Middle East and North Africa has been complicated by armed conflicts and political destabilization in recent years. According to the Twelfth Five-Year Plan for the Development of the Western Region, energy cooperation with Central Asian countries is a key aspect of China’s Western strategy (NDRC 16). China served as a crucial market for the surplus energy exported by nations along the Belt and Road, leading these countries to increasingly rely on China as a destination for their energy exports (Zhao et al. 143). As a result, China must adopt a more proactive policy of openness, enhance the level of openness towards the West, broaden external relations with Western border countries to access foreign resources and diversify the nation’s secure energy supply channels.

The geopolitical environment of China drastically transformed when the Central Asian republics gained independence in 1991. Rather than encountering a known but perilous adversary like the USSR, the PRC found itself facing a diverse array of small independent countries along its western borders. During the two decades following the collapse of the Soviet Union, from 1991 to 2003, a period marked by expansion, Beijing allocated limited diplomatic and political resources to support Chinese enterprises in Kazakhstan as part of its broader regional strategy. Initially, energy did not hold the top position in bilateral relations; financial loans to the newly independent country, migration, border security, control of separatists in Xinjiang, and trade were (and continue to be) significant items on the Kazakh-Chinese agenda. The first petroleum agreement was not signed until September 1997, after China National Petroleum Corporation (CNPC) became involved in the country. Even within the largest Chinese multilateral initiative in the region, the Shanghai Cooperation Organization, the security of energy supply was not among the primary elements in the negotiations (Alvarez 60). Nevertheless, during the 2010s, China’s activities in Central Asia, particularly in Kazakhstan, have undergone substantial changes.

In a short period, China has emerged as Kazakhstan's leading economic and political ally, assuming the role of the primary investor and creditor. Kazakhstan is a crucial energy partner for China in the region. From 1993, China and Kazakhstan formally initiated cooperation in the energy sector. Initially, China's entry into the region was characterized by a commitment to non-interference in domestic matters and a focus on fostering economic collaboration. This approach, presenting an alternative to other global powers, received positive feedback from local elites. China demonstrated a keen interest in investing in significant infrastructure projects, encompassing oil and gas pipelines, transportation networks, power facilities, bridges, as well as transport and logistics hubs (E 23–24).

For the past 20 years, collaboration between China and Kazakhstan regarding energy has exceptionally intensified. In 2003, China National Petroleum Corporation (CNPC) procured 85.6% of the Aktobe oil field's shares, followed by the acquisition of PetroKazakhstan by CNPC in 2005 (The Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China). The gas pipeline connecting Turkmenistan and China was initially an extension resulting from earlier negotiations between Kazakhstan and China. This extension included the expansion of the Bukhara-Tashkent pipeline through Uzbekistan, passing through Almaty to Alashankou on the border. This border location is where the existing Kazakhstan-China oil pipeline from Atasu also enters China. In the late 2000s, the China National Petroleum Corporation (CNPC) initiated talks with Kazakhstan's national energy trust, KazMunaiGaz, for gas imports from western Kazakhstan (Cutler 680).

One of the biggest energy projects between Kazakhstan and China was the construction of the first Kazakhstan-China transnational oil pipeline. Kazakhstan-China Pipeline LLP (KCP) is a legal entity with foreign participation. Its participants are KazTransOil JSC and the Chinese National Oil and Gas Exploration and Development Corporation (CNODC) in a 50/50 partnership. KCP was created to design, build, and operate the Atasu-Alashankou oil pipeline. KCP was established on June 30, 2004, as a result of the agreement between "KazTransOil" JSC and CNODC, following the "Agreement on Cooperation in the Oil and Gas Field" signed on May 17, 2004, between the Governments of the Republic of Kazakhstan and China (KazTransOil).

To implement the Kazakhstan-China oil pipeline project, oil supplies from West Kazakhstan and Aktobe regions to the Chinese market needed to be secured. To address this, CNPC and KazMunayGaz NC JSC signed an agreement on the main principles of constructing the second stage of the Kazakhstan-China oil pipeline on December 20, 2006. The Atasu-Alashankou pipeline (first stage) and Kenkiyak-Kumkol pipeline (second stage) projects were equally implemented by Chinese and Kazakh parties (KCP).

The construction project of the Atasu-Alashankou crude oil pipeline is noteworthy due to its scale and complexity, as well as the valuable experience gained by the company during its implementation. The pipeline traverses four regions of the Republic of Kazakhstan, namely Ulytau, Karaganda, Zhetysu, and Abai, as well as the territory of the People's Republic of China. In July 2006, the State Commission approved the Atasu-Alashankou pipeline, and in November 2008 PS-9 was launched, achieving its designed capacity of 10 million tons of oil per year. In December 2011, PS-11 was launched, and the Atasu-Alashankou pipeline reached its full capacity of 12 million tons of oil per year. In December 2013, PS-8 and PS-10 were launched, leading to a capacity increase of the Atasu-Alashankou pipeline to 20 million tons of oil per year. On 11 December 2007, the Kenkiyak-Kumkol pipeline project was unveiled at the Kenkiyak initial pump station in Aktobe. Construction was completed in September 2009 (KazTransOil). According to the official 2022 statistics, the capacity of the oil pipeline connecting Kazakhstan to China exceeds 20 million tons. This volume is equivalent to the yearly output of a single significant oil field in China (KCP).

In addition to the oil sector, collaboration between China and Kazakhstan also exists in the natural gas sector. Towards the end of 2012, the Development Bank of China signed papers with the Kazakh side for allocating \$1.8 billion toward the establishment of the Beineu-Shymkent gas pipeline in Kazakhstan. The Development Bank of China places significant importance on cooperation with Kazakhstan, and the representative office of the Development Bank in Astana was officially launched in October 2018. To date, the Development Bank has supported 33 projects in Kazakhstan, providing loans totaling \$34.262 billion and contracts totaling \$29.922

billion. The Development Bank strongly supported the implementation of several significant energy projects. Leveraging the framework of China-Kazakhstan intergovernmental cooperation and extensive medium and long-term financing mechanisms, the State Development Bank spearheaded the establishment of a \$12.2 billion consortium loan for the Kazakhstan section of the Central Asian Natural Gas Pipeline and \$1.8 billion consortium loan for the second phase of the China-Kazakhstan Natural Gas Pipeline. Additionally, it purchased \$300 million in bonds to support the first phase of the China-Kazakhstan crude oil pipeline and provided \$240 million in financing for its second phase (Ministry of Commerce of the People's Republic of China).

As China depends on Kazakhstan for energy imports and views its western neighbor as a key link in the Belt and Road initiative, Kazakhstan's economy significantly relies on Chinese investment and trade agreements. The collaboration between Kazakhstan and China has been evolving since late 2014, primarily under the Silk Road Economic Belt (SREB) and Kazakhstan's national program "Nurly Zhol". Notably, Kazakhstan has made more substantial progress in implementing this program compared to other regional states. From March 2015 to September 2018, China entered into approximately 70 agreements with Kazakhstan, totaling over \$33 billion. These agreements spanned various sectors, including energy, mining, chemical, mechanical manufacturing, agriculture, and infrastructure (Liao 490). This can be attributed to the similarities between the SREB and "Nurly Zhol" initiatives, particularly in terms of facilitating the transit of goods from China through Kazakhstan and developing the country's transport and logistics infrastructure. Additionally, China's willingness to provide generous loans and finance projects under both programs is noteworthy, particularly without imposing any political preconditions (Syroezhkin 21).

In 2017, the bilateral trade between China and Kazakhstan recorded a turnover of \$11.07 billion, placing China as Kazakhstan's second-largest trading partner, following Russia (Dankov). In 2022, the State Revenue Committee of the Ministry of Finance in the Republic of Kazakhstan reported a growth in bilateral trade, with a total volume of \$24.1 billion, representing a 34.1% increase. Total exports amounted to \$13.1 billion, up 34.7% from the previous year, while imports reached \$11 billion, reflecting

a 33.5% increase. Kazakhstan's reliance on China as a major trading partner was apparent, with China contributing 22.8% of the total trade volume in 2022 (Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Kazakhstan).

Currently, three sections of the Central Asian natural gas pipeline (lines A, B, and C) are active, transferring a total of 35 billion cubic meters of natural gas per year from Turkmenistan to China. The three existing pipelines traverse the territories of Uzbekistan and Kazakhstan, and these transit countries are required to contribute 20 billion cubic meters of natural gas. Accordingly, the pipeline system exports a total of 55 billion cubic meters of natural gas to China each year. Since the completion of the Trans-Central Asian pipeline, 400 billion cubic meters of natural gas have been transported to China. Also, an agreement was reached to resume the construction of the fourth branch (D line) that passes through Tajikistan and Kyrgyzstan during the visit of Turkmenistan's President, Serdar Berdimuhamedov, to Beijing on 6 January 2023 (Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of China). With the construction of the fourth line, it is anticipated that the amount of gas transported annually from Turkmenistan to China will reach 65 billion cubic meters (Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of China).

China's significant position in Kazakhstan can be attributed to two key factors. Firstly, China is the biggest market for Kazakhstan's main exports, including oil, natural gas, uranium, and non-ferrous metals. Secondly, China has established itself as the largest investor and creditor in Kazakhstan. As of 2019, Central Asian countries collectively owe China in excess of \$22 billion, with more than half of the debt owed by Kazakhstan specifically. According to data from the Ministry of Commerce of the People's Republic of China, the outward investment to Kazakhstan amounted to \$822.240 million in 2021. This represents a rise from the prior figure of – \$115.290 million for 2020 (China Economic Information Center).

China's position in Central Asia is undermined by the lack of efficiency in a considerable portion of Chinese investments and corruption scandals surrounding Chinese projects, hindering relations with China. The LRT construction project in Astana is a prime example of this issue (Yakhyarova). Furthermore, the COVID-19 pandemic has led to a decline in activity within the Belt and Road initiative, resulting in a decrease in the implementation

of multiple infrastructure projects. Some academic studies on the future of the Belt and Road Initiative (BRI) suggest that the COVID-19 pandemic is driving a shift towards slower growth and de-globalization. Historical evidence indicates that economic performance tends to decline after pandemics, and forecasts suggest this trend will persist in the short to medium term. In this context, the BRI may be evolving to prioritize securing national interests in a world marked by increased tensions between the US and China and growing divisions (Barua 25; Schulhof et al. 6).

Moreover, it is noteworthy that China's interests in Kazakhstan are predominantly linked to the factors mentioned earlier. Local concerns have a relatively minor impact on China's interests. China is willing to invest in security systems and counter-terrorism initiatives but shows little interest in generating new employment opportunities. While China is ready to finance the construction of extensive pipelines for exporting oil and natural gas, it is not inclined to invest in the gasification of cities and villages in the region. Beijing is prepared to establish transit corridors for transporting goods to Europe but has no intention of developing local transport infrastructure in the remote areas of Kazakhstan. In summary, China's energy policy towards Kazakhstan plays a pivotal role in its overall energy security strategy and broader international economic policies. The strong economic ties between the two nations position Kazakhstan as a valuable energy partner for China, and the collaborative relationship between them is expected to continue flourishing.

Energy Policy of the Russian Federation in Kazakhstan

Examining Russia's energy policies within the borders of Kazakhstan is a complementary endeavor to the exploration of China's strategies in the preceding section. This dual analysis unveils the intricate dynamics of energy cooperation in the region, enabling a comparative evaluation of China and Russia's approaches. This assessment brings to light areas of both alignment and disparity in their quests for energy security within Kazakhstan.

In the early 1990s, the Central Asian states posed challenges for Russia, but today, the Kremlin seeks to firmly integrate this region into Russia, motivated primarily by political and economic considerations. The Russian Federation places significant economic value on Kazakhstan, particularly regarding transit and the extraction of energy resources. Moscow's primary objective in

the region is to establish a zone specific to its interests, reasserting influence over former Soviet republics and curbing external influences, notably from the United States and China. This strategic shift underscores the evolving dynamics of Russia's engagement with Kazakhstan, encompassing economic interests and geopolitical considerations.

Energy is a fundamental component of Russia's attempts to sustain its dominance in the region. After 1991, the post-Soviet republics in Central Asia started to open their economies to the global market to differing extents. Nevertheless, they inherited a deep integration of their energy sectors with the mining and pipeline infrastructure of Russia as part of the USSR. Initially, energy carriers' transportation from the Caspian Sea was solely done through Russia's territory or the state-controlled Russian pipeline system (Makarova 150). Foreign companies are not permitted to utilize these pipelines for transit by Moscow.

Thus, Russia has gained an effective monopoly in the field of energy transit across the Eurasian region. Given that oil and gas are the primary sources of income for the Caspian Sea producers, Moscow's control over the export of their energy resources has granted it significant political leverage over its southern neighbors and has thus served its strategic interests (Mamedov 163). The matter of oil and particularly gas transit has been closely monitored in Russia in recent years. It should be noted that merely 15% of gas intended for export is transported avoiding Ukrainian territory, and this consideration holds significance in determining the "gas" policy's direction. There is no indication that Gazprom, the gas monopoly of Russia, would permit the development of unfavorable schemes for the supply of Kazakh gas.

In the field of oil trade, the Russian monopoly was swiftly dismantled. Following its independence in 1991, Kazakhstan granted Western oil companies access to its hydrocarbon resources. Chevron and ExxonMobil have become partners in the management of the enormous Tengiz and Korolevskoye oil fields located in Kazakhstan (Beloglazov 222-23). To transport this oil to the global market, Western firms initially attempted to access the pipeline system that has been in place since Soviet times, which is overseen by the Russian company Transneft. However, the negotiations have reached an impasse, primarily due to concerns over Russia's potential control of the routes for exporting Kazakh oil (Petersen 33).

The “thread” built by the Caspian Pipeline Consortium from the city of Atyrau in Kazakhstan to Novorossiysk in Russia is one of the longest pipelines in the region. Initially, Western companies operating in Kazakhstan, specifically Chevron, intended to build and manage the pipeline according to international standards, excluding Transneft from its operators. However, these plans were only partially realized. Currently, Transneft oversees the Russian segment of the project; however, the monopolistic pricing system employed by this company for their Russian network does not extend to the entire pipeline (Petersen 34). In brief, Russia’s previous dominance over the oil industry in this area has significantly reduced. In Kazakhstan, Russian companies, led by Lukoil, are investing in hydrocarbon production alongside Western oil companies and their own Kazakh state companies (Saurbek 80).

Russia was interested in Kazakhstan supplying oil exclusively via the northern route, passing through Russian territory. This was a matter of significant political importance in addition to the economic advantages. Pipelines remained a crucial tool to exert influence on the Caspian countries. For this reason, Russia expedited the construction of the Caspian Pipeline Consortium (CPC) oil pipeline (Tengiz-Novorossiysk). In November 2001, the commissioning of the first phase of the CPC pipeline was signed during a ceremony. The commissioning of the pipeline was a significant geopolitical achievement for Russia in the Caspian Sea, granting them the right to transport Kazakhstan’s oil. This move not only solidified Russia’s position in the region but also fostered an improved relationship with Kazakhstan. Additionally, an agreement was reached to expand the CPC’s capacity to transport up to 67 million tons of oil annually. Later, a long-term intergovernmental agreement was signed, whereby the Kazakh side was guaranteed the capacity to transport a minimum of 15 million tons of oil annually from Atyrau to Samara (Zhiltsov 39).

Gazprom has collaborated with KazMunaiGas in the gas sector since 2002. Nevertheless, no long-term agreement between Russia and Kazakhstan has been signed yet, unlike the ones in existence with Uzbekistan and Turkmenistan. Russia underestimates the significance of this document for the Kazakh side, as the conclusion of such an agreement would significantly influence the gas industry’s direction in Kazakhstan. There is, however, a

possibility that the Russian leadership is intentionally doing so in order to control the initiatives of the management of KazMunayGas. This has prompted Kazakhstan to reconsider its reliance on Gazprom and consider investing in its own infrastructure or partnering with foreign companies. However, Lukoil still holds a considerable stake in the current primary project – the Karachaganak field’s advancement (EY 5).

In the gas sector, Russia’s monopoly endured for an extended period. By purchasing gas from Central Asia and transporting it through its pipeline system, Russia prevented the countries of the region, particularly Kazakhstan, from accessing profitable markets independently (Petersen 43). In 2005, Russia declared the shift to “European market prices” for gas exports to CIS nations and started raising prices for countries like Ukraine. Nevertheless, it wasn’t until 2008, once the likelihood of alternative customers emerging in Kazakhstan materialized, that Russia proposed buying gas from this area at a higher rate. In 2010, a new agreement was signed with Turkmenistan and Kazakhstan for the extension and modernization of the main pipeline – which has been operational since Soviet times – that transports gas from these countries to Russia. This indicates Moscow’s intention to secure gas resources in Central Asia for the future (Malashenko 25-26).

Russia signed these agreements when it did not require Kazakh gas, thus showing its readiness to forego short-term profits for the sake of long-term strategic objectives. With the decrease in gas demand in Europe due to the financial and economic crises of 2008-2009, Russia no longer required Central Asian gas to satisfy domestic needs or contracts with Ukraine. Furthermore, soon after signing multiple new long-term agreements with the producing nations of the Caspian Sea, which stipulated procurement of substantial amounts of gas at twice the previous price, Russia ceased its acquisition of gas from Central Asia almost entirely (Petersen 42-43).

On 8th January 2023, Gazprom CEO A. Miller and First Deputy Prime Minister of Kazakhstan R. Sklyar conducted a working meeting in St. Petersburg. The parties discussed their cooperation progress and future prospects. At the meeting A. Miller and R. Sklyar signed a roadmap for cooperation in the gas sector. The press office of the Kazakh government simply stated that the roadmap outlines the primary areas of cooperation between the parties, specifically regarding issues (Gazprom):

- The processing of Kazakh gas at the Orenburg gas processing plant (GPP),
- The potential for Russian gas supplies to Kazakhstan, and potential cooperation projects.

Two potential routes for supplying Russian gas are currently being investigated: the Barnaul-Rubtsovsk-Semey-Ust-Kamenogorsk route with a branch to Pavlodar, estimated to be approximately 1,000 km in length, and the Ishim-Petropavlovsk-Kokshetau-Nur-Sultan route, estimated to be 644 km long (Gazprom).

In August 2022, Gazprom and QazaqGaz (formerly KazTransGaz) began discussing the volume of gas supplies. Initially, the volume is set at 4 billion cubic meters per year, with the potential for an increase to 7-10 billion cubic meters per year. This takes into account the possibility of converting coal-fired thermal power plants to gas (Interfax Information Services Group).

Another area of collaboration between Gazprom and Kazakhstan concerns the processing of gas from the Karachaganak oil and gas condensate field (OGCF) at the Orenburg GPP. During SPIEF in June 2022, Gazprom Pererabotka and KazRosGaz, a joint venture with equal participation from Gazprom and KazMunaiGaz (with QazaqGaz overseeing KazMunaiGaz's share), agreed to augment gas processing at the Karachaganak OGCF over the 2022-2023 period. In addition, Gazprom and QazaqGaz signed a memorandum of cooperation that outlines plans to elevate processing to 11 billion m³/year (Alifirova).

Russian-Kazakhstan relations regarding gas issues were closely held throughout 2022. A new momentum to the negotiation process was initiated by the meeting of Russian President V. Putin and Kazakh President K.-J. Tokayev on 28 November 2022. During the ensuing meeting with Russian Prime Minister M. Mishustin, K.-J. Tokayev communicated that V. Putin suggested the formation of a trilateral union involving Uzbekistan. Later, Russian Deputy Prime Minister A. Novak stated that Russia, Kazakhstan, and Uzbekistan are exploring the possibility of establishing a gas union. This would entail collaboration on gas transportation, export, processing, and other areas of cooperation, such as gas supply to additional export markets including China (Gazprom).

Firstly, Russia holds a strong position in Kazakhstan due to its deep historical and cultural ties and close connections with the elites, which facilitate the achievement of long-term agreements. Secondly, unlike the case with China, the public's outlook toward treaties and negotiations with Russia is largely optimistic. Finally, the significant level of trade and integration initiatives between Russia and Kazakhstan fosters close relations between the two nations.

Russia's uncertain standing in Kazakhstan is due to its involvement in the 2021 conflict with Ukraine. Given the historical and cultural ties and the high density of Russian-speaking residents in Kazakhstan, along with the violent events of January 2022 and separatist factions in Northern Kazakhstan, Kazakhstan must carefully navigate its relationship with Russia, especially considering their shared land border.

Russia's main goal is to obstruct Caspian Sea nations from finalizing agreements with Western clients, especially in Europe, which is considered Russia's sales market. The belief is that if it's not possible to prevent Kazakh oil and gas exports without using Russian territory, redirecting them towards the East is preferable to the West. This strategy aims to avoid challenging Russian fuel dominance in the critical European market. Specifically, Russia seeks to hinder the proposed European pipeline, the "Southern Corridor", designed to deliver Caspian gas directly to EU countries.

Despite all these efforts, Russia's position in Kazakhstan, inherited from the USSR, has weakened over time. The influence of other players is increasing in Kazakhstan. Today, Kazakhstan has become the focus of strategic, political, and economic interests, not only for Russia but also for China.

Conclusion

In conclusion, this paper has conducted a comprehensive comparative analysis of China and Russia's energy policies in Kazakhstan, shedding light on the evolving international context in the region. The intricate dynamics of this context not only justify but also encourage Kazakhstan to foster external partnerships, particularly in the realm of energy trade, where China and Russia stand as the primary purchasers. As Kazakhstan positions itself as a crucial player in the global energy landscape, the study aimed to assess its energy potential and scrutinize the foreign policy priorities of China and

Russia within the country. Additionally, the research sought to identify areas of competition and potential geopolitical changes, especially considering China's growing strength and Russia's evolving influence.

The evaluation of Kazakhstan's energy potential revealed its significant role in the global energy arena, with abundant resources and reserves that attract continued foreign investment. As an active participant in the international community, Kazakhstan's contributions to the global energy balance and security underscore its responsibility to ensure international stability and security. The country's vast oil and gas reserves, coupled with its strategic geographical position, make it a key player in the energy sector, with over 80% of its oil production being exported. The emphasizes the importance of energy policies in shaping its economic trajectory.

China, driven by deepening economic ties and its growing energy needs, has become the largest market, investor, and creditor for Kazakhstan. However, challenges such as inefficient investments and corruption scandals have impacted the efficiency of Chinese projects, potentially hindering relations. Nevertheless, the collaborative relationship between China and Kazakhstan is anticipated to thrive, given their strong economic ties and shared energy interests.

On the other hand, Russia, leveraging its historical ties and close connections, has effectively maintained a monopoly in energy transit across the Eurasian region, providing Moscow with substantial political leverage. The historical and cultural links, along with positive public sentiment, contribute to the strong relationship between Russia and Kazakhstan. However, uncertainties arise due to Russia's involvement in the 2021 conflict with Ukraine, necessitating careful navigation of their shared border and relationship.

In summary, this study contributes a nuanced understanding of the energy policies of China and Russia in Kazakhstan, offering insights into the geopolitical landscape and potential future developments. The findings emphasize the need for Kazakhstan to navigate its external partnerships judiciously, considering the evolving dynamics of its relationships with China and Russia.

Conflict of Interest Statement

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

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Araştırma Makalesi / Research Article

Dynamic Interrelationships among Energy Prices, Exchange Rates, and Inflation: An Empirical Analysis for the Turkic Republics*

Türker Batmaz**

Abstract

The dynamic interrelationships among energy, goods and financial markets in Eurasian economies are not empirically analyzed, yet; and this study attempts to handle this gap in the literature. It examines the dynamic interrelationships for energy (oil and natural gas) prices, inflation rate, and exchange rate in Türkiye, Azerbaijan, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, and Uzbekistan, covering the period from January 2010 to April 2022, by means of the Toda and Yamamoto approach to Granger causality, impulse-response functions, and variance decompositions. The empirical findings unveil that (i) inflation is mainly driven by natural gas prices, (ii) oil prices cause inflation through natural gas prices, (iii) the exchange rate pass-through to inflation seems country-specific, and (iv) there is a weak dependence between energy prices and exchange rates. Accounting for smooth structural breaks in causality analysis based on the Fourier Toda-Yamamoto approach reinforces these findings.

Keywords

Energy prices, exchange rate, inflation, Eurasian countries, causality.

JEL codes: C10, O1, Q43.

* Date of Arrival: 18 February 2024 – Date of Acceptance: 28 June 2024

You can refer to this article as follows:

Batmaz, Türker. "Dynamic Interrelationships among Energy Prices, Exchange Rates, and Inflation: An Empirical Analysis for the Turkic Republics." *bilig*, no. 112, 2025, pp. 63-104, <https://doi.org/10.12995/bilig.7933>.

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Enerji Fiyatları, Döviz Kuru ve Enflasyon İlişkisi: Türk Cumhuriyetleri için Dinamik Etkiler*

Türker Batmaz**

Öz

Avrasya ekonomilerinde enerji, mal ve finans piyasaları arasındaki dinamik ilişkiler henüz ampirik olarak analiz edilmemiştir. Bu çalışma literatürdeki bu boşluğu ele almaya çalışmaktadır. Çalışma, Türkiye, Azerbaycan, Kazakistan, Kırgızistan ve Özbekistan'da enerji (petrol ve doğalgaz) fiyatları, enflasyon oranı ve döviz kuru arasındaki dinamik ilişkileri, Ocak 2010-Nisan 2022 dönemini kapsayacak şekilde, Toda ve Yamamoto'nun Granger nedensellik yaklaşımı, etki-tepki fonksiyonları ve varyans ayrıştırılmaları aracılığıyla incelemektedir. Ampirik bulgular (i) enflasyonun esas olarak doğal gaz fiyatlarından kaynaklandığını, (ii) petrol fiyatlarının doğal gaz fiyatları aracılığıyla enflasyona neden olduğunu, (iii) döviz kurunun enflasyona geçişkenliğinin ülkeye özgü olduğunu ve (iv) enerji fiyatları ile döviz kurları arasında zayıf bir bağımlılık olduğunu ortaya koymaktadır. Fourier Toda-Yamamoto yaklaşımına dayalı nedensellik analizinde yumuşak yapısal kırılmaların hesaba katılması bu bulguları güçlendirmektedir.

Anahtar kelimeler

Enerji fiyatları, döviz kuru, enflasyon, Avrasya ülkeleri, nedensellik.

JEL kodları: C10, O1, Q43.

* Geliş Tarihi: 18 Şubat 2024 – Kabul Tarihi: 28 Haziran 2024

Bu makaleyi şu şekilde kaynak gösterebilirsiniz:

Batmaz, Türker. "Dynamic Interrelationships among Energy Prices, Exchange Rates, and Inflation: An Empirical Analysis for the Turkic Republics." *bilig*, no. 112, 2025, ss. 63-104, <https://doi.org/10.12995/bilig.7933>.

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Introduction

Energy and related commodities play a crucial role for both the global economy and national economies (Dai et al.; Mensi et al.). Energy price shocks in the global market negatively affect sustainable growth as they increase input, procurement, and production costs; can lead to undesirable macroeconomic problems such as inflation (Ding et al.; Yang and Dian); and can cause increased volatility and risks in financial markets.

The importance of energy markets on both real and financial sectors has triggered an ongoing interest in investigating dynamic connections between energy prices and economic and financial variables. The literature, as reviewed in next section, reveals that fluctuations in oil and natural gas prices trigger exchange rate and inflation, which in turn have a negative impact on countries' growth and terms of trade. Even though the empirical literature extensively focuses on developed economies; the fluctuations in energy prices may also be sources of uncertainty for developing countries as well and relatively few studies have examined the effects of oil price fluctuations on developing countries (Berument et al.; Emami and Adibpour; Farzanegan and Markwardt; Olomola and Adejumo).

The literature on the Eurasian region, which has rich in energy resources, reveals that there is a very limited number of studies, and the countries in this region are not included within a comprehensive analysis framework, that this situation does not allow comparing the countries of the region with each other. Moreover, the dynamic relationships among energy, goods, and exchange rate markets are not simultaneously investigated yet for Eurasian countries. These gaps in the literature have motivated us to analyze the effects of energy prices, which are of great importance for each country, on exchange rates and inflation rates in Türkiye and four other independent Turkic Republic countries (Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan, Azerbaijan, and Kyrgyzstan).

Central Asia's available energy resources are second only to the Middle East and Russia. This situation may be considered as another motivating point for empirical studies on the region. Although the Middle East still accounts for the largest portion of the world's energy production, political and economic instabilities in the Middle East make the resources in Central Asia a strategic alternative (Çınar 26). Importance of energy markets in Eurasian region

has increased during last decade, which in turn leads a shift of interest from the Middle East to the Eurasian area¹. Especially the increase in foreign investments in the Eurasian countries' energy sector can be considered an indicator of this situation.

Based on the above-mentioned gaps in the literature and the motivations, this study focuses on the selected Eurasian countries (Türkiye, Azerbaijan, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, and Uzbekistan). It aims to present a comparative analysis of the relationships among energy prices (oil and natural gas), real effective exchange rate and consumer price index for the period from January 2010 to April 2022 by means of causality analysis, impulse-response functions, and variance decomposition². The empirical findings indicate that (i) energy prices are found to be main drivers of inflation, (ii) exchange rate pass-through to inflation seems country-specific, and (iii) there is a weak dependence between energy prices and exchange rates. Moreover, the Fourier Toda-Yamamoto approach suggested by Nazlioglu et al. ("Oil Prices and Real") to consider smooth structural breaks in causality analysis, support these findings, implying a dependence between energy and goods markets in the selected Eurasian countries shaped directly by natural gas prices or indirectly by oil prices through natural gas prices.

This study contributes to empirical literature in different ways. The first contribution is based on the sample of the study. In literature, most of the studies for Eurasian countries have been conducted for a single country (see Table 1). This study uses a multi-country sample to explain the relationship between energy prices, exchange rates and inflation. The second contribution is related to empirical modeling. There is no study in the literature for Eurasian countries, that consider energy, goods and exchange rate markets as integrated markets. Apart from the literature, this paper takes a dynamic and endogenous approach to model the interactions among energy prices, inflation, and exchange rates. The third contribution of the study comes from analyzing the dynamic interactions with both short-run and long-run perspective. While short-run dynamic relationships are analyzed using impulse-response functions and variance decomposition, long-run dynamic relationships are analyzed using the Toda & Yamamoto causality approach. Moreover, we account for smooth structural breaks in causality analysis

based on the Fourier Toda-Yamamoto approach, suggested by Nazlioglu et al. (“Oil Prices and Real”).

Literature Review

There are many studies in the literature analyzing the relationship between EP, ER and inflation. Table 1 is devoted to succinctly summarizing the empirical literature. The empirical literature focusing on the relationship between oil prices (OP) and inflation has expanded and diversified since the 1980s in line with developments in econometric analysis (see Panel A of Table 1). For instance, Burbidge and Harrison, using VAR analysis, find that OP increases are the source of high inflation in the US, Japan, Germany, the UK and Canada. Gisser and Goodwin, using Granger Causality analysis, find that the inflationary effect of OP increases in the US was stronger before 1973, and that this effect gradually decreased after 1973. Cunado and Gracia, in their study on Asian countries using Granger Causality analysis, concluded that oil prices have an impact on inflation in 6 selected countries. In the Abaunoori et al. study on Iran, they found that the increase in OP causes demand inflation through crude oil income. Husaini and Lean, using the NARDL model, concluded that there is a causality relationship between OP and consumer price index (CPI) in Indonesia, Malaysia and Thailand.

Similarly, the literature on the relationship between the ER and OP has been growing continuously through causality analysis tools. Among these, Trehan, Indjehagopian et al., Aleisa and Dibooglu, Olomo and Adejumo, Castro and Rodriguez found a causality relationship between OP and ER. Zhang et.al, on the other hand, using VAR analysis for G20 countries, concluded that there is no relationship between OP and ER. Looking at the studies examining the relationship between OP and ER with Granger Causality test, Amano and Van Norden, Chaudhuri and Daniel, Coudert et al., Benhmad, Adigüzel et al. and Bass found that there is a causality relationship between OP and ER.

At first glance, it is noteworthy that there is a limited number of studies examining OP and ER in Eurasian economies (see panel B of Table 1). Ağayev and Öksüzler and İpek conclude that there is no causality between OP and ER. Yaylalı and Lebe and Karimli et al., on the other hand, use the VAR method and conclude that there is a relationship between OP and

ER. In studies examining the relationship between OP and ER in Eurasian economies, Kutan and Wyzan, Ağazade (“Reel Döviz Kuru”), Ağazade (“Petrol Fiyatları”), Altemur found that there is a relationship between OP and ER.

Table 1
Literature Review

International studies			
Author/Year	Sample and Data	Method	Causality
Burbidge and Harrison (1984)	USA, Japan, Germany, UK, Canada / 1961-1982	VAR	INF-OP
Gisser and Goodwin (1986)	USA / 1961: Q1-1982: Q4	Granger Causality Test	INF-OP
Trehan (1986)	USA / 1956: Q2-1985: Q4	VAR	ER – OP
Amano and Van Norden (1998)	Germany, Japan and USA / 1973: M1-1993: M6	Granger Causality Test	OP-ER
Chaudhuri and Daniel (1998)	16 OECD Countries / 1973: M1-1996: M2	Granger Causality Test	OP-ER
Indjehagopian et al. (2000)	Germany and France / 1987: M1-1997: M12	VAR	REER-OP
Aleisa and Diboğlu (2002)	Saudi Arabia / 1980: Q1-2000: Q2	VAR	OP-ER
Akram (2004)	Norway / 1986: M1-1998: M8	OLS	OP-ER
Cunado and Gracia (2005)	Asian Countries / 1975: Q1-2002: Q2	Granger Causality Test	OP-INF
Olomo and Adejumo (2006)	Nigeria / 1970-2003	VAR	OP-ER
Chen and Chen (2007)	G7 Countries / 1972: M1-2005: M10	Panel	OP-ER
Coudert et al. (2008)	USA / 1974: M1-2004: M11	VAR	OP-ER

Korhonen and Juurikkala (2009)	OPEC Countries / 1975-2005	Panel	OP-ER
Benhmad (2012)	USA / 1970: M2-2010: M2	Granger Causality Test	OP-ER
Adigüzel et al. (2013)	Brazil, India and Türkiye / 1999: M1-2011: M7, 1993: M3-2011: M7, 2001: M2-2011: M7	Causality Test	ER-OP
Abounoori et al. (2014)	Iran / 2003: M3 – 2013: M3	Dynamic Error Correction Model	OP-INF
Taşar (2018)	Romania / 2004-2014	Toda-Yamamoto	OP-ER
Bass (2019)	Russia / 2010-2017	Granger Causality Test	OP-ER-CPI
Castro and Rodriguez (2020)	USA / 1974: M1-2019: M7	VAR	OP-REER
Husaini and Lean (2021)	Indonesia, Malaysia and Thailand / 1978-2018	NARDL	OP-CPI
Zhang et.al (2022)	Canada, Norway and Australia / 2010: M5-2020: M6	VAR	There is no relationship between oil prices and exchange rates.
Bigerna (2023)	G20 Countries / 2010: M6-2021: 12	VAR	OP-ER-INF
Studies on Eurasian countries			
Kutan and Wyzan (2005)	Kazakhstan / 1996: M1-2003: M11	Balassa-Samuelson	OP-ER
Ağayev (2011)	Azerbaijan / 1995: M1-2010: M4	Granger Causality Test	There is no causality between the general level of prices and the exchange rate.

Öksüzler and İpek (2011)	Türkiye / 1987: M1-2010: M9	Granger Causality Test	There is no relationship between oil prices and inflation.
Yaylalı and Lebe (2012)	Türkiye / 1986: Q2-2010: Q2	VAR	OP-INF
Altıntaş (2016)	Türkiye / 2000-2013	NARDL	EP-RI
Karimli et al. (2016)	Azerbaijan-Kazakhstan-Russia / 2000: Q1-2014: Q4	VAR	OP-INF
Koçak et al. (2017)	Türkiye / 2003: Q1-2017: Q2	Granger Causality Test	OP-INF
Ağazade (2018)	Azerbaijan / 1995: M1-2017: M9	TAR-MTAR	REER-OP
Ağazade (2020)	Kazakhstan / 1995: M1-2016: M10	ARDL	REER-OP
Kartal (2023)	Türkiye / 1960-2020	Engle-Granger	INF-OP
Altemur (2023)	Türkiye / 1995: M1-2023: M2	Cointegration Tests	OP-INF-ER

OP: Oil Price / ER: Exchange Rate / INF: Inflation / EP: Energy Price / RI: Reel Income

To summarize this empirical literature, it is noteworthy that mostly developed countries and/or OECD and G7 country groups are included in the analysis. Another noteworthy point is that energy, goods and financial markets are analyzed within the framework of models that include only two markets (energy-goods, energy-finance). Therefore, this study differs from the literature by focusing on Eurasian countries both in terms of the sample and in terms of modeling by focusing on the dynamic relationships between energy, goods and financial markets.

Econometric Methodology

To outline the details of causality testing, let us start with VAR(p) model for Granger (1969), given by

$$y_t = \alpha_0 + \alpha_1 y_{t-1} + \dots + \alpha_p y_{t-p} + u_t \quad (1)$$

where y_t are m endogenous variables, α_0 is the vector of constant terms, $\alpha = (\alpha_1, \dots, \alpha_p)'$ is the coefficient matrix and u_t is the error term. Granger

causality analysis requires testing the unit root and cointegration properties of the variables. This is because if the variable(s) in the VAR model contain a unit root or are cointegrated, the Wald test not only has a non-standard distribution, but also becomes dependent on spurious parameters (Toda and Yamamoto, 1995; Dolado and Lütkepohl, 1996). To solve this problem, Toda and Yamamoto (1995), suggest estimating the VAR($p+d$) model by adding an additional lag of the maximum unit root degree (d) of the variables to the VAR model in which the level values of the variables are used. The VAR($p+d$) model, which is the basis of the Toda and Yamamoto causality approach, is defined as follows:

$$y_t = \alpha_0 + \alpha_1 y_{t-1} + \dots + \alpha_{p+d} y_{t-(p+d)} + u_t \quad (2)$$

The VAR models defined in both equations (4) and (5) do not take in account a possible structural break in the variables. Nazlioglu et al. (“Oil Prices and Real”, “Oil Prices and Monetary”) extend the Toda and Yamamoto approach using a Fourier approximation to allow for the smooth structural shifts in Granger causality analysis, which is called as the Fourier Toda and Yamamoto causality approach. The Fourier Toda and Yamamoto procedure relaxes the assumption that γ is constant over time, and defines the VAR($p+d$) model as follows:

$$y_t = \gamma(t) + \alpha_1 y_{t-1} + \dots + \alpha_{p+d} y_{t-(p+d)} + u_t \quad (3)$$

where $\gamma(t)$ is a function of time and denotes any structural change in y_t . To capture structural changes as a gradual process, $\gamma(t)$ is defined with a Fourier approximation, given by

$$\gamma(t) \approx y_0 + y_1 \sin\left(\frac{2\pi kt}{T}\right) + y_2 \cos\left(\frac{2\pi kt}{T}\right) \quad (4)$$

where k is the Fourier frequency number. By substituting $\gamma(t)$ in equation (6) we get

$$y_t = y_0 + y_1 \sin\left(\frac{2\pi kt}{T}\right) + y_2 \cos\left(\frac{2\pi kt}{T}\right) + \alpha_1 y_{t-1} + \dots + \alpha_{p+d} y_{t-(p+d)} + u_t \quad (5)$$

In both Toda and Yamamoto approach and its extension with Fourier approximation, a zero constraint ($H_o : \alpha_1 = \dots = \alpha_p = 0$) is imposed on the first p parameter for the relevant variable of y_t to test for Granger causality. The Wald statistic used to test for Granger no causality has an asymptotic χ^2 distribution with p degrees of freedom.³ As a final note to be emphasized, we determine the number optimal lags (p), avoiding serial correlation

problem, by general-to-specific approach. The optimal Fourier frequency is determined by Schwarz information criterion as suggested by Nazlioglu et al. (“Oil Prices and Real”).

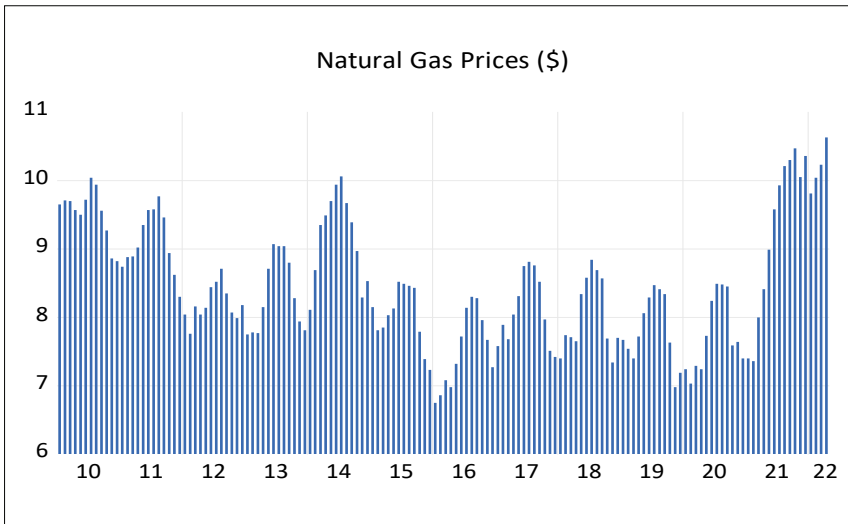
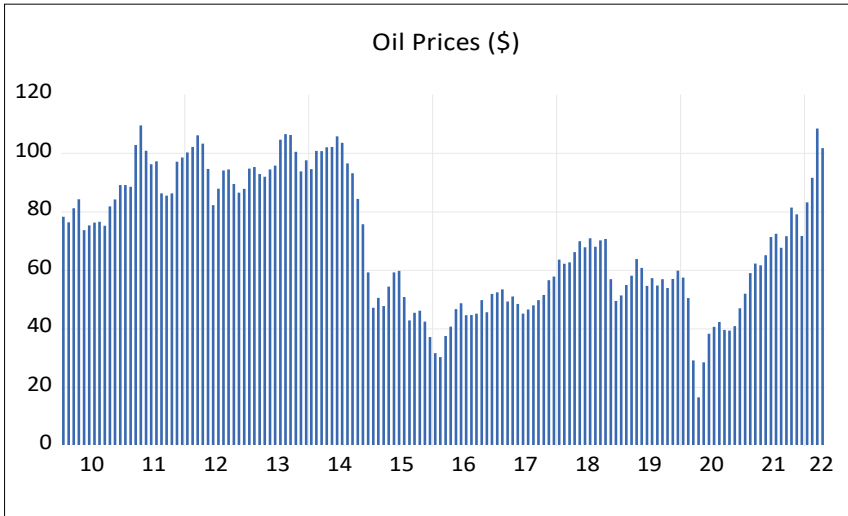
Data

The data used in the paper cover the period 2010 M1-2022 M4. Oil and natural gas prices, CPI and real effective exchange rate (REER) are analyzed using the Toda-Yamamoto causality test. Explanations about the variables used are given in Table 2.

Table 2
Data Description Information

Variables	Acronyms	Units	References
Consumer Price Index	LCPI	Monthly (%)	International Monetary Fund (IMF)
Real Effective Exchange Rate	LREER	Monthly (\$)	Bruegel
Oil Price	LOP	Monthly (\$)	Energy Information Administration (EIA)
Natural Gas Price	LNGP	Monthly (\$)	Energy Information Administration (EIA)

Chart 1 shows the monthly prices of oil and natural gas prices in US Dollars (\$) for the period 2010 M1-2022M4. It is observed that fluctuations in natural gas prices fluctuate every year, with a minimum level between 2015 and 2016 and a maximum level in 2021 and 2022. As for oil prices, the price movements between 2010 and 2014 have been declining after 2014. While oil prices were at a minimum level between 2019 and 2020, they rose rapidly from the second half of 2020 and reached a maximum level in 2022.



Graph 1. Oil and natural gas prices (2010-2022 /Monthly)
(*Energy Information Administration (EIA)*)

Table 3, which includes descriptive statistics, presents the means, standard errors, skewness and kurtosis coefficients of the data. Skewness and kurtosis coefficients are used to test the normal distribution of the data. The skewness coefficient is 0 in a normal distribution. A negative skewness coefficient

indicates a right-skewed distribution, while a positive skewness coefficient indicates a left-skewed distribution. Kurtosis coefficient also takes the value 0 in a normal distribution. A positive kurtosis coefficient indicates a pointed distribution, while a negative kurtosis coefficient indicates a skewed distribution.

Table 3 shows that the skewness coefficient of world oil prices (LOP) is – 0.632 during the analysis period. This coefficient indicates that world oil prices are skewed to the right. The fact that the kurtosis coefficient has a positive value (3.350) indicates that this data has a pointed distribution. When the skewness and kurtosis coefficients of world natural gas prices (LNGP) are analyzed, it is observed that both of them have positive values and have a leftward skewed distribution. The skewness coefficients of the consumer price indices (LCPI) of the countries have positive values except for Kyrgyzstan (-0.303). These coefficient values mean that the CPI is right skewed in Kyrgyzstan and left skewed in other countries. The kurtosis coefficients of the CPI have a positive and pointed distribution in all countries. The coefficients of the real effective exchange rate (LREER) are positive and left-skewed in Kazakhstan, but negative and right-skewed in other countries. In terms of kurtosis coefficients, the real effective exchange rate has a positive value and a pointed distribution in all countries.

Table 3
 Descriptive Statistics

		LCPI	LNGP	LOP	LREER
Azerbaijan	Mean	4.876	2.128	4.191	4.755
	Std. Dev.	0.189	0.105	0.352	0.148
	Skewness	0.164	0.244	-0.632	-0.058
	Kurtosis	1.576	2.266	3.350	1.643
	Observations	148	148	148	148
Kazakhstan	Mean	4.191	2.128	4.191	4.460
	Std. Dev.	0.258	0.105	0.352	0.155
	Skewness	0.022	0.244	-0.632	0.236
	Kurtosis	1.685	2.266	3.350	1.359
	Observations	148	148	148	148

Uzbekistan	Mean	4.083	2.128	4.191	4.141
	Std. Dev.	0.406	0.105	0.352	0.413
	Skewness	0.109	0.244	-0.632	-0.431
	Kurtosis	1.848	2.266	3.350	1.326
	Observations	148	148	148	148
Kyrgyzstan	Mean	4.569	2.128	4.191	4.638
	Std. Dev.	0.172	0.105	0.352	0.041
	Skewness	-0.303	0.244	-0.632	-0.312
	Kurtosis	2.838	2.266	3.350	2.946
	Observations	148	148	148	148
Türkiye	Mean	5.695	2.128	4.191	4.304
	Std. Dev.	0.391	0.105	0.352	0.228
	Skewness	0.630	0.244	-0.632	-0.712
	Kurtosis	2.622	2.266	3.350	2.369
	Observations	148	148	148	148

Empirical Findings

Before proceeding to the causality analysis results, the Toda-Yamamoto approach requires the determination of the maximum degree of integration (unit root) of the variables used in the VAR model. To this end, Extended Dickey-Fuller (Dickey and Fuller), Phillips and Perron and KPSS tests (Kwiatkowski et.al) were applied. According to the unit root test results reported in Table 4, the series satisfy the stationarity condition when the first differences are taken. In this context, the maximum degree of integration (dmax) of the variables is set as 1. Table 5 presents the results from causality tests. We should note that the Toda and Yamamoto and the Fourier Toda & Yamamoto are line with each other, and hence they imply the same causal dynamics with a very few exceptions. Thereby, we can interpret this empirical evidence supporting that causal linkages are robust to smooth structural changes. To facilitate comprehensibility, the findings for each country are summarized in figures. In addition, impulse-response functions and variance decomposition results are also discussed after the causality analysis.

Table 4
Result from Unit Root Tests

Countries	Tests	Variables	Levels Intercept	Intercept and trend	First-differences Intercept	Intercept and trend
Türkiye	ADF	CPI	2.703	2.691	-2.581*	-3.420*
		REER	-0.304	-2.816	-9.186***	-9.195***
		NGP	-3.324**	-3.154*	-7.684***	-8.218***
		OP	-1.928	-1.824	-9.512***	-9.527***
	PP	CPI	4.034	4.309	-4.945***	-5.782***
		REER	0.310	-2.668	-8.841***	-9.195***
		NGP	-2.420	-1.664	-8.031***	-7.909***
		OP	-1.923	-1.843	-8.926***	-8.962***
	KPSS	CPI	1.424	0.350	0.692	0.161
		REER	1.335	0.308	0.217	0.069
		NGP	0.323	0.194	0.153	0.028
		OP	0.677	0.153	0.150	0.092
Azerbaijan	ADF	CPI	0.215	-2.489	-6.471***	-6.506***
		REER	-1.800	-2.108	-8.363***	-8.344***
		NGP	-3.324**	-3.154*	-7.684***	-8.218***
		OP	-1.928	-1.824	-9.512***	-9.527***
	PP	CPI	0.368	-1.806	-6.391***	-6.412***
		REER	-1.340	-1.525	-7.902***	-7.864***
		NGP	-2.420	-1.664	-8.031***	-7.909***
		OP	-1.923	-1.843	-8.926***	-8.962***
	KPSS	CPI	1.429	0.162	0.116	0.059
		REER	0.809	0.183	0.160	0.145
		NGP	0.323	0.194	0.153	0.028
		OP	0.677	0.153	0.150	0.092

Kazakhstan	ADF	CPI	0.681	-2.723	-5.989***	-6.045***
		REER	-1.577	-2.744	-8.401***	-8.365***
		NGP	-3.324**	-3.154*	-7.684***	-8.218***
		OP	-1.928	-1.824	-9.512***	-9.527***
	PP	CPI	0.687	-2.014	-5.967***	-6.015***
		REER	-1.459	-2.836	-8.481***	-8.446***
		NGP	-2.420	-1.664	-8.031***	-7.909***
		OP	-1.923	-1.843	-8.926***	-8.962***
	KPSS	CPI	1.455	0.123	0.114	0.060
		REER	1.151	0.121	0.057	0.055
		NGP	0.323	0.194	0.153	0.028
		OP	0.677	0.153	0.150	0.092
Uzbekistan	ADF	CPI	0.153	-2.031	-7.050***	-7.034***
		REER	-0.703	-1.658	-10.253***	-10.217***
		NGP	-3.324**	-3.154*	-7.684***	-8.218***
		OP	-1.928	-1.824	-9.512***	-9.527***
	PP	CPI	0.235	-1.818	-5.832***	-5.815***
		REER	-0.825	-1.916	-10.249***	-10.213***
		NGP	-2.420	-1.664	-8.031***	-7.909***
		OP	-1.923	-1.843	-8.926***	-8.962***
	KPSS	CPI	1.441	0.248	0.098	0.074
		REER	1.208	0.155	0.090	0.087
		NGP	0.323	0.194	0.153	0.028
		OP	0.677	0.153	0.150	0.092

Kyrgyzstan	ADF	CPI	-0.199	-2.015	-5.839***	-5.794***
		REER	-3.301**	-3.442**	-11.484***	-11.396***
		NGP	-3.324**	-3.154*	-7.684***	-8.218***
		OP	-1.928	-1.824	-9.512***	-9.527***
	PP	CPI	-0.875	-2.282	-6.041***	-5.996***
		REER	-3.270**	-3.442**	-11.410***	-11.311***
		NGP	-2.420	-1.664	-8.031***	-7.909***
		OP	-1.923	-1.843	-8.926***	-8.962***
	KPSS	CPI	1.377	0.201	0.205	0.196
		REER	0.296	0.210	0.113	0.091
		NGP	0.323	0.194	0.153	0.028
		OP	0.677	0.153	0.150	0.092

ADF: Augmented Dickey and Fuller unit root test. PP: Phillips and Perron unit root test. KPSS: Kwiatkowski et al. stationarity test. For ADF test, the optimal lag(s) were determined by the t-stat significance of the last lagged dependent variable at the 10% significance level by setting the maximum number of lags to 12. For PP and KPSS tests, the HAC (heteroscedasticity and auto-correlation consistent) long-run variance was estimated by Bartlett kernel with the Newey-West automatic bandwidth selection. The ADF and PP critical values are 3.434 (1%), 2.863 (5%), and 2.568 (10%) for the model with intercept; 3.963 (1%), 3.413 (5%), and 3.128 (10%) for the model with intercept and trend. The KPSS critical values are 0.739(1%), 0.463 (5%), and 0.347 (10%) for the model with intercept; 0.216(1%), 0.146 (5%), and 0.119 (10%) for the model with intercept. ***(1%), **(5%),*(10%).

Table 5
Results from Causality Tests

<i>Toda & Yamamoto</i>		Dependent variable			
		CPI	REER	NGP	OP
Türkiye	CPI		27.248***[0.0006]	10.438[0.2356]	9.375[0.3116]
	REER	35.705***[0.0000]		2.258[0.9720]	12.423[0.1333]
	NGP	15.532**[0.0496]	8.533[0.3832]		11.531[0.1734]
	OP	3.058[0.9306]	5.733[0.6771]	16.897**[0.0312]	
Azerbaijan	CPI		24.435**[0.0110]	32.764***[0.0006]	12.485[0.3283]
	REER	15.294[0.1694]		12.338[0.3387]	7.811[0.7301]
	NGP	27.777***[0.0035]	18.391*[0.0729]		15.328[0.1680]
	OP	8.848[0.6358]	8.754[0.6445]	28.306***[0.0029]	
Kazakhstan	CPI		6.751[0.5636]	16.570**[0.0349]	9.616[0.2930]
	REER	31.804***[0.0001]		10.782[0.2143]	4.605[0.7988]
	NGP	16.772**[0.0326]	6.698[0.5695]		12.622[0.1255]
	OP	9.612[0.2933]	5.423[0.7115]	20.994***[0.0072]	
Uzbekistan	CPI		2.017[0.5687]	6.058[0.1088]	1.064[0.7856]
	REER	17.281***[0.0006]		4.009[0.2604]	0.736[0.8646]
	NGP	12.734***[0.0052]	2.864[0.4130]		4.829[0.1847]
	OP	0.397[0.9408]	1.957[0.5813]	4.598[0.2036]	
Kyrgyzstan	CPI		12.487[0.1308]	14.941*[0.0603]	2.362[0.9678]
	REER	6.940[0.5431]		7.247[0.5101]	14.284[0.0747]
	NGP	16.105**[0.0409]	11.126[0.1946]		6.734[0.5656]
	OP	9.608[0.2936]	10.521[0.2303]	16.565**[0.0350]	
<i>Fourier Toda & Yamamoto</i>					
Türkiye	CPI		36.225***[0.0000]	13.041[0.1104]	11.244[0.1882]
	REER	32.670***[0.0001]		4.241[0.8347]	11.712[0.1645]
	NGP	5.849[0.6640]	7.147[0.5208]		13.916**[0.0840]
	OP	6.392[0.6033]	8.961[0.3456]	31.208***[0.0001]	

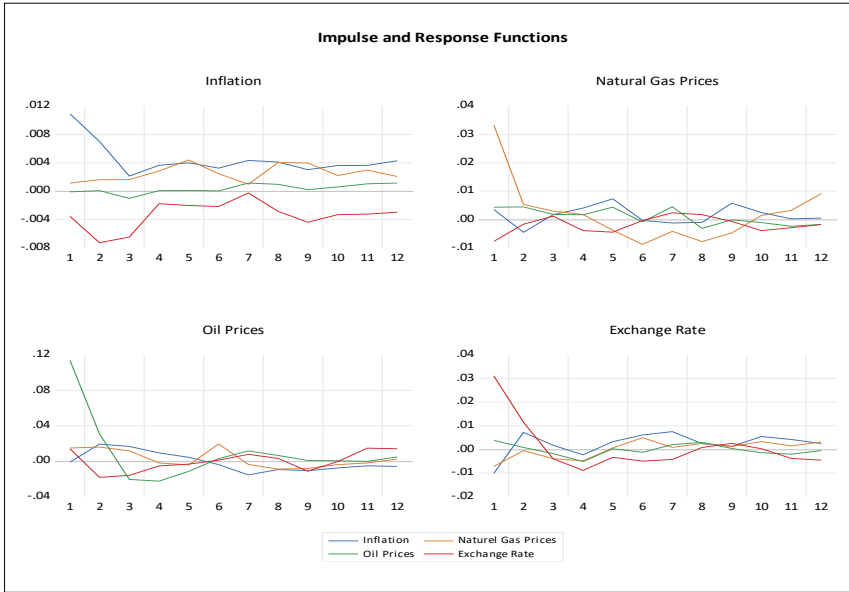
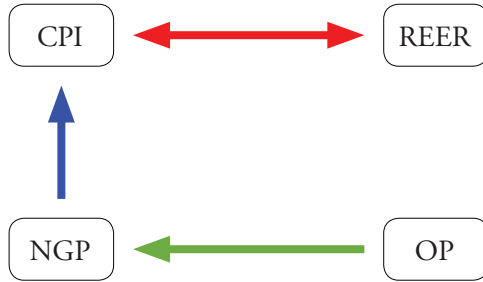
Azerbaijan	CPI	26.831***[0.0049]	26.427***[0.0056]	13.799[0.2443]
	REER	16.975[0.1086]	8.486[0.6692]	8.934[0.6279]
	NGP	29.375***[0.0020]	21.031**[0.0330]	14.809[0.1914]
	OP	10.093[0.5220]	8.746[0.6453]	18.412*[0.0725]
Kazakhstan	CPI	7.879[0.4454]	9.326[0.3155]	7.481[0.4857]
	REER	37.369***[0.0000]	4.899[0.7682]	3.881[0.8677]
	NGP	10.337[0.2422]	8.472[0.3887]	14.283*[0.0747]
	OP	12.747[0.1208]	5.631[0.6884]	26.008***[0.0010]
Uzbekistan	CPI	1.688[0.6395]	2.389[0.4955]	1.199[0.7531]
	REER	11.599***[0.0089]	1.949[0.5829]	0.220[0.9743]
	NGP	9.575**[0.0225]	5.948[0.1142]	5.348[0.1847]
	OP	0.311[0.9578]	4.084[0.2524]	9.929*[0.0192]
Kyrgyzstan	CPI	11.409[0.1796]	14.719*[0.0648]	2.492[0.9621]
	REER	7.182[0.5171]	10.892[0.2079]	12.371[0.1354]
	NGP	15.749**[0.0461]	13.885*[0.0848]	6.868[0.5508]
	OP	11.803[0.1602]	13.912*[0.0841]	28.199***[0.0004]

The optimal lags (p), which ensure no-serial correlation problem, were determined by general-to-specific approach by starting from 12 lags. The optimal Fourier frequency was determined by Schwarz information criterion by starting from 3 frequency. The p-values in parentheses are based on the asymptotic chi-square distribution. VAR(p+d) models were estimated with d equal to 1. VAR models include world NGP and OP; and the respective country CPI and REER. p-value \leq 0.1 (10%), 0.05 (5%), and 0.01(1%).

Türkiye

According to the results of the Toda-Yamamoto causality test applied to reveal the relationship between EP, ER and the CPI, a bidirectional causality relationship is found between the CPI and the REER in Türkiye. On the other hand, there is a unidirectional causality relationship from OP to NGP, while a unidirectional causality relationship is observed from NGP to the CPI. As a result of the analysis, no causality relationship was found between OP and the CPI in Türkiye. This result reveals that fluctuations in NGP have an effect on the CPI in Türkiye, but this is not the case for fluctuations in OP.

Direction of Causality



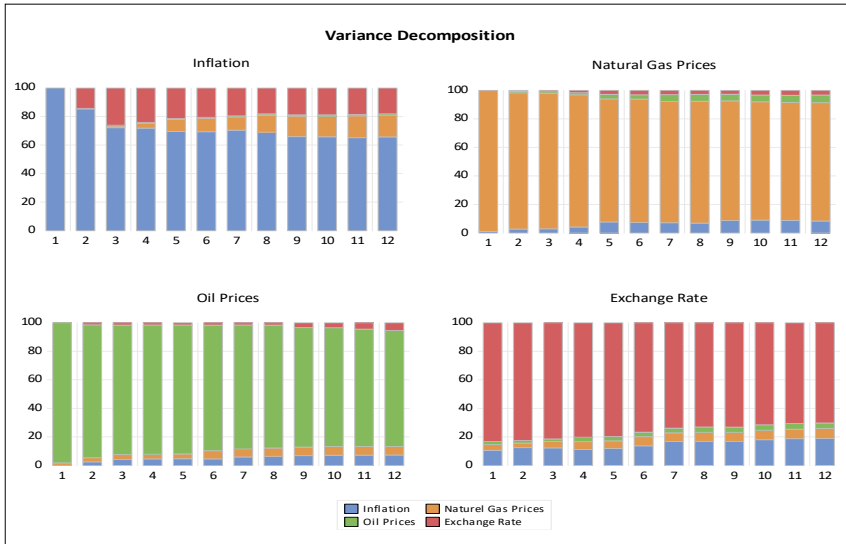


Figure 1. Causality, Impulse-Response Functions and Variance Decomposition (Türkiye)

According to the impulse response functions and variance decomposition in Figure 1, the REER, oil and natural gas prices have no effect on the CPI in Türkiye in the first month of the year. The REER, which starts to show its effect as of the second month of the year, makes its maximum effect felt in the 3rd and 4th months and continues to affect the CPI in the remaining periods of the year. NGP, on the other hand, have an effect on the CPI starting from the 3rd month and continue to have an increasing effect until the end of the year. In Türkiye, oil-natural gas prices and the CPI have an impact on the REER in every month of the year. The effect of the CPI increases from the 5th month onwards and is maximized in the last month of the year.

Among energy sources, fossil energy sources are the most in demand. The distribution of non-renewable energy resources on earth is unbalanced. For this reason, energy-dependent countries like Türkiye have to meet their energy needs through imports. Türkiye's rapidly developing industrial sector causes country's energy need to increase day by day. The energy input used by Türkiye is largely composed of fossil resources. Since Türkiye is foreign dependent in terms of fossil energy resources, it has to meet this

need through imports. Türkiye's energy imports are as high as 75% (Uysal et al. 64).

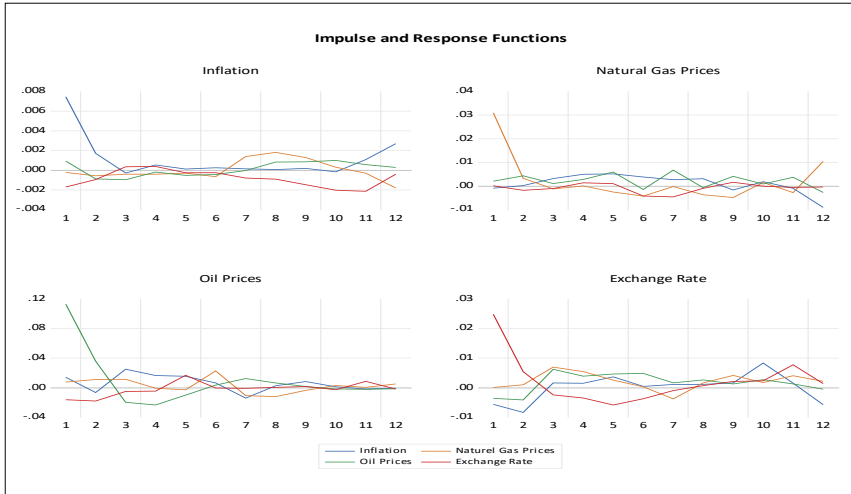
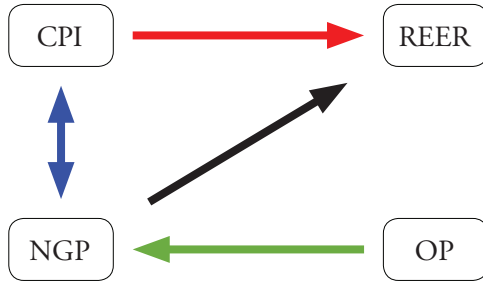
From a microeconomic perspective, fluctuations in the energy market cause an increase in production costs in energy importing countries (Özdemir and Yüksel 2). Since energy imports are denominated in foreign currency, exchange rate fluctuations also affect the course of economic activities. Therefore, reduction of exchange rate fluctuations and stability in the foreign exchange market are important for energy importing countries (Duygulu 108-109). In economies like Türkiye, where imports of raw materials and intermediate goods are high, savings are insufficient, and external deficits are constantly being run, exchange rate stability increases its importance since exchange rate affects both input costs and the pace of development (Baum et al. 3).

Türkiye is approximately 85% dependent on foreign oil and 90% dependent on natural gas. Especially in the industrial sector, crude oil is used as the main input. A wide range of products are produced from oil derivatives. Therefore, an increase in OP increases domestic demand for foreign exchange and pressurizes ER upwards. For this reason, the domestic inflation rate also increases. The pass-through effect of the exchange rate on domestic prices can occur through different paths. This pass-through can be through the prices of imported consumption goods, capital goods and imported inputs, as well as through the prices of domestic goods/services denominated in foreign currency (Özdamar 67-69).

Azerbaijan

According to the causality test results for Azerbaijan, there is a unidirectional causality relationship from OP to NGP. There is also a unidirectional causality relationship between NGP and CPI and REER. In Azerbaijan, where there is a unidirectional causality relationship from the CPI to the REER, there is no bidirectional causality relationship between the variables.

Direction of Causality



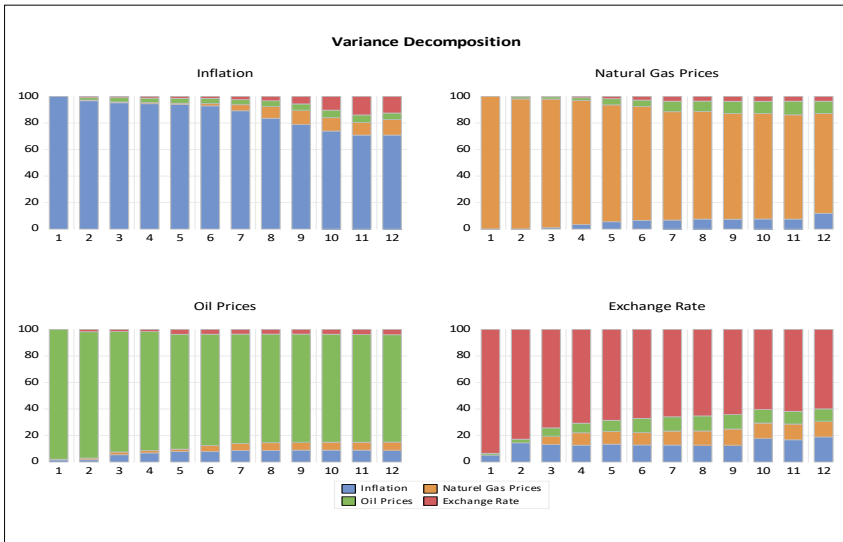


Figure 2. Causality, Impulse-Response Functions and Variance Decomposition (Azerbaijan)

In Azerbaijan, the effect of OP on the CPI starts to show its effect from the 2nd month of the year and this effect continues until the end of the year. NGP start to have an effect on the CPI as of the 4th month and this effect increases and continues until the end of the year. Especially in the last 5 months of the year, the effect of NGP on the CPI increases. The effect of the REER on the CPI starts from the 5th month and this effect is maximum in the last 3 months of the year. The effect of the CPI and OP on the REER in Azerbaijan is observed in every month of the year.

The course of the energy market shapes the economic dynamics of all countries, both energy exporters and energy importers. Since Azerbaijan is an energy exporter, its economy is also affected by fluctuations in energy prices. The supply and demand balance required for price formation in the commodity market works differently for the fossil energy market. The reason for this difference is that the supply of this type of energy is scarce and non-renewable. The lack of a substitute for these resources increases the importance of fossil energy and the price to be formed in the energy market (Akhundzada 3).

The dependence of the Azerbaijani economy on oil increases the importance of fluctuations in EP in terms of economic performance. In the Azerbaijani economy, transfer expenditures account for 98% of the budget allocated for the fund. The production and control of crude oil in Azerbaijan is provided by the State Oil Company (SOCAR) and Azerbaijan International Oil Company (AIOC) (Guliyev 1-4).

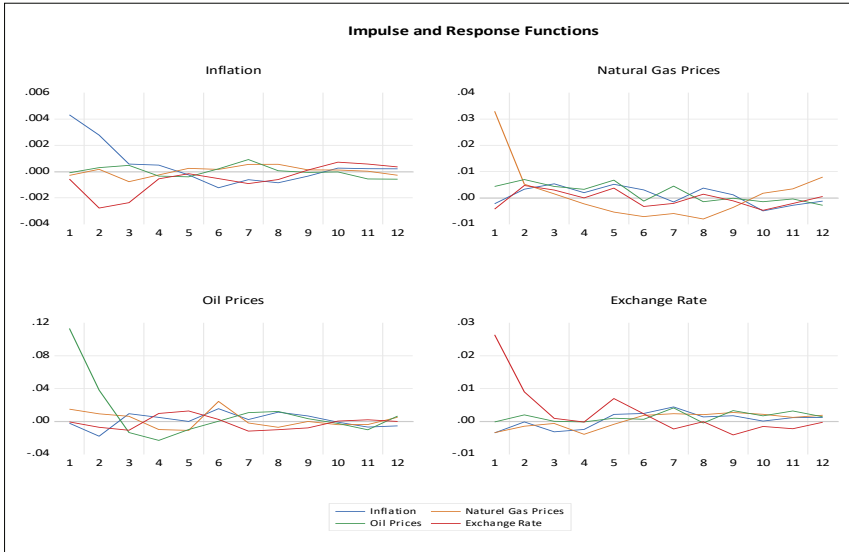
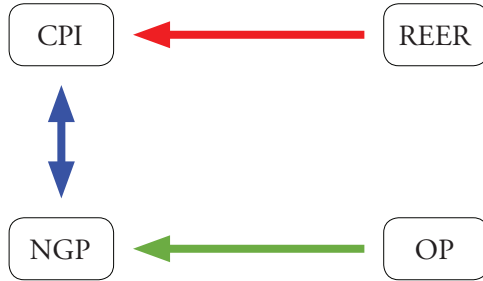
In the fall of 2014, falling oil prices in the global markets led to a fall in the value of the manat. Azerbaijan's currency, the manat, depreciated by 33.86% against foreign currencies. Against the US dollar, the rate of the manat went from 0.78 to 1.05 (Akhundzada 6). Depreciation of the currency can be beneficial for exports, as it makes prices more attractive for the local economy than abroad. However, this may have different consequences for countries with a low variety of exported goods. When considered together with import dependency, this situation makes inflation a chronic problem for the country's economy.

Azerbaijan's economy has faced various macroeconomic problems due to falling oil prices. The decline in revenues from the energy sector, which is one of the main export items, has led to problems such as balance of payments deficits, currency depreciation and rising inflation in Azerbaijan.

Kazakhstan

According to the causality test results for Kazakhstan, there is a unidirectional causality relationship from the REER to the CPI and from OP to NGP. The causality relationship between NGP and the CPI is bidirectional.

Direction of Causality



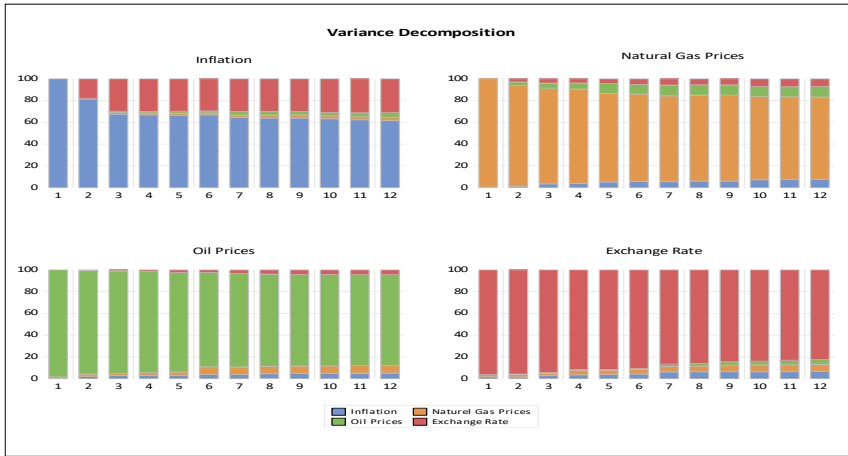


Figure 3. Causality, Impulse-Response Functions and Variance Decomposition (Kazakhstan)

In the first month of the year, there is no effect on the CPI in Kazakhstan economy in terms of variables. The REER, on the other hand, starts to show its effect as of the second month of the year and has a significant effect on the CPI until the end of the year. When the effects on the REER are analyzed, it is seen that the effect of all variables included in the analysis is very small, while the effect of NGP and the CPI is higher.

Kazakhstan is one of the world's leading geographies with proven oil reserves. According to British Petroleum reports, Kazakhstan ranks 12th in the world with 1.8% of the world's oil reserves in 2016. (BP, 12) Oil regions cover more than half of Kazakhstan's territory (1.7 million km² out of 2.7 million km²) (Babak 51-52). Kazakhstan's oil sector consists of more than 250 oil deposits, with major oil deposits located mainly in Western Kazakhstan (Karenov 7). Approximately 88% of the exploitation of oil reserves is distributed among large companies. Among these companies, North Caspian Operating Company holds 45% and Tengizchevroil 25% (Dzhantureeva 20).

The state of Kazakhstan has been implementing strategic policies to ensure that domestic companies have a say in the extraction of crude oil in the country instead of foreign companies. The most important of these was the establishment of "KazMunaiGaz" in 2002. This completely domestic

company represents Kazakhstan's interests in the oil and gas industry (Ölmezoğulları 680).

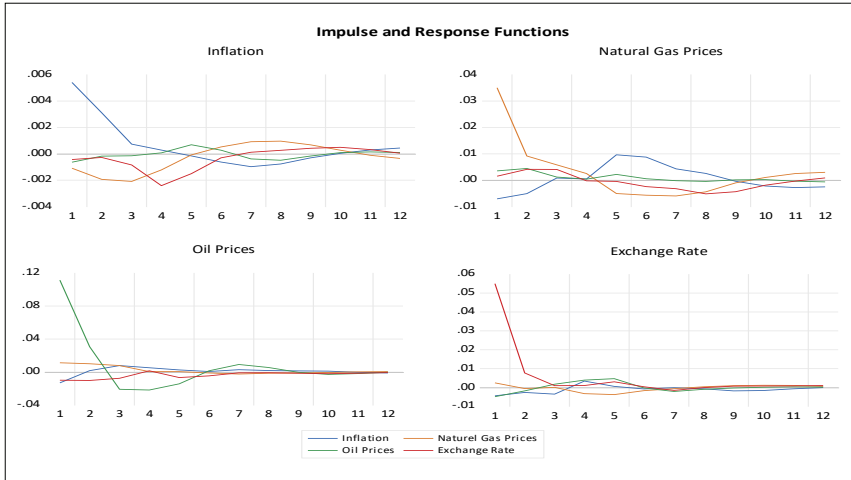
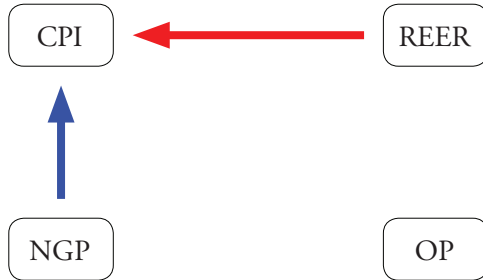
The fact that Kazakhstan's exports are mostly dependent on raw materials brings along the problem of macroeconomic instability. Increases in world oil prices positively affect the dynamics of Kazakhstan's economy by increasing the country's oil production and investment activities. At the same time, the increase in oil prices strengthens the real exchange rate of the national currency, which negatively affects the situation of domestic exporters. A decline in world oil prices almost inevitably leads to a decrease in real GDP and investment (Statistical Committee of Kazakhstan 2017).

The fall in oil prices led to the collapse of the tenge exchange rate, an export crisis and a sharp decline in the balance of payments of the Kazakhstan economy. This is because Kazakhstan's prosperity is based on the revenues from crude oil exports (Musin 236-240). In 2003, the Kazakhstan government started to implement the industrial development and innovation strategy in order to reduce dependence on oil and ensure the development of non-oil sectors. However, Kazakhstan has two main disadvantages that are extremely difficult to overcome. These are the distance from international markets and the small size of the domestic market. Remoteness from international markets has the effect of increasing the transportation costs of non-oil goods, while the small population has the effect of shrinking the domestic market. The small size of the domestic market is a factor that prevents the increase in direct investments in non-oil sectors (Brauer 193). The orientation of direct investments towards the oil sector is of great importance as a determining factor in the increase in the rate of oil production (Stiglitz, *Eşitsizliğin Bedeli* 14).

Uzbekistan

According to the results of causality tests for Uzbekistan, a unidirectional causality relationship was found from the REER to the CPI and from NGP to the CPI. There is no bidirectional causality relationship between the variables.

Direction of Causality



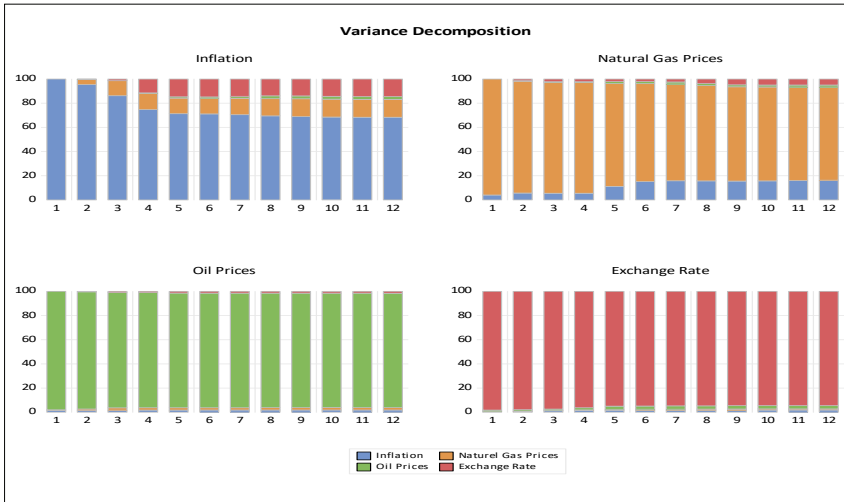


Figure 4. Causality, Impulse-Response Functions and Variance Decomposition (Uzbekistan)

In Uzbekistan, no variable has no effect on CPI in the first month of the year. However, NGP and the REER, which start to have an impact especially in the second and fourth months, continue to affect the CPI until the end of the year. The REER is only slightly affected by the CPI and OP.

Uzbekistan is the most populous country among the CIS countries (Amanov 69). Uzbekistan's economy is largely based on agriculture. Cotton production constitutes a large part of agricultural production. Uzbekistan is the second largest cotton exporter country after the USA (Kalyoncu and Amanov 45). Uzbekistan has a high potential in terms of natural resources and energy as well as in the agricultural sector. After gaining its independence, Uzbekistan has been implementing socioeconomic reforms to achieve energy independence. In this regard, the government supports the oil and gas industry and increases the production of liquid hydrocarbons in the country (Ibpus 42). In order to increase the efficiency of the gas and oil industry in Uzbekistan, Uzbekneftegaz was established, the Kokdumalak oil condensate field was opened, the Bukhara refinery was established, and a number of projects such as the Mubarek Natural Gas Refinery were completed (Suvanova et al. 262).

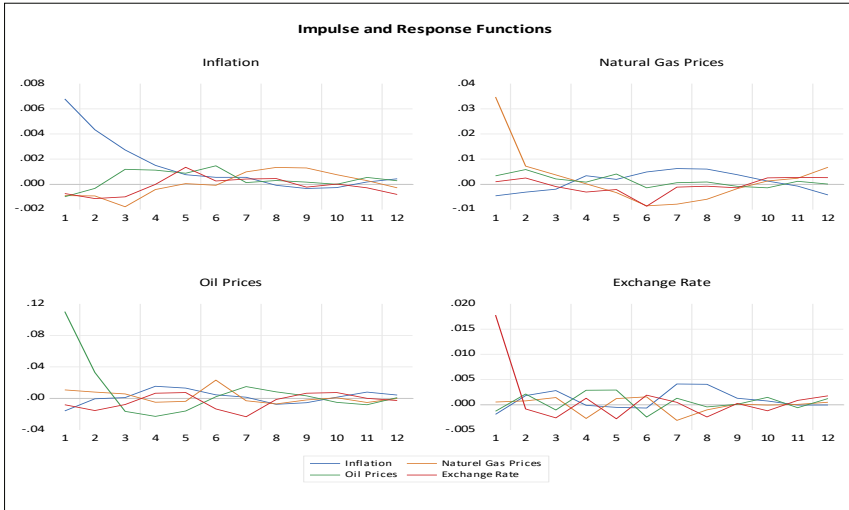
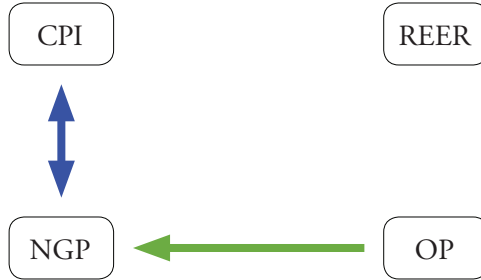
The declining level of oil production in Uzbekistan is due to the relatively low level of investment in this sector and the use of outdated technologies in production (Bridgman et al. 1373). In addition, Uzbekistan's only domestic crude oil pipeline connects the Fergana and Alty-Aryk refineries. Uzbekistan has almost no international oil pipeline infrastructure, except for a pipeline connecting the Shymkent refinery in Kazakhstan to the Chardzhou refinery in northeastern Turkmenistan. Declines in oil production have led the Uzbekistan government away from an inward-looking energy policy that encourages self-sufficiency and subsidized domestic market prices (Suvanova et al. 265).

As Uzbekistan is a net exporter of natural gas and refined petroleum products, it has also been affected by significant declines in energy prices. In 1998, the government of Uzbekistan was forced to control the exchange rate and national currency prices of these important export commodities, which suffered from a lack of international price-competitiveness. Therefore, export tariffs for all types of goods and services were abolished as of November 1, 1997. This policy change is consistent with the government's objective of further liberalization of foreign economic activity. However, this policy change was found to have no effect on non-exporting domestic producers (Ganikhodjaev 207).

Kyrgyzstan

According to the findings of the causality test for Kyrgyzstan, there is a unidirectional causality from OP to NGP and a bidirectional causality between the CPI and NGP.

Direction of Causality



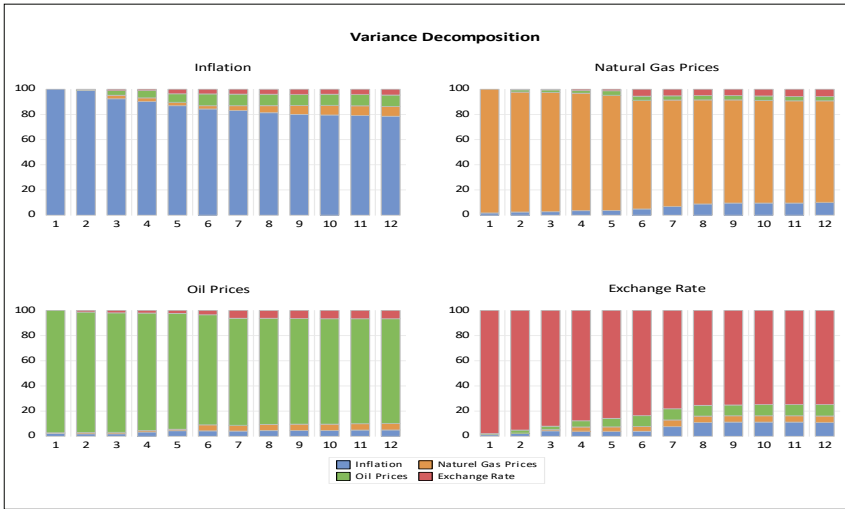


Figure 5. Causality, Impulse-Response Functions and Variance Decomposition (Kyrgyzstan)

In Kyrgyzstan, there is no effect on the CPI in the first month of the year. OP and the REER and OP, which start to have an impact as of the 3rd month of the year, make their impact felt until the end of the year. The effect of oil and natural gas prices on the CPI is felt more than the effect of the REER until the end of the year. The REER, on the other hand, has been under the influence of OP and the CPI especially since the 4th month of the year.

Although the economy of Kyrgyzstan has a mountainous terrain, the economy is based on livestock, agriculture, and forestry sectors (Çetin and Sevütekin 3). The top economic priorities after gaining independence were to reverse the rapid economic contraction process that started after the dissolution of the union and to reduce the high inflation caused by price liberalization (Saketaeva 59).

In the first period of independence, Kyrgyzstan experienced a halving of GDP. During this transition period, privatizations were made and the state partially relinquished its control over the economy. However, a strong and systematic economic mechanism could not be established, and economic thinking could not be fully adapted to the market economy. Kyrgyzstan adopted “open growth” as its post-independence economic policy. Its

accession to the WTO in 1998, the first among the Central Asian states, is one of the proofs of this. Due to the open growth strategy, the country's import dependency started to increase (Ganiev and Damira 18). Within five years of Kyrgyzstan's independence, its output has doubled, and the inflation rate has reached hyperinflation levels. Therefore, tight monetary and fiscal policies have started to be implemented in the country to combat inflation (Çetin and Sevütekin 8-9).

Kyrgyzstan's economy has not yet achieved the economic diversification to realize a stable and long-term recovery. Except for the gold sector, only textile and garment production is realized, and industry is very limited outside these sectors (DEİK 9). Gold production is also important in the country, and the KUMTOR gold mine accounts for the majority of the revenues from this sector (DEİK 7).

Kyrgyzstan's reliance on KUMTOR, which has been driving GDP growth in recent years, stands as one of the biggest obstacles to the country's development (Sakataeva 128). The energy sector, which is the second sector in the country where foreign aid/foreign financing is channeled the most, has not been updated in 20 years except for the renewal and modernization of the existing energy system. Kyrgyzstan imports most of its oil needs. This situation leads to an increase in the external deficits of the Kyrgyz economy, which has very little production (Cusup et al. 51).

An overall assessment of the situation in Kyrgyzstan suggests that Kyrgyzstan's transition to a free-market economy was a step in the right direction, but this step alone is not sufficient for economic growth and development. The dependence of growth on demand from close neighbors, the vulnerability of the economy to external shocks, high inflation triggered by the increase in food and oil prices, the decrease in food and electricity production due to drought, energy restrictions have increased the negative effects of crises on the country's economy (Karluk 12-13).

Conclusion

The external dependence on energy seen in many developing countries is also valid for the Eurasian geography. Fluctuations in energy prices increase production costs in the short run and cause inflation in the long run. The resulting contraction in consumer demand, coupled with

cost inflation, reduces the amount of production in these countries. This situation prevents the GDP in these countries from reaching the desired level. A prominent feature of developing countries is inadequate capital. Most of this capital is used to cover energy costs. Due to insufficient capital, exchange rate fluctuations increase in these economies that need foreign investments. According to the results of the analysis, the effect of exchange rate on inflation is felt more intensely in Türkiye and Kazakhstan compared to other countries.

The Eurasian geography is more affected by volatile market conditions because it has a developing economy and is an energy importer (Demir 33). Exchange rate and energy market fluctuations are important macroeconomic factors that rapidly affect domestic market pricing in developing countries. Developing countries may not be able to escape inflation and exchange rate pressure unless they take protective measures in the domestic market to protect themselves from the negative effects of the global economy (Stiglitz, “Making Naturel Resources” 317-339).

This study analyzes the relationship between ER, EP and inflation for the economies of Türkiye, Azerbaijan, Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan and Kyrgyzstan. According to the findings, there is a causality relationship from EP to inflation in all selected countries. The effects of external energy dependence and capital shortages in these countries are manifested in the form of exchange rate volatility and inflation. These results are instructive for policy makers in the selected countries.

Due to the nature of social sciences, our study has some scope and limitations as in every scientific study. First, due to data limitations, we were able to analyze the period 2010-2022, which covers a common time period for 5 countries. Methodologically, we utilize time series analysis to identify short – and long-term country-specific dynamics. In addition, linear dynamic relationships between energy, commodity and exchange rate markets have been analyzed. It is important to emphasize that such scope and limitations open the door for future research. In this regard, future studies may use samples that include more countries and a wider time span, utilize panel data tools instead of time series analysis, and focus on the detection of nonlinear asymmetric dynamics instead of linear relationships.

Conflict of Interest Statement

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

Notes

- 1 The economic structure of the region is heavily concentrated in the energy sector. It is noted that two important events have had a significant impact on the growing importance of this region. The first one is the collapse of the Soviet Union, which led to the end of Soviet domination over the region's resources. Since their independence from Russia in the 1990s, Central Asian countries have failed to achieve the desired level of economic growth and development. However, these countries have a very important driving force for economic growth, as they have approximately 4% of the world's oil reserves and 5% of the world's natural gas (Demirtepe 67). The other is the growing importance of the security issue in energy transit. In fact, the search for alternative energy sources to the increasingly destabilized Middle East has become more prominent. This has also led to the acceleration of international investments in new resources in the Eurasian region. In addition to these two events, the search for new energy reserves has become a necessity in order to meet the world's population and the increasing demand for energy, since oil and natural gas, whose reserves are expected to run out in the near future, are non-renewable energy resources (Narin 154).
- 2 These five countries and the time period were chosen based on the data availability and limitations of the selected countries.
- 3 To save space, the details of the bootstrap procedure are not provided here. See (Hatemi-J.; Balcilar et al., 2010) for details.

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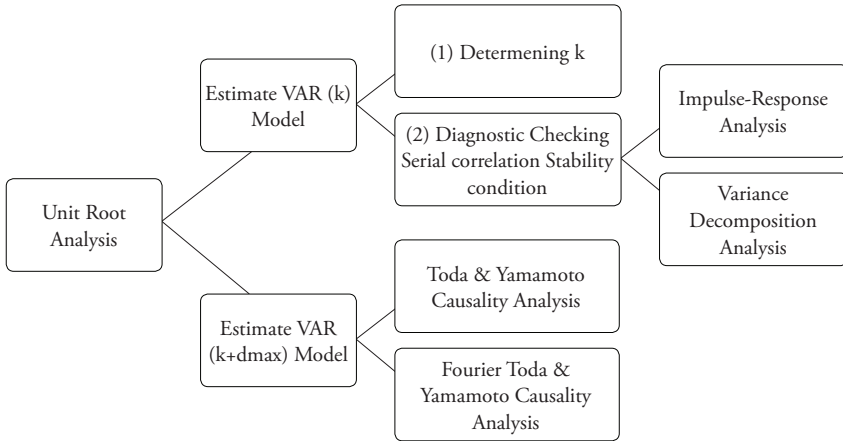
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Appendix Figure 1: Graphical Abstract of Empirical Strategy



Araştırma Makalesi / Research Article

Institutionalization of Relationship and Voting Cohesion: A Case Study of the Organization of Turkic States (OTS) at the UN General Assembly*

Emin Salihi **

Hakan Mehmetcik ***

Abstract

In an era marked by complex international dynamics, examining voting cohesion within international organizations is a crucial avenue for understanding international relations. This research delves into the relationship between the institutionalization of relations among the Organization of Turkic States (OTS) members and their voting behavior at the United Nations General Assembly (UNGA). The central hypothesis of this study posits that a positive correlation exists between the level of institutionalization and the degree of voting cohesion they exhibit at the UNGA. A comprehensive dataset of voting patterns at the UNGA from 2009 onwards is analyzed to investigate this hypothesis. The focus is on the voting alignment of OTS member states with each other and their alignment with major powers like the United States, China, and Russia. Through a meticulous analysis of temporal, issue-specific, and major power alignment,

* Date of Arrival: 23 September 2023 – Date of Acceptance: 31 July 2024

You can refer to this article as follows:

Salihi, Emin, and Hakan Mehmetcik. "Institutionalization of Relationship and Voting Cohesion: A Case Study of the Organization of Turkic States (OTS) at the UN General Assembly." *bilig*, no. 112, 2025, pp. 105-132, <https://doi.org/10.12995/bilig.7668>.

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the research seeks to discern the patterns indicating a positive relationship between institutionalization and voting cohesion among OTS member states.

Keywords

Voting cohesion, Organization of Turkic States, UNGA, voting alignment, regional organizations.

İlişkilerin Kurumsallaşması ve Oylama Tutarlılığı: Birleşmiş Milletler Genel Kurulunda Türk Devletleri Teşkilatı (TDT) Örneği*

Emin Salihî **

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Öz

Karmaşık uluslararası dinamiklerin damga vurduğu bir çağda, uluslararası örgütler içindeki oylama tutarlılığının ölçülmesi, uluslararası ilişkileri anlamak için önemli bir yol teşkil etmektedir. Bu çalışmada, Türk Devletleri Teşkilatı (TDT) üyeleri arasındaki ilişkilerin kurumsallaşması ile Birleşmiş Milletler Genel Kurulundaki (BMGK) oy verme davranışları arasındaki ilişki incelenmektedir. Bu çalışmanın temel hipotezi, uluslararası örgütün kurumsallaşma düzeyi ile BM Genel Kurulunda sergiledikleri oy tutarlılığı seviyesi arasında pozitif bir korelasyon olduğudur. Bu hipotezi araştırmak için TDT üye devletlerinin BM Genel Kurulundaki oy davranışları kapsamlı bir veri seti ile analiz edilmiştir. Üye devletlerin BM Genel Kurulundaki oy tutarlılığının yanı sıra onların ABD, Çin ve Rusya gibi diğer aktörlerle olan oylama tutarlılığına da çalışmada odaklanılmıştır. Çalışmada; zamana bağlı, konu bazlı ve büyük güç ittifakları gibi konular dikkate alınarak, üye devletler arasında kurumsallaşma

* Geliş Tarihi: 23 Eylül 2023 – Kabul Tarihi: 31 Temmuz 2024

Bu makaleyi şu şekilde kaynak gösterebilirsiniz:

Salihî, Emin, ve Hakan Mehmetcik. "Institutionalization of Relationship and Voting Cohesion: A Case Study of the Organization of Turkic States (OTS) at the UN General Assembly." *bilig*, no. 112, 2025, ss. 105-132, <https://doi.org/10.12995/bilig.7668>.

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ile oylama tutarlılığı arasında olumlu bir ilişki olduğunu gösteren şablonların ortaya konulması için itinalı bir analiz yapılmaya çalışılmıştır.

Anahtar kelimeler

Oy tutarlılığı, Türk Devletleri Teşkilatı, BMGK, oylama uyumu, bölgesel örgütler.

Introduction

The United Nations constitutes the preeminent and legitimate global international organization encompassing 193 member states. Nonetheless, its inception and continued operation have largely relied upon Western powers, particularly the United States (Acharya and Plesch). Within this framework, UNGA occupies a unique position among the six primary organs of the UN.¹ It serves as the singular institution among the sextet that encompasses representatives from all member states, upholding their sovereign equality and providing each entity with an individual vote, independent of military strength, economic resources, population size, territorial breadth, or any other factor (Peterson 1). UNGA can be likened to a legislative body; however, it convenes annually to scrutinize an extensive agenda. At the conclusion of each yearly session, it ratifies resolutions and conclusions pertinent to each agenda item. Although certain resolutions may merely pertain to procedural matters, numerous others hold considerable significance; indeed, they may be deemed historic due to the events they instigated or because they signified pivotal moments in the sphere of international relations (Marín-Bosch). The diverse assortment of issues captured within the voting behavior of a state typically reveals its political stance, the alliances it subscribes to, and the rationale that informs such alliances (Khan).

The analysis of whether sovereign entities implement a cohesive and coordinated strategy in their voting behavior within an international organization or forum is indeed vital. Given the increasingly interconnected and interdependent nature of international relations, numerous international institutions today highlight the essential importance of unity. Concerning regional organizations, a unified approach in diplomatic initiatives not only amplifies the collective voice of the member states but also enhances the effectiveness of their joint policy statements. Using the Organization of Turkic States as a case study, our research tackles this important issue. The questions steering our research include: How does the degree of institutionalization among the members of OTS relate to their voting cohesion at the UNGA? What significant issues are indicative of the voting alignment among OTS members? In what ways do these alignments develop?

Our research hypothesis indicates a positive correlation between the level of institutionalization among OTS member countries and their voting cohesion at the UNGA. The article explores this correlation starting from 2009. The findings could deepen our understanding of voting behaviors within OTS and also enrich the broader dialogue regarding the impact of institutions on state relations. In this context, the study aims to link the theoretical frameworks of liberal institutionalism with empirical analysis, shedding light on the evolving connection between institutionalization and foreign policy coherence within the complex realm of global governance. International organizations develop their own identities, bureaucracies, missions, and ethical principles. As the bureaucracy progresses, the international organization can make increasingly informed decisions. This rationality further enables member states to cooperate in setting shared goals (Barnett and Finnemore, *The Power of Liberal International Organizations* 163-164).

The subsequent sections outline the complete framework of our research initiative, each acting as a phase in understanding the intricacies of the connection between OTS' institutionalization and voting unity at UNGA. We commence with a theoretical foundation and a concise literature overview before exploring a variety of research, hypotheses, and academic discussions that depict the environment of regional organizations, institutionalization, and voting tendencies within the UNGA setting. With this context established, we provide a detailed examination of the OTS, emphasizing its institutional development. The ensuing materials and methods section meticulously outlines our procedures for data collection, processing, and analysis. The results are examined in the results and discussion sections, culminating in a definitive synthesis in the conclusion.

Theoretical Background and a Brief Literature Review

There is a growing body of scholarly inquiry dedicated to the examination of voting behaviors within the UNGA (Bailey et al.; Kim and Russett; Voeten, "Data and Analyses of Voting"; Voeten, "Clashes in the Assembly"; Voeten et al.). For instance, the connection between regime type, leader characteristics, and voting behavior in the UNGA has been examined (Dreher and Jensen). Additionally, some studies have investigated how major global powers attempt to secure votes in the UNGA by providing

aid (Wang; Istomin), while others have analyzed how sanctions influence voting trends (Adhikari et al.). Moreover, ongoing investigations in this area continue to assess various elements that affect voting patterns at the UNGA, such as the influence of regional alliances (Panke, “Regional Power”; Panke, “States”; Ferdinand), economic motivations (Dreher and Sturm), and shifting geopolitical landscapes (Istomin).

Institutionalization and socialization carry considerable theoretical significance for the theory and practice of international relations. The emergence of institutional approaches within IR theory can be attributed to rational choice theory, liberalism, neo-functionalism, and social constructionism. The term institutionalization describes the process through which behaviors, like the actions of sovereign states and global rights, become shaped by commonly accepted rules and norms. Conversely, socialization denotes the process of integrating states into a particular worldview that aligns with the goals of other states, which form the foundation of the global economic and security framework (Risse and Sikkink; Alderson; Johnston, “Treating International Institutions”). Socialization theory elucidates international cooperation by concentrating on microprocesses like persuasion and social influence. Consequently, grasping the roles of institutionalization and socialization in international relations is essential for both theoretical exploration and practical policymaking (Risse and Sikkink). Since the 1960s, we have witnessed the rise of institutional approaches in International Relations theory (Jönsson et al.), leading to various levels of inquiry into the implications of institutionalization and socialization for understanding cooperation within international institutions and prompting discussions on institutional design and collective action (Johnston, “Socialization in International Institutions”; Böhmelt and Spilker).

Institutionalization and socialization enhance collaboration through a variety of mechanisms. Institutions often cultivate shared norms and values among member states, establishing a foundation for collaboration. The frequent interactions within institutions build trust among member states, diminishing the fear of betrayal and promoting cooperation (Hoffman). Institutions offer frameworks for the peaceful resolution of disputes and conflicts, lowering the chances of conflicts escalating into confrontations (Mitchell). Institutions encourage the flow of information, aiding member

states in making well-informed decisions and coordinating their actions. Consequently, institutions can help minimize transaction costs related to negotiations and cooperation, streamlining the process for states to collaborate effectively (Keohane and Martin; Axelrod and Keohane). Socialization within institutions can apply peer pressure on states to adhere to established norms and rules, fostering compliance (Goodman and Jinks). These represent merely a few of the mechanisms thoroughly examined in theoretical contexts, emphasizing how institutionalization and socialization are vital in fostering cooperation and stability in international relations.

The empirical research indicates that the effectiveness of their collective action within international organizations (IOs) relies on their skill in formulating collective stances that cover a wide array of issues (Barnett and Finnemore, *The Power of Liberal International Organizations*; Abbott and Snidal). As we examine the voting behaviors in the UNGA, it becomes clear that the votes cast there carry implications that extend beyond a simple count of preferences (Seabra and Mesquita). They act as a subtle reflection of international relations, where geopolitical alliances, common interests, and diplomatic factors converge to influence the trajectory of collective action. Consequently, scholarly discussions have acknowledged UNGA votes as authentic indicators of solidarity within and among diverse groups of states (Burmester and Jankowski, “The Unsolved Puzzle”; Hooijmaaijers and Keukeleire).

In this regard, regional organizations exhibit a tendency to harmonize their voting positions within the UNGA, as highlighted by existing studies (Burmester and Jankowski, “Comparing Regional Organizations”). The analysis reveals that the European Union (EU) stands out as a notable exception among regional organizations, demonstrating a unique and cohesive presence within the UNGA (Kissack). However, this situation takes on a different perspective when analyzing the voting behaviors of states that hold seats on the United Nations Security Council (UNSC) in comparison to their regional peers (Lai and Lefler). These findings collectively emphasize the potential for regional organizations to align their members’ voting preferences within the UNGA, although this is dependent on the particular organization and contextual intricacies (Van Langenhove et al.).

The study of collective voting dynamics among regional coalitions within the UNGA has attracted notable interest, investigating several aspects of

togetherness and agreement. A body of research has examined the attitudes of members from regional organizations regarding specific issues. For example, studies have analyzed the voting tendencies of groups such as the EU and the Arab League during UNGA sessions discussing the Israeli Palestinian conflict (Mandler and Lutmar). Thorough investigations have explored the realm of long-term solidarity within regional organizations, carefully assessing their voting behaviors throughout numerous UNGA sessions (Hooijmaaijers and Keukeleire 394). Additionally, some research efforts have sought to evaluate the adherence of regional blocs like the EU, ASEAN, and BRICS in the UNGA (Gunes and Ozkaleli; Jin and Hosli; Hooijmaaijers and Keukeleire). This analytical area has examined whether member states of regional organizations converge around a shared position on particular issues (Mandler and Lutmar 92).

The domain of voting unity among OTS member states has mostly gone unexplored within this body of academic literature. Only one research effort has investigated whether coherence has improved over the years and which topics have seen greater alignment between 1993 and 2011 (Kaplan et al.). Recognizing this gap in existing studies, our research aims to examine the intricate relationship between institutionalization and UNGA voting patterns among OTS members.

The Evolution of Institutionalization and Foreign Policy Alignment within the Organization of Turkic States

The Organization of Turkic States (OTS) was established to promote comprehensive cooperation among Turkic-speaking countries. The foundation of the OTS was laid with the signing of the Nakhchivan Agreement in 2009, which formally established the organization and outlined its primary objectives of fostering political, economic, and cultural collaboration.

Establishment and Development of OTS

1. Foundational Period (2009-2012)

- o *Nakhchivan Agreement (2009)*: The agreement was signed by Azerbaijan, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, and Türkiye, establishing the Cooperation Council of Turkic-Speaking States (Turkic Council), which later evolved into the OTS (Kocatepe 96-97).

- o *Initial Objectives*: Focused on enhancing cooperation in political, economic, cultural, and humanitarian fields, emphasizing shared linguistic, cultural, and historical ties.
2. Institutional Expansion (2012-2018)
- o *Development of Institutional Frameworks*: During this period, the OTS developed several key institutions, including the Turkic Academy, the Turkic Culture and Heritage Foundation, and the Turkic Business Council (Şahin and Argalı).
 - o *Increased Cooperation*: Emphasis was placed on joint economic projects, cultural exchange programs, and educational initiatives to strengthen the collective identity and collaboration among member states (Emeklier et al.; Yıldız; Yesevi).
3. Consolidation and Global Engagement (2018-Present)
- o *Broader International Role*: The OTS has increased its engagement with other international organizations and states, enhancing its global visibility and influence (Musabay Baki 39-40).
 - o *Strategic Partnerships*: Focused on strategic issues such as energy cooperation, transportation corridors, and security collaborations, reflecting the evolving geopolitical landscape (Köstem 13).

Foreign Policy Alignment

The establishment of the OTS has profoundly influenced the foreign policy orientation of its member nations. As the organization evolved, it enabled enhanced coordination and unity in the international stances taken by its members, especially in multilateral platforms like the UNGA. The common cultural and historical heritage, along with the formal institutional structures of the OTS, has cultivated a spirit of solidarity and shared objectives, resulting in more uniform voting patterns and cooperative foreign policy approaches among member nations. By exploring the formation and evolution of the OTS and analyzing its effects on foreign policy alignment, this research seeks to illuminate the dynamics of regional collaboration and the significance of institutionalization in shaping international relations within the Turkic-speaking community.

Material and Methods

Data

The research exclusively extracted data² associated with resolutions from the year 2009 onwards, coinciding with the inception of the Organization of Turkic States. This dataset forms the basis for the subsequent analysis investigating the potential correlation between the institutionalization of OTS relations and its impact on voting cohesion within the UNGA. As such, the dataset encompasses a multitude of variables, each capturing distinct dimensions of voting behavior and contextual information. To address the research question concerning the correlation between the institutionalization of relations and voting cohesion among OTS member states, the dataset has been filtered to include voting data exclusively from OTS member countries. Additionally, we have another filtered dataset for the analysis that focuses on voting behavior with major powers such as the United States, China, and Russia.³

The utilization of these datasets facilitates a comprehensive investigation into temporal patterns, issue-specific cohesion, and alignment with major powers. Through meticulous data exploration and analysis, this study seeks to unveil potential relationships between the institutionalization of relations, foreign policy cohesion, and collaborative decision-making within the framework of the UN General Assembly.

Methods

Temporal Cohesion Analysis

The dataset analyzed in this study comprises voting patterns at the UNGA from 2009 onwards. This period was selected to provide a comprehensive overview of the voting behavior of the Organization of Turkic States members in relation to their institutionalization process. The primary objective of the Temporal Cohesion Analysis is to assess the voting cohesion among member states of the Organization of Turkic States over successive United Nations General Assembly sessions. This analysis will be conducted by applying the “Agreement Index” (AI_i) formula to measure the degree of voting consensus among OTS member countries on various resolutions.⁴ The AI_i formula, designed to capture voting cohesion within a group, is expressed as follows:

$$AI_i = (\max(Y_i, N_i, A_i) - 1/2(Y_i + N_i + A_i - \max(Y_i, N_i, A_i))) / (Y_i + N_i + A_i)$$

Where:

- Y_i represents the count of “Yes” votes by group i on a given resolution.
- N_i represents the count of “No” votes by group i on the same resolution.
- A_i represents the count of “Abstain” votes by group i on the same resolution.
- $\max\{Y_i, N_i, A_i\}$ denotes the highest count among Y_i , N_i , and A_i .

The formula considers the positions of alternatives in individual rankings and quantifies the agreement level between individual and collective rankings. As such, this formula quantifies the extent to which OTS member states align in their voting behavior, assigning a value between 0 (indicating maximum disagreement) and 1 (indicating complete agreement). The AI_i calculation considers the dominance of the highest vote count and balances it against the total number of votes cast by the group. The resulting AI_i values will allow for the analysis of voting cohesion trends over time.

Issue-Specific Cohesion Analysis

In tandem with the Temporal Cohesion Analysis, an Issue-Specific Cohesion Analysis will be conducted to explore whether OTS member countries exhibit heightened voting cohesion on topics. By leveraging the issue codes (Palestinian conflict, nuclear weapons, arms control, colonialism, human rights, and economic development) provided in the dataset⁵ the percentage of instances in which OTS members vote collectively on each issue will be calculated. The comparison of issue-specific cohesion with overall cohesion will enable the identification of issues that foster stronger consensus among Organization of Turkic States.

Analyzing Voting Alignment with Non-OTS Countries

The final analytical facet involves scrutinizing the alignment patterns of OTS member states with major global powers such as the USA, China, and Russia. The focus will be on calculating the percentage of votes in which OTS countries align with each of these significant actors on various resolutions. This analysis will yield insights into the level of agreement or divergence between OTS and non-OTS countries and provide context for understanding OTS member states’ broader international alignments.

Data Analysis Approach

For the Temporal Cohesion Analysis, Ali values will be computed for each UNGA session, enabling the observation of voting cohesion trends over the years. The Issue-Specific Cohesion Analysis will involve calculating the percentage of votes on each issue for which OTS members vote together, facilitating a comparative assessment with overall cohesion. Finally, alignment patterns with non-OTS countries will be deduced by calculating the percentage of shared votes on diverse resolutions.

By employing these three distinct methodologies – Temporal Cohesion Analysis, Issue-Specific Cohesion Analysis, and Analyzing Voting Alignment with Non-OTS Countries – this study endeavors to comprehensively investigate the degree of cohesion among OTS member states in their UNGA voting behavior. These analyses will provide insights into the evolution of OTS members' alignment, potential issue-specific consensus, and their positioning in the broader international context. The triangulation of these methodologies will contribute to a nuanced understanding of the relationship between institutionalization within OTS and its impact on voting patterns within the UNGA.

Result and Discussion

Temporal Analysis

The examination of temporal patterns in voting behavior holds a significant place within the realm of international relations research. Voting cohesion, indicating the alignment of member states' voting choices on various resolutions, offers insights into the evolving dynamics of cooperation and consensus-building within international organizations. In the context of the Organization of Turkic States, this section investigates the temporal trends of voting cohesion among its member countries within the United Nations General Assembly sessions. By tracing voting patterns over different years, this analysis sheds light on the level of coherence in policy preferences and the stability of collaborative decision-making among Organization of Turkic States.

The temporal analysis of voting cohesion within the OTS member states reveals intriguing insights into their collaborative behavior over time since 2009. The analysis involves calculating the percentage of instances in which

OTS countries cast congruent votes on UNGA resolutions within each session. This measure serves as an indicator of the degree to which these countries vote together, thus reflecting a shared foreign policy approach.

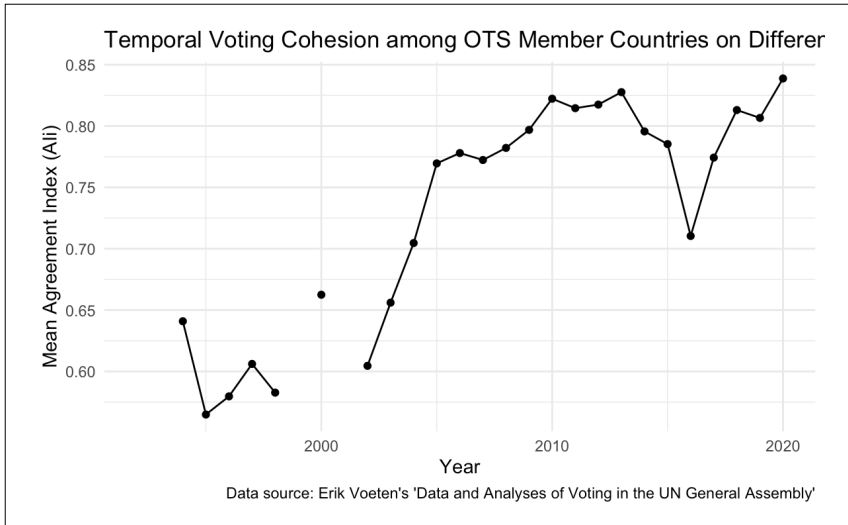


Figure 1. Temporal Voting Cohesion among OTS Countries

The findings reveal an upward trend in voting cohesion among OTS countries over the years since 2000. A cohesion threshold of 0.75—where 0 represents the least cohesive and 1 reflects the most cohesive sessions—has been employed to categorize the sessions. Impressively, 36 sessions surpass this threshold, signifying a substantial alignment in voting behavior, while only 13 sessions fall below it. The computed overall average cohesion for OTS countries' sessions since 1992 stands at 0.73, underscoring a noteworthy level of harmony in their voting choices.

Another way to investigate the details of the cohesion over the years is to find the high and low cohesive sessions. The below table provides such exercise.

Table 1
High and Low Cohesion Sessions over the years

High Cohesion Sessions

Year	Session	Mean_Ali
1992	46	1
1993	47	1
1995	49	1
2002	56	1
2013	67	1

Low Cohesion Sessions

Year	Session	Mean_Ali
1999	53	0.6250000
2000	54	0.6250000
2005	59	0.6250000
2006	60	0.6875000
2007	61	0.6458333
2008	62	0.6125000
2009	63	0.6250000
2010	64	0.5982143

The identification of highly cohesive sessions, such as Session 47 in 1992, Session 56 in 2002, and Session 67 in 2013, offers intriguing insights into the cooperative dynamics among OTS member states within the United Nations General Assembly. These sessions, characterized by significant voting alignment, may indicate pivotal moments of consensus-building and concerted diplomatic efforts among OTS countries. The temporal distribution of these cohesive sessions' spans across different years, suggesting that collaborative behavior has manifested consistently over time, despite contextual changes.

Interestingly, the lowest cohesive sessions, Session 62, 63, and 64, occurring in 2008-2010, offer an equally significant perspective. The coincidence of these sessions with the years following the foundation of OTS in 2009 may point to an initial phase of establishing diplomatic coordination

mechanisms and institutional frameworks. It is plausible that during this period, the member states were still in the process of institutionalizing their relationships, harmonizing foreign policy objectives, and aligning their voting behavior within the UNGA. These lowest cohesive sessions could indicate challenges that arise when forming a new international organization. Establishing common ground, coordinating positions, and fostering trust among member states may have been priorities during these years. The fact that these sessions occurred shortly after the foundation of OTS could suggest that the initial phases of any international organization may witness varying levels of cohesion as mechanisms of cooperation are solidified.

Overall, the juxtaposition of highly cohesive and lowest cohesive sessions provides a nuanced understanding of the trajectory of OTS's diplomatic coordination. It underscores the evolution of cohesion from formative stages to more mature diplomatic collaboration, which is likely influenced by the institutionalization of relationships and the gradual alignment of foreign policy preferences among member states.

Nonetheless, the observed upward variation in voting cohesion across the years holds profound implications for comprehending the evolving collaborative dynamics among OTS member states within the UNGA. The prevalence of sessions exhibiting high levels of cohesion suggests a robust consensus-building process, where OTS countries consistently converge on shared diplomatic directions. This trend may signify the presence of institutionalized relationships, common foreign policy objectives, or effective coordination mechanisms among OTS nations. During the 66th session of the UN General Assembly in 2011, for example, the OTS Council of Foreign Ministers convened and shared views on session problems (Kaplan et al. 132). Members of the OTS continue to band together and form a unified perspective on problems. The cases of Afghanistan and Cyprus are examples of this. Member states have decided to work together at the UN on these concerns (Yesevi 16). Following the ninth meeting in Samarkand in 2022, Uzbek President Shavkat Mirziyoyev indicated that a commission inside the OTS would be established to communicate with the UN on Afghanistan, and that the OTS will act together on this problem (Başaran).

Furthermore, the increase in overall cohesion since 2009 aligns intriguingly with the hypothesized impact of institutionalization. In the broader context of international relations theories, the observed temporal patterns could also resonate with liberal institutionalist perspectives. The cohesive voting behavior may be indicative of the positive influence of international institutions on state interactions. This alignment might signify increased coordination, lowered transaction costs, and enhanced cooperation among OTS countries. This rise in alignment could be indicative of the strengthening institutional framework that bolsters collaboration, mitigates uncertainties, and facilitates concerted decision-making. These observations resonate with the liberal institutionalist theory, affirming the positive role of institutions in enhancing diplomatic coordination and reducing friction among member states.

Issue-specific Cohesion Analysis

The issue-specific cohesion analysis reveals insightful patterns in the voting behavior of OTS member countries across different topics. The distinct voting tendencies observed can be interpreted in the context of regional dynamics, foreign policy considerations, and common interests shared among these nations.

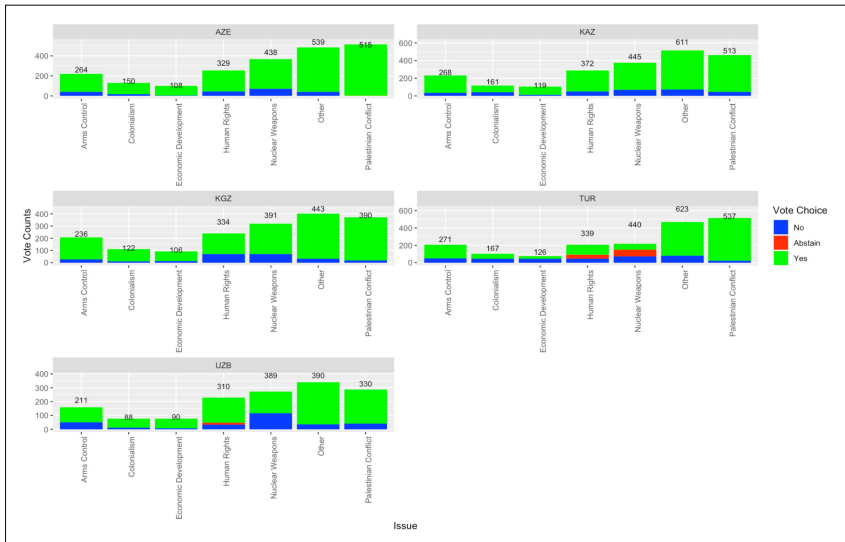


Figure 2. Distribution of Yes-No-Abstain Votes on Different Issues

The higher rate of abstentions for Türkiye in human rights and nuclear weapon-related issues could indicate a nuanced stance on these matters. Abstentions might reflect Türkiye's desire to avoid taking a clear stance or to express concerns about certain aspects of the resolutions. This could also be related to Türkiye's foreign policy strategy of maintaining positive relations with various stakeholders and balancing its priorities.

The higher rate of "no" votes for nuclear weapon-related issues by Uzbekistan might reflect a strong stance against nuclear proliferation or concerns about specific resolutions in this domain. This could be indicative of Uzbekistan's commitment to global non-proliferation efforts or its security concerns in the region.

The overall cohesion observed among OTS member countries on various issues suggests that these nations share common interests and priorities in their foreign policy decisions. This cohesion could be attributed to shared cultural, historical, and economic ties among OTS countries. It might also indicate that these nations have established a level of coordination and consultation in their international engagement, reflecting their institutionalized relationship.

It is imperative for member states to share similar normative values to enable OTS to collaboratively address specific issues. Norms govern appropriate behaviors within a given identity framework. In this context, it is crucial for member states of the OTS to establish shared identities and norms, as this facilitates consistent actions on various matters. When member states adopt the identity of international organizations, the organization's norm-teaching characteristics become evident (Yesevi 12). When understanding these voting patterns, it is critical to keep the larger geopolitical background in mind. Regional dynamics, alliances, economic partnerships, and historical ties can all have an impact on how these countries vote on specific issues. Additionally, the investigation should consider the specific substance of each resolution and the potential ramifications for the different OTS member countries.

Analyzing Voting Alignment with Non-OTS Countries

The below line plot shows the differences in voting tendencies (percentage of yes, no, and abstain) between general voting tendencies and OTS

voting tendencies across UNGA sessions. The red and blue lines represent differences in no votes and abstain votes, respectively, compared to the general tendencies.

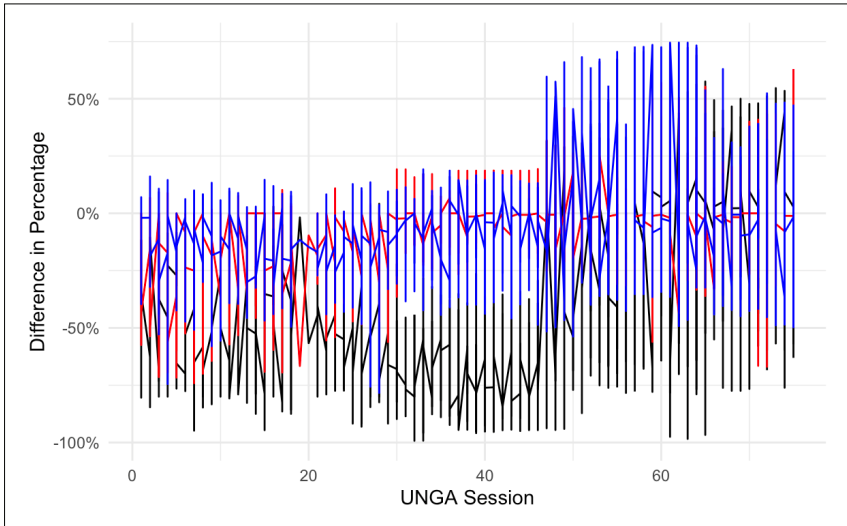


Figure 3. Differences with other countries

Interpreting the line plot of differences in voting tendencies between general voting and OTS voting requires an understanding of the implications of these differences. Here's how we might interpret different patterns in the lines:

Lines Below Zero (Negative Differences)

- **Red Line (No Votes):** When the red line is below zero, it indicates that OTS countries are generally voting “no” less frequently compared to the general voting tendencies. This could suggest a higher level of consensus or alignment among OTS countries on issues where they might have historically diverged from the general trend.
- **Blue Line (Abstain Votes):** Similarly, a blue line below zero suggests that OTS countries are abstaining less frequently compared to the general trend. This might indicate a stronger stance or willingness to take a clear position on issues.

Lines Between 0 and – 50

- Differences in the range of – 50 to 0 might suggest moderate alignment between OTS countries and general voting tendencies. While they are not drastically different from the general trend, there could be certain issues where OTS countries show slightly different voting behaviors.

Overall, lines below zero suggest alignment or consensus, while lines above zero suggest divergence or distinct stances. The magnitude of the difference provides an indication of the extent of this alignment or divergence.

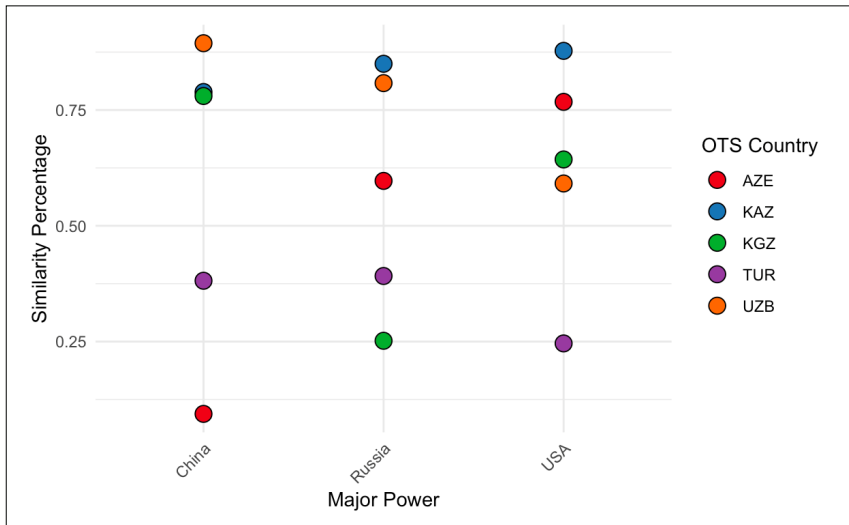


Figure 4. Alignment with Great powers

The metric denoted as the “Similarity Percentage,” graphically depicted in the figure above, serves as a quantitative gauge of the nuanced and intricate alignment present within the voting patterns of each Observer and Transitional State (OTS) country in relation to the prominent major powers on the global stage, namely the United States (USA), China, and Russia. This pivotal percentage affords a profound insight into the extent to which the respective OTS country’s voting tendencies coalesce with the voting inclinations of the designated major power. By virtue of this numerical measure, we are enabled to ascertain the frequency with which these OTS

countries' voting choices are consonant with those exercised by the major power under scrutiny.

In the context of the visual representation, an examination of the discrete figures corroborates the salient observation that Azerbaijan, as a specific instance, evinces a conspicuously lower degree of cohesion in its voting patterns vis-à-vis China, a phenomenon aptly captured by the lower Similarity Percentage. Conversely, Azerbaijan's voting cohesion with the United States emerges as more robust, thereby inferring a higher alignment with the latter. Additionally, Uzbekistan emerges as a compelling case wherein it is distinctly characterized by a heightened level of voting coherence with China, as evidenced by the elevated Similarity Percentage, while concurrently exhibiting a correspondingly diminished level of concurrence in voting proclivities with the United States. This pattern underscores the intricate interplay of divergent geopolitical factors influencing the voting dynamics of these OTS countries, fostering a more nuanced understanding of their international alignments and affiliations.

The fact that OTS members are in multiple alliances constitutes the organization's most difficult challenge. For a long time, the Central Asian Turkic States were ruled by the Soviet Union. Following the dissolution of the Soviet Union, Türkiye and the United States attempted to exert substantial influence in the region. China, on the other hand, has better commercial relations with the region, owing to the "Belt and Road" project, a contemporary Silk Road project unveiled in 2013 (Yıldırım 29). China and Russia have larger trade volumes with the region than Türkiye and the US (Demir 53). The member states of the OTS participate in various alliances for domestic purposes and to maintain the multipolar political balance of the world. For instance, Türkiye has been a NATO member since 1952, whereas Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzstan belong to the Collective Security Treaty Organization (CSTO) (Kocatepe 255–56). Uzbekistan, Kazakhstan, and Kyrgyzstan are all members of the Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO). All members of the OTS, except Türkiye, are also members of the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS). Türkiye is a member of the G-20 and Hungary, an observer member of the organization, is a member of the EU (Demir 54-55). Furthermore, China has launched the C+C5 program, which involves multifaceted cooperation with the Central

Asian Turkic States. Uzbekistan looks to be actively seeking commercial collaboration with China. The partnerships likely influence the OTS member nations' foreign policy preferences and alignment.

Conclusion

The Organization of Turkic States has attracted considerable attention in the realm of Eurasian politics as a significant regional entity. The political capabilities of this organization are often explored in scholarly discussions. One key indicator of an organization's potential is the degree of collaboration and unity among its members. The foreign policy orientations of member states serve as a gauge of their cohesion and teamwork. Analyzing member states' voting patterns in the UNGA can reveal whether their foreign policies are aligned. This research aims to assess foreign policy consistency within the regional organization by investigating the voting behavior of OTS members in the UNGA.

Robust institutionalization is vital for regional organizations to function with coherence. The European Union serves as an exemplary case in this regard. In this context, the study examined whether there exists a correlation between the level of institutionalization within the OTS and the consistency of UNGA voting. Since 1992, Turkic States have enhanced their collaboration and set up institutions to facilitate ongoing cooperation. The member states gathered under a unified framework and formed a regional organization through the Nakhchivan Agreement. At its eighth summit held in Istanbul, the regional organization ratified the "Vision of the Turkic World 2040" document and updated its objectives. Member states underscored the importance of foreign policy dialogue and collaboration in both the Nakhchivan Agreement and the 2040 Vision document that was adopted during the Istanbul Summit on November 12, 2021. Mechanisms have been implemented to promote coordination among member states, and specific goals have been identified for future advancement in this area.

UNGA voting serves as a valuable instrument for assessing foreign policy coherence. This study explored the impact of institutionalization on UNGA voting through three research questions: the degree of alignment among member states in UNGA voting, the alignment of member states on particular issues, and the alignment of member states with global powers.

The analysis results indicate that the overall unity among OTS members has strengthened in recent years, suggesting positive progress toward the OTS objective of collective action on international platforms. In particular, there are specific domains where OTS members demonstrate significant consensus on certain issues, showcasing successful institutionalization and alignment in their foreign policies.

Nevertheless, the data also reveal particular matters where member states fail to reach an agreement. This indicates that although the OTS has achieved notable advancements in promoting cohesion, member states still prioritize their individual national interests on certain issues. This duality underscores the intricate nature of regional cooperation, where institutionalization enhances overall unity but does not completely diminish individual national considerations.

The process of pursuing shared values, principles, and interests among member states falls under the responsibility of the Organization's Secretary General. The analysis indicates that both the member states and the organization must intensify their efforts regarding specific issues. The primary challenge for the organization lies in finding a balance between the interests of member states and those of global powers.

UNGA votes provide only a glimpse into a state's foreign policy orientation. It is crucial to examine other indicators for a comprehensive understanding. However, UNGA voting also offers the opportunity to analyze a long period of time and a vast number of sessions. Through the analysis of numerous sessions over several years, it is possible to achieve consistent outcomes. To achieve greater cohesion in UNGA voting, it is imperative that Member States adopt common interests, principles and norms. This is underlined in the Turkic World 2040 Vision document. It is important to note that for the member states of the OTS to collaboratively participate on international platforms, consultation among the member states alone may be insufficient. Increased cohesion among the societies of the member states is also necessary. In this sense, the materialization of institutionalization can be viewed as an extension of the research to be carried out in this domain. Exploring how institutionalization in an organization contributes to the establishment of shared principles will enhance the literature and lead to a deeper understanding of the subject.

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 The six principal organs of the United Nations (UN) are the General Assembly, the Security Council, the Economic and Social Council, the Trusteeship Council, the International Court of Justice, and the UN Secretariat.
- 2 Erik Voeten compiled the dataset used in this study, which was provided inside a repository of voting behavior and resolutions made by UN member states. See: (Voeten et al.).
- 3 All datasets and codes will be published in a public repository (github or figshare) in order allow other researchers to verify our findings and build on their work. This is important for ensuring the quality and integrity of scientific research.
- 4 For a detaile discussion on the formulation: (Born and Nevison).
- 5 ME: Palestinian conflict, NU: nuclear weapons, DI: arms control, CO: colonialism, HR: human rights, EC: economic development.

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Araştırma Makalesi / Research Article

Theatrical Guests of the Occupied Capital: Istanbul Tour of Azerbaijan Turkish Drama-Operetta Troupe*

Gıyas Şüküroğlu**

Abstract

The research subject of this article is the Istanbul tour of Azerbaijan Turkish Drama-Operetta Troupe during the 1919 play season. As a result of the investigation of the cast, it was understood that the touring troupe consisted of artists from the Turkish Theatre of Tbilisi. Istanbul's cultural and artistic circles who regarded the touring troupe as the theatre of the sister country, did not question the troupe's affiliation at all. The troupe's repertoire, which was performed on various Istanbul stages during the tour, mainly consisted of plays written by Azerbaijani dramatists. Turkish theatre critics, who evaluated the content of the repertoire as being oriental, appreciated the simplicity and national elements of Azerbaijani theatre. The organisation of the Azerbaijani troupe was a fresh breath for the Istanbul theatre audience, whose cultural and artistic life had been disrupted due to the occupation of Entente forces, while the actors of the touring troupe gained a great artistic experience.

Keywords

The Caucasus, Azerbaijani Dramaturgy, Turkish Theatre of Tbilisi, Azerbaijan Turkish Drama-Operetta Troupe, Istanbul Tour.

* Date of Arrival: 01 September 2023 – Date of Acceptance: 15 April 2024

You can refer to this article as follows:

Şüküroğlu, Gıyas. "Theatrical Guests of the Occupied Capital: Istanbul Tour of Azerbaijan Turkish Drama-Operetta Troupe." *bilig*, no. 112, 2025, pp. 133-157, <https://doi.org/10.12995/bilig.7628>.

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İşgal Altındaki Başkent'in Tiyatrocu Misafirleri: Azerbaycan Türk Dram-Operet Kumpanyasının İstanbul Turnesi*

Gıyas Şüküroğlu**

Öz

Azerbaycan Türk Dram-Operet Kumpanyasının 1919 yılı tiyatro sezonundaki İstanbul turnesi, bu makalenin araştırma konusunu oluşturmaktadır. Oyuncu kadrosunun araştırılması sonucunda turneyi düzenleyen topluluğun Tiflis Türk tiyatrosunun sanatçılarından ibaret olduğu anlaşılmıştır. Misafir topluluğu kardeş ülkenin tiyatrosu olarak telakki eden İstanbul'un kültür ve sanat çevreleri, kumpanyanın hüviyetini hiç sorgulamamıştır. Turne boyunca İstanbul'un çeşitli sahnelerinde oyunlar sahneleyen topluluğun repertuarı, çoğunlukla Azerbaycan dramaturglarının piyeslerinden ibaret olmuştur. Repertuarın içeriğini oryantal bulan Türk tiyatro eleştirmenleri, Azerbaycan tiyatrosunun sadeliğini ve millî unsurlar barındırmasını takdir etmişlerdir. Azerbaycan menşeli kumpanyanın organizasyonu, İtilaf kuvvetlerinin işgalinden dolayı kültür sanat yaşamı sekteye uğrayan İstanbul'un tiyatro seyircisine taze bir nefes olurken, misafir topluluğun oyuncularını da büyük bir sanat deneyimi kazanmışlardır.

Anahtar Kelimeler

Kafkasya, Azerbaycan Dramaturjisi, Tiflis Türk Tiyatrosu, Azerbaycan Türk Dram-Operet Kumpanyası, İstanbul Turnesi.

* Geliş Tarihi: 01 Eylül 2023 – Kabul Tarihi: 15 Nisan 2024

Bu makaleyi şu şekilde kaynak gösterebilirsiniz:

Şüküroğlu, Gıyas. "Theatrical Guests of the Occupied Capital: Istanbul Tour of Azerbaijan Turkish Drama-Operetta Troupe." *bilig*, no. 112, 2025, ss. 133-157, <https://doi.org/10.12995/bilig.7628>.

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Introduction

Istanbul, which has been regarded as the meeting point of civilizations due to its geographical location, was one of the cultural centres hosting the development of dramaturgy in Western style at the beginning of the 20th century. Particularly during the period following the II. Constitutional Era many theatre companies established, and many stages were opened to bring plays to the audience. Millet, Sharq and Ferah stages at Shehzadebashi, Kushdili and Apollon stages at Kadiköy, Odeon and Skating stages at Beyoglu, Meshrutiyet and Istanbul stages at Veznejiler, the Reshadiye stage at Taksim and others were among the favourite venues of theatre audiences at the capital (And 130-133). The wars and economic crises experienced in the last decade of the empire synchronously to the developments in question had affected negatively dramaturgy as well as on many other areas of life. Many theatre companies faced financial crises leaving stages idle. The difficulties that came along during the World War years were also added on top of the mentioned situation. Even the Darulbedayi, which established prior to the war with governmental support, encountered many problems as a result of the country's entrance in the war and operated erratically (And 128). The reason of the circumstances experienced by the institution in question was quite clear: its budget was out of money, and it lacked the sufficient number of stage players (Nutku 515). The state of the Darulbedayi had become quite complicated during the occupation of Istanbul after the armistice, and the company had difficulties throughout the winter season of 1919 in staging plays (Hüseyin Fahri 2). The Azerbaijani Turkish Drama-Operetta Company, which is said to have arrived from the Caucasus, swiftly entered theatre world of Istanbul in an artistic atmosphere, where other private companies remained incapable in addressing the Turkish audience, and brought a fresh breath to the theatre audience of the captive city with its repertoire, which was presented in Azerbaijani Turkish.

If we have to pivot on the association of ideas evoked by the name of the company, the name of the company in question does not come across in the institutional history of the Turkish playwriting developed in the Caucasus. In spite of this, there was a great number of news and reviews on the announcements published and plays staged by the company in the leading newspapers of the armistice period Istanbul. Some of the mentioned

journalistic material is present in the first volume of the *Theatrical Yearbook of Azerbaijan* compiled by Gulam Memmedli and published in 1975 (502-527). A broader version of the same set of materials has been incorporated to the work, which was published in order to mark the 100th anniversary of the Republic of Azerbaijan (Şükürov and Qafarov 465-491). Additionally, Mustafa Merdanov, who was one of the actors of the touring company, recorded some noteworthy information on the difficulties faced during the tour, plays staged and the reaction of the audience (Merdanov 107-117). Remarkable information is present related to the reason for organizing the tour, plays staged, and the performances of the players in the published excerpts of the copy of work Ibrahim Isfahanli, one of the artists of the company, on the Turkish Theatre of Tbilisi, which is preserved in the Manuscripts Section of the Georgian State Museum of Theatre, Music, and Cinema Archives (Catalog 3, Item 15049) (Ş. Memmedli 54-55).

The Istanbul tour of the theatre company in question is covered to some extent in several works studying the history of the Azerbaijani theatre history besides the aforementioned main sources of the subject. For instance, it was identified in the works of Abbas Hajiyev that the company consisted of the players of the Turkish Theatre of Tbilisi and the repertoire of the company and were briefly commented on the stage performances of the players (Hacıyev, *Tiflis Edebi Mühiti* 178-180; Hacıyev, *Tiflis Azərbaycan Teatrı* 92-95). Likewise, the information on the origin of the company was confirmed and compact information on the staged plays for the Istanbul audience was given by the works of recent theatre historians Inkilab Kerimov and İlham Rahimli (Kerimov 256; Rehimli, *Tiflis Azərbaycan Teatrı* 32-33; Rehimli, *Azərbaycan Teatr Tarixi* 229-230). Adilkhan Bayramov drawing attention to the fact that the company in question staged its plays under the name of Azerbaijani Drama and Operetta Company, has approached to the mentioned tour of the company in the context of Ottoman – Azerbaijani intercultural relations (Bayramov 163, 166). Reshad Qasimov, who has studied the political history of the era in question, with reference to the same context, considered the activity of the company as an important tool of communicating Azerbaijani culture in Türkiye (Qasimov 199-200). Vasif Qafarov, one of the contemporary researchers of Azerbaijani history, has identified that the company was made up of the players of the Turkish Theatre of Tbilisi in addition to making similar evaluations (Qafarov, *Birinci*

Dünya Müharibesi 199-200; Qafarov, “Azerbaycan Cümhuriyyəti” 50-51). Ali Asker and Mahire Asker, who consider the art of theatrics as an important element of intellectual history, have addressed the Istanbul tour of the company in question as an applied activity of independence stage of the Azerbaijani intellectual history (Asker and Asker 337-340).

As it is posed by the review of the related literature, despite the Istanbul tour of the company in question has been pointed out in the works of the field partially, the matter still has many aspects to be studied and mastered. First of all, the reason why a company, entirely made up of players of the Turkish Theatre of Tbilisi, came before the audience of Istanbul with the label of Azerbaijan. Additionally, it would be helpful to master the degree of the interest shown by the audience of Istanbul, which was exhausted by the difficulties of the World War, to a company reported to had arrived from a sister country. In particular, the latter would be helpful in explaining the dimensions of the encounter of cultural accumulation, which had germinated and developed in two different habitats. The element of occupation, which took place after the armistice concerning the Ottoman fronts of the World War and psychological situation of the society exhausted by recent wars of the empire should be taken into consideration as a significant issue in all assessments to be made. Additionally, matters like the plays performed at the stages of Istanbul, the performances and the degrees of professionalism of the players are among the issues that has to be addressed in the perspective of arts.

The Turkish Theatre of Tbilisi

Tbilisi, which was a governmental centre in the provincial organization of the Tsarist era, had been one of the centres, where Turkish drama in Western style had emerged. Names like Muhammad Jafar Jafarov, Abdullah Khalilov, Ibrahim Zeynalov and Shahhuseyin Minasazov were the first amateur artists of the Turkish theatre company of Tbilisi, who staged the works of Mirza Fethali Akhundzade, who were writing his plays in Azerbaijani Turkish (Ş. Memmedli 43-44). Many difficulties were being faced during the process of formation of the theatre company. A grave censorship existed on the plays considered to be staged, the financial sources and the technical equipment of the company was limited, appropriate stages for theatrics were lacking, the casting consisted of amateurs and Muslim actresses were almost non-existent

for female roles (Hacıyev, *Tiflis Edebi Mühiti* 131, 135). Roles were shared on voluntary basis by teachers and students for the rehearsal of prospective plays. Initially female roles were acted by males. For instance, the Ziba khanum role was acted by Abdullah Khalilov and the Peri khanum role by Eynali Sultanov in the comedy *Lenkeran Hanı'nın Veziri* (The Vizier of the Lenkeran Khan) of Mirza Fethali Akhundzade, which was staged frequently (Ş. Memmedli 44). Turkish-speaking Russian, Armenian, Georgian and Urum actresses acted female roles after the regional Turkish drama gained wide currency (Hacıyev, *Tiflis Edebi Mühiti* 132-133). Consequently, in 1880's most of the female roles in the plays staged at Tbilisi were acted by Alma Safrazyan, who could speak Azerbaijani Turkish fluently (Rehimli, *Tiflis Azerbaijan Teatrı* 4-5).

A visual enrichment took place during the professionalization stage of the Turkish Theatre of Tbilisi. The plays of Nariman Narimanov, Abdurrahim Haqverdiyev and Najaf Vazirov were introduced to the audience in addition to those of Mirza Fethali Akhundzade (Hacıyev, *Tiflis Azerbaijan Teatrı* 7; Hacıyev, *Tiflis Edebi Mühiti* 131). The expanding repertoire was followed by diversification of the cast; Eshref Yuzbashizade, Ismail Aliyev, Kerim Kerimov, Muhammad Ali Sidqi, Aziz Bedelov, Huseyin Childirov, Huseyinqulu Shabanov, Yunis Narimanov, Qasim Bayramov, Mustafa Merdanov, Mirseyfeddin Kirmanshahli and others became the new actors of Tbilisi stage (Ş. Memmedli 45). At the end of the century, under the leadership of Abdullah Khalilov, Ibrahim Zeynalov and Muhammad Jafar Jafarov, the Muslim Drama Theatre Company was formed in Tbilisi (Hacıyev, *Tiflis Azerbaijan Teatrı* 13-14; Hacıyev, *Tiflis Edebi Mühiti* 133). As it was mentioned, the repertoire of the company, which was advancing in the course of institutionalization attracted the attention of various classes of the society, the Muslim women in Tbilisi in particular and women started to show up among the audience (Hacıyev, *Tiflis Azerbaijan Teatrı* 18-19). Many of the female characters in the plays of this period were acted by non-Muslim actresses like Terlan khanum and Panfilya Tanailidi, who could speak Azerbaijani Turkish fluently. However, Turkish girls like Gulsabah khanum in 1908 and Guvercin khanum (Gevher Ganizade) in 1910, started to show up on theatre stages (Hacıyev, *Tiflis Edebi Mühiti* 141; Hacıyev, *Tiflis Azerbaijan Teatrı* 49; Asker and Asker 330).

The Turkish players of the Tbilisi stage were conscious of the fact that the job they were doing was an entertaining school, which was educating and developing adults and engaged in theatre because of their love to arts. These noble people had no professional education in the field of drama. Every one of them had their professions other than drama, which they earned their livelihoods from. Many of the players were teachers, tailors, bath attendants, typesetters, clothiers and traders (Şerif 153; Hacıyev, *Tiflis Edebi Mühiti* 147). These altruistic people, who dealt with various lifeworks in the daytime, came together in the evenings and rehearsed the plays they were planning to stage. Oddly enough, they lacked rehearsal stages equipped with sufficient scenery. Every month they were staging one or two plays in the circumstances of the day. They were usually staging at the Georgian Proprietors Club, Zubalov Community Centre and Kazyon stages as they did not have their own playhouse (Şerif 153). And sometimes they were staging at Actors Society, Artsruni, Mir and Aylabar Palace theatres (Rehimli, *Azerbaycan Teatr Tarixi* 220-221, 250-251).

Turkish thespians of Tbilisi were organized in two companies by 1911. The Saadet Company, under the leadership of Eynali Sultanov, consisted of some 40 gifted players like Shahhuseyin Minasazov, Jahangir Shahtakhtli, Mirnasreddin Seyidov, Habib Kerimov, Yahya Muhammadov and Mirseyfeddin Kirmanshahli. The plays prepared by the Saadet Company, usually were staged at the Georgian Proprietors Club (Hacıyev, *Tiflis Edebi Mühiti* 156; Ş. Memmedli 46). On the other hand, the Muslim Drama Society was established under the leadership of Mirzali Abbasov and consisted of players like Mirzakhan Quluyev, Eshref Yuzbashizade, Huseyin Ahmedov, Kerim Veliyev, Muhammad Taki Aliaskerov, Yunis Narimanov, Muhammad Ali Sidqi and Kerim Kerimov (Şerif 154; Ş. Memmedli 46; Merdanov 23; Kerimov 235). Lofty aims like developing and spreading the art of drama among Caucasian Turks were the *raison d'être* of the latter company. Plans were made for staging plays regularly at the Zubalov Community Centre and for organizing tours to the other regions of the Caucasus with the aim of staging package shows (G. Memmedli 223; Rehimli, *Tiflis Azerbaycan Teatrı* 17-18). The society became a member of the Zubalov Community Centre by considering its scenery and physical facilities after its official approval on 24 December 1910 (Hacıyev, *Tiflis Azerbaycan Teatrı* 31; Hacıyev, *Tiflis Edebi Mühiti* 145).

After the mentioned membership the Turkish drama in Tbilisi gained a fully equipped stage for the rehearsals and performance of plays. However, the costs of staging a play at the community centre was very high and this was reflected on the price of tickets. On the other hand, the venue, where the plays were staged was a long way of the Muslim neighbourhood of the city. Attendance to the plays staged by the society was less than expected due to the mentioned reasons. Accordingly, it was taken into consideration to transfer the Turkish company of the city to Sheytanbazary, the Muslim neighbourhood. Primarily a venue in Sheytanbazary was found, suitable for staging plays, then the venue was renovated donations from the community. The renovated playhouse of the Muslim neighbourhood as named Auditorium and was opened on 1 April 1912 with the attendance of the mayor, the notables and thespians (Şerif 155; Kerimov 237; Hacıyev, *Tiflis Edebi Mühiti* 160-161; Hacıyev, *Tiflis Azərbaycan Teatrı* 58-60). The Auditorium consisted of a small stage, a large hall and a few rooms (Şerif 155). Usually readymade scenes of a room, forest, desert, mountains, sea and a village together with curtains were as scenery for the plays (Şerif 166). After the roles were shared, rehearsals were held at the Auditorium for a while and the play was submitted to the discretion of the audience after the play was ready (Şerif 155). There was a coffeehouse next to the Auditorium. Newspapers and journals published in Baku and other cities with Azerbaijani Turkish were present at this coffeehouse (Şerif 159, 178-179). Artists and the audience were gathering at this coffeehouse and exchanging ideas on the plays as well as the issues of the period (Hacıyev, *Tiflis Azərbaycan Teatrı* 62).

The economic crisis of the World War I strained the Turkish company of Tbilisi. Players facing economic difficulties, mostly took care of themselves by working at other jobs (Şerif 204-205). Few plays were staged during the years of war due to small number of audience and the activity of the Drama Society and Auditorium became inactive. After the February Revolution, the Auditorium was assigned to the *Vahshi Firqa* (Savage Division), which was the most regular defensive force of the Caucasian Turks (Hacıyev, *Tiflis Edebi Mühiti* 177; Hacıyev, *Tiflis Azərbaycan Teatrı* 86). A group of thespians led by Eshref Yuzbashizade and Mustafa Merdanov, who struggled to keep theatrics alive during the years of war and revolution, travelled to Iran twice and staged plays in Tabriz, Urmia, Marand, Qazvin and Rasht (G. Memmedli 483-484; Merdanov 87-97; Ş. Memmedli 53).

A significant change took place in the organization of the Turkish Theatre of Tbilisi during the complicated phase after the October Revolution. A new company was established under the name of *Ittihad Dram Cemiyeti* (The Union Drama Society) with the involvement of Hashim Hashimov, Hasan Kapitalov, Mustafa Merdanov, Ali Qurbanov, Muhsin Sanani, Mirzali Abbasov, Muhammad Agalarov, Yusuf Rzayev, Muhammad Ali Aliyev, Mirza Mahmud Ahmedov, Ali Bayramov and Ibrahim Isfahanli (G. Memmedli 484; Ş. Memmedli 51). The Union company advertised in the newspapers after the formation of the society was completed and encouraged talented people to join the society (G. Memmedli 494). A second company was established with the involvement of Aliekber Seyfi, Ismail Hakki, Asker Nakhchivanli, Nadir Ibrahimov, Ismail Ismailov, Ahmet Salahli, Hasan Sabri, Muhammad Jafarli and Adil Hajizade under the name of *Ibret Dram Cemiyeti* after the revival of the social life in Tbilisi (Ş. Memmedli 52; Rehimli, *Tiflis Azərbaycan Teatrı* 71). The latter met with the audience 14 times within the first six months of its activation (G. Memmedli 484; Hacıyev, *Tiflis Azərbaycan Teatrı* 91). As it is seen the Turkish Theatre of Tbilisi, which had a deep-rooted history, had many talented players prior to the Istanbul tour and these players were organized as various companies within the process.

The Istanbul Tour

The players of the Turkish Theatre of Tbilisi decided to travel to the neighbouring countries to solve the problems faced in the revolutionary environment. A special company was established by Mirseyfeddin Kirmanshahli, who was one of the pioneers of this initiative, with the involvement of Eshref Yuzbashizade, Mustafa Merdanov, Hasan Sabri, Muhsin Sanani, Terlan khanum, Vera Arsen, Nastya Kaftaradze, Huseyin Qasimov, Pasha Muhammadov, Abbas Ismailov, Ibrahim Isfahanli and others (Ş. Memmedli 55; Hacıyev, *Tiflis Azərbaycan Teatrı* 92). After the completion of the organization process, the company first arrived in Batumi. The plays named *Nadir Shah*, *Edirne Fethi*, *Zoraki Tabib*, *Peri Jadu*, *al-Mansour*, *Meshedi Ibad ve Arshin Mal Alan* were performed during the short-term tour in Batumi, at the Railroad and Shmayevsky stages (Merdanov 104-106). However, the tour of the company was interrupted by the British occupation of Batumi (24 December 1918). The members of

the company decided to travel to Istanbul as their financial potential was restricted. They received their visas from the Turkish Consulate in Batumi and boarded the ferry named *Shile*, which was transferring soldiers from the Caucasian front to Istanbul, with the help of Turkish officers, who watched their plays at the city stages. The voyage was rather troublesome. The ferry was caught by a storm off the coast of Trebizond and the company members experienced scary moments like the other passengers. The ferry ran out of fuel on the fourth day of the voyage and the doors together with the wooden floors were removed and burnt. Starvation and disease arose as a result of these difficulties. All these challenges were somehow left behind and they arrived in Istanbul on the eighth day (second half of January 1919) of the voyage (Merdanov 107-108).

The thespians from Tbilisi, encountered a different scene than they had expected. Istanbul purported a city surrendered to the enemy. War ships and dreadnoughts were anchored to the harbour (Merdanov 108). Entente powers, which occupied Istanbul after the armistice ending the war in Turkish fronts, were interfering in almost all affairs of the city. Fortunately, they did not raise difficulties to the artistic organisation of the Caucasian thespians. The visiting artists turned the interruption of cultural and artistic activities of the occupied city into an opportunity and introduced themselves to the theatre audience of Istanbul as the Azerbaijani Turkish Drama-Operetta Company. Although this label suggested an independent Azerbaijani company, the members of the company completely consisted of Turkish thespians from Tbilisi. The use of such a label had reasonable causes. First of all, the language spoken by the artists from Tbilisi was Azerbaijani Turkish and the plays they were staging for the audience in Istanbul were written in Azerbaijani Turkish. In addition, the Republic of Azerbaijan, which was established by direct aid of the Ottoman Empire, had a positive image in the cultural and art circle of Istanbul. This image was extremely important with regards to the visiting company's approval by the art circles and the interest of the audience in their plays. Due to mentioned reasons, the art circle of Istanbul did not question the origin of the company and regarded the staged plays as the theatre of the sister country.

The Executive of the Azerbaijani Turkish Drama-Operetta Company, which set to work swiftly from the first day on, entered not agreements with Kishlik

stage at Tepebashi, the Millet stage at Shehzadebashi and the Kushdili stage at Kadiköy. It was agreed that the musical acts in the operettas were to be played by the Ertugrul Band of the Naval Ministry and by Huseyin Qasimov, one of the renown tar artists of the Caucasus (G. Memmedli 515). Considering specific conditions of Istanbul, plays were planned to be staged twice a day, at two or three p.m. for women and nine p.m. for general audience. Advertisement and promotion were accelerated in order to attract more audience to the staged plays. The following announcement was published in the mainstream media of Istanbul from 20 January 1919 on:

Meshedi Ibad, one of the most famous operettas of Caucasia will be staged next Friday at half past one only for ladies and due to transportation and current situation at five o'clock in the evening at the Tepebashi Kishlik Theatre and Saturday daytime and in the evening at the Millet Theatre at Shehzadebashi and Monday daytime and in the evening at the Kushdili Theatre at Kadiköy. (*Alemdar* 1347-37, 2; *Tasvir-i Efkâr* 2627, 2)

As it is seen from the announcement, *O Olmasin Bu Olsun* operetta of Uzeyir Hajibeyli, which was more often known as *Meshedi Ibad*, had been the inaugural play of the tour. It was planned that the play would be staged on 24 January 1919 at the Kishlik Theatre, on 25 January 1919 at the Millet Theatre and on 27 January 1919 at the Kushdili Theatre, daytime sessions being for ladies only and the evening sessions for general audience (*Alemdar* 1347-37, 2; *Tasvir-i Efkâr* 2627, 2).

An incident took place while *Meshedi Ibad* was being staged at the Millet Theatre, which the visiting thespians were unaccustomed to. The doors of the hall opened widely, and the bar maids entered the hall selling lemonade and ice cream with loud announcements as “thirst quenching soda, cooling ice cream for ladies, we have soda!”. The players on the stage watched this scene with bewilderment. The company executive Mirseyfeddin Kirmanshahli, approached the bar owner at the intermission and requested that they did not enter the hall and talk loudly during the play. The bar owner, who had listened to him calmly, replied “Please don't obstruct our trade!” After this reply, Kirmanshahli discussed the matter with Alexan Efendi, the executive of the theatre, and tried to solve the bar problem. Alexan Efendi showed the

relevant clause in the contract and advised not to interfere with the business of the bar owner. The company executive, understanding that they would not be able to change the customized commercial practice of the Istanbul theatres, pledge to pay 5 liras to the bar owner in return for not entering the hall during the play (Merdanov 110-111). The interest of the audience to the first performance of *Meshedi Ibad* was less than expected. The main reasons for the low turnout were not taking into consideration the transport problems of Istanbul and setting the time of plays at between five and eight o'clock according to European time (Midhat 3). Additionally, the society, which was exhausted because of wars and occupation, did not have the time and energy for art.

After the first performance of *Meshedi Ibad*, Uzeyir Hajibeyli's 4 act operetta *Arshin Mal Alan* was included to the repertoire. This operetta as well was staged as two sessions on 29 January 1919 at the Millet Theatre (*Sabah* 10488, 2; *Tasvir-i Efkâr* 2634, 2). The same operetta was staged again as two sessions on 31 January 1919 at the Kushişdili Theatre on the Anatolian side (*Alemdar* 1358-48, 2; *İkdam* 7891, 2; *Sabah* 10492, 2; *Tasvir-i Efkâr* 2636, 2). The role distribution of *Arshin Mal Alan* was as follow: the role of Asker was acted by Mirseyfeddin Kirmanshahli, the role of Gulchehre by Vera Arsen, the role of aunt by Nastya Kaftarzade, the role of Telli by Asya khanum, the role of Sultan Bey by Mustaf Merdanov, the role of Suleiman by Ibrahim Isfahanli, the role of Veli by Muhsin Sanani and the role of Asya by Nina khanum (Merdanov 112; Hacıyev, *Tiflis Azerbaijan Teatrı* 93). The third play to be included to the repertoire was Abdurrahim Haqverdiyev's tragedy *Bakhtsiz Javan*, which was staged on 1 February 1919 at the Millet Theatre for the first time (*Atı* 384, 3; *Tasvir-i Efkâr* 2639, 2). The *Arshin Mal Alan* operetta was staged for the second time as two sessions at the Millet Theatre on 5 February 1919, due to heavy demand of the audience (*Muvakkıt* 18 [462], 2; *Muvakkıt* 19 [463], 2; *Sabah* 10497, 2). Similarly, the *Meshedi Ibad* operetta, which was very popular among the audience, was staged for the third time in two sessions on 6 February 1919 at the Apollon Theatre in Kadıköy (*Sabah* 10498, 2; *Tasvir-i Efkâr* 2644, 2).

In the first two weeks of the tour two of the plays out of three, which was offered to the audience, achieved great success and this encouraged the company executive to expand the repertoire. The tragedy *Dagılan Tifaq*

Yakhud Qumarin Netijesi written by Abdurrahim Haqverdiyev, who was one of the realist dramaturges of Azerbaijan, was staged on 8 February 1919 at the Millet Theatre as two sessions during the daytime and in the evening (*İkdam* 7901, 2; *Sabah* 10500, 2). Haqverdiyev's comedy vaudeville *Ach Herifler* and Zulfiqar Hajibeyli's operetta *Elli Yashinda Javan* was staged on 10 February 1919 at the same theatre as two sessions in the daytime and in the evening (*İkdam* 7903, 2; *Muvakkit* 24 (468), 2; *Sabah* 10502, 2). Najaf Vazirov's comedy *Haji Qamber*, which was newly added to the repertoire, was staged at the same theatre on 12 February 1919 as two sessions. The *Elli Yashinda Javan* operetta and the *Ach Herifler* vaudeville was staged for the second time at the Kushdili Theatre on 13 February 1919 (*İkdam* 7905, 2; *Sabah* 10504, 2; *Tasvir-i Efkâr* 2650, 2). *Arshin Mal Alan*, which was described as the most beautiful operetta by the Istanbul newspapers, was staged at the Kishlik Theatre as daytime and evening sessions on 14 February 1919 (*İkdam* 7907, 2; *Sabah* 10506, 2; *Tasvir-i Efkâr* 2652, 2).

The company getting adapted to the art circles of Istanbul swiftly staged seven different plays on four different stages as daytime and evening sessions in the first month of the tour. The same fast work continued during the second month of the tour. Abdurrahim Haqverdiyev's play *Bakhtsiz Javan*, was staged for the second time as two sessions at the Millet Theatre on 19 February 1919. And on 20 February 1919, Sultan Majid Ganizade's vaudeville *Aksham Sabri Khayir Olur* and Ahmed Vefik Pasha's comedy *Zoraki Tabib* was staged at the Kushdili Theatre (*Tercüman-ı Hakikat* 13644, 4). Thereafter the company concentrated on the works of the Turkish playwrights, and staged Shemseddin Sami's play *Gave-i Ahenger* as daytime and evening sessions on 22 February 1919 at the Millet Theatre (*Alemdar* 1374-64, 2; *İkdam* 7915, 2; *Sabah* 10514, 2; *Tasvir-i Efkâr* 2660, 2; *Tercüman-ı Hakikat* 13646, 4). Again at the same theatre the play *Sheykh Shamil Hazretleri* was staged on 26 February 1919 as two sessions (*Alemdar* 1378-68, 2).

A number of new plays were added to the March repertoire of the company besides previously performed plays, which won the favour of the Istanbul audience. First, Uzeyir Hajibeyli's operetta *Asli ve Kerem* was staged on 10 March 1919 at the Kushdili theatre as daytime and evening sessions. The musical act of the operetta was performed by the Ertugrul Band and the

tar artist Huseyin Qasimov (*Alemdar* 1390-80, 2). The operetta *Arshin Mal Alan* was staged on 11 March 1919 at the Odeon Theatre in Beyoglu with the attendance of the same band and musician (*Alemdar* 1391-81, 2; *İkdam* 7932, 2; *İstiklal* 79, 2; *Tercüman-ı Hakikat* 13664, 4). *Asli ve Kerem*, which was highly acclaimed at its first performance, was staged at the Millet Theatre on 12 March 1919 as daytime and evening sessions accompanied by the same musical group (*İkdam* 7933, 2; *Yeni Gün* 188, 2). Shemseddin Sami's play *Gave-i Ahenger* was staged for the second time on 13 March 1919 at the Kushdili Theatre as two sessions (*İkdam* 7934, 2). Abdurrahim Haqverdiyev's tragedy *Aga Muhammad Shah Qajar* was offered to the audience for the first time on 19 March 1919 at the Millet Theatre as daytime and evening sessions. In addition, they started to rehearse Haqverdiyev's tragedy *Peri Jadu*, Mirza Muhammad Akhundzade's tragedy *Sa'd ibn Vaqqas*, and the *al-Mansour* tragedy of Heinrich Heine, one of the master writers of German lyric poetry of the 19th century (*Alemdar* 1397-87, 2; *Tasvir-i Efkâr* 2684, 2; *Yeni Gün* 194, 2). On 24 March 1919 the *Meshedi Ibad* operetta accompanied Ertugrul Band and the tar artist Huseyin Qasimov, met with the general audience at the Odeon Theatre in Beyoglu at nine o'clock in the evening (*Alemdar* 1403-93, 2). Zulfiqar Hajibeyli's operetta *Evli iken Bekar* was staged for the first time at the Millet Theatre on 26 March 1919 as daytime and evening sessions with the participation of the same musical group (*Sabah* 10546, 2).

Some of the audience kicked up a row chanting "we want dance, we want comedy" towards the end of the operetta staged at the Millet Theatre (*Temaşa* 15, 12). The company executive thought the audience's request was a joke, but after understanding the seriousness of the issue went on the stage and declared that the demand could not be met. Upon repeated insistence from the audience the replied as "go to chanteuse show if you desire dance, this is a theatre!" (Merdanov 112). Someone in the audience replied to this answer as "people like you ruined the nation, perish" and gave a fiery speech (*Temaşa* 15, 12). A trader, who requested dance, left the hall together with his friends. There was a significant fall in the number of audiences in the following days of this incident. It was found out after a small investigation that the same person, who was one of the rich traders of Istanbul, prevented ticket sales by placing his own men in front of the cash register (Merdanov 112). Mirseyfeddin Kirmanshahli made a statement in

the name of the company executive as a result of the mentioned incidents and stated that the aim of the company, which came from such a long way, is not to play for laughs or to dance, but is to display Azerbaijan's soul and drama to the audience of Istanbul (Merdanov 113; *Temaşa* 15, 12). Editorial board of the journal *Temaşa*, stating that it would not be appropriate to demand anything else than the program of the company, expressed that the extent of the disrespect shown to the visiting company was at surprising level and advised that similar incidents should not be repeated (Merdanov 113; *Temaşa* 15, 13). The company executive, trying to improve relations with the audience, expelled Muhsin Sanani, who used unnecessary words in the course of the incident beyond the knowledge and permission of the executive, and Pasha Muhammadov with other reasons (*Temaşa* 15, 16). The business of the company returned to normal after the press release and the discharge process and the audience started to watch the plays again (Merdanov 113).

After the problem was solved Uzeyir Hajibeyli's operetta *Er ve Arvad* was staged on 16 April 1919 at the Millet Theatre at nine o'clock in the evening. On 17 April 1919 the *Arşin Mal Alan* operetta was staged at the Skating Theatre as daytime and evening sessions with the participation of the Ertugrul Band and tar player Huseyin Qasimov (*Tercüman-ı Hakikat* 13700, 4). Uzeyir Hajibeyli's operetta *Meshedi İbad* and Sultan Majid Ganizade's comedy *Hor-hor* was staged on 18 April 1919 at the Skating Theatre at three o'clock daytime only for men accompanied by the same musical group (*Tercüman-ı Hakikat* 13701, 4). Again, at the same venue and with the contributions of the same musical group Zulfıqar Hajibeyli's operetta *Evli iken Bekar* was staged on 19 April 1919 as two sessions (*Tercüman-ı Hakikat* 13702, 4). On the evening of 21 April 1919, the operetta *Turkman Qizi* was premiered at the Ferah Theatre in Shehzadebashi, in cooperation with the famous comedian Hasan Efendi's troupe. Thereafter the comedy *Dursun Ali Balli Badi* and the play *Ölünün Hortlamasi* was staged.

The company, which seems to have considered the demands of the Istanbul audience in its last activities, included cantos before the plays, played music with bands and saz during the intermissions and offered the audience oriental style dances with the participation of Vera Arsen and her companions (*Tercüman-ı Hakikat* 13705, 4). The first performance of

Uzeyir Hajibeyli's operetta *Leyla ve Majnun* was staged at the Millet Theatre on 23 April 1919 with the contributions of the Ertugrul Band and tar player Huseyin Qasimov (*Tercüman-ı Hakikat* 13706, 4). Another play, which met the expectations of the Istanbul audience, was Abdurrahim Haqverdiyev's play *Peri Jadu*, which was being rehearsed for a long time. The role of Selime was acted by Terlan khanum, the role of *Peri Jadu* by Vera Arsen, the role of Qurban by Mirseyfeddin Kirmanshahli, the role of Iblis by Hasan Abdullahzade, the role of Shamame Jadu by Ibrahim Isfahanli and the role of Emrullah by Muhsin Sanani at the play, which was staged on 17 May 1919 at the Millet Theatre as a show of the *Temaşa* journal (*Temaşa* 17, 1). A miny concert was held by the Ertugrul Band and the tar artist Huseyin Qasimov and Caucasian folk dances were performed by Vera Arsen together with Nastya Kaftaradze, Muhsin Sanani and Ibrahim Isfahanli within the scope of the organization. Pieces of previously staged and admired operettas were staged at the intermissions (*Temaşa* 16, back cover inner page). The show was completed perfectly and received thumbs up from the editorial board of the journal *Temaşa* (*Temaşa* 17, 1).

As it is seen from the cast of the show on 17 May, Muhsin Sanani, who was expelled after the incident of 26 March, was given a role at the new play of the company. Likewise, Pasha Muhammadov, who was expelled at the same date, took his place among the actors of the new directory of the company. The structure of the company completely changed as well in accordance with the new directory. Hasan Abdullahzade was elected as the director of the company and Eshref Yuzbashizade as the stage manager. The actors and actresses were divided into four classes. Eshref Yuzbashizade, Ibrahim Isfahanli, Mustafa Merdanov, Vera Arsen and Huseyin Qasimov became first class artists, Muhsin Sanani and Jalil Quliyev second class artists, Nastya Kaftaradze and Pasha Muhammadov third class artists, and Meshedi Abbas Ismailov fourth class artist (*Temaşa* 17, 1). According to the new directory, none of the players could attend a show of any other theatre beyond the information and permission of the responsible director. The company, which was planning to stage plays in the scope of the Ramadan activities of 1919, rented the Sharq Theatre at Shehzadebashi. It was planned to introduce Azerbaijani plays that have not yet been staged to the Istanbul audiences, on Sunday, Tuesday and Friday evenings at the Sharq

Theatre and the other evenings at the other theatres at Kadıköy, Uskudar and Buyukada (*Temaşa* 17, 1).

Information on the activities of the company after the renewal is limited. According to a contemporary study, the Istanbul tour of the company took 11 months in total (Rehimli, *Tiflis Azerbaijan Teatrı* 69). Probably in the second half of the mentioned period, Uzeyir Hajibeyli's *Asli ve Kerem* operetta was translated into Turkish and published as a pamphlet upon the request of Seyit Tahir Bey, the concessionaire of the *Temaşa* journal (Merdanov 114; G. Memmedli 528; Asker and Asker 338). Again, the *Arshin Mal Alan* operetta was translated into Turkish and was staged at the Millet Theatre towards the end of the year (İkdam 8202, 4; *Sabah* 10802, 4). The *Arshin Mal Alan* operetta, which was highly appreciated by the Istanbul audience, was staged 43 times in total during the tour (Merdanov 112; Hacıyev, *Tiflis Edebi Mühiti* 179; Rehimli, *Tiflis Azerbaijan Teatrı* 69; Asker and Asker 337). The client of French cinema company Pathé, who had the opportunity to watch the same operetta, suggested that the play to be adapted to the big screen. The assistant manager of the French company personally conveyed the proposal to the Azerbaijani company executive and invited the players to Paris. It was written in the draft contract that *Arshin Mal Alan* would be performed 10 times on the Paris stages and then adapted to the cinema. The proposal of the French company was not accepted due to lack of allocated finance despite the high workload (Merdanov 114; G. Memmedli 527-528). Additionally, tour proposals were received from Bursa and Izmir (Merdanov 112). But these proposals were rejected as the company was about to return to Caucasia as they finished their work in Istanbul.

Performance Evaluation

The organization of the company, which staged Azerbaijani plays in Istanbul, a city under the occupation of Entente forces, attracted attention from the first day on. The announcements of the company were published in the pages of most read newspapers of Istanbul, it was commented on the general characteristics of Azerbaijani dramaturgy and artistic interpretations were made about the performances of the artists of the visiting company. A. Mithat, one of those who made such interpretations, evaluated both the content of the operetta and the Azerbaijani theatrics in general terms

after watching the first performance of *Meshedi Ibad* (27 January 1919). Although he found *Meshedi Ibad* too oriental in his review, he pointed out that the Azerbaijanis have established serious theatrics. He emphasized that the operetta, whose theme was based on daily life, identified the social problems of the country it stood for. Mithat, stated that the music and dance forming the basis of the operetta was completely reflecting national elements and appreciated that all these features were at a level satisfying artistic taste (Midhat 3).

Huseyin Fahri, who shared his impressions on the plays he watched until the third week of the tour with his readers on 8 February 1919, particularly stated that the interest shown by the public to the visiting company was directly related to the political development of the last year. Huseyin Fahri, drawing attention to the importance of a nation's cultural abilities and talents, stated that it shouldn't be expected in such complex days that a company sent by a newly independent country would be perfect and suggested that the imperfections of the artists and equipment of the company should be excused. Despite the mentioned imperfections, he judged the organization of the visiting company positively with the words "... it is too good to be compared to our laughingstock companies, which have been performing in our country for years and should have taken lesson from foreign companies present in Istanbul..." Although Huseyin Fahri as well like A. Mithat found the plays staged by the company oriental, appreciated it was far from European imitation and carried all features of a national art (Hüseyin Fahri 2).

Muhsin Ertugrul, one of the pioneers of contemporary Turkish theatre, discussed the organization of the visiting company in his column in the *Temaşa* magazine and displayed his artistic excitement with the sentence "... Whether the Azerbaijanis are competent or not, they are bringing us artistic works from beyond the Caucasus, from our compatriots..." (1 March 1919). He appreciated and honoured the mission of the company, whose language, taste, music and dance were not given sufficient attention, with the sentence "... is to bring a piece of taste, a piece of art, a piece of beauty to the people of the sleeping realm..." And he addressed the people of Istanbul, who was indifferent to the art of the sister country, with the language of the German philosopher Nietzsche's Zoroaster: "The voice of beauty comes out very low pitched and this voice is only heard and understood by the ones, who are

most awake and by the most sensitive souls.” (Ertuğrul 2; G. Memmedli 517). Muhsin Ertuğrul pointed out that Azerbaijan responded to the military aid given in difficult times with art with a noteworthy reckoning as “We Turks went to Azerbaijan with weapons, and the Azerbaijanis came to us with art and music.” (Şahmalıyev 5).

Reshad Nuri, who shared his impressions with his readers after watching operettas performed on Istanbul stages, stated that the visiting company displayed a higher performance than the companies of Istanbul other than the Darulbedayi (9 Mart 1919). He presented the developments in theatrics in Azerbaijan with the evaluation “the first idea that both the plays and the performances aroused in us was that the Azerbaijanis take theatre seriously and with importance and that they have surpassed Türkiye in this regard (Reşad Nuri 13). Reshad Nuri, emphasising that theatrics is international with regards to its codes and concept, put forth that while it is possible to produce works based on imitation every nation strives to form its own unique theatre, and Azerbaijanis have formed a national theatre inspiring from their own land. Reshad Nuri pointed out that Azerbaijani comedies have a simple and textual temperament like Molière’s style and put forth the idea “... if we look at them with the same eyes, we watch European plays, we will see them as primitive and in need of development. However, purity and simplicity are virtues that make us neglect and forget these imperfections.” (Reşad Nuri 13-14). Hüseyin Fahri, who almost shared the same idea with Reshad Nuri, pointed out the Molière influence in some plays with the following sentences: “... they have a virtue, which is very striking and that is the simplicity and purity of their art. Unnatural movements, elaborate artificialities, and ridiculous excesses are not seen in them...” (Hüseyin Fahri 2). In Reshad Nuri’s opinion, national music, dances and jokes in operettas were the elements that reinforced the simplicity, which was mentioned (Reşad Nuri 13). Hüseyin Fahri, who was amazed by the stage performance, referring to the words of one of Istanbul’s distinguished artists, drew attention to the outstanding performances of the company artists with the following sentences: “They have a harmony and order in their plays that without exception none of our theatres has ever experienced before. Division of duties is very good. No work is disrupted due to anyone’s fault.” (Hüseyin Fahri 2).

As a matter of fact, the visiting players, who had no professional art education, were playing their roles on Istanbul stages with fully self-taught talent. Despite their lack of professionalism, they were always open to improvement. It was very difficult for these artists, who had not seen a statesman in a higher position than the tsarist officials in the lands they were living in, to enact on the stage the characters of a shah, a sultan and a tsar exactly (Şerif 170). Tours to foreign countries and other cities were offering them the opportunities to develop their artistic talents. For instance, his observations during the Tabriz tour had positive contributions to Mustafa Merdanov's stage performance. Again, the plays of La Comédie Française Company, which was the guest of the capital during the Istanbul tour, made great contributions to Mustafa Merdanov's understanding of art and according to his own words, he learned a lot from the stage performance of the French theatre actor Koklen (Merdanov 114-117). It was written in the *Temaşa* magazine's review of Mustafa Merdanov's performance, that he was a young artist who promised "a future that will work miracles in the hands of a good master." (*Temaşa* 14, back cover inner page; Merdanov 116).

Temaşa's evaluation of the other artists of the company was shortly as follow: The director of the company, Mirseyfeddin Kirmanshahli, who looked extremely likable, was a very polite and respectful artist (*Temaşa* 14, face cover inner page). Eshref Yuzbashizade, one of the senior actors, was a lively Meshedi Ibad in real life with his skill and talent in the art of theatre. Muhsin Sanani, who became famous for his role as the porter in the same operetta, was a young artistic traveller with a bright future (*Temaşa* 14, face cover inner page). It was predicted that the future of Huseyin Abdullahzade as well, who had the temperament of a drama actor in terms of his character, would be bright. Terlan khanum, who was able to use only fifty percent of her talent in operettas, was recommended to act in drama works. Vera Arsen, one of the tireless actresses of female roles in plays, was also a talented performer of Caucasian folk dances. (*Temaşa* 14, face cover inner page). Pasha Muhammadov, who stood out with his talent in folk dances, was an artist who played cautious and dignified roles on the theatre stage. Combining theatre with his agile dancing on the stage, İbrahim Isfahanli was thought to be a young artist with a bright future, especially in drama rather than operetta. Huseyin Qasimov, who caressed people's hearts with the touching voice of his tar, was an artist who imaginatively took his audience through the Caucasus Mountains (*Temaşa* 14, back cover inner page).

Conclusion

As a result of the analysis, it turns out that the company, which had been staging plays on the stages of Istanbul as the organization of the Azerbaijani Turkish Drama-Operetta Company since the winter season of 1919, consisted of actors from the Turkish Theatre of Tbilisi. It could be easily said that the Azerbaijani label was used throughout the tour due to factors such as the cultural circle where the actors were brought up, the origin of the plays, and the ability to attract more audiences to the plays. The repertoire of the company consisted of operetta, vaudeville, comedy, drama and opera works by Azerbaijani dramaturgs such as Uzeyir Hajibeyli, Zulfiqar Hajibeyli, Najaf Vazirov and Abdurrahim Haqverdiyev. Although it is difficult to evaluate the performance of the artists as the operettas, which constituted the majority of the repertoire, are easy-to-perform works, the visiting company's plays were watched with interest by Istanbul's art circles. It was concluded that the members of the company, who had no professional art training but played their roles with their natural talent in performing arts, were superior to other companies in Istanbul, with the exception of the Darulbedayi. The origin of the company was never questioned, and it was accepted as the theatre of the sister country among the theatre audience. Although the plays staged were considered to be simple and oriental, they were appreciated for being far from imitation. They were evaluated positively as they were reinforced with national music, folk dances and jokes.

The culture and art world of Istanbul, which was experiencing difficult times due to the occupation of the Entente forces, had the opportunity to get to know the theatre works produced in the Azerbaijani cultural circle by the organization in question. The actors, who brought the Azerbaijani theatrics to stages of Istanbul, gained experiences of high artistic value by interacting with local and foreign communities in Istanbul's artistic environment. The actors, who returned to their country after the completion of the tour, did their best to keep the Turkish Theatre in Tbilisi alive. The artistic tradition represented by them received the state theatre status under the name of Tbilisi Turkish Drama Theatre after the Soviet rule was established in Southern Caucasus (1922). It was closed down after operating with this status for a quarter of a century (1947). In the period following the collapse of the Soviet order, the revival of the historical theatre came to the agenda

in the context of developing Azerbaijani – Georgian cultural relations (1998). This historical centre of art, which was re-created under the name of Azerbaijani Drama Theatre of Tbilisi in the new period, was given the status of state theatre (2004).

Conflict of Interest Statement

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

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Araştırma Makalesi / Research Article

Debates on the Emergence of Islam in Bengal through the Arab-Turkish Existence*

Abdur Rahman Fuad**

Abstract

This research focuses on two main topics. The first is the lack of attention to the emergence of Islam in Bengal, according to this study. The second concern is the early interactions of Muslim Arabs and Turks with the Bengal region. When analysing the initial entry of these two groups into the area and their subsequent activities, it is observed that they differ vastly. Before the advent of Islam, Arabs were accustomed to travelling to various regions, including Bengal, for trade purposes. Over time, Arab traders expanded their commercial activities with Bengal ports and contributed to spreading Islam. On the other hand, Central Asian Turks also attempted to connect the Bengal region to themselves through various activities over time. Therefore, there is a need for more in-depth research on this subject. Methodologically, this research evaluates historical arguments and narratives through qualitative research. Moreover, this study relies primarily on secondary sources in Bangla and English. Where necessary, classical Arabic sources will also be taken into consideration. In this way, the research offers a unique perspective.

Keywords

Arabs, Islamization of Bengal, sea route, land route, trade, Turks.

* Date of Arrival: 07 September 2023 – Date of Acceptance: 07 June 2024

You can refer to this article as follows:

Fuad, Abdur Rahman. "Debates on the Emergence of Islam in Bengal through the Arab-Turkish Existence." *bilig*, no. 112, 2025, pp. 159-182, <https://doi.org/10.12995/bilig.7635>.

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Bengal’de İslam’ın Ortaya Çıkışı Üzerine Arap-Türk Varlığına İlişkin Tartışmalar*

Abdur Rahman Fuad**

Öz

Bu araştırma iki temel konuya odaklanmaktadır. Birincisi, bu çalışmaya göre Bengal’de İslamiyet’in ortaya çıkışına yeterince dikkat edilmemesidir. İkincisi ise Müslüman Araplar ve Türklerin Bengal bölgesi ile erken temaslarını içermektedir. Bu konuda bölgeye söz konusu iki milletin ilk girişleri, ardından sürdürdükleri faaliyetleri analiz edildiğinde zamansal açıdan farklılık gösterdikleri müşahede edilmektedir. İslam’ın ortaya çıkmasından önce Araplar ticaret amacıyla çeşitli bölgelere, Bengal de dâhil olmak üzere, seyahat etmeye alışkindılar. Zamanla Arap tüccarlar Bengal limanları ile ticaret faaliyetlerini genişlettiler ve İslamiyet’in yayılışında katkıda bulundular. Öte yandan, Orta Asya’daki Türkler de Bengal bölgesini zamanla çeşitli faaliyetlerle kendilerine bağlamaya çalıştılar. Bu sebeple konuya dair daha derinlikli araştırmalara ihtiyaç duyulmaktadır. Yöntemsel olarak bu araştırma, nitel araştırma yoluyla tarihsel argümanları ve anlatıları değerlendirmektedir. Ayrıca, bu çalışma, başlıca Bengalce ve İngilizce ikincil kaynaklara dayanmaktadır. Gerekli yerlerde klasik Arapça kaynaklara da başvurulacaktır. Bu şekilde, araştırma yeni bir bakış açısı sunmaktadır.

Anahtar Kavramlar

Araplar, Bengal’in İslamlaşması, deniz yolu, kara yolu, ticaret, Türkler.

* Geliş Tarihi: 07 Eylül 2023 – Kabul Tarihi: 07 Haziran 2024

Bu makaleyi şu şekilde kaynak gösterebilirsiniz:

Fuad, Abdur Rahman. “Debates on the Emergence of Islam in Bengal through the Arab-Turkish Existence.” *bilig*, no. 112, 2025, ss. 159-182, <https://doi.org/10.12995/bilig.7635>.

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Introduction

Before it embraced Islam, the Bengal region nearly was a hub of Buddhism in the Indian subcontinent. The Buddhist Pala dynasty (750-1161) ruled the centre for several centuries before it fell and was then conquered by the Hindu Sena dynasty in the 1170s. On the eve of the emergence of Islam in Bengal, there was a religious and cultural conflict between Buddhists and Hindu Brahmins, representing two opposed dharmic traditions, symbolized in the social context by the Buddhist emphasis on equality and the caste-based social structure of the Brahmins.

Then, the advent of Islam in the region bloomed formally in 1204 (Chowdhury, *Dynastic History of Bengal* 258), leading to a sudden upsurge in the Muslim population. In this respect, the involvement of the Sufi dervishes was seen as an accelerating factor. Subsequently, Islamization gained massive momentum in the diverse parts of Bengal. Islam reformed Bengal's social, cultural, and religious life throughout this journey. Religious institutions and individuals, especially the sultans, played a critical role in this transformation. Therefore, throughout the mentioned process, there are academic disputes regarding how and when Islam took hold in Bengal and whether religious institutions were established in the early years.

Meanwhile, scientific accounts for this topic integrate more unsolved questions. The literature used in this research also observes that each scholar's judgments do not promote a scientific explanation. That is why it is required to sketch it again. Furthermore, efforts have been made to make sense of the nature of the subject.

Literature Review

The core academic works may constrain the investigation into the essence of actual literary critics. At the outset, two primary sources in Bangla and English were written by two eminent historians, Karim and Rahim, who expressed their opinions on the Islamization process in Bengal. Both scholar's notes represent Medieval Bengal's political, social, and cultural history¹. However, they mainly concentrate on the sociocultural activities of post-Islamic Bengal, which contradicts the current research. Haq, another well-known researcher, litterateur, and educationist in Bangladesh, focused mainly on transforming Bengali Sufi activities, which do not deal with the

goals and scope of the current study². After them, contemporary Bengali historian Chowdhury frequently cited the dynasty tales of Bengal Muslim rulers in his works³.

Dani, albeit somewhat, goes with the objectives of this study. Although he tries to focus on the Muslims' initial interaction with Bengal, the information provided is insufficient for this study. Additionally, scholars Dasgupta, Muhiuddin Khan and Rahman attempted to shed light on the matter, but the calibre of their research prevented them from progressing any further. Both of their accounts are stated in the existing list.

In summary, although the presence of Arabs in the region since the early period of Islam has been discovered, the presence of Turks has not. Researchers have focused on the Arab presence and neglected the Turkish presence. The sources cited in this study are a clear example of this. As indicated, a few scientific studies have shaped this topic, but they have yet to provide a real sense, like the running study. After a bird's-eye view of the following works, the readers will easily find this study original.

Table 1

Previously Considered Journal Publications from the Same Period

Author(s) Name	Year	Title
Al-Ahsan, A.	1994	The spread of Islam in the pre-Mughal Bengal
Al-Masud et al.	2017	The Contributions of Sufism to Promoting Religious Harmony in Bangladesh
Marrison, G. E.	1951	The Coming of Islam in East Indies
Fuad, A. R.	2024	The Fusion of Turkish Religious Thoughts in Central Asian Buddhism and Its Repercussion to Bengal
Masumi, M. S. H.	1967	Bengal's Contribution to Islamic Learning
Dasgupta, A.	1994	The Bauls and their Heretic Tradition
Dasgupta, A.	2004	Islam in Bengal: Formative Period
Islam, M. T.	2012	The Advent of Islam in Bengal: An Economic Perspective
Siddiq, M. Y.	2012	The Advent of Islam in Bengal: An Epigraphic Approach
Siddique, Y.	2008	The Diffusion of Islam in Bengal and the Articulation of a New Order

Research Method

The study leans toward descriptive research using the qualitative method. Dulock proposes more than six definitions to support this study's method. However, the subsequent justification is enough for the study's goal:

... to provide an accurate portrayal or account of characteristics of a particular individual, situation or group; these studies are a means of discovering new meaning, describing what exists, determining the frequency with which something occurs and/or categorizing information... (Dunlock 154)

According to this definition, the entire study will have all the characteristics of descriptive research. In this case, it focuses on categorizing information and elucidating the existing information to create a new sketch.

The study's central hypothesis is when and how Bengal encountered Islam. In doing so, the study walks through two omnipresent key facts – a) Muslim merchants hailing from various directions towards Bengal by sea route and b) The Khilji Turks⁴. Islam spread from the Chittagong Port of present-day Bangladesh by sea. On the other hand, it spread to northern India and arrived via the land route. The article's findings and outcomes follow a judgment throughout the research.

A limitation could be drawn from the classical sources. Arabic sources like *Tabari*, *Tarikh-e Yaqubi*, and *al-Kamil* do not provide information about the emergence of Islam in Bengal. Therefore, the study will strive to access data from other Arabic sources, like *Futuh'ul Buldan*, *Majmaul Buldân*, *Al-Mukabbar*, *Kitab-ul-Masalik*, and *Muruj al-Zahab*. So far, no other classic sources indicate anything about the Bengal region.

Islam in Bengal: The Assessments on Sea Trade and Arab Existence

During the reign of Caliph Omar, the first Muslim fleet to enter Indian waters appeared in 636. This hint is provided in the writings of the historian Tara Chand (Chand 31). However, it is argued that Arabs did not cross a specific boundary between the Persian Gulf and the Indian Ocean. Mustafa Fayda's citations on this topic are apparent. According to him, during the governorship of Amr b. As in Egypt (640-646), with permission from Caliph Omar, he ensured new Muslim maritime trade between Egypt,

Haramayn, Yemen, and India (Fayda 50). This means the Muslim Arabs appeared in Indian waters in the first half of the 7th century. However, as ordinary Arabs, they had trade relations with the far-east (China) before Islam. On the other side, if we go back to Oman, it hosted two renowned pre-Islamic markets. These markets held significant status as global trade hubs, attracting international traders from regions such as Sindh, India, Persia, and China, who exchanged their merchandise (Baghdadi 265-66). So, it can be an apparent claim that the Chinese rested in Bengal's port for a long and safe journey to the Arab trade fair. Some logic will come in the following phases.

The historical account *Futuh'ul Buldan* narrates that Umayyad Caliph Muawiyah (d. 60/680) dispatched looted gold and silver idol artefacts to India, hoping to fetch a better price. In contrast, Muhammad bin Kasim gifted Umayyad governor Yusuf bin Hajjaj (d. 95/714) with a sea-transported elephant from Sind, which had been brought aboard by a ship (Balâdhuri 375, 452). In this context, it is plausible to argue that this elephant could have been found and brought from Bengal, considering the abundance of elephants in that region. Moreover, Alexander the Great's decision not to invade Bengal out of fear might be attributed to the presence of these elephants (Mannan 3; *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea* 43).

Apart from that, some said that only the Persians, not Sasanids, emerged in Bengal during the "age of ignorance (Jâhiliyya)" and "early Islamic period" as both merchants and sailors (M. M. Khan 4). Muhiuddin Khan defends Tara Chand's interpretation. According to him:

The Sassanid Empire and the Roman Empire constantly fought between the fifth and sixth centuries. Various restrictions on the land routes were put in place as long as the hostilities lasted. As a result, the Arabs were unafraid to take their time when conducting maritime trade. Additionally, they were hired to conduct business with Arabs by the ports of Malabar (South India), Kolkata (East India), Cheror Bandar (unknown Port), and Chittagong (Bangladesh). These cities saw the establishment of commercial centres in the later era. (M. Khan 39)

Whether Muslims were exclusively active in the maritime trade with Bengal arose in the 7th century because the information regarding other nations was comparatively silent. *The Muslims of Burma*, therefore, assume that the first Muslim seafarers left their footprints in Burma in the ninth century. Furthermore, in 860, Chinese visitors reported the presence of Sassanid (Iranian) colonies on the beaches of Burma. This is because the political and geographic positions may have allowed the Sassanids to grab the region before the Arabs. It may be seen by supporting this statement that Islam attained this tilt even in later times (Yegar 2).

As previously cited, the Islamic message spread over the Bengal region in two ways. Numerous discussions exist about Islam's entry by sea, yet the academic community needs to be humbler about Islam's arrival by land. When providing information regarding this, researchers are sometimes split into two groups, as above.

Regarding the emergence of Islam in Bengal, Chittagong was the top destination for Arab traders. This statement divided historical notes into – 1) Islam before the eighth century and 2) Islam following the eighth century. However, remember that the Arabs who arrived in the Bengal area before the advent of Islam were not Muslims; they only carried on the Far Eastern commercial practices. Throughout the early days of Islam, these people not only followed the rules of trade but also put forth much effort to spread the message of Islam.

The Opinion about the Advent of Islam before the Eighth Century in Bengal
According to some historical claims, Islam arrived in Bengal before the eighth century. It signifies that as soon as the Prophet Muhammad passed away, Islam spread out quickly. Here are some quotations in favour of this time frame.

Researcher Habibullah states that the Arabs had good economic relations with individuals from South and Southeast Asia throughout the Prophets. This policy facilitated the restoration of an autonomous Muslim state in the Gulf (Habibullah 19). After him, Tara Chand says that the first Muslim navy in the Indian Ocean appeared in the year 636 (Chand 31). He wrote this information in his account but only provided logical arguments in the chapter to support this idea, except for the early naval period. His citation

would be clearer if he detailed the features of the fleet that allowed it to pass the frightening ocean and sea destinations. The next point gives a gleam of hope for further clarification.

According to M. Khan, the Arabs arrived on the Indian frontier for the first time in 643 (M. M. Khan 4). A. A. Khan heartily concurs with the statement mentioned earlier. He asserts that the Arabs brought the word of Islam to China, Chittagong, and Sylhet (Bangladesh) at the beginning of the seventh century. Arabs can reach Chittagong if they cross the Indian shore (A. A. Khan 15).

The Opinion about the Advent of Islam after the Eighth Century in Bengal

Then, what about Islam in Bengal after the eighth century? Here, the chroniclers detail the interactions between the Arabs and Bengal. Qanungo sheds light on the subject from a new perception. He contends that travelogues, in addition to coinage, chronicles, terminologies, names of places, and ethnology, are essential for establishing the relationship between Arabs and Bengalis. These elements make it possible to date the start of bilateral interactions to the ninth century (Qanungo 110-11). Like Qanungo, Marrison has attempted to put a date on the early contact between Arabs and the region. He notes that Muslim traders and travellers had been in contact with “this region” since the ninth century. However, he did not share any information concerning the footsteps of the Muslim preachers (Marrison 28).

Moreover, Foez Ullah’s assertion that Muslim sultans landed in Chittagong province before 953 is met with significant scepticism. He suggests it for a later time. If it is, we may say that there is no Sultanate established yet, but it can be talked about as a semi-independent Amir. However, before that, he explains how some Muslim Sufi dervishes and Arab merchants arrived in the Chittagong region between the eighth and ninth centuries. The Arabs had to leave the Port of Chittagong to get to Java. This territory refers to the Java Islands because of the geographical and climatic conditions (Ullah 15-16). The previous data may be correct, although A.P. Phayre also claims an Arab state founded in the Chittagong territory (Phayre 36).

The Relationships between the Arabs and the Bengal

As it is foretold, the Arabs did business with Bengal. Nevertheless, how did they identify this geographical location? Since the 10th century, the Arabs

have been crossing the region by large ships, and they can see the lands of East Bengal from afar. After seeing these (red) lands, they were shouting بر هند (Barre Hind-the land of India) (Mufakkharul 13-33). Minhaz-i Shiraz also drew his attention to East Bengal, which Arabs indicated (Shiraj 5). So, it can be inferred that Barendra's (one of Bengal's ancient regions) development *is based on* "Barre Hind."

Another source examines it from a different angle. The renowned National Encyclopaedia of Bangladesh states that "in a south Indian inscription (967 AD), there is a mention of a Brahmin as Varendradyutikarina. Varendra figures prominently in the Sena rulers' inscriptions; on their basis, scholars unanimously hold that the greater districts of Bogra, Dinajpur, Raj Shahi, and Pabna formed the Barendra area" (Chowdhury, "Varendra"). Varendra's use is therefore anticipated to begin in the ninth century, regardless of how it came to be. The assumption can be made that it was known to the Arabs before the ninth century.

In the upcoming paragraphs, the Arab and Bengal relationship can be examined in the following three keynotes: I. The records of the Arab geographers, II. Archaeological evidence, III. Rumours.

The records of the Arab geographers

There are disputes about whether Arab geographers visited the Bengal Region. Hence, the observations of the Bengal historians and the data from Arab geographers will be included first. The Arab geographers used navigational data from sailors⁵. On the one hand, historians would like to appraise such geographers' data. The geographical documentation is compiled along two main axes: (a) trade routes between multiple territories, including Bengal, and (b) ports. Of all the ports, only the *Samandar* port should be investigated for what kind of port it is because the other ports are not related to this discussion.

Ibn Khurdadbih (d.299/912) claimed that Samandar is a renowned location for rice cultivation. A river journey of fifteen to twenty days also brings "aloe vera." *Kamrun*⁶ and the surrounding areas are famous for this product (Ibn Khurdadbih, *Kitab-Ul-Masalik* 63-64). Besides, as cited by Karim, Idrisi mentions Samandar as a port where travellers arrive after going down the river from Kashmir. Moreover, this large city grew up near a busy commercial

area, where investing was profitable. Additionally, it says traders generally travelled to and from an island that was a day's journey away from here (Karim, *Chattogram Islam* 4-5). Conversely, Rahim criticises the account of al-Idrisi. He says that Idrisi had never visited the Indian continent. He narrated information that is only sometimes rational. His claims about Samandar, however, are consistent with those of Ibn Khurdadbih (Rahim 27).

The *Kamrun* or *Kamrup* waterway should follow the Chittagong port route, or the adjacent point to this port, across the Brahmaputra and Meghna Rivers. Another port channel could not be attached to Kamrup. On the other hand, "People who still live on the banks of Meghna River call it 'Samandar'" (Dani 6-7) gives a clear view of the location of this place.

Besides Kamrup, other Bengal shores had attracted the Arabs' keen attention. Hoduvala believes that Sulayman al-Tajir used the term "Diyar Rahami" to describe the Chittagong region because he had expertise in both professions, as a geographer and a businessman⁷. As a result, most Bengali historians refer to it as Ruhmi and claim it is a part of modern-day Bangladesh (Hoduvala 4-6)⁸. Geographers' travel itineraries, at the very least, support this, claims Rahim. They state that Kamrup City and the sea encircle Rahmi region on opposite sides. In addition, Sulayman and Ibn Khurdadbih also indicated that the famous *Muslin Fabric* (Rahim 28) was exported to world markets from *Rahmi*. According to the *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea*, the muslin fabric manufacturing facility, situated along the banks of the Ganges River in Bengal, was an important trading hub (*Periplus of the Erythraean Sea* 47-48). Based on the facts provided earlier, it can be concluded that Rahmi is situated in the Chittagong District. From here, Arab ships docked and left. Additionally, it was common for people who travelled there for commerce to stay there for a while (Fuad and Dadan 7-9).

It is now helpful to briefly discuss how and when Chittagong became a global trade centre and intimately involved with the Arabs. This is an essential factor to investigate for this study.

Ibn Battuta narrates: "When I entered Bengal, I encountered the first city of *Sudqawan*⁹ (also called Satgaon or Satigam). This is a perfect resort on the shores of *Bahr-i Azam* (Bengal Ocean). The Jamuna River and the Ganges meet there and flow into *Bahr-i Azam*" (Ibn Battuta 448).

Moreover, Ma-Huan clarifies Chittagong as “After travelling from Su-men-ta-la (an Indonesian region) for twenty-one days, we reached Pang-Ko-La (Bangladesh). However, we initially proceeded to Chah-ti-gan (Chittagong) (Bhattasali 169).

The following narration is also interesting regarding this topic. Many of the Prophet Muhammad’s companions returned to Mecca and Madina after their departure to Abyssinia. On the other hand, Sa’d b. Abu Wakkas, Kays b. Huzayfa, Urwa b. Asasa, and Abu Kays b. Harris did not return to their country of origin. In the seventh year of the Prophet’s preaching, they embarked on a journey to Southeast Asia with some Abyssinians. They also stated that they got a ship as a present from King Najashi. The sole objective of this mission was to promote Islam. They began by traveling to Malabar (India). They left here and spent the same time in Chittagong as they had in Malabar. Meanwhile, they impacted the local ruler Perumal and a group of individuals (Akhanda 35). However, historical texts from Islam do not have any evidence about this. Such information emerged as oral stories among the people after the Islamization of the Bengal region. Nevertheless, as noted by researcher Cemil Lee, “the historical proofs we have and the centuries interactions with the region are not refuted. However, it is challenging to locate supporting data on this subject” (Lee 29-32).

Here, researcher Zaman brings a different perspective. He reported that during the reign of Caliph Omar, a group of Islamic preachers visited Bengal for the first time. Mamun and Muhaimin served as this group’s leaders. Hamid Uddin, Murtaza Abdullah, and Abu Talib reached Bengal during the second stage. As a result, it is known that five successive delegations reached Bangladesh. Zaman also lists five further delegations from Iran and Egypt. These people built religious sites like the Khanqah (Zaman 168-69). Mannan raises the question of whether this chronicle does not appear in any other sources or is accurate (Mannan 85).

Abyssinian traders and other Muslims, mainly Arabs and Persians, lived on the coastal regions and islands of Bengal, such as Sandip and Hatiya. Rahim remarks that Barthema and Barbosa¹⁰ witnessed this event when they wandered the Meghna shore in the 16th century (Rahim 30). There will likely be a question about the origins of these Muslims. The answer might be the holdings and economic endeavours of the Arabs, particularly

in the Chittagong region. Furthermore, Chittagong was close to the aforementioned coastal regions. Nevertheless, Siddique comments that “factors leading to the diffusion of Islam varied from one region to another. While the Islamic trade and maritime activities in Southeast and Far East Asia played a key role in the Islamization process in a significant part of the region (e.g., Indonesia and Malaysia), it played a comparatively lesser role in Bengal” (Siddique 11).

Archaeological evidence

Two distinct coins dating to the Abbasid Period (132-656/750-1258) were found in the Raj Shahi and Comilla areas, indicating that the Arabs landed in Bengal early. Archaeologists discovered these coins in 1930. Coin unearthed in Raj Shahi in 788 dates to Harun Rashid’s rule (170-193/786-809). The second Comilla dates from the reign of Caliph Muntasir Billah (247-248/861-866) (Chowdhury, *Dynastic History of Bengal* 249; Karim, *Banglar Itihas-Sultani Amal* 62-63). However, the way both took to get there is a point of debate. As a result, two possible approaches are crucial in this context: (1) the coins brought by Islamic preachers or Sufis as pocket money, and (2) the coins brought by merchants (M. M. Khan 63-64). These two facts indicate that since the founding of the Umayyad Caliphate, Arab traders have maintained business ties in various regions of Bengal. Moreover, other non-Arab or non-local merchants travelling between Aden or Basra or similar ports of the Islamic geography, including Bengal, could have brought these coins. A striking illustration of this may be found in the crumbling walls of a Rangpur Mosque dating back to the Umayyad Period in 69 Hijri (Mannan 86-87).

Ibn Khurdadbih’s information can illustrate another point. He points out that – “the correct form of Rahma (already stated above) is Dharma, which stands for the first part of the name Dharmapala, and the king referred to here is Dharmapala who belonged to the Pala dynasty of Bengal and reigned from AD 769 to AD 801 or AD 815” (Ibn Khurdadbih, *Arabic Classical Accounts* 12). If this logic delivers the facts, the Abbasids had good business ties with the Pala dynasty (‘Pala Dynasty: The Great Patrons of Buddhism in India’; Chowdhury, *Dynastic History of Bengal* 250). The coins may have been found at that time. From this perspective, these coins confirm the commercial relations of Muslim traders with Bengal since the 8th and 9th

centuries. They do not confirm the entry of Bengali people into Islam at large. In the most optimistic view, they show the existence of small Muslim communities as foreign traders with their native partners.

On the other hand, the founding of a mosque in the Umayyad period proves that the Arabs and the locals had a relationship from the earlier time of Islam. Without the help of locals, it would have been impossible for Arabs. Moreover, the traders may have been amazed by the virtues of Buddhist Pala, which he treated them and never forgot. That is why they might be called this tilt *Diyar ar-Rahmi* (The land of Dharma).

Rumors

Bengal's history has some common issues regarding spreading Islam over Bengal. The first one is – one day, an Arab commercial ship was involved in an accident on the Arakan coast. That is why onboard passengers petitioned the local ruler Ma-Ba-Toing-Man-Da-Ear for asylum (788-810). They eventually attained benefits similar to citizenship rights (Karim, “The Rohingyas” 7). On the one side, Chittagong Port is located right next to Arakan; if such trade and settlement developed on the Arakan coast after the accident, it would also apply to Bengal (Chittagong). As a result, it is unfair to mention Arabs as just existing in Arakan.

Another account follows a similar pattern. In 953, Su-La Teing Sanda-Ya, a king of the Rohingya, engaged in combat with Surtan, a neighbouring country. The city of Set-Ta-Going was the scene of this conflict. Haq claims that the name Surtan¹¹ is derived from the Arabic word “sultan.” In his view, certain refers to a sultan's sovereign state. Haq also links the Noakhali to the coastal region of Chittagong with it (Haq, *Purva Pakistane Islam* 17; Karim and Haq 3). Besides, he is supported by Ali (37-40). Karim, however, disagrees with them. He asserts that although it is pretty apparent that there are Arabs in the Chittagong region, discussing the existence of an Arab state stirs up apprehension (Karim, *Chattogram Islam* 16-17). With Karim, we cannot discuss from a state rather than a foreign Muslim trading community with their partners from the natives.

Chowdhury urges inversely. He considered that the Arabs only formed business ties in the eighth century. However, due to Ikhtiyar Uddin Muhammad¹², Muslims could not settle in Bengal until it was conquered

by the Khilji Turks (600/1204). On the other hand, Arab geographers Ibn Khurdadbih, Idrisi, and Merchant Sulayman would have addressed this subject in their respective works if the Arabs possessed such a settlement (Chowdhury, *Dynastic History of Bengal* 248-50). Sharif highlights the discovery of coinage from the Abbasid Period and the pre-Ikhtiyar Uddin existence of Muslims throughout Bangladesh. However, he rejects the idea of states with a sizeable Muslim population or many settlers. These individuals only provided insights into a few of Bengal's trading routes. Another reason is that politically, the title of "sultan" appeared to be used from the early 13th century, not before it (Sharif 78).

After evaluating all available data, it seems clear that Bengali and Arabs' first interaction happened in the last part of the 7th century. Minimally, the relationship between the Pala dynasty and the Abbasid from its rising time proves that. For the influence of Arabs, a state might have been founded in the late period when small Muslim business communities lived. Nevertheless, no archaeological evidence had been found.

Islam in Bengal: The Assessments on Land Route and Turks Existence

As mentioned earlier in the text, Bengal Islam spread in two ways, one of which was the land route. This part can be divided into two aspects. The first can be the Tibetan tilt via the Silk Route¹³. The last route is the northwestern territory of India. The Turks entered Bengal from these entrance points. Now, we will assess how both routes played a pivotal role in the Turks' existence and the emergence of Islam in Bengal.

First, we need to consider the pre-Islamic historical ties of Bengal-Turk shortly. The Gaudian people (Bengal) confronted primarily Turkish Ak-Huns in northern India. The Gupta ruler initially halted the Hun influxes. Abruptly, after that, the Huns, led by Toramana (484-515), launched an invasion of Gupta's India, excluding Bengal (Cöhce 983-84; Majumdar 144). During the Western Gokturk rule (582-659), the Turkification of Afghanistan and North India began after the Ak-Hun state's defeat. The Gokturks, who were relatively more tolerant, applied a strategy of dispatching Turkish tribes to settle and control newly acquired regions. Like them, the Buddhist Pala dynasty of Bengal later adopted a similar approach, establishing multifaceted relations with Central Asian Turks (Ögel 59). In

this sense, the north-eastern India origin Buddhism spread in Turkistan. As cited in *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea*,

...to the north, the great missionary movement through Turkestan and China had only just begun, while the race migration from the Himalayas into Burma and Indo-China, which made that kingdom a bulwark of Buddhism in the Middle Ages (*Periplus of the Erythraean Sea* 235).

The Tibetan overland route and its populaces will come first in our investigation to deliberate the Buddhist links to Central Asia. So, it can be delivered that Bengal had an earlier connection with the Tibetan Turks (Eastern Turks). Before pre-Ikhtiyar's military maneuver to Tibet (1206), most of its inhabitants were Turks. According to *Tabakat-i Nasiri*, in the mountainous regions situated between Tibet and the territory of Lakhanawat (Bengal), there are three distinct ethnic groups: the Kunch, the Mej (also known as Meg), and the Tiharu. Interestingly, all of these groups share physical features reminiscent of Turkic people. Furthermore, they also speak a unique language that falls somewhere between Hind (likely referring to the languages of the Indian subcontinent) and Turkic (Saraj 560). The historian Masudi asserts the same argument in his great work (Masudi 41, 57-59).

With mutual understanding, the neighbouring Indians imported affordable horses from Central Asia and Afghanistan via Tibet. To a lesser extent, they also acquired lower-quality horses from regions situated to the northeast, possibly from areas beyond the mountains into Bengal. These horses became called Turki or Tatar horses (Wink 85). In the later period (13th century), the Sena capital of Lakhanawati regularly received approximately fifteen hundred horses for trading. This indicates the persistence of the same trade route, spanning from Bihar through Bengal to Tibet and onwards to China (Dowson 311-12). This strongly implies that Muslim horse traders (from Central Asia) were well-established in Bengal even before the conquest (Siddique 11).

Indian sources also refer to early interactions between (Turkish) Muslims and Bengal. An inscription attributed to (Buddhist) Ratnapala, dating back to the 9th or 10th century, mentions "Tajiks," which appears to reference

the Tajiks of Central Asia. The famous Tajik Horses might indicate this. Chinese sources also utilized the Chinese version of this term, “Ta-shih,” to describe Muslims, and it seems that the exact meaning was applied to this term in the Indian inscription (Siddique 11; Shaw 116).

The trade relationship was not only limited to horses; elephants also came across the topic. As mentioned earlier in the text, Bengal, especially Rahmi, was known for its influence on elephants. It is noteworthy to state that the Ghaznavids Turks seized elephants as spoils during the incursions in India automatically became the property of the sultan, which amounted to one-fifth of the total spoils (Wink 101-02; Haig 19-20; Saltık 97-98). Here, it can be inferred that the Central Asian Turks imported the elephants from Lakhanawati.

Like Arabs, the Sufis, with trading groups, came to Bengal from Central Asia. This linkage might be created when Indians, along with Turks, Tajiks, and Mongols, are listed as guests in a Bukharan khanaqah, or Sufi hostel, during the medieval trade period along the Indo-Turonian caravan routes (Levi 91). So, the Sufis like Shaikh Abbas bin Hamza Nishapuri (d. 900), Shaikh Ahmad b. Muhammad (d. 952), Shaikh Ismail b. Najd Nishapuri (d. 975) and Shaikh Ibrahim Turki (d. 1169) might have come to Bengal with the Silk Route traders to preach Islam in an earlier era of Bengal (Ismail 35). Thanks to the Turkic Sufis’ peaceful missionary activities, “Islam has gained its greatest and most lasting missionary triumphs in times and places in which its political power has been weakest, as in Southern India and Eastern Bengal” (Arnold 263).

Moreover, researcher Öngören explains the cited Sufi names as follows: in Central Asia, Turkish Sufis were addressed as Shaikh until the 12th century (Öngören 52). The prefix-suffixes of their names also prove it. On the other hand, Shaikh ruled khanqahs after the 10th century. Sufi khanqahs were established in significant cities such as Basra, Baghdad, Nishapur, Rey, Bukhara, Samarkand, and Balkh (Uludağ 42-43). By this time, this religious culture had reached the Bengal region.

Secondly, the subsequent three phases are related to initially introducing Islam by land from the north-western border of India. These are – 1) Muhammad bin Kasim’s (d. 96/715) conquest of Sind and Multan (today’s

Pakistan). The phenomenon impacted the Arabian Sea coast but was unrelated to Bengal. 2) Sultan Mahmud Ghaznavi's (d. 421/1030) invasion of Indian territories and its lasting repercussions. While it did not directly impact Bengal, it did instil a sense of fear regarding the Turks among the rulers and inhabitants of eastern India. 3) Muhammad Ghorī's (d. 1206) foundation of the Turkish sultanate in India (Rahman 426).

To continue on point two, under Sultan Mahmud, Kanoj (part of Bengal, ruled by the Buddhist Pala dynasty) was first occupied by a Turkish hero. Mahmud plundered and destroyed Kanoj in 1017 AD., then a new city, Bari, was founded afterwards (Sachau XLV). After the Sultan Mahmud and his dynasty, the influence of Islam expanded extensively. Following the conquest of regions such as Sind, Hindustan, Rajputana, Gujarat, and Bundelkhand, the territories of Bihar and Bengal were also brought under the sway of Islam (Titus 6; Elphinstone 611-12).

How was Bengal connected to the Turks after Sultan Mahmud until Islam officially entered the region? Richard Eaton's remark is more fit than any others. He conveys that Bengal's initial significant interactions with Islamic civilization occurred within geopolitical turmoil. This turmoil led to the migration of numerous Turkish-speaking groups from Central Asia to regions like the Iranian plateau and India. These Turks, whether as military enslaved people, adventurers, or refugees fleeing from the Mongol expansion, found their way not only to established Islamic centres like Baghdad, Cairo, and Samarkand but also to its peripheries, including Bengal. Often, these immigrant groups were led by individuals known as "alp" or "alp-eren," who were seen as heroic figures in old Turkic tales – warrior-adventurers whose extraordinary feats justified their way of life (Eaton 71).

The third issue was crucial in Islam's emergence in Bengal, though it had come late rather than the stated factors. It was directly impacted by the conquering of Bengal (1204) and was accomplished thanks to Ikhtiyar Uddin Muhammad b. Bakhtiyar Khilji. The conquering of Bengal marked the start of the termination, yet it ushered in a fresh era for Bengal. In terms of politics, it sowed the initial elements of Muslim governance in the region. On a societal level, it introduced the region to migrating individuals from various parts of the Muslim world, consequently influencing Bengal's society and culture (Sarkar 2).

As mentioned in this section, between the 9th-10th centuries, Sufi dervishes first spread Islam by travelling from Bukhara, Samarkand, Iran, and the Arab world (Ismail 35). Those Sufis mentioned above probably made their residences in Rangpur and the nearby cities. It is possible to move towards these places when they arrive by land from the north. However, Chowdhury confirms this differently. He assures the existence of any Muslim Sufis in the Bengal region before the conquest of Ikhtiyar Uddin. Before the reign of Ikhtiyar Uddin, there were numerous khanqahs in those areas (Chowdhury, *Dynastic History of Bengal* 251). The Sufis, who came from Central Asia, only understood khanqah customs. However, as mentioned above, a mosque from the Umayyad era was founded in Rangpur, dating back to 69/688, though it is controversial. Therefore, a ruined wall of it has just been found. So, it should be said that the Islamic movement in the area started in full swing before the mosque was constructed.

Besides, the khanqah activities of Turkic Sufis and the demonstration of religious performance persuaded the locals to convert to Islam. The following Sufis are frequently listed in Bengali literature (Rashid 1-100; Sachse 150-76; Haq, *Bonge Sufi Proverb* 73-74, 95-98):

1. Baba Adam Shahid
2. Shah Mohammad Sultan Rumi
3. Shah Sultan Mahi Sawar
4. Makhdum Shah
5. Makhdum Shah Mahmud Ghaznavi
6. Shaikh Fariduddin Sakarganj
7. Sultan Bayzid Bostami

The other Turk Sufis did the same when evangelizing Islam. Some of them inherited Sufi Turuqs from Central Asia. However, when they came to Bengal, they largely engaged in combat with the native Hindu king. Slaughtering cows is one of the forbidden acts in the Hindu religion. Moreover, some Hindu kings did not tolerate the settlement of Sufis in their land. These issues occasionally sparked hostilities (Sharif 73-74). Despite the hostilities, the “Muhammedan proselytization of India did not begin with coercion and bloodshed; saints made the first conversions (Rahman 432)”.

Sharif's evaluation of these Sufi dervishes seems accurate. He claims that even though cow slaughter was prohibited, these Sufi dervishes completely disregarded the law. Warfare started as a result. Additionally, concerns like emulating the Sufi miracles and people accepting Islam because of being affected by them need to be examined and explored. By presenting some important issues to the kings, these Sufis were permitted to enter such lands. These variables are related to their homelands' social standings and other political pressures (Sharif 82). All these scenarios in this segment expose that the Turks had existed in Bengal before Islam. Nevertheless, later, they participated in Islamic activities like Arabs in Bengal due to their acceptance of Islam at a greater rate in the late 11th century.

Conclusion

It is necessary to evaluate that Islam was introduced to the Bengal region by sea instead of land if Muslim-Arab contacts occurred at the start of the eighth century and not during the early conversions. Additionally, it is vital to give the claims made by historians who research how Islam conquered the region a more objective base and scholarly contribution.

While there are disagreements on Bengal's Islamization, Turk Sufi dervishes and the merchants from Arabs made significant contributions that should never be overlooked. Although khanqahs (Sufi lodges) were not widespread in the early days of Islam, Sufis might have received support from merchants for accommodation. Through this support, they tried to spread the message of Islam among the local population. However, accurately measuring the activities of Arabs and Turkish Sufis in the Islamization of Bengal during these early times is challenging. There is clear evidence of such activities outside our topic in later periods.

Despite this, they have played a significant role in fundamentally altering societal beliefs; even though they were there for business, they paid close attention to religious instruction, preaching, and other associated activities to promote and advance Islam. Additionally, they strove to raise society's moral standards and promote Islam among individuals. These initial procedures aimed to build political and social infrastructure for Bengal Muslims. Additionally, it served as the foundation for Bengal's Islamic history.

Finally, putting aside the disputes over how Islam spread throughout the Bengal region, it would be more accurate to concentrate on how much Islam impacted Bengal society and whether the locals could achieve the structure Islam had in mind after converting.

Conflict of Interest Statement

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

Notes

- 1 Find the details from (Karim, *Corpus of the Muslim Coins*; Karim, *Banglar Itihas-Sultani*; Karim, *Social History*) and Rahim's (Rahim 2008).
- 2 Consider (Haq, *A History of Sufism*).
- 3 A well-written account of him is the (Chowdhury, *Dynastic History of Bengal*).
- 4 The first Turkish dynasty to conduct expeditions as far as Asam in northern India was the Khilji's. Muhammad Bakhtiyar, the dynasty's founder, was originally from the Khilji's, a nation living in Garamsir, Afghanistan, between Sistan and Ghazni (Özcan 503-04).
- 5 These are mentioned here in his works: Sulayman, *Silsila-ut Tawarikh*; Ibn Khurdadbih, *Kitab ul-Masālik*; Masudi, *Muruj ad-Dhahab*.
- 6 Kamrun or Kamrut may be a corrupted version of Kamrup. Kamrup is in Asam (an Indian province). Wood was produced there. It took fifteen days to ship it to Chittagong. See (Ibn Khurdadbih, *Kitab-Ul-Masalik* 63-64; Rahim 27).
- 7 Rahmi, Rajmi, or Raham are the progenitors of the word Ruhmi. Some scholars claim it started circulating in people's mouths after the 16th century; it was identified as Ramu. On the other hand, Ramu is currently a Bangladesh district situated along the Myanmar-Bangladesh border. While exploring the Bengal Region, Relof Fitch also recorded words like Recon (Arakan) and Reme (Ramu) (1585-86). Due to its location on the seaside, Arab traders were also familiar with it. See (N. Islam 264-75; Rahim 29; Ibn Khurdadbih, *Kitab-Ul-Masalik Wal-Mamalik* 65; Dadan and Fuad 185-87).
- 8 Hoduvala criticized the knowledge of others, such as Masudi and Sulayman, in his work.
- 9 The designation of "Sadkawan" as a location is up for question. However, Ibn Batuta's use of the term "Gangetic coast" by the Arabs or Sudkawan (Satgaon/Satigam is also its source) informs us that there was a sizable metropolis on the Bahr-i A'zam coast (Indian Ocean). The saying that the Hindu-frequented Ganges and Jamuna Rivers merge here and then into the sea identifies the location. As a result, we can refer to Sadkawan as the modern Chittagong.

- 10 They were both from Europe. The words they noted about Bengal are essential for its history.
- 11 This means the war will not be held.
- 12 He was the first Islamic commander and conqueror to enter the Bengal territory by land (Özcan 503-04; Fuad, “Türk Komutanı” 474).
- 13 The Silk Road network is generally thought of as stretching from an eastern terminus at the ancient Chinese capital city of Chang’an (now Xi’an) to westward endpoints at Byzantium (Constantinople), Antioch, Damascus, and other Middle Eastern cities (Muqi 10-20).

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Araştırma Makalesi / Research Article

Belhli Sarı Kıpçak'a Ait Ünik Felsin Bağımsızlık Delili Olarak Değerlendirilmesi*

Mustafa Kalkan**

Sayime Durmaz***

Öz

Adana'nın Kozan (Sis) ilçesinde, kale yıkıntıları içerisinde farklı derinliklerde, yüzlerce sikkenin içinde yer alan fels, dünya literatüründe şu ana kadar bulunabilen tek örnektir. Sikke, Mısır tarihi açısından genel hatları ile bilinen ama tam olarak aydınlatılamayan, karanlık bir dönemin ortaya çıkarılması açısından büyük öneme sahiptir. Türk kökenli Belhli valiler, bağımsızlık için savaşmış, bazıları tam bağımsız bazıları ise yarı bağımsız olarak hanedanlıklarını Mısır'da tesis etmişlerdir. Özellikle es-Sarı b. el-Hakem ibn Yusûf el-Belhî'ye ait olan bakır sikke, bu dönemin detaylarının ortaya çıkarılmasını sağlamıştır. Diğer dinarlar, akademisyenler ve meskûkât otoriteleri arasında bağımsızlık şüphesini oluştursa da kesin hüküm verilememiştir. Çok sayıda farklı isimli-mahlaslı Belhî valiye ait dinar bulunmuş ama tam bağımsızlık girişiminin es-Sarı b. el-Hakem ibn Yusûf el-Belhî döneminde başarıya ulaştığı anlaşılmıştır.

Kozan bölgesinin üç yüz yıldan fazla, Arap orduları ile Bizans orduları arasında çarpışma alanı olduğunu, kazı sırasında bulunan diğer sikke örnekleri ispatlamaktadır. Sikke stili, kompozisyonu,

* Geliş Tarihi: 23 Ağustos 2023 – Kabul Tarihi: 28 Haziran 2024

Bu makaleyi şu şekilde kaynak gösterebilirsiniz:

Kalkan, Mustafa, ve Sayime Durmaz. "Belhli Sarı Kıpçak'a Ait Ünik Felsin Bağımsızlık Delili Olarak Değerlendirilmesi." *bilig*, no. 112, 2025, ss. 183-215, <https://doi.org/10.12995/bilig.7610>.

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ağırlığı, üzerindeki kufi yazısı ve diğer özellikleri ile Fustat-Mısır darblı olduğunu, tipolojik özellikleriyle açıkça ortaya koymaktadır. Dönemin olayları, nümismatik veriler ışığında değerlendirilmiş, kısa bir süre sonra kurulacak olan Tolunoğulları Devleti'nin öncülerinin (Belhlilerin) Mısır'da elli bir yıl önce bağımsızlıklarını ilan ettikleri görülmüştür.

Anahtar Sözcükler

Belhliler, Sarılar, Mısır, Fels, Tolunoğulları, Kozan-Sis.

Evaluation of the Unique Fels Belonging to the Sari Kıpçak of Balkh as an Evidence of Independence*

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Abstract

The fels, which was found among hundreds of coins at different depths in the ruins of the castle in Kozan (Sis) district of Adana, is the only example found so far. The coin is of great importance in terms of revealing a dark period, which is known in general terms yet not elucidated in detail in the history of Egypt. The Turkish-origin governors from Balkh fought for their independence, some establishing their dynasties in Egypt as fully independent and others as semi-independent. Especially the copper coin belonging to al-Sari b. al-Hakem ibn Yusuf al-Belhi helped to reveal the details of this period. Although other dinars created doubts about independence among academics and numismatic authorities, no definitive verdict could have been reached. Many dinars belonging to the different governors who bore the name “Belhi” were found, but it was understood that the attempt for full independence was successful during the reign of al-Sari b. al-Hakem ibn Yusuf al-Belhi. Other coin samples found during the excavation prove that the Kozan region has been a battleground between the Arab and the Byzantine armies for more than three hundred years. The coin style, composition, weight, kufic script

* Date of Arrival: 23 August 2023 – Date of Acceptance: 28 June 2024

You can refer to this article as follows:

Kalkan, Mustafa, and Sayime Durmaz. “Belhli Sarı Kıpçak’a Ait Ünik Felsin Bağımsızlık Delili Olarak Değerlendirilmesi.” *bilig*, no. 112, 2025, pp. 183-215, <https://doi.org/10.12995/bilig.7610>.

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and other features clearly indicate that it is Fustat-Egyptian minted, with its typological features. The events of the period were evaluated in the light of numismatic data, and it was seen that the pioneers of the Tulunid State (Belhlis), which would be established shortly thereafter, had declared their independence in Egypt fifty-one years prior.

Keywords

Belhlis, Sari, Egypt, Fels, Tulunids, Kozan-Sis.

Giriş

Üzerinde araştırma yapılan sikke, dünyanın en büyük sikke veri tabanlarından biri olan Zeno'ya 247458 numarasıyla kaydedilmiş ama yayınlanmadığı için ölçüleri verilmemiştir, Adana'nın Kozan (Sis) ilçesinde kale yıkıntıları arasında bulunmuştur. Osmanlı Devleti döneminde Irak'tan gelerek, Kozan'daki Türkmenlerden küçükbaş hayvan alan tüccar Abdüssamed et-Tikritî tarafından satın alınarak, çok sayıda sikke ile birlikte ülkesine götürülmüştür. Sikkeler ölümünden sonra oğluna kalmıştır. 1965, Tikrit doğumlu olan Abdülbâsıt isimli şahıs, onun oğludur ve Tikritî ailesinden Arap kökenli bir gençtir. Yönetici ailelerinden birine mensup olması sebebiyle Baas Partisi adına, on sekiz yaşında İran-İrak Savaşı'na (1980-1988) katılmış ve beş yıl çarpışmalarda yer almıştır. Sikke, daha sonra diğer sikkelerle birlikte Saddam Hüseyin döneminde Bağdat'a götürülmüştür (Bekmişi).

ABD-İrak Savaşı'nın 2003 yılında sona ermesinden dolayı ülkesinden ayrılan Abdülbâsıt et-Tikritî, sikkeleri Irak'tan Suriye'ye getirmiştir. ABD'nin Irak'ı istila edip çok sayıda Tikritî Sülalesi mensubunu idam etmesi sebebiyle ülkesinden kaçmıştır. 2007 yılında felse ait teknik ölçüler, diğer sikkelerin resimleriyle birlikte Şam'da alınmıştır (Bekmişi).

Abdülbâsıt et-Tikritî ve sikkelere ait verileri bize ulaştıran Bekmişi boyundan Aslan el-Bekmişi et-Türkmenî, Suriye İç Savaşı'nda (2011) rejim muhalifi olarak Türkmen ve Arap birlikleri içinde çarpışırken öldürülmüştür (Yalaz 61). Mevcut sikke, hâlihazırda Suriye'de Dera ve Humus şehirlerinde yaşayan akrabalarındadır. Çatışmaların bu bölgelerde yoğun bir şekilde devam ediyor olması sebebiyle, Suriye'ye bir daha girilememiştir.

Üzerinde çalışılan sikkeye, Sis-Kozan sınırları içerisinde yüksek bir bölgede, iki metre derinlikte kale içindeki ev yerleşiminde, askerî malzemeler arasında ulaşılmıştır. Abdülbâsıt b. Abdüssamed et-Tikritî, bu bilgileri babasından almıştır.

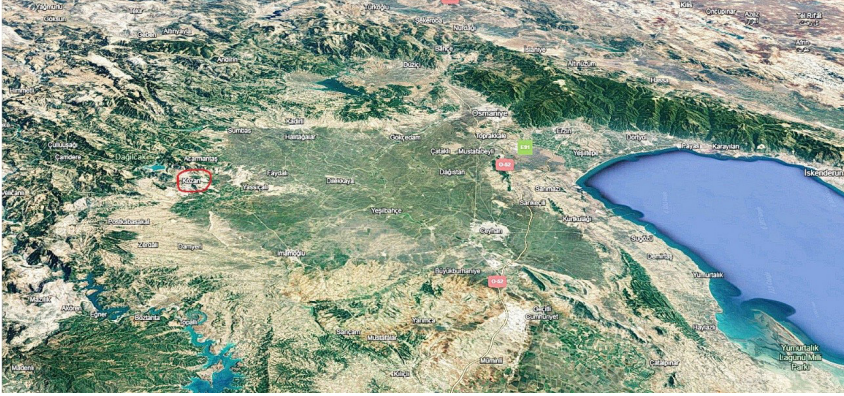
Kozan, Emevîler döneminde Sugûr ve Avâsım bölgelerinde inşa edilen, adı bilinmeyen askerî yerleşimlerden-kalelerden biridir ve sınıra yakındır. Uzun süren seferler sebebiyle, bölgede kalan askerî birliklerin ihtiyaçlarını karşılamak amacıyla, kalelerin etrafında ya da dış kalede küçük yerleşimler inşa edilmiştir. Zamanla inşa edilen ekmek fırınlarının yanı sıra atların eğer

takımlarının yapıldığı dükkânlar, demircilerin imal ettikleri silahlar, deri ustalarının diktığı sadak, deri matara, çarık, vd. eşyaların bulunduğu yerler, her türlü malzemenin satıldığı küçük çarşılara dönüşmüştür. İnşa edilen kale ve küçük yerleşimler, daha sonra Abbâsîler döneminde de kullanılmış, zamanla iç ve dış kalede yer alan çarşılar, büyüyerek şehir yerleşimi hâline gelmiştir.

Emevîler zamanında Müslüman Araplar, Avâsım bölgelerine yerleşerek, Rumların terk ettikleri şehirleri tahkim etmişlerdir. Tarsûs, Adana, Maraş ve Malatya bu şehirlerdendir. Şehirler, askerî yolların birleştiği noktalarda ve dağ geçitlerinin girişindedir. Stratejik mevkiiler, kale ve burçlarla takviye edilmiştir. Abbâsîlere kadar Suriye'de beş askerî mıntıka teşkil edilerek, en kuzeyindeki Kınnesrîn'e bağlanmıştır. Ermeniyeye Eyaleti, Kuzey-Doğu Anadolu'da ve Güney Kafkasya'nın büyük bölümünde kurulmuştur. Avâsım Anadolu'yu, Ermeniyeye mıntıkası ise Ermeni bölgelerini askerî açıdan ele geçirmek için tesis edilmiştir (Aydoğan 43).

Sugûr ve Avâsım hakkında, dönemin birinci elden kaynakları tarafından detaylı bilgiler verilmiştir. "el-Avâsım: Hârûnürreşîd tarafından 170/786-7 yılında el-Cezîre ve Haleb'in 25 km. güneybatısında Kınnesrîn'den ayrı olarak oluşturulan sınır şehirlerine denilir" (Zeydân 285). Sugûr veya Sugûr el-İslâm ise Bizans sınırına en yakın kuzey-kuzeydoğudaki müstahkem kale ve şehirlerdir. Bu Sugûr bölgesi, X. asrın ortasında Akdeniz sahilindeki Avlaştan başlayıp Tarsûs, Adana, Misis, Zapatra, Maraş, Malatya ve Hısn-ı Mansûr'a ulaşır (Avcı 473). Fırat Nehri üzerinden hareketle Samsat'ı-Sumaysât'ı ve Fırat'ın batı sahilini takip ederek Balis'i içine alır. Bu bölgenin biri Suriye'ye, diğeri de Irak'a ait olmak üzere iki kısımdan oluşur.

G. Aydoğan'ın tespitlerine göre; "Birincisi Maraş'la birlikte Suriye-Kilikya arasındaki mühim geçitleri içine alan müstahkem kuşağın bütün batı kısmını, ikincisi ise Maraş'ın doğusundaki hat üzerinde bulunan mevkiileri ihtiva etmektedir. Bunlardan birincisinin merkezi Tarsûs, ötekinin ise Malatya'dır. Daha önemli olan Tarsûs Kınnesrîn'e, Malatya da el-Cezîre (Harran) eyaletine bağlanmıştır" (Aydoğan 58). Tarsûs Sugûru, Bizans ile Kilikya, Malatya Sugûru ise Ceyhan ile Fırat nehirleri arasındaki eyaletlere karşı faaliyet göstermiştir.



Harita 1. Kozan şehrinin (kırmızı elipsle işaretlenen) fiziki konumu ve Suriye sınırına yakınlığını gösteren üçboyutlu google earth pro uydu görüntüsü (*Google Earth*).

Romalılar, Kozan-Sision-Siski şehrine Flavius-Flaviopolis adını vermişlerdir. Türkler ise bu şehir için Kıpçak lehçesinde Kuyan-Kozan yaban tavşanı anlamına gelen adı kullanmışlardır. Kozan, Aladağlar, Bolkar ve Amanosların dağ kırkaları-silsileleri ile çevrili olan ve Torosların başlangıcının yamacında, bölgeye hâkim bir mevkiye Yukarı Ova'nın tepelik bölgeye geçiş yaptığı, yakınında su kaynakları bulunan bir yerleşim yeridir (Sayar ve Konyar 37-38).

Arap orduları, Haleb şehrine çok yakın olan bu bölgeyi askerî istihkâm sahası hâline getirmiştir. Kozan Kalesi, Çukurova bölgesinin en yüksek kalesi olarak kabul edilmektedir (Balcıoğulları 10). Bu sebeplere binaen, askerî harekât noktaları esas alınarak, şehirde erzak, silah yığınağı yapılmış ve asker sevkıyatı buradan yönlendirilmiştir. Roma ordusuna karşı Anadolu'da devam ettirilen seferlerde Pozantı (Pendosis), Ulukışla (Faustina), Niğde (Nikitus), Kayseri (Kaisareia) ve Nevşehir (Neapolis) hattı kullanırken, Kozan kalabalık bir askerî üs hâline dönüştürülmüştür. İslam ordularının iç bölgedeki ilk askerî karargâhı ve ilerleme noktasıdır.

Mısır'ın Fethi ve Valileri

Mısır, Hz. Ömer döneminde İslam orduları komutanı Amr b. el-Âs tarafından 18-20/640 yılında fethedilmiş ve Amr, Mısır'a vali olarak atanmıştır (İbn Abdilhakem 85). Zor bir coğrafya olmasına rağmen bu dönemde Mısır'ın İslamlaştırılması için önemli çalışmalar yapılmıştır

(Ebü'l-Fidâ 105). Hz. Osman döneminde görevden alınan Amr'ın yerine vali olarak Abdullah b. Sa'd atanmıştır (İbn Abdilhakem 155). Başarısız olan hatta isyanlara sebebiyet veren Sa'd'ın üzerine Muâviye tarafından Amr b. el-Âs gönderilmiş ve şehir tekrar ele geçirilerek, vali öldürülmüştür (Halife Hayyât 121-2). Arapların Kıptilere karşı olan sert tutumları ve Emevîlere ödedikleri ağır vergiler, sürekli isyanların çıkmasına sebep olmuştur (Takkuş 223; Edhem 39). Mısır, Emevîler döneminde huzur bulamamış, son Emevî halifesi, Abbâsî isyancılarından kaçarken Mısır'da Busır Köyü'nde 749-50 yılında yakalanarak öldürülmüştür (Bozkurt 461-2; İbn Abdilhakim 191; Dineverî 424).

Abbâsîler, Emevîler döneminde olduğu gibi ülkelerini eyaletlere ayırarak, yönetimlerine birer vali atamışlardır. Emîrül-ümarâ dedikleri bu valilere, büyük yetkiler vererek, bölgeleri bu şekilde kontrol altında tutmaya çalışmışlardır. Bazen vali atandığı eyalete gitmemiş, yerine birini vekil bırakmış bazen de vergi toplama, çıkan isyanları bastırma gibi sebeplere bağlı olarak yönettiği eyalete gitmek zorunda kalmıştır. Valiler, ağırlıklı olarak Abbâsî Hanedanı mensupları ya da savaşlarda başarı elde eden üst düzey yöneticiler arasından seçilerek atanmışlardır. Kabile ve kan bağı ilişkileri sebebiyle, büyük devlet olma sürecine daha girememiş olan Abbâsîler için bu normal bir uygulamadır.

Tarsûs, Sugûr ve Avâsım olması sebebiyle, bu bölgede Abbâsîler tarafından tayin edilmiş olan ordu komutanları ve önemli devlet adamlarının yaşadığı bir şehirdir (Gökhan 203). Bunların arasında Türkler sayı itibariyle fazladır ve genellikle ordu komutanı rütbesine sahip üst düzey askerî görevlilerdir. Kozan, aynı dönemde Tarsûs askerî valiliğine bağlıdır. Türk asıllı komutanlarından Eba Süleym Ferecû'l-Hâdim et-Türkî zirveye tırmananlar arasındadır. Ferecû'l-Hâdim, 171/787 yılında Tarsûs'u tahkim ile görevlendirilmiş olup, şehri askerî garnizon hâline getirmiştir. Bizanslılara karşı buraya 3.000 civarında asker yerleştirmiştir. Bunlar Ferec'in şahsına bağlı olan Türk asıllı askerlerdir (Gordon 466-493). Aynı dönemde Hârûnürreşid'in hizmetine girmiş bir Türk daha vardır. Kendisinden Hakan veya Hâdimür-reşid adıyla bahsedilen kişidir ve Tarsûs'ta görev yapmıştır. Tarsûs'a âmil ve garnizon komutanı olarak tayin edilmiş akabinde oraya yerleşmiştir (Aydoğan 55). Bölge, Abbâsîler tarafından hem Sugûr ve Avâsım sahasına dönüştürülmüş hem de Mısır için asker tedarik üssü olarak kullanılmıştır.

Abbâsîler döneminde, Mısır'a Sâlih b. Ali vali olarak atanmış, Kıptî isyanları dinmek bilmemiş, o ve sonraki valiler döneminde alınan ağır vergiler ve askerî müdahaleler sebebiyle, ülkede kargaşa bir türlü sona ermemiştir. Hârûnürreşid'in ölümünden sonra oğulları Emîn ile Me'mûn'un taht mücadeleleri sebebiyle, Mısır yine kargaşa içinde kalmıştır. Emîn'in (193-198/809-813) döneminde çıkan olaylara güçlü bir şekilde müdahale edilememiştir (Makdisî 110; Ya'kûbî 448).

Abbâsî Devleti görünür zenginliğine rağmen, yirmi yıl sürecek olan iç çekişmeler sebebiyle, bir duraksama dönemine girmiştir. Me'mûn, kardeşi Emîn'in uygulamalarından dolayı onunla irtibatı kesmiş ve darbettirdiği sikkelerde adını zikretmemiştir (Rebah 231-239). Hatta darbedilen sikkelerden de adını sildirdiği söylenir fakat henüz bu örneklerle karşılaşılamamıştır (Suyûtî 305; Zeki 92).

Tâhir b. Hüseyin, taht mücadelesi sırasında Emîn'in ordu komutanı Ali b. İsa'yı ağır bir yenilgiye uğratmış ve öldürmüştür. On beş aylık bir kuşatmadan sonra harap olan Bağdat'a 198/813-4 tarihinde girmiştir (Güzel 18). Birçok ordu komutanı ve üst düzey devlet adamı, önceden Me'mûn'un yanına kaçmış ya da Tâhir'in birliklerine katılmıştır.

Emîn, Bağdat'tan kaçarak el-Mansûr şehrine sığınmıştır. Tâhir, Dicle'nin batı sahillerini ele geçirmiştir (Brockelmann 100). Sarayda mahsur kalan Emîn öldürülmekten korktuğu için nefret ettiği mevâlî Tâhir'e değil de aslen Arap olan Herseme b. A'yen'e teslim olmaya karar vermiştir. Haberi alan Herseme, 24-25 Muharrem 198/24-25 Eylül 813 tarihinde halifeyi teslim almıştır. Herseme, başarılarıyla dönemine mührünü vuran bir komutandır. Aşağıda yer alan dirhem, 1 numaralı resim ve Zeno'ya ait olan 282003/53414 numaralı sikkeler, Herseme b. A'yen adına kestirilen gümüş paralardır.

لااله الاالله وحده لا شريك له بسم الله ضرب هذا الدرهم بمدينة اصبهان سنة ستة وتسعون ومائة
الله محمد رسول الله ارسله بالهدى ودين الحق ليظهره على الدين كله ولو كره المشركون هرثمة



Resim 1. Ç.:22.1x22 mm, A.:2.827 gr. AR. RR. Dirhem

Herseme b. A'yen'e ait dirhem, aynı kale kalıntıları içinde bulunmuştur. Ön yüzünde “kelime-i tevhîd, bismillah, duribe haza ed-dirhem bi-Medinet-i Isbahan (Isfahan) senet sitte ve tisaun ve mia” yazılıdır. 196/811-2 tarihlidir, arka yüzünde Allah, “Muhammed resûlallah, erselehu bi'l-hüda ve dini'l hakkı li-yuzhirehu aled dini küllihi ve lev kerihel müşrikun” yazılıdır. Dirhem'in üzerinde Herseme (Harthama) b. A'yen'in adı zikredilmektedir. Başarılı olmasına rağmen Halife Me'mûn tarafından idam ettirilmiştir (Zeki 90-1). Kozan şehrinde kale kalıntısı içinde 190-220/806-835'li yıllara ait yüzün üzerinde dirhem ve fels de ele geçirilmiştir. 169/785-6 tarihli çok nadir bir gümüş ile bir bakır sikke, Zeno'da 300980/299922 kod numarasıyla kayıtlıdır.

Kazı sırasında ele geçirilen paraların, askerlere verilecek maaş ya da kale komutanının harcamalar için sakladığı sikkeler olduğu düşünülmektedir. Aynı halife dönemine ait olmaları ve aynı tarihli 4-5'li gümüş gruplar hâlinde bulunmaları sebebiyle, bu düşünce ileri sürülmüştür. Bulunan sikkelerin arasında, Orta Asya şehirlerinde ve Kafkasya'da darbedilen örneklerin çok sayıda olması, askerlerin geldikleri yerleri göstermesi açısından da kayda değerdir. Elli yıllık bir zaman dilimini içine alan paraların bulunması, kalenin geçmişini ortaya koyması noktasında da önem arz etmektedir.

Halife Emîn, sandalla nehrin doğu sahiline geçmeye çalışırken Tâhir'in adamlarının saldırısına uğramış, Tâhir tarafından kafası kesilerek başı, hilâfet âlâmetleriyle birlikte Me'mûn'a gönderilmiştir (Şeybânî ve Serahsî 105). 198/813-4 senesinde kardeşinin öldürülmesinden sonra Me'mûn halife olduğu (Rebah 231-239) sırada Horasan'dadır ve Ebû Cafer lakabını almıştır.

Arap soylu olan ve Halife Emîn'i destekleyen kesimin, mevâlî karşısında gücünü kaybetmesi ve Me'mûn'un yönetimi ele geçirmesi, önemli bir süreç olarak görülmektedir. Halifelerin güçlü oldukları dönemlerde (Me'mûn ve Mu'tasım gibi) bu hissedilmese de 247/861 yılından itibaren Halife el-Mütevekkil'in öldürülmesi ile merkezi yönetimin hızla zayıfladığı anlaşılmaktadır. Valiler, iktidarı gasbetmeye, açıkça itaatsizlik göstermeye hatta isyana yönelmişlerdir.

Mısır'da Belhî-Belhli Sülalesi

Dönemin kaynaklarında, Mısır'da Abbâd b. Muhammed b. Hayyân el-Belhî adında Türk soylu bir kişinin adı geçmektedir. 196 Receb-198 Safer/811-814 tarihleri arasında Mısır valisidir (Kındî 118-9). Kökeninin mevâlî (mevla kinde-köle soyundan-çocuğu) şeklinde kaydedilmiş olması, valilik görevine yükselene kadar azatlı bir köle olduğunu göstermektedir (Eskin 349). Me'mûn'un yönetimi ele geçirmesi üzerine, Abbâd b. Muhammed el-Belhî'nin bölgeye atandığı anlaşılmaktadır (Galib 185). 2 numaralı resim ve Zeno'ya 300466/288000 koduyla kayıtlı olan aşağıdaki dinar, Abbâd b. Muhammed el-Belhî'nin hâkimiyet döneminde kesilmiştir.

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الدين كله للخليفة

محمد رسول الله المامون بسم الله ضرب هذا الدينار سنة سبع وتسعين ومائة



Resim 2. Ç.:18 mm, A.:4.23 gr. AU. S. Dinar

Abbâd b. Belhî'ye ait olan dinarın ön yüzünde "lâ ilâhe illallâhu vahdehu lâ şerîke leh, Abbâd, Muhammed resûlallah erselehu bi'l-huda ve dini'l hakkı li-yuzhirehu aled dini küllihi", arka yüzünde "li'l halîfe Muhammed resûlallah, el-Me'mûn, bismillah duribe haza ed-dinar senet seba ve tisain ve mia" yazılıdır. 197/812-3 tarihlidir ve darp yeri yoktur (*NumisBids* 936-240).

Abbâsîler döneminde atanan valilerin halka zalimce davranışları ve aldıkları ağır vergiler, bir türlü sona ermemiştir. Yaşanan olaylar sebebiyle ülkede başlayan kargaşa bastırılmamış, otuzu aşkın şehirde çıkan isyanı kontrol etmek imkânsız hâle gelmiştir. Güçlü bir komutan-vali atanarak hem mücadelelerin sonlandırılmasının hem de bastırılmasının hedeflendiği anlaşılmaktadır.

Me'mûn'un (194-218/809-834) Horasan'da bulunduğu dönemde, Türk komutanlarla yakın ilişkilere sahip olması sebebiyle, güvendiği başarılı kişileri, vali ya da ordu komutanı rütbesiyle atadığı görülmektedir (İbn Havkal 349). Döneme ait olaylar hakkında bilgi olsa da Türk kökenli vali hakkında detaylı bir bilgi bulunmamaktadır.

Mısır'da Mudarlılar Emîn'i, Yemenliler Me'mûn'u desteklemişlerdir. Aynı tarihlerde Endülüs Emevîleri Kurtuba şehrinden 15.000 kişiyi Mısır'a sürgün etmiştir. Bölgeye gelen halkla, yerliler arasında çatışmalar başlamış ve sürgünler, İskenderiye şehrini ele geçirmiştir. Kıptiler de Arap kabileleri arasındaki mücadeleye dâhil olunca, Mısır valisi es-Sarı b. el-Hakem ibn Yusûf el-Belhî, olaylara müdahil olmuş ve mücadeleyi durdurmaya çalışmıştır. es-Sarı, 200 Ramazan-201/205 Rebiyülevvel/815-817/820 tarihleri arasında Mısır'a vali ve mali yönetici (âmil-haraç reisi) olarak atanmıştır (Eskin 350).

Ebnâüd-devle'nin (أبناء الدولة) üyesi olan es-Sarı, Abbâsî Hanedanı'nın Oğulları'nın soyundan gelenlere katılan Horasan Araplarının bir askeridir. Yine Ehl-i Horasan ya da Ebnâ Ehl-i Horasan, Horasan Halkının Oğulları, Abbâsî Devleti'nin en önemli özel-hassa birlikleri olarak kabul edilirdi. Daha sonra İranlılar, Mu'tasım döneminde ise Türkler, seçkin hassa (özel muhafız ordusu) birlikleri olarak tercih edilmişlerdir. el-Kındî'nin verdiği bilgilere göre; köle-mevâlî olduğu için Horasanlı askerî birliklerle beraber Mısır'a gelmiştir. Ordu komutanı el-Leys el-Fadlân'ın riyasetinde sıradan bir asker olarak hizmet vermiştir (Kennedy 80).

Mısır'da 197-200/813-816 yılları arasında iç savaş hüküm sürmüştü ve Horasan'dan gelen es-Sarı adlı valiler, oğullarıyla birlikte yaklaşık on yıl boyunca ülkenin hâkimiyetini ellerinde tutmayı başarmışlardır (Grohmann 2012). Vali es-Sarı, Mısır'a iki kez vali ve mali sorumlu olarak atanmıştır, ilk atamasında (Aralık 200'den Ekim 201'e kadar) kısa bir süre Mısır'da kalabilmiştir.

İkinci kez Mısır'a atanma dönemi ise Mart 817'den Kasım 820'ye kadar sürmüştür. Köken olarak Horasan eyaletine bağlı olan Belh şehriendir, bunun için mahlas olarak Belhî adını kullanmıştır. Belki de ilk kez yarı bağımsız olmayı başaran kişidir. Belh-Belhî adını taşıyanlar, Abbâsiler döneminde adeta Mısır'ı yöneten bir hanedana dönüşmüşlerdir.

Vali es-Sarı, Fustat'ın kontrolünü sağlamak için yoğun çaba harcamış, özellikle hilafet mücadelesi döneminde Abdülaziz ile es-Sarı arasında amansız bir mücadele yaşanmıştır. Taraflar arasında anlaşma sağlanamayınca Mısır'ı paylaşma kararı alınmıştır. 812-3 yılında, Abdülaziz Caravî'ye, (Fustat'tan Farama'ya kadar olan bölge), güneyi ise (Fustat'tan Asfan'a kadar olan bölge) es-Sarı'ya bırakılmıştır.

200/816 tarihinde Caravî ve Beni Hudayî'nin önde gelen kabilelerinin seçkinlerinin sarayları yıkılmıştır (Kennedy 80-1). Kuzey uzun bir süre Abdülaziz'in oğlu Ali'nin hâkimiyeti altında kalmış ve vali olarak görev yapmıştır. Babası Abdülaziz ise 820 yılında vefat etmiş, 822 yılında da halife, Hâlid ibn Yezîd eş-Şeybânî'yi göndererek Mısır'ı tekrar ele geçirmeye çalışmıştır. 821-2 yılında bütün desteğe rağmen Şeybânî çarpışmalarda başarı sağlayamamış hatta esir düşmüştür. es-Sarı'nın oğlu Ubeydullah, Şeybânî'ye soylu bir devlet adamı gibi davranarak, istediği her şeyi yerine getirip onu serbest bırakmıştır (Bianquis 86-119).

Bu arada fırsattan istifade eden Hürremilerin lideri, 192/808 yılında ayaklanmış ve Bâbek İsyanı 201/816 yılında Azerbaycan-Arran bölgesinde patlak vermiştir (Apak 184-5). Bâbek İsyanı, yirmi iki yıl sürmüş ve 50.000'den fazla insan, isyan sırasında öldürülmüştür. Vali Sarı el-Belhî kaynakların verdiği bilgilere göre, 205/820-1 yılında vefat etmiştir. Kozan'da bulunan aşağıdaki fels, Vali Sarı el-Belhî tarafından kestirilen, dünyada tek örneği olan 3a-b numaralı resim ve Zeno'da 247458 koduyla yer alan sikkedir.

مما أمر به الأمير الصاری بن الحكم علی يد محمد بن الصاری



Resim 3a-b. Ç.:15.5x14.8 mm, A.:2.863 gr. AE. Ünik. Fels

Belhî Sarı'ya ait olan felsin ön yüzünde “mimma amara bihi, el-emîr es-Sarı b. el-Hakem”, arka yüzünde “Ali Yadi Muhammed b. es-Sarı” yazılıdır. es-Sarı b. el-Hakem ibn Yusûf el-Belhî adını da kullanmıştır. Hâkimiyet yılları, Halife Me'mûn, 194-218/809-834 dönemine tekabül etmektedir. Sarı el-Belhî'nin Bağdat'a vergi göndermediği ve topladığı vergilerle ordu teşkil etme arayışına yöneldiği düşünülmektedir. İslami sikke kesme geleneğinde eğer bir devlet vassal-bağımlı ise halifenin adını ön ya da arka yüze kelime-i tevhid'den sonra alt kısma veya çember formuyla sikkenin etrafını dönecek şekilde darbettirdi. Eğer halifenin adı sikkenin ön ya da gelenek dışı basımlarda arka tarafında yoksa bu bir isyan alâmeti olarak kabul edilirdi. Aynı zamanda bu, bağımsızlık anlamına da gelirdi ki ortaya konulan fiilin cezası da ölümdü. Olağanüstü durumlarda bile, halifenin onayı alınmadan sikke kestirilemezdi ancak halifenin adının zikredilmesi durumunda sikke kesme izni verilirdi.

مما أمر به الأمير الصاری بن الحكم یزید علی يد محمد بن الصاری زیاد بسم الله ضرب
هذالفلوس بمصر



Resim 4. Ç.:14.9 mm, A.:2.55 gr. AE. Ünük. Fels

The Heberden Coin Room University of Oxford. HCR 11594 numarasıyla son zamanlarda yayınlanan bu sikke, isim itibariyle yukarıdaki asıl sikkeden farklıdır. Belhli Sarı'ya ait olan felsin ön yüzünde “mimma amara bihi, el-emîr es-Sarı b. el-Hakem Yezid”, dış çerçevede “duribe haza el-fels bi-Mısır, arka yüzünde Ali Yadi Muhammed b. es-Sarı Ziyad” yazılıdır. Okuma hatası olabilir ya da Sarı ailesinden farklı bir valiye aittir. Sikkenin yazı hattı ve metrik ölçüleri büyük oranda benzerlik göstermektedir. Eğer her iki sikke aynı sikke ise yeni isimler ortaya çıkarılmış olacak ve sikkeler 5 Nadir (RRRRR) olarak tanımlanacaktır (*The Heberden Coin Room* 11594).

Bir valinin halifenin adını zikretmeden sikke kestirmesi, tam bağımsızlık hareketi olarak görülürdü ki bu da savaş ilanı anlamına gelirdi. Aynı zamanda dönemin vergi verme geleneği göz önünde tutulduğunda, kestirilen dinar ya da dirhem üzerinden verilen ve halife tarafından yıllık olarak belirlenen miktar, valinin adının da zikredildiği sikkelerle ödenerek, Abbâsî başkentine gönderilirdi.

Mısır tarihin bütün dönemlerinde, zenginliği ve elde ettiği tarım gelirinden ödediği vergi miktarıyla, birçok devlet için cazibe merkezi olmaya devam etmiştir (İbn Havkal 162-3). Valinin kendi adına sikke kestirmesi ancak bağımsızlığının halife tarafından tanınması ve yüksek miktarda vergi ödenmesi şartıyla da kabul edilmiş olabilirdi. Dönemin kaynakları es-Sarı b. el-Hakem ibn Yusûf el-Belhî'nin bağımsızlığını ilan ettiğine dair bilgi vermemektedir. Aynı kaynaklar, bu tarihlerde halife adayları Emîn ile Me'mûn arasındaki iç mücadelelere dönük olarak bilgi verdikleri için, sürekli kargaşa hâlinde olan Mısır ile ilgilenmedikleri ve olayları kayda geçirmedikleri düşünülebilir.

İlginç olan nokta ise, Mısır'da bağımsızlığını ilan eden ya da Abbâsîlere vergi vermeyen bir valinin kestirdiği sikkenin Kozan-Sis şehrinde bulunmasıdır. Sugûr-Avasım şehirlerine (Sis-Kozan) Mısır bölgesinden gelen bir asker tarafından getirilmiş olabileceği gibi, es-Sarı tarafından bu bölgeye düzenlenen bir sefer sırasında getirilme ya da Sis şehrinde kestirilmiş olma ihtimallerini de düşündürmektedir. Fakat sikkenin tipolojik özellikleri, kalınlığı, yazı stili ve üzerindeki kufi yazı tipinin ince detayları, bu bölgede kestirilme ihtimalini zayıf hâle getirmektedir. Aynı döneme ait Mısır (Fustat) darblı sikkelerin özellikleri, ağırlıkları, yazı hatları ve çaplarını içeren detaylar, bu sikke ile birebir örtüşmektedir. Aynı bölgede diğer valiler tarafından kestirilen sikkeler, kaba ve merkezdeki sikke darp tekniğinden çok uzak örnekler olarak kabul edilmektedir. Kozan-Tarsûs sikkeleri, metali özensiz, şekilsiz tam olarak yuvarlak formda olmayan, kalitesiz metalden (bronz-bakır, gümüş) kesilmiş, yazı hatları bozuk, olması gereken kalınlıktan ince ya da standart dışı daha kalın özellikler sergilemektedir. Zikredilen bölgede, yüzlerce Abbâsî sikkesi bulunduğu için mevcut sikkeler üzerine detaylı çalışmalar yürütülerek, sistematik bir şekilde sınıflandırma yapılmıştır.

Vali es-Sarı'nın böyle bir sikke kestirmiş olması tam bağımsızlık ya da yarı bağımsızlık anlamına gelmektedir. Kestirilen bakır paranın üzerinde halifenin adına yer verilmemiş olması, bu bağımsızlık sürecinin 8 yıl kadar (197-205) devam ettiğini göstermektedir. Bu da elimizdeki felsin ilk dönemlerde kestirildiğini ve Abbâsî Devleti ile olan bağın tamamen koptuğu bir zaman diliminin yaşandığını ortaya koymaktadır. Bakır sikkenin üzerinde tarih olmaması da karşımıza çıkan başka bir zorluktur.

817 yılından 825 yılına kadar devam eden bu süre, tam bağımsızlık ya da yarı bağımsızlık süreci şeklinde kabul görebilir. 206/821-2 yılına kadar Halife Me'mûn'un adının dinarların-felslerin üzerinde bulunmaması, bu şüpheyi güçlü bir şekilde desteklemektedir. Muhammed es-Sarı, 205-206/820-822 döneminde ise dinarların arka yüzünde Halife Me'mûn'un adının bulunması, bu tarihte Abbâsîlerin Belhî ailesinin hâkimiyetine son verdiğini ve bağılılık bildirerek, valiliklerini devam ettirebildiklerini ortaya koymaktadır.

el-Kindî'nin verdiği bilgilere göre el-Mukaffa'nın biyografisinde es-Sarı'nın Mısır tarihi açısından önemli bir figür olduğu dile getirilmiştir. es-Sarı ve

ailesinin daha sonra IX. yüzyılda kurulacak olan Tolunoğulları Hanedanı ile kan bağı vardır (Guest 10). Değerli oryantalist Thierry Bianquis'un dikkatini çeken ama delili (numismatik materyal) bulunamadığı için şüphesini dile getirerek, değindiği bir meseledir. Thierry Bianquis, 2 Eylül 2014 yılında gözlerini yumana kadar, bu sikke bulunmuş ama değerli araştırmacının eline ulaşmamıştır. Alan otoritesi Bianquis'un ölümünden önce resimler eline ulaşmış olsaydı, hayatı boyunca beyinde bir soru olarak çözüm aradığı bu mesele, aydınlatılmış olabilirdi. Aşağıda yer alan, 4, 5, 6, 7 numaralı resim, Zeno'da 77694 kodlu ve PNA:27-898'de kayıtlı dinarlar, Vali es-Sarı el-Belhî'ye aittir ve kendi döneminde darbedilmiştir.

لااله الاالله وحده لا شريك له الصارى محمد رسول الله ارسله بالهدى ودين الحق ليظهره
على الدين كله لله ظاهر محمد رسول الله ذوالرناستين بسم الله ضرب هذا الدينار سنة مانتان



Resim 5. Ç.:17x18 mm, A.:4.21 gr. AU. C. Dinar

Belhli Sarı'ya ait olan dinarın ön yüzünde “lâ ilâhe illallâhu vahdehu lâ şerîke leh, es-Sarı, Muhammed resûlallah erselehu bi'l-huda ve dini'l hakki li-yuzhirehu aled dini küllihi”, arka yüzünde “lillah Tâhir Muhammed resûlallah, Du'l Riyaseteyn, bismillah duribe haza ed-dinar senet mieteyn” yazılıdır (*Bid Inside* 27-898). 200/815-6 tarihlidir (*NumisBids* 618-214), darp yeri Mısır'dır (*acsearch.info* 1552). Yüksek altın ayarı ve mükemmel işçiliği ile dikkat çeken bir örnektir. Bölgedeki diğer Vali Abdullah b. Tâhir'in adı, sikkenin üzerinde yer almaktadır.

لااله الاالله وحده لا شريك له الصارى محمد رسول الله ارسله بالهدى ودين الحق ليظهره على الدين كله لله طاهر محمد رسول الله ذوالرناستين بسم الله ضرب هذا الدينار سنة مائتان وواحد



Resim 6. Ç.:18 mm, A.:4.23 gr. AU. S. Dinar (Zeno:77694/45505/
LN:16-4401)

Yine Belhli Sarı döneminde kesilen dinarın ön yüzünde “lâ ilâhe illallâhu vahdehu lâ şerike leh, es-Sarı, Muhammed resûlallah erselehu bi'l-huda ve dini'l hakkı li-yuzhirehu aled dini küllihi”, arka yüzünde “lillah Tâhir Muhammed resûlallah, Du'l Riyaseteyn, bismillah duribe haza ed-dinar senet mieteyn ve vahid” yazılıdır (*Leu Numismatik* 16-4401). 201/816-7 tarihlidir (Tiesenhäusen 188), darp yeri Mısır'dır (*NumisBids* 936-247). Sikkenin yazı hattı ve kompozisyonu mükemmeldir. Bölgedeki diğer Vali Abdullah b. Tâhir'in adı sikkenin üzerinde yer almaktadır.

لااله الاالله وحده لا شريك له المغرب محمد رسول الله ارسله بالهدى ودين الحق ليظهره على الدين كله لله طاهر محمد رسول الله الصارى بسم الله ضرب هذا الدينار سنة ثلاثة و مائتان



Resim 7. Ç.: 17.5x18 mm, A.:4.26 gr. AU. C. Dinar
(Zeno:35575/262264/CNG:527-504/ANS:1971.49.217)

Belhli Sarı'ya ait olan dinarın ön yüzünde “lâ ilâhe illallâhu vahdehu lâ şerike leh, el-Mağrib, Muhammed resûlallah erselehu bi'l-huda ve dini'l hakkı li-yuzhirehu aled dini küllihi”, arka yüzünde “lillah Tâhir Muhammed resûlallah, es-Sarı, bismillah duribe haza ed-dinar senet selase ve mieteyn” yazılıdır (*American Numismatic Society* 1971-49-217). 203/818-9 tarihlidir (*Classical Numismatic Group* 527-504), darp yeri Mısır'dır (*CoinArchives*

6022028-504; *American Numismatic Society* 1971-49-217). Bölgedeki diğer Vali Abdullah b. Tâhir'in adı, sikkenin üzerinde yer almaktadır.

لااله الاالله وحده لا شريك له الصارى محمد رسول الله ارسله بالهدى ودين الحق ليظهره على الدين كله لله ظاهر محمد رسول الله ذوالرناستين بسم الله ضرب هذا الدينار سنة اربع ومانتان



Resim 8. Ç.:18 mm, A.:4.25 gr. AU. C. Dinar (Zeno:45467/LN:17-3504)

Vali Sarı'ya ait olan dinarın ön yüzünde “lâ ilâhe illallâhu vahdehu lâ şerîke leh, el-Mağrib, Muhammed resûlallah erselehu bi'l-huda ve dini'l hakki li-yuzhirehu aled dini küllîhi”, arka yüzünde “lillah Tâhir Muhammed resûlallah, es-Sarı, bismillah duribe haza ed-dinar senet erbaa ve miateyn” yazılıdır. 204/819-20 tarihidir, darp yeri Mısır'dır (Galib 188). Bölgedeki diğer Vali Abdullah b. Tâhir'in adı, sikkenin üzerinde yer almaktadır.

Yukarıdaki sikkelerde adı geçen Abdullah b. Tâhir, Halife Me'mûn'un en önemli komutanları arasındadır ve kardeşi Emîn karşısında kazandığı zaferleri bu başarılı komutana borçludur (Mesûdî 332-3). Komutanın Horasan, Tarsûs ve Mısır'da kazandığı başarılar sebebiyle, Mısır'a vali olarak atanmasından dolayı, adının sikkelerde zikredildiği görülmektedir. Dönemin kaynakları durumdan istifade eden Ubeydullah b. Sarı b. el-Hakem b. el-Belhî'nin valilik görevini ele geçirdiğini ifade etmektedir. Fakat bu tarihlerde Ebû Nasr b. Sarı b. el – Hakem b. el-Belhî adlı başka bir kişi (Vali Ubeydullah'ın kardeşi) daha vardır ki bu kişi 205 Cemaziyelahir-206 Şaban/820-822 tarihleri arasında Mısır'a vali olarak atanmıştır. Kökeni mevâlî (azatlı köle) olarak kaydedilmiştir bu da valilik görevine yükselene kadar askerî bir köle olduğunu göstermektedir (Eskin 350).

On dört ay boyunca valilik görevini ifa eden bu kişinin Vali Sarı el-Belhî'nin oğlu olduğu görülmektedir. Ölüm ya da azledilme sebebiyle valilikten ayrılmasından dolayı, diğer oğlu (Ubeydullah ya da Muhammed) isyan ederek yönetimi ele geçirmiş olmalıdır (Öztuna 150). Fakat Ebû Nasr b. Sarı b. el-Hakem b. el-Belhî'ye ait elimizde sikke örneği mevcut değildir.

Adına sikke kestirmemesi, Abbâsî halifesi Me'mûn'un otoritesini tanıdığını ya da kestirdiği sikkenin az olması sebebiyle elimize ulaşmadığını düşündürmektedir. Bazı kaynaklarda geçtiği şekilde adı, Ebû Nasr Muhammed b. es-Sarı el-Belhî şeklinde de yazılmış olabilir. Sikkelerini bulamadığımız kişinin Muhammed b. es-Sarı ile aynı kişi olması da mümkündür. Aynı yıl içinde Mısır'da bu aileden iki kişi adına sikke kestirilmesi sıra dışı bir durum olarak görülebilir. Kaynaklarda Ebû Nasr Muhammed b. es-Sarı el-Belhî (ö.822 yılıdır) adı görülürken, yalın adıyla Muhammed b. es-Sarı'nın adı yoktur. Aynı tarihlerde bir başka Belhli Sarı olan Muhammed b. es-Sarı'nın 205-206/820-822 tarihinde Mağrib yazılı sikkeler kestirdiği görülmektedir. Bu kişinin de Ubeydullah'ın kardeşi (Ebû'n-Nasr b. Sarı'nın diğer kardeşi) olduğu belirtilmektedir (Öztuna 150).

Muhammed b. es-Sarı'ya ait 205-206/820-2 tarihli iki sikke literatürde mevcuttur fakat bu sikkelerin tam anlamıyla kime ait olduğu tespit edilememiştir. Aynı sikkenin 205/820-1 tarihli olanları da vardır (*NumisBids* 936-254). 205/820-1 tarihli sikkede Halife Me'mûn'un adı yer almazken Tâhir'in adı görülür ama 206/821 tarihli dinarın üzerine Me'mûn'un adı açık bir şekilde darbedilmiştir. Bu tarihte Mısır'da Ebû Nasr b. Sarı b. el-Hakem b. el-Belhî vali olarak hüküm sürmektedir. Aynı yıl yeğeni ya da kardeşi olduğunu düşündüğümüz Ubeydullah b. Sarı b. el-Hakem b. el-Belhî, 206/821 yılının Şaban ayında vali olarak adına sikke kestirmiştir. Sikkelerinde Halife Me'mûn'un adının yanı sıra Tâhir adının da geçmesi tereddüde yer bırakmayacak bir şekilde Abbâsî Devleti'ne bağlı olduğunu ortaya koymaktadır.

Sikkelerde adı geçen ordu komutanı ve daha sonra da vali olan Abdullah b. Tâhir, 211-3/826-829 tarihleri arasında Mısır'ı yönetmiştir. Abbâsîlere bağlı olsalar da Mısır'da 211/826 tarihinden itibaren siyasî ve askerî hayatın kontrolünün tamamen Türk soylu askerlerin-valilerin elinde olduğu görülmektedir (Kennedy 85). Aşağıda yer alan 8, 9 numaralı resimler ve AHB:18-360 kayıtlı dinarlar, Muhammed es-Sarı döneminde kestirilmiştir.

لاله الله وحده لا شريك له المغرب محمد رسول الله ارسله بالهدى ودين الحق ليظهره على الدين كله لله ظاهر محمد رسول الله محمد الصارى بسم الله ضرب هذا الدينار سنة خمس ومانتان



Resim 9. Ç.:18 mm, A.:4.25 gr. AU. R. Dinar

Muhammed es-Sarı'ya ait olan dinarın ön yüzünde “lâ ilâhe illallâhu vahdehu lâ şerike leh, el-Mağrib, Muhammed resûlallah erselehu bi'l-huda ve dini'l hakkı li-yuzhirehu aled dini küllihi”, arka yüzünde “lillah Tâhir Muhammed resûlallah, Muhammed es-Sarı, bismillah duribe haza ed-dinar senet hamse ve miateyn” yazılıdır. 205/820-1 tarihlidir, darb yeri yoktur (*Baldwin's* 18-360). Muhammed es-Sarı, 205-206/820-822 tarihleri arasında Mısır'a vali olarak atanmış olmalıdır (*acsearch.info* 597475). Bölgedeki diğer Vali Abdullah b. Tâhir'in adı, sikkenin üzerinde yer almaktadır.

لاله الله وحده لا شريك له محمد الصارى محمد رسول الله ارسله بالهدى ودين الحق ليظهره على الدين كله للخليفة محمد رسول الله المامون بسم الله ضرب هذا الدينار سنة ستة ومانتان



Resim 10. Ç.:18 mm, A.:4.25 gr. AU. R. Dinar (Zeno:280050/ME:92-29/AHB:27-247)

Muhammed es-Sarı'ya ait dinarın ön yüzünde “lâ ilâhe illallâhu vahdehu lâ şerike leh, Muhammed es-Sarı, Muhammed resûlallah erselehu bi'l-huda ve dini'l hakkı li-yuzhirehu aled dini küllihi”, arka yüzünde “li'l halife Muhammed resûlallah, el-Me'mûn, bismillah duribe haza ed-dinar senet sitte ve miateyn” yazılıdır. 206/821-2 tarihlidir (*Morton & Eden* 2019-02-92), darb yeri yoktur (*NumisBids* 2495-29). Bu tarihte Sarılar, askerî

üstünlüklerini kaybetmiş ve Halife Me'mûn, Mısır'da hâkimiyetini yeniden tesis etmiştir.

Kısa süre sonra Ubeydullah b. Sarı b. el-Hakem b. el-Belhî, 206-Şaban-211 Rebîyülevvel/821-827 tarihleri arasında Mısır'a vali olarak atanmıştır. Kökeni mevâlî (azatlı köle) olarak kaydedilmiştir (Eskin 350). Mısır'da isyanlar ve bazı bölgelerin ele geçirilmesi için amansız mücadelelerin verildiği bir dönemde, babasının ölümü üzerine yönetimi ele geçirmiştir. Aşağıda yer alan 10 numaralı resim ve Zeno'ya 76638 koduyla kayıtlı olan dinar, Ubeydullah b. Sarı döneminde kestirilmiştir.

لااله الاالله وحده لا شريك له عبدالله بن الصاري محمد رسول الله ارسله بالهدى ودين الحق
ليظهره على الدين كله للخليفة محمد رسول الله المامون بسم الله ضرب هذا الدينار سنة
تسعة ومانتان



Resim 11. Ç.:18 mm, A.:4.22 gr. AU. S. Dinar

Ubeydullah b. Sarı'ya ait olan dinarın ön yüzünde “lâ ilâhe illallâhu vahdehu lâ şerike leh, Ubeydullah b. es-Sarı, Muhammed resûlallah erselehu bi'l-huda ve dini'l hakkı li-yuzhirehu aled dini küllihî”, arka yüzünde “li'l halife Muhammed resûlallah, el-Me'mûn, bismillah duribe haza ed-dinar senet tisa ve miateyn” yazılıdır. 209/824-25 tarihlidir, darp yeri Mısır'dır (Artuk 83-4). Ubeydullah b. Sarı b. el-Hakem b. el-Belhî, 206-Şaban-211 Rebîyülevvel/821-827 tarihleri arasında Mısır'a vali olarak atanmıştır (Bernardi 139). Bu dönem, artık Me'mûn'un Mısır'da her yönüyle kontrolü ele aldığı yılları içine almaktadır.

Ağabeyi Vali Ebû Nasr tarafından polis şefi olarak atanmıştır. 822 yılında ağabeyinin vefatı üzerine, biat ettirilerek valilik görevi tevdi edilmiştir (Kennedy 62-85). Mısır, farklı bölgelere bölündüğü için yalnızca başkent Fustat bölgesi kontrolündedir, Aşağı Mısır'ın büyük bölümü Ali ibn Abdülaziz el-Caravî'nin hâkimiyeti altındadır. Ubeydullah, Mısır'ın tamamını ele geçirmek için mücadele verirken Abbâsî sarayı, tekrar ülkede

kontrolü sağlamanın yollarını aramaya başlamıştır. İlk dönemlerde Halid ibn Yezîd eş-Şeybani, Caravî'nin desteğini alınca güçlü bir şekilde ilerlemiştir. Bazı başarılar elde etmesine rağmen daha sonra Caravî, Şeybânî'den desteğini geri çekmiştir, bunun üzerine Ubeydullah vuku bulan askerî çarpışmada 823 yılında büyük bir zafer kazanmıştır (Ya'kûbî 555).

Ubeydullah, Şeybânî'yi ağır yenilgiye uğrattıktan sonra, Mısır'ın büyük bölümüne sahip olan Caravî ile mücadeleye başlamıştır. Her iki bölge valisi de Halife Me'mûn'a vergi ödemiş ve Bağdat'a tabiiyet arz etmişlerdir. İki rakip, uygun fırsatı bulduklarında sık sık birbirlerine saldırmışlardır. Ubeydullah, Aşağı Mısır'a saldırarak ele geçirmiş ayrıca Mahallât eş-Şarkiyun, Tinnis ve Dimyat şehirlerini de tamamen kontrolü altına almıştır. Caravî yenilince Kuzey Sina bölgesindeki kasaba ve köylere çekilmiştir. Direnişi çöle ve zamana yayan Caravî, Ubeydullah'a tam anlamıyla bir zafer kazanma fırsatı tanımamıştır. Kesin bir zafer kazanamayan Ubeydullah bölgeden çekilince, Caravî, 825 yılında eski topraklarına geri dönmüştür (İbn Taghribirdi 181).

Babasının ölümünden sonra, Halife Me'mûn tarafından Mısır'ın valiliği 211-213/826-829 tarihleri arasında Abdullah b. Tâhir'e verilmiştir. Vali-ordu komutanı olan Abdullah, Mısır'da asayiş sağladığı gibi, Endülüs Emevîlerinin elindeki İskenderiye'yi de geri almıştır. Abdullah b. Tâhir'e itaat eden Caravî'nin aksine Ubeydullah, Vali Tâhir ile şiddetli çatışmalara girişmiştir (Boswort 198-213). Bu arada durumdan istifade ederek, isyan eden Ubeydullah b. Sarı'yı da ağır bir yenilgiye uğrutup, kontrolü tamamen ele geçirmiştir. Ubeydullah es-Sarı, Abdullah b. Tâhir'den canının bağışlanmasını istediği için affedilmiştir. Daha sonra 211/826-7 yılında Fustat'ta barış görüşmeleri yapılmıştır (Guest 27). Ubeydullah es-Sarı, 251/865-6 tarihinden ölünceye kadar Mısır'a dönmemiş, Irak'ın Sâmerrâ şehrinde huzur içinde hayatını sürdürmüştür (Kennedy 81-2).

Mısır'daki Diğer Türk Valiler

Abdullah b. Tâhir, Bâbek İsyanının çıkması üzerine Mısır'dan ayrılmış, bunun üzerine tekrar isyanlar baş göstermiştir (Nedîm, 1066). Azerbaycan Valiliğine tayin edildiği 213/828 yılında buradan ayrılınca, bölgenin valisi ve Me'mûn'un kardeşi olan Mu'tasım yerine vali yardımcısı olarak bıraktığı Umeyr b. Velid ve İsâ b. Yezîd'e karşı isyanların çıkması üzerine 214/829 yılında yeniden sefer düzenlemek zorunda kalmıştır. Bâbek İsyanı,

Azerbaycan'dan başlayarak bütün Kafkasya'yı saran zorlu bir ayaklanmaya dönüşmüştür. Mu'tasım büyük başarılar elde edip, Bâbek İsyânını bastırmasına rağmen Hâricî-Şîî dünyası içindeki yankıları sona ermemiş, insanlar Bâbek'in öldüğüne inanmamışlardır (Halîfe Hayyat 404-5).

Mısır, Abdullah b. Tâhir tarafından Abbâsîlere bağlansa da 213/829 yılına kadar halifenin atadığı valilerin tasarrufuyla yönetilmiştir. Batı eyaletlerini yöneten ve süper vali olarak adlandırılan kişilerin büyük bir kısmı Türk soyludur. Valiler elde edilen geliri, Bağdat'a doğrudan gönderirlerdi. Halîfe Me'mûn'un kardeşi olan Mu'tasım (Ebû İshâk), Mısır'a 829-833 tarihleri arasında süper vali olarak atanmıştır (Kennedy 82).

“Halîfe Me'mûn, 215/830 yılında Bizans'a karşı yaptığı ilk seferden Dımışk'a döndüğü sırada, Mısır'da karışıklıkların yeniden patlak verdiği haberini almıştır. Bunun üzerine halife, Mısır valisi olan kardeşinden, Afşin'i isyanların bastırılmasına memur etmesini emretmiştir. İsyanlar, daha ziyade Aşağı Mısır'da Berka, el-Besarud, el-Biyame ve el-Huf şehirlerinde tehlikeli bir hal almıştır. 215/830 yılı ortalarında harekete geçen Afşin, Berka'ya gelerek şehri asilerden kurtarmış, isyancıların elebaşı olan Müslim b. Nasr'ı esir almıştır. Daha sonra Kıptîlerin de katılmasıyla sayıları epeyce çoğalan el-Besarud ve el-Huf'un asileri üzerine yürümüştür. Aynı yılın sonlarına doğru, adı geçen bölgelerde de sükûneti sağlayan Afşin, Kahire'ye dönmüştür” (Boz 23-4).

En önemli adamı ve ordu komutanı olan Haydar b. Kâvûs el-Afşin, Kıptî İsyanlarını bastırmak üzere Mısır'a tekrar gönderilmiştir. 217/832 yılına kadar üç, dört yıl süren isyanlar, güçlü askerî birliklerle başarılı bir şekilde bastırılmış ve isyanın lideri olan Abdûs el-Fihri öldürülmüştür. Bu arada Halîfe Me'mûn ve kardeşi Mu'tasım, Anadolu seferlerine çıkmış birçok yeri (Urfa, Antakya ve Tarsûs'u) fethetmiştir. En önemli ordu komutanları bu sefere katılmışlardır, bunların arasında Afşin ile Eşnâs et-Türkî'de vardır. Afşin aynı zamanda Bizans imparatoru Theophilos'u ağır bir yenilgiye uğratmıştır (Mesûdî 339).

Me'mûn'un 216/831-832 tarihinde Mısır'a sefer düzenlediği ve akabinde 217/832-3 yılında Şam'a gittiği kaydedilmiştir (Suyûtî 318). Mısır valiliği, Mu'tasım'ın halifeliğinden itibaren Türk komutanlar tarafından yürütülmüştür. 219/834 yılında Mısır valiliğine atanan Ebû Cafer Eşnâs et-

Türkî, bu vazifeye atanan ilk Türk komutan olmuştur. On bir yıl boyunca Mısır valisi olarak görev yapan Eşnâs et-Türkî, Sâmerâ'daki vazifelerinden dolayı Mısır'a gidememiş, vekilleri aracılığı ile Mısır'ı yönetmiştir (Guest 196). Eşnâs'ın vefatından sonra Mısır valiliğine İnak et-Türkî atanmıştır. İnak et-Türkî sadece vali değildir, Mısır'a gitmeden önce aynı zamanda ordu komutanı, beytü'l-mâlin sorumlusu, Hacib ve Berid Teşkilatı'nın da başkanlığını yürütmüştür. Şam bölgesine vali olarak atanan ilk Türk komutan Eşnâs et-Türkî olmuştur. 225/839 yılında Şam'a vali tayin edilen Eşnâs, vefatına kadar bu vazifeyi layıkıyla yürütmüştür (Guest 191).

235/849 tarihinde, yönetici Türklerin etkisini azaltan bir dizi olay meydana gelmiş, halife, İnak'ı tutuklatmış ve yerine oğlu el-Müntasır'ı tayin etmiştir. Halife olacağı 247/861 yılına kadar, bu görevi sürdürmüştür. Sâmerâ'nın başkent olduğu dönemde valiler, şehrin yönetici sınıfından atanırdı. Önceden Arap, Türk ve Ermeniler arasından seçilen valilerin, daha sonra da atanmasına devam edilmiştir.

Yezîd ibn Abdullah et-Türkî, 242-253/856-867 tarihleri arasında Nil Deltası'nda çıkan isyanı bastırmak üzere görevlendirilmiştir. Halife tarafından Mısır'a askerî vali olarak atanmıştır. Mısır'a merkezden gönderilen ilk Türk validir, diğer valiler yönetimi ele geçirek ülkede kontrolü sağlamış ve bağımsızlıklarını ilan etmişlerdir (Brett 589). Yukarı Mısır'da ayaklanma çıkaran Arap kabileleri, Asvan bölgesinde tam olarak hâkimiyet kurmuşlardır. Hz. Ali'nin taraftarı olan Şiî gruplarına ağır darbeler indirmiş, liderlerini tutuklayarak bazılarını Sâmerâ'ya göndermiştir. 866 yılında bir isyan daha patlak vermiştir, liderleri ise Cebir ibnü'l Velid'tir. Yezîd, isyancı birliklerin saldırılarını durduramamış ve Türk birlikleri ağır yenilgi almıştır, bunun üzerine 867 tarihinde valilikten azledilerek merkeze geri çağırılmıştır (Brett 589-591). Başarısızlığının altında yatan sebep ise, ekonomik kaynakların kontrolünün tamamen başkasının elinde olmasıdır. Mısır'ın hazinesinin başına âmil-mali sorumlu olarak başka biri atanmış olduğu için, askerî harcamaları karşılayamamış ve ağır yenilgiye uğramıştır.

Mısır'da Müslümanlar ve Hristiyanlar birlikte hareket ederek isyan etmiş, Müzâhim ibn Kağan komutasındaki Türk askerleri, Irak'tan yardıma gelmelerine rağmen başarılı olamamıştır. Müzâhim vali olarak atandıktan kısa bir süre sonra ölmüş ve yerine Ahmed b. Tolun, 868 tarihinde vali olarak atanmıştır. Abbâsî hilafetinin içindeki karışıklıkların ardından 254/868'de

Vali Ahmed b. Tolun, Bağdat'ın otoritesine meydan okuyarak, haraca el koymuştur. Ayrıca Suriye'yi hâkimiyeti altına alarak hem Mısır hem de diğer bölgeleri yönetmeye başlamıştır. Şeklen Abbâsîlere bağlı görünmekle birlikte, aslında adı konulmamış bir bağımsız yönetim kurmuştur. Ahmed b. Tolun, Mısır'a gelmeden önce senelerce Tarsûs'ta seferlere katılmış ve önemli fetihler gerçekleştirmiştir (Brockelmann 113). Bu sikkenin yer aldığı aynı kalede (Sis-Kozan-Tarsûs), Ahmed b. Tolun'a, Vali İbn Abi (Ebi) Ebû İsâ'ya ve Emîr Muhammed b. Musa b. Tolun'a ait 18 sikke daha bulunmuştur. Bu da kale yıkıntılarının askerî bir şehir (ribat) olduğunu ve en az yüz yıla yakın bir süre yerleşim amacıyla kullanıldığını ortaya koymaktadır.

Değerlendirme

Belh şehri, önceden Toharistan ve Bactria'nın başkentidir, daha sonra ise Horasan eyaletinin en önemli şehirlerinden biri olmuştur. Belh, Muâviye döneminde, 664 yılında İslam orduları tarafından fethedilecektir. Buhara ve Fergana'ya yakındır, bugünkü Özbekistan sınırında yer alan Amuderya Nehri'ne 74 km uzaklıktadır. O dönemde bu şehirler, Emevîler tarafından Horasan eyaletine dâhil edilmiştir. Emevîlerin en önemli asker rezervi, bu eyaletten (Horasan) ve adını zikrettiğimiz şehirlerden temin edilmiştir. Köle askerler, Emevîler döneminden itibaren satın alınmaya ve önemli Arap şehirlerine getirilmeye başlanmıştır. Bağdat'ta bu şehirlerden biridir ve zamanla Türk gulâmların merkez üssü hâline dönüşmüştür (Barthold 30). Belhî adlı-mahlaslı (doğdukları şehre izafeten) çok sayıda Abbâsî ordu komutanının-valisinin olması, Bağdat'ta ne kadar çok Türk askerinin olduğunu göstermesi açısından önemlidir. Tespit edebildiklerimiz sadece Mısır'da valilik yapmış ve tarihî kayıtlara geçmiş, en üst düzey yetkilere sahip olan Türklerdir.

Kufe, Basra, Azerbaycan, İrminiyye-Ermeniyye, Taberistan, Fars, Horasan, Sicistan, Sind, el-Cezîre, Şam/Dımaşk, Hicaz/Mekke, Hicaz/Medine, Yemen ve İfrîkiyye eyaletlerinde yer alan Türk kökenli valiler, bu listeye dâhil edilmemiştir. Örneğin Sicistan/Sistan Valisi Hünadi es-Sarı, 146/763-4 tarihinde bu bölgede görev yapmıştır. Hünadi es-Sarı adlı kişinin de aynı aileden-boydan (Sarılar-Belhliler) olduğu anlaşılmaktadır. Köle-gulâm ve asker oldukları için aynı aileye-boya mensup olan Sarı isminin kaynaklarda geçmemiş olduğu düşünülmektedir.

Aynı zamanda Sarı, Türklerin bilinen büyük boylarından birdir. W. Barthold, R. Kuzuyev, K. Şahniyazov ve E. N. Necef tarafından Sarı'nın bir Türk boy adı olduğu belirtilmiştir. K. Şahniyazov ise Kıpçak boyları arasında yer alan Sarıların adı olan (Sarı Kıpçaklar) isminin kısaltılan Sarı etnonimi olduğunu iddia etmektedir (Şahniyazov 30; Necef ve Annaberdiyev 251). Onomastik üzerine çalışan İbrahim Şahin'in değerlendirmelerine göre, Sarı ya da Sarılar, Orta Asya (günümüzdeki Kazakistan, Kırgızistan, Özbekistan-Türkmenistan ve Horasan) sahasında yaşayan Oğuz-Kıpçak boyları arasında yer almaktadır (Şahin 227).

817 yılından 825 yılına kadar Belhî ailesi, Mısır'ın yönetiminde bağımsız hareket etmiş, Abbâsî Devleti'ni tanımamıştır. Halifenin adı, 825 tarihine kadar gerek dinar gerekse felslerin üzerinde hiçbir şekilde zikredilmemiştir. 4.20 ile 4.30 gr arasındaki ağırlıkta (standarttır) yüksek ayara sahip dinarların kestirilmesi, ekonominin oldukça iyi olduğunun, gram düşüşünün yaşanmaması ve ayar kaybının görülmemesi ise Mısır ekonomisinin içinde bulunduğu güzel dönemin göstergesi olarak değerlendirilebilir. Bu dönemde darbedilen felslerin bir standartı yoktur, 2-3 gr arasında bir ağırlıkla kesilen sikkelerden elimizde sadece bir örnek mevcuttur. Aynı döneme yakın tarihlerde kesilen dirhemler ise (Belhî adını taşımayan valiler tarafından kestirilen ve halifenin adının zikredildiği) 2.70 ile 3.10 gr arasındadır.

Belhî ya da Sarı ismi adı altında, Arap kaynaklarında boy-aile adı ile adlandırılan kişiler, aynı bölgeden oldukları için Tolunoğlu Ahmed ve onun sülalesi ile kan bağına sahiptir. Çünkü Ahmed'in babası olan Tolun, Buharalı bir Türk'tür. Ahmed'in babası Tolun, 816 yılında Samani valisi Nuh b. Esed tarafından Halife Me'mûn'a gulâm olarak gönderilmiştir. Ahmed b. Tolun, Belhî-Sarı ailesinin 827 yılında Abdullah b. Tâhir tarafından yenilgiye uğratarak, Ubeydullah b. Sarı'nın Sâmerrâ'ya gönderilmesinden sekiz yıl sonra dünyaya gelmiştir (Gordon 229-230). Buhara ya da Ferganalı olduğu bilinen Ahmed b. Tolun'un 835 tarihinde Bağdat'ta doğduğu unutulmamalıdır.

Adana'nın Kozan ilçesinde kale yıkıntıları arasında bulunan sikke, Tolunoğulları Devleti'nin kuruluş tarihini ve dönemin olaylarını yeniden gözden geçirmeyi gerekli kılmaktadır. 868 tarihi, Tolunoğlu Devleti'nin kuruluş tarihi olarak kabul edilmektedir, bazı araştırmacıların ise 875

tarihinin tam bağımsızlık tarihi olabileceğini ileri sürdükleri görülmektedir (Anjum 217-240).

Bu ailenin (Sarı-Sarılar) Kıpçak soylu olduğu kabul edilirse, Tolunoğullarının bağımsızlık girişimlerinin tarihi 51 yıl kadar geriye götürülebilir. Eğer bu aile bağımsız bir devlet olarak kabul edilirse, o zaman Mısır'da Tolunoğulları'ndan 51 yıl önce kurulan ve 8 yıl kadar varlığını sürdürebilen Belhîler-Belhîler Devleti ya da Sarılar Devleti adı altında tam ya da yarı bağımsız bir devletten söz etmemiz gerekir. Araştırmaların derinleştirilmesi ve yeni bulunacak nümismatik materyallerin sonraki yıllarda ortaya çıkması durumunda, bu ilmi tartışmanın bütün yönleriyle aydınlığa kavuşacağı düşünülmektedir. Eğer bu düşünceyi, incelediğimiz fels doğruluyorsa, Tolunoğulları Devleti'nin kuruluş tarihinden (Brockelmann 113) çok önce Mısır'da kurulan başka bir Türk devleti ya da Ahmed b. Tolun'un atalarının varlığı söz konusudur. Bu tez, alan otoritesi Thierry Bianquis'un yıllarca çözümünü aradığı, bulamadığı ama sürekli olarak yayınlarında dile getirdiği önemli bir husustur. Özellikle Bianquis'in dikkatini çeken dinarların üzerinde halifenin adının bulunmamasından şüphelenmesinin tamamen haklı nedenlere dayandığını gösterir. Bu nokta çok önemlidir, halifenin adını zikretmeden sikke kestirmek ölüm cezasını göğüslemek ya da kesin olarak gerçekleşecek savaşı kabul etmek anlamı taşımaktadır. Ubeydullah b. Sarı'dan sonra hiçbir Türk general ya da vali, Mısır'da halifenin adını zikretmeden görev yaptıkları yerde sikke kestiremeyecektir. Ebû Cafer Eşnâs et-Türkî, İnak et-Türkî, Yezîd ibn Abdullah et-Türkî ve Müzâhim ibn Kağan gibi hatta Afşin gibi çok daha güçlü vali-ordu komutanları bir daha bunu denemeye bile cesaret edemeyeceklerdir (Boz 45).

Kozan bölgesinde aynı yerde, dünyada iki örneği literatürde kaydedilmiş olan el-Abbas b. Ebû Cafer'e ait başka bir fels daha bulunmuştur. Türk ordu komutanlarının sadece Mısır gibi valiliklerde değil aynı zamanda Abbâsî Devleti'nin merkezinde yönetime nasıl müdahalede buldukları hatta veliaht-halife ilan edilmiş birini bile tahttan indirip öldürebildiklerine örnek olan sikkedir. 248001 ve 219301 numarasıyla Zeno'ya iki fels, 166036 numarasıyla da bir dirhem kaydedilmiştir. Mısır'da, Suriye'de, Kafkaslar'da ve el-Cezîre'de Türk ordu komutanlarının bağımsızlık arayışları bitmek bilmemiş, güçlü halifelerin yönetime gelmesi ile ancak bu kronik problem aşılabilmektedir.

Aynı kalede beş nadirlik derecesine sahip olan, başka sikkelerde tespit edilmiştir. Bu kaleler boşaltıldıktan sonra, başka devletlerin yıkılan kale duvarlarını yeniden inşa ederek kullandıkları anlaşılmaktadır. Hatta yüzyıllar sonra Türklerin buraları ele geçirecekleri tarihe kadar Ermeniler tarafından kullanıldıkları, 12 Ermeni kralı ve 3 Gürcü kralı adına kestirilen (50 adet) sikkenin bulunduğu bir yer olduğu tespit edilmiştir. Haçlı Seferleri'ne katılmaları ve İlhanlıların Memlûklere karşı düzenledikleri saldırılarda askerî-siyasi müttefiki olmaları sebebiyle, Gürcüler bu bölgeye kadar gelmiştir. Kale kalıntıları arasındaki sikkeler, “Ermeni ve Gürcü Krallarına Ait Yeni Bulunan Bir Hazine Kalıntısı” adıyla yayımlanmıştır (Kalkan ve Çalık).

Kozan-Sis kaleleri-yıkık şehirleri, nümismatik disiplini açısından ünik ve çok nadir örneklerin bulunduğu bölge olması sebebiyle, zengin bir araştırma alanıdır. Emevîler ve Abbâsîler döneminde, Azerbaycan, Ermenistan, Horasan ve Fars valilerine ait nadir sikkeler, bu bölgeye savaşmak için gelen askerler tarafından getirilmiştir. Berde, Dabil-Divin, Ermeniyeye, Azerbaycan, Horasan (Rey), el-Bab-Derbend, Arran, Ramhurmuz, Yemame (Arabistan), Hârûniye, Fard, Belh, Merv, el-Masisa, Isfahan, Sur (Lübnan), Kirman, Salamiye, Tarsûs, Adana, Surre men ra (Sâmerrâ), Antakya ve Gazze şehirlerine ait sikkelerin bu kalelerde-şehir kalıntılarında bulunması, 86/705 yılından 353/964-5 yılına kadar askerî mücadelelerin bu bölgede bütün hızıyla devam ettiğini gösterir.

Destek ve Teşekkür Beyanı

Artvin Çoruh Üniversitesi Rektörlüğüne, akademisyenlerine metot ve bilgi desteği için teşekkür ederiz.

Katkı Oranı Beyanı

Yazarların çalışmadaki katkı oranları eşittir.

Çıkar Çatışması Beyanı

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

Kısaltmalar

AHB.: A.H.Baldwin & Sons Ltd. Islamic Coin Auction.

CNG:EA.: Classical Numismatic Group, Electronic Auction.

LN: Leunumismatik Auction.

ME: Morton & Eden Ltd. Auctions.

PNA.: Pegasi Numismatic Auction.

Özel Koleksiyonlar

ANS: American Numismatic Society Browse Collection

BK.: Berrom Collection Inventory Number: 219301

HCR: The Heberden Coin Room University of Oxford: 11594

KK.: Kazakhan Collection Inventory Number: 247458/248001/282003

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Ortak yazarlık: Aday makalenin yazarları sunulan çalışmaya önemli katkı sağlayanlarla sınırlı olmalıdır. Makalenin yazarları makalenin sunumundan önce kesinleşir. Çalışmaya katkısı olmayanların isimlerine aday makalede yer verilmesi (hediye yazarlık) ya da katkısı olanların isimlerine yer verilmemesi (hayalet yazarlık) kabul edilemez.

Teşekkür: Yazarlar gönderdikleri çalışmaları destekleyen kuruluşları, finansal kaynakları Teşekkür kısmında beyan etmekle yükümlüdür.

Özgünlük ve intihalden arınıklık: Sunulan çalışma bütünüyle yazarlarına ait olmalıdır. Diğer araştırmacıların çalışmalarına makale içinde yer verildiyse bunun uygun bir şekilde alıntılanması ve kaynaklarda bu çalışmaların listelenmesi gerekmektedir. Yazar makalesini intihal önleme yazılımı olan Turnit-in ya da iThenticate programlarından biri ile kontrol ederek benzerlik raporunu makale başvurusunda dergiye göndermekle yükümlüdür. Benzerlik oranı %15 ve üzeri olan makaleler değerlendirilmez alınmayacaktır.

Etik kurul izni ve onayı: Katılımcılardan anket, ölçek, görüşme, gözlem vb. yollarla veri toplamayı gerektiren araştırmalar için etik kurul izni alındığı aday makale içinde belirtilmelidir. Veri toplama sürecinde etik hususlara hassasiyet gösterildiğinin kanıtları (başkalarına ait ölçek, anket, fotoğrafların kullanımı için izin alınması gibi) çalışma içinde sunulmalıdır.

Basılmış bir yayının tekrar sunumu: Yazarların, daha önce yayınlanmamış çalışmalarını *bilig*'e sunmaları beklenir. Çalışmanın *bilig*'e sunumuyla birlikte başka dergiye de gönderilmiş olması kabul edilemez.

Dilimleme: Yazarlar bir araştırmanın sonuçlarını, araştırmanın bütünlüğünü bozacak şekilde ve uygun olmayan biçimde parçalara ayırıp birden fazla sayıda

yayımlayarak bu yayınları akademik atama ve yükselmelerde ayrı yayınlar olarak sunmamalıdır.

Ham verileri sunma ve saklama: Yazarlar, editör ve hakemler tarafından talep edildiğinde araştırmalarının ham verilerini sunmak ve bu verileri makaleleri yayımlandıktan sonra da saklamak zorundadırlar.

Yayımlanmış makalelerde hata tespiti: Bir yazar *bilig*'de yayınlanmış makalesinde önemli bir hata veya yanlışlık olduğunu tespit ettiğinde, dergi editörünü derhal haberdar etmek ve makaleyi geri çekmek veya düzeltmek için editörle işbirliği yapmak zorundadır.

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 ve İngilizce 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 kelimedenden oluşan Türkçe ve İngilizce 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.

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, *Fuzulî'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.

Aydınğün, İsmail, ve Ayşegül Aydınğün. “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 turnak 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. *Garibi'nin Yûsuf u Züleyhâsı: İnceleme-Tenkitleli 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 Zübdetül-Eş'âr*. Millet Kütüphanesi, A. Emiri 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 yayımlanmamış ama yayımlanmak 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.

Yazışma Adresi

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bilig Dergisi Editörlüğü

Aşağı Öveçler Mahallesi, 1314. Cadde, No: 19

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Journal of Social Sciences of the Turkic World
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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.

An article to be published in *bilig* should not have been previously published or accepted for publication elsewhere. Papers presented at a conference or symposium may be accepted for publication if this is clearly indicated

bilig is published quarterly: Winter/January, Spring/April, Summer/July and Autumn/October. At the end of each year, an annual index is prepared and published in the winter issue. Each issue is forwarded to subscribers, libraries and international indexing institutions within one month after its publication.

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Articles submitted to *bilig* are first reviewed in terms of the journal’s editorial principles. Those found unsuitable are returned to their authors for revision. Academic objectivity and scientific quality are considered of paramount importance in the evaluation of articles submitted for publication. Articles in accordance with editorial principles are reviewed by the Editorial Board. Submissions found suitable are referred to two referees working in relevant fields. The names of the referees are kept confidential and referee reports are stored in Manuscript Handling System.

If one of the referee reports is positive and the other negative, the article may be forwarded to a third referee for further assessment or alternatively, the Editorial Board may make a final decision based on the nature of the two reports. The authors are responsible for revising their articles in line with the criticism and suggestions made by the referees and the Editorial Board. If they disagree with any issues, they may make an objection by providing clearly-stated reasons. Submissions which are not accepted for publication are not deleted from the system. The final decision regarding the publication of the articles belongs to the Editorial Board.

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Acknowledgements: Those (institutions and financial resources) who have provided support but have not contributed to the research should be acknowledged in an Acknowledgements section.

Originality and purity of plagiarism: The submitted work should be entirely owned by the authors. If the work of other researchers is included in the manuscript, it should be cited appropriately and listed in the references. The author is obliged to check the manuscript with one of the plagiarism prevention software, Turnitin or iThenticate, and submit the similarity report to the journal for application. Manuscripts with a similarity rate of 15% or more will not be considered.

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Data access and retention: Authors are required to submit the raw data of their research when requested by the editors and referees, and keep this data after publication.

Fundamental errors in published works: When an author discovers a significant error or inaccuracy in his/her own published article, it is the author's obligation to promptly notify the journal editor and cooperate with the editor to retract or correct the paper.

Publication Policy

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No fee is charged to the author during article evaluation and publication in *bilig*. No royalties are paid to the author, either.

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bilig publishes articles in Turkish and English. Abstracts of the articles will be in Turkish and English.

Style Guidelines

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 and English 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.

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 than 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.

Aydınğün, İsmail, and Ayşegül Aydınğün. "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. *Hayâli Divanı*. Akçağ Yayınları, 1992.

For **encyclopedia entries**, if the author of the encyclopedia 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. "Azmi-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:

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Karakaya, Burcu. *Garibi'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.

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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:

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