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Şubat 2025 | February 2025

# METİN & ANALİZ

Kültürel Çalışmalar ve Strateji Dergisi



## TEXT & ANALYSIS

Journal of Cultural Studies and Strategy

# METİN & ANALİZ



Kültürel ve stratejik çalışmalar alanında yılda iki kez (Şubat ve Ağustos) yayımlanan, çift kör hakemli, açık erişimli uluslararası akademik dergidir.

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Metin & Analiz, kültürel çalışmalar ve stratejik incelemeler alanında yapılan bilimsel arařtırmaları akademik bir platformda yayımlamayı; farklı disiplinlerden gelen bilim insanlarını bir araya getirerek disiplinler arası iř birlięini güçlendirmeyi; teorik bilgiyle saha çalışmalarını ve uygulamalı arařtırmaları bir araya getirmeyi; yeni ve yenilikçi arařtırma yöntemleri ve yaklaşımları akademik camiaya sunarak küresel çapta bilgi alışverişini artırmayı amaçlamaktadır.

Metin & Analiz, kültürel çalışmalar ve stratejik incelemelerle ilgili geniş bir yelpazede özgün ve literatüre katkı sunan kuramsal ve uygulamalı arařtırma ve inceleme makalelerini kabul eder. Derginin kapsadığı konular arasında görsel kültür, kültürel mirasın korunması ve aktarılması, bellek çalışmaları, eğitim, kültürel etkileşimler, edebi metinlerin kültürel analizleri, ideoloji, dil ve kültür ilişkisi, ulusal kimlik çalışmaları, kadın çalışmaları, toplumsal değişim, küreselleşme, uluslararası politika, ülke ve bölge çalışmaları yer almaktadır.

## Aim & Scope

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Text & Analysis is dedicated to publishing scientific research in cultural and strategic studies on an academic platform. We aim to promote interdisciplinary collaboration by uniting scholars from various fields, integrating theoretical knowledge with field studies and applied research, and facilitating the global exchange of knowledge through new and innovative research methods and approaches for the academic community.

Text & Analysis welcomes original theoretical and applied research and review articles that contribute to the academic literature covering various topics in cultural and strategic studies. Our journal encompasses themes such as visual culture, cultural heritage preservation and transmission, memory studies, education, cultural exchanges, analysis of literary texts from a cultural perspective, the interplay between ideology, language and culture, studies on national identity, women's studies, social transformation, globalization, international politics, and national and regional studies.

## Yazım Kuralları

Metin & Analiz, kültürel çalışmalar ve stratejik incelemeler alanlarında özgün ve literatüre katkı sunan, Türkçe veya İngilizce olarak kaleme alınmış teorik ve uygulamalı araştırma makalelerini kabul eder. Dergiye sunulacak makalelerin etik ilkeler ve yayın politikası ile yazım kurallarına uygun olarak hazırlanmış olması beklenir. Yazım kurallarına uymayan makaleler, editörler tarafından yazarlarına iade edilir.

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APA 7 metin içi atıf ve kaynak gösterme kurallarıyla ilgili daha geniş bilgi ve daha farklı eser örnekleri için [tıklayınız](#).

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Text & Analysis accepts original theoretical and applied research articles written in Turkish or English that contribute to the academic literature in the fields of cultural and strategic studies. Articles submitted to the journal must be prepared in accordance with the ethical principles, publication policy and writing rules. The editors will return articles that do not comply with the writing rules to the authors. Articles prepared according to Text & Analysis's Writing Rules and Article Template are uploaded to the system at DergiPark by the respective author.

Articles submitted to Text & Analysis are checked with iThenticate plagiarism detection software. Articles with a similarity rate exceeding 15% are excluded from the evaluation process.

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Text & Analysis adopts APA 7 in-text citation and referencing system. Authors are encouraged to use citation management software (Endnote, Zotero, Mendeley, etc.). [Click here](#) for more information about APA 7 in-text citation and referencing rules and examples of different works.



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## Ethical Principles and Publication Policy

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Text & Analysis adheres to international standards of research and publication ethics. Our journal adopts the International Ethical Publishing Principles published by the Committee on Publication Ethics (COPE), Directory of Open Access Journals (DOAJ), Open Access Scholarly Publishers Association (OASPA), and the World Association of Medical Editors (WAME). Authors submitting articles to the journal must comply with the ethical rules listed below, which are determined under these principles.

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## The Genealogy of History and Strategy

### Tarih ve Stratejinin Soykütüğü

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#### ABSTRACT

This study investigates the complex relationship between history and strategy, focusing particularly on the etymological evolution of the concept of strategy. Strategy, as a term, is deeply rooted in historical context, with its meaning shaped and reshaped by the patterns of the past. This work explores how these historical patterns serve not only to illuminate the present but also to project possible futures, making strategy an invaluable tool in understanding both historical trajectories and geopolitical dynamics. Through a genealogical deconstruction of strategic thought, the study reveals the foundational elements—the “bricks” that have built the concept of strategy—offering insight into the forces that have shaped its evolution. By analyzing key historical texts and prominent thinkers, the research demonstrates that strategy is not merely a tool of military or political maneuver, but a reflective, intellectual device that traces the shifts in human thought, power, and governance. In exploring these historical foundations, this study illuminates how strategy’s evolving nature continues to inform our understanding of past conflicts and political structures, while providing crucial frameworks for navigating the complexities of contemporary global challenges. Ultimately, the work highlights the value of a historical and genealogical approach to strategy, showing how it offers essential insights into the present while guiding future projections of power and statecraft.

#### Keywords

History, Strategy, Geopolitical Thought, Historical Patterns, Strategic Theory, Interdisciplinary Approach, Historical Narratives.

#### ÖZ

Bu çalışma, tarih ile strateji arasındaki karmaşık ilişkiyi, özellikle strateji kavramının etimolojik evrimini ele alarak incelemektedir. Strateji, bir kavram olarak, derinlemesine tarihsel bağlama gömülmüştür; anlamı geçmişin örüntüleri tarafından şekillendirilmiş ve yeniden biçimlendirilmiştir. Bu çalışma, bu tarihsel örüntülerin sadece bugünü aydınlatmakla kalmayıp, aynı zamanda geleceğe dair projeksiyonlar sunduğunu ve stratejinin, geçmişin ve jeopolitik dinamiklerin anlaşılmasında ne denli önemli bir araç olduğunu göstermektedir. Stratejik düşüncenin jenerolojik bir çözümlemesi üzerinden yapılan bu inceleme, stratejinin evrimini şekillendiren temel unsurları—yani onu inşa eden “tuğlaları”—ortaya koyarak, bu evrimin içsel güçlerine dair derinlemesine bir anlayış sunmaktadır. Anahtar tarihsel metinler ve önde gelen düşünürlerin analizleriyle bu araştırma, stratejinin sadece askerî ya da politik bir manevra aracı değil, insan düşüncesi, iktidar ve yönetim anlayışındaki değişimlerin yansıması olarak işlev gördüğünü ortaya koymaktadır. Bu tarihsel temelleri inceleyerek, çalışma, stratejinin evrimleşen doğasının geçmişteki çatışmalar ve politik yapılar hakkında nasıl aydınlatıcı bilgiler sunduğunu ve aynı zamanda çağdaş küresel zorlukların üstesinden gelmek için nasıl kritik çerçeveler sağladığını gösteriyor. Nihayetinde bu çalışma, stratejiye tarihsel ve jenerolojik bir yaklaşımın değerini vurgulamakta ve bunun, hem günümüzü anlamamızda hem de gelecekteki güç projeksiyonları ve devlet yönetimi için yönlendirici bir perspektif sunduğunu ortaya koymaktadır.

#### Anahtar Kelimeler

Tarih, Strateji, Jeopolitik Düşünce, Tarihsel Örüntüler, Stratejik Teori, Disiplinlerarası Yaklaşım, Tarihsel Anlatılar.

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## INTRODUCTION

This work emerges from the complex relationship between history and strategy, a synthesis of intellectual curiosity, existential reflection, and the pursuit of understanding. Rooted in my doctoral research, it seeks to unravel the complexities of how historical narratives intertwine with strategic thought, shaping the very foundation of modern statecraft and geopolitical maneuvering. The dynamic interplay between the past and the present, the concrete and the abstract, offers a profound reflection on the underlying forces driving both historical change and strategic decisions.

At the heart of this inquiry lies a fundamental question: how does history, with its rich tapestry of human actions and consequences, guide the crafting of strategies that transcend time and circumstance? Strategy, in its essence, is more than a mere tactical calculation or a military pursuit; it is a reflection of the human condition, of the constant struggle for meaning, order, and power. As this work delves into the evolution of strategic thought, it becomes clear that history provides the essential framework through which future paths are shaped and envisioned. This study, originally developed in the context of my doctoral thesis, explores the confluence of history and strategy—two forces continuously evolving yet inextricably bound to one another.

This exploration is not simply academic—it is a philosophical pursuit that attempts to decipher the motives, the metaphysical underpinnings, and the realpolitik of those who have shaped the world's geopolitical landscape. In the following pages, the reader will find an account not just of events and theories, but of the intellectual forces that have influenced strategic thinking through the ages. The quest for knowledge, for power, and for the meaning behind both, remains at the core of human endeavor, and it is through this lens that the intersection of history and strategy is examined.

### **History and Strategy: An Interwoven Relationship**

History is the study of change and continuity across time. It transcends the boundaries of humanities disciplines such as philosophy, political science, psychology, literature, economics, and sociology, while also encompassing formal academic fields like chemistry, biology, and mathematics. In its broadest sense, history functions as a bridge that facilitates our understanding of other disciplines, providing a deeper connection to the knowledge they offer.

Strategy, a comprehensive term that represents all the paths followed in pursuit of a goal, often finds its guiding compass in history. While history seeks to make the past visible in an objective manner, it is inherently tied to causal relationships within its methodological framework. This allows history not only to illuminate the past but also



to provide meaning to present-day phenomena. Strategy, in turn, utilizes the teleological templates history provides to craft projections for the future.

In a 1955 interview, the renowned British historian Arnold Toynbee expressed a perspective that resonates with the functionalist view of history as a discipline: “History that remains unused is nothing. After all, intellectual life, like practical life, is an action. If you do not use it, it may as well be dead” (Toynbee, 2022). Toynbee, who was both an influential academic and a prominent political figure of his time, acknowledged that his approach to history was deeply influenced by international relations and cultural anthropology. These fields, rooted in practical application and holistic frameworks, shaped his understanding of history as a tool for addressing real-world issues (O’Brien, 2002, p. 44).

### **The Emergence and Evolution of Historical Thought**

The utilitarian approach to history, which can be traced back to earlier periods, leads us to the pioneering work of Ibn Khaldun, regarded as one of the founding figures of modern historiography. In fact, Toynbee wrote his seminal work *A Study of History* (Toynbee, 1934-1961) under the influence of Ibn Khaldun’s *Muqaddimah*, considering him his intellectual predecessor (Irwin, 1997, pp. 467-468). Ibn Khaldun’s interpretation of history as cyclical, involving stages of establishment, growth, and decline, not only aids in understanding the past but also provides patterns that can forecast the future. While some may view his perspective as pessimistic, it offers a more accurate understanding of historical ruptures than the Eurocentric view of continuous progress.

The philosophy of history, which encompasses these debates, follows a parallel trajectory with developments in the philosophy of science. While the natural sciences present data and retreat, history employs organizational frameworks that transcend mere data. Particularly, the approach known as historicism (Rodrigues, 2019, pp. 98-99) involves the reorganization of the past, implying that “history” is not merely a study of past events but a concept constructed through interpretation.

As a formal discipline, history emerged in the 19th century alongside the rise of modernity and the crisis of representation. The discovery of time as a fundamental factor of change led to divisions in the ways history was experienced and produced, resulting in new contours for the discipline. The historicist approach in modern historiography, which organizes the past through alternative projections of the future, also refers to linear history and the construction of social time (Uebel, 2017, pp. 9-11).



## **Foucault's Critique and the Concept of Strategy**

Foucault, who examines modernity from a critical perspective, argues that ancient history sought to uncover the roots of phenomena like land, language, and other elements that constitute the “present,” aiming to preserve the conditions of the present for future generations. However, according to Foucault, the purpose of history under the guidance of genealogy is not to uncover the roots of our identity and things, but rather to dedicate itself to their dissolution. The dream of an immutable first origin, Foucault asserts, can only exist within a discourse rooted in the ideal of a metaphysical spirit, not in reality (Foucault, 1996, pp. 143-162). Indeed, during the process of professionalizing history, it has continually sought to neutralize individual perspectives while reflecting the desires of subjects to intervene in public and everyday life. Moreover, the process of history becoming a discipline paradoxically fostered a demand for a form of history concerned with intervention in public debates, impressions, and the production of existence (Rodrigues, 2019, p. 100).

## **Strategy as an Interdisciplinary Field**

One of the disciplines nourished by history's departure from passivity is strategy. “Strategic studies, in essence, is an interdisciplinary field that examines how military force and other coercive instruments can be used to achieve political objectives during the dynamic interaction of at least two competing wills” (Duyvesteyn & Worrall, 2017, pp. 347-357). While enriched by fields such as political science, international relations, sociology, psychology, and anthropology, its relationship with the discipline of history is much older. According to Freedman (2017), ‘strategy’ has never been a static or fully agreed-upon concept; its meaning is reinterpreted as political and technological contexts change. Strategy, as a historical study, has been clearly distinguishable from military history since ancient times, with works by figures such as Sun Tzu, Kautilya, and Vegetius providing early examples (Koliopoulos, 2019, p. 2). To analyze the relationship between history and strategy within a Foucauldian framework, a semantic analysis can be a useful guide, allowing us to avoid falling into the traps of analogy and anachronism.

Although periods prior to the invention of writing are often referred to as “prehistory,” when excluding natural history, the construction of “history” in its holistic sense begins when humans position themselves in both the subject-object relationship. As beings distinguished by their socialization and communication skills, humans play a central role in this cultural accumulation process, which can also be considered a tautological structure.

A multitude of situations can be defined that prompted early humans to engage in oral communication and produce recurring messages. However, when viewed through

the lens of a historian, two main types of repeated messages emerge. The first is communication that conveys “news,” while the second represents the “interpretation” of current circumstances. The second class of messages is an expression of subjective experience, dealing not with the news of existing objects but with their etiological interpretations. The abstraction of testimony regarding specific situations at a given time through this form of thought represents a step in the development of historical consciousness (Vansina, 1985, pp. 1-8).

Writing, born out of the need to record these messages, did not emerge suddenly. Traces of the evolution of visual communication, which began with humans interpreting gestures and facial expressions, can be observed in the paintings left on the walls of caves tens of thousands of years ago. Some of the oldest known examples of these paintings, such as those found in South Africa, are dated to around 73,000 BCE. For instance, when examining the rain ceremony drawings found in southern Rhodesia, we encounter not only natural phenomena painted on rocks but also a narrative created by early humans’ imagination (Gelb, 1963, pp. 24-25).

The images, which had counterparts in spoken language, transformed into symbols, and the symbols, in turn, evolved into syllables representing sounds. The first writing system, which emerged much later in history, can be traced back to around 3100 BCE in Sumer. The development of irrigation systems and the surplus production in agriculture led to more complex commercial and political organizations, which are considered the main factors driving the creation of writing (Gelb, 1963, pp. 60-62).

### **Mythology, History, and Writing: A Symbolic Transition**

In ancient times, mythology and history were intricately intertwined. Myths served as symbolic tools for early humans to make sense of life and understand the cosmos. Over time, myths gave way to sacred texts and, ultimately, to reason. This transition is associated with the concepts of mythos, epic, and logos. In the civilizational shift that brought about writing, logos was attributed to philosophers, mythos to liars, and epic to poets who were considered more emotional (Akgül, 2014, p. 4).

*The Iliad* (Homer, 1856) and *The Odyssey* (Homer, 1880), both attributed to the ancient Greek poet Homer and written in the 8th century BCE, are considered the first major works of Western literature. Although these works present a historical narrative of the ten-year Trojan War and its aftermath, in terms of genre and style, they are closer to the epic than to historical writing.

The first figure to approach history in a rational and systematic manner was the ancient Greek historian Herodotus. In his work *The Histories* (Herodotus, 2003), written in the 5th century BCE, which focuses on the Greco-Persian Wars, he not only coined the



term but also laid the foundation for the discipline itself. In fact, in the 1st century BCE, the Roman statesman Cicero, in his book *On the Laws*, attributed to Herodotus the title “father of history.” However, criticisms of Herodotus have been just as ancient as his work. The Athenian historian and general Thucydides, considered a contemporary, never mentioned Herodotus by name but criticized his narrative approach, emphasizing that the most important task of the historian is to record experience (Thucydides, 1972) Thucydides rejected Herodotus’ method, accusing him of including interpretations of events he did not personally witness (Evans, 1968, pp. 11-12).

This critique highlights that philosophical and methodological debates on the discipline of history are as old as the discipline itself. The term “history” in English has its roots in the Greek word *istoria* (ἵστωρ-έω or ἱστορία), meaning “to inquire about something” or “to investigate.” It also carries meanings of “narrative” and “story” (Liddell & Scott, 1996, p. 842). In Herodotus’ work, the term “myth” is repeatedly used in a similar sense as “story,” though it does not imply judgments of truth or falsehood. The legendary and superstitious connotations attached to these words are the natural consequence of modern languages’ tendency to alter derived terms (Herodotus, 1975, p. xiii). However, applying these terms retrospectively can lead to anachronistic conclusions.

Works by ancient authors like Homer, Herodotus, and Thucydides are considered the nucleus of modern historiography. A common feature of these works is their focus on the wars fought in their respective regions. They concentrated on the winners and losers of these wars and analyzed the causes that led to the existing outcomes. In this context, we can assert that history and strategy were closely intertwined in the ancient world. Indeed, the term “strategy,” expressed by similar phonetic words in many languages, also derives from Greek, much like the word “history.” In Greek, *strategos* (στράτηγος) means “a military commander or leader, general,” while *strategema* (στράτηγῆμα) refers to “an element of generalship, the actions of a general” (Liddell, 1996, p. 1652).

Independent of its Western roots, the concept of strategy was also developed in the East, with one of the earliest and most famous works being Sun Tzu’s *The Art of War*, dating back to the 4th century BCE (Sun Tzu, 2008). Composed of thirteen chapters and three hundred eighty-four theories of war, this work distinguishes itself from others by focusing on the theoretical framework of warfare. While it diverges from the discipline of history, its strategic propositions are built upon examples drawn from Chinese history and the philosophical tradition of Taoism.

*The Stratagems* (Frontinus, 1925), written by the Roman author Frontinus in the 1st century CE, is one of the earliest examples of strategy as a distinct discipline in the

West. Frontinus divided his work into four books, covering preparation for battle, the actual battle and its aftermath, siege warfare, and other related topics (Turner, 2007, pp. 427-428). Throughout ancient and medieval European intellectual circles, the term “strategy” was largely confined to its military meaning. The most significant shift in this regard came with the publication of Niccolò Machiavelli’s *The Prince* (Machiavelli, 1994), published in 1532. While Machiavelli did not directly reference the term strategy, his view of military success as a tool for absolute monarchy and his assertion that political power originates from force rather than divine authority secularized political thinking and contributed to the scientific study of applicable politics. The impact of this work on political science and strategic studies continued to grow well into the 21st century.

Roman historians used the term “strategia” when referring to areas under the control of a military commander or a member of a war council. The term maintained its narrow geographic meaning until the 18th century, when it was first used in a form close to its modern meaning by the French military theorist Jacques-Antoine-Hippolyte, Comte de Guibert, in 1799 as “La Strategique” (Horwath, 2006, p. 1). Shortly thereafter, in the post-Napoleonic period, the term was defined in its current sense in the *Oxford English Dictionary* in 1825. According to Robert O’Neil, prior to this period, the term “strategy” as we read it in connection with the wars of the ancient Greeks and Romans referred to more than just great tactics (Malik, 1999a, p. 14).

Dietrich Heinrich von Bülow (1757-1807), a Prussian officer and scholar, focuses on the distinction between the concept of “strategy” (strategics) and the French term “la stratégie.” In his 1799 work *The Spirit of the Modern System of War* (Bülow, 1806), he traced the origins of the term strategy and argued that it should not be reduced to merely “the art of the general.” Instead, he emphasized that strategy encompasses the entire art of warfare, including both strategy and tactics. However, Bülow’s theories, which incorporated geometric and mathematical principles known as “Stratarithmetrie,” were criticized by Napoléon (1769-1821) and Carl von Clausewitz (1780-1831), the Prussian general who fought against the French in the First World War. Napoléon, who had mobilized war through totalizing strategies, and Clausewitz, with his famous assertion that “war is simply politics by other means” (Clausewitz, 2015, p. 19), derided Bülow’s approach (Yalçinkaya, 2019, p. 2). Clausewitz’s work *On War* became a second major shift in the definition of strategy, expanding it beyond its military roots to its modern understanding.

Before the 19th century, a series of authors, extending the Enlightenment period in Europe, sought to uncover the scientific principles underlying the execution of war. This was rooted in the belief that military strategy, like other arts, should be based on specific and fixed principles (Malik, 1999b, pp. 17-18). Given that most of the wars in the past four centuries took place in Europe or between Europeans and the native



populations of other regions, it is unsurprising that the majority of references to and debates about war were conducted by European authors. Kalevi Holsti's (1991) study of wars between 1648 and 1989 concluded that over 90% of all wars during this period were initiated by Europeans (Yalçinkaya, 2019, pp. 1-2).

In the 21st century, new strategic layers, such as air, space, and electromagnetic spectrum (EMS), have been added to the classic military domains of land and sea in geopolitics. These new layers, which parallel the development of technology and changes in the international landscape, have never been erased from history but have instead been integrated into the ongoing strategic discourse (Gray, 2008, pp. 313-314). Each geopolitical layer in the study of history and strategy is discussed within its respective school of thought. Thus, figures like Sun Tzu, Machiavelli, and Clausewitz, alongside Swiss theorist Antoine-Henri Jomini (1779-1869) and British strategist Basil Henry Liddell Hart (1895-1970), are considered prominent figures in the land school of strategy. U.S. strategists Alfred Thayer Mahan (1840-1914) and Julian Corbett (1854-1922) represent the naval school, while pioneers in the air and space strategy include Italians Guilo Douhet (1869-1930), Americans William Mitchell (1879-1936), British Sir Hugh Trenchard (1873-1956), and Russian Alexander de Seversky (1894-1974) (Malik, 1999b, pp. 16-38).

Space strategy, especially after the Cold War, has gained increasing importance. The space race between the United States and the Soviet Union led to significant developments in satellite technology and military presence in space. Today, many countries are working to develop their space strategies. Electromagnetic spectrum strategy, which includes topics such as electronic warfare and cybersecurity, has been developed to ensure the protection of military communication and targeting systems. These strategies are of great importance for states to effectively manage their cybersecurity and military operations (Gray, 2008, pp. 313-317).

The new areas of strategy mentioned above fall under the broader concept of "military strategy." In the modern use of the term "strategy" in the 21st century, it appears not only as a separate discipline but also in various forms across multiple disciplines. Academically, it is used to develop theoretical frameworks and applied methodologies, particularly in fields such as political science, military studies, business, economics, and sociology. In this work, formal strategy, whose primary actors are states, is divided into numerous sub-disciplines.

At the top of a state's strategic planning hierarchy is the concept of "Grand Strategy," which is primarily shaped by national policymakers and leaders. It concerns how national resources should be aligned across various sectors to achieve desired objectives in an uncertain world. While informing military strategy, it also transcends it

(Kennedy, 1991, pp. 4-5). Grand Strategy encompasses not only military strategy but also the full spectrum of national power tools used to achieve a nation's national interests, such as economic, diplomatic, informational, and internal security strategies (Liddell Hart, 1991, Chapter 1). These strategic areas cannot be sharply separated from one another. The success of Grand Strategy depends on the coordination of all elements as a cohesive whole. It involves prioritizing limited resources and must always be flexible enough to adapt to the global environment.

The sub-disciplines of military strategy, such as doctrine, concepts, operational strategy, tactics, operational concepts, and operations, form a hierarchical structure that guides the application of force from the broadest to the most specific levels. At the broadest level, doctrine provides the fundamental military principles and philosophies that shape the use of force in various situations (Headquarters, 2017, pp. 1-3). Doctrine tends to be permanent and evolves gradually in response to significant changes in warfare (Murray et al., 2012, p. 142). Concepts, placed beneath doctrine, represent innovative or forward-thinking military ideas that explore new ways of using military force. Unlike doctrine, concepts may not be universally adopted but can encourage the development of future strategies (Joint Chiefs of Staff, 2018, p. II-1).

Operational Strategy fills the gap between national policy and military action. It translates national security goals into achievable military objectives, considering existing resources and the broader political landscape (Gray, 1990, p. 9). Operational Strategy focuses on how to achieve these objectives at the national or theater level, determining the tactics that serve as a practical map for execution (McMaster, 2008, p. 19). The concept of operations (CONOPS) outlines specific methods for executing a given operation or mission, bringing military strategy into focus. It details the desired strategic outcomes by considering timing, logistics, and the deployment of forces. Finally, operations represent the most focused level, involving the actual execution of military actions in alignment with the approved Operational Concept. This includes the deployment of specific forces and resources to achieve a defined military objective (Headquarters, 2017, pp. 3-10).

The contemporary meanings of these terms were solidified in the mid-20th century following the experiences of World War II (Cohen et al., 2012, p. 21). The need for clear communication and planning during large-scale operations emphasized the importance of standardizing military vocabulary (Murray, 2012, p. 142). The organizational chart depicting the hierarchy of strategy in the 21st century is visualized in Figure 1 below. Understanding these distinctions and their hierarchical order is crucial for comprehending military decision-making and planning processes.



## HIERARCHY OF STRATEGY



**Figure 1:** Hierarchy of Strategy (Akduman, 2024, p. 17).

National Security Strategies (NSS) do not directly correspond to any subcategory within this hierarchy. Although the term has been used orally for a much longer time, it was first institutionalized with the U.S. National Security Act of 1947 (Congress.gov, 2022). Today, National Security Strategies are not only developed by the United States but also by many other countries, transforming the broad goals of Grand Strategy into more focused plans applicable to specific periods of governance (The White House, 2022). They outline near-term priorities, identify key threats and challenges, and indicate how various state institutions will contribute to achieving national security goals (U.S. Department of Defense, 2022). The National Security Strategy serves as a bridge between the high-level vision of Grand Strategy and the concrete steps taken by the government. It includes elements from all subfields of Grand Strategy in order to achieve national security objectives in the short and medium term.

### CONCLUSION

Ultimately, as a discipline, strategy emerges from the misty labyrinths of history, an intricate art shaped by social complexity and societal consensus. Like a ghost trailing behind power, it seeps into the minds of those who hold sway over humanity. This, too,



is a shared reflection of the quest for meaning and the effort to comprehend human existence. At the dawn of ancient times, as the sun of humanity's era began to rise, those who took the first steps in the complex dance of war and politics simultaneously laid the foundations of strategy. As time progressed, the meaning and function of strategy have evolved, but its roots remain forever tied to humanity's search within the labyrinth of power and knowledge. In the depths of this labyrinth, the shadow of Foucault reverberates as the concept of strategy changes shape through new understandings and practices of power. This evolution metaphorically passes through the filters of the power and dominion games human communities and states have played throughout history.

Thus, the geopolitical and historical evolution of strategy emerges as a synthesis of humanity's social complexity, societal consensus, and the quest for meaning. This process moves forward, constantly reshaping itself toward the future while pushing the boundaries of human understanding and thought.

In the future of humanity, the evolution of strategy will be woven with the continuous transformation of archetypes of knowledge, technology, and social changes, traveling in unexpected directions. In the infinite twists of cosmic time, the untapped potential of possibilities and thoughts lying beyond the intellectual horizon of humankind will shape and redefine the philosophical dimensions of strategy.

At the ultimate boundaries of thought, human societal structures and technological access will reconstruct the conceptual framework of strategy. This process will advance with two key aims: one to reach the farthest corners of the universe and chase the pursuit of universal meaning, and the other to overcome the social and ecological challenges facing the world. This quest and development process will contribute to humankind's deeper understanding of existence and the universe, opening new horizons in the future evolution of strategy.

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## Akdeniz Paktı ve Türk Basınındaki Yankısı

### *Mediterranean Pact and its Repercussions in the Turkish Press*

Yıldız ÇALIKKILIÇ\*

#### ÖZ

Akdeniz Paktı İtalya'nın artan saldırgan politikalarına karşı Türkiye, Yugoslavya, Yunanistan ve İngiltere tarafından imzalanmıştır. Makalede Akdeniz Paktı'nın oluşum süreci, amacı, diplomatik arka planı ve uluslararası siyaset üzerindeki etkileri kapsamlı şekilde ele alınmıştır. Makalede uluslararası dengeye dikkat edilerek bölgesel güvenlik kaygıları üzerinden Akdeniz Paktı'nın önemi üzerinde durulmuştur. Makalede Akdeniz Paktı'nın 1930'lu yıllarda Akdeniz güvenlik dengesindeki etkisine yer verilmiştir. Akdeniz Paktı ile Türkiye Cumhuriyeti'nin uluslararası politikada çok yönlü stratejik faaliyetleri değerlendirilmiştir. Makalede, Akdeniz Paktı hem küresel hem de bölgesel siyaset açısından özgün işlevi üzerinden incelenmiştir. Bu bağlamda, makale Akdeniz Paktı'nın hem tarihsel hem de diplomatik bir olgu olarak bugüne kadar daha önce ele alınmamış yönlerini gün yüzüne çıkarmaktadır. Makalede nitel araştırma yöntemiyle birincil ve ikincil kaynaklar incelenmiş, döneme ait olan arşiv belgeleri üzerine çalışılarak diplomatik yazışmalar ile dönemin liderlerinin açıklamalarına yer verilmiştir. Ayrıca, literatür taramasıyla ele alınan Akdeniz Paktı'na dair detaylar, arşiv belgeleri ışığında yeniden değerlendirilmiştir. İlk kez incelenen bazı belgeler ve diplomatik kayıtlar, çalışmanın alana yaptığı özgün katkıyı oluşturmaktadır.

#### Anahtar Kelimeler

Akdeniz, Benito Mussolini, Akdeniz Paktı, İtalya.

#### ABSTRACT

The Mediterranean Pact was signed by Türkiye, Yugoslavia, Greece, and the United Kingdom in response to Italy's increasingly aggressive foreign policies. This article provides a comprehensive analysis of the Pact's formation, objectives, diplomatic context, and its impact on international politics. The study emphasizes the importance of the Pact in the context of regional security concerns, with particular focus on its role in the international balance of power. Additionally, the article investigates the influence of the Mediterranean Pact on the security framework of the Mediterranean region during the 1930s. The analysis includes an evaluation of Türkiye's strategic diplomatic activities, which were enhanced by the Pact. Furthermore, the article examines the Mediterranean Pact's unique contribution to both global and regional political dynamics. This study uncovers previously unexplored aspects of the Pact, both historically and diplomatically. A qualitative research methodology is employed, utilizing primary and secondary sources, with an emphasis on archival documents, diplomatic correspondence, and statements from the period's leaders. The article also reassesses details from the existing literature on the Mediterranean Pact considering newly examined archival materials. The incorporation of previously unpublished documents and diplomatic records constitutes a significant contribution to the field.

#### Keywords

Mediterranean Sea, Benito Mussolini, Mediterranean Pact, Italy.

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## Extended Abstract

Following the First World War, efforts were made to establish a new world order. However, instead of resolving existing issues, this new order paved the way for a series of new problems. States affected by the devastating consequences of World War I entered a rapid arms race to meet the requirements of becoming powerful nations. Victorious states from the war sought to compensate for their losses by imposing heavy reparations on the defeated nations. One such nation was Germany. The victorious powers burdened Germany with significant reparations and repair debts to recover their economies. Under this weight, the German economy was crushed. However, the collapse of Germany's economy triggered a butterfly effect, severely impacting the economies of many other nations. Viewing the outbreak of another war as imminent, states simultaneously accelerated their armament efforts and sought to halt the arms race. To this end, a series of conferences were held in quick succession. Nevertheless, it cannot be said that these conferences and initiatives were particularly successful. The ambitions of leaders from the victorious states, determined to protect their gains, could not be restrained. One such leader was Benito Mussolini. Upon taking power in Italy, Mussolini took action to reposition Italy within the global order. He frequently expressed his ambitions concerning the Mediterranean in particular. European powers, in response to these expansionist endeavors, took precautionary measures. One such measure was the Mediterranean Pact, established following negotiations between Britain and France.

The Mediterranean Pact holds significance not only as a framework for cooperation but also for reopening channels of communication among states that had been delayed for a long time. The Pact is particularly important in the context of Turkish-British relations. Strained due to the Mosul issue, relations between Türkiye and Britain regained functionality through the Pact. This rapprochement between the two nations eventually led to their alignment on the same side during World War II. The Mediterranean Pact was signed in 1935, and this study provides a comprehensive examination of the agreement from diplomatic, historical, and international relations perspectives. The formation and negotiation process of the Pact are analyzed, with a focus on its impact on global and regional security policies. Additionally, the study explores Türkiye's role in foreign policy within the framework of the Pact, as well as its influence on relations among regional and global actors.

The Mediterranean Pact holds significant importance in the context of rapidly shifting global dynamics, regional security policies, and international cooperation during the 1930s. However, it has remained relatively overlooked in historical scholarship and has not been thoroughly examined. This study aims to address this gap by providing a detailed analysis of the Pact. Furthermore, it seeks to explore and elaborate on the complex structure of international relations during the period. The article focuses on how the Mediterranean Pact functioned as a stabilizing factor in the 1930s. In this context, particular attention is given to Türkiye's multidimensional foreign policy strategy. The study emphasizes the Pact's impact on regional cooperation and highlights its unique value in ensuring regional security.

In our study, the qualitative research method was employed to analyze the diplomatic and historical background of the Mediterranean Pact. The research aimed to provide a multidimensional perspective by utilizing both primary and secondary sources. The primary data includes diplomatic documents, records, and archival materials from the era. Key sources were obtained from the Presidential State Archives of the Republic of Türkiye, the German Federal Foreign Office Archives (Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amts), and the United States Diplomatic Archives (Foreign Relations of the United States). These archival documents were used to examine the formation process of the Mediterranean Pact, the positions of the parties involved, and the dynamics of international relations at the time. Diplomatic correspondence, protocols, and speeches of leaders were also analyzed in detail through contemporary newspapers. Additionally, the study evaluated how the Mediterranean Pact was perceived by the public, aiming to address gaps in the existing literature. The foreign policy orientations of the parties involved in the Pact were analyzed using a comparative approach. The research focused on the distinct diplomatic and strategic objectives of the states that participated in the Pact, highlighting their roles in its establishment. By employing a cause-and-effect framework, the study assessed the security mechanism created by the Mediterranean Pact, its operational structure, and its effectiveness.

The Mediterranean Pact's significance in Türkiye's regional security and its broader role in international relations has been critically analyzed. The study examines Italy's expansionist policies under Mussolini, focusing on military threats and regional security mechanisms. It highlights Türkiye's diplomatic strategy within the Pact, emphasizing its impact on the Eastern Mediterranean security balance. The Pact revitalized Türkiye's relations with Western states, enhancing its international standing. Serving as a short-term balancing tool, the Pact primarily aimed to counter Italy's aggression. It is a brief example of regional cooperation and an important diplomatic balancing instrument. This study underscores the Mediterranean Pact's critical role in both international relations and regional security. While Türkiye contributed actively as a balancing force, the Pact failed to establish a lasting security framework due to the divergent interests of its founding states. In conclusion, the Mediterranean Pact represents a key historical and diplomatic milestone. This research reaffirms its place in international relations, with a focus on Türkiye's influence. The analysis offers valuable insights for future studies on regional security policies and contributes uniquely to the field.



## GİRİŞ

I. Dünya Savaşı'nın bitmesiyle birlikte Avrupa'da derin bir siyasal, sosyal ve ekonomik buhran meydana gelmiştir. Savaşın ardından, "Yeni Dünya" düzenini oluşturan temel etken Versailles Antlaşması olmuştur (Boemeke, Feldman & Glaser, 1998). Versailles Antlaşması, var olan sorunlara kısa süreli çözüm üretse de temel sorunları çözüme kavuşturamamıştır (Kissinger, 2000, ss. 223-24). Antlaşma, barış sürecini devam ettirmiş olsa da kaybeden devletlerin yeniden siyasi arenada etkin olma istekleri barış sürecinin sarsılmasına neden olmuştur (Barlas & Güvenç, 2014, s. 100). I. Dünya Savaşı'nı kaybeden devletlerle yapılan ağır barış antlaşmaları ardından imparatorlukların yıkılması, ekonomik krizlere zemin hazırlamış ve siyasal buhranları beraberinde getirmiştir. Almanya'ya ağır koşulları dayatan Versailles Antlaşması, Avrupa'da dengelerin kalıcılığını engellemiştir.

Versailles Antlaşması, aslında Almanya'yı memnun etmeyen ve imzalayan devletler için gelecek adına ağır yükümlülükler getiren bir antlaşmalardır. Versailles Antlaşması, yalnızca savaştan galip ayrılan devletlerin çıkarlarına hizmet etmiştir. Ayrıca savaşı kaybeden devletlere ağır şartlar yüklemiştir (Sander, 2020, ss. 16-26). Her ne kadar I. Dünya Savaşı sonrası imzalanmış ve savaşı bitiren bir antlaşma olarak kabul edilse de aslında zoraki sağlanan barışı sonlandıran bir antlaşmadır. Versailles Antlaşması zor şartları barındırdığı için uzun vadede barışın kalıcı olmasını sağlayamamıştır. Versailles Antlaşması ile amaçlanan, İngiltere ve Fransa'nın birlikte hareket ederek ortak düşman olarak gördükleri Almanya'nın toprak ve sömürgelerini kaybetmesini sağlamaktır. En temel hedef ise Almanya'ya derin darbe vurarak bir daha Avrupa dengesini bozmasını engellemektir. Fransa ve İngiltere, Almanya'ya karşı oluşturulan yaptırımlarda aynı görüşte olmamıştır. İngiltere, Fransa'ya nazaran daha ılımlı politika yürütmüştür. Aslında İngiltere'nin takip ettiği politika ile amacı, Fransa'nın Avrupa'da hegemonya kurmasını ve güçlü devlet olmasını engellemektir. Özellikle her iki devleti aynı politikada birleştiren ise ifade Almanya ile Sovyetler Birliği arasında olası bir ittifakın oluşma düşüncesidir (Sander, 2020, ss. 16-65).

Fransa, I. Dünya Savaşı'nda ciddi bir hâkimiyet oluşturarak Kıta Avrupası'nda önemli bir siyasal güç hâline gelmiştir. Fransa için en büyük endişe Almanya'nın tekrar saldırgan politikalar izleyerek Fransa'nın elde etmiş olduğu kazanımları elinden almaya çalışmasıdır. Fransa Almanya'ya karşı bir güvenlik ağı oluşturarak ikili antlaşmalar ile kendini güvenceye almak isterken Almanya ise tamamen kendine zorla dayatılan Versailles düzeninden kurtulma yollarını aramaktadır (Son Posta, 10 Nisan 1933, s. 8). Almanya, bir süre sonra kendine dayatılmış olan Versailles Antlaşması'nda bazı değişiklikler yapılması için talepte bulunmuştur. Almanya'nın var olan statükonun değiştirilmesi isteği, özellikle Fransa ve diğer devletlerce yakından takip edilmiştir



(Vakit, 10 Mayıs 1933, s. 9). Almanya'nın talepleri bir süre sonra olumlu karşılanmıştır (Son Posta, 27 Nisan 1933, s. 1). Almanya'nın kabul edilen taleplerinden ilki, tamirat ödemeleri hakkında düzenleme olup "Dawes Planı" ile kabul edilmiştir. Bir başka gelişme de "Locarno Antlaşması"dır (Attar, 2020). Locarno Antlaşması imzalandığında, Fransa temkinli davranarak Almanya'nın yayılcı emellerinin önüne geçmek adına Polonya ve Çekoslovakya ile ikili antlaşmalar imzalamıştır (PAAA\_RZ206\_030265\_051051'de yer alan ifadeye göre "Mussolini'nin dört büyük güçten oluşan bir yönetim kurma niyeti elbette Fransa'yı izole etmeyi amaçlıyordu"). Sonuçta Almanya 8 Eylül 1926'da Milletler Cemiyetine dâhil olmuştur (Nicosia, 1997, ss. 236-37). Böylece kısa süreli bir sükûnet ve barış durumu meydana gelmiştir.

Ancak Avrupa'da sağlanan bu barış ve sükûnet dönemi pek kalıcı olmamıştır. 1929'da Amerika'da tüm dünyayı etkileyen ekonomik buhran başlamıştır (Yavuz, 1994, s. 84). Amerika Birleşik Devletleri'nde (ABD) başlayan bir ekonomik krizin tüm dünyayı bu denli etkisi altına alma nedeni, Avrupa ve ABD arasında var olan ticaret bağının birbiriyle yakından ilişkili olmasıdır. Avrupa-ABD ticari bağları birbirine sıkı sıkıya bağlı olup birbirinden etkilenmiştir. Ekonomik buhran, ABD ticaretini derinden etkileyerek ithalatın düşmesine neden olmuştur. İthalatta düşüş zamanla ihracatı etkilemiştir. ABD'de yaşanan ekonomik kayıp Avrupa halklarının da zarar görmesine neden olmuştur. ABD'de ekonomik durgunluğun oluşması, Avrupa'da birçok alanda olduğu gibi tarım ve sanayi ürünlerinin zarar görmesine neden olmuştur. (Kennedy, 1991, ss. 331-35). Bu durum dolaylı bir şekilde Avrupa'da siyasi duruma da zarar vererek işsizliğin artmasına neden olmuş ve yoksulluğu artırmıştır. Meydana gelen kaos ortamı siyasi olarak halkın Hükûmet'e karşı tepkili olmasına neden olmuştur.

I. Dünya Savaşı'nda birçok devlet gibi İngiltere, Fransa ve İtalya da ABD'den borç alarak savaşta kalabilmiştir. Bu borçların ödenmesi ise Almanya'dan alınacak olan tazminat bedelleriyle karşılanmıştır. Fakat Almanya'nın bu borçları ödeyebilmesi ABD'den alacağı kredi desteğine bağlıdır. ABD'de ekonomik buhranla birlikte kredi desteğini geri çekmiştir. Almanya ekonomisi, bu tazminat bedellerini ödeyebilecek durumda olmadığı için sistem çökmüştür (Banholzer & Straumann, 2019, s. 1041). Versailles Antlaşması ile amaçlanan hedeflere ulaşamamıştır (Steiner, 2011, s. 14). Milletler Cemiyeti de var olan düzeni korumakta yeterli olamamıştır. Dahası silahsızlanma konferansları amaçlarına ulaşamamıştır. yavaş yavaş, dünya yeni bir savaşa doğru sürüklenmiştir (Barlas & Güvenç, 2014, ss. 21-23). 18 Eylül 1931'de Japonya Mançurya'yı işgal etmiştir (Sander, 2020, s. 70). Bu işgale tepki verilmeyerek diğer işgallerin de gerçekleşmesine zemin hazırlanmıştır. İtalya saldırgan tutumunu artırmıştır ve Akdeniz söylemlerini sıklıkla dile getirmiştir. Bu durum Avrupa'da küçük çaplı çekişmeleri meydana getirmiştir. Fakat yeni bir savaşı başlatacak her adımdan kaçınılmış olup daha çok diplomatik yollarla var olan sorunların çözülmesi



hedeflenmiştir. Birçok konferans ve pakt ile yeni bir savaşın başlaması engellenmeye çalışılmıştır (Sander, 2020, s. 35).

Diplomatik yollarla çözülmeye çalışılan bir diğer önemli sorun da Almanya ve İtalya'nın saldırgan politikalarının engellenmesidir. Almanya ve İtalya yayılmacılığına karşı, devletler harekete geçip çeşitli ittifaklar, konferanslar ve antlaşmalar yapmışlardır. Bu saldırgan girişimleri durdurmaya yönelik yapılan ittifaklardan biri de Akdeniz Paktı'dır. Çalışmamızda Akdeniz Paktı'nın Türkiye'ye yansımaları değerlendirilmiş olup Paktın Türk basınına nasıl yansıdığı da ele alınmıştır. Yapılan çalışmada gazete ve arşiv belgelerine yer verilmiş, Almanya (Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amts) ile Amerika (Foreign Relations of the United States Diplomatic) arşivlerinden de yararlanılmıştır.

### **Akdeniz Paktı**

II. Dünya Savaşı'na adım adım gidildiği günlerde Türk dış politikasını derinden etkileyen olaylardan biri Akdeniz Paktı'dır. İtalya'nın Doğu Akdeniz'de yayılmacı tavırları, Mare Nostrum (Bizim Deniz) söylemleri karşısında İngiltere ve Fransa arasında oluşturulan karşılıklı garantiler düzeneğine Akdeniz Misakı/Paktı adı verilmiştir. Türkiye Cumhuriyeti ise Akdeniz Paktı'na 22 Ocak 1936 tarihinde katılmıştır (Armaoğlu, 1991, s. 478). 1930'lu yıllardan itibaren dünyada değişen dengeler, Almanya ve İtalya'nın yayılmacı politikaları diğer devletler tarafından da yakından takip edilmiştir. 1932'den itibaren "Faşist Lider" Benito Mussolini, Akdeniz üzerindeki hayallerini sesli bir şekilde belirtmeye başlamıştır. Nitekim bu tarihten sonra Roma ve Ankara ilişkileri kopma noktasına gelmiştir.

9 Şubat 1934'te imzalanmış olan Balkan Antantı, Türkiye ve İtalya ilişkilerine ciddi etki etmiştir. İtalya, Balkan Antantı'nı kendine karşı bir oluşum olarak değerlendirmiştir. Nitekim İtalya, saldırgan siyasetini daha da artırarak Milletler Cemiyeti kararlarına rağmen 1935 yılında Habeşistan'ı işgal etmiştir (Payne, 1995, ss. 1-17). "İtalya'nın Habeşistan ile ilgilenmesi, Türkiye'yi geçici bir süre rahatlatmıştır" (Türkmen, 2023, s. 287). İşgal, Avrupalı devletlerin bölgeyle daha yakından ilgilenmesine neden olmuştur (Quartararo, 1977, s. 185). Milletler Cemiyeti doğrudan harekete geçmeyerek Akdeniz'de yayılmacı politikalar güden İtalya'ya karşı yaptırım kararı almıştır (FRUS1936v03/d160). Fakat, bu yaptırımların etkili olmadığı ve İtalya'yı durduramadığı da açıktır. Nitekim alınan önlemler giderek artırılmış ve İtalya'nın saldırgan tutumu sonlandırılmaya çalışılmıştır. Yine de İtalya saldırılar ve işgallere devam etmiştir.

İngiltere, Akdeniz'de var olan üstünlüğünü gözeterek bölgeyi korumaya çalışmıştır (Soysal, 1981, ss. 117-18). 1935 yılından itibaren İngiltere, İtalya'ya karşı uygulanan yaptırımların sonucu olarak İtalya'nın harekete geçeceğini ve saldıracağını

düşünmektedir. O yıllarda Arnavutluk'ta yoğun bir İtalya etkisi vardır. Cezayir, Suriye, Fas, Lübnan ve Tunus Fransa'ya bağlıdır. İngiltere ise Malta, Filistin, Kıbrıs, Cebelitarık ve Mısır'da Doğu Akdeniz denetim yollarına hâkimdir. Bölgedeki bağımsız devletler ise İspanya, Türkiye, Yugoslavya ve Yunanistan'dır. Bu nedenle, İtalya'nın saldırgan politikasından en çok tedirgin olan devletler Yugoslavya, Yunanistan ve Türkiye'dir. İngiltere, Akdeniz devletleriyle İtalya'ya karşı bir ittifak arayışına girmiştir. Fakat bu ittifakın Milletler Cemiyeti nezdinde yapılması gerekmektedir. İngiltere ve Fransa iki devlet olarak yapılacak olan antlaşma üzerinde görüşmeler gerçekleştirmişlerdir. Fransa ve İngiltere arasında gerçekleştirilen görüşmelerde bir antlaşmanın temeli oluşturulmuştur. Aralık ayında ise İngiltere; Yunan, Yugoslav ve Türk yetkililerle bu antlaşma üzerine görüşmeler gerçekleştirmiştir. Kısa sürede üç Balkan devleti böylesi bir antlaşmadan yana olduklarını bildirmişlerdir. İngiltere de aynı şartları kabul etmiştir (Soysal, 1981, ss. 118-20). Böylece İngiltere, Akdeniz bölgesinde bağımsız olan devletler için de bir koruma politikası güderek İtalya'yı durdurmaya çalışmıştır.

İspanya ise İtalya'ya karşı böylesi bir oluşuma katılma konusunda şüpheli yaklaşmıştır. İspanya, iç savaşında Mussolini'nin gönderdiği yardımların kesilmesini istememesinden dolayı İtalya karşısında yer almak istememiştir. Çekimser kalmayı tercih ederek Milletler Cemiyetinde alınan ortak kararın beklenmesi gerektiğini vurgulamıştır. Kendisinin Akdeniz Antlaşması gibi bir antlaşmaya girmek istemediğini İngiltere ve komiteye bildirmiştir. İtalya ise komitenin girişimlerinden haberdar olmaz protesto etmiştir. Yugoslavya, Küçük Antant müttefikleri olan Çekoslovakya ve Romanya ile iletişime geçerek İngiltere ve Yugoslavya'ya antlaşmayı onayladıklarını bildirmiştir (Soysal, 1981, s. 120). Türkiye de diğer devletler gibi bu kararlara uymuştur. Bunun üzerine İtalya ılımlı bir politika takip etmek yerine daha da saldırganlaşmıştır. 11 Kasım 1935'te yaptırım kararı alan devletleri protesto etmiş ve bu devletlere protesto notası göndermiştir (Barlas & Güvenç, 2014, ss. 209-10). Fakat unutulmamalıdır ki, bazı devletler her ne kadar yaptırım kararları alsalar da, tamamen bu yaptırım kararlarına uydukları söylenemez. Ayrıca İspanya'nın diğer devletlere nazaran çekimser kalmasındaki en büyük neden, İspanya İç Savaşı'nda İtalya'nın etkin desteğidir.

İtalya ise tüm bunlara rağmen saldırgan emellerini daha da artırma yoluna giderek On İki Ada üzerine yönelmiş ve On İki Ada'yı tahkim etmiştir (Barlas & Güvenç, 2014, ss. 209-10). İtalya'nın Güney Ege'deki Leros'ta deniz ve hava üssü kurma girişimi, oldukça stratejik bir hedeftir (Hughes & Issaias, 2024, ss. 1239-67). Bölgedeki gidiş-dönüş iletişimine tamamen hâkim olabilmıştır. İtalya bu sayede On İki Ada'da hava ve deniz üsleriyle Batı Anadolu Bölgesi'ne saldırabilecek ve Doğu Akdeniz'deki deniz trafiğini kendi hedefleri doğrultusunda yönlendirebilecektir.

Türkiye, İtalya'nın bu girişimlerini endişe ile takip etmiştir. Kendine bu denli yakın bölgede İtalya'nın işgalci varlığı kabul edilebilir değildir. Mussolini, Akdeniz ile Yakın



Doğu'ya dair emellerini sıklıkla vurgulamakta ve girişimlerini artırmaktadır (Baysoy, 2017, s. 76). İtalya, Etiyopya'da geç kaldığı sömürgeleştirme faaliyetlerini gerçekleştirmek ve aynı zamanda burada bir imparatorluk kurmak istemektedir. Buna dair girişimlerine devam ederek Libya ve On İki Ada'da istikrarlı bir şekilde var olmaya dair çalışmalar yürütmektedir. Akdeniz ve Afrika, İtalya'nın genişleme sahasıdır. Tüm bunlar, bölgede İtalya girişimlerinden rahatsız olan devletlerin harekete geçmesine neden oldu. 1934 yılından itibaren Türkiye ve Yunanistan filolarını büyütmeye başladı (Güçlü, 1999, ss. 813-14). Fakat bu yeterli bir önlem değildir. Çünkü İtalya, kendini güçlü devlet konumunda görerek hızla silahlanma ve askerî açıdan yapılanma girişimlerini hızlandırdı.

İngiltere ve Akdeniz devletleri arasında Akdeniz Antlaşması, 18 Ekim 1935'te imzalanmak üzere görüş birliğine varılmıştır (PAAA\_RZ211\_103881\_0178). Akdeniz İttifakı veya Akdeniz Paktı, II. Dünya Savaşı öncesinde İtalya'nın Akdeniz'de izlediği saldırgan politikasının ürünü olarak İngiltere, Türkiye, Yunanistan ve Yugoslavya arasında imzalanmıştır (PAAA RZ211 103881\_0177). Paktın imzalandığı sırada daha çok devletin bu pakta dâhil olması görüşülerek diğer devletlerin de pakta katılması adına teşvik edilmesine karar verilmiştir (FRUS1938v01/d87). Akdeniz Paktı'nın temel amacı, bölgedeki devletlerin saldırıya uğrama ihtimalini düşürerek bir askerî dayanışma birliği oluşturmaktır (Birlik, 2021, s. 866). Fakat unutulmamalıdır ki, özellikle Türkiye ve Yunanistan'ın bulunduğu stratejik konum dikkate alındığında, İngiltere'nin bu ülkelerin yanında yer alması kendisi için de stratejik bir hamle olmuştur.

Türkiye ise 22 Ocak 1936'da Akdeniz Paktı'na katılmıştır (Cantemur, 2015, s. 790). İtalya'nın Doğu Akdeniz'de var olma girişimleri ve bölge üzerinde yayılcı hedeflerini gerçekleştirme adımlarına karşın Fransa ve İngiltere, Türkiye ile yakınlaşmışlardır (Çelebi, 2015, ss. 93-130). Fransa ve İngiltere bu pakt ile bölge devletlerin yanında olduğunu göstererek saldırgan İtalya'yı durdurmaya çalışmışlardır. İki devlet İtalya'nın saldırgan hedeflerine karşılık bölge devletlerinin yanında olduğunu göstermek istemişlerdir (Bıyıklı, 2012, s. 157). Aslında İngiltere ve Fransa'nın, bölge devletlerinin yanında olma adına İtalya'ya karşı bir birlik oluşturması iki devletin salt çıkarları düşünüldüğünde pek de makul bir düşünce değildir. Fakat, İngiltere ve Fransa'nın asıl hedefleri İtalya'nın daha fazla büyümesinin önüne geçmek ve bölgede emperyalist emelleri olan İtalya'yı bir şekilde durdurmaktır. Ayrıca en önemli husus da hem İngiltere hem de Fransa'nın uzun yıllardır Ortadoğu bölgesine giden bu yolu kendi sahası olarak görmeleridir. Hâliyle kendi sahalarında başka yayılcı bir devletin istekleri ve var olması kabul edilebilir değildir. Bu nedenle bölgede adım adım güç kazanan İtalya'yı engellemeye çalışmışlardır.

Türkiye, Akdeniz Paktı sonucunda İngiltere ile yakınlaşmıştır. Pakt, uzun bir süredir askıda olan Türkiye-İngiltere ilişkileri için dönüm noktası olmuştur. Bilindiği üzere, Türkiye ve İngiltere ilişkileri Musul-Kerkük sorunu ile sarsılmıştır. İki devletin Musul-Kerkük üzerindeki istekleri çatışmış olup sorun İngiltere'nin lehine çözülmüştür. Fakat Türkiye, bu sonuçtan memnun olmamıştır. Bu sebeple, iki ülke ilişkileri sarsılmıştır. Nitekim, Türkiye-İngiltere ilişkileri Akdeniz Paktı ardından artarak devam etmiştir. II. Dünya Savaşı'nda aynı safta/blokta yer almaya kadar uzanmıştır. Her ne kadar Türkiye-İngiltere ilişkileri için bu Pakt olumlu bir gelişme olsa da Türkiye-İtalya ilişkileri için olumsuz bir seyir almasına neden olmuştur (Bıyıklı, 2012, ss. 121-36). Akdeniz Paktı Türkiye-İngiltere ilişkilerinin olumlu yönde gelişmesini sağlarken, Türkiye-İtalya'yı da birbirinden uzaklaştırmıştır. Akdeniz Paktı İtalya'nın yayılmacı ve saldırgan faaliyetlerini durdurmak adına yapılmıştır. Bölgeye hâkim olan devletler Akdeniz Paktı'ndan önce İtalya'yı Balkan Paktı ile durdurmaya çalışmış fakat yeterli olmamıştır. Bu sebeple, İngiltere ile Fransa doğrudan İtalya karşısında bir set oluşturmak zorunda kalmışlardır. İngiltere ve Fransa pakt oluşturarak geçiş güzergâhı olan Doğu Akdeniz'de giderek güçlenen İtalya'yı durdurmaya çalışmışlardır.

İngiltere ve Fransa özellikle kendi stratejik bölgeleri ve çıkarlarını korumaya çalışmışlardır. Akdeniz Paktı ile Doğu Akdeniz güvenliği sağlanmıştır. Fakat, Pakt aynı zamanda bölgede tekrar egemen güç olan İngiltere ve Fransa'nın konumunu sağlamlaştırmıştır. Bölge devletlerinin Balkan Antantı ile oluşturmak istediği İtalya'yı engelleme girişimi başarılı olamadığı için İngiltere ve Fransa tekrar bölgede oyun kurucu olmuştur. Paktın oluşumunu Türkiye açısından değerlendirdiğimizde ise Fransa ile İngiltere'nin Doğu Akdeniz güvenliği için yapılan bu Pakta Türkiye'nin yer almasını istemeleri önemlidir. Bu Pakt, Türkiye'nin bölgedeki stratejik konumunu ve gücünü göstermesi açısından dikkat çekicidir.

Genel olarak Akdeniz Antlaşması'nın caydırıcı olduğu açıktır. Antlaşmanın imzalanmasından sonra İtalya, söz konusu beş devlete karşı düşmanca tavır ve saldırgan politikalar gösterememiştir. Bahr-i Sefid (Akdeniz) Antlaşması'nın İtalya Hükûmeti üzerindeki yankıları ise çarpıcıdır. Cumhurbaşkanlığı Devlet Arşivleri Başkanlığı Cumhuriyet Arşivinde (BCA) yapılan incelemede İtalya Hükûmeti'nin Akdeniz Paktı'na dair yaklaşımı ilginçtir.

Türk Cumhuriyeti Hariciye Vekâletine Roma Büyükelçiliğinden 15/07/1936 tarihli gelen telgrafta

Bu yazının mahrem tutulmasına itina ehemmiyetlidir.

Diplomasi

I-Bahr-i Sefid Antlaşması vaziyetinin bugünlerde İtalya Hükûmeti'ndeki akisleri muhtelif şekiller almıştır. Evvela sanksiyonların ilgası akabinde bu antlaşmanın kendi kendine nihayet bulması beklenilmiştir. İngiltere Hariciye Nazırı bunların muvakkaten



devam edeceğini bildiren nutuku bu.... yi değiştirmiştir bundan sonra Bahr-i Sefid'deki kuvvetlerin geri alınacağı o yolda İngiltere Sefiri tarafından Hükûmet'e yapılan tebliğde Fransa'nın Bahr-i Sefid Antlaşması'nı bıraktığı hakkında ... Tebliği bu antlaşmaların umumiyetle nihayet bulmakta olduğu hükmünü memnuniyetini uyandırmıştır. Yunan ve Yugoslavya Sefirlerinden aldığım malûmata göre İtalya Hükûmeti Atina ve Belgrat'taki Sefiri vasıtasıyla İngiltere ve Fransa'dan gelen haberler üzerine .... Hükûmeti'nin vaziyetini sormuş aynı suâlin Ankara'da yapılmış olması pek muhtemeldir.<sup>1</sup> İngiltere'nin bu antlaşmaları idame etmesinden ve bunu müteaddit defalar beyan etmek suretiyle İtalya'yı tahrik eylemesinden memnun görünmeye Yunanistan Londra ve Paris tebliğleri üzerine kendisinin de Bahr-i Sefid Antlaşması'nı hükümsüz addettiğini İtalya'nın Atina Sefiri'ne cevaben bildirmiş. Roma'daki Sefiri de haberdar etmiştir Yugoslavya Sefiri de Belgrat'tan bu babta bir telgraf aldığını söyledi. Londra ve Paris'in yukarda zikredilen tebliğleri ve onu takiben beklenen diğer tebliğler üzerine İtalya Hariciye Nezareti vaziyetin yeniden değiştiğini mütalaa ederek 10 Temmuz tarihli telgrafta bildirdiği gibi Boğazlar Konferansı'na iştirak hazırlığına başlamış ve Almanya'nın gelmesi şartıyla Brüksel Konferansı'na iştiraki derpiş etmiştir. Bu hadiseden sonra cumartesi günü İngiltere Sefiri Hariciye Nazırını ziyareti ile İngiltere'nin Bahr-i Sefid teminatının bir taraflı olarak muhafaza ettiğini söylemiş bu tebliğden Nazır'ın canı sıkılmış, Sefir bunun İtalya'ya karşı bir antlaşma şekli olmadığını söyleyerek Nazır'ı teskine çalışmıştır. Bunun üzerine Montré Konferansı'ndan vazgeçilmiş ve Brüksel Konferansı için Belçika Başvekili'ne gönderilecek cevaba Almanya'nın iştiraki şartına ilaveten İtalya aleyhindeki bazı antlaşmaların devamı mevzu bahane Konferansa iştirakine imkân vermediği kaydı ilave olunmuştur. Fransa'nın fesih kararı hakkındaki Ajans Havasın tebliğini tekzip eden ve evvelki akşam gelen nim resmî popüler neşriyat ise yukardaki muhalif vaziyetlerden tahassul eden rahatsızlığı daha ziyade çoğaltmıştır. Yunanistan'ın kararı dolayısıyla Hariciye Nazırını ile temas eden Yunan Sefiri bu meseleye ait vaziyetin tatsız ve karışık olduğundan bahsedilmiş. İngiltere'nin bu antlaşmaları bir taraflı olarak idame arzusunun neden ileri geldiğini ve antlaşmayı münfesihten Yunanistan'ın İngiltere hattıhareketini nasıl telakki ettiği hakkında sefirin malûmatına müracaat edilmiş, Sefir de Atina'dan malûmat sormuştur.

2-Bazı husus için bugünlerde Hariciye Nezareti'ne gitmekliğim icap etmektedir. Ancak yukardaki noktalar hakkında da dolayısıyla suallere maruz kaçmaklığım muhtemel olduğunda ziyareti tehir ediyorum mümkün ise tenvir edilmekliğimi rica ederim (BCA, Yer: 534/37282-149606-36 tarih: 1936-07-15, "Bahr-i Sefid (Akdeniz) Antlaşması vaziyetinin İtalya Hükûmeti'ndeki akisleri).

Görüldüğü üzere İtalya, yapılan Akdeniz Paktı'nı yakından takip etmiştir. Paktın geleceği ve neden yapıldığı üzerine eğilerek Paktın şekillenmesine odaklanmıştır. Türkiye için ise yapılan Pakt ile Akdeniz'de İngiltere'nin üstünlüğü tekrar kabul görmüştür. Ayrıca İtalya, bölgede gerçekleştireceği saldırıda Türkiye'nin tarafsız kalmayacağını da net bir şekilde anlamıştır. Sonuçta Habeşistan Savaşı, Mayıs 1936'da son bulmuştur ve 15 Temmuz'da ise yaptırımlar kaldırılmıştır.

<sup>1</sup> Gazeteden doğrudan alıntıdır.

Yaptırımların ardından İtalya; Yugoslavya, Yunanistan ve Türkiye'ye birer nota göndermiştir. Buna göre, yaptırımlara katılan devletlere karşı herhangi bir saldırı niyetinde olmadığını belirtmiştir. Yaptırımların sonlandırılarak iş birliği yapılmasının önemine vurgu yapmıştır. Yunanistan ve Türkiye ile devam eden dostluk antlaşmasının olduğu ve İtalya Devleti'nin bu antlaşmalara saygı gösterdiğini de açıklamıştır. Ayrıca, Yugoslavya ile de var olan iyi ilişkilerin geliştirilmek istendiğine değinilmiştir (Soysal, 1981, s. 121).

İtalya, İngiltere'yi ayrıca bilgilendirerek güvence vermiştir. İngiltere, Fransa ile yapılan görüşmelerin ardından Akdeniz Antlaşması'nın etkisiz olduğunu, bu nedenle antlaşmaya son verdiğini açıklamıştır. 27 Temmuz 1936'da Dışişleri Bakanı Eden, Avam Kamarası'nda antlaşmanın şartlarının ortadan kalktığını belirtmiş ve Akdeniz Antlaşması'nı imzalayan devletlere de bunu bildirmiştir. Alınan karar ile antlaşma son bulmuştur. Akdeniz Antlaşması her ne kadar karşılıklı yükümlülükleri olan bir antlaşma olsa da tek yanlı bir şekilde İngiltere tarafından antlaşmaya son verilmiştir (Soysal, 1981, ss. 121-22). Akdeniz Antlaşması'nın tek taraflı iptali, antlaşmanın devamına dair bazı belirsizlikler bırakmıştır. Antlaşmanın feshinden birkaç ay sonra Sovyetler tarafından antlaşmanın devam edip etmediği sorulmuştur (BCA, Yer: 571/35231-138611-24 Tarih: 1937-02-09, "Litvinof'un Türkiye, Yunanistan, Yugoslavya arasında bir Akdeniz Paktı'nın olup olmadığı konusunda bilgi talebi").

### **Akdeniz Paktı'nın Türk Basınında Yankısı**

Akdeniz Paktı Türk basınında dikkatle takip edilmiştir. Akdeniz'de sağlanmak istenen barış ve huzurun devamı için yapılan antlaşmanın önemini farkında olan Türk basını, antlaşmaya gerekli önemi vermiştir. Antlaşmanın detayları günün gazetelerinde sıklıkla yer bulmuştur. Akşam gazetesinde 23 Kânunusani 1936 tarihli habere göre;

İngiliz Heyeti; İngiltere, Fransa, Türkiye, Yugoslavya ve Yunanistan arasındaki antlaşmaya dair bir tebliğ neşretti. Milletler Cemiyetindeki İngiliz Heyeti, Akdeniz'de karşılıklı yardım hakkında İngiltere ile muhtelif devletler arasındaki müzakerelere dair bir tebliğ neşretmiştir. Tebliğde Akdeniz'de bir ihtilaf çıktığı takdirde Milletler Cemiyeti Antlaşması mucibince kendilerine teveccüh eden taahhütleri ifa için Fransa, Türkiye, Yugoslavya ve Yunanistan'ın teminat verdikleri bildirilmektedir. İngiltere de bu dört devlete karşılıklı teminat vermiştir. Tebliğde bir fikir teatisinden İtalya'nın da haberdar edildiği bildirilmektedir. Fransız-İngiliz Erkânı Harbiyeleri arasındaki müzakerelerin esasını Akdeniz'de zecri tedbirlerin tatbiki yüzünden vukua gelecek muhasemat ihtimali teşkil etmiştir (Akşam, 23 Kanunusani 1936, s. 2).

Ayrıca gazetelerde antlaşmanın imzalanma nedeni Milletler Cemiyetinin etkisiz kalmasından dolayı gerekli görüldüğüne yer verilmiştir. Gazete haberinde belirtildiği üzere antlaşmanın Milletler Cemiyetince de onaylanacağı açıklanmıştır. Akdeniz devletlerine yapılacak olan yardım detaylı bir şekilde izah edilmiştir.



...13'ler Komitesi bir şey yapamıyor. Cenevre Milletler Cemiyeti Konseyinin 13'ler Komitesi; İtalyan, Habeş ihtilafına dair raporunu hazırlamıştır. Bu rapor belki bugün tasvip olunacaktır. Bu raporda denildiğine göre, Habeşistan'a finansal bir yardım yapılması bugün kabil değildir. Gene Habeşistan tarafından talep olunan tahkik heyeti izamına da bugün karar verilmez. Milletler Cemiyeti üyeleri, ihtilafın mümkün olduğu kadar çabuk bir surette ve Pakt çerçevesi içinde hiçbir fırsatı kaçırmamağa daima hazırdılar. Eğer böyle bir ihtimal bulunsa idi, 13'ler Komitesi meseleden derhâl Konseyi haberdar ederdi. Bugün ise komite ancak hadısati dikkatle takibe karar vermekten başka bir şey yapamaz. Komite, başkanının azadan herhangi birinin ve yahut iki ihtilafli devletten herhangi birinin lüzum gösterdiği her defa toplanacaktır.

#### Akdeniz Devletlerinin Yardımı Meselesi

İngiliz Dış Bakanı Eden, Akdeniz devletleriyle yaptığı görüşmeleri anlatan bir beyanname neşretmiştir. Bunda deniyor ki: İngiltere Hükûmeti, İtalya'nın İngiltere'ye karşı askeri mahiyette hususi tedbirler alması ihtimalinde, Fransa, Yunanistan, Türkiye ve Yugoslavya Hükûmetlerinin hazır olup olmadıklarını ve buna iştirak edip etmeyeceklerini anlamak istemişti. İngiliz ve Fransız Erkânı Harbiyeleri arasında bu müzakerelerin esasını yalnız Akdeniz'de zecri tedbirler yüzünden vukua gelecek muhasemat ihtimallerine karşı müşterek hareket teşkil eylemiştir. Bundan sonra beyanname, Yunanistan, Türkiye ve Yugoslavya'nın cevaplarının bu memleketlerin Milletler Cemiyeti Paktı'ndan doğan tekaütlerini üzerlerine almağa hazır olduklarında hiç şüphe bırakmadığını bildirmektedir" (Haber-Akşam Postası, 23 Sonkanun, 1936, s. 4. Eden Akdeniz Devletlerinin Yardımı Meselesi Hakkında Bir Beyanname Neşretti).

Dahası antlaşma üzerinde tarafların görüşlerine de günün gazetelerinde yer verilmiştir. İngiltere, Akdeniz devletleri ile gerçekleştirdiği görüşmelere dair bir beyanname sunmuştur (Kurun, 23 İkinci kanun 1936, s. 1. Akdeniz Devletleri ile). Bu beyannamede Antlaşmaya dair devletlerin yaklaşımlarına da yer verilmiştir.

İngiltere resmî bir tebliğ çıkardı. İngiliz ve Fransız kurmayları arasında yapılan görüşmenin mahiyeti ne imiş? İngiliz tebliğinde deniliyor ki: İngiltere Hükûmeti, İtalya'nın İngiltere'ye karşı askeri mahiyette hususi tedbirler alması ihtimalinde ve bu gibi tedbirlere karşı dayanmak mecburiyeti çıkardığı takdirde; Fransa, Yunanistan, Türkiye ve Yugoslavya Hükûmetlerinin hazır olup olmadıklarını ve buna iştirak edip etmeyeceklerini anlamak istemişti. İngiltere Hükûmeti daha önce arada bir antlaşma yapılması muhtemel bulunan Fransa Hükûmeti'nin fikrini sormağa karar vermiştir. Fakat başka bir noktanın daha aydınlanması arzu olunur. Bu nokta, yukarıdaki görüşmelerin ve aynı zamanda bahriye, harbiye ve hava kuvvetlerinin Erkânı Harbiyeleri müzakerelerinin tafsilat ve hedefine ait bulunmaktadır. İngiliz ve Fransız Erkânı Harbiyeleri arasında bu görüşmelerin aynı zamanda Fransa'nın şimali garbi sınırına da temas ettiği hakkında bazı mahfillerde bir takım şayialara yol açmıştır (Ulus, 23 Sonkanun 1936, s. 3).

Ayrıca antlaşmanın bittiğini de yine günün gazetelerinden öğrenilmektedir.

M. Eden, Akdeniz itilaflarına lüzum kalmadı diyor. ...İngiltere Hariciye Nazırı M. Eden, bugün Avam Kamarası'nda bütün mebuslar hazır bulunduğu hâlde ve locaları dolduran büyük bir kalabalık huzurunda beynelmilel siyasette her şeyin birbirine bağlı olduğunu, birçok meselelerden bahsedeceğini söyledikten sonra yeni Locarno



Konferansı'nı mevzu bahis etmiş. İngiltere'nin Berlin'e sorduğu suâller üzerinde ısrar ederek demiş ki bu suâller, ne münazara çıkartmak hissi ile ne de teccüss hissi ile yazılmıştır. Bu suâller, bu sahada bir terakkiye varmak için namuskâr bir gayrette bulunmak üzere verilmiştir. Eğer Almanya Hükûmeti bu süratte ve yapıcı bir tarzda cevap vermiş olsaydı, boş yere sarf olunan büyük enerjiler tasarruf edilmiş bulunurdu ( Akşam, 26 Temmuz 1936, s. 1. "M. Eden Akdeniz İtilaflarına Lüzum Kalmadı Diyor").

M. Eden, Türkiye-İngiltere arasında yapılan antlaşmanın önemli olduğunu belirterek bu açıklamasında; "Türkiye'ye teşekkür etti. Mandalar meselesinin müzakeresinin vahim hadiseler çıkarabileceğini, Akdeniz Antlaşması'nın kalktığını bildirdi. Silahlanma meselesine de dokundu" (Anadolu, 29 Temmuz 1936. s. 1. "M. Eden, Türkiye-İngiltere Arasında Sıkı Bir Antant Doğduğunu Söyledi"). Antlaşmanın tek taraflı olarak kaldırılmış olması ilginç olup katılımcı devletlerinin görüşlerinin alındığına dair belgenin olmaması dikkat çekicidir.

Ayrıca Antlaşmanın neden sonlandırıldığına dair yapılan açıklamada "...İngiltere Hariciye Vekili-İtalya üç Akdeniz devletine teminat verdiği için bu taahhütlere artık ihtiyaç yoktur diyor" (Cumhuriyet, 28 Temmuz 1936, s. 1. "Akdeniz Taahhütleri-M. Eden'e Göre Niçin Lüzumsuz Addedilmiş"). Günün gazetelerinin manşetlerinde İtalya'nın; Türkiye, İngiltere ve Yugoslavya'ya teminat verdiği için İngiltere'nin de Akdeniz Paketi'nin kaldırdığını açıklamıştır (Son Posta, 28 Temmuz 1936, s. 1. "İtalya, Bize, İngiliz ve Yugoslavlara Teminat Verdi, İngiltere de Akdeniz Paketi'nin Kaldırdığını Bildirdi").

## SONUÇ

I. Dünya Savaşı'nın ardından savaştan galip ayrılan devletler, kendi üstünlüklerini devam ettirebilmek için bir sistem oluşturmuştur. Bu sistemin adı "Versailles Düzeni"dir. Versailles ile galip devletler, özellikle kendilerine en büyük rakip olarak gördükleri Almanya'yı güçsüz kılmışlar fakat bu düzen kalıcı olmamıştır. Versailles Antlaşması, var olan sorunları çözmekten ziyade sorunlara sorunlar eklemiştir. Düzeni değiştirme çabası içerisinde olan İtalya ve Almanya aynı amaç etrafında birleşmiştir. İtalya ve Almanya değişim talebinde bulunmuşlar fakat bu talepler, İngiltere ve Fransa'nın çıkarlarını zedelemiştir. Bu sırada ise yayımcı hedefler tek tek gerçekleşmeye başlamıştır. Özellikle Japonya'nın Mançurya'yı işgal etmesi ve bu işgal karşısında Milletler Cemiyetinin sessiz kalması Almanya ve İtalya'yı harekete geçirmiştir.

Almanya'nın Versailles ile silahsızlandırılarak etkisiz kılınması, kısıtlanmış olması, İtalya'nın ise I. Dünya Savaşı'ndan beklediğini alamamış olması bu devletlerin harekete geçmesine neden olmuştur. Bu durum, iki gücün ortak amaçlarla aynı hedef doğrultusunda hareket etmesini sağlamıştır. 1930'lu yıllarda özellikle de kısıtlanan ülkelerde milliyetçi rüzgâr estirmiş olup İtalya ve Almanya'da diğer devletlere karşı aşırı



milliyetçi bir politika uygulanmıştır. Dünya ekonomik buhranı, artan silahlanmaya karşı silahsızlandırma çabaları İtalya ve Almanya'yı aynı hedeflerde uzlaştırmıştır.

Çalkantılı süreçte İtalya da aynı hedeflerin peşinde olup tıpkı Almanya gibi silahlanma yarışında aktif olmuştur. Yeni bir savaşın çıkması kaçınılmazdı ve var olan koşullar bu savaşın çıkma ihtimalini daha da artırmaktadır. Mevcut koşullar ile barışın sürdürülmesi imkânsızdır. İtalya, birbiri ardına saldırgan emellerini gerçekleştirmiştir. Habeşistan ve On İki Ada'yı işgal ederek Doğu Akdeniz üzerine olan emellerini sıklıkla dile getirmeye başlamıştır. Özellikle Doğu Akdeniz'e olan hedeflerini Mare Nostrum (Bizim Deniz) söylemleriyle sıklıkla dile getirmiştir. Bölgede var olan devletler ve bölgede büyük çıkarları olan İngiltere ile Fransa için İtalya'nın saldırgan siyaseti kabul edilebilir değildir. Başta Balkan Antantı ile İtalya'nın Doğu Akdeniz'de var olan saldırgan hedefleri engellenmeye çalışılmışsa da başarılı olunamamıştır. Bunun üzerine İngiltere, doğrudan harekete geçerek Akdeniz Paktı fikrini ortaya atmıştır. Akdeniz Paktı, 18 Ekim 1935'te İngiltere, Türkiye, Yunanistan ve Yugoslavya arasında imzalanmıştır. Böylece İngiltere, doğrudan Doğu Akdeniz güvenliğini hedefleyen Paktın içerisinde yer almıştır. İngiltere, İtalya'yı ancak bölgede var olarak durdurabileceğini düşünmektedir. Nitekim, İtalya da bu süreçte Akdeniz'de var olan emelleri adına harekete geçmekten imtina etmiştir.

İngiltere ile diğer devletlerin Akdeniz Paktı ile amaçladıkları, İtalya'nın Doğu Akdeniz ve Balkanlar'da var olan saldırgan tutumunu engellemektir. Ayrıca bölgede güvenlik ağı oluşturmayı da amaçlamışlardır. Akdeniz Paktı ile bölgede ülkelerin dayanışmasını sağlamak amaçlanmıştır. Türkiye'nin Akdeniz Paktı ile Avrupa sistemine dâhil olması hızlanmıştır. Akdeniz Paktı ile Balkanlar ve Doğu Akdeniz'de sıkı bir güvenlik ağı oluşturulması amaçlanmıştır. Fakat Avrupa'da oluşan düzen, Akdeniz Paktı'nı engeller nitelikte olmuştur. Uluslararası dünyada gerilimin artmasıyla birlikte Almanya ve İtalya'nın saldırgan tutumu Akdeniz Paktı'nı zamanla etkisizleştirmiştir. İttifak önemini yitirmiş ve bir süre sonra da son bulmuştur.

Akdeniz Paktı, dünya devletleri açısından değerlendirdiğimizde her geçen gün artan saldırgan politikalar ve ideolojik farklılıkların yansımasıdır. İtalya'nın Akdeniz'de süren saldırgan politikaları, İngiltere'nin bölgede var olan gücünü ve çıkarlarını zedelemektedir. Akdeniz ve Balkanlar'da etkin olan diğer devletler için Avrupa'dan sonra Akdeniz de yeni bir gerginlik merkezi olması sonucunu doğurmaktadır. Bu sebeple, Akdeniz Paktı ile Avrupa dışında olası savaş bölgesi güvenceye alınmaktadır.

Akdeniz bölgesine dair Türkiye'nin politikası, iki dünya savaşı arası dönemde uyguladığı genel politikasının bir yansımasıdır. Türkiye, iki dünya savaşı arası dönemde "Yurtta Sulh, Cihanda Sulh" politikasını şiar edinmiştir. Bu doğrultuda, Akdeniz'de de aynı amacı benimsemiştir. Türkiye uluslararası arenada denge politikası uygulamıştır.

Türkiye'nin barış yanlısı dış politikası; Akdeniz Paktı kısa sürse de bölgesel güvenlik arayışları ve çok taraflı diplomasiyi öncelediğinin önemli bir göstergesidir. Fakat, Pakt işlevsel bir güvenlik önlemi oluşturamadığı gibi güçlü devletlerin çıkar çatışmalarından dolayı etkisizleştirilmiştir. İtalya'nın giderek saldırganlaşması ve İtalya'nın ılımlı politika ile durdurma isteği üzerine Akdeniz Paktı lağvedilmiştir.

Günün gazetelerinden anlaşıldığı üzere, Akdeniz Paktı Türk basınında geniş yer bulmuş olup yakından takip edilmiştir. Pakt sadece bir dış politika hamlesi olarak değil, aynı zamanda Türk dış politikası açısından da önemli bir adım olarak değerlendirilmiştir. Türk basını, Akdeniz Paktı'nı yalnızca Türkiye açısından ele almayarak taraf devletlerin basınında yer alan açıklamaları yakından takip etmiştir. Özellikle de Paktın kurulmasında önemli görev üstlenen İngiltere basınında yer alan açıklamalara geniş yer verilmiştir. Türk basını, Akdeniz Paktı'nı hem ulusal hem de uluslararası bir mesele olarak ele alarak bu girişimin bölge için taşıdığı önemi defalarca vurgulamıştır.

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## Türkiye's Central Corridor Policy in the Context of the Belt and Road Initiative and the Organization of Turkic States

### *Kuşak-Yol Girişimi ve Türk Devletleri Teşkilatı Kapsamında Türkiye'nin Orta Koridor Politikası*

Orkun KILINÇ\*

#### ABSTRACT

The states that declared their independence from the USSR after the Cold War and the rise of China brought about a shift in geopolitics, particularly in Turkestan. Türkiye, which adopted Western-centered policies during the Cold War, shifted its focus towards Asia and devised strategies for cooperation with the Turkic Republics. In this context, the Central Corridor Initiative has been a prominent policy. The Central Corridor, which aims to establish an alternative trade and logistics line between Asia and Europe, also seeks to accelerate the integration of the region it covers into the global economy. Türkiye has built the Central Corridor Initiative on two leading platforms: The first is the Organization of Turkic States, a cooperation organization covering economic, political, social, cultural, and security cooperation with the Central Asian Turkic Republics. The second is the Belt and Road Initiative, which offers infrastructure and financial opportunities to facilitate the region's integration into the global economy and international cooperation. Türkiye has aimed to achieve deeper integration with the regional and international community through these initiatives; and strengthen economic and political ties among Turkestan states. This study aims to analyze the process from the emergence of the Middle Corridor from a geopolitical perspective to the present day and to analyze the projects that Türkiye has completed and planned within the scope of the Belt and Road with China and the Middle Corridor Initiative with the Organization of Turkic States.

#### Keywords

Central Corridor, Belt and Road Initiative, Organization of Turkic States, Geopolitics.

#### ÖZ

Soğuk Savaş sonrasında SSCB'den ayrılarak bağımsızlığını ilan eden devletler ve Çin'in yükselişi özellikle Türkistan'da jeopolitiğin değişmesine neden olmuştur. Soğuk Savaş döneminde Batı merkezli politikalar uygulayan Türkiye, yüzünü Asya'ya dönmüş Türk Cumhuriyetleri ile iş birliğine yönelik stratejiler geliştirmiştir. Bu kapsamda Orta Koridor Girişimi ön plana çıkan politika olmuştur. Asya ile Avrupa arasında alternatif bir ticaret ve lojistik hat oluşturmayı amaçlayan Orta Koridor, aynı zamanda kapsadığı bölgenin küresel ekonomiye entegrasyonunu hızlandırmayı hedeflemektedir. Türkiye Orta Koridor Girişimi'ni ise iki temel platform üzerine inşa etmiştir: Bunlardan birincisi Orta Asya Türk Cumhuriyetleriyle ekonomik, siyasi, sosyal, kültürel ve güvenliği kapsayan bir iş birliği örgütü olan Türk Devletleri Teşkilatıdır. İkincisi ise bölgenin, küresel ekonomiye ve uluslararası iş birliklerine entegrasyonunu kolaylaştıracak altyapı ve finans imkanları sunan Kuşak-Yol Girişimidir. Türkiye, bu girişimlerle bölgesel ve uluslararası toplumla daha derin bir entegrasyon sağlamayı amaçlamış, Türkistan devletleri arasında ekonomik ve siyasi bağları güçlendirmeyi hedeflemiştir. Bu çalışmanın amacı jeopolitik perspektiften Orta Koridorun ortaya çıkışından günümüze kadar olan süreci inceleyerek Türkiye'nin, Çin ile Kuşak-Yol kapsamında ve Türk Devletleri Teşkilatı ile birlikte Orta Koridor Girişiminde tamamladığı ve planladığı projeleri analiz etmektir.

#### Anahtar Kelimeler

Orta Koridor, Kuşak-Yol Girişimi, Türk Devletleri Teşkilatı, Jeopolitik.

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## INTRODUCTION

Geopolitics is the branch of science that examines the advantages and disadvantages of political geography for states and countries' domestic and foreign policies, considering their location, human resources, social, cultural, economic, and political situation.

According to Henry Kissinger, geopolitics is parallel to the concept of *realpolitik*. In other words, it is an effort to maintain the desired equation in world politics. He argues that political decisions should be based on real-world conditions and national interests rather than ideological or moral goals. Kissinger suggests that policymakers should consider political and strategic calculations, balances of power, interests and conflicts of interest. In this context, geopolitics represents a policy approach in which national interests come to the fore and political and strategic calculations play a critical role. Geopolitical assessments help set strategic goals by evaluating a country's advantages and disadvantages regarding its security, economic interests, access to energy and natural resources, trade routes and relations with other countries.

Geopolitical analysis is essential in strategic planning, foreign policy formulation, military strategy and international relations. The geographical location of a country shapes its national interests and foreign policy. Geopolitics allows a country to achieve its military, economic and political goals by utilizing its geographical advantages. For example, a country's strategic location along major trade routes can make it a regional leader. Geopolitics is also influential in determining a country's military defense strategies. Therefore, states should know their geopolitical position and decide on their best foreign policy strategies to use these advantages. In Türkiye's case, the Anatolian Peninsula has been of critical geopolitical importance throughout history. As a bridge connecting Asia and Europe, Anatolia is an important commercial, demographic, and military transit point.

As the international balance of power and politics change, so do geopolitics. In this context, the geopolitical strategies of the United States during the Cold War played an important role in determining Türkiye's strategic position. Especially according to the "Rimland" theory developed by Nicholas J. Spykman, Türkiye has a highly strategic geopolitical position. According to Spykman, countries that dominate the seas and coasts appear as critical regions that shape and determine the world political map. In this respect, Türkiye is the center of the Middle East and the key to Eurasia (Nicholas Spykman, 1943). Taken together with the Turkic states, Türkiye is the gateway to Eurasia. The strategies developed by the United States based on this theory have



effectively shaped its policy of establishing a military presence on the coasts of Asia and Europe.

The theory formed the basis of the US containment policies against the Soviet Union after World War II. In this context, Türkiye, geographically located as an important bridge between East and West, served as both an adequate buffer zone against the Soviet Union's expansionist strategies and a strategic base for NATO to establish security on its southern border against the Eastern Bloc. This strategic relationship also played a decisive role in shaping Türkiye's defense policies. On the other hand, Türkiye's foreign policy during the Cold War period focused on policies of approaching the West in international relations and soft development and modernization strategies. During this period, the US policy of containment and the Marshall Plan influenced Türkiye's foreign policy and led the country to move closer to the Western powers. Moreover, due to its geographical location and strategic importance, Türkiye became a member of NATO and tried to develop military cooperation with Western countries. Furthermore, it systematically implemented soft development strategies by receiving technical, financial and economic support from the West for Türkiye's internal modernization and development. These various policies shaped Türkiye's geopolitical position and international relations during the Cold War according to the conditions of the period.

With the end of the Cold War, the world rapidly entered a unipolar order and the influence of globalization. In 1989, Francis Fukuyama put forward the thesis "The End of History" and evaluated geopolitics as the struggle of ideologies during the Cold War. According to him, the battle between liberalism and socialism resulted in the victory of liberalism and he claimed that after this victory, the international system would be dominated by liberal democracy, namely the United States (Fukuyama, 2020). In the same period, Samuel Huntington, argued in his "Clash of Civilizations" that cultural blocs, not ideologies, would shape geopolitics. With globalization, neoliberal policies led to an expansion in the world economy. After the Cold War, the US invaded Afghanistan and Iraq to maintain the edge zone geopolitics and to sustain NATO, which had completed its mission, According to J. Nye, this situation caused the USA to lose its soft power (Nye, 1990).

As of the 1990s, most experts thought that the unipolar order led by the US would consolidate, However, since the early 2000s, China, has effectively used globalization to its advantage and, has confronted the US as an economic and military power. Capitalized by the reforms initiated under the leadership of Deng Xiaoping in the 1970s, China has adapted to neoliberal policies and has become the second-largest economic power. In 2012, Chinese President Xi Jin Ping declared the "Chinese Dream" and proclaimed that China aims to be the global leader by 2049. In 2013, he announced to the international community the Belt and Road Initiative, the most concrete project to achieve this goal.



This new reality has raised the question of whether there will be a power transition in the international system.

The basic concepts of the Transition of Power Theory, proposed by Organski in 1958, include power, transition and destabilization. According to the theory, Power refers to a state's military, economic, and political capacity. Transition refers to the decline of existing power and the rise of a new power. On the other hand, destabilization refers to a change in the power system international system power distribution. According to Organski's theory, power transitions can lead to intractable disputes and conflicts in international relations (Lai, 2011). On the other hand, power transition and the multiple hierarchy model can create new opportunities and risks for geopolitically important countries like Türkiye. In particular, the "Central Corridor" geopolitics that develops with the Belt and Road may change Türkiye's position.

### **Belt and Road Initiative and Central Corridor Geopolitics**

With Xi Jinping's ascension to power in 2012, Beijing emphasized its globalization policy and adopted the "Chinese Dream" doctrine, which aims to be completed by 2049. Most experts consider this doctrine China's hegemony project and the most tangible evidence of it is the Belt and Road Initiative.

With its economic growth rate dropping from 10% to 7% in 2011, China decided to accelerate economic development and make it more complete (Ross, 2018, p. 2). Accordingly, Chinese leader Xi Jinping announced the "Belt and Road Initiative" (BRI) in 2013. BRI is a global project that aims to revitalize the historic Silk Road and develop economic cooperation by building a vast transportation network through land, sea, air and digital routes. The project has five key priorities to enhance policy coordination between countries, freeing up infrastructure connectivity, removing trade barriers, and increasing financial integration and information sharing (Brinza, 2022). At the same time, the initiative published a "Green Belt and Road Guide" in 2017 to promote environmentally friendly development and set sustainability-focused goals such as green finance, green transportation, and green innovation in 2019 (Wang, 2022).

By 2022, the BRI will include 152 countries and 32 international organizations, accounting for more than 60% of the world economy and 40% of global output (Belt and Road Portal, 2023). By 2030, the initiative is expected to reach an annual trade volume of \$5 trillion and increase world trade by 5% (Zhai, 2018, p. 92). In 2022, Chinese Foreign Affairs spokesperson Wang Wenbin announced that China had undertaken nearly three thousand projects under the project (Jennings, 2022). The financial institutions supporting the initiative include potent actors such as the Silk Road Fund, the China Development Bank, the Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank and the China

Exim Bank, while planning and management are carried out by official institutions such as the State Council, the Ministry of Commerce, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the People's Bank of China (Damuri et al. 2019, p. 3). The project is also included in the economic programs of international organizations such as BRICS, ASEAN and the Organization of Turkic States (Ujvari, 2019). While energy (40%), transportation (30%) and construction (10%) sectors constitute the majority of BRI's investment areas, East Asia, Africa (Sub-Saharan), Eurasia, and the Middle East are among the most invested regions (Wang, 2022).

BRI geopolitics manifests itself in three main axes. These are the Northern Corridor, the Maritime Silk Road, the Southern Corridor, and the Central Corridor, where Türkiye occupies a key position. These three corridors are vital for China's most important energy security issue, China is focusing its foreign investments and relations on the regions in which these corridors pass. In the Northern Corridor, it has strategic ties with Russia and Central Asian countries, while in the Southern Corridor it is acquiring ports and military bases to control maritime bottlenecks. Progress is slower in the Central Corridor, which is more politically complex than the other two corridors.

The most highly completed corridor of the initiative is the Northern corridor. The New Eurasian Land Bridge Economic Corridor (NELBEC) is the most active and well-known route. NELBEC is a trade route from China, through Kazakhstan, Russia, Belarus, Poland and Germany to the Port of Rotterdam in the Netherlands. The corridor aims to facilitate and accelerate trade through investments such as the modernization of rail and roads, expansion of logistics infrastructure and access to free trade zones. The main route of the line starts from the Chinese cities of Wuhan, Lianyungang, and Chongqing, connecting to the Trans-Siberian Railway and reaching Europe (Sarwar, 2018, p. 136). Rail transportation offers an alternative to air transportation as a cheaper and faster option than maritime transportation. Products transported via NELBEC include clothes, electronic products, household appliances from China to Europe, automobiles, machinery, and food products from Europe to China. In this context, in Duisburg, Germany, the number of Chinese companies increased from 40 in 2014 to over 100 in 2020 (Zhu, Huadong, & Qun, 2023). Moreover, this line has played a significant role as an alternative to the maritime exchanges during the COVID-19 pandemic, with logistics transportation capacity increasing by 50% compared to 2019 to 12,400 freight trains (Zhu, Huadong, & Qun, 2023).

The Belt and Road Initiative, an important part of China's global trade strategy, is a far-reaching project that aims to revitalize the Old Silk Road. The most important route is the China-Central Asia-West Asia Economic Corridor (CCWAEAC), which links China to Europe via the Arabian Peninsula and Türkiye. This corridor aims to increase China's activities in global trade by connecting the historic Silk Road route with modern



infrastructure investments. The CCWAEC starts from Urumqi, the capital of China's Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region, and runs through Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, Uzbekistan, Afghanistan, Iran, and Türkiye to Bulgaria, Romania, Ukraine, and Russia, where it connects to the Port of Rotterdam in Poland and Germany. Alternative routes include Azerbaijan and Georgia via the Caspian Sea. CCWAEC operates in a broad geography, covering 22 countries in total. These include important countries such as Türkiye, Iran, Saudi Arabia and Ukraine, which China categorizes as "West Asia". This definition also reflects China's geopolitical perspective on the region (Wang, 2023, p. 41). The Middle East leg of the corridor was also shaped by the "Vision 2030 Belt and Road Integration Plan" signed between China and Saudi Arabia in December 2022 (Chen, Shu, & Wen 2018, p. 364). This agreement reveals China's goals in the Middle East and its vision of economic integration in the region. Spanning Central Asia, the Caspian Basin, the Persian Gulf and the Mediterranean, this route has financial and political potential.

Along with CCWAEC, the infrastructure pillar of the Central Corridor includes projects such as the Kamchik Pass, the Uzbekistan railway and the Marmaray tunnel in Türkiye. Marmaray is critical infrastructure investment in accelerating the BRI's connectivity with Europe as a transportation passage connecting Asia and Europe under the Bosphorus Strait. On the other hand, China invested around \$15 billion in Türkiye between 2005 and 2018 in transportation, energy, and infrastructure (Yılmaz, 2019, p. 173). These investments show that Türkiye is important for China's regional logistics and trade hub strategies in the Central Corridor.

CCWAEC extends to the South Caucasus with the Baku-Tbilisi-Kars (BTK) Railway. Connecting Türkiye, Azerbaijan and Georgia, further strengthens Central Corridor's regional transportation networks. Moreover, China's acquisition of the Poti Industrial Zone on Georgia's Black Sea coast is part of its strategy to expand into the Black Sea (Bayar, 2019). This geopolitically diversifies China's geopolitical transportation strategies and offers diversity in benefiting from energy corridors in the region and meeting its energy needs. Türkiye is a key country at the center of the Central Corridor. With its geographical location, infrastructure capacity, industrial strength and technology, Türkiye is important among the partners united by the corridor. Moreover, Türkiye's position as a bridge between the Black Sea, the Mediterranean and Central Asia makes it an alternative. Türkiye's advanced logistics infrastructure and the cooperation between the two countries in the field of digitalization demonstrate the benefits China expects from this project.

The Central Corridor is a set of economic and geopolitical projects that aims to make global trade faster, more economical and more inclusive by connecting China's Far Eastern markets to Europe via the Historic Silk Road. However, regional instability, wars

and political tensions destabilize the corridor's future. Since the beginning of the BRI, the civil war and terrorism problem in Syria, the Karabakh War II and the troubles over the Zangezur corridor, the Ukraine War, Israel's expansionist policies and invasion attempts against the countries in the region have undermined the stability of the corridor. To overcome this instability, China aims to ensure the sustainability of the Central Corridor and become a geopolitical actor in the region by emphasizing infrastructure investments and regional cooperation.

China's Central Corridor policy is built on its economic interests, energy security and geopolitical competition. In geopolitical terms, China's Turkestan policy interacts with factors such as the US Pacific strategy and Russia's Eurasian Economic Union (Kodaman & Gonca, 2016, p. 1255). In this context, China's opening to Turkestan is strategically essential in breaking the US blockade in the Pacific. Turkestan is a vibrant region in terms of energy resources. While oil, natural gas, coal and various minerals constitute essential sources of income for the countries in the area, Turkestan's strategic location makes it a center of attraction for international powers. As one of the main drivers of energy demand with its fast-growing economy, China, is making a concerted effort to access energy resources in Turkestan. Therefore, Beijing is pursuing a multi-pronged strategy to increase its presence in the region and expand its economic influence. This strategy, supported by global projects such as the Belt and Road Initiative, focuses primarily on energy cooperation and infrastructure investments.

China has concluded energy cooperation agreements with Kazakhstan, Turkmenistan and Uzbekistan and has implemented infrastructure projects such as oil and gas pipelines, highways, railways and bridges. These projects, developed under the BRI, are vital in meeting China's energy needs. They also facilitate trade with Turkic states and promote regional integration. For example, billions of dollars have been invested in various energy projects in Kazakhstan, including the Kashagan Oil Field, and similar efforts have been made in Turkmenistan and Uzbekistan (Omonkulov, 2020, p. 51). These investments aim to develop the economies of the region's countries and increase China's commercial influence in the region. China's other strategy focuses on security cooperation with the countries in the region through the Shanghai Five. In 2004, the fourth summit of the Five convened in Tashkent and the declaration emphasized security cooperation on the "three evils" of terrorism, separatism, and extremism (Çolakoğlu, 2010, p. 396).

Countries in the region have criticized China's economic activities in Turkestan. The indebtedness of countries in financing BRI projects has led to concerns of a "debt trap", especially in countries such as Kyrgyzstan and Tajikistan (Kumar, 2017). In addition, problems such as using Chinese workers instead of local labor in infrastructure projects and Chinese traders' dominance of regional markets have also caused local



people to react. This has created economic and social skepticism towards China in the region (Kumar, 2017). China's soft power policies in Turkestan have also been criticized. Beijing spreads the Chinese language and culture in the region through institutions such as Confucius Institutes. These institutes have provided scholarship opportunities to the region's people, enabling many students to study in China (Önal, 2020). However, according to some views, while these institutions increase China's cultural influence, they are also perceived as a tool of assimilation and imperialism. In addition, China's assimilation policies against Uyghur Turks in the Xinjiang Autonomous Region have also led to reactions from the people of Turkestan.

### **Türkiye's Central Corridor Policy**

TRACECA laid the foundation for Türkiye's Central Corridor project. TRACECA is the Iron and Maritime Silk Road and the North-South corridor connecting Europe and Central Asia (Gigauri, 2024, p. 425). Founded in 1993 at the Brussels Conference, TRACECA is an intergovernmental program to improve international transport and socio-economic growth in the Black Sea, Caucasus and Turkestan (Türkiye's relations with TRACECA / Republic of Türkiye Ministry of Foreign Affairs). "The Orient/East-Med Corridor connects parts of Central Europe to Northern, Baltic, Black Sea and Mediterranean ports" (Tümenbatur, 2021, p. 104). Türkiye's Central Corridor Initiative is a product of its "Multilateral Transport Policy" that aims to strengthen land, rail and maritime transport links between Asia and Europe. The "Trans-Caspian East-West-Central Corridor Initiative", which starts from Türkiye and crosses the Caucasus region, the Caspian Sea and Turkestan via Georgia, Azerbaijan and reaches China, is one of the most critical components of the efforts to revive the Old Silk Road (Türkiye's Multilateral Transportation Policy / Republic of Türkiye Ministry of Foreign Affairs).

With the end of the Cold War, a rapprochement began between Western and Central Europe and the countries that left the USSR in Eastern Europe, the South Caucasus and Turkestan. In this process, countries in the region tried to integrate into international organizations and global markets. However, the political and economic difficulties that emerged after the collapse of the Soviet Union negatively affected the development processes of the countries in the region. Problems in many areas such as education, health, trade, and transportation have slowed down the international integration efforts of these states. In this context, the transportation sector is an important area where the region's countries can cooperate. In this context, Türkiye's Central Corridor Initiative is a multidimensional infrastructure and logistics strategy and a project created to establish close relations with the Central Asian Turkic Republics since the 1990s.

Accordingly, the first steps were taken in 1992 to establish the Council of Turkic Speaking States (Turkic Council), but it was only realized in 2009. In 2021, the Council was renamed the “Organization of Turkic States” (OST). The organization’s founding members are Azerbaijan, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan and Türkiye. Observer members are Turkmenistan, Hungary and the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus. Uzbekistan is the last full member to join the Organization of Turkic States in 2019 (Organization of Turkic States,/turkicstates.org.). The OST is recognized as the umbrella organization at the top of the cooperation mechanisms among Turkic-speaking countries. Within this framework, TURKSOY (International Organization of Turkic Culture), TURKPA (Parliamentary Assembly of Turkic States), Turkic Business Council, Turkic Academy and Turkic Culture and Heritage Foundation, operate as associated institutions of the Organization of Turkic States (Organization of Turkic States/turkicstates.org.).

The “Silk Road Initiative” launched by Türkiye in 2008 is an essential complement to the Central Corridor. This initiative, which aims to revitalize the historical Silk Road route as a modern logistics network, covers a vast geography and includes many countries such as China, Central Asian Turkic Republics, Caucasus, Iran, Russia, Iraq, and Pakistan (Mikail & Küçükylıdız, 2015, p. 850). In this respect, the Central Corridor is older than the BRI, still its overlap with the BRI in terms of interests and routes has increased the importance of the Central Corridor and accelerated the infrastructure investments to be made in this context. Instead of seeing this project as a competitor, Türkiye has seized the opportunity for cooperation. The cooperation between Türkiye and China in the Central Corridor started in 2005 and the first concrete step was taken with the Ankara-Istanbul high-speed rail line completed in 2014. Accordingly, the “Memorandum of Understanding on Harmonization of the Silk Road Economic Belt and the Central Corridor Initiative” was signed in 2015 (Altun vd., 2021, p. 88). This agreement allowed Türkiye to support the Central Corridor projects with Chinese investments and Turkish companies to participate in projects along the Belt and Road. Among the projects carried out in Türkiye under this agreement are major transportation and infrastructure projects such as the Yavuz Sultan Selim Bridge, Eurasia Tunnel, Çanakkale 1915 Bridge, Kınalı-Tekirdağ-Çanakkale-Savaştepe Motorway.

Starting from Türkiye, the Central Corridor extends through Georgia, Azerbaijan and the Caspian Sea via rail and road connections, respectively, to China, following the “Turkmenistan-Uzbekistan-Kyrgyzstan or Kazakhstan route (using the Caspian transit)” (Günay et al., 2019, p. 165). Türkiye is a strategic member of the BRI as one of the countries with the longest route after China. Türkiye is essential to this project because it has a critical share of the Chinese goods transported to European markets. Using the Trans-Siberian route, the Northern Corridor carries only 4% of the goods to Europe, in



comparison 96% are transported through the Southern Corridor and the Central Corridor (Türkiye's Multilateral Transportation Policy / Republic of Türkiye Ministry of Foreign Affairs). The two countries have signed Many infrastructure investments in recent years for the development of the Central Corridor. The most important projects within the scope of the Central Corridor are the "Lapis Lazuli Transit, Trade and Transportation Route Agreement" signed in Ashgabat in 2017 and the "Baku-Tbilisi-Kars" railway, which started service in the same year (Toprak, 2020, p. 25). Thanks to the Central Corridor, the railway distance is 2 thousand km shorter than the Northern Corridor. It is three times faster than sea transportation (Türkiye's Multilateral Transportation Policy / Republic of Türkiye Ministry of Foreign Affairs). The Tuz Lake Underground Storage Facility and Emba Hunutlu Thermal Power Plant, which were built in cooperation with the scope of harmonizing the Central Corridor and BRI, are important projects in terms of energy security (China Embassy, 2019).

Within the framework of this initiative, the Nomad Express stands out as one of the remarkable projects. Starting from the city of Shihezi in the Xinjiang Uygur Autonomous Region of China to the Port of Aktau in Kazakhstan, this railway line offers an alternative to diversify trade routes between Asia and Europe". Nomad Express was launched in 2013 as part of the "Establishment of the Azerbaijan Committee for the Coordination of the Development of the Trans-Caspian International Transport Line" signed between Georgia, Kazakhstan and Kazakhstan Railways and the port authorities of Batumi, Aktau and Baku. Covering a distance of 3540 kilometers in as little as five days, this route presents itself as an important transportation network that accelerates Asia-Europe connections (Mussayev, 2019).

The Lapis Lazuli Corridor, another essential route within the scope of the Central Corridor, starts from Herat in Afghanistan to Turkmenbashi Port in Turkmenistan, then crosses the Caspian Sea to Baku in Azerbaijan and reaches Kars in Türkiye via Poti port in Georgia. "This route was named after the navy blue stone, an important export product from Central Asia throughout history" (Toprak, 2020, p. 25). The Lapis Lazuli Corridor is based on the work carried out by the Asian Development Bank in 1997 to increase economic cooperation among Central Asian countries. In 2017, it became official with the "Agreement on the Lapis Lazuli Transit, Trade and Transport Route" signed in Ashgabat. This 2400-kilometer route is 2,000 km shorter than the NELBEC (Northern Corridor) route and has more favorable climatic conditions. It is also faster than the sea route and reduces logistics time by 15 days (Türkiye's Multilateral Transportation Policy / Republic of Türkiye Ministry of Foreign Affairs). It is of great importance for the trade route from Afghanistan to Türkiye.



Another significant project in Türkiye's trade policy is the Baku-Tbilisi-Kars (BTK) railway line. The BTK railway line, also called the "Iron Silk Road", was put into service in 2017 and a train loaded with grain from Kazakhstan arrived at Mersin Port (Israfilbayova, 2017). The BTK railway result from joint efforts between Türkiye, Azerbaijan and Georgia. Due to political problems with Armenia, the three countries sought an alternative route and decided to built this line in 2007. The 838-kilometer BTK line was opened in 2017, providing an uninterrupted connection between Asia and Europe (Gadimova, 2014). The BTK line, and the Marmaray Railway Project crossing the Bosphorus contributed to Türkiye's goal of becoming a logistics bridge between Asia, the Caucasus and Europe. This project is strategically important in diversifying Türkiye's trade routes between Central Asia, the South Caucasus, and Europe.

Due to its location, Türkiye's proximity to energy basins serves as a bridge between natural gas and oil exporting countries and European countries, which are the largest importers. The Central Corridor Initiative transports Azerbaijani gas from Türkiye to Europe via the Trans Anatolian Natural Gas Pipeline Project (TANAP), for which a formal agreement was signed in 2012 and amended in 2014 (Quliyev, 2014). The Turkish Stream Gas Pipeline project, for which an agreement was signed between Türkiye and Russia in 2016 and inaugurated in 2020, will take Türkiye to the next level and is said to take Turkish-Russian relations to an advanced stage in energy. The project consists of two lines, each with a capacity of 15.75 billion cubic meters of natural gas (UNCTAD, 2024). The Turkish Stream pipeline, which starts in Russia and runs 930 kilometers under the sea along the Black Sea coast, contributes to Europe's energy security and strengthens Türkiye's position as a hub for energy transit. However, the Russian-Ukrainian war that started in 2022 and the disruptions in the Western pipeline, which passes through Ukraine and Bulgaria and reaches Türkiye, and the natural gas embargo imposed by Russia on Europe prevent the pipeline from being used at the desired efficiency (UNCTAD, 2024).

International cooperation protocols are crucial for the success of the Central Corridor project. Türkiye has signed cooperation agreements with different countries and international organizations to address issues such as trade facilitation, simplification of customs procedures and developing logistics infrastructure. The Organization of Turkic States also supports the Central Corridor project and participates in joint work. The "Caravanserai Project" established within the OST includes goals such as setting common standards at border gates, accelerating logistics transitions and facilitating international trade. In this direction, the "Joint Cooperation Protocol" developed by the Organization and signed by the Ministers of Transport of the member states and the "Coordination Board" established at the level of Deputy Ministers are important for increasing cooperation among the members in the field of transportation



and bringing institutional solutions to possible problems. The Sister Ports process initiated by signing the “Memorandum of Understanding on Sister Ports Relationship and Cooperation” in 2013, the Sister Ports meetings organized between Samsun Port of Türkiye, Baku Port of Azerbaijan, Aktau and Kuryk Ports of Kazakhstan, and initiatives such as the “International Combined Freight Transportation Share” signed between Türkiye and Azerbaijan in 2014 are among the concrete examples of this cooperation (Ametbek, 2019, p. 201).

With the “Turkic World Vision 2040 document” signed at the 8th Summit of the CIS held in Istanbul on November 12, 2021, the OST agreed to unite cooperation mechanisms and joint projects, as well as to share material and intellectual resources when necessary, to raise the political, economic, social and cultural standards of the Member States (Baghirova, 2022, p. 54). In order to raise the political, economic, social and cultural standards of the Member States, it was agreed that cooperation mechanisms and joint projects should be unified, and material and intellectual resources should be shared when necessary. “At the 8th Summit, the Heads of State discussed the proposal to establish the “TURANSEZ” Special Economic Zone in the Turkestan region of Kazakhstan, which aims to strengthen economic cooperation and ties among the Turkic States, in particular through the International Trans-Caspian East-West Central Corridor (Düğen, 2024, p. 1266). Since 2022, the OST has facilitated cooperation between the member states’ railway sectors by organizing Meetings of Heads of Railway Administrations. These meetings aim to explore cost-effective alternative routes and formulate strategies to increase regional freight transportation. Established in 2024 under the auspices of the OST, the “Association of Logistics Centers and Freight Forwarders” aims to connect logistics centers, carriers, terminals and ports in Turkic countries (Aracıoğlu & Esmer, 2023, p. 2).

In geopolitical terms, the Zangezur Corridor is the most critical pillar of the Central Corridor Initiative. The Zangezur region, which severs Azerbaijan’s land connection with the Nakhchivan Autonomous Region of Azerbaijan, which borders Türkiye, is within the borders of Armenia. One of the most important demands of Azerbaijan, which liberated the Nagorno-Karabakh region from Armenian occupation after the Second Karabakh War, is the opening of the Zangezur corridor in peace negotiations. With the Zangezur corridor, Azerbaijan will have a land connection with Nakhchivan (Uraloğlu, 2023). In addition, Türkiye’s direct land connection with Azerbaijan will be ensured and direct transportation between Türkiye and Turkestan will be ensured. After the ceasefire, transitions are provided under the control of Russian peacekeepers in the region. However, Armenia and Iran oppose the opening of this corridor. According to the plan, a 166 km railroad will be built from Khoradiz to Ordubad (Rehimov, 2023). 43 km of this railway will pass through Zangezur and the 158 km railway from Ordubad to Velidag in

the north of Nakhchivan will be repaired and extended by 14 km, thus extending the railway to Kars (Rehimov, 2021). In parallel with the railroad connection, highway construction is also being considered. However, Yerevan and Tehran are at odds with Ankara and Baku on this issue.

## CONCLUSION

Changing geopolitics enabled Türkiye to implement multilateral policies and cooperate with Turkestan countries. Since the early 1990s, Turkish foreign policy has changed, and the “Asia Anew” doctrine has come into effect. However, Türkiye’s economic and political unpreparedness, as well as that of the new republics that left the USSR, delayed cooperation.

The political and economic stabilization of Türkiye and the Central Asian Turkic republics since the early 2000s made the Central Corridor Initiative viable. This initiative has an important place in Türkiye’s and global strategies. The Central Corridor Initiative links Asia and Europe, stretching land and lines from China to Europe. This initiative is an economic project and a set of strategies that contribute to integrating countries in the region into the international system. Türkiye’s Central Corridor policy aligns with China’s Belt and Road Initiative. The 2015 Memorandum of Understanding signed between Türkiye and China shows that these two initiatives are complementary. Rather than competing with China’s grand project, Türkiye aims to increase cooperation through joint projects. Türkiye’s Central Corridor initiative has a sustainable structure for the future of regional and global trade. This initiative could create a new bridge between Asia and Europe, providing many economic and political advantages. This initiative serves Türkiye’s purpose of becoming not only a transit country but also a regional logistics hub.

Türkiye is a key country for China in the BRI. With the Central Corridor, Türkiye is improving its relations with Central Asia and the Turkic Republics and creating a new geopolitical balance with China. However, there are risks as well as opportunities created by this situation. The power rivalry between China and the United States may trigger crises and conflicts in the regions through which the project passes. Moreover, Türkiye is a key country for China and a threat to the BRI. Because Türkiye, as a NATO country, has the opportunity to undermine the BRI in terms of its geopolitical position. It can block Caspian transit through the Black Sea, the Mediterranean and the Organization of Turkic States. Therefore, China will want to control Türkiye as much as possible. For example, although the Zangezur Corridor, which planned to connect Türkiye and Azerbaijan directly after the Second Karabakh War, is a beneficial project for the BRI, the Beijing government has not expressed open support. At this point,



Türkiye needs to manage its relations with China in a balanced manner and should look for ways to reduce the trade deficit in favor of China.

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## The Development of Bitlis Station: An Analysis of Annual Tabular Views for the Years 1860-1871

*Bitlis İstasyonu'nun Gelişimi: 1860-1871 Arası Yıllık Tablo Analizleri*

Derya ATAŞ\*

### ABSTRACT

The American Board, established in 1810, began its operations in the Ottoman Empire with the ordination of Pliny Fisk and Levi Parsons in Jerusalem in 1819. The Board designated İzmir as its headquarters and operated from there for some time. Over the years, it divided the Ottoman Empire into regions, establishing missions, stations, and outstations. The organization engaged in systematic propaganda against the Ottoman Empire through the missionaries it ordained. The Bitlis Station was founded in 1860 under the Eastern Turkey Mission. Between 1860 and 1871, local participation in the Stations' activities increased significantly, leading to a rise in the number of outstations. This included pastors and educators, allowing them to lead religious and educational initiatives. The Board's commitment to its objectives was reflected in civic contributions, such as assistance with pastors' salaries. All of this underscores the influence and capacity of the American Board in the Bitlis Station. This study aims to explore this by focusing on the development of the Bitlis Station as documented in the annual tabular views of the Eastern Turkey Mission from 1860 to 1871.

### Keywords

ABCFM, Bitlis, Eastern Turkey Mission, American Missionaries, Annual Tabular Views.

### ÖZ

1810'da kurulan Amerikan Board, 1819'da Kudüs'e Pliny Fisk ve Levi Parsons'ın atanmasıyla Osmanlı Devleti'ndeki faaliyetlerine başlamış ve İzmir'i merkez olarak belirleyerek faaliyetlerini bir süre buradan yürütmüştür. Yıllar içerisinde Amerikan Board, Osmanlı Devleti'ni bölgelere ayırarak misyonlar, istasyonlar ve dış istasyonlar oluşturmuştur. Örgüt, atadığı misyonerler aracılığıyla Osmanlı Devleti'ne karşı sistemli bir aleyhte propaganda yürütmüştür. Bitlis İstasyonu 1860 yılında Doğu Türkiye Misyonu'na bağlı olarak kurulmuştur. 1860-1871 yılları arasında istasyonun faaliyetlerine yerel düzeyde katılım önemli ölçüde artmış ve bunun sonucu olarak dış istasyonların sayısı da yükselmiştir. Örgüt ayrıca papazları ve eğitimcileri bünyesine katarak dini ve eğitimle ilgili girişimlere yön verilmesini sağlamıştır. Board'un hedeflerine olan bağlılığı, papazların ücretlerine yapılan yardımlar da dahil olmak üzere sivil katkılarda kendini göstermiştir. Tüm bunlar Amerikan Board'un Bitlis istasyonu genelindeki etkisini ve kapasitesini gözler önüne sermektedir. Bu çalışma, Doğu Türkiye Misyonunun 1860-1871 yılları arasındaki yıllık tablolarında Bitlis istasyonunun gelişimine odaklanarak bu durumu incelemeyi amaçlamaktadır.

### Anahtar Kelimeler

ABCFM, Bitlis, Doğu Türkiye Misyonu, Amerikalı Misyonerler, Yıllık Tablolar.

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## INTRODUCTION

The American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (ABCFM) constitutes a Protestant missionary organization that was established in the early nineteenth century in New England, United States. Although it was formally founded in 1810, the origins of the American Board extend beyond this date. It emerged from the evangelical awakening of the early nineteenth century, with the aim of disseminating the Bible and Christian doctrines through three primary phases: preaching, translating and distributing the Bible, and promoting Bible study. Missionaries were dispatched to achieve these objectives, attending to both the physical and spiritual needs of the community by establishing churches, developing schools, and creating employment opportunities for converts. Their endeavors focused on mission management, training native helpers, translating the Bible, and distributing Christian publications. The American Board engaged in activities that extended beyond its evangelical goals, with all efforts aimed at furthering those objectives. Missionaries were encouraged to set ambitious goals; local churches were established to achieve self-governance and financial independence, and members were urged to seek the spiritual conversion of the local population. The primary objective of the missionaries was to propagate the church on a global scale. The evangelistic strategy of the American Board was distinguished by its broad influence, which included social centers, clinics, hospitals, and educational institutions establishments. The Holy Land, known as the birthplace of Christianity and a key focus for the American Board since its founding, was seen as inappropriate for Islamic influence or a weakened form of Christianity from their viewpoint.

In November 1819, with the ordination of Pliny Fisk and Levi Parsons in Jerusalem, the American Board entered the territory of the Ottoman Empire. Fisk and Parsons based their operations in Izmir and conducted their activities there for some time, thus establishing the American Board within the Ottoman Empire (Çoban Döşkaya, 2022). During this organizational phase, the American Board divided the Ottoman Empire into missions, stations, and outstations. The Board undertook systematic propaganda against the Ottoman Empire through the missionaries they appointed (Çoban Döşkaya & Öztürk, 2023).

In the Ottoman Empire, Armenians were recognized as a trusted Christian community living in various regions within the empire's borders. Armenians were concentrated in Erzurum, Sivas, Van, Diyarbakır, Elazığ, and Bitlis. Of these six provinces (Vilayeti Sitte), the Armenian population in Bitlis was not only a settled group in the region but also influential in the province's governance, administrative, economic, and socio-cultural structure. The American Board valued Bitlis' demographic and

geostrategic position, as it played a crucial role in the region's development. Because of its demographic composition, minority communities, and the possibility of engagement in missionary endeavors, Bitlis Station became a prominent cultural and strategically crucial center in the Eastern Turkey Mission of the ABCFM.

Much archive-based research has been conducted on the American Board Bitlis Station. However, the study by Kuş and Alan (2019) on Bitlis Station is crucial as it investigates the activities of the American Board from its founding to its closure. On the other hand, this article focuses on the first decade of Bitlis Station (1860-1871) and analyzes the station's establishment along with the preliminary effects of missionary activities through annual data. The objective is to examine the dynamics of the station's founding and the factors that influenced its long-term outcomes, as well as to present the developments of the first ten years at Bitlis Station based on the microfilm archive at Bilkent University Library. The tabular views from the first ten years are being explored in the archival records. The primary goal of the missionary work undertaken at the station was to understand the American Board's influence in the region. This was achieved by assessing the station's impact on changing educational, social, and religious activities. This research aims to address the following aspects: the primary focus of missionary efforts, the effect of the American Board on the local populace, the contributions of religious and educational activities to social transformation, and the relationship between the Bitlis Station and its outstations.

Between 1860 and 1871, local involvement in the Stations' activities grew significantly, resulting in an increase in the number of outstations. This involved pastors and educators, enabling them to spearhead religious and educational initiatives. This approach strengthened the mission's connection to the local community and ensured sustainability. Community contributions, including support for pastors' salaries, reflected the growing commitment of the local Protestant community to the mission's goals.

### **The Preparations for the Establishment of Bitlis Station of ABCFM**

In the archival records of the American Board, "the name Bitlis was first mentioned in 1841" (Kuş & Alan, 2019, p. 1406). In the April issue of the Board's periodical, *The Missionary Herald*, a letter written by William C. Jackson, the missionary at the Erzurum station, includes some notes from that station. The expression Bitlis appears as follows:

December 9th. I have been employing an Armenian from Bitlis for some days, a city upwards of three hundred miles south of this. He wished to purchase a New Testament. Being asked if he wished a copy of the gospels, "What!" says he, "am I a priest that I should read the gospel? That is for the priests to read." He here uttered a sentiment very common among this people. They regard the gospel as more sacred than the rest



of the Bible and most suitable to be read by the priests. This same young man was lately called by a vartabed of his acquaintance and cautioned to beware of me. "Be careful that they (the missionaries) do not lead you out of the true way. They have a strange religion, whether they are Mohammedans or Christians I cannot tell."

February 15th, 1841. I visited Hafiz Pasha, the governor of this pashalik, in company with the English consul. I learned at this visit a most grievous instance of Turkish oppression. To conciliate the Koords that frequent the pasture grounds about the region of Moosh and Bitlis, the Turkish government ordered, some years since, that the Christian villagers in this quarter should maintain the Koordish shepherds that should be in their vicinity through the winter that is, that the Christians should receive their cattle into their stables, and the Koords themselves to their firesides, and feed them from their own provisions; but for this service the Koords were to pay them (Jackson, 1841, p. 165).

From 1841 to 1854, Bitlis appears in the letters of the Erzurum missionaries to the Board. It is primarily mentioned during the missionaries' visits to the outstations of Erzurum and its surroundings. In 1854, Bitlis was included in the annual report of the Erzurum station (The Missionary Herald, 1854). By 1858, Bitlis was occupied by missionaries. In the tenth issue of *The Missionary Herald* released that year, Bitlis is recognized as distinct from the Erzurum station for the first time. It is noted as a sub-heading under the Diyarbakır station of the Assyrian mission, which had been thoroughly investigated in earlier expeditions to the region, with the findings meticulously documented. In George C. Knapp's correspondence dated June 17, 1858, he clearly states that it is time to send missionaries to Bitlis. Additionally, he elaborately details Bitlis in his correspondence, listing the fruit trees in the area, mentioning the existence of thirty-two bridges and several mills along the city's waterways, as well as noting the city's altitude, its proximity to neighboring villages, and the quality of its air and water. Knapp's expression of his feelings of being nearly home implies his intention to stay engaged in the city for many years (The Missionary Herald, 1858).

George Cushing Knapp, acknowledged as the first Board missionary to Bitlis, was unable to remain in Diyarbakır (Diarbekir) for an extended time due to health constraints. Therefore, in May 1858, he was tasked with establishing a new station in Bitlis, described as a healthy location at a high elevation. In the summer of 1859, the Knapp family occupied Bitlis in the latter part of the season (Anderson, 1872).

### **Annual Tabular Views of Bitlis Station for the Years 1860-1871**

Founded in 1860, the Eastern Turkey Mission established seven stations: Arapkir, Bitlis, Diyarbakır, Mardin, Mosul, Harput, and Erzurum. When it was established, the mission included 11 preachers and two physicians, and educational initiatives included creating a seminary and 17 common schools (PABCFM, Reel 676, No: 4)

The annual tabular view of the Eastern Turkey Mission at the Bitlis station for 1860 presents the following information: The missionaries at the Bitlis station included both American and native helpers. The American missionaries comprised two preachers and their two wives, while the native helpers included one preacher and an additional helper. Preaching activities in Bitlis during 1860 took place in two different locations, with an average Sabbath attendance of 15 individuals (PABCFM, Reel 676, No: 4). At that time, Bitlis lacked educational institutions but held potential for future development. The mission aimed to meet the region's spiritual and practical needs, tailoring its efforts to various circumstances and opportunities. Despite its small size, Bitlis was crucial to the mission's overall strategy. The Bitlis station has one outstation, Moosh (Mouş) (Muş), served by a local priest (PABCFM, Reel 676, No: 5).

The annual tabular view of the mission about the Bitlis station for the year 1861 provides the following information: It details the development of missionary activity at the Bitlis station and its outstation, Moosh. The station engaged two American preachers, two American women, a native preacher, and a catechist. Religious activities substantially increased, with an average of 30 individuals attending Sabbath prayers, indicating a major rise in attendance relative to the prior year. Nonetheless, Bitlis has failed to build missionary institutions, signifying a deficiency in educational resources. The mission also expanded to Moosh, where a local preacher was appointed, indicating efforts to disseminate into adjacent areas. (PABCFM, Reel 676, No: 13, No: 14). In 1861, the financial report of the Bitlis station revealed a budget of \$2,025 designated for missionary salaries, local representative assistance, educational programs, rent, and maintenance. The budget prioritized personnel and facilities to enable the mission's work. Pastor Simon's relocation to Moosh led to its designation as an outstation of Bitlis, intended to centralize supervision and improve outreach. This choice enhanced regional connectivity and the coordination of religious and educational endeavors in Eastern Turkey, exemplifying the mission's strategic approach to resource distribution (PABCFM, Reel 676, No: 129).

The 1862 annual tabular view of the Eastern Turkey Mission reveals significant developments at Bitlis and its outstation Moosh. The Bitlis station employs a diverse staff that includes two U.S. missionaries, two U.S. women, a licensed preacher, and a schoolteacher. In the meantime, Moosh employs a dedicated educator who enhances educational initiatives outside the basic mission center. Religious events in Bitlis and Moosh have seen a rise in attendance, with an average Sabbath congregation of 40 and 12 participants, respectively. The mission emphasizes spiritual leadership and foundational education to facilitate cultural and religious reform in the area (PABCFM, Reel 676, No: 17, No: 21). The financial account for the Bitlis Station in 1862 indicates a total expenditure of \$2,247, containing salaries for missionaries Knapp and Burbank,



along with provisions for a local agent. The mission pointed out the importance of education and intended to expand its outreach in the Bitlis region. The increase in overall costs relative to the prior year emphasizes the mission's operations and infrastructure growth, reinforcing its dedication to sustaining an effective presence in eastern Turkey. Supplementary operating expenditures including rent, maintenance, other charges, and postage. (PABCFM, Reel 676, No: 130).

The annual tabular view of Eastern Turkey Mission for 1863 indicates a rise in missionary activities in Bitlis and in the outstations of Moosh, Yoncalı (also known as Yonjali), and Van. The Bitlis station employed a significant workforce that included two U.S. missionaries, two U.S. ladies, three licensed preachers, a schoolteacher, two additional helpers, and an increasing number of local personnel. Religious participation remains a priority, with Bitlis hosting two preaching sites and surrounding areas like Moosh and Yoncalı enhancing preaching initiatives. Moosh has a place of worship and a Sabbath congregation that averages 15 attendees, and it also runs a common school teaching eight male students while employing a local licensed preacher. Bitlis, together with another assistant, oversees two preaching locations and a Sabbath school with 44 attendees. The staff in Van comprises a qualified minister and another assistant. Educational initiatives in Bitlis encompass a cooperative institution serving 22 male students, of whom six are pursuing a theology course and nine are undergoing vocational training, reflecting a strong dedication to both formal and informal education. Furthermore, early educational donations reached four, whilst overall relief initiatives were 38. The results emphasize that the mission regards preaching, education, and outreach as essential instruments for fostering community participation in the region and furthering its religious goals. (PABCFM, Reel 676, No: 24, No: 27) The financial estimate from Bitlis Station in 1863 indicates a broadened scope of operations, with total expenses amounting to \$2,532. This budget encompasses vital elements required for the mission's operation, including remuneration for missionaries Knapp and Burbank, assistance for an indigenous agent, and educational programs. The purpose underscores a dedication to local engagement and the incorporation of indigenous staff. Supplementary expenditures for rent, maintenance, incidental fees, and mailing highlight the intricacies of overseeing and organizing the mission's operations. The growing expenses show the mission's increasing impact in Eastern Turkey and its augmented religious, educational, and administrative initiatives. (PABCFM, Reel 676, No: 132).

The 1864 annual tabular view of the Eastern Turkey Mission indicate consistent growth and consolidation of operations in Bitlis and the related regions of Moosh Havodorik (Derecik) and Yoncalı. The personnel at Bitlis comprised two American missionaries, two women, a licensed preacher, and an educator. Notable progress has

been achieved at the station, featuring the creation of a church, five individuals committing their loyalty, and five founding members. Preaching activities occur in two venues, drawing an average audience of 50 individuals, alongside a Sabbath school that includes 70 students. Educational initiatives are ongoing, featuring a primary school with 40 male students, a theology class comprising six participants, and 56 adults engaged in training. Bitlis was home to 68 registered Protestants, who received support from four civil leaders, 18 educational supporters, and 29 general benevolence. In Moosh, there is one educator, a place of worship with an average attendance of 15 registered protestants, and an educational facility for 10 male students. Although information regarding Havodorik and Yoncalı is scarce, records show that both centers are vital to a broader network that promotes the mission's objectives. The data suggests the mission's strategic integration of religious, educational, and outreach initiatives to foster a growing Protestant community in the region. The importance of the mission's expanding influence in establishing a sustainable framework for spiritual and practical needs is highlighted by the gradual increase in registered Protestants and educational efforts (PABCFM, Reel 676, No: 30, No: 33).

The 1865 annual tabular view of the Eastern Turkey Mission offers a comprehensive overview of Bitlis's religious, educational, and social structures and its outstations Moosh, Havodorik, and Yoncalı. The mission included two school teachers, two US missionaries, two women, and a local licensed preacher. The station contained one church with seven congregants, two of whom confessed their beliefs. Preaching events took place in two venues, with an average Sabbath attendance of 62 individuals. The educational initiatives encompassed a primary school for 28 boys, six theology students, and 73 adults. The civic society comprised 53 men, 23 taxpayers, and 49 registered Protestants, supported by 16 civil administrators. Contributions to pastoral salaries, education, and general aid were recorded at 16, 8, and 29, respectively. The mission's comprehensive strategy for religious, educational, and social advancement was evident in the 1865 data, underscoring its growing impact on the Protestant community in the region (PABCFM, Reel 676, No: 36, No: 39). In 1865, the financial budget for the Bitlis Station emphasized investments in religious and educational initiatives, allocating \$2,444 for expenditures. The remuneration of Missionaries Knapp and Burbank constituted a substantial fraction of the budget. The mission emphasized its dedication to include local leaders and building communal ties. Educational activities were prioritized, with financial resources allocated for upkeep and expansion. The operational intricacy of sustaining infrastructure and communication networks was highlighted, along with a minor decrease in costs relative to 1863. (PABCFM, Reel 676, No: 134).



The 1866 annual tabular view of the Eastern Turkey Mission offers an extensive overview of Bitlis's religious, educational, and social endeavours, as well as its outstations, including Moosh, Havodorik, Yoncalı, and Pakhaut. The missionaries in Bitlis included two American missionaries, two women, one licensed native preacher, two schoolteachers, and one assistant. Religious activities centered around a congregation of seven members, with two declaring their faith. A Sabbath congregation, averaging 74 people, was established, with sermons preached in one location. The civil congregation in Bitlis comprised 55 men, 25 taxpayers, and 78 registered Protestants, indicating a significant increase in religious participation. Educational institutions in Bitlis included a girls' boarding school with 12 students, a common school with 16 boys, and six seminary students, totaling 34 students. In Moosh, religious activities were held at a preaching location with an average attendance of 25 supporters by a Sabbath school with 10 students. Yoncalı and Pakhaut were incorporated into the mission framework, but their activities remain underreported. In Pakhaut, one preaching place attracted an average congregation of 30 people, indicating its potential as an emerging center of engagement. The 1866 records indicate the mission's steady growth in religious influence, education, and community engagement, especially in Bitlis and its surrounding areas (PABCFM, Reel 676, No: 54, No: 58). The financial budget for the 1866 Bitlis Station mirrored this expansion, with total expenses amounting to \$2,568. Missionaries Knapp and Burbank received compensation, enhancing their roles in managing religious and administrative activities. An Indigenous representative was also funded to strengthen community engagement. Education was a primary focus, with significant resources allocated for programs. Operational costs included rent, repairs, miscellaneous expenses, and postage. The increased budget reflects the mission's commitment to meet the growing scope of its activities (PABCFM, Reel 676, No: 136).

The 1867 annual tabular view of the Eastern Turkey Mission highlights expanding religious, educational, and social activities in Bitlis and its outstations of Moosh, Havodorik, Yoncalı, and Pakhaut. Bitlis had a pastor, three school teachers, one assistant, a seven-member church, and a Sabbath school with 70 students. Educational initiatives included a girls' boarding school and a primary school with 20 boys. The civic community in Bitlis comprised 60 men, 25 taxpayers, and 80 registered Protestants, reflecting growth in religious and civic engagement. Contributions to pastors' salaries and general philanthropy were substantial, with an additional 10 individuals contributing towards education. In Muş, the local personnel supported a preaching site with an average Sabbath congregation of 25. The civil congregation consisted of 35 men, 20 taxpayers, and 45 registered Protestants who made financial contributions, while the civic society included 40 men, 20 taxpayers, and 46 registered Protestants who are contributing financially. The civic community in Yoncalı and Pakhaut each employed one



native assistant, indicating their involvement in the mission's broader structure. The 1867 data shows steady growth in congregations, schools, and financial contributions, underscoring the mission's effectiveness in building a sustainable Protestant community in the region (PABCFM Reel 676, No: 62, No: 68). The financial budget for the Bitlis Station in 1867 totals \$2,531, with a significant allocation for missionary salaries and support for indigenous representative. The mission emphasizes promoting learning and literacy, while supplementary expenses for rent, repairs, miscellaneous supplies, and postal services highlight the logistical needs for infrastructure maintenance and communication facilitation. This financial allocation demonstrates the mission's strategic efforts to align operational requirements with spiritual and educational objectives, enhancing its presence and influence in the Bitlis region (PABCFM, Reel 676, No: 138

The 1868 annual tabular view of the Eastern Turkey Mission indicates consistent expansion and diversity of religious, educational, and social activities in Bitlis and the outstations Muş, Havodorik, Yoncalı, and Pakhaut. The mission in Bitlis included a team of nine individuals: two American missionaries, four women, one local pastor, and two educators. Religious engagement was robust, with seven new members joining one church. Sermons were delivered at two locations, averaging each Sabbath attendance of 120 individuals. Educational efforts featured a collaborative school with 30 children, evenly split between 15 boys and 15 girls, and 14 people pursuing education. The civil society included 89 men, 45 taxpayers, and 176 registered Protestants. Significant contributions have been allocated for pastors' salaries and general support. In Moosh, the mission comprised a school instructor and an additional aide. Preaching activities were centralized at a single site, drawing an average congregation of 30 individuals, complemented by a Sabbath school with 30 students. Educational efforts included a school with 28 children—13 boys and 15 girls—and six adults. The civil society encompassed 30 men, 15 taxpayers, and 50 registered Protestants, with 12 individuals contributing to education. Both outstations bolstered the mission's regional presence; however, information about Yoncalı and Pakhaut was limited (PABCFM, Reel 676, No: 73, No: 79) In 1868, the Bitlis Mission's financial budget was \$1,605, which covered missionary salaries, local representation, and education. The mission emphasized local engagement and indigenous leadership, with additional expenses for rent, repairs, miscellaneous items, and postage. The budget decreased compared to previous years, reflecting a strategic approach to funding allocation that balanced financial constraints while maintaining core priorities of religious outreach and educational development in the Bitlis region (PABCFM, Reel 676, No: 142).

The 1869 annual data present a thorough and systematic methodology regarding religious and educational activities for the mission in Bitlis and its extensive network of



outstations. The ministry employed 14 individuals, including two American missionaries, four women, one local pastor, and seven educators. Religious activities centered around a single church with 33 members. Sermons were delivered at two locations, with an average Sabbath attendance of 180 people and a Sabbath school instructing an equivalent number of 180 students. Outstations displayed significant variation in personnel allocation and congregation sizes. Moosh had one licensed preacher and one educator, supporting a preaching site with an average Sabbath attendance of 28 and 20 students in the Sabbath school. The capacity to adjust its resources to the evolving needs of its outstations is apparent. The heightened involvement of the congregation and attendance at Sabbath school proves the expanding influence of the mission's activities in Eastern Turkey (PABCFM Reel 676, No: 92). The financial estimate issued by the Bitlis Station in 1869 indicates considerable activity, with total expenditures amounting to \$20,700. The salaries of missionaries Knapp and Burbank form a substantial part of the budget, reflecting their responsibilities in managing the mission's operations. The mission also endorses an indigenous representative, illustrating the involvement of local leadership in religious and social initiatives. Education programs have expanded, and increased allocations for rent, repairs, miscellaneous expenses, and postage demonstrate the logistical and infrastructural needs of the mission. The significant expenditure rise indicates a strategic investment by the mission in Bitlis and its nearby regions (PABCFM Reel 676, No: 140).

The 1870 annual tabular view of the Eastern Turkey Mission provides a detailed summary of its operations in Bitlis and outstations. The mission focused on religious development, educational initiatives, and community involvement. The church in Bitlis saw notable growth, with 40 individuals professing their faith, resulting in an overall membership of 72. Religious activities included a Sabbath congregation with an average attendance of 160 individuals, two preaching stations, and 120 educators involved in the Sabbath school. Educational initiatives featured a girls' boarding school accommodating 20 students, four general schools serving 60 students, and a theology class with nine participants. Civil society recorded 110 men, 60 taxpayers, 200 registered Protestants, 105 donations designated for pastors' salaries, and 240 for general relief efforts. Outstations exhibited varying degrees of activity and engagement. At the preaching site in Muş, three native workers, one licensed preacher, and two teachers facilitated services for an average Sabbath congregation of 62 individuals. Educational facilities included two community schools serving 32 students and 18 adults in training, totaling 50 individuals involved in education. Outstations such as Yoncalı, Shegyagob (Şeyhyakup), Aagh, and Kultig significantly contributed to the mission's overall efforts, hosting 14 registered Protestants and 30 students. The mission's growing influence and

commitment to developing sustainable Protestant communities demonstrate its strategic balance between religious and educational objectives (PABCFM, Reel 676, No: 100 No: 108).

The 1871 annual tabular view of the Eastern Turkey Mission provides a comprehensive overview of its religious, educational, and social initiatives in Bitlis and the surrounding areas. The mission comprised seven individuals: one American missionary, three women, one local pastor, and two school teachers. The church recorded five new members, raising its total membership to 74, despite one death and two excommunications. Religious activities included two preaching locations, each averaging a Sabbath attendance of 150 people, along with a Sabbath school accommodating 125 students. Bitlis featured a girls' boarding school with 32 students and a general school with 25 boys, totaling 57 students in education. The civil community consisted of 118 men, 30 taxpayers, and 178 registered Protestants, contributing 140 toward pastors' salaries, 44 for education, and 32 for general relief. Havadorik had an 18-member church and a preaching station that served a Sabbath congregation with an average attendance of 60 people. Smaller stations primarily focused on education, operating joint schools with student enrollments ranging from six to 35. The data reflects the strategic integration of the mission's religious and educational efforts, adapted to local contexts (PABCFM Reel 676, No: 120, No: 114). Financial estimates for the Bitlis Mission in 1871 indicate a significant increase in expenses, totaling \$57,273, due to the growing number of stations and missionary activities. The budget primarily covers the salaries of missionaries Knapp and Burbank, as well as support for a local representative. Investment in education is prioritized, with resources allocated for maintaining and expanding educational programs. Expenses related to rent, repairs, postage, and various other costs underscore the operational needs of managing the mission and its extensive network of stations (PABCFM Reel 676, No: 144).

## **CONCLUSION**

The origins of the American Board are fundamentally connected to the evangelical revival movements of the late eighteenth century in the United States, which nurtured the idea that missionaries should construct rather than deconstruct. As missionaries settled in the regions they explored, a Christian community developed around them. Distributing translated and printed Bibles and select literary works proved to be the most effective way to engage this group. Additionally, simple medical remedies and advice emerged as practical means of communication. A group was quickly established to create a training institution for educating clergy, preachers, and educators. By applying the same methodology at each station and mission field, the organization expanded its efforts in the Eastern Turkey Mission in the same manner over the years.



From 1860 to 1871, the Bitlis Station significantly contributed to the theological, educational, and social advancement of the Eastern Turkey Mission within ABCFM. The mission employed American missionaries, local pastors, and educators, fostering a collaborative effort to maximize its impact. By 1871, Bitlis had emerged as a crucial center for religious activities, with church membership increasing to 74 members. Sabbath schools and preaching venues played an essential role in congregational engagement, with the number of Sabbath school pupils rising to 125 and average attendance reaching 150. Education was a key component of the mission, with public schools and a girls' residential institution serving numerous students each year. Additionally, the mission partnered with outstations like Moosh and Havadorik, thereby expanding its reach to remote regions. The mission's significance in promoting organizational advancements, including meetings in Kharpoot and Bitlis, along with the rise in registered Protestants and civic participation, underscored its impact on theological and social matters progress.

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## Osmanlı Devleti'nde XIX. Yüzyılda Vâsıf Bey Tarafından Yazılmış Bir Güfte Mecmuası

*A Songbook of Lyrics Written by Vasıf Bey in the Ottoman Empire in the XIXth Century*

Hilal AKBULUT\*

### ÖZ

Bu çalışmada Atatürk Kitaplığı Yazma Eserler bölümünde yer alan 19. yüzyıla ait olduğu ve Vâsıf Bey isimli bir müellif tarafından yazıldığı tespit edilen bir güfte mecmuası incelenmiştir. Mecmuada farklı makam, usul ve formlarda toplam 328 eser yer almaktadır. Mecmuanın el yazması metninin günümüz harflerine çevrilmesi, eser analizleri, günümüze ulaşan eserlerin TRT Nota arşivinde bulunan kayıtları çalışmanın esasını teşkil etmektedir. Eserin müellifi hakkında kaynaklardan henüz bilgi edinilememiştir. Mecmuada geçen bestekârların kısa hayat hikâyeleri, yine adı geçen eserde yer alan müzik eserlerinin farklı başlıklarla tablolar halinde sunulması, eserlerin içerik bakımından incelenmesi, çalışmanın bölümlerini oluşturmaktadır. Osmanlı Devleti'nin 19. yüzyılda kültür, sanat ve edebiyat anlayışı hakkında fikir sahibi olmak bakımından o devre ait birinci el kaynaktan faydalanılması, günümüz kültür, sanat ve edebiyat anlayışına ışık tutacaktır. Bu amaçla 19. yüzyılda yazılmış olan Vâsıf Bey'e ait güfte mecmuasının incelenmesi çalışmamızın konusunu oluşturmaktadır.

### Anahtar Kelimeler

Güfte, Beste, Geleneksel Türk Musikisi, Güfte Mecmuası, Müzik Tarihi.

### ABSTRACT

In this study, a lyrics collection in the Manuscript Works section of Atatürk Library was analysed, which was found to belong to the 19th century and to have been written by an author named Vasıf Bey. There are a total of 328 pieces in different maqams, methods and forms. The translation of the manuscript text of the songbook into today's letters, the analyses of the works, and the records of the surviving works in the TRT Nota archive constitute the basis of the study. Information about the author of the work has not yet been found in the sources. The short life stories of the composers mentioned in the Songbook, the presentation of the musical works in the aforementioned work in tables with different titles, and the analysis of the works in terms of content constitute the sections of the study. In order to have an idea about the understanding of culture, art and literature of the Ottoman Empire in the 19th century, utilising the first-hand source of that period will shed light on today's understanding of culture, art and literature. For this purpose, the examination of the Güfte Mecmuası belonging to Vasıf Bey, which was written in the 19th century, constitutes the subject of our study.

### Keywords

Lyrics, Composition, Turkish Traditional Music, Lyrics Songbook, History of Music.

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## Extended Abstract

Every society has its own unique written and oral material and spiritual values. Societies have borne the responsibility of remembering, preserving, and passing on their traditions to future generations in order to sustain their existence. Art is one of the most important tools that serves the cultural transmission of a society. Music is a significant medium that reflects artistic and aesthetic understanding and expresses emotions. There are many elements involved in the creation of a musical work. Sound, time, and lyrics serve this purpose. The written text or lyrics of a musical piece are referred to as "Güfte" and the books that compile these lyrics are called "Güfte Mecmuası". In traditional Turkish music, there was no standard notation system until the 20th century. Musical works were taught through oral transmission from master to apprentice. This practice is referred to as "Meşk Etmek".

In the Ottoman Empire, manuscripts that collected musical works were written by music enthusiasts. It is still unknown when the tradition of compiling lyric collections began. It is estimated that these collections started to be created during the time of the Ottoman Empire. There is a high likelihood that these collections were prepared by teachers or students engaged in music practice. This is because transcribing the lyrics of works onto paper helps in remembering the pieces that have been learned. Lyric collections were likely created to serve this purpose. Since paper and printing were not very widespread in the 19th century, there are no printed versions of such works. Particularly, all lyric collections written in the 19th century, some of which have only a few copies or even a single copy, have not yet been fully translated into the Latin alphabet. The completion of translations of these works into the Latin alphabet will undoubtedly contribute to the history of Turkish culture.

Traditional Turkish Music has a rich heritage in terms of instrumental and vocal works. Instrumental pieces do not have poetic texts; these works are performed at the beginning and end of classical suites. Vocal pieces are created with rhythmic patterns composed in parallel to the meter of the lyrics used. In terms of content, vocal works differ as religious and secular pieces. Composers have created various forms by adding embellishments to reinforce the meaning of the lyrics in some works. Pieces created in different forms are performed in a classical suite in the order of "peşrev, kar, murabba, beste, ağır semai, yürük semai, and saz semaisi". In lyric collections, the poems of vocal works performed in a traditional suite have been transcribed onto paper.

The songbooks written up to their time hold great significance for understanding a society's musical taste and recognizing the composers of that period. Additionally, the songbooks contain information about the "Makam" (musical modes), "Usul" (rhythmic patterns), and forms of the works created up to that era. This information is also quite valuable for researchers in literature and music. Manuscripts provide data regarding the paper, ink, and binding techniques of that time. The type of writing used in the songbook, as well as examples containing information about illumination motifs, calligraphy, and the arts of illumination, are noteworthy written works. The songbook belonging to Vasif Bey from the 19th century emerges as a literary and artistic work that will contribute to our cultural heritage, given the period in which it was written.

In order to analyze Vasif Bey's lyric anthology, all texts in the work were first transcribed into Latin letters. In the next phase, a list of the composers of the musical works listed in the anthology was created, and a literature review was conducted to research the biographies of these composers. Tables were prepared regarding the usage of the lyrics in terms of "Makam" (musical mode), "Usul" (rhythm), and form. In the final stage, a search was conducted in the TRT Note Archive to determine whether the compositions of the lyrics mentioned in the anthology have survived to the present day. The archive numbers and scores of the works were also listed in another table. As a result of the research steps mentioned above, the following data was obtained.

The original text of Vasif Bey's Lyrics Songbook, which is the subject of our study, is located in the Atatürk Library Manuscripts Unit. The outer cover of the work is bound, while the inner cover features a table of contents and is decorated with gilding. Some pages are missing from the table of contents section of the work. Red and black ink has been used in the manuscript. The variation in ink tones and the differences in the writing style suggest that the writing process of the work took place over a long period.



A total of 328 works has been identified in the collection of lyrics belonging to Vasif Bey. Although some of the lyrics do not include information about their musical modes, the majority, with 28 lyrics, are composed in the “Beyati” mode. Among the works specified in this collection, the most common form is the composition form, with 149 identified. In terms of rhythm, 110 works in the “Semai” rhythm have been recorded, and 32 of the 328 lyrics have compositions attributed to Ebubekir Aga. A significant portion of the compositions has not survived to the present day. Out of the 328 works included in the collection, only 52 have been transcribed into modern notation.

As we mentioned above, the role of art is of great importance in the transmission of our cultural heritage from generation to generation. In this context, the fact that some of the musical works in the lyrics collection belonging to Vasif Bey are still known is thanks to the composers, poets and authors who created works with artistic content. This study, examines a work that has contributed to the history of Turkish culture and civilization. In addition, the need to conduct similar research has been identified.



## GİRİŞ

Osmanlı Devleti'nde 19. yüzyıldan günümüze ulaşan müzik ile ilgili belgelerden en önemlilerinden kabul edebileceğimiz güfte mecmuaları o devrin musikişinasları tarafından kaleme alınmış eserlerdir. Çoğu güfte mecmualarında yazıldığı döneme ait ya da o devre kadar ulaşan eserlerin sözleri, eserlere ait usul, makam ve form bilgileri yer almaktadır. Nota yazımı hususunda 19. yüzyılda henüz standart bir metot bulunmamaktaydı. Müzik icracıları, eserleri ezberlemek suretiyle icra etmekteydiler. Zira nota yazımı ve okunması geleneğe uygun görülmemekte, bu sebeple de tercih edilmemekteydi. Bu durum güftelerin mecmualarda toplanmasına yol açmıştır.

Anadolu'nun farklı kütüphanelerinde pek çok türde metinlerinin yer aldığı güfte mecmuaları, tarihimizde yer alan bestekârlar, müzik icracıları, dinî ve lâdinî müziksel formlar, devrinin müzik anlayışı hakkında fikir sahibi olmamız bakımından büyük bir önem taşımaktadır.

Güfte mecmualarına benzeyen fakat farklı alanlarda eserlerin yer aldığı kaynaklar da kütüphanelerimizde yer almaktadır. Bunlardan halk edebiyatına ait toplanmış eserlere “cönk”, antoloji mahiyetinde olmayıp muayyen bir koleksiyon olarak toplanmış eserlere de “külliyyat” denilmektedir (Öztuna, 2000, s. 245). Ayrıca genel yazıların olduğu inşa mecmualarında da bu tür müzik güftelerine yer verildiği bilinmektedir.

Günümüze kadar tespit edilen mecmualar, mecmuanın kime ait olduğunun bilinmesi ya da bilinmemesi, musiki eserlerinin makam, form ya da usule göre tasnif şekli, mecmuanın sonunda fihrist bulunup bulunmaması, eserin tezhiplenmiş olması ya da olmaması, varak sayısı, yazı karakterinin okunaklı olması ve eserlerin bilinirliği ya da henüz karşılaşılmamış olması bakımından çeşitlilik göstermektedir.

Çalışmamıza konu olan Vâsıf Bey'e ait olduğu düşünülen güfte mecmuası Atatürk Kitaplığı Yazma Eserler Bölümünde yer almaktadır. Eserin başlığında “Tesdis-i Vâsıf Beğ Beyt-i cenâb-ı Mevlânâ-i Kudüs sırrehü'l-â'la” ifadesi yer almaktadır. Bundan Vasıf Bey'in Kudüs kadısı olduğunu anlıyoruz. Eser Vasıf Bey ifadesinin geçtiği bir tesdisle başlamaktadır.<sup>2</sup> Biz mecmuanın tesdis bölümlerini değil içinde verilen eserleri konu edindik. Toplam 108 varağın 26'sının boş olduğu eserin ilk sayfası tezhipli olup, yazı karakteri okunaklıdır. Tezhiplenen sayfada yazarın adının geçtiği kısım cetvelenmiş, diğer sayfalar cetvelenmemiştir. Eserin birkaç sayfasında mürekkebin dağılmış olması sebebiyle bazı kelimeler okunmamaktadır. Eserin güftelerinin yer aldığı bölümde

<sup>2</sup> Tesdis: Eski Türk edebiyatında bir şairin gazelindeki beyitlerin önüne onunla aynı vezin ve kafiyede eklenen dört mısra ile bendlerindeki mısra sayısı altıya çıkarılan musammatlara verilen ad. Tesdis ifadesinin yaygın kullanımı Musammat'tır. (Pala & Kılıç, 2020, s. 233)

güftekâr, bestekâr isimleri, makam, usulü ve form bilgileri kırmızı mürekkeple yazılarak verilmiş olup mecmua başında bir fihrist yer almaktadır. Mecmua yazısı ve kullanılan mürekkebin ton farklılığı bu esere zamanla eklemeler yapıldığını düşündürmektedir. Eserde istinsah tarihi yoktur. Fakat Nakşi Mustafa Dede, Sermüezzîn Rifat Bey gibi 19. yüzyıl bestecilerinden söz edilmesi eserin 19. yüzyılda yazıldığını veya istinsah edildiğini göstermektedir.

Yukarıda hakkında bilgi verdiğimiz Vasıf Bey'e ait olduğu düşünülen mecmuanın orijinal metni, Latin alfabesine transkribe edilmiştir. Orijinal Osmanlıca metin ve metinde geçen eserin günümüzdeki notası çalışmaya eklenmiştir. Eserlerin bestekârlarının kısa hayat hikâyeleri müzik antolojileri, müzik ansiklopedileri ve bestekâr hayatlarının açıklandığı kaynaklardan araştırılarak çalışmaya dahil edilmiştir. Mecmuada sıralanan eserler klasik Türk müziği makam, usul, bestekâr ve form durumları dikkate alınarak eserlerin alfabetik olarak sıralandığı tablolar hâlinde hazırlanmıştır. Toplam 328 eserin günümüze ulaşanlarının tespit edilmesi maksadıyla TRT Nota Arşivi ve Kültür Bakanlığı Devlet Korosu web sitesinden eser taraması yapılmıştır.<sup>3</sup> Buna göre 57 eserin arşiv numarası belirlenmiş fakat bunlardan sadece 51 eserin günümüz notasına ulaşılabilmiş; altı eserin arşiv numarası olduğu halde bu eserlerin notasına erişilememiştir.

Nota yazımının ve herhangi bir ses kayıt teknolojisinin olmadığı bir dönemde bestelenen eserlerin mahiyetini anlamak, kadim kültürümüze katkısı bulunan bestekârların kimler olduğu hakkında fikir sahibi olmak, mecmuayı derleyen müellifleri belirlemek, devrin müzik ve edebiyat anlayışı, tezhip motifleri, ciltçilik, kağıt ve mürekkep üretim teknolojisi gibi hususlarda fikir sahibi olmak bakımından güfte mecmualarının günümüz alfabesine aktarılarak incelenmesinin günümüz bilim, sanat, edebiyat, tarih alanlarına katkı sunacağı kanaatindeyiz. Bu amaçla Vâsıf Bey'in güfte mecmuasının incelenmesi, alana bir nebze de olsa katkısının bulunması bakımından çalışmamızın tamamlanmasında en önemli motivasyon kaynağı olmuştur.

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<sup>3</sup> Eserlerin notalarına ulaşmak için TRT Nota Arşivi ve Türkiye Cumhuriyeti Kültür Bakanlığı Devlet Korosu web sitelerine bkz. (Nota Arşivleri, 2024; Devlet Korosu, 2024).



## Vasıf Bey'in Güfte Mecmuasının Makam Bakımından İncelenmesi



(a)



(b)

**Şekil 1:** Vâsıf Bey Güfte Mecmuasının (a) Dış Kapak ve (b) İlk Sayfa Görşeli.

Mecmuadaki eserler fihrist bölümünde bazı varakların eksik olması sebebiyle fihrist esasına göre incelenmemiş güftelerin yer aldığı metinler esas alınarak incelenmiştir. En çok beyâti makamında eserin bulunduğu mecmuada, “rast, muhâlif-irak ve gülizâr” makamlarında birer eser bulunmaktadır. Mecmuada toplam 328 eser yer almaktadır.

Sıra Nr.	Mecmuada Adı Geçen Makamlar	Bu Makamdaki Eser Sayısı
1	Acem	5
2	Acem-asirân	6
3	Acem-bûselik	6
4	Arazbâr	8
5	Bestenigâr	3
6	Beyâti	28
7	Bûselik-asiran	15
8	Dügâh	9
9	Evc	15
10	Gülizâr	1
11	Hicaz	16
12	Hümâyün	6
13	Hüseynî	22
14	Hüzzam	9
15	Irak	7
16	Isfahan	14

17	Küçük	4
18	Kürdi	7
19	Muhâlif-i irak	1
20	Muhayyer -sünbüle	4
21	Muhayyer-bûselik	5
22	Müstear	6
23	Nevâ	6
24	Nihavent	3
25	Nisâbur	14
26	Nühüft	10
27	Pençgâh	4
28	Rahatü'l ervah	5
29	Rast	1
30	Sabâ	11
31	Segâh	10
32	Sûzidilârâ	1
33	Tahir	1
34	Ussâk	27
35	Yegâh	5
36	Belirtilmemis	28
	TOPLAM	328

**Tablo 1:** Mecmuada Yer Alan Makamlar Ve Bu Makamlardaki Eser Sayılarını Gösteren Tablo

### Mecmuda Listelenen Bestekârlar ve Hayat Hikâyeleri

Mecmuada eserlerin yoğunluğuna göre sırasıyla Dilhayat Kalfa (1760-1820), Ebubekir Ağa (ö. 1172/1759), Hâfız Post (ö. 1105/1694), Hasan Ağa (Enfi) (ö. 1136/1724), İsmail Ağa (Kara İsmail Ağa) (XVIII. Yüzyıl), İtrî Efendi (Buhûrizâde) (ö. 1123/1711), Mehmet Esad Efendi (Ebûishakzâde) (ö. 1166/1753), Nakşi Mustafa Dede (ö. 1854), Rifat Bey (Sermüezzîn) (1820/1888), Tab'i Mustafa Efendi'ye ait bestekârların eserleri yer almaktadır. Bu bestekârların hayat hikâyeleri kısaca şöyledir:

**Dilhayat Kalfa:** Dilhayat Kalfa hayatı hakkında çok az bilgiye sahip olduğumuz Türk müziğinin önemli kadın bestekârlarındandır. Sarayda yetiştiğinden dolayı "Kalfa" unvanını aldığı, saray hocalarından müzik eğitimi aldığı, tambur çaldığı ve İstanbul'da vefat ettiği düşünülmektedir. Evcârâ makamında mükemmellik derecesinde besteleri bulunan Dilhayat Kalfa'nın sesinin güzel olduğu da kaynaklarda yer almaktadır (Ergen, 1994, ss. 2-9).

**Ebubekir Ağa:** Vasıf Bey Mecmuasında en fazla eseri bulunan bestekâr olan Ebubekir Ağa, Eyüp Sultan doğumlu olduğu için Eyyûbi lakabıyla anılmıştır. Saray fasıl heyetinde serhânende olarak görev yapmıştır (Özcan, 1994, s. 275). Ebubekir Ağa Klasik Türk müziğinin en büyük formlarından kâr ve beste türünden eserlerinin yanı sıra semai formunda da eserler bestelemiştir. Lale Devrinin en ünlü bestekârlarından olan



Ebubekir Ağa'ya ait 49 eser Yılmaz Öztuna tarafından tespit edilmiş ve eserlerin listesi akademik sözlüğünde sıralanmıştır (Öztuna, 2006, s. 249)

Hasan Ağa: Enfi ve Burnaz lakaplarıyla da tanınan Hasan Ağa Enderun'da yetişmiş, emekli olana kadar Enderun'da görev yapmıştır. Halveti Tarikatına bağlı olan tamburi, şair, serhânende ve bestekâr olan Hasan Ağa, Edirnekapı'da defnedilmiş ve bu bestekârın dinî ve ladinî 19 eseri günümüze ulaşmıştır (Özcan, 1997, s. 285). Hasan Ağa, Itrî'den sonra bestekârlık açısından bir geçiş dönemi olarak kabul edilmiştir (Şen, 2001, s. 322).

İsmail Ağa: Enderun'da yetişmiştir. Kara lakabı ile anılmaktadır. 18. yüzyılın en meşhur bestekârlarından olan İsmail Ağa sarayda müezzinlik dahil çeşitli vazifelerle görevlendirilmiş, sonrasında iyi bir zeamet alarak saray görevinden ayrılmıştır (Öztuna, s. 393). İsmail Ağa bestekârlık hünerinin yanı sıra hat sanatını öğrenmiş, neyzen kemani ve hanende bir musikişinastır ve pek az eseri günümüze ulaşmıştır (Aksüt, 2000, s. 49).

Itrî Efendi: Asıl adı Mustafa olan Itrî Efendi, şiirlerinde Itrî mahlasını kullanmış, Buhûrizâde lakabı ile anılmıştır. Doğum tarihi bilinmeyen Itrî, Şehremini'de dünyaya gelmiştir. Arapça, Farsça, hat eğitimi alan Itrî sarayda görev yapmıştır (Öztuna, 2006, s. 375). IV. Mehmed zamanında sarayda sultanın huzurunda küme fasıllarında hanendelik yapmıştır (Özcan, 2007, s. 220). Hayatı hakkında detaylı bilgiye ulaşamadığımız Buhûrizâde Mustafa Itrî'nin Mevlevî olduğu bilinmektedir. Kendisinin Türk müziğinin dini, lâdini alanlarda pek çok sözlü ve saz eseri bulunmaktadır. Itrî günümüzde camilerde okunan tekbir ve salâtların bestecisidir ve toplam 49 eseri günümüze kadar ulaşmıştır (Aksüt, 2000, s. 37).

Mehmed Esad Efendi: 1685 İstanbul doğumludur. Babası Şeyhülislam Ebû İshak İsmail Efendi, ağabeyi Şeyhülislam İshak Efendi'dir. Sırayla müderrislik, müfettişlik, kadılık ve kazaskerlik görevlerinde bulunmuştur. 1739 Osmanlı-Avusturya savaşına katılmış, 1739 Belgrad Antlaşmasını imzalayan heyette vazife almıştır. Bu görevin ardından Rumeli kazaskeri olan Esad Efendi bir müddet şeyhülislamlık vazifesi de yapmıştır. Kendisinin edebi, musiki, lügat gibi alanlarda eserleri günümüze ulaşmıştır (Öztuna, 2006, s. 273). Esad Efendi'nin her ne kadar dinî ve din dışı eserleri çeşitli güfte mecmualarında yer alsa da bunlarda yalnızca birkaç eserinin besteleri günümüze kadar ulaşabilmiştir (Doğan, 1995, s.339).

Nakşî Mustafa Dede: Edirne'de doğup burada yetişmiştir. Arapça, Farsça, müzik, edebiyat ve tasavvuf alanlarında dersler almıştır. Mevlevî tarikatına bağlıdır. Mevlevihanelerde kudümzenbaşılık yapmıştır. Mevlevi ayinleri besteleyen Nakşî Mustafa Dede pek çok talebe yetiştirmiştir (Öztuna, 2006, s. 95).

Rifat Bey: Rifat Bey Osmanlı Devleti'nin son dönem en önemli bestekârlarından biridir. İstanbul doğumludur. Babası da bestekâr olduğu için küçük yaşta Enderun'a alınmıştır. 2. Mahmud'dan itibaren beş padişah döneminde müezzinlik, hanendelik, musiki hocalığı görevlerini ifa eden (Özcan, 2008, s. 103) Sermüezzın Rifat Bey, Batı notasını Osmanlı'da kullanan ilk bestekârlardan biri olarak bilinmektedir. Bestelediği ilahi, şarkı ve marşlarla devrinin en önemli bestekârlarından biri olarak kabul edilen Sermüezzın Rifat Bey kendisi gibi çok önemli bestekârlar yetiştirerek Türk Musikisi meşk geleneğine önemli katkılarda bulunmuştur (Aksüt, 2000, s. 181).

Tab'î Mustafa Efendi: Çalışmamıza konu olan Vasıf Bey mecmuası Tab'î Mustafa Efendi'nin "Pûside kaba beste meyan-ı perzerde daman" adlı nakış semaisi ile başlamaktadır. Tab'î Mustafa Efendi 19. yüzyılın önemli bestekârlarındandır. Üsküdar doğumludur. Doğum tarihi kesin olarak bilinmemektedir. Mustafa Efendi şiirlerinde Tab'î mahlasını kullanmıştır. Tab'î müezzinlik, kapıcılar katipliği gibi görevlerde bulunmuş bestekâr, şair ve hattattır. Tab'î'den günümüze 23 eser ulaşmıştır (Aksüt, 2000, s.67).

### Mecmuada Belirtilen Formlar

Mecmuada yer alan toplam 328 eser içinde en çok beste formunda eser yer almaktadır. Bir tane kullanılan nakış beste formu ise eserde en az kullanılan formdur. Doksan altı eserin formu ile ilgili bilgi mecmuada yer almamaktadır. Beste, şarkı ve nakış formunun en sık kullanılan eserler olması o devirde bu formda eserlerin meşkinin tercih edildiğini düşündürmektedir.

Sıra Nr.	Mecmuada Belirtilen Formlar	Bu Formdaki Eser Sayısı
1	Beste	149
2	Şarkı	57
3	Nakış	13
4	Nakış Semai	2
5	Nakış Beste	1
6	Belirtilmemiş	96
	<b>Toplam</b>	<b>328</b>

**Tablo 2:** Mecmuada Belirtilen Formlara Ait Tablo

### Mecmuada Belirtilen Usuller

Klasik Türk müziğinin zenginliğini gösteren en önemli özelliklerinden biri de farklı ritim kalıplarıyla, güftelerin aruz vezninin ahengine göre oluşturulan usullerdir. Mecmuada şarkı ve ilahi formlarında tercih edilen küçük zamanlı usullerden klasik fasılda kullanılan fahte, zencir gibi büyük zamanlı usullere kadar geniş bir yelpazede eserler yer almıştır. Mecmuada en sık kullanılan usul, yüz on eserde geçen semai usulüdür.



Sıra Nr.	Mecmuada Belirtilen Usuller	Bu Usuldeki Eser Sayısı
1	Berefsan	1
2	Çember	31
3	Darbeyn	1
4	Darb-ı fetih	2
5	Darb-ı Türkî	1
6	Darbî	1
7	Devr-i kebir	7
8	Devr-i revan	22
9	Düyek	1
10	Evsat	1
11	Fahte	1
12	Frenkçin	1
13	Hafif	38
14	Muhammes	19
15	Nim-düyek	1
16	Remel	16
17	Sakil	4
18	Semai	110
19	Sofyan	6
20	Usules Zencir	1
21	Yürük Semai	3
22	Zencir	10
23	Belirtilmemiş	44
	<b>Toplam</b>	<b>328</b>

Tablo 3: Mecmuada Belirtilen Formlara Ait Tablo

### Mecmuada Geçen Eserlerin TRT Kayıt Durumları

Mecmuada yer alan müzik eserleri orijinal metin esas alınarak aşağıdaki tabloda listelenmiştir. Tablo sütunları orijinal yazmanın varak numarası, müzik eserlerinin makamı, bestekârı, güftenin ilk mısraı, TRT arşiv numarası ve notasının olup olmadığı konularında listelenmiştir. Tespit ettiğimiz 328 eserin sadece 53 tanesinin TRT kaydı mevcuttur. Bu da kitapta kayıtlı toplam eserlerin % 16'sına tekabül etmektedir.

Sıra No	Varak No	Makamı	Bestekârı	Güftenin İlk Mısraı	Arşiv Notası
1	2-b	Belirtilmemiş	Tabi	Püşide kabâ beste meyan-ı perzerde dâmân	Yok
2	2-b	Belirtilmemiş	Derviş Hüseyin	Âhu biyâ mîzem âhu biyâ biyâ pür avâzin vilâyet	Yok
3	2-b	Belirtilmemiş	Corci (Kemani)	Gel ey hurşid-i tal'at bu nigâh-ı mâhe dâğ olsun	Yok
4	3-b	Belirtilmemiş	Çorbacızade	Kırılıp darb-ı mutrıptan iki telliye döndükte	Yok
5	4-a	Belirtilmemiş	Kaptanzâde	Seyret garâr-bâr-ı hatt-ı müşg-bâr ile	Yok



6	4-a	Belirtilmemiş	Tabi	Seyr eyle o billur beden taze frenği	Var
7	5-b	Belirtilmemiş	Bekir Ağa	Kad nefl. zülf nergis çeşm gül- ruh yâsemindir ten	Yok
8	5-b	Belirtilmemiş	Receb Ağa	Biz âlüde-i sâğar-ı bâdeyiz	Yok
9	6-a	Belirtilmemiş	Dilhayat Kalfa	Nev-hirâmım sana meyl eyledi can bu dil iki	Var
10	6-a	Belirtilmemiş	Şeyh Hasan	Hâadi'l- âsuman ... nahve dânehü fe'l-kesib	Yok
11	6-a	Belirtilmemiş	Corci (Kemani)	Ne kadar dür ise de ol meh-i behçet-zâdım	Var
12	6-b	Sûzidilârâ	Belirtilmemiş	Kemanı aşkını (çekmek o şühun  hayli müşkilmiş	Yok
13	6-b	Belirtilmemiş	Belirtilmemiş	Çin-i giysisine zencir-i teselsül dediler	Yok
14	7-a	Belirtilmemiş	Belirtilmemiş	Sad kavlı be yek zemzeme tay mi-konem imşeb	Yok
15	7-a	Belirtilmemiş	Belirtilmemiş	Seni bir şüh-ı cihan derler idi gerçek imiş	Yok
16	9-a	Belirtilmemiş	Belirtilmemiş	Nedir sende böyle eda	Yok
17	9-a	Beyati	Belirtilmemiş	Ağlatma beni incitme aman	Yok
18	9-b	Pençgâh	Itri (Buhürizâde)	Pây-i yâre düşmeye ağıardan nevet mi var	Var
19	9-b	Pençgâh	Itri (Buhürizâde)	Hem sohbet-i dil-dâr ile mesrûr idik evvel	Var
20	9-b	Pençgâh	Abdi	Nice bir uşak-ı zâre bu sitemler nice bir	Yok
21	9-b	Pençgâh	Belirtilmemiş	Râz-ı nihânım ellere izhar eder misin?	Yok
22	10-b	Nihavent	Belirtilmemiş	Dehanın gonca-i zibâ ruhun bâğ-ı melahattir	Yok
23	10-b	Nihavent	Belirtilmemiş	Cihanı fitne-i hüsnün biri birine katmıştır	Yok
24	10-b	Nihavent	Belirtilmemiş	Bağda mey içilip naleler eyler neyler	Yok
25	11-b	Isfahan	Belirtilmemiş	Çeşm-i siyehin sevmede yârin hazer ettin	Yok
26	11-b	Isfahan	Corci (Kemani)	Âşiyân-ı mürğ-i dil zülf-i perişanıdadır	Yok
27	11-b	Isfahan	Zaharya (Mir Cemil)	Leyli-i zülfün dil-i mecnun olur divanesi	Var
28	11-b	Isfahan	Corci (Kemani)	Bezir-i ebr şod mibr-i cihanem	Yok
29	13-a	Isfahan	Zaharya (Mir Cemil)	Nafe-i müşg-i huden-i turra olmaz ki bu	Yok
30	13-b	Isfahan	Zaharya (Mir Cemil)	Ah eyle gönül yârinin ağıârı bulundu	Yok
31	13-b	Isfahan	Hafız	Ey nesim-i seheri canda yerin var senin	Yok



32	13-b	İsfahan	İbrahim Çavuş	Gel derim gelmez yanıma ağılar katan kanıma	Yok
33	14-a	İsfahan	Belirtilmemiş	Yâ Rab kime feryâd edeyim yârin elinden	Yok
34	14-a	İsfahan	Çiroz	Reng-i gül-i hoş-bü ruh-i canânda bulundu	Yok
35	15-a	İsfahan	Hüseyin Ağa	Çeşm-i siyehin âfet-i devrâna mı benzer	Yok
36	16-a	İsfahan	İsmail Ağa (Kara)	Kamer..... mahabbette senâdır dil-i dâm	Yok
37	16-a	İsfahan	Bekir Ağa	Ne dem ki sinesi ol gül-ruhun küşâde olur	Yok
38	16-a	İsfahan	Corci (Kemani)	Ey dil yine hâhiş-ger-i ruhsâr-ı cemâlim	Yok
39	16-a	İsfahan	Corci (Kemani)	Gel kaçma bu kulundan a hayrânın olduğum	Yok
40	16-b	Nişâbur	Tosun	Gamzene kurbân olayım ey cevân-ı bi-amân	Yok
41	16-b	Nişâbur	Belirtilmemiş	Ah şuna tâkat mi kalır hâvir-i canâne	Yok
42	16-b	Nişâbur	Receb Ağa	Bakışın deler ciğerler bu ne gamzeli tebessümdür	Yok
43	17-b	Nişâbur	Belirtilmemiş	Neyleyeyim nice diyem olamam bir an	Yok
44	18-b	Nişâbur	Nazim	Lutfeyle sabâ merhamet et ben derd-mende	Yok
45	18-b	Nişâbur	Belirtilmemiş	Yâ men kesi cismü'l-fensâ	Yok
46	18-b	Nişâbur	Hâfız	Yaktı o lâle-ruh beni hüsn-i çerâğına	Yok
47	19-b	Nişâbur	Belirtilmemiş	Dil verdim ol periye nihân gördüğüm gibi	Yok
48	19-b	Nişâbur	Memiş	Zeyn eden bâğ-ı hayâtı gül müdür bülbül müdür	Yok
49	19-b	Nişâbur	Tosun	Seni ..... bend olsa ağyâr ittifâk üzre	Yok
50	19-b	Nişâbur	Belirtilmemiş	Gönlümü virân edip  eden  a'dâyı dil-şâd eyleme	Yok
51	19-b	Nişâbur	Corci (Kemani)	Dolanmış hâle-veş hatt-ı mâh- rüy-i yâri çepçevre	Yok
52	20-b	Nişâbur	Mehmed Çavuş	Sinem o nihâl-gül ile gülşenim oldu	Yok
53	20-b	Nişâbur	Bekir Ağa	Nâz etse nola cihâne ol gül	Yok
54	20-b	Nişâbur	Bekir Ağa	Nereye gitse gönül hubb-i hayal yâr iledir	Yok
55	21-b	Nühüft	Bekir Ağa	Ayn-i nergis dediler dide-i bâdâmın için	Yok
56	21-b	Nühüft	Belirtilmemiş	Du dideden lüle-hün-i ser- eşkim olsa revân	Yok

57	21-b	Nühüft	Belirtilmemiş	Gönül o meclise biz de katılmasak mı yar yar yar katılmasak mı gerek	Yok
58	22-b	Nühüft	Es'ad Efendi	Bir kerre kemer gibi sarılısam o miyâne	Yok
59	22-b	Nühüft	Bekir Ağa	O şüh olursa bana mihrیبân murâdımca	Var
60	22-b	Nühüft	Tesbihçi Emir	Gam çekmez idim bir çekecek sâğarım olsa	Yok
61	22-b	Nühüft	Ahmed Çavuş	Hale-veş âğuşa alsam ol mehi bir kerre âh	Yok
62	23-b	Nühüft	Bekir Ağa	Şitâb-ı bâd-ı sabâ sü-be-sü çemen-be-çemen	Var
63	23-b	Nühüft	Bekir Ağa	Vefâ ederse o ruh-ı revân murâdımca	Yok
64	23-b	Nühüft	Rif'at	Gubâr-ı pâyine çeşm-i cihân- bân müştak	Yok
65	24-b	Nevâ	Müsâhib Ali	Ağa   Olsun feda yoluna cân u dil efendimin	Yok
66	25-a	Nevâ	Âma	Gönlümü virân edip dâ-i dil- şâd eyleme	Yok
67	25-a	Nevâ	Hasan Ağa	Piyâleler ki o ruhsâr-ı âle ter getirir	Yok
68	25-b	Nevâ	Hâfız	Dil verdim o periye nihân gördüğüm gibi	Yok
69	26-a	Nevâ	Hâfız Şeydâ	Bir onulmaz derde düştüm var mı onun çaresi	Yok
70	26-a	Nevâ	Müsâhibzâde Hüseyin Ağa	Bir âfet-i nev yaktı vücüdüm serd ile	Yok
71	26-b	Yegâh	Bekir Ağa	Zülfün hEvcı gönlümü sevdaya düşürdü	Var
72	26-b	Yegâh	Tab'i	Buldum peyâm-ı lütufıa yârin nişânesin	Var
73	26-b	Yegâh	Boncukcu	Şitâ çıktı yaz erişti nev-bahâr eyyamıdır	Yok
74	27-b	Yegâh	Ahmed Çavuş	Gülşenine hüsn içre ruhun güldür efendim	Yok
75	27-b	Yegâh	Bekir Ağa	La'linden o şuhun ki her esrâr sorulmaz	Var
76	28-b	Uşşak	Hâfız Rifat	Zülfünü görsem izârın üzre ey hür-i cemil	Var
77	28-b	Uşşak	Es'ad Efendi	Sen ey rüh-i musavversüretâ cismimde canımsın	Yok
78	28-b	Uşşak	Çorbacızâde	Ney nevâ eyler keman inler döğer def sinesin	Var
79	28-b	Uşşak	Hâfız	Bahar geldi dahi seyr-i gülşen eylemedik	Var
80	28-b	Uşşak	Kürkçü	Câm-i lâlin son peyâli hâtırı mestâne yap	Var



81	28-b	Uřřak	Hâfız Yusuf	O çârsudaki nakd-i niyâze bakmazlar	Yok
82	29-b	Uřřak	Belirtilmemiř	Beni terk etti sultanım	Yok
83	29-b	Uřřak	Belirtilmemiř	Sakın tâb-ı nigehten rüyuna zûlfün nikâb etme	Yok
84	30-b	Uřřak	Tanburi Mehmed Ağa	Arâm edemem yâre nigâh eyledikce	Yok
85	30-b	Uřřak	Ismail Ağa (Kara)	Gâhi ki eder turası damanına çide	Var
86	30-b	Uřřak	Bekir Ağa	Ey gonce-i gülzâr letafet yele lâli	Yok
87	30-b	Uřřak	Diyarbakri	Edlâ çunem dilâ çunem dilâ çunem	Yok
88	31-a	Uřřak	Kürkçüzâde	Cemâlin gülşeninde bu saâdet	Var
89	31-a	Uřřak	Diyarbakri	Ruh-ı tâbı mey-i nâble kaçan gül gül olur	Yok
90	31-a	Uřřak	Elyahori	Görelde hüsnünü yarin deli divânedir gönlüm	Yok
91	31-b	Uřřak	İsmail Hakkı Bey	Padiřah-ı iřve senin iklim-i hüsn-ü ân senin	Var
92	31-b	Uřřak	Belirtilmemiř	Bâd-ı sabâ dost köyüne giderse	Yok
93	32-b	Uřřak	Belirtilmemiř	Kimin koynunda sen sine-be- sine hem-demin kimdir	Yok
94	32-b	Uřřak	Belirtilmemiř	Felek yâd etti yâdımdan	Yok
95	33-b	Uřřak	Tab'i	Gönülde dâğ gamı aşkıni nihân buldum	Yok
96	33-b	Uřřak	Nazim	Goncaya řol neř'e kim çâk-i giryân ettirir	Yok
97	33-b	Uřřak	Belirtilmemiř	Âřüfte dil ârız-ı cânâna açılmıř	Yok
98	34-a	Uřřak	Tab'i	Bizi mu'tâd eden řevke o řühun iltifâtıdır	Yok
99	34-b	Uřřak	Belirtilmemiř	Dil-i âvârenin hâli diđer-gün oldu gittikçe	Yok
100	35-b	Uřřak	Belirtilmemiř	Sevdiğim lutfun az eder	Yok
101	35-b	Uřřak	Kemâni Mehmed Ağa	Görmesem bir lahza ey serv-i hırâmânım seni	Yok
102	35-b	Uřřak	Hasan Çelebi	Doymadan oldum cüdâ dîdârına	Yok
103	36-a	Arazbâr	Hâfız	Misal-i çeřm-i tebâr nergis-i çemen-i mahmûr	Yok
104	36-a	Arazbâr	Hâce	Dedi çiđerdi yar çiđerdi	Yok
105	36-a	Arazbâr	Hâfız	Nigâhım büse-çin olmakta la'l-i dil-sitânındır	Yok
106	36-a	Arazbâr	Hasan Ağa	řemřirini takınca ne hořtur o bel ince	Yok
107	37-a	Arazbâr	Hâfız	Br-fikr-i vuslat yâr leyl ü nehârım olmaz	Yok

108	37-a	Arazbâr	Abdü'î-bâki	Ben abd-i kemine pâdişahım sensin	Yok
109	37-b	Arazbâr	Hâfız	Nerd-i mülk eyleyip bana kılсан vefâ eğer	Yok
110	37-b	Arazbâr	Tosun	Ol gonca seyr-i gülistâna mı çıkta	Yok
111	38-b	Beyâti	Bekir Ağa	Bugün mecliste bir âfet-nigâh işve-ger gördüm	Yok
112	38-b	Beyâti	Ismail Ağa (Kara)	Dil zevk-i aşkı tamam eylemek ister	Yok
113	38-b	Beyâti	Bekir Ağa	Dil-rubâlar sen gibi hep böyle müstesnâ mıdır	Yok
114	38-b	Beyâti	Zaharya (Mir Cemil)	Aşık ile şikârı semti vuslat- sâze çık	Yok
115	39-a	Beyâti	Ahmed Çavuş	O tavr ol edâ kim vardır ol mâh-ı dil-ârâda	Yok
116	39-a	Beyâti	Belirtilmemiş	Koca bilsem nigârı pîrehensiz	Yok
117	39-b	Beyâti	Belirtilmemiş	Nür ile gelip meclise ey mâh-ı münevver	Yok
118	39-b	Beyâti	Belirtilmemiş	Gönülden giderme ben derd- mendi	Yok
119	40-a	Beyâti	Mahsnmed	Niçin ey sevdiğim niçin	Yok
120	40-b	Beyâti	Corci (Kemani)	Sahbâ-yı lebin bâde-i hamrâya değişmem	Yok
121	41-b	Sabâ	Es'ad Efendi	Mecliste âftâb gibi bir nev- cevân gerek	Var
122	41-b	Beyâti	Muhammed Bey	Şevk-i ruhsâr-ı güle yaksam sinem üzre nola dâğ	Yok
123	41-b	Beyâti	Belirtilmemiş	Hattı gelselebin..... şimdi ne dersin	Yok
124	41-b	Beyâti	Zaharya (Mir Cemil)	Beni derd-i gam-ı aşkla bimâr eden	Yok
125	41-b	Sabâ	Belirtilmemiş	Gülistân-ı hüsnü nakş eder baharistân yazar	Var
126	41-b	Beyâti	Belirtilmemiş	Ey şeh-i men kâse-i çeşmem serâyed	Yok
127	42-a	Beyâti	Belirtilmemiş	Gönlüm ister görmeye âhir murâda ermeye	Yok
128	42-a	Beyâti	Diyarbakri	Nigârın zülfünü gördüm boyunca	Yok
129	42-a	Beyâti	Diyarbakri	Oldu boya-hane bâzîrgân konar hana	Yok
130	42-b	Beyâti	Belirtilmemiş	Kayada yalçın olaydım gölde balıkçın olaydım	Yok
131	42-b	Beyâti	Belirtilmemiş	Bugün bir mâh-tâb gördüm	Yok
132	43-b	Beyâti	Kahvecibaşı Ağa	Mecliste kaza eyleriz ah bir sürür bu anlar	Yok
133	45-b	Beyâti	Hasan Ağa	Sen ey şâh-ı hümu sâye	Yok



134	45-b	Beyâti	Bekir Ađa	Ne hob halk eylemiř bâri	Yok
135	45-b	Sabâ	Rifat Efendi	Dilem ruhüde-i ân çeřm-i řüh-i fettânest	Var
136	45-b	Sabâ	Müezzinbařı Ali Ađa	Olsun tırař hatt-ı ruhun sây salmasın	Yok
137	45-b	Sabâ	Müezzinbařı Ali Ađa	Lebini ađzıma ol âfet-i devran verir	Yok
138	45-b	Sabâ	Bekir Ađa	Kadrin o mâh etse bülend istememez misin	Yok
139	46-a	Sabâ	İlyâ	Ben vaslına ettikçe temennâyı efendim	Yok
140	46-b	Sazkâr	Tab'i	Bir dil olucak ol řeh-i hüsnün divânesi	Var
141	46-b	Sazkâr	İlyâ	Hemiře dilde sühan elde sâz kârımdır	Var
142	46-b	Sabâ	Belirtilmemiř	Subh-i ezel ki rüz-i siyehdir nasibimiz	Yok
143	46-b	Sabâ	Es'ad Efendi	Uđra berhâneme gel bâdei nüř eyleyelim	Yok
144	47-b	Düġah	Bekir Ađa	İzârın gül gül olmuř büseden dil-dâđ-ı dâđındır	Var
145	47-b	Düġah	Tab'i	Sinemde taze řuha gerek destin bâđ olur	Yok
146	47-b	Düġah	Es'ad Efendi	Berk-i gül ey gonca-fem sen gibi ter-dâmen midir	Var
147	47-b	Düġah	Hüseyin Ađa	Nigahı hirelenir çeřm âftâb sana	Yok
148	47-b	Düġah	Hüseyin Ađa	Ne dem ki gelse o hurřid-i řu'le-i devrân	Yok
149	48-a	Düġah	İsmail Ađa (Kara)	Bir mü-peçe aldı meydan	Yok
150	48-b	Düġah	Es'ad Efendi	Hal-i siyeh ki gerden-i nâzik- terindedir	Yok
151	48-b	Düġah	Başmüsâhibzâde Hüseyin Ađa	Sayd eder bin dil bu dâm ile zülfi siyehi	Var
152	48-b	Düġah	Belirtilmemiř	Ne mümkündür cihân içre der- âġüş etmek yari	Yok
153	49-a	Gülizâr	Belirtilmemiř	Dil mest olup hoş-yâr iken	Yok
154	49-a	Belirtilmemiř	Hüseyin Ađa	Sana ey gonca dehen bir gül-i hoř-bü mu desem	Yok
155	49-a	Belirtilmemiř	Hüseyin Ađa	Nazar kıldım řehâ bu ziyafetde bala ne	Yok
156	49-b	Belirtilmemiř	Sâdik Efendi	La'l-i leb-i dehân dilin câm-ı nüřudur	Yok
157	50-b	Küçek	Bekir Ađa	Aldanma aşkın ey dil zâr-ı ibtidâsına	Yok
158	50-b	Küçek	Bekir Ađa	Kaddine kılsın nazar serv-i hırâmân isteyen	Yok

159	51-b	Küçük	Bekir Ağa	Meyl edeli o gonca-femin dil-i edâsına	Yok
160	51-b	Küçük	Bekir Ağa	Nigeh-i şüh-i nev çün hem mey u hem mey-hâne	Yok
161	52-a	Küçük	Hüseyin Ağa	Yakasin çâk eder âşık var iken sende bu çağ	Yok
162	52-b	Hüseyini	İsmet Efendi	Esti nesim-i nev-behâr açıldı güller subh-ı dem	Yok
163	52-b	Hüseyini	İsmail Ağa (Kara)	Kapıldı bu frengi duhter şüh-i dest-bâze	Yok
164	52-b	Hüseyini	Belirtilmemiş	Derd-i hicrâna tabibim bir deva bilmezsin	Yok
165	52-b	Hüseyini	Bekir Ağa	Canım yerine geldi ki cânânımı gördüm	Var
166	52-b	Hüseyini	Dilhayat Kalfa	Sabr u sâ mânım harâb ettikçe istiğnâları	Yok
167	52-b	Hüseyini	Belirtilmemiş	Cenb edip kaşı keman eylersin	Yok
168	53-b	Hüseyini	Çorbacızâde	.....ol âfet geldi	Yok
169	53-b	Hüseyini	Tanburi Ali Ağa	Gün doğarken ağlarım gonca canım dağlarım	Yok
170	54-a	Hüseyini	Belirtilmemiş	Şahin yükseklerde yapar yuvalar	Yok
171	54-b	Hüseyini	Belirtilmemiş	Eyleyip çide taraf-ı dâmânı	Yok
172	54-b	Hüseyini	Bekir Ağa	Dil rüyuna bakmaktan usansın mı efendim	Yok
173	55-a	Belirtilmemiş	Belirtilmemiş	Edemem hâl-i dil şerhi beyân	Yok
174	55-b	Hüseyini	Bekir Ağa	Bilir muradımı dilber lisâna gelmese de	Yok
175	55-b	Hüseyini	İbrahim Çavuş	Hezâr şevk-i sürür ile yare varmalıyım	Yok
176	55-b	Hüseyini	Bekir Ağa	Çün hahl-i semen dâmen-i yare el uzatsam	Yok
177	57-b	Hüseyini	Muhsin Ağa	Şem'-i hüsnünde yanan pervâneyiz	Yok
178	59-b	Hüseyini	Belirtilmemiş	Bir haber gelmedi ârâm-ı dil-i canımdan	Yok
179	59-b	Hüseyini	Dede-zâde	Oldu bu gönül dolaşalı zülfüne şeydâ	Yok
180	59-b	Hüseyini	İsmail Ağa (Kara)	Ne var ey şüh bu mertebe bi-aman olacak	Var
181	60-a	Hüseyini	Belirtilmemiş	Senin bu cevr u cefâna tahammül veyl kalmıştır	Yok
182	60-a	Hüseyini	Belirtilmemiş	Ey çeşmi karalım seni ben kande bulayım	Yok
183	60-a	Hüseyini	Belirtilmemiş	Dide-i dünya ile ola enveri	Yok
184	60-b	Hüseyini	İsmail Çavuş	Niçün ol şüh-i cihânım görücek bilmez meni	Yok



185	60-b	Hüseyini	İsmail Çavuş	Ey dil hEvc-s-i zülf-i dil-âra mı edersin	Yok
186	61-a	Hüzzam	Belirtilmemiş	Medet şahım kerem eyle kadr-i cürmüm beyân eyle   Belirtilmemiş	Yok
187	61-b	Buselik-aşiran	Belirtilmemiş	Hatt-ı rüy-i dil-rubâ lale-zârımdır benim	Yok
188	61-b	Buselik-aşiran	Belirtilmemiş	Tâb-ı ruhsârıma enver midir ayandır	Yok
189	62-a	Buselik-aşiran	MuhsinAğa	Hasret hamyâze-riz etmiş hilâl kaşına	Var
190	62-a	Buselik-aşiran	Hâlim Çavuş	Güftâr-ı nâz-ı şive-i cânâna râğibiz	Yok
191	62-a	Buselik-aşiran	Bekir Ağa	Rakkâs bu hâlet senin oyununda mıdır	Yok
192	62-b	Buselik-aşiran	Belirtilmemiş	Yine mânend-i suveydâyı derün	Yok
193	62-b	Buselik-aşiran	Belirtilmemiş	Pâre pençe-i cevrinle dâmânım yeter	Yok
194	63-a	Buselik-aşiran	Bekir Ağa	Ey dil o mâh-tal'ate mâil değil misin	Yok
195	63-a	Buselik-aşiran	Corci (Kemani)	Kim bilir hâl-i dil nâle vü efgânımdan	Yok
196	63-b	Buselik-aşiran	Bekir Ağa	Haâl-i ruhsârın görünce meşk-i ezferler gibi	Yok
197	63-b	Buselik-aşiran	Belirtilmemiş	Bugün şâdım ki yar ağlar benim çün	Yok
198	63-b	Buselik-aşiran	İsmail Ağa (Karaj)	O tıfl naz perverdem yetişmiş	Yok
199	64-b	Buselik-aşiran	Şeyh Hasan	Mehlâ huve yediye derahküm	Yok
200	64-b	Buselik-aşiran	İsmail Ağa  Karaj	Ustazeye vasf-ı femin beğendiremem	Yok
201	65-a	Buselik-aşiran	Belirtilmemiş	Çeker mi sineme bir elif ol mâh-tâbân bu gece	Yok
202	65-b	Acem-buselik	Mehmet Ağa	Ol gonca dehen gül gibi geldikçe dem-â-dem	Var
203	65-b	Acem-buselik	Belirtilmemiş	Dü âlem şâhı olsam hâtırım nâ-şâddir sensiz	Yok
204	65-b	Acem-buselik	Mehmet Ağa	Lutf eyle buyur meclise eyyâm-ı vefâdır	Var
205	65-b	Acem-buselik	Mehmet Ağa	Dağ-ı elemi aşkımız âfâka nihândır	Var
206	65-b	Acem-buselik	Mehmet Ağa	Sâye zedân serv-i sehi düş-i nihân kenarıma	Var
207	65-b	Acem-buselik	Musâhib-zâde Mir Ağa Çavuş	Mübtelâ oldu gönül bir dilberin sevdâsına	Yok
208	67-b	Muhayyer-sünbüle	Cerrah Müezzın	Niçün demidedir ol süh-i cana yaklaşmaz	Yok
209	67-b	Muhayyer-sünbüle	Cerrah Müezzın	Sâki zaman ıyş-i mey-i hoş-güvârdır	Yok



210	67-b	Muhayyer-sünbüle	Cerrah Müezzîn	Açmaktadır bahar ile gülşende laleler	Yok
211	68-a	Muhayyer-sünbüle	Cerrah Müezzîn	Bülbül nağamât eyleyerek gülşene daldı	Yok
212	68-b	Muhayyer-buselik	Bekir Ağa	Bigâne münşi ah ki hâmuş oluversen	Yok
213	68-b	Muhayyer-buselik	Tanburi Mehmed Ağa	Ateş-i şevke düşürdü hasret yar beni	Yok
214	68-b	Muhayyer-buselik	Bekir Ağa	Ne var âğuşa geldikçe biraz ol mâh eğlense	Yok
215	69-b	Muhayyer-buselik	Bekir Ağa	Ol mâha bakıp âşık-ı nâlân olayım mı	Yok
216	69-b	Muhayyer-buselik	Belirtilmemiş	Çeşmin ki senin böyle meye mest-i füzündür	Yok
217	70-b	Acem	Hasan Ağa  Enfi	Sabâ ki dest ura ol zülfe müşk-i nâb kokar	Var
218	70-b	Acem	Receb Ağa T	Hazana ersin bâğ-ı cemâlin ber-devâm olsun	Yok
219	70-b	Acem	anburi Mehmed Ağa	Aldım o şüh-ı küçek umüm bahasına	Yok
220	71-a	Hüzzam	Raif Efendi	Yine bir âfet-i cana	Yok
221	71-b	Belirtilmemiş	Belirtilmemiş	Çekmem el bin cevr ederse ol şeh-i bi-dâddan	Yok
222	72-a	Belirtilmemiş	Belirtilmemiş	Seyr et ol şüh-i fetânım	Yok
223	72-b	Hümâyun	Belirtilmemiş	Bu dil üftâdedir kâkül-i yâre	Yok
224	73-a	Hümâyun	Belirtilmemiş	Bülbül terennümde bahar erdi deyu çün dem-be-dem	Yok
225	73-a	Hümâyun	Kahvecibaşı Ağa	Kemer-âsâ sarıldım mü-miyânına şeb-i vuslat	Yok
226	73-b	Hümâyun	Belirtilmemiş	Sezâdır sana sultanım efendim giy yeşil hâre	Yok
227	74-b	Hümâyun	Belirtilmemiş	Yarin biliriz bakmamıza rağbet vardır	Yok
228	74-b	Hümâyun	Belirtilmemiş	Dem-i visâl o şühun itâb neylersin	Yok
229	75-b	Irak	Belirtilmemiş	Dil-dâre gönül der-derün defterin açtı	Yok
230	75-b	Irak	Belirtilmemiş	Sen böyle nakd-i aklımı her gâh alır mısın	Yok
231	75-b	Irak	Belirtilmemiş	Dil —i mahzûnum ey hüni benim şâd olmadan kaldı	Yok
232	76-a	Irak	Dilhayat Kalfa	Hatt-ı zâil etti hüsnünü ben kaştayım dahi	Yok
233	76-a	Irak	Belirtilmemiş	Meh-tâb edelim.....-veş vakt-i safâdır	Yok
234	76-b	Irak	Belirtilmemiş	Olursa bana sen gibi cânân olsun	Yok
235	76-b	Irak	Belirtilmemiş	Felekte..... câm-ı safâya el mi değer	Yok



236	77-b	Muhâlif-i irak	Belirtilmemiř	Eęer can görmek istersen bedensiz	Yok
237	78-b	Müstear	Nakři Mustafa Aęa	Mânend-i hâle kol dolasam âfâtâbıma	Var
238	78-b	Müstear	Bekir Aęa	Ol tıfl-i nâz bezm-i visâle yürürse de	Yok
239	78-b	Müstear	Bekir Aęa	Gönül bu nev-reside bâę-ı hüsnün bâę-bândır	Yok
240	78-b	Müstear	Çörekçizâde	Gönül ey mâh-rü aşkınlâ ârâm etmeden kaldı	Var
241	79-b	Müstear	Bekir Aęa	O nev-reside nihâlim ne serv-i kâmet olur	Var
242	79-b	Müstear	İsmail Aęa (Dellalzâde)	Sana dil-i mâh-tâbânım yakıřtı	Var
243	80-a	Müstear	Başmusâhib Ali Aęa	Verdi gönül ol řeh mesrür olacaksın	Yok
244	80-b	Segah	Taşçı Receb	Baę-bân-ı günc rüz-i sohbet-i gül bâyedeř	Yok
245	81-b	Segiih	Receb Aęa	Helâk etti beni hicrin gamıyla sine-çâk ettim	Yok
246	81-b	Segah	Belirtilmemiř	Tıęine hançerine gamze-i mestânesine	Yok
247	81-b	Segah	Es'ad Efendi	Gül-gonca gibi derme yüzün olma cefâ-cü	Yok
248	82-a	Segah	Belirtilmemiř	Benim sevdiğim bir nâzik candır	Yok
249	82-b	Segah	Dilhayat Kalfa	Sahbâ-yı la'li neře-i candır ol âfetin	Yok
250	82-b	Segah	Bekir Aęa	Beni beyhüde sezâ-var-i itâb eylersin	Yok
251	83-b	Segah	Cerrah Müezzın	Yine bende oldu dil bir nev- cevâna	Yok
252	83-b	Segah	Bekir Aęa	Bir ah ile üftâdeliğim yare duyurdum	Yok
253	84-b	Hüzzam	İsmail Aęa (Kara)	Dem-i vaslın düşürüp 1yř-i dem-â-demcesine	Yok
254	84-b	Hüzzam	Tab'i	Biz bu reftârı dahi bir dil- rubâda görmedik	Yok
255	84-b	Hüzzam	İsmail Aęa (Kara)	Herkese mihr-i vefa uřşakına naz etmek neden	Yok
256	85-b	Hüzzam	Belirtilmemiř	Varıp aęyâr ile yersin içersin	Yok
257	86-b	Hüzzam	Corci (Kemani)	Bizde hasretle bu feryad kalır mı bilmem	Var
258	86-b	Hüzzam	Tab'i	Kim söner idi cana yakın bir güzel olsa	Yok
259	87-a	Hüzzam	Belirtilmemiř	Sevdi canım řimdi bir nevres fidan	Yok

260	87-b	Bestenigar	Itri (Buhürizâde)	Gamzen ki ola sâki çeşm-i siyeh mest	Var
261	87-b	Bestenigar	Hâfız	Görse pür-nabı rüy-i ateşinin afitâb	Yok
262	88-b	Bestenigar	Kürkcüzâde	Figân-ı gamzeni bu dil-i bi-nevâya çek	Yok
263	88-b	Hicaz	Hasan Ağa	Derviş recâ-yi pâdişahı ne küned	Yok
264	89-b	Rahatü'l ervah	İsmail Ağa (Kara)	Çekip kemannı ta taraf-ı ebruvânına dek	Yok
265	89-b	Rahatü'l ervah	Hasan Ağa	Sen bu cemâl-i hüsnünle mihr-i felek misin nesin	Yok
266	89-b	Rahatü'l ervah	Tab'i	Aldırıp kendini hüsnün seyr eden seyyâh olur	Var
267	89-b	Rahatü'l ervah	Ser-musâhib Ali	Halvette bir peri-rü-yi mümtâz-ı nev-cevân	Yok
268	90-a	Rahatü'l ervah	Belirtilmemiş	Kuğumu yare gönderdim	Yok
269	90-b	Acem	Belirtilmemiş	Bâde..... câm-ı naz çeşm-i siyahıdır	Yok
270	90-b	Acem	Hâfız Rif'at	Mecliste gece kâmet-i cânâne sarılsam	Yok
271	91-b	Acemaşiran	Hasan Ağa	Fikr-i hattıyla azm-i çemendir murâdımız	Yok
272	91-b	Acemaşiran	Belirtilmemiş	Bir neşe var gönülde su içsem şarâb olur	Yok
273	91-b	Acemaşiran	Belirtilmemiş	Etraf-ı gülistânı gezer su bölük bölük	Yok
274	91-b	Acemaşiran	Belirtilmemiş	Kande varsa âşıkı bi-çâre cânânın arar	Yok
275	92-a	Acemaşiran	Hâfız (Itri)	Bileydi dil gibi dilber gam-ı cihân nicedir	Var
276	92-a	Acemaşiran	Itri (Buhürizâde)	Ser vermek olur sırrı ayân eylemek olmaz	Yok
277	92-b	Kürdi	Seyyid Ahmed Ağa	Mehtâba düşüp zulmet-i şebden hazer ettim	Yok
278	92-b	Kürdi	Nasuh paşazâde	Döndü bizden yar bed-peymâne n'ettin n'eyledin	Yok
279	92-b	Kürdi	Besteci Emir	Esir-i zülfüne kasdın cefâ imiş bildik	Yok
280	93-b	Kürdi	Halim Çavuş	Sana ey gonca dehen bir gül-i hoş-bü mu desem	Yok
281	93-b	Kürdi	Hâfız Post	Geceler Sabâha değin çeşmime girmez uyku	Yok
282	93-b	Kürdi	Tab'i	Söyle nice bir ey dahi gül-gün	Yok
283	93-b	Kürdi	Belirtilmemiş	Pek noksan erdi hüsnün şu'le-i nâbindan senin	Yok
284	94-b	Hisar	Hüseyin Ağa	Kâkülü demem zülfüne ya sünbül-i hoş-bu	Yok

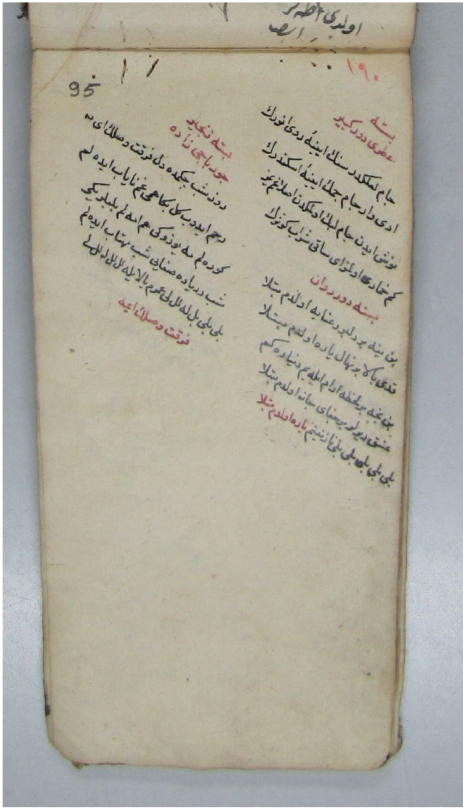


285	95-a	Hisar	Itri (Buhürizâde)	Câm-ı la'lindir senin âyine-i rüy-i enverin	Var
286	95-a	Belirtilmemiş	Belirtilmemiş	Ben yine bir dilber-i ra'nâya oldum mübtelâ	Yok
287	95-a	Belirtilmemiş	Çorbacızâde	Rüz-i şeb çekmede dil firkat-i vaslın ey meh	Yok
288	96-a	Belirtilmemiş	Nazim	Çeşmân-ı nev-ihvan ahu gibi ned	Yok
289	96-a	Belirtilmemiş	Belirtilmemiş	Der-ışk çü zin-i hüner nedârem	Yok
290	96-b	Hicaz	Tomtom	Eğerçi hübn uşşâka nâz-ı ateştir	Yok
291	96-b	Hicaz	Tosun	Olsa bin yıl vatan ey dil der meyhâne sana	Yok
292	96-b	Hicaz	Belirtilmemiş	Zir-i festen ol fiten-kâr sanma kâkül gösterir	Yok
293	96-b	Hicaz	Belirtilmemiş	Fürüg meydan o rengin izârı seyr eyle	Yok
294	96-b	Hicaz	Ahmed Çavuş	O müşgin hâllerin kim gerden-i billüra düşmüştür	Yok
295	97-b	Hicaz	Hasan Çelebi	Ne serve meyl eder tab'im ne ar'ar seyr eder canım   Belirtilmemiş	Yok
296	97-b	Hicaz	Acemler	Gurbet elde gam yükünü bağlarım	Yok
297	98-b	Hicaz	Ismail Çavuş (Dede)	Dolanam şem'ine pervâne gibi ben senin	Var
298	98-b	Hicaz	İbrahim Çavuş	Kul oldum bu cefâ-kâre cihân bâğında gül femindir   7291	Var
299	98-b	Hicaz	Ismail Ağa (Kara)	Benim divâne gönlüm eylenmedi eylenmedi gelmedi yarım	Yok
300	99-a	Hicaz	İsmail Çavuş	Nedendir çeşm-i fetânım kuruttun cevri ile kanım	Yok
301	99-a	Hicaz	Abdülhalim Çavuş	Belirtilmemiş	Yok
302	99-a	Hicaz	İsmail Çavuş	Gülşen-i habsinde hezârın sürmeye	Yok
303	100-a	Hicaz	Hatibzâde	Bu şeb uşşâktan ol meh yine rüyün nihân tutmuş	Yok
304	101-a	Buselik	Belirtilmemiş	Görünmez vechi burakın	Yok
305	101-b	Belirtilmemiş	Tab'i	Aldanma sen ol sib-i zenahdânın alına	Yok
306	101-b	Belirtilmemiş	Belirtilmemiş	Yanmağa ateş-i aşkınla ezelden mumuz	Yok
307	102-b	Evc	Sadullah Ağa	Eğerçi gülşen-i hüsn bahar-ı nev-cevânıdır	Yok
308	102-b	Evc	Mehmet Ağa	Gelince hatt-ı mu'anber	Var

309	102-b	Evc	Belirtilmemiş	Sâkı çekemem vaz'-ı zarıfâneyi boş ko	Var
310	102-b	Evc	Belirtilmemiş	Kâmeti mevzün kim bir mZsra'- Z bercestedir	Var
311	102-b	Evc	Belirtilmemiş	Kimin meftûnu oldun ey peri- rüyum nihân söyle	Var
312	103-b	Evc	Dilhayat Kalfa	Çok mu figânım o gül-i zibâ hırâm için	Var
313	103-b	Evc	Bekir Ağa	Şeydâ-ter eyledi beni hü- kerde gerdenin	Var
314	103-b	Evc	Tab'i	Gelirse meclise ol âfet-i cihâmı görün	Var
315	103-b	Evc	Hüseyin Ağa	O zâlim hâl-i meftûnu bilir ya bilmek elvermez	Yok
316	104-a	Evc	Belirtilmemiş	Ey dilber-i şirin-edâ	Yok
317	104-b	Evc	Müezzinbaşı Osman Ağa	Bize süz-i dilden ol meh yanarak şikayet etti	Yok
318	104-b	Evc	Hüseyin Ağa	Tutuşup sinede bir ateş-i aşk sinesine	Yok
319	104-b	Evc	Dilhayat Kalfa	O cefâ-pişe acep fitne-i adacık çıktı	Yok
320	104-b	Evc	Hüseyin Ağa	Baktım o şehin müy-miyâne kati bülbül	Yok
321	105-a	Sabâ	Belirtilmemiş	Şahâne gözler şahâne	Yok
322	105-b	Beyati	Belirtilmemiş	Her Sabâhın gelir geçer hışımla dükkân açar	Yok
323	106-a	Sabâ	Belirtilmemiş	İzmirlinin endâmına	Yok
324	106-b	Rast	Belirtilmemiş	Hep görenler medhin eyler	Yok
325	107-a	Segah	Belirtilmemiş	Elmas senin yüzün gören	Yok
326	107-a	Evc	Belirtilmemiş	Dilber sEvcn urum sevsin	Yok
327	108-a	Tahir	Belirtilmemiş	Hiç uyutmaz beni derdim	Var
328	108-b	Belirtilmemiş	Belirtilmemiş	Gece gündüz âh-ı zâr ettiğininim aslı budur	Yok

**Tablo 4:** Mecmuadaki Eserlerin TRT Nota Arşivlerindeki Kayıt Durumlarını Gösteren Tablo.

Aşağıda Yazma eser üzerinde yapılan çalışma bir eser üzerinden örneklenmiştir. Buna göre 95-a varak numaralı orijinal metin, metnin günümüz Türkçesine aktarılmış şekli ve eserin notası beraber verilmiştir. 95-a numaralı varakta üç eserin güftesi yer almaktadır. Örnek teşkil etmesi bakımından bu üç eser içinde TRT nota kaydı bulunan “Câm-ı lâlindir senin...” dizesiyle başlayan güfte çalışmamıza eklenmiştir.



95-a

Beste-i İtri devr-i kebir  
Cam-ı la'lindir senin ayine-i ruy-i enverin  
Adı var cam-ı cemin ayine-i iřkenderin  
Nuř eden cam-ı lebin ölmekten asla gam yemez  
Kim humarı olmaz ey saki sarab-ı kevserin

řekil 2: Örnek Eserin Orijinal Metni ve Latin Harfleri ile Transkripsiyonu

**HİSAR BESTE**  
*Câm-ı lâl'indir senin âyine rüy-i enverin*

USUL: DEVR-İ KEBİR BESTE: İTRİ

Câm-ı lâl'indir senin âyine rüy-i enverin  
Adı var cam-ı cemin ayine-i iřkenderin  
Nuř eden cam-ı lebin ölmekten asla gam yemez  
Kim humarı olmaz ey saki sarab-ı kevserin

řekil 3: Örnek Eserin Notası

## SONUÇ

Tüm toplumlar kültürel sürekliliğini sağlamak için hem öz değerlerini koruma hem de bu değerlerini bir sonraki kuşağa aktarma gayreti içindedir. Kültürel aktarım aynı zamanda medeniyetin sürekliliğine ve zenginliğine yansır. Geleneğini koruyan toplumların tarihi zeminde kalıcı olmaları kolaylaşır. Kültürel aktarımı sağlayan en önemli araçlardan olan sanat, edebiyat ve mimarinin korunması, yaşatılması ve geleceğe aktarılması sayesinde bir toplum zenginleşir. Aksi durumda zenginliğini yitirmeye başlar ve tarihin tozlu sayfalarına gömülür. Sanat ve estetik değerlerin en etkili alanlarından biri musikidir. Musiki, özelde bireyin genelde de toplumun estetik zevkini inceltir ve ortak estetik değerlerin oluşmasına katkıda bulunur.

Türk ulusu Türkistan'dan Avrupa'ya kadar yayılmış olduğu geniş sahada ve İslamiyet öncesinden sonrasına her dönemde müzik ile iştigal etmiştir. Müziğe olan ünsiyeti Türk toplumunun değer yargılarına, yaşam tarzına, estetik algısına yansımıştır. Yazının Türk toplumunda yaygınlaşması ile dinî, siyasi, edebî alanlarda olduğu gibi müzik alanında da Türk müellifler eserler üretmişlerdir. Bu eserlerin bazıları yangın, doğal afetler, yabancı toplulukların istilaları ve yıkıcı faaliyetleri gibi sebeplerden ötürü günümüze ulaşamamıştır. Bu sebeple arşivlerde kimi durumda tek, kimi durumda birkaç nüshasına erişebildiğimiz müzik içerikli eserler kültür tarihimiz açısından mühim bir yer tutmaktadır. Bu maksatla 19. yüzyılda yazılmış olan Vâsıf Bey'e ait güfte mecmuası da kültür dünyamıza değer katmaktadır.

Vâsıf Bey'in güfte mecmuasında yer alan musiki eserleri Türk kültürünün önemli bileşenlerinden olan müzik, edebiyat ve tarih konularında geleneğimizin korunması, yaşatılması ve gelecek nesillere aktarılması için kendi kültürümüzle barışık nesiller yetiştirmemiz için sarf edilmiş bir gayret olarak değerlendirilmelidir.

.....  
**Etik Beyanı ve Çıkar Çatışması:** Yazar çalışmada etik ilkelere uyduğunu; bu çalışmayı, Marmara Üniversitesi, Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü, İlahiyat Ana Bilim Dalında hazırladığı "XX. Yüzyılda Yazılmış Olan Vâsıf Bey'in Güfte Mecmuasının İncelenmesi" başlıklı yüksek lisans tezinden ürettiğini beyan etmektedir.  
.....



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## Understanding the Counter-Enlightenment Discourse through Palissot's *Les Philosophes*

*Karşı Aydınlanmacı Söylemi Palissot'nun Les Philosophes'undan Hareketle Anlamak*

Ali Can TURAL\*

### ABSTRACT

Although *Les Philosophes* was an ordinary comedy, and Palissot was far from the caliber of Molière or Voltaire, it successfully consolidated conservative criticisms of the philosophes within a satirical framework, enjoying a successful three-month run in 1760. The reason behind its success was that it was at the center of a debate between the Enlightenment philosophers and the Counter-Enlightenment figures. In addition to being an example of 18th-century French comédie, the play serves as a valuable source for understanding the key points of conservative discourse of the time. While Palissot seemed to focus on attacking individual philosophes' personalities, he paired these attacks with conceptual critiques, and directed the most of his criticism primarily at Diderot and Rousseau. The play remains significant for two reasons: First, it captures almost all of the concerns and arguments of the conservative reaction to the Enlightenment. Second, it sheds light on Enlightenment thinkers' personal and intellectual struggles. This paper examines Palissot's *Les Philosophes* not as a mere literary dispute but as a rich text that reveals the Counter-Enlightenment discourse that emerged in the second half of the 18th century.

### Keywords

Counter-Enlightenment, Enlightenment, Palissot, Denis Diderot, Conservative Discourse

### ÖZ

*Les Philosophes* sıradan bir komedi olmasına ve Palissot yetenek bakımından Molière'den ve Voltaire'den oldukça uzak olmasına rağmen, muhafazakâr eleştirileri alaycı bir çerçevede birleştirerek 1760 yılında üç ay süren bir sahne başarısı elde etmiştir. Oyunun başarısının nedeni, Aydınlanma filozofları ile Karşı-Aydınlanma figürleri arasındaki tartışmanın merkezinde yer almasıdır. 18. yüzyıl Fransız komedisi türüne bir örnek olmasının yanı sıra, oyun, dönemin muhafazakâr söyleminin temel noktalarını anlamak için değerli bir kaynak olarak değerlendirilmelidir. Palissot, ilk bakışta filozofların kişiliklerini hedef alıyor gibi görünse de, bu saldırıları aydınlanma filolarının kullandığı kavramlara yönelik eleştirilerle birleştirmiş ve eleştirilerinin çoğunu özellikle Diderot ve Rousseau'ya yöneltmiştir. Oyun iki açıdan önemini korumaktadır: Birincisi, Aydınlanma'ya karşı muhafazakâr tepkinin hemen tüm kaygılarını ve gerekçelerini ortaya koymaktadır. İkincisi, Aydınlanma düşünürlerinin kişisel ve entelektüel mücadelelerine ışık tutmaktadır. Bu makale, Palissot'nun *Les Philosophes* yapıtını basit bir edebi tartışma olarak değil, 18. yüzyılın ikinci yarısında ortaya çıkan Karşı-Aydınlanma söylemini açığa çıkaran zengin bir metin olarak incelemektedir.

### Anahtar Kelimeler

*Karşı Aydınlanma, Aydınlanma, Palissot, Denis Diderot, Muhafazakâr Söylem*

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## INTRODUCTION

In May 2, 1760, Palissot's<sup>4</sup> *Les Philosophes*, a three-act play, made its debut at Comedie Française, France's premier theater. On its first night, large crowds made a long queue and waited outside for hours for tickets (Barbier, 1857, pp. 248-250). The number of people who attended the première was 1439 and it generated 4,379 francs in revenue (Lancaster, 1951, p. 797). A fervent counter-enlightenment figure, Élie Catherine Fréron (1719-1776) wrote that he had never seen "such great crowds of people" and none of the works of Molière, Racine, Corneille or Crébillon attracted such attention and drew many spectators (Fréron, 1760 III, p. 214). Pierre-Louis d'Aquin (1720-1796), in his periodical literary newspaper *Le Censeur hebdomadaire*, stated that "the people laid siege to the doors of the Comédie-Française," and *Les Philosophes* excited an unparalleled curiosity and interest, even when compared to the most celebrated dramas (d'Aquin, 1760, p. 368). Friedrich Melchior, Baron von Grimm (1723-1807), a close friend of Denis Diderot, said that if France had achieved a military victory on the day of *Les Philosophes'* premiere, it would have gone unnoticed by the Parisian public, as everyone was solely talking about the play (Grimm & Diderot, 1878, p. 368).

The play was an instant success and for the next three months, it attracted more than twelve thousand people. In addition to its success on stage, the play's subsequent

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<sup>4</sup> Charles Palissot de Montenois (1730-1814) studied philosophy at the age of eleven, defended his thesis in theology at twelve, and received his bachelor's degree in the same faculty at fourteen (Palissot, 1777 p. xj). Palissot's father wanted his son to study both law and medicine, which would allow him to have multiple career options by the time he turned twenty. While Palissot's father offered this broad foundation for his son's education, he strongly favored a career in the church. He believed that he could help secure a promising future for his son because he had influence and connections in that area. While Palissot deeply respected his father and did not wish to disappoint him, he had a personal aversion to a religious career path. This created an internal struggle between honoring his father's expectations and his desire to follow his own aspirations for him and he devised a plan to navigate this conflict. After completing his religious studies, Palissot moved to Paris to join the Congregation of the Oratory. This institution of the Church allowed its members to have church-related privileges while not obliging them strictly to a clerical life. Palissot's true intention wasn't to remain with the congregation but to distance himself from his father, hoping that being far from him would make it easier to express his reluctance to pursue a career in the church (Palissot, 1777 p. xij-xiij). Palissot's love of poetry and literature pulled him toward theater and he composed his first literary work, a tragedy, at sixteen. At nineteen, he wrote a second tragedy, which was performed two years later under the title *Zarès* in 1751 (Palissot, 1777 p. xiij). After his initial success in theatre, Palissot was admitted to the Academy in Nancy, found by the King of Poland who was impressed by Palissot's literary abilities at such an early age. It was also during this period that he found a benefactor, the Duc de Choiseul who introduced him to other influential people such as Princess de Robecq. Palissot also became acquainted with Fréron, who actively mocked and satirized Enlightenment philosophers through his journal, *L'Année littéraire*. Fréron later supported Palissot's infamous play, *Les Philosophes*, helping him gain attention in Parisian literary circles.

publication by Nicolas Bonaventure Duchesne,<sup>5</sup> also garnered unexpected acclaim. At the first glance, the play had nothing extraordinary about it. Most critics regarded Palissot as a mediocre writer, and even his supporters, such as Fréron, praised *Les Philosophes* for its popularity and success rather than its literary merit. As Louis Petit de Bachaumont (1690–1771) aptly remarked in his *Mémoires secrets*: “Les Philosophes, a play whose only remarkable quality is its success” (Bachaumont, 1830, p. 68). There was nothing new or innovative in Palissot’s style. In *Les Philosophes*, Palissot employed a conventional ‘forced marriage’ plot and uses many of the fixed types. Cydalise, a wealthy widow, plays a figure of authority, manipulating events and creating obstacles for two young lovers: her daughter Rosalie and her lover Damis, the story’s romantic hero. Cydalise falls under the influence of a group of manipulative and malevolent philosophers and believes that Damis, who is in reality an earnest and principled young man, is not worthy of her daughter. She breaks off their match and wants her daughter to marry a self-proclaimed philosopher, Valère. During the second act, Valère and his philosopher friends, Dortidius and Théophraste, reveal their real motives: these self-serving men plan to use Cydalise’s wealth and connections to advance their own positions and gain favor among true intellectuals. At the end of the play, Cydalise realizes the malevolent intentions and ambitions of the philosophers and reunites her daughter with her lover, giving her permission for their marriage. In the end, truth and sincerity triumph over pretension, deceit, and hypocrisy.

In the 17th and 18th centuries, French theatre borrowed heavily from Italian commedia dell’arte and incorporated its fixed character types (known as tipi fissi in Italian), such as servants, valets, domineering fathers, lovers, and widows. Palissot, in *Les Philosophes*, adhered to the dramatic conventions of his time and based his play on the traditional rules of the French satire. In the play, Cydalise is a vain and fickle widow who is easily influenced by trends. Her shallow personality leads her blindly adopt new and dangerous philosophical trends. Rosalie is a good-natured, sincere girl who symbolizes plain and true emotion and authenticity. Damis embodies traditional and conservative values. Dortidius, Théophraste, Valère and Crispin are manipulative, self-serving, and opportunistic pseudo-intellectuals who conceal their malicious actions under the guise of philosophy. This polemical nature of the play captured the public’s attention. However, the Parisian literary scene has never been short of polemics between

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<sup>5</sup> Nicolas Bonaventure Duchesne (1714–1773) was a French publisher and bookseller active in the mid-18th century, a period when Enlightenment thinkers and Counter-Enlightenment writers were producing works in rapid succession. He became well-known for publishing works that played significant roles in the intellectual and cultural debates of the Enlightenment. Duchesne published controversial texts and satirical works that captured the dynamic and turbulent atmosphere of the Enlightenment. Marie-Madeleine Duchesne, Nicolas Bonaventure Duchesne’s wife, was also a publisher and played a significant role in the book trade during the 18th century. After Nicolas Bonaventure died in 1773, she continued the publishing business and proved her competence in a male-dominated industry.



different literary camps, and being polemical alone is not sufficient to explain *Les Philosophes*' unprecedented popularity as a comedy. *Les Philosophes* was not merely a simple literary dispute, as Palissot later described it in his autobiography (Plomteux, 1777 p. xxxvii); rather, it was the culmination of coordinated attacks orchestrated by the anti-philosophe members of Parisian society. Toward the middle of the 18th century, France was deeply divided intellectually and ideologically. A new way of understanding the world and human experience—a new philosophy—emerged and challenged the established philosophical, political, and cultural order. All the conservative and traditional camps in the French literary and political scene were unhappy with the new philosophy and its proponents, who later came to be known as the Enlightenment philosophers, or *Les Philosophes*. There have always been philosophers and thinkers who critiqued various aspects of French culture, politics, and philosophy during the Ancien Régime, such as Pierre Bayle (1647–1706) and Voltaire (1694–1778). However, one remarkable philosopher transformed this scattered opposition into a systematic intellectual movement: Denis Diderot. The greatest project embodying this intellectual movement was the *Encyclopédie*, and all the characters in Palissot's *Les Philosophes* were caricatures of Diderot and his fellow “philosophes”, such as Helvétius, Rousseau, and Duclos, who contributed to the *Encyclopédie*. Palissot's attack broke the conventions of French theatre. He deliberately targeted the Encyclopedists to ridicule and discredit them. Although he changed the names—Diderot became Dortidius, and Rousseau was depicted as Dortidius' valet, Crispin—everyone in the audience knew who he was attacking. When we place *Les Philosophes* in the broader context of the Enlightenment versus Counter-Enlightenment struggle and view it as the culmination of this conflict within popular culture, it becomes clearer why it gained such popularity despite its mediocrity. With this perspective, *Les Philosophes* transforms from merely a play used in a smear campaign into a valuable source for identifying, analyzing, and understanding the Counter-Enlightenment discourse in 18th-century France.

### Enlightenment and the Encyclopédie

Before Diderot was hired by the famous printer André-François Le Breton for the *Encyclopédie* project, he was an up-and-coming intellectual who translated the Earl of Shaftesbury's *An Inquiry Concerning Virtue or Merit* and wrote two unpopular books: *Philosophical Thoughts* (1746),<sup>6</sup> a collection of essays on God, deism, and skepticism, and *The Indiscreet Jewels* (1748),<sup>7</sup> an erotic tale. Although he was not a famous writer at the time, his books were considered sufficiently dangerous by the authorities, and Diderot was arrested while his apartment was being searched for writings that attacked religion

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<sup>6</sup> Fr. *Pensees-philosophiques*.

<sup>7</sup> Fr. *Les Bijoux indiscrets*.

and morality (Bonnefon, 1899, p. 203). Shortly after his interrogation, Diderot, who was deemed “a blasphemer” and a “libertine,” was sent to prison at the Château de Vincennes (Bonnefon, 1899, p. 203). He was placed in solitary confinement, and after 102 days in Vincennes, Diderot promised never to publish “immoral” or “blasphemous” works again and signed a statement. After his release, Diderot devised a new strategy and devoted all his energy to the *Encyclopédie*. Aware that his philosophical writings could lead to further persecution and imprisonment, Diderot wrote in secrecy, always keeping his works in his drawer, intending them for posterity.<sup>8</sup>

Diderot, in the *Encyclopédie*, brought together the prominent thinkers of his time, accurately defined by Peter Gay (Gay, 1966, p. 3) in his canonical work *The Enlightenment* as “a loose, informal, wholly unorganized coalition of cultural critics, religious skeptics, and political reformers.” Through this project, he transformed the philosophes into a cohesive movement. Not all the ideas in the *Encyclopédie* were completely new or original. Many of them emerged in the late 17th century and developed and evolved over time. However, there had never been a movement organized under a single banner that aimed to carry out a program of freedom, social justice, cosmopolitanism, and humanity, all based on a secular worldview. The old-style metaphysician philosopher transformed into the “philosophe”, who was not just a philosopher but also a social reformer, innovator, and activist. This didn’t mean that all the philosophes acted like an army battalion, united behind a single leader to finalize an order. As Peter Gay states, “they were a party without a party line” (Gay, 1966, p. 6). When threatened by censure, they supported each other. At other times, they criticized one another and penned refutations against each other. Despite all their differences, one thing united them all: rejecting external frameworks that predetermined the outcome of an inquiry and being true to the nature of the phenomena they examined. Diderot’s remark about how he viewed his philosophical endeavors summarized the Enlightenment philosophes’ attitude toward knowledge. They sought to understand what they studied, but if their attempt to reach the truth failed, they believed the honorable thing was to accept it. They held that only this attitude could free humanity from the physical and intellectual chains imposed on it in the past. Diderot and d’Alembert, the *Encyclopédie*’s co-editors, turned this attitude into a motto-like statement:

Encyclopedia. This word signifies chain of knowledge; it is composed of the Greek preposition ἐν, in and the nouns κύκλος, circle and παιδεία, knowledge. Indeed, the purpose of an encyclopedia is to collect knowledge disseminated around the globe; to set forth its general system to the men with whom we live, and transmit it to those who will come after us, so that the work of preceding centuries will not become useless to

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<sup>8</sup> His works, such as *The Nun* [Fr. *La Religieuse*] and *Rameau’s Nephew* [Fr. *Le Neveu de Rameau*], were published posthumously.



the centuries to come; and so that our offspring, becoming better instructed, will at the same time become more virtuous and happy, and that we should not die without having rendered a service to the human race (Diderot, 2022, pp. 635–648A).

The *Encyclopédie* was the moment when this new philosophy—the philosophy of Enlightenment—became concrete and visible to others. This endeavor was not merely another encyclopedic project that cataloged knowledge one field at a time. Instead, the *Encyclopédie*, with its diverse collaborators, proposed an entirely new way of analyzing, understanding, and interpreting human experience across every intellectual and practical domain. The philosophes were advocating for a different cosmos, a new sense of self, and a reimagined conception of science, art, and philosophy. This vision required breaking away from the old and venturing into uncharted territory, with the promise of leading humanity toward a better future.

However, moving toward a better future required admitting that most traditional ways of conducting personal, social, and political activities were flawed and needed rigorous examination. Above all, no matter how ingrained our customs, traditions, and ways of life are in our personal and social identity, intellectual and political elites had to accept that they were ignorant of many things and that what they considered truth was probably not. This new philosophical spirit was bold, daring, and threatening to those well-established in the status quo. From their perspective, this was an outrageous attack on everything valuable, stable, and sacred. They asked: “Who are these vain and arrogant people, these so-called philosophes, who suggest that we should abandon our ancestors’ ways and venture into something completely new in the name of reason and liberty?” For the conservative establishment, the philosophes appeared to be a group of extremists sworn to destroy God’s perfect order using the arts and sciences. There had always been dissenting voices—some smug thinkers who believed in a complete remake of literature, philosophy, arts, and the social and political spheres. However, a time when so many dissenting voices united under the same project had never been witnessed before. Before it was too late, this movement of destructive voices had to be ridiculed, discredited, and silenced. This line of thinking led to the belligerent reaction of the conservative factions in France, starting in the 1740s, and the anti-philosophe sentiment quickly turned into a counter-enlightenment movement.

Palissot’s *Les Philosophes* was the final blow in a coordinated assault on every front against Diderot and his fellow Encyclopedists. Like the conservative establishment, Palissot did not recognize the differences and varying philosophical tendencies among the philosophes. To him, they shared the same personality flaws and sought fame by destroying the fabric of society—the very foundation that held French society together. However, what united the Enlightenment thinkers was not a shared personality, a desire for fame, or hatred of societal order or God. For instance, when Helvétius published his

*De l'esprit* (1758), Voltaire, Rousseau, and Diderot all wrote refutations of it, demonstrating that the philosophes did not always close ranks against Counter-Enlightenment attacks (Wade, 1977, p. 3). Their philosophical quarrels were interpreted by Counter-Enlightenment figures as disputes among egotistical and self-serving individuals who could not even tolerate one another in the face of simple disagreements. For this reason, Palissot, in his autobiography, characterized the disagreement between Rousseau and his former friends as a fight among hypocritical individuals who preached open-mindedness but despised criticism (Plomteux, 1777 p. xix).

### Counter-Enlightenment Discourse Before *Les Philosophes*

*Les Philosophes* was not the first time Palissot attacked the Enlightenment philosophes. He had already targeted them, specifically Rousseau, in his earlier one-act comedy, *Le Cercle* (1755). In the play, Palissot presents a satirical depiction of the philosophes who frequent salons. One of the characters, a poet, is ridiculed for his exaggerated sense of self-importance and his inability to recognize his mediocre talents. Faced with the failure of his play, he blames everyone but himself. In Scene VIII, Palissot specifically targets Rousseau, who appears under the guise of Blaise-Gille-Antoine, le Cosmopolite. Here, Rousseau is depicted as a philosophe who constantly presents bizarre paradoxes, not to make a genuine philosophical point but to flaunt his intelligence and gain fame and esteem. Palissot employs a three-fold critique in this portrayal. First, he attacks Rousseau's perceived "vanity", and suggests that for Rousseau philosophy merely a tool for personal fame rather than a pursuit of truth. According to Palissot, the likes of Rousseau are not true to the phenomena they study nor interested in discovering truth. Instead, they seek recognition by acting not as lovers of wisdom but as deceitful tricksters, who manipulate the average person through their rhetorical skills: Palissot makes Rousseau confess his true intentions in *Le Cercle*:

I proclaimed all those fine ideas without believing them, thinking that a philosopher had to think, speak, write, and even dress differently from the common people. I even refused money to avoid resembling anyone else (Palissot, 1777, p. 45).

As a result of Rousseau's strategic hypocrisy, his followers feel intellectually superior simply by agreeing with him. This perpetuates a cycle of false wisdom that undermines society.

Second, Palissot criticized cosmopolitanism, and accuses Rousseau, later in *Les Philosophes*, Diderot, of lacking love and attachment for their country, France. In his portrayal, Blaise-Gille-Antoine, le Cosmopolite, as understood from his nickname, view patriotism as intellectually backward. He elevates himself above his contemporaries by claiming to be a world citizen and trivializes their loyalty to their countries. Palissot argues that such an attitude revealed a disdain for the "primitive" emotions, such as



national loyalty, that defined their peers. This critique took on particular resonance during the Seven Years' War (1756–1763) and the attempted assassination of King Louis XV by Robert-François Damiens, when patriotism and hatred toward the enemies of France and the monarchy were at their peak. Palissot's *Le Cercle* was influential in sparking other anti-philosophe campaigns. For instance, in 1757, a group of Counter-Enlightenment writers launched a satirical campaign against the philosophes. They coined the term "Cacouacs," which combined the Greek word *kakos* (meaning evil or bad) with an association to croaking frogs (*kouax*). In this way, the term "Cacouacs" symbolized both evil and a noise that caused disturbance, mocking the philosophes as loud, obnoxious, and malevolent. The campaign began in 1757 when an anonymous author wrote a piece titled "Mémoire sur les Cacouacs" in the *Mercur de France*, a prominent literary journal of the time. The article targeted the philosophes and sought to discredit their ideas (Goodman & Ferret, 2021, p. 3). Soon after, Jacob-Nicolas Moreau (1717–1804), a royalist historian who served Louis XV and Louis XVI, as well as a lawyer and polemicist, continued the campaign. He wrote *Nouveau mémoire pour servir à l'histoire des Cacouacs*, lampooning the Enlightenment philosophers and portraying them as evil barbarians, intent on destroying civilization.

Third, Palissot claimed that Rousseau put forth bizarre arguments that even the least educated person could recognize as ridiculous:

I published that everything people have esteemed until now has only made them rogues; and that, all things considered, it is better to wager on the honesty of a fool than on that of a man of intelligence (Palissot, 1777, p. 44).

Palissot, here, distorts Rousseau's critique of civilization, arts, and sciences, as well as his praise of the moral existence of the uneducated yet honorable, into a celebration of foolishness. Yet, his blatant hatred toward Enlightenment thinkers and the new type of philosophy they practiced helps us understand how conservative factions in France perceived Enlightenment philosophy. It offers a glimpse into the Counter-Enlightenment mindset, as similar accusations were made against the philosophes by various conservative factions.

Even though Palissot claimed that his dispute with the Enlightenment thinkers was purely literary, his attacks were coordinated with more serious efforts carried out by influential circles within the French state. The first volume of the *Encyclopédie*, prepared by Diderot and d'Alembert between 1747 and 1751, faced backlash from religious groups shortly after its publication. A group of ministers at Versailles expressed outrage over this new *Encyclopédie* and issued an arrêt (a stop order) that banned the distribution of the first and second volumes. Encouraged by various religious entities, the anti-philosophe ministers in the king's council accused the Encyclopedists of



“attacking royal authority and inciting revolt” (Parlement de Paris, 1753, p. 32). Two things particularly infuriated the conservative establishment: the *Encyclopédie*'s alphabetical ordering and the system of human knowledge that Diderot laid out. The standard practice for encyclopedias at the time was to adopt a thematic order, beginning with the most sacred subjects, such as God and Catholicism, before addressing more trivial topics. Diderot and d'Alembert rejected this traditional approach, instead organizing all the articles alphabetically. As a result, an entry related to theology could appear next to an entry about a craft. This implied that glassmaking or surgical tools were as important as theological matters. Secondly, in his categorization of human knowledge, Diderot placed superstition under the category of the “Science of God,” further challenging traditional religious hierarchies and provoking outrage among conservative circles. In addition to the structure of the *Encyclopédie*, Diderot's article titled “Political Authority” (Diderot, 2022, pp. 898–900) claimed that “no man has ever received from nature or God the right to command other men,” while d'Alembert's article titled “College” (d'Alembert, 2003, pp. 664–637) criticized Jesuit educational institutions.

Both the political establishment and the Jesuits, were infuriated and alarmed by these writings, realizing that the new philosophical approach embodied in the *Encyclopédie* could not be countered solely with intellectual arguments. From 1752 onwards, the intellectual battleground shifted to the real world, and an all-encompassing assault against the philosophes began. The ban on the *Encyclopédie*, the *Cacouacs* campaign, denunciations of the Encyclopedists at every opportunity, and the character assassinations carried out by Palissot all formed the broad coalition of the Counter-Enlightenment movement.

### ***Les Philosophes and the Counter Enlightenment Discourse***

A year and a month before *Les Philosophes*' debut, another stop order was issued for Helvétius' *de l'esprit (on the Mind)*, a systematic account of how human mind works from a naturalistic perspective. Soon, the book faced censorship and was burnt. And almost a month before *Les Philosophes*, Jean-Jacques Lefranc de Pompignan,<sup>9</sup> took up the vacant seat of Maupertuis at the Académie Française following his death. In his inaugural speech in 1760, Lefranc de Pompignan launched a fierce attack against the Enlightenment philosophes. His critique reiterated the usual accusations of undermining religion, morality, and traditional values (Pompignan, 1760). Palissot's *Les Philosophes* was first performed when the philosophes were in a very difficult situation and under attack from all fronts. At the time, Diderot and his fellow philosophes were

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<sup>9</sup> Jean-Jacques Lefranc de Pompignan (1709–1784) was a poet, playwright, and member of the Académie Française.



grappling with harsh opposition. Palissot's satire brought together all the conservative arguments against the philosophes:

The play rehashed the key accusations made in the earlier texts, presenting the philosophes as an exploitative cabal who advocated adherence to their philosophical way of life out of pure self-advancement; a grouping that was quarrelsome and divided until it came to defending the character or works of any one of its number, and that preferred vague ideas of loving 'humanity' over its own kin and countrymen (Goodman & Ferret, 2021, p. 5).

Compared to the censorship from both the Catholic Church and the French government, the stop orders issued in 1752 and 1759, and the prosecution of Helvétius's *de l'Esprit*, Palissot was a lesser foe to Diderot. However, Palissot's strategic timing made *Les Philosophes* a significant cultural event and contributed to the polarization of the intellectual atmosphere. Palissot capitalized on this environment of tension, division and hostility. By ridiculing the philosophes, he not only entertained his audience but also amplified existing criticisms against them. His portrayal of Diderot and his comrades as arrogant, detached and impractical intellectuals resonated with their opponents and fueled counter-Enlightenment sentiment.

In the play, Palissot depicted Diderot (Dortidius) as the leader of the philosophers and Rousseau (Crispin) as his valet. This was not due to Diderot's novels, which contained criticisms of the ancien régime, Catholicism, or French culture, because most of Diderot's works, apart from a few novels and a philosophical essay, were published piece by piece toward the end of the century following his death. The reason Palissot considered Diderot as the leader of the philosophes was that Diderot was the chief editor of the *Encyclopédie*. The *Encyclopédie* promised an unprecedented transformative liberation in every area of human life, provided that people used their own reason and questioned established authority. Moreover, it made the theoretical and practical knowledge necessary for this to be accessible to everyone. This emphasis on the universality of knowledge and its liberating power was perceived by the conservative faction as an attack on society itself, rooted in an unsubstantiated, purely abstract, and destructive vision. In other words, the philosophes were seen as dreamers willing to destroy everything to see if their idealistic vision could be realized. Palissot sought to highlight the impracticality of the philosophes' ideas by having Rousseau's character crawl onto the stage like an animal. This act mocked Rousseau's praise of the state of nature. While Rousseau portrayed the state of nature as "morally neutral but peaceful and relatively content," Palissot interpreted it as advocating a regression to a primitive state, which he considered self-evidently ridiculous.

In addition to claiming that the philosophes were impractical theoreticians, the Counter-Enlightenment figures criticized the philosophes' attempt to base morality on

a conception of human nature limited by experience. As a result of this naturalistic approach, the concept of humanity became the moral basis of politics. Viewing humanity as a whole and going beyond local borders was interpreted as a rejection of the particular in favor of universalism. For *conservatives*, the philosophes were abandoning their national identity in favor of the vague and abstract identity of humanity. To them, this implied sympathy toward France’s enemies. This was why Palissot used the term “cosmopolite” as an insult, first targeting Rousseau in *Le Cercle* and later Diderot in *Les Philosophes*. In *Les Philosophes*, the character Dortidius—representing Denis Diderot—proudly declares his lack of patriotism with the lines:

I care nothing for kings, nor for their strife:  
Nor siege nor fight means anything to me.  
To idlers I leave these state affairs.  
For my own land, I have but little care:  
The truly wise are citizens of the world (Palissot, 2021, p. 97).

Palissot’s critique of Diderot’s anti-patriotic cosmopolitanism was, in fact, a challenge to a citizenship-based understanding of politics. For Palissot, the philosophers’ effort to unite people under the concept of citizenship was essentially an attempt to undermine patriotism and weaken the French people’s attachment to the French state.

## CONCLUSION

In his autobiography, Palissot complains about how the philosophes reacted to the reception of *Les Philosophes*. Rather than engaging with his critiques in a constructive manner, the philosophes launched personal attacks and dismissed his play outright. While they preached open-mindedness and empathy, their response, according to Palissot, was marked by hostility and intolerance toward dissenting views:

Finally, my character has been slandered because, in a purely literary poem, I dared, following the example of Pope (though without imitating his sharpness or bitterness), to cast some ridicule on the bad verses or poor prose of certain authors, most of whom had attacked me in libels. At worst, I may have been mistaken in my judgments; but in that case, the humiliation would have been personal to me, for there is perhaps nothing more shameful for a writer than to have placed a Virgil among the Baviuses, unless it is to have placed a Bavivus among the Virgils. One must admit, however, that when one reflects on the fact that for a little smoke, men of letters are capable of going to such cruel extremes with one another—those same men who boast of enlightening the world and consider themselves so superior to the common rabble—one is tempted to view them with pity. It is not surprising that men have fought over a horse, armor, a beautiful woman, or, above all, the defense of their homes. But one must admit that it is quite absurd for people to tear each other apart with such fury over a madrigal, a sonnet, or even a treatise on morality (Palissot, 1777, pp. xxxviii-xxxix).

In his defense, Palissot argued that he acted out of moral and literary principles, and was misunderstood and unfairly vilified. However, while Palissot portrays himself as the victim, he does not acknowledge the fact that he was the one who openly targeted



Enlightenment philosophes in multiple satirical plays. He fails to admit that his caricatured mockery of Diderot, Rousseau, and others as treacherous, pretentious, and self-serving men was a provocative act that invited retaliation. Palissot also portrays himself as a champion of literary and moral integrity, even though his works were explicitly partisan and well-aligned with the Counter-Enlightenment, anti-philosophe factions. His criticisms of the philosophes were primarily ideological and political, with literary critiques being secondary. Palissot does not mention that the philosophes, under attack from all sides, continued their work tirelessly despite great difficulties. For example, he omits the fact that Diderot was the editor of a groundbreaking project—the *Encyclopédie*—aimed at democratizing knowledge and achieving a level of comprehensiveness unprecedented in human history. Instead, Palissot portrays him as a manipulative figure who deceives people using the art of eloquence. Similarly, without addressing the confiscation of the *Encyclopédie* or Helvétius' book or mentioning that Diderot was imprisoned for his views and that Rousseau had to flee to avoid imprisonment, he seeks to damage the philosophers' reputations. In reality, every writer who contributed to the *Encyclopédie* faced a significant risk of imprisonment, denial of employment, or exile (Kafker, 1973, pp. 119-122). By doing so, Palissot uses the same arguments that political and religious authorities employed to justify confiscating the books and works of the philosophes and imprisoning them. He presents these arguments in a comedic way, portraying the philosophes as frauds who corrupt the morals of well-intentioned members of society. In this manner, he legitimizes the attacks against them.

*Les Philosophes* successfully brings together the concerns and arguments later echoed by critics of Enlightenment ideals, such as Edmund Burke and the Romantic movement. Furthermore, it embodies the conservative attitude towards the change and dynamism that the Enlightenment movement introduced to the cultural and political scene of 18th-century Europe. For all these reasons, Palissot's *Les Philosophes* remains a valuable source for understanding the Counter-Enlightenment sentiment and discourse in 18th-century France.

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## 8 Mart Dünya Kadınlar Günü Temalı Filatelik Damgalar

### March 8<sup>th</sup> International Women's Day Themed Philatelic Seals

Serkan AYCİL\*

#### ÖZ

Çalışmanın amacı 8 Mart Dünya Kadınlar Günü konulu filatelik damgaları tespit etmek ve tespit edilen damga temsillerini değerlendirmeye çalışmaktır. Çalışmada nitel araştırma yöntemlerinden doküman analizi kullanılmıştır. Çalışma kapsamındaki dokümanlara www.pulhane.com aracılığıyla erişilmiştir. Bunun için farklı başlıklar altında sınıflandırılan zarf, pul, posta kartı ve maksimum kart gibi filatelik tasarımlar incelenmiştir. Ardından konu kapsamına dâhil olan tasarımlarla birlikte çalışmanın kurgusu oluşturulmuştur. Bu kapsamda 2014-2020 yılları arasında yayınlanan 8 adet özel tarih damgası ile 1 adet özel gün zarfına ulaşılmıştır. Verilerin güvenilirlik ve geçerliği PTT tarafından basılı olarak yayınlanan doküman listesi aracılığıyla sağlanmıştır. Veri analizi sürecinde ise resimsel okumaları anlamlandırmak amacıyla göstergebilimden yararlanılmıştır. Filatelik tasarımlar pul, zarf, posta kartı, pul portföyü, uluslararası cevap kuponu, maksimum kart ve tebrik kartları gibi farklı türleri içerirken 8 Mart Dünya Kadınlar Günü'ne ilişkin baskılar sadece özel tarih damgalı zarflar ve özel gün zarfı kategorilerinde ele alınmıştır. Pul emisyon programında kadın temalı çok sayıda tasarım bulunmasına rağmen 8 Mart Dünya Kadınlar Günü konulu filatelik tasarımlar oldukça sınırlı bir kategoride üretildiği sonucuna ulaşılmıştır.

#### Anahtar Kelimeler

8 Mart, Dünya Kadınlar Günü, Emekçi Kadınlar, Filatelik Damga

#### ABSTRACT

The aim of the study is to identify philatelic stamps on March 8, International Women's Day and to try to evaluate the stamp representations identified. Document analysis, one of the qualitative research methods, was used in the study. The documents within the scope of the study were accessed through www.pulhane.com. For this purpose, philatelic designs such as envelopes, stamps, postcards and maximum cards classified under different headings were examined. Then, the fiction of the study was created with the designs included in the scope of the subject. In this context, 8 special date stamps and 1 special day envelope published between 2014-2020 were reached. The reliability and validity of the data were ensured through the list of documents published in print by PTT. In the data analysis process, semiotics was used to make sense of pictorial readings. While philatelic designs include different types such as stamps, envelopes, postcards, stamp portfolios, international reply coupons, maximum cards and greeting cards, the prints related to March 8 International Women's Day were handled only in the categories of special date stamped envelopes and special day envelopes. Although there are many women-themed designs in the stamp emission program, it was concluded that philatelic designs on March 8 International Women's Day were produced in a very limited category.

#### Keywords

March 8, International Women's Day, Working Women, Philatelic Seal

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## Extended Abstract

With the development of the means of production based on power, the place of women in society has become more and more prominent. The social position of women, who are physically weaker than male individuals, has turned into a chronic representation in proportion to physical strength (Kaya İlhan & Bozkurt, 2023, p. 370). This idea strengthened the desire to benefit from the same rights as men and after a while, women were obliged to struggle on social grounds. After the developments and the prices paid, March 8 began to be celebrated as International Women's Day-many studies on March 8 International Women's Day in literature. The titles of the studies are generally listed as feminism, women's life, the history of March 8, ideological discourses, news on women, March 8 in the press, March 8 and the phenomenon of digital advertising. In addition, artistic activities such as poetry recitals, group photography exhibitions, painting competitions, graphic design, oil painting, ceramics and sculpture are also organized. In this study, which is different from other studies, the phenomenon of March 8 International Women's Day is discussed in terms of philatelic designs.

The aim of the study is to identify philatelic stamps on March 8 International Women's Day and to evaluate the stamp representations identified. Since no literature study deals with the phenomenon of March 8 International Women's Day regarding philatelic designs, it was necessary to conduct a study in this direction. This study is based on a qualitative research approach. The study data were collected through document analysis. In the document review process, written sources likely to contain information about the target phenomenon are examined first. Then, visual examinations are made through printed and digital records (Wach & Ward, 2013). For this reason, before the study, searches were done on national and international publication indexes such as Sobiad Citation Index, DOAJ, Scopus Open Academic Journal Index, EBSCO and Turkish Education Index with the titles "International Women's Day, Philatelic Stamp and March 8". Accordingly, although many studies on the representation of women in stamps, especially in terms of archaeology, no study was found reflecting the March 8 International Women's Day through philatelic designs. The study was analyzed using the descriptive content analysis method. Accordingly, an evaluation was made on the representations of the stamps published independently of each other in different years and the current situation was tried to make sense of the current situation with the questions directed to the facts encountered during the data collection process.

The study's findings consist of eight unique date stamps and one unique day stamp. While a significant part of the typographies on the stamps are written in plain font, italic font is preferred in other parts. When the designer informs about a routine situation, he/she finds it appropriate to convey the subject in a plain font suitable for daily use. However, if a section in the text is to be emphasized, it is more appropriate to write the expression in quotation marks or italics. Again, during the design process, it is understood that all letters are written in capital font, especially when writing sentences expressing situations such as necessity, obligation, or anger.

The color and quality of the ink used can be used as an effective factor in giving the design a more aesthetic appearance. Stamp ink generally contains red, green, black, blue and dark blue colors. In this context, while red and green colors are identified with vitality, the darker black, blue and navy blue colors have become a symbol of formality. In classical stamps, typographic expressions and illustrations fit inside a round ring surrounding the stamp from the outside. Accordingly, many designers now prefer geometric designs designed in different forms rather than adhering to the traditional line. In this context, figures 4 and 6 were designed entirely under the traditional flow, while figures 1, 2 and 3 were designed in a rounded form. Designers often take care to place symbolic expressions that emphasize the purpose of the work within the stamp, which has a limited usage area. Accordingly, although it is seen that the number 8, which is constructed in different forms, is included in the stamp representations other than figure 7, it is understood that the compositions in figures 1, 2 and 4 refer to the symbol of infinity through the number 8. Although philatelic designs include different types such as stamps, envelopes, postal cards, stamp portfolios, international reply coupons and maximum cards, prints on March 8 International Women's Day were only included in the categories of unique date stamped envelopes and unique day envelopes. It was concluded that although many women-themed designs in the emission program, philatelic designs on March 8 International Women's Day were produced in a very limited category.



## GİRİŞ

Tarım toplumundan sanayi toplumuna geçiş sürecinde toplumsal yapıda önemli değişimler yaşanmıştır. Bu süreçte yeni bir sınıf olarak ortaya çıkan burjuvanın özellikle kentsel alanlarda güç kazanarak mevcut kaynakları kontrol altında tutmaya çalışmasıyla birlikte toplumda eşitlik, özgürlük, insan hakları ve demokrasi gibi düşünceler gelişmiştir. Kendini bulma arayışında olmanın yanı sıra düzenli olarak çalışmak zorunda olan bireyler belirli bir aşamadan sonra üst irade ile karşı karşıya gelerek daha insani şartlarda yaşamak ve özgürleşmek için mücadele etmeye başlamıştır. Siyasi alanla sınırlı kalmayan mevcut değişim süreci eş zamanlı olarak sosyal alanda da kendini göstermiştir. Her ne kadar kadınlar ve erkekler toplumsal yapıdaki değişime karşı direnç göstererek ortak hareket etme gayreti içerisinde olsalar da şartlar kadınların aleyhine gelişmiştir (Albayrak & Deniz Anamur, 2020, s. 691).

Üretim araçlarının güce dayalı olarak gelişme göstermesiyle birlikte kadının toplum içerisindeki yeri giderek daha belirgin bir hâl almıştır. Fiziksel olarak erkek bireylere göre daha güçsüz olan kadınların toplumsal konumları ise fiziksel güç ile orantılı olacak biçimde kronikleşen bir temsiliyete dönüşmüştür. Bu bağlamda kadına, sürekli korunmaya muhtaç durumda olduğunu gösteren toplumsal bir statü atfedilmiştir. Kadına atfedilen bu statü ise farklı birçok toplumda iyi bir eş veya anne olma özelliğiyle kutsanmıştır (Kaya İlhan & Bozkurt, 2023, s. 370). Özellikle 18. yüzyıldan sonra feminist kadınlar Batı dünyasını etkisi altına alan devrimin coşkusuna kapılmıştır. Aydınlanma Çağı kuramlarının ortaya çıkmasıyla birlikte en az erkekler kadar kadınların da aynı haklara sahip olması gerektiğine dair bir düşünce gelişmiştir (Donovan, 2021, s. 22). Erkeklerle aynı haklardan yararlanma isteğini güçlendiren bu düşünce bir süre sonra kadına toplumsal zeminde mücadele etme zorunluluğu getirmiştir. Gerek yaşanan gelişmeler gerekse ödenen bedellerden sonra 8 Mart günü, Dünya Emekçi Kadınlar Günü olarak kutlanmaya başlanmıştır.

Alanyazında 8 Mart Dünya Kadınlar Günü konusunda yapılan birçok çalışma bulunmaktadır. Yapılan çalışma başlıkları genellikle feminizm, kadının çalışma hayatındaki yeri, 8 Mart'ın tarihçesi, kadın ve ideolojik söylemler, kadın konulu haberler, basında 8 Mart, 8 Mart ve dijital reklam olgusu biçiminde sıralanmaktadır. Bunun yanı sıra şiir dinletisi, karma fotoğraf sergisi, resim yarışması, grafik tasarımı, yağlı boya, seramik ve heykel çalışması gibi sanatsal yönüyle ön plana çıkan etkinlikler de gerçekleştirilmektedir. Diğer çalışmalardan farklı olan bu çalışmada ise 8 Mart Dünya Kadınlar Günü olgusu filatelik tasarımlar açısından ele alınmıştır.

Çalışmanın amacı 8 Mart Dünya Kadınlar Günü konulu filatelik damgaları tespit etmek ve tespit edilen damga temsilleri hakkında değerlendirmede bulunmaya çalışmaktır. Alanyazında 8 Mart Dünya Kadınlar Günü olgusunu filatelik tasarımlar



açısından ele alan herhangi bir çalışmaya rastlanmadığı için bu yönde bir çalışma yapılmasına gerek duyulmuştur.

### **Kavramsal Çerçeve**

#### **8 Mart Dünya Kadınlar Günü'nün Dünyadaki Gelişimi**

8 Mart Dünya Kadınlar Günü'nü anma etkinliklerinin temeli yaklaşık olarak 150 yıl öncesine dayanmaktadır. 1857'de Amerika Birleşik Devletleri'nin New York kentindeki bir tekstil şirketinde çalışan yaklaşık 40 bin kadın işçi, günlük iş yükünün 10 saate indirilmesini ve eşit işe eşit ücret verilmesini talep etmeleri üzerine işten çıkarılır. Çalıştıkları işyeri ile ilişkisi kesilen kadınlar bu durumu protesto etmek amacıyla 8 Mart günü bir araya gelerek yürüyüş yapmaya karar verir. Polis müdahalesiyle sonuçlanan protesto yürüyüşü sonrasında kadınlardan 129'u hayatını kaybeder. Aradan yaklaşık olarak 50 yıl kadar bir zaman geçtikten sonra yaşanan olayların anısına New York'ta 15.000 kadının katılımıyla olaylı olmayan yeni bir yürüyüş gerçekleşir (Sallan, 1993, s. 159; Kurtoğlu, 2015, s. 80).

1909'da ise Leiserson ve Triangle Waist gibi büyük şirketlerinin çalışanlarıyla birlikte daha küçük ölçekli kimi tekstil şirketlerinde çalışan 20.000-30.000 kadar kadın işçi yine günlük çalışma süresinin azaltılması ve daha iyi ücret alma talebi için grev yapma kararı almıştır. Kasım 1909'da iki gün gibi kısa sürede örgütlenen kadınların direnişi Şubat 1910'a kadar sürmüştür. Bu direniş kadınların ilk uzun süreli grevi olarak tarihe geçmiştir (Kurtoğlu, 2015, s. 80). Yaşanan grevin üzerinden henüz fazla bir zaman geçmemişken Triangle Waist Şirketinin atölye kısmındaki çıkışlar kapatılarak bu alanda bir yangın çıkarılmıştır. Bu sırada üst katlara sıkıştırılan kadın işçilerden yaklaşık 140'ı çıkan yangın sonucunda hayatını kaybetmiştir. Bunun üzerine Amerikan Sosyalist Partisi şubat ayının son pazar gününün ABD'de her yıl Kadın Günü olarak kutlanmasına karar vermiştir. Alınan bu karar yerelde kutlanan ilk kadın günü olması açısından önemlidir (Kurtoğlu, 2015, s. 81).

8 Mart gününün kadın işçiler açısından artık kendi haklarını savunmak için bir gösterge olarak kullanıldığını belirten Alman siyasetçi Clara Zetkin, Kopenhag'da toplanan II. Uluslararası Sosyalist Kadınlar Konferansı'nda 8 Mart'ın artık Dünya Kadınlar Günü olarak kutlanması gerektiği yönünde bir öneride bulunmuştur (Albayrak & Deniz Anamur, 2020, s. 697). 1910'da kabul edilen önerinin ardından kutlamalar başlamıştır. Fakat hâlâ hangi tarihte kutlama yapılacağı tam olarak belli değildir. Bunun üzerine uluslararası boyutta ilk kutlama 19 Mart 1911'de gerçekleşmiştir (Sallan, 1993, s. 159; Özmen, 2015, s. 36). 8 Mart gününün artık resmî olarak Emekçi Kadınlar Günü olarak belirlenmesi ise ancak 1921'de Moskova'da düzenlenen III. Uluslararası Kadınlar

Konferansı'nda gündeme taşınmıştır. Konferansta öncelikle Clara Zetkin'in önerisi hatırlatılmış sonrasında geçmişte yaşanan trajik hadiseler tekrar sıralanmıştır. Sonuç olarak o güne kadar yaşanan elim olaylara ithafen 8 Mart günü Dünya Emekçi Kadınlar Günü olarak kutlanmaya başlamıştır (Özmen, 2015, s. 36). 8 Mart gününün Dünya Kadınlar Günü olarak kutlanmasını sağlayan önemli gelişmelerden biri Birleşmiş Milletler Genel Kurulu tarafından alınan karar neticesinde ortaya çıkmıştır. "Aralık 1977'de gerçekleştirilen Birleşmiş Milletler Genel Kurulu kararı ve daha sonra 24 Ekim-28 Kasım 1978 tarihlerinde gerçekleştirilen UNESCO 20. Genel Konferansı'nın 13.2. maddesi gereği 8 Mart Uluslararası Kadınlar Günü olarak ilan edilmiştir" (UNESCO 75. Yıl Türkiye Millî Komisyonu).

### **8 Mart Dünya Kadınlar Günü'nün Türkiye'deki Gelişimi**

Türkiye'de 8 Mart günü ilk olarak 1921'deki girişimler neticesinde Emekçi Kadınlar Günü olarak kutlanmıştır. Bu tarihten sonra getirilen sınırlamalar nedeniyle uzunca bir süre kutlamalar gerçekleştirilememiştir. 1975'ten sonra ise daha yaygın ve kitlesel olarak gerçekleşen kutlamalar, kapalı mekânlardan sokaklara taşmaya başlamıştır. Ardından diğer ülkelerde olduğu gibi Türkiye'nin de Birleşmiş Milletler Kadınlar On Yılı programından etkilenmesiyle birlikte 1975'te Kadın Yılı kongresi yapılmıştır. 12 Eylül Darbesi'nden sonra cunta yönetimi kutlama programlarına yasak getirmiş ve bu nedenle dört yıl süreyle herhangi bir kutlama girişiminde bulunulamamıştır. Yasağın kaldırılmasıyla birlikte 1984'ten itibaren çeşitli kadın örgütleri tarafından Dünya Emekçi Kadınlar Günü kutlamalarına tekrar başlanmıştır (Kına Candemir, 2019, ss. 3-4). 8 Mart Dünya Emekçi Kadınlar Günü günümüzde düzenli olarak her yıl 8 Mart tarihinde valiliklerin uygun gördüğü alanlarda kutlanmaktadır.

### **Yöntem**

Bu çalışma nitel araştırma yaklaşımıyla oluşturulmuştur. Araştırmanın verileri ise doküman incelemesi ile toplanmıştır. Doküman incelemesi sürecinde öncelikle hedef olguya ilişkin bilgi içerme ihtimali bulunan yazılı kaynaklar incelenmekte sonrasında basılı ve dijital kayıtlar üzerinden görsel incelemelerde bulunmaktadır (Wach & Ward, 2013). Bu nedenle çalışma öncesinde Sobiad Atıf Dizini, DOAJ, Scopus Open Academic Journal Index, EBSCO ve Türk Eğitim İndeksi gibi ulusal ve uluslararası yayın indeksleri üzerinden "8 Mart, dünya kadınlar günü, emekçi kadınlar ve filatelik damga" başlıklarıyla aramalar yapılmıştır. Aramalar sonucunda damgalardaki kadın temsilini özellikle arkeoloji bilimi açıdan ele alan çok sayıda çalışmaya ulaşılmına rağmen 8 Mart Dünya Kadınlar Günü'nü filatelik tasarımlar üzerinden yansıtan herhangi bir çalışmaya ulaşılmamıştır.



## **Araştırmanın Modeli**

Çalışma betimsel içerik analizi yöntemi ile irdelenmiştir. Betimsel içerik analizi, belirli bir konu hakkındaki genel eğilimleri ve araştırma sonuçlarını belirlemeyi ve tanımlamayı amaçlayan sistematik bir incelemedir (Çalık & Sözbilir, 2014, s. 34). Çalışmada, farklı yıllarda birbirinden bağımsız olarak yayınlanan damga temsilleri üzerine değerlendirmede bulunulmuş ve veri toplama sürecinde karşılaşılan olgulara yöneltile sorularla mevcut durum anlamlandırılmaya çalışılmıştır.

## **Verilerin Toplanması ve Analizi**

Çalışmanın yazılı verilerine literatür taramasıyla erişilmiştir. Görsel verilere ise konu ile ilgili kapsamlı veriler barındıran <https://www.pulhane.com/> web sayfasından ulaşılmıştır. Bunu için farklı başlıklar altında kategorize edilen zarf, pul, posta kartı ve maksimum kart gibi filatelik tasarımlar üzerine incelemede bulunulmuş ardından konu kapsamına dâhil olan tasarımlarla çalışmanın kurgusu oluşturulmuştur. Bu kapsamda 2014 ile 2020 yılları arasında yayınlanan 8 adet özel tarih damgası ile 1 adet özel gün zarfına ulaşılmıştır. Bu bağlamda verilerin güvenilirlik ve geçerliği de PTT tarafından basılı olarak yayınlanan doküman listesi aracılığıyla sağlanmıştır. Veri analizi sürecinde ise göstergibilimden yararlanılmıştır. Göstergibilim imaj, dil, dizi ve belirtke gibi işaretlere odaklanmakta metin ya da görsel olarak ifade edilen şekillerin sembolik yönünü aktarmaya çalışmaktadır (İlkdoğan, 2017, s. 3149; Rose, 2023, s. 142). Bu bağlamda çalışmaya dâhil olan damgalardaki tipografik okuma ve illüstrasyonlar renk, baskı kalitesi, konumlandırma, içerik ve tasarım açısından değerlendirilerek yorumlanmıştır.

## **BULGULAR**

Çalışmanın bulguları 8 adet özel tarih damgası ve 1 adet özel gün damgasından oluşmaktadır.

### **Özel Tarih Damgası**

Üstünde en az bir adet pul ya da pula ait baskı bulunan fakat damganın içeriği ile ilgili herhangi bir illüstrasyon bulunmayan zarflar özel tarih damgalı zarf olarak değerlendirilmektedir. Özel tarih damgalı zarflarda gerek zarfın gerekse pulun üstüne özel tarih damgası tatbik edilmektedir. Bu sıralamaya göre illüstrasyon, pul ve damga üçlüsünün de içerik itibarıyla birbirinden farklı olması gerekmektedir. İlgili konuyu içeren tek faktör damga olduğu için tasarımda bulunması gereken niteliklerin tamamının damga temsiline açıklanmış olması beklenmektedir. Buna göre PTT

01.01.2009 tarihini baz almış ve bu tarih itibarıyla hazırlanan özel tarih damgalı zarfların tamamını kendisi üretilip satışa sunulmuştur (Filateli, 2016).



**Şekil 1:** 08 Mart Dünya Kadınlar Günü Konulu Özel Tarih Damgası, İstanbul. (Pulhane, 2014a).

Şekil 1 07.03.2014 tarihinde İ.T.Ü. Bilim Mühendislik ve Teknolojide Kadın Araştırmaları ve Uygulama Merkezi tarafından “08 Mart Dünya Kadınlar Günü” anısına İ.T.Ü Süleyman Demirel Kültür Merkezi Ayazağa Kampüsünde düzenlenen sergide kullanılmak üzere hazırlatılan bir adet özel tarih damgasını göstermektedir. Üretim adedi 400 olan zarflar 1,50 TL bedelle satışa sunulmuştur (Pulhane, 2014a). Yuvarlak formda tasarlanan damganın odağına 8 rakamı yatay olarak yerleştirilmiş ve sonsuzluk sembolü elde edilmiştir. Sembolün sağına eklenen vektörel çizimle burun, çene ve gıdı hatları belirginleştirilen bir kadın figürü oluşturulmuştur. Merkezden çevreye doğru genişleyen iç içe geçmiş iki sıra tipografi ile birlikte tasarıma derinlik kazandırılmıştır. İçteki halka küçük puntoda yazılan ifadelerden oluşurken dış halka daha büyük puntoda yazılmış ifadeleri içermektedir. İç halkada kompozisyonun amaç ve destekçisi belirtilmişken dış halka kısmı tasarımın künyesine ayrılmıştır. Figüre odaklanmayı kolaylaştırmak için de illüstrasyonun hemen altına ince bir hat oluşturacak biçimde düz yazı fontunda tipografik bir kısaltma eklenmiştir.



**Şekil 2:** 08 Mart Dünya Kadınlar Günü Konulu Özel Tarih Damgası, İstanbul. (Pulhane, 2014b).



Şekil 2 08.03.2014 tarihinde İ.T.Ü. Bilim Mühendislik ve Teknolojide Kadın Araştırmaları ve Uygulama Merkezi tarafından “08 Mart Dünya Kadınlar Günü” anısına İ.T.Ü Süleyman Demirel Kültür Merkezi Ayazağa Kampüsünde düzenlenen sergide kullanılmak üzere hazırlatılan diğer özel tarih damgasını göstermektedir. Üretim adedi 400 olan zarflar 1,50 TL bedelle satışa sunulmuştur (Pulhane, 2014b). Yuvarlak bir formda tasarlanan damgada şekil 1’de yer alan tipografi ve illüstrasyonların aynısı kullanılmıştır. İkinci damga, bir gün sonraki sergide kullanıldığı için içerik aynı kalmak koşuluyla sadece tarih kısmında değişiklik yapılmıştır.



**Şekil 3:** 08 Mart Dünya Kadınlar Günü Konulu Özel Tarih Damgası, Ankara. (Pulhane, 2016).

Şekil 3 07-10.03.2016 tarihleri arasında “08 Mart Dünya Kadınlar Günü” anısına Antares Alışveriş Merkezi Ankara adresinde düzenlenen sergide kullanılmak üzere hazırlatılan bir adet özel tarih damgasını göstermektedir. Üretim adedi 400 olan zarflar 2,00 TL bedelle satışa sunulmuştur (Pulhane, 2016). Yuvarlak formda tasarlanan bu damga diğer tasarımlara göre daha belirgin hatlarla çizilmiş beyaz tenli bir kadın figürünü içermektedir. Sol profilden betimlenen kadın temsilinin kafatasının arka kısmına çapraz bir biçimde 8 rakamı yerleştirilmiş hemen altına da rakamı belirginleştirmek için büyük harflerle “MART” ifadesi eklenmiştir. Günün anlam ve önemine vurgu yapan tipografi büyük puntoda yazılmışken çalışmanın künyesi daha küçük punto ile ifade edilmiştir. Tipografi ile yapılan betimleme damgaya dış halka görünümü kazandırmıştır. Mevcut tasarım, 8 Mart olgusunun kadınların beyninde yer ettiğini göstermesi açısından oldukça anlamlı bir gösterge olarak ortaya çıkmıştır. Ayrıca tasarımdaki tipografiler düz yazı fontunda oluşturulmuştur.



**Şekil 4:** 08 Mart Dünya Kadınlar Günü Konulu Özel Tarih Damgası, Bursa. (Pulhane, 2018).

Şekil 4 08.03.2018 tarihinde “08 Mart Dünya Kadınlar Günü Pul Sergisi” anısına Nilüfer Belediye Başkanlığı tarafından Nazım Hikmet Kültür Merkezi Nilüfer/Bursa adresinde düzenlenen sergide kullanılmak üzere hazırlanan bir adet özel tarih damgasını göstermektedir. Üretim adedi 900 olan zarflar 2,50 TL bedelle satışa sunulmuştur (Pulhane, 2018). Yuvarlak formda tasarlanan damganın odağında sol profilden betimlenmiş bir kadın figürü görülmektedir. Klasik damga formatında tasarlanan bu kompozisyonda figürün hemen arkasına numerik olarak 8 ifadesi yerleştirilmiş onun yanına da dikey olarak yukarıdan aşağıya doğru “MART” ifadesi eklenmiştir. Diğer tasarımlarda gerek figür gerekse illüstrasyonların sadece dış hatları çizilmişken bu tasarımda hem illüstrasyon hem de tipografinin içerisine dolgu yapılmıştır. Bu şekilde figüre esmer tenli bir kadın ya da karakalem çalışması görünümü kazandırılmıştır. İllüstrasyonun belirli kısımları boşluk içerdiği için baskı tasarıma net bir biçimde yansıtılamamıştır. Ayrıca tasarımdaki tipografilerin tamamı düz yazı fontunda oluşturularak illüstrasyonun alt ve üst kısımlarına kavis oluşturacak stilde konumlandırılmıştır.



**Şekil 5:** 8 Mart Dünya Kadınlar Günü Pul Sergisi konulu özel tarih damgası, İzmir. (Pulhane, 2019).



Şekil 5 07-11.03.2019 tarihleri arasında “Dünya Kadınlar Günü Pul Sergisi” anısına Karşıyaka PTT Merkez Müdürlüğü Karşıyaka/İzmir adresinde düzenlenen etkinlikte kullanılmak üzere hazırlatılan bir adet özel tarih damgasını göstermektedir. Üretim adedi 500 olan zarflar 3,00 TL bedelle satışa sunulmuştur (Pulhane, 2019). Oval formda tasarlanan damganın odağına 8 rakamı yatay olarak yerleştirilmiş ve sonsuzluk sembolü elde edilmiştir. Sembolün sol çerçevesinin içine sağ profilden betimlenmiş bir kadın figürü, sağ çerçevesinin alt çizgisine ise “mart” ifadesini içeren bir tipografi eklenmiştir. Oldukça sade bir biçimde tasvir edilen bu kompozisyonda günün anlam ve önemini belirten tipografi, illüstrasyonun hemen üzerine, tasarımın künyesi de kavis oluşturacak biçimde alt kısma konumlandırılmıştır. Tasarımdaki tipografilerin tamamı sık aralıklarla italik yazı fontunda yazılmış ve illüstrasyonun üst ve alt kısımlarına kavis oluşturacak biçimde konumlandırılmıştır. İtalik yazım ve harf aralığındaki (espas) sıkışık düzen nedeniyle ifadelerdeki okunabilirlik düzeyi azalmıştır.



Şekil 6: Dünya Kadınlar Günü Pul Sergisi konulu özel tarih damgası, İstanbul. (Pulhane, 2020a).

Şekil 6 05-09.03.2020 tarihleri arasında “Dünya Kadınlar Günü Pul Sergisi” anısına Tarihî Beyoğlu (Galatasaray) PTT Binası Beyoğlu/İstanbul adresinde düzenlenen etkinlikte kullanılmak üzere hazırlatılan bir adet özel tarih damgasını göstermektedir. Üretim adedi 500 olan zarflar 4,50 TL bedelle satışa sunulmuştur (Pulhane, 2020a). Yuvarlak formda tasarlanan damganın odağında sağ profilden betimlenmiş bir kadın figürü görülmektedir. Klasik damga formatında tasarlanan bu kompozisyonda figürün hemen altına numerik olarak 8 rakamı, devamına ise “mart” ifadesi eklenmiştir. Sade bir biçimde tasvir edilen bu kompozisyonda günün anlam ve önemini belirten tipografi illüstrasyonun hemen üstüne büyük harflerle yarım daire oluşturacak biçimde yerleştirilmişken künyesini gösteren ifadeler alt kısma kavis oluşturacak biçimde konumlandırılmıştır. Halkanın çevrelediği tipografiler düz yazı fontunda oluşturulmuşken merkezdeki kullanımlar görünürlüğü artırmak için italik olarak yazılmıştır.





**Şekil 7:** Dünya Kadınlar Günü Pul Sergisi konulu özel tarih damgası, Ankara. (Pulhane, 2020b).

Şekil 7 05-09.03.2020 tarihleri arasında “Dünya Kadınlar Günü Pul Sergisi” anısına Kızılay PTT Merkezi Çankaya/Ankara adresinde düzenlenen etkinlikte kullanılmak üzere hazırlatılan bir adet özel tarih damgasını göstermektedir. Üretim adedi 500 olan zarflar 4,50 TL bedelle satışa sunulmuştur (Pulhane, 2020b). Asimetrik formda tasarlanan damgada alınsal olarak betimlenmiş beyaz tenli bir kadın figürü görülmektedir. Vektörel çizim tekniğine göre oluşturulan tasarımda yüzün sol kısmı açık olmakla birlikte sağ kısmı uzun saçlı olarak tasvir edilmiştir. Figürün yüz ifadesinden gözlerini kapattığı ve mutlu olduğu anlaşılmaktadır. Kompozisyonun herhangi bir yerinde ise numerik olarak 8 ifadesine yer verilmediği görülmektedir. Figürün yüzünde çene, kulak ve burun kısımları bulunmamasına rağmen tamamlama ilkesi gereği algısal olarak bu parçalar bir bütün olarak görülmektedir. Günün anlam ve önemini belirten tipografi, figürün saçlarını çevreleyecek biçimde üst kısma konumlandırılmışken tasarımın künyesi, yüz hatlarına görünürlük kazandıracak biçimde temsilin çene kısmına yerleştirilmiştir. İtalik yazım tercihi ve harf aralığındaki sıkışık düzen nedeniyle ifadelerdeki okunabilirlik düzeyi negatif yönde etki göstermiştir.



**Şekil 8:** Dünya Kadınlar Günü Pul Sergisi konulu özel tarih damgası, İzmir. (Pulhane, 2020c).



Şekil 8 05-09.03.2020 tarihleri arasında “Dünya Kadınlar Günü Pul Sergisi” anısına Karşıyaka PTT Merkez Müdürlüğü Karşıyaka/İzmir adresinde düzenlenen etkinlikte kullanılmak üzere hazırlanan bir adet özel tarih damgasını göstermektedir. Üretim adedi 500 olan zarflar 4,50 TL bedelle satışa sunulmuştur (Pulhane, 2020c). Kare formda tasarlanan damganın sol kısmında sağ profilden betimlenmiş beyaz tenli bir kadın illüstrasyonu görülmektedir. Kısa saçlı olduğu anlaşılan kadının hemen arkasından aşağıya doğru uzun saç modeli oluşturacak biçimde bir uzantı sarkıtılmış ve bu uzantı ile illüstratif olarak 8 rakamını oluşturulmuştur. Günün anlam ve önemini belirten tipografi figürün hemen üzerinde kavis oluşturacak biçimde yerleştirilmişken kompozisyonun künyesini gösteren tipografi 8 rakamına karşılık gelecek biçimde alt kısma konumlandırılmıştır. Gerek el yazısı fontu gerekse harf aralığındaki sıkışık düzen nedeniyle ifadelerdeki okunabilirlik düzeyi negatif yönde etkilenmiştir.

### Özel Gün Damgası

Üstünde en az bir adet pul ya da pula ait baskının yer aldığı ve tatbik edilen damganın içeriği ile ilgili bir de illüstrasyonun bulunduğu tasarımlar “özel gün zarfı” olarak nitelendirilmektedir. Özel gün zarflarında damga ve illüstrasyon aynı içeriğe sahipken pul diğerlerinden farklı bir konuyu içermek durumundadır (Ankara Filateli Derneği, 2024).



Şekil 9: İstiklal Harbinde Kadın Kahramanlarımız Konulu Özel Gün Damgası, Ankara. (Pulhane, 2022).

Şekil 9 08.03.2022 tarihinde “İstiklal Harbinde Kadın Kahramanlarımız” anısına hazırlanan ve PTT Pul Müzesi Altındağ/Ankara adresinde özel tarih damgasıyla mühürlenilen bir adet filatelik damga tatbikini göstermektedir. Üretim adedi 2.500 olan zarflar 9,00 TL bedelle satışa sunulmuştur (Pulhane, 2022). Farklı formda oluşturulan tasarımda illüstrasyon ve tipografi bir arada kullanılarak biri üst diğeri alt boğumda olmak üzere 8 rakamı biçiminde bir temsil oluşturulmuştur. İki farklı kol biçiminde

tasarlanan bu temsilde kollardan biri siyah renk tonuna sahipken diğeri zemin tonuna göre renklendirilmiştir. Tasarımın amacını belirten tipografi alt boğumun çevresini kuşatacak biçimde daha kalın bir yazı puntosu ile oluşturmuşken künyesi aynı hizadaki boğumun içerisine yerleştirilmiştir. Tasarımdaki alfabetik olarak yazılan mart ifadesi ise numerik olarak sunulan 8 ifadesinin üst boğumuna yerleştirilmiştir.

## SONUÇ

Alanyazında 8 Mart günü için 8 Mart Dünya Kadınlar Günü, 8 Mart Uluslararası Kadınlar Günü ya da 8 Mart Dünya Emekçi Kadınlar Günü gibi ifadelerin kullanıldığı görülmektedir (Kına Candemir, 2019, s. 3; UNESCO 75. Yıl Türkiye Millî Komisyonu). Birleşmiş Milletler (BM) 8 Mart Uluslararası Kadınlar Günü biçiminde bir tanımlamada bulunmuşken kendisini sosyalist ya da feminist olarak tanımlayanlar 8 Mart Dünya Emekçi Kadınlar Günü tanımlamasını kullanmıştır. Tanımdaki ayrışmalar, 8 Mart gününe yapılan göndermelerdeki farklılıkların fikrîsel ayrılıktan kaynaklandığı göstermektedir. Çalışmada yer alan tasarımlarda ise 8 Mart Dünya Kadınlar Günü biçiminde bir kullanıma yer verildiği görülmektedir. Dolayısıyla sistemin de konuya kayıtsız kalmadığı ve kamusal alanda kullanılmak üzere resmî tanım bildiren bir ifade geliştirdiği anlaşılmaktadır.

Damga üzerinde yer alan tipograflerin önemli bir kısmı düz yazı fontunda yazılmışken diğerkisimlerde el yazısı ya da italik yazım fontu tercih edilmiştir. Tasarımcılar genellikle rutin bir duruma dair bilgilendirmede bulduklarında konuyu günlük kullanıma uygun olacak biçimde düz yazı fontunda aktarmayı uygun görmektedir. Fakat metin içerisindeki bir bölüme vurgu yapılacaksa ifadenin ya tırnak içerisinde ya da italik olarak yazılması daha uygun olmaktadır. Yine tasarım sürecinde özellikle gereklilik zorunluluk ya da sinirlenme gibi durumları bildiren cümlelerin yazımında harflerin tamamının büyük fontta yazıldığı anlaşılmaktadır (Acar Büyükpehlivan, Zelzele & Özdemir, 2011, ss. 248-252). Yazım sürecinde kızgınlık, saldırganlık ve bağırma hissi oluşturarak negatif algıya neden olan büyük harf kullanımı çoğunlukla yanlış anlaşılmalara sebebiyet verdiği için özellikle sosyal medya ve dijital platformlarda pek tercih edilmemektedir. Bu bağlamda damgalardaki tipograflerin tasarımcının öngörüsüne bağlı olarak bazen düz yazı fontunda bazen italik bazen de büyük harflerle yazıldığı anlaşılmaktadır. Şekil 6'daki kompozisyonda görüldüğü üzere her üç yazım biçiminin bir arada kullanıldığı durumlarla da karşılaşılabilir.

Kullanılan mürekkebin renk ve kalitesi tasarıma daha estetik bir görünüm kazandırmada etkili bir faktördür (Aslan, Özomay & Köse, 2010, s. 151; Mengüberti, 2011, ss. 379-380). Istampamürekkebi genel olarak kırmızı, yeşil, siyah, mavi ve lacivert renkleri içermektedir. Bu bağlamda kırmızı ve yeşil renkler canlılık ile özdeşleşmişken daha koyu tonda olan siyah, mavi ve lacivert renkler resmîyetin sembolü hâline



dönüşmüştür. Buna göre özellikle kamusal alanlarda kullanılan kaşe, mühür ve damga baskılarında koyu renklerin bilinçli olarak tercih edildiği anlaşılmaktadır. Dolayısıyla mevcut tasarımlardaki renk tercihinin kamunun öngördüğü ölçülere göre belirlendiği görülmüştür. Bu nedenle yapılan çalışmalarda mürekkep kullanımının tek tip olmasına dikkat edildiği anlaşılmaktadır.

Klasik damgalardaki tipografik ifade ve illüstrasyonlar damgayı dıştan çevreleyen yuvarlak bir halkanın içerisine sığdırılmaktadır (Bezaz, 2006, ss. 266-284). Günümüzde ise tasarımcıların önemli bir kısmı artık geleneksel çizgiye bağlı kalmak yerine farklı formlarda kurgulanmış geometrik tasarımları daha çok tercih etmektedir. Bu bağlamda şekil 4 ve 6'nın tamamen geleneksel akışa uygun olarak tasarlandığı görülürken şekil 1, 2 ve 3'ün yuvarlak formda olmasına dikkat edildiği anlaşılmaktadır. Fakat şekil 5, 7 ve 9'un kompozisyona uygun olacak biçimde sırasıyla oval, asimetrik ve 8 rakamı şeklinde tasarlandığı görülürken şekil 8 diğerlerinden farklı olarak kare formda kurgulanmıştır.

Tasarımcılar çoğunlukla çalışmanın amacına atıfta bulunan sembolik ifadeleri sınırlı kullanım alanı sahip olan damganın içerisine yerleştirmeye özen göstermektedir. Buna göre şekil 7 haricindeki damga temsillerinde farklı formlarda kurgulanmış 8 rakamına yer verildiği görülmekle birlikte şekil 1, 2 ve 4'teki kompozisyonlarda 8 rakamı üzerinden sonsuzluk sembolüne gönderme yapıldığı anlaşılmaktadır.

Filatelik tasarımlar içerisinde pul, zarf, posta kartı, pul portföyü, uluslararası cevap kuponu, maksimum kart ve tebrik kartları gibi farklı türler bulunmasına karşın 8 Mart Dünya Kadınlar Günü konulu baskılar sadece özel tarih damgalı zarflar ve özel gün zarfı kategorilerinde ele alınmıştır. Pul emisyon programı içerisinde kadın konulu çok sayıda tasarım bulunmasına rağmen 8 Mart Dünya Kadınlar Günü anısına hazırlatılan filatelik tasarımların oldukça sınırlı bir kategoride üretildiği sonucuna ulaşılmıştır.

.....  
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.....

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## **Bad Indians: An Auto-Ethnographic Memoir of Survival**

### **Bad Indians: Oto-Etnografik bir Hayatta Kalma Hatırası**

Esra ÖZTARHAN\*

#### **ABSTRACT**

Deborah Miranda's *Bad Indians: A Tribal Memoir* portrays the story of her life and the history of Californian Indians who had survived the literal and cultural genocide. It can be regarded as an auto-ethnographic text as she engaged in the narration as a witness and a researcher of her community. The paper aims to analyze her memoir using terminology created by Native American writer and critic Gerald Vizenor. He explains Native American literature with terms like survivance, postindian, and storying. Firstly, Miranda uses the memoir genre to construct a story about her people and family. In Vizenor's terms, the storying is her tool for deconstructing the stories told by mainstream culture for centuries. Secondly, she is a postindian, someone who defies the established norms expected from Native Americans. She wants to correct the racist stereotypes about Native Americans as primitive, lazy, godless, and ugly people. Moreover, she resists the notion that their people were considered an extinct race. Lastly, the text unites her own experiences with the survival story of her tribe. This is the core of Vizenor's concept of survivance, a word that combines the words survival and defiance as a continuation of existence and perseverance.

#### **Keywords**

Autoethnography, Indian American literature, memoir, hybrid text, Gerald Vizenor

#### **ÖZ**

Deborah Miranda'nın *Bad Indians: A Tribal Memoir* kitabı kültürel ve fiziki soykırımlara rağmen hayatta kalan Kaliforniya Yerlilerinin ve yazarın yaşam öykülerini anlatır. Bu oto-etnografik bir metindi çünkü Miranda anlatıda hem yazar hem de araştırmacı olarak kendi toplumunu anlatır. Makalenin amacı bu anı kitabını Amerikan Yerlisi yazar ve kuramcı Gerald Vizenor'un yarattığı terminoloji ile analiz etmektir. Vizenor yazdığı çeşitli kurmaca ve kuram kitaplarında direnerek hayatta kalma (survivance), Amerikan Yerlisi sonrası (postindian), öykü anlatma (storyin) gibi terimler kullanmıştır. Öncelikle Miranda, kendisi ve kabilesi için bir öykü yaratmak istemiştir. Vizenor'un terimi ile bu öykü anlatma durumunun amacı yüzyıllardır baskın kültürün yarattığı öyküleri yapı bozuma uğratmaktır. İkinci olarak Miranda Amerikan yerlisi sonrası durumun bir temsilcisidir. Bu Amerikan yerlilerinden beklenen davranış ve inançlara uymama durumudur. Dolayısıyla yarattığı anı kitabıyla Miranda onlar için kullanılan ırkçı söylemleri eleştirir. Amerikan yerlilerinin ilkel, tembel, tanrısız ve çirkin insanlar oldukları görüşünü düzeltmek ister. Ayrıca soyları tükenmiş bir ırk olmadıklarını, hayatta kaldıklarını bu kitap ile açıklamak ister. Son olarak da bu kabile anısı olarak adlandırılan eser ile hem kendi topluluğunun hem de kendisinin yaşadığı anı ve travmalarla başa çıkmaya çalışır. Bu da Vizenor'un bahsettiği survivance teriminin gerçekleşmesidir. Bu terim hayatta kalma, karşı gelme ve azim kelimelerinden oluşur.

#### **Anahtar Kelimeler**

Oto-etnografi, Amerikan Yerli edebiyatı, hatıra, melez metin, Gerald Vizenor

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## INTRODUCTION

At the end of her memoir *Bad Indians*, Deborah A. Miranda asks, “Isn’t it time to pull off the blood-soaked bandages, look at the wound directly, let clean air and healing take hold?” (Miranda, 2013, p. 208). Native American history is the story of pain and suffering, and she claims that they should be remembered and written for past traumas to heal. Writing a memoir is her answer to the question and saying that the time has come to heal as she identifies herself “as a descendant of survivors of a great holocaust: out of an estimated one million indigenous inhabitants, only twenty thousand survived the missionization era” (Miranda, 2013, p. 76). The words she creates will survive like Indians who survived both literal and cultural extinction. Thus, Miranda’s narrative is tentatively called the memoir of survival. The essay will analyze the memoir as an auto-ethnographic text of survival by applying Gerald Vizenor’s terminology in describing Native American literature. He is an American writer and a cultural theorist who is a member of the Chippewa tribe. Vizenor created several concepts like postindian survivance, stories, terminal creed, fugitive pose, shadow distance, manifest manners, etc., in analyzing Native American fiction. Some of these concepts could be applied to explain Miranda’s narrative strategies. First of all, her memoir is a mixed genre text of *storying*, storytelling as one of the means to deconstruct mainstream stories. Secondly, she creates a counter-narrative against *manifest manners* as an Indian. Thirdly, her memoir combines her personal and tribal story for *survival*.

Miranda is a contemporary American Indian writer who named her 2013 memoir a “tribal memoir.” Her history is inseparable from her tribe’s, as they share similar traumas. According to Smith and Watson memoir is “a mode of life narrative that historically situates the subject in a social environment, as either observer or participant; the memoir directs attention towards the lives and actions of others than to the narrator” (Smith & Watson, 2001, p. 198). Narratives like this, combines both “private and public” “recalling” of memories and “recording” them (2001, p. 198). Miranda records her community’s past like an ethnographer, as she is both the observer and the participant. *Bad Indians: A Tribal Memoir* is a memoir that combines personal and communal experiences. Narratives like this combine both “private and public,” “recalling” of memories and “recording” them (2001, p. 198). Miranda records her community’s past like an ethnographer, as she is both the observer and the participant. When the researcher consciously places himself within the group, this can be called auto-ethnography. It combines the characteristics of life writing with the elements of ethnography.

In autoethnography, there are two main methods of writing: “It is either as an ethnographer writing autobiographically or as an ethnographic subject writing about



their culture. These two authorial positions complicate researchers' understanding of the term and its application as a method" (Autography and Ethnography.). Marechal also defines autoethnography as:

A form or research method that involves self-observation and reflexive investigation in the context of ethnographic fieldwork and writing. The term has a double sense, referring either to the reflexive consideration of a group to which one belongs as a native, member, or participant (ethnography of one's group) or to the reflexive accounting of the narrator's subjective experience and subjectivity (Marechal, 2009, p. 2).

In auto-ethnographic writing, the researcher, the writer, the viewer, the witness, and the narrator can be the same person. Therefore, the writer's subjectivity makes the text an autobiographic narration.

Moreover, especially native autobiographies can be regarded as auto-ethnographic texts. In terms of Indigenous cultures, the ethnographic studies by the colonizers may disregard the culture of Indigenous people with a Westernized and objective attitude. Thus, researchers ask the question, what if the science of ethnography uses literature as a tool of research? The result would be a more subjective and emotional approach (Ellis et al., 2011, p. 274). Miranda defines her memoir as the ethnographic text of a survivor like herself. Though scientific research needs an objective approach, it becomes more credible with this subjective filter when autobiographical aspects are included in the text. Marechal writes that: "researchers' feelings and experiences are included in the ethnographic narrative, made visible and regarded as important data for understanding the social world observed, yielding both self and social knowledge" (2009, pp. 2-3).

Lastly, *Bad Indians* contain many archival materials, just like ethnographic research. For Ellis, autobiography also looks at the past, researching several materials like photographs, journals, or interviews of others to remember. Ethnographers, while researching, become participant observers of that culture, analyzing cultural values and artifacts like photographs or texts (Ellis et al., 2011, pp. 275-6). They both deal with cultural materials from their own culture and community. Thus, the auto-ethnographer makes the personal experience more meaningful. Miranda constructs her tribal memoir using the archives of government documents, photographs, and diaries like an ethnographer. For her memoir, she even used the writings and field notes of an ethnographer, Harrington. However, his writings were from the viewpoint of the colonial mind, assuming that the Indians and their culture were all extinct. Miranda took her research but rewrote it from her point of view. Martinez mentions this in her article "Intervening in the Archive." She says: "Yet despite Harrington's desire to record what he thought were the narratives of a dying culture, he unintentionally recorded narratives of



genocide, sexual assault, land theft, neglect, and displacement of others to remember” (Martinez, 2018, p. 63).

This was a documentation of injustice to her people. Miranda didn’t believe in the “objective truth” written by the others. In her version of the truth, she researched and wrote about the neglected parts of her culture and community.

To create her story of the past, she used several narration techniques. The memoir is a collage of different materials organized in a fragmented and non-linear way. It is composed of written and oral testimonies. It also combines fictional and non-fictional material like poetry, essays, government documents and ethnographic field notes. Moreover, there are also many personal material-like photographs, family stories, and the diaries of explorers and Franciscan priests. A mixed-genre text broadens the possibilities of the written text. When words will not be enough to convey the message, photographs will help. When the memories fail to remind the readers of what they had lived, they will use historical documents. The media used in these texts enriches the effect of the message as the reader will be exposed to different materials from multiple perspectives. The presence of other voices adds strength to the overall message of the life narrative, which contains similar viewpoints on the traumas of the past. The memoir is one person’s experiences and an ethnographic study of multiple testimonies. Thus, it establishes a more critical analysis of the past. Informative, fictional, and visual texts are self-contained and created for different purposes, but within multi-genre texts, they all combine to form one grand narrative. Katie Farris calls the texts which have multiple genres as hybrid texts. In an interview, she says these texts make the impossible possible (Darling, 2019). Smith and Watson argue in *Reading Autobiographies* that sometimes writers need to apply multiple means and systems of remembering: “Some of these sources are personal (dreams, family albums, photos, objects, family stories, genealogy). Some are public (documents, historical events, collective rituals)” (Smith and Watson 2001, pp. 20-21).

Writing a mixed-genre memoir, using lots of resources, also enables the writer to claim subjectivity for herself and her community as a member of a powerless group. Anderson claims that autobiography has been one of the most important genres for the oppressed and culturally dislocated. This genre provides them a right to speak their agendas. The ones who felt powerless before finding the opportunity to speak out with their voices (Anderson, 2001, pp. 103-4). Her tribal memoir is also a means of getting empowerment through writing. In the introduction, Miranda declares that she writes:

To create a space where voices can speak after long and often violently imposed silence. Constructing this book has been hard, listening to those stories seep out of old

government documents... the diaries of explorers; it's been painful, dreaming of destruction (Miranda, 2013, p. xx).

She writes that stories enable Native Americans to claim their existence and, thus, survive. After centuries of suffering and silence, writing her story and her tribe's story feels like rebuilding something after the shipwreck. The stories give strength, togetherness, and power to exist. For Miranda, showing the Native American side of the story, using multiple perspectives, and including various materials are the means to resist extinction. Her purpose in writing the memoir can be analyzed using Gerald Vizenor's terminology of Native American discourse. Vizenor writes in *Manifest Manners: Narratives on Postindian Survivance* that mainstream narratives still dominate Indians. These dominant discourses are called manifest manners (1999, p. 3). He says:

These histories are now the simulations of dominance and the causes of the conditions that have become manifest manners in literature. The postindian simulations are the core of survivance, the new stories of tribal courage. The simulations of manifest manners are the continuance of the survivance (Vizenor, *Manifest* 1999, p. 4).

### Storying

The first narrative strategy of Miranda's memoir is storytelling. Miranda's act of resistance is to create narratives about her people through storytelling. She believes that stories save cultures from extinction. She also wants to distinguish between stories told by her people and stories told by mainstream culture. Mishuana Goeman writes in *Mark My Words: Native Women Mapping Our Nations* that Miranda's memoir can be regarded as a "remapping." She says:

Imperialism and colonialism brought complete disorder to colonized people disconnecting them from their histories, their landscapes, their languages, their social relations, and their ways of thinking, feeling, and interacting with the world (Goeman, 2013, p. 3).

The term is defined as a strategic way of using literature to resist the disempowerment of the Natives. Colonial powers had been using different ways to reinforce their hegemonic and racist ideologies toward native people. This includes mapping and writing history. According to Martinez, the ethnographer's "fieldwork and the Smithsonian's subsequent archive construct the metanarrative about Indigenous cultures and languages that he assumed were soon to disappear" (Martinez, 2018, p. 63). The idea of remapping, recreating the history as opposed to the colonial discourse, and writing subjective accounts of the past is what Vizenor defines as *survivance*—the act of surviving as a result of resisting. According to Miranda, this resistance could only be possible by storytelling. She says:

Who tells a story is a mighty piece of information for the listeners; you must know what that storyteller has at stake. Demanding to know who is telling your story means



asking. "Who's inventing me, for what purpose, with what intentions? (Miranda, 2013, p. xvi).

She criticizes the nonexistence of self-representation for Indians before the 1970s because non-Indians always wrote their stories for them (2013, p. xvi).

*Bad Indians* combine historical texts with personal stories when writing her and her tribe's story. The memoir uses various storytelling methods such as prose, poetry, photography, cartoons, diagrams, diaries of explorers, ethnographic materials, newspaper articles, ancestry charts, and stories from her childhood. Smith and Watson argue that autobiography offers subjective truth, while the historical narrative offers facts (Smith & Watson, 2001, p. 10). However, the genres of life narrative and history help each other, as one can read autobiographical texts like historical documents. The autobiographical accounts narrate the historical events from the perspective of the writer. For the aim of rewriting the history of her tribe, Miranda writes poems in the voices of indigenous people. These poems are reflections of the brutality they faced under the mission system and Colonization. Thus, their first-hand voices, as opposed to those of the colonial historical texts, are a form of remapping. Miranda writes a multi-dimensional story from the perspective of a Native American. She says: "...even historians often learn and perpetuate only one story about California Indians: conquest, subjugation, defeat, disappearance. ... this story is one-dimensional, flat, and worst of all, untrue" (2013, p. 193). She also adds illustrations of whipping materials like flogging, corma, cudgel...etc. used in the missions to discipline Natives. The pictures of these torture tools tell a lot more than any written text about the extent of brutality they faced. They are part of the story that Miranda wanted to create as well. The pictures of these tools alone don't need further explanations about the past.

Another way to rewrite history is by using historical documents in the memoir. She uses some documents from an ethnographer that prove the violence towards Native women at the hands of the missionaries. This time, Miranda uses the name of the victim from these documents, who was raped a hundred years ago, and writes her a letter. Miranda tells the victim girl that it was brave to say to people what happened. Besides, the truth became public with the efforts of the ethnographers who recorded it. Miranda writes: "One hundred years ago after the padre raped you in the church, Isabel told your story to Harrington.... Isabel told the story like it happened to her, or her daughter" (24). By giving voice to the oppressed and speaking back to her, Miranda exhibits reality from a first-hand source. Furlan states that:

Miranda is not the first Indigenous author to go to the archives to reconstruct and write the history of her people, but what makes this text unique and compelling is how she calls attention to and interprets the colonial record and how she positions Indigenous archives and knowledge (Furlan, 2021, p. 28).

Many theorists define her reconstruction of history, as quoted in Furlan's article, as "restoring, memory work and story work" (2021, p. 29). Despite different definitions, Miranda reconstructs dominant narratives with her memoir. She gives voice to her people. The rewriting of the past becomes an empowering tool in her memoir.

### **Postindian**

The second narrative strategy by Miranda is creating a counter-narrative against the centuries-old stories told by the mainstream white culture about her tribe and Native Americans in general. Thus, Miranda speaks as a postindian postindian in Vizenor's terms. According to him, the narratives are full of "representations of invented Indians" (Vizenor, *Manifest* 1999, p. 3). Colonization caused the annihilation of their lands, the extinction of their people, and the disappearance of their cultures. Indians, being deprived of their stories and languages, remained in silence and thus powerless. It can eliminate the narrative's dominance when postindians create their versions. For Vizenor: "The postindian warrior is the simulation of survivance in new stories" (1999, p. 11). The memoir aims to create a space of resistance against the stereotypes about her people. Vizenor claims that these negative stories about Native Americans should be rewritten. In his essay "Trickster Discourse," where he writes about postmodern aspects of Native American literature, he claims that both "American Indian histories and literature, oral and written, are imagined from wisps of narratives" (Vizenor, "Trickster" 1990, p. 277). It is a combination of many stories to form a big communal narrative. It resembles Miranda's multi-genre memoir. For Vizenor, it is possible to create accurate representations of tribal narratives. He says: "The world is what we say it is, and what we speak of is the world." Thus, it is essential to form their discourses as opposed to the representations made by colonial powers throughout centuries (Vizenor, "Trickster" 1990, p. 278). It is a way of overthrowing meta-narratives.

The meta-narratives about California Indians were created centuries ago. Hence, Miranda wrote a memoir to show the damage these misrepresentations have done to her people. Her solution is to create stories instead of those made by the mainstream culture with negative connotations. Miranda's memoir requires changing these images by creating a multi-genre narration. One of the stereotypes about American Indians is calling them "diggers" in many sources like newspaper articles and government documents. Correspondingly, in the narratives of fictional and nonfictional works, her people are depicted as "primitive, ugly, passive, drunken, immoral, lazy, weak-willed people" (Miranda, 2013, p. xvi). Throughout her tribal memoir, she also mentions many other stereotypes used for her people like: "godless, dirty, stupid" (p. xvi), "Indian outlaws, banditos, renegades, rebels, lazy Indians, sinful Indians, "troublemakers, horse



thieves, fornicators, [...] polygamists, Deer dancers, idol worshippers” (p. 97), “pagans who refused to convert” (p. 99).

Another misperception about Indians is assuming they are all extinct. Miranda quotes General Philip Sheridan: “The only good Indians I ever knew were dead” (p. 97). She gives an example from her experience with a child who was surprised to know that there are still Indians living:

Little Virginia, however, was shocked into silence. Her face drained, her body went stiff, and she stared at me as if I had risen, an Indigenous skeleton clad in rags, from beneath the clay bricks of the courtyard...I thought that poor kid had never seen a live Indian, much less a Mission Indian- she thought we were all dead! (Miranda, 2013, p. xix).

Vizenor criticizes the perception of Native Americans being extinct, too. He says: “Treating living Indians as the source for a literary construction of a vanished way of life rather than as members of a vital continuing culture” (Vizenor, *Manifest* 1999, p. 8). The name of the book comes from another stereotype about her people, which says the Indians are evil and violent. She gives examples from newspaper articles to show how various sources create this stereotype. For instance, one of them writes about “an Indian coming out of his cabin with a 44-caliber Winchester followed by his daughter with a six-shooter and his wife with a double-barreled shotgun” (p. 96). She claims it is brave to be bad and resist the system. Her memoir enables her to create a powerful identity from that derogatory term. The concept of postindian also requires this bravery, according to Vizenor: The book’s name comes from another stereotype about her people, which says the Indians are evil and violent. She gives examples from newspaper articles to show how various sources create this stereotype. For instance, one of them writes about “an Indian coming out of his cabin with a 44-caliber Winchester followed by his daughter with a six-shooter and his wife with a double-barreled shotgun” (p. 96). She claims it is brave to be bad and resist the system. Her memoir enables her to create a powerful identity from that derogatory term. The concept of postindian also requires this bravery, according to Vizenor:

The postindian warriors encounter their enemies with the same courage in literature as their ancestors once evinced on horses, and they create their stories with a new sense of survivance. The warriors bear the simulations of their time and counter the manifest manners of domination (Vizenor, “Postindian,” p. 4).

Just like the postindian situation that criticizes centuries-old norms and situations, Miranda criticizes the mythology of the mission as a place where Indians were content and peaceful. According to the mainstream sources, it was the place where they were “civilized” and Christianized. She finds this myth racist and reductive. She comments on a nineteenth-century drawing in a magazine about the Indians from her region. They were depicted as “obedient, hardworking, unambitious” people who do the

chores of the mission (2013, p. 68). She calls this picture “Mission mythology of happy Indians working at productive and useful chores instead of lolling about the undeveloped and wasted paradise of California” (2013, p. 63). However, from her perspective, “a mission was meant to suck in Indigenous peoples, strip them of religion, language, and culture, and melt them down into generic workers instilled with Catholicism, Spanish values” (2013, p. 16). She exemplifies this misrepresentation of the mission concept with the “mission project” given to all fourth-graders in California, where they visit one mission and then create a work about its history. She says:

That’s why it’s time for the Mission Fantasy tale to end. This story has done more damage to California Indians than any conquistador, priest, *saldado de cuera* (leather-jacket soldier), smallpox, measles, or influenza virus. This story has not just killed us, it has taught us how to kill ourselves and kill each other with alcohol, domestic violence, horizontal racism, and internalized hatred (2013, p. xix).

In the story, Miranda’s presence intervenes in the Mission Mythology, which denies the existence of living Mission Indians and their land claims. As an adult, she creates her mission project and includes it as a chapter in the book.

### Survivance

The third strategy of her memoir centers around writing consciously as a part of a larger group, linking her personal story with the story of her tribe. For Miranda, survival is only possible with the community, not alone. Choctaw author LeAnne Howe has theorized a similar rhetorical style. She claims that Native people use this writing style as one of the ways to stay together, and she calls it the term “tribalography.” She writes:

Native people created narratives that were histories and stories with the power to transform... The study of tribalography is advanced by first looking at how Indian people made stories from events and non-events (Howe, 1999, p. 2).

Similarly, autobiography becomes a communal act of writing the survival stories of the tribe in *Bad Indians*. According to Martinez: “While *Bad Indians* is labeled a memoir, its subtitle defies generic classifications by expanding the scope of the text beyond the individual to include tribal relationships. By its namesake, a tribal memoir must be polyvocal” (Martinez, 2018, p. 55). Furlan and Heberling also explain this polyvocality aspect of the memoir. According to them,

Miranda combines her story, official records, and her ancestors’ stories in a single text. They explain her peculiar genre “using the Esselen concept of *xu-lin* (meaning to reclaim, return, recover)” (Furlan & Heberling, 2021, p. x). This tribal writing aspect of the memoir also resembles Kenneth M. Roemer’s term “communitism.” The term blends the words community and activism. It is about “the single thing that most define Indian works of literature relates to [a] sense of community and commitment to it” (Roemer,



2005, p. 15). Therefore, the feeling of interrelatedness saves Native American selves from extinction.

As can be seen in Miranda's memoir, the act of creating life narratives as a part of the tribe makes them survive the cultural genocide. They have fought over losing their lives, lands, and languages. Their cultural existences are banned, and families are separated. Individuals still live with the transmission of the trauma, losses, and pain. Thus, it can be clearly understood how the autobiographical self is related so much to the communal. In *Bad Indians*, the tribe's history is crucial to her life story. In an interview, Miranda says:

I realized that my life, short as it has been, is like a fractal of my larger tribal history—full of the same traumas the same losses, just on a smaller scale. Poverty, sexual violence, loss of language, family dysfunction, self-medicating with alcohol and sugar—it's all there, in both timelines (Miscolta, 2013, p. 1).

According to Wong, like Native Americans think and feel as one with the others who share the same destiny throughout the ages: "Native American notions of self, while varied, tend to share an emphasis on interrelatedness (not only among people but between humans and the natural world) and community, rather than individuality" (Wong 2005:126). The concepts of polyvocal narratives, communitism, and communal and individual interrelatedness are all reflected in the terminology of Vizenor. In his book *Aesthetics of Survivance*, he defines survivance as "the action, condition, quality, and the sentiments of the verb survive, to remain alive or in existence, to outlive, persevere" (Vizenor, "Aesthetics" 2008: 19). For him to survive extinction and to exist Native Americans have to create. He writes:

The nature of survivance is unmistakable in native stories, natural reason, active traditions, customs, narrative resistance, and observable in personal attributes, such as humor, spirit, cast of mind, and moral courage. The character of survivance creates a sense of native presence over absence, nihility, and victimry (2008, p. 39).

Miranda claims that this common destiny of pain, loss, dislocation, assimilation, and discrimination belongs to the other members of her tribe as well. Thus, writing the tribal memoir doesn't only mean presenting the events they face chronologically, but also writing is a means of healing from the trauma personally and communally. Miranda calls this trauma "Postcolonial Stress Disorder" or "Historical Trauma." In an interview, she explains that:

The legacies that Missionization and Colonization have left us: diabetes, substance abuse, obesity, depression, domestic violence, racism. Who needs a colonizer anymore—we can do ourselves quite a bit of damage without outside help! .... one of the key treatments for Postcolonial Stress Disorder (or Historical Trauma) is to tell your story to validate your wounds—it's crucial for healing (Miscolta, 2013, p. 2).



Robertson writes that Miranda uses the genre of memoir “as a space to grieve the historical trauma of colonialism; ...to decolonizing pieces of literature and Indian epistemologies and builds on survivance and resistance theories” (Robertson, 2016, p. 250). The evils of Colonization for Indigenous people, like the loss of land and erasure of culture, language, history, and identity, are communal problems. The community can assist each other in healing with resistance and support. As a part of her memoir, she also mentions her family traumas, including physical abuse. She also combines this personal experience with the communal by using documents from the eighteenth century. Miranda writes that the violence Native people experience personally and historically is a result of colonial history (2013, p. 34). These are the generational experiences every Native American felt throughout their lives. Wong writes that it resembles the writing tradition of Native American life stories. These writings are for survival: “What does it mean to have survived a treacherous history that suppressed, destroyed, reformulated indigenous cultures and languages?” (Wong, 2005, p. 135). The erasure of culture, language, history, and identity is a communal problem. The community can assist each other in healing with resistance and support. As a part of her memoir, she also mentions her family traumas, including physical abuse. She also combines this personal experience with the communal by using documents from the eighteenth century. Miranda writes that the violence Native people experience personally and historically is a result of colonial history (2013, p. 34). These are the generational experiences every Native American felt throughout their lives. Wong writes that it resembles the writing tradition of Native American life stories. These writings are for survival: “What does it mean to have survived a treacherous history that suppressed, destroyed, reformulated indigenous cultures and languages?” (Wong, 2005, p. 135).

## CONCLUSION

In *Bad Indians*, Miranda not only shares a common past with all its pain but also remembers and writes for her tribe and all Native Americans to build a present and future together. It is her remedy for healing, as they are all descendants of survivors. Her memoir is a memoir of survival. As she states at the end of her book, it is time to look at and heal the wound. It is an ethnographical account from an insider. The writing of the memoir serves as an auto-ethnographic text with a subjective account of the survival of her community. In her narrative, poetry, fiction, fact, personal, and communal all unite to form an unconventional memoir. The mixed genre enabled her to construct her subjective space with multiple perspectives about the shared past of Californian Indians.

The narrative strategies of her memory of survival can be explained with Gerald Vizenor’s terminology of survivance, storying, postindian, and manifest manners. First, she used storytelling to reconstruct past stories to bring forward the untold tales of her ancestors. Her memoir tells stories about people who have lost their lands, languages,



and ways of life. The stories she created with her tribal memoir enable her tribe's culture to survive this way. Secondly, she aims to resist the narratives about her people written by others and manifest manners as a postindian to survive, she believes the stereotypes about them should be corrected. She wrote in her memoir that:

All my life, I have heard only one story about Californian Indians: godless, dirt, stupid, primitive, ugly, passive, drunken, immoral, lazy, weak-willed people who might make good workers if properly trained and motivated. What kind of story is that to grow up with? (p. xvi).

Lastly, writing a memoir is a means of survival from the pain of the past and wounds of history. Personal experiences are reflected as a part of the tribe's history, creating an opportunity for the tribe to face its traumas. She calls the violence at her home and the violence her tribe experienced as post-colonial stress disorder. The tribal memoir also shows how the personal is related to the communal.

According to her, missionized Indians had gone through so many inhumane experiences throughout history. These were institutionalized, lasted for several decades, and were aimed at the whole community of Indian people. Therefore, all of them affected their descendants. These appear later in each generation in different ways. The trauma continues on an individual level as well because these wounds were never healed. Her memoir aims to heal together from the wounds of history by storytelling, resisting the stereotypes, and claiming an identity as a tribe member. Only this way could her and her tribe's survival be possible.

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## ***Slam the Door Softly: Feminist Rewriting of A Doll's House***

### ***Slam the Door Softly: A Doll's House'un Feminist Yeniden Yazımı***

Meryem AYAN\*

#### **ABSTRACT**

*Slam the Door Softly* (1970), written 91 years after Ibsen's *A Doll's House* (1879), is a re-writing in which Luce creates a modernized Nora in her play compared to the traditional Nora in Ibsen's *A Doll's House*. In both plays, women are entrapped in the burdens of their marriage, trying to free themselves from the male authority, and gender boundaries. The traditional Nora in *A Doll's House* is a submissive wife listening to her husband and obeying him in every condition, but the modernized Nora in *Slam the Door Softly* is an educated women who wants to be an individual listened and understood by her husband. Thus, this study aims to analyze how traditional Nora and modernized Nora struggle to change and challenge their position in their marriages, in a male dominated society, and socially constructed gender roles. Thus, Luce's *Slam the Door Softly* and Ibsen's *A Doll's House* will be compared from a feminist perspective.

#### **Keywords**

Clare Boothe Luce, *Slam the Door Softly*, Henry Ibsen, *A Doll's House*, gender roles, feminism.

#### **ÖZ**

*Slam the Door Softly* (1970), Ibsen'in *A Doll's House* (1879) oyununun yeniden yazımıdır. 91 yıl sonra yazılan, bu oyunda, Luce, Ibsen'in *A Doll's House* oyunundaki geleneksel Nora'ya kıyasla, modernize edilmiş bir Nora yaratmaktadır. Her iki oyunda da evliliğin getirdiği yüklerle hapsolmuş kadınlar, kendilerini erkek otoritesinden ve cinsiyet sınırlarından kurtarmaya çalışmaktadır. *A Doll's House*'daki geleneksel Nora, kocasını dinleyen ve ona her koşulda itaat eden sadık bir eş iken, *Slam the Door Softly*'deki modernize edilmiş Nora, kocası tarafından sözü dinlenen ve anlaşılabilir bir birey olmak isteyen eğitilmiş bir kadındır. Bu nedenle, geleneksel Nora ile modern Nora'nın evliliklerindeki, erkek egemen toplumdaki ve toplumsal olarak inşa edilen cinsiyet rollerindeki konumlarını değiştirme ve bunlara meydan okuma mücadelesini analiz etmeyi amaçlayan bu çalışmada, Luce'un *Slam the Door Softly* ve Ibsen'in *A Doll's House* adlı oyunları feminist bakış açısı ile karşılaştırılmaktadır.

#### **Anahtar Kelimeler**

Clare Boothe Luce, *Slam the Door Softly*, Henry Ibsen, *A Doll's House*, toplumsal cinsiyet rolleri, feminizm.

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## INTRODUCTION

Clare Booth Luce's *Slam the Door Softly* (1970) is a re-writing of Henrik Ibsen's *A Doll's House* (1879). Luce creates a modernized Nora in her feminist play written 91 years later from Ibsen's *A Doll's House*. Luce's modern Nora, compared to the traditional Nora, is less submissive and obedient. In both plays, women try to free themselves from the male dominance, social norms, and gender boundaries but while the traditional Nora listens to her husband and obeys him all the time, the modernized Nora wants to be an individual listened and understood by her husband. Thus, aiming to analyze how traditional Nora and modernized Nora try to change and challenge their position in their marriages, male-dominated society, and socially constructed gender roles, Luce's *Slam the Door Softly* and *A Doll's House* will be compared from a feminist standpoint.

The history of feminism has paved a long way and branched into new subtitles with different approaches. Feminism is a debatable term that "has never been unified and has become a movement of which development is full of controversy, reversal and change" (Bryson, 1999, p. 5). Feminism, from its first emergence, has changed and diversified into various branches of different feminisms; therefore, as Kavka expressed, "Feminism ain't what it used to be" (2001, p. 1). Feminism is a social, academic, political, and cultural movement aimed "to analyze and interrogate gender relations" (Flax, 1990, p. 40) and change the economic, civil, and ideological disparities between men and women from the early days by focusing on gender relations and social rights in a male-dominated world. Namely, there is an ongoing argument from an internal perspective that focuses on "a discourse, a search for universals on the one hand, and activism, feminist practice and experience on the other" (Page, 2006, p. 6). From a disciplinary perspective, many feminist writings show that the rights and interests of women in a patriarchal society are not taken into consideration because history and 'his story' are always based on the great political events started by male rulers, the patriarchal system, and male novelists. However, feminist historians and authors tried to change this view by concealing the evidence of women in major events and realizing the significance of "the images of women promulgated by literature and has been concerned with female books and literature" (Barry, 2002, p. 121). Feminism, focusing on texts by women writers from the past centuries, has seen a feminist narration and writing different from the male narration, which proposes alternative narrative patterns. Thus, feminism with feminist narrative or storytelling intended to present women's sphere, feelings, experiences, and writings in a male-dominated literary world. Feminism, which appeared as a reaction against male-dominated narrative strategies, has branched into various feminisms with distinctive features, and it has been studied from different standpoints in various fields.

In the 1960s and 1970s feminism focused on issues of equality and discrimination. From the late 1970s to the 1980s, feminism is more of a continuation. Significant changes in feminism began to be seen in the mid-1980s because women's subordination began to change with "capitalism, patriarchy, biology, or even language focusing on the discursive, material and cultural differences that make up the being or becoming of women" (Kavka, 2001, p. xiii). Feminism is divided into four waves: first, second, third, and fourth. The first wave, the pre-feminism period, focuses on the 19<sup>th</sup>-century women's suffrage movement. The second wave "began in the mid-1960s and was catalyzed primarily by the Civil Rights Movement" (Tong, 2009, p. 271). The third wave refers "to a younger generation of women in the 1990s who were certainly influenced by their feminist foremothers but who would define feminism differently, and in some ways reject what they perceived to be the doctrinaire aspects of an ideology, mainstream feminism, that they both respect and find limiting" (qtd. in Tong, 2009, p. 271). Feminism at the beginning of the twenty-first century differs from feminism in the 1970s, but "feminism is still seeking women's best interest diligently" (Tong, 2009, p. 271). In the second decade of the 21<sup>st</sup> century, with the involvement of technology and internet tools, the Fourth wave flourished as the brand-new movement of feminism, which focused on marginalized women as well as other marginal groups like homosexuals and transgender people. Although the Fourth Wave is composed of sub-movements, what connects them is the number of women who share and criticize sexual abuse, rape, violence against women, unequal pay, and the pressure on women via online organizations. Thus, the waves of feminism in different periods diversified into feminism. Diversifications in feminism have brought the notion of female texts, writings, and narratives that led the way to new feminisms in literary studies.

Feminism is a continuously changing and challenging concept that will continue to diversify, with deconstructed and reconstructed modes of female lives, feminine discourse, and feminine writing that is an open, multiple, varied, and unlimited field where many social, sexual, and psychological limitations are unbound because texts enable broad fields to express all the oppressed desires, psychological problems, moral changes, and gender challenges. Graham Allen argues that "works of literature are built from systems, codes, and traditions established by previous works of literature" (2000, p. 1). In this respect, literary texts have independent meanings, and as long as they are read and interpreted, they will consist of new meanings. Thus, moving between texts becomes important, enabling intertextual reading and analysis and "meaning becomes something which exists between a text and all other texts to which it relates" (Allen, 2000, p. 1). Jorge Luis Borges states, "A book is not an isolated being. It is a relationship, an axis of innumerable relationships" (2000, p. 248). In this regard, texts become intertextual enabling relationship and interpretable travels in a literary world recently re-constructed with new texts that are re-adaptations, re-writings, re-readings, and re-



publications of traditional editions of old texts. Deconstruction and rewriting of old texts become the reconstruction of new hybrid texts.

### **Ibsen's *A Doll's House*: Traditional Feminist Drama**

Henrik Ibsen's three-act-masterpiece, *A Doll's House*, is one of the most influential plays of the 19<sup>th</sup> century because it is a controversial and complex work that can be interpreted as both a humanist and feminist play focusing on women's position and struggle. *A Doll's House*, accepted as one of the best feminist plays of the 19<sup>th</sup>- century, presents the problems of women in marriage and the lack of independence and respect in a male-dominated society. The editor of the Modern Language Association's approaches to teaching *A Doll's House*, views the play "as a feminist drama" (Shafer, 1985, p. 32). Additionally, Halvdan Koht summarizes the play's connection with feminism: "Little by little the topical controversy died away; what remained was the work of art, with its demand for truth in every human relation" (1971, p. 323). Additionally, Allardyce Nicoll states: "His drama is a domestic drama, and he aims to dramatize the life of his day. He realized that perfect emotions of the spectacular plays had nothing in common with ordinary men and women" (1925, p. 340). Ibsen indicates that "[a] woman cannot be herself in the society of the present day, which is an exclusively masculine society, with laws framed by men and with a judicial system that judges feminine, from a masculine point of view" (qtd. in Meyer, 1971, p. 9). Yet, with developments in every field and feminist studies, women began to question and become decisive individuals within the male-dominated society. Women are more powerful and less oppressed than in the past; therefore, they are eager to discover their authentic selves through feminist standpoints. Additionally, feminist literary texts that were deconstructed, re-constructed, and rewritten from a feminist perspective enabled women to narrate their stories and create new hybrid texts, presenting women's change and challenge in gender power relationships.

*A Doll's House* is about a relationship between a protective, dominant, and authoritative husband, Torvald Helmer, who establishes rules for his wife, Nora, a childlike, sensitive, sensible, and devoted woman. The play starts with Nora's return from shopping for Christmas, and Torvald Helmer, seeing this, accuses Nora of "spending money recklessly" and "takes her playfully by the ear" for "wasting money" (Ibsen, 1910, p. 6). Torvald controls and treats Nora like a doll in their marriage. Nora is a good mother who devotes herself to her children and an ideal wife obeying her husband, saying: "I will do everything I can think of to please you" (Ibsen, 1910, p. 37). Early in their marriage, Torvald fell ill and lost his job because of his condition. Nora copied her father's signature to secure a loan to save her husband. She lied to him and said her father had given them the money. In fact, in that period, women could not get



loans from the bank without the permission of their husbands, fathers, and even brothers, and they were not even allowed to buy property for themselves. In the end, when the truth comes to light, Torvald accuses Nora and mocks her instead of recognizing the sacrifice she made for him. Specifically, Torvald fails to understand and appreciate Nora, overlooking the suffering and sacrifices she endured. Consequently, Nora realizes that she sacrificed herself for a husband who did not grasp her true intentions and that he held oppressive authority over her. Awakening to the realities, Nora realized that her husband was self-centered, selfish, and a hypocrite.

At the end of the play, Nora realizes that she cannot live as a doll under the dominance of a husband who does not listen and understand her. She wants to be a free individual and “educate herself” (Ibsen, 1910, p. 81). Therefore, she decides to leave the house. Torvald Helmer attempts to stop Nora by reminding her of her responsibilities as a wife and mother: “Before all else, you are a wife and a mother” (Ibsen, 1910, p. 82). Regardless of what Helmer says, “the sound of a door shutting is heard from below” (Ibsen, 1910, p. 86), suggesting Nora’s departure from the house, while Helmer “sinks down on a chair at the door and buries his face in his hands” (Ibsen, 1910, p. 86). Nora’s shutting the door is a radical action for her time and demonstrates how decisive she is in ending her life as a wife and mother.

Nora, the conventional female archetype and a caring mother, seeks to assert her individuality and identity by closing the door. In other words, Nora is a suffering woman who has dedicated her entire life to others and her children. Thus, she desires to take a radical step and leave the house where she feels unhappy and is treated like a doll. Her husband exploits Nora’s motherhood to prevent her from leaving. From a feminist perspective, Torvald Helmer’s male pressure and suffocating restrictions do not hold Nora back; instead, his treatment prompts her to leave the house and shut the door behind her for good without saying a word.

In the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the institution of marriage limited women’s freedom because “marriage was considered as an institution that kept women under strict social codes and maintained their conformity with the code of moral behavior especially relating to sexuality” (Öteyaka & Ayan, 2019, p. 125). In the early 19<sup>th</sup> century, married women were legally subordinate to their husbands and were not permitted to own property or keep their wages. Namely, society had the strong assumption that “women’s position was clear, she was always physically and intellectually inferior to the man” (Rubenstein, 1987, p. 7). In other words, marriage was an entrapment for women who had no legal rights, income, and freedom in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, just as Nora in Ibsen’s play, *A Doll’s House*. However, in the end, Nora awakens to break free from the boundaries of entrapment and oppression in her marriage as she resolves to leave her husband, home,



and children. Ibsen's Nora had no choice but to shut the door behind her to end her submissive life and reclaim her individuality.

Ibsen, recognized as the father of modern drama, illustrated how women were positioned and treated in marital life in the late nineteenth century. Women were viewed as subservient, with their main roles being to serve their husbands, manage household tasks, and care for their children, according to the gender roles imposed and identities assigned to them by a patriarchal society. Similarly, Luce addressed social issues, particularly the status of women in marriage and gender roles in her play. In the 20th century, compared to the 19<sup>th</sup> century, women gained greater access to workplaces, professional jobs, and enjoyed freedom, education, and financial independence. Yet, the male-dominated society still constrained women in their marriages. Many men preferred their wives to stay home, manage housework, and care for children, as they perceived few jobs appropriate for women. They desired their wives to be submissive and dependent rather than to be individuals expressing their own thoughts. Luce highlights these concerns in her play from a modern feminist standpoint.

### **Luce's *Slam The Door Softly*: Feminist Re-Written Drama**

A feminist reimagining of Henrik Ibsen's renowned play, *A Doll's House*, Clare Booth Luce's *Slam the Door Softly* offers a contemporary retelling of Nora's journey. Luce's play first appeared in *Life* magazine under "A Doll's House in 1970" but was later revised to its original name, *Slam the Door Softly*. In her adaptation, Luce aimed to explore what might have happened if Ibsen's traditional and submissive Nora transformed into a modern, intellectual woman. The rewritten version contains numerous references to Ibsen's play, and even the names of the female protagonists remain unchanged.

*Slam the Door Softly* is a play about a woman struggling to be free without being bound to her husband. In this one-act play, Thaw watches television in a suburban living room when his wife, Nora, enters holding a suitcase, determined to leave him. Meanwhile, Thaw is watching a program about the sex-typing of jobs. The conversation features a male moderator, women from the Women's Liberation Movement, an older woman, a young woman, and a Black woman. Luce highlights the status of women in the twentieth century through this TV discussion and the various feminist perspectives.

The older woman says, "In the Soviet Union, 83% of the dentists, 75% of the doctors, and 37% of the lawyers are women..." and the young woman says, "there are very few professional jobs men are doing that women couldn't do" (Luce, 1995, p. 1118). Then Thaw comments: "Well, for God's sake then, shuddup, and go do 'em" (Luce, 1995, p. 1118), as a foreshadowing that he is opposed to working women out and thinks that

they cannot do every job that men can do. Then the Black woman says, “you men just don’t want to hear us, is-things are the same for women as they are for us Black people. We try to get up, you just sit down on us, like a big elephant sits down on a bunch of poor little mice” (Luce, 1995, p. 1118) and the male moderator replies “Well, sometimes moderators have to play the elephant, and sit down on one subject in order to develop another” and changes the subject to the one thing a woman can do that man cannot is to produce a baby, and stresses on the number one job of women as occupation housewife (Luce, 1995, p. 1118). The young woman defines this occupation of the housewife as selling a woman’s sexual and domestic services for a permanent bed and bread. Additionally, the Black woman states that “there’s no human being a man can buy anymore-except a woman” (Luce, 199, p. 1118).

When Nora tries to say something, he does not listen as usual, and she says, “Women are only to look at. Men are to listen to Got it” (Luce, 1995, p. 1118). Yet, Thaw neither looks at her nor listens to her. He reads the magazine. Before leaving, she slips two letters under the covers of two books on the top shelf. He does not pay attention to her; he only hears what seems important to him. When she mentions he has been talking to himself for a long time, he dismisses it and shifts the subject to the advertisement. Thaw claims that “It’s the kind of ad that grabs you. This sad-faced, nice-looking woman of 50, sitting on a bench with a lot of discouraged old biddies, in an employment agency,” and they both say the caption of the ad at the same time “Could this happen to your wife” (Luce, 1995, p. 1119). Nora does not want to be like that sad-faced woman when she comes to 50; she wants to get a job to guarantee her life and feel confident.

Thaw is uninterested in the ad and does not notice Nora leaving. Nora puts on her coat, slips on her gloves, and leaves the third envelope on the spindle that contains all the numbers he will need as well as the menus for the children. She arranges for a girl to watch over the kids until his mother arrives. She says, “Well, goodbye little doll house. Goodbye dear husband. You’ve had the best ten years of my life” (Luce, 1995, p. 1120) and slams the door softly. Thaw glances up briefly at Nora before automatically returning to his magazine. However, he suddenly realizes the situation, jumps up, and pulls her into the house. Thaw urges her to explain why she is leaving, but she insists that he cannot understand her. She wrote all in a letter that she had put among the pages of Simone de Beauvoir’s book *The Second Sex*. Simone de Beauvoir’s significant formulation, “One is not born, but rather becomes, a woman” (p. 301) distinguishes sex from gender and suggests that gender is an aspect of identity gradually acquired and shaped by upbringing. For instance, a woman is not inherently passive; rather, the circumstances, dominance, and influences surrounding her contribute to this perception. Every woman is born with a unique self, irrespective of gender, yet external forces and cultural norms often render women passive. In Luce’s play, Nora rejects



becoming a passive woman and wants independence. Therefore, it can be argued that Luce's play outlines de Beauvoir's *The Second Sex*, which has become one of the key texts of the second feminist movement. Most of Nora's sentences address this book.

The more Nora insists she does not want to miss her train; the more Thaw attempts to stop her from leaving. He pushes her onto the sofa and slams the door. Nora argues that men have not changed since primitive times; men are still Tarzan, and women are still Jane: "In primitive times, of course, the heavier musculature of the male was necessary to protect the pregnant female and the immobile young...But what's just happened now shows that nothing has changed" (Luce, 1995, p. 1119).

Thaw cannot understand the reason for her behavior and then asks, "Nora, isn't it about time for your period?" She replies, "But if God had wanted us to think just with our wombs, why did He give us a brain?" (Luce, 1995, p. 1120). She criticizes men who attribute women's unusual behaviors to their periods by saying, "Men don't like women who talk logically. They find them unfeminine-aggressive" (Luce, 1995, p. 1120).

Then Thaw thinks she will get an abortion. Nora makes her first observation about men: "When a man can't explain a woman's actions, the first thing he thinks about is the condition of her uterus." She then asks him, "if you were leaving me and I didn't know why, would I ask, first thing, if you were having prostate trouble?" (Luce, 1995, p. 1119). Thaw gets confused and tries to call the doctor, but she attempts to escape. Then Thaw grabs her ponytail and throws her into the chair. He tries to find a reason for her leaving him. He suspects that one of her female friends, who has seen him with another woman, is trying to break up their marriage. However, she asserts that this is not the reason for her departure. She says, "Monogamy is not natural to the male" and claims that "many lonely suburban housewives, unable to identify their real problem, think more sex is the answer. So, they sleep with the milkman or the delivery boy" (Luce, 1995, p. 1120). Thaw becomes happy that she is not interested in his adultery but then thinks that she is leaving him for another man. Nora shares her second observation regarding men's reasoning about a woman's departure: "She's not having her period, she's not pregnant, she's not jealous: it's got to be another man" (Luce, 1995, p. 1120).

Thaw pressures her to explain the reason by threatening to punch her, and when that fails, he kisses her and asks her to make love. Nora refuses. "The classical male one-two. Sock 'em and screw 'em...Well, it's been known to work on a lot of occasions" (Luce, 1995, p. 1121). Then Nora warns him: "Thaw, you do have a problem with me. But you can't solve it with force" (Luce, 1995, p. 1121). Here, Luce criticizes men who try to resolve issues through brute force or sexual means, believing they can suppress their wives this way. Nora asserts that he oppressed her and treated her as inferior by yanking her hair and threatening to shock her. He claims that he did it to stop her at that

moment; then Nora makes her third observation: “Domination of the insubordinate female is an almost instinctive male reflex. In extremis, Thaw it is rape” (Luce, 1995, p. 1121).

Nora’s subsequent observation about males is that they do not listen to females: “The trouble is, you would have to listen to me. And that’s hard for you. I *understand why*. Not listening to women is a habit that’s been passed on from to son for generations. You could almost say, tuning out on women is another secondary sexual male characteristic” (Luce, 1995, p. 1121). Next, the attention turns to what a woman desires. Thaw asks: “what more can a woman want than a nice home, fine children, and a husband who adores her?” and reminds her of the law that states if a wife leaves her husband, he does not have to pay her alimony. Nora highlights her severance payment as a housekeeper: “I figured it at the going agency rates for full-time cook, cleaning woman, handy-man, laundress, seamstress, and part-time gardener and chauffeur. I’ve worked an average ten-hour day.... It comes to over 53.000 dollars. It’s like to be paid in 10 installments...I haven’t charged anything for sleeping with you...for being a nurse” (Luce, 1995, pp. 1121-23).

Shocked by Nora’s response, Thaw comments that she cannot survive alone because she would be lonely. Her concern is that she does not want to depend entirely on her husband for all her needs. She holds a master’s degree in English and plans to apply for a position in *Time Research* designated for women. Additionally, she is exploring computer programming opportunities available to women. Nora expresses that she is leaving him to pursue her desire to find a job and establish her own identity, stating: “The salary you receive is what makes you respect yourself, and other men respect you? Women have begun to want to respect themselves a little, too” (Luce, 1995, p. 1123). Thaw invites her to share the housework: “Listen, Nora, what say, you work, I work. And we split the housework? How’s that for a deal” (Luce, 1995, p. 1123). But she reminds him that he isn’t free enough to do the housework; he travels a lot and gets home late, so she must choose between the two jobs before she turns 50. Thaw says, “It’s a man’s world out there.” It’s a man’s world where there are a lot of women working...Marriage is still the best deal that the world has to offer women. And most women know it. It’s always been like that. And it’s going to be like that, for a long time” (Luce, 1995, p. 1124). She does not want herself to become like Thaw’s family. She fears he might become like his father, who has a mistress. When Nora says he can remarry to his lover, Thaw says “a man needs a woman of his own” (Luce, 1995, p. 1124). Then Nora makes her final observation that men want to sleep with “body servant of his very own” (Luce, 1995, p. 1124) a woman who is in his hand so he can flirt with other woman just for fun.



At the end of the play, Nora leaves her husband to forge an identity for herself that is distinct from her roles as a wife and mother. Törnqvist asserts that Nora is “liberated by the pill from inevitable motherhood, liberated intellectually by her education, and liberated from culturally conditioned self-deprecation by feminist writers from de Beauvoir to Mary Ellman and Kate Millet—and then she closes the door, very gently, on a much-loved husband from whom the ‘miracle’ has not yet happened” (1995, p. 156). Nora leaves Thaw by saying, “I do love you. And I also need...a man. So, I’m not slamming the door. I’m closing it...very...softly” (Luce, 1995, p. 1125). By gently closing the door, Nora keeps her options open to visit her children and enter the house whenever she wishes, not just when she is permitted.

### CONCLUSION

Consequently, moving between the works of Ibsen and Luce, it becomes clear that a text cannot exist without referencing another text. In this context, Luce’s reinterpretation of Ibsen’s *A Doll’s House* illustrates that neither Nora in the nineteenth century nor Nora in the twentieth century can attain true freedom, as the male-dominated world continually restricts women through marriage. In marriage, women often become their husbands’ possessions and caretakers of their children. As a conventional woman, Ibsen’s Nora no longer wants to live like ‘a doll’ and refuses to be humiliated or controlled by her husband. She plans to leave her home by shutting the door to gain her independence at any cost. Shutting the door represents an unexpected reaction from an obedient and submissive wife with no alternatives in nineteenth-century society. From a feminist perspective, Nora’s slamming the door behind her is a radical act because, in the twentieth century, the diversifying feminist movements and international women’s movement led to legal voting and other rights, prompting women to challenge their roles within the home and society. Women leaving their homes experienced a shift from harsh criticism in the nineteenth century to a more compassionate understanding by society in the twentieth century. Thus, in Luce’s play, Nora’s gentle closing of the door can be seen as acceptable to society and interpreted as a transition from married to individual life. By softly slamming the door, the modernized Nora indicates that she has the power to choose between staying or leaving her home. In contrast, the traditional Nora does not have such options. Furthermore, as a modern and educated woman, Luce’s Nora does not view her husband’s adultery as an issue. However, she is tired of being in an inferior position as a housewife and feels ignored by her husband, who does not listen to her as an equal. To hold herself in esteem and gain respect from others, she desires to work and earn her own money without depending on him. To become an independent woman, she leaves her husband and children behind but softly slams the door, which can be interpreted as both an option and a change in her

life. Namely, she is not shutting the door like the traditional Nora because she wants alternatives and options for her children.

Society critiques Luce's Nora less than Ibsen's Nora because she is educated and has options. Developments in feminism aimed at unsettling the complacent certainties of a patriarchal culture and male suppression helped women assert their beliefs in equality, freedom, and education, giving them the courage to resist patriarchal authority. Women learned to adapt and challenge as feminism diversified into various subcategories. This evolution is seen in the representation and roles of women in marriage. While traditional Nora, lacking alternatives, shuts the door to change and resigns herself to a submissive and selfless existence, modernized Nora, who has new choices, gently slams the door to gain the attention of male society as she challenges imposed gender roles and societal norms that confine women behind doors meant to open to new expectations, independence, and identities—not just for traditional and modern Nora, but for all women throughout history.

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