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4th International Symposium on  
Asian Languages and Literatures



ades

PROCEEDINGS

2-4 February, 2017  
Aurangabad, INDIA

*Understanding  
Culture*

Editor  
Prof. Dr. Syed Azharuddin

*India*

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**4<sup>th</sup> INTERNATIONAL SYMPOSIUM ON ASIAN LANGUAGES  
AND LITERATURES**

**UNDERSTANDING CULTURE**

**PROCEEDINGS**

**(ADES-IV)**

**2-4 February, 2017**

**Editor**

**Prof. Dr. Syed Azharuddin**



**Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar Marathwada University  
Global Art Publications, Aurangabad**

**4<sup>th</sup> INTERNATIONAL SYMPOSIUM ON ASIAN LANGUAGES AND  
LITERATURES: UNDERSTANDING CULTURE**

**(ADES-IV)**

Aurangabad, INDIA, 2017

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## **Chapter 1:**

### **Ethnic Identity and Traditions**

## **Kazakh Traditions and The Language (based on the Tradition of Hospitality)**

**Zhanar Baiteliyeva**

Nazarbayev University, Astana – KAZAKHSTAN

### **Abstract**

Study of the language of the Kazakh ethnos along with its philosophy, traditions, and beliefs have begun since Kazakhstan gained its independence. As the anthropocentric direction dominating in the linguistics suggests, the thoughts and opinions of any nation on the environment and daily life are expressed in the language. In this regard, the purpose of this report is to show the Kazakh traditions by means of linguistic units preserved in the Kazakh language. The study is based on the linguistic units related to the Kazakh tradition of hospitality. Because one of the main qualities of the Kazakh people as a nation is their hospitality. Apart from this, we will try to answer the following questions in the present report: What types are guests are there according to Kazakhs? What traditions related to the hospitality exist? How well these traditions are preserved nowadays? What opinions have other nations expressed about the Kazakh hospitality?

**Keywords:** Traditions, Language, Hospitality

### **Kazakh Traditions and The Language**

(Based on the Tradition of Hospitality)

The formation of Kazakh people as a nation and recognition of its national spirit by others is largely based on various traditions that were born, have lived and developed with the nation. The traditions are the national mindset and spiritual foundation that was built in ancient ethnic communal times. They then went, transformed and developed through clan, tribe, and nation periods till they reached the present day. 70-years USSR rule came to an end, and Kazakhstan gained its independence. Today, the Kazakhs are reviving forefathers' traditions that were once forgotten due to different historical reasons and appreciating them as a treasure describing the national genesis and character.

There is a Kazakh saying "old traditions go, progressive ones stay". This means, as time passes, a lot of things, including laws, legislation, worldview, economy, culture, change in the Kazakh society. But the most progressive traditions will always remain. The survival of the nation as a nation is considered impossible without them.

Today, the Kazakh traditions are studied from different perspectives (ethnography, literature, linguistics, etc.). In this article, we examine traditions from the linguistic angle. If we consider all language materials applied to traditions from the point of their themes, we will see that one group of these materials refers to worship of forces and secrets of nature, the second group relates to the ethnic traditions of marriage and twinning, the other group – to traditions of death, as well as observance of holidays and so on so forth (Kaydar, 2013, p.593).

Most of the linguistic units in the language, especially, idioms and proverbs, signify the nation's history, beliefs, attitudes and worldviews. Their figurative colouring is based on factors representing people's social life, spiritual world, material culture, living, and religious and mythological beliefs. For this reason, we should not forget about extralinguistic factors that influence formation of these linguistic units (Mankeeva, 2008, p. 65). The linguistic units are main sources of studying the national culture, mentality, myths, legends, and traditions. From this viewpoint, we can see significance of studying the linguistic units to understand the national values. For instance, the saying "One of forty is Kydyr" is used in relation to the tradition of hospitality. The meaning of the proverb is "do not push away a guest, the one of many (in Kazakh proverbs, the word "forty" means "many") could be Kydyr ata who travels and protects travellers. Those who do not

receive guests properly, do not give shelter and food to them, one of whom could be Kydyr, they will have a bad luck”.

The factor behind the emergence of this proverb is people's belief. That is to say, the Kazakh mythological figure – Kydyr ata (*saint*). Kydyr might be invisible to eyes, or he might appear as a common traveller. If you do not host him properly, he will leave you. That is why, according to the traditions, despite of wealth and status, you must accept guests. If Kydyr is disappointed in you, this will bring misfortunes. On the contrary, if Kydyr is pleased, he will give his blessings to the hospitable house, and the host and his family and even descendants will forever live in happiness.

It is well-known fact that hospitality has a special place in Kazakh society. It is a tradition born from the longstanding nomadic culture and livestock breeding. The reason why a traveller, who wends his way from one distant village to another, appreciates this Kazakh tradition of hospitality is because if he is thirsty, he is given a drink, if he is hungry, he is given a food, if he is tired, he is given a place to rest, and he is held in esteem. The traveller does not have to be a relative or a friend of the host to receive this kind treatment. To receive and please a drop-in has always been considered as solemn duty handed down from generation to generation. *The drop-in* (in Kazakh, “Qudaiy qonaq” meaning “a guest from God”) is one type of a guest in the Kazakh society. He is neither invited, nor expected. He is a traveller who drops in any house to rest after the road. He is considered as a guest who was sent by God. In accordance with the traditions, this guest must be treated with due respect. In his honour, the host butchers and presents to the guest one part of the meat. However, if the host cannot do this (due to the night time, or the family is in mourning or poor), he must receive his guest kindly and fill his needs with all available means. This is the duty of every Kazakh (Kaydar, 2013, p.596). There are also other kinds of guests, such as an honorable guest, a dishonest guest, a good guest, a quiet guest, a guest on foot, a guest with a dog, a guest with a horse, a lucky guest, and other. The traditions of receiving each of them differ.

In XIX, the German explorer F. von Hellvald wrote, “Kyrgyz-kaissaks are very hospitable; the foreigner may peacefully sleep in a yurt without a fear of being robbed” (Kaydar, 2008, p.185). In this century, the Russian explorer V. von Herrn came to Kazakhstan and said, “Kazakhs still amaze with their amiability, good humor and hospitality. Their good nature is in their blood”. Other various ethnolinguistic records related to the Kazakh hospitality also support the abovementioned words. The meaning of these interlinked and interdependent records reflect the ethnolinguistic depiction of the Kazakh tradition of hospitality.

What is the peculiarity of the Kazakh hospitality? If you ask a person who visited Kazakh country what he liked most about it, he will surely reply that first and foremost he liked the hospitality. In this regard, a question may arise of what is the difference of the Kazakh hospitality from those of others?

To uncover the secret of Kazakh hospitality handed from generation to generation, we should consider the following factors. First of all, the environment where Kazakhs lived – the vast steppe – had influenced this trait (N.Uali). As Kazakhs say, a bird's wings tire of flying over this great land. And this land was very favourable for Kazakhs to breed the livestock. In fact, Kazakhs had very many of it. In the Kazakh society, there is a sample idea of "molshylyk" – prosperity. When we understand the meaning of this idea, we will also uncover the secret of hospitality.

What is prosperity? Not all nations have this kind of sample idea. Before, every Kazakhs possessed some livestock. If we count up the livestock of one village and divide it down among all people living there (including children), then we will have this figure: every man had 50 horses and 500-800 sheep. Why do we count up all livestock of the village? Because long ago, Kazakhs related to one tribe lived together in one village. They considered each other as relatives. Today, Kazakhs from one tribe, treat each other as relatives, too, but do not live together in one village.

Long ago, when a guest came to the house, a Kazakh would butcher a sheep. If it was an honorable guest, he would butcher a stag or a mature horse. If there was no prosperity, how would he be able to receive his guest like this? Would he be able to butcher his livestock for every coming guest? There is a phrase "release blood", which means "butcher". If you are a guest and you say to the host "do not release blood", that would mean "do not butcher your livestock, already available meat of a dead animal is enough". "The meat of a dead animal" (oli yet) means the meat of an animal that was butchered earlier.

Every nation had different household because of different factors, such as geographic location, climate, etc. For Kazakhs, the most favourable was livestock breeding. Hence, the first reason of Kazakh hospitality is prosperity, the abundance of livestock. The second factor is the law. Historian Alkey Marghulan claimed (Margulan, 1966, p.98) that during the times of Alasha khan (*Alasha – is a historical figure who united ancient Turkic tribes and established the Alash Khanate*), there was this law in use: for instance, one family had 5 sons (*at those times, it was the least number*), and the father would divide the property into 6 parts: 5 for his 5 sons and 1 for a guest. Alasha khan's order stated, "We are not a settled people, we have to move from place to place on this great land. We bear

many stuff with us when we move, that is why on the road we can enter any yurt as guests. This is a right of every Kazakh. To receive a guest is a duty of every house-owner. He must provide food, a bed, and he also must to look after the guest's horse". If the house-owner did not observe this, the guest could complain to beys (*bey was a judge in old Kazakh society*). The beys would punish those house-owners who did not show hospitality. So in the past, law stipulated the hospitality. The people knew this. This law had been abolished after nomads had to settle. Another factor is linked to people's beliefs. This is an idea derived from the abovementioned belief in Kydyr ata.

The forth factor is information. Kazakh villages located far from each other. In the times, when there were neither newspapers, nor television, how did people suppose to exchange information? The guest was of help here. After he was received with all due respect and gave his blessing to the house, the conversation started. If the guest was a poet or a storyteller, the whole village would gather to listen to his stories and admire his poetic skills. If the guest came from the South, people would ask him about the Qoqan Khanate. If he was from the North, then he would be asked about the Russians. Thus, the information was transmitted. This was very important and much needed for people. After the conversation, people would ask the guest to show his art and skills. He would sing, tell stories, play kuys, etc. Thus, the art of one region was passed to another region. If the guest did not possess such skills, he would tell fairytales. Every Kazakh would try to be an honorable guest. The guest was not only the transmitter of information, we also established cultural relations.

The guest, the host/house-owner (husband and wife) had different roles. The house-owner who receives the guest would ask him about his health, life, and so on. The wife was responsible for the eats and drinks. To prepare the meal, one also had to know things. Kazakhs prepared the dish in honor of the guest (bones, cannons). The women must have known this. If the guest was a senior or a respected man, he would be served with a head of an animal.

One important thing to mention – no matter what kind of person the guest was, he would be treated with all respect till he departed. For example, the guest was a dishonest person. However, if he came to your village and your house, you must have shown him respect. One example: *there is one story of Mashkhur Zhussup. The house-owners were receiving one guest, and the latter was making inappropriate jokes about a young girl of this family. The guest did not respect and show any good manners. The hosts patiently tolerated his jokes and did not show any sign of anger. That was customary. As soon as the guest crossed over the range where the village ended, the yurt-owner called young men and*

*demanded from them to punish that son of a bitch. So he waited for the guest to leave the village. Dzhigits caught him and beat him well. Nobody could hold the host accountable for this, because in the village, nobody hurt the guest* (Kopeyulu, 2003, p.45). There is also one Kazakh saying, “Bad house is ruled by a guest”. Today, there are two meanings of this saying: 1. The guest must observe the tradition of hospitality and show good humor and respect. However, if while being a guest he shows disrespect and feels free to do and say whatever he wants, that would mean, such behavior happens because of the house-owner’s soft and mild-tempered character. In the house of a strong man with an attitude, the guest would not allow himself take such liberties; 2. Another meaning is that if a person, who came from far or neighboring lands and is enjoying the Kazakh hospitality, starts to boss around, this is not his fault, but the fault of host people and their cowardice and diffidence. The proverb is today used in these two meanings and situations.

Although today the tradition of receiving guests is not observed as before, treating the guest in special way and with a special meal is still kept. One of them is Qonaq asy (guest’s meal), which is served prior to big gathering. However, today, it is mostly held when people gather to bewail the dead. Auyz tiu (tasting) – according to the tradition, a person who entered a home cannot leave without tasting some food from the table. Erulik – hosting a new neighbor. Qymyzmuryndyq – the tradition of tasting mare’s milk after the mare just foaled. The latter tradition is mostly observed in villages where people breed horses. If a Kazakh invites you to drink a tea, it would not mean only tea is going to be served there. A table of various dishes would be prepared. The Kazakh people usually enjoy speaking with a context.

In conclusion, we would like to say that by means of thematic linguistic units of the lexical vocabulary, we can obtain information about a nation’s worldview, life, and traditions. In the study of national traditions, using the language is useful to learn deeper about the nation. We believe this provides opportunities to carry big anthropocentric researches of the linguistics of Kazakhs who for almost one century were under the Russian rule. There is still a lot that can be said about the Kazakh hospitality, and it will be in future research works.

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## **Living Totemic Culture of Kongu Region in Western Tamilnadu**

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### **Abstract**

The concept of global village makes one culture and one world. It destroys the heterogeneous culture of various ethnic groups. In this regard, totemic culture is also in very complicated situation. But, totemic culture should be followed till now in the ethnic group of Kongu Vellalar of Kongu region of western Tamil Nadu. The totemic culture is followed in every activities of life, especially in the system of marriage. More than 200 clans in the ethnic group of Kongu Vellalars are at present. The group of one totemic identity treats as a relationship of same family of descent. So it avoids the marriage in same group of totem. That is called taboo. Thus, one clan makes the marriage relationship with other clan. This is the system of exogamy. Totemic symbols are based on natural things and ancestors, like plant (neem, palm, peepal, okra -ladies finger), bird (quail, owl, peacock), ancestor (Kannan, Saththan, Keeran, Vannakkan). This article deals with the relationship between identity of totem and human culture.

**Keywords:** Clan, Totem, Exogamy, Taboo, Ethnic group.

### **Introduction**

In today's globalised world the human culture is flapping towards the state of a monotonous state. It is because of the advent of technology, commercialization of western colonial attraction towards modernization, the mindset and the mood of ethnic/racial groups' evasion to their own art, heterogeneous culture and literature.

Identities of diverse social ethnic groups have their own set of protocols and own life style in abundant supply as a native tradition. Due to the emergence of periodical changes in social, political reasons the native culture, lifestyle, tradition has severely affected and some traditions were even ruined. In spite of all such attacks a few social groups in the world has immunity against it and got nurtured preserving all the native tradition, ethnicity, symbols and heritage.

Even in this modern globalised era, there is a search for reviewing the lost social identity of native tradition. It is an appreciable one. On such search and revival, Kongu Vellalar community from Tamilnadu- India still preserves and follows the native tradition and ethnicity of the Kongu region.

### **Kongunadu /Kongu Region**

The ancient Sangam period Tamilnadu was very rich in land and culture. The boundaries of Tamilnadu are Tirupathi in north, Kumari (Kanniyakumari) in south, Arabian Sea in the west and Bay of Bengal in the east. The ancient Tamilnadu was divided into five divisions such as Cheranadu, Cholanadu, Pandiyanadu, Thondainadu and Kongunadu. From these Thondainadu and Kongunadu were not in the control of the Chera, Chola and Pandiya's reign.

Areas in the Chera, Chola and Pandiya dynasties were identified on the names of the rulers. But the name 'Kongunadu' was identified after the 'Kongar' which is an ethnic group and their clans were identified as areas names. Chieftains were the rulers of segmentary states of Kongunadu. At present Kongu Vellalars are living in ten districts of the western part of Tamilnadu. The districts Coimbatore, Erode, Tiruppur, Karur, Namakkal, Tiruchy, Dindigul, Salem, Dharmapuri and Krishnagiri were called as Kongu region.

Kongu Vellalars are the major community people residing in the Kongunadu. The origin tribes such as Aayar, Mazhavar, Kongar, Adhiyar were transformed into Peasant community called Vellalars.

### **Anthropological Research in Totem**

The hierarchical development of human society from the tribal community needs to identify the relationship with nature. So it starts to have connectivity with the natural setup following the patterns of nature as their belief. Those who have the same natural patterns lived as same small groups according to their beliefs. Those small groups have its clans accordingly.

The beliefs of the clan such as, their origin from some natural things, and the connection with those natural things made their natural things as their totemic symbols of their clan. The totemic clans have been related with the social settings of the society. Especially in marriage, kinship, way of worship, food habits, taboos, practices, etc, were closely related. Each single clan has their own totem clan and its totem symbols along with the beliefs, customs and practices and the study is called as Totemism by the anthropologists. The totem is the basic unit of human civilization.

Humans' complete generalized categories cannot be said in a single frame. Multi-dimensional social group has different lifestyles, beliefs and customs. Thus to traceout the human lifestyle and social setting, anthropological research helps to bring out the multi-faceted, multi-dimensional views in a unified category.

Several researchers have done research on totemic symbols. In 1856, Peter Jones, a North American was the first to publish an article on totemic symbols. In his article, similar clan/totemic people doesn't have marital bond in their own clan. They give or take bride/bridegrooms from other clans only. Brotherhood is carried out inside the same clans. Totemic symbols were the representations of an individuals' mystical relationship with their totems. A plant or an animal from a clan is the totemic symbol for each and every clan. Tribes believe the worship of totemic symbols were from their psychological nature and habits. They believed that the totemic symbols such as plants, animals, etc., from nature consist of souls which have a great source of eternal power in it.

In 1913 Sigmund Freud on analyzing various theories, he published his psycho analysis book on Totem and Taboo. In that book, Freud states that, according to Psycho analysis, totemic symbols and food taboos when comparing to Darwin's Theory of Evolution has a mid-relationship.

In 1962 Levi-Staruss Claude in his book Totemism has stated that the previous principles and theories laid by theorists were false. Levi- Staruss' conceptualization was based on the integrated ideas of geographical, linguistic, psychoanalytical and informatics along with the thematic structures of Freud, Sassure, Jakobson, Emile Durkheim, Rousseau and Radcliff Brown. The universal

### Understanding Culture

layout of human mind and its internal function was experimented and has stated in his book 'Savage Mind'.

In Tamil context Dr. Lourdu and Dr. A. Dhanancheiyan were the pioneers of the Totemic Research.

### Totem Culture in Tamilnadu

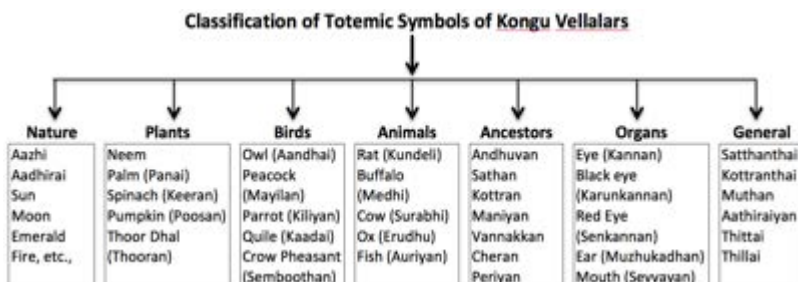
Tracing out from the Sangam age 3BC, there is proper evidence on totemic tradition followed by the Tamil people. There are strong evidences such as inscriptions, Archeological sources and Sangam literary works proving the fact.

The Sangam literature projects Lord Muruga as the divine leader of the ethnic Tamil group. The bird Cock is their totem, Lord Muruga after conquering the totemic groups which has peacock and snake symbols, Muruga have peacock as his vehicle and snake as his guardian. The flag bears cock as logo.

The vendhars (rulers) of ancient tamil country Chera, Chola and Pandiya had the totemic symbols such as Aathi, Palm tree and Neem respectively. The totemic symbols were treated, worshipped and protected as a heroic figure by all the great rulers of Tamil land.

### Totem symbols of Kongu Vellalars

Understanding and coping with the nature and natures' environmental setting, the Kongu Vellalar community people embraces and follows all the totemic culture and symbols of their own community. These were clearly seen and they were still in practice.



Kongu Vellalars follows the same totemic culture which were seen and followed by all Kongu Vellalars who lives in various countries around the world. They never do any harm or bring any abomination to the totemic symbols which they follow.

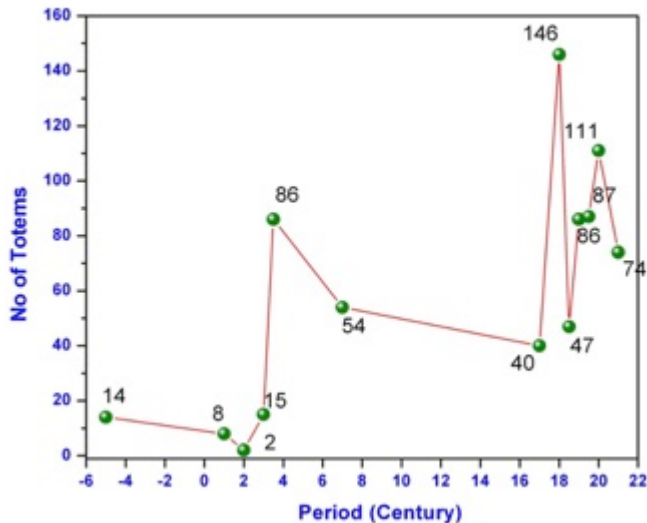
Their totemic symbols were treated as a sacred one for example, ‘Eenjan’ totem people doesn’t use broom made from ‘eenjan’ plant which is used commonly by others. This is still in practice. This is one of the unique features of Kongu Vellalars.

### **Totemic practices in Kongu Vellalars life:**

The Kongu Vellalars those who have similar totems are brothers and sisters in relationship. They are from one lineage. Thus they were called as ‘Pangali’(brotherhood). Wherever they are in the world, the relationship remains the same as brothers and sisters. Their marriage bond done is with the other totemic bride/bridegrooms of their community. This is one of the salient features in matrimonial allies of Kongu Vellalars. This type of practice is called as Exogamy.

### **Identification of Totemic Symbols of Kongu Vellalars from Historical Period:**

<b>S. No.</b>	<b>Documents on Totem names</b>	<b>Period</b>	<b># of Totems</b>	<b>Evidences</b>
1	Kodumanal Archeology	Before 500 BC	14	Pottery inscriptions and symbols
2	Jain’s stone beds	2 BC to 2 AD	8	Rock inscriptions
3	Egyptian archeology	2 AD	2	Pottery Inscriptions
4	Sangam Songs (Poets, leaders names)	3BC to 2AD	15	Sangam literature
5	Inscriptions	7 AD to 19 AD	86	Inscriptions from Kongunadu
6	Copper Plates	16 AD to 20 AD	54	Copper plates, Shields
7	Kanipadalgai (Native Songs)	17 AD to 19 AD	40	Native songs Anthology
8	Odhalai Alagumalai Kuravanchi (Prabantham)	1729 AD	146	Literature
9	Kongu mandala Sadhagangal	17 AD	47	Literature
10	Kodumanal literature	-----	86	Literature
11	Vellalar Kulakummi	-----	87	Literature
12	Vellalar Keerthipadal	19 AD	111	Kongu mandala Sadhagangal edition
13	Totems at practice	2009 – till date	74	Researchers’ field work



From the above graph, X-axis represents the periods in centuries with respect to the material evidences and documents of the number of Totems. Y-axis represents the number of totems which is found with respect to the material evidences. This statistics is based on the found materials as evidences among so many totems.

### Conclusion

Revival of the existing ethnic values and tradition of a rich culture is very necessary one in this globalised context. Thus this article traces out the indigenous life of ethnic Kongu Vellar community and their totems in practice. Totem is practiced in Tamil as 'Kootam' (group) or 'Kulam' (clan). The ethnic root of humanity is followed from the natural setting; it is clearly seen in the life of Kongu Vellalars through the totemic culture. Even though the later emerged Hindu religious worship, it doesn't affect their clan deity worship because of their totemic worship influences. Through their conventional rituals and totemic practices, the community has grown into a refined social group with civilized culture.

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# **Characteristics of Kazakh Traditions and Customs: Interaction Between Eurasian Cultures**

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## **Abstract**

Nowadays there is a special interest about the studies that concern national and cultural characteristics of peoples from different regions of the world, including the effect and interaction of Eurasian continent's cultures. In this aspect Kazakhstan is of interest with its manifestation of national culture and mentality. Attempts to understand how peoples and their cultures differ from each other are natural demands humanity to grasp the fact about cultural diversity in the universe. As it is known, perception of external world by the members of different nations may show some kind of specialities and peculiar features. Singularity socio-economic and geographic conditions of Kazakhstan influences on world perception formation, type of thinking and behaviours.

Many of the customs and traditions lost their actuality, but most of them reappear. For example, the traditions about birth.

Aim of this proceeding to show the interactions between Eurasian continent's cultures in the national and historical traditions of Kazakhs on the formation mentality and family values which keep their meaning to the recent days.

**Keywords:** Kazakh Culture, Central Asia Customs and Traditions, Interaction of Eurasian Cultures



### **Kazakların Gelenek ve Göreneklerinin Özellikleri: Avrasya Halklarının Kültürlerindeki Etkileşim - Çocuğun Doğumu**

Dünyanın çeşitli bölgelerindeki halkların ulusal ve kültürel özelliklerini çalışmak, Avrasya kıtasına ait kültürlerdeki bağ ve etkileşim sorunlarının incelenmesinde özellikle ilgi görmektedir.

Halkların ve kültürlerin aralarındaki farkları, belirli bir milletin özelliklerini öğrenmeye çalışmak, gezegendeki kültürel çeşitliliği tanımak adına doğal bir olgudur. Bilindiği üzere farklı kültürlerin temsilcilerinin dış dünya algısı kendine özgü özelliklere sahip olabilir.

**Gelenek;** uzun bir zaman dilimi içerisinde, kuşaktan kuşağa aktarılan, belirli toplumlarca ve sosyal gruplarca korunan aynı zamanda halkın iletişimde bir düzenleyici görevi gören fikirlerin, göreneklerin, alışkanlıkların, becerilerinin toplamıdır.

**Görenek;** uzun toplumsal tecrübeler sonucunda oluşagelen kurallar veya davranış biçimidir. Bu aynı zamanda evrimin tarihsel sürecinde oluşmuş, sosyal yaşamın belirli alanlarında insanların davranışlarını düzenleyen genel kurallar ve normlardır.

Gelenek ve görenekler dünyadaki halkların hepsinde vardır ve bunlar halkların yaşam biçimini, alışkanlıklarını, ulusal özelliklerini yansıtmaktadır.

Her millet yüzyıllar boyunca çeşitli gelenek ve göreneklere bağlı kalarak yaşamışlardır. Gelenekler insanların hayat koşulları ve dünya görüşleri temelinde gelişmiştir. Her ülkenin ve bölgenin kendine ait törenleri ve özellikleri olduğu için görenekler belirli kurallar çerçevesinde uygulanmazlar. Ayrıca bir çoğu değişikliklere uğrayarak, nesilden nesile aktarımlar sürecinde ve bazende de atasözü ve deyim biçimini alarak zaman içerisinde unutulmuştur.

Birçok gelenek ve görenek güncelliğini kaybetmişse de birçoğu da tam tersine canlanmıştır. Bunlardan biri de “çocuğun doğumu” ile ilgili olan törendir.

Makalenin amacı, Avrasya kıtasına ait kültürlerin aralarındaki bağların ve etkileşimin geleneklerin tarihsel ve ulusal özelliklerine, dünya görüşü ve aile değerlerine (örneğin bir çocuğun doğumu) olan yansımalarını göstermektir. Bilindiği üzere soyun devamlılığı bir insanın hayatındaki en önemli konulardan biridir.

Buna benzer sayısız örnekler verilebilir.

Kazaklar için en önemli aile geleneklerinden biri soy ağacını (şecere) bilmektir. Bu durum gelenek ve göreneklerinin devamını sağlamaya çalışan göçebe milletlerin karakteristik özelliklerindendir. Aynı soydan gelen erkekler ve kızlar birbirlerini

kardeş olarak görürlerdi, bu da uyumlu ilişkilerin kurulmasına katkıda bulunuyordu.

Kazaklar için bir çocuğun doğumu her zaman önemli ve sevindirici bir olay olmuştur. Bunu kanıtlar nitelikte günümüzde hala “Çocuklu ev pazar, çocuksuz ev mezar” atasözü kullanılmaktadır.

Çocuklar ile ilgili gelenek ve göreneklerin oluşumunda yüzyıllara varan tecrübe ve çeşitli antik inançlar yer alır. Örneğin doğumdan sonraki ilk kırk gün çocuğun tehlikeye en açık olduğu zaman olarak görülür. İslam öncesi düşünceye göre çocuğu değiştirebileceklerine inanılan kötü ruhlar vardı ve çocuğu onlardan korumak gerekiyordu. Bunu sağlamak için ise beşiğin yanbaşıda kırk gün kırk gece kandil (çıra) yanardı çünkü halk arasındaki inanışa göre her türlü kötü güç ateşten ve ışıktan korkardı.

Doğumun kırkinci gününde “колжа” (kolça) adlı tören yapılırdı. Kolça, belli bir ritüel eşliğinde anneye sunulan yemeklerdir. Burada esas amaç loğusa annenin gücünü tekrar kazanmasını sağlamaktır.

Kırkinci günde ayrıca “қырқынаншығару”, yani “kırkının çıkması” töreni düzenlenirdi. Bu tören söz konusu erkek çocuk ise bir gün önce (daha güçlü ve cesur olması için), kız çocuğu ise bir gün sonra (daha hamarat, sakın ve uysal olması için) yapılırdı. Çocuk tuzlu suda yıkanır. Çocuğun yıkandığı çanağın içerisine törende bulunan kadınlara hediye olarak madeni paralar, gümüş ziynet eşyaları konulurdu.

Böylece, yukarıda bahsedilen gelenek ve görenekler, çocuğun yetiştirilmesinde ve onun gelecekteki yaşamında önemli bir rol oynamaktadır.

**Kırım Tatarlarının** manevi hayatlarında çocuğun doğumuyla ilgili gelenekler önemli bir yer tutmaktadır. Bunların temelinde çocuğun ve annenin hayatını ve sağlığını koruma altına almak yatmaktadır.

Çocuk dünyaya gelir gelmez onu dualar eşliğinde ılık tuzlu suda yıkarlardı. Kundakladıktan sonra karnını doyurması için annesinin yanına yatırılırdı. Günümüzde yıkama işlemi bebek doğumevinden geldikten sonra yapılmaktadır.

Kırım Tatarlarındaki aile geleneklerine göre ilk 40 gün anne ve yavrusu istenmeyen etkenlerden korunmak üzere tecrit edilir. Bu süreç halk arasında “çille” (40 gün) denilmektedir. Sadece kırkinci günün sonunda anne su kaynağından su almak üzere evin dışına çıkardı. Günümüzde bu kurallara herkes uymamaktadır.

Çillenin bitiminden sonra kadın bebeğiyle beraber kocasının eşliğinde annesine gider ayrıca annesinin hayır dualarını almak üzere yanında hediye götürürdü.

**Tatar** halkının gelenek ve görenekleri çok çeşitlidir. Tatarlarda çocuğun doğumuyla beraber ayinli ve uygulamalı bir çok geleneksel tören mevcuttur. XIX yy. sonu ve XX yy. başlarında görülen kuralların bazıları günümüzde de yerine getirilmektedir.

Bebek dünyaya geldikten, göbek bağı kesildikten ve bağlandıktan sonra babasının fanilasına sarılırdı. Tatarlar bunun çocuğun baba ile olan ilişkisini güçlendirdiğini düşünüyorlardı. Hemen akabinde “авызландыру” (ikram) adlı tören başlardı. Burada çocuğa yağlı ballı çiğnenmiş ekmek emdirilirdi bazen de yine bu karışım veya “zemzem su” adlı harç sadece ağzına sürülürdü. Törene iştirak edenler çocuğa sağlık ve mutlu bir baht dilerlerdi.

Doğumdan sonraki ikinci gün “бэби мунчасы” (temizlenme) günüydü. Önce ailenin yaşça büyük olanları daha sonra anne ve эби (nine) yardımıyla bebek yıkanırđı.

Birkaç gün sonrasında bebek doğumu uğruna kutlama yapılırdı. Bu kutlama, isim verme töreni refakatinde gerçekleştirilirdi. Aile dostları ve tanıdıkları ziyaretine gelir, mollaı da mutlaka çağırırlardı. Molla, gereken duayı okuduktan sonra yastık üstüne konulan bebeğı kucağına alır, Allah’ın yeni doğan bebeğı kabul etmesi ve koruması için dua eder. Bebeğın kulağına İslam dininin temel esaslarından biri olan ezan okunur ve ismi söylenir. Günümüze ulaşmış bir gelenekten daha bahsedelim. Söz edilen gelenek (бэбиаши), ikram geleneğı. Bebek doğumundan sonraki birkaç gün boyunca doğum yapan annenin akrabaları, komşuları ve kız arkadaşları ziyaretine gelir, türlü ikramlar ve hediyeleri de getirirlerdi.

Nogay ailelerinde bebek doğumuna çok büyük bir önem verilir. Bebeğın yaşamının ilk 40 günü en önemli «insanlaşma» dönemi sayılır. Nogaylar, yeni doğan bebeğın vücudunu yaş, toysayar, daha çabuk sertleşmesi, sağlamlaşması için 40 gün boyunca tuzlu su ile yıkarlardı. Doğumundan itibaren yaşı 40 günü aşmış bebeğı verilen «kırkınan çıkan bala» (kırkı çıkan bebek) anlamına gelen özel bir terim var. Birçok dünya halklarında olduğı gibi, Nogaylar için de 40 sayının sakral bir anlamı vardır. Kırkıncı güne kadar bebek beşiğı yatırılır, bebeğı gömlek giydirilir, bebeğın ismi verilir ve saçları kesilir.

Buryatların da çocuk doğumu ve yetiştirme ile ilgili gelenekleri ve törenleri vardır. Özellikle erkek çocuğunun doğuşu ailenin hayatındaki en önemli olaylarından biriydi. Erkek çocuğı sadece bir mirasçı olarak değıl, gelecekteki sahip ve soyu devam ettiren gözüyle bakılırdı. Doğduğı andan itibaren ailesinin de çok ilgili olduğı toplumun önemli bir üyesi olarak kabul edilirdi. Kız çocuğunun doğuşu, aile hayatında önemli bir yer almasına rağmen erkek çocuğunki kadar sevinçli

karşılanmıyordu. Yine de ne kadar çok çocuk olursa, anne ile baba o kadar çok mutlu olurlardı.

Budistler, çocukların koruyucuları olarak lamayı, şamanistler ise şamanı davet ederlerdi.

Oset ailesi, çocuk doğumuna çok büyük bir önem verirdi. Hamile olan kadına özenle bakar, onu endişelerden ve ağır işlerden korurlardı. Aynı zamanda gelenek, kadının durumundan utanmasını, yaşlı erkeklere görünmemesini, düğün ve cenaze gibi kalabalık yerlerden sakınmasını gerektirirdi. Genç kadının durumu, erkek çocuğu doğurduktan sonra çok değışirdi; o artık büyük gelin olurdu.

Çeçenler ve İnguşların çocuk doğumu ve yetiştirme ile ilgili adet ve törenlerinin oluşumu ve gelişimi, hayat şartları ve din inançlarının tesiri altında gerçekleşiyordu.

Çeçenler, çocuğu doğumundan hemen sonra ılık suyla yıkıyorlardı. Üç gün sonra ise çocuğu ılık sabunlu su ile yıkıyorlardı. Sonraki 40 gün boyunca çocuğu havlu ile kurulayıp üstüne inek yağı sürüyorlardı, ama haftada bir çocuğu ılık sabunlu su ile yıkadıkları gün buna dahil değildi.

Çeçenler ile İnguşlar adet olduğu gibi giyimler ile kundak bezi önceden hazırlanmıyorlardı, çünkü böyle bir hazırlığın, çocuk doğumunu olumsuz şekilde etkileyebileceğı düşünülüyordu.

Nogay ailesinde çocuk doğumuna çok büyük bir önem verilir. Yeni doğan mirasçı ve soyun devamını sürdüreceğ olan bebeğın hayatı, doğum törenleriyle başlıyor. İlk haftada çocuğın ismini koyup evdeki yerini belirlemeye çalışırlardı. Çocuğın babasının annesi ve babası belirledikleri bir günde akrabaları ve komşuları davet ederlerdi. Hala veya babaanne misafirlerin bulundukları odaya beyaz beze sarılı bebeğı getirirlerdi. Dede, özel bir dua okuduktan sonra bebeğı sağ eliyle kucağına alarak, sırayla bebeğın her iki kulağına üç defa ismini söylerdi. Büyüklerin adeti yerine getirdiğı sırada çocuğın anne ve babasının odada bulunmamaları gerekirdi. Ayrıca insanlar içinde çocuklara adıyla seslenmek uygun olmazdı. Kurumuş göbek bağı beyaz beze sarılıp sandıkta saklanıyordu. Bebeğın beşiğ e ilk yatırılma töreni, göbek bağı iyileştikten sonra birkaç gün sonra gerçekleştiriliyordu. O ana kadar bebek başka beşiğ e yatırılıyordu. Nogaylar, ardıcın sihirliliğ ine inanarak beşiğ in azından bir parçasını ardıçtan yapmaya çalışıyorlardı.

Korelilerin günümüzde de önemini yitirmeyen aile törenleri çok ilgi çekicidir.

Belirli bir süre sonra, kadın ilk çocuğ a hamile kalır. Doğum sırasında kadının yanında kalan iki akrabası çocuk dünyaya geldikten hemen sonra onu ılık su ile yıkar, ardından da kötü ruhları memnun etmek amacıyla kapıyı açarak dışarıya

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farklı yemekleri koyarlardı. Doğum saati kesin bir şekilde kağıda yazılır. Sonra kağıdı alan kahin anne ile babaya çocuğun geleceğini anlatır. Eğer ki kehanet mutsuz bir kaderden bahsediyorsa, anne ile baba 'mudan' adını taşıyan bir şamanisti çağırırlar. Şamanist refah ve uzun ömürlülük sağlayan bir ruha seslenir. Tören, bebeğin doğduğu evin yanında bulunan bir taş üstünde gerçekleştirilir. Törenden sonra ruhun adı, bebeğin adına eklenir.

İşin ilginç tarafı, Korelilerin genellikle çocuklara oyuncak almamalarıdır. İnsanı veya hayvanı tasvir eden oyuncakların kullanılmaması, dini inançlara dayanır.

Paganizm, günümüzde de İran halklarının aile törenlerinde gayet yaygındır. N.A. Kislyakov'un dediğine göre Pencikent'te çocuk doğumundan üç gün sonrasındaki bayram, 'bui' (tütsüleme) olarak adlandırılır. Çocuğun ilk defa beşiğe yatırılması töreninin gerçekleştirilmesinden önce beşiği yakılmış bezle tütsülüyorlardı. Uğruna törenler uygulanan çocuğun da kurban ve kurban ikramlarının bir parçası olduğunu gösteren ayinler, çocuk doğumundan sonraki 40 günlük döneminin tamamlanmasından sonra, çocuğun saçları ilk kesildiğinde, ilk dişi çıktığında da gerçekleştiriliyordu. Çocuğun ağzına eşik tozu, ocak külü, yağ sürüyorlardı; başına un ve şeker döküyorlardı. Bebeğin ilk defa beşiğe yatırılmasında gerçekleştirilen ilginç bir tören, kurban vekaletinin bir örneği olarak gösterilebilir: kadın, bebeği beşiğe koymadan önce oraya iki defa eğri şekilde bir taş veya tören önemini taşıyan bir nesne koyduktan sonra üçüncü defa bu nesneyi düzgün şekilde koyuyordu. Beşiğin başucuna veya yanına koyulantaş, bu kurbanı tamamlamaktadır. Böylece belli oluyor ki, İran halkların dini İslam olmasına rağmen kültürlerinin eski Hint-İran temeli, içinde İslam ideoloji olan bir geçmişin kalıntısı değildir.

Ukrayna geleneklerinde doğum hekimi, en saygı duyulan kişilerden biridir. Doğum sonucu, onun halk tıbbı kullanma yeteneklerine bağlıdır. Ukrayna'nın birçok bölgesinde hamileliği duyurmamak lazım olduğu düşünülüyordu. Örneğin, hamile olan kadın bir şeyden korkup vücudunun neresine dokunursa, orada bebeğin beni oluşacak diye bir inanç vardı.

Doğum, kadının yaşadığı evde gerçekleşiyordu. Ayrıca, hamilelikten ve doğumdan ne kadar az insanın haberi varsa, o kadar iyi olacağına inanılırdı.

Doğum hekimi, doğumdan sonraki 40 gün boyunca aile ile kilise arasındaki arabuluculuk yapardı. Ukrayna'nın bölgelerinin çoğunda, çocuğun ismini seçmede de yer alırdı. Doğumdan sonraki 40 gün, anne ile bebeği için en tehlikeli süre sayılıyordu.

Temizlenme törenleri, Ukrayna gelenekleri arasında önemli yer alıyordu. Bunların kendi kuralları ve sınırlamaları vardı.

Kiliseye bir mendile sarılı para ve ekmek götürürlerdi. Bunları kapıda bir yetkiliye verip eşikte dururlardı. Yeni doğan bebeğin ilk suya girmesinin de ritüel bir anlamı vardı. Önceden kilisede kutsallaştırılmış otlar, ekmek, tohum, elma, yumurta gibi farklı sembol nesneleri, güneşin doğuşundan önce hazırlanan suyun içine koyarlardı. Bununla birlikte güzel dileklerde bulunurlardı.

Rusların adetleri ve gelenekleri de çok ilgi çekicidir. Geleneklerden bahsederken yeni doğan çocukların vaftiz edilme törenlerini unutmamak gerekiyor. Çocukları, hemen doğumundan sonra vaftiz ediyorlardı. Törenden önce vaftiz anne ile babası seçme konusu etrafıca konuşuluyordu. Onlar da tıpkı çocuğun öz annesi ile babası gibi onun hayatından, sağlığından ve yetişiminden sorumlulardı. Vaftiz annesi ile babası bundan sonra hayatları boyunca akraba sayılır, arkadaşlığını sürdürürlerdi.

Vaftiz annesi, vaftiz evladı 1 yaşına girdiğinde onu tersyüz edilmiş bir gocuğun üstüne oturtuktan sonra, bir makasla çocuğun saçlarını haç şeklinde keserdi. Bunun amacı, kötü ruhların çocuğun gelecekteki düşünceleri ile davranışlarını etkileyememeleriydi.

Büyümüş vaftiz evladı her yıl Noel arefesinde vaftiz anne ile babasına kutya gibi türlü ikramları getirirdi, vaftiz babası ise çocuğa şekerler verirdi.

Gelenekler, insanlık tarihi kadar eskidir. Geleneklerin, ayrı kişilerin veya grupların arzusu olarak değil, bütün insanların ortak sosyal ve iş faaliyetleri sonucunda, objektif temeli üzerinde oluşturulması için tarihi nitelik taşıdığını söylemek mümkündür. Gelenekler, toplumsal gelişimin doğal sonucu olarak ortaya çıkmıştır ve bir soy veya kabilenin doğa güçleriyle savaşmasında ve insanoğlu karakterinin en güzel yönlerinin oluşturulmasında önemli rol oynamıştır.

Dünyanın farklı bölgelerinde yaşayan halkların milli ve kültür özelliklerinin araştırmaları, günümüzde gerçekleştirilen Avrasya kültürlerinin etkileşim özelliklerinin araştırılması kapsamında çok ilgi çekiyor.

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**Understanding Culture**

Kendi soyunun tarihini yedinci nesle kadar bilmek, en eski çağlardan kaynaklanan Kazak geleneğidir. Dedeler torunlarına, babalar oğullarına kimin kimden gelmesi ve ne ile ünlü olmasına dair sözlü hikayeler anlatırdı. Fakat günümüzde bir insanın, soy ağacını çıkartma girişimleri, birçok bilginin doğruluğunu tasdik edecek yazılı bir kanıt olmadığı için, efsane yaratma girişimlerine benzemektedir. Bugünlerde bu tür efsanelere ihtiyacımız var mı?

# **The Traces of Distinct Cultures at the Cultures at the Minority Houses Dated to 19th Century in the Region Cappadocia**

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## **Abstract**

The Christian houses located in the region Cappadocia and dated to the 19th century bear the traces of various cultures along with their architectural and decorative characteristics. The Muslims lived together with the Christian minorities for a long time. A great many of the houses owned by the minorities in such settlements as Sinasos, Ürgüp, Ortahisar and Uçhisar collapsed during the time. Depending on their inscriptions, almost all the houses are concluded to have been built in the last quarter of 19th century by the local Rums.

While the multi-storey minority houses with a courtyard in Cappadocia preserve the traditional housing fabric, they also reveal some common characteristics. The Christian houses in Kayseri and its vicinity are two or two and half storied. On the very bottom is there generally a carved basement, which is mostly reserved for workshop, barn and storehouse, or kitchen. The layouts of Christian houses are rectangular-shaped symmetrical edifices collecting all the functions in. The rooms are placed around a courtyard or a central top-covered hall or just a hall. The social sex discrimination is not emphasized at the Christian houses; therefore, they are designed with a single entry, a single courtyard and a central hall within a general unity.

Some Western effects can be observed on the facade and the wall surfaces in the interior as architectural plastics, murals and decorative elements. It can be offered that the minority houses share some common architectural characteristics with those under the effect of Turkish Housing Architecture in the region during the same period. It is highly possible to encounter such elements as divanhane, başoda, sofa, avlu of Turkish Housing architecture at the minority houses.

**Keywords:** Distinct Cultures, Minority Houses, Cappadocia



### **Kayseri ve Çevresindeki 19. Yüzyıl Hristiyan Evleri Üzerine Görüşler**

Kappadokia bölgesinde bulunan ve Erciyes'in kuzeyinde yer alan Kayseri, bilindiği gibi en eski dönemlerden itibaren önemli bir merkez olmak ile birlikte özellikle 19.yüzyılda, Müslüman ve azımsanmayacak sayıda Hristiyanların birlikte yaşadığı bir Anadolu kenti olmuştur. 16. Yüzyılda Kayseri'deki nüfusun beşte birinin Hristiyan olduğu bilinmektedir (İmamoğlu V., 1992, s. 33). Evliya Çelebi'nin 1650 yılında Kayseri'ye yaptığı gezide kentte "üç kilise, bir sinagog, 17 camii bulunduğunu" belirttiği söylenir (İmamoğlu V., 1992). Belki de Cumhuriyetten önce üçte bir olduğu söylenen Hristiyanlığın iki mezhebine bağlı "Gregoryan Ermeniler" ve "Ortodoks Rumlar" Müslümanlar ile birlikte uyum içinde yaşamışlar, sadece kendilerine ait mahallelerin dışında aynı mahalleleri de paylaşmışlardır (İmamoğlu V., 1992, s. 33). 30 Ocak 1923 yılında İsviçre'nin Lozan kentinde "Türkiye ile Yunanistan arasında imzalanan Sözleşme ve Protokol" başlıklı hukuki düzenleme ile Batı Trakya dışında yaşayan Müslüman ahali ile İstanbul, Bozcada, ve Gökçeada dışındaki Türkiye'de yaşayan Ortodoksların mübadil olarak karşılıklı göçü zorunlu kılınmış, bu zorunlu göç ile iki milyona yakın insan doğduğu, büyüdüğü ve vatan bellediği toprakları bırakarak başka diyarlara göç ettirilmişlerdir (Tosun, 1998)(Pekak, 2009, s. 165). Ermenilerin kentten ayrılışının ise Rumlara nazaran daha yavaş olduğu, önce az sayıda, 1960 yılında ise çok sayıda Ermeni'nin daha kozmopolitan ve zengin kentlere göç ettiği bilinir (İmamoğlu V., 1992, s. 34). Böylelikle mübadiller taşınmaz mallarını, özellikle evlerini geride bırakmak zorunda kalmışlardır.

Bu çalışmada, araştırmacıların 19. yüzyılda gayrimüslim Osmanlı vatandaşlarının Kayseri ve çevresinde inşa ettiği evler hakkındaki görüşleri kısaca sunularak, değerlendirilmeye çalışılmıştır. Osmanlı'nın son yüzyılı olan 19. yüzyılda Kappadokia bölgesi içinde kalan özellikle Mustafapaşa başta olmak üzere Ortahisar, Ürgüp gibi sivil mimari örneklerini büyük oranda koruyabilen yerleşimlerin Gayrimüslim evlerinin diğer kültürlerle benzerliklerinin yanı sıra farklılıkları ortaya konulacaktır.

19. yüzyılda Kayseri'de 15. bin civarında Ermeni'nin yaşadığı bilinmektedir (Matossian, 2016, s. 24). Ermeni nüfustaki artış ve azalmalarda özellikle sosyo-ekonomik ve politik koşulların etkili olduğu bilinmektedir. Deprem, kıtlık, kolera ve doğal afetler gibi nedenlerle birlikte Ermeni'ler daha iyi koşullar bulmak üzere evlerini bırakarak başka yerlere taşınmışlardır. Şehirde Ermeni nüfusun Rum nüfustan daha yüksek olduğu açıkça anlaşılır (Çakıroğlu, 1952, s. 38). Fakat şehrin dışında durum bunun tam tersi olduğu görülür. Şehri 19. Yüzyılın ilk yarısında ziyaret eden W. Ainsworth bu durumu şöyle açıklamaktadır; "İlginçtir ki şehrin

iinde Ermeni nfusu Rumların drt katıyken, civar kylerde durum bunun tam tersidir. Yarı gml ev yapısı civar kylerin bazılarında ve kayalık vadilerde kullanılmaya devam etmektedir. Ancak anlaşılan odur ki, buranın en eski nfusu Ermeni'dir "(Ainsworth, 1842, s. 222) (Matossian, 2016, s. 26).

19. yzyılda Kappadokia blgesinin en geliřmiř yeri olan Mustafapařa (Sinassos) kasabasında Ortodoks Rumlar ile Mslmanların birlikte yařadığı bilinmektedir. 19. yzyılda kasabanın 3000'e yakın nfusunun te birinin Mslman, te ikisinin ise Hristiyan olduęu belirtilir (Pekak, 2009, s. 163). 19. yzyıl sonunda kasaba, yredeki dięer yerleřimler iinde nfusunun yzde yetmiř beřinin Rum olduęu tek yerleřim yeridir (Stamatopolos, 1985, s. 40) (zbek Y., 2005, s. 54). Kappadokia'nın dięer blgelerinde yařayan gayrimslim vatandaşların aksine arazilerinin elveriřli olmaması nedeniyle tarımla geimlerini saęlayamayan Sinassoslular ticaretle ilgilenmiř bu yolla zenginleřmiřlerdir (Pekak, 2009, s. 163). Bu zenginliklerini kasabalarına byk konaklar, sosyal yapılar (Belediye binası, mze, otel, okul, kahvehane) kayaya oyma ve kagir dini yapılar yaparak harcadıkları belirtilir (Pekak, 2009, s. 163). 1923 yılındaki Lozan antlařması ile Sinassoslular kasabalarını terk ederek Mersin limanı zerinden Yunanistan'a g etmek zorunda kalmıř, orada Nea Sinassos'a yerleřmiřlerdir (Pekak, 2009, s. 163). Yunanistan'ın Kastoria (Kesriye) blgesindeki Jerveni kynde yařayan Mslmanlar ise deniz yoluyla İzmir ve Mersin limanlarına oralardan da Mustafapařa'ya getirilmiřlerdir (Pekak, 2009, s. 163).

H. Barkley 19.yzyılın sonlarında ziyaret ettięi řehri řyle anlatır; "Kayseri'nin kendisi, daęların oluřturduęu bir girintide yer alan bir dzlkte bulunur ve bu daęlar sayesinde  taraftan korunur, ancak yarım mil tede bir kent iin mmkn olan en iyi noktanın bulunduęu gzel tepeler dururken insanların gelip te nerdeyse bataklık nitelięindeki bylesine rutubetli ve dz bir ovada yařamayı tercih etmeleri ilgintir. Ne var ki bunun sorumlusu belki de Trkler deęildir, zira onlar řehri řimdi bulunduęu yerde miras almıřlar ve o gnlerin Kayseri'sinde řehri elde tutmaya deęer yapan gzel binalar ve evler varmıř. řimdi ise řehir derme atma, virane evlerle dolu ve řehrin sakinleri iin olabilecek en iyi řey sık sık ıkan yangınlardan birinin tm bu evleri yakıp kl etmesi, onları tepelerin yamalarına yayılmıř kylere g etmeye zorlamasıdır" (Barkley, 1891, s. 142) (Matossian, 2016, s. 22).

Ermenilerin "İeri řar" olarak adlandırılan blgedeki saygın mahallelerde cazip evlerde yařadıkları bilinmektedir (Alboyacıyan, s. 690) (Matossian, 2016, s. 24). Sonraları řehir eski surların tesine tařıp tarlalara doęru geniřlemeye bařlayınca ve Bahe Mahallesi kurulunca, Ermenilerin evlerini Rumlara sattığı ve bu yeni mahalleye tařındığı ileri srlr (Matossian, 2016, s. 24). Yazın kavurucu sıcaklar

ve kirlilik yüzünden şehrin içinde yaşamanın imkansız hale geldiği bilinir (Matossian, 2016, s. 24). 19. Yüzyılın ikinci yarısında şehri ziyaret seyyahlardan R.A Hammond “ Modern Kayseri şehri surlarla çevrilidir; evlerin bazıları iyi yapılmış, ama sokaklar dar ve pis, genele baktığınızda, buranın harap ve bakımsız bir görünümü var” demektedir (Hammond, 1878, s. 304) (Matossian, 2016, s. 24). J. Macdonald Kinneir’in şehrin ciddi olarak alt yapı ve temizlikten müzdarip olduğuna dair tasvirleri, imkanı olanların yazları daha temiz hava alabilmek için dağlara çıktığına delildir (Kinneir, 1818, s. 102) (Matossian, 2016, s. 24 ). F. Bennet ise Temmuz ve Ağustos aylarında kent sakinlerinin dağlardaki bağlarına gittiklerini böylelikle salgın hastalıklardan kaçabildiklerini belirtir (Matossian, 2016, s. 24) (Karpas, 1998, s. 885-911). Böylelikle şehirde evi olan birçok Ermeni’nin kırsal bölgelerde veya dağ yamaçlarında da bir evi olduğu bilinir.

1838 Osmanlı-İngiliz Serbest Ticaret anlaşması ve diğer güçlü devletlerle yapılan ticaret anlaşmaları kısa sürede Osmanlı piyasalarında Avrupa ile ticarete büyük bir canlılık getirmiştir (Matossian, 2016, s. 30). Osmanlı vilayetlerinde Müslümanların kontrolünde olan dış ticaret zaman içinde Hristiyanların eline geçmiş, Ermeni tüccarlar İstanbul’un yanı sıra, Manchester’da ve diğer Avrupa şehirlerinde ticari firmalar açarak, ithalat-ihracat faaliyetlerinde lider konumuna yükselmişlerdir (Matossian, 2016, s. 30). Rumların çoğunun da ticaretle uğraştığı ekonomik durumunun Ermenilerden daha iyi olduğu bilinir (İmamoğlu V., 1992, s. 33). Ermenilerin uğraş alanlarının terzilik, kunduracılık, halı dokumacılığı, marangozluk, taşçılık, duvarcılık gibi el sanatları; pastırmacılık, müzisyenlik gibi imalat ve hizmet sektörü olduğu belirtilir (İmamoğlu V., 1992, s. 33). Arazi ve mal mülk sahibi olan Müslümanların ise bunlardan sağladıkları gelirle yaşayıp, esnaflık ve ticaretle hayatlarını kazandıkları söylenir (İmamoğlu V., 1992, s. 33).

Kayseri ve çevresindeki Türk evlerini konu alan bazı monografik çalışmalar bulunmaktadır. Bunlardan ilki 1952 yılına ait N. Çakıroğlu tarafından hazırlanan “Kayseri Evleri” dir (Çakıroğlu, 1952). Bu yayında Türk dönemine ait şehir ve bağ evleri genel olarak tanıtılarak, kitabın kısa bir bölümünde ise evler din ayrılıklarına göre mukayese edilmiştir. V. İmamoğlu tarafından hazırlanan 1992 yılına ait, “Kayseri’deki Geleneksel Türk Evlerini” adlı kitapta Kayseri’deki Müslüman evlerinden bazılarını mimari yönleri ile tanıtılarak, bir bölümünde “evlerin dine göre farklılaşması” kısaca incelenmiş, Türk ve gayri Müslüm evlerinin benzerlik ve farklılıklarına değinilmiştir. Aynı araştırmacının “Kayseri Bağ Evleri” ile “Gesi Evleri” evlerini inceleyen iki monografik çalışması daha bulunmaktadır (İmamoğlu V., 2001)(İmamoğlu V., 2010). Birbirini tamamlaması amacı ile yapılmış olan bu yayınlarda özellikle bazı Müslüman bağ evleri tanıtılıp, değerlendirilmiştir. Yayınlardan bir diğeri ise G. Büyükmihçi tarafından yayınlanan “Kayseri’de Yaşam

ve Konut Kltrn” ele alan alıřmadır (Bykmihı, 2015). Bykmihı kitabında Kayseri zelinde doęal-sosyal-ekonomik-kltrel belirleyicileri ve kltr-mekn etkileřim sistemini inceleyerek, konutların genel zelliklerini Mslman ve Ermeni evleri olmak zere iki kısımda tanıtımıř, her iki kltre ait bu yapıları karřılařtırarak, deęerlendirmiřtir. Bu yayın, yredeki zellikle gayrimslim evlerini detaylı olarak inceleyip deęerlendiren bir alıřmadır.

Yapılan arařtırmalarda Kayseri evlerinin dini aıdan sınıflandırmanın kolay olmadıęı, nfusun oęunluęunun Mslman olması ile birlikte 1835 depreminden sonra kalan evlerin oęunun Mslmanlara ait olmasının her iki dine ait evleri karřılařtırma olanaęını ortadan kaldırdıęı belirtilir (İmamoęlu V., 1992, s. 34). Dinleri ne olursa olsun gelir dzeyi alt ve orta dzeyde olan yerli Kayserililerin genellikle benzer mimari zelliklere sahip evlerde yařadıkları, fakat gelir dzeyi yksek olan zengin Hristiyan evlerinin Mslmanlarınkinden ayrılabilceęi sylenir (İmamoęlu V., 1992, s. 34). Hristiyan ve Mslman evlerini ayırt edici en belirgin zellięin; Latin ve Arap harflerinin kullanıldıęı yazılı levhalar ile tařa iřlenmiř sembolik řekiller olduęu bildirilir (İmamoęlu V., 2010, s. 176). te yandan N. akıroęlu, dıř grnř itibarıyla Mslman ve gayrimslim evleri arasında bariz bir fark grldęn savunur (akıroęlu, 1952, s. 38). Kanımızca Hristiyan evlerini Mslman evlerinden ayıran en belirgin fark, odalarda ve cepheelerde kullanılan ssleme motifleri olmalıdır. zellikle Rumlara ait evlerde antik etkili motiflerin yoęunlukta olduęu, aynı zamanda batı etkisi ve halk sanatı karakteri gsterdięi sylenebilir.

Rum ve Ermeni evlerinin arasında da ayırım yapmanın zor olduęu dřnlr. Evlerin kitabelerin olmayıřı, olanların ise fazla bilgi vermeyiři, evlerin tapu dkmnn yapılmamıř olması, satıř senetlerinin yokluęu ile birlikte nfuslarındaki azalmanın Rum ve Ermeni evleri arasında ayırım yapmayı zorlařtırdıęı vurgulanır (İmamoęlu V., 1992, s. dipnot:26). İmamoęlu, Kayserinin evresinde bulunan ilelerdeki Hristiyan evlerinde de belirgin bir ayırım ve fark grlmedięini ileri srer (İmamoęlu V., 2010, s. 173). zellikle Gesi ve evresindeki Hristiyan evlerinde 19. yzyıl sonlarına kadar yresel kltr benimsemiř, ev sahibinin istek ve beęenilerini dikkate alan ustalar tarafından mtevazi bir biimde yapıldıęı sylenmektedir (İmamoęlu V., 2010, s. 176).

Rum evlerinin, Ermeni evlerinden daha grkemli olduęu gzlenmiřtir. 19. yzyılın sonunda řehirde tam bir kent soylu gibi yařadıęı dřnlen varlıklı Rumların, řehirde, Talas, Germir, Tavlusun, Endrlk gibi yazlıklarda zenli iřilięe sahip, gze arpan evler yaptıkları bilinir (İmamoęlu V., 1992, s. 34). İmamoęlu, Hristiyan evlerindeki bu grkemini, gayri Mslmlerin dindařları iin sahip oldukları arsayı daha iyi kullanma kayęısı ile etkileřim iinde bulundukları Avrupa kentleri ile

İstanbul'da gördükleri konforlu evler ile oradaki yaşama özenmelerinden kaynaklandığını düşünür (İmamoğlu V., 1992, s. 34). Ticari anlamda ilişkide oldukları Avrupa etkisi Hristiyan evlerinin mimari ve süsleme özelliklerine de yansımıştır.

İmamoğlu, iki kültüre ait evler arasında yaptığı karşılaştırmada; Hristiyan evlerinin iki yada iki buçuk katlı olduğunu, bahçesi yada yeşil alanının küçüldüğünü, planının "içe dönük" olmaktan çok "dışa dönük" olduğunu belirtir (İmamoğlu V., 1992, s. 34). (Res.5-6). Ermeni evlerinde önceden planlanan üst katlara sofadaki bir taş merdivenle çıkıldığı, alt kat planının üst katta tekrar edildiği gözlenir (Büyükmihçi, 2015, s. 153). Hristiyan evlerinin genellikle hepsinde avlu mevcut olup etrafında odalar sıralanır (Res.5). Ermeni evlerinin de iç sofalı ve ya orta sofalı olduğu bilinir (Büyükmihçi, 2015, s. 148). Tanzimat Fermanından sonra yapılan Hristiyan evlerinin Müslüman evlerine nazaran daha simetrik bir plan düzenine sahip olduğu ortaya konmuştur (İmamoğlu V., 2010, s. 177). Bu evlerin, Müslüman evlerine kıyasla daha düzgün, derli toplu, her işlevi içinde toplayan bitmiş dikdörtgenler şeklinde tasarlandığı, plana ya da bina kitlesine bir şey eklenip, çıkartılmasının genel düzeni bozacağı ileri sürülür (İmamoğlu V., 1992, s. 35). Özellikle Ermeni evlerinin ortadaki sofa ile iki yanında evin büyüklüğü ile bağlantılı olarak iki veya dört odanın yer aldığı simetrik plana sahip olduğu belirtilir (Büyükmihçi, 2015, s. 154). Müslüman evlerindeki sofa-tokana- harem sıralaması ya da hiyerarşisinin olmadığı, tüm odaların benzer şekilde önem sırası gözetilmeden yerleştirildiği vurgulanır (İmamoğlu V., 1992, s. 35). İmamoğlu, zengin Hristiyan evlerinde sofa'nın görülmediğini, sofaya benzer tek mekan olan avlunun yerini ise ortadaki merkezi hol veya salonun aldığı söylenir (İmamoğlu V., 1992, s. 35). (Res.2). Büyükmihçi, odalara, tokenaya, üst kata, avluya ve sokağa geçit veren avlunun önemli bir sirkülasyon ve yaşama alanı olarak, plan şemasının asıl belirleyicisi ve odak noktası olduğunu, orta gelir düzeyine sahip olan Ermeni evlerinde evin sokak ile ilişkisini sağlayan sofanın ise yan mekanlara ve üst kata dağılımı sağlayan mimari ve dekoratif açıdan özel bir konum arz ettiğini ileri sürer (Büyükmihçi, 2015, s. 150, 155). (Res.2, 12). Batıdaki yaşam biçimine özenen zengin Hristiyan ailelerin Avrupa'dan esinlenerek simetrik planlı içinde tuvaleti olan büyük evler inşa ettirdikleri görülür (İmamoğlu V., 2010, s. 177).

Zengin Müslüman evlerinde cinsiyet ayırımı gereği, ayrı giriş ve avlular ile haremlik ve selamlık bölümleri inşa edilirken, Hristiyan evlerinde böyle bir ayırma gerek duyulmayıp tek giriş ve tek avlulu ya da merkezi hollü tasarlanmış, evler birlik ve bütünlük içinde düzenlenmiştir (İmamoğlu V., 1992, s. 35). Müslüman evlerinde planın odak merkezini oluşturan avlunun, Ermeni evlerinde ana yapı kütesinin arkasında, sokağa paralel olarak konumlanan, oranları küçülmüş ve yaz aylarında

bir “iç bahçe” olarak kullanılan bir tali mekân olarak tasarlandığı düşünülür (Büyükmihçı, 2015, s. 151). (Res.5). Yüzyılın sonunda varlıklı Hristiyan ailelerin giriş kapısının açıldığı kapalı holleri tercih ettiği görülür (İmamoğlu V., 2010, s. 177). (Res.6). Hristiyan evlerindeki bu giriş hollerini araştırmacılardan Büyükmihçı “antre”, “giriş eyvanı” ya da “ön giriş” olarak adlandırır (Büyükmihçı, 2015, s. 149). Evin sokak ile ilişkisini sağlayan bu giriş eyvanından genellikle kemerli bir geçişle iç ve orta sofaya geçildiği bilinir (Büyükmihçı, 2015, s. 149). (Res.6).

İmamoğlu, Hristiyan evlerinin en önemli özelliklerinin “bilinçli olarak uygulanan konfor anlayışı” ile “hayatı kolaylaştıracak mimari çözümler” olduğunu, dolayısıyla bazı odalarda ocak ya da şöminelerin yer aldığı, tuvaletlerin bahçeden kapalı mekanlara, merkezi hol çeperlerine alınarak, tuvalet ve merkezi holde temizlik için yapılmış musluklu su depoları gibi donatıların inşa edildiğini belirtilir (İmamoğlu V., 1992, s. 35-36). Su kuyularının mutfak veya merkezi holün altına kazıldığı böylelikle evdekilere dışarı çıkmadan su çekme olanağı verdiği söylenir (İmamoğlu V., 1992, s. 36) Büyükmihçı, Ermeni evlerinin mekânsal tasarımında avluya ve sokağa bakan pencereleri ile aydınlık ve ferah olarak tasarlanan geniş odaların, yüksek tavanlı olduğunu vurgular (Büyükmihçı, 2015, s. 151).

İki ya da iki buçuk katlı evlerde, alt katı oluşturan bodrumlarda; ahır samanlık, odunluk, tahıl ambarları, depolar ve şarap işlikleri ya da şırahaneler yer alır (Res.7-11). Hristiyanların tüm evin altını, hatta orta avlu veya holün altını bile bodruma dönüştürdükleri bilinir (İmamoğlu V., 1992, s. 36). Bu katlarda bulunan şırahaneler antik dönem mimari özelliklerini devam ettirmektedir. Büyük boyuttaki üzüm ezme havuzu zeminindeki kanal ve çörten yardımı ile üzüm suyunun biriktirildiği tekneye bağlanır. Ermeni evlerinde şırahanelere üzümleri kolayca ulaştırabilmek için orta sofa döşemesinde kapakların açıldığı ve ya sokaktan yapı içine uzanan kanalların yapıldığı söylenmektedir (Büyükmihçı, 2015, s. 157-158, Res.138). Sağlam ve kütsel taş kemerlere sahip geniş bodrum katlarında servis mekanlarının yanı sıra üretmek, oturmak, dinlenmek ve yatmak amacıyla kullanılabilecek mekanlarda havalandırmanın giriş kotunun yükseltilmesi ile elde edilen küçük pencerelerle sağlandığı söylenir (Büyükmihçı, 2015, s. 158). Genellikle evlerin temelindeki kayadan oyularak oluşturulan bodrum katlarındaki mekânlardan kiler, genellikle büyük boyutlarda olup, duvarlarında niş ve sekiler içerir (Res.7). Aynı kattaki şarap, sıra saklamak için inşa edilen mahzenler genellikle bu katın en derin köşelerindedir. Duvarların alt bölümünde, Bizans kayaya oyma mahzenlerinde olduğu gibi yuvarlak kemerli nişler ile nişlerin zemininde daire biçimli amphora yuvaları dikkati çeker (Res.8). Kayaya oyma kilerlerin zemininde, erzak için ayrılan kuyuların daire biçimli ağızları ile işliklerin duvarlarda derin tekneleri ve farklı biçimlerde nişleri bulunur (Res.9-10).

Genellikle depolara bitişik inşa edilen mutfaklarda, duvarlarda seki ve nişlerle beraber büyük bir ocak yer alır (Res.11). Kimi zaman mutfığa bitişik dinlemeye yönelik odalar da yer almaktadır. Hristiyan evlerinden özellikle Rumlara ait olanlarda, kayaya oyma bodrum katındaki bu mekanların özellikleri yöredeki Bizans dönemine ait kayaya oyma konutların özelliklerini anımsatmaktadır.

“Zerzemi” olarak adlandırılan bir bodrum katı üzerinde iki katlı ve iç sofalı düzenlenen Ermeni evlerinin sokağa, Müslüman evlerinde olduğu gibi avlu aracılığı ile değil taş kemerli büyük ve çarpıcı kapılarla doğrudan sağlandığı belirtilir (Büyükmihçi, 2015, s. 148). (Res.17). Genellikle iki katlı bütünsel bir şema arz eden Ermeni evlerinin zemin katında mutfak ve günlük kullanıma yönelik mekanlar, üst katta ise yatma, oturma ve dinlenmeye ayrılmış hacimler bulunur (Büyükmihçi, 2015, s. 155). Mustafapaşa (Sinassos) da incelediğimiz bir ev örneğinde, küçük boyutlu ibadet mekanına rastlanmıştır. Oval bir tavana sahip olan mekânın duvarlarının üst bölümünde kör nişler dikkati çeker (Res.13).

Hristiyan evleri düz damlı olup, işlevseldir. Sıkışık arsa düzenleri ve yoğunlaşan yaşam biçimi ile avlu ve bahçeleri küçülen Hristiyanların dış alanlarını değerlendirdikleri, dolayısıyla damlarını çamaşır asmak, sebze, meyva, pastırma, sucuk vb. gibi yiyecekleri kurutmak için kullandıkları belirtilir (İmamoğlu V., 1992, s. 36).

Hristiyanların 19. yüzyılda batı ile birlikte İstanbul, İzmir gibi büyük şehirlerle olan ticari ilişkilerinin evlerinin mimarisine, cephe düzeni ve süslemelerine de yansıdığından daha önce bahsetmiştik. İstanbul, İzmir gibi şehirlerde yer alan büyük konaklardaki çift kollu barok merdivenlerin Ermeni evlerinde görülmesi ilgi çekicidir (Büyükmihçi, 2015, s. 159). Hristiyan evlerinin Müslüman evlerinden ayrılan en büyük özelliğinin son derece hareketli tasarlanan cepheleridir (Res.3-4). Büyükmihçi, Ermeni evlerinde kendi kültür ve yaşam biçimlerini yansıtan, teknik açıdan başarılı ve çok yetenekli taş ustalarının çalıştığını söyler (Büyükmihçi, 2015, s. 160). Çakıroğlu, Ermeni evlerinde iç mimaride olduğu gibi dış mimaride abartının hakim olduğunu, sık ve ağır konsollar, profil ve kabartmalarla cephelerin ağırlaştırıldığını belirtir (Çakıroğlu, 1952, s. 41). Cephelerde saçak altındaki çörtlenler genellikle hayvan başları şeklinde düzenlenmiştir. Aslan, ejderha ya da canavar şeklinde yapılan bu çörtlenler son derece stilize olup Selçuklu hatta kimi zaman Gotik karakter taşımaktadır (Büyükmihçi, 2015, s. 197). İç mekanlarda ve cephelerde kullanılan korint ve iyon başlıklı sütunlar, saçak altındaki dişli frizler, volütlü ve asma yapraklı konsollar ile meander motifli şeritler antik geleneği yansıtır. Üzüm, asma yaprağı, kuş, aslan, ejder, melek gibi klasik motiflere özellikle cephelerde sıkça rastlanmaktadır (Büyükmihçi, 2015, s. 181, Res.18). Cephelerdeki

çıkma ve balkonların ahşap hatıllar üzerine oturtularak, taş konsollarla taşındığı ve kat ayırımının profilli silmelerle vurgulandığı belirtilir (Büyükmihçı, 2015, s. 162). Üst kat cephesindeki profilli konsollarla taşınan iç sofayı sınırlayan açık çıkma şeklindeki balkonun yarım yuvarlak, sivri ya da kaş kemerler ile vurgulanması genellikle her Hristiyan yapısında dikkati çeker (Büyükmihçı, 2015, s. 161). Tanzimattan sonra Hristiyan halkın gösterişli ve büyük kapılar yaptırdığı, orta ve alt sosyo-ekonomik düzeydeki Müslümanların ise mütevazı kapılara sahip olduğu ileri sürülür (İmamoğlu V., 2010, s. 177). Ermenilerin özel bir önemle biçimlendirdikleri giriş kapılarının biçim, boyut ve bezeme açısından önem taşıdıkları vurgulanır (Büyükmihçı, 2015, s. 181-186). Bunlar, S ve C kıvrımları, volütler, kıvrık dallar, palmet, zikzak ve ok ucu motifleri ve korint başlıklı yivli sütunları ile antik ve barok etkileri sunan büyük, yuvarlak kemerli elit işçilikte kapılardır (Res.17). Mustafapaşa (Sinassos)'taki evlerde cephenin üst bölümündeki dışa taşkın üçgen bir alınlıkla kapı vurgulanmıştır. Kapılarının üzerinde odalara geçişi sağlayan "giriş holleri"ne ışık ve hava veren pencereler dikkati çeker (İmamoğlu V., 2010, s. 17).

Hristiyan evlerinin merkezi hole bakan odalarının hem hole hem de sokağa bakan pencereleri vardır (İmamoğlu V., 1992, s. 36). (Res.3-4). Ortada yer alan cumba şeklindeki balkonun iki yanında ikili ve üçlü gruplar halindeki lento ya da kemerli, eşit sayıdaki pencerelerin cephede simetriyi kuvvetlendirdiği düşünülür (Büyükmihçı, 2015, s. 162, Res.142-143). Cephelerde pencere sayısının artışı ile evlerin iç mekanlarında daha ferah ve aydınlık görünüm kazandırıldığı belirtilir (İmamoğlu V., 2010, s. 177). Mustafapaşa (Sinassos)'daki Rum evlerinde mekânların avluya bakan cepheleri kabartma tekniğinde küçük kör niş ve kör kemerlerle hareketlendirilmiştir (Res. 3-4). Kemer ve nişlerin alınlıklarında yelpaze motifleri ile çevresinde çok kollu yıldız ve çiçekler, kıvrık dallar ile küçük dişli frizler yer alır. Üst kattaki sofanın avluya bakan üçüz-ikiz yuvarlak kemerli açıklıkları cephenin odak noktasını oluşturmaktadır (Res.4).

19. yüzyılın sonuna doğru Kayseri evlerinde geleneksel eşyaların yanı sıra batılı eşyaların kullanıldığı, bunu Müslümanların da görüp, benimsediği ileri sürülür (İmamoğlu V., 1992, s. 37). Müslümanlardaki bu değişikliğin yayılma nedenlerinden biri olarak duvar ustalarının ve marangozların genel olarak Hristiyan –çoğunlukla Ermeni olmasından kaynaklandığı düşünülür (İmamoğlu V., 1992, s. 37). Hristiyan evlerinde, günlük yaşama olanak verecek şekilde tasarlanan odalarda, ahşap sedir, seki, yüklük, niş ve hatta yıkanma bölümleri bulunur. Ayrıca Ortahisar ve Mustafapaşa (Sinassos) da rastladığımız bazı evlerin odalarında, köşelerde tek kapılı ahşap dolaplar şeklinde tasarlanmış küçük yıkanma bölümleri bulunmaktadır (Res.15). Bazı örneklerde bu bölümlere bitişik



aşşap küçük dolaplarda yer alır. Ayrıca Mustafapaşa (Sinassos) da incelediğimiz bazı evlerin birinci kattaki odaların duvarlarında ibrik, şişe, kap formu küçük nişler göze çarpar (Res.14).

Kayseri'deki Hristiyan evlerinde yer alan taş, aşşap, metal ve boya ile oluşturulan dekoratif öğeler, din ve kültür farklılığını gösteren en önemli özelliklerdir (Büyükmihçı, 2015, s. 171-198). Ermeni evlerinde dekoratif öğelerin dış mekandan daha çok iç mekanlarda kullanıldığı dikkati çeker (Büyükmihçı, 2015, s. 173). İç mekanda en çok kullanılan aşşap, kapı, zarlar, yüklük, niş, şerbetlik ve tavanda tercih edilmiştir (Büyükmihçı, 2015, s. 173). Şerbetliklerin bazısında boyama tekniğinde Barok etkili motifler görölmektedir. İç mimaride tavanlarda özellikle sofada aşşap göbekler dikkati çeker (Res.16). Çakıroğlu, bir Türk evinde bu göbeğin ortasındaki aşşap topuzun inceltilmiş bir oyma olduğunu, Ermeni evinde ise göbeklerdeki motiflerin ağır, düşecek hissi veren yüksek kabartma niteliğinde olduğunu söyler (Çakıroğlu, 1952, s. 41).

Hristiyan evlerinin odaların duvarlarında manzara ve figürlü sahneler, kent görünümleri içeren duvar resimleri ile barok örneklerde olduğu gibi iç mekanlarda ferahlık kazandırılmıştır. Müslüman evlerinde ise genellikle figürsüz, bitki, çiçek ve doğa görüntülerine sahip duvar resimleri oluşturulmuştur. Büyükmihçı, Ermeni evlerinin duvarlardaki İstanbul manzaraları, saray silüetleri, sandallar, köprüler, Göksu gezileri gibi, betimlemelerin "Tanzimat sonrası Osmanlı burjuvazisinin bireyselleşmiş ve süsle lüksleştirilmiş iç mekanlarını ya da yeni dünyaya eklemlenmeye çalışan insanların iç dünyalarını anlattığını" düşünür (Büyükmihçı, 2015, s. 159). Kappadokia yöresindeki çoğu duvar resimleri Mustafapaşa (Sinassos)taki Rumların inşa ettikleri evlerde bulunmaktadır (Özbek, 2005, s. 55). Bu resimler evlerin sofalarında, şerbetlik ve ya çiçeklik denilen nişlerin içinde, mitolojik olabilecek figürlü ya da figürsüz, çevredeki peyzajlardan seçilmiş gerçekçi ya da hayali manzaraları içermektedir. (Özbek Y. , 2005). Araştırmacılar Özbek, bu kasabadaki duvar resimlerinin "modernleşme çabalarıyla yeni zevk ve beğenileri benimsemiş Müslüman ve Hristiyan sanatçıların eserleri" olarak benimsenebileceğini söyler (Özbek Y. , 2005, s. 56). Ressam adı taşıyan bu resimlerdeki Müslüman etkileri, resimlerdeki bazı figürlerin giyimlerinden tespit edilmiştir (Özbek, 2005, s. 53). Araştırmacılar bu duvar resimlerinin "İstanbul'dan getirilmiş sanatçılar tarafından yaptırıldığı ya da fotoğraf ve kartpostal gibi görsel malzemelerden kopyalanarak çalışıldığını" ileri sürmektedir (Özbek, 2005, s. 53). Özbek, kasabadaki resimleri üslup açısından batılı karakter taşıyan, yöredeki elit örnekler olarak değerlendirir (Özbek, 2005, s. 63).

Kayseri ve evresinde yer alan 19. yzyıla ait Hristiyan evleri, bu toplumun sanat zellikleri ile birlikte yařam biimini ortaya koyan nemli sivil yapı rnekleridir. Hristiyanların yrede i ie yařadıkları Mslman toplumun yanı sıra ticari nedenlerle farklı kltrlerin izlerini evlerinde yansıtmaları doęaldır. Bu etkileřim ile beraber Hristiyanlar, kendilerine ait geleneksel zelliklerini de evlerinin mimarisi ve dekoratif sslemelerinde devam ettirmişlerdir. Arařtırmacılarından akıroęlu, Ermeni evlerinde zellikle plan tipi aısından Trk evlerinin mimari zelliklerinin benimsendięini ileri surer (akıroęlu, 1952, s. 41). Ermenilerin ticaret yapmalarından dolayı yakın iliřkide bulundukları byk kentlerdeki burjuvazi yařam biimi ve konutlarından etkilendikleri ařıkardır. Akademik eęitim grmř mimar olmaması nedeni ile yapıım ařamasında sz sahibi olan ustaların, ev sahiplerinin isteklerini gz nne alsalar da kendi istek ve dřncelerini eserlere yansıttıkları savunulur (İmamoęlu V., 1992, s. 37-38). Ancak akıroęlu, Ermeni ustaların binalarda yaratıcı bir unsur olarak deęil, ancak yapıcı bir unsur olarak alıřtıęını, yaratıcılık vasfının binayı ısmarlayanın elinde olduęunu vurgular (akıroęlu, 1952, s. 41). Kappadokia'daki 19. yzyıl Hristiyan sivil mimarisinin en renkli rnekleri olan bu evlerin bir blm korunarak, deęerlendirilmiřtir. Onarılmayı bekleyen dięer evlerin ise acilen belgelenip, bilime sunulması gerekmektedir. Gnmzde evler ile ilgili bilimsel alıřmaların oęalması sevindirici bir husustur.



**Fotoęraf 1:** Mustafapařa (Sinassos) ev, st kattaki odalardan biri (oraęan,



**Fotoęraf 2:** Mustafapařa (Sinassos) ev, st kattaki sofa (oraęan, 2016).

2016).



**Fotoğraf 3:** Mustafapaşa (Sinassos) ev, avluya açılan mekanlar (Çorağan, 2016).



**Fotoğraf 4:** Mustafapaşa (Sinassos) ev, üst kattaki odaların avluya bakan cephesi (Çorağan, 2016).



**Fotoğraf 5:** Mustafapaşa (Sinassos) ev, avlu (Çorağan, 2016).



**Fotoğraf 6:** Mustafapaşa (Sinassos) ev, giriş holü (Çorağan, 2016).



**Fotoğraf 7:** Mustafapaşa (Sinassos) ev, bodrum kattaki kiler (Çorağan, 2016).



**Fotoğraf 8:** Mustafapaşa (Sinassos) ev, bodrum kattaki şarap saklama mahzeni (Çorağan, 2016).



**Fotoęraf 9:** Mustafapařa (Sinassos) ev, bodrum kattaki kiler (oraęan, 2016).



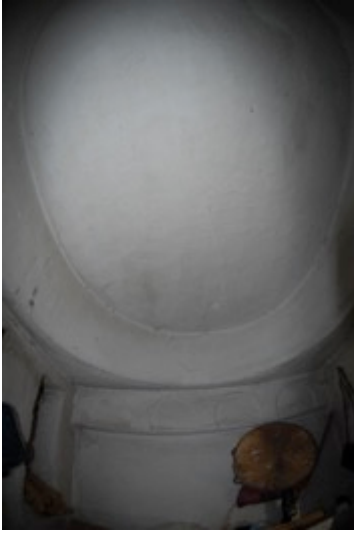
**Fotoęraf 10:** Ortahisar, ev, bodrum kattaki iřlik (oraęan, 2016).



**Fotoęraf 11:** Ortahisar, ev, bodrum kattaki mutfak (oraęan, 2016).



**Fotoęraf 12:** Ortahisar, ev, sofa (oraęan, 2016).



**Fotoğraf 13:** Mustafapaşa (Sinasos) ev, ibadet bölümü (Çorağan, 2016).



**Fotoğraf 15:** Mustafapaşa (Sinasos) ev, odalardaki yıkanma bölümleri (Çorağan, 2016).



**Fotoğraf 14:** Mustafapaşa (Sinasos) ev, duvardaki nişler (Çorağan, 2016).



**Fotoğraf 16:** Mustafapaşa (Sinasos) ev, ahşap tavan göbeği (Çorağan, 2016).



**Fotoęraf 17:** Mustafapařa (Sinasos) ev, giriř kapısı (oraęan, 2016).



**Fotoęraf 18:** Mustafapařa (Sinasos) ev, cephedeki kabartma melek motifi (oraęan, 2016).

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## **Multiculturalism in Israel - A Nation Formed of Migrations**

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### **Abstract**

Israel is a unique state in terms of formation, composition and diversity of its population, as well as multicultural life in its cities and other settlements. Being formed by hundreds of thousands of migrants from totally different parts of the world during the last 130 years, the Israeli society has since been one of the most multicultural and diverse countries not only in terms of languages spoken throughout the country, but also in terms of social, educational and financial background of the newcomers. Modern history of Israel is a history of migrations, which consisted of people who spoke dozens of languages including Arabic, Yiddish, German, Russian, Persian, English and even Amharic and Tigrinya. Therefore, Israel is, undoubtedly, one of the most interesting countries in terms of multiculturalism. Formation of a new society from such diverse parts has not been very easy, of course. However, taking into consideration difference of languages, cultures, levels of education, worldview and even races, it could be said, with no hesitation, that Israel can and should be learnt as a successful society in terms of multiculturalism and cultural tolerance. The search and analysis of the roots of multiculturalism and cultural tolerance, as well as the problems occurred in the process of formation of a new nation throughout the last century in Israel are very important in terms of the recent rising ethnic, cultural and racial intolerance in the world.

**Keywords:** Israel, multiculturalism, migration, tolerance, diversity



### **Multiculturalism in Israel - A Nation Formed of Migrations**

Israel is a unique state in terms of formation, composition and diversity of its population, as well as multicultural life in its cities and other settlements. Being formed by hundreds of thousands of migrants from different parts of the world during the last 130 years, the Israeli society has since been one of the most multicultural and diverse countries not only in terms of languages spoken throughout the country, but also in terms of social, educational and financial background of newcomers.

Israel is unique from many points of view - it is the only nation in the world that has been formed by migrations on the basis of national and partially religious factors. Many nations in the last several centuries were formed by migrations, including almost all American continents, but uniqueness of Israel in these terms, as mentioned above, is the emphasis on nationality specially. Under the influence of national movements and formation of national states in Europe, beginning from the early 19th century, Jewish communities of Europe tried to answer the question of identity and historical and religious affiliation with the land of Israel became the key for them for solution. However, spread all over the world, Jews had few things that could really unite them around. Thus, even Jewish communities of Europe themselves had essential differences between them - some were more assimilated and/or financially powerful in comparison to others (like in France and Germany), while others stayed conservative, enclosed and poor. They spoke different languages. For example, the language of Eastern European Jews was Yiddish. And of course, migrating to Israel in tens of thousands, they brought to the new land all their diversity. On the other hand, living in countries where national movements had not emerged yet, vast Jewish communities of the whole Middle East were deprived of any sense of national identity. It was only in late 40s and early 50s of the 20th century when entire Sephardic communities began to migrate to Israel. Furthermore, members of these communities were totally different from those of the European Ashkenazi community, as Jews of Europe were comparatively much more educated, organized and financially capable. This caused a serious gap between the two communities from social, educational, financial and even political points of view. However, the newly established state of Israel could successfully manage and solve the problem even in a short term. To understand the process, we can have a look at some statistics: even today, two fifth of the all Jewish citizens of Israel are those with a different state of birth rather than Israel, which makes the nation one of the youngest ones.

In 1919, following two previous immigrations of European Jews to Palestine in late 19<sup>th</sup> century, a new wave of immigrants started and lasted until 1923. 45% of immigrants were from Russia while 35% percent immigrated from Poland and the rest from different East European countries. In total, 35.000 immigrants came to Palestine<sup>1</sup>. However, it was not the last immigration wave. Antisemitism that began and gained strength in late 20th in Europe (specially after the National-Socialists came to power in Germany) paved the way for a new wave of aliyah<sup>2</sup>. The fourth immigration wave brought to Palestine approximately 260.000 European Jews, some of which settled around the oil refining factory in Haifa. This wave of migration lasted until 1939, which increased the Jewish community of Palestine up to 450.000 people. Besides, a short period after coming to power, the National-Socialists of Germany signed an agreement with the Zionist circles on migration of Jews, according to which around 50.000 Jews from Germany were allowed to migrate to Palestine.<sup>3</sup> After such a massive migration, angry with attempts of population engineering by Jewish settlers, Arab population of Palestine began strikes against the newcomers and the Mandate Authorities, after which the British Government adopted the Statement of Policy in Palestine (mostly known as the "White Paper" in history). According to the White Paper, the number of the Jewish migrants to Palestine in next five years would be limited to 15.000 only and the migration would not be allowed after 1944. However, unwilling to accept this limitation, Jewish Organizations as Mossad Lealiyah Bet and the Irgun accelerated illegal migration, during which more than 100.000 Jewish immigrants were adopted.<sup>4</sup> The newcomers were brought to ports to be sent to different settlements.

For 3 years after the Second World War, 140.000 European Jews survived the Holocaust and migrated to Palestine. The newcomers were settled in regions where Jews were in minority, thus increasing the percentage of the Jewish population in critical regions. Furthermore, more than 300.000 Sephardic Jews migrated to the newly established State of Israel, after their situation deteriorated in the Arab countries due to the first Arab-Israeli war (also named the War of Independence in Israel). It was the first wave of migration of Sephardic Jews from the Arab countries. It was followed by migration of approximately

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<sup>1</sup> "לא על מגש של כסף" יהודה ואלך, ירושלים, 2000, עמ' 30

<sup>2</sup> עלייה in Hebrew means immigration to Palestine (nowadays to Israel).

<sup>3</sup> [http://www.transferagreement.com/German\\_Jewish\\_Refugees\\_1933-1939](http://www.transferagreement.com/German_Jewish_Refugees_1933-1939), אנציקלופדיית השואה, באתר מוזיאון השואה האמריקני

<sup>4</sup> Reich, Bernard. *A Brief History of Israel*, Reich, Chelsea House Publishers, Broomall, 2012, pp. 39–40

75.000 Egyptian Jews in 1948-50.<sup>5</sup> Almost all Jewish communities of Yemen and Libya migrated to Israel between 1949-1951. British and US airplanes brought to Israel around 50.000 Yemenites (within the operation codenamed "the Flying Carpet", while the Libyan Jews were about 30.000. In the next two years, most of Iraqi Jews were brought to Israel within another air operation codenamed "Ezra and Nehemiah" (in total 120.000 immigrants from Iraq).<sup>6</sup>

So, for only, three years after the Declaration of Independence and the following War of Independence, Israel adopted, around 750.000 Jews, more than half of which were from Arab countries. It resulted in immediate increase of the Jewish population from approximately 800.000 up to 2.000.000 people within 10 years after Israel became independent.<sup>7</sup> In other words, while in 1948 only one fifth of the all Jews of Israel were Sephardic (those from Muslim countries) in 10 years, number of Sefardi Jews grew up to 43% as a result of massive migration and in 1984, due to high demographic growth rates, they already constituted 50% of all Jews in Israel. Of course, in such conditions, Ashkenazi Jews rapidly arose to the position of adopters of the Sefardi Jews, who were much less educated and financially weak. Inevitably, the newly established society underwent several problems in regard to the adoption of newcomers, integration, unemployment and etc.

A research conducted in Israel 20 years ago can be very interesting in terms of how successful the integration was within Israel: comparative study of two groups (Ashkenazi and Sephardic Jews) with two subgroups in each (Polish and Romanian Jews vs Iraqi and Moroccan Jews respectively) showed that almost all subjects of the research consider that they are Israeli and Jew rather than Polish, Romanian, Iraqi or Moroccan, despite the fact that their parents were born in these countries. Israel is situated in a region, where dozens of civilizations emerged, developed and became history. In such a region, it is highly expected to observe an ethnic and religious diversity. There are many such communities and minorities in Israel like Druzes, Circassians, Christians, Muslims, Armenians and dozens of others. One of them - the Druze community has the highest rate of military enlistment among all ethnic groups in Israel. A battalion of the Israeli Defence Forces named

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<sup>5</sup> Shindler, Colin. A history of modern Israel. Cambridge University Press, 2008. P. 63-64

<sup>6</sup> Pasachoff, Naomi E.; Robert J. Littman (2005). "Operation Magic Carpet" and "Operation Ezra and Nehemiah". *A Concise History of the Jewish People*. Rowman & Littlefield. p. 301

<sup>7</sup> [http://www1.cbs.gov.il/reader/shnaton/templ\\_shnaton\\_e.html?num\\_tab=st02\\_01&CYear=2006](http://www1.cbs.gov.il/reader/shnaton/templ_shnaton_e.html?num_tab=st02_01&CYear=2006)

Herev Battalion is an infantry unit made up primarily of Druze and Circassian soldiers. Something similar can be said about the Bedouins in Israel. Thus, the percentage of Bedouins serving in the IDF is fairly high and has been so since the establishment of the state. They mainly serve in scouting or tracking capacities, and even in 1970 a scouting unit was established in the Southern Command.

"It is the only country in the world where you can listen a Russian pianist playing jazz in an eastern pub<sup>8</sup>" said the famous Israeli author Yonatan Geffen. In a small country with the area of approximately 20 thousand square kilometers, one can observe dozens of worldviews, lifestyles, appearances, races, languages and etc. Where people migrated from Europe marry those from Eastern countries, a man not born in the country (Avigdor Lieberman - a Russian migrant) becomes the minister of Foreign Affairs, a musician that plays European compositions on an Eastern instrument (for example, Mark Eliyahu). Buharan Jews in Uzbek national clothings, Yemenite Jews in Arab clothings, Orthodox Ashkenazi Jews in their Traditional appearance and Jews that are used to eat falafel, tahina and humus - traditional Arab food of the Eastern Mediterranean Region.

Migrating to Israel from different countries and even continents, Jews brought with them dozens of languages - including Arabic, Yiddish, German, Russian, Persian, English, Georgian, Tat language of the Caucasian Jews, and even Amharic and Tigrinya. Furthermore, no one could say for sure in the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century what the official and educational language of the state will be. For example, when in the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, it was decided to open a technical school for Jews of Palestine, an intense conflict broke up related the language of education. There were many people that supported Hebrew, but also many Orthodox Jews confronted it with the argument that the Holy Language cannot be spoken in daily life. Besides, no sufficient words and vocabulary were in the Modern Hebrew for expression of many terms and furthermore, the number of academics linguistically capable to teach in Hebrew was not enough. So, another uniqueness of Israel which cannot be ignored, is that Hebrew is the only language in the world spoken at the ancient times - 2-3 thousand years ago, dead for almost 2 thousand years and yet again used today in the world as an official language. With the expression of Yonatan Geffen again, "It was almost dead, but we did intensive care to it and today it is as alive as the barbie doll<sup>9</sup>". In the 90s of the 20th century, when approximately 1.5 million Jews migrated to Israel from

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<sup>8</sup> יונתן גפן, הצד הרביעי של המטבע, הוצאת כנרת, 1983, ע' 57

<sup>9</sup> קובץ להבנת הנקרא ולהעשרה, נורית סיון, עדינה עבאדי, ירושלים, 1997, ע' 9

the former Soviet Union, Russian became the second most daily spoken language in Israel.

Israel is a totally diverse country also in terms of social life, worldview and lifestyle. Visiting Israel, one can see different colors of culture in every city. Orthodox Jews, who do not consider the secular sector as Jews at all and do not accept military service in a state that many times has entered wars within 65 years of existence, secular ones that are actually the backbone of the modern State of Israel and that would never accept any kind of religious interpretation for legislation, Muslim Arabs that mostly do not accept even the Jewish identity of the State of Israel, civil men that can become a soldier in a day in case of war, women that are obliged to pass a military service for up to two years, sexual minorities that have demonstrations in one of the holiest cities of the polytheist faith system and etc. Not surprisingly, many people consider Israel as a small copy of the USA.

Israel is neither a secular nor a religious state. Despite the fact that it has been ruled since it was established mostly by legislation based on Western law system, it has many peculiarities that belong only to Israel. For example, it is absolutely impossible for a Jew in Israel to marry without religious marriage, and that is why many people from secular sector (that do not accept any religious authority at all) find quite a unique solution - Hundreds of couples every year go to the neighboring Cyprus to register their marriage. Another example for religious legislation can be that Jews can divorce only through religious courts. Furthermore, only after investigation by and confirmation of these courts can one convert to Judaism. Besides, the state airlines company El Al does not fly on Saturdays - a day forbidden to work according to the Jewish religion - the official weekly day of holiday in Israel. Thus, the experience of Israel - a state created by socialist-nationalist Jews from Europe - lets us assume that religion can be in the essence of social and political life, even in the most unforeseeable and unexpected way.

Israel is one of the few states, where several holy places in terms of different religions are found. For the Jews, it is the land of forefathers - the land promised to Abraham and his sons<sup>10</sup>. Jerusalem was the oath of all Jews throughout all early and late middle ages. It is the land of Solomon and David and all prophets of the religion. Driven out from this land in the ancient times by Assyrians and Persians,

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<sup>10</sup> Torah, Genesis, 15:18-21, Exodus, 23:31

Jews could once return back to their homeland and some 140 years ago they began to return to the land of their forefathers after almost 2000 years of exile.

For the Christian world it is the place where the events of the Old Testament happened and where Jesus lived and taught his disciples, walked on the water and was crucified to shed his blood for salvation of Christians. For Muslims, this is the land where Dome of the Rock - the first qibla (the direction for prayer) is situated. Where Prophet Muhammad ascended to heaven in his Night Journey. Furthermore, accepted by the Muslim faith, all ancient prophets of the Old Testament are as important for Muslims as for Jews. For the Bahai faith, it is the land where the Tomb of Bahaullah is situated, and so many bahais come to visit it every year

Therefore, Israel, with the total area of less than most states in the USA for example, is a place of pilgrimage for at least 4 religions - a place for so called religious tourism. A good example for it can be the old city of Jerusalem - where the Holy Sepulchre is so close to the Wailing Wall - the only survived part of Solomon's Temple according to Judaism, adjacent to which stands the Dome of the Rock, where Muslims of Jerusalem come to the Friday prayer every week.

Despite of all achievements mentioned above, the Israeli society has one ultimate failure in regard to integration of diverse parts of the population - Arabs.

The first serious change in demographic situation of Palestinian Arabs occurred in and after the first Arab-Israeli war in 1948-49: 750.000 of 1.200.000 Arabs in total living in the territory defined for establishment of the Palestinian Arab State became refugees. Furthermore, according to the General Progress Report and Supplementary Report of the United Nations Conciliation Commission for Palestine, 710.000 more Arabs were driven out from the Newly Established State of Israel and thus became refugees, too.<sup>11</sup>

According to the well known American politician Z. Brzezinski, "If America's decline were to occur with the Israeli-Palestinian conflict still unresolved, the failure to implement by then a mutually acceptable two-state solution would further inflame the region's political atmosphere. Regional hostility to Israel would then intensify."<sup>12</sup> In 2002, for the first time, Arab citizens of Israel showed

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<sup>11</sup> General Progress Report and Supplementary Report of the United Nations Conciliation Commission for Palestine, 23 October 1950 (U.N. General Assembly Official Records, 5th Session, Supplement No. 18, Document A/1367/Rev.).

<sup>12</sup> Zbigniew Brzezinski, *Strategic Vision: America and the Crisis of Global Power*, New-York, Basic Books, p.119

full solidarity with Israel and joined protests against discriminations. In 2012, the Human Rights Watch Organization sharply criticized Israel in regard to internationally illegal Israeli settlements in Palestine<sup>13</sup>. Another Internationally well known organization - Amnesty International also blamed Israel for discrimination and violation of rights of Palestiniansthrough the West Bank Barrier and declared that approximately 400.000 Israelis lived in the Palestinian territories illegally.

The Israeli society is remarkably strong in terms of tolerance and multiculturalism. Different cultures, believes, races and layers of society tolerate each other though sometimes they strongly contradict each other from theological, nationalistic and social points of view. Therefore, Israel is, undoubtedly, one of the most interesting countries in terms of multiculturalism. Formation of a new society from such diverse parts has not been very easy, of course. However, taking into consideration difference of languages, cultures, levels of education, worldview and even races, it could be said, with no hesitation, that Israel can and should be learnt at least as a partially successful society in terms of multiculturalism and cultural tolerance. The search and analysis of the roots of multiculturalism and cultural tolerance, as well as the problems occured in the process of formation of a new nation throughout the last century in Israel are very important in terms of the recent rising etchnic, cultural and racial intolerance in the world. In figurative speech, these strong features of the Israeli society has created the multicultural Achilles. However, just like in the famous ancient Greek legend, this Achilles also has its tendon: the intolerance towards Palestinians during the government of both left wing parties and the governments formed by right wing parties after gradual decline of the left in 80's and 90's. It can hardly be accepted logically that having adopted so many colors of religion, races, social layers and languages, a soceity can still exclude some others. Thus, discriminated and slaughtered during so much time, a group of people can still show the same attitude of his oppressors towards a weaker group of people.

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<sup>13</sup> <http://www.hrw.org/world-report-2012/world-report-2012-israeloccupied-palestinian-territories>

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## **Chapter 2:**

### **Comparative Studies**

## **Kazakh-Indian Literary Relations and the Translation of Tagor`s Literary Works into Kazakh Language**

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### **Abstract**

Kazakh - Indian literary relation has a deep root. Some verses of the world famous Indian literary pieces like "Mahabharata", "Ramayana", especially of "Kalila and Dimna", and " Sukasaptati" share popularity among Kazakhs. Poems, sagas and dastans were devoted to some plots of these works in Kazakh language. We claim that the introduction of nomadic lifestyle plots into these didactic stories, sagas and fables of the Indian literary heritage, in its way, assisted the establishment of saga and fable genres in Kazakh literature.

While comparing the Kazakh and Indian literature, we have discovered that there are common literary motives in both nations' art of words. As a nation leading nomadic lifestyle and eventually being subjected to others, we discovered that there is a literary stream in the Indian literature, which is similar to the literature in Moaning period of Kazakh Literature. (The Moaning Period is a historical period of Kazakh literature).

The inter-relations of different nations' literature and the enrichment of literature through these inter-relations cannot be realized without the bridging function of translation works. Nowadays, the excellent Indian literary pieces are being translated into Kazakh language. Here, we would like to have a closer look at the Kazakh translations of the literary masterpieces of great poet of India, the first Nobel Literature Prize winner among Asian writers R. Tagore.

**Keywords:** Literary Relations, Translation, The Moaning Period, Kazakh literature

### **Kazakh-Indian Literary Relations and the Translation of Tagor`s Literary Works into Kazakh Language**

Kazakh - Indian literary relation has a deep root. Some verses of the world famous Indian literary pieces like "Mahabharata", "Ramayana", especially of "Kalila and Dimna", and " Sukasaptati" share popularity among Kazakhs. Poems, sagas and dastans were devoted to some plots of these works in Kazakh language. However we are not sure who the authors of these translations and works were. This is because the studies of Kazakh translation theories were not carried out until the beginning of 20th century. We claim that the introduction of nomadic lifestyle plots into these didactic stories, sagas and fables of the Indian literary heritage, in its way, assisted the establishment of saga and fable genres in Kazakh literature. It is well-founded to assert that enrichment of Kazakh literature in terms of genres, in terms of stylistic diversity took the advantage of the Indian Literature. This process continued in a long period of history and nowadays has taken up a new form, new content and new colour, and is providing new opportunity for the two nations' literature.

During the Soviet period, Kazakh - Indian Literary relations took a new feature starting from 1950s. The renowned Kazakh writer Auezov M. O. wrote analytical essay collections *Indian Meetings* devoted to his visit to India in 1955 (1958, 1973). He also published an article *On Tagore's Wisdom* on behalf of the Indian great writer Tagore (1961). Literary pieces by Prominent writers like *Hindustan Stories* by T. Akhtanov (1970), *Blue Mountains* by A. Alimzhanov (1967), were published. For *A Gift from Otyrar* and other works on India, A. Alimzhanov was awarded with J. Nehru Indian International Award (1969). In 1992, poet A. Shamenov also won such an award. In 2004, the Indian High State Award of Padma Shri was given to the journalist A. Nilibayev for his translation of Indian Epic *Mahabharata* into Kazakh language. He also translated *Rig veda*, *Bhagavad Gita* and Tagore's selected pieces into Kazakh language in 2005 and published them as a separate book in 2006. In the framework of bilateral cooperation, Scholars from Nehru University in Delhi have prepared *An Anthology of Kazakh Poetry in 20th Century* in Hindi language for publishing. In the light of this project, a book of poems by Sh. Sariyev was published in Hindi in 2003. *India's Child* by Abbas Khoja Ahmad (1959), *Thakur's Well* by Premechand (1958), *Gora* (1958), *Stories* (1960), *Jagog* (1964) by Tagore, *Mother Winds* by Chandar Krishan (1972) and *I. Gandhi's Selected Letters and Words* were published in Kazakh language.

While comparing the Kazakh and Indian literature, we have discovered that there are common literary motives in both nations' art of words. This is a common

literary stream stimulated by the suffering of agony and grief from cruel colonization. All the sorrowful saga of hardness and pain of colonization are sure to be reflected in the nation's literature. As a nation leading nomadic lifestyle and eventually being subjected to others, we discovered that there is a literary stream in the Indian literature, which is similar to the literature in Moaning period of Kazakh Literature. (The Moaning Period is a historical period of Kazakh literature beginning from the Russian Empire's colonization of Kazakh lands, which led to the destruction of traditional governing system of Kazakh Khanate and the trampled social, political and spiritual life of Kazakh nation.) The literary researcher B. Omarov claims "The poems and verses produced in Urdu language of India during the British colonization share a common tune with the Kazakh nation's literary pieces created in colonization period" (Omarov, 2013). In the seventeenth century, the British colonizers came to India under the guise of trade and gradually interfered in the governing structures and intended to gain the power in different parts of India. This trend ultimately changed the style of the Urdu poems which once sang about freedom. Especially after the repression of the uprising in 1857, the literature in India saw prevailing poems of sorrow and moaning. In these poems, the steppe people express a longing for the past life, a criticism to the colonizers in a moaning tone and with upset feelings. The researcher of Urdu literature Hussein Saeed Ekhtisham writes, "During this period, the extinction threat of the cultural and religious traditions" raised the resentment of people against the English (Ekhtisham, 1961). This spiritual resistance was clearly demonstrated in poetry. The expressive thoughts in moaning verses where the core issues were the sufferings of people share common tunes with Kazakh literature in Moaning period.

The Shahroshub genre in Urdu poetry collects the poems expressive of resentment against the colonizers as well as the tyranny of the Mongolian invaders and rulers. The prevailing period of the Shahroshub is in 18th and the second half of the 19th century. All these poems depict the hard life of oppressed people all through the 200 years of British colonization of India.

A strange state, and a strange era -  
 No sign of order and accomplishment.  
 No one has any interest in the country and the army,  
 The ruler is sick with delusions of grandeur,  
 And the vizier with leprosy (Genre Theory of Oriental Literature, 1985).

And such a moaning period in Kazakh history was depicted by the poet Dulat as: "The era of cunningness is led by the cold governor", and by Abubakir as: "The Khan was replaced by the baseborn, the Judges were appointed through bribery."

These similar scenes in the literary of the two nations prove that we share common things in our literature.

As our country has gained its independence and deeply plunged into the flourishing globalization, our spiritual life, especially our literature is to receive a intense influence from literature of other nations.

The inter-relations of different nations' literature and the enrichment of literature through these inter-relations cannot be realized without the bridging function of translation works. Nowadays, the excellent Indian literary pieces are being translated into Kazakh language. Here, we would like to have a closer look at the Kazakh translations of the literary masterpieces of great poet of India, the first Nobel Literature Prize winner among Asian writers R. Tagore.

In the Soviet period, Tagore's works were translated into 18 Soviet nations' languages and published 180 times. To the Kazakh people, Tagore was introduced through the Russian translations in the first time. R. Tagore's great works first started to be translated into Kazakh in 1958. The master of words, the great contributor of Kazakh literary enrichment Safuan Shaimerdenov, who had Embellished Kazakh literature with his numerous works, translated Rabindranath Tagore's novels *The Wreck* (1958), *Jagog* (1964), and the story *Fool's gold* (1960) into Kazakh with a finest language. In the meantime, we have also mentioned above that translator A. Nilibayev has translated Tagore's works into Kazakh language in fine quality.

The publishing of the five volumes of the great writer's works is a sign of people's love to his works. Tagore's works will continue to be translated into Kazakh language in the upcoming time. All what has been said proves that Tagore has almost become a domestic literary giant in Kazakhstan.

In this article we pay close attention to the characteristics of Kazakh translation of the novel *The Wreck*, and try to identify the presentation of the content-conceptual information in it. This is because philologists are lately emphasizing the analysis and evaluation of the literary works by identifying the characteristics and powers of the information in them. They consider that "the information full of pragmatic and productive thoughts in whatever text can increase its value" (Esembekov, 2012).

Literary scholar T. Esembekov claims, "the decrease of the interest in literature nowadays is out of a lack of understanding the readers' desires." Meanwhile, he also puts forward that "it is necessary to pay attention to match the information power in the text and the informational space of the readers". Whereas the translator S. Shaimerdenov tailored his translations to receivers' interests and

goals by considering the needs of the readers. Regarding this, the translator himself states the followings:

"Any Kazakh readers can read and enjoy any classic works in Russian language. So which works should be translated into Kazakh? The works related to Kazakh should come first, then the works of which the spirits, themes and nature are close to Kazakhs should follow. Among the classics I chose Tagore because this writer's works' spirits, nature and the themes suit Kazakh nation. One can feel as if the life scenes and events depicted by him have taken place in Kazakh land among Kazakh people a long time ago. People's behaviors and psychology are also identical to Kazakh people's. In a word, when you read Tagore's works you get the impression that he has already talked what you have not yet talked about Kazakh, you have not yet written about Kazakh"(Kasymov, 2011).

In a real fact, while one is reading the translation of Tagore's works, one can find the similarities of psychology and everyday life of both nations. A certain nation's world views, life style characteristics, tastes and values, morals and honors can be seen from its spiritual and cultural examples: traditions and customs. In Tagore's this novel, Indian people's all the spiritual and cultural life basis i.e. all the above mentioned classified layers, from birth to death are demonstrated by digging up the deep down cultural information. The ethno-cultural meanings of these traditions were shown through the text contents of the literary work.

The marriages of the two couples, Ramesh and Sushila, Nalinaksha and Kamala followed the traditional Indian customs. The youth did not know each other until their weddings, and even did not like each other. But they have to obey the parents' will from the wedding day on. Both families were obliged to follow their parents paths in leading their lives.

Culture is the human's entire spiritual life and experience which is showcased in language. And in this work, the micro-texts, concepts etc. function as the informative tools to apprise about the nation's culture, traditions and customs, appreciated things, values, surroundings and other life styles. S. Shaimerdenov translated successfully by finding all the means and equivalents needed for conveying the information in the translation of the work. We draw an example as an evidence.

«Но ей в голову не могло прийти, что всего через несколько минут они обменяются гирляндами верности, что прольются слезы, что между ними не будет никаких объяснений ...» (Tagore, 1956).

«Бірақ бірнеше минуттан кейін бір-бірімізге адалдықтың әлекейлі гүл алқасын кигізіміз деп тұрғанда, көз жасы төгілер деп, араларында түсініспес жайлар болады деп ойлап па ол?» (Tagore, 1958).

("But it couldn't occur to his mind that only after several minutes they were exchanging the garlands of loyalty, pouring their tears and have never ever had misunderstanding...")

We could see that Translator S. Shaimerdenov has found the exact equivalents of the information related to the traditional customs.

R. Tagore showed us the worldviews specific to Indian women through women-mothers in his novel. Linguo-cultural unites which show the Indian women's multi-faceted and deep down features of outer beauty and inner spiritual world, as well as national cultural signs are common in the novel. Whenever it talks about Indian women, we have a vivid image of their elegance which unites both outward and inner world, we imagine the richness of character, wisdom and intellect. The Character named Kamala symbolizes the wisdom and vision, beauty and elegance, as well as the loyalty to feelings and firmness toward love, which are characteristic to Indian women.

In our opinion, Indian women's concepts can be presented through several cognitive models: Indian women are loyal spouses, Indian women are beautiful, Indian women are kind, etc. When looking at the translation of the story we can notice that all the cognitive models specific to Indian women are translated on proper level.

Kamala grew up among ordinary village folk, and befriended with the nature. She had to live in his in-laws fulfilling all the orders of her strict mother-in-law. She has never heard before the words such as "Shut up! Never speak a single word! Women should never talk!" Thus Kamala has always held her head up. The author demonstrated this freedom through comparing with another woman Shoihoja.

«Шойлоджа казалось сдержанной. Комола же являла собою полную противоположность ей. По знаниям и развитию она далеко опередила свой возраст. Потому ли, что после свадьбы над ней не тяготела, суровая власть свекрови, или по каким –то иным причинам, но развилась Комола очень быстро... Ей до сих пор не приходилось слышать таких окриков, как: «Замолчи! Делай, что тебе приказано! Жена не должна отвечать «нет!»- поэтому Комола высоко держала голову» (Tagore, 1956).

«Шойлоджа Комолаға қарағанда мүлде салмақты көрінеді, бірақ Комола, тұрмысқа шыққаннан кейінқайын ененің қатаң қыспағын көрмегендітен бе,

әлде басқа бір себептермен бе, әйтеуір тез өсіп, тез есейіп қалды, оның тіпті кескін-кейпінде де еркіндік байқалады... Күні бүгінге дейін: «Өшір үніңді! Істе дегенді істе! Қатын «жоқ» деп айтуға тиісті емес деген әкірең сөздерді естіп көрген жоқ-ты. Сол себепті Комола өзін еркін ұстап жүретін» (Tagore, 1958).

("Shoyloja seems restrained. Kamala seems the exact opposite of her. In knowledge and development she is far ahead of her age. Is it because a severe mother-in-law did not suspend a powerful authority over her, or is there any other reason? Kamala developed very quickly ... She still has not heard these shouts like: "Shut up! Do what you were ordered! The wife should not answer "No!" - So Kamala held her head high")

Indian women are characterized by obedience, timidity and shyness. Whereas in this micro-text author notes that he highly appreciates the characteristics such as boldness, freedom, intelligence and wisdom in a woman. The above drawn facts i.e. the content-conceptual information is the linguistic evidence of it. In general, in whatever nation the braveness, boldness, pride, vision and wisdom demonstrated by women are always acted for centuries the pillars of legends, stories, heroic epics and songs. In the novel, the author put brave Kamala who has never experienced any domestic difficulties against weak Bengali intellectuals.

As we see, the translator presented the realities in original text in a comprehensive way. There is not any deviations in conveying the meaning. It is also worth of mentioning all the episodes which show Kamala's characters are translated in high quality.

Besides, we get to know that Indian men use the word "мать (mother)" in referring to a woman. For example,

«- Нет, нет, мать! Это никуда не годится, так нельзя!» (Tagore, 1956).

«- Жоқ, жоқ, шешем-ау! Бұл жарамайды, бұлай істеуге болмайды!» (Tagore, 1958).

("- No, no, mother! This is not good, it is not allowed!")

Whereas in our language, the word "mother" is synonym to "mom". The translation is done by direct word on word interpretation. However, the translator's this approach is not suitable to our nation's culture and national being. Hence one can feel bewildered when coming across such applications while reading the dialogues. It would be more suitable for the translator to replace this word with more cultural sensitive words such as "қарағым (dear)" "айналайын (nice little)".



In the novel, the person who shared Hemnoli's sufferings and loved his daughter with so much sympathy is the father, Onnoda-babu. After her mother died when she was 3, the person who took care of all the difficulties to raise her was the brave-heart father, Onnoda-babu. To substantiate our words we are to draw an example here.

«Всю ночь тревожился Оннода-бабу за Хемнолини, сон бежал от него, и он задремал только под утро. Но как только солнечные лучи коснулись его глаз, он быстро встал, умылся и отправился провести дочь. Комната ее оказалась пуста. Тогда он поднялся на крышу. Вид одинокой Хемнолини заставил сердце Онноды-бабу сжаться» (Tagore, 1956).

«Түн бойы ол Хемнолиниді ойлап, көз шырымын ала алмай, таң ата ғана ұйықтаған еді. Кешікпей күн де сәулесін оның кірпігіне қадады. Оннада-бабу енді төбеге көтеріліп еді. Жалғыз жабығып отырған Хемнолиниді көргенде жүрегі сыздап кетті» (Tagore, 1958).

(He thought about Hemnoli all night and did not sleep for a moment. And only at the daybreak he dozed off for a while. Soon the shiny rays of the sun pierced through her eyelashes. As Onnada-babu rose to upstairs he saw Hemnoli and his heart had a pain).

Shaimerdenov found the equivalent to the phrase "сердце сжаться (the Herat clenched)". To find equivalents of various language applications as this one, and apply them according to the national concept and understanding always require hard work and big responsibility.

It is also appropriate to mention the language individuality's (of the author) word choice in the translation is also suitable to our national culture, national being.

S. Shaimerdenov knew the richness of the language common to the people, the oral speech and the earlier master pieces of Kazakh literature, and thanks to this knowledge he utilized it to convey the information in the literary texts in a good way to fit Kazakh concepts and understandings. And he did this intentionally. Certainly, the clearness of the information in the texts to the readers is one of the requirements of translation, the translator succeeded in this sense.

«В этом мире одним бескорыстным почитанием не заработаешь ни капли молока, ни кусочка рыбы – все требует денег. Поэтому неимущему почитателю Комолы свет казался очень суровым» (Tagore, 1956).

Translation:

«Бұл дүниеде адал сыпайылық, құрметпен бір қасық сүт те, бір үзім нан да таба алмайсың – бәрі де ақшаны керек етеді. Сол себепті Комоланың қызыл сіңір жарлы жанашырына дүние тым қатігез көрінуші еді» (Tagore, 1958).

(In this world, you can hardly get a spoonful of milk or a piece of bread just by being loyal and polite, and all need money. So to Kamala's poor supporter the world seemed so cruel.)

And in this extract we can see that the translator has fully understood the conceptual information in the text and interpreted it in his own way to adapt it to the addressees. As a result of this type of translation, the addressees attach new contents to the received new information relying on the old information in store. This shows the interrelation of cognition and culture between the two nations.

In conclusion, we tried to analyze the content and conceptual information, the language skills applied, the methods of using language individuality and how these elaborative works were presented in the translation of Tagore's novel *The Wreck*. Obviously, this is not a comprehensive study which analyzes the depictive skills of the writer, the information types in his works and their demonstration in the translation. It is a small scale study sample on the starting point of gradual revealing the mystery of the great masterpieces.

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# **The Cult of Fire in Turkish and Russian Mythologies**

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## **Abstract**

Mythology, transmitting ideas of very old times about creation of the World and human-being symbolically, has had the meaning for religious principles and belief system. Troglodytes explained and interpreted creature and nature secrets by means of myths. However, myths have gradually lost their belief extent and become stories only having symbolic values, as a result of the fact that monotheistic religions were accepted by the society, information sources increased and Modern period started.

Fire, being an important element besides earth, water and air since the existence of the universe, has met irreplaceable life-sustaining needs such as heating, warming, frying, illumination, communication. As a result of human being's cultural values, different beliefs have occurred in each nation's own culture with discovery of fire. In this context, the similar beliefs regarding fire are illustrated in Turkish and Russian culture.

In this study, it is examined how fire, which is one of the four fundamental elements, is perceived and found an expression in terms of its meaning are comparatively held and examined.

**Keywords:** Fire, Turkish, Russian, belief.

### **Introduction**

A lot of myths have been put forward about the origin of fire. According to these myths quite unlike each other, fire is stolen from gods in some of them and the power possessing the fire is an entity other than God in others. Considering the mythologies of different nations, this concept appears to exist in the cultural history of mankind as a common element. Defined as the “thief of fire”, “one that steals the fire” or “one that brings the fire”, the hero Promethous intends to help human beings by taking the fire to them though he knows that he will face a tragic end for stealing the fire from gods. He, however, may appear to be in the form of another being or different beings in other mythologies. It is, for example, a swallow that steals the fire from the gods to give it to humans in the myths of Buriats, a Mongolian people in South Siberia. “Buriats say that men did not formerly know the fire. They did not know how to cook their meals, so they were in the grip of cold weather and starvation. A swallow takes a pity on them, thus steals the fire from Gok Tengri for them.” (Frazer, 1996, p.105; Örüçü, 2014, p.6). According to the Yakut Turks, fire is sent to humans via “fire crow” by Ulu-toyon, seated on the third strata of the skies. In the myths of Altai, however, the fire is discovered by the great God Ulgen, who also builds the hearth, or furnace, and presents it to humans. (Ögel, 2010, p.496, pp.501-502). Russians, on the other hand, have come up with the suggestion concerning the origin of the fire that God of Lightning (God of Fire, Агни-Agni) sends the lightning from the sky to the earth, with which the first fire is burned and the first hearth is used on the earth (Afanasyev, 2005, p.249).

Fire gains a divine dimension and meaning with sacred interpretations made on it, and as such it can be seen in monotheistic religions, as well. In the Old Testament, there are verses saying that God descends on the earth in the form of light or fire. In the New Testament, however, there are verses suggesting that the Holy Spirit descends on the earth in the form of ‘fire tongues’ (Chevalier and Gheerbrant, 1996, p.379; Örüçü, 2014, p.15). Even though there is not a cult of fire in Islam, fire is interpreted from different aspects in the Quran and the fire on the earth appears to have a metaphorical way of narrative; this metaphorical expression finds its reflection in the words “nûr” and “nâr” (Örüçü, 2014, p.16). “Nâr” is the fire of hell in the Quran, which regards it as the embodiment of Allah’s fury and wrath, while the word “nûr” expresses the “light of Allah” (Hançerlioğlu, 1975, p.459; Örüçü, 2014, p.16). Accordingly, Allah, of absolute power and might, is depicted as infinite nur or light. However, fire is also used as a means of punishment in Islam, which makes a lot of references to the fire of hell. The belief

that hell is surrounded by the desires of the nefis, or self, and that one has to bring his/her nefis to account or book and burn it first in this world in order to keep away from the fire of hell has parallels with the spiritual fire of Buddha. The hadis "Do often recall the fire of hell! Its temperature is too high, bottom is too deep and whips are iron-made!" (Tirmizi, 2701) draws attention to the fact that the prophet of Islam, like Jesus Christ of Christianity, baptizes the humans with fire and frightens them with fire into attaining a spiritual maturity (Örücü, 2014, pp.21-22). The work "Vision of Tundal", written by an Irish monk in 1149, tells and portrays what is shown to the soul of a knight called Tundal who remains in coma for two days. In the text, fire occupies a significant place in the descriptions of the "Fire Valley in Hell": "He arrives at the Valley of Fire after a hard climb and there the demons of hell grasp Tundal with overheated tongs and throw him into a furnace where he is burnt to be cinder..." (Turner, 2004, p.126; Korkmaz, 2011, p.105).

As can be seen, the cleansing effect of the fire can both be a material cleansing or renewal appealing to the external and a burning, purification or renewal that can be called spiritual or immaterial. And as such, it takes places in religious doctrines and belief systems. The belief that fire stands between the two worlds is apparent in the tradition of cremating (burning the dead). In the Indian society in which fire is believed to come from paradise and has a large place within the system of culture belief, corpses are burnt in fire because of their belief in the purifying and cleansing power of the fire. In the Central Asian Turkish communities under Shamanism, too, fire is said to purify and cleanse the soul of the evil spirits and protect it: "According to the belief of the Shamanists, fire cleanses everything and repels the evil spirits. In the 6th century, the Byzantine delegates who came to the khan of Western Gokturks were made to pass through the fires. This ceremony used to be conducted in the Mongolian palaces, too, in order to repel the evil spirits that were likely to come with them" (İnan, 1995, p.68; Örücü, 2014, pp.19-20; Ögel, 2010, p.522). Among the Votiaks, a Finnish people of Western Russia, a fire is burnt under a fir tree to repel the evil spirits, too. Young men cook the oat and wheat over this fire and eat them, saying "go to the wilderness and don't get into home." Some of the grains boiled are thrown into the fire with the words, "Oh, God, do not give us sicknesses and plague; do not deliver us to the spirits of the forest." (Frazer, 1992, pp.167–168; Kumartaşlıoğlu, 2012, p.80).

It is mentioned in the Old Russian written sources that idolaters make a fire in the temples of the gods and this fire is always alight in front of the idols. In this case, fire is a mediator that unites man with the god and this mediating function of the fire is apparent in the practice of lighting candles while praying at church, home

or out. This function is also seen in the custom of cremating in the burial ceremonies of the old Slavs. The reflections of this burial ceremony dating back to the period of idolatry have survived up to the present in some regions of Russia, because the custom of cremating has been accepted as a means of communication with the deceased ancestors. In the province of Tambovsk, for example, the landlord gets up very early in the morning and gets out to the garden, taking some straw ash in a bowl from the fire. Here he waves a greeting to the east three times and burns the straw ash with a muska<sup>1</sup>, saying: "Sacred muska and grey smoke! Go to the sky and bow before my family and tell them how we live here" (Uzelli, 2016, pp.80-81). In the rituals, sacrifices were offered to the fire and some of the foods and drinks for the people were thrown into the fire and even some meal and water was left nearby the hearth to enhance the fire. In the Russian mythological system, the cult of fire is given masculine features and the fire is named as 'dad' in the Podolsk region and once the fire is blown out at night, the people there tell it, 'sleep, daddy' (Uzelli 2016: p.81; Öksüz 2014: p.121). In his study entitled Cultural History of Fire, Ahmet Uri says about the cult of hearth in the Turkish culture: "According to the old Turkish traditions, fire is the symbol of hearth and guarantee of the continuity of the family, and it is also believed that fire is male and the little son of the family stays at the house of his father to perpetuate the family home. Therefore, the youngest sons are called Od-Tigin, namely Bey or Prince of Fire or Hearth (Uhri, 2003, p.35; Korkmaz, 2011, pp.61-62; Ögel, 2010, p.504). As known, hearth is sacred in Islamic tradition and constitutes the unity of family; however, it is fire that gives it this sacredness. For there is a room at home, in which fire is always, alight in a hearth, and this room is where the family members stay the longest.

The word 'oda' is derived from the word 'od', which means 'fire' in Persian. At this point, fire makes the family hearth more sacred and within this approach, there is an impression that fire, though not to the degree of worship, is treated with high respect and sense of sacredness. (Ersoy, 2007, p.57) The hearthstones that form the centre of the houses have started to represent the houses or families in the course of time, and hearth has been used to express the lineage or breed or to say that the person is descended from a noble past and therefore has extraordinary powers. Each family has a hearthstone of their own in the field to settle for the visit to Sarıkız at the peak of Kazdagi. The meat of the animals

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<sup>1</sup> An ornament or small piece of jewellery thought to give protection against evil, danger or disease.

sacrificed for Sarıkız or Sarıkız's father is cooked on these hearthstones and offered to a large number of people. It is not wrong to call these hearthstones "family hearthstones" because each of them belongs only to one family. Each family knows its own hearthstone and spends the night near this hearthstone and uses it. This example of the present time is pretty important in that it displays the survival of the relationship between family and hearthstone (Duymaz & Şahin, 2008, p.122). According to the Yakut Turks, "smoke from the hearthstone is a breath of the hearthstone soul. If a hearthstone runs out of smoke, it may mean that it has run out of its breath. For this reason, it is necessary to leave the hearthstone with some smoke" (Ögel, 2010, pp.517-518).

Made by rubbing the woods in the very early morning on the eve of Semyon (Семён Летопроведец-Semyon Letoprovodets) Day - celebration of the beginning of the autumn following the ending of the summer in the old Slavic calendar - in Russia, fire is accepted as the living fire and every family takes a new home fire from it for themselves. Home fire is kept continuously alight at hearthstone and this fire is not given to another home especially on the eve of a feast. If the landlord moves to a new house, the fire of the old house is taken by them to the new one (Uzelli, 2016, pp.82-83). Similarly, Altai Turks and Buriat Mongolians kept on the custom of "taking a fire alight from the hearthstone of a house to that of another one." They carry the old fire in the old home to the new one. The eldest member of the family puts the cinders of the old fire on a shovel and lights a new fire on the hearthstone of the new house with those cinders. With the carrying of the sacred and respected hearthstone of the old home to the new living area with its fire, the thoughts and beliefs attributed to the hearthstone for years are taken to the new home together with the family (Ögel, 2010, p.504).

On the other hand, when Russians leave home to manure and till the soil, they never allow the fire to get out of their houses because it is a belief that there will not be enough crops if some fire is given to a foreigner who will thus obtain a high crop. There is also a fear of scarcity and animal decimation and for this reason someone else is given some fire only if the piece of cinder given is returned to that home in a hurry. Whoever gives fire to their neighbours at all times and never refuses to give fire to them is deprived of their happiness and has his grains damaged in the field. To prevent the millet from spoiling and weed, all the seeds to be sown are passed through the burnt hay piles or a handful of millet is thrown into fire just before the sowing so that a crop "clean like gold" will be obtained (Afanasyev, 2005, p.243).

It is also considered impiety to spit at and throw something into the fire and to talk dirty near it. In the Russian belief system, it is quite bad luck to spit at the fire and it is believed that those who spit at it will have acnes and herpes on their lips and tongues. For example, they warn their children not to spit at the fire, saying, “don’t spit at the fire, or else you will have acnes!” Even the burning firewood and candle light is blown out in great respect to it by bringing it closer to the lips, and the remaining part is carefully put back in its place (Afanasyev, 2005, p.241; Öksüz, 2014, pp.122-123). In Anatolia, there is a common saying, “don’t spit at the fire, or else you will have an injury on your face.” There is a big respect to the fire in the Turkmen traditions in Southern Anatolia. Also, the children who pee at the fire are beaten and those who step on the hearthstone with their shoes are scolded. Fire, like bread, is accepted as a gift of God. It is also forbidden by all means to put out the fire with water, to spit at the fire, to play with the fire, to stir the fire with a pointed thing and to stretch legs towards the fire (Ögel, 2010, pp.519-520).

Altai Turks believe that spreading bad things over the fire, pointing sharp tools to it and jumping over it will bring bad luck and that the fire has a rest with its ash-made quilt on it in the absence of the its proprietors. This belief and some of the actions forbidden to do against the fire are valid among Turks, too. It is not allowed to pour water over the fire between Kırmanç and Zazas in and around Erzincan, to Risvanoglu; in Diyarbakir, according to the field study of Kalafat; in Agri and Elazig according to the study of Mustafa Aksoy. Especially in Alevi villages and in the villages of Palu and Maden, no water is poured over the fire while or after the sun sets. According to Ahundov, water is not poured over fire and someone else is not given fire at night in Azerbaijan (Dilek, 2007, p.35).

There is a belief heretofore among the villagers of the province of Samara that it is a sin to blow out the fire; this belief is associated only with the buildings that catch alight with the lightning. In the province of Cernigov, for example, a kneading trough is offered at fires and some salt and bread is put on it and in this way one sits before the icon and prays for absolution of his or her punishments (Afanasyev, 2005, p.241). In the old times, bread and salt regarded as sacred were thrown into the fire. In case of being affected by the evil eye, a pinch of hair or a piece of clothes is taken from the one suspected of having the evil eye and then this cloth or hair is burnt in fire. If an animal or a bird scares a child, a feather is taken from that animal or bird and this feather is burnt around the child to prevent something bad from happening. Among the Southern Slavs, however, one who suffers from pus is wrapped in a thick carpet and tied to a strong stake; then the stake is placed on two big stones already put on two sides. Afterwards,



the patient is rotated so that the heat of the fire can cover all his or her body. To get over the flu and headache, they burn thread. When children suffer from insomnia, a long piece of linen is taken and put on the furnace door; then it is burnt and the patient is placed under the smoke from it. Thus, the sickness is burnt over the hearthstone. In addition, the incensory and candles in front of the icons at the church are burnt with the fire burnt by rubbing the pieces of oak. This fire is distributed to kennels from the church, because it is considered as the most reliable protector against the epidemics. In case of animal decimation, a ditch is dug and the ditch is filled with manure, leather pieces, wool and dried bones, after which they are all burnt in it. Then the herd of the village is led through the ditch and sacred water is poured over them. To stop the plague, especially "Siberian injury" (Сибирская язва-Sibirskaya yazva) in some regions, the stacks collected from around are burnt with the fire and just at the entrance of the village some cotton is burnt; the cleansing meaning of the fire that repels anything that is morally clean as well as the evil forces and the sin is parallel to the attempt to create the perception that everybody will be purified of all sins and lies, that peace and ease will be brought by the group of sacred gods and that a permanent happiness will dominate the whole country (Afanasyev, 2005, pp.244-246).

The belief that fire is a frontier between the dead and the living is evident in the image of the river of fire in Russian tales and an immortal legendary hero rides through the flames on a magic horse.

Feeling and thinking that he cannot sustain his lineage without water and fire, man has used these two elements as a means of both commemorating the gods and purifying themselves, and the Slavic peoples have united them in Ivan Kupala (Иван Купала-ivan Kupala, Иванов день- Ivanov den', купальская ночь-Kupal'skaya noç'), which has been celebrated by the Slavs since the ancient ages as the Feast of Maturity and the Sun and Summer (Grašina & Vasilyev, 2013, p.235; Dalkılıç, 2015, p.151). Following the acceptance of Christianity this feast coincides with June 24 according to the old calendar and July 7 according to the new calendar. Although it has become associated with the birthday of the Baptist Yahya in the course of time, in reality it is much away from today's Christianity and based on folk culture with pagan origin. According to the belief, water, fire and grasses acquire a magical power on the day of Ivan and this power fills one with life energy and health. Starting on the night of Kupala, everybody washes themselves for sure by the morning. Fire is burnt around the time of sunset and grasses and flowers are picked; also, the old rub the woods to light a fire, and then in the middle of the fire is put a burning round wheel that symbolizes the

sun. People dance in circles, sing songs and light a fire. They also jump over the fire. According to the belief, whoever jumps the highest over the fire is to be happier. On the Ivan night, wedding ceremonies of the couples are organized and the couples jump over the fire hand in hand (Tereşenko, 1999, p.257; Öksüz,2014, p.105; Dalkılıç,2015, p.153). In addition, an exchange of garland is made as the symbol of being untouched. Another belief is that fern (Цветок папоротника-tsvetok paprotnika), believed to bring luck and used in preparing the magic elixir in Slav mythology, blossoms only on the Ivan night. Therefore, people seek for it. It is believed that the fires on the Ivan night have a magical power and purifying power. Thus, young girls jump over the fire to be purified and to be protected from sicknesses, evil eye and evil throughout the year.

After the young finish their entertainment around the fire, the old lead the way to the animals in the barn through the fire burnt so that they do not develop any illness or die. Also, mothers undress the clothes of a child who has got ill and throw them into the fire in order that the child does not develop the disease again. Fire is believed to have a protective power and all the evil forces that emanate from the darkness that night will be averted thanks to the fire. A ritual similar to the one in which animals are led through the fires burn along the river for protection against diseases is conducted in a celebration the shepherds call “Feast of Bathing in Fire” in the town of Yusufca in the district of Golhisar in the province of Burdur every year. Throughout these celebrations also called Early Summer Feast, the shepherds in Yusufca lead the small cattle through the fire and wash them this time every year as in the Old Russian customs. The shepherds in the area of Teke make fires on the right and left of the road while taking the sheep to the highland and lead the animals through those fires to protect them from the evil eye, diseases and decimations. This is quite like a protection ritual. It is reported that the abovementioned traditional practice is a five-thousand-year tradition of Turks, dating back to the Gokturks. Similarly, the custom of dancing to the songs around the fire and jumping over it during the Ivan Kupala celebrations is seen in Anatolia, too. The most distinct example of the continuation of this tradition and culture can be seen in the Maslenitsa (Масленица), celebrated as the feast of spring in Russia today, and in the Nawruz feasts (Dalkılıç, 2015, pp.154-155; Alyılmaz, 2009, pp.29-54). Buriat Mongolians also made a fire on nine sides of their sheep pens and forced the animals to pass over the fire.

## **Conclusion**

As a result, the dialectic structure of fire is explained by the internal conflicts that while it enlightens man in the form of a divine, sacred light or nur and shows him the right way in his worldly adventure or flares in paradise as the manifestation of god on one hand, it becomes fire of hell and wrath in burning and destructive qualities on the other. The fact that it represents the evil and badness as a negative element and embodies the divine as a positive element makes it possible for it to be in a continuous motion and transformation. In Russian popular belief, too, fire is used as a symbol with two meanings. On one hand, it is associated with light and heat as two important elements for human life and therefore it is relative to the sun among the old Slavs. Like the father-son relationship between the god of sky, Svarog (Сварог), and the god of sun, Dajdbog (Дажьбог), the fire and the sun are accepted to have the same kinship. On the other hand, fire is seen as a dangerous power and the symbol of death and destruction. Accordingly, fire in Russian mythology has come to be regarded as a means of cleansing and purifying and as having a destructive quality.

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## **Death and Afterlife in Turkish and Russian Mythologies**

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### **Abstract**

The basic motivation underlying mythologies, which are one of the most important stages of cultural history, is the effort of the human to explore, to know, and to make sense of the world around him or her in ancient times when no branch of science was yet developed. For every person living in today's world, surrounded by all means of technology, death and resurrection remain as the biggest and unsolved mystery of life. The projections proposed by mythologies in order to illuminate death and afterlife, which are unknown and inevitable, have been created to fulfill the sense of emptiness brought by obscurity. In Turkish and Russian mythologies, which are grounded on the constant renewal of the nature, humans are believed to renew themselves as well; thus it is believed that there is a life after death. Therefore, burial ceremonies and traditions were shaped in accordance with the desire to be included in the cycle of life and to bind up with nature. In this study, the appearances of death, afterlife, and resurrection in Turkish and Russian mythologies will be discussed, and rituals, traditions, and beliefs that communities construed in the ancient times by their effort to understand death will be mentioned. Thus, the common universal worldview owned by communities in different geographical regions will be focused on.

**Keywords:** Mythology, death, afterlife, beliefs, rituals.

### **Introduction**

*The only good side of death is that it will not happen again.*  
(Nietzsche)

Is death, which is irrevocable and will be experienced by all living beings one day, an end or a beginning? Is it extinction or transformation? As we are alone both in birth and death, could there be a common point between them? Is there a life to be lived after death? Since death is a state of non-response, irrevocability, impossibility of an experience and no contact, these questions remain unanswered. These types of questions, which have been asked since the pagan times to give meaning to death, have still not been shed light to in the 21st century, which is interlaced with the latest technological models we cannot keep up with. Underneath the experiences we have in the face of death or beliefs approved by the society today, you can see the signs of mythological concepts. In Turkish and Russian mythologies which take sunrise and seasonal cycles into consideration and take the continuous renewal of nature as the basis, it is assumed that man also renews himself, and thus the existence of a life to be lived after death in the afterlife. Therefore, the burial ceremonies and traditions of the dead have been shaped within the framework of man's wish to sustain his ties with nature and be included in the cycle of life even after death.

In fact, every living being, who breathes begins to die with birth. Birth is the beginning of death. Death seemingly displays itself outside of life but it is within life. In the state of death, we are face to face with something which we bring along with ourselves; even at the moment, we are born, and not something which we assume is awaiting us in a far future. According to German sociologist and philosopher Georg Simmel, holistic life being limited with death affects the whole context and moment of life (Malpas & Solomon, 2006, p. 180). The first of the philosophers who dealt with the phenomenon of death is Socrates. In his view, death is the separation of the soul from the body and is a blessing for all human beings. Whereas Plato suggested that life begins at the moment the soul breaks away from its original source and is born into life, and thus the life-giving principle to man in this world is the soul. He believed that death could only be dominant over the body and can destroy its functions but it has no effect of the soul (Özkan, 2013, p. 254). According to Epicurus, death, which is regarded as the most horrible form of damnation, is in fact nothing. Death does not exist as long as the individual continues to live, and when there is death, the individuals will not exist anyway. Therefore, death concerns neither the living beings nor the dead (Gökberk, 1979, p. 178).

Contrary to the Epicureans, the Stoics regard death as the most important event of life. They believe that the world is a whole and a living structure with a soul. Humans are each a part of that integrated structure. The existentialist philosophers who were the most intimate with the issue of death believe that each person experiences certain difficulties about death and the meaning of life (Magill, 1971, p. 59). The starting point of the existentialist movement is based on the fear and anxiety felt towards death and dying. Spiritualists, who believe that communication with the spirits of the dead can only be possible under specific conditions, separate the soul completely from matter and regard it as a separate entity, which gives the body a lively and conscious appearance (Onbulak, 1975, pp. 23-25). According to German philosopher Martin Heidegger, who is one of the leading names in existentialist philosophy, death is the most competent certainty, and death has an *a priori*. French philosopher and existentialist Emmanuel Levinas (2011, p. 16) regards the phenomenon of death as a passive emotion, since it cannot be reduced to an experience, and defines death as a more effective atomic fission than existence; in other words, he defines it as a phenomenon which is *more a priori than a priori*. The individual in the face of death as an inevitable and unexpected end experiences a psychological contradiction in any case. Accepting the existence of each death as part of nature and wishing to be immortal at the same time, creates a bipolar attitude in people. Sciences such as theology, philosophy, parapsychology, anthropology, metaphysics, archeology and thanatology attempt to present various interpretations and explanations for death, dying and inevitable durations, and consequences of these within an interdisciplinary framework. In pagan times, in which sciences did not exist, people created their own interpretations about death and after life through various myths and legends.

In the evaluation of the phenomenon of death, religion and culture have a very significant influence. Although the meaning attributed by societies to death has partially gone through changes due to social conditions and historical periods, there are almost no religions, or beliefs, which do not make a reference to the phenomenon of death and afterlife in the world. The customs and traditions of Turkic and Russian societies, which share neighboring borders, partially share elements from the mythological eras that are similar. Traditions, which have continued as mourning, funerals and memorials, carry the hope or consolation that life goes on in the other world. In old Russian beliefs, the spirit was a guest in the physical body and would eventually return to the other world, or its home. That is the reason why coffins were called "home" or "cottage" in some regions. Since coffins were regarded as the resting place of the spirit, a window was

opened to the head part of coffins in some regions in Russia, and an icon or a hand embroidered handkerchief was placed in one side. The archaeological excavations show that meal cups, bottles, toys, staffs and musical instruments for the dead with the belief that they would need such things in afterlife. Large cairns of ancient Turks arranged and decorated like a house in the past shows that they believed that the dead would lead a similar life to the one on earth afterlife. Small tables, cups full of food, mats placed on the floor or hung on the walls and other fabrics, horse harnesses and 'pillows' made of leather or tree branches placed under the head of the dead are all a preparation for life after death.

The reality of inevitability of death was known by the most ancient Turkic and Russian peoples like the rest of humanity. Mythological designs, which sought answers to questions about life, such as how the first human came into existence, the universe, the moon, the sun and the stars were created and why and how it snows, given place to issues such as the end of the world, why people die and where they go after death within their own framework of logic. Since primitive societies had no idea about conceptualization, natural events such as moon and sun eclipses, whose stages could not made sense out of, falling stars, lightning and loud thunderclaps were supported by certain connotations and associated with the phenomenon of death.

One of the greatest goals of Shamanism, which was wide-spread among Central Asian Turks, was to protect life that was always under the threat of illnesses with the purpose of delaying that inevitable moment the spirit would leave the body a little bit longer. That is the reason why the term used to define a shaman was "healer" (Roux, 1999, p. 28). Shamanist methods were resorted to in order to sustain the power of life endowed to everyone, and evil spirits or illnesses which were believed to be a foreign substance in the body were attempted to be removed. In the ancient times, hopeless efforts were spent to prevent death just like the present time. Unlike modern societies, primitive tribes gave importance to the youth and power of a person and believed that ill and elderly people or those who die untimely were doomed by evil spirits. Therefore, it is seen in some ancient Turkic clans precautions were taken before they got exhausted and weak and preferred to commit suicide while they were strong or had themselves killed by someone close to them. For instance, according to a Buryats' tradition, elderly men and women, who were bid farewell before death were put on their best clothes and made to swallow a large and solid piece of fat after long speeches were given at the death feast and a large amount of wine was drunk and suffocated and killed in this manner (Roux, 1999, p. 72). According to a very old Yakut tradition, when the parents or a relative got very old or had an incurable



illness, they asked the closest person to them with a blood tie to kill them. The whole clan got together of this ritual, a large and fatty cattle was sacrificed, the person decided to be killed was given the best part of the meat and a relative buried that person alive in a pit in the forest on the third day of the ritual, because natural death for their children is a source of shame.<sup>1</sup>

The spirit, which did not have any relationship with matter according to the collective mentality of modern societies, leaves the body of the person after death. In fact, in modern thought, a person's death is based on the moment he loses consciousness since all activities of the brain stop. Therefore, death subjectively concerns only consciousness. While the body decays and is destroyed, the spirit continues to live (Schopenhauer, 2014, p. 12). However, there is no distinction between the spirit and the body in primitive mentality. The reason for this is that the main phenomenon given importance to in a being by the primitive people was related to existence. The phenomenon of death, being personified as an ugly and old woman or man, is an example to that. Therefore, this existence, which creates death, has in fact an autonomous existence throughout life. In primitive mentality, the spirit was quite different from the immaterial spirit accepted in the modern world, and it was located somewhere between the spirit and matter (Roux, 1999, p. 110). In both Turkic and Slavic clans, it was believed that the spirit continues to live after death. With the condition of creating power, everything in the human body could be the spirit. Ancient Turkic communities believed that the spirit was located in the kidneys, blood, bones, the skeleton or the heart. Ancient Slavic communities believed that the spirit as a living being resided in the heart, the chest, stomach area, the liver, blood, the throat or underneath the right arm. According to Uno Harva (2014, p. 227), it is believed by Turkic and Mongolian people that there is a spirit permanently living outside the body, except for the spirit which is believed to live in the human body and to leave the body when it finds a chance.

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<sup>1</sup> Besides this attitude towards the elderly and old age, there are certain instances, in which the elderly are treated with great respect as well. As Jean-Paul Roux, who is an expert in the Turkish world states (1999, p. 74), the elderly were shown great respect after the fear of old age was overcome. For instance, if an illness or a visible handicap was not in question, the elderly were treated with great respect among the Kimeks. Edward Tryjarski (2012, p. 94), who agrees with the views of Roux and is a famous Orientals and Turkish Language Society honorary member, talks about how old Turkish communities, in particular Altai were inconsistent in their attitude towards the elderly and alternated between insulting and glorifying them.

Just like the present time, people in the mythological periods believed that there was life after death. According to this belief, when a person died, his existence in the world of the living ended, but it did not completely cease to exist. It only left this world and went to another world by adapting to the new conditions and lived for a certain amount of time (Levy-Bruhl, 2006, p. 239). The pagan individual regarded the dead person as alive since he viewed this passage as a simple change in the conditions of the environment and life. The burial ceremonies of the ancient tribes and their details give an idea about how the people of those periods perceived the world. Surely, each change in the traditions is an indication of the development of the consciousness of human beings. The Turkic and Slavic people of the Stone and Bronze Age similarly buried their dead in graves by placing them like an embryo or in the sitting position, and thus prepare them to be reborn or continue their lives in the world they go to. As archaeological findings also show, Turkic clans before the Common Era buried their dead either without building any structures and directly in the ground or in a cairn. Below the mound which forms the cairn, the dead body was buried in an area bordered with small stones or in a pit on the ground directly or in a coffin made of wood. The direction of the dead person's head facing the North or northwest in general might be related to the North direction being regarded as the place for afterlife since it is dark. The placement style of the dead bodies shows regional and periodic differences. The dead were sometimes buried in the fetal or sitting position or sometimes flat on their back. In addition, graves and cairns were painted with red ochre, which represents blood and rebirth. Besides Turks, this ritual was seen as sprinkling red soil on the dead (Eliade, 2003, p. 23). In Slavic clans, the dead body's arm or legs were bound or some limbs were cut to give them an embryo shape with the purpose of allowing rebirth. This tradition was based on the animistic understanding, in which hunter societies regard themselves as a part of nature (Ribakov, 1994, p. 268). Behind such behaviors that primitive tribe portrayed in relation to dead bodies, was the belief in and wish for a spirit, which left the body with death and immortality. After death took place, it could be stated that one of the most important objectives among the positive and negative behavior towards the dead body was the wish to give tranquility and peace to the spirit, which left the body (Yasa, 2001, pp. 45-46).

The tradition of the ancient Slavic clans to bury the dead after the skeleton was flexed out of shape or broken, by time transformed into burning the corpse and preserving the ashes in cairns. The ashes of the dead were preserved in funerary urns shaped like a human head or body. These urns had lids resembling hats. In fact, some urns were shaped like a woman's head with an earring indicating that

it had the ashes of a woman or similarly like a man's head with a moustache. Objects such as belts, earrings, necklaces and pins were attached on top of the urns shaped like a body as well (Ribakov, 1994, p. 272). Sometimes the ashes were sprinkled on earth and included in the cycle of life. The red colored soil sprinkled on top of the grave symbolized blood and fire. In Russian tribes, it was estimated that the tradition of burning the dead continued until twelfth century. In 922, an Arab diplomat named Ibn Fadlan<sup>2</sup>, who witnessed the tradition of burning the dead near Volga River, narrated the mentality of the long process of burning based on the explanations of a Russian merchant and translator: *"You Arabs are stupid. You take the person you love and value the most and bury him in the ground. His corpse is eaten by soil, insects and worms. But we immediately burn the dead. They go to heaven right away"* (Şeşen, 2015, pp. 43-44). Burning the dead is also seen in the ancient traditions of Turks. The belief in the cleansing and purifying power of fire was effective. Kyrgyz people believed that fire was the cleanest object. Everything put in fire was cleansed. Fire removed dirt and sins from the dead (Şeşen, 1998, p. 77). In addition, burning the belongings of the dead served the purpose of destroying the deadly effect believed to be contaminated by death, and it was about the fear and worry that the deceased person could miss his/her belongings and come back. The mourning people were also subject to this purification ritual in order to be able to return to their normal lives. The relatives, family members and even domestic animals of the dead needed to walk or made to walk between two lines of fire. According to Ibn Fadlan's notes, heaven for Russians was not under the ground but above it. This was told by the young girl who was to be sacrificed during the ritual. Prior to the burning ritual, big wooden doors were made. The girl was raised on top of these doors, which were about two people high by men. The girl, who looked beyond the wooden doors, said that she saw all of her dead relatives. Initiating the ritual from high doors was based on the belief of the Russian people that the land of the dead was somewhere high and far (Ribakov, 1994, pp. 275-276). Ibn Fadlan narrates the burial ceremonies of the Oghuz tribe as follows: *"If one of them gets sick, they immediately put that person in a tent erected far from his house. The*

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<sup>2</sup> Prof. Dr. Ramazan Şeşen mentions in his work, titled "The Ibn Fadlan Travel Book", that Ibn Fadlan was a cultured clerk, who was Arabized and worked in the council of Abbasid Khalifa Muqtadir in the beginning of 10<sup>th</sup> century. Ibn Fadlan was a part of the committee sent by Khalifa Muqtadir in 921 to the Ruler of the Volga Bulgarians Almysh Khan and he narrated important information about the places and peoples he saw. (For the translation and appendixes of the Travel Book written by Ibn Fadlan, see: "Ibn Fadlan Travel Book and Appendixes", Şeşen, Ramazan, Yeditepe, İstanbul, 2015).

*sick person remains in that tent until he gets well or dies. When someone dies, they dig a pit as big as a house. They put on a clothing on the dead person, tie his sash and place his bow next to him. They put all of his belongings in this house/pit and place the dead there. Then, they build a dome like structure made of soil on top of it” (Inan, 1972, p. 178).*

Gradually it has been realized that a person lives the closest experience to death by the organism slowing down all brain activities, reduce certain secretions, decelerating breathing, the pulse and heart beats and pass on to the sleep position, which is a deep state of unconsciousness. Thus, Russian tribes resembled their dead to people in a state of deep sleep, placed them in sleeping, lengthwise position and started burying them in the ground. Since it was assumed that the dead person would wake up and return to his normal life, the belongings he loved or used every day were put in his grave. Regardless of whether the dead were burned, their ashes were scattered or buried, there were two views in pagan Russian society: Either the dead person’s spirit joined the spirits of his ancestors and remained where he was burned or buried, or he was around his close ones until the fortieth day. In Russian mythology, death was personified in different ways. In some regions, death was portrayed as an old woman whose hand and leg bones were quite prominent, with large teeth and in white colored clothes. In some fairytales, she has no teeth contrary to the first depiction. Death is associated with the night and dark as the symbol of afterlife. In the world of the Turks, death wears dark colored clothes, rides a black horse and majestic and scary in appearance.

### **The Other World**

One of the first and most important existential issues human beings have given continuous thought to is the problem of life after death. Starting from the primitive times, in which monotheistic religions did not exist yet, the belief in another world, which begins with death and life in this world is continued with a different system, is still valid today. Although no one volunteers and rushes to go there, the general belief is that the hardships in this world will not exist in the other world. In the ancient times, the tradition of placing the loved possessions of the dead person in his grave, burial of his spouse, horse or servants next to him by being sacrificed, burning of his belongings, tent/house is related to the idea that his life in this world is being transferred to the other world to follow him. Many Asian nations regard the other world as a reversed version of this world. The reason why the dead are buried after sunset in many regions is the idea that

it is daytime in the other world, and the dead people are starting a new day. It is believed that rivers run in the opposite direction, towards their sources in the underground which is perceived as the other world. According to this view, the offerings made to the dead are placed after they are turned upside down on the grave and after they are broken or bended to be proper in the other world (Çoruhlu, 2000, p. 139). According to the common view in all the Slavic communities, the difference between the mortal world and the other world is poles apart like day and night, summer and winter, and North and South. The world of the living is expressed with the right side that is with the east and the South; it is hot, bright and day time. There is harmony between seasonal cycles and time slices. On the other hand, the other world is expressed with the left side, that is with the west and north; it is dark, cold and night time. There is no life or movement there and it represents chaos.

In the other world depictions of the pagan times, there was no concept of heaven and hell as accepted by the monotheistic religions. The world was separated into two and there was only the world of the mortals and the other world. In the primitive times, instead of the concept of sinning before God, there were negative behaviors such as departing from the rules and acting badly. According to pagans, unnatural and untimely deaths such as committing suicide, dying by freezing, burning or accidents damaged the society. Even if a person died in an accident, the earth would not accept him since he died before he accomplished his fate and the evil spirits would create danger for the society. According to the belief in East Slavic mythology, people who died in an untimely manner during natural disasters or epidemics disrupted the harmony of nature. Therefore, the heads or hands and feet of the people who died untimely were cut and stuck to stakes, made from willow branches and thrown to abandoned places, stream beds or far away areas where no one lived (Agapkina & Petruhin 1995, p. 187). Although the spirits were believed to travel between the two worlds and they were not dangerous, they were always met with uneasiness in the mortal world. These unworldly beings were believed to be dangerous since they belonged to the world of the dead. Although the other world couldn't be seen, it was believed that the borders of the two worlds could be overcome with wizards. This border between the world of the living and the dead was materialized as a burning sea or a river. According to a tradition practiced until the recent times, with the purpose of helping those who were going to cross the fire river which is boiling with hot and resinous flames, two extra woods were thrown to the hearth to feed it after meals were cooked. Another border with the other world was the hearth which was related to fire. According to this belief, communication with the other world

was possible through the chimney of the hearth because the chimney was an exit which was in a higher place in a house and a special place where communication was established with the supernatural forces. While illnesses, evil spirits or the deceased person's spirit left from the chimney, it was possible that the devil or evil spirits which brought deadly dangers might enter. In cases where there was lightening or heavy thunderclaps, the chimneys caps would be closed and evil spirits would be prevented from entering. In dead burial rituals, the hearth symbolized the path to the other world and even death itself. The caps of the chimneys were opened in difficult deliveries. Among the Bashkir communities, the gutter was lifted upwards to help the deceased person's spirit easily left the house. The spirit of the person about to die left the body in the shape of a butterfly and perched on side of the hearth chimney or hearth chair (Tryjarski, 2012, p. 101). According to the Russian mythological descriptions, children came from the other world when they were born. The hearth as the border between the two worlds prevented fearing the dead person and fulfilled longing for that person. After the burial, people looked at the hearth and thus to the other world. The spirit's passage to the other world was defined as a difficult process. While the dying person was in the agony of death, all the windows, doors, stove lids, barrel and cooking pan lids were kept open to give way to the spirit. In addition, the bodies of the deceased people were taken out through the special gaps opened on the walls or window bays (Levkiyevskaya, 2000, p. 170).

In the burial ceremonies of the dead, stones played an important role due to their hardness, weight and stability. According to Russian legends, while the Alagir stone which was considered to be the father of Stones in legends appeared when the world was not established yet, and there was the oak tree on it as the symbol of the tree of life. According to the legends, in particular heavy and large stones prevented the spirit of the dead to enter the world of mortals. Therefore, stone and sand hills were formed in places where the dead or their ashes were buried in burial ceremonies for a long time in Russian tradition; the circumference of the grave is still encircled with smooth stones of same size and a large stone is put on top of the hill. Cumans, one of the Turkic clans, formed a big hill on top of the dead people's graves and erected a statue/balbal (a monolith) in the memory of the deceased on top of their graves. Tall stones were erected on the four main corners of the graves in different areas (Harva, 2014, p. 260). In Russian mythology, the oak tree is referred to in relation to death as well along with being the tree of life. In the very ancient times, the coffins, and after Christianity, the crosses on graves were made from oak trees. According to the mythological view of the world, the oak tree is related to death. Thus, the branches of the birch tree

were placed where the deceased person would be buried. Also, the base of the grave was furnished with the branches and leaves of the birch tree, a 'pillow' was made from branches and leaves, put under the head of the person and a birch tree was planted next to the grave. In the rituals, apples and apple trees also played an important role. Especially after Christianity, on the day Christ received revelations on 19th of August, it became a tradition to put apples and cookies on the graves of children. According to the tradition, the dead person, who ate these, was nourished in the other world. Even today, Russians leave apples along with bread, eggs and money to graves. It was believed that the spirit lived temporarily on the tree until the corpse was buried. In some places, strings were tied to the trees in graveyards to facilitate the ascension of the spirits, or green tree branches were hung to the condolence house to allow spirits to sit. According to a tradition in some Turkic communities just like the Kyrgyz people, corpses were placed on top of tree branches which were regarded as the dwelling place of spirits and the corpse stayed there until it began to decay or its flesh was cleaned by birds (Çoruhlu, 2000, p. 140). This practice was actually based on the principle of separation of the flesh from the bones; in other words, the cleansing of the skeleton and rising from the dead through the bones. In particular, placing bird wings on the shoulders of child corpses and putting them on tree branches symbolized the spirit's return to the tree of world (Yggdrasil) in the shape of a bird. There are different portrayals about what the spirit does after a person dies. According to a belief of the Yugurs, one of the ancient Turkic communities, the newly deceased person couldn't reach the underground world until the shaman made his spirit accepted by the other world. The deceased person tried to take his family and domestic animals with him. Therefore, to prevent the spirit of the dead person from following other beings, a different road was taken from the graveyard to the house. According to this belief, dead people could adapt to their place after three, seven or forty days and they went to the other world after the funeral feasts organized for them. The spirit would go to the other world in different manners. The famous Turkish folklorist Pertev Naili Boratav talks about a village in the Mudurnu region which is north of Ankara, where the villagers told him that the spirit takes the form of a fly and flies; cats were not allowed into the room of the deceased at that moment since they feared from the cat eating the spirit (Roux, 1999, p. 159). The other Turkish folklore expert Sedat Veyis Örnek mentions (1971, p. 61) in his research he carried out in different areas in Anatolia that the deceased person's spirit is resembled to a fly as well. He states that a similar belief is still true for Erzurum, Çankırı, Afyon, Sivas, Kayseri, Içel and Datça besides Ankara. In Içel and Datça regions, a deceased person's spirit is regarded

as a fly with green wings. Similarly, according to the old Russian traditions, it was believed that a deceased person took the shape of a fly or a bird. Therefore, on the first night of the deceased person, the elderly kept watch beside his grave with a glass of water with honey and wait for the spirit to appear as a fly. The flies, which swarmed on the dead person, were not driven away or killed (Levkiyevskaya, 2000, p. 163). The deceased person's body was kept at home for three days to finish his business in his house and farm for the last time. During these three days, the deceased person was believed to eat the meals he was served and saw everyone and heard everything.

In another Russian belief, the deceased person felt everything until his corpse was put in the grave and was covered with earth; therefore, the dead should have been approached with respect. All the doors, chimneys and windows were kept closed for the spirit not to come back the moment his corpse was taken out of the house. The arrow of the funeral car was pointed at the opposite direction to face the graveyard and was kept that way for forty days to prevent the spirit from taking the same car and return. Since it was believed that the spirit would visit his home for forty days after the burial, honey, water, bread and salt were placed in front of the window to feed the spirit. Due to the belief that the deceased person could take the other family members or his domestic animals with him, after the meat of lamb, pig or sheep was cooked and eaten to commemorate the dead, the bones were buried in one corner of the farm. The door of the barn was locked to prevent the animals from the dead person. Since it was believed that the spirits of the dead remained in the clothes they were wearing when they died, babies were never buried without their sashes and men without their belts. Comfortable shoes were put on girls' feet. Mothers, whose babies died, should not have cried too much, because it was believed that teardrops could burn the baby. Boiled barley or rye, honey, pancakes and eggs were put in the grave as an offering to the spirits of the dead to show respect. On the ninth and fortieth days, the first bite of each meal and the first glass of water was placed in a corner of the table for the spirit of the dead.

According to a belief prevalent among the ancient Slavs, the duration each person would live on earth was pre-determined before they were born. Accordingly, there were two types of death. The people who died from old age were respected; the spirits of these people were referred to as "mother-father", "grandfather" or "ancestor" in the society and commemorative rituals were performed a few times a year for them. In these rituals named "warming the ancestors", fires were built to warm the spirits of the ancestors. Those in the second group, depending on their cause of death, were people, who died due to



committing suicide, getting drowned, frozen, burned, by accident, getting lost or those, who shortened their life or destroyed it by excessive drinking. Stillborn babies and children killed on purpose or by accident by their parents or children, who were cursed and died in early ages, witches or wizards and people who didn't get married, did not have children and died without leaving a new generation behind, fell into this group. People who died in this manner were regarded as doomed and that the earth would not accept them since they did not join the natural cycle of life. The Tatars believed that the corpses of people who drank excessively did not like water and chased away rain clouds, leaving their graves. This caused droughts and the crops to get scorched. In cases where the draught continued for a long time, the gaps in the graves were filled with water with forty buckets of water for each grave. In fact, sometimes the corpses were taken out of the graves and buried in marshes (Tryjarski, 2012, p. 135). A similar practice was carried out by the old Russian tribes. Those who drank excessively and shortened their life spans were believed to upset the balance of nature and caused droughts and epidemics. The spirits of these people sucked the humidity of the earth since they were always thirsty and caused droughts. The places where these people died were frequently watered to prevent this.

In Russian mythology, the spirits of those who died in an untimely manner transform into evil spirits called "rusalka", "ubir", "kikimora" who lived in various places. It was thought that these unworldly beings upset the balance of nature, led to untimely rains or droughts and thus result in famines, brought epidemics and reduced abundance. Therefore, these spirits who were thought to be dangerous were never referred to. The bodies of these people were not buried into the ground to avoid making the nature angry, and they were buried in secluded parts of forests, stream beds and marshes and covered with tree branches, stakes, wood and moss. It was believed that the spirits of those having untimely deaths were taken away by the devil in severe storms and hurricanes. Therefore, when there were severe storms, it was believed that someone committed a suicide or a wizard died (Zabilin, 2014, p. 283). Some Turkic communities also believed that the spirits of those having untimely deaths, committing a suicide, women who died without giving birth were dangerous since they left without fulfilling their worldly duties. People who committed suicide and died were turned face down when they were being buried. Ancient Yakuts believed that a normal person would live until 70 years old. While dying before this age was explained with the doings of evil spirits, those who were still alive after they turned 70 caused uneasiness. These people were believed to steal time from their children or grandchildren. In some Turkic communities, the evil spirits,

believed to bring death and illnesses, were referred as “aza”, “kormos”, “puk”, “albız”, “sulbus” (Tryjarski, 2012, pp. 129-133).

### **Conclusion**

Death, which is the last stop of life, is unknown, irrepressible, inevitable and threatening. Regardless of whether death is caused by evil spirits bearing hostility towards humans, as believed in the primitive times, or by loss of consciousness as believed by modern societies, it is ultimately at least a material termination. Since there cannot be any death without a cause, even though it is possible arrive at a conclusion within the compass of the technical resources of the present time, what happens after death is a mystery, which has not been solved, since the existence of humanity. Humankind partly resumes the beliefs and practices from the mythological periods about death and afterwards to reduce the amount of fear and loneliness he feels in the face of the failure to disclose this secret. A part of the traditions and customs about death finds the way out by designing ‘the other world’ and acknowledges the idea that the dead will continue their lives there. The rituals and traditions carried out about death along with the negative perception of death gain positive characteristics due to their aspects of strengthening social relations and sustaining social life. Certain rituals, beliefs and acknowledgments belonging to the mythological periods, being similar in Turkish and Russian communities and maintaining some these through various practices today can be explained by death being a common end for each being. The effort spent by people in the primitive times to explain the unknown caused the emergence of similar behaviors and practices about death in different societies. Death, being the inevitable end for everyone and the ambiguity of what happens afterwards, added a universal point of view on death into the customs of Turkish and Russian communities, located in neighboring geographies. As a result, it can be stated that behavioral patterns about death in the face of cultural, social and regional differences have not been greatly affected.

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# **Common Points between The Hızır in Turkish Culture and Lakshmi in Hindu Culture**

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## **Abstract**

Human memory is important in identification of common points and social identity as a “data bank”. Common history, belief and rituals of people forming the society reveals the social memory and cultural memory.

Festivals, belief and rituals during the festivals are among these. Festivals are days when national and religious emotions, beliefs, customs are practiced, exhibited by all of the nations, the sense of being a nation being formed, reinforced. These festivals are also important in terms of spiritual integration of all the people living in a country. Festivals have a significant place in social memory. Festivals and preparations to these festivals, celebrations, rituals, beliefs continue living as they are repeated and reinforced in the social memory.

In our paper, we will address Hıdırellez, celebrated in Turkish world, and Diwali festivals, celebrated in India and many Asian countries and evaluate the belief of Hızır and Lakshmi, which are in the center of these festivals, and similarities in these beliefs and celebrations.

Hıdırellez is a festival where spring is celebrated and summer is welcomed in the Turkish world. In Hıdırellez, longstanding ancestry from ancient Turkish beliefs, traces of fire, water and plentifulness cults and related rituals can be seen. Also in Diwali, which is celebrated in Asian nations, we can see that similar cults are present and from festival preparations to beliefs related to festivals, there are similarities. Common cult of these festivals, plentifulness, kind of forms the spirit of celebrations. The belief of Hızır visiting homes and spread plentifulness is also present in the beliefs and practices formed around Lakshmi in Diwali. Cultural commonality and similarities form the common language of different nations.

**Keywords:** Diwali, Hıdırellez, Lakshmi, festival, rituals,

### **Introduction**

Social belonging, which we call as social identity, is based on a common language, or more generally, the participation of common knowledge and memory, which is achieved through the use of a common symbolic system. Anything that shows commonality can be an indicator. It is not the language, but the function of the symbols and the indicator structure are important. All of this commonality, which is symbolically shown, is called the cultural system. The cultural system is the vehicle on which your common identity is based and maintained for generations (Assmann, 2001: 139). Human memory is important for the survival of cultural elements as a "data carrier". Social and cultural memories emerge in a society that has a common history, and therefore common memories. According to Assmann (2001: 43), social memory is an epitome of group membership. At the same time, it is a concrete identity.

In order for a truth to be placed in the memory of a group, it is necessary to live in the form of a certain person, place or event. In order for an event to stay in the memory of a group it must be enriched with meaningful truth. Every personality and every historical event introduces a lecture, a concept, a symbol through this memory, and society becomes an element of the system of thought (Assmann, 2001: 42).

Each culture forms something called binding. This structure is both unifying and binding in both social dimension and time dimension. By creating a "world of symbolic meaning" from the spaces of common experience, expectation and action, we connect people together by providing the means of trust and support with unifying and binding power. Two sides of the culture, meaning prescriptive and narrative, guiding and transporting dimensions constitute the basis of identity and belonging which give individuals the possibility of saying "we" (Assmann, 2001: 21).

The social group that established itself as a society with common memories protects its past in two ways: its own peculiarity and continuity (Assmann, 2001: 45).

The first form of organization of cultural memory is festivals and various rituals (Assmann, 2001: 59). It has become a tradition in the whole world to meet the days of the past, the years and seasons with public ceremonies. These ceremonies are neither fun and good things, nor fun to spend time with. On the contrary, they follow a pattern that fits everywhere more or less closely, and serves strictly for functional purposes (Gaster, 2000: 23). Celebrations are repeated with the transfer of knowledge, beliefs and rituals. The festivals reflect and live by the

people or groups they belong to, whether they are religiously celebrated or traditionally celebrated. And people from all social and cultural levels of society are involved in these celebrations.

These ceremonies have the function of gathering the members who are living in the scattered society together at a certain time and directing a common activity. In ceremonies, those who participate in the entertainments thus reinforce the belief that they can take the forces of nature under their control (Nirun-Özönder, 1990, 260-261).

The festivals enlighten the background of our existence which is neglected in our daily life. The main goal of the festivals is not to create a sacred time opposite to the daily time, but to divide the time into chapters (Assmann, 2001: 61). The information we bring from the past helps us legitimize the existing social order. The information and images that are carried are transferred on ritually with ceremonial practices (Connerton, 1999: 12). The ceremonies have taken formal forms and have a tendency to attach to a certain style and to repeat at certain intervals. Recurrence is also a sign of continuity of the past. Ceremonies are consciously practiced to express certain emotions (Connerton, 1999: 71).

Hidirellez in Turkish culture, Diwali in Indian culture, are festivals which are carried from past to present, carrying all the qualities of coding in memory and carried on with ceremonial practices.

While there is no written source on the ceremonies of the oldest communities in history, both ethnographic observations and daily remnants of folk beliefs can give an idea of the way they are carried out (Özbudun, 1997: 108). We have done our work by coming out of the beliefs and rituals for Hidirellez and Diwali from past to present.

Hidirellez is a festival celebration that takes its name from Hızır and İlyas. It is a festival celebrated in the spring and welcomed in the summer. According to the belief of the people, on the night that connects May 5 to May 6, Hızır and İlyas will meet in the world to give life to the nature. Tonight is considered to be the day when winter ends and summer begins. These days, which are called as the days of Hızır, are the days of revival, abundance, fertility after the distressful winter days.

According to the Turkish people's beliefs, Hızır is a prophet who is in the mystery of mortality. Hızır is a powerful and helpful messenger of God on earth. It is believed that Hızır helps those who are in trouble. In the night that connects May 5th to May 6th, Hızır helps those who are in trouble and makes similar

applications in the whole Turkic region, believing that they will fulfill their wishes (Günay 1995: 3).

Hizir helps clean, faithful people. He offers richness and wealth to the places he goes. He gives cure and healing. He gives plants greenery, reproduction of animals, strengthening of people. He helps people to open their luck. He is a symbol of luck and fortune. He has miracles and oracles.

Diwali is one of the biggest and most magnificent celebrations in India. Diwali is also known as "light festival". In the western and northern parts of India, Diwali points to the beginning of a new Hindu year.

Diwali points to stories and different historical events celebrated by, Hindus, Jain and Sikhs and some Buddhists. There are important differences in regional practices and rituals. But they all symbolize light and victory over darkness, knowledge over ignorance, goodness over evil and hope (Narayanan-Heiligman, 2008: 31).

In Diwali, Lord Ram (the reincarnation of Lord Vishnu in Treta Yug) returned to the capital Ayodhya after 14 years of exile, when his stepmother Kaikeyi ended up slandering him because of her jealousy that her son Bharat could not become king. Though thousands of years have passed, the idea of Ram Kingdom (Ram Rajya) is still remembered today (Bahadur, 2006: 208).

In Andhra Pradesh, Tamil Nadu and Maharashtra, Diwali celebrations start on the day that Lord Krishna kills the devil named as Narakaasura. (<https://apanangipally.wordpress.com>).

The common and most important aspect of the celebrations of Hıdırellez and Diwali are the blessings, fortune, abundance, goodness, health cultures of Hizir / Lakshmi and time in both celebrations. In Hıdırellez, the visit of Hizir and in Diwali the visit of Lakshmi to a house also means abundance, blessing and fulfillment of the wishes of the visited households. Therefore, this blessed visit in both cultures is awaited with prayer and various rituals.

The people believe that Goddess Lakshmi visited their house in Diwali. Lakshmi is the wife of God Vishnu. When her husband Vishnu comes to the world, Lakshmi is embodied as his wife (Kaya, 2001). "Shakta" thinkers say that "creative power" will be a "Mother" power, such as the one we call our difficult moments. Shiva's wife Parvati, Vishnu's wife Lakshmi, Krishna's wife Radha are sacred mothers. In fact, all these are the different names of Caganmâtâ, the sole universal force of all creatures (Kaya, 2001: 62). Hence worshiping a mother goddess has been a part

of Indian tradition since its earliest times. Lakshmi is one of the mother gods and is addressed to her as "mata" (mother) instead of "devi" (goddess).

The beliefs in Hidirellez and Divali, rituals come against us as the remaining of the past. According to Gaster (2000: 43-45), seasonal purification ceremonies are universally found in both ancient and modern societies. The last month of the year among the Romans was specifically devoted to purification. Temples and sacred vessels were cleaned thoroughly in this season. Evil forces and spirits were fired by various ceremonies. In Chitral, this ceremony was called banishing evil. The removal process was mostly done with the aid of fire.

In Hidirellez, traces of the ancestors, fire, water and fertility cults from the old Turkish beliefs are observed and rituals related to them are seen. The traditions practiced in Hidirellez are directed to wishes of healing, health, abundance, wealth, property, fortune, fate, talisman, luck, miracle and oracles.

The first preparation in Hidirellez and Diwali is to paint and clean the houses. At Diwali preparations, the floor of the main room is usually plastered with red soil. If the plaster has been done recently, the floor is re-applied in a fine manner. Door and entrance is plastered with red soil to encourage Lakshmi to enter (Boivin, 2000: 371). Especially the room where the prayer (Pujan) is made is whitewashed. There is a Madhubani-style painting depicting the events of Lord Ram, Sita, Lakshman and Haruman (even Krishna *avtar* and Gopis and *raas lelas*) and other gods. These events are depicted in square frames or rectangles (Bahadur, 2006: 211).

In both celebrations, the water cult, the symbol of purification, comes into the foreground. From mythical accounts, to religions, to philosophies in a broad sense of belief and contemplation, water is purification from evil, from disease. Water is not only physical but also spiritual purification. According to Eliade (1991: 108), water represents the universal accumulation of latent forces. Contact with water always involves revival. The waters are both purifying and invigorating in shedding sins.

Hidirellez and Diwali's first and most important joint ritual is morning. In Hidirellez, you start the day with the early bathing in the morning. Forty kinds of plants collected from the soil are boiled and water is drunk or bathed with the belief that all diseases will be good for the future (Cingöz, 1990: 45). It is believed that those who bath with this water will be protected from any kind of evil that year, will not get sick, and will heal when sick. It is also believed that those who enter the water in the night will be immune to any illness, since all the waters are littered during the night of Hidirellez (Ocak, 1990: 153). In addition, it is believed



that the hair of the people who wash with this water will be longer and they bring abundance to the house that they went as a bride (Soylu 1990: 145). Rain water is also drank for healing.

In Diwali, the bath made before the sunrise after oily massage is good. Before sunrise, bathing in the light of the stars is considered to have been made in the holy Ganga (Bahadur, 2006: 211). As a result of the oily massage and bathing, the person eats away all the ego, anger, fight, pride and jealousy of the previous year. This is a new beginning. Material and spiritual cleaning takes place. It is believed that this bath will purify from all dirt, evil and ominous things before Goddess Lakshmi comes ([www.hindu-blog.com](http://www.hindu-blog.com)).

"Oil" has been regarded as an important element of human life by Turks and other Asian nations that are adjacent to Turks in every period of history. The "oil", which is regarded as sacred and abundant symbol of abundance, was also poured on to their faces and bodies, as well as on objects they valued and respected (e.g. monuments, inscriptions, tombstones, trees, places of worship, sculptures, etc.) (Alyilmaz, 1999, 25-28). Kyrgyz Turks pour oil onto their newborn baby with the purpose of the baby to become compassionate and good-looking; they believe that this baby will last a long, healthy, happy life that its earnings will never be cut off (Polat, 2008, 98-99).

On the night that connects May 5 to May 6, because the belief that Hızır "has roamed on the earth and brought blessings to the things that he touched" is very common, the lids of food and drink containers in the houses are left open and the locks of warehouses and money chests are left open.

In the night of Hıdırellez the lids of all the food bags are opened. Each food is put in a bag and hanged in a branch of a tree, taken back in the morning and stored. This is done to increase abundance and abundance (Meydan, 1990: 118). It is said "Leave your locks open, Hızır will come" with the purpose of bringing blessings to the food. On the day of Hıdırellez, the house and doors are left open.

In the night of Hıdırellez, flour is sifted on flour board, placed in balcony or in the garden and if there is a mark on the board next morning, Hızır has passed over it. There becomes so much abundance in that house (Kahveci, 1990: 79). The belief that Hızır brings luck and abundance to the places he roamed or touched on the world is very widespread.

Lakshmi is also believed to have traveled the world at Diwali night. On the evening of Diwali, doors and windows are left open with the belief of Lakshmi to come. Small earth lamps filled with oil are placed in various places inside, outside and in temples (Mead, 2008). These practices are to invite Lakshmi. Illuminated

spaces are an invitation to Lakshmi. There is a widespread belief that Lakshmi and connected to that abundance will not come to the dark houses (Kaya, 2001: 65).

Light plays a central role in almost all mythologies and traditional religions. The power of God's creation and creation is symbols. The most appropriate revelation of God is happening all over the world with light. The light plays a major role in all mythologies and religions in the birth of the privileged people as temporary or permanent messengers, rebirth or emergence of the gods (Roux, 2005, 278).

The light and the elements that emit light have a special place in both mythology and religious belief systems. These elements have been associated with the supreme creator and beloved entity and gained a sacred dimension and are considered as an integral part of it (İmamoğlu, 2015: 206).

The difference between good and evil, being and absence, night and day, light and darkness is produced by the light. Light is both mysterious and influences the formation of the real world. In some religions or beliefs the light stands directly and indirectly in others. Light beliefs are personalized in ancient beliefs. In Turks, light is not deified, but it is seen as the most important sign of God. The light is protected in daily life and the darkness is deferred. There are evils in the dark, goodness and beauty among the lights (Önal, 2007: 157). Light and dark are opposite concepts: light is loaded with positive, and dark is loaded with negative associations (Esin, 2001, 22). "Light is the light of knowledge, emotion, thought, love. It is discernment, foresight, experience, mind". <http://www.simavim.com/forum/index>.

In many religions and cultures, light elements are used in celebrations and ceremonies, fireworks are laid out, lanterns and candles are burnt on special days and festivals (İmamoğlu, 2015: 222).

In these celebrations, light and fire cults must be handled together. The tradition of jumping over the fire, which is quite common in the Hıdırellez ceremonies, depends on the "fire" cult, one of the main cults in the old Turkish belief system. It is believed that the fire extinguished the evils and destroyed the diseases. Parallel to this belief, blazing out the patients, incense burning, lead casting, burning of the harmal are the traditions for expelling diseases (Çay, 1990: 21).

In Diwali, fireworks are being lit as well as illuminating according to the general theme of the celebrations. It is also called the light festival because of the fact that the light is in the foreground.

In Diwali, in the evenings, puja is performed before the darkness falls. First, the place where the puja will be performed is decorated with candles, "diya"s, and "hatri"s made of earth and put in the center. The paintings of many gods and

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goddesses - Lakshmi, Ganesh, Ram, Sita, Lakshman and Hanuman - are placed on the table. After worship has been completed, everybody takes some rice in their hands and tells the story of Diwali: This is the story of an old woman who sent "Diladdar" the friend of the poor from her house and took Lakshmi to her house. In the story, the relation between Lakshmi and light is told. In the end of the story all the members of the family throw the puffed rices they hold over the head of Lakshmi and Ganeshji and shout as "Get out Diladdar Lakshmi has come" repeating three times. (Nikal Diladdar Lakshmi aayee) (Bahadur, 2006:217).

For those who attend Hidirellez and Diwali celebrations, dressing new and clean clothes, visiting elderly and relatives, special food preparations and catering, and giving gifts are common practices. Both offering foods and giving gifts are important for strengthening the friendships. In addition, food that is common will gain blessings and sanctity. Meals presented to the poor provide social solidarity. The social relations of the festivals, particularly eating food together and giving gifts, are the samples of the most remarkable points in terms of strengthening family ties. Festivals are special moments in which family relationships, friendships are reinforced and sharing is experienced. These shares also contribute to social planning.

In Diwali, silver coins are used during prayer (11/21/31/101). These silver coins are also stored for use in the next year's puja (Poddar, 2008: 71).

In Hidirellez, metal coins are put under the rose seedlings with prayers. Early morning money is used as abundance money for a year. It is believed that the money hidden in the wallet until the next Hidirellez increases the abundance. Next year, the money used in the previous Hidirellez is used. These funds are not spent for a year.

At Hidirellez night, people hang wishes to the branches of roses or the vineyards. These are wishes, such as having a job, getting married, healing, meeting, getting school, passing the exam or having a child. Those who ask for a house or a car, draw what they want or write that they want on a wish paper. They leave it to the root of the rose plant.

These rituals are still valid in the everyday Turkish society and Indian society from past to present.

### Conclusion

Hidirellez and Diwali, whose rituals are related to purification, remembrance, unity and sharing, are living within the axis of Hızır and Lakshmi without losing

their ties with the history. The repetition of celebrations is a prolongation of the uninterrupted past.

No matter what the demonstration was made at the ceremonies, they also engulfed in behaviors and thoughts not related to the ceremony (Connerton, 1999: 71). The movements that have come to the forefront in the rituals, the word molds are also in our daily lives. It is possible that we do not see their influences in both societies. Ceremonies, celebrations, rituals are another way of expressing ourselves to the environment. What we want to tell is carried with these ceremonies to the future from past to present.

A comparative method is needed to examine the relationship between a culture of folklore and the individual in the culture. It is not possible to know what is or is not a culture-specific one without investigating the possibility of events in close proximity to each other or in related cultures from the same root.

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# **A Comparative Linguoculturological Analysis: “Woman” Concept in Russian and Turkish Linguocultures (on the Basis of Russian and Turkish Languages)**

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## **Abstract**

Woman has been an international research subject for all cultures around the world. There are various perception forms against woman in every culture. These perception forms have taken place in the language. It is a fact that proverbs and phrases light the way for nations’ history, culture, and customs. There are different statements about woman in proverbs and expressions, accepted as the national presence of every nation. Linguoculturology emerged to investigate the interaction between language and culture towards the end of the twentieth century, takes human within an inseparable integrity of culture and language. In this regard, in our study, approaches against a woman in Russian and Turkish cultures will be comparatively discussed in terms of linguoculturology; proverbs and phrases of both cultures will be examined through woman concept and language philosophies of both cultures will be revealed.

**Keywords:** Linguoculturology, Woman, Russian, Turkish

## **1. Introduction**

Woman has always been one of the most searched topics of social sciences. The role of woman in society, responsibilities imposed on woman, feminist researches still continue to be relevant. In this study, comparative linguoculturological studies were carried out through the concept of woman and attempts were made to identify stereotypical thoughts that emerged in the society about woman. The characteristics of the social position of the woman and the thoughts prevailing in society can be found in idioms, proverbs, words and phrases. Before we start examining the concept of woman, we need to explain the *concept* in general. The concept shows us the consciousness and values of the societies as a unit that carries national-cultural facts in linguoculturological sense. In terms of linguoculturology, concept is a cultural, mental and linguistic formation. Yu. S. Stepanov explains that *"a concept is a clot of culture in the human mind, the form of how culture is perceived in the mental world of the individual; on the other hand, it is a means of how one enters into the culture. The concept exists in the mental world of a person not in clear terms, but as a "bundle" of ideas, concepts, knowledge, associations and emotions that accompany the word, it also includes the complex structure of the concept, and what makes it a factor of a culture"* (Stepanov, 2004, p. 43). According to Stepanov's definition, the human mind is a cultural 'clot'. Based on this definition, we can say that concept includes whole of conceptual and cultural components. Expressions bearing national and cultural values are settled in language and we can see them as word patterns in daily life. These words reflect the language worldview of that culture. In this context, we will examine comparatively the concept of *"women"* of two different cultures.

## **2. The concept of woman in Turkish linguoculture**

It is possible to classify women in many different ways in Turkish such as *girl, woman, bride, wife, dame, sister-in-law, mother-in-law, housewife, widow, cook, nurse, mother, sister, elder sister, aunt, madam, lady, slut, wizard, fortune teller, fairy and witch*. (Eshkenov, 2007, p.5) When we look at the meaning of the word of woman in the TDK (Turkish Language Association) Contemporary Dictionary, it is listed as follows:

1. An adult female person, a dame, matron
2. One who has the virtues and skills required for maternity or home management
3. Maid

#### 4. Madame (www.tdk.gov.tr)

As you can see, the first meaning indicates gender, while the second meaning shows us the responsibilities of the woman at home. The differences between men and women are also reflected in our language. The proverb "*A woman's disgrace is a man's source of pride*"<sup>1</sup> shows us this. While women are not tolerated in the event of any wrongdoing, the same situation does not apply to men. While women are castigated when they do something which the society thinks wrong, men feel proud of and boast about it. The proverb "*The woman's ruse made the man lose*"<sup>2</sup> means women are superior than men in cunningness. Therefore, a negative judgment is imposed on women compared to men.

Another responsibility charged to the women in the Turkish society is the maternity: "*There is no love like a mother's or a place like your homeland*"<sup>3</sup> The love and respect for the mother is a feeling that is deeply rooted for the Turks. The great Turkish thinker Ziya Gökalp advocates that the ancient Turks were democratic and feminist (Doğramacı, 1989, p.79). In his book, *The History of Turkish Civilization*, he describes the woman as a complement to man: "*There was no sexual division of labor for Turks. The sexual division of labor arose because the woman became a taboo. Women were not taboo for ancient Turks, so they participated in every work of men. In the war, in banquets, in meetings, and in religion, politics, moral, fine arts, language and economics women were together with men...*" (Gökalp, 1987, pp. 257-258). Therefore, the Turks did not put women in the background before accepting Islam. In fact, it is possible to say that with the acceptance of Islam, the value given to the women increased even more. The hadith "Paradise lies at the feet of the mother" is a summary of the value given to the mothers. The hadiths "*The woman is equal to men and the other half of the society*", "*The one who takes care of the rights of his wife is a good Muslim*" also advise that women should be valued. The researcher Ali Torun made the following conclusion in his article entitled "Viewpoints about woman in Dede Korkut epics and their traces from the ancient Turkish culture: "*According to the civilization circles of the Turks, woman was 'a being busy with fun in the hunter-gatherer society; active at every stage of life in horse-nomadic society; quiet depending on the way of life and passive compared to the woman in the nomadic society; but still on her husband's side in settled civilization*" (Torun, 1999, p.153).

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<sup>1</sup> In Turkish: *Kadının yüzünün karası erkeğinin elinin kınası*

<sup>2</sup> In Turkish: *Kadının fendi, erkeği yendi*

<sup>3</sup> In Turkish: *Ana gibi yar vatan gibi diyar olmaz*



The proverb "*Female bird makes the nest*"<sup>4</sup> which is very often used in Turkish society also emphasizes the importance of woman in the family. The woman is seen as the person who organizes the house. The responsibility of the marriage institution is actually on the woman's shoulders. A woman is expected to be a good wife to her husband and a good mother to her children.

In Turkish culture, marriage for women is highly important. Women who do not get married are put under pressure by being called "*spinster*" and the unmarried woman feels incomplete, worthless and despised. Single women are constantly told to get married. The unmarried woman gets disreputable in the society and she is pitied as she is lonely. At her father's house, the daughter is thought to be a guest. If the father dies before his daughter gets married, the daughter may be left alone and may have financial difficulties. As a result, there is also the possibility of breaking bad to earn money. Therefore, marriage can be said to have become a state of social security for the woman (Uğuzman, 2014, p. 39): "*Father's bread is dungeon's bread, husband's bread is own bread*"<sup>5</sup>, "*Father's money is temporary, husband's is permanent*"<sup>6</sup>. It is also believed that women should get married at an early age. As the girl's age progresses, the number of those who propose to her becomes less. This time, older men or widowed men come to propose to her: "*The early bird catches the worm, the early married gets the baby*"<sup>7</sup> "*One who eats one's fill early in the morning and one who marries at an early age cannot be deceived*"<sup>8</sup>. Families are also advised to marry their daughters before it's too late. In fact, whom the daughter should marry is a matter to be decided by the elderly in the family more than the daughter herself. It is emphasized that the girl cannot make the right decisions on her own, just as in the proverb "*Let your daughter on her own and see whom she marries*"<sup>9</sup>. A girl who does not have experience can only act with her emotions and may not make sensible decisions about the future. The boy's family usually prefers girls who have got good family discipline. Proverbs such as "*Like mother like daughter*"<sup>10</sup>, "*The son learns to write from his father, the daughter learns to wander idly from*

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<sup>4</sup> In Turkish: *Yuvayı dışı kuş yapar*

<sup>5</sup> In Turkish: *Baba ekmeği zindan ekmeği, koca ekmeği meydan ekmeği*

<sup>6</sup> In Turkish: *Baba vergisi görümlük, koca vergisi doyumluk*

<sup>7</sup> In Turkish: *Erken giden yol alır, erken evlenen döl alır*

<sup>8</sup> In Turkish: *Sabahtan karnını doyuran, küçükten evlenen aldanmamış*

<sup>9</sup> In Turkish: *Kızını bırakırsan ya davulcuya varır ya zurnacıya*

<sup>10</sup> In Turkish: *Anasına bak kızını al*

*her mother*"<sup>11</sup> advises that the family of the girl to be married is also important. It is thought that the girl will practice and live whatever she learns from especially her mother, so it is not enough for her to be benign, decent or beautiful in order to get married. One of the most important characteristics of girls to be married in Turkish society is the virginity. While divorced women are not welcomed to marry again, men can easily make their second marriage and even prefer to marry a virgin girl: *"The hands of the girl should not be touched by men's hands and her skirt should be uplifted by nothing but wind"*<sup>12</sup>.

The woman is a good cook in the kitchen, a good maid at home, and a good manager in the management of housework. As can be seen, one of the responsibilities charged on the woman is being competent at housework: *"Neither the corn planted after August, nor the woman who gets up after her husband is any good"*<sup>13</sup>. If a woman does not know how to cook, if she does not care about housekeeping and her husband's clothing, the woman is described as a dowdy: *"How piteous he is who has a dowdy wife and a scapegrace son"*<sup>14</sup>. *"Neither a blunt knife, nor an unskillful wife is any good"*<sup>15</sup>.

Expressions are often found in which negative judgments are imposed on women, and women are often vilified: Men are advised with sayings such as *"Men should not spoon-feed women"*<sup>16</sup> or *"Women should not be pampered"*<sup>17</sup>. It is believed that when the woman is pampered, her desires will not end, she will be insatiable and that it will be impossible to cope with her. Those who think that women cannot manage themselves properly believe that women can be disciplined in different ways. For example, with the proverb *"Keep the stick on her back and the baby in her belly"*<sup>18</sup>, it is advised that the woman should not be allowed to think and have any time of her own. If a woman often becomes pregnant, she thinks of herself and her child does not cause disturbance at home and does not have time to argue with her husband.

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<sup>11</sup> In Turkish: *Oğlan babadan beller yazı yazmayı, kız anadan beller mahalle gezmeyi*

<sup>12</sup> In Turkish: *Eline erkek eli değmemiş, eteğini rüzgârdan başka bir şey kaldırmamış olmalı*

<sup>13</sup> In Turkish: *Ağustostan sonra ekilen darıdan, kocasından sonra kalkan karıdan hayır gelmez*

<sup>14</sup> In Turkish: *Pasaklı avrat, hayırsız evlat olan eve gir ağla, çık ağla*

<sup>15</sup> In Turkish: *Kesmez bıçak ele, iş bilmeyen avrat dile*

<sup>16</sup> In Turkish: *Kadına fazla yüz vermeye gelmez*

<sup>17</sup> In Turkish: *Kadını şımartmamak gerek*

<sup>18</sup> In Turkish: *Kadının sırtından sopayı, karnından sıpayı eksik etmeyeceksin*

One of the recommended methods of disciplining a woman has been beating her: "*Neither overcooking a meal, nor beating a woman is harmful*"<sup>19</sup>. "*Beat a woman 3 times a day; give her meal once a day*"<sup>20</sup>. Beating is seen as one of the discipline methods in the society. A man who is dissatisfied with the behaviors of a woman or who does not find those behaviors correct tries put the woman off from those behaviors or make the woman behave as he wants by beating her. There are also proverbs advocating that beating women is wrong. In these proverbs, the man's beating the woman is seen as incapableness of the man. "*A lion does not touch a female*"<sup>21</sup>. It is also believed that if a woman is treated badly, the man will be unhappy, unable to find peace, things will go wrong and he will not get rid of problems. "*One who makes his wife cry never smiles*"<sup>22</sup>.

Many features complained about women are also seen in proverbs and other expressions. Men often see women as people who cannot think very well, do not make good decisions, and do not really care about the opinions of women who declare their own opinion: "Long-haired, scatterbrained"<sup>23</sup>. However, men are also cautious of women's ideas. Men try to be cautious about women by choosing not to trust women too much and they constantly complain about the cunning of women. For this reason, women are seen as seducers and they are likened to the Satan: "If a female dog does not shake its tail, the male dog will not follow her"<sup>24</sup>, Women can be seen as demonic beings. "A woman is a man's demon"<sup>25</sup>. In Turkish mythology, the great mother motif is considered a demonic entity. (Küçük, 2013, p. 128) Another negative feature that is complained about women is their love of money and entertainment. "Tell a woman there is a wedding in the sky, she will lean a ladder against the sky."<sup>26</sup>

Today, Turkish women have equal rights with men, but a clear discrimination is still being made towards women, which makes women uncomfortable.

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<sup>19</sup> In Turkish: *Pişmiş aştan, dövülmüş karıdan zarar gelmez*

<sup>20</sup> In Turkish: *Kadın kısmına üç öğün kötek, bir öğün yemek*

<sup>21</sup> In Turkish: *Aslan, kadına dokunmaz*

<sup>22</sup> In Turkish: *Eşini ağlatan gülmemiş*

<sup>23</sup> In Turkish: *Saçı uzun akı kısa*

<sup>24</sup> In Turkish: *Dişi köpek kuyruk sallamayınca, erkek köpek ardına düşmez*

<sup>25</sup> In Turkish: *Kadın erkeğin şeytanıdır*

<sup>26</sup> In Turkish: *Gökyüzünde düğün var deseler, kadınlar merdiven dayamaya kalkar*

### 3. The concept of woman in the Russian linguoculture

In Russian, "*jenshina*" means woman but "*babushka, deva, devochka, devushka, doch, jena, mama, mat, nevesta, nyanya, sestra, svaha, svekrov, tyotya, vdova, zolovka*" etc. are also used. When we look at Russian expressive dictionaries, we have two meanings for woman. The first one is the opposite of man as a sex. At the same time, one who gives birth to children; one who feeds children with her chest, mother. Secondly, a female who has had sexual intercourse (<http://slovarozhegova.ru>) As it can be seen, the first meaning charged on the woman is gender while the other meaning is maternity.

In Russian culture, the mother is considered the most valuable asset. A mother is a being to whom a person is closest in emotional sense, can share everything, and can trust infinitely. This value given to mother in Russian culture is stems from Christ's mother Mary. For Mary, the term "*Mother of God - Theotokos*" is used. As in all cultures, mother is both a protector and a guardian in Russian culture; she always protects and supports her child, and doesn't leave her child in bad situations. Water and bread are vital for human life. When one of them is missing, man always needs it. In the same way, mothers and fathers are a necessity for man: "*Bread is our father, water is our mother.*"<sup>27</sup> Maybe the only one that one can trust forever and share his own secrets with is one's mother. "There is no friend as your own mother."<sup>28</sup> (Eshkenov, 2007, p. 193)

The approach to women is reflected in Slavic mythology and old Pagan beliefs in Russia. For example; the image of 'Mother Earth' in Slavic mythology symbolizes raw land, mother of nature and plants, and woman's beginning. On the one hand, there is a relationship between the only Goddess of pagans, *Mokosh*, and the fate of young girls and the fertility of the soil and on the other hand, feminine images are compared to dark, bad and negative qualities. ([slavyans.myfholology.info](http://slavyans.myfholology.info))

The family institution has also been a very important institution in Russian culture. Building a family has become one of the most important phases in every person's life, especially in women's lives. In Russian culture, the position of the woman in the family has always been very important: "A fatherless child is orphan; a motherless child is an orphan too."<sup>29</sup> Women in Russian culture are also advised

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<sup>27</sup> In Russian: *Хлеб батюшка, водица матушка*

<sup>28</sup> In Russian: *Нет такого дружка, как родная матушка*

<sup>29</sup> In Russian: *Без отца – полсироты, а без матери и вся сирота*

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to marry asin Turkish culture: "A bird is strong with its wings; a woman is beautiful with her husband."<sup>30</sup>

While the elders in the family choose whom the girl will get married to in the Turkish culture, the woman chooses whom to marry herself in Russian culture. There are proverbs that give advice and warnings to make the right decisions for the marriage, but these proverbs are often quoted to men: "If you take a good woman, many will get to know you, if you take a bad one, do not show her to anyone."<sup>31</sup> "If you take the bad, it will be embarrassing to show her to everybody."<sup>32</sup> As can be understood from these proverbs, it is advisable to marry a well-known person. By saying "It will be embarrassing" the proverb warns in order not to feel regret.

In Russian culture, women are seen as complementary to men. "A woman without a husband is a goose without water."<sup>33</sup> A woman also has many responsibilities as a partner. As a partner, both positive and negative features have been attributed to the woman. As a wife, a woman is her husband's greatest supporter and assistant. As in the Turkish culture, she keeps the home fires burning, takes care of her husband, cooks, and arranges the house.

One of the positive features mentioned about women is related to the outer appearance. In Russian culture, women attach importance to their appearance and men can also boast of the beauty of their spouses. "*To every husband, his own wife is more beautiful. My own wife is my own beauty.*"<sup>34</sup> (Kovalchuk, 2009, p.95) In Turkish culture, a woman cannot exhibit her beauty, she presents her beauty only to her husband. It is not acceptable in Turkish culture to talk about the beauty of a wife. For Russian culture this is a source of pride. "*Hair is the girl's beauty. The most beautiful is the fair-haired one.*"<sup>35</sup>

In the past, Russian women indeed believed that they came to the world to be beaten by their husbands and that the beating was a sign of love. This can be seen in the Russian proverb: "A loving husband beats his wife; if he doesn't, then he

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<sup>30</sup> In Russian: *Птица кыльями сильна, жена мужем красива*

<sup>31</sup> In Russian: *Жену хорошую взять – много станут знать, а худую – нельзя в люди показать*

<sup>32</sup> In Russian: *Худую взять – стыдно в люди показать*

<sup>33</sup> In Russian: *Что гусь без воды, то мужик без жены*

<sup>34</sup> In Russian: *Всякому мужу своя жена милее. Своя жена – своя и краса*

<sup>35</sup> In Russian: *Коса – девичья краса. Красная краса – русая коса*

doesn't love her."<sup>36</sup> There is also a saying that men can beat women: "Love the woman like your life, shake her like a pear tree!"<sup>37</sup>

In traditional Russian culture, the daughters were strictly disciplined and raised. Daughters were taught various skills on housework. It was considered a basic criterion that the innocence of the girl should be preserved while being married. The girl should not know her fiancée until marriage. The mother had no effect on her children because it was unhandsome that a noble woman suckle their own children therefore they would give them to a wet nurse. The children were raised by nannies and church servants under the direction of their fathers. The woman had no power in domestic life, even in housework. (Alimjanova, 2016, p. 184)

Women in Russian culture have been associated with many things. The positive ones are mother, wife, bride, grandmother. The most known negative ones are the attributes like mischief, cunning, unchastity and money addiction. The patriarchal structure of society has been very influential in the formation of religious and social views. For example, the Satansimile stems from the "original / first sin" teaching in Christianity, because according to this teaching, Satan convinces Eve and feeds Adam with the forbidden apple through Eve: "*Wherever the devil cannot go, he will send the woman.*"<sup>38</sup> Unchastity is also of church origin: "*The man's sin is left behind as soon as he is out of the door, but the woman will take it to her house.*"<sup>39</sup> As it can be seen, the mistake a man makes is ignored while the same doesn't apply for women. The woman suffers her punishment because of her sin, and is exiled by society.

In Russian culture, men complain about the women's talking too much and the word "*hussy*" is used in quite a few expressions. Russian's women's love of money is also complained about. It is expressed in this saying: "*Let the woman go to heaven, she will take her cow with her.*"<sup>40</sup> This saying shows women as greedy, saying that even if you give heaven as a present to a woman, she will not be satisfied with that and ask for more..

In Russian culture, too, women's opinions are not valued. Women's opinions are seen more worthless and hollower than men's opinions. Men are considered

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<sup>36</sup> In Russian: *Кто кого любит, тот того лупит, коли муж не бьет, значит, не любит.*

<sup>37</sup> In Russian: *Люби жену, как душу, тряси ее, как грушу*

<sup>38</sup> In Russian: *Где сатана не сможет, туда бабу пошлет.*

<sup>39</sup> In Russian: *Мужнин грех за порогом остается, а жена все домой несет*

<sup>40</sup> In Russian: *Пусти бабу в рай, а она и корову за собой ведет.*

more intelligent than and superior to women: "Long-haired, scatter brained"<sup>41</sup>. Many proverbs consider women foolish.

Another negative feature that is imposed on women in Russian culture is the widowhood. In Russian culture, negative sentiments are fed towards the widowed woman. A woman without a man is seen as unprotected. Since the man and woman are always seen as a couple, the woman who has lost her husband is regarded as someone who has broken the order of the society. "My God, do not let me be widowed and do not upset me!"<sup>42</sup> As it is seen from this proverb, women are afraid of being widowed. "A widow is not a virgin: everybody has her own custom"<sup>43</sup> A woman is left alone after she becomes widow, and no matter how young she feels herself during this time, she cannot be as young as before. The behaviors of a widow are also different than those of a young girl. (Eshkenov, 2007, p. 127)

Nowadays, Russian women have equal rights with men, but a clear discrimination is still being made towards women. Some examples of linguistic expressions such as 'master man, head of the family- husband, family father' can be shown for this.

#### 4. Conclusion

In Turkish society, on the one hand, a woman is regarded as weak, feeble, someone who cannot manage her own living; on the other hand, she is seen as loyal, skilful, organizing the family, making home a place of love with her meals, and also holy as a mother. The lives of women are based on marriage, and features such as virginity, dexterity, obedience, compliance, dignity and good naturedness are expected from the women to be married. The proverbs that honor women are often about home and family life. A woman is usually thought of by the concepts of marriage and maternity.

There are similarities and differences in terms of the positive connotations imposed on women. The concept of woman is a universal, cultural- linguistic concept that applies to all cultures. Women are restricted by social, religious, political, legal and moral rules. The similar feature is the mission of being a mother. Mother in both cultures is seen as the most valuable asset. While women

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<sup>41</sup> In Russian: *Волос долог, а ум короткий.*

<sup>42</sup> In Russian: *Не дай бог, вдоветь да гореть!*

<sup>43</sup> In Russian: *Вдовица не девица, свой обычай у всех.*

are expected to be good natured, obedient and resourceful in Turkish culture, beauty and power in Russian culture are at the forefront.

When we look at the negative features in both cultures, the woman is associated with the devil: the woman's malice is regarded equal to the devil's malice. There are similar expressions that complain about the woman's cunning and talkativeness. Similar proverbs such as "*Long-haired, scatterbrained*" are found in both cultures, and the woman's ability to think is criticized. Another common feature in Russian and Turkish culture is that women are addicted to the money. In both Russian culture and Turkish culture, the position of the women has improved in the positive direction, but it is still possible to say that there is a clear discrimination against women.

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## **Chapter 3 :**

### **Fields of Cultural Interaction**

# **The Grand Bazaar of Kayseri and Craftsmen in Terms of Everyday Life Sociology**

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## **Abstract**

This work presents the adaptation strategies of tradesmen's worldview and identity to the conditions of global capitalism in terms of everyday life in the Grand Bazaar of Kayseri. Being the commercial centers of the Anatolian cities, grand bazaars have always played a special role in the economic and cultural life of all the cities. With this feature, Grand Bazaars are places where the culture of tradesmen and artisans of the Anatolian cities have been shaped. Nowadays, though these places seem have lost their previous importance under the influence of the global capitalism, this shouldn't be accepted as the only reality. Today, despite of the reality that grand bazaars have faced the threat of malls, thanks to their traditions and customs, they can also create new strategies for overcoming this challenge. Kayseri has been one of the most important commercial cities of Anatolia for hundreds of years. Beginning its formation in the middle of the 15th century, The Grand Bazaar of Kayseri also has played an important role in the economic and cultural life of the city and has put its mark in the commercial character of the city. This work analyses the situation of the Grand Bazaar of Kayseri in terms of the new conditions formed by the global capitalism. It presents the economic activities and the cultural changes in regard to the everyday life of tradesmen. In this context, the ways the economic life of the Grand Bazaar is affected by the global capitalism, problems arisen as a result and the changes occurred in the traditional identity and customs of tradesman to overcome these problems are also underlined.

**Keywords:** everyday life, grand bazaar, global capitalism, tradesman

**Gündelik Hayat Sosyolojisi Üzerinden Kayseri Kapalı Çarşısı ve Esnafılık**

Bu tebliğin konusu, Kayseri Kapalı Çarşısının gündelik hayatından hareketle esnafılık kültürü ve kimliğinin küresel kapitalizmin yeni koşullarına uyum sağlama stratejileridir. Tarih boyunca Anadolu'nun en kadim ticaret kentlerinden olan Kayseri kapalı çarşısı antik çağlardan beri süregelen ticaret kültürünü, Selçuklu ve Osmanlı medeniyetlerinin gücü ve geleneği ile yoğurarak günümüze kadar varlığını devam ettirmiştir. Ancak son yirmi yıldır giderek artan bir düzeyde küresel kapitalizm ve tüketim kültürünün bir ürünü olan alışveriş merkezlerinin tehdidi ile karşı karşıyadır. Bu çalışmada Kayseri Kapalı Çarşısında başlatılan nitel bir araştırmanın ön bulguları çerçevesinde çarşı esnafının gündelik hayatı üzerinden ekonomik faaliyetler ve kültürde yaşanan değişim ve alışveriş merkezleri karşısında var olma savaşı veren çarşının geliştirdiği stratejiler anlamlandırılmaya çalışılacaktır. Bu çerçevede öncelikle Osmanlı'da kapalı çarşıların kurumsal yapısı ve bu yapı üzerinden şekillenen geleneksel esnaf kültürü üzerinde durulacaktır. Ardından Kayseri Kapalı Çarşısı hakkında genel bilgiler verilerek bu çarşının kentin ekonomik yaşamında yeni işlevler üstlenme ve çarşının gündelik hayatı içerisinde yeni stratejiler geliştirme yoluyla alışveriş merkezlerine karşı nasıl direndiği ortaya konulmaya çalışılacaktır.

**Osmanlı'da Kapalı Çarşılar**

Eski Dünyanın en önemli kavşak noktalarından biri olan Anadolu toprakları, tarih boyunca çok sayıda medeniyete kaynaklık etmiştir. Anadolu, bugün söz konusu medeniyetlerin sonuncusu olan Osmanlının bir bakiyesi olarak varlığını sürdürmektedir. Kapalı çarşılar ise Osmanlı ekonomisi dünyasının merkezleri olarak yüzyıllar boyunca bu medeniyete hayat veren kentlerin sosyoekonomik yaşamını biçimlendiren mekânlar olagelmışlerdir. Kayseri Kapalı Çarşısı gibi bedestenli çarşılar, içinde bulundukları kentin uluslararası bir ticaret kenti olduğunun bir göstergesi olarak kabul edilebilir. Mortan ve Küçükerman'a göre bedesten çarşı içinde pahası yüksel malların alım satımının yapıldığı, ziynet eşyalarının depolandığı yapılar olmanın yanı sıra bir finans merkezi olarak işler (2011:124). Kapalı çarşılar bedesten ve onu çevreleyen çok sayıda dükkândan oluşan sokakların bulunduğu üstü örtülü imalat ve ticaret kompleksleridir. Kapalı çarşıların tüccar ve zanaatkarları (bunlar arasında kesin bir ayırım yapmak mümkün değildir, zira dükkân sadece perakende ya da toptan ticaretin değil aynı zamanda geleneksel imalatın gerçekleştirildiği üretim mekânlarıdır), vakıf ve lonca örgütlenmesi içinde devletin sıkı denetimi altında faaliyetlerini yürütmektedir. Her üç kurum da ekonomik yaşamın düzen ve güven içinde sürdürülmesini sağlamak

üzere hareket eden teşkilatlar olarak kapalı çarşıların temel aktörleri olma niteliğini taşımaktadır.

Faroqhi'ye göre, Batı ve Orta Anadolu'nun tamamıyla gelişmiş ticaret merkezlerinde çarşılar vakıflarca yaptırılmış ve ekonomik hayatın gelişmesinde büyük rol oynamıştır (1993:43, 106). Vakıflar, kapalı çarşıları kurup, esnaf ve zanaatkârın özerk örgütlenmesi olan loncaların maddi ihtiyaçlarını karşılamaktadır. Diğer taraftan hatırı sayılır miktardaki dükkânın mülkiyetini elinde bulunduran vakıfların temel gelir kaynağını da bu dükkânlardan elde edilen kiralara oluşturmaktadır. Vakıflar, sahip oldukları mülk ve ayrıcalıklardan elde ettikleri gelirlerle hayırseverlik ve yardımlaşma yönelik dini nitelikli kuruluşlar olarak tanımlanabilir. Ancak Osmanlı kentlerinin ekonomik yaşamında bu derece önemli bir rol üstlenen vakıfların diğer sosyal ve ekonomik kaygılardan bağımsız olarak kurulup işletildiğini söylemek de mümkün değildir.

Loncalar, kapalı çarşıların esnaf örgütleridir. Esnaf, tüccar ve zanaatkârla eş anlamlı değildir. Esnaf ve esnaflık kavramı anlamını lonca örgütlenmesi içinde kazanır. Dini, milliyeti ne olursa olsun lonca örgütlenmesine üye olan herkes esnafdır. Esnaflık, tüm diğer ekonomik ve sosyal statülerden bağımsız olarak, sadece profesyonel kıstaslara göre oluşturulmuş ve bir lonca örgütlenmesine üyelikle elde edilen hak ve yükümlülükler çerçevesinde ortaya çıkmış çarşı sakinlerinden oluşan bir toplumsal kesimi ifade eder. Çarşıda her mesleğin kendi loncası vardır ve tüm esnaflar bu meslek örgütlenmelerinden birine üyedir. Bir başka deyişle loncalar herhangi bir dini, mezhebi, etnik vb. toplumsal bağa dayalı olarak kurulmazlar. Her esnaf loncası belli bir mesleğin icrası temelinde kurulur ve faaliyetlerini söz konusu mesleğin kıstasları çerçevesinde yürütür (Gear, 1980:95-100, aktaran Mortan ve Küçükerman, 2011:73). Esnaf loncaları, belirli bir mesleğe giriş çıkışları, bu meslekteki ustalık, kalfalık ve çıraklık kriterlerini ve ilişkilerini, malların kalitesini, miktarını ve fiyatını yani meslekle ilgili olabilecek hemen tüm faaliyetleri sıkı bir denetim altında tutan hiyerarşik şekilde örgütlenmiş kuruluşlardır. Çarşıdaki mesleki faaliyetlerin layıkıyla yürütülmesini sağlamanın yanı sıra esnafı ortaya çıkabilecek her türlü olumsuz duruma karşı korumakla da yükümlüdür.

Kapalı çarşıların iki temel aktörü olan ve yarı özerk bir konumda bulunan lonca ve vakıflar, ekonomik hayatı önemli ölçüde denetleyen Osmanlı devletinin denetimi ve koruması altında faaliyet göstermişlerdir. Genç'e göre Osmanlı, sınırları içindeki tüm ekonomik faaliyetleri üç temel ilke üzerinden düzenlemiş ve denetlemiştir. Bunlar işe, gelenekçilik ve fiskalizm ilkeleridir. İşe ilkesi tüm mal ve hizmetlerin kaliteli, bol ve ucuz olması, gelenekçilik ilkesi mevcut düzenin devamı ve fiskalizm ilkesi hazinenin doluluğunu sağlamak üzere gerekli politikaların uygulanmasını

gerektirmektedir (Genç, 2000:60-66). Devletin kapalı çarşılarında oynadığı rol de bu üç temel ilke çerçevesinde şekillenmiştir. Lonca ve vakıflar, bu ilkeye riayet ettikleri ölçüde korunmuş ve hareket alanları genişletilmiş, dışına çıktıkları ölçüde de denetlenerek sınırlandırılmışlardır.

19. yüzyıla kadar Osmanlı ekonomi dünyasının refah ve zenginlik içindeki uluslararası imalat ve ticaret merkezleri olan kapalı çarşılar ve onların kurumsal yapıları, bu yüzyıldan sonra hızlı bir çöküş sürecine girmiştir. Sömürgecilığe dayalı bir sermaye birikimine, askeri ve siyasi güce sahip olmayan Osmanlı devletinin giderek zayıflaması ile birlikte kapalı çarşılar uluslararası ticaret merkezleri olmaktan çıkıp yerel ekonomik birimlere dönüşmüşlerdir. Fabrika üretiminin rekabeti karşısında geleneksel zanaat yok olmaya yüz tutmuştur. Kapitalist ekonomik ilişkilerin yaygınlaşması ile birlikte geleneğin temsilcisi olan loncaların çarşılardaki hâkimiyeti sona ermiştir. Vakıflar ekonomik ve sosyal hayattaki merkezi rollerini kaybetmişlerdir.

### **Kapalı Çarşıda Geleneksel Kültür**

Kapalı çarşıların geleneksel kültürü kâr güdüsünde değil geleneğin belirlediği ihtiyaçlar üzerine kurulu bir ekonomik zihniyete dayalıdır. İnsanoğlunun sınırsız ihtiyaçları olduğu gibi bir kavrayış söz konusu bile değildir. Sınırsız ihtiyaç ve sermaye birikiminin söz konusu olmadığı bu ekonomik yapıda, sadece kâr peşinde koşmak, pazarlık yapmak, dükkân komşusunun müşterisini kapmaya çalışmak değil, malların sergilenmesi bile ayıp karşılanan olgulardır. Dolayısıyla kapalı çarşının geleneksel ortamında çeşit çeşit malların dükkân dışında sergilendiği, alıcı ve satıcılar arasında kıyasıya pazarlıkların yürütüldüğü, esnafların müşteri peşinde koştukları bir gündelik hayat söz konusu bile değildir. Bugün dahi halk arasında geçmiş zamanlara özlemi ifade eden en yaygın hikâyelerden biri, komşusu siftah etmeyen esnafın kendisine gelen müşteriye komşusuna göndermesi ile ilgilidir. Özlemle ve olağanüstü bir durum olarak anlatılan bu hikâye esas olarak geleneksel toplumun ekonomik zihniyetinin bir ifadesidir. Esnaf kimliğinin en belirgin özelliklerinden biri olan kanaatkârlık, dinin, yardımlaşmanın ve hayırseverliğin temel rengini verdiği bir kurumsal ve kültürel yapı içinde biçimlenmekte ve denetlenmektedir. Dolayısıyla esnafın diğerkâmlıktan beslenen bir kanaatkârlıkla hareket etmesi olağanüstü bir durum değil, çarşının gündelik hayatının sıradan ve rutin davranışlarından bir olarak kabul edilmelidir.

Kapalı çarşılar bir cami ve/veya vakfın etrafında doğup büyüyen üretim ve ticaret mekânlarıdır. Bu ilişki ister istemez kapalı çarşılarında dini güdülerin ve hayırseverlik duygularının hâkim olduğu bir kültürel ortam da oluşturmaktadır. Eснаfların

ritüelleri ve törenleri dinsel nitelik taşımakta ve belirli bir mesleğin icrası ile yükümlü olan loncaların her birinin bir duacısı bulunmaktadır. Bu nedenle kapalı çarşılar sadece maddi malların üretim ve ticaretin yapıldığı mekânlar değil dini güdülerin, hayırseverlik ve dayanışma duygularının gerek gündelik hayat gerekse kurumsal yapılar üzerinden üretildiği kültürel ortamlardır. Şatıroğlu ve Okan'a göre, esnaflar ve esnaf örgütleri mesleki birer olmaktan kuruluş olmaktan öte sosyal dayanışma, birlikte eğlenme vb. yoğun ve çok yönlü ilişkiler içinde olan bir cemaat niteliği taşımakta, dini ve mesleki ahlakın saffetine gölge düşmemesi hususuna büyük bir titizlikle ve özen göstermektedir. Loncalar, bağış, vasiyet ve vakıflar yolu ile önemli gelir kaynaklarına sahip örgütlenmelerdir. Kendi iş kollarında çalışan dükkâncıların ve çalışanların ekonomik ve sosyal tüm sorunlarını çözümlenmekte, yeni işyerlerinin açılması için kredi verilmesinden ramazan ve bayramlarda gıda yardımına, hastalık ve ölüm maaşı gibi sosyal sigorta işlevlerinden dilencilere verilecek sadakalara kadar her türlü işbirliği, dayanışma ve hayırseverlik faaliyetlerini yürütmekle yükümlüdür (2011: 25, 47).

Kapalı çarşılar, karşılaştığı insanların hemen hepsini tanıyan ve onlarla olumlu ilişkiler içinde bulunan insanların diğerleri ile kişisel ilişkilere büyük bir anlam atfettiği, bu nedenle gerek esnaflar ve çalışanları arasında gerekse alıcılar ve satıcılar arasında mesafe ve kayıtsızlığa dayalı ilişkilerin değil, tanıdıklığa ve aşinalığa dayanan yoğun kişisel ilişkilerin mekânıdır. Bu ilişkiler, çerçevesinde kesintisiz olarak üretilen alışkanlık, yazılı olmayan dini, ahlâki ve hukuki normların etrafında biçimlenen düzenli bir ritmin güven ortamını üretmektedir. Örneğin bir çırak ya da kalfa çalıştığı dükkânı terk ettiğinde, böyle bir kişiyi hangi olumlu niteliklere sahip olursa olsun diğer ustalar hiçbir şekilde kendi dükkânına kabul etmeyecektir. Mesleği öğrenme düzeyi tek başına çıraklıktan kalfalığa ya da kalfalıktan ustalığa geçiş için yeterli değildir. Çırak ya da kalfanın çalıştığı süre boyunca ustasının verdiği işleri titizlikle yapmış olması, diğerleri ile iyi ve olumlu ilişkiler kurması, müşterilere dürüst davranmış olması ve hakkında hiçbir şikâyetin olmaması gerekir. Bu güven dolu gündelik hayatın ritminin devamında kapalı çarşının güçlü kurumsal yapıları da önemli bir rol üstlenmektedir. Zira esnaf örgütü, denetimi ve disiplini sağlamak üzere ceza yetkisine sahiptir. Usta, kalfa ve çırak arasındaki ilişkiler lonca içi nizamlar ve devlet tarafından konulan kanunlarla düzenlenmiştir. Buna göre çırakların on yaşından önce bir ustanın yanında çalışması mümkün değildir. Yine çıraklıktan kalfalığa, kalfalıktan ustalığa geçişin, yeni dükkân açma yetkisine sahip olma ve açmanın koşulları en ince ayrıntılarına kadar düzenlenmiştir (Şatıroğlu ve Okan, 2011:26). Üretilen, alınan ve satılan malların miktarı, fiyatı ve kalitesi devlet ve lonca teşkilatının sıkı denetimi altındadır. Bu denetim esnaf kültürü ile etkileşim halinde geleneksel ekonomik

zihniyetin devamını sağlamaktadır. Zaten 18. yüzyılın sonlarına değin kâra dayalı kapitalist bir zihniyetin doğması için gerekli olan koşullardan da bahsetmek mümkün değildir.

### **Kayseri Kapalı Çarşısı**

Kayseri kapalı çarşısı Osmanlı döneminin İstanbul'dan sonraki en büyük kapalı çarşılarından biri olarak, kadim bir ticaret şehri olan kayserinin 18. yüzyılın sonuna kadar gerek yerel gerekse uluslararası ticaretinde önemli bir yere sahip olmuştur. Kayseri'nin Osmanlı hâkimiyetine geçtiği 15. yüzyıldan itibaren oluşmaya başlamış ve 18. yüzyılın sonlarına kadar gücünü korumuştur. Ancak 18. Yüzyıl sonunda Osmanlının genel durumuna paralel olarak giderek zayıflamış, zaman içinde sadece yerel taleplere yönelik olarak işleyen bir ekonomik alan haline gelmiştir.

Kurtuluş savaşında erkeklerin savaşa gitmesi ve savaş ekonomisi nedeniyle zor günler geçirmiş ancak 1970'li yıllara kadar bölgesel anlamda önemli bir ticaret merkezi olarak kalma başarısını göstermiştir. 1982 yılında başlanan onarım sürecinin uzun sürmesi nedeniyle dükkânların eski sahipleri tekrar kapalı çarşıya dönmemişlerdir (Emirza, 2013:4). Bunlardan azımsanmayacak bir kısmı ise 1980 sonrası uygulanan ihraç ikameci politikaların sonucunda ortaya çıkan ekonomik gelişme sürecinde Kayseri'nin kapitalist girişimcilerini oluşturmuşlardır.

Kayseri Kapalı Çarşısında 1-10 yıldır faaliyet gösteren dükkânlarla 10-20 yıldır faaliyet gösteren dükkânlar birbirine yakın oranlardadır. Çarşı esas olarak hazır giyim ve ayakkabı alanında perakende sektöründe faaliyet gösteren dükkânlardan oluşmaktadır. Ancak gıdadan sarraflığa, züccaciyeden plastik eşyaya, tamirciden berber ve terziye pek çok farklı alanda faaliyet yürüten esnaflar mevcuttur. Ancak bu esnaflar geçmişin güvence mekanizmalarını önemli ölçüde kaybetmenin verdiği sıkıntıyı ve geçmişe özlemi halen hissetmektedir. Perakende sektörünün hâkimiyetindeki kapalı çarşıda mal satma becerisi usta çırak ilişkisi çerçevesinde işleyen bir sosyalleşme ve informal eğitim süreci içerisinde elde edilen bir beceri olarak ortaya çıkar. İyi bir esnaf bu eğitimden geçen kişidir.

### **Alışveriş Merkezlerinin Gölgesinde Kapalı Çarşı**

Türkiye'de, 1980'ler sonrasında yaşanan hızlı ekonomik gelişme ile ortaya çıkan alışveriş merkezlerinin Kayseri'deki varlığı diğer Anadolu şehirlerine göre yeni bir olgudur. Kapitalist ekonomik ilişkilerle iç içe olan modern toplumların sınırsız ihtiyaçlarını karşılamak üzere tasarlanmış ve oldukça işlevsel olan alışveriş merkezleri, Anadolu'nun tüm şehirlerinde olduğu gibi Kayseri'nin de çarşılarını



tehdit etmektedir. Zira son on yıl içerisinde kapalı çarşıya göre devasa büyüklüklere sahip olduklarını söyleyebileceğimiz altı alışveriş merkezi açılmış ve her biri geniş bir müşteri kitlesine kendisine çekmeye başlamıştır. Elbette bu durum kapalı çarşının gerek ekonomik gerekse kültürel koşullarında önemli değişimlerin ortaya çıkışını da beraberinde getirmiştir. Bugün, alışveriş merkezlerinin tehdidi altındaki Kayseri Kapalı Çarşısının esnafı, dükkân sahiplerinin bilinçsizce bazı sektörlere yığılmasından, müşteriye yönelik baskıcı tutumların müşteri kaybına yol açmasından, esnafın birbirinin müşterisini kapmaya çalışmasından, icra ve israflarla karşılaşmaktan, esnafın kendi içerisinde anlaşılamamasından, kapitalizmin zorunlu koşulu olan büyümeyi sağlayacak finansal kaynağa sahip olamamaktan büyük bir korku duymakta ve en önemlisi çarşı kültürünü bilmeyen ya da uygulamayan işyeri sahiplerinin esnaflık kültürünü tehdit etmesinden yakınmaktadırlar.

Ancak tüm bu sorunlara rağmen çarşı esnafının hatırı sayılır bir kısmı müşteri sayısından, dükkânındaki satışlardan memnundur. Kendisinden bir kere alışveriş yapan müşterinin kendisine tekrar geleceğinden, dükkânını tanıdıklarına tavsiye edeceğinden emin görünmektedir. Bu durumun altında yatan temel sebep ise kapalı çarşı esnafının küresel kapitalizmin ve modern toplumun alışveriş kültürünün tehditleri karşısında geliştirdiği mekanizmalardır.

### **Çarşının Yeni İşlevler Üzerinden Alışveriş Merkezlerine Karşı Direnişi**

Tüm dünyada olduğu gibi Kayseri'deki alışveriş merkezleri de modern ve/veya postmodern denilen sosyal ve ekonomik süreçlerin bir ürünü olarak standart malların belli markalar tarafından yapay olarak özgünleştirildiği ve bizzat bu markaların birer statü sembolü olarak sergilenip satışa sunulduğu mekânlardır. Markanın kendisi de bizzat üretilen bir tüketim nesnesidir ve somut varlığının yanı sıra büyük bir sermaye ile uluslararası bir imaj üretimine dayalı olarak üretilir. Tam da bu nedenle sadece ürünü değil bizzat markanın kendisini de satın almak zorunda olan tüketicilerin alışveriş merkezlerinden satın aldıkları mallar için ek bir maliyete katlanmaları zorunludur. Ancak bu ek maliyete katlanacak gücü olmayan dar gelirli de tüketim kültürü içinde yaşamaktadır. Bu kültür içinde onlar da alışveriş merkezlerinde satışa sunulan mallara sahip olma isteği taşımaktadırlar. Dolayısıyla Kayseri kapalı çarşısı da standart mallara karşı çeşitliliği, ek maliyete karşı ucuzluğu tüketime sunarak yeni işlevler üstlenmekte, bu yolla alışveriş merkezlerinin karşısında bir rekabet avantajı sağlamaktadırlar.

Kayseri Kapalı Çarşısı, alışveriş merkezlerinin belli markalar üzerinden dayattığı tek tip tüketim malzemelerinin karşısına çeşitlilik, farklılık ve tarihsel mirasının

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getirdiği özgünlük üzerinden müşterileri kendisine çekerek yani otantik olanı tüketime sunarak yeni bir işlev kazanmıştır. Kayseri kapalı çarşısında dansöz kıyafetlerinden, tavlalara ve tespihlere, sünnet kıyafetlerinden çeyiz malzemelerine her çeşit geleneği hatırlatan mala rastlamak mümkündür. Otantik olanın tüketime sunulması sadece somut mallar üzerinden değil, kapalı çarşının geleneksel mimarisinin ve kültürel atmosferinin korunması yoluyla gerçekleşmektedir. Modern kenti hayranlıkla izleyen flaneur'un yerini alan turistler için kapalı çarşı vazgeçilmez bir alışveriş mekânı olarak Kayseri'de ilk ve mutlaka ziyaret edilen yerlerden biri haline gelmiştir.

Otantikliğin tüketime sunulması modern kent hayatı nedeniyle özlem duyulan mallar üzerinden de gerçekleşmektedir. Kayseri Kapalı Çarşısında gıda satışı yapan dükkânların hemen tamamı ev yapımı salçalar, peynirler, tereyağları, süzme yoğurtlar, tarhanalar, kurutulmuş kaysı, dut vb. çerezlerle doludur. Pek çok dükkânda elde örülmüş lifler, atkılar, çocuk kıyafetleri bulmak mümkündür. El emeği göz nuru dantellerden masa ve sehpa örtüleri, kenarları oyalı havlular, kanaviçe işlemeli yatak örtüleri ve yastık kılıfları ile çeyiz dükkânları kapalı çarşı dışında kolay kolay bulunamayacak malları hem turistler, hem gurbetçiler, hem de Kayseriler için satışa sunmaktadır. Aktarlarda kınalar, el yapımı çeşit çeşit sabunlar, her derde deva bitkiler, gülsuyundan bitkisel yağlara her türlü geleneksel güzellik malzemeleri kapalı çarşının ziyaretine gelenler için sergilenmektedir.

Kayseri Kapalı Çarşısı alışveriş merkezlerindeki belli büyük markaların belli sezonlarının ürünlerinden oluşan kısıtlı ürünlerinin karşısına sadece bu markaların değil irili ufaklı pek çok markanın tüm sezonlarının ürünlerinin çok daha ucuza bulanabileceği bir yerdir. Böylece daha fazla ürün çeşidinin ve modelinin daha uygun fiyatlarla satın alınabildiği kapalı çarşının yeni işlevlerinden bir diğeri dar gelirliye yönelik olarak ortaya çıkmıştır. Çarşı sınırsız ihtiyaçlarını daha ucuza satın alabilecekleri taklit malların kullanım değerine ulaşmak isteyen düşük gelirli toplumsal kesimlerin de uğrak yeridir aynı zamanda.

Kapalı çarşının en önemli müşteri kitlesini ise yaz aylarında yurda akın eden gurbetçiler oluşturmaktadır. Elili yıllardan başlayarak seksenli yıllara kadar gerek Kayseri gerekse çevresindeki illerden Avrupa'ya yaşanan yoğun göç, bugün kapalı çarşının sadık müşterilere sahip olmasını sağlamıştır. Refah devleti politikalarının çözülmesi ile giderek daha pahalı hale gelen Batı Avrupa ülkelerinde yaşayan gurbetçiler, yıllık gıda, giyim vb. ihtiyaçlarının önemli bir kısmını Kayseri kapalı çarşısından satın almaktadır. Böylece kapalı çarşı farklı türde bir uluslararası alışveriş faaliyetini de ortaya çıkarmış olmaktadır.

Sonuç olarak Kayseri kapalı çarşısı, farklı özgün yani otantik malları tüketime sunarak, başka yerlerde bulunamayacak mal çeşitlerine ev sahipliği yaparak, modern tüketim alışkanlığının bir yansıması olan sınırsız ihtiyaçları karşılama imkânını dar gelirliilere sunarak kentin ekonomik hayatına kazandığı yeni işlevler üzerinden canlılık kazandırmaktadır. Böylece alışveriş merkezlerine kaptırdığı müşterilerin yerini söz konusu yeni işlevler üzerinden farklı müşteri potansiyelleri üreterek doldurmaktadır.

### **Çarşının Gündelik Hayat Pratikleri Üzerinden Alışveriş Merkezlerine Karşı Direnişi**

Tüketim kültürünün bir ürünü olan alışveriş merkezlerinde sınırsız ihtiyaçlar, kişisel yüz yüze ilişkilere girmeden etiketler, ilanlar ve hatta telefon mesajları aracılığı rasyonel olarak düzenlemiş bir mekân içinde karşılanır, müşteri aidiyeti markanın statüsü tarafından sağlanır. Bu nedenle alışveriş merkezleri dolaylı, standart ve rasyonel bir düzenin sunduğu tüketim ilişkileri üretir. Bu ilişkiler alışveriş merkezlerindeki bireyleri diğerlerine karşı kayıtsızlaştıran ve yalnızlaştıran bir süreçtir aynı zamanda. Alışveriş merkezlerindeki mağazalar asık bir yüzle, ya da diğer çalışanlarla gülüşerek müşteri ile hemen hiç etkileşime girmeden dağılan malları canhıraş bir şekilde düzenleyen, kıyafetleri katlayan çalışanlarla doludur. Malların niteliklerinin ne olduğunu, fiyatını vb. bilgileri sadece üzerlerindeki etiketleri okuyarak anlayabileceğiniz, yolunuzu tek başınıza tabelaları takip ederek bulabileceğiniz, öngörülebilirliğin ve güvenin mallarının ve mekânın standardizasyonu üzerinden sağlandığı bu yerlerde yüz yüze kişisel ilişkiler kurabilmeniz neredeyse mümkün değildir.

Kapalı çarşıdaki gündelik hayat yukarıda tasvir edilenin hemen hemen aksine bir etkileşim süreci içinde yaşanır. Mekânın fiziksel organizasyonu sizi dükkân sahipleriyle, çalışanlarla ve çıraqlarla yüz yüze etkileşime girmeye zorlar. Çarşıda sizi yönlendirecek tabelalar görmemiz mümkün değildir. Çarşının birbiri içine geçen dar sokakları birbirine çok benzeyen ama düzenden azade bir şekilde yan yana dizilmiş dükkânlarla doludur. Bu kaotik ortamda yönünüzü bulabilmeniz neredeyse imkânsızdır. Hangi malı nerede bulabileceğinizi ya da hangi kapıdan nasıl dışarı çıkabileceğinizi ancak çarşının gerçek sahiplerine sorarak öğrenebilirsiniz ki soracağınız tek bir soru, hangi malı nasıl nerede bulabileceğiniz konusunda bir sohbetin başlaması için yeterlidir. Dolayısıyla kapalı çarşının gündelik tüketim ilişkileri alışveriş merkezlerinin aksine kişisel yüz yüze etkileşime dayalı olarak mesafeyi ortadan kaldırıp tanışıklık kurma üzerinden üretilmektedir.

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*‘Evet esnaf olmak keyifli, birçok insan tanıyorsun. Çevrendeki insanlar alışveriş yapacağı zaman sana geliyorlar sen yardımcı oluyorsun yönlendiriyorsun, bir yaptırım gücün oluyor’*

*‘Mesela gurbetçiler var her sezon devamlı gelen müşterilerimiz. Güvenlerinin sağladığı ki bedava da verse başka yerden alışveriş yapmıyorlar. Sizi tanıdığı için siz ne diyorsanız, memnun kaldığı için ikiletmeden alıyorlar. Aramızda bir bağ oluşuyor artık’*

Eski ahlaki ve dini normlar gücünü ve belirleyiciliğini yitirse de çarşıdaki gündelik hayat, şahsi ilişkilerin kendiliğinden geliştiği ve geleneğin gücünü hissettirdiği bir ortam üretmeye devam etmektedir. Esnaf çarşısı dolaşan müşterilerle bir şekilde tanışıklık kurmak üzere hareket etmektedir. Örneğin dükkânına öylesine bakan birine dahi hemen nerelisin diye sorar esnaf. Gerçekte nereli olduğunuzun çok da bir önemi yoktur. Yine de bu soru, esnafın size karşı kayıtsız olmadığının dolayısıyla sizin de ona karşı kayıtsız kalamayacağınızın bir sembolüdür aslında. Muhatabınızın mutlaka memleketinizde bir tanıdığı vardır. Ya da en azından bir kere oralardan ya da oralara yakın bir yerlerden geçmiş ve çok sevmiştir. Böylece bir yabancı olarak girdiğiniz ya da dışarıdan seyrettiğiniz dükkân kısa bir süre içinde sizin için aşına olduğunuz bir alan haline gelir. Bugün bir şey almasanız da bir sonraki gelişinizde onu arayıp bulma ihtimaliniz doğmuştur. Siz farkında olmadan kişisel bir bağ kurulur ve potansiyel bir sadık müşteri haline gelirsiniz.

*‘Size gelen bir müşteri ben bakmaya geldim diyor? Bana geldiyse hoş geldi sefa geldi. Çayımı ikram ederim. Alır almaz sorun değil müşteri. Ben kısmete inanan bi adamım. Kismet olduğu zaman şunu insan beğenmese de alır gider, eve varınca derki ben bunu nasıl almışım, ama o bana kismet olacaktı. Mesela gelsin müşteri çayımızı içsin, sohbet edelim kafamı saran bir sohbet olursa bazen satıştan bile iyi olur’*

Kapalı Çarşıda alıcı satıcı ilişkisi rasyonel standartlar üzerinden değil, kişisel ilişkiler kurma üzerinden yürür ve bu kişisel ilişkiler bir sonraki gelişte aşinalığı sağlamak üzere kurulur. Tecrübe önemlidir. Örneğin Kayserili bir çarşı esnafı tecrübe ve sağduyu bilgisine dayanarak müşterinin Kayserili olup olmadığını hemen anlar. Pazarlık da bu kimlikler üzerinden işler. Malların sunumu ona göre yapılır. Bir tanışıklık kurulur ve alışveriş o tanışıklık üzerinden ilerler. Çünkü çarşıdan alışveriş yapan bir yabancı bir dahaki gelişinde bu tanışıklığı kullanacaktır mutlaka. Muğlaklık (malların kalitesinin garantisinin olmaması ve fiyatının belirsizliği) ve pazarlık kültürü de Kapalı Çarşının kurumsal yapılarının ve geleneğinin çözülmesi karşısında ortaya çıkan ve zaman içinde yeni yeni oturmaya başlayan bir olgu olarak karşımıza çıkmaktadır. Kapitalist ekonomik sistemin çarşının gündelik hayatında yoğun olarak kendisini hissettirmeye başladığı ve alışveriş merkezlerinin

ufukta görünmediği bir dönem olan seksenli ve doksanlı yıllarda muğlaklık ve pazarlık kısa vadeli yüksek kâr elde etme, fiyat kırarak diğer esnaflara karşı rekabet avantajı elde etme amacı doğrultusunda kullanılmıştır. Ancak daha sonrasında kapalı çarşı esnafının güvenilirliğini yitirmesi ve müşteri kaybı ile sonuçlanmanın yanı sıra çarşı kültürünü de olumsuz etkilemiştir. Kapalı Çarşıda 2000'li yılların başında aynı mala birbirinin iki katı fiyat söyleyen esnafla karşılaşmak hiç de nadir bir durum değilken bu durum günümüzde değişmeye başlamıştır. Artık muğlaklık, mallarının tamamının sergilenmeyerek müşteriyi içeri çekmenin, daha makul fiyatlarla başlayan pazarlıkla kişisel samimi bir ilişki kurabilmenin bir aracı olarak kullanılmaya başlanmıştır. Örneğin araştırma sırasında sıkı pazarlık yapan bir araştırmacı almayı vaat ettiği malın fiyatının üçte iki oranında düşürmüştür. Ancak bu zaman zarfında da aralarında doğan tanışıklık hiç de azımsanmayacak bir düzeye ulaşmıştır. Belki de esnaf o malın satışından zarar etse bile bir dahaki seferler için müşteri potansiyelinin artacağı yani geleceğe yönelik bir tasarrufla hareket etmiştir.

Sonuç olarak Kapalı Çarşı tarihine, geleneğinin gücüne duyduğu inançla göreceli bir kanaatkârlık ve sabırla müşterilerini beklemektedir. Çarşı esnafı hiç müşteri gelmeseyse de ayağını kırıp saatlerce dükkânının içinde ya da önünde zaman geçirerek geçimini sağlama çabası içindedir. Onlara göre çarşı bir göldür ve göl yerinde su eksik olmayacağı gibi müşteri de eksik olmayacaktır. Çarşı kültürü kısmet üzerine işlemeye devam etmektedir. Bugün kazancı az olsa da kısmet yarınadır. Yüzlerce yıllık geçmişi olan bu çarşı, mensuplarını belki zengin etmeyecektir ama gelecekte de varlığını sürdürecektir, birilerinin karnını doyuracak ve geçimini sağlayacaktır.

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## **Role of Organizational Culture in Organization**

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### **Abstract**

Balancing life and work is increasingly important for employees nowadays in deciding whether to stick with an employer. In a healthy organizational culture, managers provide ways to maintain that balance, including flexible schedules, on-site amenities and work -from- home options. Additionally, work cultures where companywide goals percolate to employees of all levels, where employees are encouraged to work in collaboration and where all are given opportunities for training, new learning; growth and promotion also have positive impacts on retention.

Therefore, we can say there is no doubting the significance of organizational culture when it comes to engaging and retaining valuable employees. It is one of the important components that leaders can employ to sustain performance, build emotional connect and maintain competitive advantage. And hence, that is why it is considered a fundamental institutional strategy. The present paper is an attempt to denote that organizational culture does play a crucial role in organizations-It is a valuable asset and key driver for employees.

**Keywords:** Organizational Culture, Organization, Employee and Employer.

### **Introduction**

Human beings have always lived in organized groups. Initially group activities were simple like gathering food, migrating or defending the security. Group activities has given the chance to the people to pool their talents and efforts for larger goals and these efforts demand cooperation.

### **What is Organization**

The word organization is derived from Greek word -organin- which means organ. An organization is an entity comprising of many people in association for common purpose or goal. For ex-an institution or an association that has a collective goal.

An organization can be seen as two or more people working co-operatively towards a common objective or a set of objectives. This system of co-operation is made up of several components as human, elemental, physical, work and co-ordination element. Organization is a common plat form where individuals work in groups to earn livelihood for them self.

Organizations are open system, they affect and get affected by their environment. Organization can be seen as to more people working cooperatively towards a commons objective or a set of objectives. This system of cooperation is made groups of several components-like human element, physical element, work element and coordination element. Organization often has very differing cultures as well as sub cultures and every organization has its own unique culture as per their style. Every organization has its unique style based on nature of work which set its values, norms and beliefs which makes the people involved to govern and behave in organizations. This unique style of working pattern often contributes to form organizational culture.

### **What is Culture**

Culture is consistent, observable pattern of behaviour in organizations. Culture refers to the cumulative deposit of knowledge, experience, beliefs, values, attitudes, meanings, hierarchies, religion, notions of time, roles, spatial relations, concepts of the universe, material objects and possessions acquired by a group of people in course of generations through individual and group striving.

Culture is the systems of knowledge shared by a relatively large group of people. Culture in its broadest sense is cultivated behaviour, that is totality of a persons



learned, accumulated experience which is socially transmitted behaviour through social learning.

A culture is a way of life of a group of people-the behaviours, beliefs, values and symbols that they accept, generally without thinking about them and that are passed from one generation to next. Culture is symbolic communication which include a group skills, knowledge, attitudes, values and motives.

Culture is the sum total of the learned behaviour of the group of people that are generally considered to be the tradition of that people and are transmitted from generation to generation. Culture is a collective programming of the mind that distinguishes the member of one group or category of people from another group.

E.B. Taylor an English anthropologist was the first to coin the term culture in eighteenth century. He defined culture as that complex which includes knowledge, belief, art, morale, laws, customs and any other capabilities and habits as acquired by man as member of the society. Culture is a unique possession of man; man is born and brought up in a cultural environment. Culture is a unique quality of a man that separates him from lower animals. Culture includes all that man acquires in his social life.

According to Bruce Perron- "Culture is the Process of sense making in organization" here sense making has been define- a collaborative process of creating shared awareness and understanding out of different individuals perspectives and varied interest.

### **Components of Culture**

There are five basic components of culture such as:

Symbols,  
Language,  
Values,  
Norms, and  
Material.

These five components can be divided into two categories:

Cognitive component: It is the foundation of social behaviour and made up of symbols and languages.

Normative component: It includes values, norms and material.

### **Characteristics of Culture**

1. Culture is social: it does not exist in isolation, it is a product of society and develops through social interaction.
2. Culture is shared: Culture is not something that an individual alone can possess. Culture in sociological sense is shared, eg-customs, traditions, beliefs, ideas, values, material etc. are all shared by people of a group or a society.
3. Culture is learnt: Culture is not inborn, it is learnt. Culture is often called as “learned ways of behaviour”.
4. Culture is transmissive: Culture is transmissive as it is transmitted from one generation to another. Language is the main vehicle of culture.  
 Transmission of culture takes place by imitation as well as by instruction.
5. Culture is continuous and cumulative: Culture exists as a continuous process and in its historical growth it tends to become cumulative.
6. Culture varies from society to society: Every society has its own culture and culture of every society is unique and not uniform. Culture varies from time to time and organization to organization.
7. Culture is dynamic: Culture is responsive to the changing conditions of surrounding and hence dynamic.
8. Culture is gratifying: Culture provides proper opportunities for satisfaction of our needs and desires both.

### **What is Organization Culture**

Organizational culture encompasses values and behaviours that contribute to the unique social and psychological environment and of an organization.

According to Needle (2004) organizational culture represents the collective values, Beliefs and Principles and organizational members and is product of such factors as History, Product, Market Technology, strategy types of employees, Management styles and national culture. Organizational culture includes the organizations vision, mission, values, norms, systems, symbols, language, assumptions, beliefs and habits. Organizational culture is system, shared assumptions, values and beliefs which governs how people behave in organizations. These shared values have strong influence on the people in the organization and dictate how they dress, act and perform their jobs. Every

organization developed and maintain a unique culture which provide guidelines in boundaries for the behaviour of the member of the organization.

### **Characteristics of Organizational Culture**

OC is collective and evolves overtime.

It results from interaction between organizational members.

It creates social order.

It helps members to construct proper attitudes and behaviour.

It contributes to socialization of new members.

It enhances belongingness and commitment.

### **Importance of Organizational Culture**

Employees spend more than 7 hours at the workplace, their organization culture affects both their work lives as well as their personal lives. Organizational culture refers to the beliefs, ideologies, principles and values that the individuals of an organization share.

The culture of workplace controls the way employees behave among themselves as well as with people outside the organization. The culture decides the way employees interact at their workplace. A healthy culture encourages the employees to stay motivated and loyal towards the management. The culture of the workplace also goes a long way in promoting healthy competition at the workplace. It is the culture of workplace which actually motivates the employees to perform; strong organization culture provides employees with a clear understanding of functions of an organization. Every organization must have set guidelines for the employees to work accordingly. The culture of an organization represents certain predefined policies which guide the individual (employees) and give them a sense of direction at the workplace. Thus work culture goes a long way in creating a brand image of the organization and it gives an identity to the organization.

### **Organizational Culture-valuable Asset**

Organizational culture plays very important role in organization, it help the members of organization to developed proper work culture hence it is valuable asset with organization it is necessary to maintain it.

### **How to Create Organizational Culture**

Ultimate source of any organization is the founder that is employer. Once the organization is setup with certain guidelines to be followed by all the members gives rise to form a culture of that particular organization. The culture can be created by setting appropriate norms, consistency in following the set norms and periodic evaluation.

The culture can be maintained by the authority by making recruitment of those to think and feel the same way they do. After recruitment it is essential to socialize employees as per the set expectations.

### **How to Keep Organizational Culture Alive**

Once the organizational culture is set, maintained and preserved it is necessary to keep organizational culture alive. This is possible by setting criteria of selection for new recruits and practicing the expected guidelines for already working employees. Make the members to adapt existing culture by internalization that is making all the members to follow the set norms.

### **How to Maintain Strong and Healthy Organizational Culture**

- Strong culture with high risk tolerance and low to moderate aggressiveness.
- Communicate ethical expectations.
- Provide ethical training-Socialization
- Reward ethical and punish unethical act
- Provide protective mechanism
- Identify employee strength
- Enhance growth of the employee
- Create and preserve culture

### **Conclusion**

Changing of organizational culture may be extremely difficult as it loses the identity of organization, every organization is known by its culture, the work culture gives identity to the organization. As the role of culture of any organization is more clearly defined, manager can better understand its importance in managing organizational change and its impact on day to day life of the members. The work culture unites the employees who are from different backgrounds, families and have varied attitudes and mentalities. It is the culture

of organization which the individual a successful professional and help to extract the best out of each team members.

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## Culture and Class Consciousness

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### Abstract

This paper is an earnest effort to understand the concepts of culture, nature and civilisation in the light of Marxist criticism of literature and the principle of art. According to the Marxist school of thought, there has been a long tryst with the term, culture as opposed to the more genteel term 'Nature' that carries associations of lost innocence of man, purity and liberation.

As described by Lukacs in *History and Class Consciousness*, the word culture can be approximated to capitalism. "...If one thinks of Rousseau ..... it ..... (is) the feeling that social institutions (reification) strip man of his human essence and that the more culture and civilisation (i.e., capitalism and reification) take possession of him, the less able he is to be a human being. And ..... nature becomes the repository of all .....inner tendencies opposing the growth of mechanisation, dehumanisation and reification." Lukacs. pg 136

In direct opposition to the 'polite society' created by man, lies Nature. "Nature thereby acquires the meaning of what has grown organically, what was not created by man, in contrast to the artificial structures of human capitalism".

That aspect of 'human inwardness which has remained natural, or at least tends or longs to become natural once more' is the mysterious working of Nature in us. Of the tendencies long forgotten in man and aligned towards Almighty Nature are, ".....what we once were, they (read, tendencies) are what we should once more become." Lukacs. 136.

What then is Nature? Nature refers to "authentic humanity, the true essence of man liberated from the false, mechanising forms of society: man as a perfected whole ..... man for whom freedom and necessity are identical." Lukacs. 137

**Keywords:** civilisation, culture, nature

### **Introduction**

Lukacs' and Marx's views are echoed by *Locke* in his *Second Treatise on Government*:

The natural liberty of man is to be free from any superior power on earth, and not to be under the will or legislative authority of men but to be ruled only by the law of nature. The liberty of man in society is to be under no legislative power except the one established by consent in the commonwealth; and not under the power of any will or under restraint from any law except what is enacted by the legislature in accordance with its mandate.

Freedom then is not what Sir Robert Filmer tells us namely a liberty for everyone to do what he wants, live as he pleases, and not be tied by any laws. Rather, freedom is one of two things.

- Freedom of nature is being under no restraint except the law of nature.
- Freedom of men under government is having a standing rule to live by, common to everyone in the society in question, and made by the legislative power that has been set up in it; a liberty to follow one's own will in anything that isn't forbidden by the rule, and not to be subject to the inconstant, uncertain, unknown, arbitrary will of another man.

Wikipedia informs us that Marxists explain the history of "civilized" societies in terms of a war of classes between those who control production and those who produce the goods or services in society. In the Marxist view of capitalism, this is a conflict between capitalists (bourgeoisie) and wage-workers (the proletariat). For Marxists, class antagonism is rooted in the situation that control over social production necessarily entails control over the class which produces goods—in capitalism this is the exploitation of workers by the bourgeoisie.

Furthermore, "in countries where modern civilisation has become fully developed, a new class of petty bourgeois has been formed".

### **Defining Culture**

So is Culture a conglomeration of a social structure and concentration of power??

We understand that the Anglo-Saxon population in England comprised of 90% peasants and that class struggle was so rampant in Ireland that in 1315 or the 14<sup>th</sup> century, the outlaw Jack of Ireland abducted Lady Mattilda in the hope of marrying her by force so that he could appropriate her property.

Also the *Divine right of Kings* theory held supreme the monarchy in England as being God on Earth and above any earthly law but King Charles the First of England was executed thus disproving the theory.

Shakespeare's *King Henry the sixth part three* depicts the episode of King Edward and Lady Grey wherein Edward is portrayed as being licentious demanding sexual favors in return for Lady Grey's repossession of her lands.

And Marlowe's Edward in *Edward the Second* is portrayed as being effeminate and homosexual, thus going against the canons of the unchallenged divine right of Kings theory in glaring contrast to Locke's views.

God gave the world to Adam and his posterity in common makes it hard to see how there can be any individual Property ownership, the supposition that God gave the world to Adam and his successive heirs, excluding all the rest of his posterity makes it hard to see how anything can be owned except by one universal monarch.

God, who has given the world to men in common, has also given them reason to make use of it to the best advantage of life and convenience. The earth and everything in it is given to men for the support and comfort of their existence. All the fruits it naturally produces and animals that it feeds, as produced by the spontaneous hand of nature, belong to mankind in common; nobody has a basic right—a private right that excludes the rest of mankind—over any of them as they are in their natural state. But they were given for the use of men; and before they can be useful or beneficial to any particular man there must be some way for a particular man to appropriate them [= 'come to own them']. The wild Indians in north America don't have fences or boundaries, and are still joint tenants of their territory; but if any one of them is to get any benefit from fruit or venison, the food in question must be his—and his (i.e. a part of him) in such a way that no-one else retains any right to it.

Though men as a whole own the earth and all inferior creatures, every individual man has a property in his own person [= 'owns himself']; this is something that nobody else has any right to. The labour of his body and the work of his hands, we may say, are strictly his. So when he takes something from the state that nature has provided and left it in, he mixes his labour with it, thus joining to it something that is his own; and in that way *he makes it his property*.

- we are all the work of one omnipotent and infinitely wise maker;
- we are all the servants of one sovereign master, sent into the world by his order to do his business;



- we are all the property of him who made us, and he made us to last as long as he chooses, not as long as we choose;
- we have the same abilities, and share in one common nature, so there can't be any rank-ordering that would authorize some of us to destroy others, as if we were made to be used by one another, as the lower kinds of creatures are made to be used by us.....

Everyone is obliged to preserve himself and not opt out of life willfully, so for the same reason everyone ought, when his own survival isn't at stake, to do as much as he can to preserve the rest of mankind; and except when it's a matter of punishing an offender, no-one may take away or damage anything that contributes to the preservation of someone else's life, liberty, health, limb, or goods .....”.

We are faced with such questions as -What is Culture? Is the interaction between human agencies and their environment – Culture? Human desire is to acquire wealth, gold, rare stones as symbols of authority to a degree that animals do not. Main motivator for lot of human activities is desire. So, is desire the reason for exploiting nature? Let us explore further- Manchester, Yorkshire, Midlands are great industrial regions. In 1832 occurred the great Parliamentary Reform Act. The great Victorian novelist George Eliot in *Middlemarch* writes of these wealthy landowners. Gaskell wrote of the oppression of the poor by the rich in her novel *Mary Barton*.

We observe that the years 1850 and 1812 are significant.

1850 – year of social turbulence.

1815–22 years of turbulence.

The French Revolution cast a long-lasting influence in Europe.

There was the case of the Catholic emancipation and pressure on Parliament in England leading to riots in Bristol, New castle, and London. A huge divide between middle class reformers and working class reformers did exist. Voting rights were not extended to working class superbly captured by Gaskell in *Mary Barton*.

Landed aristocracy was politically and economically powerful.

The feeling among the working class was akin to despair. Chartism was the first full movement proletarian and middle class that demanded male suffrage. Anti-slavery movement gained momentum. 1867 reform act alone gave voting rights to male working class and which was the brainchild of politician Benjamin Disraeli. George Eliot was also eager to emphasis education of working class men. Also

other writers as Dickens, Trollope wrote of parliamentary reform and the need to fight corruption.

**During the medieval age class divisions were made into three divisions as:**

Priestly class, Knights and Peasantry – the life of the peasants was one of poverty and penury much the same as the life of the English proletariats.

“In dealing with the more important branches of the English manufacturing proletariat, we shall begin, according to the principle laid down, with the factory-workers, i.e., those who are comprised under the Factory Act. .... The class employed by them is the most intelligent and energetic of all the English workers, and, therefore, the most restless and most hated by the bourgeoisie.” (Engels. 159.)

The main struggle of the English proletariat was against machinery and the bourgeoisie.

As Foucault writes in his book ‘Discipline and Punish – the birth of the Prison’, religion was used to coerce the working class to form ‘congregations in an attempt to inure them to work in the workshops; the framework of the factory-monastery was imposed upon the workers .....’ (p 150).

“It is expressly forbidden for any worker under any pretext to bring wine into the manufactory and to drink in the workshops .....” however the workers drank heartily after work hours hence drink, immorality, and licentiousness went together.

### **Conclusion**

The history and ideology of a Marxist interpretation of English literature is not so brief a movement as has been discussed by me, if indeed this paper can be called a discussion. I have mentioned writers, novels, plays but I have not delved in depth. If there is a tinge of curiosity in you that fires you to open up your mind to reading Marxism, I would call it my success. Adieu.

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## **Interaction between the Jaipur State, Popular Culture and the Religious Dignitaries**

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### **Abstract**

In this symposium paper the nature of relations that subsisted between popular culture, religious dignitaries and the Jaipur state would be analyzed. It will also discuss the diverse forms of protocol adopted by the Jaipur king whenever a religious dignitary visited. In Indian history 18th century is a phase of transition. A close scrutiny of the archival sources shows that during the 18th century the Jaipur state expanded the ambit of patronage to various sectarian groups and persons associated with temples and Muslim shrines. The foundation of the Jaipur city in 1727 A.D also demonstrates the catholic attitude of its founder in allotting space to various religious sects. The architecture of the city is well-planned. Even today a number of festivals such as Gangoar, Ganesh-chaturthi, Teej etc. are celebrated and processions on all the festivals are carried out in the walled city. Perhaps the city was designed for royal processions. It is pertinent to note here that after regaining Amber from the Mughals, Sawai Jai Singh performed various acts and rituals for restoring confidence of the subjects. The rituals were performed by Jai Singh to make a political statement. The acts were mainly religious in nature connecting to the popular culture of masses cutting across the religious lines. The rituals were elaborate and included participation of the masses. The state was making efforts to re-integrate its connections with the local populace. Earlier the rulers of Jaipur being Mughal bureaucrats had to constantly remain away from their watan i.e Amber. The prolonged absence from the watan to meet service requirements handicapped the Amber/Jaipur rulers to maintain a close and constant touch with subjects. Religion was patronized on large scale being a common link between the king and society. A large number of cultural-religious performances were for seeking legitimization and instilling loyalty.

**Keywords:** Religion, Amber/Jaipur, Watan, Mughal, legitimacy

### **Interaction between the Jaipur State, Popular Culture and the Religious Dignitaries**

In this work the nature of relations that subsisted between the religious dignitaries and the Jaipur state would be analyzed. It will also discuss the forms of protocol adopted by the Jaipur king whenever a religious dignitary visited his court. The Jaipur state was going through a phase of transition in the eighteenth century. A close scrutiny of the archival sources shows that during the 18th century the Jaipur state expanded the ambit of patronage to various sectarian groups and persons associated with temples and Muslim shrines. The foundation of the Jaipur city in 1727 also demonstrates the catholic attitude of its founder in allotting space to various religious sects and their followers. It was marked with elegant architecture and exhibits extended markets. The architecture of the city is well-planned where the roads are crossing at an angle of ninety degree. Perhaps the city was designed for royal processions. Even today a number of festivals such as *Gangoar*, *Ganesh Chaturthi*, *Teej* etc. are celebrated and processions on all the festivals are carried out in the walled city. It is pertinent to note here that after regaining Amber from the Mughals, Sawai Jai Singh performed the *Vajpaya yajna* to thank the gods for his victory in the battle of Sambhar. Various other acts and rituals were performed for restoring confidence of the subjects in the valour of the Kachhwaha rulers. The rituals were performed by Jai Singh to make a political statement about his power and authority. The acts were mainly religious in nature and helped Sawai Jai Singh to create an image of a devout Hindu. Sawai Jai Singh was aware of his previous position of a loyal governor of the Mughal. Now he was trying to re-define his position of a 'Rajput king' through his patronage of religion and various associated activities. The Vedic rituals were a medium to form a close association with the subjects. The rituals were elaborate and included participation of the masses. These religious performances expanded scope for interaction between different sects and sections of society. The state was making efforts to re-integrate its connections with the local populace. Earlier the rulers of Jaipur being Mughal bureaucrats had to constantly remain away from their *watan* i.e Amber. Prolonged absence from Amber in order to meet the service obligations of the Mughal Empire created a gap between the Kachhwaha kings and the people of Amber/Jaipur. The prolonged absence from the *watan* handicapped the Amber rulers to maintain a close and constant touch with their subjects. During the eighteenth century the strengthening of connections with the masses became an imperative for the Jaipur king. Religion being the common link between the king and society it began to be patronized on large scale. The process of legitimization included a large number of ritual performances that

were religious in nature. Sawai Jai Singh was keen to perform the vedic rituals; therefore, he commissioned various Brahmins to write about the rituals and presented large number of gifts to the Brahmins who were writing about the vedic performances to be conducted under the king's patronage. The texts describe minute details of the Vedic rituals and the procedures followed in it.<sup>1</sup>

Jai Singh was devoted *Vaisnava* in all its manifestations. Hence he invited the votaries of many *Vaisnava* sects and ensured that they lived in peace with each other. A lot of homogenizing reforms were also introduced in these sects. In matters of rituals Jai Singh was an orthodox Hindu and gained a reputation of defender of faith. Some *Kapaddwara* documents suggest that even in Bengal he was treated as an arbitrator in matters of religious practices.<sup>2</sup> The growing penchant of Sawai Jai Singh in religious matters found a favorable ground for experimenting with changes in the religious practices. Through the religious innovations Jai Singh was trying to create local sources of legitimacy. In pursuit of creating sources of legitimization the state began to patronize large number of religious sects specially *vaisnava* sects. Besides these many other non-*Vaisnava* sects were also patronized who were a connecting link between the state and the public. During the eighteenth century various sects such as Ramanadis and Vallabhites (*Krishanities*) became active in the Jaipur kingdom. They made efforts in order to intensify their sanctioning power and developed the notion of charismatic authority that emphasized more institutionalized claims through the genealogical descent and tenure of office. The leaders of these sects were also influencing the political scenario of the Jaipur State. The increasing role of *Swamis*, *Mahants* and Brahmins was reconstituting the political matrix on a more solid footing. The temples were key institutions in the formation of togetherness of social communities and the king derived much of his authority from these temples. Therefore, the *Mahants* and the *Pujaris* of these temples became important players in the politics of state. The attainment of political importance along with the religious power made the *Mahants*, *Swamis* and *Fakirs* respectable figures in the realm and it became obligatory for the king to respect and honor these religious dignitaries.

During the reign of Sawai Jai Singh, Jaipur became a centre for *Vaisnavas*, both Ramavats and Krishnaites. The important temples and monasteries associated

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<sup>1</sup> Giles Tillotson, *Jaipur Nama; Tales from the Pink City*, Penguin Books, New Delhi, 2006, p.16.

<sup>2</sup> *Catalogue of Historical Documents in Kapad Dwara Jaipur Maps and Plans* (ed.) G.N. Bahura and Chandarmani Singh, Jaigarh Public Charitable Trust, Amber-Jaipur, 1990.

with the sects were built in the fringes of Jaipur city. These monasteries and temples were the centers for the habitation of large number of monks and *Sadhus*. The important temples which were established in Jaipur during the eighteenth century were Govinddevji, Galtaji, monastery of Ramavats and the temples of Digamber Jains. The temple of Govinddevji is located in the centre of the walled city of Jaipur. It is an important centre for the Gaudiya *Vaisnavas*. The headquarter of the Ramanandis is located in the outskirts of the city and is known as Galtaji. The militant ascetics known as Balanandis were followers of Balanand had their temple and *akhara* at Hanuman-garhi. The layout of the city is marked with large number of temples devoted mainly to the *puranika panch-devtas*. The *puranik panch-devtas* are Surya (sun), Ganesh, Hanuman, Shiv and Shakti. The worship of *panch-devta* is associated with the daily life of people. Various forms of same god were worshipped as mark for expressing gratitude towards the charisma and mystical power, for example Hanuman is worshipped as Veer Hanuman (powerful), Panch Mukhi Hanuman (with five faces), Dakshin Mukhti Hanuman (South facing), Balaji (elderly) etc. Similar kinds of varieties are also available in the worship of Shiv, Shakti and Ganesh. Even today these forms are popularly prevalent and do form part and parcel of the Jaipur city culture.

The Govinddevji and Radhaji temple reside in the busy city of Jaipur. This image represents the *Vaisnava* sect of the *Chaitanya Sampradaya*. The temple is located in the premises of City Palace complex. Large extended gardens, courtyards and corridors make the area of temple extensive. The image of Govinddevji is not only fulfilling the religious connotation but it is believed to possess the mystical power. The regular worship of this idol is to partake the power. The worship of the image is a regular feature of *Chaitanite* religious practice and all the members of the sect cherish to do so. The Jaipur rulers also made the *darshan* of Govinddevji a regular feature as the god was granter of good fortune and mystical power. While analyzing the relationship that existed between the Udaipur state and the idol of Nathdwara in the eighteenth century, Norbert Peabody emphasizes on the mystical power of the idol of Shyam (incarnation of Vishnu) which is placed in the silver wall. The image had a lot of influence on the Udaipur Kings who patronized the temple and the *Swamis* associated with it. "The Hindu Rajas of western India attempted to bind these mystical powers to the service of their rule and what consequences it had both for royal action and for the maintenance and

perpetuation of the divine powers of the statues themselves.”<sup>3</sup> The desire to seek the mystical power made the rulers to abide by the norms and rituals of the temples. Similarly, the Jaipur Kings who were abiding by the temple and idol of Govinddevji also sought good fortunes and mystical power for their rule. The Kachhwaha kings had a long history of association with the idol of Govinddevji. The mystical power binds the ruler so much that Maharaja Madho Singh II ordered for a replica of Govinddevji idol which accompanied him on his sea voyage to London. The Maharaja also offered a gold coin (*mohar*) to the replica idol of Govinddevji on his returning voyage to celebrate his birthday.

The Gaudiya *Sampradaya* of the Govinddevji temple enjoyed a custodial role in maintaining the mystical power of temple sanctuary. This priestly responsibility affected the exercise of royal power and added a new dimension to the process of royal legitimization. The shift of the idol of Govinddevji into the complex of City Palace during the early years of Jai Singh’s rule was a way to establish indigenous link between royal authority and sectarian authority. The pooling and redistribution of goods established a ranked centrality within social groups. The redistribution of land, honours and service tenure was a fundamental royal activity whose performance constituted Hindu Kingship.<sup>4</sup> According to the cultural logic the gift of king to his political client represented the sharing of a portion of his munificent, celestial persona. The gifts accepted by the clients established their graded incorporation into the polity of state symbolizing the king at the centre. The religious dignitaries had a different status as they were not incorporated in the polity of state. Their status was more of a functionary and guide to the king on religious and political matters. At times the religious dignitaries acted as the mediators on behalf of the state. Balanand acted as a mediator between the Jaipur king Sawai Partap Singh and Rao Raja Partap Singh Naruka of Macheri and also between Jaipur and Madhji Scindhia.<sup>5</sup> The religious heads of different sects had varying influence in the court and the sects constantly tried to exert more influence in the court. The varying treatment meted out to the sects and their heads in the court was indicative of the degree of influence over the king. The receiving (*padharan*) and seeing off

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<sup>3</sup> Norbert Peabody, “In Whose turban does the Lord reside?: The objectification of Charisma and the fetishism of objects in the Hindu Kingdom of Kota”, *Society for Comparative Studies in Society and History*, vol.33, no.4, oct, 1991, pp. 726-27

<sup>4</sup> Nicholas Dirks, *The hollow Crown: Ethnohistory of an Indian Kingdom*, Cambridge University Press, 1987.

<sup>5</sup> R.P. Rana, “Chakar to Raja, The Emergence of Naruka State of Alwar”, *Social Science Probing*, june 2006, pp. 59-79.



(*seekh/vida/parwangi*) ceremonies for the religious heads was certainly different from the ceremonies designed for the political dignitaries. The particular choice of king was very important as far as the religious dignitaries are concerned. For instance the *Guru Mahants*, *Rajguru* and *Purohits* were personally received by the king. Besides it, the gestures of respect and honour also varied on the basis of the personal affiliation of the king. Large number of gifts along with money was bestowed on the *Gurus*, *Swamis*, *Fakirs* and *Mahants*. In return the religious heads blessed the king with *prasad* and *duppata*. "The substance of the gift - the land rights, the titles, emblems, honours and privileges of services, usufruct and command – was the partial sovereign substance of the king. All those who were given (and who accepted) gifts became part of the whole king, and by implication the king's realm, the kingdom" writes Nicholas Dirks while discussing such a placing in the context of another state.<sup>6</sup>

All through his reign Sawai Jai Singh was trying to create a loyal base for his rule. The extent to which he was successful in doing so is difficult to determine. The pursuance of creating a loyal base made Sawai Jai Singh to donate a large sum of money to various religious institutions regularly. The institutions who received the patronage from the king were mainly the temples, *Mathas* and *shrines*. The king was not the only donor to these institutions. Various other members of royalty like *Rajamata*, *Maji Sahibs*, *Bais*, *Kunwar ji* and *Thakurs* were also donating money and constructing temples and *tibaras* (pillared hall of temple with three gates).

The principal aim of the historian studying culture is to portray patterns of culture. In other words to describe the characteristic feelings of an age and their expression or embodiment in works of literature and art, the historian discovers these patterns of cultures by studying themes, symbols, sentiments and forms.<sup>7</sup> The cultural historians are supposed to assess the degrees of gestures and study their depiction. A lot of symbols, gestures and sentiments are expressed through the symbolism of certain art forms. Various forms or standards of behavior are also central to the framework of formalities dealing with the state. The expressions of respect, piety, love and jealousies in the court were subjected to rules. Every action and event was embodied in expressive and solemn form, which elevated the dignity of a ritual.

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<sup>6</sup> Nicholas Dirks, *The hollow Crown: Ethnohistory of an Indian Kingdom*, Cambridge University Press, 1987, pp. 129.

<sup>7</sup> Johan Huizinga, "The Task of Cultural History" *Men and Ideas*, New York, 1952, pp.17-96.

In the late eighteenth century the idea of popular culture originated in Germany. From then onwards themes like folklores, folk tales, dances, rituals, art and craft formed the central line for writing the cultural history. "Cultural history by contrast possesses a primary degree of centrality, as it consists for the most part of material conveyed in an unintentional, disinterested or even involuntary way by sources and monuments."<sup>8</sup> There are many differences which exist between the cultures of social classes, the culture of men and women and the culture of the distinct generations living in the same society. The differences existed between various sections of society but the state survived despite these differences. The Jaipur state also marked and moderated differences which were prevalent in the *Darbar* (court), *Rajlok* (Royal household)<sup>9</sup> and the populace. The surviving tactics of the Jaipur State were mainly predicated upon religion and polity.

During the eighteenth century many innovations were introduced in religion and tradition of the Jaipur state. The new attitudes and values which survived in Jaipur gave a sense of importance and accorded significance to individuals who were involved in it. The extended rituals were marked by the participation of individuals and the king. The ceremonies related to religion were meant for homogenizing religious practices. A founder is successful in his religious and philosophical innovation if his message appeals to the people and they accept the modes of tradition and rituals suggested by the inventor. The founder deals with the inevitable conflict of traditions and the ever changing scenario. Therefore, in the course of transmission the tradition are transmitted and transformed suiting to the needs of the followers and founder. The court culture included lot of artifacts, goods, technical process, ideas, habits and values. Many qualities such as knowledge, beliefs, art, morals, law, customs, capabilities of speech and war, manners and etiquette were taken into account while granting *chakri* (service). These habits were necessary and important to be part of court. The growing rituals in the court of Jaipur were elaborate and had a lot of significance. The changing court rituals were marked by the receiving and seeing off of the dignitaries. The rituals of coronation (*Rajya-abhishek*), receiving a priest and seeing off were marked by a series of ceremonies. The visits of king to any

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<sup>8</sup> Jacob Burckhardt, *The Greeks and Greek Civilization*, translated by Sheila Stern, Oswyn Murray (ed.), 1998, p.5.

<sup>9</sup> Manisha Choudhary, 'The Royal Household (Rajlok) of Kachhawa Kings of Jaipur', *IOSR-Journal of Humanities and Social Sciences (JHSS)*, Vol.6, Issue-3, (Jan-Feb 2013), pp.17-24.

religious institution and temple are also recorded with extensive details.<sup>10</sup> The visit of king to the *haveli* and house of any priest was different in procession and procedure. The processes of receiving, seating, movement through the corridors of *haveli* were regulated and guided. It was based on the status of priest and occasion (marriage, death anniversary etc.). These series of rituals emphasized the ceremonial character of the offering and gift exchange. In 1729 Raja Jai Singh II went to meet *Mahant* Saranji of Salemabad at the temple of Brij Raj (Shri Gopijan Ballabh).<sup>11</sup> The king went riding a horse to the temple and they sat on the same *galeecha* (a woolen mat with floral motifs), then he offered one-*mohar* and one-coconut.<sup>12</sup> The ceremonies of condolence, birthday celebrations, coronation, tying of head dress (*paag bandhai*), receiving, seeing off, marriage celebration etc. were the occasions of exchange and negotiations between the visitor and the visited.

The objective of this paper is to describe the general trends of the Jaipur court which communicated much sense of variety in rituals and specified the local cultures. The different rituals were followed separately with all the members of the court. The differential treatment with different religious leaders is suggestive of the conflict that existed between the groups. The differences led to competition between various religious groups who were visiting the Jaipur court. The existing contestation amongst the religious sects got replicated in the rituals and treatments associated with particular sect and the kind of rituals and code of conduct applied to them. The religious culture of the court was guided by the contributions made by various religious leaders.

The scenario of the *Darbar* was suffused with the notions of conquest, inclusion in domesticity, dynasty, enlightenment, friendship, service, happiness and acceptance of services towards the king. It also included reforms and process of instilling loyalty for the state. All ceremonies were guided by the court protocol and the agents of state were working hard to maintain the pressures of protocol and ensure its application. The celebrations of coronation, wedding, funeral ceremony, religious processions, birthday celebration and military demonstrations were occasions for the state to demonstrate its power. These occasions were also platforms meant for the participation of general public through which they could associate with the functions of state and act as a vital

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<sup>10</sup> D. K., vol. 8, *Thakurdwara*

<sup>11</sup> D. K., vol. 31, *Swami*, Event dated Miti posh sudi 4 *Brahspatiwar* (Thrusday) v.s. 1786/1729 A.D.

<sup>12</sup> Ibid.

limb of the state. These occasions were also used to establish and strengthen relationships between the ruler and court officials. The presence of religious heads was also significant on these occasions. The religious heads were accorded due respect by the king in the form of salutation and in return they blessed the king for victory, long life, health, prosperity and good fortune. The occasions marked the political domain with lot of extended and elaborate cultural activities. These long celebrations in the state were usually transformed into political culture of the court. The evolving culture in the Jaipur court during the eighteenth century was becoming more vibrant and extensive. The celebrations on the occasions of *Rajtilak*, *Janam-divas*, *Taj-poshi*, *Holi*, *Dushera* etc. were also organized in the *Darbar*.<sup>13</sup> These celebrations became integral part of court culture and were significant occasions to allot status in the court. The kind of treatment meted out to an individual in the court on specific events marked and set his status and depicted his significance for the court and state.

The construction of political domain was governed by elites and it was constantly innovated, refurnished and manipulated in order to add up to the imperial gaze. The processions of state on occasion of accession, marriages and funeral were the means to produce power through pomp and glitter. It also helped in exhibiting the ideology of state. The different royal gifts for various guests of state are indicative of differential treatment meted out to the religious and political dignitaries. The treatment set for the religious dignitaries was dependent on the inclination of king. The differential treatment meted out to the religious leaders was personal will of the king as the religious heads were guide and *Guru* to the king. The choice and appointment of *Rajguru* and *Purohit* was personal discretion of the king. Therefore the rituals associated with the *Rajguru*, *Purohit* and *Guru* of king had to be different and unique in style.<sup>14</sup> Differential royal offerings in the court depicted the nuances in formalities. The value and association of gift offered to any court member was indicative of status and influence of the member. The offering of specific eatables in the court was also a significant gesture of prestige and honor. The eatables such as *beda paan* (betel leaf) and *mithai* (sweet) were only offered to a respectable and honorable guest in the court. All the guests were eligible to accept a glass of *sharbat* (sweet and flavored

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<sup>13</sup> Instance of various festive celebrations such as Diwali, marriage, Dushhara, Holi etc are discussed in the Dastur Komwar documents along with the details of rituals and gifts.

<sup>14</sup> D.K., vol. 31, *Swami*, many events in the D.K.-*Swami* put light on the receptions adopted for various *Mahants* by the Jaipur *Raja*.

chilled water drink) in the court. Besides the *sharbat* any other offering of eatable was restricted.

The offering of eatables in the court marked honour and respect for court member. If the king himself offered the betel leaf to the guest it indicated honour, respect and inclusion of guest in the domestic arena of king. The king's impersonal treatment extended to any individual was either need to establish polity or religious enlightenment. The slightest gesture of king towards any court member was a mark of respect and it enhanced the status of that particular individual in the court. This also upgraded the status of member and he was included in the list of honourable members of the court who were entitled to receive gifts and honours. The specific code of conduct was applicable to all the members in the court. The ritualized activities of court were constantly enriched through the procedures of religious incorporation. As the activities of the court were centered around the king, the king made constant efforts for regulating the activities of the court. The aim of regulating the activities of the court was an effort by the king to create a powerful image of himself. Besides it, the king tried to make an ideal kingly image through various rituals which could help in exerting influence over the *Thikanedars* and the Brahmins.

The cultural performances and changes were not only impacting the court but the changes also had a lot of effect on the festive celebrations of the court and state. In the eighteenth century the Jaipur kings were celebrating large number of festivals. This increase in the festival celebrations was due to the constant stay of the king in the capital. Earlier it was not possible due to service assignments taken up by the Kachhwaha kings under the Mughals in remote areas. The festivals celebrated by the Jaipur state were *Teej*, *Dusherra*, *Diwali*, *Holi*, *Raksha-bandhan*, *Bhanu-samiti*, *Vasant-panchmi*, *Gangaur* etc.<sup>15</sup> The ceremonial procedures followed in these festivals were creating and modifying hierarchies amongst the nobles of Jaipur court. The study of rituals associated with festivals and court are meant to understand social and cultural history. It is also a way for understanding the mode of communication that existed between the ruler and his subjects.

During the eighteenth century the Kachhwaha rulers tended to emphasis the relevance of the Hindu code of law in order to seek legitimacy from the various chiefs (*Thikanedars*) and religious leaders. The process of seeking legitimacy relied on the political and religious dignitaries' allegiance. It included granting of *jagirs*

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<sup>15</sup> D.K., vol. 24 & 25, *Rajlok*, pp. 415-730. For details see my article 'The Royal Household (*Rajlok*)'.

and bestowing of honours and sanctioning of money respectively. The methods adopted for seeking political support were conferring of *jagirs*, forming of matrimonial alliances and granting honours and titles to the *Thikanedars* and other rulers. The *Thikanedars* were the main political stay of state; they served the king by maintaining law and order in the *jagirs* granted to them. The state relied on religious and political dignitaries to approach the general public in order to seek their support and instill loyalty in them. The political leaders were associated with the administrative and judicial functioning of state. The responsibility of generating goodwill for state, instilling loyalty in subjects and seeking religious legitimacy for the ruler belonged to the domain of religious heads. The religious heads were mainly the *Swamis*, *Matha Adhikaris*, *Mahants*, *Brahmins* and *Purohits*. The appointment of *Rajguru* and *Purohit* was the personal prerogative of the king. The appointment of *Matha Adhikaris*, *Swamis* and *Sajjadanashins/diwans* of *Dargahas* were not controlled by the king. The head of *Matha* (*Matha Adhikari/ Mathadheesh*), head of sects (*Swamis*) and head of sufi shrines (*Sajjadanashins*) were appointed by the collective decision of members belonging to the *Mathas*, the followers of sects and the *Khalifa* of shrine respectively. The religious leaders (*Swamis*, *Mahants*, *Sajjadanashins* etc.) were in direct touch of the king and had direct audience. The religious leaders were responsible for the religious well being of kingdom and made efforts for it. The efforts made for religious life of state included construction of temples, building of *Mathas*, shrines, bestowing of grants to the religious institution, making of donations and celebrating of festivals.<sup>16</sup>

With the decline of the Mughal Empire its legitimating authority also vanished. This political reality made the Rajput rulers to search for alternative sources of legitimacy in the eighteenth century. Therefore the Rajput rulers were making efforts to search new sources of legitimacy. In the eighteenth century the Jaipur state of Kachhwahas was no different from the other post-Mughal states that were searching for alternative sources of legitimacy. In this ever changing political scenario of the Jaipur state was also generating and searching new sources of its own legitimization. The religious and political shifts brought about by Sawai Jai Singh in the eighteenth century were some of the efforts to instill loyalty and seek legitimacy. The process of legitimization was guided by religious innovations and formation of new political alliances. Sawai Jai Singh was constantly making efforts

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<sup>16</sup> 258 temples and *Mathas* were receiving grants and donations from the members of Jaipur court. Similarly various sufi shrines, fakirs and pirzadas were also receiving donations from the state.

to fix the loyalty of the political dignitaries by renewing *jagirs*<sup>17</sup> and forming matrimonial alliances with other royal houses.<sup>18</sup> The political leaders were constantly visiting the Jaipur court were assigned the administrative and judicial functions of state from time to time.<sup>19</sup> Besides it the *Thikanedars* also helped the state to settle vital disputes and some of them were main actors in the state and court ceremonies.

In his attempts of strengthening the Jaipur state, Sawai Jai Singh was also relying on the religious dignitaries. The religious dignitaries for Jaipur state were varied and had extended religious inclusions. In eighteenth century the Jaipur state was an important hub for various religious groups. Many religious groups arrived in Jaipur on the invitation of Jai Singh and various others followed. The heads of these sects were received suitably in the Jaipur court. Sawai Jai Singh honoured them with titles and land grants in and around Jaipur. The lands were granted to the sect leaders and the *Matha Adhikaris* for establishing their temples and *Mathas*. Huge sum of money was also granted for building temples and maintenance of the deity.<sup>20</sup> Many a times the king granted land for the maintenance of the temple and bearing of expense of deity idol such as *poshak* (dress of deity idol), *prasad/bhog* (food of deity), jewelry and other miscellaneous expenses of deity idol (*ghee* for lighting lamps, incense sticks and utensils etc.). All these religious efforts of Sawai Jai Singh were mainly to legitimize his own status as a powerful king of a kingdom. All these religious introductions also generated support of the local populace and portrayed Sawai Jai Singh as a defender of faith. Sawai Jai Singh made constant efforts and innovations in religious matters due to his own interest in multiple subjects.<sup>21</sup> His interest lay in various subjects like religion, astrology, literature, mathematics, poetry and music. Sawai Jai Singh was a patron of art, religion, craft and architecture. His own interest together with the political necessity of eighteenth century made him to build a new capital city. The architecture of Jaipur is inspired from the architecture of Paris due to which

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<sup>17</sup> *Dastur Komwar*- Nathawat, Khangarot, Naruka etc. vol.7, 12, 14. There are various evidences of *Thikanedars* entering in *Chakri* (service) of the Jaipur Raja.

<sup>18</sup> Shyamal Das, *Vir Vinod*, vol.ii, p.770-72.

<sup>19</sup> *Dastur Komwar*- Bhatti and Jadam's etc. The registers of *Dastur Komwar* provide instances of marriages with non-Kachhwaha clans.

<sup>20</sup> R.P. Rana, "Royalty, Religion and Ritual Legitimation and Patronage under the Kachhwahas of Jaipur", *Social Science Probings*, June 2009, pp.59-83. Large scale *punya udik* documents granting endowments are available in the Rajasthan State Archives at Bikaner.

<sup>21</sup> Ashim Kumar Roy, *History of the Jaipur City*, Manohar Publications, Delhi, 1978, pp. 2-9.

Jaipur is also known as Paris of India. The interest in architecture made Jai Singh a patron who personally took lot of care in guiding and designing the layout of the palaces and temples in the walled city which was in making. The temples are mainly the source of link between the trading communities who were residing and trading in the city and the king. The Brahmins were appointed as the heads of temples and made responsible for their maintenance and custody. Nearly 300 temples are located in the walled city and all of them are functional even today.<sup>22</sup> Land grants and donations were also bestowed on temples in different localities because it was a popular method for generating loyalty and creating a wide base with popular support.

In the Jaipur kingdom of eighteenth century many temples were abode of various deities. Amongst many gods and temples, the four deities and their idols had significant presence for the Amber-Jaipur kingdom. Notable amongst them are four temples housing different deities. The importance of these four idols was attributed to the mystical power of each idol. These four idols were related to the Amber-Jaipur kings since the reign of Raja Man Singh. These four idols are *Jamvai Mataji* (in Jamva at Ramgarh), *Sila Devi* (rock goddess located in the palace of Amber), *Sitaramji* (located at Galta) and *Govinddevji* (in the complex of City Palace). Interestingly, all these idols were brought to the Amber-Jaipur territories in different times. The idol of *Shila Devi* was carved out of a black stone slab on the orders of Raja Man Singh while he was serving as a Mughal governor in Bengal. The legend around its significance is: - "once while going for an expedition in Bengal, Man Singh invoked aid from goddess Kali, because he was expecting the military expedition to be awkward. After emerging victorious in the battle the goddess appeared in the dream of Man Singh and demanded her release from the stone in which she was trapped. The slab was located and carved into the idol of the goddess as per the instructions of Man Singh and it was carried to Amber. At Amber it was installed in a temple located at the entrance of Maharaja's fort-cum-palace. The goddess was worshipped with all the rituals of purification and ceremonial functions. The idol continues to be there and is still worshipped as the

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<sup>22</sup> Information is based on my visits to the walled city of Jaipur. These temples have inscriptions at the entry gates which mark date of their construction. Most of these temples are made during the life time of Sawai Jai Singh. Dastur Komwar-*Thakurdwara* also mentions a large number of temples located in and around Jaipur.



guard to the Amber kingdom.”<sup>23</sup> The capital was shifted from Amber to Jaipur during the reign of Jai Singh but the idol of Shila Devi was not shifted from Amber. The second idol is that of Govinddevji or Krishna (divine cowherd keeper) and it is the most significant deity statue for the Amber-Jaipur Kings. The idol of Govinddevji was brought to Amber-Jaipur under very different circumstances. It was brought to Jaipur during the reign of Sawai Jai Singh but the Kachhwaha Rajas had long association with the idol since the days of Raja Man Singh. Originally, Raja Man Singh installed the idol at Vrindavan, the site of Krishna’s childhood and youth. He ordered and funded the construction of a temple at Vrindavan in which the idol of Krishna was installed. In 1669 A.D the temple was desecrated on the orders of Aurangzeb. Hence, the idol was removed from the Vrindavan temple and was under cover (from 1669 to 1714). During this period the idol was constantly shifted from one place to other in secrecy. The idol of Govinddevji was kept hidden for 45 years. Later in 1714, Raja Sawai Jai Singh brought it to Amber and installed it in a new temple outside the city. This temple was situated in a walled garden. Later the garden was named Kanak Vrindavan (golden Vrindavan) or Kanak Ghati (the golden valley). Later the idol was shifted from Kanak Ghati to its present location i.e. in the complex of City Palace. The shifting of Govinddevji’s idol from Kanak Ghati to the environs of walled city was personal choice of Raja Sawai Jai Singh. Its installation in the City Palace was intended to make public aware about the personal relationship that existed between the king and deity (Govinddevji). In order to demonstrate this perception more conspicuously Jai Singh made an announcement (at the time of city foundation) “that the Govinddevji is the real ruler and founder of city while he (Sawai Jai Singh); himself is merely a *Diwan* (prime minister).” The location of Govinddevji temple inside the complex of City Palace is directly viewable from the residence of the king. On the back side of the temple there are large gardens surrounded by long pavements. The location of Govinddevji temple has made it a popular temple in Jaipur. Daily large numbers of people visit the temple and participate in its functioning. The *paat* (doors) of the temple are opened seven times in a day for *darshan* (glimpse of lord and his beloved) and the *aarti/archana* (prayers) is performed five times a day. In other temples *aarti* is sung only twice a day. Large number of ceremonies and rituals like waking up the lord, bathing, dressing, make-up and feasting are performed before opening the doors of temple. Whatever ceremonies, customs

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<sup>23</sup> R.N. Prasad, *Life and Times of Raja Man Singh*, The World Press Private Limited, Calcutta, 1966.

and rituals are followed today in the temple are innovations made in the eighteenth century and are still relevant for the public today.

The Kachhwaha rulers of Amber-Jaipur state were adherents of Vaishnavism. They made constant efforts to build new Vaisnava temples. These temples are dedicated to the worship of different incarnations of Vishnu. The worship of Lord Vishnu in different forms is a popular feature of Hinduism. Ever since the foundation of the Kachhwaha kingdom, successive rulers are associated with the worship of Vishnu. The other famous temples dedicated to Vishnu in Amber-Jaipur are of Sita-Ramji and Lakshmi-Narayanji. The temple of Sita-Ramji is dedicated to Ram, the mystical (*suryavanshi*) ruler of Ayodhya, from whom the Kachhwahas trace their lineage. The Kachhwaha nomenclature is derived from Kush, the son of lord Ram. In the temple of Sita-Ramji, Ram is accompanied by Sita his consort. This temple is located in the west of Jaipur city. The temple of Lakshmi-Narayanji is also dedicated to Lord Vishnu and his consort Lakshmi, the goddess of wealth. This temple is located in the east of Jaipur city. Probably the reason for construction of the Lakshmi-Narayan Mandir was to please the merchant communities who were trading and residing in the newly constructed walled city of Jaipur. Besides Jain trading communities, many other mercantile communities were also invited by Jai Singh to reside and carry out business in the city.<sup>24</sup> The merchants are worshippers of goddess Lakshmi (goddess of wealth). Therefore, by constructing the Lakshmi-Narayanji temple the state made an effort to attract the merchant communities into the walled city. The Lakshmi-Narayan Mandir is located in the centre of a market nearly fifty paces away from the Hawa Mahal and forms the centre of the walled city; Jaipur.

The structures of all the above mentioned temples are huge and massive. All of them have extensive corridors, courtyards, gardens and *bageechis* (small gardens made for *jhankis* and *palkis*) attached to the main complex of the temple for religious processions. Except the temple of Govinddevji all the other temples are made by the donations received from the merchants, trading communities and the influential political dignitaries. Many times the members of royal household also provided funds for construction of temples. The eighteenth century witnessed building of many massive temples in the Jaipur city. Therefore, it can be assumed that the temples were very important in the life of Jaipur Raja and the people of Jaipur. These temple activities had an important role in shaping the values of the people. All the three idols of Vishnu worshipped in Jaipur represent

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<sup>24</sup> Giles Tillotson, *Jaipur nama; Tales from the Pink City*, Penguin Books, New Delhi, 2006, pp. 17-19.

varied facets of the lord such as charisma, love, diplomacy, honour, dignity (Govinddevji); loyalty, family virtues (Sita-Ramji); wealth, prosperity, mercantile attributes, fortune and opportunities (Lakshmi-Narayanji). However, the idol of Govinddevji had special significance for the Kachhwaha rulers. The visit to the temple of Govinddevji was a daily feature/routine for the Kachhwaha kings. The king visited the temple early in the morning to seek blessings and good fortune. The visits to the temples of *Jamva Mataji*, *Shila Devi*, *Sita-Ramji*, *Lakshmi-Narayanji*, *Veer Hanumanji*, *Galtaji*, *Hanuman Gadhi*, *Moti Dungri*, *Thakurdevji*, *Sitla Mata*, *Shri Krishan Bihariji*, *Shiv Puri* etc. were not a regular feature. The visits to these temples were occasional in nature. Mainly the visit was on the day of festivals and royal celebrations (like coronation, *janam devas*). Sometimes the visits were also arranged on the day of feast, Royal-celebration, festival and particular *tithis* (days according to Hindu calendar such as *Puranmaasi*, *Amavas*, *Eka-dashi* etc). The visit to the temple of Govinddevji was a daily routine for the Kachhwaha kings of Jaipur. From Jai Singh onwards all the kings of Jaipur state had a religious and spiritual link with the idol of deity Govinddevji.

The Kachhwaha kings of Jaipur were visiting the temple of Govinddevji with specific ritualistic performances and performed *pujas* which connected them directly with the lord. Whenever the king went for *darshan* to the temple he offered *naryal* (coconut) and *mohar* (gold coin) and in return the *Swami* blessed him with *parsad* (offerings made to lord) and *duppatta* (a stole). If the king visited at the time of *aarti* (prayers) he bore the expenses of that particular *aarti*. After *aarti* the king performed *dandwat pranaam* (salutation to lord by lying on the ground) before the lord and later approached *Swami* of the temple to seek his blessings in the form of *parsad* and *duppatta*. If any royal lady made a visit to the temple she also offered mohar but not the coconut. In return she was presented *duppata* and *parsad*. After the *darshan* of Govinddevji the king would proceed for the royal business of the day, which included holding of *Darbar*, watching animal fights, inspection of royal stable, playing polo, listening to the public audience and distribution of patronage etc.

The relevance of Govinddevji in the life of Jaipur kings can be estimated from the acts of rulers. Whenever, a daily visit to the temple was not possible for a king due to his absence from kingdom. The king arranged for the substitute of the idol of Govinddevji. Once while going to London Maharaja Sawai Madho Singh II decided to carry an idol of Govinddevji and said that it was Govinddevji himself who was making the journey and the Maharaja was merely following his god.<sup>25</sup>

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<sup>25</sup> Gile Tilotson, *Jaipur Nama: Tales from the Pink City*, Penguin Books, 2006, p. 196.

On the returning voyage he celebrated his birthday on ship. In order to celebrate the birthday he offered a gold coin (*mohar*) to the replica of Govinddevji, to serve this purpose a temple was built in the ship.<sup>26</sup> Besides it the ritual of bath with water of Ganga was also followed. For this purpose two large silver pots with a capacity of nearly 2000 liters each; were made and holy water was carried on ship. The details of Sawai Madho Singh's (r.1880-1921) visit to London are recorded by Sansar Chander Sen.<sup>27</sup> On the arrival of Sawai Madho Singh at Jaipur the idol of Govinddevji was sent in advance to receive him.<sup>28</sup> The poet Sansar Chandar Sen also records the descent of Kachhwaha clan from Lord Ram and constantly compares Maharaja Madho Singh with Lord Ram.<sup>29</sup>

During the eighteenth century a lot of political, religious and cultural changes took place in Jaipur. In this changing scenario the Jaipur kings were making efforts to grapple with the changes. These efforts were mainly religious and political through which the Jaipur kings were trying to seek legitimacy and instill loyalty. The Kachhwaha kings patronized various poets and religious institutions which were working to popularize and sanctify the emergence of Jaipur kingdom. The court poet of Sawai Paratp Singh was Krishna Dutt. Once while he was travelling in the Deccan he was received by the Peshwas in the Maratha court. While introducing the king and kingdom of Jaipur he recited the poem entitled *Partap Parkash* or 'The light of Partap'.<sup>30</sup> The poem is a detailed narrative of personal qualities, daily life and personal virtues of Raja Partap Singh. The poem includes some interjections made by the Peshwa Baji Rao II. The poet is careful and ensures to narrate about the divine descent of the rulers and genealogy of the Kachhwaha kings. In his narrative to the Peshwa about the approach of Scindia's army, he mentions that the Amber-Jaipur kingdom of Kachhwaha rulers is "kingdom of Lord Rama" and Sindhia was not aware of it.<sup>31</sup> A large number of festivals celebrated in the Jaipur kingdom are also mentioned by Krishna Dutt.

From these detailed descriptions one can understand the religious association of the Amber-Jaipur kings. The extensive rituals were followed both inside and outside the temples. Besides the temples various other places associated with the king were also marked by rituals. The extensive rituals associated with king, idols

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<sup>26</sup> Ibid., p. 199.

<sup>27</sup> Ibid., pp. 195-199.

<sup>28</sup> Ibid., p. 200.

<sup>29</sup> Ibid., p. 196-199.

<sup>30</sup> Ibid., pp. 54-65.

<sup>31</sup> Ibid., p. 60.

and temples required a large Brahmanical priestly community for performing the rituals. During the eighteenth century Jaipur became a centre for various religious sects and many Brahmins, priests, ascetics came and settled there. Various militant-ascetics also carved out space for themselves and had an influential presence in the Jaipuri kingdom. Simultaneously, these militant-ascetics created and formed *Mathas* and worked for the formation of religious and social opinion in support of the ruling dynasty. It also helped them to expand their sect. Jaipur is suffused with many sects adhering to different religions. Various non-Hindu sects were also granted space in the environs of Jaipur. The mass following of these sects is visible from the visits made by general public to these religious centers every day. The Jaipur state was accommodative of various sects in order to reach out to the large populace. The temples, *Mathas* and shrines served as the connecting link between the state and the public. The *Swamis*, *Mathadheeshs/Matha Adhikaris*, *Purohits*, *Fakirs* and *Shazadanassin/gaddinavesh* played a crucial role in the legitimizing process of the state. They projected the state and the king as protector and defender of *Dharama* and provider of law and order.

The priestly class was closely associated with the temples and shrines. They were the upholders of rituals in the temple and in the court. These rituals were mark of respect and authority. The idea behind the practice of rituals in the court was to enunciate legitimacy for his rule. The need of seeking legitimacy made these rituals institutionalized and the king became the main actor in the centre of these rituals. The king performed the rituals to instill loyalty in the populace and to elicit the support of religious centers which had influence in and around Jaipur. The rituals were varying in nature and degree. The rituals in the presence and absence of king varied and the degree of protocol also changed a bit. The presence of the king was marked with the *tazim*<sup>32</sup>, donations and gifts. The *tazim* in the absence of the king was performed before the *khass talwar* (special sword of king). The Jaipur kings personally visited various temples now and then. They also made large number of donations to the temples.

A large number of sects were associated with the Jaipur kingdom and received grants from it. But only a few sects became influential in the court and had considerable say in the political affairs of state. Certain religious sects had substantial effect on the religious outlook of the state. Vaishnav Brahmins belonged to different sects were key players in the polity of Jaipur state. The most

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<sup>32</sup> It's a kind of salutation in which everybody bowed and performed *salaam* along with presentation of money to the king as a mark of respect.

important sects were Chaitanyites (also known as Gaudiyas) and Valhabhites (Valhabhachariya), Sitaramites (Sitaramacharya), Nath Panthis, Nimbarkites (Nimbarkas), Dadu Panthis, Balanandis and Terapanthi sect. All these sects had temples and *Mathas* in the surroundings of Jaipur and all of them were linked with the Jaipur *Darbar*. The court protocol meant for all these religious heads was marked with *bhents*, *peshkash*, *padhrawan* etc. In 1828 Mahant Saranji (Nimbarkite) visited the house of Sanghi Hukum Chand Jhhutha Ram and on the orders of Maji Bhattini (widow of Sawai Jagat Singh) various gifts were presented to him.<sup>33</sup>

The court granted land and extended fiscal support to the sects for building temples. The temple of Govinddevji had a special significance for the Kachhwaha rulers. This temple was built by Sawai Jai Singh in 1735.<sup>34</sup> The idol of Govinddevji installed in the temple is said to have been discovered by Roopa Goswami in the 16th century. During the same time the image of Govardhan Nath was also brought at Nathdwara near Udaipur.<sup>35</sup> Roopa and Sanatana were two learned Brahmans, who were in the service of the Sultan of Bengal. As the brothers became disciples of Chatanya they resigned from the posts and on the directions of Chatanya they moved to Vrindavan to locate the places associated with Lord Krishna. All the disciples of Chatanya are called as *Goswamis*. The *Goswamis* are the *sebaitis* (in service of lord) of Govinddevji's temple. The headship of the temple is hereditary and continues in the family of Roopa Goswami. The link of Govinddevji with the Kachhwaha house of Amber has endured from Raja Man Singh onwards. However, it was made a deity of the Jaipur Palace only by Sawai Jai Singh. In 1633, a *farman* was issued by Shahjahan which made Kachhwahas rulers direct incharge of the Govinddevji.<sup>36</sup> Through this order the grant and maintenance of the temple was transferred to the Amber house. The entire grant

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<sup>33</sup> Dastur Komwar, vol.31, *Swami*, Entry dated Miti Sawan sudi 6 v.s. 1885/1828 A.D. The gifts were Rs.5/- for deity, Rs. 100/- for *Mahant ji*, one house, Rs. 20/- for *nichrawal* (money for warding off the evil), *Siropav* from *Darbar*, 1-white turban of Rs.8/-, 4 *thaans* costing Rs. 28/-, 2- *thirmas* of *pashmina* with floral motifs costing Rs. 150/-, 1- *Banarsi Dupatta*, 2- *thaan parcham* of Rs. 117-8, 1- *thaan* of Handkerchief costing Rs. 33 and *bhent* of 1- *mohar* and 5- coconuts. And all the *thakurs*, *mustaddis* and *Diwan* were ordered to send their *bhents*.

<sup>34</sup> *Siyaha Huzur* papers of 1733 A.D mentions about the construction of Govinddevji temple.

<sup>35</sup> G.N. Sharma, *Rajasthan ka Itihas*, Shivalal Aggarwal and Company, vol.i, p. 619.

<sup>36</sup> A *farman* of Shahjahan dated 6 R.Y/ 24 th July 1633. Cf. Monika Horstmann, *In Favour of Govinddevji: Historical Documents relating to a diety of Vrindavan and Eastern Rajasthan*, Indira Gandhi National Centre of The Arts, Manohar, 1999, introduction, p. 3.

was made an *inam* of Mirza Raja Jai Singh. Thereafter, the control of temple management was vested in Raja Jai Singh who also appointed the *sebait* to supervise worship there. A Brahmin Radha Krishandas Chakravarti was appointed as the *sebait*. The space allotted in the complex of the City Palace for installing the idol of Govinddevji is called as Govinda Mahal instead of *Mandir*. This implies that Govinddevji was now a tutelary deity of the Kachhwaha dynasty and it was virtually given the status of a sovereign, who lived in a Mahal (palace). The architecture of Govind Mahal does not resemble a temple structure. The *garbhagrah* is missing and the roof top is flat instead of conical. The sojourn of the Govinddevji's image from Vrindavan to Jaipur is as follows:-

1. From 1590-1670, in the Govindaddev temple at Vrindavan in Mathura District, Uttar Pradesh.
2. From 1670-1714, the idol was under cover due to the fear of Aurangzeb on whose orders the temple of Vrindavan was destroyed.
3. From 1714-1715, at Vrindavan Gardens near Amber. Located between the Amber hill and Mansagar Lake.
4. From 1715-1735, the image was installed at Jainivas Garden.
5. From 1735- till date, at the temple located in the complex of City palace popularly known as Govind Mahal.

The significance of the temple for the Jaipur kings made them to maintain it through financial aid and land grants. Even the jagirdars and ijaradars were supposed to contribute for the temple of Govinddevji. In the beginning the king bore the entire maintenance of the temple. Later during the reign of Maharaja Madho Singh an order was issued which stated that jagirdars and ijaradars would pay a cess of Rs.1/4, out of one thousand rupees of their land revenue. Out of this amount Re.1/- would go towards maintenance of the temple and remaining 4 annas will be for the maintenance of the *sebait* of the temple.<sup>37</sup> The worship of Govinddevji is performed in the Gaudiya Vaisnava manner since the priests belong to that sect. The curtains are removed and the image becomes visible to the public. The *bhajans* and *kirtans* sung at each *jhanki* are fixed. The theme of the *bhajans* and songs sung in the temple is important. As the manner of worship is Gaudiya Vaishnava; therefore, the emphasis of the songs has to be on Radha as a consort of young Krishna. The Gaudiya Vaishnavs are important in Jaipur state due to their association with the image of Govinddevji. Many a times the state also granted jagirs to the temples and these jagirs were called as *Guru jagirs*. The

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<sup>37</sup> D. K., vol.8, *Thakurdwara*, Event dated Kartik Vadi 9, V.S. 1808/1751 A.D.

recipients of these *Guru jagirs* are mainly Brahmans who were head of the sect. The important sects which received the *jagir* grants are mentioned below.<sup>38</sup> The reign of different kings were marked with the worship of different gods and goddesses. Each king's sectarian loyalty kept on shifting from one sect to the other. But the worship associated with the idol of Govinddevji was constant. All the Jaipur kings worshipped it and even made efforts for the maintenance of the temple. As the idol and temple of Govinddevji was significant for all the Jaipur rulers; therefore, they took care and bestowed favors. The deities and their custodians became recipient of kingly and princely patronage. The income from grants was intended to serve the maintenance of the temple and its custodian. In 1608 Raja Man Singh granted a daily stipend of Re. 1/- to the custodian and Rs. 8/- per day for the cults and rituals of Govinddevji's idol. The lavish allowance indicates the prestige which the Raja invested towards the temple and the icon. Later in 1667, the allowance for the temple was fixed Rs. 960/- to protect the temple from the seasonal risks. Out of which Rs. 600/- were meant to serve the expenses of worship and Rs. 360/- were for livelihood of the custodian. The temple also received income from other enterprises, temple clientele and held real estates. As discussed above the Gaudiyas were not an offshoot of the *Chatuh-Sampradaya* of Vaisnavism. Therefore, they were in constant conflict with the other Vaisnava sects. The reign of Sawai Jai Singh saw the outburst of embittered rivalries between various Vaisnava religious orders. The Gaudiyas were made main target in this because of the denied orthodox status. In political terms this rivalry was instigated for assuming the officially recognized ranks and for fiscal resources.<sup>39</sup> After 1713 A.D, the material and fiscal support was also extended to various other temples. Many non-Hindu temples and shrines were also receiving grants from the Jaipur state. The temple of Govinddevji was a keystone of the religio-political edifice constructed by Jai Singh. In it the idol of

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<sup>38</sup> *Jaipur Album*, chapter-14, p.20

S.No	Name of Guru	Temple
1.	Goswami Krishanchanderji	Sri Govinddevji
2.	Mahant Ram Krishnandji	Sri Balanandji Sampradaya
3.	Goswami Madholalji	Sri Gopinathji
4.	Acharya Raj Harisharanji	Sri Galtaji
5.	Goswami Gokullaldevji	Sri Vinodilalji

<sup>39</sup> *Catalogue of Historical Documents in Kapad Dwara Jaipur Maps and Plans* (ed.) G.N. Bahura and Chandarmani Singh, Jaigarh Public Charitable Trust, Amber-Jaipur, 1990.



Govinddevji was a religious symbol of Kachhwaha regal power. The only change related to the temple in eighteenth century was transfer of maintenance grant from court to the revenue-payer. The rituals related to the image and Maharaja of Jaipur was recorded in detail. The details are available in the registers of Dastur Komwar and the manuals of court rituals. The word Dastur Komwar literally means the rules applicable caste-wise or it can also be noted as the court protocol of Jaipur state. The subsequent changes, innovations and introduction emanated from the court of Sawai Jai Singh. The condolence rituals of deceased *Adhikari/Goswami*, investiture of new custodian required the presence of the king. The visit of king to the *haveli* of *goswami* was vested with specific rituals and all the rituals were followed carefully. The king usually arrived riding a horse and at times he also arrived in a palanquin or a *nalki* (a chair placed in open palanquin). He was followed by the highest-ranking officials of the *Darbar*. The sitting arrangement for the king was made inside the *tibara* (a hall on the top of *haveli*) where a sitting cushion (*gaddi*) was spread out. In case the king arrived for a condolence ceremony he would not eat and return immediately after meeting the son of deceased *Adhikari*. If the king was a minor, then he would not make public appearance. To represent a minor king, the highest official would carry the *khass talwar* (Royal Sword/ special sword) in the public audience. The presence of a minor king in the ceremonies was also made through the *khass talwar*, which was carried by the highest official and placed over the *gaddi* (seat) spread out for seating the king. The arrival and departure of the *Adhikari* and *Mahants* to the *Darbar* was also ceremonially observed by the court. In 1829 *Mahant* Saranji of Salemabad came to Jaipur and stayed in a garden near Amber.<sup>40</sup> Sanghi Hukum Chand was sent to receive the *Mahant*, who came to the temple of Maji Sri Chandawatji and sat on a *takath* (a wooden bed) in the *chowk* above the temple.<sup>41</sup> The king reached the temple riding a horse. After *darshan* one *mohar*, Rs.5/- and one coconut were offered. In return *Mahant* gave a *dupatta* to the king as *parsad*.<sup>42</sup> The arrival of different religious heads in the state was guided by the religious norms of the sect to which they belonged. The Dadupanthis and Nimbarkites always stayed in the *bageechis* or in the temple of Maji Chandawatji near Hawa Mahal.<sup>43</sup> This was because Maji was closely associated with the

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<sup>40</sup> D. K., vol. 31, *Swami*, Event dated Miti Fagun budi 1 v.s. 1886/ 1829 A.D.

<sup>41</sup> Ibid.

<sup>42</sup> Ibid.

<sup>43</sup> Ibid., vol. 31, *Swami*, Event dated Miti Sawan budi 11 *Brahspatiwar* (Thrusday) v.s. 1887/ 1830 A.D.

Nimbarkites and was a disciple of *Mahant* Sewanand. The arrival of new *Adhikari* in the court after the cremation of deceased *Adhikari* was for the ceremony of *paag bandhai* (tying a head dress).<sup>44</sup> A colored head dress (*paag rangeen*)<sup>45</sup> was tied on the head of the *Adhikari* and a *beda paan* (sweet betel) was offered.<sup>46</sup> Observation of this ceremony marked the end of condolence period. Whenever an *Adhikari* visited the court for celebration he was offered a seat besides the king.<sup>47</sup> The *Adhikari* blessed the king and the king received the *parsad* and *dupatta*.<sup>48</sup> In return, the king presented *mohars* and gifts.<sup>49</sup> On all these occasions the exchange of gifts and honours took place and that emphasized the religious authority of the *Adhikari*.

The coronation of the king required the presence of the *adhikari* who, was viewed important in the rituals along with the Ramanandis and other religious dignitaries. The Ramanandis of Galta supervised all the ceremonies of court and the palace. But sometimes they were sidelined by the *Adhikaris* of Govinddevji. Sawai Jai Singh became the most prominent Vaisnav on the evening of his coronation. He rendered his first obeisance to Govinddevji bypassing the tutelary goddess of his *desh* (Jamva Mata/ Shila Devi) and the decedent of the clan Sita Ramaji. The Gaudiyas along with Ramanandis are directly connected with royal patronage through their icons, Govinddevji and Sita Ramji respectively. These two sects had free access to the palace and were associated with the ceremonies of the kingdom.

Needless to reiterate that during the eighteenth century the Kachhwahas of Jaipur were interacting with various religious sects. The purpose of their interaction was mainly to build the politico-religious edifice of the Jaipur state. In order to establish links with the temples the state was interacting with the heads of the religious sects namely, the *Adhikaris* or *Goswami* of the Govinddevji temple, *Mahant* of Balanandis (militant Ramanandis attached to the lineage of Balanand)<sup>50</sup>, Nimbarkites *Mahants* and the Dadupanthis *Sants*. These sects were important for the Jaipur state during the eighteenth century. The importance of the

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<sup>44</sup> D. K., vol. 31(*Swami*), 8 (*Thakurdwara*), 15 & 16 (Brahman).

<sup>45</sup> Ibid.

<sup>46</sup> Ibid.

<sup>47</sup> Ibid.

<sup>48</sup> Ibid.

<sup>49</sup> Ibid.

<sup>50</sup> Mahant Balanand was the most prominent Ramanandi soldier-ascetic of the 18 th century. The *akhada* of Balanand is located in the Jaipur city. It is known as Hanuman *gaddhi*.

Nimbarkites rose in the Jaipur during the reign of Sawai Jagat Singh (r. 1803-1818). Their prominence even made the king and the queens to accept the Nimbarkite *Mahants* as their *Gurus*. The Nimbarkite *Mahant* Nand Kwarji and Saranji were *Guru* of Jagat Singh and his wife Maji Sahib Bhattiyani (elder).<sup>51</sup> They had a regular interaction with the king and the court. Many times these religious heads also intervened in the political matters and worked out solutions for the king. These groups were not only interacting with the state but also linked to each other in varying degree. These three groups varied from each other in several aspects. The major difference was due to the militant nature of Ramanandis and Dadupanthis. However, the *Adhikaris* of Govinddevji were non militant. The militant Ramanandi ascetics were followers of *Mahant* Balanand, who was a worshipper of Hanuman. He was important player in the politics of eighteenth century Rajasthan.

The two militant religious sects of Jaipur were Balanandis and Dadupanthis. These groups wielded a lot of religious and military power. Here an attempt is being made to explore and understand the differential treatment given to them by the court. A perusal of Dastur Komwar clearly reveals the differential behavior and separate treatment meted out to these sects. An examination of these documents also helps us to understand the court protocol of Jaipur state. This protocol was given a distinct shape during the reign of Sawai Jai Singh. The Dastur Komwar documents are of great help as a source to know about the functioning of individuals in the court. The *Dasturs* clearly reveal the use and choice of words and language distinctly. The positioning of individuals and representatives of the religious institutions and the manner in which they interacted with the king in the court is minutely recorded. This record is valuable for understanding the working and ritual practices of the court.

The militant Ramanandis and Dadupanthis gained overwhelming prominence due to the military contingents which they were able to provide to the Kachwahha and other states. The Ramanandis worshipped Sitaramji, and they enjoyed a prominent position in the rituals of Kachwahha dynasty as they were related to the lineage of Rama, from whom the Kachwhahas claim their descent. The Kachwhahas paid allegiance to Sitaramji as their family deity and the allegiance was revised by Sawai Raja Jai Singh by inscribing the name of these deities in the

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<sup>51</sup> D.K., vol. 31, *Swami*, Event dated Miti Asoj sudi 15 *Budhwar* (Wednesday) v.s. 1874/1810 A.D. and Miti Sawan budi 11 *Brahspatiwar* (Thursday) v.s. 1887/1830 A.D.

seal of state after distancing from the Mughals.<sup>52</sup> In 1730, the militant Ramanandis emerged as an armed force in Jaipur. Around 1750's Balanand welded the Vaisnava fighting ascetics into an organized military body. The Ramanandis consolidated their position whenever the political authorities were in need of soldiers. These Vaisnava ascetics were also known as *Vairagis* and generally referred as *nagas*. Later the followers of Balanand were also called *Balanandis* and they stayed in the fort of Balanand. The seat of Balanand is a fort and it was named as *Balanand Pith*. This fort is located on a hillock and it is also known as *Hanuman Gadhi*, after the name of Balanand's deity Hanuman. This site (south-western part of Jaipur) was allotted to Balanandis and here they built a temple in 1753.<sup>53</sup> A large *akhada* was also maintained in the fort and it was used for practicing of wrestling. It is located inside the walled city of Jaipur near Chandpol Gate. According to a tradition of *Hanuman Gadhi* temple, Brijananda and his disciple; Balanand were brought to Jaipur state by Sawai Jai Singh. In course of time, Balanand became quite important in Jaipur and gained prominence. He was *Guru* of Madho Singh I (r. 1750-1767) and was treated with great respect in the Jaipur court. In 1752 A.D, Maharaja Madho Singh himself visited the camp of Balanand to pay him, his respect and presented an offering of 10-*mohars* and 2-coconuts. The Maharaja in return received the blessings of Balanand along with a *dupatta* and *prasad*.<sup>54</sup> Thereafter the Sawai Madho Singh visited *Guru Mahant* (Balanand) every year to present offerings and received *prasad* and *ashirwaad* (blessings).<sup>55</sup> In 1783, Govindanand (disciple and successor of Balanand) was entitled as *Guru Mahant Maharaj*, when he initiated the young king Sawai Paratp Singh (r.1778-1803).<sup>56</sup> Unlike the temple of Govinddevji, the succession at the temple of Balanandis is not hereditary. *Guru* is succeeded by his *Chela*. Moreover, the *Mahants* of Balanandi temple do not marry.

The Galta complex is a symbolic apparatus of regnal power of the Kachhwahas. The kings of Amber/Jaipur are associated with Galta since the eleventh century. Subsequently, temples were constructed in the complex of Galtaji according to choice and preferences of the kings. In the seventeenth century during the reign of Mirza Raja Jai Singh, the abbot of Galta was one Narayan, who built two temples of Gopalji and Raghunathji and laid out the water architecture and the

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<sup>52</sup> Horstmann, Monika, 'Religious Dignitaries in the Court Protocol of Jaipur (Mid-Eighteenth to Early Nineteenth Century)'

<sup>53</sup> Ashim Kumar Roy, *History of the Jaipur City*, Manohar, Delhi, 1978, p.191.

<sup>54</sup> D. K., vol.31, *Swami*, p. 669.

<sup>55</sup> D. K., vol. 31, *Swami*, pp. 669-70.

<sup>56</sup> D. K., vol. 31, *Swami*, pp. 478-80.

gardens of Galta.<sup>57</sup> Ever since the intervention of Sawai Jai Singh the Ramanandis of Galta have defined themselves as followers of Ramanuja and their *Mahants* became householders. Their status as a married *Mahant* was fully recognized by the royal court and they did not suffer any disadvantage on account of it. This certainly put them on the different footing in the dealings with the court. The kings of Jaipur also attended the weddings and other ceremonies and rites observed in the family of Galta's *Mahant*.<sup>58</sup> According to the tradition of Galta, the succession in the lineage requires that the heir apparent should be initiated by the *Mantra-diksha*.<sup>59</sup> Thus, the successor is virtually converted from blood relation to spiritual disciple. The serialized record of the relationship between the Kachhwaha house and the seat of Galta is contained in the Dastur Komwar. The records throw enough light on the calenderical rites, installation of the Mahants, weddings and deaths in the family of *Mahants* and the usual exchange of gifts.

As religious dignitaries had a constant interaction with the Jaipur court, the Kachhwaha kings conferred with the religious heads regularly on various matters of religious and political significance. The two sects namely Gaudiyas and Ramanandis, were very important for Jaipur. Besides them, the Jaipur court was often receiving many other sects and religious leaders. On the death of *Mahant* Nand Kavar, Maji Bahttaiyani organized a feast and received many *Sadhus* and Vaishnav *Vairagis* and presented various gifts to each of them.<sup>60</sup> But the king kept and maintained the ritual balance amongst the representatives of Govinddevji and the Ramanandis. The distinctions followed in the court rituals are indicative of the differential treatment which Jaipur state maintained with the religious heads. The significance of any sect in the state depended on its political and religious importance. The most significant sects for the Jaipur state were Gaudiyas, Balanandis, Ramanandis, Dadupanthis and Nimbarkites. These religious sects were religiously and politically significant for the state. All of these sects had their presence in the Jaipur *Darbar*.

In 1767, Balanand participated in the battle fought between the Jats and the Marathas with a contingent of 20,000 *nagas*. The political significance of Balanand was of a negotiator of treaties on behalf of the Jaipur Raja. In 1786, he

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<sup>57</sup> Monika Horstmann, "The Ramanandis of Galta (Jaipur, Rajasthan)", published in *Multiple Histories, Culture and Society in the Study of Rajasthan*, (ed.) Lawrence A. Babb, Varsha Joshi, Michael w. Meister, Rawat Publications, Jaipur, 2002, pp. 156-7.

<sup>58</sup> D. K., vol. 15 & 16, *Brahman*, pp. 327-691 & pp. 438-474.

<sup>59</sup> Monika Horstmann, "The Ramanandis of Galta", p. 170

<sup>60</sup> D. K., vol. 31, *Swami*, Event dated Miti Posh sudi 12-15 v.s 1877/ 1820 A.D.

was made Jaipur's envoy to negotiate treaty with the Marathas. Balanand along with *Diwan* Khushali Ram Bohra was sent to negotiate with the Marathas who were staying outside Jaipur. The Marathas were constantly threatening to wage war. As Balanand arrived near the Maratha camp, the Maratha chief (Mahadji Sindhia) went personally to receive the *Mahant*. He honoured Balanand by kneeling down at his feet and presented a gift of 100 *mohars* (gold coins). In return Balanand gave a pearl necklace and 4- *doshala* (woolen shawls) as blessings.<sup>61</sup> Under the negotiated treaty Sindhia demanded a sum of Rs. 3 crores and Rs. 40 lakh was fixed as an annual tribute. Through the intervention of Balanand the annual tribute was whittled down to Rs. 36 lakhs from 40 lakhs. This was a period of financial crisis for the Jaipur state as such the state was unable to make the fixed payment of tribute. At this Balanand stood as personal security along with Rs. 2 lakh and led Sindhia out of the state.<sup>62</sup> The intervention of Balanand in making negotiations with Rao Partap Singh Naruka, a rebel of Macheri was of equal significance.<sup>63</sup> In 1759, the Rao entered in the service of Jaipur state through *Diwan* Raja Har Sahai.<sup>64</sup> Through his loyalty and bravery Partap Singh soon emerged as a powerful and influential *sardar* in the Jaipur state. In 1775, his relations got strained with the ruler of Jaipur and he established an independent state.<sup>65</sup> This compelled the Jaipur king to fight against the Naruka chief. An army under the command of Govindanand (*chela* of Balanand), was sent.<sup>66</sup> However, the battle was averted as the *Mahant* was received with respect by the son of Rao Partap Singh.<sup>67</sup> Even after repeated efforts of Jaipur state Rao Partap Singh seldom appeared in the Kachhwaha court. All the efforts made by the *Darbar* failed to negotiate peace with the rebel Naruka. Later in 1786, Balanand intervened and through his intervention Rao Partap Singh Naruka agreed to pay a visit to the court.<sup>68</sup> All these events indicate the importance of the religious heads in the politics of the Jaipur state.

Though the ritual presence of Dadupanthis was marginal in the Jaipur court, the brief references of their presence and the protocol followed for them is indicative

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<sup>61</sup> D. K., vol. 31, *Swami*, pp. 435-841.

<sup>62</sup> Ibid., vol. 31, *Swami*, pp. 435-841.

<sup>63</sup> D. K., vol. 11, Naruka, pp. 158-69.

<sup>64</sup> Ibid.

<sup>65</sup> R.P. Rana, "Chakar to Raja, The Emergence of Naruka State of Alwar", *Social Science Probing*, June 2006, p. 75.

<sup>66</sup> D. K., vol. 31, *Swami*, pp. 435-841.

<sup>67</sup> D. K., vol. 11, Naruka, pp. 158-69.

<sup>68</sup> D. K., vol. 31, *Swami*, pp. 435-841.

of their significance. The sect of Dadupanthis was established around 1600. The centre of their sect was at Naraina, which lies 40 km south-west of Jaipur. The Dadupanthis gained military significance in eighteenth century.<sup>69</sup> The headquarter at Naraina was re-established by Cainram, a Dadupanthis.<sup>70</sup> Under his abbotship the Dadupanthis got close to the Jaipur state. In year 1753, Jogidas a Dadupanthis got close to Maharaja Madho Singh of Jaipur.<sup>71</sup> His significance grew so much that the Kachhwaha king granted a palace in Jaipur for them. The palace is known as *Rui-ki-Mandi* and later it became famous as “Sahajram’s Palace”.<sup>72</sup> This center became the sojourn of Dadupanthis for the season of *Chaumasa* (rainy season).<sup>73</sup> In 1803, Jivandas (the abbot-in-chief of Dadupanthis) visited the Govinddevji temple along with 5 monks.<sup>74</sup> Maharaja Jagat Singh (r. 1803-1818 A.D) joined him in the temple and together they went for the *darshan* of the deity.<sup>75</sup> The importance of Dadupanthis rose in the Jaipur court due to their military power. Dadupanthis fought distinctly in the battle of Khatu (1779) and their contact with Jaipur state became intense around the battle of Lalsot (1787). They also operated outside Rajasthan. The Dadupanthis had established various branches. Gangaram, a Dadupanthis established a new lineage of *jamat* of Nivai. It is one of the most prestigious branch of Dadupanthis *nagas*. Gangaram is mentioned in the court protocol of Jaipur state between 1768 and 1772 A.D.<sup>76</sup> The court protocol also records the expenses made by Jaipur state to maintain 700 *nagas*, 20 horses and 5 camels.<sup>77</sup> The total cost incurred by the state was Rs. 3000/- per month.<sup>78</sup> Mangaldas, a Dadupanthis *naga* built the *Haveli* of *Nivai-Jamat* at Jaipur. The allotted location was near Ramganj and it reflects the identity and importance of Dadupanthis *nagas* for Jaipur state. In 1797, the Dadupanthis were made a regular contingent of the Jaipur army. The Dadupanthis reject the vedic sacrifices and never admitted female disciples. They live a life of wanderer else they stay at their centers.

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<sup>69</sup> William G. Orr, *A sixteenth Century Indian Mystic; Dadu and his followers*, Redhill, London, 1947.

<sup>70</sup> D. K., vol. 32, *Shaymi*, pp. 565-7.

<sup>71</sup> D. K., vol. 32, *Shaymi*, pp. 566-7.

<sup>72</sup> My Personal visit to the Jaipur city in December 2011 and June 2012.

<sup>73</sup> A month of Hindu calendar.

<sup>74</sup> D. K., vol.31, *Swami*, p. 542.

<sup>75</sup> Ibid.

<sup>76</sup> D. K., vol.31, *Swami*, pp. 492-5.

<sup>77</sup> D. K., vol. 31, *Swami*, pp.493-5.

<sup>78</sup> Ibid.

The centre of Nimbarkites was at Saleemabad. Nimbarkites were also one of the influential sects in Jaipur. Their contact with the Jaipur state was not on regular basis. Occasional visits were also heavily decorated and the protocol was followed depending on the individual influence of the visitor. For example in 1814 *Mahantji* Nand Kavarji came to Jaipur from Vrindavan to visit the temple of Thakur Sri Sarvesvarnji. *Sriji* (king) came to the temple to meet *Mahantji* and also worshipped *Thakurji* (a term used for lord Krishna). Later the king met *Mahantji* and bowed before him (*dandvat parnam kiya*) and offered a *bhent* of 2-mohars and Rs.5/-. In return *Mahantji* gave a *duppata* to *Sriji* as *parsad*. Both of them were seated on a *galeecha* (a woolen rug with floral motifs made of camel wool).

<sup>79</sup> If the visitor was personally connected to the king and court then the protocol was elaborate and the king personally made efforts to enact them. Many of the sects were received by the court for certain celebrations like *Navratarai*, *Raksha-bandhan*, *Vasant-panchami*, *Maha-shiv-raatri* etc. The presence of religious sects was followed by a set sequence of events such as offering seat (*gaddi*), kneeling at the feet of religious dignitary for salutation, presentation of *bhets* and receiving of *prasad* etc. Besides the Vaishnav sects the court of Jaipur also received many other Hindu and non-Hindu sects. The protocol varied from sect to sect. But the sect to which the king was personally connected received most elaborate reception in the court.

The Gaudiya and Ramanandi *sampradaya* heads had a free access even to the female apartments i.e *Zenani-Deodhi* of the Jaipur kings. Many times these dignitaries were also invited in the *Zenani-Deodhi* by *Rajmata*, *Maji Sahib* and the King himself. These invitations were mainly for the celebrations and the ritualistic performances to be done in the female apartments like *Navratarai*, *Ganesh puja*. The presence of a religious head in the inner-apartments was at times of immense political nature. *Maji Sahib* received the religious head in the *varamdha* of her *Mahal* to discuss sundry political matters. *Maji Sahib* became important and was in a powerful position if the king was a minor. While the king was a minor, his mother acted as a guardian and guided the political matters of state. During the minority rule *Maji Sahib* depended on the political and religious heads for running the administration of state. Besides it, the king discussed certain matters in the presence of *Maji Sahib* for having clarity about past connections. These were the occasions which made certain religious heads important for the state and the Kachhwaha kings made arrangements for their permanent stay in the capital and financed all the expenses related to their arrival and stay.

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<sup>79</sup> D. K., vol.31, *Swami*, Event dated Miti Budi 1 *Sanseswar* (Saturday) v.s. 1871/ 1814 A.D.



The religious dignitaries visited the court on various occasions such as investiture of king, coronation (*Raj-tilak*), birthday celebrations of the king and prince, festivals, marriages and certain important political functions. The visits of the religious dignitaries to the court were marked by the specific protocol. If the religious heads were not visiting to the court on certain occasions then *bhent* was sent to the temple (*dera*). On the birth of Sawai Ram Singh (r.1819-1834) a *bhent* of Rs. 50 was sent to *Mahant* Nand Kwarji at the Madan Mohanji temple.<sup>80</sup> The protocol for the religious dignitaries was inclusive of the reception, *peskhaskh*, *bhent*, bestowing of gifts and *sirapavs*. Whenever a religious dignitary was invested as a *Guru*, *Guru Mahant* and *Rajguru*, elaborate rituals were followed and a large variety of gifts were presented to the Guru. In 1818 Sawai Jagat Singh died and after his death *Mahant* Nanad Kwarji was invited to the court because he was *Guru Mahant* of the deceased (*baikunthwasi*) king Jagat Singh.<sup>81</sup> He was invited by *badi Maji* (elder) Bhattaniji (widow of Jagat Singh) and Vyas Fauj Ram escorted him from the temple of Sriji (Lord Kirshna) situated near Bawari. The Mahant was received in the Sukh Niwas and on his arrival (*padhrawani*) he was made to sit on carpeted *chotra* (a concrete raised platform for seating purpose). As he was *Guru* so the following gifts were given as *bhent* by various royal members and officials. Afterwards he was escorted back to the temple<sup>82</sup> :-

- Shri Huzur (king): 5-*mohars* and 1-Coconut
- Bai Chander Kanwar: 1-*mohar* and 1-Coconut
- Maji Shri Rathoriji (belonging to Jodhpur) : Rs. 200/- and 1-Coconut
- Maji Shri Mertaniji (from Merta): Rs. 100/- and 1-Coconut
- Maji Shri badi Bhattaniji (elder): Rs. 1000/-, 2-Coconuts, *Sirapav* (10 *thaan*), Rs. 10/- for sweets (*meethai*), 4-*sela* (woolen stoles), 2-*thrima* (woolen piece), 1-*kanthi motiya ki* (pearl necklace), 1-*chausar* (chess board) and *kesar* (saffron).
- Maji chhoti Tanwarji (younger): Rs.100/-
- Maji dusari Bhattaniji (second): Rs. 20/-
- Maji chauthi Bhattaniji (fourth): 1-*mohar* and 5-Coconuts
- Maji Bhattaniji gave Rs. 125/- for grandfather of *Guruji*
- Kesar *Badaran*: 1-*mohar* and Manbhawan *Badaran*: 1-*mohar* and 5-Coconuts

<sup>80</sup> D. K., vol. 31, *Swami*, Event dated Miti Baisakh sudi 1 v.s. 1874/ 1817 A.D.

<sup>81</sup> D. K., vol.31, *Swami*, Event dated Miti Asadh sudi 15 *Budhwar* (Wednesday) v.s. 1875/1818 A.D.

<sup>82</sup> Ibid.

- Wife of Rama Bhandan: 5-Coconuts and wife of Ketu: 1-*mohar*
- Six *pattars* of Mirat Rai gave Rs. 30/-
- Seven *pattars* of Kisan Rai gave Rs. 14/-
- Dhai *Badaran*: Rs. 34/-
- 25- *Thakurs* and 50- *Mutsadis* were present and all of them gave Rs. 5/- and Rs. 2/- each

All these gifts indicate to the respect enjoyed by the Nimbarkites during the reign of Sawai Jagat Singh. Before the reign of Jagat Singh the Nimbarkites visited the Jaipur court but the rituals associated with them were not so elaborate. Their visits were also occasional. In the reign of Jagat Singh the visits of Nimbarkites to Jaipur and the Kachhwaha *Darbar* became a regular feature. The close association of *Mahant* Nanad Kwarji (Nimbarkite) was due to his spiritual influence over the king and elder Bhattaniji. On the death of Nand Kwarji, Maji Sri Bhattaniji organized a *bhandara* (feast after death).<sup>83</sup> The *bhandara* of Guru was organized at the garden of Sheoji Ram Godha and it continued for 3 days.<sup>84</sup> In it about 90,000 to one lakh people were feasted.<sup>85</sup> As Maharaja Jai Singh was a minor so Rawal Berisal Nathawat of Samod attended the feast on his behalf.<sup>86</sup> The *bhents* sent by Maji Bhattaniji were *peskhaskh* of Rs. 8000/-, *thirma butaadar* (woolen cloth with floral motif) costing Rs.131.1/4 (of 2 *thhans*), 1-pearl necklace, *kurta farkshahi* (2-*thhans*) and 1-*feta farkshahi* (head dress).<sup>87</sup> The significance of certain Nimbarkite *Mahants* is quite evident from the quantity and value of gifts presented to them from the court.<sup>88</sup>

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<sup>83</sup> Dastur Komwar, vol. 31, *Swami*, Event dated Miti Posh sudi 15 *Bhrispatiwar* (Thrusday) v.s. 1877/ 1820 A.D.

<sup>84</sup> Ibid., The days of feast are from Miti Posh sudi 12 *Mangalwar* (Tuesday) to 15 *Bhrispatiwar* (Thrusday) v.s. 1877/ 1820 A.D.

<sup>85</sup> Ibid.

<sup>86</sup> Ibid.

<sup>87</sup> Ibid.

<sup>88</sup> Dastur Komwar, vol. 31, *Swami*, Entry dated Miti Sawan budi 11 v.s. 1887/ 1830 A.D. The gifts received by *mahant* Saran ji from *darbar* were *paag*, *agachini safaid* (4-*thhan*), *mashru Butadar* (1-*thhan*), *thirma pashmi butadar* (2-*thhan*), *srapaich* (1-*thhan*), 1-*kanthi motiya ki* (pearl neacklace) *rok rupiya* Rs. 400/-. The gifts from Maji sahib Bhattaniji were 1- *paag safaid*, *agawani safaid* (2-*thhan*), *dupatta kashmul Banarsi* (2-*thhan*), *thirma Pashmina buttadar* (2-*thhan*), 1- *rashmi dhoti*, *pashmo* (1-*thhan*) and *rok rupiya*- Rs.1000/-. Maji Shri Mertaniji, Maji Shri Bhattaniji (ninth) and Maji Shri Bhattaniji (seventh) presented Rs. 50/- each. Maji Shri Tanwarji gave Rs. 20/-. Sanghi Jhutta Ram presented Rs. 100/- and *dahu* Bhandari gave Rs. 150/-. Further the

Whenever the king met a religious head of the Gaudiyas, Ramananadis and Dadupanthis he offered a coconut and a *mohar*. The *bhent* of coconut and *mohar* by the king to the religious heads was a fixed ritual. These offerings were mark of respect and honour. In the later half of the eighteenth century the sects who were receiving the *bhent* of coconut and *mohar* went on increasing. The Dadupanthis and Nimbarkites were also included amongst the important sects of Jaipur court. In 1828, *Mahant* Sewanand came from Alwar. Raja Jagat Singh met the *mahant* and offered a coconut and a *mohar*.<sup>89</sup> Later when the king met *Mahantji* inside the palace then also he made a *bhent* of one coconut and one *mohar*.<sup>90</sup> In the same year the king visited the temple of *Sitaramji* and on his way back to the palace he met *Mahant* Sewanandji in Chander Mahal and as the *Mahant* tied a *rakhi* to the king, the king made a *bhent* of one *mohar* and one coconut.<sup>91</sup> In the protocol the personal choice of king led to the evolution of a selective and differential treatment to be meted out to these dignitaries. The religious dignitaries who were regular visitors at the Jaipur court were Gaudiyas and the Ramanandis. Their visits in the court were marked by a separate protocol wherein the king was personally involved in receiving, offering the seat next to himself, offering betel leaf and seeing off after bestowing the gifts. But the visits of other sect leaders were not personally attended by the king. Only an important official was deputed to perform the court rituals. The religious heads were also offered *peshkash* by the king on certain specific occasions such as *mantar daan* and investiture etc. A *peshkash* of Rs. 7000/- and Rs. 5000/- was fixed on Seawanand at investiture and whispering of *Ram Mantra* to Raja Jagat Singh simultaneously.<sup>92</sup> The reception and treatment were also differential in nature. These visits were not unilateral; at times, the king also visited the *Havelis* and the residences of heads of sect. The visits of king to the *Havelis* of the religious

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document gives name of 30 *Thakurs* and 25 *Diwan* and *Mutsadis* who jointly collected and presented Rs. 5, Rs. 4 and Rs. 2 each. The total *bhent* from the *Thakurs*, *Diwans* and *Mutsadis* was of Rs. 292. The total *bhent* from the *Darbar* (Rs. 400/-) from Maji's (Rs. 1320/-) and *Thakurs* and *Mutsadis* (Rs. 292/-) amounted to Rs. 2012/-. *Mahantji* gave a *dupatta* to each one as *prasad*. An elephant was given on which the *Mahantji* rode back and was followed by Rao Jiwan Singh Gogawat, Rao Megh Singh Bhatt and Inder Singh Khangarot of Vorach.

<sup>89</sup> Dastur Komwar, vol.31, *Swami*, Event dated Miti Mangsir budi 13 *Sukarwar* (Friday) v.s 1885/1828 A.D.

<sup>90</sup> Ibid.

<sup>91</sup> Ibid.

<sup>92</sup> Ibid.

leaders were mainly of a *garhi* (24 minutes). The king visited the *Havelis* and the *Mahals* of the religious heads on specific ceremonies only. The king made his presence at the residence of any religious head on the following events:-

1. Death of any religious leader.
2. Investiture of a new sect head.
3. Marriage ceremonies of children of the religious head.
4. Birth of a child in the family of the religious leader.

The presence of the king on ceremonies was a mark of respect for the religious head. The king visited to attend the condolence ceremonies of the *Mahants* and *Adhikaris*. On the death of a religious head the king's visit was a low key affair. In 1812 A.D. while going to Vrindavan, the Nimbarkite *Mahant* Salagram died at village Nagal near Partapgarh. Shriji visited for condolence (*nakhekh*) at the Jaipur centre of Nimbarkites and sat on a carpet.<sup>93</sup> In 1831 A.D, Raja Jai Singh II went to Ajmer to meet Lt. Governor of Calcutta. On his way back to Jaipur he visited Salemabad and *Mahant* Saranji came out for half a *kos* to receive the king and blessed him. Maharaja came on the chariot called *Indervimaan* and bowed before the *Mahant*.<sup>94</sup> Next day Sri Maharajadhiraj Sawai Jai Singh II arrived at the temple of Shri Radha Madhoji at Salemabad. The king came on the chariot *Indervimaan* but entered the temple on foot.<sup>95</sup> Many times the ladies of the *Rajlok* also visited the palace of *Mahant* or *Adhikari* for participating in the celebrations. In 1828 the *Mahant* Saranji of Salemabad visited the temple of Maji Shri Chandawatji.<sup>96</sup> Sawai Jai Singh II visited him along with Maji Sahib and Maharani Devriji.<sup>97</sup> They came via a tunnel, feasted and offered *bhent* to the deity and *Mahantji*.<sup>98</sup> Later in the year 1831 Maji Shri Bhattaniji (elder), Maharani Shri Devriji, Sisodaniji, Chawariji and Chandawatji visited the temple of Shri Radha Madhoji at Salemabad along with Maharajadhiraj Jai Singh II. They came on a chariot and entered the temple. They offered to *Mahantji* a *bhent* of 14-mohars and 1-coconut and gave Rs. 40/- for *nichrawal* (warding off evil). A *bhent* of Rs. 5/- was made for another deity Shri Gokal Chanderji. Later *Mahantji* asked them to do *darshan* of *Parasramji-kikhadau* (wooden slippers of Parasuram) and *tulsi mala* (garland of *tulsi*). The

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<sup>93</sup> D. K., vol.31, *Swami*, Event dated Miti Jeth sudi 2 v.s. 1869/ 1812 A.D.

<sup>94</sup> D. K., vol. 31, *Swami*, Event dated Miti Mah sudi 11 *Itwar* (Sunday) v.s. 1888/1831 A.D.

<sup>95</sup> D. K., vol. 31, *Swami*, Event dated Miti Mah sudi 12 *Somwar* (Monday) v.s. 1888/ 1831 A.D.

<sup>96</sup> *Ibid.*, Event dated Miti Fagun sudi 6 v.s. 1885/1828 A.D.

<sup>97</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>98</sup> *Ibid.*

ladies presented a *bhent* of Rs.5/- and one coconut at the *khadau*. Rs. 1000/- were presented to *Mahantji*, Rs. 1200/- were given for feasting Brahmans and Rs. 200/- were given for the offerings of deity.<sup>99</sup> On that day the king also wanted to shave off his *Ramji-ki-choti* (a pony kept on the head as a mark of Vaisnava). Maji Sahib declared "*choti to Jaipar ka Parasramji ka thakurdwara mai kati jayee*".<sup>100</sup> So it was accepted and *Mahantji* presented a *doshala* (a shawl) and silver necklace to Shriji. Shriji presented 5-*mohars*, one coconut, one *doshala* and Rs. 500/- for deity.<sup>101</sup> Many other gifts and *bhents* were also bestowed on *Mahantji*.<sup>102</sup> Whenever the ladies of royal family were not arriving for the celebration they used to send the gifts and money to mark their presence. The presence of king was followed by a large number of rituals and protocol wherein the arrangements of seating, dining and exchange of gifts were strictly adhered to. When Raja Jagat Singh met *Mahant* Sewanand in Chander Mahal, Sewanand applied a *tilak* of saffron (*kesar*) to the Raja, tied a pearl necklace and offered a shawl (*doshala*) to him.<sup>103</sup> Occasionally, the religious heads also presented certain gifts to the king but it was a rare thing to happen. In 1831, *Mahant* Saranji sent *seerni* (a sweet dish made out of milk) from Salemabad to the *dera* (halting station) of the royal members at village Mamana and Mori near Ajmer.<sup>104</sup> The protocol applicable in the court varied from sect to sect depending on the personal association of king with the sects and head of the sects. At times the sect was not important for the court but the personal association of king with the sect heads made their presence significant and ritualistic in the court. In 1808 A.D. *Mahant* Salagramji of Salemabad (Nimbarkite) came to the court to declare the successor of the sect. His disciple Nand Kanwar was declared successor and a

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<sup>99</sup> D. K., vol. 31, *Swami*, Event dated Miti Mah sudi 12 v.s. 1888/ 1831 A.D.

<sup>100</sup> Ibid.

<sup>101</sup> Ibid.

<sup>102</sup> Ibid., *Maharajaji* presented 10-*mohars*, *Rok Rupiya* (cash money) Rs. 1000/-, *dohsala joda* (a pair of shawls), *parcha* (1-*thhan*), 2-*paags* (turban cloths), *agawani* (4-*thhans*), 1-*kanthi motiya ki* (pearl necklace), 1-*hathi zanzeer* (chain of elephant), 2-horses and 7-*medas*. From inside (female apartments) the Rs. 1000/- , Rs. 200/- and Rs. 100/- were sent by Maji Sahib, Maharani Devraniji+ Maharani Sisodini ji (jointly) and *Raj-Badaran* Rupa respectively. The *Thakurs*, *Diwans* and *Mutsadis* did sent gifts and *bhents* separately. The *dera* (halt) of the king and the royal members was arranged at village Mamana and Mori nearly 7.1/2 *kos* away from the temple. As the *Mahant* was host so he sent sweets for the members of royal family.

<sup>103</sup> D. K., vol. 31, *Swami*, Event dated Miti Mangsir budi 13 v.s.1885/1828 A.D.

<sup>104</sup> D. K., vol. 31, *Swami*, Event dated Miti Mah sudi 12 v.s. 1888/1831 A.D.

woolen shawl (*doshala*) was presented to him in Sukh Niwas (private palace of king).<sup>105</sup> The king personally met certain religious heads and presented gifts to express his respect. Gaudiyas and Ramanandis were important religious dignitaries for the Jaipur state. Besides them many others sects also came to the court but they were not treated equal to the Gaudiyas and Ramanandis. A clear differential treatment was made through the value of gifts presented and the form of reception. In 1813 Aayasji Shri Devnathji Jogi came to Jaipur and was personally received by the Maharajadhiraj Jagat Singh.<sup>106</sup> Shriji personally came out of his palace in *nalki* till the *Deodhi bazaar* to receive Aayasji who came in a palanquin. Shriji got off the *nalki* to receive Aayasji and performed *dandwat* (salutation by kneeling on the ground) and sought blessings from *Guru*. *Guruji* was taken in the palace through *Deodhi* in the palanquin and the *sawari* (ride) went till the inner chowk. After receiving *Guruji bhent* of 7-mohars and Rs. 5/- were presented and various gifts were also bestowed on the *Guru* and his *chela* (disciple).<sup>107</sup> Many a times various important religious dignitaries and court officials were also appointed to work on behalf of the state. The court officials were made responsible to receive the guest and make arrangements for their stay in the capital. In 1814 Nanad Kwarji (Nimbarkite) came to Jaipur from Vrindavan. *Khawas* Roda Ram and Rai Jawala Nath were appointed by the king to escort the *Mahant*. The officials accompanied *Mahantji* to the temple located inside his *dera*.<sup>108</sup> In 1821 Megh Singh Khangarot and Rai Jawala Nath were sent to receive

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<sup>105</sup> D. K., vol. 31, *Swami*, Event dated Miti Chait budi 8 v.s. 1865/1808 A.D.

<sup>106</sup> D. K., vol. 7, *Jogi*, pp. 653- 7, Event dated Miti Asoj sudi 15 v.s. 1870/ 1813 A.D.

<sup>107</sup> D. K., vol. 7, *Jogi*, pp. 654-5, the gifts presented to *Guruji* were *siropav* (7-*thhan*), Rs. 2498.12anna.2paisa for *jawahar* (prayers), *paag ka rumal* (cloth for turban- 30-*thhans*), *Parcho* costing Rs. 100/-(1-*thhan*), *joda kan ki bali motiya ki* (pearl earrings, costing Rs. 700/-), *Sarpaich jadau* (a ornament to decorate the turban) costing Rs. 359.12anna.2paisa, 1- *motiya ki kanthi* (pearl necklace of Rs.513.8anna), *dupatta hara* (green stole, 1-*thhan*) of Rs. 17/-, 2-*thhans* of *thermo pashmi buttadar* (shawl of pashmina wool with floral motifs) costing Rs.150/-, *sona ka kada* (pair of gold bangles) of Rs. 1700/- (articles two), 2-*thhans* of *dorna* cloth of Rs. 76/-, 1- *ghoda raas* (horse leash), 1- *haathi zanzeer* (chain of elephant), 1-*mohar* and *Rok Rupiya* (cash) Rs. 2000/-. Besides it 5- *thrama pashmi buttadar* (pashmina shawls) was given for all the *guru bhais* (followers) it costed Rs. 555.8anna in total. The main disciples namely Bhairo Nath Jogi, Laxmipaw, Bhivnath and *assami* (followers) were presented 2, 2, 2 and 4 pieces *tharma pashmina buttadar* of cost Rs. 150/-, Rs. 102.8anna, Rs. 102.8 anna and Rs. 200/- respectively.

<sup>108</sup> D. K., vol. 31, *Swami*, Event dated Miti Sawan sudi 8 v.s. 1871/1814 A.D.

the *Mahantji* from the bageechi of Kehanka.<sup>109</sup> The officials were also appointed on behalf of the king to send *bhents* for the religious dignitaries. In 1823 Rawal Berisal went to see off the Nimbarkite *Mahant* on behalf of Sawai Jai Singh II.<sup>110</sup> Rawal Berisal went to see off the *Mahant* with the *khass talwar* (special sword) as the king was minor and presented *bhent* of one *mohar* and one coconut on behalf of the king.<sup>111</sup> At times the king also went to receive and escorted certain religious heads to the court. The instances are few but it indicates the significance of the individual religious head and their influence over the king. In 1816, Mahant Nand Kwarji was leaving for Salemabad. Shriji came to see off *Mahantji* and performed the seeing off (*seekh*) ritual near the temple of Bawri. Mahantji offered a *dupatta* as *parsad* to the king.<sup>112</sup> The king Sawai Jagat Singh (r. 1803-1818) was connected very well with the Nimbarkites. Before his reign the Nimbarkites were not regular visitors to the court. The personal connections of the king with these sects were their personal choice depending on his inclination. In 1817, *Mahantji* came back from Salemabad and stayed at the temple of Thakur Shri Gopijan Vallabhji. This temple is located in the temple complex of Maji Sri Chandawatji. Shriji came in the chowk of the temple and received *Mahantji*.<sup>113</sup>

Whenever, the religious heads stayed in the city, the state arranged for their stay and even managed to make their stay comfortable. In 1868 A.D. Shankaracharya came to Jaipur from Deccan and Vayas Bakshi Ramnavand Kwar Bhatt was sent to receive him. On receiving Shankaracharya in the court Shriji (Ram Singh II) performed *sastang parnam* (salutation by lying on ground) and presented *bhent* which was to be presented from *Karkhana*.<sup>114</sup> The skin of tiger was laid out in *tibara* for providing seat to Shankaracharya.<sup>115</sup> The visit of *Guru* to Jaipur was for pilgrimage at Mahadevji and Tara Mata. The *seekh* (seeing off ceremony) was performed by Maharaja Ram Singh II after presenting Rs. 500/- and a *tharma pashmina buttadar* (a shawl made of pashmina wool) of Rs. 62/-.<sup>116</sup> The state was

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<sup>109</sup> Ibid., vol. 31, *Swami*, Event dated Miti Posh budi 11 v.s. 1878/ 1821 A.D.

<sup>110</sup> Ibid., vol. 31, *Swami*, Event dated Miti Asoj sudi 11 *Budhwar* (Wednesday) v.s. 1878/1821 A.D.

<sup>111</sup> Ibid.

<sup>112</sup> Ibid., vol. 31, *Swami*, Event dated Miti Bhadwa budi 2 *Brahspatiwar* (Thursday) v.s. 1873/1816 A.D.

<sup>113</sup> Ibid., vol. 31, *Swami*, Event dated Miti Asadh sudi 3, *Somwar* (Monday) v.s. 1874/1817 A.D.

<sup>114</sup> D. K., vol. 7, *Jogi*, pp. 658-9, Event dated Miti Baishak sudi 2 v.s. 1925/ 1868 A.D.

<sup>115</sup> Ibid.

<sup>116</sup> Ibid.

doing these arrangements in order to present a fair and pious picture of the state. The important religious dignitaries also received money from the king as *peshkash*. In rare cases the instances of *peshkash* are available which indicate the influence of the sect and the sect's head. In 1825, *Mahant* Gambhiranand passed away and *Mahant* Sewanand was appointed as the successor.<sup>117</sup> At the investiture ceremony Shriji was not present at the *matha* because he was a minor.<sup>118</sup> To mark king's presence the *khass talwar* (special sword) was brought along with the *dhaal* and placed on the *masnad* and *Mahant* was seated on a *gaddi*.<sup>119</sup> On the investiture of Sewanand a *sirapav* costing Rs.35/-, a pearl necklace of Rs.8/-, a head dress (*feta mahmudi*) was bestowed on him and a *peshkash* of Rs. 7000/- was also offered or fixed.<sup>120</sup>

Besides the various vaisnava religious heads and followers a large number of sufi saints, fakirs and peerzadas also visited the Jaipur darbar. It is clear from the study o documents that state was not trying to make any statement about its religious associations. The effort was to assimilate all the religious groups and to keep the personal religious affiliations on top. No exclusions are visible in the gifts and the receptions. Similar kind of gifts and receptions such as *seekh*, *rook rupiya*, *pushmina butaidaar*, *mohar*, *nariyal*, *siropav*, *sirpaich*, *kanan lahari*, *parvangi meera*, *padhravan*, *tozi zari* were presented and extended to the muslim mystics and the state was also making arrangements for their stay and was bearing the expenses from the royal treasury.<sup>121</sup> Interestingly, the state records are not putting the *fakirs* in the volume titled *Musalmaan*; which indicates to a different understanding about the *fakir*. In total the documents are providing names of 18 *fakirs* who were received by the Jaipur Darbar and a huge amount of money and variety of gifts were presented to them.<sup>122</sup> The personal inclination and affiliation of the king ensured elaborate receptions. Shah Gulam Mustafa visited Jaipur court and Rs. 100/- was fixed for his daily expenses while his stay in the city and Rs. 500/- was fixed for seeing off, out of it only Rs. 200/- was presented at seeing off ceremony.<sup>123</sup> This could be due to the financial crunch through which Jaipur state was going during the eighteenth century. Shah Gulam Mustafa regularly visited Jaipur from 1737 to 1747. During his visit in 1747 A.D., Shriji mounted a

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<sup>117</sup> D. K., vol.31, *Swami*, Event dated Miti Kartik sudi 14 v.s. 1882/1825 A.D.

<sup>118</sup> D. K., vol. 31, *Swami*, Event dated Miti Kartik sudi 14 v.s. 1882/1825 A.D.

<sup>119</sup> Ibid.

<sup>120</sup> Ibid.

<sup>121</sup> D. K., Vol.12, *Fakir*, pp. 387-401.

<sup>122</sup> Ibid.

<sup>123</sup> D. K., Vol.12, *Fakir*, Event dated Miti Fagun budi 12 v.s. 1794/1737 A.D.



horse and visited the fakir at his halting *haveli*.<sup>124</sup> At times the popularity and the belief in the spiritual powers of the saint made the king to visit them. The popularity of Amani Shah Fakir, who lived on a *naala* near *bageechi* of *Teejram Tambhakhwala* made Shriji to visit the *fakir* and here the king got off his palanquin nearly 4 quarters away and walked to meet the fakir and performed *dandwat* (a gesture of paying respect by laying in the feet of the one from whom the blessing is seemed). Further, he presented 7-*mohars* and 1-*Nariyal*.<sup>125</sup> Interestingly, the gift of *nariyal* and *mohar* were exclusive for the religious dignitaries and the Jaipur king was not distinguishing amongst the dignitaries. Whenever Jai Singh visited the shrine of Khwaja Muinnudin Chisti-Garib Nawaz, he made cash donations and presented *mohar*.<sup>126</sup> At times the donations were given for *deeg pakawan* (the cooking vessel for feasts).<sup>127</sup> The *peerzadas* of Ajmer brought *tabarruk* to the court and in return use to receive money from the king and it was a regular feature till 1768. Annually, the king use to send *khairat* during urs ceremony. In 1730 A.D., Jai Singh visited the *Idgah* of Mathura and offered a *Siropav* to the *qazi* and *mufti*.<sup>128</sup> These inclinations were mainly due to the belief in the spiritual powers of the saints. The extensive interactions are visible with the *fakirs* who resided in and around city and those who visited the court. In 1811 A.D., father of *fakir* Amirullah died and a *siropav matami* was send for investiture of the next in line.<sup>129</sup> The arrangements for the comfortable stay of *fakir* Akhim Shah were made and when there was scarcity of water at his *kothi*, an amount of Rs. 27. 03 *anna* was collected and Rawal Beri Sal was put in-charge to make arrangements of water.<sup>130</sup> Some *fakirs* were receiving a nominal amount as *khairat* whereas some were able to secure a large share. The decline of the Mughals was not pushing away the Kachhwahas and the Jaipur darbar was still receiving the guests from the Mughal court with due adherence to the royal protocol meant for the imperial guest. Shah Inayat *fakir* visited Jaipur in 1720 A.D.; he was an associate of the Padshah. Extensive reception was extended to

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<sup>124</sup> Ibid.

<sup>125</sup> D. K., Vol.12, *Fakir*, Event dated Miti Mangsir budi 14 v.s. 1847/1790 A.D.

<sup>126</sup> D. K., Vol. 18, *Musalmaan*, Event dated Asadh sudi 10 v.s 1780/1723 A.D; Bhadwa budi 10 v.s. 1781/1724 A.D.

<sup>127</sup> D. K., Vol. 18, *Musalmaan*, Event dated Kati sudi 14 v.s 1799/1742 A.D.

<sup>128</sup> D. K., Vol. 18, *Musalmaan*, Event dated Chet sudi 3 v.s 1787/1730 A.D

<sup>129</sup> D. K., Vol.12, *Fakir*, Event dated Miti Duti Baisakh sudi 12, *Shukarwar* v.s. 1868/1811 A.D.

<sup>130</sup> D. K., Vol.12, *Fakir*, Event dated Miti Baisakh sudi 1 & 2, v.s. 1880/1823 A.D.

him.<sup>131</sup> On another occasion the *Diwan* Jagram and *wakil* Badniram were ordered to make gifts from *Kirkirikhana* amounting upto Rs. 752.2 anna.<sup>132</sup> Again he visited in 1725 A.D and 4-*mohars* were presented.<sup>133</sup> The expenses allotted for the meals were called as *mejbani*, literally means the amount to be spent for hospitality arrangements. It was a restricted gesture extended only towards the special guests either political or religious. The *mejbani* was send to the guest through an important official of the state, who was entrusted with the responsibility of delivering the *mejbani* items and the money. The *mejbani* of Shah Itafaq fakir was allotted in darbar and Ratanlal Khatri was deputed to deliver the sanctioned amount of Rs. 125 and 2.25 *man sirni* (a sweet dish made out of milk) costing Rs.181.2 *anna* .2 *paisa*.<sup>134</sup> A few fakirs were given only money but the amount went on increasing with every visit. Shah Kamal Muhmad Fakir of Akbarpur arrived at Jaipur darbar in 1717 A.D and 1718 A.D; on both the occasions the amount of money presented was Rs. 30/- and Rs. 300/- respectively.<sup>135</sup> This kind of immense increase is a rare exception. One more *fakir* came from Akbarpur and he was presented 1-*ras*, 8-*thaan*, 1-*ghoda raas* (Rs.300/-), 8-*thaan rakhat aayal* posh (Rs.3.2a.1p).<sup>136</sup> Khakhi shah *fakir*, was visiting Jaipur *darbar* every year (from 1751 to 1758 A.D.) and on each visit Rs.100/- were presented to him along with various other items such as *kabana lahari*, *chila reshmi*, *kaagaz ka kandeel*, *lahsdar* etc. The gifts in the beginning years were *kabana lahari*, *reshmi thaans*, but in 1757 A.D., only *lahsdar* and *kaagaz ka kandeel* was presented; which is a significant decrease. Further in 1758 A.D., only an amount of Rs.140/- was presented as an *inam* for singing.<sup>137</sup> This kind of decrease might have been a demotivating factor for the *fakir* to discontinue the visits. This kind of change is also

<sup>131</sup> D. K., Vol.12, *Fakir*, Event dated Miti Mangsir sudi 7, v.s. 1777/1720 A.D. The gifts bestowed on the *Fakir* were 21-*thaan*, 1-*Raas*, *siropav* with *Sirpaich* costing Rs. 79.2anna and 4-*thaans*, a horse with *raas*, 17-*Rakhat than*, 1-*Charjama*, 1-*Jaata rupa ki*, *singhada* 1 *maan*, 1-*Farakhi*, 1- *Baag seeklati*, 1- *Mucha seeklati*, 1-*Zair Band*, 1- *Choti tafdar*, 1-*lagaam*, 1-*baagdor*.

<sup>132</sup> D. K., Vol.12, *Fakir*, Event dated Miti Mangsir sudi 15, v.s. 1777/1720 A.D. The details of the clothes given from *Kirkirikhana* are 4-*thaan* of *patta zari* (Rs.246.2a), 2-*thaan kurta zari* (Rs.176/-), 4-*thaan* of *neemtaash zari* (Rs.150), 2-*thaan dudami chikandozi* (Rs.158/-), 4-*thaan haar* (Rs.22/-), and 2 sets of *mukan Jodi* (earrings).

<sup>133</sup> D. K., Vol.12, *Fakir*, Event dated Miti Asoj budi 4 & 5, v.s. 1782/1725 A.D

<sup>134</sup> D. K., Vol.12, *Fakir*, Event dated Miti Posh sudi 7, v.s. 1824/1767 A.D.

<sup>135</sup> D. K., Vol.12, *Fakir*, Event dated Miti Mah sudi 5, v.s. 1774/1717 A.D & Miti Bhadwa sudi 15 v.s. 1775/1718 A.D.

<sup>136</sup> D. K., Vol.12, *Fakir*, Event dated Miti Baishakh sudi 2, v.s. 1774/1717 A.D.

<sup>137</sup> D. K., Vol.12, *Fakir*, pp. 397-400.

reflecting the financial ill health of the kingdom. Shah Lutafullah *fakir* came from Delhi and was received at *Madho-villas*. Raghunath Paliwal was deputed to present 7-*mohars* to the *fakir*.<sup>138</sup> While seeing him off the amount of *parwangi* was arranged from Himmat Ram and Raghunath Paliwal presented the same.<sup>139</sup> The same kind of deductions and cuts in the donations and presents are visible in post 1750 documents.

All the religious sects were making their presence in the Jaipur court from time to time. In the reign of different Kachhwaha kings varied sects gained prominence depending on the personal belief of the king or due to the influence of Maji Sahibs. If the king was a minor Maji Sahib acted as regent of kingdom. To begin with the Ramanandis were the close associates of the Jaipur court and their presence in the court rituals was most prominent. But during the reign of Sawai Jai Singh the growing influence of the Gaudiyas associated with the temple of Govinddevji marginalized the Ramanandis of Galta. Sawai Jai Singh's personal attachment with the idol of Govinddevji was deciding factor for the gradual ascendances of Gaudiyas in the affairs of the Jaipur state. Later in the times of Sawai Jagat Singh both the sects were sidelined and the Nimbarkites of Salemabad became the most significant religious sect of the Jaipur state. Successive heads of the Nimbarkite sect were even appointed as the *Guru* and *Guru Mahants* by the king and Maji Sahib. The rising importance of the Balanandis and Dadupanthis in the Jaipur court was due to their political and military strength. During the late eighteenth century the Jaipur state was facing external aggression from the Marathas. The Balanandis and Dadupanthis provided militant-ascetics to the state who fought on behalf of the state. The scenario of religious life of the court was constantly in a flux but overall it was accommodative in nature where in the Hindus as well as Muslim dignitaries were received with state reception and the protocol was applied as per the political and religious importance of the dignitary. The patronization of the religious sects by the Jaipur kings predominantly reflects the tolerance of state towards its diverse subject population. In this situation the only enduring feature was a constant adherence of the Jaipur state was towards Vaisnavism. At the end it can be said that all these efforts were made in order to create a wider support base of loyalty for the state. In eighteenth century these attempts also provided new avenues to Amber-Jaipur kingdom to seek legitimacy.

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<sup>138</sup> D. K., Vol.12, *Fakir*, Event dated Miti Mangsir budi 11, v.s. 1817/1760 A.D.

<sup>139</sup> D. K., Vol.12, *Fakir*, Event dated Miti Posh budi 10, v.s. 1817/1760 A.D.

## **Chapter 4:**

### **Folk Art and Culture**

## **Folk Arts of Bidar District**

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### **Abstract**

In this symposium paper the nature of relations that subsisted between popular culture, religious dignitaries and the Jaipur state would be analyzed. It will also discuss the diverse forms of protocol adopted by the Jaipur king whenever a religious dignitary visited. In Indian history 18th century is a phase of transition. A close scrutiny of the archival sources shows that during the 18th century the Jaipur state expanded the ambit of patronage to various sectarian groups and persons associated with temples and Muslim shrines. The foundation of the Jaipur city in 1727 A.D also demonstrates the catholic attitude of its founder in allotting space to various religious sects. The architecture of the city is well-planned. Even today a number of festivals such as Gangoar, Ganesh-chaturthi, Teej etc. are celebrated and processions on all the festivals are carried out in the walled city. Perhaps the city was designed for royal processions. It is pertinent to note here that after regaining Amber from the Mughals, Sawai Jai Singh performed various acts and rituals for restoring confidence of the subjects. The rituals were performed by Jai Singh to make a political statement. The acts were mainly religious in nature connecting to the popular culture of masses cutting across the religious lines. The rituals were elaborate and included participation of the masses. The state was making efforts to re-integrate its connections with the local populace. Earlier the rulers of Jaipur being Mughal bureaucrats had to constantly remain away from their watan i.e Amber. The prolonged absence from the watan to meet service requirements handicapped the Amber/Jaipur rulers to maintain a close and constant touch with subjects. Religion was patronized on large scale being a common link between the king and society. A large number of cultural-religious performances were for seeking legitimization and instilling loyalty.

**Keywords:** Religion, Amber/Jaipur, Watan, Mughal, legitimacy

### **Introduction**

Karnataka is home to innumerable and unique folk forms, spread across the state. These distinctly exquisite forms continue to evolve and represent the cultural identity and regional flavor. Historically the region has been a cradle for several flourishing religious and has created a haven of folk forms.

India has a long tradition of civilization which has imbibed different ancient cultures. Hence an analysis of the evolution of various strata of folklore, such as tales, songs, riddles etc. became inevitable. Because the roots of the Indian civilization itself is a confluence of many advanced and primitive cultures, local traditions from the provinces have been carefully examined both for their alliance with, as well as contrast to Vedic culture.

Indian culture as represented in folklore has been of one and the same quality, texture and strength, since the Vedic times. It has one soul. It is indivisible. The passage of time has not changed its form. Different religious doctrines have not affected its unchangeable spirit and even the outer garb. The provincial customs and linguistic peculiarities also have little affected it. For thousands of years India was culturally united. The cultural harmony in India, despite differences in provincial traditions, is unique. Unity in spite of diversity is what the divergence of traditions in folklore points to.

Folklore in India is not a mere relic. It is an important section of the multi-coloured, multi-lingual, multi-traditional Indian culture, which is practically incomprehensible. One cannot get a full view of it. One cannot judge it precisely because it is unimaginably vast.<sup>1</sup>

### **Folk tradition of Karnataka**

Folklore is the traditional knowledge, culture and practices of commoners' mainly rural inhabitants which are passed orally from individual to individual. Folklore of a society is rarely written or published. Folklore is the mother root of a nation's culture. Karnataka has a rich folklore repository in the form of ballads, riddles, legends, stories, proverbs, dance forms, customs, festivals, sports and medicinal remedies.

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<sup>1</sup> Durga Bhagwat, An Outline of Indian Folklore, Popular Book Depot, Bombay, 1958, pp.1-3.

### **Folk forms of Karnataka**

The various forms of folk literature in Kannada can be found in the form of stories, riddles, proverbs and ballads. In the folk dance we have dance like Karadi kunita, Kolata, Veeragaase, Nandikunita, etc. In folk theatre we have plays like Yakshagana, Dodatta, Sanatta, and pupeetry like Sutrada bombe aata and Togalu bombeaata. The proverbs of Kannada are rich in moral and ethical values. A number of folk fairs are celebrated with much gusto in Karnataka like the Annamma, Maramma, Male Madeshwara, Harohara, Junjapp name a few. Even today in rural areas, there is a demand for traditional healers, who give herbal medicine called Naati Aushadhi for various ailments to both human beings and domesticated animals. There is an urgent need to document the recipe/ components of the medicine being prepared by the traditional healers so that the future generation may not lose the benefit of it.

### **Folklore in Bidar**

Bidar district, which occupies a central position in Deccan plateau, is mixed with several racial strains, ethnic groups and socio-cultural clusters. Long after the fusion of Dravidian and Aryan elements, there was, in the medieval times, a continuous influx of batches of various types like the Turks, Mughals, Iranians, Afghans, and Arabs who were welcomed and encouraged to settle down in the area. As a result of these admixtures there has been a cultural mosaic. Bidar town has made a unique contribution to the socio-cultural history of Karnataka in particular and of the Deccan History in general. The historical monuments and sites in and around the Bidar city belong to different periods of history.<sup>2</sup> It is a place of delight to poets, artists, and the archaeologists. Bidar is a tourist destination. Its climate is gracious. Some of the monuments are unique. Bidri art of Bidar is world famous.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>2</sup> See for detail Yazdani G, Bidar, Its History and Monuments, Motilal Banarasidas, Delhi, 1995. pp.28-62.

<sup>3</sup> See for detail Jagdish Mittal, Bidriware and Damascene work in Jagdish and Kamla Mittal Museum of Indian Art, Jagdish and Kamla Mittal Museum of Indian Art, Hyderabad, 2011, pp.16-19.

Religion has more impact on the Folk art, dance, music, theatre of Bidar district. Religion, God, Goddess, religious sects, worships, beliefs, practices, social and traditional systems are more important aspects of culture in Bidar.

### **Meaning of Jananapada (Folklore)**

Janapada is a word made by two words Jana-people or tribe, Pada- a kind of short verse joined together as a sandhi- a grammatical term. The folk culture and colloquial tongue of Kannadigas.

### **Classification**

Karnataka Janapada folk tradition even though includes every aspect of Kannadigas life can be broadly classified into three main heads:

**1. Folk literature (Janapada Sahitya):** Janapada literature reflects the life of Kannadigas as it is lived from day to day. Bidar also contributed to enrich the folk literature. In Bidar literature divided into many parts. Geeta sahitya, Gadya Sahitya and Drusha sahitya long with Drama Sahitya. Most of the scholars wrote above topic and contributed the literature.<sup>4</sup>

**2. Folk songs (Janapadageethe):** Janapada geethe, songs expressive of the common joys and sorrows of the common people. All can be subdivided according to subject matters of the occasion or purpose the different forms intended to serve. Folk songs are in various forms like Bhulaye pada,<sup>5</sup> Samprada songs, Handipadagalu, Bhuterrupadas, Moharam padas, Lavani<sup>6</sup> and Tattavapadas. Bhajans songs are one of its kinds in folk literature. Bhajanas is inseparable part of Indian culture. All regional folk literature consists of Bhajanas. Similarly, Bidar also has rich Bhajans system. There are several groups that holy Bhajana programs. They have their unique and individual style. Some bhajana groups Akkama Balaga, Taruna Sangha, Mahila Mandals, etc.<sup>7</sup>

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<sup>4</sup> For detail see Somanatha Yalavara and Prema Sirshe (ed), Bidara Zilla Darshana, Prasaraanga, Gulbarga University, Gulbarga, 2005, pp.175-184.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid, pp.185-190.

<sup>6</sup> Kyatanhalli Ramanna, Bidar Jilleya Janapada Geetegalu, Kannada Adhyana Samsthe Manas Gangotri, Mysore, 1976. pp.35-42.

<sup>7</sup> Hamsakavi-Dhari-Siri, Kikkeri publication, Bangalore, 2011, pp.181-187.



**3. Folk Theater (Janapada Rangabhumi):** Folk theater, poetry intended to celebrate the greatness of chosen deities and ballads dramatizing the heroism or sacrifice of chosen heroes, historical or legendary.

The folk theater in Bidar till today runs successfully because of its importance in society. In the first phase the historical heroic works dramas performed like 'Vira abhimanu', 'Kichakana vadhe', Jayadratha, Rakta Ratri. Later on socio-religious reformers dramas like 'Bhakta Sirilaya, Mahatma Basaveshwara, Bhakta Markandeya etc. Few dramas which help the social awareness among the people like 'Anna tangi, laxmi. These create the awareness about family planning and social welfare.<sup>8</sup>

**4. Folk Medicine (Janapada Oushadi):** And then there are hosts of books on Folk medicine such as 'Padartha Sara', 'Vaidyaratnakara' etc. Many of these were brought out by, or with the help of the royal family of Mysore. Few scholars are doing their research work on folk medicine in Bidar. Most of the people consider the Ayurveda and folk medicines both are same. But still research is remaining. Biology, Chemistry, Physics, Mathematicians and along with Historians jointly do research on folk medicine<sup>9</sup> which will be benefit to future generation.

**5. Folk Dance (Janapada Kunita):** The ritual dances of Karnataka are known as Kunita. As dance is a visual art, the visual impression of this dynamic art is lost on the sands of time.

Bidar is on the border of Andhrapradesh and Maharashtra States. The mixed culture, language and folklore are found in Bidar. The professional artists perform their art to make both ends meet. The following are the professional artists found in Bidar are Budbudke, Kinari Jogi, dombaru, Havadiga, Sudugadu siddharu, Bahurupi, Bhuteru, Gondaligaru, Kaladyana, Bhurbhur pochama, Bala santur, Karadi kunita, jatagararu and koti kunita.<sup>10</sup>

Few special features of Bidar folk arts are gondaligas, bhuteru, puravantaru etc and are performed on religious activities. The other dances related to Moharam are Hulikunita, Alabi kunita, paitri sports etc. The theatres performed are Dodatta,

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<sup>8</sup> See for detail Jaganath Hebbale (ed), Bidar Jilla Darshana, Jilla Kannada Sahitya Parishad, Bidar, pp.46-50. (Kannada).

<sup>9</sup> Channappa (ed), Lokasiri, Souvenir of All India Folklore Conference held at Bidar 22<sup>nd</sup> to 25<sup>th</sup> April 2011, pp.215-223.

<sup>10</sup> See for detail Jaganath Hebbale (ed), Bidar Zilla Darshan, Zilla Kannada Sahitya Parishad, Bidar, pp.53-61.

sanatta, and Kolatta is the dance perform generally in social and religious function.<sup>11</sup>

Bidar is famous for its folk culture, music, dance forms, and folk art. It has uniqueness in language and style of performances. Bidar has incorporated culture from other places and added more style and richness to it. Thus Bidar in its own way has contributed to the folk culture; it must be remembered for its efforts in keeping these art forms alive.

**6. Folk Fairs (Janapada Jaatre):** Jaatre or fair or gathering festivals arranged by particular Mathas, organizations, temples or villages to showcasing Janapada art. The fairs preserve the culture and provide the livelihood to artisans. In Bidar many fairs organized by mathas and organizations. The folk artisan perform in the fairs Basavanna fair, Virabhadreshwara fair, Papansahini fair, Mailar fair, Mari fair, Ellama fair etc.<sup>12</sup>

**7. Folk Arts -** Some religious and social traditions of the past have come down to the present generation in the form of several interesting folk-arts. Bhajan-singing, Bayalata, Kolata, Gorata, Bhulayehadu, Hanti pada, Shobanepada, Devi-hadu, beegara-hadu, karadi mazalu, nandi-kolu, gee-gee pada, lavani –lullaby songs etc. are in vogue in the district. These are recited or performed on the occasions of important jatras, observance of jayantis and various other religious and social functions.<sup>13</sup> Many artisans contributed to preserve the folk art in Bidar.<sup>14</sup> The folk artisans are very poor today because of impact of globalization and mass media.

### **Famous Folk Artist of Bidar**

Many folk artisans have devoted their lives to the profession and sacrificed their lives for the sake of the art and folk culture. Many folk artists, musicians and dancers have contributed a lot enrich folk culture in Bidar. A record of the artists who have played a significant role in the growth of folk literature and culture is an exhaustive one. However, complete record of artisans after 1980 is available. The famous artist of Bidars are Nanasaheb Mangalgi Chimunabai, Shantappa

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<sup>11</sup> Virendra Simpi, Jaganath Hebbale, Shubhash N.Nelge, Shivraj Kanshetti (ed), Basavaprabhe, 72<sup>nd</sup> Kannada Sahitya Sangha, Bidar, 2006, pp.171-175 (Kannada).

<sup>12</sup> See for detail Jaganath Hebbale , Hyderabad Karnataka Jaatregalu –Ondu Sanskritika Adhyana, Kannada Sahitya Parishad, Bangalore, 2008, 31-77. (Kannada).

<sup>13</sup> The Gazetteer of Bidar District, Government of Karnataka, 1977, p.484.

<sup>14</sup> P.K.Khandoba (ed), Hyderabad Karnataka Samsritika Vishaya Kosha: Lalitakala, Volume, Gulbarga University, Gulbarga, 2012, pp.171-176.

Shilabanta, Hanakuni Nagamma, Gondali Vithalarao, Kolar Imamsaheb, Barurpi Eknath, Sharanappa Bhuteru Eramma Chinkera, Gundappa Benalai, Ratnamma Tambhake, Abhraham Sindhale Kashamma Markhale, Nagamma Gundayya Swami, Sangappa kardala, Kshinath Gavar Fale Siddharamnappa, Gangama mantalkar, Jaganath Maharaj, Gangadhar Swami Chikmath, Nabelal, Gurunath Kothe, Gorammaji Kadhade etc.<sup>15</sup>.

The above mentioned artisans are just a few who dedicated their lives for preserving the folk art. However, there are many more who have selflessly worked for the folk art. These artists need to be documented and recognized so that the artists can live a peaceful life.

### **The present status of folk Artist in Bidar district**

1. The folklore communities are facing social and economic problems in this globalized world.
2. Most of the folk artists, musicians, dancers, and theatre performers are without any work.
3. The folklore medicines, arts and crafts are also in a diminishing state.
4. Today people are more addicted to T.V, Cable, Internet, Mobile and Cinema. As a result the folklore culture losing its identity.
5. Kannada Sahitya Parishad, Kannada Janapada Academy, and few Universities of Karnataka are trying hard to preserve and propagate Folklore culture in Karnataka and India.
6. Most of the folk artists are living in a very poor condition.
7. Most of the Academicians, researchers, social scientists, historians must pay attention to do research in Folklore.
8. Planning and programmes of Governments must be implemented rigorously.
9. Poverty, illiteracy, ignorance, superstitions, beliefs and practices are the reasons for backwardness of folk culture of Bidar.
10. More propaganda about Folklore and artisans' life through media is the need of the day to preserve the folk culture in Bidar.

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<sup>15</sup> Somanatha Yalavaru and Prema Sirshe (ed), Bidar Zilla Darshan, Prasaraanga Gulbarga University, Gulbarga, 2005. Pp.204-213. And An Article by Somanath Nucha entitled Bidar Zilleya Janapada Kalegalu: Ondu Samekshe.

### **Conclusion**

Bidar is the crown of Karnataka. Bidar also called as Dharinadu. Dhari means the tall region. Folk artisans of Bidar brought name and fame to Bidar. We find multiple (mixed) folklores. The folklore system is very old in Bidar. In Bidar, people from different castes, communities and backward communities are involved in folklore. Most of the folk artist, musician, stage performers and literary persons are trying to preserve this folk art, culture, medicine and is passed to the new generation. Few artisans of Bidar district got State level award. But looking at the impact of globalization on folklore very soon folklore will only be seen in museums.

Subject as folklore can be great for character formation, which is will be required the most in the coming generation. Folklore is representation of culture and tradition. It reflects the moral value of a particular culture and society. Folklore can produce a feeling and a strong sentiment towards culture and unity. As a means of entertainment, reconstruction of regional history and rediscovery of lost words in a language of traditional cuisine, sports, medicine and sciences folklore has a rich source. The works on the folklore of Karnataka (special reference to Bidar) and also major studies made on it in Kannada should be translated into English which helps the other researchers. Attempts to revive and re-establish the past glory and grandeur of our folklore are the need of hour. Happiness and integrity of our society will be safeguarded.

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## **Turkish Language with Turkish Folk Melodies**

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### **Abstract**

Teaching Turkish Language program for creating a curriculum which includes Turkish folk melodies. The creator of these melodies are unknown, and is based on the daily lives of the people. Folk songs of the Turkish people culture, beliefs, and traditional life is a reflection of. At the same time, is one of the most important elements of folklore.

Traditional feature of the curriculum that is used in teaching of Turkish Folk-rich folk songs will be selected according to the order of. Folk music repertoire constitute about 10.000 songs, according to grammar rules and structure will work. Applied to this study with the departments of turcology in different universities in different countries, then together the collective artistic activity can be presented.

The Turkish education curriculum was developed with these works, college students with a repertoire of Turkish folk tunes in a concert with the departments of turcology activity can be arranged. The Turkish education curriculum developed and implementation of selected Turkish language teaching of faculty members who are experts in the mention of folk melodies-to teach the structure of poetry will be provided. Afterwards, again in selected Turkish music State Conservatory of Turkish folk melodies concert by the melodic structure presentation preparation managing a team of faculty members will be provided.

With all these efforts, Turkish teaching songs in detection with the use of easy, easy and correct pronunciation will be taught. Thanks to the structure of the songs which are understandable, for the establishment of intercultural dialogue will be provided.

**Keywords:** Turkish folk melodies, Turkish language, Turkish, teaching

## Türkülerle Türkçe

### Giriş

Dünyanın pek çok ülkesinde yabancılara Türkçe öğretilmesi konusu özellikle son yıllarda oldukça yaygın bir şekilde ilerliyor. Türkülerle Türkçe projesi, yurtdışı üniversitelerinde bulunan Türkoloji bölümleri ile Türkçe öğrenmekte olan yabancı yetişkinlerin öğrenme süreçlerine katkı sağlamak amacıyla geliştirilmiştir. Bilindiği üzere yabancıların Türkçeyi öğrenmesinde karşılaşılan temel zorlukların başında kelimelerin telaffuzu, cümle kurulumu, işitme-anlama etkinliği ile Türkçenin kendine özgü ses fonetiği konuları gelmektedir. Buna ek olarak Türkçenin eklemeli dil yapısı, Avrupa dil grubunda olan insanların öğrenme etkinliğini geciktirmektedir. Bu öğrenme zorluklarının Türkçenin en yalın, güçlü ve etkili yapısıyla oluşmuş Türk halk ezgileri ile aşılabileceği planlanmaktadır.

Türküler, yüzyıllardır devam eden aşıklık geleneği ve bu geleneği yaşatan halk ozanları ve halk şairlerinin kullandığı şiir yapıları ile oluşmuştur. Bu nedenle tüm yalınlığını ve güçlü dil özelliğini her dönem koruyabilmiştir. Örneğin, ünlü saz şairimiz Aşık Veysel:

*Uzun ince bir yoldayım  
Gidiyorum gündüz gece  
Bilmiyorum ne haldeyim  
Gidiyorum gündüz gece  
Dünyaya geldiğim anda  
Yürüdüm aynı zamanda  
İki kapılı bir handa  
Gidiyorum gündüz gece*

diyerek onlarca felsefe kitaplarıyla anlatılamayacak beşeriyatı iki mısrayla ifade ederek halk şairliğinin ve dolaylı olarak türkülerin söz gücünü göstermiştir. Türk halk ezgilerinde buna benzer binlerce örnek eser bulmak mümkündür.

Türk halk ezgilerine bu yönüyle bakıldığında, hayatın her alanı ile ilgilenmiş, bazen sözlerle söylenemeyenleri şiirlere, şiirleri de ezgilere dökerek anlatmış ve anlaşılmasını sağlamıştır. Toplumsal mesajlar, acılar, özlmler, türkülerin vazgeçilmez konuları olurken, diğer taraftan da mecaz, tecahül-i ârif, teşbih, teşhis, tenkit, taşlama, mübalağa, mâni ve cinas vb. edebi sanatların her örneğini halk şiirlerinde, dolaylı olarak da Türk halk ezgilerinde görmek mümkündür. Türkülerin bu özelliklerinin yanında önem arz eden başka bir özelliği de, Türkçenin dil bilgisi gramatiğine uygun söz yapısıdır. Türkçe öğretiminin temel konusu olan zamanlar,

türkülerde her şekilde karşımıza çıkmaktadır. Türk halk ezgilerinde bulunan bu zamanların birinci tekil şahıstan üçüncü çoğul şahısa kadar olan sistematığının bulunduğu birçok yapı örnekleri bulunmaktadır.

Örneğin:

*Bugün ben bir güzel gördüm  
Bakar cennet sarayından  
Kamaştı gözümün nuru  
Onun hüsnü cemalinden*

“Bugün ben bir güzel gördüm” diye başlayan ifadede, birinci tekil şahsın geçmiş zaman eylemini görülürken aynı türkünün ikinci mısraında “Bakar cennet sarayından” ifadesinde üçüncü tekil şahsın geniş zaman eylemi olduğu görülür.

Türkünün 3 mısraında da geçmiş zamana tekrar geçerek “Kamaştı gözümün nuru” diye ifade edilirken, son mısra da “Onun hüsnü cemalinden” diye devam ederek geniş zaman örnekleme yapılmaktadır.

Türk Halk Müziği ezgilerinin şiir yapısını, Türkçe dil bilgisi öğretimi konularına göre tasnif etmek, temel dil bilgisinde bulunan ana konulara uygunluğunu araştırmak konuya daha sağlıklı açıklayabilir. Bu konuda Yunus Emre Enstitüsünün yurtdışı Türkçe öğretiminde uyguladığı programı inceleyerek, kullandıkları materyallere uygun konu düzenlemesi yapılmıştır. Bu yayında günlük yaşam cümleleri, tanışma, buluşma, kendini ifadeler gibi daha çok *şimdiki ve geniş zaman* temel kalıplarının ele alındığı görülmüştür.

Bir dili gerçekten iyi bir şekilde öğrenebilmenin yolu, yeni bilgilerin tekrar edilerek kalıcı hale getirilmesi ve pratiğe dönüştürülebilmesiyle mümkün olur. Bu noktada yabancılara Türkçe öğreten merkezlerin programlarına katkı sağlayacak eğlenme-öğrenme etkinliği ile bir kültür tanıtımı projesi olan “Türkülerle Türkçe” projesini devreye sokmaktayız. Özellikle Avrupa Birliği Erasmus bölgesinde bulunan üniversitelerin Türkoloji bölümlerine yönelik hazırlanan bu projenin iskelet yapısını, bu merkezlerin halen uyguladığı programlara göre hazırlayarak mevcut sistem üzerinden yetişkin müfredatına dönüştürmekteyiz.

Türkoloji bölümleri ve Yunus Emre Enstitüsü Türkçe Eğitim Merkezleri’nin ders içeriği sırasına göre şimdiki zamanı içeren konu başlığında teorik konuların ve tekrarların sonrasında pratiği güçlendirici Türk halk müziği eserlerinin müfredata tavsiye edilerek uygulama sorumluluğunu üstlenmekteyiz. Bu süreçte uygun olan TRT repertuarından ezgisel yapısı kolay ve melodik çekiciliği olan eserleri proje repertuarına dahil etmekteyiz.



Temel müfredat kapsamında görülen *şimdiki zaman*, *geniş zaman*, *geçmiş zaman*, *gelecek zaman*, *soru cümleleri*, *olumsuz cümleler*, *olumsuz soru cümleleri* gibi, dil bilgisinin en temel yapılarının işlenmesi, bu konuların kalıcılığını sağlanması ve konuşma etkinliğine dönüşmesi için bol tekrarlı uygulamalar yapılmasından yola çıkılarak türkülerin içindeki zaman kavramlarına dikkat çekmek yerinde olacaktır.

## 1. Türkülerde Zaman

### a. Şimdiki Zaman

Türkçede şimdiki zaman, kelimedede yalın halde bulunur ve temel fiile *-(i)yor* zaman eki ve şahıs ekleri verilerek çekimlenir. Halk türkülerinde yaptığımız incelemede, şimdiki zamandaki şahıs eklerinin ayrıntılarına uygun birçok eserin bulunması Türkçe öğretimi müfredatına sağlayacağı katkıyı son derece önemli kılmaktadır.

*gel-i yor-um / gel-i yor-sun / geliyor*  
*gel-i yor-uz / gel-i yor-sunuz / gel-i yor-lar*

Örneklerinde olduğu gibi fiile getirilen zaman ve şahıs eklerinden oluşmaktadır.

Proje için seçilen eserlerde özellikle ses sahasının yani oktavı geniş olmayan, yöresel icra özelliği bakımından müzikal bir eğitime ve alt yapıya ihtiyaç duymayacakları, kolay ve tanıdık motifli bazı eserler tercih edilmiştir.

Şimdiki zamana göre çekimlenen bazı eserler aşağıda verilmiştir:

- Pencereden Kar Geliyor
- İşte Gidiyorum Çeşm-i Siyahım (proje repertuarı)
- Uzun İnce Bir Yoldayım (proje repertuarı)
- Su Sızıyor Sızıyor
- Al Yanak Allanıyor
- Gesi Bağları (proje repertuarı)
- Gönüm Ataşlara Yandı Gidiyor (proje repertuarı)
- Sobalarında Kuru da Meşe Yanıyor (proje repertuarı)
- Çayda Çıra Yanıyor

### b. Geniş Zaman

Türkçede geniş zaman, süreklilik bildiren eylemlerin anlatılmasında, uzun süre yapılan işlerde, yapılan işlerin zamanının genelleştirildiği eylemlerde kullanılır ve

fiile göre yüklem şahıs eki alır. Fiil köklerine getirilen -r ekiyle eylem geniş zamana dönüştürülmektedir.

*gel-ir-im / gel-ir-sin / gel-ir / gel-ir-iz / gel-ir-siniz / gel-ir-ler*

Geniş zaman dil yapısına sahip Türk halk müziği eserleri TRT repertuarında önemli bir yere sahiptir. Bunun sebebi, Anadolu'da söylenmek istenen, arzular istekler, dilekler ve beklentiler bu zaman yapısıyla başkasının istekleriymiş gibi anlatma geleneğinden gelmektedir. Halk ozanları kendi düşüncelerini her zaman başkasının elçisiymiş gibi vermeyi tercih etmiştir. Bu açıdan geleneğin içinde yetişmiş ozanların dile getirdikleri sözlerde de geleneğin etkilerini görmek mümkündür.

Geniş zamana göre çekimlenen bazı eserler aşağıda verilmiştir:

- İbrişim Örmüyorlar
- Koyun Gelir Yata
- Portakalım Tekerlendi
- Salına Salına da Suyu Gidersin (proje repertuarı)
- Gemiciler Kalkalım (proje repertuarı)
- Yangın Olur Biz Yangına Gideriz
- Karahisar Kalesi Yıkılır Gelir (proje repertuarı)
- Akşam Olur Karanlığa Kalırsın
- Suyu Gider Alın Gelin (proje repertuarı)
- Kara Tren
- Bahçelerde Börölce
- İzmir'in Kavakları
- Sular Durulur Derler
- Elmayı Top Top Yapalım
- Ay Doğar Aşar Gider
- Dere Boyu Saz Olur
- Yeşil Başlı Gövel Ördek
- Yayla Yollarında Yürüyüp Gelir
- Kalenin Ardına Ekerler Darı
- Kar Yağar Kar Üstüne
- Yüksek Minarede Kandiller Yanar

### c. Geçmiş Zaman

Türkçe geçmiş zaman, yalın halde bulunan temel fiile -dı/-di/-du/-dü ve -mış/-miş/-muş zaman ekleri ve şahıs ekleri getirilerek elde edilmektedir. Halk

şiiirlerinde destanlar, kahramanlıklar, hikayeler ve pek çok sosyal olay geçmiş zaman kipiyle anlatılmıştır.

*gel-di-m / gel-di-n / gel-di / gel-di-k / gel-di-niz / gel-di-ler*

TRT Türk Halk müziği repertuarı örneklerinde yaptığımız incelemede, geçmiş zaman yapısında birçok eserin bulunması Türkçe öğretimi müfredatına sağlayacağı katkıyı son derece önemli kılmaktadır.

Geçmiş zaman söz yapısında yazılan/söylenen farklı yörelere ait halk türkülerini şöyle sıralayabiliriz:

- Urfa'ya Paşa Geldi
- Hekimoğlu (proje repertuarı)
- Bahçe Duvarından Aştım
- Arabaya Taş Koydum
- Gül Kuruttum
- Eledim Eledim (proje repertuarı)
- İndim Geldim Silifke'den Buraya
- Ağ Gül Seni Camekânda Görmüşler
- Seherde Bir Bağa Girdim (proje repertuarı)
- Küstürdüm Gönlümü
- Sunayı da Deli Gönül
- Çarşamba'yı Sel Aldı (proje repertuarı)
- Gide Gide Bir Söğüde Dayandım (proje repertuarı)
- Tek Kapıdan Çıktım Yüzüm Peçeli
- Kızılıklar Çiçek Açtı
- Mendili Oyaladım
- Arpalar Orak Oldu
- Leblebi Koydum Tasa
- Hem Okudum Hem de Yazdım
- Devrent Deresi'ni Duman Bürüdü (proje repertuarı)
- Kerpiç Kerpiç Üstüne

#### d. Gelecek Zaman

Türkçede gelecek zaman, yalın halde bulunan temel fiile –(e)cek/- (a)cak zaman ekleri ve aşağıdaki şahıs ekleri getirilerek elde edilmektedir.

*gel-eceğ-im / gel-ecek-sin / gel-ecek / gel-eceğ-iz / gel-ecek-siniz / gel-ecek-ler*

TRT repertuarında gelecek zaman yapısında eser sayısı çok fazla bulunmamaktadır. Çünkü anonim halk türkülerimiz yaşanan olaylardan ortaya çıkmaktadır. Yapılan tarama sonucundan elde edilen bazı türküler aşağıda verilmiştir:

- Derenin Kenarına Sereceğim Kilimi (proje repertuarı)
- Karanfil Ekeceğim
- Bir Türkü Diyeceğim
- Bu Gece Ay Doğacak

## 2. Türkülerde Soru Cümlesi Yapısı

### a. Olumlu Soru Cümlesi

Türkçede soru cümlesi kök fiile getirilen mı/mi/mu/mü soru ekleri ve şahıs ekleri ile oluşturulur.

*gel-di-m mi / gel-di-n mi / gel-di mi / gel-di-k mi / gel-di-niz mi / gel-di-ler mi*

Halk türkülleri örneklerinde yaptığımız incelemede, soru yapısına uygun birçok eserin bulunması Türkçe öğretimi müfredatına sağlayacağı katkısı son derece önemli kılmaktadır. Aşağıda verilen türküler soru yapısının kullanıldığı eserlere örnek teşkil etmektedir.

- Zeynep Bu Güzellik Var Mı Soyunda?
- Bilmem Ağlasam mı Ağlamasam mı?
- Al Elma Soyulur mu?
- Yârim İstanbul'u Mesken mi Tuttun? (proje repertuarı)
- Karabiber Aş mı Olur?
- Mızıka Çalındığı Düğün mü Sandın?
- Bilmem Böyle Neden Soldun?
- Ne Ağlarsın Benim Zülf-ü Siyâhım? (proje repertuarı)
- Deli Gönül Ne Gezersin?
- Başındaki Yazmayı da Sarıya mı Boyadın?
- Neredesin Sen? (proje repertuarı)
- Telgrafın Tellerine Kuşlar mı Konar? (proje repertuarı)
- Ayrıldım Güler miyim?
- Dün mü Buradaydın Bugün mü Geldin?
- Viran Bahçelerde Bülbül Öter mi?
- Kirpiklerin Ok mudur?

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- Ayva Çiçek Açmış Yaz mı Gelecek? (proje repertuarı)
- Kezban Yenge
- Bahçen Bozuk Değil mi?
- Cemile'nin Gezdiği Dağlar Meşeli
- Hangi Bağın Bağbanısın Gülüsün?
- Kızılıklar Oldu mu? (proje repertuarı)
- Saza Niye Gelmedin?
- Dersim Çoktur Hangisine Yanayım?

**b. Olumsuz Soru Cümlesi**

Türkçede olumsuz cümle, kök fiile getirilen olumsuzluk ve soru ekleriyle elde edilir. Konuşma dilinde bulunan olumsuz cümle yapısının türkülerde kullanılan yapısının ele alındığı, olumsuz cümleye sahip türkülerin projede kullanılmasıyla konu tekrarı sağlanmaktadır.

- Beyaz Giyme Toz Olur (proje repertuarı)
- Tabip Sen Elleme Benim Yaramı
- Muratgilin Dağından Hoplayamadım
- Açma Zülüflerin Yar Yellere Karşı
- Malatya Bulunmaz Eşin (proje repertuarı)
- Çaya Vardım Çay Geçilmez
- Gel Beni Gurbette Ağlatıp Gezme
- Yaranamadım
- Niçin Ağlamayım (proje repertuarı)
- Bahar Geldi Yâr Gelmedi
- Elin Elimde Değil
- Karşıdan Köy Sorulmaz
- Aşk Elinden Susuz Kaldım

Türkçede olumsuz cümleye soru eki getirilmesiyle elde edilen olumsuz soru cümlesi yapısı günlük dilde sık kullanılan bir yapıdır. Kök fiile olumsuzluk eki olan -me/-ma getirilerek çekimlenir.

*gel-me-di-m mi / gel-me-di-n mi / gel-me-di mi*  
*gel-me-di-k mi / gel-me-di-niz mi / gel-me-di-ler mi*

Bu cümle yapısının günlük dilde sık kullanılmasına rağmen türkülerde çok örnek eser bulunamamıştır.

- Patlıcan Oymadın mı?
- Bilmem Şu Feleğin Bende Nesi Var

- Nar Ağacı Narsız Olur mu
- Niçin Ağlamayım Niçin Gülmeyim

### 3. Türkülerde Emir Cümlesi

Türkçede olumlu emir cümlesi kök fiile ek getirilmeden çekimlenir. Olumsuz eylem için ise olumsuzluk eki kullanılarak elde edilir. Türkçede kullanıldığı şekliyle türkülerde yansımış olsa da bir emirden çok temenni ve beklenti niyetiyle kullanılan yapıları türkülerde kullanılmıştır.

- Değme Felek
- Değme Tabip Sızlıyor
- Değmen Benim Yaslı Gönlüme (proje repertuarı)
- Dur Yerinde Hanım Dur Yerinde
- El Vurup Yaramı İncitme Tabip
- Ey Erenler Akıl Fikir Eyleyin

### 4. Türkülerde Söz Sanatları

Söz sanatlarını kullanmanın dilde etkiyi arttırdığı bilinmektedir. Özellikle sanat yapıtlarında (edebiyat, müzik vb.) kullanılan söz sanatlarını temelde bir edebi yapı olan türkülerde görmek mümkündür.

**a. Mübalağa (Abartma):** Bir konunun/kavramın niteliklerini veya bir olayı olduğundan fazla büyüterek veya küçülterek anlatmaya abartma denir.

- Mühür Gözlüm
- Manda Yuva Yapmış Söğüt Dalına

**b. Teşbih (Benzetme):** Anlatımı kuvvetlendirmek, sözün etkisini artırmak için aralarında değişik yönlerden ilgi bulunan iki şeyden zayıf olanın kuvvetli olana benzetilmesidir. Benzetme yapılırken genellikle birbirleri ile ilgi kurulan varlıklar arasındaki ilişki yönü belirtilmektedir.

- Bahçelerde Zerdali
- Al Yanak Allanıyor
- Acem Kızı

**c. Teşhis (Kişileştirme):** İnsan dışındaki varlıklara insana özgü özelliklerin verilmesine kişileştirme denir. Bu şekilde hayvanlara, bitkilere ve diğer varlıklara insana özgü özellikler verilerek ifade daha çekici hâle getirilir, duygular daha güzel anlatılır.

- Dağlar Dağımdır Benim
- Pencerede Perde Ben

Edebi sanatların dışında türkülerde öğüt içerikli yapılarda bulunmaktadır:

- Beyaz Giyme Söz Olur
- Gel Ha Gönül Havalanma
- Dinle Sana Bir Nasihat Edeyim
- Bülbül Güle Kon Dikene Konma
- Sana Bir Nasihatim Var
- El Vurup Yaremi İncitme Tabip
- Dünya Umrına Meylini Verme

**d. Tenasüp:** Anlam yönünden birbiriyle ilgili sözcükleri bir arada kullanmaktır.

- Bağa Gel Bostana Gel
- Anam Ağlar Başucumda Oturur
- Allı Gelin Taş Başını Yol Eder
- Aşan Bilir Karlı Dağın Ardını

### **Sonuç**

Litvanya'daki Tatar Türkleri üzerinde yapmış olduğumuz bir saha çalışması ve konser etkinliğinde, Türkoloji bölümü öğrencilerinin başarısına tanık olmak bizi Türkoloji bölümüyle müzik çatısı altında ortak bir çalışma yapma fikrine yönlendirdi. Bölümde okutulan ders içeriklerini aldık ve bu müfredata uygun türkü konularını belirledik. Repertuvar taraması yaparken yaklaşık 1000 türkü üzerinde çalıştık. Bu türkülerin içindeki gramatik ve ses yapısı, melodik çekiciliği ve kolay anlaşılan eserleri belirleyerek geniş bir repertuvar oluşturduk. Devam etmekte olan projenin uygulanışında temel nokta, Erasmus bölgelerindeki Türkoloji bölümünde okuyan öğrencilere dilimizin öğretilmesidir. Bahsi geçen proje Erasmus Plus Ka2 düzeyinde gerçekleştirilmiştir.

Belirlenen tarihlerde ortak bölgelerdeki bölümlerinde bulunan Türkoloji ve müzik uzmanları ile 4-5 günlük bir çalışma neticesinde türkü çatısı altında dil öğretimi sağlanacaktır. Ziyaretin son günü çalışılan eserlerle mini bir konser etkinliği gerçekleştirilecektir. Model ortağımız olan tüm bölümlerde aynı etkinlik gerçekleştirilerek, yıl sonunda Türkiye'de tüm ülkelerin Türkoloji bölümleri bir araya getirilecektir. Yine proje kapsamında faal olacak web sayfası ve her türlü sosyal medya platformları kullanılacak ve devamlı öğrenme modeli yaratılarak ikinci yıla yeni repertuvar çalışmaları sunulacaktır.

Projemizde hedeflediğimiz nokta şudur ki; ikinci yılda, devam eden projede repertuarı genişletilmiş Türkülerle Türkçe projesi, medya tanıtım, reklam, yurtiçi ve yurtdışındaki canlı konserlerle Türkçe öğretim müfredatı niteliğine kavuşturulacak ve tüm çalışmalar kitap, dergi, makale, bildiri, anket gibi akademik çalışmalarla desteklenecektir. En önemlisi de tüm bu faaliyetler Türküler Türkçe projesinin daha sonraki müfredat çalışmalarına temel teşkil edecektir.

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## **An approach toward Folkloric Aspects in the Lyrics of Tasier Tabrizi**

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### **Abstract**

Persian literature poetry and prose texts in addition to having beautiful literary, religious, moral and scientific themes also contain useful information about the community and living of Iranians in past and present centuries. Various elements of folklore can be seen in poetry texts of Safavid era (1501-1722 A.D) which coincided with the emergence of Hindi style in Persian poetry. Tasir Tabrizi was one of the tasteful Hindi poets in Safavid era who has mentioned culture issues, including beliefs, customs, living, spoken language and so on.

Therefore, the present article aims to investigate the lyrics of Tasir Tabrizi by the use of articles, Iranian culture and history related books, encyclopedias and itineraries. Therefore, after introducing the poet, the political and social situation of his era and expressing the causes of the considerable influence of folklore on the poetry of this period, the present paper through providing some samples of the lyrics of Tasir Tabrizi tries to investigate the reflection of the folkloric aspects in his lyrics. Therefore, indicates the stylish features of Tasir Tabrizi's poems and his approach in this regard. On the other hand emphasizes on the importance of Persian literature studies in reviving and preserving Iranian folklore.

**Keywords:** Horoscope, Calligraphy, Games, Clothing, Mourning

### Introduction

Safavids governed Iran from 1501 BC to 1736 BC, the founder of the dynasty was, Shah Ismail Safavi. In this era Babryan the survivors of Mughal ruled in India. In the Safavid era unprecedented cultural relations were evident between Iran and India. Indian Timurid Kings were interested in Persian poetry and supported the poetry this caused the presence of a large number of Iranian poets in court (Haeri, 1971). In Safavids, a common style called "Hindi style", "Isfahani style" emerged in Persian poetry in Iran and India (Kardgar, 2011:89). Various approaches are available regarding the history and origin of this style, some consider its emergence in the 15th century (AD) by BabaFaghani and others consider the early 17th century (AD) as its onset. Some consider its origin Indian origin and some Iran, especially Isfahan (the capital city of that period) (Encyclopedia of Islam). This style was common until the mid-18th century. Hindi style has numerous features, some of these features are as follows: personification, allusions, referring to India, equation method, new and narrow themes, referring to folklore, the complexity of meaning (Shamisa, 2006:292-287 and Seyyed Almasi, 2012). Tasier Tabrizi, was one of the tasteful poets of Hindi style; his name was Mohsen and his nickname was Tasier; his ancestors in the time of Shah Abbas I moved from Tabriz to Isfahan and settled in that city. Tasier was born 1650 in Isfahan but he always considered himself as Tabrizi citizen. He was a contemporary of Saib Tabrizi. Tasier, learned the sciences of his era such as jurisprudence, interpretation, Qur'an, medicine and astronomy in his hometown. For a long period, during the reign of one of Safavid rulers, he worked as the secretary in Yazd. Like other poets of safavid era he wished to go to India but his dream never came true and he died at the age of 69 (Tasier Tabrizi, 1994: 1-21). He has composed poems in the format of Ode, sonnet, Masnavi, etc. Although most poets of his time, unconsciously have reflected the socioeconomic and political issues in their poetry, but the influence of folklore- related issues in the Hindi poetry style is salient, to the extent that is considered as one of the prominent features of Hindi style. The poetry of Tasier Tabrizi, especially his lyrics are no exception and this feature of Hindi style is tangible in the lines of the lyrics of this Safavid era poet. So far very little research has been done about various aspects of poetic taste of this poet and not much has been done on the effect of folklore in his poetry. Therefore, the present article aims to study the reason behind the vast influence of folklore on poetry in Safavid period and the way in which folkloric elements has been reflected in his lyrics. It also aims to indicate the artistic of this poet while using this prominent feature and on the other hand it aims to emphasize on the importance of Persian poem in safavid era in folklore

studies. while writing this article the lyrics of Tasier investigated and the books and articles related to the topic also were used.

### **Influence of Folklore on Hindi Style**

Folklore has been constituted of two words “folk” means “the people” and “Lore” means “knowledge”, folklore includes traditions that are taught verbally and people learn them in their ordinary life out of school. This study explores various aspects of folklore. It includes folk tales, parables, songs, beliefs, customs, habits of life, national and religious celebrations, astronomy, medicine, games, etc (Folklore, 2005). Persian literature researchers regarding the influence of folklore on poetry in Safavid period have different opinions, sometimes their approaches in this regard are against one another, below some of these reasons have been mentioned:

1. The lack of support of Safavid court of composed poems in the praise of kings, which brought poem out of court and therefore spread the poem in the society and nationalized the poem (Haeri, 2009: 53). Coffee houses were the gathering place for poets and poets have composed poetry in there among ordinary people, so they included the surrounding issues belonged to common people in their poetry (Haeri, 2009: 65; Ghanipour and others, 2008: 48). sometimes in order to make their poems as simple as possible they tried to speak about the folk-related issues in their poetry.
2. Due to the popularity of poetry, various business owners also started to compose poem. These poets were jurist, physician, shoemaker, etc. (Haeri, 2009: 48) and therefore more folkloric themes entered into the poetry.
3. Some believe that the poets of this period always kept trying to compose unique poems. (Haeri, 2009: 50) and maybe, due to this reason have frequently mentioned about folklore to compose a different type of sonnet.
4. Some researchers believe that in this period there was no certain mystical and philosophical thought... (Taheri, 2010: 88-87) so perhaps this was also a factor to use ordinary issues of daily life in poetry.
5. Some researchers have suggested that native Indian poets were not familiar enough with the Persian spoken language and there was a competition between Iranian poets and native Indian poets over the more novel Persian poem (Kardgar, 2011: 90), perhaps Iranian poets wanted to win this competition by referring to the issues of everyday life of Iranians. According to the author none of the above mentioned factors can be considered solely as

a factor for the influence of folklore on poem in Safavid period; undoubtedly, a combination of all these factors have caused this.

### Reflection of Cultural Elements in the Lyrics of Tasier Tabrizi

Tabrizi in his lyrics mostly have mentioned the folkloric elements such as slang, superstitious beliefs, religious issues related to childhood, youth, senility, birth and death, issues related to jobs and the arts and sciences. Also there are some references on the issues such as gaming, entertainment, food, clothing and instruments that belong to Safavid era. Following are some items along with some samples of Tabrizi's lyrics.

#### Folk Games

Abundant wealth and relative comfort and security of society caused people to amuse themselves with games and hobbies such as chess, backgammon, Ganjifa<sup>1</sup>, egg play and other entertainments were common in coffee house of that era (Haeri, 2009: 66; Chardin, 1993: 790 and Tavernier, 2003: 288-289). In the lyrics of this poet we can see folk games like Ganjifa, backgammon games, egg play<sup>2</sup> and sternum breaking game<sup>3</sup>. As noted by French traveler Chardin some games were with gambling. In fact, if the play was only for the purpose of entertainment the game was not considered gamble, but if the aim was to get money or something else it was considered gambling (Chardin, 1993: 790). Tasier has mentioned sternum breaking game in an elegant way:

*Beshkanad bolbol-e delbakhteh ba bade saba      be gerobandiy-e hosn-e to  
jenagh-e gol-e sorkh<sup>4</sup> (Tasier Tabrizi, 1993: verse 9, sonnet 543, page 420)*

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<sup>1</sup> Ganjifa, Ganjapa or Gânjaphâ, is a card game or type of playing cards which Iranian used to play in Safavid era (Golchin-e Maani, 1976:33-34)

<sup>2</sup> In this game the hard boiled eggs were knocked to each other and the owner of the broken egg shell was loser.

<sup>3</sup> They used to pull the sternum of chicken after eating. Then each one took one side of it and pulled it to break after that in the case of giving any thing to each other they should have mentioned "I remember" unless, they would have lost the game (Maseh, 2012:707)

<sup>4</sup> When betting with Zephyr on your beauty the paramour nightingale will break the sternum of Roses.

### **Beliefs**

In the diwan of Tasier there are some lyrics on the beliefs, such as folk beliefs about birth, death, travel, etc. or superstitious beliefs like the existence of fairies, believe in fortune telling and lots and religious beliefs as Istikharah. One of the interesting beliefs about travel was to pour a few drops of water on the mirror after the departure of traveler for his/her immediate return, which was called "Mirror crying" (Maseh, 2012: 472)

*Rafti o geryeh be hal-e del-e geryan kardam ab bar ayineh rizand gafaye safari*<sup>5</sup>

### **Celebrations**

Tasier points out of celebrations like Nowruz, Yalda night and Flower festival (Jashn-e Golrizan) in his poem. Norouz was very venerable and majestic ceremony in Safavid period (Nawab and Ghaffari fard, 2015: 385) and all people wore new clothes on Nowruz festival (Kaempfer, 1984: 183; Tavernier, 2003: 306 and Chardin, 1993: 451). Apparently, children wore red costume in New Year:

*Poshideh tefle ashkam az khon lebas-e golgon sham-e feragh-e janan goyi ke sobh-e eyd ast*<sup>6</sup> (Tasier Tabrizi, 1993: verse7, sonnet 393, page 367)

### **The art of calligraphy**

Although making theme by the use of the paper and pen related terms was available in Persian poetry, but it was prevalent in Safavid era and Tabrizi had a particular interest in theme making by the use of calligraphy-related tools (Afshar, 2002: 154). Of course, it should also be noted that in Safavid dynasty calligraphy was very important (Nawabi and Ghaffari fard, 2015: 354). Poet mentions

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<sup>5</sup> You went and i started to cry for my poor heart, the tradition is that they pour water on the mirror when some one goes to trip

<sup>6</sup> My bloody tear is a child that is wearing a red dress, therefore, the night of the separation of sweetheart seems as the morning of festive in which children are warning red- dresses.

calligraphy-related tools such as pen, scissors, pen-box, liner (Mastar<sup>7</sup>), paper and terms related to this art, such as Chalipa<sup>8</sup> and Reyhan script<sup>9</sup>.

*Lab-e khamoosh-e tasvir-e galamdan fash migoyad ke az hamrahiy-e ahl-e sokhan natvan sokhanvar shod (Tasier Tabrizi, 1993: verse 6, sonnet 579, page 432)*

### Conclusion

According to what have mentioned, it can be concluded that in the lyrics of Tabrizi as one of the Hindi style poets, the reflection of folk-culture is prominent and he has elaborately used this feature in his lyrics. Tasier Tabrizi in his lyrics by the use of cultural elements such as folk-games, beliefs, ceremonies, calligraphy... have made beautiful themes and widely discussed the issues which were related to the daily lives of Iranians in that era.

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<sup>7</sup> It was a piece of cardboard which had relief lines on it and when ever they wanted to draw line on the paper they put the paper on it and pressed on so that it lined the paper (Afshar, 2002: 162)

<sup>8</sup> Chalipa are those italic scripts that are written on the margin of book (Afshar, 2002: 156)

<sup>9</sup> One of the six canonical scripts of the perso-arabic calligraphy (Afshar, 2002: 158)

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## **Interaction of Portable Devices Among Yemeni Learners**

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### **Abstract**

There is nobody can deny the importance of portable devices and the great necessity for them nowadays. They become the essential part in the life as people who has a lot of duties, portable devices enter their lives rabidly with wide steps of development. Each one use them in the all aspects of his/her life.

The researcher comes out from this need of portable devices and their iterance of learners' lives, to make them useful for English learners. The learners who won portable devices such as smart phones, IPOD, IPAD,...., etc. should become nearer and nearer with using the new technology, the usage is not limited just in everyday life but also with their university and academic studies. Learners should be trained the new applications which are related to their studies such as SMS, Email, Face book, Twitter, LinkedIn, YouTube, Picasa, and so on. They should also know more about the uses of these devices in the classrooms and outdoors. The teacher and lecturer should know and train about using the new technology of the portable devices and the new applications. They are the leaders for the learners who lead them towards the best ways for learning and studying.

Teachers of English as a Foreign Language (EFL) in Yemen are in need of better course materials. They face numerous challenges like large class size and inadequate instructional materials and technological support. One of the solutions to the problem is to teach the different kinds of English needed in different situations for different learners. The present study is on Teaching/ Learning English as a Technological Interaction by Using Blended Learning Strategy Based on Portable Electronic Devices. The learners here are 3rd and 4th levels aged between 21 and 24.

**Keywords:** mobile phone, portable device, Electronic, learning English and English as a foreign language



## **1. Introduction**

“In this fourth meeting, Symposium on Asian Languages and Literatures which invited us to read cultures via texts produced in the Asian geography. We also came to explore and investigate the reflections of a joy of a birth, a tune of happens, the taste of a meal on the texts that Asia has accumulated throughout its history. I beg your excuse to borrow those glittering words for my introduction”.

All that pretty words encouraged me as an Asian researcher to share with my little knowledge in this great Symposium, though all difficulties and suffers which I faced at the time of submission and up to now, with all my thanks for all who planned and arranged for this fourth meeting, Symposium.

Learning and education belong to no one nature or culture, up to now global learning networks offer culturally highly learning environments that facilitate better learning resulting in the growth of information and knowledge in all levels.

A serious problem which any teacher may face of any subject is the unmotivated learners, who refuse to participate in classroom activities. This study aims to highlight a novel method in teaching English for the learners of English language by using Portable Electronic Devices and find out its interaction effect on these learners' social life and education. It discusses how the teachers encourage their learners use Portable Electronic Devices to boost their motivation and communicative use of English.

This paper divides into eight parts, first is the introduction, second is the compulsory technological impact for any learners and any technological users, then Learner's interaction by portable devices, then some previous studies, after that the principles of interaction, then data analysis of the questionnaire, then the findings from the questionnaire and finally the consolidation.

### **1.1. The Significance of the problem:**

The significance of this paper has been felt from the researcher's own experience in teaching the fresher of English courses. Learning English becomes very difficult for these learners, and it also becomes difficult for the teacher to find suitable and latest or updated materials for those students. This study can contribute towards a better way of teaching English for the learners.

**1.2. The Scope and Limitations of this study:**

The scope of this study concerns with the Interaction of Portable Devices among Yemeni Learners. This pace of study is done for the need of new and effective way in English Language Teaching/learning as a foreign language. The rapid development in communication tools and technology makes learning languages easier and more effective. In this fast digital age everything is available by one click. The researcher put the learners' needs with the technology development altogether in one path.

**1.3. The question of this study is:**

In which ways do portable devices effect the social and education lives of the learners?

**1.4. The tool of the data collection of this study:**

Is questionnaire. When the researcher conducted the literature review, she had many questions in her mind which she wants to ask the learners but she keeps her questionnaire to limit of three questions and analyses them.

The researcher divides the questionnaire into three parts. The first part is the general information about the responders, it is: Name (to know the gender), Department, E-mail, and Phone Number (to contact with the responders in necessity cases.)

The second part consists of two questions to choose the suitable choices around their educational lives and their usage of the portable devices.

The third part is about smart phones and education to find out the effect of using portable devices on their education and study grade improvement which is important for the purpose of this study, the answers of this question is through choosing agree or disagree in front of each point. The researcher sets a target around fifty learners of English Language as a foreign Language in Yemen.

**2. The compulsory technological impact for any learners and any technological users are in the following points**

1- The technological changes should be accepted and should remain in forefront by the learners.

- 2- The learners should remain himself/herself abreast with the emerging technology convergence.
- 3- It makes the learners know information, or get informed where to go for information.
- 4- It abreasts the learners for technological advancement. (Ravikant M. Deshpande, 2015, p4)

### **2.1. E-Learning:**

It is the use of networked information and communications technology in teaching and learning language, online learning, virtual learning, distance learning, networked and web-based learning; individualized self-paced, and group – based e-learning. This would include devices such as mobile phones, portable digital assistants (PDAs) and iPods. All devices should fit in graduating learners' pockets.

E-Learning is the use of networked information and communications technology in teaching and learning language, online learning, virtual learning, distance learning, networked and web-based learning; individualized self-paced, e-learning online/offline, and group-based e-learning. A mobile phone also known as a cellular phone or a cell phone or a hand phone is a hand held device capable of sending and receiving messages and calls while moving around wide geographical spaces. (Gandhi, V. Karamchand.2011)

It connects to a cellular network provided by mobile phone operator with access to public telephone networks. In addition to telephony, smart mobile phones offer other services such as text messaging, email, internet access, short-range wireless communications, business applications, gaming and photography.

It is sufficient to applaud e-learning and m-learning for enhancing access to learning material, and for learner and instructor interaction. However, the implementation of the different technologies for both e-learning and m-learning have come with an unanticipated cost of restricting the mode of operation and capabilities when integrating e-learning and m-learning for the curricula delivery. (Gandhi, V. Karamchand.2011)

### **2.2. Cloud Computing:**

Ravikant and others define cloud computing that refers to any computing capacity which is delivered as a service over the internet. One of the most frequently used definition is the one given by Gartner, who describes cloud

computing as a style of computing where range scalable IT- related capabilities are provided as a service across the internet to multiple external clients. Educational institutions can share their data like admission process, activities of the departments, research's progress, learners' activities and achievement, conferences and distance learning etc. through cloud computing. (Ravikant et al :196 )

It refers to any computing capacity which is delivered as a service over the internet.

The Cloud Computing is the practice of using a network of remote servers hosted on the Internet to store, manage, and process data, rather than a local server or a personal computer.

Vangie Beal defines it as Cloud computing is a type of computing that relies on sharing computing resources rather than having local servers or personal devices to handle applications. Cloud COMPUTING is comparable to grid computing, a type of computing where unused processing CYCLES of all computers in a network harnesses to solve problems too intensive for any stand-alone machine. [http://www.webopedia.com/TERM/C/cloud\\_computing.html](http://www.webopedia.com/TERM/C/cloud_computing.html)

### **2.3. E-resources:**

Ravikant M. Deshpande has mentioned that E-resources are a part of the "Invisible Web" which is the ultimate source of information accessible through the internet. E-resources are not freely available to everyone on the world wide web and they appear on search engine like Google.

**E- resources:** Means electronic form of information just like internet based information, online journals, online data base, electronic books. All those resources are very useful for the electronic devices portables. 3GP for compression and delivery method of audiovisual content associated with Mobile Learning, GPRS mobile data service, provides high speed connection and data transfer rate, Wi-Fi gives access to instructors and resources via internet. (Ravikant M. Deshpande:p6, 2015)

### **2.4. Blended learning:**

It is a combination of face-to-face and online instruction, is seen as one of the most important advancements of this century and a natural evolution of the

learning agenda. It suggests a stylish solution to the challenges of forming learning language and development to the individuals' needs. Thorne adds that the potential of blended learning is almost limited and naturally development proceeds from traditional ways of learning into personalized development way. (Thorne, 2003)

Blended Learning Strategy can be useful with e-learning for English learners through the following points: Class management, Podcasting, Outdoor, at work or in classrooms.

### **3. Learner's interaction by portable devices**

The term "learner interaction" refers to all interactions that are undertaken by (adult) learners. These interactions can cover any content (social and/or intellectual/academic) and are reflected in written dialogues and / or discussions, connecting to other participants via social media commenting, engaging in informal information exchange, or simply communicating. (INGE, 2013, p14)

The concept of interaction is an essential component in both online education and which instructional techniques enhance those interactions. The different types of interaction as are discussed:

- 1- Learner-content interactions: is the process of intellectually interacting with content to change the learner's understanding.
- 2- Learner-learner interactions: it is between a learner and other learners, in group or alone, with or without the instructor's presence.
- 3- Learner-instructor interactions: builds an encouraging environment for the learners which makes them understand the content better, learner-self, and learner-interface interactions (Bude, Bonk, Magjuka, Liu, & Lee, 2005).
- 4- Learner-self, and learner-interface interaction.

#### **3.1. Skills required for using portable devices**

- 1- Knowledge of Software is such a life-like that the learner should possess the information which they want exactly about application, networking, technological, and communication software.
- 2- Knowledge of Searching for information which is the most important phenomenon on network/internet. A junior needs to be trained for searching. The learner must update his/her knowledge regarding machine searching or networking searches.

3- Knack of conversion: the information on the internet is available in different files but the learner requires in different format may be HTML, PDF or JPG any other ready to use format. This is required for worksheet or PowerPoint and various format so the learner must know this.

4- Editing Skills: the learners must know the handling of all types of software like: Word Processor, PowerPoint. Learner should be familiar with those software.

5- Knowledge Skills: learners must acquire, create, organize, share, use and build on the knowledge that is needed for their successful performance which requires the right skills.

6- Internet Surfing Skills: it is a very important skill to find information on the internet and the learner must know the convenient use of any browser like Internet Explorer, Firefox etc. and know how to use the key words to find images, shop line, research/ find articles. In addition to that how to use Google, Yahoo, Ask, etc. to search and research information on any type of matter. In this technological era internet browsing is the effective, efficient and essential gadget to fulfill the requirement of studying. (Ravikant M. Deshpande et al: p57-61, 2015)

#### **4. Some previous studies**

##### **4.1. The use of Cloud Computing in the Middle East:**

Among the Middle East countries, there are some highly developed countries and there are others underdeveloped, specially the Islamic countries. The Islamic countries share the same need for advanced technologies with the non-Islamic ones including the education sector. (Eze & Onyegebu, 2006)

Today in these Islamic countries the number of educated people have increased more than the number of years ago, including girls and women. Many countries in the Middle East come from various nature of their economics, geography, politics, culture, religious and languages. One of the most burning issues in these countries is the economic factor as an example. Some countries are very wealthy due to the oil industry, while others are poor due to their location and to add to it the war problems nowadays. (Jaatun, Zhao, & Rong, 2010).

In addition, the technology levels in these countries, for example, UAE (United Arab of Emairits) are more advanced and rich than other countries. (Al-Zoube, El-Seoud, & Wyne, 2010).

According to Weber (2011), there is a common shortage of qualified information and communication technology (ICT) professionals, training programs, and trained e-learning in the Middle East and North African region. Some Middle Eastern countries, such as Saudi Arabia, Bahrain, and Yemen, are experiencing the rumblings of dissent related to recent political upheavals in several North African countries. The society and educational initiatives in Middle East countries are undoubtedly disrupted.

Mobile cloud learning can be designed appropriately for a specific group of people or a specific region. Without using extra facilities, the information technology (IT) specialists may design the learning process to meet the requirements of people in remote areas or those who are not prosperous. For example, instead of having a one-time subscription, they may introduce a learning process where one can access the cloud through bundles.

For Islamic countries, the process may be designed for some of the Middle Eastern languages among others. This technology is also referred to as a borderless learning method, which means literacy can reach an individual in deeply remote areas where there are no libraries, tutors, and/or schools (Xu, Wang, & Li, 2011).

A paper study of Almegren and Yassin which entitled “ Learning Object repositories in e-Learning: Challenges for Learners in Saudi Arabia”; they discussed the learners challenges for e-learning, this study adopts a qualitative methodological approach to examine and reflect the perceptions of Learning Objects Repositories to gain an understanding of learners’ use in social activities. The findings of this study provided insights that will complement the organizational vision and strategic planning of e-learning development in Saudi Arabia. It hoped that they will help Saudi’s major decision-makers to produce resolutions as they construct strategic e-learning plans for the country’s future development.

According to Internet World Stats (2010), the country, which was one of the last in the Middle East to allow its nationals Internet access, has the third highest Internet penetration growth rate (3.750 %), behind only Syria (11.800 %) and Iran (12.780 %). The number of Saudi Internet users grew from 200,000 in 2000 to a remarkable 7.7 million just eight years later. Further, 30 % of the Middle East’s ICT and Internet spending comes from Saudi Arabia, proof that the government is committed to using a large proportion of the budget to integrate education into the country’s ICT economy. InternetWorldStats (2010).

Almegren and Yassin recommended that both governmental and non-governmental organizations in Saudi Arabia have made positive moves towards initiating an up-to-date e-learning experience for learners through a variety of educational developments, including the construction of LOR platforms. (Almegren and Yassin, 2013)

As learning support tool, SMS can be used to send information related to an educational content for students. Mellow, (2005) highlighted three modes in which SMS can be used to send educational content. The push mode, that involves the instructor sending educational SMS to the students. Second, the pull mode, in which students order specific educational SMS through pre-specified electronic or paper list of content. Finally, the interactive mode, in which the educational questions are pushed by the instructors or pulled by the students, then answers and feedbacks would be exchanged between the students and the instructor.

e.g., Quraishi mentioned a report entitled “Current State Assessment on Network Infrastructure and Internet Development in the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia”, the country has 28.69 million people and an annual population growth rate of 1.95 %. The population is young, with those aged 20 or below accounting for 50 %. Researchers predict this young population will grow by a third every eight years. (Quraishi, 2012).

#### **4.2. The use of Cloud Computing in India:**

India is a huge country with a population of more than one billion. In India, by tradition, education and learning are highly valued. India has one of the largest higher education systems in the world and education is necessity. It is the most effective instrument with which the people can acquire the knowledge skills and capability to develop nation. National Institutes of Technology (NITs) are premier institutes of engineering and technology in India. NITs have the responsibility of providing high quality education in engineering and technology to produce competent technical manpower of the country. The Current States in India in brief was in 1960s to develop cosmopolitan culture in higher education in India and a campus network has been established in each NITs to have access to full text e-journals. (Xu, Wang, & Li, 2011).



## 5. Principles of interaction

The concept of interaction is an essential ingredient in both online and FTF (full-time equivalency) Education. Specifically, different types of interaction have been widely discussed: learner-content, learner-learner, learner-instructor, learner-self, and learner-interface interaction (Bude, Bonk, Magjuka, Liu, & Lee, 2005). There are three principles of interaction by defining the scope and boundary of three dimensions of interactions. That have been incorporated in the design of a BL pedagogy for a specific EFL context.

General principles of interaction based on three dimensions of interaction—textual, social, and technological interaction—are presented and then applied specifically to EFL classes at a Taiwanese university.

[http://www.itdl.org/journal/jan\\_09/article01.htm](http://www.itdl.org/journal/jan_09/article01.htm)

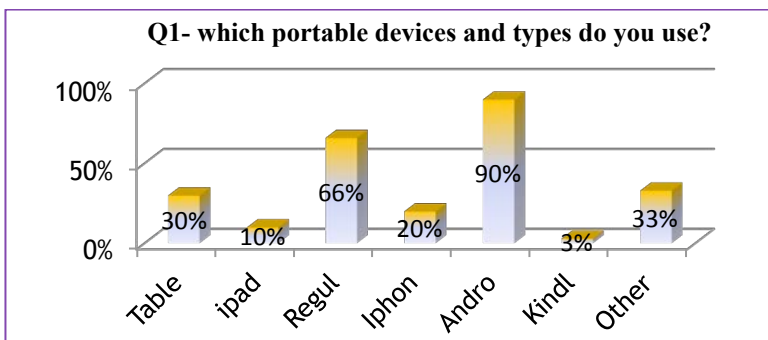
## 6. Data Analysis of the Questionnaire

As it was indicated earlier, the questionnaire contains six items in one part. There is a separate part for the learners' information at the beginning of the questionnaire to contact with the responders if there is any enquiry, then the other questions are provided with some choices for the suitable answers. The choices are depending on the learners' social and learning lives for their using of portable devices. The researcher set a target of a round of 50 learners of English language in Yemen.

The first question is:

### 1- Which portable devices and types do you use:

1) Tablet, 2) iPad, 3) Regular Cell phones, 4) iPhone, 5) Android phone, 6) Kindle, 7) Others



**Understanding Culture**

After the researcher collects the data, then she analyses it, she finds that the most popular device is the Android which is used by 90% of the learners compared to the other portable devices, 66% of learners currently own Regular Cell phones, 33% use other kinds of portable devices, they mentioned, it is the laptops. 30% of learners use Tablet, 20% of them use iPhone, 10% of them use iPad, 3% of them use Kindle. The total of all percentages actually not equal 100%, that's due to the ability to choose more than one choices at the same time.

From figure 1, the finding of this question is: The Yemeni learners are using the Android devices more than any other devices, but that doesn't mean the lack of other devices.

The second question: Q2 - You use your Portable Devices to: 1) Find educational materials, 2) Find and download E-Learning Tools, 3) Download Podcasts, 4) Search for information, 5) Send and receive E-mail, 6) Listen to online lectures, 7) Browse Internet, 8) Connect with social networks, 9) Watch YouTube, 10) Download Music, 11) Download videos, 12) Take and share pictures, 13) Provide entertainment, 14) Call.

The answer of this question is depends on the selection of one and more choices, as the learners do and the percentages of the choices are as the following:

%83 of the learners choose (send and receive e-mails), %80 of them choose (Download Music), %76 of them choose (Search for information), %73 of them choose (Download videos), %70 of them choose (Find and download E-Learning Tools), also %70 (Watch YouTube), %66 of them choose (Find educational materials), and also the same percentage for (Take and share pictures), %60 of them choose (Listen to online lectures), %56 of them choose (Call), %53 of them choose (Browse Internet), also for (Connect with social networks), %50 of them choose (Provide entertainment), and %30 of them choose (Download Podcasts).

From the previous percentages of learners' choices the researcher finds that the most percentages of choice is (send and receive e-mails), that means the importance of these devices for learners to contact with others regularly.

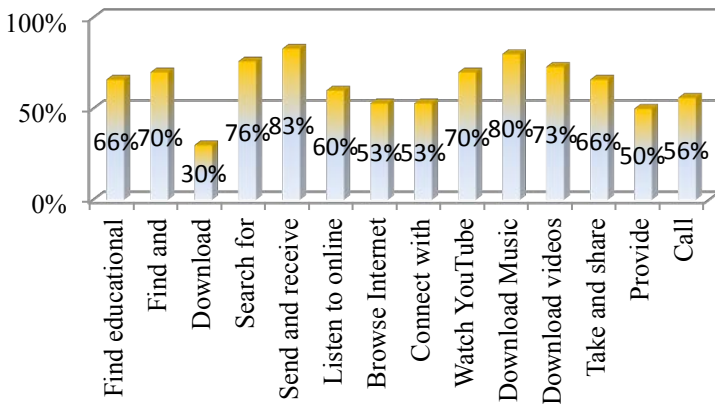


Fig2

The other findings of this question are:

- 1- The learners are more interesting with downloading and watching Music, videos, and YouTube.
- 2- The second interests of learners are: Search for information, Find and download E-Learning Tools, Find educational materials, and Listen to the online lectures.
- 3- The interests on Call, Browse Internet, and Connect with social networks; comes at the end of the learners' interests.

The third question is: Do you agree that your portable device aids you in your study and your grades have increased:

Item	Agree	Disagree
1) When you watch videos related to lectures on your portable device.	%84	%16
2) When you listen to podcasts related to the course on your portable device.	%77	%23
3) When you read notes, articles, e-books and slides related to classes, by using your portable device.	%87	%13
4) When you download applications related to your study by your portable device.	%77	%23
5) When you exchange emails and messages with class members and lecturers by portable device usage.	%73	%27

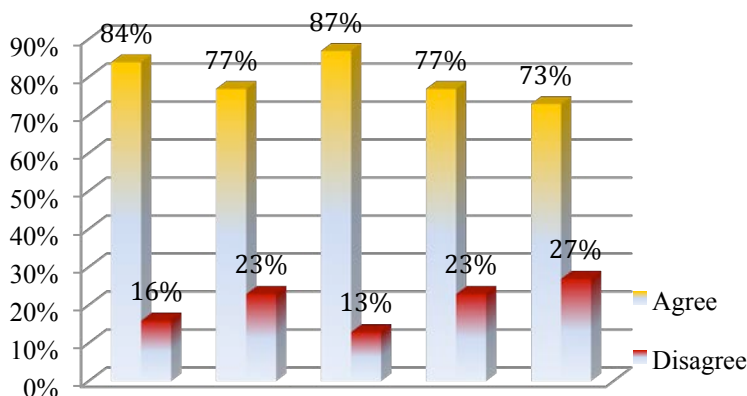
**Understanding Culture**

Fig 3

The findings from the table and figure 3:

- 1- The learners have agreed that their portable device aids them in their study and their grades have increased, the high percentages show that in the table above.
- 2- There are some learners who have not agree about their portable devices aiding them in their study and their grades have not increased, that means they don't have too much benefits by their portable devices properly.
- 3- The vast difference between the level of percentages in the two columns above, prove that there is an interaction for the portable devices among Yemeni learners who study English as a foreign language in Yemen.

### **7. The Findings from the questionnaire:**

- 1- The interaction is positive, because the learners' grade has properly increased and that aids them in their study in general.
- 2- The interaction and effect of portable devices is not only for learning but it also affects in the social life of the learners, that is clear through their choices of downloading videos, music and watching YouTube.
- 3- The Yemeni learners become more educated by using portable devices in their lives and connecting with social networks which helps them to discover the world with open-minded.

4- The academicians' and teachers' role is essential here in helping the learners to show them the new learning applications, lectures and workshops related to their studies.

## 8. Conclusion

A culture is a way of life, of a group, of people who unintentionally pass on their traits by communication and limitation from one generation to another.

Literature is a form of written expression where ideas of permanent and universal interests, characteristics or essential features as poetry, novel, history, biography and essay. That makes literature is the mirror of society and it is the window through which we can see the world and exchange cultures.

Using the communication media with which our learners are most familiar and proficient and the integration of portable devices will offer true flexibility for them and fit in with their digital lifestyle.

This paper is one of the such essays, which discusses the effect of portable devices' interaction among Yemeni learners. Then sharing this paper in this symposium to be one-step among many other steps as the researcher's plans to follow.

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## **Chapter 5:**

### **Islamic Architecture and History in the Indian Territory**

# **The Origin of High Vaulted Platform Mosque at Dhaka City and Uses It's Underneath**

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## **Abstract**

Mosque, important source of the Muslim architecture besides has taken substantial place in the history of world art. It started by establishing "Medina mosque or Masjid-an-Nabawi" at medina, Saudi Arab. Later, by rulers and with changing of times added new architectural structure and style on it. In sequel of that some mosques set up on high vaulted platform in the Mughal period at Dhaka city. This type of mosque is not seen in the Sultanate period in Bengal but in some years, Chawk mosque (1676 AD.), Kartalab Khan's mosque (1701-04 AD.), Khan Mohammad Mridha mosque (1704-05 AD.), Azimpur mosque (1746 AD.) and Musa Khan Mosque build up during the Mughal rules. There is no doubt that the idea came from exterior in according to historians but they did not indicate the exact origin place of this mosque. In addition, regarding to a series of rooms underneath the platform they have different views. As a result, in this study have been tried to prove it apart from displaying the images with description and also the present condition of these mosques.

**Keywords:** Mosque, Vault, Dhaka, Mughal, Muslim Architecture



## **The Origin of High Vaulted Platform Mosque at Dhaka City and Uses It's Underneath**

### **Chawk Mosque**

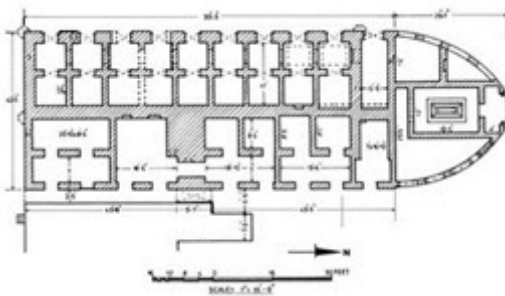
The dated Chawk mosque is located in the Chawkbazar area of old Dhaka. The Chawk mosque built by Nawab Shaista Khan in 1086 A. H. (1676 A. D.), as noted by a Persian inscription over the doorway (Dani, 1961). The three domed mosque is built above a raised platform but unfortunately the original three domed roof has been demolished. Newly multi-storied structures have been made on the north and east side by imitation of Shaista Khan's another three domed mosque at the midfort hospital compound near the Buriganga River. The western half of 3.05 m. high vaulted platform (28.65 m from north to south and 24.38 m from east to west) is occupied by the original three domed mosque. Its measures on the exterior angles 16.15 m by 7.92 m along with the four octagonal towers (Bari, 2012). The beautiful muqarnas works and stucco design still contains on half domed vault of the central archway. There are three remodeling mihrabs inside the west wall. The central mihrab still has semi octagonal aperture but rectangular in design are its flanking counter parts. The interior side of the mosque was divided into three bays covered with domes. The central bay is square shaped, while its side one is rectangular (Husain, 2007).



Chawk Mosque, Dhaka (Banglapedia, 2012, 409)

**Kartalab Khan's Mosque**

Kartalab Khan's mosque is situated at Begum Bazar in the old Dhaka. Now commonly known as Begum Bazar mosque. Murshid Quli Khan (Kartalab Khan) was appointed governor of Bengal by emperor Awrangzeb and built it between in 1701-1704 A.D. during his residence in Dhaka (Dani, 1961). It is another vaulted platform mosque at Dhaka city beside there was a vav or baoli (stepped well) to the east side of the platform. The mosque proper comprehensive of its corner towers, measures 28.65x8.23 m and is entered from the east through five arched doorways-each opens out under a half dome and is flanked by slender octagonal turrets which surmount above the parapets (Islam, 2003). Each of the north and south walls consists of one doorway in the middle. The four octagonal corner towers rising above the horizontal parapets and summit of these are decorated with cupolas. Internally the mosque is divided into five bays which are covered with domes on octagonal drums crowned with lotus and kalasa finials. This mosque has five domes prayer hall instead of older three domed features in the Mughal period. The interior of the mosque western wall is recessed with five semi-octagonal mihrabs. There is a three-stepped masonry pulpit beside the central mihrab (Zakaria, 1984). The new and important architectural feature of Kartalab Khan's mosque is Bengali do-chala hut-shaped structure, which was built adjoining the mosque on the north wall probably residence purposes for imam (Hasan, 1984)



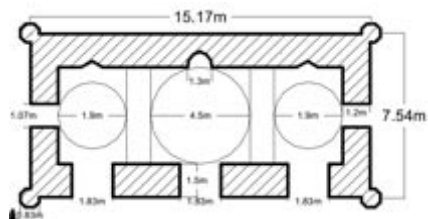
Kartalab Khan's Mosque Plan (Tanzin, 2004)

### Musa Khan Mosque

Musa Khan mosque is one of the oldest and vaulted platforms Mosque at Dhaka in the Mughal period. This mosque is located on the north-west side of the Shahidullah hall and behind the Karzon hal. Probably this mosque was built by Diwan Munawar Khan in the name of his grandfather Musa Khan, who was son of Isha Khan and a prominent Baro Bhuyans (The Bengal in the medieval age were ruled by approximately twelve landlords) (Jakaria, 1984). There is no any dated inscription in this mosque but the structure of the mosque is almost similar with the nearest Khawaja Shahbaz mosque. (1679 A.D.) A contemporary date may therefore be suggested for the mosque (Dani, 2009). The vaulted platform is 3.05 m high, gives an outside measurement of 17.68 m from north to south and 14.02 m from east to west (Islam, 2010). The top of the stage can be reached by an elongated stairway on the south-western corner. The mosque belongs to oblong shaped plan measuring 15.17 m by 7.54 m externally with 1.52 m thick surrounding brick wall. The three arched doorways by which could be entered the prayer hall and the other two side walls have one pointed-arch openings each (Noor & Kamruzzaman, 2011). The four octagonal corner towers with extra minarets by their side surmount above the horizontal parapets. The qibla wall is internally recessed with three mihrab niches, which are all arched. In which central mihrab is bigger than side ones. The whole length of the rectangular hall is divided into three bays. The side bays are rectangular in shape and smaller in width, but central one is bigger and square.



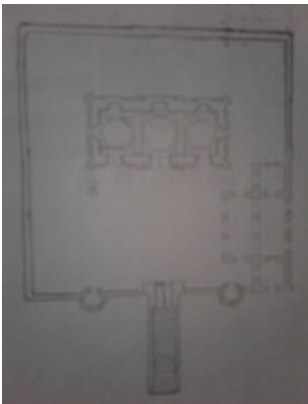
Musa Khan Mosque (Muntasir, 2007)



Musa Khan Mosque Plan (Noor & Kamruzzamn, 2011)

**Khan Muhammad Mridha Mosque**

Khan Muhammad Mridha Mosque is situated less than half a kilometre west of the Lalbagh fort in place called Atishkhana. In conformity with two Persian inscriptions, Khan Muhammad Mridha built this beautiful mosque under the patronage of Qazi Ibadullah in 1704-1705 A.D. The mosque is known in the name of builder (Dani, 1961). The main mosque is built on a 16 m 6 inch high platform (Ahmed, 1980, p. 54). The large platform measures are 38.10 m from north to south and 28.96 m from east to west (Bari, 2003). Underneath the platform there are vaulted rooms on all sides except the eastern side. The platform is reached by a flight of 25 steps from the east side of the mosque. The flight is ended by an arched gateway which is alignment with the central doorway of the mosque (Haque, Enamul 2006). This mosque is three dome types and central dome is surmounting as well as larger than the other two flanking domes, a common architectural feature of Mughal at Dhaka (Asher, 1984). It is oblong in plan and measure is 48 m long by 24 m wide. The corner towers of the mosque elaborately higher than the parapet and terminate in ribbed cupolas (Ahmed, 1980). The facade is decorated with architectural panel and ornamental blind merlons are seen at different phases of the parapets. The prayer hall of this mosque is divided into three bays and two lateral arches, each bay containing a decorated mihrab by multi-cusped arches framed (Dani, 1961). (N.B. This historic mosque was enlisted to protect by Archaeology Department in 1913).



Khan Muhammad Mosque Plan  
(Ahmed, 2006, p. 163)



Khan Muhammad Mosque, General View  
([index.php/2013-06-03-11-28-34/tourism.html](http://index.php/2013-06-03-11-28-34/tourism.html))

### Azimpur Mosque

According to a Persian inscription, Azimpur mosque built in 1746 A.D. besides the Azimpur public cemetery in the city of Dhaka. The mosque has been broadly repaired and altered that now it look from outside to be a modern building. It is a two storied structure, the lower one is the vaulted platform now occupied by some madrasa students. The upper storey consisted of main mosque and a large structure to the north of the mosque. A set of steps on the north western corner, reached to the top of the platform (Husain, 2007). The mosque is oblong in plan, its measures 11.58 m from north to south and 7.32 m from east to west. The four octagonal corner towers built following the Mughal traditional fashion which must have originally gone beyond the parapet. There are five arched doorways, three in the east and one each on the north and south sides. The central doorway bigger than its flanking counter parts constructed within a projected fronton bounded by slender semi-octagonal turrets on either side. The interior of the mosque is divided into three bays, in which the central square bay is roofed with a big bulbous dome with lotus and kalasa finial, but each of the side rectangles is entirely covered with half-domed vaults (Islam, 2012). This is unknown before and after in Bengal. These vaults are so large that the form an essential part in the overall scheme of the roof plan, Therefore the prayer chamber of Azimpur mosque compares well with the sanctuary wing of the ottoman standard plan, which has two or four half-domes always beside the central dome. It is very possible that the influence came from ottoman through the Armenians who settled in Dhaka during this period (Husain, 2007).



Azimpur Mosque, General view ([www.ourdhakacity.com](http://www.ourdhakacity.com))

**Using of underneath**

Especially these mosques were built on upper terrace. Each mosque consists of a series of vaulted rooms under the plinth. The rooms must have originally devised for providing residential accommodation for students and teachers like the present residential madrasa mosque (Gupta, 2006). Because of this speciality may be said that teachers and students would have come from the varieties locality and stayed for religious education purposes. Likely students were taught by the imam of mosque. Therefore, it is found that the peculiar building as a do-chala style of Bengal on the northern part of the platform in Kartalab Khan's mosque for serving of imam (Hasan, 1984). Because the square and rectangular a series of vaulted ceiling with book-shelves under the podium may therefore be said used to teach and study here with accommodating facilities (Husain, 2007). These rooms were also used for another purpose beside residence. Chawk and Kartalab Khan's mosque are the good example, where some vaulted room erected for shops to meet the expenses of the mosque and now still let out to shopkeepers (Bari, 2012). Musa Khan Mosque superficially is a copy of the Chawk mosque, underneath the plinth there are three independent rooms on the eastern side. Each of which could be entered from the east by a single archway. Western side have others three independent rooms, each opening towards the west by a single archway like the same constructional peculiarities those in the eastern side. But unfortunately now are badly damaged. The three dome structure above the podium of Khan Muhammad mosque is still serving as the main prayer hall. But the vaulted chambers are used as shops (Karim, Abdul 1997). But such evidence is not available at the present time. Basically these rooms could have been utilized as a madrasa, bookshops or shops for book binding (Imamuddin, 1993). Although a few ceilings are using by some employees who are serving the nearby Lalbagh fort. Azimpur mosque contains a series of rooms like mentioning other Mosques on the eastern or northern sides. Some of the students of a newly built madrasa adjacent have been given residential permission in still preserving vaulted rooms on the northern side (Islam, 2012).



Salih Al-Talai Mosque, General view with underneath  
(discoverislamicart.org/database)

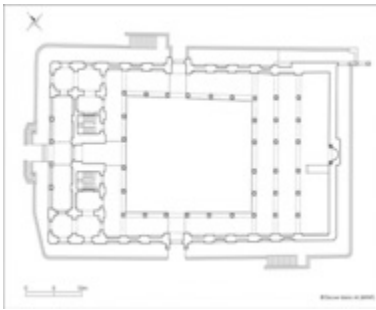


Underneath the Khan Mohammad Mridha Mosque (Doi: g293936-d6043268-i102305469)

### Origin

The vaulted platform mosque is beyond doubt one of the most impressive Mughal structures at Dhaka city. It is a very resourceful way to combine madrasa and mosque in a single building which is not only saved space but also a considerable amount of money (Husain, 2007). Chawk mosque (1676 A.D.) perhaps the earliest dated mosque in Bengal that was built on a high vaulted platform among the same style mosques in Dhaka (Gupta, 2006). But this type of mosque is not seen in the sultanate period in Bengal. Initially it started in the 17th century under the Mughal. Probably the idea directly came from north India or Delhi, where a number of such mosques were built in the Tughlaq and Lodi period. Exemplary, Firuz Shah Tughlaq's Kotla jami (1354 A.D.), Khirki masjid (1374 A.D.), Kalan masjid (1387 A.D.) and Bara Gumbad mosque (1494 A.D.) are found at Delhi. Again the north Indian mosques are undoubtedly influenced by early mosque at Islam. The Fatimid mosque of Salih Al-Talai 555 H. (1160 A.D.) in Cairo erected on high vaulted terrace (Bari, 2003). The mosque was constructed in recesses on three sides (except the qibla) designed to shops (Waqf) which contributed to the revenue of the mosque (Caroline, 2008). The shops of Chawk and Kartalab Khan's mosque set up alike in Dhaka. According to Hosain A.B.M. Perhaps the Salih Al-Talai was imitated by the Persian character in which was also applied on Indian Tughlaq, Lodi and Mughal architecture (Husain, 1979, p. 77). Some other exterior features were brought with the high plinth and used properly, the baoli or vav (stepped well) of the Kartalab Khan's mosque is only known example in Bengal. It is appeared to be as north Indian or Deccan origin, the later possibility being more reasonable since its builder had long stayed before coming to Bengal.

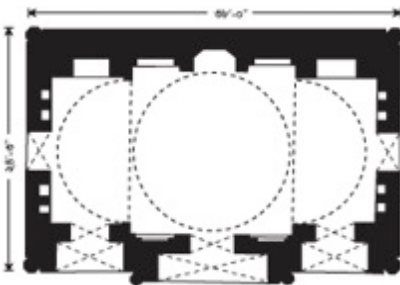
(Husain, 2007). The Khan Muhammad Mridha Mosque illustrates the elaborate style of the single aisled multi domed mosque of the past Shaista Khan period. In which the mosque follow the “qua plan” of the Muslim madrasa, which was extensive used by Ayyubid and Mamluk periods (11th -15th Century) in Egypt (Imamuddin & Karen, 1990). Overall plan of Azimpur mosque is similar to Khan Muhammad mridha mosque, but added an exceptional style on the roofing pattern instead of traditional Mughal form. In this plan vaults are so largely that the form an indispensable part in the all-inclusive scheme of roof. It is probably come from the standard plan of ottoman mosques like mosque of Bayezid (1501-05 A.D.) and Shahzada mosque (1543-48 A.D.) in Istanbul, where consists of a single dome and a flanking half-domed vault on either side (Bari, 2012).



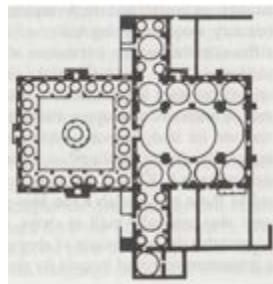
Mosque Plan of Salih Al-Talai  
 (discoverislamicart.org/database)



Vav or Baoli, Kartalab Khan's Mosque  
 (Tanzin, 2004)



Azimpur Mosque Plan (Banglapedia,  
 2012, p.6)



Ottoman Standard Mosque Plan  
 (khaledrentacar.com/  
 bangladesh/ tourism-in-  
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## **Islamic Invasions to India during Umayyad Caliphate**

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### **Abstract**

The effect of Islam in Indian Peninsula dates back to the first century after the birth of Islam. The contact of Arabic tradesmen who use both the land and the seas with the region is much earlier. The Arabic tradesmen were in contact with India before the birth of the Islamic prophet, Hz. Muhammed. The tradesmen would go to the Western coast of the country via seaway and bought spices and African goods. Naturally, the Arabs transferred their new religion to India after they became Muslim. In Islamic history, the first contact with Indian region from the land has been under the command of Ebû Musa el-Eř'arî. The war with the citizens of the Sind region under his command has resulted in Muslim victory, many slaves were taken captive, and these slaves were released afterwards in return to poll tax (jizya) by command of Hz. Omar.

Regular Indian invasions have occurred during the caliphate of Velid b. Abdûlmelik, the Umayyad khalifa. These invasions have been carried out by Muhammed b. Kasim who was appointed by Haccac, the governor of Iraq. Muhammed b. Kasim conquered the important cities of the region. Defeating the armies he came across, he conquered the Multan region, which is a major center of Buddhism. He spread the area he ruled up to Kashmir. In such a short time as four years, he started ruling a large area within the borders of current India and most of the current Pakistani borders due to his extensive military skills and his positive treatment towards the citizens of the regions he conquered. The Indian invasions slowed down when Muhammed b. Kasim was discharged upon the death of Haccac and Velid.

**Keywords:** Islam, Umayyad Caliphate, India, Invasion

## Emeviler Zamanında Hindistan'a İslam Akınları

### Giriş

Hindistan'ın kuzeybatısında yer alan ve İslam tarihi kaynaklarında Sind adı verilen İndus vadisi, dünya üzerinde medeniyet beşiği olmuş çok az yerden biridir. Bu kıt'a tarihi süreç içinde ticaret sayesinde diğer ülkelerle devamlı ilişki içinde olmuş, büyük önem arz eden ve gittikçe gelişen, deniz ve kara yolu ile yapılan ticaret, Hindistan'ı, doğu ve batısında bulunan ülkelere bağlamıştır.

Hindistan'ın tabii kara sınırları, Pamir yaylasından doğuya doğru uzanan Himalaya ve batıya doğru uzanan Hindukuş dağ zincirleri ve Belucistan'ın güneyindeki Mükran'ın da dâhil olduğu bölgedir (Bayur, 1987, s. 1-2). İbn Hurdazbih Sind bölgesinde Mükran, Kikan ve Mülta'nı şehir olarak sayarken (İbn Hurdazbih, 1967, s. 56) İstahri, Mükran, Turan ve Būdhe diye bölgeyi üç kısma ayırır (İstahri, 1967, s. 170). Makdisi ise Sind bölgesini Mükran, Turan, Sind, Veyhind, Kannevc, Multan olarak taksim eder ve bu bölgelerin şehirlerini anlatır (el-Makdisi, 1906, s. 475-476). Sind bölgesinin ilk defa haritasını yapan ve eserinde burayı ayrı bir bölüm olarak ele alan İbn Havkal, bölge hudutlarını belirledikten sonra Mükran, Mansura, Mülta ve Turan diye dört bölgeye ayırır (İbn Havkal, 1938-39, s. 317). Ömerî kendi zamanındaki Sind bölgesini 24 bölgeye böler ve her bölgedeki köyler için çok sayıda rakam verir (Ömerî, 1988-89). Bazı İslam tarihi kaynakları, Hind demekle Sind'i de kastetmişler ve Sind'i de içine alan bir ifade kullanmışlardır (Tirazi, 1983, s. 131) (Bayur, 1987).

### Hulefâ-yı Râşidin Zamanı

Hindistan coğrafyasına ilk İslam akınları 15/636 yılında başlayarak zaman zaman aralıklarla devam etti. İslam ordularının fethi başladıkları yıllarda Sind bölgesinde bütün Hindistan'da olduğu gibi Hinduizm veya Brahmanizm, Budizm ve Caynacılık olmak üzere üç inanış vardı. İslam tarihi kaynaklarından Sind halkının dini konusunda verilen haberler onların puta taptıklarını göstermektedir (Minorsky, 1986, s. 629-630) (Belazuri, 1987, s. 386) (İstahri, 1967, s. 174). Hz. Ömer zamanında bazı Sind kabileleri Müslüman oldular. İslam orduları Hz. Ömer zamanında Basra körfezindeki Übüle çarşısını aldıkları zaman birçok Hind malları elde etmişlerdi (Dineveri, s. 117).

Halife Hz. Ömer zamanında İran üzerine Ebu Musa el-Eş'ari komutasında gönderilen İslam orduları, İran'ın güneyinde yer alan Ahvaz'a geldikleri zaman burada, Sind halkından Zut ve Esavire kabileleri ile karşılaştılar (Belazuri, 1987, s.

366). Hz. Ömer Kadisiye savaşının zafer müjdesini aldığı sırada Utbe b. Gazvan'ı Basra bölgesine gönderdi. Onu uğurlarken bu zafer müjdesini kastederek şöyle dedi: "Ey Utbe! Büyük düşmanlardan biri yenildi. Ben seni Hind topraklarına gönderiyorum. Çünkü o büyük düşmanlardan bir düşmandır. Dilerim Allah oralarda sana yardımcı olsun (Taberi, 1967, s. III/591) (İbn Kesir, 1981, s. VII/48) (Dineveri, s. 116)."

Utbe b. Gazvan 14/635 yılı sonbaharında Übülle'yi fethedince, bunu Hz. Ömer'e şöyle rapor etti: "Uman'dan, Bahreyn'den, Fars'dan, Hind'den ve Çin'den gelen gemilerin uğradıkları bir limanı bulunan Basra'yı Allah'ın bizim elimize nasib ettiğini, bize onların altınlarını, gümüşlerini, kadınlarını, çocuklarını ganimet kıldığını bil ve bunun için hamd et (Dineveri, s. 117) (Belazuri, 1987, s. 337) (Mes'udi, 1964, s. II/328) (Yakubi, s. II/143)."

14/635 yılında Hz. Ömer, Osman b. Ebi'l-As'ı hem Bahreyn hem de Uman valiliğine tayin etti (Belazuri, 1987, s. 92). Ebu Abdullah Osman b. Ebi'l-As ordusunu üç bölerek bir kısmını kardeşi Hakem b. Ebi'l-As komutasında Bahreyn'e, diğer kısmını kardeşi Mugire b. Ebi'l-As'ın emrine verdi. Kendisi ordusu ile Uman'a yerleşti (Belazuri, 1987, s. 420) (Tirazi, 1983, s. I/131). H. 15/636 yılında kardeşleri ile birlikte gemilerle Hindistan'a doğru yola çıktılar. Mugire b. Ebi'l-As Çin gemilerinin de uğrak yeri Sind nehrinin denize döktüğü yerde bir liman şehri olan Deybül'a, Hakem b. Ebi'l-As ordusuyla zengin ticaret şehri olan Bervas'a (Belazuri, 1987, s. 420) (Kudame, 1981, s. 413) (Heyd, 1975, s. I/178), Osman b. Ebi'l-As ise Tane şehrine akın yaptı. Bu üç önemli yerleşim birimi çok eski zamanlardan beri ticaret gemilerinin uğrak yeri idi (Belazuri, 1987, s. 420).

Osman b. Ebi'l-As bu seferleri Halife Hz. Ömer'e rapor etti. Hz. Ömer ona şöyle cevap verdi: "Ey Sakif'in kardeşi. Sen böcekleri tahta parçasına yükler gibi askerleri de gemilere doldurdun. Allah'a yemin ederim ki eğer askerler bu sebepten ölmüş olsalardı kabilenden onların sayısınca insan alırdım" (Belazuri, 1987, s. 420). Bu mektup sonrası Hind'e uzun bir süre deniz seferi yapılmamasına karar verilmiştir.

17/637 yılında Hz. Ömer, Süheyl b. Adi'yi Kirman'a, Hakem b. Amr et-Tağlibi'yi bugün bir bölümü Pakistan'ın sınırları içinde yer alan Mükran bölgesine tayin etti (Taberi, 1967, s. IV/181) (İbnü'l-Esir, 1979, s. III/45). Takviye birliklerle daha da güçlenen Hakem, Mükran'ın içlerine doğru fetih hareketlerine devam etti. Müslümanların karşısında duramayacağını anlayan Mükran hükümdarı Sind hükümdarından yardım istedi (Taberi, 1967, s. IV/181) (İbnü'l-Esir, 1979, s. III/45). Sind bölgesi hâkimi Rasil, büyük bir ordu ile yardıma gelerek Müslümanlarla savaştılar. Savaş sonunda düşman yenilip kaçmağa başladı. Müslümanlar pek çok

kayıp vermiş olan düşmanı günlerce kovaladı. Düşmanı takip ederek Sind nehrine ulaştılar. Bu fetihler 22/642 yılına kadar devam etti.

23/643 yılında Hz. Ömer Mecusi bir köle tarafından şehit edilince Hz. Osman halife oldu. Bu sıralarda İslam orduları Fars, Horasan, Sistan ve Kirman'ın doğusuna ulaşmışlardı. Hz. Osman, Hz. Ömer'in Uman valisi ve Hindistan kıyılarına ilk akınları yapan Osman b. Ebi'l-As'ı görevinden aldı (İbnü'l-Esir, 1979, s. V/22, 267).

Hz. Osman, 29/649 yılında Ebu Musa el-Eş'ari'nin yerine Abdullah b. Amir b. Küreyz'i Irak'a vali tayin etti. Ona yazdığı mektupla Hind hudutlarına orayı bilen birini göndermesini ve kendisine o bölgenin durumu hakkında haber getirmesini emretti. Bu emir üzerine Abdullah, Hâkim b. Cebele el-Abdi'yi Hind bölgesine gönderdi. Hâkim, sınır boylarında dolaşıp dönünce Abdullah onu Halife Osman'a gönderdi. Hz. Osman verilen bu rapordan Hind ikliminin İslam ordusu için uygun olmadığını görmüş olmalı ki oraya kimseyi savaşa göndermedi. Hâkim b. Cebele geri döndüğü zaman Sind bölgesine sefer yapmamış ise de Mükran'da savaşlara devam etmiştir. (Belazuri, 1987, s. 421-422). Daha sonra bu sahabe Sind'in Mükran ile sınır olmasından dolayı Sind emiri olarak anılmıştır (Zirikli, 1954, s. II/298).

Ebu Musa el-Eş'ari zamanında Müslüman olan Hint kavmi Esavireler, Abdullah b. Amir ile Horasan bölgesinde fetihlerde bulundular (Belazuri, 1987, s. 367). Abdullah b. Amir Irak valisi olunca 33/653 yılında Sistan'a Abdurrahman b. Semüre b. Habib'i vali tayin etti. Abdurrahman, 8000 kişilik ordusuyla Hind tarafında Zerenc ve Kişş arasında bulunan bölgeyi fethetti (Yakut, 1979, s. IV/460) (Minorsky, 1986, s. II/294).

35/655 yılında Hz. Osman'ın şehit edilmesinden sonra Hz. Ali'ye biat edildi. 38/658 yılı sonları ile 39/659 yılı başında Haris b. Mürre el-Abdi kendi isteği ile Hind hudutlarında savaşmak için izin istedi. Hz. Ali ona izin verip Sind'e gönderdi (Belazuri, 1987, s. 421) (Kudame, 1981, s. 414) (İbnü'l-Esir, 1979, s. III/391) (Elliot, 1976, s. I/422). Haris b. Mürre el-Abdi, 39/659 yılında geldiği Sind'de, 42/662 yılına kadar mücadeleye devam etti (Belazuri, 1987, s. 421) (Kudame, 1981, s. 414).

### **Emeviler zamanı**

Muaviye b. Ebi Süfyan halife olunca Abdullah b. Amir'i Sistan valisi olarak tayin etti. Fakat daha sonra Ziyad b. Ebi Süfyan'ın talebi ile Amir'in yerine Rebi' b. Ziyad'ı vali tayin etti (Belazuri, 1987, s. 389). Bu vali değişikliğinden yararlanmak isteyen Kabil Şahı Rutbil, Müslümanlara karşı ordu göndererek Zabulistan ve Ruhhac'a hâkim

oldu. Rebi b. Ziyad ordusu ile harekete geçerek Büst'e kadar ilerleyip Rutbil'le savaştı ve onu yendi. Ruhhac ve Daver bölgesini geri aldı.

Muaviye'nin Irak valisi Abdullah b. Amir ise 42/662 yılında Raşid b. Amr el-Cüdeydi'yi Sind hudutlarına gönderdi (Halife b. Hayyat, 1968, s. 237). Daha sonra Muaviye, Abdullah b. Sevvar el-Abdi'yi 43/663 yılında Hind sınırlarına tayin etti. Abdullah b. Sevvar, Kikan'a karşı düzenlediği seferlerde birçok ganimet elde etti ve Muaviye'ye Kikan atları hediye etti (Yakubi, s. II/234) (İbnü'l-Esir, 1979, s. III/444) (Nüveyri, 1975, s. XX/266).

Mühelleb b. Ebi Süfra ise Sind bölgesinde Kandabil, Benne ve Ehver'e geldi (Halife b. Hayyat, 1968, s. 239). Burada karşılaştığı düşman birlikleri ile savaştı ve onları yendi. 45/665 yılında Muaviye, Basra valisi olarak Ziyad b. Ebih'i tayin etti. Muaviye Ziyad'a Basra, Horasan, Sistan, Hind, Bahreyn ve Uman bölgelerinin valiliğini verdi (Taberi, 1967, s. V/217) (Kudame, 1981, s. 414) (Belazuri, 1987, s. 421) (İbnü'l-Esir, 1979, s. III/453-454) (İbn Kesir, 1981, s. VIII/29).

Mühelleb b. Ebi Sufra 46/666 yılına kadar Sind'de kaldı. Daha sonra Horasan'a geçti. 47/667 yılında Muaviye, Abdullah b. Sevvar'ı 4000 askerle Sind'e gönderdi (Yakubi, s. II/234) (Nüveyri, 1975, s. XX/265). Abdullah b. Sevvar, Kikan bölgesinde savaşmaya devam ederken, Kikan halkı Türklerden yardım isteyip birlikte onu öldürdüler. Yenilgiye uğrayan ordu, Yasin b. Sevvar el-Abdi ve Hatem b. Kuteybe komutasında Mükran'a geri döndü (Halife b. Hayyat, 1968, s. 244) (Belazuri, 1987, s. 421) (İbnü'l-Esir, 1979, s. III/444) (Tirazi, 1983, s. I/149).

Muaviye, 43/663 yılında Münzir b. Carud el-Abdi'yi bu bölgeye gönderdi. Münzir, Bukan ve Kikan üzerine seferler düzenleyerek yeniden Müslümanların galip gelmesini sağladı. Ayrıca Münzir bu bölgelere seriyyeler gönderdi ve Kusdar'ı fethederek, çok sayıda esirler aldı. Münzir hayatını bu bölgede mücadele ederken kaybetti (Kudame, 1981, s. 415-416) (Belazuri, 1987, s. 422).

Muaviye, Irak'a Ubeydullah b. Ziyad'ı tayin ettikten sonra (İbn A'sem, 1986, s. IV/320-321) Muaviye öldü ve halifeliğe oğlu Yezid geçti. Yezid, babasının atadığı Basra valisi Ubeydullah b. Ziyad'ı yerinde bıraktı. Münzir'in vefat ettiği duyulunca oğlu Hakem b. Münzir el-Abdi onun yerine Sind idaresini ele aldı (Tirazi, 1983, s. I/154).

Harri b. Harri Mükran'a gidince bazı bölgelere baskınlarda bulundu. Kusdar şehrine girmek için çok şiddetli savaşlar yaptı ve önemli miktarda ganimet elde etti. Bu arada devletin içinde isyanlar çıkmış, Kufe'de Muhtar'ın-Sakafi isyan etmişti. Muhtarla savaşan Ubeydullah b. Ziyad, 66/685 yılında, Kufe'de öldürüldü. Abdülmelik, Hicaz valisi Haccac b. Yusuf es-Sekafi'yi 75/694 yılında Irak bölgesine tayin etti (Kudame, 1981, s. 416) (Belazuri, 1987, s. 423) (Hasan İbrahim, s. I/375).

Haccac, Kufe'ye gelip hemen göreve başladı ve bir taraftan Kufe halkı ile uğraşırken öte taraftan 78/697 yılında ölen Harri b. Harri'nin yerine Said b. Eslem el- Kilabi'yi Sind bölgesine tayin etti. Said Mükran'a gelince çeşitli bölgelere fetihlerde bulundu. Bölgede mali ve idari işleri tanzimle uğraştı (Kudame, 1981, s. 416) (Belazuri, 1987, s. 423) (Yakubi, s. II/277) (İbnü'l-Esir, 1979, s. IV/381) (Tirazi, 1983, s. I/156).

Bu arada Alafilere diye bilinen ve devlet içinde fitne çıkaran haricilerden Muaviye el-Alafi ve Muhammed el-Alafi liderliğinde bir grup, Sind bölgesine gelip Sind meliki Dahir'in himayesinde çalışmaya başladılar. Haccac, Said'den onları yakalamasını veya öldürmesini istedi. Fakat Haris'in oğlu olan bu iki isyancı ile yaptığı karşılaşmada Said öldürüldü. İsyancılar Mükran'ı istila ettiler (Halife b. Hayyat, 1968, s. 390) (Belazuri, 1987, s. 423) (İbnü'l-Esir, 1979, s. III/381) (Tirazi, 1983, s. I/156).

Haccac, Horasan valisi Mühelleb b. Ebi Sufra'nın 82/701 yılında ölmesi üzerine Yezid b. Mühelleb'i Horasan'a vali yaptı. Bu arada Sind bölgesinde Ezd ile Kays kabileleri arasındaki rekabet düşmanlığa dönüştü. Yezid Ezdiler'in tarafını tutunca bu kabilelerin arası iyice bozuldu. Bu dönemde Haccac, Sind bölgesi ile ilgilenemedi. Ancak Yezid'in ölmesi ile 85/704 yılı sonlarında Kuteybe b. Müslim'i Horasan'a tayin etti. Bu tayin ile karışıklığın dineceğini ümit eden Haccac, Sind bölgesine 79/698 yılında Müca'a b. Sa'r et-Temimi'yi gönderdi (Halife b. Hayyat, 1968, s. 358) (Hasan İbrahim, s. I/378). Daha önce onu Uman valisi yapmıştı. Müca'a ordusu ile Mükran'a gelip Alafilere'nin hükmüne son vermek istedi. İdari işleri yoluna koymak için isyan eden köylere, Kandabil ve Kikan'a baskınlarda bulundu. Fakat bir yıl sonra hastalandı ve 86/705 yılında öldü (Kudame, 1981, s. 416) (Belazuri, 1987, s. 423) (İbnü'l-Esir, 1979, s. IV/381) (Zirikli, 1954, s. V/277).

Aynı yıl Emevi tahtında Abdülmelik b. Mervan ölünce yerine Velid b. Abdülmelik geçti. Velid, Haccac'ı, Irak valiliğinden azletmedi. Haccac Mükran bölgesine Muhammed b. Harun en-Nemri'yi vali tayin etti. O düşmanla savaştı ve zafer kazandı (Halife b. Hayyat, 1968, s. 358-359) (Kudame, 1981, s. 416) (Belazuri, 1987, s. 423) (Yakubi, s. II/277) (İbnü'l-Esir, 1979, s. IV/381). Bu arada Yakut adasının meliki Haccac'a nadir mücevherler, köleler ve cariyeler hediye etmek istedi. Bu amaçla gönderdiği on sekiz gemi Irak'a doğru yola çıktı. Gemilerde çeşitli hediyelerden başka ticaret yapan Araplar ve Hac niyetiyle yola çıkmış Müslüman kadınlar da vardı. Bu kadınların ataları da ticaretle uğraşmışlar ve bu adada ölmüşlerdi. Ada meliki bu hareketi ile Haccac'a yaklaşmak istiyordu. Gemiler Yakut adasından Irak'a doğru yola çıktılar. Hindistan'ın batı sahili boyunca ilerleyerek Sind sahillerindeki Deybül limanına ulaştılar. Fakat Deybül halkından Mid'lerden korsan bir zümre, büyük savaş gemileriyle, kadınların bulunduğu gemiye



saldırdılar ve içindekilerle birlikte gemiyi ele geçirdiler. Bu gemideki kadınlardan Temim kabilesinin mühim bir kolu olan Benu Yerbu kabilesinden bir kadın: "Ey Haccac!" diye bağırıp yardım istedi. Gemilerden kaçan tüccarlardan bazıları Irak'a ulaşınca Haccac'a bu olayı naklettiler. Haccac kadının kendisinden yardım istediğini öğrenince: "Yardıma hazırım" diye seslendi. Haccac, korsanları Melik Dahir'in himaye ettiğini düşünerek ona bir elçi gönderdi. Melik Dahir'den kadınların serbest bırakılmasını istedi. Dahir, "Kadınları hırsızlar aldılar, ben onlara bir şey yapamam" diye cevap verdi. Haccac bu olaya çok kızdı. Sind meliki Dahir'in hudutlarda karışıklık çıkarması, Said'i öldüren Alafilerin 500 adamlarıyla Sind meliki Dahir'e katılarak ona yardım etmeleri, birlikte savaşmaları, Dahir'in Emevi valilerine karşı isyan eden bu Alafileri himaye etmesi, Sind bölgesinden gelen gelirin düşmesi ve nihayet bu olayın meydana gelmesi gibi sebepler Haccac'da bu konuya daha fazla önem vermesi kanaatini uyandırdı. Bunun üzerine Haccac bir ordu hazırlayarak ordunun başına Ubeydullah b. Nebhan'ı getirdi. Ubeydullah, Mükran'ı aşip Sind sahiline ulaştı. Deybül kalesini muhasara etmesine rağmen ordu hezimete uğradı ve Ubeydullah bu savaşta hayatını kaybetti (Halife b. Hayyat, 1968, s. 391) (Belazuri, 1987, s. 423) (Taberi, 1967, s. IX/85).

Haccac bu durumu öğrenince Uman'da bulunan Büdeyl b. Tahfe el-Beceli'ye bir mektup yazıp Deybül üzerine yürümesini emretti. Büdeyl üçyüz süvarilik küçük bir ordu ile İran'ın güneyinden Mükran'a ulaştı. Melik Dahir de oğlu Ceysiyye komutasında dört bin asker ve onlarca filden oluşan büyük bir ordu hazırladı. Büdeyl, Deybül şehrine varınca iki ordu sabahtan akşama kadar savaştı. Büdeyl'in atı fillerden ürktü ve düşman onun etrafını sarıp kendisini öldürdü. Büdeyl ölünce ordu dağıldı ve düşman galip geldi. Ordunun bir kısmı şehid, bir kısmı da esir oldu. Bütün bu olaylar meydana gelirken Sind valisi Muhammed b. Harun idi. Bu vali, Muhammed b. Kasım'ın 92/710 yılında Sind bölgesinde yaptığı fetihlere katıldı. Onunla bir süre birlikte hareket etti ise de Ermail alındıktan sonra vefat etti ve Kanbil'e defnedildi (Belazuri, 1987, s. 423-424) (Tirazi, 1983, s. I/162).

### 1- Muhammed b. Kasım

Irak valisi Haccac, 91/709 yılında önce Ubeydullah b. Nebhan, daha sonra Büdeyl b. Tahfe el-Beceli komutasında Sind meliki Dahir üzerine iki ordu gönderdi. Fakat bu iki komutan da öldürüldü ve orduları yenildi. Haccac her iki ordunun mağlup olması üzerine Sind meselesinin kesinlikle halledilmesi gerektiğine iyice inandı. Haccac bunun için genç, cesur, dayanıklı ve halife Velid b. Abdülmelik'in yeğeni Muhammed b. Kasım es-Sekafi'yi Sind bölgesine vali tayin etti.

Muhammed b. Kasım es-Sekafi Basra'da doğdu. Babası Basra'da, emir idi. Kuvvetli bir ihtimalle sahabeden Enes b. Malik ile görüştü (İbn Kesir, 1981, s. IX/87) (Mübarekpurî, 1977, s. 500). Nasıl bir eğitim gördüğü konusunda bir bilgi yoktur. Askerlik mesleğini tercih etti. Daha çok genç yaşta olmasına rağmen Faris'te öncü kuvvetlerin komutanlığını yapmakta idi. Muhammed b. Kasım'ın İran'da bulunması ile ilgili bilgi şöyledir:

"O sırada Muhammed Faris'te idi. Haccac onun Rey'e gitmesini emretmişti. Muhammed b. Kasım'ın öncü kuvvetlerinin başında Ebû'l-Esved Cehm b. Zahr el-Cufi vardı. Haccac, Muhammed b. Kasım'ı Rey üzerine göndermekten vazgeçti ve onu Sind hudutlarına vali tayin etti" (Belazuri, 1987, s. 424). Öte yandan Haccac, en yeni silahlarla, iplik ve çuvaldız iğnesine varıncaya kadar bütün ihtiyacı karşılanmış olan bir ordu hazırladı. Şam ve Şam'ın dışında mukim halktan topladığı bu ordu, süvari ve piyade olarak 6000 kişiye ulaştı (Kudame, 1981, s. 416) (Yakubi, s. II/288) (Nüveyri, 1975, s. XXI/204). Cehm b. Zahr idaresinde bu ordu Şiraz'a doğru hareket etti. Ordunun bütün ihtiyaçları tamamlandıktan sonra Muhammed b. Kasım ordunun başına geçti ve Mükran'a doğru hareket etti.

Muhammed b. Kasım'ın Mükran'a geliş tarihi kaynaklarda ihtilafıdır. Halife b. Hayyat 95/713 yılını verirken (Halife b. Hayyat, 1968, s. 415) Yakubi ve Belazuri Muhammed b. Kasım'ın Mükran'a geliş tarihini vermez. Taberi ise 90/708 yılında onun Sind fetihlerinden bahsettiğine göre 89/707 yılında Mükran'a gelişini kabul etmiş görülmektedir. Nüveyri, İbnü'l-Esir 89/707 yılını kabul ederler. İbn Kesir ise Muhammed b. Kasım'ın 90/708 yılında Mükran'a geldiğinden bahseder. İslam Ansiklopedisi, Tirazi, Elliot gibi birçok araştırmacı 92/710 senesini kabul etmektedirler (Tirazi, 1983, s. I/164) (Elliot, 1976, s. I/433) (Haig, 1967, s. 676). Muhammed b. Kasım Mükran'a gelince burada birkaç gün kaldı ve ordusunu dinlendirdikten sonra Sind nehrinin doğusundaki bölgeleri fethetmeğe başladı. Mükran'dan hareket eden Muhammed b. Kasım önce Kannezbur'u, daha sonra Ermail'i fethetti. Bu sırada Sind valiliği yapan Muhammed b. Harun en-Nemri, ordusuyla Muhammed b. Kasım'a katıldı. Fakat Ermail'e yakın bir yerde vefat etti ve Kanbil'e defnedildi (Kudame, 1981, s. 416) (Belazuri, 1987, s. 424).

Muhammed b. Kasım yanında Cehm b. Zahr el-Cufi ile birlikte Ermail'den Deybül'a doğru yola çıktı ve bir cuma günü Sind sahillerinde yer alan Deybül şehrine ulaştı. İlk olarak 15/636 yılında Hz. Ömer zamanında Uman valisi Osman b. Ebî'l-As tarafından Deybül'a çıkartma yapılmıştı (Belazuri, 1987, s. 420) (Tirazi, 1983, s. I/132-133). Şimdi 77 yıl sonra İslam ordusu Muhammed b. Kasım komutasında Deybül'ü tekrar kuşattı.

**Understanding Culture**

Deybül, Sind nehrinin kenarında, nehrin denize döküldüğü yerde küçük bir şehirdir (İbn Havkal, 1938-39, s. 396). Yakut el-Hamevi şehrin enlem ve boylamını verdikten sonra buraya nispet edilen muhaddislerden bahseder (Yakut, 1979, s. II/495). İbn Hurdazbih, Deybül'ün Sind şehirlerinden olduğunu yazdıktan sonra denize iki fersah mesafede olduğunu yazar (İbn Hurdazbih, 1967, s. 56). Belazuri, Deybül'de büyük bir put hane vardı; bunun üzerine uzun bir direk, direkte de kırmızı bir bayrak asılıydı. Rüzgâr estiği zaman bu bayrak şehrin etrafında dolaşarak dönerdi. Söylediklerine göre bu put hane büyük bir kule ile içinde birçok putların bulunduğu, bir binadan ibaretti. Aynı şekilde kulenin içinde de put vardı. Onların ibadet maksadıyla yücelttikleri her şey Hindulara göre put idi, demektedir. Şehrin bir bölümü surlarla çevrili kale halinde idi. Muhammed b. Kasım'ın Deybül'e ulaştığı günlerde asker, silah ve diğer ihtiyaç maddelerinin bulunduğu gemiler de Deybül limanına ulaştı. Böylece yeni malzemelerle ordusu takviyelenen Muhammed b. Kasım, Haccac'la mektuplaşmayı da ihmal etmiyordu. Haccac'ın mektupları Muhammed'e, Muhammed'in oradaki durumlarını anlatan ve Haccac'ın görüşlerini öğrenmek istediği hususlara dair mektupları Haccac'a ulaşıyordu. Mektuplar üç günde bir geliyordu (Belazuri, 1987, s. 424-425) (İbnü'l-Esir, 1979, s. IV/537) (Nüveyri, 1975, s. XXI/204).

Muhammed b. Kasım Deybül'e gelince hemen savaş hazırlıklarına başlayarak uygun yerlere hendek kazdırıp, mızrak ve sancaklar dikti. Beş yüz kişinin çekebildiği Arus adı verilen mancınık yerleştirildi. Muhammed'i durdurmak isteyen Deybül askerleri şehirden dışarı çıkarak savaşa yoluna gittiler. Fakat Müslümanlar karşısında hezimete uğrayan askerler, şehre çekilmeğe mecbur kaldılar. Sonra surlara merdiven yerleştiren İslam askerleri surlara çıktılar. Muhammed orada bulunanlardan karşı koyanları öldürmek üzere üç gün şehirde kaldı. Sind Meliki Dahir'in Deybül'ü savunmak üzere görevlendirdiği amili kaçtı. Put haneye bakan kişi öldürüldü. Muhammed Deybül'daki arsaları bölerek Müslümanlara dağıttı. Bu şehirde bir cami inşa etti. Müslümanlardan dörtbin kişiyi bu şehre yerleştirdi (İbnü'l-Esir, 1979, s. IV/537) (Nüveyri, 1975, s. XXI/205).

Muhammed b. Kasım, Deybül'den Nirun şehrine doğru yola çıktı. Bu arada Deybül şehrinin Müslümanlarca fethedildiğini duyan Nirun halkı iki kişilik bir elçi gurubunu Irak'a Haccac'a gönderdi. Onlar, Haccac'la yaptıkları antlaşma sayesinde eman aldılar. Muhammed b. Kasım ordusuyla 25 kilometrelik yolu altı günde aşarak Nirun'a geldi. Nirun halkı sulh şartlarına riayet ederek ordudaki hayvanlara yem verdiler, ordunun şehre girmesine karşı koymadılar (Belazuri, 1987, s. 425) (Kudame, 1981, s. 417) (Yakubi, s. II/289) (İbnü'l-Esir, 1979, s. IV/537) (Tirazi, 1983, s. I/173).

Nirun, Deybül ile Mansura arasındaki yol üzerinde yer almaktadır. İbn Havkal bu bilgiye ilave olarak Nirun'un Mansura şehrine Deybül'den daha yakın olduğunu söylemektedir. Bu şehrin adı bazı kaynaklarda Birun olarak, bazı kaynaklarda Nerankot olarak geçmektedir. Bugün bu şehir Pakistan'daki Haydarabad şehridir (İbn Havkal, 1938-39, s. 323) (Nüveyri, 1975, s. XXI/305) (Tirazi, 1983, s. II/277) (Haig, 1967, s. 377).

Muhammed b. Kasım Nirun'da ordusunu dinlendirdi ve onların ihtiyaçlarını karşıladıktan sonra geçtiği şehirleri fethetti. Muhammed b. Kasım, Sehban'ı fethettikten sonra Mihran nehrine yöneldi ve nehrin orta kısmında bir yerde konakladı. Bu konaklama esnasında at ve eşeğe binen ordunun bir bölümünü ayırıp Muhammed b. Mus'ab b. Abdirrahman es-Sekafi'nin idaresine verdi. Onu civardaki Sedusan şehrine gönderdi. Bu şehrin halkı eman ve barış istedi. Muhammed onlar üzerine harac belirleyerek eman verdi. Onlardan rehineler aldı. Muhammed b. Mus'ab yanında Müslüman olan dört bin Zut savaşçısı ile Muhammed b. Kasım'ın yanına döndü. Muhammed b. Kasım da Sedusan şehrine bir vali tayin etti. (Belazuri, 1987, s. 425) (İbnü'l-Esir, 1979, s. IV/538).

Muhammed b. Kasım, Nirun'dan sonra Sivistan'a doğru yola çıktı. Sivistan hâkimi, Melik Dahir'in amcası oğlu Becehra b. Cender idi. Arab ordusu şehir kapısına ulaşınca bir haftada mancınığı kurmakla uğraştılar. Sonunda Becehra bir gece kaçınca halk, Muhammed b. Kasım'dan eman istediler. Böylece Muhammed b. Kasım şehre girdi ve halktan altın, gümüş ne varsa toplamalarını istedi. Ganimetten ordunun hissesini dağıttı ve Haccac'a beşte birini gönderdi. Burada Hudisilerden büyük bir cemaat Müslüman oldu. Muhammed b. Kasım daha sonra Būdhe'ye doğru yola çıktı. Hâkimi Emir Kake b. Besame olan bu şehri Muhammed b. Kasım fethedince şehre Araplardan bir gurubu yerleştirdi. Burada bir cami inşa ettirdi. Şehre Abdullah el-Carudi'yi naib olarak bıraktı (Tirazi, 1983, s. I/189).

Muhammed b. Kasım, Dahir'in savaş hazırlığını öğrenince Mihran nehrini geçti. Dahir kendine çok güveniyordu. Kendisi beyaz bir fil üzerinde, etrafında Tekakire denilen savaşçılar, 5000 süvari, 100 fil, 10.000 zırhlı ve silahlı süvari, 30.000 zırhlı piyade ile Müslümanların karşısına çıktı. Muhammed b. Kasım, ordusunu tanzim etti. Savaş bütün hızıyla sürdü. Sind Meliki akşama doğru filinden indi ve savaşa yaya olarak devam etmek istedi. Fakat o öldürülünce ordu bozguna uğradı ve dağılmaya başladı. Bu durum Müslümanların zaferini kolaylaştırdı (Belazuri, 1987, s. 426) (İbnü'l-Esir, 1979, s. IV/537) (Nüveyri, 1975, s. XXI/305-306) (Hasan İbrahim, s. III/63) (Tirazi, 1983, s. I/189).

Dahir b. Çeç'in öldürüldüğü bu savaşın, hangi yıl olduğu kaynaklarda ihtilaflıdır. İbnü'l-Esir bu olayları 89/707 yılında anlattığı fetihleri 95/713 yılında tamamlar.

Taberi, Dahir b. Çeç'in öldürüldüğü yılı 90/708, İbn Kesir ise 93/711 yılını verir. Dahir'in öldürülmesi Sind ülkesinin fethi olarak değerlendirilmektedir (Taberi, 1967, s. IV/442) (Belazuri, 1987, s. 426) (İbnü'l-Esir, 1979, s. IV/537) (İbn Kesir, 1981, s. IX/88) (Nüveyri, 1975, s. XXI/306).

Dahir'in iki karısı ve bir oğlu ile iki kız kardeşi vardı. Dahir'in ölümünden sonra karısı Bai ve oğlu Ceysiyye başkent Rur yakınlarında yer alan Raver'de idareyi ele aldılar. Fakat Muhammed b. Kasım savaşı kazandıktan sonra durmadı. Raver'e doğru yola çıktı. Muhammed b. Kasım'ın geldiğini duyan Ceysiyye oradan ayrıldı. Brahmanabad'a gitti. Fakat Dahir'in karısı Bai, Raver kalesinde kaldı (Tirazi, 1983, s. I/196-197) (Lal, 1984, s. 20). Muhammed b. Kasım, Raver'i savaşıarak aldı. Melike Bai, ya Müslümanlar tarafından yakalanmaktan korktuğu için veya Brahman inancının gereği kendisini, cariyelerini ve bütün mallarını yaktı. Muhammed böylece şehri ele geçirdi (Belazuri, 1987, s. 425) (İbnü'l-Esir, 1979, s. IV/589-590) (Nüveyri, 1975, s. XXI/306) (Le Strange, 1966, s. 309,325). Bu savaştan sonra Muhammed, Dahir'in başı ile ganimetlerden bir kısmını Haccac'a gönderdi. Zira Haccac, Sind'den gelen ganimetlerin haracın hesaplarını yapınca, Muhammed b. Kasım'a altmış milyon gönderdiğini; onun ise kendisine yüz yirmi milyon kazandırdığını görünce şöyle söylemiştir: "Kinimizi giderip intikamımızı aldık: ayrıca altmış milyon ve Dahir'in başını kazandık." (Belazuri, 1987, s. 427).

Sind gelirlerine ait bir başka kayıt da Kudame tarafından zikredilmektedir: "Antakya ile Mesisiyye arasındaki yolda yırtıcı hayvanlar mesken tutmuşlardı. Bu yoldan geçen insanlara arslanlar musallat oluyorlardı. İnsanlar bu durumu zamanın halifesi Velid b. Abdülmelik'e şikâyet ettiler. Halife Velid de bu bölgeye 4000 camış gönderdi. Irak valisi Haccac'ın Zutlarla birlikte Halife Velid'e gönderdiği bu camışların 2000 tanesini Muhammed b. Kasım ve es-Sekafi Sind'den göndermişti. İnsanlar bu sayede emniyete kavuştular (Kudame, 1981, s. 309).

Muhammed b. Kasım, Raver'de Dahir'in ikinci karısı Rani Ladi ve iki kızı Surya Devi ve Parmal Devi'yi Dahir'in başıyla birlikte Haccac'a gönderdi (Lal, 1984, s. 20). Daha sonra Brahmanabad'a doğru yola çıktı. Burada Dahir'in yenilmiş askerleri bulunuyordu. Bu askerler Muhammed'e karşı yaptıkları savaşta yenildiler. Dahir'in oğlu Ceysiyye Brahmanabad'dan Sind hududunun dışına Keşmir ülkesine kaçtı. Muhammed b. Kasım, şehirde birçok kişiyi öldürdü ve şehri tahrip etti (Belazuri, 1987, s. 426) (İbnü'l-Esir, 1979, s. IV/538) (Nüveyri, 1975, s. XXI/306) (Tirazi, 1983, s. I/204).

Muhammed b. Kasım, Brahmanabad'da bir vekil bırakarak Rur ve Bugarur'a doğru yola çıktı. Yol üzerinde Savenderi halkı kendisini karşılayıp eman istediler. Muhammed b. Kasım, onlara Müslümanları misafir etmeleri ve onlara iyi davranıp

yol göstermeleri şartıyla eman verdi. Muhammed b. Kasım, Savenderi'den sonra Besmend'e geldi. Besmend halkı da Savenderi halkı gibi bir anlayışla eman aldılar (Belazuri, 1987, s. 426) (İbnü'l-Esir, 1979, s. IV/538) (İbn Hurdazbih, 1967, s. 56). Nihayet Muhammed b. Kasım Rur şehrine ulaştı. Rur Sind şehirlerinden olup (İbn Havkal, 1938-39, s. 319) (el-Makdisi, 1906, s. 475-476) (İbn Hurdazbih, 1967, s. 56) bir dağ üzerinde kurulmuştur. Dahir'in Sind krallığında başşehir burası idi (Belazuri, 1987, s. 426) (Yakubi, s. II/289) (Haig, 1967, s. 676). Muhammed b. Kasım Rur'u bir ay muhasara etti. Sonunda Rur halkı kendilerini öldürmemek ve putlarına dokunmamak şartıyla harac vermeyi kabul ettiler. Rur sulh yoluyla fethedilince Muhammed burada bir cami yaptırdı (Belazuri, 1987, s. 426-427) (İbnü'l-Esir, 1979, s. IV/538) (Nüveyri, 1975, s. XXI/306) (Tirazi, 1983, s. II/282).

Muhammed b. Kasım, daha sonra Beyas ırmağını geçerek Mültan şehrine ulaştı. Eski bir şehir olan Mültan kelimesinin menşei konusunda iki fikir ileri sürülmüştür. Birincisi Sanskritçe Maliathan kelimesinden geldiği, ikincisi Sanskritçe güneş-tanrı adı olan Mül adına yapıları mabedden geldiğidir (Yakut, 1979, s. V/227-228) (İbn Havkal, 1938-39, s. 321) (İbn Hurdazbih, 1967, s. 56) (Pathan, 1969, s. 13). İslam tarihi kaynaklarında bu mabed hakkında ayrıntılı bilgi vardır. Yakut el-Hamevi'nin verdiği bilgi şöyledir:

"Mültan'da Hindlilerin hürmet ettikleri bir put hane vardır. En uzak beldelerden onu ziyarete gelirler, her sene büyük mallarla ona yaklaşırlar, put haneye infakta bulunurlar ve burada itikafa girerlerdi. Şehir bu putun adıyla isimlendirilmiştir. Put hane şehrin ortasında yer alır, put hanenin büyük bir kubbesi vardır. Kubbenin altında oturan insan şeklinde, kürsü üzerine oturtulmuş büyük bir put vardır. Kırmızı sahtiyana benzer bir elbise giydirilmiştir. Bedeni ağaçtan yapılmıştır. Gözleri cevherdir. Başında altın bir tacı vardı. Kubbenin etrafında küçük odalar vardır. Put haneyi ziyarete gelenler burada saç ve sakallarını tıraş ederler ve nezirler sunarlardı. İtikafa girenler burada kalırlar ve put hanenin hizmetini yaparlardı" (Yakut, 1979, s. V/227-228). Bugün bu eski şehir, Pakistan'ın Pencap bölgesinin içinde yer almaktadır (Haig, 1967, s. 578).

Muhammed b. Kasım Mültan'a gelince, şehir halkı Müslümanlara karşı koydular fakat yenildiler. Halk bozguna uğrayınca şehre sığındılar. Muhammed şehri kuşatma altına aldı. Kuşatma esnasında Müslümanların yiyeceği bitince askerler eşek eti yemeğe başladılar. Nihayet eman isteyen bir adam Müslümanların yanına geldi. Onlara şehre giden su yolunu gösterdi. Bu su, Besmed ırmağından gelip şehirdeki bir havuzu dolduruyordu. Muhammed bu suyu toprak altına çevirdi. Şehir halkı susuz kalacaklarını anlayınca verilecek karara razı olup teslim oldular. Bunun üzerine Muhammed karşı gelip savaşırları öldürttü. Kadınları, çocukları ve put hane hizmetkari olanları esir aldı. Esirlerin sayısı altı bine ulaştı. Müslümanlar

pek çok altın ganimet elde ettiler. Bu ganimet malları uzunluğu on, genişliği sekiz arşın olan bir evde toplanıyordu. Getirilen mallar bu evin damına açılan bir delikten içeriye atılıyordu. Bu yüzden Mültan'a Ferec Beyti'z-Zeheb (altın evin sınırı) adı verildi (Belazuri, 1987, s. 427) (İbnü'l-Esir, 1979, s. IV/538) (Nüveyri, 1975, s. XXI/307).

Muhammed b. Kasım, Mültan'ı aldıktan bir süre sonra 95/713 senesinde Irak valisi Haccac'ın ölüm haberini aldı. Haccac elli dört yaşında ve 20 yıl yaptığı Emevi valisi iken öldü. Birkaç ay sonra yerine Yezid b. Ebi Müslim atandı. Bu olaylar olurken Muhammed Mültan'dan Rur şehrine geldi (Belazuri, 1987, s. 427) (İbnü'l-Esir, 1979, s. IV/588) (Nüveyri, 1975, s. XXI/307). Ordusunu toplayıp onlara para dağıttı. Ordunun bir bölümünü Rur'a bağlı Beyleman şehrine gönderdi. Beyleman halkı onlara karşı koymayarak, verilen emanı ve haracı kabul etti. Yine Rur şehrinin yakınlarındaki Sürest şehrinin halkı da anlaşma yaptı.

Bundan sonra Muhammed b. Kasım, Kirec şehrine yöneldi. Dahir'in oğlu Ceysiyye Brahmanabad'dan kaçıp buraya gelmişti. Zira Kirec Hâkimi Devher, Dahir'in akrabalarından biri idi. Fakat Muhammed b. Kasım'ın bu şehre geldiğini duyunca, bu şehirden de kaçıp Sind hududunun dışında Keşmir'e kaçtı. Devher ordusu ile Muhammed b. Kasım'a karşı çıktı ve yapılan savaşta yenildi. Kirec halkı Muhammed'in kendilerine vereceği hükmü kabul ederek teslim oldular. Muhammed, şehir halkından karşı koyanların çoğunu öldürdü ve bazılarını da esir aldı (Belazuri, 1987, s. 427) (İbnü'l-Esir, 1979, s. IV/588) (Nüveyri, 1975, s. XXI/308) (İbn Kesir, 1981, s. IX/87).

İbn Kesir, Muhammed b. Kasım'ın Kirec'den sonra Berha diye bir yeri fethettiğini yazarken (İbn Kesir, 1981, s. IX/87) Taberi'ye göre ise o, 95/713 senesi içinde Kirec'den sonra el-Mendel'i fethetmiştir (Taberi, 1967, s. VI/492).

96/715 yılında halife Velid b. Abdülmelik öldü ve yerine kardeşi Süleyman b. Abdülmelik tahta geçti. Süleyman, hemen Irak valisi Yezid b. Ebi Müslim'in yerine Salih b. Abdirrahman'ı, Sind valisi Muhammed b. Kasım'ın yerine Yezid b. Ebi Kebşe'yi vali tayin etti (Yakubi, s. II/290). Salih, Muaviye b. Mühelleb ile birlikte Sind iline gelip Muhammed b. Kasım'ı zincire vurup Irak'a gönderdi. Yeni Irak valisi onu Haccac'ın kurduğu Vasıt şehrinde hapsetti. Salih, intikam alıyordu. Zira haricilerden olan kardeşi Adem'i Haccac öldürtmüştü. Salih çeşitli işkencelerden sonra Muhammed'i öldürttü. Hind halkı bu duruma çok üzülerken onun için gözyaşı döküp yas tuttular. Kirec'de onun resmini yaptılar. Bazı şairler onun için methiye yazdılar (İbnü'l-Esir, 1979, s. IV/588) (Nüveyri, 1975, s. XXI/308) (Hüseyn, s. VIII/480) (Haig, 1967, s. 677).

## 2. Son Emevi Valileri ve Gucarat'a Akınlar

Emevi halifesi Süleyman b. Abdülmelik'in vali olarak tayin ettiği, İbn Hibban'a göre sika ravi Yezid b. Ebi Kebşe, Sind'e gelmesinden on sekiz gün sonra öldü. Yezid b. Ebi Kebşe ölünce yerine kardeşi Ubeydullah halef oldu. Fakat Salih onu azledip yerine İmran b. Numan el-Kelai'yi Sind valisi yaptı. Onun ölümünden sonra Halife Süleyman, Habib b. Mühelleb'i tayin etti (Halife b. Hayyat, 1968, s. 429-430). Habib, Sind'e doğru yola çıktığı sırada Sind kralı Dahir'in oğlu Ceysiyye, Brahmanabad'a geri döndü. Habib Mihran nehrinin yakınlığında Rur şehrine kadar geldi. Rur halkı ona karşı koymadı. Habib, bu bölgede girdiği mücadelelerde hep galibiyet elde etti (Belazuri, 1987, s. 428-429) (Yakubi, s. II/296) (İbnü'l-Esir, 1979, s. IV/589) (Nüveyri, 1975, s. XXI/308).

Süleyman b. Abdülmelik 99/717 yılında ölünce Ömer b. Abdülaziz halife oldu. Ömer b. Abdülaziz Sind valisi olarak önce Adi b. Ertat b. Abdülmelik'i sonra onu azledip yerine Amr b. Müslim el-Bahili'yi tayin etti (Halife b. Hayyat, 1968, s. 463-464). Ayrıca halife Ömer b. Abdülaziz bütün hükümdarlara mektup yazıp onları İslam'a davet etti. Müslüman oldukları takdirde ülkelerinde hükümdarlıklarının devam edeceğini, ayrıca Müslümanların lehine olan şeylerin onların da lehine, Müslümanların aleyhine olanların, onların da aleyhine olacağını bildirdi. Bu sebeple Ceysiyye ve diğer hükümdarlar Müslüman olup kendilerine Arap isimleri aldılar. Türkistan fatihi Kuteybe b. Müslim'in kardeşi olan Sind valisi Amr, bazı Hind bölgelerinde fetihlerde bulundu ve zaferler kazandı (Belazuri, 1987, s. 429) (Kudame, 1981, s. 421) (İbnü'l-Esir, 1979, s. IV/54) (Nüveyri, 1975, s. XXI/309). İbn Abdirabbih'in Nuaym b. Hammad'dan rivayetine göre Hind meliklerinden biri Ömer b. Abdülaziz'e çeşitli kitaplar ile kafur, ceviz, öd ağacı gibi hediyeler gönderdi. Bununla birlikte kendisine İslam'ı öğretecek bir kimsenin gönderilmesini istedi (İbn Abdirabbih, 1969, s. II/202).

Halife Yezid b. Abdülmelik zamanında Yezid b. Mühelleb'in çocukları devletin takibinden kurtulmak için Sind'e gittiler. Fakat Halife Yezid onların üzerine Hilal b. Abvez et-Temimi'yi gönderdi. Böylece 102/720 yılında Sind valisi olan Hilal Mühelleb'in çocuklarını öldürmek için çalıştı ve bunlardan büyük bir kısmını öldürdü (Halife b. Hayyat, 1968, s. 484) (Belazuri, 1987, s. 429). 103/721 yılında Ömer b. Hübeyre tarafından, Ubeydullah b. Ali es-Sülma, Sind'e gönderildi ve sonra azledilip yerine Abdülhamid b. Abdirrahman vali tayin edildi. Ta ki halife Yezid b. Abdülmelik öldü (Halife b. Hayyat, 1968, s. 484).

Halife Hişam b. Abdülmelik Sind valisi olarak Cüneyd b. Abdirrahman el-Murri'yi tayin etti (İbnü'l-Esir, 1979, s. V/54) (Nüveyri, 1975, s. XXI/309) (Yakubi, s. II/316). Belazuri'ye göre Cüneyd, Hişam b. Abdülmelik'in Irak valisi Ömer b. Hübeyre,



Halife b. Hayyat'a göre ise Halid b. Abdillâh tarafından tayin edildi (Halife b. Hayyat, 1968, s. 538) (Belazuri, 1987, s. 429) (İbnü'l-Esir, 1979, s. IV/590). Halife Hîşam daha sonra Halid b. Abdillâh el-Kasri'yi Irak valisi olarak tayin edince Cüneyd'e yazdığı mektupla Halid'le yazışmasını emretti (Belazuri, 1987, s. 429).

Cüneyd b. Abdîrrahman, önce Sind'de Deybül şehrine geldi. Orada bir süre dinlendikten sonra Mihran nehrine gelerek, kıyı boyunca ilerleyip nehri geçmek istediği sırada Dahîr'in oğlu Ceysiyye ona mâni oldu. Irmağı aşıp karşı tarafa geçmekten alıkoyarak elçisiyle şu haberi gönderdi: "Ben İslâm'a girmiş bulunuyorum. Salih bir kimse olan Ömer b. Abdülâzîz beni ülkemde hükümdar olarak bıraktı. Ben sana güvenemiyorum" (Belazuri, 1987, s. 429) (İbnü'l-Esir, 1979, s. IV/590) (Nüveyri, 1975, s. XXI/309). Cüneyd bu karşı durmadan rahatsız oldu ve teminat için ona rehineler verdi ayrıca ondan rehineler aldı. Sonra yaptıkları görüşmelerle Ceysiyye'nin vereceği harac üzerinde anlaştılar. Rehineleri karşılıklı iade ettiler. İşte bu sırada Cüneyd edindiği bir bilgiyle Ceysiyye'nin dinden döndüğünü öğrenince ordusuyla onun üzerine yürüdü. Başka bir rivayete göre ise Cüneyd, Ceysiyye'nin bir adam öldürdüğünü yaydı. Ceysiyye bunun üzerine savaşmak için hazırlık yapmağa başladı. Asker topladı ve gemilerini hazırladı. Cüneyd bunu duyunca o da gemilerle Ceysiyye'nin üzerine yürüdü. Nehrin doğu tarafında bataklık olan bir bölgesinde yapılan savaşta, Ceysiyye'nin gemisi yan yattı. Ordusu yenildi ve Ceysiyye esir alındı. Sonra Cüneyd onu öldürdü. Ceysiyye'nin kardeşi Çeç, bu olanları duyunca Irak'a gidib Cüneyd'in yaptıklarını şikâyet etmek istedi. Fakat Cüneyd ona bu fırsatı vermeyerek onu da ortadan kaldırmayı başardı (Belazuri, 1987, s. 429) (İbnü'l-Esir, 1979, s. IV/590) (Nüveyri, 1975, s. XXI/309).

Bu sırada Kirec halkı anlaşmayı bozup vermeleri gereken haracı vermemeğe başladılar. Belki de bu isyanlarının sebebi Ceysiyye'nin ayaklanmasından cesaret almaları idi. Cüneyd ordusunu alıp Kirec'e geldi ve mancınıkla şehrin surlarını dövüldü. Büyük taşlarla dövülen surlarda bir gedik açıldı. Ordu savaşıarak şehre girdi ve savaşımlar öldürüldü. Çoluk çocuk ve kadınlar esir alındı. Birçok ganimet elde edildi (Belazuri, 1987, s. 429) (İbnü'l-Esir, 1979, s. IV/590) (Yakubi, s. II/316) (Nüveyri, 1975, s. XXI/310).

### **Mahfuza ve Mansura Şehirlerinin Kuruluşu**

Irak valisi Halid b. Abdillâh, 112/730 yılında Horasan'a tayin edilen Cüneyd b. Abdîrrahman'ın yerine Temim b. Zeyd el-Utbi'yi Sind valisi yaptı (Halife b. Hayyat, 1968, s. 632) (Belazuri, 1987, s. 430) (Yakubi, s. II/317). Temim meşhur Arap cömertlerindendi. Sind'deki Beytülmalde onsekiz milyon tatariyye dirhemini

görünce hemen dağıttı. Beytülmal boşalınca Temim idarede aciz kaldı ve durumu gittikçe zayıfladı. Müslümanlar Hind ülkesinden çıktılar ve oturdukları merkezleri, yerleri terk ettiler (Belazuri, 1987, s. 430) (İbnü'l-Esir, 1979, s. IV/590). Çıkan bir fitne, Temim'in hilafette gözden düşmesine neden oldu ve azledildi. Temim yolda Beybül'e yakın Ma'ül-I-Cevamis denilen yerde öldü (Belazuri, 1987, s. 430) (Yakubi, s. II/317) (İbnü'l-Esir, 1979, s. IV/590).

Hişam b. Abdülmelik daha önce Horasan valiliği yapmış olan Hakem b. Avane el-Kelbi'yi Sind'e vali tayin etti (Belazuri, 1987, s. 430) (İbnü'l-Esir, 1979, s. IV/590) (Nüveyri, 1975, s. XXI/310). Bu sırada Sind halkı başıboşluktan cesaret almış, dinden dönmeye başlamıştı. Müslümanlar can emniyeti olmayan bu yerleri terk etmeye başlamışlardı. Kassa halkı hariç, Hind halkı küfre döndü. Hakem b. Avane, Sind'e gelince Müslümanların emniyetle sığınabilecekleri bir yer bulamadı. Mihran nehrinin kıyısında bir şehir kurdu. Adı konusunda yaşlılarla yaptığı müşavereden sonra Mahfuza olmasına karar verdi. Bu şehri Müslümanlar için sığınılacak bir yer haline getirdi (Halife b. Hayyat, 1968, s. 526) (Belazuri, 1987, s. 430) (İbnü'l-Esir, 1979, s. IV/590) (Nüveyri, 1975, s. XXI/310).

Hakem b. Avane'nin yanında Sind fatihi Muhammed b. Kasım'ın oğlu Amr da vardı. Hakem, büyük ve önemli işlerini ona havale ederdi. Onu birkaç kez Mahfuza şehrinden savaşa gönderdi. Amr, zafer kazanıp geri gelince Hakem gölün öte tarafında bir şehir kurmasını ona emretti. Zaten Muhammed b. Kasım da Cüneyd b. Abdірrahman gibi Sind kavimleri ile savaşan Müslümanları emniyete almak istiyordu. Hakem kurduğu Mahfuza şehrinden bazen savaşlara çıkıyordu. Bu savaşlardan birinde Mid'ler tarafından öldürüldü (Belazuri, 1987, s. 431) (İbnü'l-Esir, 1979, s. IV/590) (Nüveyri, 1975, s. XXI/310).

Hakem b. Avane'nin 121/738 yılında çıktığı bir seferde şehit olmasından bir yıl önce Yusuf b. Ömer es-Sekafi Irak valisi olmuştu. Hakem'in önemli işlerini havale ettiği Amr b. Muhammed b. Kasım ile Yezid b. Arrar el-Kelbi arasında valilik rekabeti ortaya çıktı. Yeni Irak valisi Yusuf b. Ömer, Halife Hişam'a durumu bildirdi. Halife Hişam'ın tercihi ve tavsiyesi ile Sind valisi olan Amr b. Muhammed, fitne çıkmasını önlemek için rakibi Yezid b. Arrar'ı hapsedti (Halife b. Hayyat, 1968, s. 538) (Yakubi, s. II/324).

Amr b. Muhammed, Müslümanların emniyetlerini sağlamak için yeni bir şehir kurulması gerektiğini biliyordu. Bu amaçla ve Hakem'in kendisine verdiği emirle yeni kurulacak şehrin yer tespitini yapmış ve Mahfuza yakınlarında olmasına karar verdi. Amr b. Muhammed, 121/738 yılında Mahfuza yakınlarında bir şehir kurdu ve adını Mansura koydu (Belazuri, 1987, s. 431) (Yakubi, s. II/324) (Nüveyri, 1975, s. XXI/310).

Amr b. Muhammed, Mansura şehrini kurduktan sonra yeterli askeri gücünün olmadığını gördü. Hatta düşman ordusu birkaç kez şehri muhasara edip, tahrif etti. Amr, durumu Irak valisi Yusuf b. Ömer es-Sekafi'ye yazdı. Yusuf da ona dört bin savaşçı asker gönderdi. Amr b. Muhammed, askerlerin başına Muin b. Zaide eş-Şeybani'yi komutan olarak atadı. Bu ordu Sind meliklerinden biri üzerine baskın yaptı. Sind meliki kaçtı, ordusu yenildi (Yakubi, s. II/324).

Bu arada Amr b. Muhammed, Mühelleb fitnesinin yeniden canlanmamasına çalışıyordu. Fakat Mervan b. Yezid b. Mühelleb etrafına bir gurup topladı ve Amr b. Muhammed'in evini yağmaladı. Amr b. Muhammed, yanında Muin b. Zaide eş-Şeybani ve Atıyye b. Abdirrahman'la birlikte Mervan'a karşı savaştı. Savaşta Mervan'ın kaçması üzerine Amr "Herkes emniyettedir yalnız İbnü'l-Mühelleb değil" diye ilan etti. Neticede Mervan tutuklanıp öldürüldü (Yakubi, s. II/392).

Bu sırada Hişam b. Abdülmelik 125/742 yılında öldü. Yerine geçen yeni halife Velid b. Yezid, Hişam'ın siyasetine muhalifti. Yezid, Yemenliler'i destekliyordu. Bu nedenle Yezid birçok vali gibi Amr b. Muhamed'i de azletti. Onun yerine Amr'ın rakibi Yezid. b. Arrar el-Kelbi'yi vali tayin etti (Yakubi, s. II/333). Amr, babasının başına gelenleri düşünerek eziyet çekmekten korktuğu için intihar etti. Halbuki Sind halkı onun valiliğinden memnun idi (İbnü'l-Esir, 1979, s. IV/591).

### Sonuç

Araplar ile Hindliler arasında ilk temaslar ticaret sebebiyle meydana gelmiştir. Uluslararası geçiş güzergahı üzerinde olan Hindistan, Çin'den Avrupa'ya kadar olan ticaretin önemli bir durağını oluşturmaktaydı. İslam'ın ortaya çıkmasından sonra da Arapların gittiği ve ekonomik ilişkilerin olduğu bu özelliğini devam ettirmiş ve İslam bu şekilde Hindistan'a ulaşmaya başlamıştır.

İlk İslam akınları Hz. Ömer zamanında başlamış ve Hindistan'a ilk fetih seferi 636 yılında yapılmıştır. Hz. Ömer'in genel olarak deniz savaşlarına izin vermemesinden dolayı seferler bu yönde durmuş ve Emevi halifesi Muaviye zamanında yeniden başlamıştır. Bu dönemde başlayan fetihlerle Kikan Kusdar, Bukan ve Turan bölgeleri İslam hâkimiyeti altına girdi.

Emevi halifesi Abdülmelik b. Mervan döneminde Haccac b. Yusuf es- Sekafi'nin Irak valiliği zamanında Hindistan için İslam fetihlerinin en yoğun ve en geniş olduğu dönem oldu. Sind bölgesine gönderilen valiler aracılığı ile Haricilerden Alafilerin isyanları bastırılırken, İslam devletinin sınırları da genişletildi. Haccac'ın Deybül üzerine Muhammed b. Kasım'ı göndermesiyle birlikte bu komutan eliyle Sind bölgesinin en önemli şehirleri olan Brahmanabad, Rur, Nirun, Serbides,

Sehban ve Sivistan fethedildi. Muhammed, Sind meliki Çeç, Dahir ve daha sonra Ceysiyye ile yaptığı savaşlarda onları yendi. Mültan bölgesini tamamen fethedip Keşmir'e kadar fetihlerde bulundu. Bu sırada Haccac'ın ölümü ve halifenin değişmesi, Sind fatihi Muhammed b. Kasım'ın sonu oldu.

Emevi halifesi Ömer b. Abdülaziz zamanında Hind bölgesinde fetih yapılmadı ancak birçok bölgede olduğu gibi bu bölgede de önemli sayıda insan Müslüman oldu. Hişam b. Abdülmelik döneminde ise Gucarat ve Malbe üzerine yapılan akınlarla uzun zamandan sonra ilk defa ganimet ve esir elde edildi. Hakem b. Avane el-Kelbi'nin valiliği zamanında Müslümanların sığınabilecekleri bir şehir olan Mahfuza; Amr b. Muhammed b. Kasım zamanında da Mansura şehri inşa edilmiştir.

İslam fetihleri boyunca Hindistan coğrafyasında bir takım imar ve iskân faaliyetleri gerçekleşmiştir. Özellikle Sind fatihi Muhammed b. Kasım eliyle ilk cami inşa edilmiştir. Bu bölgeden filler, çeşitli Hind malları, Hind yapısı kılıçlar ve esirlerden ibaret çok büyük ganimetler elde edilmiştir. Emevilerin son dönemlerinde bu coğrafyadaki İslam varlığı da zayıflamaya başlamış ve bir kısım insanlar İslam dininden yüz çevirmişleridir.

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# **M. Yusuf Kandehelevi's Hayatu's Sahâbe from a Methodological Perspective of Sirah<sup>1</sup>**

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## **Abstract**

Indian scholar and thinker Muhammed Yusuf Kandehelevi's work "Hayatu's Sahabe" has been translated into Turkish. This work is which contributes to the Prophet Siyar. This work was not prepared according to the chronology speak. However, it contains important memories about companions.

Muslims should take example Prophet Muhammad. Kandehelevi good examples of Prophet's life had been transferred. To understand the life of Prophet lies in understanding the struggle and the way his invitation.

In our paper will evaluate tihs work, in aspect of the location of the companions of life in general studies siyar, contribute to the expression of the prophet's examples of morality and general criticism of the book.

**Keywords:** Siyar, Kahdahlevi, Prophet, Methodology

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<sup>1</sup> Prophet Muhammad's Noble Biography

## Introduction

Methodology of Sirah has a separate place in contemporary studies of Islamic History as Sirah is on its way to becoming an independent science. This scientific venture brings with it the search for methods. We hope that this study will contribute to these quests.

Nowadays, Sirah studies are emphasized to be Qur'anic. However, what is the place and the significance of the hadiths in Sirah studies? This issue is understated. Therefore, the work of Kandehlevi is also important in this respect.

In this regard, this study aims to discuss the work titled *Hayatu's Sahabe*<sup>2</sup> (1991) written by M. Yusuf Kandehlevi, an Indian scholar. This work has a characteristic

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<sup>2</sup> The edition of M. Yusuf Kandehlevi's work titled *Hayatu's Sahabe* translated by Sıtkı Güllü and published by Divan publications in 1991 was used in this study. Kandehlevi was born on March 20, 1917 in Delhi. He was a member of a family that raised many scholars and suffis in the town of Kandehle of Muzaffernagar city of Utar Pradesh Province in India. He received his first education from his father Muhammad Ilyas Kandehlevi, who was the founder of the Tablighi Jamaat. Kandahlevi, who grew up to be a good hadith and fiqh scholar thanks to the education of the madrasa in his early life, attended the Tablighi Jamaat activities since 1938. July 13, 1944, on the death of his father, who assigned him to the Caliphate, Kandahlevi became the head of the Tablighi Jamaat and devoted all his attention to annunciation and *irşad* (act of showing the true path) activities. During the partition of India (1947) he rejected the idea of moving the center of movement to Pakistan and set ground for the settling of the community on the Indian peninsula. Within a few years, the movement drew attention in many parts of India, especially in the Utar Pradesh province, and in Pakistan and Bangladesh. The members of the community focused on pilgrims to spread the movement to other countries. Then visits were made to other Arab countries, especially Saudi Arabia, for the purpose of annunciation. From 1950 onwards, announciators were sent to England, United States and Japan systematically. The Tablighi Jamaat, which spread to other countries in Africa and Asia towards by 1960, has become a worldwide movement in the time of Kandahlevi. However, the effects of the the Tablighi Jamaat were limited to Muslims of Indian descent until the end of the 1970s. For more than two decades, Kandehlevî wandered many countries of the world for the spread of the movement and organized meetings aimed at Muslims to improve themselves and return to Islam and live with religious sincerity. *Hayatu's sahabe* is his most important work. The work (III, 706) written in Arabic and completed in 1379 (1959) presents sections from the archetypal lives of the Prophet and the Companies with narratives compiled from sources such as hadith, sirah, historical and biographical books. Their religious endeavors and challenges are explained. Making use of the opinions of the *muhaddis* (narrators of Muhammed's all sayings, deeds and approvals),

that encourages the construction of the practical dimension of the religion and annunciation of the religion of Islam. Although this work does not contain a chronological Sirah study, it addresses many issues of Sirah-i Nebi. This work shows that the Sirah of the Prophet Muhammad (peace be upon him) can only be understood through sîret (morality and character of the Prophet Muhammad).

Hayatu's Sahabe, which is a collected work, calls attention to the fact that the Prophet Muhammad's life cannot be thoroughly understood without taking into account the lives of the Companions and appealing to their biography as well. The work is also important in terms of Hadith-Sirah relations.

### **I. Importance of the Lives of the Companions in General Sirah Studies**

The most important feature that differentiates the science of Sirah from other ecclesiastical fields of science is that it aims to chronologically build and narrate the Prophet's life story in a cause-and-effect relationship by also providing a background setting from a holistic perspective. Though other ecclesiastical fields of science base their studies on one or some of these goals and objectives, none of them aims to achieve them all together. For example, none of the other ecclesiastical fields of science sets sight on the construction of the Prophet's life chronologically and holistically. While the other ecclesiastical fields of science address the subject of the Prophet from certain perspectives, the science of Sirah sets no limit. Approaching the life and Sunnah of the Prophet from the notion of historicity, the science of Sirah has a wider perspective than all the other ecclesiastical fields of science. It is essential for Sirah to use all the narrative material, that is the hadiths, as a source which conveys the Sunnah of the Prophet to us. From this point of view, the science of Sirah and the science of Hadith coincide. The difference between them is that the science of Hadith focuses on determining the authenticity of Hadiths while the science of Sirah is interested in constructing a chronological and holistic life story with these narrations. (Polat, 2012, s. 259, 260)

The historical course of the Sirahography<sup>3</sup> is the clearest evidence for its relation to the science of Hadith. As is known, Islamic sciences in the early periods of Islamic history were based on the narrations conveyed by the Prophet, the Companions and subsequent generations, and included in the science of Hadith.

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the book also discusses the validity of the narratives. It is a handbook for the Tablighi Jamaat. (Özşenel, "Muhammed Yusuf Kandehlevi", *DİA*, 2001, XXIV, 296, 297)

<sup>3</sup> The process or form of writing or describing in the name of the science of Sirah



They were not individual disciplines yet. These narratives were named such concepts as "science, sunnah, hadith, news and work." As this narrative material was compiled and classified, the narratives about the wars of the Prophet and the military campaigns he deployed were codified in the form of individual books under the name of "Meğazi" or as sections in hadith periodicals, which means they were all collected. The science of Sirah must use any kind of data that a historian can use, besides hadiths, on condition that it adopts a critical approach towards them. For this reason, the science of Sirah is different in terms of its sources from the science of Hadith.<sup>4</sup>

The enlightenment of the Muslim's heart with the Prophet's life and conduct and the *müttakîs*<sup>5</sup> of the Islamic ummah (community) can be evaluated within the significance of the science of history. Despite the benefits and virtues of history, nobody has given it the place it has reached among the beliefs of Islamic Sharia. In the same way, the narratives of history were rendered evidence in the issues of lawful (halal) and unlawful (haram). They are indispensable for the verification of these injunctions. It is imperative to find Sharia'ah evidences in the Qur'an, Sunnah, Ijma<sup>6</sup> and Qiyas.<sup>7</sup> Here, historical narratives have a great deal of influence because injunctions are based upon historical narratives when there is a doubt regarding the injunctions in the Qur'an, Sunnah and Ijma. The scholars of the Muslim nations have scrutinized the narration methods and made sure that the narratives are credible and reliable. However, we should not overlook the two situations when we examine the science of history or use it to achieve our goals. If anyone comes to ignore this fact, they misuse the science of history. As a matter of fact, it is possible that ignoring this fact will lead most people astray and into arguments. (Muhammed Şefî', b.y.y., s. 32)

By what means could the Companions have preserved these beautiful words and conduct they heard from the Prophet Muhammad? They did not care about getting the word of the Prophet across to the ummah. This is bewildering. The Companions did not allow the water with which the Prophet Muhammad performed ablution to drop on the ground for they welcomed the Prophet Muhammad with their faces and their hearts. How can we remain silent in the face of these people who were very willing not to lose a drop of the ablution

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<sup>4</sup> Salahattin Polat, a.g.tb., s. 260.

<sup>5</sup> A devout person who is afraid of Allah and away from sin and unlawful, who is saved.

<sup>6</sup> Consensus of Muslim scholars on religious issues

<sup>7</sup> Analogical reasoning based on the comparison of the teachings of the Hadith with those of the Qur'an

water of the Prophet Muhammad if he did not order them to protect and convey the hadiths? Those Companions were preserving every single strand of hair falling from the head of the Prophet Muhammad. How can we remain silent in the face of the fact that they did not care to preserve the teachings of Rasulullah and that they neglected the hadiths of Rasulullah? The Companions learnt most of the hadiths by heart. the Prophet Muhammad ordered them to get across the hadiths they learnt by heart to the Muslims as word and conduct. It is quite clear that this particular situation on the hadith is not for the world sultanate. No person was as fortunate as the Supreme Prophet. Where is this person we have heard all the words from? We see him in every deed. Therefore, the hadiths of the Prophet are on the same level as the Qur'an in terms of the matters related to the Sharia'ah judgments. (Muhammed Şefi', b.y.y., s. 33, 34)

## **II. General Criticism of the Work and its Contribution to Sirah-i Nebi (Methodological)**

This work has no concept of "time." Therefore, it is not a historical study. It is not exactly a Sirah study either. When sîret is highlighted, the work will be more meaningful in terms of content. The work helps go into the more depths of Sirah-i Nebi. The Muslim should know these to be able to explain their religion.

The author, who lived in the Indian subcontinent which is a fertile region in terms of Hadith studies, brought the hadith narratives to light and examined them even though without approaching them critically. The work suggests the hadith and Sirah as a method of action for Islamic invitation. Returning of the world of Islam, which has suffered deeply from colonialism, to its essence is achieved by the sunnah and sîret of the Prophet. It is noteworthy that although the work lacks coherence in terms of the subject it deals with; it addresses important details such as the narrative of Umar not deploying his soldiers on a military campaign for more than four months.

The author reveals that reading Sirah is not an intellectual accumulation for Muslims but is an act on its own. The fact that the purpose of the work is to prepare a handbook for the Islamic invitees even makes it more important. This work reminds us not to argue, but to apply directly.

Another aspect of the work is that it reveals the richness of the Sirah body of knowledge because the general narrative of Sirah is, in a sense, within the context of political and military history while Hayatu's Sahabe" takes into account other aspects and details of life. This work is striking also because it addresses the life of

the Prophet through the lives of the Companions. While it shares various issues based on the narratives of the Companions, everybody also draws attention to how busy the lives of the Prophet and Companions are. The narratives in the work of the author address the issues with which Sirah books do not deal. For example, during the conquest of Tüster, 8-9 people abandon the religion of Islam and joins with the polytheists, however, Umar orders that they not be killed. (Kandehlevî, 1991, I, 46, 47)

The most important shortcoming of the work is that, as mentioned above, the hadith narratives lack the elements of time and space, and therefore the subject presented to the addressee is partially missing. For example, It is noteworthy that the narrative which recounts Umar's visit to a priest who devoted himself to worship (Kandehlevî, 1991, I, 47) does not include any information on the date of the visit or the identity of the priest, which is the kind of information Sirah places special importance on.

The fact that the work lacks a chronological order should also be regarded as a shortcoming in terms of Sirah-i Nebi. In addition, the general titles in Sirah-i Nebi narration are not included in this work. The work narrates the spreading of Islam which means that it addresses the issue not from an intellectual perspective but from a perspective of action, therefore, it refers to both the period of our Prophet and the period of caliphs in the same section or even under the same heading. Kandehlevî also includes in this work the narrations of the authors who lived in the periods of tabi'un<sup>8</sup> and etbau't-tabiin.<sup>9</sup>

Hayatu's Sahabe is a collected work. Comments and contributions of the author are not reflected on the work. However, the spirit of the work reveals the intention of the author. This work stresses both the piety and the human aspects of the Prophet and his companions.

Kandehlevî supports the narratives he received from the Sirah sources with a hadith source. (Kandehlevî, 1991, I, 84, 100) Understanding the Prophet's life and struggle can only be achieved by understanding His invitation and the challenges he overcame on this path. The work suggests that the Muslim bring their lives closer to Sirah-i Nebi. It reminds strongly of the principle and commandment of "Üsve-i Hasene."<sup>10</sup>

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<sup>8</sup> The generation of Muslims after the passing of the Prophet

<sup>9</sup> The third generation of Muslims after the passing of the Prophet

<sup>10</sup> A good example, a decent character, a archetypal personality referring to the Prophet

### **Conclusion**

While the primary goal of men with a cause is success on the field, academics and researchers are interested in the validity and presentation of their research. Addressing this work in our study, we are presenting the dimension of action of Sirah. A man of action and with a cause, M. Yusuf Kandehelevi prepared a handbook for Muslim invitees in the light of Hadith-i Sharif and Sirah-i Nebi.

While contemporary figures such as M. Muhammed Gadban and el-Muhacir emphasized political success, Kandehelevî concentrated on educating the whole of the Islamic community and spreading Islam. In other words, while Egyptian thinkers laid emphasis on domination, Kandehelevî stressed the importance of social order.

Even though Kandehelevî did not evaluate the hadiths and historical narratives he propounded in his work, which is a shortcoming, he succeeded in portraying the lives of the Companions in the eyes of the reader vividly by dividing the work into chapters and headings. The most important issue that concerns the author is the submission and commitment of the Companions. The sincerity, loyalty and courtesy in their relations with Rasulullah tugged at the reader's heartstrings.

Considering the fact that one of the most important goals of reading and teaching Sirah-i Nebi is growing our love for the Prophet more and more, we think that Hayatu's Sahabe achieves this goal in the eyes of the reader.

It is praiseworthy that such a work could be brought into being in the face of deprivation in a geographical region which was under British colonialism. It is essential to utilize this work of Kandehelevi and apply it in the life of Muslims in the Islamic countries which are subjected to cultural colonization and enculturation nowadays. Moreover, in the search for Sirah methodology, it is vital to make more use of narration accumulation in the context of importance of source criticism. In this respect, it is imperative that the hadith narrations be made more visible in Sirah studies.

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# **The Understanding of Religion and Government in Necmeddin Daye's Siyasetname**

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## **Abstract**

In Muslim countries, debates regarding how the relationship between language and religion should be and whether religion should control the government or the government should control religion have never ended.

In fact, these on-going discussions are the export of the West, not a problem that the Islamic World produced for its own needs. One of the significant experiences on this matter is the Selcuk understanding, which is one of the two sources from which it is influenced and nourished is Sasânî/İran tradition.

On the basis of the relationship between religion and government is the relationship between God, Universe, and Man, and in accordance with this, the understandings of the relationship between religion and the world and religion and the government. Is God a God that does not interfere with the world and one that does not give rewards or punishments as in Aristotle's God? Or, a God that interferes with the World and one that gives rewards or punishments as Farabî's Allah? Undoubtedly, Selcuk tradition is shaped in the framework of Farabî's understanding of Allah. N. Dâye, by showing Hz. Muhammed as reference, accepts reign as the representative of Allah on Earth and the Sultan as the shadow of Allah on Earth. Based on Hz. Süleyman sample, he states that the reign multiplies the effect of messengership a thousand times.

The relationship between religion and government or religion and politics is one of the most problematic issues of the last four hundred years. The source of the issue is, to a large extent, the understanding of religion imposed by the church which controled the Western Middle Ages. The problem is a product of enmity and rebellion against the unbeliavable dogmes of the Christian church in the Middle Age.

**Keywords:** Religion, Government, Management, Selcuk, Siyasetname, Sultan

## Necmeddin Dâye'nin Siyasetnamesinde Din-Devlet Anlayışı

### 1. Giriş:

Din-devlet veya din-siyaset ilişkisi, yaklaşık son dört yüz yılın en tartışmalı konularından biridir. Problemin kaynağında büyük ölçüde Batı Ortaçağı'na hâkim olan kilisenin dayattığı din anlayışı vardır. Problem, Ortaçağ Hıristiyan kilisesinin akıl almaz doğmalarına karşı bir başkaldırının ve bir hasımlığın ürünüdür. Problem, Batı'nın, teolojik güdümlü olduğu için neredeyse lanetlediği kendi Ortaçağı'na isyanının sonucunda kurduğu modern uygarlığının bir parçasıdır. Hatta bu problem sadece din-devlet ilişkileri sınırlılığında da kalmamış, dini hayattan tamamen uzaklaştıracak felsefi ve ideolojik kabullere tanımlanabilir sebepler üretmiştir. Deizmin, pozitivizmin ve tarihî maddeciliğin dini hayattan uzaklaştırmak için onu yok saymalarına meselenin bu boyutu ile de bakmakta fayda vardır.

Batının tamamen konjonktürel şartları içinde geliştirdiği ve uygarlığının vazgeçilmez bir unsuru haline getirdiği “devleti dinden uzak tutma” uygulamasını doğru bulmayan Hegel'in şu değerlendirmeleri göz ardı edilemeyecek kadar özgündür:

“Devletle din özdeş toplum ilkesini paylaşırlar: din devlete onun yapısını, bireylerin davranışlarını ve devletle iç ilişkisini düzenlemek üzere dışarıdan eklenen bir şey değildir, tersine o baştan beri belirleyerek, etkiyerek devletin içindedir. Nasıl bilimin, sanatın öğretilmesi gerekiyorsa insanlara din eğitimi de gerekir. Ama bunu dış bir ilişki olarak anlamamalıyız, tersine, bunun anlamı, daha önce de dediğimiz gibi, devletin politik, sanatsal ve bilimsel yaşamı olduğudur, çünkü devlet zaten belli bir dinden çıkmıştır, dinle özdeş bir toplumsal ilkeyi paylaşmaktadır.”<sup>1</sup>

“Devletin dine dayandığı konusunda doğru bir kanıya varıldıktan sonra bile, sanki devlet varmış da din yokmuş gibi bir tavır takınıyor, bundan böyle de din devlete taşıma su gibi getirilmeye kalkışılıyor. İnsanların dinle eğitilmesi tümüyle yerindedir, ama bu eğitimde din henüz var olmayan bir şey gibi sunulmamalı. İnsanlar var olan bir modele göre eğitilir, var olmayana göre değil. Çünkü devletin dine dayandığı, köklerinin orada olduğu söyleniyorsa, bunun anlamı devletin dinden ortaya çıkmış olduğu, hâla da çıkma süreci içinde olduğudur. Belli bir devlet belli bir dinden gelmiştir. Devletin ilkeleri, dediğimiz gibi, kendinde ve kendisi için geçerli şeyler olarak düşünülmelidir, bu da ancak onların tanrısal özün

<sup>1</sup> Hegel, G.W.F., *Tarihte Akıl*, s. 128.

kendisini belirlenimleri olarak bilinmeleriyle olanaklı olur. Dinin yapısı neyse, devlet ve anayasa da o yapıdadır: devlet gerçekten dinden çıkmıştır.”<sup>2</sup>

Ortaçağ Kilise Hristiyanlığı kaynaklı din-devlet problemi hiç hak etmediği ve hiç ilgisi olmadığı halde İslam’a da taşınmıştır. Politik ve ideolojik okumalar sonucu, İslam’ın siyasal alanı ya bütünüyle vahiy kaynaklı<sup>3</sup> ya da bütünüyle aklî ve tarihî kabul edilmiştir.<sup>4</sup> Halbuki “siyasal olan” ne bütünüyle vahyîdir ne de bütünüyle aklî ve tarihîdir. Siyasal olanı ahlakiliğinden, ahlakî olanı da dinîliğinden tamamen ayırmak mümkün değildir. Dolayısıyla İslam’da siyasal alanın, adalet, ehliyet, liyakat, hakkaniyet, istişare v.b. gibi değişmeyen vahyî ilkeleri olduğu gibi, insana bırakılmış olan ve dolayısıyla değişebilen rasyonel ve tarihî belirleyicileri de vardır.

Müslümanların tarihinde Hz. Muhammed (s.)’in peygamberliğini ilanı ile birlikte toplumsal algı olarak, teorik planda kendisini gösteren din-devlet birlikteliği, Medine dönemi ile fiilî, hukukî ve pratik yapıya kavuşarak kurumsallaşmıştır. Hz. Muhammed (s.)’den sonra Hulefâ-i Râşidîn döneminde bu yapı büyük ölçüde korunarak devam ettirilmiştir. Emevîler, Abbasîler, Endülüs Emevîleri ve Selçuklular dönemlerinde ise Hz. Muhammed (s.) ve Hulefâ-i Râşidîn dönemi anlayışı ve uygulamaları sadece teoride korunabilmiştir. Hatta bu korunabilmişliğin bile sözde ve görünüşte kaldığını söylemeyi haklı çıkaracak önemli anlayış ve uygulama değişiklikleri olmuştur. Bu değişikliklerle bu dönemlerdeki din-devlet ilişkileri devletin dini kontrol etmesi anlamında “bizantinist” bir kimliğe daha yakın durur hale gelmiştir.

Selçuklular döneminde, devlet yönetimi ve siyaset sanatıyla ilgili düşünceleri sultana arz edebilmenin etkin, bilgece ve de büyüğü rehberi hiç şüphesiz, siyasetnamelerdir.<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>2</sup> Hegel, G.W.F., *Tarihte Akıl*, s. 127.

<sup>3</sup> Bakınız: Seyyid Kutup, Abdulkadir Udeh, Mevdudî ve Münir Muhammed Gadban gibi yazarların çeşitli eserleri.

<sup>4</sup> Bakınız: Seyyid Bey, Ali Abdurrazık ve Asaf A. Feyzi gibi yazarların çeşitli eserleri.

<sup>5</sup> Her dönemde, kendi hayat anlayışları çerçevesinde, devrin ihtiyaçlarına uygun, halkın durumunu dile getiren, hükümdarlara, vezirlere ve diğer üst düzey devlet erkânına, halkın dertleriyle ilgilenmelerini ve özellikle de âdil davranmalarını öğütleyen, uyarıcı ve yol gösterici hem ilmî hem de popüler eserler hep yazıla gelmiştir. İşte bu bağlamda ele alınan ve bir anlamda, devlet yönetimi ile ilgili eserlerin genel adı olan siyasetnâme, kelime olarak insan topluluklarını yönetme ve devlet idaresi anlamına gelen Arapça **siyaset** kelimesine, mektup, yazı anlamına gelen Farsça **nâme** kelimesinin eklenmesiyle meydana gelmiştir.



Siyasetnâmeler padişaha yönelik kaleme alınmış ise genellikle nasihatü'l-mülûk, siyerü'l-mülûk, adâbü'l-mülûk, tuhfetü'l-mülûk, ahlâkü'l-mülûk, enîsü'l-mülûk sirâcü'l-mülûk, siyasetnâme; vezirlere yönelik ise edebü'l-vezir, nasihatü'l-vüzerâ ve tuhfetü'l-vüzerâ gibi isimlerle yazılmışlardır. Bursalı Mehmet Tahir Efendi'nin Siyasete müteallık âsâr-ı İslâmiyye'si bu isimleri topluca bulabileceğimiz bir katalogdur.

Hız. Ali'nin Mısır valisi Mâlik el-Eşter'e yazdığı ve valilik görevinde uyması gereken temel ilkeleri ayrıntılı olarak ele aldığı uzun mektubunu İslam tarihinde ilk siyasetnâme örneği olarak değerlendirmek mümkündür. Abdülhamid el- Kâtib'in (ö. 132/750) Emevîler'in son halifesi II. Mervan'ın oğlu Abdullah için kaleme aldığı Ahdü Mervan ilâ İbnihî Ubeydillah adlı eseri İslam tarihinde siyasetnâme literatürün ilk özgün örneği kabul edilebilir. Fakat hem Batı'lı hem Müslüman siyaset araştırmacıları arasında İslâm tarihindeki ilk siyaset bilimcinin İbn Mukaffa' (ö. 142/760) ve siyasetnâme literatürü açısından ilk örneklerin de onun Edebü'l-kebîr ve Edebü's-sagîr ve Abbasî halifesi Mansur için yazdığı, Risâletü's-sahâbe (Risâletü's-siyase, Risâletü'l-Hâşimiyye) adlı eserleri olduğu düşüncesi daha yaygındır. Bu sahada bir hayli eser vermiş olan Batı dünyasının ilkleri arasında da en iyi devlet şeklini araştıran Eflatun'un Devlet'i başta olmak üzere Aristo'nun eserleri şüphesiz en ön sırada yer alırlar. Bu eserler genellikle devlet, siyaset ve yönetimle ilgili açık, kolay tanımlanabilir ve kolay anlaşılabilir temel ilkeler sunarlar. Ancak bazen kısmî bazen de ağırlıklı olarak felsefî ve doktriner anlatımlarla da kaleme alınmışlardır. İslam dünyasında kaleme alınmış olan Siyasetnâmeler her ne kadar devlet yönetiminin bir bütün olarak genel ilkelerini konu edinmiş iseler de devlet-din veya siyaset-din ilişkilerini öne çıkarırlar. Bu ilişkiler bir taraftan Kur'ân-ı Kerim âyetleri ve Hadislerle ilmek ilmek dokunurken diğer taraftan bu dokumalar mevcut sultana kaftan olarak giydirilir, kılıç olarak kuşatılır.

Bu eserlerin padişah ile halkı arasındaki bağı güçlendirmedeki katkılarını önemli bulan Sultan Melikşah, 470 H./ 1077-1078 M. yılında, devlet idaresine dair bir kitap yazılması için kendi devlet adamları arasında bir yarışma açar. Sultan açtığı yarışmada, siyasetnâmelerin konumunu ve hedeflerini gayet açık şekilde ortaya koyan şöyle bir çerçeve çizer: "Her biriniz memleketimiz hakkında düşününüz ve zamanımızda iyi olmayanın ne olduğunu, divan ve bârgâhımızda o şartları yerine getirmeyenlere veya bizden gizlenmiş olana, bizden önceki padişahların şartlarını yerine getirdikleri, bizim tedbir almadığımız hangi mesuliyetler bulunduğu bakınız. Selçuklu sultanları ve başkaları devrinde geçmiş meliklerin her ne kanun ve âdetleri varsa, onlar üzerinde düşününüz, açık bir şekilde yazınız ve bize arz ediniz ki biz onlar üzerinde düşünelim, bundan sonra din ve dünya işlerimizin

düzgün yürümesi için emir verelim, gerçekleştirilmesi gerekeni gerçekleştirelim.” Bu yarışmada meşhur “Siyasetnâme” adlı eseri en çok beğenilen Nizmü’l-mülk’ün de: “Hiçbir padişah bu kitabı eline almamazlık edemez. İnsanlar bu kitabı ne kadar çok okurlarsa din ve dünya işlerinde bilgileri o kadar fazla olur... Onlara, doğru tedbirler alma yolları açılır...” şeklinde sözleri bu eserlerin önemlerini tespit bakımından oldukça dikkat çekicidir.

Bu eserlerde temel olarak iki ekol göze çarpar. Bunlardan biri Eflatun ve Aristo’nun fikirlerinin ağırlıkta olduğu Batı ekolüdür. Diğeri ise, İbn Mukaffa’nın Edebü’l-Kebîr ve Edebü’s-sagîr ve Risâletü’s-sahâbe adlı eserleri , Cahız’ın Kitabü’t-Tâc fî ahlâkî’l-mülûk, Keykavus b. İskender’in oğlu Gilan Şah için yazdığı Kâbusnâme , Yusuf Has Hacib’in Kutadgu Bilig ve Nizmü’l-Mülk’ün Siyasetnâme’sinin etkilerini hissettirdiği Doğu (İran-Hint ) ekolüdür. Ayrıca Doğu’da yazılmış olmakla birlikte büyük ölçüde Batı’nın etkilerini taşıyan siyasetnâmeler de vardır. Farabî’nin el-Medînetü’l-fâzıla’sı ve es-Siyasetü’l-medeniyye’si bu tasnifin açık örneğini teşkil eder. Bu tebliğe konu olan Necmeddin Dâye’nin Mirsâdü’l-ibâd mine’l-mebde-i ile’l-meâd adlı eserinin içinde yer alan Siyasetnâme bölümü, İran- Hint etkilerini taşıyan Doğu ekolü çerçevesinde, hem padişaha hem de vezir ve diğer bürokratlara yönelik genel siyasetnâme türünde kaleme alınmıştır. Eser tasavvufi düşünce temelinde ele alınmış ve bu özelliği eserin tamamında korunmuştur. Yaygın bir şöhrete sahip olan bu eserine Kayseri’de başlayan Necmeddin Dâye onu Sivas’ta tamamlayarak Sultan Alaeddin Keykubad’a takdim etmiştir.

Bu rehberlerden biri olan Necmeddin Dâye’nin<sup>6</sup> Siyasetnâmesi’nin penceresinden bakarak bu siyaset bilgesinin din-devlet ilişkilerindeki siyasi manifestolarını çağdaş devlet başkanlarına ve siyaset bilimcilerinin ilgilerine sunmak istiyoruz.

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<sup>6</sup> Asıl adı Abdullah ibn Muhammed ibn Şâhâver el-Esedî er- Razi olan Ebû Bekir Necmeddin Dâye, 573H./ 1177M. tarihinde Harizm bölgesinin önemli şehirlerinden Rey’de doğmuştur. İlim tahsili için sıkça seyahat eden Necmeddin Dâye, 599 H./ 1202M.’de Rey’den ayrılarak Mısır, Şam, Medine, Bağdat, Horasan, Harizm, Azerbaycan, İran, Huzistan ve diğer Arap ve Acem şehirleriyle birlikte Erbil, Musul, Diyarbakır, Sivas, Konya ve Kayseri gibi devrin ilim merkezlerini dolaşmıştır. Her gittiği yerde, tarikat mensubu olan zâhid kişilerle ve ilim adamlarıyla görüş alışverişinde bulunarak onlardan faydalanmıştır. Kübreviyye tarikatının piri olan Necmeddin Kübrâ’nın ders ve zikir halkalarına katılmak üzere Harizm’deki dergahına gelmiştir. Necmeddin Kübrâ, Dâye’nin tasavvufi eğitimiyle Mecdüddin Bağdâdî’yi (606 H./ 1209 M.) görevlendirmiştir. Mecdüddin Bağdâdî’nin Harizmşah Alâeddin tarafından öldürülmesi ve Moğol istilası sebebiyle Harezm’den ayrılan Necmeddin Dâye, önce Rey’e sonra

Yaklaşık dört yıl Anadolu'da kalan Necmeddin Dâye, Konya'da Mevlânâ Celâleddîn-i Rûmî ve Sadreddin Konevî ile de görüşmüştür. Bu görüşmelerin birinde imam olduğu bir akşam namazının her iki rekatında da Kâfirûn suresini okuması üzerine Mevlânâ, Sadreddin Konevî'ye, "birini sizin için birini bizim için okudu" diye şaka yapmıştır. Daha sonra Bağdat'a dönen Necmeddin Dâye, Abbasî Halifesi Zâhir Biemrillah tarafından Celâleddin Harizmşah'a elçi olarak gönderilmiş ve bu suretle de bir süre Tebriz'de kalmıştır. Daha sonra ömrünün son otuz yılını geçirdiği Bağdat'a yeniden dönmüş ve burada 645 H./ 1256 M. yılında 79 yaşında vefat etmiştir. Kabri Şinüziye kabristanında Cüneyd-i Bağdâdî'nin mezarı yanındadır. Necmeddin Dâye'nin belirttiğine göre kendilerinden çeşitli alanlarda ilim öğrendiği hocalarının bir kısmının isimleri şöyledir: Necmeddin Kübrâ (540-618 H./ 1145-1221 M.), Ebû Hafs Ömer ibn Muhammed es-Suhreverdî (632 H./ 1234 M.), Mecdüddin Bağdâdî (606 H./ 1209 M.), Ebu Bekir Şazanî (581H./ 1185 M. ), Şeyh Ali Bunânî (601 H./ 1204 M.) ve Ebu Muhammed Mahmud el-İrakî (620H. / 1223 M.).

Mutasavvıf kimliğinin ötesinde önemli bir tefsirci de olan Necmeddin Dâye, hem rivayet tefsirlerine olan hâkimiyeti hem de tasavvufî yorumlarıyla tefsir alanında önemli bir yere sahip olmuştur. Eserlerinde anlattığı konular arasına yerleştirdiği güzel ve anlamlı şiirlerinden aynı zamanda şair olduğu da anlaşılan Necmeddin Dâye, dil yönü ile de devrinin geleneksel ilim anlayışının adeta bir aynası gibidir. Arapça ve Farsça'ya olan hakimiyeti hemen hemen yazdığı her satırda kendini gösterir. Onun eserlerini bir tebliğ sınırlılığı içinde şöyle sıralayabiliriz.

**1- *Mirsâdü'l-ibâd mine'l-mebde-i ile'l-meâd*:** Konumuza esas olan Siyasetnâme'sini içinde bulduğumuz eseridir. 1422 yılında *İrşâdü'l-mürîd ile'l-Murâd* adıyla Osmanlı Türkçesine çevrilerek Osmanlı Sultanı II. Murad'a takdim edilmiş olan bu eser, 1670'lerde Çince'ye, 1982'de de İngilizceye tercüme edilmiştir.

**2- *Bahru'l- hakâik ve'l-me'ânî fi tefsiri's-seb'i'l-mesâni*:** Necmeddin Dâye'nin en öne çıkan ve kendisini bilim dünyasında tanıtan eseridir. Devrinin tasavvufî tefsir anlayışını ortaya koyması bakımından oldukça önemli bir yere sahiptir. Bu eserin bu güne kadar tespit edilmiş olan 35'e yakın nüshası bulunmaktadır. Prof Dr. Mehmet Okuyan bu eseri doktora tezi olarak çalışmıştır.

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Hemedan'a oradan da Anadolu'ya geçer. Malatya'da dönemin Bağdat halifesi Nasır'ın elçisi olan Şeyh Şehâbeddin es-Suhreverdî ile görüşür. 1221 Kasım'ında Kayseri'ye gelen Necmeddin Dâye, yaklaşık iki yıl sonra Sivas'a geçerek *Mirsâdü'l-ibâd mine'l-mebde-i ile'l-meâd* adlı eserini dönemin Selçuklu sultanı Alaaddin Keykubad'a takdim etmiştir.

**3- Menâratü's-sâirîn ve makmaâtü't-tâirîn:** Bu eser, ariflerin makamlarını açıklar ve sâliklerin kerametlerini anlatır. Ayrıca mutasavvıfların mertebelerini de ihtiva eden eserin Farsça bir nüshası Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi, Ayasofya koleksiyonu No: 2100'de bulunmaktadır.

**4- Mi'yâru's-sıdk:** Mahlûkatın yaratılış sırlarından bahseder. Yazma nüshaları kütüphanelerde bol olan bir risaledir. Diğer eserlerinin isimleri şöyledir:

**5- Mermûzât-ı Esedî der Mezmûrât-ı Dâvudî.**

**6- Metâlî'u'l-iman.**

**7- Risâletü't-tüyûr.**

**8- Sirâcül-külûb.**

**9- Sülûku erbâbî'n-ni'am.**

**10- Hasretü'l-mülûk ve tuhfetü'l-habîb.**

**11- Siyasetnâme:** *Mirsâdü'l-ibâd mine'l-mebde-i ile'l-meâd* adlı eserinin beşinci babını üç fasıl altında Siyasetnâme bölümüne ayırmıştır. Varak 130b'den 148b'ye kadar devam eden bu bölümün birinci ve ikinci faslını sultanlara, üçüncü faslını vezirlere ve diğer üst düzey bürokratlara ayırmıştır. Bu siyasetnâme bölümü *Mirsâdü'l-ibâd mine'l-mebde-i ile'l-meâd*'in içinde tarafımızdan tespit edilmiş ve özet bir tercüme ile transkripte edilerek *Necmeddin Dâye'nin Siyasetnâmesi* adıyla 1995 yılında Erciyes Üniversitesi Gevher Nesibe Tıp Tarihi Enstitüsü Yayınları arasında yayınlanmıştır.

## 2. Necmeddin Dâye'nin Siyasetnâmesinde Din-Devlet

### El-Faslü'l-Evvel Fi Beyan-î Sülûki's-Selâtini ve Ehli'l-Hükmi

"Kâlellâhu Teâlâ: "Yâ Dâvûde innâ cealnâke halîfeten fi'l-ardi fahküm beyne'n-nâsi bi'l-hakkı" ve kale'n-Nebiyyü sallallahu ve selleme: "es-Sultânü zıllullâhi fi'l-ardı ye'va ileyhi küllü mazlûmin."

Sadeleştirilmiş şekli:

Allah Teâlâ'nın: "Ey Davud, seni şüphesiz yeryüzünde hükümlan kıldık, o halde insanlar arasında adaletle hükmet..." (Şâd, 38/26) buyruğu ve Peygamber (s.)'in: "Sultan yeryüzünde Allah'ın gölgesidir, her mazlum ona başvurur" (Aclûnî, Keşfü'l-Hafâ, I/456) buyurur.

Bu ayet-i kerime ve hadis-i şerif ile Siyâsetnâme'sine başlayan Necmeddin Dâye hemen padişaha yönelerek:

“Azizimiz bilgilki, padişahlık ve saltanat Hakk’ın naibi olmaktır ve Hâce aleyhisselam “Sultan Hakk Tealanın gölgesidir” didi. Hem ol dahi hilafet manasınadır.”

Sadeleştirilmiş şekli:

Ey Azizimiz bilki, padişahlık ve saltanat (yeryüzünde) Hakk’ın vekili olmaktır. Hz. Muhammed (s.): “*Sultan Allah Teâlâ’nın (yeryüzündeki) gölgesidir*” buyurmuştur. Hilafet de -sultan ile- aynı manadadır.

Necmeddin Dâye’nin bu tespit ve anlayışını:

Roma İmparatoru Konstantin’in Avrupa’sında;

Bilge Kağan’ın Göktürklerinde;

Budizm’in resmî din kabul edildiği dönemin Çin’inde;

Brahmanizm ve onun yeni versiyonu olan Hinduizm Hindistan’ında;

Sasani hükümdarlarının desteklediği ve desteklendiği Zerdüştlük döneminin İran’ında; Başlangıçlarından itibaren Abbasîlerde;

Fatih Sultan Mehmet dönemi ve sonrası Osmanlılarda görebiliriz.

Ve şöyle devam eder:

“Zira surette bir kişi bir dam üzere dursa ve ânın gölgesi yere düşse ol gölge ki ânın halifesi olur ve ol gölge ol kişi aduyle zikir olur ve ol şahsın zatının ve sıfatının eseri gölgesinde aks urub zahir olur. Bu ulu bir sırdur ve hem “*İnne’llahe haleka Âdeme alâ suretihil*” bu ma’nile işaretdir. Görmez misin ki, ol hüma kuşu ki, bir zaif kuşdur, anda Hakk Teâla’nın esrarından ne nesne ta’biye olmuştur. Anın gölgesi kime ki irişe eğer gedây dahi olursa sâhib-i memleket olsa gerek Hakk Teâla kemâl-i inâyetinden çün bir kulu cemi-i halk arasında ihtiyar kılma ve kendinin zatın ve sıfatın izhar kılma, gör gil ki, ne devleti ikbâl ol müşerref zâtta ve mükerrem cevherde ta’biye olmuş ola. İmdi az çok hâşiyet ol zat-i şerfide ve latifde ol, ola ki her ehlü nâ ehl çün ânın inâyet nazariyle manzûr olsa pes cümle cihanda mukbel ve makbûl olur ve her kime ki kahr nazariyle baksa iki cihanda merdûd ola.”<sup>7</sup>

“İmdi şöyle bil ki padişahlar iki taifedir, biri din padişahları ve biri dünya padişahlarıdır. Anlar ki dünyevîdir, pes Hakk’ın anlar lutf-i kahrî sıfatının sûretidir. Ammâ kendilerden bî-haberlerdir ve Hakk’ın sıfat-ı lutf u kahrı anların ile vücûda gelir. Lâkin anlar ma’lum olmaz şol hûblar gibi ammâ hüsnünden özgeler ber-hurdâr olub nasîb bulurlar. Beyt:

Hôş bâşed ‘aşk hûb rûy

<sup>7</sup> Daye, s. 28.

K'ez hûbî hod haber nedâred"<sup>8</sup>

Pes anlardır ki sûret-i âlemin tılsım-ı 'azamını şeriat kilîd birle ve tarikat sanatıyla açdılar ve ahvâlin hazâini ve sıfatın dekâyıkın andan sonra "*Men arefe nefsehu fe-kad arefe Rabbehu*" serhaddine irişdiler. "*Ve izâ raeyte na'imen ve mülken kebîran*" memleketinin ebedî tahtı üzre padişah olub oturdılar."<sup>9</sup> Beyt:

Her kücâ şehrist ân aktâ' mâst  
Geh be-Tûrân geh be-Îrân mî-revîm  
Sad hezârân terk dârem der-zamîr  
Her kücâ havâhîm çü sultân mî-revîm

"Ammâ ulu devlet andadır ki bir sahib-i devleti din ü dünya memleketinde padişah ideler tâ ki Hakk'ın halifesi olub "*Ve inne lenâ le'l-âhirete ve'l-ûlâ*" kazıyyesince bu iki memlekette tasarruf kıla. Nite ki Dâvud Peygamber aleyhisselam bu mertebe-i erzânî kıldı ki yâ Dâvûd: "*İnnâ cealnâke halifeten fi'l-arzi*" imdi Hakk celle celâluhu bunda isbat itmişdir ve padişahlara tenbih kılmışdır."<sup>10</sup>

#### Sadeleştirilmiş şekli:

Zira, bir kişi bir dam üzerinde dursa, onun gölgesi yere düşse, o gölge onun halifesi olur. Ve o gölge o kişinin adıyla zikrolunur. Ve o kişinin zatının ve sıfatının eseri gölgesinde aksedip zahir olur. Bu bir ulu sırdır ve hem "*Muhakkak Allah Hz. Âdem'i kendi suretinde yarattı*" (Buharî, Enbiya 1; Müslim, Cennet 28) hadis-i şerifi bu manaya işaret eder. Görmez misin ki, hüma kuşu zayıf bir kuştur, onda Hak Teâlâ'nın sırlarından neler vardır. Onun gölgesi kime düşerse o dilenci bile olsa sultan olsa gerektir. Hak Teala lütfu ile halk arasından bir kişiyi seçse ve kendisinin zâtını ve sıfatını gösterse, devlet ü ikbal o şerefli zâtda ve kerim cevherde yerli yerine konulmuş olur.

Bil ki, padişahlar iki kısımdır. Biri din padişahları diğeri dünya padişahlarıdır. Dünya padişahları, kendilerinden habersizdirler ve Hakk'ın kahır sıfatının lütfu onların eliyle meydana gelir, lakin onlar bunu bilmezler, onlar sadece uykunun tadından nasibi alan kendi güzelliğinin farkında olmayan uyuyan güzel gibidirler. Beyt:

Hôş bâşed 'aşk hûb rûy  
K'ez hûbî hod haber nedâred

Din padişahları ise, Hakk'ın kahır ve lütuf sıfatının görüldüğü yerdir. Onlar suret âleminin büyük tılsımını şeriat kilidi ve tarikat sanatıyla açtılar ve ondan sonra,

<sup>8</sup> Daye, s. 28.

<sup>9</sup> Daye, s. 28-29.

<sup>10</sup> Daye, s. 29.

“Kendini bilen Rabbini bilir” (Aclunî, 2/262) sınırına eriştiler. “Oranın neresine baksan, nimet ve büyük bir saltanat görürsün” (İnsan, 76/20) memleketinin ebedi tahtı üzerine padişah olup oturdular. Beytin tercümesi:

Bûyizî iklimü mülkümdür benim  
Gâh piyade varuram ben gâh süvâr  
Sad hezârân ola yânum leşkerim  
Kande dilersem vâûram şah-vâr

Ulu devlet, ancak, din ve dünya memleketinde padişah olmakla olur. Tâki, Hakk’ın halifesi olup, “Şüphesiz, ahiret de dünya da Bizimdir” (Leyl, 92/13) hükmünce bu iki memlekette hüküm sahibi ola. Öyleki, Davud (a.s.) bu mertebeye layık kılınmıştır: “Ey Davud, seni şüphesiz yeryüzünde hükümrân kıldık, o halde insanlar arasında adaletle hükmet.” (Sâd, 38/26) Cenâb-ı Hak, burada göstermiştir ki, saltanat sahibi olanlar adalet ilkesine riayet edeler.

**Sultanın Allah’ın yeryüzündeki vekili** olduğunu ortaya koyan Necmeddin Dâye, **güçlü sultan ve güçlü devletin** ancak **din-devlet birlikteliği** ile mümkün olabileceğini anlatır. Onun bu düşünce ve önerilerinin temellerini, genelde yukarıda verdiğimiz birçok ülkede görmekle beraber, özelde Abbasîlerin sultan ve devlet anlayışında buluruz. Abbasîler dönemi, teorisi, uygulaması ve felsefesiyle birlikte İslam felsefecilerinin ve siyaset bilimcilerinin İslâmî devlet modelinin temel ilkelerini ortaya koydukları bir dönemdir. Bu modelin temel ilkelerine ve dönemin İslam siyaset felsefesine katkıda bulunan bilim adamlarının devlet anlayışları ve yönetim modeli teklifleri, İslâmî devlet modelinin şekillenmesinde ve uygulanmasında ayrıcalıklı bir öneme sahiptir. Bu bilim adamlarımızdan bazı öne çıkanlar ve onların Selçuklu siyasetnâmelerine ve Necmeddin Dâye’ye kaynaklık ve örneklik eden düşünceleri şöyledir.

Abbasîler’in kuruluş döneminin tanığı olan İbn Mukaffa’, *el- Edebü’s-sagîr*, *el- Edebü’l-kebîr* ve Cafer el-Mansur’a sunduğu *Risâletü’s-Sahâbe* adlı eserlerinde, **Allah’tan sonra en güçlü olan ve bu gücünü Allah adına kullanan sultan anlayışının** fikrî zeminine önemli katkılarda bulunur. Ona göre, Allah’ın farzlarını yasaklayıp, haramlarını mübah kabul etmedikçe sultana her konuda mutlaka itaat edilmelidir. Ona itaat etmeyen ve ona yardımcı olmayan kendisini helake sürüklemiş olur. Yasama, yürütme ve yargıda son sözü söyleme yetkisi sadece sultana aittir. İbn Mukaffa’nın tualine resmettiği sultan, Allah’a isyanı istemedikçe tek ve tam otoritedir. Yetkisi sınırsız, sorumluluğu hiç yoktur. Yani: **Sultan devlettir, devlet sultandır**. Abbasî halifesi aynı zamanda çok güçlüdür. Çünkü **onu Allah seçmiştir ve o Allah’ın iradesini temsil etmektedir. Dolayısıyla Abbâsî devleti Allah’ın iradesini temsil eden onu hayata uygulayan bir devlettir**.

Türkler'in İslâm'a girdikleri X. yüzyılda, onlar için bu yeni dinin din-devlet ilişkilerindeki örneği Abbasîlerdi. Dolayısıyla Abbasîlerde din-devlet/İslam-saltanat birlikteliğini gören Karahanlılar, Müslümanlığı tercih ettikten sonra İslâm'ı devletin resmî dini olarak ilan ettiler. Aynı şekilde Selçuk Bey ve beraberindeki Türk boyları da Cend'den Mâveraünnehir bölgesine gelip Müslüman olduklarında din-devlet/İslam-saltanat birlikteliğinin yanısıra İslâm'ın Ehl-i Sünnet yorumu ile karşılaştılar ve İslâm'ı o sünnî yorumu ile öğrendiler ve benimsediler. Selçuklu geleneğinde devlet, hükümdar hânedânının ortak malıdır. Devletin tek temsilcisi olan **Selçuklu sultanı** aynı zamanda devletin, milletin ve ülkenin de tek sahibidir ve **yetkisini "doğrudan doğruya Tanrı'dan almaktadır."**<sup>11</sup> **Ancak o asla sorumsuz ve kutsal değildir.**<sup>12</sup> Selçuklu sultanı mutlak hâkim olmayıp, hâkimiyetini ancak törelere, yasalara ve dinî kurallara aykırı olmamak kaydıyla ve ordu komutanları ve üst düzey bürokratları ile görüşerek kullanır.<sup>13</sup>

Selçuklular döneminde din-devlet ilişkileri iki ana kaynaktan beslenerek şekillendi. Bunların birincisi kısmî Sasânî katkılı eski Türk telakkisi, ikincisi yine kısmen Sasânî katkılı Abbasî etkisi idi. Siyasal alanı ile dinî alanı kurumsal olarak birbirinden büyük ölçüde ayrılmış olan Selçuklu geleneğinde din-devlet ilişkilerini, sultanın dinî alanda Abbasî halifesine, halifenin de siyasal alanda Selçuklu sultanına bağlılığı şekillendirmiştir. Sultan dinî alanda halifeye bağlı idi çünkü o Sünî İslâm akidesinin dinî lideriydi ve Selçuklular da Sünî İslâm akidesini tercih etmişlerdi. Hatta Ehl-i Sünnet akidesini koruma ve yayma Selçuklu devletinin resmi politikası idi. Siyasal alanda halife sultana bağlı idi çünkü sultan siyasi hükümrânlığını doğrudan Allah'tan almaktaydı.

Din-devlet ilişkileri bağlamı Selçuklu devletinde en özgür alanlardan biri olmuştur. Bu özgürlüğü kanıtlayan en çarpıcı örnek tasavvufî hayatın zenginliğidir. En şöhretli mutasavvıflar, en etkili tasavvufî eserler, en gözde ve en yaygın tarikatlar Selçuklu döneminde ve Selçuklu coğrafyasında ortaya çıkmıştır.

Necmeddin Dâye daha sonra sultanların dikkat etmesi gereken hususları sıralar. Onlardan birkaç tanesi şöyledir:

1. Padişaha gerek ki, gidib gelenin Hakk'ın 'atâsın bile ve saltanatı anın fazlın bile ki *"tü'ti'l-mülke men teşâü"*.

<sup>11</sup> Yazıcı, Nesimi, *İlk Türk-İslâm Devletleri Tarihi*, Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı Yayınları, Ankara 2002, s. 294.

<sup>12</sup> Merçil, Erdoğan, *Müslüman Türk Devletleri Tarihi*, Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, Ankara 1991, s. 169.

<sup>13</sup> Çetin, Osman, *Türk-İslâm Devletleri Tarihi*, Düşünce Kitabevi Yayınları, İstanbul 2009, s. 284.



2. Bir kişiden aldı sana virdi. Bir gün senden dahi ala bir kişiye dahi vire. Pes cehd idib dūrūş ki bu riâyeti mülk-i fânî vasıtasıyla ol mülk-i hakîkî ki bakîdir ele getüre.

3. Yine şöyle bile ki padişahlık Hakk Teâlâ'nın halifesi ve nâibi olmaktır.

4. Padişah *"Ve lâ tettebi'î'l-hevâ"* yani hevâye mütebeat itmeye. Hakk Teâlâ yolunda hevâ sebebiyle sürçüb düşse ânın üzere ısrar eylese âhir ânı ol küfre yetişdirür. Zira küfr ahreti unutmaktan ibaretdir.<sup>14</sup>

Sadeleştirilmiş şekli:

1- *"Mülkü dilediğin kişiye verirsin"* (Âl-i İmran, 3/26) ayeti gereğince, padişahlığını kendisine Hakk'ın ihşanı, saltanatını O'nun lütfu olarak bilmelidir.

2- Saltanatı kendisine veren Allah, bir kişiden almış ve kendisine vermiştir. Bir gün kendisinden de alıp bir başkasına vereceğini düşünmelidir. Bu geçici saltanat vasıtasıyla, ebedi olan mülkü ve saltanatı elde etmeye gayret göstermelidir.

3-Yeryüzünde Hak Tela'nın halifesi ve vekili olduklarını bilmelidirler.

4- Padişah, *"Hevese uyma..."* (Sâd, 38/26) ayeti gereğince, nefsi arzularına göre hareket etmemelidir. Çünkü hevâ ile hükmetmek Hak'ın hilafıdır. Hevâsı ile hükmedenin emirleri ve yasakları da hevâ olur. Hevâsı ile hükmetmede ısrarcı olanı Allah Teâlâ sonunda küfre yaklaştırır. Çünkü küfür ahreti inkar etmekten ibarettir.

Necmeddin Dâye sultanlarla ilgili bu maddeleri sıraladıktan sonra, padişahlık ve peygamberlik arasındaki ilişkileri anlatır.

### 3. Peygamberlik ve Hilâfet

Necmeddin Dâye, hilâfetin nübüvvetten daha geniş kapsamlı olduğunu yani tam bir hilâfetin içinde nebîliğin zaten var olduğunu söyler. Ayrıca tam bir halifeliği veya padişahlığı Allah'ın ahlâkı ile ahlâklanmanın bir aracı olarak değerlendirir. Hz. Süleyman (a.s)'ı ve Hz. Âdem (a.s)'ı örnek göstererek şöyle der:

*"Süleyman Aleyhi's-selâm mülk taleb eyledi. Pes ilim ve nübüvvet taleb kılma dı ki "Rabbi heb lî mülken lâ-yenbeğî li-ehadin min ba'dı"* didi. İmdi bilgikli bu mülk taleb itmekde nice hikmet vardır, ol oldur ki çün padişahlık temâm olsa pes nübüvvet ve ilim anda mevcut olup dahil olmuşdur, nite ki Âdem Peygamber'e olmuşdı Aleyhisselam çün ana hilafet-i memleketi hâsıl oldu, ilim hod mevcûd idi. Pes Hakk Teala buyur dı ki *"İnnî câilün fi'l-ardi halifeten"* yani ben yeryüzünde bir halife getürürem ve cihan memleketinde bir naib dikerem didi, dimesi ki bir

<sup>14</sup> Daye, s. 31.

peygamber ya bir alim. Zira ki bu nesneler halifetde hâsıl idi, bu resme Dâvûd Peygamber'e Aleyhisselam buyurdu ki "*innâ cealnâke halifeten*" seni ben halife kıldım didi, itmedi ki ben seni nebî kıldım dimedi. Zira ki hilafetde bu cümlesi dâhil ve hâsıl idi."<sup>15</sup>

Beşinci hikmet oldur ki padişahlık sıfat-ı hamîdeye ve sıfatı zemîmeye terbiyet ve pervereş virmegin kâmilî aletidir. Zira kaçan nefs bu alet birle tertîb virecek olursa sıfat-i zemimede pes nefs bir mertebeye irişe ki Tanrılık da'vîsin kıla ve bu hod sıfat-ı zemîmenin nihayetidir. İmdi bu derekeye hiç irişmek mümkün değildir padişah olmayınca, zira ki hiç derviş âciz Tanrılık da'vîsin kılmadı görmez misin.<sup>16</sup>

#### Sadeleştirilmiş şekli:

Hz. Süleyman (a.s.)'ın, "*Rabbim, beni bağışla, bana benden sonra kimsenin ulaşamayacağı bir hükümlanlık ver.*" (Sâd, 38/35) ayetiyle, mülkü istemesindeki sebebi açıkladığı hikmetlerden iki tanesi şöyledir:

Birinci Hikmet: Padişahlık tamam olursa, nübüvvet ve ilim onda mevcut olur. Bu durum Âdem (a.s.)'da mevcut idi. Hak Teala, "*Ben yeryüzünde bir halife var edeceğim...*" (Bakara, 2/30) ayetiyle Hz. Âdem'e "*Ben seni halife kıldım*" dedi, nebî veya âlim kıldım demedi. Çünkü hilafette nebilik var idi. Aynı şekilde Davud (a.s.)'a da, "*Gerçekten biz seni yeryüzünde halife yaptık*" (Sâd, 38/26) buyurdu, nebî kıldım buyurmadı.

Beşinci Hikmet: Padişahlık, övülen ve yerilen sıfatları terbiye etmenin en mükemmel vasıtasıdır. Çünkü bir kimse bu vasıta ile istenmeyen sıfatların en kötüsü olan Tanrılık davasına kalkışabilir. Firavun bunun en güzel örneğidir. Ancak, hiçbir aciz dervişin Tanrılık davasına kalkıştığı görülmuş değildir. Dolayısıyla padişahlık vasıflarına sahip olan kişi, övülen sıfatlarla nefsini terbiye eder, övülen sıfatların en yücesi olan Allah Teâla'nın ahlakı ile ahlaklanırsa, işte kamil din budur, bunu elde etmiş olur. Bu dereceye padişahlık aletinden başka bir aletle kavuşmak da mümkün değildir.

Suçludan intikam almaya gücü yetmeyen bir kişinin suçluyu affetmesine bağışlayıcılık denmez. Bir şey demek gerekirse acizlik denir. Ancak intikam almaya güç ve kudreti olan padişah, suçluyu affederse bağışlayıcı olur. İşte bu da, Hak Teala'nın sıfatlarıyla sıfatlanmaktır. Bunun gibi birçok sıfatlara ve en yüce makamlara da ancak ve ancak padişahlık aletiyle ulaşılır. Hz. Süleyman (a.s.)'da bu sıfatları elde etmek için saltanatı istedi.

<sup>15</sup> Daye, s. 31-32.

<sup>16</sup> Daye, s. 34.

Necmeddin Dâye padişah ile halk arasındaki bağı şu çarpıcı örnekle anlatarak siyasetnâmesinin sultanlarla ilgili bölümünü bitirip vezirler, ehl-i kalem ve kadılarla ilgili bölümlerine geçer.

“Bilgikli padişah cihan içinde gönül misalinde düşmüştür tende, çün şâh salâha gelse cihan salâha varır ve eğer fesada varsa fesada varır nite ki Hâce Aleyhi’s-selâm gönül hakkında buyurdu ki: *“İnne fî cesedi ibni Âdeme lemudgaten izâ saluha saluha biha sâirü’l-cesedi ve izâ fesedet fesede gayruhu ve hiye’l-kalbü.”*<sup>17</sup>

#### Sadeleştirilmiş şekli:

Bil ki, dünyada padişahın durumu, insandaki kalp misalidir. Kalbin huzurlu olmasıyla bedenin huzur bulduğu gibi, padişahın huzuruyla cihan huzur bulur, O’nun fesadıyla cihan fesad olur. Hz. Muhammed (s.) buyurmuştur ki: *“İnsanın cesedinin içinde bir et parçası vardır ki, o huzurlu olduğu zaman insan tümüyle huzurlu olur, eğer o fesada uğrarsa insan tümüyle rahatsız olur, bu et parçası kalptir.”* (Buharî, İman, 39; Müslim, Musakat, 107)

#### **4. Sonuç Yerine**

Kübrevî şeyhi Necmeddin Dâye kendi ifadesiyle: “Âlim, kâmil ve râsih insanların da yararlanacağı, sözü az anlamı çok bir kitap olan” Siyâsetnâme’sinde, bir anlamda siyasetin de siyasetini yapar. Eser, kaynaklarının büyük ölçüde aynı olması sebebiyle, Sasânî ve Abbasî siyasetnâme geleneğinin Selçuklu asrının siyasî ruhuna uyarlanmış şeklidir. Siyâsetnâmeler ağırlıklı olarak **“sultan ideolojisi”** merkezlidirler. Sultanın meşruluğu **kamu yararını sağlama** adına pek öne çıkarılmaz. Fiilî durum, hukukî durum yani **fiilî sultan hukukî sultan** kabul edilir. N. Dâye’nin Siyasetname’si bu genel değerlendirmenin tek başına, yeterli ve olgun bir tanığıdır. Eğer bir gün Batı’nın siyasî, askerî, iktisadî ve teknolojik üstünlüğü Doğu’ya geçerse, büyük bir ihtimalle o gün, Machiavelli, Jean Jacques Rousseau ve benzerlerinin yerlerine Câhız, ibn Mukaffa, Necmeddin Dâye ve benzerleri okunacak ve toplumları bunların fikirleri etkileyecektir.

Necmeddin Dâye, Hz. Muhammed (s.)’i kaynak göstererek, **saltanatı Allah’ın yeryüzündeki vekilliği, sultanı Allah’ın yeryüzündeki gölgesi** olarak kabul eder. Hz. Süleyman örneğinden hareketle, saltanatın peygamberliğin bir etkisini bine çıkardığını söyler. Devlet ve millet için sultanı, insandaki kalbe benzeten Necmeddin Dâye, saltanatı çadır örneğiyle anlatır. **Ona göre saltanat bir çadırıdır:** Çadırın direği doğru ve ileri görüşlü vezirdir. İpleri beylerdir. Valiler ve kadılar

<sup>17</sup> Daye, s. 49-50.

çadırın ara parçalarıdır. Çadırın kazıkları ise padişahın adaletidir ve çadır onlarla ayakta durur. Çadırın bütün eksikleri tamam olsa ancak kazıklarından biri olmazsa bu çadırdaki hissedilir. Eğer birkaçı olmazsa çadır ayakta kalmaz yıkılır. Hz. Muhammed (a.s.): *“Mülk küfürle ayakta durur ancak zulümle ayakta durmaz”* buyurmuştur.

Selçuklular döneminde din-devlet ilişkileri iki ana kaynaktan beslenerek şekillendi. Bunların birincisi kısmî İran katkılı eski Türk telakkîsi, ikincisi yine kısmen İran katkılı Abbâsî etkisi idi. Siyasal alanı ile dinî alanı birbirinden büyük ölçüde ayrılmış olan Selçuklu geleneğinde din-devlet ilişkilerini, sultanın dinî alanda Abbâsî halifesine, halifenin de siyasal alanda Selçuklu sultanına bağlılığı şekillendirmiştir. Sultan dinî alanda halifeye bağlı idi çünkü o dönemin sünnî İslâm akidesinin dinî lideriydi ve Selçuklular da sünnî İslâm akidesini tercih etmişlerdi. Siyasal alanda halife sultana bağlı idi çünkü sultan siyasi hükümlerini doğrudan Allah’tan almaktaydı. Din-devlet ilişkileri bağlamı Selçuklu devletinde en özgür alanlardan biri olmuştur. Bu özgürlüğü kanıtlayan en çarpıcı örnek tasavvufî hayatın zenginliğidir. En şöhretli mutasavvıflar, en etkili tasavvufî eserler, en gözde ve en yaygın tarikatlar Selçuklu döneminde ve Selçuklu coğrafyasında ortaya çıkmıştır. Selçuklularda dinî alanla siyasal alanın ayrıştığı başat konulardan biri de yargı sistemi idi. Biri, *şer’î* yargı diğeri *örfî* yargı olmak üzere iki yargılama sistemi vardı. Kadıların baktığı din ve şeriatla ilgili davalar şer’î yargıda, Emîr-i Dâd’ın (Adliye Vekili) baktığı özellikle başta siyasî suçlar olmak üzere diğer davalar örfî yargıda çözüme bağlanırdı.

## **Chapter 6:**

### **Language Studies**

## **Is the Gagauz Language Facing Extinction?**

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### **Abstract**

Every year several languages vanish from the face of earth. An ethos and a cultural heritage die together with the death of every language. Some institutions are trying to protect endangered languages by preparing various projects.

Is it possible for the minority languages in countries, which dominant languages are used for oral and written communication, to reach the next century in a world, where communication is conducted in more developed languages? This is a question engaging linguists. Families belonging to minority groups reckon that the social functions of their mother tongues, which are increasingly losing importance, are over. Therefore they are directing their children to learn more attractive and prestigious languages. It is a known fact that youngsters from such communities do not speak their mother tongue outside their homes.

The Gagauz constitute 3,5% of the Moldovan population and inhabit an autonomous region named Gagauzia. Their mother tongue is a Gagauz belonging to the Oghuz branch of Turkic. The people speak Russian in public places whereas a great majority of the population speak their mother tongue inside their homes. The younger generation feels inferiority complex and abstain from speaking their mother tongue as the language of television, radio, cinema, course books and newspapers is Russian.

In this paper studies and observations made in Gagauzia together with data acquired from interviews held with families and students will be presented. The possibility of carrying the Gagauz mother tongue to the next century will be discussed.

**Keywords:** Gagauzia, Gagauz Turkish, killer languages, death of languages

## Gagauz Türkçesi Tehlike Altında mı?

### Giriş

Bu çalışmada Türkiye Türkçesiyle birlikte Oğuz grubu içerisinde yer alan ve bugün Moldova Cumhuriyeti içerisinde özerk bir devlete sahip olan Gagauzların dilinin 21. yüzyılı tamamlayıp tamamlayamayacağı tartışılacaktır. Bu doğrultuda Gagauzcanın günümüzdeki konumu ve Gagauzcayı etkileyen olumlu ve olumsuz faktörler çeşitli bakımlardan değerlendirilerek bir sonuca ulaşılmaya çalışılacaktır.

### 1. Dil ölümü, tehlikedeki diller ve UNESCO

Dil ölümü, bir dilin başka bir baskın dil tarafından sosyal ve siyasal sebeplerle yavaş yavaş kullanım dışına itilmesi ve etkisizleştirilmesidir (Aitchison 1981: 209). "Diller, kendilerine ihtiyaç duyulmadığı; yani ailelerin bu dili kendi çocuklarına aktarmak için çabalamalarını gerektirecek yeterli sosyal işlevleri kalmadığı zaman yok olup giderler" (Johanson 2002: 42). Johanson, bunun sonucu olarak genç kuşağın ana dili yerine baskın veya prestijli dili tercih edeceği, genç kuşağın öğrenmediği dilin zamanla ortadan kalkacağı kalkacağını belirtir. Yani bir dilin yok olup gitmesi iki olguya bağlıdır: Ya o dili konuşan herkesin ortadan kalkması yani ölmesi (biyolojik ölüm) ya da insanların başka bir dili doğal iletişim ve anlaşma aracı olarak tercih etmesi gerekmektedir. Dil teması neticesinde gerçekleşen ikinci hadise, baskın bir dilin zayıf bir dili etkileyerek zamanla ortadan kaldırmasıyla neticelenir (Karabulut 2005: 19). Sayısal, siyasal, ekonomik, kültürel, hatta dinî açıdan baskın güç olan bir toplum ve onun karşısında daha zayıf, güçsüz, nüfusça az, değişik uygulamalar sebebiyle kültürel kimliğini, çoğu zaman dinini ve nihayet dilini yitirmeye başlayan ya da yitirmiş olan bir edilgen toplum vardır. Dil ölümü, bu iki unsurun, yani baskın güç ile edilgen toplum karşılaşmasının edilgen olandan yana olumsuz sonuçlandığını gösteren en yıkıcı ve telafi edilemez bir durumdur (Güner Dilek 2007: 707).

Dil ölümü gerçek bir vakadır. Dünya tarihi âdeta ölü diller mezarlığıdır. Her geçen gün dünyada yeni dil ölümleri meydana gelmektedir. 20. yüzyıl, dil ölümlerinin en hızlı gerçekleştiği bir yüzyıldır. Birçok sebep 21. yüzyılda dil ölümlerinin daha da hızlanacağını göstermektedir. UNESCO'nun verilerine göre 1950'den 2010 yılına kadar 230 dil ölmüştür. Çeşitli araştırmalara göre dünyadaki dil sayısı 6000'in<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Bu konuda çeşitli çalışmalarda birbirinden farklı rakamlar bulunmaktadır. Voegelins'in *Dünya Dilleri Sınıflaması ve İndeksi* (1977) ve *Ethnologue* 1996 baskısında 6.703, *Dünya*

üzerindedir (Crystal 2007: 16). Crystal, ilk baskısını 2000 yılında yayımladığı *Language Death* (Dillerin Ölümü), adlı kitabında, tehlikedeki diller konusunu tüm yönleriyle ele aldı. Yazar dil ölümünün ne olduğunu, dillerin neden öldüğünü, hangi dillerin öldüğünü bütün yönleriyle ortaya koydu. Bu çalışmada dünyada konuşulan 6000 dolayında dilin %96'sının dünya nüfusunun %4'ü tarafından konuşulduğunu, dillerin %25'inin 1000'den az konuşuru bulunduğunu, toplam 6000 dilin önümüzdeki yüz yılda büyük tehlike altında olduğunu ileri sürmüştür (Crystal 2002). *Tehlikedeki Dünya Dilleri Atlası*'nın 2010 sürümüne göre dünyada mevcut 6700 dilin 2500'ü tehlike altındadır. Genel tahminlere göre bu sayı 3000 civarındadır. Nevskaya-Erdal, günümüzde bilinen 6.500 civarındaki dilin %70'inden fazlasının yirmi birinci yüzyılın sonunda olmayacağını ileri sürmüşlerdir (Nevskaya-Erdal 2016: XVI).

Son dönemlerde yok olmakta olan dillere karşı artan ilgi çeşitli araştırma projelerinin hazırlanmasını ve yayınların çıkmasını sağlamıştır. Dilin ölümüyle birlikte kültürlerin de yok olduğu düşüncesinden hareketle ölümcül ve tehlikedeki dillerin korunması ve geliştirilmesi gündeme taşınmıştır. Özellikle 1992 yılından itibaren tehlikedeki diller konusuna dünyanın ve UNESCO'nun ilgisi artmıştır. O yıl Kanada'nın Quebec şehrinde yapılan "Uluslararası Dilbilimciler Kongresi"nde tehlike altındaki diller konusu gündeme getirilerek UNESCO'nun teşvik edilmesi kararlaştırılmış, ardından aynı yıl Paris'te uluslararası bir toplantı düzenlenmiştir. Bu önemli konu oradan UNESCO bünyesine taşınmıştır. 1993 yılında Genel Kurulda "Tehlikedeki Diller Projesi" ve "Tehlikedeki Diller Kırmızı Kitabı"nın hazırlanması kabul edilmiş;1995 yılından itibaren başta ABD'de olmak üzere konuyla ilgili merkezler ve fonlar kurulmuştur.

Bir dilin kaybolmaması için kuşaktan kuşağa aktarılmasını, ülkelerde azınlık dillerini koruyan ulusal politikaların ve anadilde eğitim sistemlerinin geliştirilmesini savunan UNESCO, Stephen Wurm'un teşviki ve Norveç hükümetinin desteğiyle bir araştırma merkezi kurdurdu. Otuzun üzerinde dilbilimcinin yaptığı araştırma önce *Tehlikedeki Dillerin Kırmızı Kitabı* (*Red Book of Endangered Languages*) olarak yayımlandı. Bu çalışma daha sonra *Tehlikedeki Dünya Dilleri Atlası* (*Atlas of the World's Languages in Danger*) (1996) adını alarak hem basılı hem de elektronik ortamda kullanıma açıldı.

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*Dilleri Atlası*'nda (Moseley ve Asher (eds) 1994) 6000'in üzerinde dil kayıtlıdır (Moseley, 2007, X). Crystal, Atlas'ın 1994 baskısı fihristinde 6796 dil saymıştır (Crystal 2007: 16). Dünya dillerinin sayısı ile ilgili çeşitli kaynaklar için Crystal'in bu çalışmasına bakılabilir.



UNESCO tarafından yayımlanan Atlas'ta dünya dilleri 6 grup altında değerlendirildi. Tüm nesiller tarafından konuşulan ve "güvenli" olarak nitelendirilen diller ile artık konuşuru kalmamış "ölü" diller Atlas'a alınmadı. Diğerleri "zayıf", "kesinlikle tehlikede", "ciddi tehlike altında", "şiddetli tehlike altında" olmak üzere dört grupta topladı.

## 2. Tehlikedeki Türk dilleri

Tehlikedeki Türk dilleriyle ilgili birtakım çalışmalar yapılmışsa da en önemlisi 2016 yılında yayımlandı. Merkezi Ankara'da bulunan Hoca Ahmet Yesevi Uluslararası Türk-Kazak Üniversitesi ile merkezi Astana'da bulunan Uluslararası Türk Akademisi tarafından ortaklaşa yürütülen *Tehlikedeki Türk Dilleri Projesi* 2016 yılında basılı olarak okuyucuların istifadesine sunuldu. *Tehlikedeki Türk Dilleri / Endangered Turkic Languages*. Editörlüğünü Eker ile Çelik Şavk'ın üstlendikleri Türkçe-İngilizce çalışmada yer alan 'tehlikedeki Türk dilleri'ni belirlemede temel ölçüt olarak UNESCO'nun *Tehlikedeki Dünya Dilleri Atlası (Atlas of the World's Languages in Danger)* esas alınmıştır (Eker-Çelik Şavk 2016: XI).

UNESCO, bazı Türk lehçelerinin de yok olma tehlikesiyle karşı karşıya olduğunu belirtir. Avrupalı dilbilimciler Gagauzca, Karayim, Kırım tatar, Şor, Teleüt ve Altay Türkçelerini yakın gelecekte yok olacak diller arasında saymaktadırlar (Johanson 2002: 42). UNESCO'nun "Ölmek üzere olan Türk dilleri" listesinde 9 Türk lehçesi bulunmaktadır: Dolganca, Duhaca, Fuyü Kırgızcası, Karayca, Kereşence, Kırımçakça, Tofaca, Çulımca, İli Türkçesi.

*Tehlikedeki Türk Dilleri* adlı eserde ise şu Türk halklarıyla onların lehçe ve diyalektlerine yer verildi: Ahıska, Altay, Başkurt, Çalkan, Çulım, Çuvaş, Dayı, Dolgan, Duha (Tsaatanlar), Fuyü Kırgızları, Gagauz, Hakas, Halaç, Horasan, Karaçay-Malkar, Karakalpak, Karamanlı, Karay (Kırım, Litvanya ve Polonya), Kaşkay, Çin Kazak, Pamir Kırgız, Kırımçak, Kumandı, Kumuk, Lakay, Lopnor, Nogay, Harezmi Oğuz, Güney Kazakistan Oğuz, Saha (Yakut), Salar, Sarı Uygur, Soyot, Sungur, Şor, Tatar (Baraba, Beyaz Rusya, Çin, Estonya, Kırım, Kreşin, Litvanya, Polonya, Sibirya, Romanya), Finlandiya Türkleri, Telengit, Teleüt, Tofa, Truhmen, Tuba, Tuva, Lübnan Türkmenleri, Urum (Azak, Kafkasya).





## 3. Tehlikedeki Dünya Dilleri Atlası'nda Gagauzlar

Atlas, tehlikedeki diller arasında gösterdiği Gagauzcanın konuşuru olan Gagauzları Schulze'nin çalışmasına dayanarak (Schulze 2002) dört ayrı grupta sınıflandırdı:

**Understanding Culture**

Gagauz (Bessarabia); Gagauz (Deli Orman); Gagauz (Maritime); Gagauz (South Balkans). Bu dört grup için şu açıklamalar yapılmıştır:

1. Moldova ve Ukrayna Gagauzları: Konuşur sayısı 2002 yılı tahminlerine göre 180.000 kişi, "kesinlikle tehlikede"
  2. Deliorman Gagauzları: Bulgaristan'da Deliorman bölgesinde yaşıyorlar, Schulze'ye göre 100 etnik Gajal yaşlısı konuşuyor, "ciddi tehlike altında"
  3. Deniz Gagauzları: Bulgaristan'da Varna'nın kuzeyinde ve kıyılarında yaşıyorlar, 400 konuşuru var, Romanya'da birkaç kişi konuşuyor, "şiddetli tehlike altında"<sup>2</sup>
  4. Güney Balkanlarda yaşayan Gagauzlar: Kuzeydoğu Yunanistan'da Evros bölgesinde sadece yaşlılar konuşuyor. 20. yüzyılın başlarındaki rakamlara göre Güney Makedonya'da Strumnica'da 4000 Gagauz, muhtemelen Edirne bölgesindeki 7000 etnik Sırguç, bilinmeyen sayıda Gajal vardı, Gagauzcayı en iyi yaşlılar konuşuyor, "şiddetli tehlike altında"
- UNESCO'nun genel tablosuyla dört ayrı gruptaki Gagauzlar için verilen tabloları birleştirdiğimizde şöyle bir tablo ortaya çıkmaktadır:

Tehlike derecesi	Kuşaklıklar arası dil iletimi	
	Güvenli (Safe)	Dil tüm nesiller tarafından konuşulur; kuşaklar arası iletim kesintiye uğramaz >> Atlas'a dâhil değildir
	Zayıf / savunmasız (Vulnerable)	Çoğu çocuk dili konuşur, ancak belirli alanlarla (ör. ev) sınırlandırılabilir
	Kesinlikle tehlikede (Definitely endangered) Moldova ve Ukrayna Gagauzları	Çocuklar artık ana dilini evde anadil olarak öğrenmiyor
	Ciddi tehlike altında (Critically endangered) (Deliorman Gagauzları)	Dili dedeler ve daha yaşlı nesiller konuşmaktadır; ebeveyn kuşağı bunu anlayabilir, çocuklarla ya da aralarında konuşmazlar
	Şiddetli tehlike altında (Severely endangered) (Balkanlar, Deniz Gagauzları)	En genç konuşmacılar dede ve daha büyüktür ve dili kısmen veya nadir olarak konuşurlar

<sup>2</sup> "Bulgaristan'daki Deniz Gagauzlarının sayısı 1990'da 12. 000 olarak belirtilmiştir; fakat son zamanlarda yapılan çalışmalara göre yaklaşık 5. 000 konuşuru olduğuna işaret edilmektedir." (Moseley 2007: 247)

**Tehlike  
derecesi****Kuşaklıklar arası dil iletimi**

(Güney Balkanlar)



Ölmüş (extinct)

1950'lerden beri muhtemelen ölmek üzere, Atlas'a dâhil edilen hiç konuşuru yok >>

**4. Gagauz Türkçesinin yapısı**

Gagauz Türkçesi, Azeri Türkçesi, Türkmen Türkçesi ve Türkiye Türkçesi ile birlikte Türkçenin Oğuz grubu içerisinde yer almaktadır. Bu üç yazı dilinden Türkiye Türkçesine en yakını Gagauz Türkçesidir. Bu dil, bir taraftan Osmanlı Türkçesinden etkilenecek Türkçe, Arapça ve Farsça kelimeleri bünyesine katmış, diğer taraftan birlikte yaşadığı Yunan, Bulgar, Romen, Moldovan ve Rus dillerinden kelimeler almıştır. Bugün edebî Gagauz Türkçesinin içerisinde çok sayıda Slav kökenli kelime bulunmaktadır. Bilhassa teknik ve ilmî terimlerin tamamına yakını Slav dillerinden alıntıdır (Güngör-Argunşah 2002: 60). Slav dilleri, Gagauzcanın söz dağarcığı yanında sentaksını da önemli ölçüde etkilemiştir. Morfolojide ise bu etki zayıftır.

Bilindiği gibi iki ve daha çok dil konuşulan ortamlarda diller birbirlerini etkilemektedir. Tarihleri boyunca Slav ve Roman dillerini konuşan halklarla komşuluk etmiş hatta birlikte yaşamış olmaları sebebiyle Slav dillerinin yanı sıra Romen dillerinin de Gagauzca üzerinde çok büyük etkisi olmuştur. Osmanlı Türkçesinin etkisi ise daha çok söz dağarcığında hissedilmektedir. Başka dillerden alıntı kelimeler arasında birinci sırayı Osmanlı Türkçesi aracılığıyla giren Arapça-Farsça kelimeler almaktadır. İkinci sırada Slavca, üçüncü sırada ise Romence kökenli alıntı kelimeler bulunur. 1973 yılında yayımlanan Gagauzca-Rusça-Moldovanca sözlükteki Gagauzca kelimelerin toplam sayısının %18.56'sını Slav kökenli kelimeler oluşturmaktadır (Yenisoy 1998:92).

**5. Gagauzların yaşadıkları yerler ve dil durumu**

Gagauzlar Osmanlı döneminde çoklukla Bulgaristan sınırları içerisinde yaşamaktayken 18. yüzyılın sonlarıyla 19. yüzyılın başlarında kuzeye doğru göç ederek Rusya sınırlarına geçmişlerdir. Böylece ana kitle ikiye bölünmüş, yarısı bugünkü Moldova ve Ukrayna'da, yarısı da Bulgaristan ve daha güneyde kalmıştır. 20. yüzyılda ise çeşitli sebeplerle birçok ülkeye dağılmışlardır. Gagauzlar Moldova, Ukrayna, Rusya, Beyaz Rusya, Kazakistan, Özbekistan, Gürcistan, Azerbaycan, Türkmenistan, Litvanya, Estonya, Yunanistan, Bulgaristan, Romanya, Brezilya ve

Türkiye gibi birçok ülkede dağınık olarak yaşamaktadırlar. Bütün bu ülkelerde yaşayan Gagauzların toplam sayısı 300.000'e yakın olarak tahmin edilmektedir. En yoğun olarak Moldova'nın güneyinde otonom Gagauz Yeri'nde yaşamaktadırlar. Burada Komrat, Çadır, Vulkaneş gibi şehirlerle Kongaz, Beşalma, Kazayaklı, Taraklı gibi 30 civarında köy ve kasabada nüfusun büyük çoğunluğunu Gagauzlar meydana getirmektedir. 1989 nüfus sayımına göre Moldova'da 153.457, 2004 sayımına göre ise 147.500 Gagauz yaşamaktadır. Moldova Gagauzlarının %92,31'i ana dilini konuşmaktadır. Bunların % 92'si Gagauz Yeri'nde, % 8'i ise ülkenin diğer yerlerinde oturmaktadır. Gagauz Yeri dışında başkent Kişinev'de 8.000, Bender'de 1.600 ve Dinyester nehrinin kuzey yakasında 3.300 kadar Gagauz yaşamaktadır (Güngör-Argunşah 2002:1).

Moldova'dan sonra Gagauzların toplu olarak yaşadıkları ikinci ülke Ukrayna'dır. Bu ülkede 1989 yılı nüfus sayımına göre 32.017, 2001 yılı sayımına göre 31.923 Gagauz yaşamaktadır. 2011 sayımına göre Odessa bölgesinde yaşayan Gagauzların sayısı 27.600'dür (Hünerli-Arnaut 2016: 231). Ukrayna'nın başka bölgelerinde de dağınık olarak yaşayan Gagauzlar bulunmaktadır. Ukrayna'da Gagauzların yoğun olarak yaşadığı köylerde Gagauzca konuşulmaya devam etmektedir. Dağınık olarak yaşadıkları bölgelerde ise asimilasyon süreci tamamlanmak üzeredir. Ukrayna Gagauzlarının %71,5'u ana dilini konuşabilmektedir (Menz 2013: 150).

Sovyetler Birliği döneminde Ukrayna Gagauzları ile Moldova Gagauzlarının birbirleriyle yakın kültürel ilişkileri vardı. Bu bölgede yaşayan Gagauzlar Moldova'da yayımlanan Gagauzca kaynaklardan kısmen de olsa beslenebiliyordu. Bir taraftan Sovyetler Birliği'nin dağılmasıyla ilişkilerin zayıflaması, diğer taraftan Gagauz Yeri'nde Latin alfabesine geçilmesi gibi sebeplerle etkileşim azaldı. Ukrayna Gagauzları bundan büyük zarar gördüler. Ukrayna hükümeti 2008 yılında Gagauzların Latin alfabesine geçmeleriyle ilgili bir karar almış olsa da bunun uygulanması oldukça zordur. Gagauz Yeri'nden gönderilen bazı okul kitaplarının Ukrayna'da Gagauz öğrencilerle buluşturulması önemli bir gelişme olarak anılmalıdır. Halktan gelen istekler doğrultusunda Gagauzcanın seçmeli ders olarak bazı köy okullarında okutulmaya başlanması ana dilinin korunması için önemli bir adımdır. Bugün Kubey (Chervonoarmiyske), Balboka (Kotlovyna), Satılık Hacı (Oleksandrivka), Kurçu (Vynohradivka), Eski Troyan (Stari Trojany) ve Dmitrovka köylerinde haftada iki saat ana dili dersi verilmektedir. Ukrayna Gagauzları Birliği, bir sonraki adımda, Gagauz dilinin okullarda öğretileceği köy sayısını artırmak ve Odessa bölgesi öncelikli olmak üzere dil kurslarının açılması için çalışmaktadır (Hünerli-Arnaut 2016: 240).

Gagauzların yaşadığı Odessa bölgesinde Gagauz Yeri'nde olduğu gibi üç dil birlikte okutulmaktadır: Rusça, Ukraynca ve Gagauzca. Ukrayna'da "Gagauzca eğitimden çocuklar ne kazanacaklar? Gagauzca kime lazım? Rusça, Ukraynaca vb. eğitim alsınlar ki, gelecekleri daha parlak olsun..." gibi olumsuz propaganda yapılmakta, bu da amacına ulaşmaktadır. (Arnaut 2010: 58).

Rusya Federasyonu'nda 2002 nüfus sayımına göre 12.210 Gagauz yaşamaktadır. 2010 nüfus sayımında etnik grup olarak sayıları verilmemiştir. Ancak 5.917 kişi Gagauzca bildiğini ifade etmiştir (Menz 2013: 150). Orta Asya'da Kazakistan'ın Turgay bölgesinde 6, Özbekistan'ın başkenti Taşkent civarında 2 Gagauz köyü bulunmaktadır. Kırgızistan'ın başkenti Bişkek ve çevresinde yaşamakta olan Gagauzların birçoğunun da nüfus cüzdanlarında Bulgar veya Rus yazmaktadır (Güngör-Argunşah, 2002: 2). Rusya'da çok ciddi tedbirler alınmadığı takdirde yakın gelecekte Rusçanın baskısıyla Gagauzca konuşurlarının ana dillerini unutması kaçınılmazdır.

1923 yılında mübadeleyle Türkiye'den Yunanistan'a göçen Gagauzlar, çoğunluğu kendilerinden oluşan ve yaklaşık 30 bin kişinin yaşadığı Oristiya şehri ile Selanik'in Hrisohorafa ve Nea Kallisti köylerinde yaşamaktadır. Nea Zihni köyünde yaşayan Gagauzlar ise kendilerinin bölgenin yerli halkı olduğunu iddia etmektedirler (Bulgar 2016: 249). Oristiya şehri Gagauz kültürünün bilinen bir merkezidir. Bunlar ana dillerini Türkçe olarak adlandırmakta, Türkiye'den göçen atalarına bu dilin Türkiye Türkleri tarafından dayatıldığını düşünmektedirler. Yunanistan Gagauzlarında kendi kimlikleri hususunda ikilik ortaya çıkmıştır. Yunanistan Gagauzları kendilerini 'Urum-Gagauz' veya 'Grek-Gagauz' olarak adlandırmaktadırlar (Bulgar 2016: 252). Son yıllarda Gagauz Yeri'ndeki Gagauzlarla kurdukları dinî ve kültürel ilişkilerin yanı sıra kendi tarih, kültür ve müzikleriyle ilgili araştırmaların artmasıyla Gagauzluk bilincinin de yükseldiği gözlemlenmektedir. 2013 yılında Gagauz Yeri'nde bulunduğumuz sırada Dünya Gagauzları Kongresi'ne Yunanistan'dan katılan Gagauz heyetinin içerisinde hiçbirisinin Gagauzca bilmediğini gözlemledik. Yunanistan'da yapılan az sayıdaki kültürel toplantıda da Gagauzca yerine Yunanca konuşulmaktadır. Son yıllardaki bazı olumlu gelişmelere rağmen Yunanistan'da Gagauzcanın geliştirilmesi mümkün görülmemektedir.

Romanya'da ise azınlık olarak tanınmayan Gagauzlara, Romen istatistiklerinde yer verilmemekte, Romen olarak kaydedilmektedir. Bu yüzden sayılarını tahmin etmek mümkün değildir. Gagauz yerleşim birimleri olarak bilinen Mangaliya kasabası ile Kokarca köyünde son yıllarda inceleme yapan araştırmacılar, buralarda yaşayanların çoğunluğunun artık "Biz Romeniz" dediklerini, yaşlıların Türkçe konuşmalarına rağmen Gagauz olduklarını bilmediklerini tespit etmişlerdir

(Bolat 2001: 162). Bolat, Romanya Gagauzlarının asimile olmasının sebeplerinden birisi olarak "Romenlerle beraber yaşayıp Romence okuyup, ibadetlerini Romence Ortodoks dininde yapıp ikinci bir ana dili -Romence- kabul etme mecburiyetinde" kalmalarını gösterir (Bolat, 2001, 163). Bolat'a göre bir başka sebep ise şudur: "Romenler Gagauzlara "Gagauta" derler. "Gagauta" sözünün anlamı "budala, ahmak"tır Romencede. Bir alçak kişiye "Gagauta" deniliyor. Belki de bu alçaltma sözünden çekinerek Gagauzların genç nesilleri Gagauz olduklarını tanımıyorlar." (Bolat, 2001, 163).

Kuzey Bulgaristan'da Varna, Silistre; batıda Kavarna, Dobruca istikametinde ve Tuna havzasında (Tacemen 1991: 14), güneyde Yanbol ve Kavaklı (Topolovgrad) çevresinde de Gagauzlar yaşamaktadır (Zajaczkowski 1965: 993). Bulgaristan'da daha 1930'lu yıllarda belediye istatistiklerinin milliyet sütunlarında Gagauzlar için yer ayrılmamış, Bulgar hanesine kaydedilmişlerdir. Onlar da artık kendilerinin Bulgar ya da Eski Bulgar olduklarını söylemektedirler (Manov 2001: 42). Manov bu durum karşısında daha 1930'lu yıllarda, "Belki de zamanla; Peçenekler, Kumanlar ve Uzlar gibi; yeryüzünde tek bir Gagauz kalmayacak, Gagauz adı yalnızca tarih sayfalarında anılacaktır." (Manov 2001: 42) demekten kendisini alamaz. Son yıllarda Varna ve civarındaki köylere yapılan araştırma gezileri sonucunda, Gagauz gençlerin ana dillerini ve milliyetlerini unuttukları, ancak bazı yaşlı kişilerin kendi dillerini konuşabildikleri tespit edilmiştir (Tavşanoğlu 1997). Menz, 1994 yılında Bulgaristan'da yapmış olduğu alan araştırması sırasında Gagauzca konuşurların çoğunun 60 yaşın üzerinde olduğunu, onların da günlük iletişimlerini Bulgarca kullanarak sürdürdüklerini gözlemlemiştir. Gagauzların Ortodoks Hristiyan olmaları Bulgarlarla evlilikleri kolaylaştırmıştır. Bu durumda ailenin dili kendiliğinden Bulgarca olmuştur (Menz 2013: 151). Kyuchukov da Provadia şehri çevresinde yaşayan Gagauzlarla ilgili yaptığı çalışmalarda herkesin Bulgarca konuştuğunu ve kendilerini Bulgar olarak tanımladıklarını, derleme yapmak istediği yaşlı Gagauzların konuşmalarına Bulgarca başlayıp yavaş yavaş Gagauzcaya geçtiklerini belirtir. Kyuchukov, ana dillerini ancak yaşlıların konuşabildiklerini, 45-50 yaş arası nüfusun ana dillerini bilmediklerini, genç nüfusun ise tamamen asimile olduğunu ve ana dilini hiç bilmediğini tespit etmiştir (Kyuchukov 2016: 222). Bulgaristan'da 2001 yılında yapılan nüfus sayımında yalnız 504 kişi Gagauzca konuşabildiğini ifade etmiştir (Kyuchukov 2016: 221). Bulgaristan'da Gagauzların herhangi bir eğitim ve kültürel kurumları bulunmamaktadır.

1999 yılında Bulgaristan'daki Gagauz bölgelerini ziyaret eden ve onlarla konuşan Bulgaristanlı tarihçi Cambazov ise Bulgaristan Gagauzlarının artık Bulgarlaştıklarını gözlemlediğini belirtir: "Ben bu sempozyumla ilgili olarak Gagauz bölgelerini

gezdim. Bazı incelemelerde bulundum. Varna, Kavarna, Balçık şehirlerinde, Balgarevo ve etrafındaki köylerde birçok genç, yaşlı, kadın, erkek Gagauzla konuştum. İhtiyarlar kendi aralarında eski, arhaik bir Osmanlıca konuşmalarına rağmen gençler artık doğrudan Bulgarcaya geçmişler. Birçoklarıyla artık Türkçe anlaşmak bile zor. Hele de edebî Türkçeyi hiç bilmiyorlar. İhtiyarlar arasında da "biz Türk'üz" diyene rastlamadım. Balgarevo köyünde 90 yaşında İvan Martin "A be evladım, dedi, biz de bilmiyoruz Türk olduğumuzu. Eskiden kendimizi asıl Bulgar bilirdik. Sonradan hristiyan Türklersiniz, dediler. Komünistler bize, "siz Bulgarsınız, bizdensiniz" dediler. Şaşırdık ne olduğumuzu. Bence biz ana dili Türkçe olan hristiyanlarız. En üstüne de insanız. Baştan insan ol, sonra Türk ol, Bulgar ol, hristiyan ol, müslüman ol." Genç Gagauzlar, hele de lise ve lise üstü eğitim görmüş olanlar "etnik menşeiniz nedir?" sorusunu dahi abes buluyorlar. Benim Gagauzlar arasında iki ay önce yapmış olduğum incelemeden çıkardığım sonuç şudur:

Bulgaristan'da Gagauzların büyük bir kısmı Türklüklerini tamamiyle unutmuşlar, Bulgarlığı kabul etmişler ve bugün rahatça "Ben ulus olarak Bulgarım, din olarak hristiyanım" diyebiliyorlar. Herhalde bu durumda biz de kökleri kökenleri ne olursa olsun Bulgaristan'daki Gagauzların artık Bulgarlaşmış olduklarını kabul etmek zorunda kalacağız." (Cambazov, 2001: 159).

Romanya, Bulgaristan, Makedonya vb. ülkelerde Gagauzcanın öğretilmesi veya geliştirilmesi yönünde herhangi bir faaliyet yoktur. Bu ülkelerde Gagauzcayla ilgili yazılı ve görsel yayın bulunmaması sebebiyle yeni kuşaklar ana dillerini öğrenememektedirler. Çok az konuşura sahip bu dil, baskın diller tarafından tamamen kuşatılmış ve asimile olma sürecine girmiştir. İçinde bulunduğumuz yüzyılın aşağı yukarı ikinci yarısında Moldova ve Ukrayna dışında Gagauzca konuşabilen insanları bulmak zor olacaktır. Günümüzde Gagauzca bu ülkelerde "ölümcül", hatta bazıları için "ölü dil" olarak vasıflandırılabilir.

## 6. Gagauz Yeri'nde Gagauzca

### 6.1. Devlet dili Gagauzca

Moldova Gagauzları II. Dünya Savaşı öncesinde Romanya'ya bağlı olarak yaşamışlardır. Romanya sınırları içerisinde yaşarken 1930'larda Başpapaz Mihail Çakır, Romanya'da kullanılan Latin alfabesiyle Gagauzca olarak sözlük, tarih ve dua kitabı yazmış ve bu yıllarda okullarda kısmen Gagauzca öğretilmiştir. 1957 yılında Moldova'da yaşayan Gagauzlara ayrı bir Latin alfabesi verilmiş, bununla Sovyetler Birliği içerisinde Gagauzca resmen yazı dili olarak tanınmıştır.

Moldova Anayasasına eklenen bir maddeyle (Madde: 113) Gagauz Yeri Özerk Cumhuriyeti tanınmış, hazırlanan *"Gagauz Yeri'nin Özel Statüsü Hakkında Kanun"* (Nu. 344-XII) 23 Aralık 1994'te Moldova Parlamentosunda kabul edilmiştir. Bu gelişmeyle Gagauzlar self-determinasyon hakkına sahip bir millet sayılmışlardır. Bu kanunun 3. maddesi şöyledir:

"Gagauz Yeri'nin resmî dili Gagauzca, Rusça ve Moldovancadır. Bu resmî dillerin yanında, Gagauz Yeri içerisinde kullanılan diğer diller de garanti altına alınmıştır. Gagauzlar, Moldova Cumhuriyeti'nin ve Gagauz Yeri'nin dışında kalan resmî kurumlarla haberleşmede Moldovanca veya Rusçayı kullanacaktır."

Kanun her ne kadar üç resmî dilin olduğunu söylese de bugün Gagauz Yeri'nin resmî dili Rusçadır. Çünkü Devlet Başkanlığı ve Halk Meclisi başta olmak üzere bütün devlet kurumlarında Rusça yazışma dili olmaya devam etmektedir. Bağımsız bir devlet olan Moldova'nın içerisinde özerk Gagauz Yeri'nde Rusçanın Sovyetler Birliği dönemindeki gibi birinci resmî dil olma özelliğini devam ettiriyor olması ortaya ilginç bir durum çıkarmaktadır. Bu durum Moldova hükümetini de rahatsız etmektedir. Hiç şüphesiz Gagauz aydınları arasında Rusçanın hâkim dil olma vasfını sürdürmesinden rahatsız olanlar da vardır. Bu aydınlar Rusça hâkimiyetinin devamından yana olanlar tarafından Moldovan taraftarı olmakla suçlanmaktadır. Sonuçta, Sovyetler Birliği'nin dağılmasının üzerinden çeyrek yüzyıl geçmiş olmasına rağmen Moskova'ya oldukça uzak, Avrupa'nın hemen sınırında, Avrupa Birliği kapısındaki bir ülkede Rusça baskın dil olmaya devam etmektedir. Bu durum Gagauzca üzerinde büyük bir baskı oluşturmaktadır. 1945-1990 yılları arasındaki 45 yıllık sürede Gagauzlar ve diğer halklar iki dilli olarak hayatlarını sürdürmüşlerdir. Bu sürede Rusçanın ana dillerini unutturacak derecede etkili olduğu görülmektedir. Bu etkinin Gagauz Yeri'nde devam etmesi ise yöneticilerin ortaya koyduğu politikanın Moldova yerine Rusya tercihindan kaynaklanmaktadır. Moldova, Romanya ve Avrupa ile iyi ilişkiler kurup tercihinin Batı'dan yana yapmasına rağmen Gagauz Yeri'nde politika Moskova merkezli olmaya devam etmektedir.

## 6.2. Latin alfabesine geçiş

Moldova Cumhuriyeti parlamentosunda 13 Mayıs 1993 tarihinde yapılan toplantıda 1421-XII sayılı kararla Gagauzca için hazırlanan Latin alfabesi kabul edilmiştir. Gagauz Halk Meclisi 26 Ocak 1996 tarihinde "Gagauz Dilinin Latin Alfabesine Geçirilmesi" kararını onaylamış, 1 Eylül 1996'dan itibaren Gagauz okullarında yalnız Gagauz Dili ve Edebiyatı dersleri için resmen Latin alfabesine geçilmiştir. Latin alfabesi kullanan Moldova da bu süreci desteklemiştir.



Bu alfabe ile ders kitapları yanında gazete ve dergiler de çıkarılmıştır. Fakat Dinç'in gözlemlerine dayanarak belirttiğine göre Rusça eğitim alan Gagauz öğrenciler üniversite seviyesinde bile Latin alfabesiyle yazılmış metinleri okumakta zorlanmaktadırlar (Dinç 2014: 107).

### 6.3. Gagauzca eğitim

Moldova Hükümeti 16 Kasım 1957 tarihinde çıkardığı bir kanunla Gagauzca eğitime izin vermiş ve 1 Eylül 1958'den itibaren Gagauz okullarında ana dilinin öğretilmesine başlanmıştır. Nikolay Baboğlu ve Diyonis Tanasoğlu'nun yazdıkları kitaplarla 1961 yılına kadar okullarda "Gagauz Dili ve Edebiyatı" dersleri okutulmuştur. 1961 yılında baskılar neticesi ana dili dersleri kaldırılmıştır. 1958-1988 yılları arasında otuza yakın Gagauzca kitap yayımlanabilmiştir. 23 Haziran 1988 tarihinde Moldova Eğitim Bakanlığı Gagauz okullarında ana dilinin öğretilmesine yeniden izin vermiş, önce 7-8. sınıflarda haftada iki saat okutulan ana dili dersleri, daha sonra sistemin gevşemesiyle 5. sınıftan 11. sınıfa kadar saatleri de artırılarak okutulmaya başlanmıştır (Güngör-Argunşah 1998: 81-82). Gagauz Yeri'nde Millî Eğitim Bakanlığına bağlı okullarda 1993 yılından sonra Gagauz Dili ve Edebiyatı ders saatleri peyderpey artırılmıştır.

Moldova Eğitim Bakanlığının isteği üzerine, Latin alfabesine geçilmesi için hazırlanan proje Türkiye ve Birleşmiş Milletler tarafından desteklenmiş, Dr. Necip Hablemitoğlu projeyi yürütmek üzere Moldova'da bir yıl kalmıştır (*Ana Sözü*, 5 Ağustos 1995, s. 1-2). Bu proje çerçevesinde Gagauz Türkçesiyle ilk ve orta öğretim için 25 dolayında okuma, gramer ve edebiyat kitabı hazırlattırılmış, bunlar 1998 yılına kadar Kışinev'de basılarak okullara dağıtılmıştır.

2016-2017 eğitim-öğretim yılında Gaguz okullarında okutulan dil ve edebiyat derslerini I-IX. sınıflar ve X-XII. sınıflar olmak üzere iki grupta incelemek gerekir. İlköğretim I. sınıftan XII. sınıfa kadarki müfredata baktığımız zaman Rus Dili ve Edebiyatı derslerinin ilk sırayı aldığını görürüz. Sovyetler Birliği'nin dağılmasının üzerinden 26, Gagauz Yeri'nin resmen kurulmasının üzerinden 23 yıl geçmiş olmasına rağmen Rusçanın hem devlet kademelerinde hem de okul programlarında etkisi devam ettirilmektedir. Aşağıdaki tablolarda açıkça görülüyor ki, ders saati bakımından Gagauzca, Rusça ve Romence (Moldovanca)den sonra üçüncü sırada yer almaktadır. Gagauz Yeri'ndeki Bulgar ve Ukrayn öğrenciler Gagauzca yerine kendi ana dili derslerini okumaktadırlar. Dil ve edebiyat dersleri dışında kalan bütün derslerin Rusça yapıldığını da hatırlatmakta fayda vardır.

İlk ve Ortaokul I-IX. sınıflarda dil ve edebiyat derslerinin haftalık saatleri:

Sınıflar	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX
Rus Dili ve Ed.	8	7	7	7	6	6	5	5	5
Gagauz Dili ve Ed.	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3
Romen Dili ve Ed.	3	3	4	4	4	4	4	4	4
Yabancı dil	-	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2

Lise X-XII. sınıflarda dil ve edebiyat derslerinin haftalık saatleri:

	Sözelci sınıflar			Sayısalci sınıflar		
Sınıflar	X	XI	XII	X	XI	XII
Rus Dili ve Ed.	5	5	5	4	4	4
<b>Gagauz Dili ve Ed.</b>	4	4	4	3	3	3
Romen Dili ve Ed.	4	4	4	4	4	4
Yabancı dil	3	3	3	3	3	2

Gagauzcanın mevcut yapısıyla eğitim dili olarak kullanılması zordur. Bu dil ileride eğitim dili olacaksa şimdiden programlanmalı, yeni kelime ve terimler türetilmeli, cümle yapısı geliştirilmelidir. Ayrıca bu dille bolca yazılı ve görsel malzeme hazırlanmalıdır. (Yukarıda bahsedilen ders kitaplarında terimlerin bazıları Türkiye Türkçesinden ve diğer lehçelerden (ışlık vb.) alınmıştır). Bugün yalnız Gagauz dili ve edebiyatı derslerinde öğretilen bu dille mesela müzik, beden eğitimi, resim vb. dersler yapılabilir. Bu derslerin hâlâ Rusça olması, müzik deyince öncelikle Rus müziğinin akla gelmesi de şaşırtıcıdır. Bu konuda bir tecrübemi paylaşacağım: 1993 yılı Eylül ayında meslektaşım Harun Güngör ile alan araştırması için Gagauz Yeri'nde bulunduğumuz günlerde bir ilköğretim okulunu ziyaret etmiştik. Tamamına yakını Gagauz çocuklarından oluşan bir grup öğrenci okul bahçesinde beden eğitimi dersi yapıyordu. Dersin öğretmenini komutları Rusça vererek hareketler yaptırıyordu. Çocukların Gagauz Türkçesini ne derece bildiklerini merak ettik. Bir ara öğretmenin elinden düdüğü alarak çocuklara Gagauz Türkçesinin temel söz varlığında benzer biçimlerde bulunduğunu bildiğimiz Türkiye Türkçesiyle komutlar verdiğimizde tamamının komutlarına göre hareket ettiklerini gördük. Buradan şöyle bir sonuç çıkarabiliriz: Gagauz ilköğretim öğrencileri günlük dilde kullanılan basit kelimeleri rahatlıkla anlayabiliyordu.

#### 6.4. Gagauz Yeri'nde Gagauz Türkçesinin durumu

Bugün özellikle yaşlıların tamamı günlük hayatta ana dilini kullanmaktadır. Çocuklar ve gençler için aynı şeyi söylemek biraz zor görünmektedir. Aydınlar arasında ana diliyle konuşmakta zorlananlar oldukça fazladır. Bu kişilerin tamamı Rusça bilmekte, yazılarını Rusça olarak yazmaktadır. İçlerinde Moldovanca bilmeyenler vardır. Çünkü 1991 yılına kadar ülkenin resmî dili Rusça idi ve bütün eğitim Rusça yapılmaktaydı. Gagauz akademisyenlerin çoğu hâlâ kongre, konferans gibi resmî toplantılarda Gagauzca yerine Rusça konuşmaktadır. Yöneticilerin Rusça konuşmalarına bazı aydınlar ve halktan tepkiler de gelmektedir.

Kırsaldaki kadınlarda ana dilini koruma oranı erkeklere göre daha fazladır. Kadınların bir bölümü tek dillidir ve günlük hayatın tamamında ana dilini kullanılmaktadırlar. Bunun sebebi erkeklerin iş hayatı, askerlik vb. gereği köy dışına çıkmalarına rağmen kadınların eve bağlı olmalarıdır. Kırsaldaki yaşlı kadınlar dışındaki herkes günlük hayatta Rusça ve Gagauzca olmak üzere iki dillidir. Menz, Sovyet öncesi dönemde Gagauzcanın kırsal kesimde konuşulan bir dil olduğunu ve bu bölgelerde üç kuşak bir arada yaşadığı için aile içinde Gagauzca konuşulduğunu belirtir. Hatta Gagauzcanın kolhozların da iletişim dili olduğunu vurgular (Menz 2003b: 151).

1991 yılı sonrasında Moldova, Rusçanın hâkimiyetini kırmak için politikalar yürütmüşse de bunda başarılı olamamıştır. Moldova'nın hedefi azınlık topluluklardaki birinci dil Rusça yerine Moldovancanın geçmesini sağlamaktır. Aradan geçen çeyrek yüzyıla rağmen bu gerçekleşmemiştir. Örneğin Gagauz Yeri'nde ilk, orta ve lise öğretiminde Moldovan dili ve edebiyatı ders saati hâlâ Rus dili ve edebiyatı ders saatinden azdır. Günümüzde, ülkedeki Moldovan, Gagauz, Bulgar, Ukrayn ve Rus toplulukları birbirleriyle Rusça anlaşılmaktadır. Yani Rusça bu coğrafyanın *lingua franca*'sı olmaya devam etmektedir.

Gagauz Yeri'nde 55 okulda 35 binin üzerinde ilk ve orta öğretim öğrencisi bulunmaktadır. Bu sayının yaklaşık %80'ini Gagauz, %20'sini ise Rus, Moldovan, Bulgar, Ukrayn vb. öğrenciler oluşturmaktadır. Okul öncesinde 80 uşak başçasında (çocuk bahçesinde) 15 binin üzerinde Gagauz öğrenci bulunmaktadır. 25 kültür evi ve 60 kütüphanede bulunan 725 bin kitabın büyük bir bölümü Rusça olup %1'i bile Gagauz dilinde değildir (Argunşah 2007: 283).

Gagauz Yeri'ndeki toplumdilbilimsel görüntü gençler arasında küreselleşen dünya ile gerek iletişim imkânları gerekse okullaşma oranları açısından Rusçanın daha prestijli dil olduğu ve Gagauzcanın işlevselliğini yitirmekte olduğunu göstermektedir (Dağdeviren 2013: 27). Dağdeviren, 13-20 yaş aralığındaki 21'i kız, 38'i erkek 59 Gagauz gencinin Rusça karşısındaki dil tutumları üzerine bir alan araştırması yapmış, gençlerin Rusçaya karşı tutumlarının Gagauzcaya karşı

tutumlarından daha olumlu olduğu sonucuna ulaşmıştır. Rusçaya karşı duygusal ve işlevsel tutumları Gagauzcaya karşı tutumlarından daha olumlu, aktarımsal tutumlar birbirine eşit çıkmıştır (Dağdeviren 2013: 22). Dağdeviren araştırmasından şu sonuçları da çıkarmıştır: "Rusçanın günlük yaşamdaki geçerliliği, işlevselliği, kurumsal düzeydeki etkinliği, kültürler arası iletişim gücü bu dilin daha prestijli bir form olmasında etkilidir. Bununla beraber, Gagauzcanın etnik bir dil olmaktan öte günlük hayattaki ve kurumsal süreçlerdeki kullanımının sınırlı olması bu dili Rusça karşısında güçsüz kılmaktadır. Gagauzya Özerk Bölgesinin resmî dillerinden biri olan Gagauzca daha önce de belirtildiği gibi eğitim dili olarak kullanılmamakla beraber kamusal alanda da (örneğin Gagauz Özerk Bölgesi ve Halk Topluğunun resmî internet sayfaları) sıkça kullanılan bir dil olmadığı görülmektedir. Benzer şekilde Gagauz radyo ve televizyonunda Gagauzca yayın sürelerinin sınırlı olduğu görülmektedir." (Dağdeviren 2013: 25).

1991 yılından itibaren bölgeye yaptığımız çeşitli ziyaretlerdeki gözlemlerimiz de bu yöndedir. Gençler mecbur kalmadıkça ana dillerini kullanmamakta, Rusçanın hâkimiyetini kesintisiz devam ettirmektedirler. Son yıllardaki bazı çabalarla durumun biraz değişmekte olduğunu gözlemliyoruz. Özellikle Dr. Güllü Karanfil'in çabalarıyla oluşturulan ana dili kutlama günleri, çeşitli yazma etkinlikleri, ödüllü yarışmalarla ana diline ilginin kısmen arttığını söyleyebiliriz. Kimi radyo ve televizyon programları da gençlerin ilgisini çekmektedir.

### 6.5. Yazılı ve görsel / işitsel basın

Gagauz Yeri'nde günlük gazete yoktur. *Ana Sözü* gazetesi 1988'den beri 15 günde veya haftada bir kez yayımlanmaktadır. Bunun dışında *Gagauz Sesi*, *Halk Birlii* vb. gazeteler yayımlandıysa da uzun ömürlü olamamıştır. *Kırlangıç* ve *Güneşçik* gibi çocuk dergileriyle *Sabaa Yıldızı* adlı dergi yayın hayatlarını uzun süre devam ettirmişlerdir.

Gagauz Yeri'nde GRT (Gagauz Radyo Televizyon) FM radyo 1990'lı yıllardan beri yayın yapmaktadır. Günümüzde radyo, yayınlarını online olarak da sürdürmektedir. GRT FM'in tanıtım sayfasından edindiğimiz bilgilere göre, Gagauz Radyosu Rusça, Romence ve Gagauzca birbirine paralel olarak üç resmî dilde yayın yapmaktadır. Bu yayınlar Komrat, Çadır ve Vulkaneş şehirleriyle köylerinde dinlenildiği gibi Ukrayna Gagauzlarının yaşadıkları bölgelerde de dinlenilmektedir. Radyo'nun bir günlük yayın akışını inceledim. 23-27 Ocak 2017 haftasında Radyo sabah 07.00'de Moldova ve Gagauz millî marşlarıyla yayına başlıyor, 07.00-09.00 arasında "Sabah hayır olsun Gagauzya" ve Gagauzca haberler ve müzik programı, sonra Rusça ve Moldovanca haberler ve müzik programlarıyla devam ediyor.

Arada üç dilde haberlerin tekrarı, röportajlar, çocuk programlarıyla gece 12.00'ye kadar devam eden radyo yayını gece 12.00'den sabaha kadar müzik yayını yapıyor. Yalnız Gagauz müziğiyle ilgili malzemenin yetersiz olduğunu, çoklukla Rus ve Batı müziği dinletildiğini de belirtelim.

Tv programlarının günlük akışına baktığımızda, belirtilen hafta içinde her akşam 22.45'te, hafta sonunda ise 23.15'te Türk dizilerinden "Muhteşem Yüzyıl" ve hafta içinde her gün 11.55'te "Seksenler" dizisinin oynadığı dikkatimizi çekmektedir. Ayrıca üç resmî dilde haberler, Türkçe ve Rusça çizgi filmler vb. bulunmaktadır. Yine metin yazarlığını Harun Güngör ile birlikte yaptığımız "Avrupa'da Türk Soluğu Gagauzlar" adlı dört bölümlük belgesel de aynı günlerde GRT tarafından tekrar yayımlanmaktadır.

Kısaca belirtmek gerekirse, Gagauz Yeri'nde geçmiş yıllara oranla ana dilde ve Türkiye Türkçesiyle çok daha fazla radyo ve televizyon yayını yapılmaktadır. Yıllardır Türk dizileri bölgede ilgiyle izlenmekte, bu durum bir taraftan Gagauz Türkçesini korurken diğer taraftan Türkiye Türkçesi konuşurlarının sayısının artmasını, ana dilinin canlı tutulmasını ve yaşamaya devam etmesini sağlamaktadır.

## 7. Gagauzcanın zayıf yönleri

20. yüzyılda Türkiye, Yunanistan, Arnavutluk, Makedonya, Bulgaristan, Romanya ve Eski Sovyetler Birliği'nin bazı bölgelerinde yaşayan Gagauzlar o ülkelerin hâkim milletlerince asimile edilmiş, dilleri tamamen veya kısmen ortadan kaldırılmıştır (Argunşah 2007: 286). 1988 yılına kadar yayımlanmış birkaç kitap dışında Gagauzca yazılmış herhangi bir malzeme yoktu. Fakat ana dillerini günümüze göre daha etkili olarak konuşuyorlardı. Bugün durum eskiye göre daha farklıdır. Gagauzca katil dillerden Rusçanın büyük bir baskısı altındadır. Yaygın eğitimde etkin olarak kullanılmaması sebebiyle sosyal işlevlerinin büyük bölümünü yerine getirememektedir. Bu yüzden bünyesi zayıftır ve dış etkenlere karşı kendisini koruyamamaktadır. Geçmişte etkin bir yazı dili olarak kullanılmamış olması, hâlâ ana dili dersleri dışında eğitimde yer almaması sebebiyle kelime hazinesindeki darlık, içerisinde çok sayıda Slavca kelime barındırması, yeni kelimeler türetememesi, dilin sağlam bir yapısının bulunmaması vb. olumsuzluklar, içerisinde bulunduğumuz iletişim çağında Gagauzcayı epey zorlamaktadır. Artık günlük hayatta bile daha fazla kelimeye ihtiyaç duyulmaktadır. Teknoloji ve bilişim çağının getirmiş olduğu yeni kavram ve terimler karşısında Gagauzca tamamen çaresizdir. Ana dilleriyle kendilerini ifade etmekte zorlanan genç kuşaklar ister istemez daha fazla hâkim oldukları Rusçaya yönelmektedir. Rusça, yalnız

Moldova'da değil, eski Sovyetler Birliği coğrafyasında da hâlâ baskın bir dildir. Birlikten ayrılan cumhuriyetlerin bazılarında aradan geçen 25 yıla rağmen eğitim ve resmî yazışmalar Rusçayla yapılmaktadır.

Gagauzca gibi geçmişte eğitim ve yazı dili olmamış azınlık dillerinin kültür ve sanat üretebilmeleri de zordur. Bugün Gagauzca seslendirilmiş sinema filmi yoktur. Gagauzlar Bölgedeki tiyatrolarda ara sıra ana dilde oyunlar oynansa da çoklukla Rusça oyunlar izlemek zorunda kalmaktadırlar.

Aileler bilinçli olarak çocuklarının ana dillerinden daha baskın dillerle eğitim almasını istemektedir. Okullarda Gagauzca eğitim yapılırsa bile, ailelerin çocuklarını göndereceği şüphelidir. Çünkü ilk ve orta eğitimi ana dilinde okuyarak diploma alan bir öğrencinin Rusça veya Moldovanca yapılan üniversite sınavlarını kazanabilmesi, kazansa bile sahip olduğu dil seviyesiyle üniversite eğitimi sürdürebilmesi şüphelidir.

Gagauzcanın geleceğiyle ilgili bir annenin tespitlerini önemsiyorum. Türkiye'de çalışan bir Gagauz kadını ana dili konusunda endişeler taşımaktadır ve şu tespitleri yapmaktadır: Çocuğun aldığı ilk eğitim ailede, annede başlamaktadır. Bu nedenle, Gagauz dilinin korunup unutulmamasında Gagauz kadınına büyük rol düşmektedir. Örneğin, annenin çocuğu ile hangi dilde konuşacağı çok önemlidir. Adı üstünde ana dili, insanın anasından ilk duyduğu, anasıyla doğduğundan itibaren konuştuğu dildir. Oysa günümüzde Gagauz Yeri'nde gözlenen durum hiç de iç açıcı değildir. Anne, çocuğu ile ana dilinde konuşmak yerine Rusça konuşmayı tercih etmektedir. Bunu da çocuğun istikbaliyle, okullarda eğitim dilinin Rusça olmasıyla açıklamakta; çocuğun okula gidince iyi Rusça bilmemesi durumunda zorlanacağını, derslerini iyi kavrayamayacağını ifade etmektedir. Aslında hakları da vardır (İusumbeli 2013: 105).

Ana dili ve eğitim dilleri farklı olan kimi Gagauzlar yabancı dil ve kültürler karşısında komplekse kapılmışlardır. Onlar, ana dilleriyle konuşmanın aydın olmayı engellediği, toplumda prestij kaybına sebep olduğu kanaatini taşımaktadırlar. Bundan dolayı ana dilini ev dışında kullanmamaya özen göstermekte ve ev dışında genellikle baskın dil olan Rusçayı kullanmayı tercih etmektedirler (İusumbeli 2013: 104). İusumbeli, ailelerin çocuklarını ana dili yerine sosyal, siyasal prestij kazandırıcı Rusçaya yönlendirmelerinin eskiden yalnız şehirlerde görüldüğünü, şimdilerde köylerde de aynı durumun yaşandığını söylemektedir. Çocuklar doğduktan sonra onunla Rusça iletişim kurulduğunu, bu yüzden Rusçanın artık ana dilinin yerini almaya başladığını, ailelerin çocuklarının aksansız Rusça konuşmalarını birer gurur kaynağı olarak gördüklerini de eklemektedir (İusumbeli 2013: 105).

Gagauzların yaygın olarak Rusça medyayı izledikleri için işlek bir Rusçaya ihtiyaç duydukları da bir gerçektir. Aydınlar sık sık bilim ve sanat terminolojisinin yetersizliğinden şikâyet etseler de bu eksikliğin giderilmesi için ciddi bir çaba gözlenmemektedir.

Gagauzca her ne kadar ülkede resmî dil olsa da birinci dil durumunda değildir. Çünkü bu resmî dil Gagauzların bile yazı dili olamamıştır. Bu, önemli bir eksiklikler. Günlük hayatta sınırlı sayıda basın yayın organı ve birkaç yazar dışında Gagauzca yazı dili olarak kullanılmamaktadır.

Gagauz Türkçesinin mevcut söz varlığı da önemli bir sorun oluşturmaktadır. Bu dilin yayımlanan sözlükleri gözden geçirildiğinde hâlâ en büyük sözlüğü olarak duran 1973 yılında basılmış *Gagauzca-Rusça-Moldovanca Sözlük*'te yer alan 11.500 Gagauzca kelimenin yaklaşık %25'i alıntıdır. Türkçe kökenli 7.500-8.000 kelimelik bir söz varlığı bulunmaktadır. Ayrıca Gagauzcanın herhangi bir terim sözlüğü de yoktur. Bütün bunları göz önüne aldığımızda mevcut söz varlığı ve ifade gücü ile uluslararası bir eğitimin yapılabilmesi mümkün görünmemektedir. Mevcut söz varlığı ile ancak dil, edebiyat, müzik, resim, beden eğitimi gibi dersler yapılabilir. Fen, matematik, mühendislik, ekonomi, tıp gibi uluslararası bilimler için yetersizdir (Argunşah 2007: 288).

## 8. Gagauzcanın güçlü yönleri

1997 yılında sunduğum bir bildirimde Türkiye Türkçesinin Gagauzca üzerindeki etkilerine dikkat çekmiş ve şu sonuca varmışım: "1988'den günümüze kadar yayımlanan Gagauz gazete ve dergileri üzerinde yaptığım kronolojik araştırmalarım göstermiştir ki Gagauz Türkçesi Moldova'da 200 bine yakın kişinin konuştuğu bir ağız olmaktan çıkarak büyük bir edebî birikime sahip olan Türkiye Türkçesi kaynağından beslenerek zengin bir kelime hazinesine sahip edebî dil olma yoluna girmiştir." (Argunşah 2007: 250). Aradan geçen yirmi yılda bu gelişmelerin devam ettiğini ve günümüzde Gagauz Yeri'nde bir Gagauzla Türkiye Türkçesiyle daha kolay anlaşılabilirdiğini tespit etmekteyiz.

1991'den günümüze kadar yaşanan süreçte birçok Gagauz kadını Türkiye'de çalışmıştır. Kimi kaynaklarda bu sayı on binle ifade edilmektedir. Yüzlerce öğrenci ülkemizde yüksek öğrenim görmüş, yüksek lisans ve doktora tamamlayanlar olmuştur. Ticaret ve çalışma sebebiyle birçok Gagauz çeşitli sürelerde Türkiye'de yaşamış. 1990'lardan itibaren Türkiye televizyonları Gagauz Yeri'nde ilgiyle izlenmektedir. Buradan şöyle bir çıkarımda bulunabiliriz: Gagauzlar son 25 yılda yeni bir dil daha öğrenerek dört dilli bir halk olmaya başladılar. Rusça, Moldovanca ve Gagauzcanın yanına Türkiye Türkçesi de eklendi. Türkiye Türkçesi

Gagauzcayı besleyen zengin bir kaynaktır. Gagauzların kendi dillerinde karşılığı olmadığı için Rusça kullanmak zorunda kaldıkları birçok kelimeyi artık Türkiye Türkçesinden aldıkları gerçeğini de vurgulayalım.

1990 yılında ilk bağımsızlık adımlarını attıkları günden itibaren ana dili bilinci gelişmiştir. Aydınların bir bölümü ana dilinin daha etkili kullanılması, resmî yazışmalar başta olmak üzere Gagauz Yeri'nde tek dilli bir toplum yaratılması gerektiği tezini işlemektedirler. Okullarda ana dili saatlerinin gittikçe artması da küçümsenmeyecek bir gelişmedir. Buna Gagauz radyo ve televizyonlarının ana diliyle yaptıkları yayınları da ekleyelim. Bugün Gagauz Yeri'nde eskiye göre daha çok Gagauzca görsel ve işitsel malzeme bulunmaktadır.

Menz, farklı kökenler arasındaki karma evliliklerde, Gagauz olmayan eşlerin genellikle Gagauzca iletişim kurabildiğini hatta bazen bir ana dili konuşuru özgüvenine sahip olabildiğini, dolayısıyla karma evliliklerde Bulgaristan örneğindeki gibi sosyal bakımdan baskın olan dile geçişin yaygın olmadığını tespit etmiştir (Menz 2013: 152). Bu da Gagauzcanın o coğrafyada kullanılan diğer azınlık dillerine kıyasla daha dayanıklı bir dil olduğunu gösterir.

### **Sonuç**

Araştırmacıların bir bölümü Gagauzcanın geleceği ile ilgili tamamen olumsuz düşünceye sahiptir. Onlara göre, bu ve benzeri azınlık dillerinin uzun vadede kaybolması ihtimali yüksektir. Koruma ve canlandırma çabalarıyla dahi azınlık dillerinin ve diyalektlerinin çağdaş endüstri toplumlarında hayatta kalıp kalmayacağı şüphelidir (Menz 2013: 153).

Şu bir gerçektir ki, konuşulmayan diller yok olmaya, ölüp gitmeye mahkûmdur. Bir dilin konuşulabilmesi için konuşurların toplu hâlde bulunmaları ve bu dili konuşmaya ihtiyaç duymaları şarttır. Yine biliniyor ki, eğitimde kullanılmayan dillerin uzun süre yaşayabilmesi zordur. Sosyal açıdan baskın dillerin zayıf dilleri etkilediği, eğer tedbir alınmazsa bu sürecin zayıf dillerin ölümüyle sonuçlandığı da bir gerçektir.

Moldova'yı terk eden Gaguzların bir veya iki nesil sonra ana dilini unutacakları muhakkaktır. Onların çocukları veya torunları yerleştikleri ülkenin dilini kullanacak, Gagauz Yeri'ne geldiklerinde dedeleriyle anlaşılamayacaklardır. Moldova içerisinde Gagauz Yeri dışındaki Kişinev vb. yerleşimler için de aşağı yukarı aynı durum geçerli olacaktır.

Gagauz Yeri'nde yaşayanları ise farklı değerlendirmek gerekir. Toplumun ana gövdesi hâlâ kırsalda yaşamaktadır ve durum uzun yıllar böyle olmaya devam



edecektir. Gagauz Yeri'nin tarım toplumundan çağdaş endüstri toplumuna geçebilmesi uzun yıllar mümkün değildir. Bu da mevcut durumun aşağı yukarı korunacağını göstermektedir. Kırsalda, köy ve kasabalarda yaşayan nüfus ana dilini korumaya devam edecektir. Gagauz diliyle radyo televizyon, yazılı basın, okuldaki eğitim-öğretim mevcut hâliyle bile sürdüğü müddetçe, konuşur sayısı azalsa dahi 21. yüzyıl boyunca yaşamaya devam edecektir. Nereye kadar devam edeceği ise ana dilini koruma çabalarına ve ana dili bilincinin devamlılığına bağlıdır. UNESCO, dillerin canlılığı ve tehlikede olup olmadıklarıyla ilgili dokuz ölçüt belirlemiştir: “Kuşaklar arası dil aktarımı”, “konuşurların kesin sayısı”, “toplam nüfus içindeki konuşurların oranı”, “dil kullanımı alanlarındaki değişimler”, “yeni alanlara ve medyaya tepki”, “dil, eğitim ve okuma-yazma için malzeme sağlanması”, “resmî ve kurumsal dil tutumları”, “resmî statü ve kullanımın dâhil olduğu politikalar”, “topluluk üyelerinin kendi dillerine yönelik tutumları” ve “dokümantasyonun miktarı ve kalitesi”. Bu ölçütlerin birkaçı Gagauzca için olumlu görünmektedir. Gagauz Yeri'nin resmî statüsü, Gagauzcanın resmî üç dilden birisi olması, dil bilincinin gelişmesi, ana dilde basın-yayın ve eğitim imkânlarının artması gibi olumlu amiller bu dilin 21. yüzyılda ölmeyeceğini göstermektedir.

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## The relationship between time and space, and culture in Classical Tamil Poetry

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### Abstract

*Tolkāppiyam* is one of the ancient grammar texts for language and literature. *Poruḷ* (subject matter) part of *Tolkāppiyam* theorizes the relationship that exists among the structure of literature, nature, culture, tradition and other elements. Of the aspects dealt with in this section, the theory of *tiṇai*, which is recently seen as an ecological perspective, gains significance. It is mainly concerned about the establishment of the association of human feelings and emotions with landscape, seasonal changes, natural and social structure. In fact, it has been neatly codified into three components namely, *mutal* (space and time), *karu* (flora, fauna & culture) and *uri* (human feeling and emotions / the thematic unit of poetry). *Sangam* anthology (collection of ancient classical Tamil poetry) is a concrete manifestation of the codification mentioned above, especially, love poetry. Moreover, the relationship between nature and human forms an integral part of the *sangam* songs. The present article takes up the songs of *mullai* (forest region) and *pālai* (wasteland mountain or forest parched by summer) for analyzing the relationship between time and space, and culture with the prime focus on the poetic devices which are strategically employed in these songs.

**Keywords:** *Tolkāppiyam*, theory of *tiṇai*, *mullai*, *pālai*, Codification, ecological perspective

## Introduction

At the advent of globalization and industrialization, region specific ecological/biological systems are collapsed, destroyed and exploited by the humans. As a result, we are affected at all levels. Some of the adverse effects are global warming, pollution, diseases, lack of food and poverty. Nature based cultural ecosystem is also affected under these circumstances. Hence, we must get ready to find out different ways to rescue the ecosystem and natural environment. We must need an alternative plan to resolve this problem like population control, motivating eco/ nature centric human life. As a part of this process, one should try to revive the ancient literatures and cultures which celebrated eco-centric life. In this connection, Classical Tamil poetry, which is rooted in nature (time, and space) and eco/bio-centric culture, gains significance.

This paper discusses *mullai* and *palai* poems of *Sangam* anthology (Classical Tamil poetry) which represents the relationship between time and space, and human culture in the light of *tiṇai* theory of *Tolkappiyam*.

## The meanings of *tiṇai* and *Oikos*

*Tiṇai* is a polysemic word. Tamil lexicon describes *tiṇai* as 'Earth, land; Place, region, situation, site; House; Tribe, caste, race, family; Conduct, custom. Conventional rules of conduct laid down in the Tamil works, of two classes, viz., aka-t-tiṇai (love) and purattiṇai (war); (Gram.) Class, as of nouns, of two kinds, viz., uyartiṇai and akṛtiṇai'<sup>1</sup>.

The term Ecology derived from the Greek word *Oikos* that means, '1. house- room, chamber, meeting house, hall, dwelling place, cage. 2. One's household goods. Estate, inheritance. 3. House, family, house hold'. 1873, oecology, "branch of science dealing with the relationship of living things to their environments," coined in German by German zoologist Ernst Haeckel (1834-1919) as *Ökologie*, from Greek *oikos* "house, dwelling place, habitation" (see villa) + *-logia* "study of" (see *-logy*). In use with reference to anti-pollution activities from 1960s<sup>2</sup>.

The two words give similar meanings. Ecological theory has emerged recently, but *tiṇai* theory was well established in *Tolkappiyam*. Some of the scholars like Ayyappa Panikkar, Nirmal Selvamony compared these two theories. Panikkar says that we can reconstruct the *tiṇai* theory from the view of modern perspectives, which would give it a status of an ancient ecological theory<sup>3</sup>. Further, if the two theories are compared, we get new perspectives. In the context of poetry, the meaning of *tiṇai* is the inclusion of mutal, karu and uri.

### **Theory of *tiṇai* and Classical Tamil Poetry**

From Constantine Joseph Beschi, F.W. Ellis, Robert Caldwell, G.U. Pope to George L. Hart, Jaroslav Vacek and other foreign scholars already discussed the special features of Tamil language and literature, especially, classical literary tradition and opened new research areas with global perspective from 18<sup>th</sup> century onwards. Also, some of the native scholars like A.K. Ramanujan, Xavier Thaninayagam, T.P. Meenakshisundaram, Kailasapathy, Sivathambi, M.L. Thangappa contributed. They are pioneers of classical Tamil research in the context of modern or global perspective. In fact, the Tolkaapiyam stands apart in the global arena for its established theory of poetics and most importantly, its ecological approach to it.

The structure and creation of Tolkappiyam is based on oral and written traditions. This is codified in the prologue of Panamparanar to Tolkappiyam. The *porul* part (subject matter) of Tolkappiyam explains how to create or analyse the structure of poetry and subject matter of the text based on space, time and culture. There are two type of major literary traditions i.e. *Akam* (focus on internal/individual experience - love and family related) and *Puram* (war and other- external/social experience). It tells us how to read/analyse the *Akam* and *Puram* poetry separately.

First, we should understand the theory of *tiṇai* to analyse the *sangam* poems. The *tiṇai* theory of Tolkappiyam is fully based on nature or ecological perspective. The *tiṇai* theory explicates the integration of time and space, and culture into poetry. There are three basic elements in the *tiṇai* theory. They are: *mutal* (space and time), *karu* (flora, fauna & culture) and *uri* (human feeling and emotions / the thematic unit of poetry).

Though the three components of *tinai*: *mutal*, *karu* and *uri* are mostly associated with *akam* poetry, they apply to all subject matters of poetry like *puram* and others. This suggests that the theory of *tinai* is more inclusive.

#### ***Mutarporul* (space and time):**

*Mutarporul* (basic element) is divided into two types i.e. *nilam* (landscape) and *pozhuthu* (time). Time is divided into two types: six seasons of the year; six divisions of the day. *Karuporul* includes all the elements of *mutal*. *Uriporul* is based on *mutal* and *karu*. It includes all the human feelings or subject matter of poetry.

**Mutarporul (landscape)***kuṛiñci* (Mountain region)*pālai* (mountain or forest parched by summer)*mullai* (Forest region)*neytal* (Littoral region)*marutam* (Riverine region)**Uriporul (thematic units)**- *puṇartal* (Union)- *pirital* (Separation)- *iruttal* (Patient waiting)- *iraṅkal* (pining)- *ūṭal* (Sulking)**Division of time: Season and time for the five tiṇais**

<b>Tiṇais (land)</b>	<b>Season</b>	<b>Months (division of year)</b>	<b>Time (division of day)</b>
<b>Mullai</b>	Rainy season ( <i>kār</i> )- <i>āvaṇi-puraṭṭāci</i>	Mid-August to mid-October	Evening
<b>kuṛiñci</b>	Cold winter ( <i>kūtir</i> ) - ( <i>Aippaci</i> - <i>karthikai</i> ) & dewy season ( <i>muṇpaṇi</i> )- <i>mārkaḷi- tai</i>	Mid-October to mid-December & mid-December to mid-February	Midnight
<b>Pālai</b>	snow season ( <i>piṇpaṇi</i> )- <i>māci-paṅkuṇi</i> & Summer ( <i>iḷavēṇil</i> & <i>mutuvēṇil</i> ) - <i>cittirai- vaikāci</i> & <i>āṇi-āṭi</i>	snow season - mid-February to mid-April; Early summer- mid April to mid-June; Late summer – mid- June to mid- August	Midday
<b>Marutam</b>	All seasons will occur	All seasons will occur	Early dawn & morning
<b>Neytal</b>	All seasons will occur	All seasons will occur	Sunset

**Karuporul (Naturo-culture or flora, fauna & culture of five Modes)**

	<i>Kuṛiñci</i>	<i>Mullai</i>	<i>Marutam</i>	<i>Neytal</i>	<i>Pālai</i>
Landscape	Mountain region	Forest region	Riverine region	Littoral region	wasteland- mountain or forest parched by summer (suram)
God	<i>Murukan</i>	<i>Tirumāl</i>	<i>Intiraṅ</i>	<i>Varunan</i>	<i>Korṟavai</i>
Food or production Activities	Wild rice, Millet	Common millet	Red rice, white rice	Things bought with fish and with salt	Whatever is way laid and plundered



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Animals	Tiger, elephant	Rabbit, deer	Water buffalo	Shark, crocodile	Weakened elephant, red dogs
Trees	Sandalwood, eagle-wood, teak	Laburnum ( <i>kondrai</i> )	River-Portia	Screw pine, <i>Punnai</i>	<i>Pālai, ōmai</i> (toothbrush tree)
Birds	Parrot, peacock	Peacock, sparrow	Waterfowl, heron	Seagull, <i>aṇṇil</i>	Eagle, dove
Water	Water falls, Mountain pools	Woodland stream	river, pool	Wells, backwaters	Stagnant water
Flowers	kuṛiñci, glory-lily	Jasmine (Mullai)	Lotus	Screw pine, dark water lily	Pālai
Town	Small villages	Woodland settlement	Town, large town	Small villages, fishing settlements	Small villages, paṇtalai
Drums	Kuravai, tontakam	Bullfight drum	Wedding drum, harvest drum	Fishing drum	Cattle-raid drum
Music	kuṛiñci melodies	Mullai melodies	Marutam melodies	Laments	Pañcuram melodies
Name of the people	kuṛavar, kanavar.	iṭaiyar iṭaiciyar	uḷavar, uḷattiyar	Paratar, Parattiyar	Maṛavar Maṛattiyar
Name of the hero & heroine	verpaṇ, cilaṇṇaṇ & koṭicci, kuṛatti	kuṛumpoṛai nāṭaṇ & kiḷatti	ūraṇ, maḷiḷṇaṇ & kiḷatti	Tuṛaiṇaṇ & nuḷaicci, parattaiyar	Eyiṇaṇ, mīḷi & Eyiṛriyar

All the three elements are integrated into the poetry of tinai. The structure followed by the poet is called dramatic usages (*nataka vaḷakku*). For example, the structure of *kuṛiñci* poetry is built on mountain landscape, season of cold winter and midnight, union of ideal lovers.

**Historical and Cultural Background of Sangam Poetry**

Most of the Sangam classics reflect the ideologies of patrilineal society. However, we can see some residues of Matrilineal system in agricultural and ritual activities. The tribal/ ethnic system is found in *kurinji*, *Mullai*, whereas the state formation takes centre stage in *mullai*, *Marudham* which are grounded in the mode of

production. Hence, the sangam age is an uneven development stage. Even nowadays tribal, ethnic rituals continue to exist in small levels. Anthology of Sangam poems are the encyclopaedia for the various researches.

The limits of women are in the home or local in the Patrilineal society. There are no limits for male who is the chief of the family. Most of the responsibilities of family go to male like making wealth and so on. Tolkppiyam clearly discusses these neatly demarcated responsibilities. The poems of *mullai*, *paalai* take up these for subject matter. When we read the classical *Akam* poetry we can see love as the central theme. However, social, cultural elements figure at the background of the *Akam* poetry as it cannot be avoided.

Man should go to foreign places to make wealth during drought seasons. This migration is temporary (few months). Hero returns to his home after making wealth in the rainy season because family expects the wealth. The presence of a hero is a must for running the family and continuing the production system of agriculture. *Mullai*, *paalai* poems described these themes. Both forms of poetry have a close relationship. Moreover, *Mullai* can be seen as a continuance of *paalai*.

The expectation of a heroine is not restricted to love and sexual relationship. This is also related with the system of family, social structure, economy and culture. But, one can't deny the fact that the theme of love is the soul of *Akam* poetry.

### **Relationship between Time and space, and culture in the poems of mullai and palai**

The special features of *sangam* poetry, especially, love poetry captured the minute variations of landscape, time, natural changes and activities of animal, bird, etc., Also, all these elements should be interrelated to the internal human feelings by *uvamai* (simile), *iraichi* (symbol), *ullurai* (suggestion) and others, i.e. poetry experience is the relationship between nature and human life. Hence, we can understand the Classical Tamil poetry as Anthro-po-geographical poetry.

### **Poems of Pālai**

In *palai* poetry, when hero leaves the home for making wealth or war, heroine worries about separation. Generally, hero goes to foreign places to gather wealth. On the way, he has to go through the parched forest by summer. Hero and heroine worry about separation in their places. In particular, hero is worried about the conflict in his mind – whether to go to foreign places or return home.

Many of *Palai* poems of *sangam* anthology express these situations within time and space.

The present paper tries to analyse the 113<sup>th</sup> poem of *narriṇai* (one of the *sangam* classics) highlighting the relationship between time and space, and culture.

Translation :

They have come to reach (us) indeed, traversing the big wilderness,  
Where the stout-backed green unripe fruits of the low-trunked Jujube tree from  
The high branch with bending twigs, eaten, head lifted, by the deer,  
Spread increasingly on the small path joined with stones,  
-the looks full of loneliness of her who has agitating grief,  
Lamenting like the flute (from the stem of) the white water-lily  
That is blown by the musician on the resounding big field  
Of the noisy main battle that rushed against Utiyaṇ,  
Greatly desolate, hiding herself in her braided dark tresses,  
While suffering was abundant in her water-lily collyrium eyes,  
When (we) said; 'we will go, girl',  
We, who have been thinking enticed by wealth difficult to make.

Written by iḷaṅkīraṇār - Translated by Eva Wilden

First, we should know about the background of the poem for understanding and analyzing it. The context of the song revolves around the hero's separation for making wealth. The hero goes through the parched forest in the midday. He remembers the looks of the sorrowful heroine when he leaves home. So, he gets worried.

### **Analysis of the poem in the light of *tiṇai* theory**

Mutal (Space /landscape): parched forest in summer

Time – summer season (jujube fruit season in summer)

Karu: Jujube tree (Ilanthai), deer, music- āmpal melody

Uri (theme): immense sorrow of hero over separation

Kuurtu (Utterance): The hero speaks to himself while on his way to a distant destination

Historical background: The war of Utiyaṇ ceral.

Meyppadu (The exhibition of psychic feelings of the poem)- azhukai (distress)

This poem has been created based on the mood of the parched forest landscape in summer. The physical landscape inscribes and intensifies the mental agony of the hero.

### Descriptions of Nature

In summer, there is no grass or other relevant food and water for deer and animals. They are seen wandering. The unripe fruits of Jujube tree spread increasingly on the small path mixed with stones. These fruits are scattered when the deer snapped the twigs of the tree to eat them.

### Description of Mental landscape

Hero is remembering his lover's glance when he leaves the dry land. Heroine feels immense sorrow. At the moment of the separation, her water-lily collyrium eyes are tearful and she hides her face behind her untied tresses and weeps. The heroine's weeping sounds like an *āmpal* melody (flute-kind of raga) of warriors in the battlefield of *Utiyaṇ ceral*.

### Relationship between time and space (nature), and human feelings

Nature/ ecological activities	human feelings
Heat pebbles by hot summer	- loneliness/ sorrow/ painful travel
Wandering deer	- wandering hero
Affected Jujube tree by deer	- sorrow of heroine over the separation
<i>āmpal</i> melody	- weeping sound of the heroine

The path of dry land with heat pebbles by hot summer season refers to loneliness and sorrow. The wandering animals denote the hero's wandering. In fact, when the environment is fertile, the deer don't like the leaves and fruits of jujube tree with thorns.

The bent twigs of jujube tree manifests the plight of the sorrowful heroine. But this sorrowful state is provisional. When the hero returns, she will become happy. This condition of the heroine may be compared to the tree which is undisturbed by the deer during the rainy season.

The heroine's weeping sounds like an *āmpal* melody (flute-kind of raga) of warriors in the battlefield of *Utiyaṇ ceral*. *āmpal* melody (*Ambalan theenguzhal*) is the classical name of a *raaga* in Tamil. It's called *suddha Danyasi* in *Carnatic* music<sup>4</sup>. This raga expresses the longing/ immense sorrow. Hero is remembering heroine's longing, weeping eyes. This is a great comparison.

The pain of the tree should be compared to the heroine's sorrow. This is the symbolic meaning of the poem. Tolkappiyam called this *iraicci* i.e suggestive meaning conveyed indirectly by the references to the distinctive features of the

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tract of land. Heroine will be happy when he returns after gathering wealth. He may come during the rainy season. If the rainy season comes, the deer will be happy. They will not disturb the Jujube tree as grass is available in abundance. So, the tree is also happy like the heroine. This is the special feature of the integration between natural elements and human feelings.

The picturisation of landscape (dry land) and animal (wandering deer) activities in the poetry creates sorrow in the reader's mind. The simile of *āmpal* melody is compared with heroine's weeping and her expression on the face also transfers the feeling of melancholy to the reader. This is the aim of the poetry. So, without any knowledge about theory of *tiṇai* and the poetry elements of Tolkappiyam we cannot create the poetic experience fully in ourselves. It's applicable to analysis also.

**Mullai**

The context of mullai poetry revolves around hero's journey to foreign places for making wealth or war in summer; hero's failure to keep his promise that he would return during the rainy season; sorrowful waiting of the heroine. Most of the mullai poems represent heroine's sorrow over hero's return.

We analyse the 172nd poem of kuṇṭokai (one of the sangam classics) based on the relationship between time and space, and culture as a song of Mullai. Some 20th century commentators categorized the above song under Neythal. However, the descriptions of the evening and suffering of heroine denote Mullai. So, we may treat this poem as belonging to Mullai based on Tolkappiyam.

Translation:

The one who has abandoned (us) here,

So that we are by ourselves

In sorrowful evening, when the bats with light fight

(and) rushing, fine wings set out for trees with ripening (fruit),

Is he happy that we are alone?

Like bellows pressed in the smithy

Of one village bound to the public work of seven villages,

Without knowing an upper limit my heart suffers.

written by kaccippēṭṭu naṇṇākaiyār - Translated by Eva Wilden

The situation of this song is hero's journey to foreign place for making wealth which is required for marriage. Heroine is waiting for her lover. But he does not return for long. The heroine tells to her confidante about her anxiety.

### Analysis of the poem in the light of *tiṇai* theory

*Mutal* (Space /landscape): evening time when bats set in the tree.

*Karu*: bats, trees with ripening fruit, smithy

*Uri* (theme): unlimited suffering

*Kuurtu* (Utterance) : The heroine speaks to her confidante

*Meypadu - azhukai* (distress)

### Description of Nature/Environment

In the rainy season (*kār- āvaṇi- puraṭṭāci* -Mid-August to mid-October), the farmers make and repair their tools for farming. So, everyone rushes to the smithy and the bellows are pressed continuously. The bats set on the trees with ripening fruit in the evening. This is the environmental description of the poem.

### Description of Mental landscape

Heroine thinks about her lover when she looks at the above mentioned natural scene and the environment. Hero has gone to foreign place for making wealth which is required for marriage. She has mental agony and suffers without limits like continuously pressed bellows in the smithy for the public work of seven villages.

### Relationship between time and space (nature), and culture human feelings

#### Nature/environmental activities                      human feelings

Continuously pressed bellows                      - suffering of heroine's heart

Bats set on the trees with ripening fruit - she feels abandoned

They are lovers for a long time. The heroine waits for the return of the hero who has promised to return with wealth during the rainy season. Meanwhile, the *Alar* (private talk between people concerning love intrigues of others) may also possible. She thinks that he may not be happy as he left her lonely. This is the social structure of the poetry. In this situation, the smithy and activities of bats refer to the human feelings.

The heroine's suffering directly compared with the bellows in the smithy. The heroine suffers like the bellows pressed in the smithy of one village bound to the public work for seven villages. This is a kind of exaggeration. To exaggerate

something in Tamil tradition they use the numbers seven, nine (*Kurunthokai* 24, *Thirukkural*- 1278).

The bats set on the trees with ripening fruit reflect the feeling of abandonment of the heroine. The tree with ripening fruits gives refuge to the bats in the evening, but there is no place for heroine to take refuge. This is the symbolic relationship found in the poem.

The poetry transfers the sorrow to the reader by the bats' activities and smithy.

### **Conclusion**

The present paper attempted to study the integrated relationship that exists between time and space and culture in Sangam poetry with specific reference to two poems belonging to mullai and paalai. In fact, most of the sangam poems lend themselves for such a reading.

Taking 113<sup>th</sup> poem in Natrinai and 172<sup>nd</sup> poem in Kurunthokai for discussion, the paper tried to explicate the strong images drawn from nature; examine the close allegiance between the descriptions of the physical attributes and the intensity of the mental agony of the personae; give a different interpretation using Tolkappiyar's poetics as a reference point. Mostly, the images in sangam poetry are closely studied for its textual and symbolic significance. The present writer suggests that one has to explore the possibility of a constant interaction between ecological principles inherent in Tolkappiyam and the recent theories of ecology and using this newly emerging framework to read any work of art from an ecocritical perspective.

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## **Reflection of Social Problems in the Writing of Women Writers in Urdu**

**Lubna Farheen Hameedullha Khan**

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### **Abstract**

Apart from the gender discrimination, Urdu women writers has proved their social awareness and even their social commitments in their writings. There was a time when education was forbidden for women in the primitive society of India. The educated women having a sense, attraction and urge of expression were to hide their names due to the pressure of the primitiveness and backwardness of the society. They used to adopt pen names like ABC, xyz etc.

It was in late twentieth century that they started to disclose their identity. It may be said that, due to the gender discrimination, the women writers had no voice and face before this. 'Rasheed Jahan' was the first to light and bear a torch in the history of women writers in Urdu who not only published a collection of short stories in her name but openly manifested her social commitment. She was a member of the progressive writers association which fought against the discrimination against the caste, class and gender. She published "Angare" a collection of short stories which evoked an strict action against her by the then government. Rasheed Jahan was followed by Hajera Masroor, Khudaija Masroor, Asmat Chughtai and Qurrattul Ayeen Haider and others. In poetry we finds names like Lutfunnisa Imtiyaz, Mahlakha Bai Chanda, Ada jaggery, kishwar Naveed and Parveen Shaker and many more.

We not only find social problems related to female personality and identity but we find the women writers addressing the social problems that haunting and posing challenges to the society also.

This paper will discuss elaborately various social problems addressed by the women writers with examples and references from their writings.

**Keywords:** religious, social change, eduction

### **Reflection of Social Problems in the Writing of Women Writers in Urdu**

Literature and society are directly proportional to whom other. Every occurred problem of society tradition, and social change that is present in literature. That's why literature is as a mirror of society that's why we can say that writers are also mirror of society. Writers not only write the social rules and social traditions or cultured values but also social facts which impact on our society i.e. political social economical and cultural facts.

Women's are also the part of our society. Our new generation is grown in their hands that are why any literature has impact of them. In Urdu literature we have a century of women's writers. Last century some women's short story writers' and novelist's writers that were play a flourish rule in urdu literature. All women's writers had exploited the historical political background. Each has their own themes and star's which shows there individuality and a view to see the society.

According to Taranum Riyaz:-

"We over look on prospectus of urdu literature we observe that women's writers play a very important role to make this prospectus as prettify and life able."

If we see the work of women's writers then we observe that their literary work was started in late nineteen century. This period is an initial or starting period of Urdu women's writers creations. In this period the work done by women's writers had dividing in two interesting aspects. For the reason of some special social and cultural trends women's writer's used their relatives or father or their children's name as writers of this and this to publish. For example Miss Abdul Khaddar as Begum Shanawaz, zaa-khai-shin Mather of Afzal Ali etc. Begum Abeda Hussain published their articles as a name of hum Shaira Gulam Allauddin.

The second aspect is that some many women's writers are inspired by "Depte Nazie Ahmad" writings and they were create their writing with the impact of him. In depte nazir ahmeds stores he explain so many social problems related to women's like girls education problem, ethics and responsibility of their family or accompability like themes and girls after mirage problems that is how to behave in family there responsibility along empowerments of society these kind of problems is described.

This period had various famous women's writers like Rasheedunnisa, Akbare Begum, Miss Abass, Tayyab Ji, Sugra Humayo, Nazar Sajad Hayyder and Hijab Imtiyaz are included. Know a days the writing of these women's are very precious. There literary themes were depend on women's education, the side effect of

early mirages of girls, women's faithfulness on traditions, obedient, proverbial mother etc. this is the common view of that time society.

In Nazar Sajad Novels "Aah-E-Mazloma" she described problems of polygamy means more the one mirage which is done by male very free thinking of her. The women's writers of these periods explain their views related to eastern values scrambling. In this periods they also raise the problems of Muslim middle class civil employs thinking who are work with British emperor that one side they are want to copy British tradition and daily life other hand there mentality specially related women were western traditions. They spanned their life in this scrambling.

Some women's writers motional 'Hijab Imteyaz Ali' who had impact of western literature fluttered. Her short story "Kabuter Ke Sayye" in this explain the story of a husband who killed he beloved wife because of that he was not trust on her. This story is full of western drama and fluttered.

We can say that the first period of women's writers' circumscription is from twenty century 3<sup>rd</sup> decade. The woman's in their period had sustainment awareness of the woman's sapience's and there personal' social problems.

As time passes the word had occurs changes or circumstances and different secularization because writes had ha sensitive mind they all know very emageatly all this changes and the impact of this changed in society and economic had been described by him in their creations. That's why we can say that society and literature are making an environment for each other.

The very important period of women's and Urdu literature is the second period. This period had started are decade of twentieth of second century. This was a period where English language was becoming common in education. English literature and the problems mention in were becoming moral aspect of progressive movement. The thinking of freedom in western cultural and new and modern thinking of society was in lighting the culture. This thinking is also impact on Urdu women's writers. In this very important name of female writer is Dr. Rasheed Jahan. We can found brought thought and western thinking in their creations or writing. A first book which is banded in Urdu literature is "Angare". In this book Dr. Rahseed Jahan write 2 shorts story i.e. "Delhi ki sayyar" and "parde ke peache" was included and her story and theme was inspired by communist movement that shows social, special muslim women's problems and different level of British Emperor. Her one story name "majreem koun" was a symbol of government's double standard. The theme of society is that there was a British judge and their judgment. The story is like there was a lamber. He was abounded a woman who is wife of some labor. Judge punished him 3 years imprisonment

but he had done the same think that the judge had abounded a wife of journal and he fore her to diverse her husband and after that he were mirage with her. She was explaining these things very forthrightly a double standard of governments. The very famous women's writers of this period are Saleha Abed Hussain and Razya Sajad Zaher.

After Dr. Rasheed Jahan the female writer who had inspired by her is Ismat Chughtaye. She was related to progressive movement. She started their literate journey near about 1940. Her themes are different from others. She had seen a society in different views. She put up her pen on social cultural values, implemented traditions even religiously antitype problems undoubtedly.

Dr. Yasmeen says about Ismat:-

"Ismat Chughtai had in light on daily life style and specially the designed and of middle class girls and keen and their

Ismat chughtai not only explain the environment and society and sexual problems, rudderless of that time but also old women's psychological problems. She also explains the human relation in society very fluently. She bind some phases of all relations of society in related to human being relations in their short story's. Do Hath, Bekar and Chouthe Ka Joda is very successful shots stories of her.

Similarly that she had approximately 8 novels like Zidi, Taidhe Laker, Soudai, Ajeeb Admi, Jangli Kabutar, dil ki Dunya and Ek Khatra Khoon etc are included. She also explains the changing society and changing relation of our society in her novels. Qerat ul aain hayder was also started her literature journey with Ismat Chughtai. She had used very big canvas of her themes. She included the customs philosophy, history sociology, culture and social and individual psychology in her short story and novels.

She also mention all the problems like social and political which occurred due to divination of India, impact of divination of India and 800 year old history of India, freedom movement of Bangladesh and realm police which is so horrible for Indian Society.

Her novel "Agle Janman Mohe Bitty Na Kijo""is the mirror image of women's problems and is a good example which she analysis. In this so many of women's of that time society were bind on them itself.

Jilane bano is also related to prerogative movement. She used the theme like impact of divination on Muslim society and the political, sociological and cultural problems of Muslims. She explains the generation gap in there short stories.

Sughra mahde is also a novel and short stores writer. We can find the reformative aspect in there writing. She also explain the Nationhood and the hole culture and customs of India in her short stores.

The third period of women's writers in started in 6<sup>th</sup> part of twentieth century. The women's writers put up there pen on all the themes which is not suitable for womens in that time. Wajeda Tabssum had a theme of there creation was the festivity of Hyderabad Navab's and explain that how they are used the poor women's for their recovery. On the other hand she also explain the Hyedrabadi Navab's wife flatness and frankness in their creations. All we can see that the conditions of women are who are victim of society and their mantel and individual condition in their creation

According to Dr. Rizwana:-

"Her famous short story was "Utran". In which she put her pen on the topic of a naughty innocent girl who is harassed by society and she how she deals with these things. This shot store is very important because it is related to our society, culture and mentality. This short store is a example of women's personal and individual values and the middle class women's life frame."

"Paraye Chahre" and "Tareakh Raho Ke Musafir" are the groups of shorten stores of Zakiya Mushahde. She put up her pen on theme like mentality of society and political aspect very undoubtly. Her shot story "uffe" is a store in which we can see the all horrible circumstances of the incident and tragidate of babre masjid. Which occur due to sector ionize and superiority"

That how so much written on paternity polity that womens unfaithfulness but the confessedly society of men's unfaithfulness is expectable. For this caliphate her short story "shajare mamno" is the best example of mens faithfulness.

That's how know a days the famous short story writers are Nigar Azim, Gazala Zagim, Aayesha Parbha, gameer Jamali, Farhat Jahan, Sarwat Khan Etc. are present. If we analyses these all women's writers we observed that they covered all the terrarium, Kashmir problems, all the social problems which present in our society is explain by them.

We can say that women's writers in initial period covered all the economical reform, eastern vales and in light on the modern education. On other hand they also explain all the changing countenance of society there problems. In progressive period the view of socialism and mentality, political changes and also shows vindicabli for the people of middle class the difference between upper class and middle class people's problems. The problems which h is occurred due

to divination of India, so much human being bloodshed, begrime of innocents girls life, present years political games, plutonium of politicians, connivance of young generation problems, terrarium and patriotic feeling toward our nation etc. are explain by woman's writers very briefly in their creation. Therein we can we don't deny the importance of women's writers in Urdu literature.

## **Indigenous suprasegmental reflections of non native Indian speakers of English**

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### **Abstract**

Being part of the multilingual Indian society, most Indian speakers achieve the native verbal and linguistic repertoire of different Indian languages. At the same time, they struggle to speak English as a second or foreign language with international intelligibility. This study presents the First Language Influence and Suprasegmental Reflections of Indian speakers on English language. It also deals with the reasons and remedies to extirpate this habit. It may also help the readers to better understand the issues faced by their students or learners of English to adopt an empirical approach for teaching correct pronunciation. This study is based on personal interaction during teaching English as a second or foreign language to the Indian vernacular medium pupils.

**Keywords:** Word accent, phonology, phonetics, assimilation, pronunciation, intelligibility

### Introduction

This paper sheds light on the reasons and suggests remedies of Indigenous Suprasegmental (Prosody) Reflections or First Language Influence of Non-native Indian English Speakers. This will help as an aid for the trainers working in Business Process Outsourcing (BPO) or Call Centre industry (voice based process), trainers and teachers teaching English to the learners with heavy accent of their mother tongue and lay persons who are intrigued to acquaint themselves with the intricacies involved in teaching-learning any foreign/second language. The teachers and trainers must read few basic books on Linguistics cited and appended in this paper. They will have a broader knowledge of sound patterns of English absence of which causes learners to make mistakes. This may encourage the teachers/trainers to embrace different practical approaches to facilitate the learners. With these insights, the teachers/trainers may also be equipped with the prerequisite to be an effective and efficient coach for their trainees. Thus they can play a mentor's role too being a teacher or trainer.

I was taken aback after knowing, from my voice and accent trainer a US native speaker, that they are taught the sounds of English (phonetics and phonology) from third grade onward. Recently in India few curricula like ICSE, IB and CBSE (Primary schools) adopted the similar strategy for their students from the same level. English language teachers having M.A. English Literature/ M.A. Linguistics degree are well versed with these aspects of language. The people who do not have this information may benefit from the cursory information on phonetics and phonology provided in the following few paragraphs. This will help them to better understand the topic dealt in this paper.

This paper deals with the basic background information of Linguistics in the first part. The second part provides the details and reasons of the topic. The third and final part suggests methods to mitigating or eradicating the issues and facilitates the learners with an intelligible way of speaking English being a nonnative Indian English Speaker.

The primary function of the tongue is to taste and to speak. Here we will focus on speaking as we do not have any scope for eating. The human tongue is a tool to articulate different sounds into meaningful utterances. We use language for interaction with others. We achieve different goals through interaction like; to air our views, share knowledge, express feelings get answers etc. What is going to happen if the interaction does not yield any results! This communication breakdown will incur frustration in both the speaker and the listener.



The tongue is influenced by our mother (child's first institute of learning), or mother tongue. Our tongue gets acquainted with the sounds and champions to produce them. But it makes us vulnerable to struggle learning a second or foreign language. We could hardly produce appropriate sounds if it is a foreign language to make it intelligible to the audience. We not only have the influence of our First Language but also we try to speak a foreign language like ours, with our own accent pattern and suprasegmental effects.

Let's take the following humorous example of a forwarded text on *WhatsApp* Smartphone application;

One person boarded a plane. It was his first experience. Excited and amazed, he wanted to rush to his allotted seat. He asked the flight attendant where is *thartywandy*? The attendant could not understand him. She called her senior. Even she could not understand what *thartywandy* means. They thought he is asking about a toilet. They showed him a nearby toilet by opening its door. The passenger was frustrated. He then showed them his boarding pass. The flight attendants smiled after reading the card and ushered him to his seat Thirty One D.

### **First Part**

"Focusing attention on one crucial ingredient in the acquisition of words, we can ask what kind of information a child must learn about the sounds of a word. What is required to be able merely to recognize a word? Well, one thing is that children must recognize pronunciations of a given word by different people as the same word, whether uttered by a woman or a man, a teenager or an octogenarian, a sniffer with a cold, or anyone else. To identify words – to understand language-- it is essential to disregard certain voice characteristics and certain particularities of volume, speed, and pitch." (*Edward Finegan*)

### **Sounds of English**

English has twenty-six letters but forty-four sounds. There are twenty-two **vowel** sounds and twenty-four **consonants**. This may be new information for many lay persons and even to less educated native speakers. We tend to take it for granted that language is just a medium to interact with *Homo sapiens*. This approach makes us complacent and we give up the enthusiasm to know more about our own language. Some people are gifted with more than one language. Few of them really think about it seriously and consider it an asset.

## Vowel

Originally, in ancient accounts of Greek and Latin, of a minimal unit of speech that could be produced on its own and could, on its own, form a syllable, e.g. [i:] in Latin could form the one-syllable word *i* 'go' (Oxford Concise Dictionary of Linguistics P. H. Mathews)

1. One of a class of speech sounds in the articulation of which the oral part of the breath channel is not blocked and is not constricted enough to cause audible friction; broadly: the one most prominent sound in a syllable
2. A letter or other symbol representing a vowel —usually used in English of *a, e, i, o, u*, and sometimes *y* (Merriam-Webster)

## Consonant

Defined originally as a sound that had to be accompanied by a vowel: hence the term (Latin *consonans* 'sounding with'). (Oxford Concise Dictionary of Linguistics P. H. Mathews)

In phonetic terms, most consonants are sounds in whose production the flow of air is obstructed at some point in the mouth, throat, or larynx, at least sufficiently to cause audible friction: i.e. they are produced with a degree of stricture greater than the open approximation.

one of a class of speech sounds (as \p\, \g\, \n\, \l\, \s\, \r\) characterized by constriction or closure at one or more points in the breath channel; also : a letter representing a consonant —usually used in English of any letter except *a, e, i, o*, and *u* (Merriam-Webster)

There are twenty-six letters but forty-four sounds (Phoneme: the smallest distinct sound unit in a given language: [tip in English realizes three successive phonemes represented in spelling by the letters t, i, and p. P. H. Mathews p.299] in the English language.

English Phonology permits limited combination of vowel and consonants hence setting it somewhat apart from other languages.

Let us see few examples. The vowel phonemes /e,æ / and consonant phonemes /h, j/ do not occur finally: long vowel phonemes and diphthongs do not occur before the phoneme /ŋ/: the types of consonant clusters permitted are subject to certain constraints, some of which are:

- 1- In the initial position, /tʃ, dʒ, ð, z/ do not combine with any consonant
- 2- /r, j, w/ can occur in clusters only as the final element

3- In the final position, consonant clusters such as /pf, td, lzd, 3bd/ are not possible.

We see few consonant cluster examples of English language. These clusters, successive sequence of consonant phonemes are not permitted/present in many Indian languages.

E.g. Initial two and three Consonant clusters (CC-, CCC-)

Consonant Cluster	Examples
/sj-/	suicide, sewerage
/st-/	store, steal
/sk-/	school, skiing
/spl-/	splash, spleen, split
/spr-/	spring, sprain, spray
/spj-/	spurious
/str-/	string, strain, street
/skl-/	sclerosis
/skw-/	squash, square, squint

Final two and three-consonant clusters (-CC, -CCC)

/-pt/	stopped, wept
/-pθ/	depth
/-gz/	rouges, bags
/- tʃ t/	watched, hatched
/-ft/	laughed, craft
/-pts/	adopts
/-tθs/	twelfths
/-sks/	asks

(J. Sethi P.V. Dhamija p.125)

There are more sequences that give a tough time to the English speakers of other languages.

English vowel sound has different variants, e.g. monophthong, diphthong, and triphthong

Diphthong: A vowel shows quality changes perceptibly in one direction within a single syllable: e.g. [aʊ] in house, whose articulation changes from relatively open to relatively close and back (position of the tongue). Diphthongs are falling or rising according to which phase is more prominent. (P H Mathews p.107)

It is a vowel containing two successive phonemes which form its quality.

**Triphthong** A vowel whose quality changes in two successive directions within a single syllable: e.g. [aɪə] in many pronunciations of English *tire*, where the quality changes from relatively open to relatively close and front, and then from relatively front to central.

(P H Mathews p.414)

It is a vowel which has three successive phonemes either in a word or phrase.

**Monophthong** A vowel which is not part of diphthong or triphthong: e.g. [a] in *cat* [cat]

(P H Mathews p.250)

It is a single vowel which does not glide its quality.

A basic knowledge of word stress will help our readers to understand the way of English word pronunciation is established. It has an important role in the English language. The stress is put on a particular vowel in a word which forms a syllable and carries prominence.

A syllable is a combination of at least one vowel and/or one or more than one consonants which either forms a word or part of a word. E.g. the utterance, a tall boy has three syllables. The word computer has three syllables.

**Syllable** A phonological unit consisting of a vowel or other unit that can be produced in isolation, either alone or accompanied by one or more less sonorous units. E.g. [bʌn] and [tɪŋ] are successive syllables in *bunting*. The vowel or other central unit forms the nucleus. (P H Mathews p.393)

**Stress** Phonological feature by which a syllable is heard as more prominent than other. E.g. in *below* the second syllable is stressed [bɪ'ləʊ], in *billow* the first ['bɪl.əʊ]. (P H Mathews p.382)

“One branch of **phonology** (the study of the elementary speech sounds) is **Phonetics**, the physical description of the elementary speech sounds in all known languages and the way they are produced by the vocal apparatus. The “phonetic alphabet” is a standardized set of symbols for representing in written form all these speech sounds. Another branch is “phonemics” which deals with **phonemes**: the smallest units of speech sound, which within any one natural language, are functional-- that is, which cannot vary without changing the word of which they take part into a different word. Thus in the English word represented by the spelling “pin”, “if we change only the initial speech sound, we get three different words, pin-tin-din; if we change only the medial sound, we get pin-pen-pun; if we change only the final sound, we get pin-pit-pill. From the matrix of such changes, we determine that each of the individual units represented by the

spelling p, t d, i, e, u, and n, t, l function as differentiation phonemes within the English language. Each language has its own system of phonemes which both overlaps with and diverges from the phonemic system of any other language. The imperfect success that a native speaker of one language, such as German or French, manifests in adapting his habitual pronunciations to the phonemic system of a different language, such as English, is a major feature of what we identify as a “foreign accent.”

Even within a single language, however, a native speaker will vary the pronunciation of a single phonemic unit within different combinations of speech sounds, and will also vary the pronunciation from one utterance to another. Even greater phonetic differences are apparent between two native speakers, especially if they speak the **dialects** of diverse regions or of diverse social groups.” (M.H. Abrams and Geoffrey Galt Harpham)

## **Part 2**

“The subconscious application of phonological rules of your native tongue to a foreign language contributes to a foreign accent and marks you as a non-native speaker.” (Edward Finegan)

### **Lengthening rule:**

English has its own vowel lengthening rules. That governs the word stress too. Indian speakers hardly follow such rules while speaking. It is there in written forms in almost all Indian languages, though. We take few examples of our (Indian scenario) word stress, we tend to stress words based on the importance of a particular word in a specific environment e.g. if someone is not able to understand a particular sentence we tend to lengthen all the words in that sentence or few words of the sentence by violating the writing rules. This is not the case with English. We even find the English speakers follow the rules subconsciously while singing songs.

Most rural Indian speakers cannot discriminate the difference between long and short vowel sounds of English words. They easily replace one by the other which may not affect their language but in English, it can be completely another word by just replacing a short vowel sound by a long one.

E.g. Ship and Sheep, Deep and Dip

If someone is very busy we pronounce BUSY as BEE-SY may be she/he wants to convey the intensity of business by stretching the vowel sound.

We can understand such utterances but this makes it unintelligible for native speakers.

### **Spelling and sound effect**

The reason of pronouncing each letter of English word stems from the letter and sound correspondence of many indigenous languages. We make those sounds very distinct as the system of our Indian languages permit. Extending this rule with English makes it difficult for the native speakers to understand. This habit leads us in a peculiar nonnative way of sounding the word endings of multisyllabic words.

“The book Teaching Spelling to English Language Learners by Johanna Stirling (lulu.com, 2011) includes an interesting history and explanation of why our orthographic system seems peculiar and has ended up the way it has. Did you know, for instance, that current English is made of up 29% Latin, 29% French, 26% Germanic, 6% Greek and 10% other? I didn’t! And that the main influences over our current orthographic system consist of a mixture of Anglo-Saxon, Old Norse, Latin, Norman French, Printing Press, Dictionaries, Latin, French and Greek (18th century) and borrowings of other languages (Stirling, 32–33: 2011)? Of course, on top of this, as we are all aware, there are 44 sounds, yet only 26 letters, resulting in a complex sound-letter correspondence. As Stirling notes, phonologically speaking, English spelling is only 50% regular. Only 50% regular!!! With all of that in mind, it’s no wonder our students get confused.”

(Emily Curran Modern English Teacher, 25 4, October 2016)

### **Connected speech**

When we use the anthropomorphic machine voice facility for reading text on a computer it sounds mechanical and at times it becomes very difficult to understand long sentences without any pauses. This experience draws our attention towards the difference between human speech and “mechanical speech”.

### **Rhythm**

The notion of rhythm involves some noticeable event happening at regular intervals of time; one can detect the rhythm of a heartbeat, of a flashing light or of a piece of music. It has often been claimed that English speech is rhythmical and that the rhythms are detectable in the regular occurrence of stressed syllables. Of course, it is not suggested that the timing is as regular as a clock: the regularity of occurrence is only relative. The theory that English has **stress-timed rhythm** implies that stressed syllables will tend to occur at relatively regular intervals whether they are separated by unstressed syllables or not; this would not be the case in “mechanical speech.” (Peter Roach)

### **Assimilation**

When two sound segments occur in sequence and some aspect of one segment is taken ‘copied’ by the other, the process is known as assimilation.

If we think of the physical production of speech, we realize that this regular process happens simply because it’s quicker, easier and more efficient for our articulators as they do their job. In isolation, we would typically pronounce [l] and [æ] without any nasal quality at all. However, when we say words like pin and pan in everyday speech, the anticipation of forming the final nasal consonant will make it easier to go into the nasalized articulation in advance and consequently the vowel sounds in these words will be, in more precise transcription, [l̃] and [æ̃]. This is a very regular feature of English speakers’ pronunciation. It is so regular, in fact, that a phonological rule can be stated in the following way: “Any vowel becomes nasal whenever it immediately precedes a nasal.”

This type of assimilation process occurs in a variety of different contexts. By itself, the word can may be pronounced as [kæn], but, when we say I can go, the influence of the following velar [g] will almost certainly make the preceding nasal sound come out as [ŋ] (the velar nasal). The most commonly observed conversational version of the phrase is [ajkəŋgo]. Notice that the vowel in can has also changed to schwa [ə] from the isolated word version [æ]. In many words spoken carefully, the vowel receives stress, but in the course of the ordinary everyday talk, that vowel may no longer receive any stress and naturally reduce to schwa. We may, for example, pronounce and as [ænd] by itself, but in the normal use of the phrase you and me, we usually say [ən], as in [yuənmi]. (George Yule, p.48-49)

### Elision

This phenomenon leads us to Elision. In the last example, the illustration of the normal pronunciation of you and me, the [d] sound of the word and was not included in the transcription. That's because it isn't usually pronounced in this phrase. In the environment of a preceding nasal [n] and following nasal [m], we simply don't devote speech energy to including the stop sound[d]. This isn't laziness, it's efficiency. There is also typically no [d] sound included in the everyday pronunciation of a word like friendship [frɛnʃɪp]. This process of not pronouncing a sound segment that might be present in the deliberately careful pronunciation of a word in isolation is described as elision. In consonant clusters, especially in coda position, /t/ is a common casualty in this process, as in the typical pronunciation [æspɛks] for aspects, or in [hɪməsbi] for the phrase he must be. We can, of course, slowly and deliberately pronounce each part of the phrase we asked him, but the process of elision in casual conversation is likely to produce [wiæstəm]. Vowels also disappear, as in [ɛvri] for every, [ɪntrɪst] for interest, [kæbnət] for cabinet, and [spowz] for suppose. (George Yule p.49)

### Linking

When we speak, we do not speak in a mechanical way like a machine. We connect words with each other while speaking. This is true with almost all the languages. But when we learn a foreign language, we try to speak each word separately. This is not the way the native speakers speak. Thus we fail to understand them and complain that we do not follow what they speak because of their accent. It is not the accent but the way how they produce any utterance during any formal or informal environment.

Here Linking will rescue us falling prey to such cases. We need to consider the relationship between one sound and the sounds that immediately precede and follow it.

Let's try to understand a technical term used in Linguistics; Juncture the degree of linkage between successive sounds in speech. Thus, in a stock example, the [t] and [r] of nitrate are in close juncture; hence, in many speakers, the [t] is released as an affricate with the onset of voicing delayed. But the [t] and [r] of night-rate, where there is a boundary between two members of a compound, are in open juncture. (P. H. Mathews)

Many ingenious minimal pairs have been invented to show the significance of juncture, a few of which are given below:



'Might rain' 'my train'  
'All that I'm after today' 'all the time after today'  
'Tray lending' 'trail ending'  
'Keep sticking' 'keeps ticking'

### **Suprasegmental or Prosody:**

As we have established different segmental elements of phonology like phonemes, and stress now we will focus on how stress is related to syllables which have linguistic importance. Stress is applied to syllables and is, therefore, part of the suprasegmental phonology.

*Supra*: Above or beyond, *phonology*: the study of sounds in a particular language or in languages

**Intonation**: A distinctive pattern of tones over a stretch of speech in principle longer than a word. Thus there is a difference in intonation between e.g. That's 'IT (I'm finished) and That's 'IT? (Is that all?). One can learn the use of intonation of a language in an efficient way like a child acquires the intonation of its first language. An adult learner will take much time to learn the intonation of a second or foreign language. We do not teach a child how to get intonation but still, he/she acquires it through listening and having a conversation with adults. This may support Professor Noam Chomsky's Language Competency notion.

However, describing functions of intonation at length is beyond the scope of this paper, we will have a perfunctory look at intonation, its form, and function.

No English native speaker speaks common one-syllable utterances 'yes' and 'no' with a flat tone; pitch, rise, and fall of voice.

"The readers should know that tone sets apart tone languages from those which are not tone languages. Here we can take an example of Mandarin in which tone changes the meaning of a word. E.g. level tone` ma means 'mother' rising tone / ma means 'hemp' falling tone \ ma means 'scold'." (Edward Finegan)

In this regard, most Indian languages share the similar feature of English language. We change our tone according to our strong emphatic emotions.

Subconsciously, we follow the rules of intonation of our first language while speaking English. This tremendously affects the length and articulation of many English sounds. This converts our utterance into heavily accented English.

Let's follow few examples of intonation.

A: Have you been to France?

B: May reply (rise) / yes, inviting A to continue with what she intended to say about France after confirming that B has been there. If B replies instead (fall) \ yes that means B does not want to continue with the discussion.

Provide Indian languages' examples...

Let us take a Hindi/Urdu example

Kya tum bazaar ja rahe ho?

What you market going are

Are you going to the market?

Every individual speaker of Hindi/Urdu will utter the above sentence with his/her own intonation. There is no certain high or low tone pattern observed. Some may ask the question with a flat tone. Others will have their own word to emphasize on.

This paper does not deal with Indian English varieties but few examples will not be extraneous. Almost all Indian speakers of English utter the following sentences considering its accent or intonation. I call it Indian question tag.

It is very huge, isn't it?

They are very clever, isn't it?

You are very strong, isn't it?

Just one way of adding question tag!

Similarly, they add NO, as a stress marker, at the end of an English sentence if they want to accent it. This NO is a literal translation of Hindi/Urdu Na e.g. Tum bazaar gai the Na? (Have you been to the market?). At times this stress marker converts a simple declarative sentence into an interrogative sentence.

You have been to market No?

Are you coming No?

Fortunately I have never witnessed people saying I am coming, Yes No (literal translation of Ha Na).

Such utterances compel the Indian English speakers to influence their English. This is really tough for the native speakers to understand. This habit affects the other aspects of their spoken and written English making it ungrammatical and unintelligible for others.

### **Remedies**

As per my opinion based on experience with my students, a speaker of English should learn or acquire intonation by interacting with people who are efficient speakers. It is not necessary that they should be native speakers because

everyone will not have the opportunity to be in that setup. You do not have to know the intricacies of pronunciation. Once you get the fluency and then you can focus on correcting your sounds. It is very easy and practical too. Even the native speakers do not know the difference between sounds unless trained on them. There is no point in articulating every utterance perfectly like a native accent but at the same time you struggle to frame correct sentences. Once you get the skill to speaking fluently then train yourself to acquire the neutral accent. Nowadays there are many avenues available to hone these skills like YouTube, Ted talks and other free online resources.

A very simple but effective way of improving and removing your First Language Influence is listening to either native speakers or efficient nonnative speakers and repeating it out loud. Follow it thirty minutes daily. This practice for couple of weeks will boost learners' confidence. People will notice and praise the change in their way of speaking. It will not take you more than three months to achieve a native like-accent when you open your mouth to speak any foreign or second language. There is, at the same time, no use of native accent if you are not interacting with the native speakers. Always use neutral accent to interact with the local people when it comes to speak the English language. Nowadays because of the availability of voice and accent training given to the BPO employees, they master the accent and try to impress nonnative speakers with that. In today's world language is used to express not to impress.

There is another effective technique to improve and learn rhythmic style like native speakers:

"Transcription involves listening to an audio recording and writing down every word. The fact that it is done from recordings means the students can replay the sections they have difficulty with as many times as they like, but the delivery is always the same. It can, therefore, provide excellent training in understanding features of connected speech, so long as natural-sounding texts are chosen. Transcription is not a whole-class activity led by the teacher: it is personal. In this way, it lends itself to being done at home because it is important to be able to spend as much time as you need." (Marianne Pickles, Roger Hunt)

I recommend my students to watch, listen and repeat, the BBC six-minute English episodes on YouTube for British English and sozoexchange.com for American English. They enjoy doing transcription provided on these websites. They understand and improve intonation, accent and vocabulary after a few weeks rigorous training.

### Conclusion

It is discouraging to say, but learners of English who are not able to talk regularly with native speakers of English, or who are not able to listen regularly to colloquial English, are not likely to learn English intonation, although they may learn very good pronunciation on the segments and use stress correctly.

A human being is a pleasure-seeking animal. It tastes pleasure in everything e.g. in eating and drinking, putting on fabulous attire, building a pristine home, travelling in luxury vehicles, partying earning fame and occupying key positions. Similarly, it enjoys speaking and listening to sophisticated language.

We can acquire intonation fairly quickly by listening and observing native speeches. It will take much time to learn it through theoretical books on this subject.

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# **The Methods of Teaching the Peculiarities of the Case Category in the Armenian Language for Foreigners**

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## **Abstract**

In the Armenian language the case of the nouns shows much more different features than the Turkish and Azerbaijani languages. And the usage of the locative noun in the Armenian language has been expressed at the same time the systematic expression shape has been expressed in the Armenian language. This feature shows itself particularly in the locative case of the noun. For instance in the Armenian language even the locative noun is too also it doesn't exist after of all the words. They are either the animal or the personal names and the names with the nju case they don't take the nju case in the Armenian language. In this article the books in the Armenian language have been searched in the Armenian Turkish Azerbaijani and Russian grammar. This research work aims to indicate the methods of teaching the peculiarities of the Case Category in the Armenian language for foreigners.

**Keywords:** Armenian language, case category, ablative case, Azerbaijani language, Turkish language

### **Stratejik Öneme Sahip Ermeni Dilinin Hal Eklerinin Yabancılar Öğretilmesi Metodu**

Bir makalemden neden ismin hal eklerine önem verdiğimi açıklamıştım. Tekrar etmek zorunda kalıyorum. Eğitim sürecinde karşılaştığım Begüm Güler Diki'nin ve Nedim Can'ın "Kedi bendedir." yerine "Իմ մեջ կատու կա:" (Benim içimde kedi var.), Büşra Görez'in "Bardak bendedir", "Bardak Büşra'dadır" yerine "Իմ մեջ բաժակ կա:", "Պուշրայի մեջ կաղուն կա:" ("Benim içimde bardak var.", "Büşra'nın içinde kedi var.") vs. gibi yeteri kadar komik cümleleri, ermeni dilinde spesifik özelliğe sahip olan ismin bulunma halinin düzenliliklerini açıklamayı zaruri etmişti. Bununla ilgili tabi ki, bulunma halinide konuşacağız. Şimdi amacımız yalnız bulunma hali değil genellikle ermeni dilinin hal çekimlerinin yabancılar doğru ve kolay öğretilmesi usülleridir. Spesifik özelliğe sahip olan ermeni dilinin bazı hal ekleri, Türk dilinin hal eklerinden tamamen farklı bir yöntemdedir. Türk dilinde herhangi bir halin net şekilde eki var. Örnek; Türk dillerinde yalın halin eki yok. Ama ermeni dilinde yalın hal hem eksiz, aynı zamanda ekle de kullanılabilir. (Արամն աշակերտ է: Արամը մեր տասարանի լավագույն աշակերտն է:) Birinci cümlede աշակերտ- öğrenci kelimesi eksizdir. İsim cümlesidir. Ayriyeten isim cümleleri ek kabul etmiyor. İkinci cümlede ise belirtili ek kullanıldığından աշակերտն belirtili ekini kabul etmiştir. Şimdi Türk dillerine dikkat edelim.

İster eski Türk anıtlarında, isterse de modern dilimizde ismin –in halinin eki net şekilde –ın –in –un –ün –dür. (Sadece eski Türkçe'de –nun, aynı zamanda velyar-sağır - n'da kullanmıştır ki, bu da sesin uzamasından başka birşey değildir. Orta Asya Türkleri'de –nin, –yun kullanımı fikrimizi tamamen ispatlıyor.) Örneklere bakalım.

Odanın içi - Տան մեջը:

Kızın yüzü - Աղջկա դեմքը:

Körpenin sesi - Մանկան ձայնը: Մանուկի ձայնը:

Gecenin yarısı - Գիշերվա կեսը:

Bacımın ayakkabısı - քրոջս կոշիկը:

Allah'ın isteği - Աստծո գամկը

Annemin saçları - մորս մազերը:

Kedinin dili - կատվի լեզուն:

Ölümünün sebebi - մահվան, մահի, մահու պատճառը:

Onun saçı - նրա մազերը:

Onun kitabı var. - նա գիրք ունի:

Tabi ki farkına vardığınız iyelik halini ifade eden bütün ekler aynıdır. -in ekinin bu birleşmelerinin ermenicesine bakalım. Dikkat ettiyseniz eğer -in halini anlatmak için her bir birleşmede farklı-farklı ekler kullanıldı. (-ա, – ի, -վա, -ան, -ոջ,- ու). Ben henüz bir kaçını sıraladım. Şimdi –in halinin ermeni dilinde 60’a yakın çekimi olduğunu söylersem tablonun zor durumu daha açıklayıcı olur. Nasıl edelim ki, öğrenci doğru ve nisbeten daha kolay öğrenebilsin. Eğer –in halinin 60 farklı kullanımı varsa, bu hali “İsmin halleri” dersi esnasında işlerken bütün halleri aynı zaman da 90 dakikaya sığdırılıp “öğretiliyorsa” ben bu metodu tamamen yanlış sayıyorum. Veya -i hali ile -e halini birleştirip, yalnız -e hali gibi anlatılmasını da doğru kabul etmiyorum. Ermeniler için -e ve -i hallerinin birleştirilmesi kendileri için sorun olmayabilir. Veya ermeni gramer kitaplarında yazıldığı gibi -de halinde canlılarda -in halinin üzerine ve մեջ kelimesi ile kullanılmasını açıklamak kendileri için net şekilde aydındır. Ermeni düşünce tarzına sahiptirler. Ama, bu bir yabancı için asla anlaşılır olmaz. Bir ermeni -de halini anlatmak için hiçbir zaman söylemez ki, “Kedi benim içimdedir.”, “Bardak benim içimdedir.” Tabii ki, yabancılar için yanlış açıklama ve ilginç cümleler yaratacaktır. Şimdi hallerle ilgili açıklamalarımı verirken -de durumun da bu fikrimi ispatlayacağım. Ve yeni bir kuralla huzurunuzda bulunacağım. İlk önce yalın hal. Burda o kadar farklılık yok.

### Yalın Hal – Ուղղական հոլով

Türk dillerine de yalın hal “kim?” ve “ne?” sorularına cevap verir ve morfoloji göstericisi eki (-) yok. Yani Ուղղիկ հոլովում tipidir. Ermeni dilinde yalın halin aynısı gibi, “kim (ն<sup>ո</sup>վ)”, “ne (ի<sup>նչ</sup>)” sorularına cevap veriyor ve eksiz hal olsa da, Türk dilinden farklı olarak bazen de belirtilli eki (հոս) ile kullanılıyor. Yalın hali izah ederken en önemli nokta bu. Ne zaman ek kabul ediyor, ne zaman kabul etmiyor. Bunun yabancı öğrencilere sentaksis yolla (cümle dizilimi ile) açıklanması gerekiyor. Yalın halin cümlede ki rolünü kendi dillerine uygun kıyaslayıp kolay öğrensinler. Yalın hal; cümlelerin öznesi, isim cümlesi, isim tamlaması ve hitabı olarak kullanılabilir. Örnekler;

#### 1. Cümlede özne oluyor.

Ալին էրջիես համալսարանի ուսանողն է: Ali, Erciyes üniversitesinin öğrencisidir.

#### 2. Cümlede ismi cümlesi oluyor. Adeten hot kabul etmiyor.

Արամը բժիշկ է:	Aram, doktordur.
Սա լավ գիրք է:	Bu iyi kitaptır.
Նա բարի մարդ է:	O, iyi insandır.

Մերվեն իմ քույրն է: Merve, benim kız kardeşimdir.

3. Yalın hal cümlelerin isim niteleyicisi oluyor. Adlık hal ismi nitelerken net olarak hot kabul etmiyor.

Նա քար սիրտ ունի: Onun taş yüreği var.

Աննան ոսկի ձեռքեր ունի: Anna'nın altın elleri var.

4. Yalın hal cümlelerin hitabı oluyor. Yalın hal hitap olurken net olarak hot kabul etmiyor.

Արև՝, դու կյանքի աղբյուր էս: Güneş, sen hayatın kaynağısın.

Ահմետ՝, դու ի՞նչ ես կարդում: Ahmet, sen ne okuyorsun?

5. Yalın hal özne ve isim cümlesi gibi kullanılırken yalın hal belirtili eki (հոտ) kabul edebilir de, etmeyebilir de. Eğer isim belirtisiz nesne gibi kullanılıyorsa ve "kim?" ve "Ne?" sorularına cevap veriyorsa o zaman hot kullanılmıyor. "Kimi?" ve "Neyi?" sorularında ise hot kabul ediyor. Belirtili isimleri talep eden nesne olursa hot kabul ediyor, belirtisiz isimler ise kabul etmiyor.

Գրում եմ նամակ, հոդված, պատմվածք. Mektup, makale, hikaye yazıyorum.

Նկարում եմ մարդ, կին, տղա, զինվոր. İnsan, kadın, erkek çiziyorum.

Սիրում եմ արևը, երկինքը, կյանքը. Güneşi, gökyüzünü, hayatı seviyorum.

6. Yalın hal -անց, -առաջ, -հետո, -դեպի, -մինչև, -նախքան, -իբրև, -որպեսի kelimeler ile birlikte çeşitli zarflar oluyor.

Երկու օր առաջ նա այստեղ էր: İki gün önce o burdaydı.

Երկու օր առաջ նա Մոսկվայում էր: İki önce o Moskova'daydı.

Երկու օր հետո նա այստեղ կլինի: İki gün sonra o burda olur.

Գնում եմ դեպի տուն: Eve doğru gidiyor.

Ուղեկցում է մինչև տուն: Eve kadar uğurluyor.

Նա գնում է իբրև այգի: Sanki o bahçeye gidiyor.

Yalın hal öğretilirken; dikkat etmemiz gereken son bir husus da şudur;

Yalın halde hitapların ve isim tamlamalarının net şekilde, ismi cümlelerinde ise kısmen (հոտ) belirtilik ekini kabul etmemesini öğrencilerin bilmeleri şarttır. Bunu örneklerle gösterdik.



### Մեռական հոլով (արտաքին հոլովումներ)

Önceden de anlattığımız gibi bir yabancı için ermeni dilinde öğrenilmesi en zor hallerinden biri –in halidir. İki iç, altı dış çekimi olmasına rağmen 60’a yakın farklı ve eşit çekimli kuralarla rastlıyoruz ki, yabancı öğrencinin bunların her birinin ezbere bilmesi şart. Ve özelliklerinden biri de odur ki, -in halini öğrenmeden թեկ հոլովում’ları (kelimenin kökünün üzerine değil değiştirilmiş, yani -in hal eki kabul etmiş şeklinin üzerine hal ekinin gelmesi) öğrenmek asla mümkün değil. Çünkü, ileride de göreceğimiz gibi ermeni dilinde ismin diğer halleri de ismin –in hali üzerine herhangi bir eki ilave etmekle oluşur.

Tabi ki, Türk dilindeki gibi ermeni dilinde -in hali kimin? (նւմ) neyin? (ինչի, ինչերի) sorularına cevap vererek sahiplik bildirir. Ermeni dilinde – in halinin çekimi son (վերջավոր, արդարին), iç (անվերջավոր, ներքին) olarak iki kısma ayrılıyor. Son çekimler – ի, -վա, -ան, -ոջ, - ու, -ց ismin sonuna direkt olarak eklenir. İç çekim ise –ա , -ո çekimleridir ki, kelimenin kökünde değişiklik yaparak - in haline dönüştürüyor. -in halinin net olarak հոս- (belirtilik eki) kabul etmediğini bildirip eklerin kullanım izahını verelim.

### -Ի Çekimi

Çağdaş ermeni dilinin isimlerinin büyük bir kısmı -ի çekimi ile –in haline dönüşür. Yalın halin üzerine -ի ünlüsü gelir. Sadece -ի çekiminin bir kaç kuralı var.

1. İsimlerin büyük bir kısmı ve diğer cümlelerin öğeleri (nitk) isim gibi kullanırken -ի çekimini alır.

Քաղաք - քաղաքի	Şehir - Şehrin
Մեղան - սեղանի	Masa - Masanın
Գիրք - գրքի	Kitap - Kitabın
Գրքեր - գրքերի	Kitaplar - Kitapların
Մայրեր - մայրերի	Anneler - Annelerin
Կարմիր - կարմիրի	Kırmızı - Kırmızının
Ուժեղ - ուժեղի	Güçlü - Güçlünün

2. –ու seslisi ile biten tek ve çift heceli kelimelerin tekinin bir kısmında -ու sesi –վ sesine dönüşmesi ve -ի çekimini de kabul etmesi ile -վի çekimi kullanılıyor.

a. Չու - ձվի	Yumurta - Yumurtanın
Բաքու - Բաքվի	Bakü – Bakü’nün
Լեզու - լեզվի	Dil - Dilin

Առու - առվի	Dere - Derenin
Կատու - կատվի	Kedi - Kedinin
Հեռու - հեռվի	Uzak - Uzağın

- b. Yalnız deri kelimesi hem -վի, hem de -ու çekimini alabilir.

Կաշի – կաշվի – կաշու Deri - Derinin

- c. İstisna olarak բու kelimesinde -ու sesi -վ sesine dönüşmüyor.

Բու - բուի Baykuş -Baykuşun

3. Ա ve Ո ünlüleri ile biten kelimeler –in halinini kabul ederken önce kaynaştırıcı -y sesi geliyor.

Երեխայի	Çocuğun
Երեկոյի	Akşamın

4. Bu kelimeler ikili hem -ի, hem -ն çekimini alıyor. Tabi ki, bu kelimelerin ezberde olması şart. Çünkü ermeni dilinde bir kaç kelime sonu –ն çekiminde oluyor.

- a. Լույս – լույսի – լուսն Işık - Işığın  
 Հույս – հույսի – հուսն Ümit - Ümidin  
 Սուգ – սգի – սուգոն Yas - Yasın

- b. Oğlan kelimesi çoğulda iki farklı çekim alıyor. -թ harfi ilave edilir.

Տղա – տղայի	Oğlan – Oğlanın
Տղաներ – տղաների	Oğlanlar - Oğlanların
Տղերք – տղերքի	Oğlanlar - Oğlanların

5. Ermeni dilinin diksiyon (orfepiya) ve imla (orfoqragiya) kurallarına göre -ի ve -ու ses dönüşümü oluyor.

Ուսուցիչ – ուսուցչի	Hoca – Hocanın
Թուփ – թփի	Çalı – Çalının
Ջուր – ջրի	Su – Suyun
Եիս – մսի	Et – Etin

### -ՈՒ ՇԵԿԻՄԻ

Bu çekimde de yeteri kadar kural vardır. Bu kuralların sıralanması öyle olmalıdır ki, öğrenci kolay benimseyip öğrenebilsin. -ՈՒ çekimi iki kısma ayrılır. A kısmında sonu -ի ile biten isimler aittir. B kısmına ise sonu -ի ile bitmeyen isimler aittir.

## **A Grubu**

1. a) Yalın halin tekinde sonu -ի harfi ile biten bütün isimlerde -ի harfi düşer ve ismin -in halinde -նւ ekini alır.

Այգի-այգու	Bahçe - Bahçenin
նզնի-նզնու	Kirpi - Kirpinin
կղզի- կղզու	Ada - Adanın
կաղնի – կաղնու	Çınar - Çınarın
պատանի –պատանու	Genç - Gencin
գյուղագի-գյուղացու	Köylü - Köylünün
թշնամի- թշնամու	Düşman - Düşmanın
ապակի- ապակու	Cam - Camın

- b) İstisna: ձի - ձիւն gibi ek alır. Ermeni dilinin kuralına uygun olarak – ի sesi düşmez.

- c) Lakin çoğul durumunda bu isimler -նւ çekimi yok, -ի çekimine girer.

Այգիների	Bahçelerin
Ոզնիների	Kirpilerin
Պատանիների	Gençlerin
Թշնամիների	Düşmanların

2. A grubunun ikincisi, sonu -ի ile biten şahıs ve özel isimler -նւ ve iki -իի çekimini alıyor.

Ռաֆֆի - Ռաֆֆիի - Ռաֆֆու	Raffi – Raffi’nin
Ասլի - Ասլիի - Ասլու	Aslı – Aslı’nın
Վեդի - Վեդիի - Վեդու	Vedi – Vedi’nin
Կայսերի - Կայսերիի - Կայսերու	Kayseri – Kayseri’nin

## **B Grubu**

1. Yalın halde sonu -ի ile bitmeyen birkaç kelime -նւ çekimini alıyor.

Մարդ – մարդու	İnsan - İnsanın
Տղամարդ – տղամարդու	Erkek - Erkeğin
Անկողին – անկողնու	Yatak - Yatağın
Ամուսին – ամուսնու	Eş - Eşin

2. -ելու, -ալու sonluklu isim ve sıfatlar da -նւ ve iki -իի çekimini alıyor.

Բանալի - բանալիի - բանալու	Anahtar - Anahtarın
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Հայելի - հայելիի - հայելու	Ayna - Aynanın
Հարգելի - հարգելիի - հարգելու	Saygılı - Saygılının
Սիրելի - սիրելիի - սիրելու	Sevimli - Sevimlinin
Նազելի - նազելիի - նազելու	Nazlı - Nazlının

3. Fiiller ise isim gibi çekimlenirken -nı ekini kabul ediyor.

Քնելու	Yatmaya
Վազելու	Koşmaya
Նայելու	Bakmaya

4. Bir kaç kelime hem -nı, hem de farklı (-n,-վի,-վա,-ի ) eşit çekimler alıyor.

Աստված - Աստծո - Աստծու	Allah – Allah'ın
Կաշի - կաշվի - կաշու	Deri - Derinin
Տարի - տարվա - տարու	Yıl - Yılın
Դար - դարի - դարու	Asır - Asrın

5. Son olarak öğrencilerin en çok şaşırdığı makamlara özel olarak dikkat etmek gerekiyor. Biraz önce söylemiştik ki, -in hali diğer halleri etkiliyor. -nı çekiminde bu etki iki halde oluyor.

a) -in halinde -nı çekimini alan isimler ve fiiller –den halinde -ից ekini değil, mutlaka -ուց ekini alırlar.

Մարդուց	İnsandan
Թշնամուց	Düşmandan
Քնելուց	Uyumaktan

b) -in halinde -nı çekimini alan isimler -e halinde de -nı çekimine uygun olarak çekimlenirler.

Որդի - որդու - որդուն	Evlat - Evladın
Կղզի - կղզու - կղզուն	Ada Adanın
Հոգի - հոգու - հոգուն	Ruh – Ruhun

### **-աւ Դış Çekimi ve –ա Իç Çekiminin Bazı Kuralları**

-աւ, -in halinin en zor çekimlerinden biridir. Öyle ekler var ki yalnız bir kelimeye aittir. Veya bir kelime -in halinde iki ve hatta üç ek alabilir. Ermeni dilinin gramerine ait onlarca kitaptan kullanarak yabancılar için bunun kolay ve sistemli öğrenme metodunu oluşturduğumu düşünüyorum. Bu sistematikliğe -աւ Դış çekimi ve -ա Իç çekiminin bazı kurallarını, aynı zamanda eşit çekimleri birleştirdim. Neden? Çünkü onsuz da bu kelimelerin ve kuralların ezberlenmesi şart. Benzer

**Understanding Culture**

çekimlerin farklı tasnifatda öğretilmesi uzun zaman şaşırtıcı bir durum meydana getiriyor. Aynı sistemde verip, hemen de farkını izah etmeyi daha uygun buluyorum. Oluşturduğumuz Sistem çok basittir. Ve hiçbir yerde bu sisteme rastlayamazsınız. Sıra ile kelimeler yazılır ve çekimi gösterilir.

Ermeni dilinin -in halinde çekimi –ւ olan yalnız bir kelime var. O da ‘kız’ kelimesi. Diğer hallerde ise -ւն eki üzerinden çekim alıyor. O yüzden kız kelimesini –ւն çekiminde öğrenilmesini uygun görmüştüm ki, sırayla kelimelerin ezberlenmesi sistemini oluşturdum.

1. Աղջիկ - աղջկա Kız - Kızın (Ermeni dilinde yalnız bir kelimedede sona -ւ eki ilave edilerek oluşur. Bu ne dış-ւն kuralına, ne de iç -ւ kuralına uygun değildir.)

2. Տուն - տան Ev – Evin (Bu iki kelimedede iç -ւ çekimi var. -ն sesi -ւ sesine dönüşür.)

Շուն – շան

Köpek – Köpeğin

3. Ամառ - ամռան - ամառվա Yaz - Yazın (Mevsimler -ւն çekimindedir). Kış ve yaz eşit ek alır. (-ւն , -վա)

Ձմեռ - ձմռան – ձմեռվա Kış - Kışın

ամառ - ամռան - ամառվա Yaz - Yazın

աշուն - աշնան Sonbahar-sonbaharın

գարուն –գարնան ilkbahar –ilkbaharın

4. Eski Ermenicedeki ն ile yazılan tek heceli kelimeler –ւն çekimini alıyor.

Մուկ - մկան fare-farenin

Ձուկ - ձկան balık-balığın

Դուռ - դրան kapı-kapının

Նուռ - նրան nar –narın

Կուռ - կրան kol-kolun (bu kelimenin sert anlamı da var)

Լեռ - լեռան dağ-dağın

Թոռ - թոռան torun –torunun

Ծոռ - ծոռան torunun çocuğu- torunun çocuğu

Գառ - գառան kuzu-kuzunun

Էզ - էզան öküz-öküzün

5. Ermeni dilinin -in halinde hem -ւն hemde -ի ekini alan kelimelerin sistematikliği böyledir.

a. hem –ւն, hem -ի çekimi alan kelimeler

Բեռ - բեռան - բեռի yük -yükün

Բուռ - բռան - բռի avuç-avucun

Ծունկ - ծունկան - ծնկի diz-dizin

Շուրթ - շուրթան - շուրթի dudak-dudağın

Հիմ - հիման – հիմքի temel-temelin

Օռո - ծոռան - ծոռի torunun çocuğu- torunun çocuğunun

Գառ - գառան - գառի kuzu-kuzunun

Էզ - էզան - էզի öküz-öküzün

Մանուկ - մանկան – մանուկի körpe-körpenin

- b. Körpe kelimesi ile yazılış olarak aynı olan Մանուկ erkek ismi yalnız -ի ekini alıyor.

Մանուկ - Մանուկի Manuk- Manuk'un

- c. Yalnız isim ve ölüm kelimesi -in çekiminde -վան (iç -ա çekimi) ve diğer çekim alıyor.

Անուն – անվան - անունի Ad - Adın

Մահ - մահվան - մահի - մահու ölüm-ölümün

(Gördüğünüz gibi ölüm kelimesi ermeni dilinde –in halini anlatmak için üç ek alıyor.)

### İsmin –in Halinde Eklerin -Ան ve -Ա Çekimine Göre Kullanımı

1. Sonu -ում ekli kelimelerin büyük kısmı -ան çekimini alıyor.

Շարժում - շարժման Hareket - Hareketin

Միացում - միացման Birleşme - Birleşmenin

Երդում - երդման Yemin - Yeminin

Զարգացում - զարգացման Gelişme - Gelişmenin

Զեկուցում - զեկուցման Sunum - Sunumun

2. Sonu -ում ile biten az kelimeler ismin- in halinde -ի çekimini alıyor, bazen de eşit çekim alıyor.

Դիմում - դիմումի dilekçe- dilekçenin

խոստում – խոստումի vaat-vaadin

որոշում – որոշումի - որոշման karar -kararın

3. Sonu –ություն ile biten kelimeler ismin –in halinde - ության ekini alıyor. Bu iç -ա çekimindedir. Bu ekin çoğul hali olmuyor ve –de halini kabul etmiyor. Bu konuyla ilgili olarak –de halinde konuşacağız.

Ուրախություն - ուրախության Mutluluk - Mutluluğun

Քաջութիւն - քաջութեան յիշտիկ - յիշտիկի

Լավութիւն - լավութեան իյիկ - իյիկի

Վատութիւն - վատութեան Կօտլիկ - Կօտլիկի

4. a. Sonu -յուն եկի կելիմեր -ին հալինդե -յան շեկիմի ալիւր. Bu շեկիմ de iç - ա շեկիմինդեհ. Aynı zamanda -i շեկիմի de ալիւր.

Ձիւն - ձյան - ձիւնի Kar - Karın

Սիւն - սյան - սիւնի Sütun - Sütunun

Արիւն - արյան - արիւնի Kan - Kanın

Անկիւն - անկյան - անկիւնի Köşe - Köşenin

- b. Bir kaç -յուն եկի կելիմեր -ին հալինդե յալնի -ի շեկիմինդեհ.

Հնչիւն - հնչյունի Ses - Sesin

Դոփիւն - դոփյունի Takırtı - Takırtının

Գոչիւն - գոչյունի Bağır - bağırmanın

Դըրըյիւն - դըրըյիւնի Gürültü - Gürültünün

### **İsmi -in Halinin Dış ve İç Kurallarına Uymayan Çekimleri**

Bu շեկիմեր հիշբիր կալա ալլոն ճեղիմի. Kız կելիմի ile ilgili daha önce bilgi vermiştik. Yalnız bu kelime -ա եկի կալ ալլոն ediliyor ve ne iç, ne de dış շեկիմե ալլոն ճեղիմի.

Աղջիկ - աղջկա Kız - Kızın

1. Bu kelimelerdeki -n շեկիմի ne iç, ne dış kurala ait ճեղիմի.

- a. Լույս - լուս Işık - Işığın ( -ի շեկիմինդե bahsetmiştik.)

Հույս - հուս Ümit - Ümidin

Սուգ - սգın Yas - Yasın

Սեւ - սիր Sevgi - Sevginin

- b. Yalnız bir kelime-վի, -ն եկերի ալլոն.

Պատիվ - պատվի - պատվն Şeref - Şerefın

- c. Yalnız bir kelime -ն, -ն եկերի ալլոն.

Աստված - Աստծո - Աստծո Allah - Allah'ın

2. Bu iki kelimede -ե ses değışmesi olmuştur. Ne dış, ne de iç kurala uygun ճեղիմի.

Կայսր - կայսեր - կայսրի İmparator - İmparatorun

Դուստր - դստեր - դստրի Kız evladı - Kız evladının

3. –ուստ ve -իստ ekli kelimeler ekseri eşit olarak -յան ve -ի çekimlerini alabilir. Yani kendine mahsustur. (ծնունդ kelimesi istisnadır.)

- a. ծնունդ - ծննդյան - ծննդի doğum –doğumunun  
 Գալուստ - գալստյան - գալստի geliş –gelişinin  
 Հանգիստ - հանգստյան - անգստի sakin –sakinliğinin  
 Թաքուստ - թաքստյան - թաքստի gizli –gizliliğinin  
 Կորուստ - կորստյան - կորստի kayıp-kaybının  
 Փախուստ - փախստյան - փախստի kaçış-kaçışın
- b. Գալուստ şahıs ismi ise yalnız –ի çekimini alıyor.  
 Գալուստ - Գալստի Kalust-Kalust’un

1. –ան çekimiyle ilgili olarak son hususta –in halinin –ան çekimini alan isimler, bulunma halinde çekimlenmiyor. İsmi –in hali ve մեջ kelimesiyle oluşuyor. Örneğin; Քաջության մեջ, ուրախության մեջ: Bu konuyu bulunma halinde daha geniş konuşacağız.

2. –ան ekinin çoğulu –ի çekimini alıyor.

- |                       |                                |
|-----------------------|--------------------------------|
| Թոռ - թոռան - թոռների | Torun – Torununun - Torunların |
| Լեռ - լեռան - լեռների | Dağ – Dağın - Dağların         |

### -ՎԱ շփում

-Վա շփում zaman belirten çekimdir. İsmi –in halinde zaman anlayışını –վա շփումla oluşturuluyor.

- |                   |                   |
|-------------------|-------------------|
| 1. Օր - օրվա      | Gün - Günün       |
| Ժամ - ժամվա       | Saat – Saatin     |
| Գիշեր - Գիշերվա   | Gece - Gecenin    |
| Կեսօր - կեսօրվա   | Öğlen - Öğlenin   |
| Ամիս - ամսվա      | Ay - Ayın         |
| Տարի - տարվա      | Yıl - Yılın       |
| Այսօր - այսօրվա   | Bugün - Bugünün   |
| Վաղը - վաղվա      | Yarın - Yarının   |
| Յերեկ - յերեկվա   | Gündüz - Gündüzün |
| Առավոտ - առավոտվա | Sabah - Sabahın   |
| Չափաթ - չափաթվա   | Hafta - Haftanın  |
| Երեկ - երեկվա     | Dün - Dünün       |

2. Zaman bildiren bu kelimeler hem –վա, hem de –ի շփումla alıyor.



Օր - օրվա - օրի	Gün – Günün
Ժամ - ժամվա - ժամի	Saat - Saatin
Գիշեր - Գիշերվա - Գիշերի	Gece - Gecenin
Կեսօր - կեսօրվա - կեսօրի	Öğlen - Öğlenin
Ամիս - ամսվա - ամսի	Ay - Ayın
Ժամանակ - ժամանակվա - ժամանակի	Zaman - Zamanın
Գարունք - գարունքի	İlkbahar - İlkbaharın (Bu iki söz eski Ermenicede kullanılmıştır.)
Աշունք - աշունքի	Sonbahar - Sonbaharın

3. Zaman anlatan yıl ve asır kelimeleri tam farklıdır. Biri –վա, -ու , diğeri ise – ի, –ու çekimindedir. Tabii ki ezberlemek şart.

Տարի - տարվա - տարու	Yıl - Yılın
Դար - դարի - դարու	Asır - Asrın

4. Zaman anlatan aşağıdaki kelimeler ise yalnız –ի çekimini alıyor.

Բալե-րոպեի	Dakika - Dakikanın
Վայրկան-վայրկանի	Saniye - Saniyenin

5. Aylar -ի çekiminde -in halini oluşturur.

Հունվար - հունվարի	Ocak - Ocağın
Փետրվար - փետրվարի	Şubat - Şubatin
Մարտ - մարտի	Mart - Martın
Ապրիլ - ապրիլի	Nisan - Nisanın
Մայիս - մայիսի	Mayıs - Mayısın
Հունիս - հունսի	Haziran - Haziranın
Հուլիս - հուլսի	Temmuz - Temmuzun
Օգոստոս - օգոստոսի	Ağustos - Ağustosun
Սեպտեմբեր - սեպտեմբերի	Eylül - Eylülün
Հոկտեմբեր - հոտեմբերի	Ekim - Ekimin
Նոյեմբեր - նովեմբերի	Kasım - Kasımın
Դեկտեմբեր - դեկտեմբերի	Aralık - Aralığın

6. -վա çekiminin diğer hallere etkisine dikkat etmek gerekiyor. Ermeni diline has թեք հոլովում ( ekin üzerine ek ilave edilmesi) çekimine aittir. -den ve -e hali -վա ekinin üzerine eklenerek kullanılıyor.

- a. -den hali; -վա ile çekilen isimlerin -den halinde iki şekli var. Bir direk isme, diğeri ise -վա çekimine eklenir. -den halinde -ից ekiden önce -ն eklenerek – նից şeklini alıyor. Örneklere bakalım.

Օր - օրից - օրվանից	Gün – Günden
Ամիս - ամսից - ամսվանից	Ay -Aydan
Ամառ - Ամառվա - ամառվանից	Yaz -Yazdan
Տարի - Տարվա - Տարվանից	Yıl – Yıldan

- b. -e haline dikkat edelim. Bu da –վա eki üzerine eklenerek oluşur.

Օր - օրվա - օրվան	Gün- günün - güne
Ամիս - ամսվա - ամսվան	Ay –ayın -aya

7. –վա çekimine giren isimler -in halinin çoğulunda kelimenin köküne çoğul ek ilave ederek oluşur.

Օր - օրերի	Gün - Günlerin
Ամիս - ամսերի	Ay – Ayların
Ժամ - Ժամերի	Saat - Saatlerin
Գիշեր - Գիշերների	Gece - Gecelerin
Առավոտ - առավոտների	Sabah - Sabahların

Son olarak gördüğümüz gibi -in halinin sadece -վա çekiminin 10 kuralı var.

### Ոչ Հոլովում- Çekimi

Ermeni dilinde basit çekimlerden biridir. Akrabalık anlamında kullanılıyor. -in halinin oluşturmak için yalın halin üzerine geliyor. Burda da farklılıklar var. Bunları sıralayalım.

1. -ոչ çekimine gelen akrabalık anlayışlı kelimeler

Քույր-քրոջ	kız kardeş- kız kardeşin
Ընկեր - ընկերոջ	Arkadaş - Arkadaşın
Դասընկեր - դասընկերոջ	Sınıf arkadaşı – Sınıf arkadaşının
Տեր-տիրոջ	Sahip - Sahibin
Հողատեր - հողադիրոջ	Toprak sahibi - Toprak sahibinin
Կին - կնոջ	Kadın – Kadının
Տիկին - տկնոջ	Hanım – Hanımın
Աներ - աներոջ	Kayınpeder - Kayın pederin
Սկեսուր - սկեսարոջ - սկեսուրի	Kaynata - Kaynatanın
Տալ - տալոջ	Baldız - Baldızın

2. Sonu bu kelimelerden oluşan birleşik kelimelerde de – ոջ eki alır.  
Մորաքույր- մորաքրոջ Teyze - Teyzenin  
Դասընկեր-դասընքերոջ Sınıf arkadaşı – Sınıf arkadaşının  
Գործարանատեր-գործարանատիրոջ İş sahibi – İş sahibinin
3. Ermeni dilinde akrabalık bildiren iki kelime -ի çekimini alır.  
Տատիկ - տատիկի nine – ninenin  
Պապիկ – պապիկի dede – dedenin
4. Ermeni dilinde akrabalık bildiren bir kelime hem -ու, hemde -ի çekimini alır.  
Քեռի - քեռու - քեռիի dayı – dayının
5. –ոջ çekimi ek üzerine ek ilave edilmesi ile ( թեք հոլովում) de oluşuyor.
  - a. den halinde (ayrılma hali)  
քույր - քրոջ – քրոջից bacı-bacının -bacıdan
  - b. Birliktelik (-la, -le) halde ise eşit çekim alıyor.  
քույր - քույրով - քրոջով bacı – bacıyla
6. կին kelimesinden başka- ոջ çekimini almış kelimeler çoğulda -ի çekimini alıyor.

Կին - կանայք	kadın- kadınların
Քույրերի	kız kardeşlerinin
Պապիկների	dedelerin
Քեռիների	dayıların

### **Յ Հոլովումը**

-Յ çekimi -անք,-ենք, -ունք,-նք ekleri ile oluşmuş toplu anlamı bildiren kelimelere aittir. Bu kelimelerin tekili yoktur. Yalnız topluluk halinde hal eklerini kabul ediyorlar. Kolay çekimdir.

#### **1. Örnekler**

Հակոբենք- Հակոբենց	Hakop'giller – Hakop'gillerin
Պապոնք- Պապոնց	Dedemgiller – Dedemgillerin
Մեծլումանք- Մեծլումանց	Mejlung'iller - Mejlunggillerin
Վարդունք- Վարդունց	Vartink'iller – Vartunts'gillerin
Քեռոնք- քեռոնց	Dayımgiller - Dayımgillerin
Կանայք-կանանց	Kadınlar – Kadınların
Մարդիկ-մարդկանց	İnsanlar – İnsanların

Son olarak bu isimler çekimlenirken belirtililik eki (հոս) kullanılmaz.

### -Ու իջ շեքիմի

Ermeni dilinde 3 kelime ve o kelimelerden meydana gelen birkaç birleşik kelime – n iç çekimini alıyor. Bu kelimelerde -այ diftonku düşüyor. Bu çekime mutluluk çekimi de diyebiliriz çünkü öğrenmesi kolay.

Հայր - հոր	Baba – Babanın
Մայր - մոր	Anne – Annenin
Եղբայր - եղբոր	Erkek kardeş - Erkek kardeşin
Հորեղբայր - հորեղբոր	Amca – Amcanın
Մորեղբայր - մորեղբոր	Dayı - Dayının
Նախահայր - Նախահոր	Büyük dede – Büyük dedenin
Նախամայր - Նախամոր	Büyük anne - Büyük annenin

### -Ա հոլովում

Bu çekimi –ան çekimini anlatırken yabancılar için kolay olsun diye sistematikleştirmiştim. Tekraren de öğrencilere kısaca anlatmak olur.

1. Bu iki kelime iç -ա çekimi alıyor. –ու sesi –ա sesine dönüşüyor.

Տուն - տան	ev - evin
Ծուն - շան	köpek –köpeğin

2. -ություն eki iç -ա çekimine girerek - ության ekine dönüşüyor. -de halini kabul etmiyor.

Գիտություն - գիտության	Bilim - Bilimin
Քաջություն - քաջության	Yiğitlik - Yiğitliğin

3. -յուն eki iç -ա çekimi alarak -յան ekine dönüşüyor. (Biraz kelimedede ise –յունի ekine dönüşüyor. –ի çekiminde bahsetmiştik. Հնչյուն - հնչյունի, դոփյուն - դոփյունի ,գոյուն - գոյունի, խոխտյուն - խոխտյունի, դրդյուն - դրդյունի)

Զյուն – ձյան	Kar - Karın
Սյուն – սյան	Sütun - Sütunun
Արյուն – արյան	Kan - Kanın

Անկյուն –անկյան (Bu kelimelerin -ի çekimini almasını da anlatmıştık.)  
Zannımca bu çekimin -an halinde anlatılması en doğru yol.

### -e Hali –Դրական հոլով

Türk dilindeki gibi ermeni dilinde de -e durumuna yönelik anlatıyor ve (ն<sup>1</sup>մ<sup>2</sup>)-kime? (իսկի<sup>3</sup> (ն)) -neye? sorularını cevaplandırır. -in halini kavramış öğrenci için -e halini öğrenmek çok kolay. Ermeni dilinde - e hali esasen - in halinin üzerine (հոս) belirlilik eki gelmekle oluşturuluyor. (İleri de -in hali üzerinden oluşan hallere yine rastlayacağız. Bu yüzden -in halini ermeni dilinin hal kategorisinin alt başlığı olarak söylemek olur.) -e hali, eşya ve isimle alakalı olan- in halinden farklı olarak hareketin yönüne aittir ve çoğunlukla fiille bağlıdır. Bazen de -e hali -i hali ile aynı eki kabul ettiğinden birleştirilerek anlatıyor. Bu tamamen yanlıştır. -i halinde bu konuyla ilgili olarak bahsedeceğiz. Şimdi ise -e halinin anlatılmasının -in hali üzerinden oluşmasına örneklerle bakalım.

1. -in halinin - ի çekimi üzerinden- e halinin oluşturulması.

Քաղաք - քաղաքի - քաղաքին	Şehir – Şehrin - Şehre
Սեղան - սեղանի - սեղանին	Masa – Masanın - Masaya
Բանվոր - բանվորի - բանվորին	İşçi - İşçinin - İşçiye
Կարմիր - կարմիրի - կարմիրին	Kırmızı – Kırmızının - Kırmızıya
Ուժեղ - ուժեղի - ուժեղին	Güçlü – Güçlünün - Güçlüye

2. -in halinin – ու çekimi üzerinden- e halinin oluşturulması.

Այգի - այգու - այգուն	Bahçe – Bahçenin - Bahçeye
Գինի - գինու - գինուն	Şarap – Şarabın - Şaraba
Կղզի - Կղզու - Կղզուն	Ada – Adanın - Adaya
Մատանի - մատանու - մատանուն	Yüzük – Yüzüğün - Yüzüğe
Թշնամի - թշնամու - թշնամուն	Düşman – Düşmanın - Düşmana
Ձի - ձիու - ձիուն	At – Atın - Ata
Մարդ - մարդու - մարդուն	İnsan – İnsanın - İnsana
Ամուսին - ամուսնու - ամուսնուն	Eş – Eşin - Eşe

3. -e halinin- in halinin – ա ve –ան çekimleri üzerinden oluşturulması.

a. Աղջիկ - աղջիկա - աղջիկան	Kız – Kızın - Kıza
Մանուկ - մանկան - մանկանը	Körpe – Körpenin - Körpeye

Տուն - տան - տանը	Ev – Evin - Eve
Շուն - շան - շանը	Köpek – Köpeğin - Köpeğe

- b. Eski ermenicedeki kelimelerin -in hali ve -e hali çekimleri de aşağıdaki gibidir.

Դուռ - դռան - դռանը	Kapı – Kapının - Kapiya
Էզ - էզան - էզանը	Öküz – Öküzün - Öküze
Թոռ - թոռան - թոռանը	Torun – Torunun - Toruna
Մուկ - մկան - մկանը	Fare – Farenin - Fareye
Ձուկ - ձկան - ձկանը vs.	Balık – Balığın - Balığa

- c. Mevsimlerin -e hali.

Ձմեռ - ձմռան - ձմռանը	Kış – Kışın - Kışa
Ամառ - ամռան - ամռանը	Yaz – Yazın - Yaza
Աշուն - աշնան - աշնանը	Sonbahar – Sonbaharın - Sonbahara
Գարուն - գարնան - գարնանը	İlkbahar – İlkbaharın - İlkbahara

- d. – ում ekli kelimelerin - in halinin dış –ան çekimi üzerinden oluşturulması.

Որոշում - որոշման - որոշմանը	Karar – Kararın - Karara
Փակում - փակման - փակմանը	Kapatma – Kapatmanın - Kapatmaya
Հանդիպում - հանդիպման - հանդիպմանը	Toplantı – Toplantının - Toplantıya
Քննարկում - քննարկման - քննարկմանը	Münakaşa – Münakaşanın - Münakaşaya

4. -Ություն ekli kelimelerin iç –ա çekimi üzerinden oluşması;

Միություն - միության - միությանն	Birlik – Birliğin - Birliğe
Ուրախություն - ուրախության - ուրախությանն	Mutluluk – Mutluluğun – Mutluluğa

5. -E halinin in halinin – վա çekimi üzerinden oluşması.

Օր - օրվա - օրվան	gün - günün - güne
Գիշեր - գիշերվա - գիշերվան	gece – gecenin – geceye
Ամիս - ամսվա - ամսվան	ay –ayın -aya
Առավոտ - առավոտվա - առավոտվան	sabah - sabahın - sabaha
Շաբաթ - շաբաթվա - շաբաթվան	hafta-haftanın-haftaya
Զադիկ - զատիկվա - զատիկվան	bayram –bayramın -bayrama
Շուտ - շուտվա - շուտվան	evvel – evvelin - evvele
Առաջ - առաջվա - առաջվան	ön- önceki-öncekine

6. -e halinin -in halinin fiil çekimi üzerinden oluşturulması.

Քնել - քնելու - քնելուն	uyumak-uyumanın -uyumaya
Վազել - վազելու - վազելուն	koşmak-koşmanın-koşmaya
Սովորել - սովորելու - սովորելուն	öğrenmek-öğrenmenin-öğrenmeye
Նայել - նայելու - նայելուն	bakmak-bakmanın- bakmaya
մեկնել - մեկնելու - մեկնելուն	gitmek –gitmenin -gitmeye

7. -in halinin – nın çekimi üzerinden -e halinin oluşması.

Քույր - քրոջ - քրոջը                bacı - bacinın - bacıya  
նկեր - ընկերոջ - ընթերցողը      arkadaş – arkadaşın - arkadaşla  
Տեր - տիրոջ - տիրոջը            sahip – sahibin - sahibe  
Տալ - տալոջ - տալոջը             baldız – baldızın - baldıza  
Սկեստւր - սկեսարոջ - սկեսարոջը kaynana - kaynanın - kaynanaya  
Աներ - աներոջ - աներոջը kaynata - kaynatanın - kaynataya  
Մորաքայր - մորաքրոջ - մորաքրոջը teyze – teyzenin - teyzeye  
Հողատեր - հողատիրոջ - հողատիրոջը toprak sahibi - toprak sahibinin  
- toprak sahibine  
Դասընկեր - դասընկերոջ - դասընկերոջը sınıf arkadaşı - sınıf  
arkadaşının – sınıf arkadaşına

8. a. -e halinin –in halinin -g çekimi üzerinden oluşturulması aynıdır.

Պապոնք - պապոնց	dedemler - dedemlere
Քեռոնք - քեռոնց	dayımlar - dayımlara
Ասլուենք - Ասլուենց	Aslı'lar – Aslı'lara
Արմենենք - Արմենենց	Armen'ler – Armen' lere
Ձերոնք - ձերոնց	sizinkiler - sizinkilere

- b. կանայք – կանանց                      kadınlar -kadınlara  
մարդիկ-մարդկանց                      insanlar -insanlara

9. -e halinde şahıs zamirlerinin kullanımı.

Իմ - ինձ - մեզ	benim – bana - bize
Քն - քեզ - ձեզ	senin – sana - size
Նրա - նրան - նրանց	onun – ona - onlara
Իր - Իրեն - իրենց	kendi - kendisine - kendilerine

10. -e halinin işaret zamirleri üzerinden kullanımı.

Մա - սրա - սրան - սրանց **բ**ս - bunun - buna - bunlara  
Դա - դրա - դրան - դրանց **ջ**ս - şunun - şuna - şunlara  
Նա - նրա - նրան - նրանց **օ** - onun - ona - onlara

11. Cümlelerde –e halinin kullanım farklılıklarının öğrencilere anlatılması şart.

Դասախոսը զիրքը տվեց ուսանողին: Hoca kitabı öğrenciye verdi.

Նրանք պռոկած էին գետի ափին: Onlar nehrin kıyısına uzanmışlardı.

Նա չի նայում գրատախտակին: O yazı tahtasına bakmıyor.

12. Öğrencilerin en çok zorlandığı konulardan biri de –e halinin eksiz kullanımıdır. Hangi kurala tabiidir? Hiç bir gramer kitabında bulamadım. Bu en çok özel yer isimlerinin yönünü anlatan cümle şekillerine rastlanıyor. Zannımca bu ermeni diline özel düşünce ifadesidir. Ve bu özel olarak cümleler üzerinden anlatılmalıdır.

Գարնանը գնալու ենք Մոսկովա: - İlkbaharda Moskova'ya gideceğiz.

Նա գնում է Անկարա: - O Ankara'ya gidiyor.

Մենք մեկնում ենք Ատրբեջան: - Biz Azerbaycan'a sefer ediyoruz.

Գալիս ես համալսարան: - Üniversiteye geliyor musun?

Նա վաղը գալու է Կայսերի: - O yarın Kayseri'ye gelecektir.

### -Ի -İ Hali

Ermeni dilinde -i halinin özel eki yoktur. Ermeni dilinin eşyalara ait -i halinin eksiz kullanımı yalın hale, şahıslara ait ekli kullanımı ise tamamen -e haline benziyor. Tabi ki, yabancı öğrenciler -i halini –e halinden ve yalın halden ayırmakta zorlanıyorlar. –İ halini yalın halden ayırmak için Türk dilinin gramerini hatırlayalım. Türk dillerinde de -i hali eylemin etki alanını bildiriyor. Ekleri -ı,-i,-u,-ü'dür. İki çeşidi var. Belirtili nesneyi bildiren -i hali kimi? neyi? bazen de nereyi? sorularını cevaplandırıyor. Tuğba, Okan'ı çağır. ( kimi?) Belirtisiz nesneyi bildiren - i hali ise eksiz kullanır ve ne? sorusunu cevaplandırıyor. Görüntüde yalın hale benziyor.

Kız kitap ( ne?) okuyor. Kitap kelimesini cümlede özneye nesnenin yerini değiştirmekle de biz onun –i halinde olduğunu ispatlayabiliriz. Kitabı kız okuyor. (Neyi?) Kitabı. Bu yüzden ermeni dilinde –i hali ile ne? sorusuna cevap veren yalın halin farkını düşünce ifadesine, aynı zamanda cümledeki rolüne göre, cümle diziminde hemen aydınlayabiliriz. Örneklere bakalım.

1. Նա բժիշկ կանչեց: - O doktor çağırdı. Kimi? Doktoru.

2. Նա կանչեց բժշկին: O doktoru çağırdı. Kimi? Doktoru.

Birinci cümle բժիշկ (doktor) kelimesi eksiz kullanarak yalın hale görüntüde benzese de kimi? sorusuna cevap verdiği ve cümlelerin nesnesi olduğundan yalın hal değil -i halidir. Demek –i hali ile yalın halin ayırmakta düşünce ifadesi ve cümle diziminde rolüne dikkat etmeliyiz. Şimdi iki cümleyi kıyaslayalım. Ve ermenicede – e hali ile şahıslara ait –i halinin farkına dikkat edelim.



**Understanding Culture**

1. Նա կանչեց բժշկին: - O doktoru çağırdı. Kimi? Doktoru.  
 2. Նա մոտեցավ բժիշկին: O doktora yaklaştı. Kime? Doktora.

Türkçe’de doktora ve doktoru kelimelerinin hemen –e ve-i halinde olması eklerinden (-u, -i) aydın oluyor. Ama ermenicede her iki halde bir ek-ին kullanılıyor. Ermeni dilinde yalnız şahıslar –i halinde -e hali ile aynı –ին ekini kabul ediyor. Ve doğru da olarak ermeni gramer kitaplarında bunların birbirinden ayırmanın yollarından bahsedilmemiştir. Bir ermeni hiçbir zaman “ Doktora görüyorum.” veya “ Doktoru gidiyorum.” gibi ifadeler kullanamaz. Dil kendi kendine otomatik-düşünce ifadesine göre doğru olanı doğruluyor. Ama ermeni dilini mükemmel bilmeyen bir yabancıнын otomatik doğrulama şansı yok. Bunun için öğrencinin iki kuralı bilmesi şart.

1. Aynı eki kabul eden –e ve –i halini birbirinden ayırmak için cümle dizimine göre soru sorup bulmak.
2. Türk dilinde de –i halinin belirtilli fillerle kullanıldığını bildiğimizden fiile istinad edip düşünce ifadesinden yardım alabiliriz.

Son bir netice gerekirse cümle dizimine göre ismin yalın halinin özne, -e halinin zarf, -i halinin ise belirtili-belirtsiz nesne olduğunu net şekilde bilmemiz ermeni dilinde de rastladığımız soruların doğru çözümünü bulmaya yardım edecektir.

**-Den Durumu -Ից**

Ermeni dilinde de -den hai hareketin veya faaliyetin başlanıgıç yönünü belirtir.

Kimden? Neyden sorularını cevaplandır. Ermeni dilinin gramer dersinde yazılmış “Բացառական հոլովը կազմվում է -ից կամ -ուց վերջավորությամբ:” -Den hali ya -ից ya da -ուց ekini alıyor. Öğrencilerin karşılaştığı bir sorun da bu. Gördüğünüz gibi ermeni dilinin 7. sınıf gramer kitabında da açıklama yok. Ve bu doğal. Çünkü bu kitap ermeniler için yazılmış ve dil kendi kendine nerde -ից, nerde -ուց olduğunu otomatik otomatik doğruluyor. Ama bir Türk öğrencisi bunu nasıl bilebilir? Anlayabilir? Hatırlıyorsanız -in halinin -ու çekimininde bir kuraldan bahsetmiştim. Kuralı hatırlayalım ve ilavemizi yapalım.

1. Yalın halin tekinde sonu -ի harfi ile biten bütün isimlerde -ի harfi düşer ve ismin –in halinde -ու ekini alır. Kurala ilavemiz; bu zaman -den halinde -ից değil –ուց çekimine girer.

Այգի - այգու - այգուց	bahçe – bahçenin - bahçeden
Ոգնի - ոգնու - ոգնուց	kirpi – kirpinin - kirpiden

Ձի - ձիու - ձիուց

at - atın – attan ( at kelimesinin istisna olduğunu artık biliyorsunuz.)

2. Şimdi bahsettiğimiz kural ermeni dilinin çoğullarında geçerli değildir. Çoğul çekiminde –ուց değil, -ից kabul ediyor.

Այգիներից

Bahçelerden

Ոգնիներից

Kirpilerden

Ձիերից

Atlardan

3. Ermeni dilinde fiil çekimleri –ուց ekini kabul ediyor.

Քնել - Քնելու - Քնելուց Uyumak – Uyumaya - Uyumaktan

Ասել - ասելու ասելուց Söylemek – Söylemeye - Söylemekten

4. Sevgi ve Allah kelimeleri de –ուց çekimini alıyor.

Մեր- սերուց

sevgi-sevgiden

Աստված-Աստուց

Allah –Allah’tan

5. –ոջ, -ց ve -ն çekimleri -den halinin -in hali üzerinden oluşturuluyor.

6. Քույր - քրոջ - քրոջից Kız Kardeş – Kız kardeşin – Kız kardeşten

Ընկեր - ընկերոջ - ընկերոջից Arkadaş – Arkadaşın - Arkadaştan

Մայր – մոր - մորից Anne – Annenin – Anneden

Եղբայր - եղբոր - եղբորից Erkek kardeş -Erkek kardeşin – Erkek kardeşten

Գրիգորենց - Գրիգորենցից Grigor’ların – Grigor’lardan

Ասլիենց - Ասլիենցից Aslı’ların – Aslı’lardan

7. Ermeni dilinde -den hali- վա zaman çekiminde yalın hal ve -in hali üzerinden oluşuyor.

Օրից

Günden

Օրվանից

Günden

Ամսից

Aydan

Ամսվանից

Aydan

8. Mevsimler yalnız -in hali üzerinden oluşuyor.

Ամռան –ամռանից

Yazın - Yazdan

Ամառվա-ամառվանից

Yazın - Yazdan

Ձմռան –ձմռանից

Kışın - Kıştan

Ձմեռվա-ձմեռվանից

Kışın - Kıştan

Գարնան-գարնանից

İlkbaharın - İlkbahardan

Աշնան-աշնանից

Sonbahar - Sonbahardan

**Understanding Culture**

9. Ermeni dilinde 1. ve 2. şahıs zamirleri tekil ve çoğulda -den halini –e hali (yönelme) üzerinden oluşturuyor. Bu oluşum da iki şekilde oluyor. -Den haline has –û ve –աւն eklerinin de ilavesiyle oluşuyor. Örneklere bakalım.

Ինձ - ինձնից	bana –benden
Ինձ - ինձանից	bana -benden
Քեզ - քեզնից	sana -senden
Քեզ - քեզանից	sana -senden
Մեզ - մեզնից	bize-bizden
Մեզ - Մեզանից	bize -bizden
Ձեզ - ձեզնից	size-sizden
Ձեզ - ձեզանից	size –sizden

10. Bu kural 3. şahıs zamirlerinde geçerli değildir. 3. şahıs zamirleri yalnız -ից ekini kabul ediyor.

Նրան – նրանից	ona-ondan
Նրանց - նրանցից	onlara-onlardan

11. Մա, դա, նա işaret zamirleri de yalnız -ից ekini kabul ediyor.

Մրան - սրանից	Bunun - Bundan
Դրան - դրանից	Şunun - Şundan
Նրան - նրանից	Onun - Ondan

12. Soru zamirleri olan kim ve ne zaman kelimeleride -den halinde farklı oluşuma sahiptir.

Ո՞վ - ումի՞ց	Kim? – Kimden?
Ե՞րբ - երբվանի՞ց	Ne zaman? – Ne zamandan?
Ոմա՞նք - ոմանցի՞ց	Bazıları - Bazılardan

13. -in halinde istisna olan kız kelimesi -den halinde -in halinin üzerine biraz önce de bahsettiğimiz gibi -ն ilavesi ile oluşur.

Աղջիկ - աղջիկա - աղջիկանից	kız - kızın - kızdan
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14. Kapı kelimeside de kurala göre –նl ünlü düşümü ile oluyor ve kız kelimesi gibi -ն eki üzerinden oluşuyor.

Դուռ - դռան - դռնից	kapı - kapının - kapıya
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15. Kalan diğer hallerde yalnız -ից ekini alıyor.

16. -Den hali hot kabul etmiyor.

17. -Den durumunun cümlede dolaylı tümleş, yer, zaman ve sebep-sonuç niteleyicisi ( yer, zaman ve sebep zarfları) oluyor.

Neticede de görüldüğü gibi ermeniler için yazılmış ermeni dilinin 7. sınıf gramer kitabına dayanarak “Բացառական հոլովը կազմվում է –ից կամ –ուց վերջավորությամբ:” ( -den hali, -ից ve -ուց ekini kabul ediyor.) gibi açıklaması ile -den halini anlatmak mümkün değildir.

**-ՈՎ -ile Durumu veya Birliktelik Hali (Eski Türkçe’de bu hal kullanılmış.  
Ezizhan.)**

İşin ne vasıtası ile yapıldığını anlatan -ile hali, kim ile?( Ումնով ) Ne ile-neyle (ինչնով), որտեղնով, երբ, որքա՞ն ժամանակնով, sorularını cevaplandırıyor. -ile hali ismin yalın haline -ով ekini ekleyerek oluşturuluyor. Bazı durumlarda ise ismin -in halinin üzerine -բ eki getirilerek oluşturuluyor. İsmi -in halinde olan kelimelere -բ ekini eklerken kelimenin ekindeki -ն sesi -ւ sesine dönüşüyor.

1. Ekseren -ով eki ile oluşuyor.

Ձի - ձիով	At – At ile (atla)
Էլնձոր - խնձորով	Elma – Elma ile (elmayla)
Վազք - Վազքով	Hız Hız ile (hızla)
Վոտք - Վոտքով	Ayak – Ayak ile (ayakla)
Փողոց - Փողոցով	Sokak – Sokak ile (sokakla)
Գիշեր - գիշերով	Gece – Gece ile (geceyle)

2. -ությո՜ւն ekli bütün kelimeler -բ eki ile birliktelik halini oluşturuyor. Ve biraz önce bahsettığımız -ն sesi -ւ sesine dönüşmesiyle oluyor.

Ուրախության - ուրախությամբ Mutluluk - Mutluluğuyla  
 Լայնության – լայնությամբ Genişlik - Genişliğiyle  
 Քաջության – քաջությամբ Yiğitlik - Yiğitliğiyle  
 Շարժում – շարժմամբ - շարժումով Hareket - Hareketiyle

3. -ում ve eee ekleri kelimeler hem -բ, aynı zamanda -ով ekleri ile birliktelik halini -in hali üzerinden eşit olarak oluşturuluyor. -m, -n sesinin -m sesine dönüşmesi burda geçerlidir.

Արում - արյան - արյամբ - արյունով Kan – Kanın - Kanla  
 Լուծում - լուծման - լուծմամբ - լուծումով Çözüm – Çözümün - Çözümle

4. -ile hali belirlilik eki kabul etmiyor.

5. Նշանակել, համարել, ընտրել, լինել, դեկավարել (təyin etmək, hesaplamaq, seçmək, olmaq, yönətmək) gibi kelimeler -ile halinde kullanılmaz.

### **- Ոււմ -de Hali (Bulunma Hali)**

Belirtmek isterim ki, incelediğim Azerbaycan, Türk ve Rus kaynaklarının hiçbirinde ermeni dilindeki bulunma halinin tam anlamıyla açıklamasına rastlamadım. Ne Ermenice “ Ana dili 3.sınıf “(Հայոց լեզու 3.) ders kitabında, ne 7. Sınıf öğretmen kitapları’nda (Հայոց լեզու:Ուսուցիչի ձեռնակ 7.) 7. sınıf eğitim kitaplarında “9 sınıflar için öğretmen kitapları”nda (Հայոց լեզու:Ուսուցիչի ձեռնակ 9), Türkçe’ye çevirilmiş Tatev öğretim kurumunun baskısı olan “ Ana dili”( Տարբել գիտակրթակ համալիր: Հայոց լեզու) dersliğinde, ne Doç. Dr. Birsen Karaca’nın 2007 yılında, “KURMAY” yayınevinde basılmış “Ermenice öğreniyorum” (Սովորում եմ հայերեն) kitabında, ne Bayram Abdullayev’in yazarı olduğu , 2006 yılında basılmış “Ermeni dili” ders kitabında, L. Maksudyan ve M. Kirakosyan’a mahsus “Samouçitel armyanskoqo yazıka” kitabında 5, 6, 8, 9 ve 10. bölümlerde, Hatem Cabbarlı’nın 2015 yılında basılan “Ermeni dili” kitabında da durumu ile ilgili esaslı bir bilgiye rastlamadım. Genel olarak geniş anlamda A.S. Garibyan ve C.A. Garibyan’ın 1965 yılında “Lyus” yayın evinde basılmış olan “kratkiy kurs armyanskiy yazık” kitabına oranla daha geniş bilgi veriliyor. Okuyoruz: “В местном падеже существительные получают окончание ոււմ. Эта форма заменяется частно формой родительного падежа с послесловом մէջ (соответствует русскому предлогу "в" с предложным падежом); например : դաշտոււմ (в поле) можно заменить формой դաշտի մէջ (в поле)

В местном падеже окончание ոււմ получает некоторая часть существительных (а также часть местоимений), обозначающих неодушевленные предметы, которые обладают ёмкостью или пространственностью. Например : в комнате սենյակոււմ, в посуде ամանոււմ, в стакане բաժակոււմ. В остальных случаях данная падежная форма заменяется формой родительного падежа с послесловом մէջ. Например :Մարդու մէջ в человеке.”

Çevirisi: “İsimler iyelik halinde –ում ekini alıyor fakat çoğu zaman ismin iyelik hali ile birlikte մէջ (içinde ) eki yardımıyla bulunma hali olarak ortaya çıkıyor. Örneğin; դաշտոււմ- tarlada, kelimesi դաշտի մէջ- tarlada (tarlanın içinde) kelimesinin eş anlamlısı konumundadır. “Sözü edilen örnek hiç şüphesiz doğru bir açıklamadır. Öyleki, tarlada və tarlanın içinde ifadeleri aynı anlamı veriyor ve sonuç olarak hiç bir anlam bozukluğu ve komik ifade oluşturmuyor.

Kitapta ki bulunma hal ile ilgili olan ikinci ve son noktaya dikkat edelim. “Kapasitesi ve hacmi olan (maddi) cansız isimlerin bazı kısmı bulunma halin -ում ekini (aynı zamanda zamirlerin bir kısmı) alıyor. Örneğin; v komnate- odada , v posude- tabakta. Diğer durumlarda ise mevcut formun ismin iyelik haline -մէջ ilave ederek oluşuyor. Örneğin: մարդու մէջ - insanın içinde.”

Ama, bu kitapta da hangi isimlerin tam olarak ismin bulunma halini kabul etmemesi və şahısların bulunma hal durumunu hangi vasıtalarla ifade etmesi kurallarından bahsedilmemiştir.

İnternette ermeni dili ile izlediğim videoları da böyle anlatacağım, bana mahsus kurala rastlamadım.

Bu sebeplerden dolayı ermeni dilinde olan bulunma halinin eğitim sürecinde doğru şekilde kavranılıp ve kullanılabilmesi için sistematik açıklamaya gerek duyuluyor.

1. Ermeni dilinde bulunma hal eki – ու մ’dur.

Örnek: Բաժակում- bardakta, սենյակում –odada, aynı zamanda մէջ (içinde) yardımıyla da ifade edebiliyoruz. Բաժակի մէջ- bardağın içinde, սենյակի մէջ- odanın içinde.

2. Ermeni dilinde tüm isimler bulunma hal ekini (ում) almıyor. Ermeni dilinde şahıs ve hayvanların özel isimleri, -ություն ekinin büyük kısmı, -յուն, -ում, -էնի ile biten kelimeler bulunma hal ekini (ում) almıyor.

“Ermeni dili” ders kitaplarında özenmeden (kör körene) çevirilmiş “Bütün diğer durumlarda bulunma hal “içinde” kelimesi ile birlikte kullanılır” ifadesi tamamıyla yanlıştır ve bu noktaya dikkat edilmelidir. “içinde” kelimesinin kullanılma durumları ve sınırları incelenmeli bu kelime ile bulunma hali ifade etmenin dilbilgisi kuralına uygun olmadığı durumlarda diğer yöntemler aşağıda bulunan kurala uygun yapılmalıdır.

- a. Ermeni dilinde ismin bulunma halini ifade etmek için “içinde” kelimesi yalnız mecaz anlamında sadece şahıslara ve hayvanlara ait ediliyor. Tuğba’nın içinde sevgi var. Թութայի մէջ սէր կա: Bayramın içinde inanç var. Բայրամի մէջ հավատ կա: Fakat, Tuğba’nın içinde kedi var (Թութայի մէջ կատու կա:) söyleyemeyiz ama Առյուծի մէջ կրակ կա: (Aslanın içinde ateş var.) cümlesi anlam ve dilbilgisi (gramer) olarak doğru bir cümledir. Öğrenci sözü edilen kelimenin madden ve mecaz olarak kullanımını öğrenmelidir.

- b. Ermeni dilinde şahıs anlamını bulunma halinde verebilmek için kişi zamirlerinden yardım alınabilir. Ինձնում- ինձանում-իմ մեջ( ben de, benim içimde), քեզնում-քո մեջ( sende, senin içinde), նրանում-նրա մեջ( onda, onun içinde), մեզնում-մեզանում- մեր մեջ( bizde, bizim içimizde), ձեզնում- ձեզանում- ձեր մեջ( sizde, sizin içinizde), նրանցում( onlarda), իրենում –իր մեջ( kendine, kendi içinde), իրենց մեջ ( kendi içlerinde). Örneğin; Իմ մեջ կատու կա:( benim içimde kedi var) değilse, Կատուն ինձնում է: (kedi bendedir) kişi zamirleri kullanımı daha yerinde olur.
  - c. Araştırmalarım sonucunda elde ettiğim bilgiler doğrultusunda sanırım ki ermeni dilinde mecaz anlam taşımayan, canlılara ait belli fikirlerin bulunma haldeki anlamını “մոտ” (yani) sözcüğü ile ifade etmek daha uygun olur. Örneğin; Բաժակը Բայրամի մոտն է: (Bardak Bayramın yanında. Yani bardak Bayram’da.) Tabii ki bulunma hal ekini tam anlamıyla yansıtmada, bardağın Bayram’ın yanında olduğunu, yani yerini uygun biçimde ifade ediyor. Կատուն Թուրքայի մոտն է: Kedi Tuğba’nın yanında. Yani kedi Tuğba’da. İçinde sözcüğü ile bu tipli cümlelerin kullanımı yanlış, komik ve kabul edilmezdir.
3. Ermeni dilinde –ում bulunma hal ekini almayan ekler vardır.
- a. Ermeni dilinde -ություն ile biten kelimeler bulunma hal ekini almıyor. İyelik hal ve “içinde” sözcüğünün birlikte kullanımıyla oluşuyor. Örneğin: Քաջություն – yiğitlik, քաջության մեջ -yiğitliğinde (yiğitliğin içinde).
  - b. Ermeni dilinde -յուն ekli düzeltme isimleri bulunma hal ekini almıyor, iyelik hal ve “içinde” sözcüğünün birlikte kullanımıyla oluşuyor. Örneğin: Արյուն-kan, արյան մեջ –kanda (kanın içinde) ձյուն- kar, ձյան մեջ- karda, (karın içinde).
  - c. Ermeni dilinde -ում ekli türemiş isimler de iyelik hali ve “içinde” sözcüğünün birlikte kullanılması sonucu oluşuyor. Ջարգացում- gelişim, զարգացման մեջ - gelişimde, զեկուցում-rapor, զեկուցման մեջ-raporunda (raporun içinde)
  - d. Ermeni dilinde -եղենի ekli düzeltme-türemiş isimler iyelik hali ve “işinde” sözcüğünün birlikte kullanılması sonucu bulunma hali oluşuyor. Իսնձրեղենի-elmalık, իսնձրեղենի մեջ –elmalıkta (elmalığın içinde), կանանչեղեն – yeşillik, կանանչեղենի մեջ-yeşillikte (yeşilliğin içinde), քաղցրեղեն –tatlı, քաղցրեղենի մեջ – tatlıda (tatlının içinde)

4. Sözdizimsel açıklamaya başvurarak da ermeni dilinde bulunma halinin kullanılma yöntemleri öğrencilere açıklanmalıdır. Eski türk anıtlarında aynı zamanda modern dilimizde hallerin bir birini temsil etmesi bununla beraber yönelme halin bulunma hal yerine kısmi olsada kullanılması ile karşılaşabiliriz. Bu gibi durumlara “Azerbaycan dilinin tarihi dilbilgisi” kitabından (Kurumuş bir nehrin üzerine köprü yaptırılmıştı.), halk öyküleri ve konuşma dilimizden (Nasreddin hoca günde bir tane hurma yiyor.) gibi örnekleri verebiliriz. Bu çeşit yönelme halin bulunma hal yerine kullanılması ermeni dilinde daha tipiktir. Ve aynı zamanda Türkiye Türkçe’sin de de geniş kullanılıyor. Aşağıdaki cümlelere dikkat edersek yönelme halin bulunma hal ile temsil edildiğini görürüz.

Մեր ծառերը ծաղկում են ապրիլին: Bizim ağaçlar nisana (nisanda) çiçekleniyorlar.

Նա ձմեռվա ցրտին թերթիկ վերարկու է հագնում: O kışın soğuşuna (soğuşunda) hafif palto giyiyor.

Ամառվա շոգին նրանք ամառանոց են գնում: Onlar yazın sıcaklığına (sıcaklığında) yazlığa gidiyorlar.

Տունը գտնվում է գետի ափին: Ev nehrin kıyısına (kıyısında) bulunuyor.

Նա ձեռքը պահում է ճակատին: O elini anlına (anlında) koyuyor.

Ժամանակին մի ծեր նապաստակ կար: Zamanına (zamanında) bir yaşlı tavşan vardı.

Մեր դասերն սկսվում են ժամը իննին: Bizim dersler saat dokuzda başlıyor.

Ես քնում եմ ժամը դասունեկին: Ben saat on birde yatıyorum.

Metodika dünya psikolojisinde analog malik deyil. Herkes kendi anlatım tarzında özgürdür. Anlatımın verimli olması, sistematikliği talep ediyor. Sistematiklik ise anlama demektir. Ermeni dilinde ismin hallerini doğru bilmek cümle dizimindeki yardımcı öge uyumu (idare alakesinin) %100’nü, konuşmanın demek olur ki, %70’ni, imla kurallarının (orfografya) %20- 25’ini doğru öğrenmek demektir. Ve, Türk dünyasındaki gramer uygunluğuna dikkat etsek milletimin karşısında ettiğim hizmetten, bir ilkten dolayı çok mutluyum. Mutluluğumun başka bir sebebi de var. Çocukluğumdan beri hayran olduğum Hindistan’dayım. Sanki bir rüyadayım. Benim çocukluğum Sovyetler dönemine denk geliyor ve ben hint filmleri ile büyümüş bir sovyet insanıyım. “Filler benim arkadaşımdır”, “Cenab 420”, Keşmir’de muhabbet, “Ganga nehrinin suları,” “Zita ve Gita” ve daha onlarca filmin ve kahramanlarının ismini sayabilirim. Tabi ki Hindistan’ın özgürlüğü için savaş açmış Cevahirlel Nehru ve onun kızı, şimdi de karizmatik bir siyasetçi olarak hatırladığım İndra Gandhi’nin vatanını görmek bir mucize. Şu an doğu felsefesine ve



milli geleneklerine sahip çıkan Hindistan'da olmanın mutluluğunu yaşıyorum. Ve... VE GARİP BİR OLAY... Buraya gelmeden önce çok zor bir hastalıkla mücadele ediyordum. Sağlığımdan dolayı mucizeler ülkesi Hindistan'a gelip-gelmek arasında (dileması) kalmıştım. Allah'ın mucizesi denilen birşey var. Yıllardır ben film izlemiyordum. Tesadüfen 4 Lions Film yapımı olan Hint filmi "Bir Garip Aşk" filmini bir serisini komşuda izledim. Ve internetten - TÜRK TV-nin (Kanal 7'nin) yayımladığı serilerini bulup, büyük bir kısmını izledim. O filmde, benim kahramanım olan Kuşi Kumari Gupta'dan (Sanaya Irani) aldığım enerjiden dolayı belki de şu an sizin karşınızdayım. Burdan kahramanım Kuşi Kumari Gupta'ya (Sanaya Irani) kucak dolu sevgilerimi iletirim. Bütün hint halkına sevgilerimi iletirim. Benim bu sempozyuma en son anda ve zor durumlarda katılmama yardımcı olan Doç. Dr. Ali Küçükler'e özel bir teşekkür borcum var. Teşekkür ederim, Ali bey.

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## **Chapter 7:**

### **Social Life and Literature**

## **"A Foreigner" by Andrei Volos: Translation of Historical Fiction**

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### **Abstract**

*Khurramabad* is a novel written by a Russian writer Andrei Volos. It deals with the problem of ethno-national conflict and self identification. It's a story of the mass departure of Russians from the ex-Soviet republic of Tadzhikistan. *Khurramabad* is a fictional city, the city of happiness full of green trees and generous people. It's the name borrowed from the Turkish and Persian fairy tales.

Its protagonist is a man who becomes a stranger in his own country. With the collapse of the USSR, this Russian man living in Tadzhikistan, begins to question the meaning of the word *Motherland*.

This paper deals with the Marathi translation of the story *A Foreigner*, a part of this novel, in a target and culture oriented perspective.

**Keywords:** Ethno-national conflict, Cultural conflict, translation and Culture

### **"A Foreigner" by Andrei Volos: Translation of a Historical Fiction**

The paper attempts to work on the following aspects:

1. The actual problem Andrei Volos deals with in his novel.
2. Understanding the historic-cultural aspect of the Source Text
3. The translation of the story in Marathi culture.

#### **I. The novel *Hurramabad* by Andrei Volos**

Andrei Volos' collection of tales – *Hurramabad* – represents one of the best examples of tragic, analytical prose at the end of the twentieth century. The book falls into the category of historical fiction. Real people, places and events form the backdrop for the fictional protagonists. Hurramabad is actually Dushanbe, the capital of Tajikistan.

Volos is a Russian writer born in Dushanbe, a city that was called Stalinabad at that time. After studying in Moscow, he came back to Tajikistan and translated Tajik poetry. Hurramabad is the name of the fictional city in Tajikistan where most of the stories take place. Volos' *Hurramabad* is subtitled as A Novel in Facets (roman-punktir). The tales are free standing stories, each with their own plot development. With the poetic, expressive language and sharp psychological insights, wonderful descriptions of nature and national traditions the author continues the tradition of stern realism in Russian literature.

The 20th century was a century of migration for many nations. Entire peoples, entire nations were transplanted. This phenomenon was quite visible especially in the Soviet Union. The Russians came to Tajikistan, located in between Afghanistan and China long back and settled there. Their children made a home there, and when the Soviet Union collapsed their grandchildren had to escape from this land as 'aliens'. The collapse of Soviet power left numerous populations of Russians cut off as foreigners and ethnic outsiders in new countries emerging from the old Union Republics. The Russian diaspora faced a very uncertain future in these new circumstances. They were either perceived with suspicion as bearers of dual nationality, or treated as colonial oppressors and held responsible for cultural genocide committed in past decades. Volos's short stories depict the nostalgia in a Russian community in Tajikistan torn apart after the disintegration and the civil war which followed in the 1990s. As Berliner Zeitung puts it "The focused chaos in *Hurramabad* reveals a quantity of open wounds which will never heal." Andrei Volos' collection of tales – *Hurramabad* – depicts the episodes, when there is anarchy and Russians, in many cases the third generation

inhabitants, are victims of a reaction of 'indigenization'. They are thrown out of work, have to sell up and escape to an alien ancestral homeland.

The author of *Hurramabad*, Andrei Volos, is a person with a profound knowledge of the Muslim world. He is a witness to the atrocities of the Tajik civil war and the massacre of the ethnic Russians there during the tragic 1990s. He has seen the reprehensible influence of neighbouring Afghan war leaders and the huge drug trade taking place there with the implicit sanction of the Russian authorities and military commanders.

Some stories in *Hurramabad* deal with the theme of the exit of Russians from Tajikistan, and some depict their hopeless struggle to remain there. «The Ascent», the first story describes one grand-son and his grand-mother climbing towards the grand-father's tomb. The ascent is steep and at each pause, the grand-mother remembers how they arrived from Russia in the 1930s to be reunited with her husband posted with the Soviet army on the Afghan border along the Amur-Daria River. In «A Local Man», a young Russian scientist is sent on mission to a research institute in Tajikistan. When his colleagues are only dreaming of coming back to Moscow, he starts loving the country, learns the language, marries a Tajik girl and asks to remain in this position. He is mocked by his Tajik colleagues, his transfer is rejected. But he is perfectly happy and doesn't care, remains in Hurramabad, where he will end up slicing vegetables and preparing pies on the market. «The House by the River» tells the story of Yamninov, a Russian who just finished to build with his own hands his dream house by the river. But the house attracts interest and during the civil war, one of the country's new masters, an arrogant warlord, takes him to the notary and forces him to sell his property for a ridiculously low price. Yamninov uses the money to buy a machine-gun and awaits the usurper without fear, ready to die defending his house. «Sammy», tells of an old Russian lady who makes a pet of a grass snake. This is possibly a metaphor for the events. The peaceful world of Tajikistan drifts inevitably into civil war. So the other stories depict the complexities in the process of separation and the panic created among the masses. In 'A Decent Stone for a Father's Grave' the Russian protagonist searching out a decent gravestone encounters locals, who try to buy his possessions at a price suitable to be asked by a man desperate to leave the country and who can't bring all his possessions with him. The greed and opportunism of a local prospective buyer of the Russian man's car is then put into perspective when the Russian finds out that the Tajik man who could build the gravestone to his specific needs was executed on the street recently. The other stories include the kidnapping of foreign journalists by a local warlord, the trading of a kidnapped Tajik girl for a weapon, the theft of a Russian man's dream house

by armed commanders of the winning side, and the account of a man waiting to leave to Russia. In the story 'A Foreigner' the graffiti on the wall reads "RUSSIANS DON'T LEAVE. WE CAN ALWAYS USE SLAVES". Sooner or later, the Russians have to choose between staying and fighting, or running back "home" to a Russia where they've never set foot and are just as foreign and unwanted as in the country they grew up in.

## **II. Understanding the Historic-Cultural Aspect of the Source Text**

It becomes essential for a translator to know the historical background of the problem that the ST deals with. The novel *Hurramabad* speaks of the specific time span when the real incidents took place in the given geographic space. However, the question is why the people in the city have such a negative feeling towards the other ethnic groups, especially, the Russians. Why they forget the co-habitat of three generations of these 'outsiders' in their region? This seems to be a universal phenomenon, as in most of the ethnic conflicts, the local / native people create a feeling of alienation among the so called 'outsiders'. All of a sudden the mutual trust and affection disappears and "we" becomes "them" and "us".

When the translator goes deep into the history of the community, the roots of this hatred become more and more clear and we observe the unequal relationship existing in the past with somewhat colonial interests of the 'so called outsiders'. The history marks the phases of suppression in the native place of 'insiders' or 'majority population'.

### **The origin of Source Text Culture:**

The ancestors of modern Tajiks, the Iranian peoples, have inhabited Central Asia since at least 2500 years. Contemporary Tajiks are the descendants of ancient Eastern Iranian inhabitants of Central Asia, in particular the Soghdians and the Bactrians, and possibly other groups, with an admixture of Western Iranian Persians and non-Iranian peoples. The Turkic and Mongol peoples entered Central Asia at later times. The experts assume some assimilation of those ethnic groups, too.

The origin of the name *Tajik* has been involved in twentieth-century political disputes about who were the original inhabitants of Central Asia: Turkic or Iranian peoples. According to most of the scholars the word evolved from the name of a pre-Islamic (before the seventh century A.D.) Arab tribe.

During throughout the long history Tajikistan was ruled by various rulers and was a part of empires including Kushan, Samanid, Mongol, Timurid, Turkic, Persian and Bukharan empires.

During the late 19th century Russian Imperialism led to the Russian Empire's conquest of Central Asia. By 1885 Tajikistan's territory was either ruled by the Russian Empire or its vassal state, the Emirate of Bukhara. Russian Empire easily conquered the regions inhabited by Tajiks as it was a much bigger state with an advanced military. However, there was fierce resistance and battles at some places. The emir retained his throne as a vassal of Russia. During the late 19th century and early 20th century emerged the Jadidism / Dzhadidizm<sup>1</sup> (from Arabic 'New'), the socio-political and intellectual movement among Muslim (mostly Turkish) people in Russian Empire. The Russians viewed the movement as a threat and so Russian troops were engaged in restoring order during frequent uprisings in various locations in Tajikistan. At the end of August 1920 the last emir, Sayyid Alim Khan, was overthrown by Soviet troops. On 6 October 1920 the emirate was abolished and the Bukharan People's Soviet Republic was proclaimed.

This was followed by the **Basmachi movement** (1916-1924). The Basmachi (from the Turkic "basma"= raid) Movement was a politico-military guerrilla movement against Russian Imperial and Soviet rule that arose after the Russian Revolution of 1917 throughout Central Asia. The Russian Empire began to recruit Muslims for army service during World War I and the movement arose during the anti-conscription violence of 1916. The Bolsheviks seized power in many parts of the Russian Empire after the October 1917 Revolution and then the Russian Civil War began. Turkestan Muslim political movements attempted to form an autonomous government in the city of Kokand, in the Ferghana Valley. The Bolsheviks launched an assault on Kokand in February 1918 and it is said that it carried out a general massacre of up to 25,000 people. This gathered support to the Basmachi movements who waged a guerrilla war and a conventional war that seized control of large parts of the Ferghana Valley and much of Turkestan. After major Red Army campaigns and concessions regarding economic and Islamic practices in the mid-1920s, the military fortunes and popular support of the Basmachi declined. Resistance to Soviet/Russian rule did flare up again to a lesser extent in response to collectivization campaigns in the pre-World War II era. As a consequence of the conflict and Soviet agriculture policies Central Asia suffered a famine that claimed many lives.

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<sup>1</sup> Opposing Jadidism among Muslims was reflected in Kadimizm.

In 1924 Tajikistan became an Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic of the Soviet Union, the Tajik ASSR, within Uzbekistan, but when national borders were drawn in 1928 (during the administrative delimitation) the ancient Tajik cities of Bukhara and Samarkand were placed outside of the Tajikistan SSR. As citizens of the newly established Uzbek SSR, many Tajiks had to conform to their newly ascribed "Uzbek" identity. Tajik schools were closed and Tajiks were not appointed to leadership positions simply because of their ethnicity. In 1929 Tajikistan was made one of the component republics of the Soviet Union – Tajik Soviet Socialist Republic (Tajik SSR). As a result of two rounds of Soviet purges directed by Moscow (1927–1934 and 1937–1938) thousands of Tajik people were expelled from all levels of the Communist Party of Tajikistan and replaced by the ethnic Russians. Russians dominated party positions at all levels, including the top position of first secretary. Between 1926 and 1959 the proportion of Russians among Tajikistan's population grew from less than 1% to 13%.

During World War II around 260,000 Tajik citizens fought against Germany, Finland and Japan as a part of the Soviet Army. Huge number of Tajikistan's citizens was killed. Following the war and Stalin's reign attempts were made to further expand the agriculture and industry of Tajikistan. During 1957–58 Nikita Khrushchev's Virgin Lands Campaign focused attention on Tajikistan as the living conditions, education and industry lagged behind the other Soviet Republics. By the late 1980s Tajik nationalists were calling for increased rights. The Soviet Union collapsed, and Tajikistan declared its independence.

### **Civil war in Tajikistan and Politics of Tajikistan:**

The Tajik SSR was among the last republics of the Soviet Union to declare its independence on September 9, 1991. During this time, use of the Tajik language, an official language of the Tajikistan SSR next to Russian, was increasingly promoted. Ethnic Russians, who had held many governing posts, lost much of their influence and more Tajiks became politically active. The nation almost immediately fell into a civil war that involved various factions fighting one another. The non-Muslim population, particularly Russians and Jews, left the country because of persecution, increased poverty and better economic opportunities in the West or in other former Soviet republics.

Emomaliy Rahmon came to power in 1994, and continues to rule to this day. Ethnic cleansing was controversial during the civil war in Tajikistan. By the end of the war Tajikistan was in a state of complete devastation. The estimated dead numbered over 100,000. Around 1.2 million people were refugees inside and



outside of the country. In 1997, a ceasefire was reached between Rahmon and opposition parties (United Tajik Opposition). During elections held in 1999, Rahmon was re-elected by almost unanimous vote. Russian troops were stationed in southern Tajikistan, in order to guard the border with Afghanistan, until summer 2005. Since the 9/11 attacks in 2001, American, Indian and French troops have also been stationed in the country.

### **Cultural Impact: Language and Religion**

During the Soviet era Tajik culture was redefined and sovietized to suit the political requirements of the central government of Joseph Stalin. The Tajiks' language, which they traditionally had called Persian (Farsi), was relabelled Tajik. Tajik, like the other Central Asian languages, underwent a two-stage alphabet reform. First, the Arabic alphabet was abandoned in 1929 in favor of the Latin. Then, in 1940 Moscow declared Cyrillic the official alphabet of the Tajik language.

Islam, the predominant **religion** of all of Central Asia, was brought to the region by the Arabs in the 7<sup>th</sup> century. Since that time, Islam has become an integral part of Tajik culture. The majority of Tajikistan's Muslims adhere to the Sunni branch of Islam, and a smaller group belongs to the Shia branch of that faith. Among other religions, the Russian Orthodox has remained the most widely practiced faith. There is a small Jewish community, along with people of other faiths like Roman Catholics, Seventh-Day Adventists, Baptists and Bahais.

During the course of seven decades of political control, through nationwide campaigns against religion there were constant attempts from the Soviet rule to eradicate the Islamic tradition. Such campaigns included conversion of mosques to secular use, attempts to re-identify traditional Islamic-linked customs with nationalism rather than religion and propaganda linking Islam to backwardness, superstition, and bigotry. After the German invasion of the Soviet Union in 1941, official policy toward Islam moderated. In 1943, the Muslim Board of Central Asia was established, which was controlled by Kremlin. However, the anti-Islamic propaganda continued from 1960s to 1980s. With Soviet military involvement in nearby Afghanistan in 1979 and increasing aggressiveness of Islamic revivalists in several countries, the official hostility toward Islam grew. An extremist Islamic menace was expected. Despite all these efforts, Islam survived in Tajikistan in widely varied forms like the most popular Sufism, like *Naqshbandiyya* with followers as far away as India and Malaysia. By late 1989 in Gorbachev's regime, the tolerance towards religion increased. New mosques opened. Religious observance became more open, and participation increased. Muslims in Tajikistan

also organized politically in the early 1990s. In 1990, Muslims from various parts of the union organized the Islamic Rebirth Party (IRP). By the early 1990s, the growth of mass political involvement among Central Asian Muslims led all political parties—including the Communist Party of Tajikistan—to take into account the Muslim heritage of the vast majority of Tajikistan's inhabitants.

### **Ethnic Russians in Tajikistan:**

Russians are a minority **ethnic group** representing 0.5% of the population as of 2010 Census. The population of ethnic Russians in Tajikistan is rapidly declined due to low fertility rates and emigration. Most ethnic Russians reside in the capital city of Dushanbe. Russians in Tajikistan are mostly non-religious, with a significant population being followers of the Russian Orthodox Church.

For much of the Soviet era, the central government used incentives to increase the settlement of Russian workers in Tajikistan. In the 1920s and 1930s, the small number of Tajiks with industrial and professional skills prompted the central authorities to relocate individuals with special expertise to Tajikistan, and Moscow sent many other people as political prisoners. By 1940 roughly half of the republic's industrial work force belonged to nonindigenous nationalities; most of these people were Russian and other non-Central Asians. Non-Central Asians settled in Tajikistan during World War II as industries and their workers were shifted east of the Ural Mountains to prevent their capture by the German army. Additional Russians and other Europeans went to Tajikistan in this period as war refugees or political deportees. As a result, between 1926 and 1959 the proportion of Russians among Tajikistan's population grew from less than 1 percent to 13 percent. During the same period, the proportion of Tajiks dropped from 80 percent to about 50 percent. This figure fell especially fast during the agricultural collectivization of the 1930s.

Because of the prominence of Russians and other non-Tajiks in such urban activities as government and industry, Dushanbe, the capital, became a predominantly non-Tajik city. According to the 1989 census, Tajiks constituted 39.1 percent, Russians 32.4 percent, Uzbeks 10 percent, Tatars 4.1 percent, and Ukrainians 3.5 percent of Dushanbe's population. Although educated, urban Tajiks were likely to speak Russian well, few Russians living in Dushanbe spoke Tajik or felt a need to do so. This situation caused increasing resentment among Tajiks in the late 1980s and early 1990s. Many educated Tajiks were criticizing what they perceived as the continued privileged position of Russians in the society.

### **III. The Translation of 'A Foreigner'**

The present researcher translated part of this novel, a long story entitled *A Foreigner*, from Russian into Marathi, which was published in *Mukta Shabda* (Free Word), a reputed Marathi journal in July, 2016.

New approaches to translation do not consider literature as an autonomous and independent domain. They see it in a much broader social and cultural framework as a social institution, related to other social institutions. Contemporary translation theory examines the complex interconnections between poetics, politics, metaphysics, and history. It is keenly interested in the historical and political dimensions of literature. And hence we can look at the translation from a target language perspective.

Now in this case, we can analyze the whole translation activity at two levels.

1. The translation of the story 'A Foreigner' plays a specific role in the subsystem of translations in Marathi polysystem in terms of form, content, literary value, significance and function. It serves the primary function of building an interface between two distant cultures viz. Tajik / Russian and Marathi. It is a bridge between the ST and TT reader. It certainly enriches the target language and culture, introducing the Marathi readers a new language system as well as a new society, new outlook, and new trends in thought. It makes the TT reader realize that the ethnic conflicts are a universal phenomenon and the pain, sufferings of the migrating people due to ethnic violence is a human experience everywhere on the earth. The story 'A Foreigner' by Andrei Volos depicts a realistic situation of a historical phase of Tajik society.
2. There exists vast cultural distance between the ST and TT languages, i.e. Russian and Marathi. Hence, the ST being a historical fiction, we see a wide gap between the experiences of ST and TT readers. While the ST reader has the pre-knowledge of the historic-cultural past of the two respective ethnic groups, the TT reader lacks it and hence the understanding of the literary work remains incomplete. The question is whether the translation should provide the historical background of this ethnic conflict as a necessary tool to understand properly the source literary work. Secondly, if given the essential information, there should not be any ground for the TT reader to justify the conflict depicted by the original author in the ST. Being a sensitive and intellectual human being the ST author understands Islamic fanaticism in action, its inner mechanism and mentality. However, the most important point is he remains impartial in the conflict between the Tajiks and the Russians, knowing that cruelty and insanity are shared by both sides.

So as a translator it seems essential that the TT reader be given the extra information about the historical facts of the issue either in the form of translator's note or endnote. And in that case in spite of understanding the historical, colonial reasons lying behind the ethnic conflict, it is the strength of the ST to be able to create a broad human approach to look at the situation in the minds of Marathi readers. Even if the reasons for violence apparently seem valid from historical perspective, there is a need for rational and humane approach to deal with the situation in the present. The translator may reveal his/her view through a preface or translator's note, which may help the TT reader to escape from rigid, limited approach to the ST.

3. The functional role of the TT is obvious. As a result of globalization and policies of economic liberalization adopted by various governments, there is high rate of migration among different civilizations. In view of the growing migration and the atmosphere of hatred among the majority-minority, local-outsider people on the basis of racial or religious fundamentalism in the Indian society, the relevance of the theme becomes too clear. The translation makes the TT reader experience the sadness, anger, and frustration for how individuals can create such horrible conditions for people to exist in their own land. This is a sad commentary on humanity. Hence, the TT raises questions in the minds of readers: What is a 'motherland'? What is 'an alien'? Why people change their outlook so suddenly and behave with the 'others' so inhumanly?

The main protagonist in the story thinks:

"I'm a foreigner here now," Dubrovin forced himself to say, shrugging his shoulders. He frowned as he repeated the word to himself. A foreigner, a foreigner! He found it to be a meaningless aggregate of sounds, because everything around him gave it the lie: this hilly, jagged land lit by a reddish moon in which two generations of his ancestors had been laid to rest; the hot violet sky in which the pure stars twinkled moistly; the smell of sunbaked dust and camel thorn; the chirring of the crickets; the outbursts of barking dogs in the kishlak...."

No country can say today that it has a homogeneous population. Then why people demand today the ethnic, racial, linguistic, religious, regional homogeneity? Why we do not respect the cultural diversity? Why the affection and love for all humans changes to hatred overnight?

When civil war erupts in the country, many 'outsiders' are reluctant to leave their home. But normal life gradually vanishes. It is replaced by atrocity and death. This shifting world is the setting of Andrei Volos's powerful novel.

“The crucified city was howling in fear and pain; the air itself seemed full of violence, rape, and robbery. It would have been better if the telephones had not been functioning at all, because rumours of what was going on in the outskirts of Hurramabad were enough to drive you mad.”

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## **“Oyan, Qazaq”: A Challenge to Colonialism**

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### **Abstract**

A history of literature is not one-day process. It is the fruit of several centuries, which constantly develops with its spiritual necessities. The early 20th century was a difficult historical period for the Kazakh society, which focused on keeping its existence in the historical arena. At that time, the Soviet empire’s colonization policy caused too much pressure on Kazakhs. This period witnessed not the peasants’ overbearing voice from the khan’s period, but “zhyrau” genre, which was becoming popular in order to awaken people. At the colonization period, awakening people, calling them for independence was not easy. Kazakh poets were forced to deliver their ideas indirectly through metaphors, fables and other techniques.

One of the early 20th century poets, who openly described the social situation in the Kazakh steppe and attempted to awaken people and inspire them when the nation’s fate was under material and spiritual pressure, was Mirzhakyp Dulatuly. His first poem “Oyan, Qazaq” brought to the Kazakh literature a strong motive, brave voice and sober idea. M. Dulatuly’s “Oyan, Qazaq” collection of poems was first published in 1910 in Ufa. In 1911, “Oyan qazaq” was also published in Orynbor.

Open your eyes, awaken Kazakh and stand up.  
Do not spend your youth in darkness.  
The land is lost, religion is gone, and the situation is bad,  
My Kazakh, there is no time to rest.

He described Kazakh nation’s difficult situation in this epigraph of the book. In these four lines, he describes four troubles of the nation. His attempt to awaken people is seen from his designation of these problems throughout the book. However, this book was prohibited and its author was sent into exile under the soviet censorship. In this article, we will describe “Oyan, Qazaq” collection’s ideas and civil principles.

**Keywords:** Kazakh literature, alash, genre, poet.

### **“Oyan, Qazaq”: A Challenge to Colonialism**

The Kazakh literature between the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century is the one which requires a close attention, deep exploration, different perspectives and versatility. In that period Kazakh nation underwent an economical, social and spiritual crisis. These problems influenced the educated intelligentsia's view points.

In the beginning of the 20th century, the king's power was focused on colonizing the Kazakh land, establishing the new administrative system and getting its natural resources. It built fortresses to strengthen the border. The colonization policy aimed to settle the Russian peasants all over the Kazakh land, so that they could control the most fertile land and displace the local nation to the deserts and infertile territories. This was another way of increasing the control over the local residents and taking out their spirituality by turning them to Russians.

“The direction of the literary-historical process in the beginning of the 20th century was established as a necessity for reality. In order to pick up and motivate the colonized nation the national socio-political movement and literary-spiritual powers united. The “zar zaman” poets', sal-seris' poems on spiritual independence and personal sorrow, academics' works who attempted to introduce the Kazakhs the democracy of St. Petersburg” says D. Kamzabekuly (Kamzabekuly, 2002).

Some of the 20th century intelligentsia emerged due to the influence of the progressive, capitalistic development and spread of the academic direction.

One of the poets, writers, publicist and political figures who lead the nation to academical way, enlightened their minds and called for independence through his poem “Oyan Qazaq!” was Mirzhakyp Dulatuly. He was born in 1885 in Kostanay oblast, Kyzbel village. Initially, he got the religious education from mullah, and then studied at Torgay Russian-Kazakh School (1897-1902) for two years. Along with fulfilling his knowledge, this school helped him to become a real citizen. Due to his love for knowledge, he spoke Russian fluently and read Russian thinkers. Therefore, he was the first to oversee the upcoming danger.

He lost his mother when he was two and his father when he was twelve. He grew up under the care of his brother Askhar. “He spent his whole life fighting with poverty, difficulty, cruelty and inequality” (Nurgali, 2013).

He worked as a teacher for six-sever years at the village school. This was the period when he learnt the real social situation of citizens. He also learnt to differentiate the bad and the good, survival and fighting for the nation's welfare.

It was the time when the king's power over Kazakhs was strengthened. These situations caused the Kazakh intelligentsia to fight for independence. Suddenly, complaints arouse in different places. The tactics of eliminating colonialism were discussed. The best solution for this problem was education. The nation's political activity rose day by day which gave a birth to independence ideas against colonialism.

In 1904 Mirzhakyp who was seeking for the solution arrived to Omby city. He met here the Alash leader Alikhan Bokeikhan and instructor of all intelligentsia Akhmet Baitursynuly. They worked together as the teacher and followers since then.

A well-known scientist, professor Nurgali Rymgali says about Mirzhakyp Dulatuly's political life: "Mirzhakyp has been in 1904 in Omby, in 1905 Karkaraly, in 1906 in Oral and Peterburg and took part in the revolutions. He raised the land issue and was in front lines of the elites who demanded to stop driving away Islam. He generously helped every Kazakh and spread them love and friendship. He communicated with Tatar and Russian elites too such as Potanin G.N., Divayev A., professor Krymskii A. and academic Gordelevskii V.A." (Nurgali, 2013).

Mirzhakyp became popular all over the Kazakhs and Russian Turks due to his book "Oyan Qazaq!" which was published in 1910 in Ufa. The book was republished in Orenburg in 1911. The book is mainly composed of the poems calling to fight for independence. According to the historian and scientist Mambet Koigeldiyev, the book "Oyan Qazaq!" was loved by all ethnic groups living in Kazakh land in the beginning of the 20th century. However, this book faced the harshest persecution in Kazakh literature. The King's government collected both of the publications and prohibited to read them. The author was imprisoned in 1911 in Semey. He stayed there for 19 months. Galiyev I.Z. explored several archival documents about Mirzhakyp's exile writes in his works: "After some period the censorship began to explore his ideal direction. The problems were raised by the initiation of Smirnov A., a censor in Kazan at that time. He was also a man who raised a racket against M. Dulatuly's first publication of "Oyan Qazaq!". The leaders paid too much attention to censoring the Kazakh book" (Galiyev V.Z. 2013).

Mirzhakyp wrote an article on topic "about Oyan Qazaq" in 1917 Vol. 233: "The old government considered my book "Oyan Qazaq!" which is popular among pupils as a light, hence, they were frightened of our "enlightenment" and in 1911 imprisoned me. I spent one and half year in a jail. The government made a verdict that my book should not be spread among the nation" (Dulatuly M. 1913).

In reality, the old government feared of the influence that book might have on people. Therefore, the government of the Russian Kingdom disliked it. However,



we can also notice that the nation used to search for this book anyway. Interestingly, Kazakh intelligentsia also liked “Oyan, Qazaq!”. Besides, religious people also pleased it. They fancied it so much, that churches and mullahs distributed the copies of this book. It means that the themes raised in the book were extremely important at that time. The government began persecuting the author and prohibited its distribution, says Professor Mambet Koigeldiyev (Koigeldiyev 2008).

The question emerging here is: What was the secret of the book which was disliked by the Russian Kingdom’s government?

The first page of the book begins as follows:

- Mirzhakyp, why are you not writing,  
Trophy is not yours until you fight.  
Show your power as much as you can,  
Poor, wake up, do not waste time (Dulatov 2003).

Here, the word “wake up” is the author’s main idea and purpose. He calls to fight against the system that is withdrawing their land and religion. He also describes the Kazakh’s poor lifestyle after joining it:

Everything is wasted,  
The spirit is left, but the life is gone.  
Foreigners governing our nation  
The legs are in blood and a life without reason.

The poet is worried about his nation’s destiny and sorrow. In addition, he criticizes his nation’s bad habits and calls them to aspire to education.

Kazakhs are still deeply sleeping,  
We are burning but not extinguishing fire.  
Other nations are moving forward,  
But our is staying motionless...  
He grieves about his nation’s illiteracy.  
Don’t you see your nation?  
Handcuffed in a jail  
Expelled us, we were fearful, became braver,  
What else we lose from now on?  
We are not a trading slave,  
That obeys whomever  
This is an age of troubles,  
If you see it, oh my dear Alash compatriot (Dulatov, 2003).

He criticized the youngsters, who wasted their times instead of getting knowledge. He criticized riches who only thought of themselves. He criticized the mullahs who could forget everything when it is about money.

Nevertheless, the author talks not only about sorrow. His tone in: “Justice is not lost” illustrates that he still believes there will be justice. He says that he is ready to die for justice:

I am a tree growing on the hill,  
I am not a fruitful and wonderful tree  
I am your until my last chips are left —  
Let me be useful for you, alash!

This poem reveals how much the poet understands his targets. The poet’s aim is to change his nation’s fate to better life, working for his nation. Therefore, his poems describe illiteracy, injustice inside the nation and proposes the ways to escape them.

The poet believes that the nation’s future is in the educated youngster’s hands. He says that such youngsters should be charismatic, persistent in reaching their goals and literate to be able to read the newspapers and magazines. They should get both Islamic and Russian education. He as Abay said “Think of honor, not profit” also says that each youngster should spend all his energy and knowledge for his nation’s welfare. Especially, it is clearly written in Mirzhakyp’s poem “Where are you, future of Kazakhs?”

Don’t lie, youngsters, don’t just lie,  
Do not be afraid, may your way begin.  
In the garden of the nation,  
Sing as nightingale.  
May your soul be sacrificed  
May the worst go out.  
To each fortress – one challenge,  
Let the age turn to (Dulatov, 2003).

The poet in his poems frequently uses Arabic-Farsi words. Mirzhakyp himself writes about it as follows: “Despite I didn’t get a knowledge from madrasa, starting from 1904 I began learning Nogay literature. I started to read The Newspaper of Translations and other Nogayan newspapers and books since then. Hence, I absorbed it” (Dulatuly, 1915).

At that time Kazakhs used to call Tatars as Nogay, so Nogays Mirzhakyp is talking about are Tatars thou. Tatar literature influenced his lexicon, which became similar to Arab-Farsi.

In “The last word” M. Dulatuly mentions about the poets and writers he admires. They are (from Russian literature): Pushkin, Gogol, Lermontov, Krylov, Turgenev, Tolstoi and from Kazakh literature Abay Kunanbayuly, Akhmet Baitursynuly, Abubakir, Akmolla, Nurzhan, Shozhe, Orynbay, Mashhur Zhusip.

Apart from “Oyan Qazaq!” in 1915 Mirzhakyp’s “Terme” and in 1915 “Azamat”, two collections of poems were published. In 1910, “The poor Zhamal” roman was published in Kazan. This roman was not a peak of his career, but also of Kazakh literature. It was the first ever roman in Kazakh literature which was written in prosaic style.

In 1913 Mirzhakyp published “Qazaq” newspaper with Akhmet Baitursynuly and actively participated in other issues. “Qazaq newspaper used to be published once a week, then twice a week.

The newspaper published the most important and sensitive issues of Kazakhs in the beginning of the 20th century. The articles were about socio-political, peasantry, land issues, international relationship, education, children’s education, literature, art, traditions, consciousness, history and genealogy. This newspaper raised the Kazakh press up to professional journalistic level. Mirzhakyp also published his positions on the nation’s fate in this particular newspaper.

The year of 1917 was full of political events. On February 27 of this year, the king’s power fell in Russian empire. February Revolution allowed all Kazakh intelligentsia to join. They organized several congresses in different oblasts’ centers on April and May, and formed a Kazakh Committee.

In 1917, from July 21 to July 26, Mirzhakyp Dulatuly was one of the organizers of the first All-Kazakh Congress that took place in Orynbor. In this Congress, the intelligentsia discussed the necessity of the creation of Alash party. Alash party was to be the first national democratic party of Kazakh (between 1917 and 1920).

“Qazaq” newspaper’s the 251st volume from November 21, 1917 published Alash party’s projects program and Congress materials. The birth of “Alash” was a political phenomenon. The program claimed that Kazakh oblasts should unite into one country and enter Russia as an autonomous state.

Mirzhakyp Dulatuly with Akhmet Baitursynuly actively took part in all these political events and as the leaders of the Party served the nation sincerely. Moreover, they participated in scientific projects, academic issues, press and literature.

Initially, the Party’s organizations in oblasts were created by Alikhan Bokeikhanuly. On November 1917, Party Committees were created in Semey (leader – Halel Gabbasov), Omby (leader – Aidarkhan Turlykhanov) and Orynbor (leader –

Alikhan Bokeikhanov). The newly emerging Party was called “Alash” (Koigeldiyev 2008).

Alash party actively participated in building a Kazakh state, electing deputies to Kuryltai from Kazakhs and so on.

Alash Party leaders aimed of getting independence for Kazakhstan which had been a colony of Russian empire for several centuries and rescuing from colonial oppression.

In 1917, between December 5 and 13 the second All-Kazakh Congress took place in Orynbor. The issues discussed there: Kazakh autonomy, creating police, National Soviet, education and so on. The elites actively discussed autonomy's official announcement date. In this Congress one of the most active members of Alash Party Mirzhakyp made a report on: shortage of madrasas and schools, deficit of books in Kazakh, necessity of opening national schools and writing Kazakh books, which will be used nationally in schools.

Unfortunately, Alashorda could exist at a very short time. On March 9 1920, Kazrevkom made a Decree about dispersing the Departments of the first national government “Alashorda”.

Mirzhakyp Dulatuly returned to academic sphere and from 1922 to 1928 lived in Orynbor. In 1928, he protested against taking out Arabic alphabet. He thought that Language Reforms recede the nation from its history, leads to the loss of the mother language and loss of the connection between the nation and its written history. He argued to save the Kazakh language's rights and religion's status. The history showed that he was right. Innocent M. Dulatuly whom people respected for powerful works, articles and social activities was sent to exile innocently. In 1928, the Russian government imprisoned him for ten years with other Kazakh elites. In 1935, he died in jail. The Russian government destroyed all his works and prohibited even to mention his name.

Even though the Soviet Union prohibited to recall his name, in 1973, a well-known writer and scientist Hasen Oralay in his book “Alash” which he published in Istanbul made analysis of a long lasting civil liberation movement, Alash movement and Alash government. He objectively described the real situation and positively referred to the sufferers. In his work, he wrote his opinion (positive) about Mirzhakyp as well.

One more thing to mention is, in 1930, when Mirzhakyp was in jail, with the Turkish President Mustafa Kemal Atatürk's support "Oyan Qazaq!" was published in Turkish. Publisher Tahir Shagatay wrote the preface of the book.

As you go deeper, the young author's understanding of the social, cultural and political situation surprises any reader (His ability to openly and clearly describe the situation). Therefore, people perceive the author as the founder of civil liberation movement. He was punished, sent for jail only for this particular book. This book added his to the list of the heroes of Civil Liberation Movement. The Bolshevik Russian government chased him for this particular book writes Tahir Shagatay. Shagatay describes how he found Mirzhakyp's this poem: "This book was in my compatriot's house who lived in Istanbul. Then, another our compatriot made a copy of it in "Young Turkestan" press. I got this version from him" (Dulatuly, 2013).

Despite the Soviet Government prohibited reading Mirzhakyp's book, his readers from abroad could get it. It confirms the Kazakh proverb "The golden cutlasses don't just lie in a box".

After the independence, Mirzhakyp Dulatuly's works revived. Scientists investigated his life and works. His daughter Gulnar Dulatova and scientists Rymgali Nurgali, Marat Apsemetov and Zhumagali Ysmagulov made a great investment in exploring his life. Mirzhakyp's works also paid attention of foreign scientists. In 1922, Japanese scientist Uyama Tomokiho made a dissertation on "The worldview of Kazakh intelligentsia in the beginning of the 20th century: about Mir-Yabub's book "Oyan Qazaq!"

In his difficult and short life, he covered all genres of literature and actively took part in social activities. His aim, position was not a wealth or reputation, but freedom of his nation, self-governance and escaping the oppression. He did not refuse these ideas even when he was tortured in jail. His daughter Gulnar Dulatova in her remembrances wrote: "When we faced a difficulty and cried, my father used to say calmly 'do not cry, my darlings, you should bear even more difficulties that your fate has prepared for you. You will grow up, and then you will understand everything. Be happy, do not stop studying, and do not offend your mother'. He kissed everyone and died. My father never refused his position. He stayed in jail for "Oyan Qazaq!" His persistence and the fact that he reached Solovkin without grayness of hair is fantastic. My mother saw his this condition in 1934" (Dulatova, 2010).

The dream of the freedom fighter was Kazakh nation's independence, self-governing free, developed country. In his poem "Elim-ai", he writes:

My dream is to see that day,  
I have no other dream, -

Unfortunately, the author could not witness the day of independence. His dream of future came true. Kazakhstan is an independent country nowadays. However, to reach this independence so many elites as Mirzhakyp sacrificed their lives. Hence, the young generation should understand the value of independence. The works of those freedom fighters should be an example for youngsters.

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## **Understanding Indian Culture Through The Stories of Premchand: ‘Bade Ghar Ki Beti’ and ‘Vidhwans’**

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### **Abstract**

Literary texts are the fictional texts which have artistic values and they inhold many elements related to the historical, religious, social, economical and culturel life. Premchand (b. 1880 – d. 1936), who is well known as the critical realist in Modern Hindi Literature, is all-time best fiction and short story writer. His writing influenced by A. Chekhov, L. Tolstoy and M. Gorki. However, he portrayed an Indian reality in his works. In my research, I found some hints like Indian religions, perspectives on women-men and family life etc, in other words the socio-cultural structure of Indian people. He portrayed the Indian daily social life and human habits, traditions and particular customs and cuisines, way of thinking, living and believing system in a socio-realistic way. He substantially gave importance to the current social problems in his works. In this paper, the stories of Premchand named ‘Bade Ghar Ki Beti’ and ‘Vidhwans’ have been analyzed. The analysis is held according to a certain system. Stories are discussed in terms of it’s mentality and structure. The stories are examined under the subheading as plot, heroes, time, place, theme, language and expression and then disclosed the cultural elements.

**Keywords:** Bade Ghar Ki Beti, Premchand, Stories, Understanding Indian Culture, Vidhwans.

## **Premchand’ın “Bade Ghar Ki Beti (Varlıklı Ailenin Kızı)” ile “Vidhwans (Yıkım)” Adlı Öyküleri Üzerinden Hint Kültürünü Anlamak**

### **Giriş**

Nermi Uygur’a göre kuşbakışı bir yaklaşımla, “kültür”: insanın ortaya koyduğu, içinde insanın var olduğu tüm gerçeklik demektir. Öyleyse “kültür” deyiimiyle insan dünyasını taşıyan, yani insan varlığını gördüğümüz her şey anlaşılabilir. Kültür, doğanın insanlaştırılma biçimi, bu insanlaştırmaya özgü süreç ve verimdir. Kültür, insanın kendini kendi evinde duymasını sağlayacak bir dünya ortaya koymasıdır. Buna göre kültür, böylesi bir dünyanın anlam-varlığına ilişkin tüm düşünülebilirlikleri içerir: insan varoluşunun nasıl ve ne olduğudur kültür. İnsanın nasıl düşündüğü, duyduğu, yaptığı, istediği; insanın kendisine nasıl baktığı, özünü nasıl gördüğü; değerlerini, ülkülerinin, isteklerini nasıl düzenlediği, - bütün bunlar hep kültürün öğeleridir. İnsanın ne tür bir yaşama-biçemi, ne tür bir var olma programı, ne tür bir eylem- kalıbı benimsediği kültürdür hep. (Uygur, 1996, s. 17)

Bu bildiride iki öyküsünü incelediğimiz Hintli yazar Premchand, topluma yakın olan, toplumsal beğeniyi dikkate alarak toplumun sorunlarını eserlerine yansıtan ve bunun sonucu olarak da toplumun beğenisini kazanmış bir yazardır. Eserlerinde çizdiği kültürel motifler oldukça dikkat çekicidir. Premchand’ın eserlerini bu açıdan değerlendirecek olursak, o, hayatın kesitlerini toplumcu gerçekçi bir bakış açısıyla eserlerine konu edinmiştir. Eserlerinin günümüzde de lisans ve lisansüstü düzeylerde okutuluyor olması yazarın önemini gözler önüne sermektedir. Eserlerinde modern, çağın gereklerine uygun bir algı olduğu görülür. Aynı zamanda da unutulmuş değerler bu eserler vasıtasıyla yeniden hatırlatılır. Bazı eserlerinde hicivsel ve mizahi bir anlatım, kendine özgü sembolik bir ifade tarzı göze çarpar. Eserlerinde işlenen ana tema toplumsal gerçeklerdir. Premchand’dan sonra Hindî yazın türünün birçok dönemeçten geçtiği görülür. 1940-1950 yılları arası eserlerde genel olarak Froyd ve Marx’ın düşünce akımlarından etkilenilmiştir. 1950-1960 yılları arası eserlerde deneysellik akımının etkili olduğu görülür. 1960 yılından günümüze kadar ulaşan eserlerde ise modernizm akımının etkisindedir. Edebi eserlerde işlenen ana temalar toplumsal bilinç, ahlaki değerler, bağımsızlığın sonrası uyandıran duygular vb.dir.

Edebi ve sanatsal değeri olan bir metni orijinal dilinden tercüme ettiğimiz zaman anlam kayıplarına daha az mahal vermiş oluruz. Bu sebeple biz de öykülerdeki kültürel öğeleri gün yüzüne çıkarabilmek amacıyla orijinal dilden tercüme yapma gereği duyduk. Bildiri konumuz dahilinde ele alacağımız öyküler Hindi dilinden Türkçeye çevrilip yorumlandığı için, bu iki eser üzerinden Hint kültürünü oluşturan



öğeleri incelemeye başlamadan önce Hindi edebiyatı dönemlerine çok kısa bir göz atmamız yerinde olacaktır.

Hindi edebiyatı genel olarak eserlerin oluşturuluş tarihine göre başlıca şu dört döneme ayrılır: 1. 1000 – 1350 arası dönem Ādikāl veya Vīrgāthā Kāl olarak adlandırılır. (Cesur savaşçıları öven şiirler ve kahramanlık türküleri) 2. 1350 – 1650 arası dönem Pūrv Madhyakāl ya da Bhaktikāl adıyla bilinir. (Tanrı ve tanrıçalara adanmış şiirler) 3. 1650 – 1850 arası dönem Uttar Madhyakāl ya da Rītikāl olarak adlandırılır. (Romantizm akımında oluşturulmuş şiirler) 4. 1850’den günümüze kadar olan dönem ise Ādhunik Kāl veya Gadya Kāl olarak bilinir. (Modern edebiyat dönemi)

Hindī edebiyatının modern dönemi 1850’lerden itibaren başlar. Hindī edebiyatının geliştiği ortamda birçok sosyal, politik ve dini reform hareketleri meydana gelmiştir. Hindi edebiyatında düzyazı alanına gerçekçiliği getiren Munshi Premchand’dır. Premchand ilerici hareketin temsilcilerinden biridir. Premchand’dan önce Hindī edebiyatı peri masalları, eğlenceli hihayeler ve dinsel temalar etrafında dönüyordu. Munshi Premchand (Dhanpat Rai), modern zamanların en önemli yazarlarından biri olarak kabul edilir. Premchand’ın yaşadığı dönemde Hindistan’da İngiliz hakimiyeti kurulmuştu. Hindistan halkı devamlı sömürülüyordu. Çiftçiler ve kadınların durumu içler acısıydı. Premchand ve onun dönemdaşları bu durumdan oldukça etkilenmişlerdi. Bütün bu yazarlar toplumu güçlendirip, ülkenin daha ileriye gitmesi ve Hindi’nin gelişmesi için çaba gösterdiler. Kapitalist düzene karşı bağımsızlık duygularının depreştiği bir dönemdi bu. Aynı zamanda, milliyetçilik ve sosyal reform gibi konuların edebiyat eserlerinde kullanılması teşvik edilmiştir. Bu dönemde öykü, roman, eleştiri, deneme vb. edebi türde eserler verilmiştir. Sosyal sorumluluk, vatanseverlik, milliyetçilik gibi duygular gelişme göstermiştir.

1936 yılında yeni bir akım ortaya çıkmıştır. Bu akım Pragativad olarak bilinmektedir. Pragativad, hayatın ve dünyanın gerçeklerini gören, anlayan ve bunlarla ilgili düşüncelerini ifade etme girişiminde bulunan edebi bir harekettir. Avrupa’da aydın yazarların edebiyata yeni bir yön vermek için “İlerici Yazarlar Örgütü” adıyla bir birlik kurulmuştu. İlk oturum 1935 yılında ünlü roman yazarı E. M. Foster’ın başkanlığında gerçekleştirilmiştir. Bundan ilham alarak 1936 yılında Dr. Mulkraj Anand ve Dr. S. S. Zahir öncülüğünde Hindistan’da da “İlerici Hintli Yazarlar Birliği” kurulmuştur ve ilk oturum Lakhnow’da Premchand önderliğinde gerçekleştirilmiştir. Hindi dilinin Pragativad dönemine ait eserlerde Marksist ideolojinin etkileri olduğu görülmüştür.

Marx'a göre, kapitalizm doğası gereği sömürüye, özellikle proletaryanın ya da işçi sınıfının sömürüsüne yol açar. Marx eğlenceli bir mecaz kullanarak, kapitalistleri proletaryanın emeğini emen "vampirlere" benzetir. Dahası kapitalist proletaryanın "kanını" ne kadar emerse, o kadar başarılı ve zengin olur. Kapitalizmde, asıl hak sahibi (proletarya) fakirleşir, hak etmeyen (kapitalist) ise inanılmaz derecede zenginleşir. Kapitalizmde, kapitalist aslan payını alırken, proletarya ancak geçinmeye yetecek bir ücret kazanır. Buna sömürü denir. Oysa emek değer kuramına göre bu durum tam tersi olmalıdır. Marx'ın bu kuramına göre tüm değer emekten gelir. Proletarya emek verir, kapitalist vermez. Kapitalist yatırım ve plan yapabilir, yönetebilir ama Marx'a göre bu emek değildir. Marx'ın anlayışında emek, doğanın sunduğu ham maddeden nesne üretmektir. Marx'a göre işin ironik tarafı, ne kapitalist ne de işçi bu sömürünün farkındadır. İkisi de yanlış bilinçten mustarıptır. Marx'ın deyimiyle proletarya sınıf bilinci oluşturabilir; oysa kapitalistler oluşturamaz. Sınıf bilinci devrim için şarttır. Sınıf bilinci, bir sınıfın, özellikle de proletaryanın, yanlış bilinçten kurtulup kapitalist sistemin iç yüzünü anlayabilme yetisidir. (Ritzer & Stepnisky, 2013, s. 22-23)

Premchand Hint toplumun sınıfsal yapısı iyi biliyordu ve bunun sonucu olarak da eserlerindeki karakterlerde bu yapıyı yansıtıyordu. Öykülerindeki karakterler genellikle köylü ve orta halli halk tabakasından seçilmişti. Premchand yazdığı eserlerinde maskülinizm ağırlıklı yazıyordu. Bu ataerkil yaklaşım onun eserlerini dikkat çekici ve müstesna kılıyordu. Buna örnek olarak Vidhwans adlı öyküdeki Bhungi ile Bade Ghar Ki Beti adlı öyküdeki Anandi verilebilir. Her iki kadın karakter de sağlam bir karakter imajı çiziyordu. Premchand, Hint kadının yaşadığı temel sorunların sebebini sosyal eşitsizliğe bağlıyordu. Premchand, toplumsal uyanışın ve reformların olduğu bir dönemde yetişmişti. O, amacına ulaşmak için edebiyatı bir araç olarak görüyordu. O, kendi çevresinde olup bitene kayıtsız kalmıyor, bilakis eserlerinde bunlara yer veriyordu. Başlık parası, çocuk yaşta evlilik, iki eşlilik ve kadınların aile mirasından yoksun bırakılmalarına karşı eserleri aracılığıyla sesini yükseltmişti.

Nirmala Jain bir makalesinde şöyle demiştir: "Unutulmamalıdır ki Premchand yurt genelinde cereyan eden aydınlanma ve reform hareketlerine şahit olunmuş bir çağın ürünüdür. Bu aydınlanmanın en önemli çabasından biri unutulmuş değerleri yeniden keşfetmek ve onaylamaktır ve bir ölçüde geçmişe romantik bir bakış atmaktır. O, bir şeye körü körüne bağlı olmanın, tutuculuğun karşısında sesini yükseltmiştir. Aile kurumunda kadının saygın bir konumda olmasını şiddetle destekler. Buna karşın, birleşik aile modelinin dağılması fikrini asla kabul etmez. Onun eserlerinde çizdiği kadın portresi geri planda duran, kendini koşulsuz adayan, fedakâr kadındır. Onun meşhur öyküsü Bade Ghar Ki Beti (Varlıklı Ailenin Kızı)'deki

kadın karakter Anandi, Premchand'ın düşüncesindeki ideal Hint kadınının portresi çizer. Bu kadın kendi onurunu hiçe sayarak evi dağılmaktan kurtaran bir kadındır. (Jain, 1986, s. 43)

### **Edebiyat ve Kültür Sosyal Bir Müessese Midir?**

Edebiyat, vasıta olarak sosyal bir özellik taşıyan dili kullandığı için sosyal bir müessesedir. Ayrıca, edebiyat, “hayatı” temsil eder; “hayat” ise, geniş ölçüde sosyal bir gerçektir, hatta tabiatın ve insanın iç ve sübjektif dünyası da, edebiyatın “taklit” ettiği konulardır. Aslında edebiyat, çok kere, bazı belirli sosyal müesseselerle yakından ilgili olarak ortaya çıkmıştır. Edebiyatın bir de sosyal görevi ve “fayda”sı vardır ki bunların sadece şahsi olmaları mümkün değildir. Böylece, edebi çalışmanın ortaya çıkardığı bu gibi meselelerin büyük bir çoğunluğu en azından sonuçları bakımından veya taşıdıkları mana dolayısıyla sosyal meselelerdir: Bunlar geleneklere ve yerleşmiş kurallara, normlara ve edebi türlere, sembol ve mitlere ait meselelerdir. (Wellek & Warren. 1983, s.123)

Sanat, edebiyat, düşün etkinlikleri ve bunların ürünleri, manevi kültüre göre çok hızlı değişen kesimdir. Bu kesim, maddi kültür öğeleri kadar hızla gelişme bile, inançlardan, gelenek ve göreneklerden çok daha çabuk değişir. Üstelik sanat, edebiyat ve düşün yapıtları, bir toplumun manevi kültür alanındaki en ileri değişme tohumlarını da içlerinde taşırlar. Bir başka deyişle, bir toplumun geleceği, maddi kültür öğelerinin etkisiyle, onun, sanat, edebiyat ve düşün etkinlikleri çerçevesinde filizlenir. Mevcut durumdaki çelişkiler, uyumsuzluklar, sorunlar, hep bu ürünler aracılığı ile belirlenir, eleştirilir. Sanat, edebiyat ve düşün etkinliklerinin en önemli niteliği, yalnız olumsuz eleştiri değil, geleceğe ilişkin öneriler de ortaya koymalarında görülür. Sanat, edebiyat ve düşün adamları, bir anlamda, günümüzün yargıçıları, geleceğin habercileridir. Böylece, gelecekteki toplumun en etkin mimarları arasında yer alırlar. Aslında bir toplumun, sanatçısı, yazarı ve düşünürü, o toplumun maddi kültürü ile manevi kültürü arasındaki dengesizliğin dramını yaşayan ve bu dramı yansıtan kişidir. (Kongar, 2013, s. 40-41) Sosyal bir müessese olan edebiyat ve kültür yaşayan canlı bir varlıktır. Kültürün nesilden nesile yazılı olarak aktarılabilmesi için de edebiyat önemli bir araç görevi üstlenir. Premchand toplumsal gerçekçi bir yazardır. Eserlerinin sanatsal değeri vardır. Gerçekçi olmasına rağmen eserleri fiktiftir. Çünkü gerçekçi eserler konusunu sosyal yaşamdan alsalar da bir takım değişikliğe uğrayıp öyle karşımıza çıkarlar. Bu eserlerin sübjektif olarak anlatılmış olması bile buna başlı başına bir sebeptir. Eserler yazılırken sanatsal kaygı güdülür. Unutulmamalıdır ki sosyal hayatın gerçekliği ile sanatın gerçekliği birbirinden farklıdır.

### Premchand'ın Vidhwans (Yıkım) Adlı Öyküsü Üzerine İncelemeler

**Yer:** Benares'te Bira adında bir köy.

**Zaman:** Bir ilkbahar günü.

**Kişiler:** Bhungī (Yaşlı çocuksuz dul bir Gond kadın), Pandit Udaybhan Pande (köyün ağası), ağanın adamları (iki kişiler), köylüler (ikincil kişiler)

**Tema:** Toplumcu Gerçekçilik

**Dil ve Anlatım:** Yalın ve Akıcı

**Zihniyet:** Güçlü güçsüzü ezer.

**Olay Örgüsü:** Benares'te Bīrā adında bir köy vardır. Orada yaşlı ve çocuksuz Bhungī adında dul bir Gond<sup>1</sup> kadın yaşıyordu. Onun ne bir evi ne de bir parça toprağı vardır. Hayatını sürdürebilmesi için tek dayanağı tahıl kavurmada kullanılan bir fırındır. Köyün ağası Pandit Udaybhān Pānde'nin onu her işinde kullanmaya çalışıyordu. Merhametsiz bir adamdır. Ağa, Bhungī'nin kendi köyünde barınmasına izin vererek ona bir iyilik yaptığını düşünmektedir. Bir ilkbahar günüdür. Hasat festivali yapılıyordu. Festival günü taze tahıllar kavrulup yenir ve bağış olarak başkalarına verilmektedir. Evlerde ateş yanmaz. Bhungī'nin fırını bu gün çok kıymete binmiştir. Nefes alacak fırsatı bile yoktur. Müşterilerin aceleci tavırları onu zaman zaman öfkeliendiriyordu. Ağanın adamları iki büyük sepet dolusu tahıl getirir ve bunların derhal kavrulmasını emrederler. Bhungī iki sepeti görünce panikler. Öğlen vaktidir ve gün batmadan önce bu kadar çok tahılı kavurmak imkansızdır. Çaresizlik içinde iki sepeti de alır. Bhungī tahılları kavurmaya başlar. Ancak 1 man<sup>2</sup> dolusu tahılı kavurmak öyle kolay değildir. Ağanın adamları birazdan damlar düşüncesiyle korkmaktadır. Gelir gelmez ona küfürler edip onu döveceklerinden korkmaktadır. Tahıllar ne doğru düzgün kavruluyor ne de kabukları soyuluyordur. Kötü düşüncelere kapılır. Bu sırada ağanın iki adamı gelerek işin bitmediğini görünce onu azarlar. O gece fırın yerle bir edilir ve o talihsiz dul kadın oradan kovulur. Bhungī'nin burada karın tokluğuna çalışmaktadır. Karnını doyurabilmek için herhangi bir dayanağı kalmamıştır. Köylüler de fırının yıkımından sonra çok zor durumda kalırlar. Köylüler ağaya gidip yaşlı kadının fırını tekrar yakması için izin vermesini isterler. Fakat ağa bunu hiç önemsemez bile. Yaşlı kadın gidip başka bir köye niçin yerleşmediğini sorgulamaktadır. Ancak gönlü böyle bir şeye razı olmamaktadır. Ömrünün elli

<sup>1</sup> Hindu bir kabile. Günümüzde de avcılık ve toplayıcılıkla yaşamlarını sürdürürler. Yerleşik hayata karşıdırlar. Onlar için en önemli üç şey orman (जंगल), toprak parçası (जमीन) ve su (जल)'dur. Bu üçü için savaş verirler. Genellikle ormanda yaşarlar ve ağaçları tanrıları olarak görürler.

<sup>2</sup> 1 man = 40kg (yaklaşık)

yılını bu köyde geçirmiştir. Buradaki her bir ağaç ve yapraklara özel bir sevgi duyuyordur. Hayatın sevinç ve üzüntülerini bu köyde tatmıştır. Ömrünün son zamanlarında burayı bırakıp nasıl gidebilirim diye düşünmektedir. Bunu hayal etmek bile ona ağır geldi. Başka köyün sevincinden bu köyün üzüntüsünü yeğliyordur. Bu şekilde tam bir ay geçip gider. Sabah vaktidir. Pandit Udaybhān iki üç adamını yanına alıp toprak vergisi toplamaya gidiyordu. Yaşlı kadının fırını tekrar inşa ettiğini görünce öfkelenir. Yaşlı kadın var gücüyle fırının üstünü toprakla sıvıyordu. Bütün geceyi bu işe harcamıştır ve gün doğmadan işi bitirmek istiyordur. Ağanın emrine karşı geldiğini biliyordu. Öfkesi çoktan geçmiştir diye ümit ediyordur. Olacakların farkında bile değildir. Ağa fazlasıyla öfkelenir. Fırını tekmeler ve fırın devrilir. İkinci tekme de atacaktır ki o sırada yaşlı kadın onun önüne geçer ve tekme beline yer. Bunun üzerine yaşlı kadın öfkelenir. Belini ovalayarak şöyle konuşur: “Ağam kuldan korkmuyorsan Allah’tan kork. Beni böyle mahvetmek sana ne kazandırır ki. Şu dört karışık topraktan altın falan çıkacağını mı sanıyorsun? Ben senin iyiliğin için söylüyorum. Zavallı insanların ahını alma. Benim sonum olma.” Aralarında hararetli bir konuşma geçer. Udaybhān onu köyden kovar. Bhungī’nin aklında türlü türlü sorular vardır - Nasıl bırakıp giderim? On iki yıldır bu tarlayı sürdüm ben şimdi kiracı mı oldum? Ben bu kulübede yaşlandım. Benim kaynanam, kayınpederim, babam ve atalarım hep bu kulübede yaşadılar. Şimdi beni buradan ancak ölüm ayırabilir. (Beni buradan Ölüm Tanrısı Yama’dan başkası ayıramaz.) Udaybhān adamlarına gidip kadının biriktirdiği yaprak yığını ateşe vermesini emreder. Bir anda çok büyük bir gürültü kopar. Alevler gökyüzüne doğru yükseldikçe yükselir. Bütün köylüler oraya toplanır. Bhungī ümitsizce kendi fırınının yanına gelip durur ve büyük yangını seyreder. Beklenmedik bir şekilde hızla gelip kendini o ateşe atar. İnsanlar dört bir yandan ona doğru koşar ama kimsenin alevlerin arasına girmeye cesareti yoktur. Birkaç saniye içinde onun pörsümüş bedeni tamamen yanmıştır. O sırada rüzgâr da şiddetini arttırır. Alevler fırının hemen yanındaki çiftçi kulübelerini içine alır ve giderek şiddetini arttırır. Azgın alevlerden ağanın tahıl ambarı da nasibini alır. Köylüler yangını söndürmeye çalışırlar; ancak yangın daha da şiddetlenir. Şiddetlenen alevler ağanın görkemli konağını bütününü yutar. Ağa, gözleri önünde konağının çılgın dalgalar arasında bir gemi gibi sallandığını ve alev denizinde gözden kaybolduğuna öylece bakabilir.

### **Premchand’ın Bade Ghar Ki Beti (Varlıklı Ailenin Kızı) Adlı Öyküsü Üzerine İncelemeler**

**Yer:** Gauripur köyü

**Zaman:** Şrīkaṇṭ Singh'in cumartesi günleri eve geldiğinden bahsedilir. Kayınbirader ile gelin arasında olay perşembe günü yaşanmıştır.

**Kişiler:** Benīmādhav Singh (Thākūr Sāhab), Şrīkaṇṭ Singh, Lālbihāri Singh, Ānandī, (Thākūr) Bhūpsingh, köylü kadınlar, Lālbihāri Singh'in karısı.

**Tema:** Toplumcu Gerçekçilik

**Dil ve Anlatım:** Yalın ve Akıcı

**Zihniyet:** Ataerkil toplum yapısı

**Olay Örgüsü:** Öykü dört bölümden oluşmaktadır. Birinci bölümde; Benīmādhav Singh'in Gaurīpur köyünün ağası olduğundan, vaktiyle tarımla uğraşıp hayli zengin oluşlarından, köy için yaptıkları hayır işlerinden bahsedilir. Benīmādhav Singh servetinin yarısını avukatlara harcamıştır. Bu nedenle de eskisi kadar varlıklı değildir. Onun iki oğlu vardır. Büyüğünün adı Şrīkaṇṭ Singh'tir. Üniversite mezunu çalışkan bir çocuktur. Bir dairede memur olarak görev yapmaktadır. Küçük oğlu Lālbihāri Singh iri yarı ve iyi giyimli bir delikanlıdır. Sevimli bir suratı ve geniş omuzları vardır. Sabah erken kalkar, iki seer<sup>3</sup> taze manda sütü içiyordu. Şrīkaṇṭ Singh ondan tamamen farklıdır. Üniversite eğitimi onun bedenini zayıf düşürmüş, yüzünü solgunlaştırmıştır. Bu yüzden ayurvedik tıp kitaplarına özel bir ilgi duyuyordu. Sabah akşam odasından sıklıkla havan dövüyordu. Lahor ve Kalkūta âlimlerinin kitaplarını okumaktadır. Şrīkaṇṭ İngiliz eğitimi almış olmasına rağmen İngiliz gelenek ve göreneklerine çok da ilgi duymuyordu. Aksine şiddetle onları eleştiriyordu. Bundan dolayı köyde büyük saygınlığı vardır. Daşahra festivalinde Rāmlila<sup>4</sup>'ya katılmaktadır ve mutlaka oyunlara dahil olmaktadır. Gaurīpur'da Rāmlila'yı başlatan kişi odur. Sülalede kendini dine adanmış olan bir kişidir. Günümüzde kadınların büyüklerle birlikte aynı evde oturmak istemeyişlerinin hem milletin hem de ülkenin zararına olduğu düşüncesindedir. Bu nedenle, köyün kadınları onun arkasından konuşmaktadır. Bazıları da onu düşmanı bellemiştir. Onun kendi karısı dahi bu konuda onunla zıttır. Öyle ki, birçok şeye tahammül edip, göğüs germesine rağmen kaynana-kayınpeder, küçük ve büyük kayınbiraderleriyle maaile birlikte yaşamaktan nefret ediyor; gelecek günlerde çıkacak tartışmalardan dolayı hayatına son vermeyi değil, başka bir çözüm yolu olarak kendi yoluna gitmeyi düşünmektedir.

<sup>3</sup> Hindistan, İran, Afganistan, Yemen, Pakistan, Nepal ve Şri Lanka gibi ülkelerde kullanılan İngiliz sömürgesi yıllarına ait sıvı ölçüsü birimidir. 1 seer yaklaşık olarak 64.648 kübik inç'e ya da 1.06 litre'ye tekabül etmektedir. (<https://sizes.com/units/seer.htm>)

<sup>4</sup> Sītā'nın Rāvaṇa tarafından kaçırılışını ve Rāma'nın onu kurtarışını anlatan tiyatral gösteridir. Her yıl Kuzey Hindistan'da Ekim ayı başında gerçekleşen bir festivaldir. Bengal'de Durgā-pūcā ile özdeşleştirilir. (Monier-Williams, 1899, s. 877)

Ānandī oldukça yüksek mevkide bir ailenin kızıdır. Onun babası Bhūpsingh, küçük bir eyaletin büyük toprak ağasıdır. Onun büyük bir serveti vardı. Çok iyi huylu ve zeki bir adamdır; ancak ne yazık ki bir oğlu bile olmadığından söz edilir. Onun yedi kızı olur ve şükür ki hepsi de hayatta kalmayı başarır. Bhūpsingh ilk olarak üç kızını evlendirir; ancak on beş – yirmi bin rupilik borç boyunu aştığında harcamalarını daha dikkatli yapmaya başlar. Ānandī onun dördüncü kızıdır. Diğer bütün kız kardeşlerinden daha güzel ve yeteneklidir. Bu yüzden Thākur Bhūpsingh onu çok sevmektedir. Thākur Efendi kızının düğününün nerede ve kiminle yapılacağına karar veremiyordur. Ne kızı için erkek tarafına ödeyeceği başlık parasının artmasını, ne de kızının kendisini talihsiz hissetmesini istiyordur. Bir gün Śrīkaṇṭh onun yanına gelir. Bhūpsingh onun davranışına bakarak onu beğenir ve şatafatlı bir biçimde Śrīkaṇṭh Singh ile kızı Ānandī'yi evlendirir. Ānandī yeni evine geldiğinde burayı pek beğenmez. Evin pencereleri bile yoktur. Ne yerde parke ne de duvarda resimler vardır. Bu sade bir köy evidir; ancak Ānandī hayatında hiç lüks eşyalar görmemiş biri gibi kısa zamanda kendini bu yeni ortama alıştırmıştır.

İkinci bölümde; günün birinde öğle vakti Lālbihāri Singh elinde iki kuşla eve gelir ve yengesinden bunları hemen pişirmesini ister. Ānandī yemeği çoktan hazırlamıştır. Onun isteği üzerine yeniden yemek pişirmeye koyulur. Küçük toprak kaba baktığında içindeki yağın kabın dörtte birinden fazla olmadığını görür. Varlıklı ailenin kızı tutumlu olmayı nerden bilsin. Bütün yağı ete döker. Lālbihāri sofraya oturduğunda dāl<sup>5</sup>de yağın olmadığını görünce şöyle aralarında bir tartışma başlar ve tartışma şiddete döner. Ānandī kafasına doğru gelen takunyayı eliyle durdurur, kafasına yemekten kurtulur. Ama parmağında büyük bir kesik oluşmuştur. Ānandī, öfkeyle odasına gider. Ānandī kanını emip oturur.

Üçüncü bölümde; Śrīkaṇṭh Singh'in cumartesi günleri eve geldiğinden bahsedilir. Olay perşembe günü yaşanmıştır. İki gündür Ānandī sinir küpüdür. Ne bir şey yer ne de içer. Kocasının yolunu gözler. Śrīkaṇṭh nihayetinde cumartesi günü her zaman olduğu gibi akşam vakti eve gelir ve dışarda oturup insanlarla konuşmaya başlar. Bu konuşmalar gece saat ona kadar sürer. Śrīkaṇṭh'ın sohbetten kendini kurtarması zordur. Yemek vakti gelmiştir. Köyün ihtiyaç heyeti kalkar. Yalnız kalınca Lālbihāri abisine yengesini şikayet eder. Benīmādhav Singh de oğlunun safını tutar. Śrīkaṇṭh neler olduğunu öğrenmeye çalışır. Ardından Śrīkaṇṭh yiyip içip Ānandī'nin yanına gider. Ānandī oturduğu yerden kalkmaz. Śrīkaṇṭh da çok öfkeli. Ānandī kocasına laf atar. Śrīkaṇṭh onu suçlar şeklinde ona sorular sorar. Ānandī'nin kaşları çatılır. Çok öfkelenir. Kocasını doldurduklarını fark eder ve bunun hesabını soracağını söyler. Śrīkaṇṭh bunun üzerine olayları bir de karısının ağzından duymak

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<sup>5</sup> Bir tür mercimek yemeği.

ister. Ānandī olanları ona anlatır. Olanları işiten Śrīkaṇṭh fazlasıyla öfkelenir. Ānandī ağlamaya başlar. Śrīkaṇṭh çok sabırlı ve sakin bir adamdır. Öfkesinden gece boyunca gözünü bir kere bile kırpmamıştır. Sabah olunca babasının yanına varıp artık kardeşiyle aynı evde kalamayacağını söyler. Baba oğul karşılıklı uzun uzun konuşurlar. Śrīkaṇṭh, Lālbihārī'yi kardeşlikten reddettiğini söyler. Babası oğlunu hanım köylü olmakla itham eder. İkisi de bir müddet sessiz kalırlar. Thākura Sāhab oğlunun öfkesini dindirmek istiyordur. Ancak Lālbihārī'nin herhangi bir kusur işlediğini kabul etmek de istemiyordur. Bu sırada etraftan gelen adamlar nargile tüttürme bahanesiyle oraya gelip otururlar. Köyün kadınları Śrīkaṇṭh'ın karısının arkasında durup babasıyla kavga etmeye hazır olduğunu duyunca çok sevinirler. İki tarafın da atışmalarını duymak için can atıyorlardır. Köyde bu ailenin ahlaki değerlerini koruyuşunu içten içe kıskanan güvenilmez insanlar da vardır. Onlar Śrīkaṇṭh, babası ne derse onu yapıyor süklüm püklüm dolanıyor deyip duruyorlardı. O iyi bir eğitim almıştır. Bu yüzden Benīmādhav Singh ondan akıl almadan hiçbir iş yapmamaktadır. Tam da bugün düşmanları sevindirme günüdür. Kimi nargile içme bahanesiyle kimi de toprak vergisi makbuzunu gösterme bahanesiyle oraya gelip oturmuştur. Benīmādhav Singh tecrübeli bir adamdır. Bu adamların ne yapmak istediklerini farkederek. Ne yapıp edip bu kötü adamları sevindirmemeye karar verir. Hemen yumuşar ve oğluna akıllı insanlar aptalların söylediklerine aldırış etmediğini, kardeşinin anlaması kıt bir çocuk olduğunu ve eğer bir hata yaptıysa oğlunun büyüklük yapıp onu affetmesini söyler. Śrīkaṇṭh ise kardeşini yaptıklarından ötürü hiçbir zaman affetmeyeceğini söyler ve babasından bir tercih yapmasını ister. Ya kardeşi o evde kalacaktır ya da Śrīkaṇṭh. Lālbihārī Singh kapıda durmuş ağabeyinin konuşmalarını dinliyordur. O, ağabeyini çok sever ve sayar. Ağabeyinin ağzından duyduğu bu sözler Lālbihārī'yi hüzne boğar. O hıçkırığa hıçkırığa ağlamaya başlar. Ancak ağabeyinin ona haksızlık yaptığını düşünüyordu. Śrīkaṇṭh onu yalnızken çağırıp bir çift laf etseydi diye düşünür, o da olmadı bir iki tokat atsaydı bile bu kadar üzülmeydi. Artık o da ağabeyinin yüzünün görmek istemiyordur. Lālbihārī ağlaya ağlaya eve gelir. Odasına gidip üstünü giyinir. Kimse ağladığını anlamasın diye de gözlerini siler. Ānandī'nin kapısına gelip ağabeyinin bundan böyle onunla aynı evde kalmak istemediğini, artık onun yüzümü görmek istemediğini söyler. Bu yüzden evden ayrılır olduğunu. Abisine bir daha yüzümü göstermeyeceğini ve yengesinden de ona yaptıkları için özür diler.

Dördüncü bölümde; Lālbihārī Singh başını öne eğmiş Ānandī'nin kapısının önünde duruyorken Śrīkaṇṭh Singh de gözleri kıpkırmızı olmuş bir şekilde dışardan gelir. Kardeşini görünce nefretle gözlerini başka yöne çevirir ve bir kenara kaçar. Onun gölgesine bile temas etmek istemezcesine ondan uzağa kaçıyor. Ānandī, Lālbihārī'yi şikayet etmiştir; ancak şimdi pişmanlık duyuyordur. O özünde



merhametli bir kadındır. Olayların bu kadar büyüyeceği hiç aklına gelmemiştir. İçinden neden bu kadar büyüttü diye kocasına kızıyordu. Ānandī kocası hadi Allahabad'a gidiyoruz derse ne yapacağından korkuyordu. Lālbihārī'yi kapıda durup ben gidiyorum, ne yaptıysam beni affet yenge dediğini duyduğunda öfkesi geçmiştir. Ağlamaya başlar. Śrīkaṇṭ'ı içeri çağırmasını ister. Śrīkaṇṭ çağırmak istemez. O anda Lālbihārī yengesinden, ağabeyine saygılarını iletmesini ister. Ağabeyi onun yüzünü görmek istemediği için bir daha yüzünü ona göstermeyeceğini söyler. Lālbihārī arkasını döner ve hızla kapıya doğru ilerler. Nihayetinde Ānandī odadan dışarı çıkar ve onun elini yakalar. Lālbihārī arkasına dönüp bakar ve gözleri dolmuş bir şekilde onu bırakmasını ister.

Lālbihārī ağabeyinin ondan yana kalbinin doğrulduğunu bilmedikçe artık bu evde kalamayacağını söyler.

Ānandī, Tanrı şahidim olsun ki senden yana kalbimde en ufak bir kırgınlığım yok benim der.

Bunun üzerine Śrīkaṇṭ'ın kalbi yumuşar. Dışarı çıkıp Lālbihārī'ye sarılır. İki kardeş kucaklaşmış hıçkırığa hıçkırığa ağlamaktadır.

Benīmādhav Singh dışardan geliyordu. İki kardeşi kucaklaşırken görünce mutluluktan havalara uçar ve şöyle der: "Varlıklı ailenin kızları işte böyle olur. Kötüye giden bir iş varsa onu düzeltirler." Köyde bu öyküyü duyan herkes Ānandī'nin büyüklüğünü şu sözcüklerle takdir eder: "Varlıklı ailenin kızları işte böyle olur."

### **Bade Ghar Ki Beti (Varlıklı Ailenin Kızı) ve "Vidhwans (Yıkım)" Adlı Öykülerde Kültürel Ögelerden Kesitler**

**Başlık parası;** "...Bhūpsingh ilk olarak üç kızını evlendirdi; ancak on beş – yirmi bin rupilik borç boyunu aştığında gözlerini açtı ve harcamalarını dikkatli yapmaya başladı. Ānandī onun dördüncü kızıydı... Thākur Efendi kızının düğününün nerede yapılacağına karar veremiyordu. Ne kızı için erkek tarafına ödeyeceği başlık parasının artmasını, ne de kızının kendisini talihsiz hissetmesini istiyordu..."

**Gelenekselcilik;** "...Śrīkaṇṭ İngiliz eğitimi almış olmasına rağmen İngiliz gelenek ve göreneklerine çok da ilgi duymuyordu. Aksine şiddetle onları eleştiriyordu. Bundan dolayı köyde büyük saygınlığı vardı..." "Śrīkaṇṭ üniversitede iyi bir öğrenciydi. Üniversite eğitimi onun bedenini zayıf düşürmüş, yüzünü solgunlaştırmıştı. Bu yüzden ayurvedik tıp kitaplarına özel bir ilgi duyuyordu. Ayurvedik tıba çok inanıyordu. Sabah akşam odasından sıklıkla havan sesi kulağa hoş geliyordu. Lahor ve Kalkūta âlimlerini çok okuyordu..."

**Toplumsal statü düşüklüğü;** “...Ānandī yeni evine geldiğinde burayı pek beğenmedi. Çocukluktan beri alışkın olduğu şeylerin burada adından bile söz edilemezdi. Filler, atlar nerde gezer süslü bir kağıdı bile yoktu. İpekli terliklerini yanında getirmişti; ancak burada bahçe ne gezer. Evin pencereleri bile yoktu. Ne yerde parke ne de duvarda resimler vardı. Bu sade bir köy eviydi; ancak Ānandī hayatında hiç lüks eşyalar görmemiş biri gibi kısa zamanda kendini bu yeni ortama alıştırdı...”

**Sınıfsal Ayrımcılık;** “...Ānandī: “Dün değil evvelsi gün senin kavgacı kardeşin benden et pişirmemi istedi. Yağ kabın içinde dört parmak kalınlığından fazla değildi. Bütün yağı ete boşalttım. Yemeğe oturduğunda kardeşin söylenmeye başladı dāl’de neden yağ yok diye. Sırf bu yüzden benim anne ve babama kötü sözler sarf etmeye başladı. Dayanamadım. Ben de dedim ki bizim oralarda bu kadar yağ nāi ve kahār kastı bile yer ve bundan kimsenin haberi olmaz. Dediğim buydu sadece. Dememle kalmadı senin bu zorba kardeşin takunyasını bana doğru fırlattı. Elimle durdurmasaydım kafamdan yaralanmıştım. Anlattıklarım doğru mu değil mi ona sor...” “...Lālbihāri şöyle konuştu: “O varlıklı ailenin kızıysa biz de ondan aşağı kurmi-kahar değiliz...”

**Erkek egemen toplum yapısı ve Kadın;** “Kadın milleti kötü sözlere, dayağa katlanır; ancak ailesine kötü bir laf söylendiğinde buna dayanamaz.” “...Kadın güç, cesaret, saygı ve itibarını kocasından alır. Kocasının gücü ve erkekliliği ile onurlanır. Ānandī kanını emip oturdu...” “Ānandī kadınların tabiatında olduğu üzere ağlamaya başladı. Gözyaşları onların kirpiklerindedir her an...” “...Varlıklı ailenin kızları işte böyle olur. Kötüye giden bir iş varsa onu düzeltirler...” Benīmādhav Singh oğlunun safını tuttu. “...Evet, gelinlerimiz ve kızlarımızın erkeklerin lafına karşılık vermesi iyi değil...” “...Kadınlar böyle evi birbirine katar. Onları tepene çıkarmak iyi değildir...”

“...Şrīkaṇṭ: “O kadarını ben de biliyorum, takdir edersiniz ki aptal değilim. Siz kendiniz bizzat biliyorsunuz benim telkinlerimle bu köyde kaç ev dağılmaktan kurtuldu; ancak izzet-i nefsinden sorumlu olduğum kadının hakkının tanrı katında cevabını veririm de ona yaşatılan böyle her acımasız haksızlığın ve kaba davranışlara tahammül edemem. İnanın Lālbihāri’nin cezalandırılmaması benim için hiçbir şey ifade etmiyor...” “...Şrīkaṇṭ, günümüzde kadınların büyüklerle birlikte aynı evde oturmak istemeyişlerini hem halkın hem de ülkenin zararına olduğu düşüncesindeydi...”

### Sonuç

Premchand'ın incelediğimiz bu iki öyküsü vak'ası köyde geçen, köy halkının yaşadıklarını, alışkanlıklarını aynı mekan çerçevesinde anlatılmıştır. Bu öyküler toplumsal karakteri öne çıkaran türdendir. İncelediğimiz bu iki öyküde Hint halkının sosyo-kültürel yapısını, kadın-erkek ilişkilerini, aile hayatını, gündelik yaşamı, düşünce ve inanç biçimlerini, alışkanlıklarını, gelenek-görenek, örf ve adetlerini, yeme alışkanlıklarını, ataerkil toplum yapısının izlerini bulmak mümkündür. Tüm bunlar toplumcu gerçekçi bir bakış açısıyla anlatılmıştır. Eserlerinde çizdiği Hindistan portresi günümüzü de yansıtmaktadır. Onun eserleri bir nevi toplumu şekillendiren türdendir.

Bade Ghar Ki Beti adlı öyküdeki Ānandī karakteri bize ideal Hint kadınının nasıl olması gerektiğinin portresini çizmektedir. Bu öykü Hindistan'ın sömürge döneminden izler taşımaktadır. Öyle ki metinde, Şrīkaṇṭh'ın iyi derecede İngiliz eğitimi almış olmasına rağmen İngiliz gelenek ve göreneklerine karşı görüşte olduğu belirtilmektedir. Bundan dolayı köyde büyük saygınlık kazandığından söz edilmektedir. Bu sadece buna küçük bir örnektir. Bu öykü aslında aynı zamanda Şrīkaṇṭh karakteri aracılığıyla ideal Hint erkeğinin nasıl davranması gerektiğini de vurgulamaktadır. O, karısının safını tuttuğu içi babası tarafından hanım köylü olmakla suçlanmıştır.

Hindu bir kabile olan Gondlar günümüzde de avcılık ve toplayıcılıkla yaşamlarını sürdürürler. Onlar için en önemli üç şey orman, toprak parçası ve sudur. Bu üçü için savaş verirler. Vidhwands adlı öyküdeki yaşlı kadın karakterin yaşam alanına müdahale edildiği ve buna engel olamadığı için çareyi kendini ateşe atmakta bulunduğu görülür. Öyküdeki zavallı yaşlı kadın "Beni buradan ancak Ölüm Tanrısı Yama ayırabilir." şeklindeki söylemleriyle yaşam alanının onun için ne kadar önemli olduğunu vurgulamak istemiştir. Hiçbir kötülük karşılıksız kalmaz inancı metinde net bir biçimde göze çarpmaktadır. Zira, yangın büyür ve ağanın malikanesini de içine alır. Ağa gözleri önünde yanan evine bakakalır. Öyküde ağa ezen yaşlı kadın ise ezilen ve sömürülen konumundadır.

Festivaller ise Hindistan'da yaşamın ayrılmaz bir parçasıdır. Varlıklı Ailenin Kızı adlı öyküde Daşahra festivali ve Rāmīlā'dan, Yıkım adlı öyküde de Sankranti (hasat festivali)'nden bahsedildiği görülür. Öykülerde bu festivallerden söz edilirken, o gün neler yapıp nelerin yapılmadığından bahsedilir. Bu da Hintlilerin geleneklerine ne kadar sıkı sıkıya bağlı olduğunun göstergesidir. Öyküler aracılığıyla dönemin köy hayatını, sosyo-ekonomik ve kültürel durumunu anlamak mümkündür.

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## Reflections of Socialist Realism in Gladkov's "Cement"

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### Abstract

Socialist realism is the struggle to find a balance between ideology and literature. For this, one needs to transform literature into an ideology or vice versa. In this period, not what one thinks but what one has to say or write is said and written. Ideas of Lenin and statements taken from the decisions of the Writers' Union founded in 1932 are updated, and these decisions follow the path of becoming the ideological belief of literary works. Style, content, idea in the works of art and literature regarding the formation of new human type and of a new society, the literary movement of socialist realism after 1932, with its established principles and goals with respect to social function of art, gains the power that appeals to intellectuals from every walk of life. In this context, the following works of Soviet Russian literature: Maxim Gorky's "The Mother", Serafimovich's "The Iron Flood", Furmanov's "Chapayev", Gladkov's "Cement" and Fadayev's "The Rout (Razgrom)" are defined as prototypes underlying this literary movement.

The goal of this work is to introduce, within the context of socialist realism, the literary work, with full of vital lessons for socialists, by Gladkov who bears witness to history not only as a writer but as a revolutionary Bolshevik, namely "Cement" that tells about Soviet Russia after the civil war from a broad perspective ranging from transformations in human relations to those of consciousness; from struggles in daily life to a battle for universal revolution.

**Keywords:** Socialist realism, Gladkov, new human, writers' union.

### Introduction

Following the Bolshevik Revolution in 1917, the power ideology of imperialist Russian Empire changed, and the Soviet Union was founded in 1922 with a foundation philosophy based on communist, international and class ideology. The newly-founded Soviet Union regime started to build a new “Soviet society” with the effect of communist and socialist movements of thought. The most important movement of thought underlying the main foundation philosophy of the Soviet Union for the building of the society was socialism. Implemented in the political, economic, administrative, and social areas of the society, these movements of thought restructured the Soviet society within the framework of legal arrangements. This restructuring was observed to have been reflected on the works of art and literature during the social construction processes, and to have been supported by the government. However, in the Soviet hegemony formed in the light of these movements of thought, the government was known to have tightly controlled the works of art and literature. This government intervention, also known as Soviet censorship, had its effect on the works that reached the society in many ways (Barut, 2005, p. 13)

In 1925, central committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union determined the literature policy of the party. Therefore, the boundaries of free and banned literature were drawn. To institutionalize and implement this point central view, writer and literature associations were founded throughout the Soviet Union. Association of Proletarian Writers was founded in Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzstan in 1925 and 1927, respectively. They were mobilized by means of local newspapers and magazines. In 1932, new arrangements were made in line with the decisions taken by the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, namely the Bolsheviks, with regard to literary activities, and an Association of Soviet Writers was founded in every republic (Maksimenkov, 2003, p. 138).

The fruits of the works conducted during the ‘20s for literature to be ideologized ripened in the ‘30s. On 23 April 1932, the activities of all writer groups and organizations were terminated upon the decision of the central committee of the Communist Party. This decision, called “the re-foundation of literary organizations”, announced that the activities of all writer groups were terminated, including those of the Proletarian Writers Council. In the entrance section of this decision, the changes observed in the society since 1917 were referred to. The most important of these changes is the detection that the middle classes and their ideologies were lingering. Therefore, the termination of the activities of the literary groups were legalized with the objective of social harmonization. In

addition, this decision foresees that the writers who support the Soviet government platform and want to take place in the building of the socialist society shall join the Union of Soviet Writers. First step taken towards gathering the writers under the same roof, this decision ended the literary diversity of writer groups that existed in the '20s (Tagizade, 2006, p. 17).

After the activities of all writer groups and organizations were terminated upon the decision of the central committee of the Communist Party on 23 April 1932, works started to found a single union of writers. A writers' congress was organized in all national republics respectively. At the center, on the other hand, a special commission was founded at the politburo of the Soviet Union to solve the issue of the main method of Soviet literature. Under the presidency of Stalin, this commission was comprised of politburo members such as L. Kaganovich and P. Postyshev, as well as senior party executives such as A. Stetsky, in charge of propaganda and agitation at the central committee, and I. Gronsky, literary critic. The primary location for the literary works was the "Tsentrallyy Dom" in Moscow, where the translation activities, as well as the internal works of newcomers and the propaganda center were conducted. Gorky acted as the first president of this formation between 1934 and 1936 (Yakovlena, Access: <http://www.alexanderyakovlev.org/fond/issues-doc/68561>).

The results of the works of this commission yielded the use of the term "socialist realism", which was first mentioned in I. Gronsky's article published on 23 May 1932 on the literature newspaper. At the first assembly of the writers of Soviet Union on 1 September 1934, the victory of a single Soviet Union and a single culture was announced, and first comments were made on socialist realism, determined as the main method of Soviet literature. Among these comments, there were almost no aesthetic details within the definition of socialist realism, and the existing ones were changeable. The unchanged essence is comprised of ideological categories. The essence of socialist realism is Soviet realism. Soviet realism is, on the other hand, to see what you want to see, not the one there is (Tagizade, 2006, p. 18).

This dynamism in literature results from the effort to reveal the program to be followed in the formation of the new society, together with the new regime. The need to nourish these efforts, whose starting point is realism, with proletarian revolution and socialism results in the need to determine the elements selected as the base in the shaping of the society within this framework. Cultural revolution for the Bolsheviks is not only about art and education. They have the thought of a complete change in areas from theater to family, from literature to cinema, and from city planning to job engineering. The issue is to create a new

person, to form a new lifestyle. What is emphasized is that the Soviet literary people cannot be objective, and that they shall be party members to contribute to the reconstruction, and ideological liabilities were placed on the people of literature. Socialist realism literary movement, whose principles and objectives were detected in terms of format, content, thought and the social function of art in the literature and art works with regards to the formation of a new person type and new society, gained weight after 1932 in a way that enables it to address the intelligentsia from each fragment of the society (Yakovlena, Access: <http://www.alexanderyakovlev.org/fond/issues-doc/68561>).

The belief the society should have in socialism is planned to be reinforced by means of aggrandizing the heroes, crowning those contributing the revolution in art and literature, and revealing of new heroes. While doing so, the proletariat, villagers, and female heroes are symbolized for the society to aspire to them. Quality is important in the generated literary works of art; however, the criterion of quality is that they shall be realistic and look out for social benefits. In other words, the concept of beauty that is desired to be achieved is directly proportionate to the quality of the literary product, its reality, and benefit for the society. In this context, the prototypes that form the foundation of this literary movements in the Russian and Soviet literature are "The Mother" by M. Gorky, "The Iron Flood" by A. Serafimovich, "Chapayev" by D. Furmanov, "The Rout" by A. Fadeyev, and "Cement" by F. Gladkov (Uygur, 2005, pp. 23-30).

Written by F. Gladkov and published in 1925, "Cement" is one of the most important examples of socialist realism. The novel is on the Russian revolution narrated by the protagonist, Chumalov, a soldier returning from the Russian Civil War. Chumalov is a Bolshevik who took part in the October Revolution, heroically fought in the Civil War, and escaped death many times. The novel starts when Chumalov comes back to his seaside hometown after the end of the civil war. The country is in ruins. Hunger and poverty remaining from the Tsardom completely increases. While the armed struggle comes to an end for Chumalov, the unarmed and main struggle begins. When he comes back home, nothing is the way he expected them to be. The four years in which Chumalov was at the battlefield changes the lives of the Soviet people, villagers, proletarians, and women. His wife, Dasha, turns into a revolutionist from an obedient woman devoted to her child and family who struggles to keep her house clean. While her child, just like other children, is at the kindergarten, Dasha, as one of the most talented, hardworking, and revolutionist women in the city, endures great pain during those four years, and can survive by escaping from the tortures of White people.



As a result of what she goes through, Dasha becomes stiff like steel, and turns into someone very different than she used to be (Antonyan, 2016, p. 24).

*"No, this was not the same Dasha, not the old Dasha. Dasha, the wife he used to know, was dead. This woman was a total stranger, with her sun-burnt face, raising her chin in the air. The red scarf made her head look bigger, and gave her face an ill-tempered expression"* (Gladkov, 2015, p. 56).

Not only the people change, but the city changes as a whole. The factory in which Gleb Chumalov used to work is abandoned and dilapidated; the city that used to be lively is now surrounded with drowsiness, slackness, and hopelessness. The children at the kindergarten grow up neglected and without any opportunities; the city decays due to lack of production. The elements corrupting the proletarian revolution from the inside, officialism and their privileges, are very visible with the "no entrance" signboards on the doors of bureaucrats ruling at the city committees. Chumalov firstly decides to overcome the officialism of bureaucracy that is not able to understand that production is vital for a socialist transformation and to revive the factory. That cement factory, in which he and many others used to work, will save them all from hopelessness. The factory will not only produce cement, but re-include these people who need to be part of the newly-founded proletarian power in the production, the biggest power and progressive element of their classes.

*"Comrades, we are the cement - and we are the proletariat. You shall know it well, feel it deep in your heart. Leave the numbness, stop the animal husbandry. Let's knuckle down on what we know the best - our job is to produce the cement to be used in the formation of socialism"* (Gladkov, 2015, p. 116).

Along with the re-operation of the factory, many daily life problems are tried to be solved by venturesome and go-getter workers like Chumalov. The picturing of Chumalov as such an ideal Bolshevik is very successful in terms of picturing the contradiction between the bureaucracy and the self-sacrificing revolutionist generation who shouldered the October Revolution. Chumalov's never-stopping mind, revolutionist obstinacy, and the class animosity he feels towards anything that is pro-bourgeoisie and anti-socialism are the elements that refer to all Bolsheviks with pure sincerity.

These difficult days following the October Revolution are tried to be reflected in the novel from the Bolshevik militant point of view. Along with Chumalov, Gladkov was able to picture the disappointments experienced in this period by very different characters, such as price-paying communist militants Dasha, Polya, Yuk, and Sergei, and to deeply affect the reader. Some of the militants are

expelled from the party due to the attitude they maintain because of the anger the characters feel against the bureaucracy's making things difficult. The transformation of the person, together with his lifestyle, is the one element that is not limited to economic relations, shakes at the core all the individuals in the society and the relationships among them, and starts the placing of "new" instead.

*"Factory! What a manpower, what a labor was spent on the factory! There it was - beautiful, strong and proud! However, only yesterday, it was dead, a waste yard. What an amazing power they had! They were the ones who opened the mountain with pickaxes, shovel, and sledgehammers to construct the aerial line... And everything was ready for the factory to start operating again"* (Gladkov, 2015, p. 478).

A. Serafimovich says for "Cement", which reveals this transformation and the attitude of the new person, the following: "This novel is the general portrait of a country that made her revolution, the first fictional evaluation of the new lifestyle. This work of art was born from the revolution. The painting is not sharp-pointed, not shattered - it is wide, brave, and confident." The work of art had a deep impact on M. Gorky as well. In the letter he wrote to Gladkov in 1925, Gorky expresses his thoughts on the work: "Since the beginning of the revolution, this is the first work to have been brightly written on the most important theme of our day, work. This open-minded work of art pushes the buttons of the problem. The writers who attempted to address such an issue were not able to desire it with such artifice" (Pahomova, 1959, p. 113).

According to socialist realism, new Soviet person and society must be formed completely based on the ideological foundation addressed to in "Cement". According to G. Plehanov, Russian revolutionist and Marxist theoretician, "As the content of literature and art is realism, Soviet society shall be shaped by the realism patterns of socialist ideology. Content is very important for art, as well as for any activity; a work far from ideological reality is not art." The literary works of art presented to the society to shape it and to construct the proletariat with elements based on the socialist realism ideology shall be based upon socialist realism. The heroes in the work shall serve socialism and be aggrandized. Unity and harmony are vital in the revealing of socialist realism and the ideological transformations of individuals. Conflict in socialist realism is observed between the good and the best. The protagonists of the works are factory managers, collective farm owners, engineers, village teachers, petroleum workers, constructors, and team leaders. Moreover, if a writer is to portray a factory manager in a novel, play or story, he/she shall, first, embrace his/her daily life, social status, relations with the workers and the factory committee, economy plan at the Soviet factories, and its functions. Soviet writers shall portray these

facts in a way that enables the best impression to be created (Simons, 2008, p. 156). With its features, "Cement" is very important as a work of art that contributes a lot to socialist realism.

Thus, socialist realism, announced at the first writers' congress as the main method of Soviet literature, was formed as a tendency in the late 19th century and early 20th century. After the revolution and in the '20s, it went through a formation process towards becoming the main method of Soviet literature. Socialist realism was among the many literary movements in the '20s, however, it was able to destroy other movements in the '30s with the help of the government, gained a name, and became strong. Its most productive years were between 1935 and 1955. Following the partial freedom period called "Ottepel", namely the melting of snow, experienced in the aftermath of Stalin's death, six more meetings were made at the Soviet writers' union. However, pressure of socialist realism and censorship started to weaken, and lost its effect completely towards the '80s (Stakova, 2005, p. 24). Written in a period when this movement was the strongest and described by its writer as his "first and last love", "Cement" has never lost its effect since the day it was written, and could meet the readers with that era of Russia and the incidents in it in the most effective way.

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## **Reflection of Culture through Drama; A Study**

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### **Abstract**

As we say drama is a mirror of the society. In every culture drama has been more or less a mirror of society, we can say. There is no any condition that the drama has been adopt topics related the society. But, from ancient time this art has been took topics from the society. This is the only art form from which one can understand culture of that rated place. Drama reflects the whole society: moral values, beliefs, emotional states, living style, human tendancies etc. what important in drama is 'Imitation', imitation of the society. Greek drama was started during Dionesia. Greece people were art loving people. They organised different kind of festival and enjoyed singing, dancing, poetry over there. Talking about eastern culture, vedas were to complex for commeners. So, Brahma created the fifth Veda called 'Natyaveda' and the first drama was played here on Indra's 'Dhwaja Mohotsawa'. In both the culture starting days drama were the part of the festivals. Now we can say in drama knowingly or unknowingly we people see-festivals, peoples, emotions, situations, changing life styles, problems of that perticular place. Means in the history of the world, the drama and dramatic art have been the most potient factor in the education of mankind, for understand the culture of any society. From the ancient time to the modern age, drama reflects the real life of every age and every class; it reflects the moral values, social issues, economic level of the society. Through which we can able to understand the culture of any society. This paper will be the study of Marathi theatre where, how drama been reflect the culture. What cultural and social issues covered through Marathi drama on modern Marathi theatre. This topic will explain with the help of few selected dramas on Marathi theatre.

**Keywords:** Culture, Tradition, Drama, Human nature

## **Chapter 8:**

### **Territory, Language and Culture**

## **Greek Roots in Modern Toponymy of Turkey**

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### **Abstract**

The main value and the main purpose of geographical names — fixing places on the Earth's surface.

Toponymy (from the Greek topos — place and onyma — name) – an integral part of linguistics section of onomastics that studies proper, personal names. Toponymy studies geographical names (toponyms), their origins, meaning, development, current status, spelling and pronunciation.

Toponymy is an scientific discipline that is at the intersection of different sciences and is widely used in various fields. This is an source for the study of the history of the region, language, lexicology, dialectology, etymology, because some toponyms steadily maintain archaisms and dialect, often go back to the languages of the peoples lived on this territory, helps to restore the features of the historical past of the peoples to determine the boundaries of their resettlement, the limits of distribution of languages, geography of cultural and economic centres, trade routes.

For this reason by The General conference of UNESCO on 16 November 1972 the decision was taken: "to avoid distortions and renaming of historical names". The territory of modern Turkey was the place of origin and development of civilization over several millennia.

It is believed that in the era of Hellenism in a vast Empire of Alexander the Great there was fusion of Greek and Eastern cultures (350-100 BCE). It is no coincidence that the number of different structures, related to Ancient Rome and Greece, on the territory of modern Turkey much more than in other countries, excluding only Italy itself. The ancient known antique cities on the territory of Turkey are Ephesus, Troy, Pergamon, Assos, Aspendos, Perge, Phaselis, Olympos, Side, Priene, Miletus, Patara, Konya.

All of these cities are of great interest for foreign tourists. It is possible that they are attracted by the preserved original names of these sights as well.

**Keywords:** toponyms, UNESCO, civilization, tourists.

### **Greek Roots in Modern Toponymy of Turkey**

One of the important branches of linguistics is *onomastics* (from Greek *onomastikós* — related to the name, *onomá* — name, title). *Onomastics* studying proper names, the history of their emergence and transformation, as a result of long use in the language. A significant place in *onomastics* are geographical names, the main value and the main purpose of which is recording locations on the Earth's surface. The study of geographical names (toponyms), their origins, meaning, development, current status, spelling and pronunciation carries out scientific discipline *toponymy* (from Greek *topos* — place and *onomá* — name). Therefore it is not surprising that toponymy, which studies names of particular places, is an essential scientific discipline, which is at the junction of different sciences and is widely used in various fields. This is an important source for studying the history of the region, history of language, lexicology, dialectology, etymology and other sciences.

This is because in the most of cases the place names consistently maintain archaisms and dialect, often go back to the languages of the peoples who lived on this territory, help to restore the features of the historical past of the peoples, to determine the boundaries of their resettlement, to determine the limits of distribution of languages, geography of their cultural and economic centres, trade routes, etc. On the 16th November, 1972 The General conference of UNESCO adopted the Convention concerning the protection of world cultural and natural heritage. In this Convention, "cultural heritage" refers to monuments: architectural works, monumental sculpture and painting, elements or structures of an archaeological nature, inscriptions, caves and groups of elements which have outstanding universal value from the point of view of history, art or science; groups: groups of isolated or combined buildings, architecture, unity or communication with which landscape represent outstanding universal value from the point of view of history, art or science; sites: works of man or joint works of man and nature, and areas including archaeological sites representing outstanding universal value from the point of view of the history, aesthetics, ethnology or anthropology. Taking into consideration the importance of toponyms for a number of related sciences, the Convention called for respect for the place names "in order to avoid distortion and renaming of historical names".

Unfortunately, Mankind has long been sinned against its history, destroying the historic and architectural monuments, manuscripts, renaming of cities, squares, streets, mountains and rivers and even whole countries. Sometimes this was done with the aim to restore the historical justice, but are often made without



any historical necessity in favor of the ambitions of individuals, who was in power. There is no need to go far to look for examples. Russia: a lot of renaming after the revolution of 1917 and during the Soviet era – Saint-Petersburg – Petrograd – Leningrad – Saint-Petersburg; Tsaritsyn – Stalingrad – Volgograd; Turkey: Byzantium – Constantinople – Istanbul. In our time there have been changes in the names of major Indian cities: Bombay – Mumbai, Calcutta – Kolkata; Madras – Chennai.

The territory of modern Turkey was the place of origin and development of civilization over several millennia.

It is believed that in the era of Hellenism in a vast Empire of Alexander the Great there was fusion of Greek and Eastern cultures (350-100 BC). It is no coincidence that the number of different structures, related to Ancient Rome and ancient Greece, on the territory of modern Turkey much more than in any other countries, excluding only Greece and Italy. The most ancient known antique cities on the territory of modern Turkey (according to some estimates there are about 80) are Ephesus, Troy, Pergamon, Assos, Aspendos, Perge, Phaselis, Olympos, Side, Priene, Miletus, Patara, Konya, Knit and others.

Modern Turkey inherited an unusually rich and multifaceted cultural heritage, which is hard to fit into any limited framework. For hundreds of years traditions of the peoples of the Mediterranean, Anatolia, Caucasus, the Middle East, Central Asia, joined in an incredible alloy. With the entry into the new Millennium has significantly changed the attitude to the ancient traditions, everyday life of the Turks has changed significantly. But still encounter the unique elements that seamlessly fit into modern life, but sometimes need the protection of the state.

Before we start with the most interesting of them, I consider it is necessary to say a few words about ***Istanbul***, the city-legend, which in the year of 330 AD was called "New Rome" or "second capital of the world". Although the city was renamed, but it has preserved evidence that it was a cradle of civilization, Orthodoxy and the Slavic alphabet.

The main monument of the past of Istanbul is, of course, the Cathedral of Saint Sophia, former Patriarchal Orthodox Cathedral, later a mosque, now a Museum; the world famous monument of Byzantine architecture, the symbol of the "Golden age" of Byzantium. The official name of the monument today Hagia Sophia (Tur. Ayasofya Müzesi). During the Byzantine Empire, the Cathedral was the center of Constantinople, near the Imperial Palace. Now it is located in the historical center of Istanbul, Sultanahmet. In 1935 it acquired the status of a

Museum. In 1985 St. Sophia Cathedral among other monuments of the historic centre of Istanbul was included in the UNESCO World Heritage site.

More than a thousand years Saint Sophia Cathedral in Constantinople remained the largest Church in the Christian world until the construction of St. Peter's Cathedral in Rome.

Returning to *toponyms* with Greek roots, one should start with **Ephesus**. Ephesus – the oldest city in the world and one of the most famous centers of worship of Artemis – was a large city back in the days when Rome was a small village. The ruins of ancient Ephesus, located 4 km South of the Turkish town of Selcuk, are the most visited tourist attraction of Turkey, and the second most important ancient city in the Mediterranean after Pompeii in Italy.

One of the main attractions of Turkey is **Troy** – a city that has become legendary thanks to the "Iliad" of Homer, in which the author describes the battle for this city. No less than the legendary steel and the history of excavations at the site of Troy, conducted by the eminent archaeologist, G. Schliemann. In the place, which was described by the great Greek poet, it was found more than a dozen of settlements of different periods, from 3000 BC. The Last city, which preserved the street, the temple of Athena, theater, existed from the first century to 500 BC. Modern Troy is a huge area, which to this day being excavated. Their goal is to find any evidence of the story described in the great Homeric epics. Many legends and myths for several centuries encourage scientists, archaeologists and adventurers to make their – let it be very small – contribution to the discovery of the mysteries of this magnificent city, which once was one of the main commercial arteries of the ancient world.

Among other Turkish *toponyms*, having Greek roots, it should be noted the city of **Side**. This ancient Greek city (VII century BC) in the South-Western coast of the Mediterranean sea, 75 km from Antalya now is the popular tourist resort with remarkable monuments of the past.

Of the ancient settlement of **Perge** (18 km from Antalya), which was famous for the largest in Middle East stadium and its baths, today there are only ruins, but for those who are attracted by the atmosphere of ancient Greece, this place is a real find. Modern research suggests that Perge existed already in the 15th century BC. It denies the deep-rooted legend, that the city was founded by the prophet Kalasam after the Trojan War in the 12th century BC. It is still preserved ruins of the largest stadium with seats for 12,000 people.

**Aspendos** (ancient Greek Ἀσπενδος) is an ancient city on the southern part of Turkey. The ruins of the city are 35 km from Antalya, near the village of Serik. It is

believed that the ancient Aspendos was founded in the fifth century BC by colonists from Argos. It is a reason for admiration – the beautifully preserved Roman Amphitheatre and the ruins of a Roman Aqueduct, which still has its original height. In ancient times it supplied Aspendos with water. To this day it is the largest in Turkey. Its length is over 20 km.

**Laodicea** (Greek Λαοδίκεια) is an ancient city in Turkey near the village of Eskihisar 6 km East of Denizli. It was built in the III century BC by king Antiochus II of the Seleukid dynasty. The name of the town was in honor of the wife of the king Laodicea. Now you can explore the ruined Nymphaeum, pretty much destroyed the stadium built in the first century, the complex of baths, the gymnasium, the Foundation of the ionic temple and two theaters - big and small. Hierapolis - the ancient city with a very rich history – part of the Roman Empire it then became part of the Byzantine Empire. Once worshiped the ancient Greek and Roman gods, Hierapolis became one of the most important centers of Christianity. With the Greek Hierapolis translates as "Sacred city". The first buildings on this place appeared in the 2nd Millennium BC. The city is well preserved and has a rich history.

No less interesting is the city of **Konya**, which was founded over six thousand years ago and was part of Hittite Empire, then became the capital of a vast Empire, including Iran and Iraq. In Greek the town appears as Ikonion (Iconium). In more recent time here lived Omar Khayyam and Rumi. Today one can visit the Museum with the tomb of Rumi (Mevlana Jalaluddin Muhammad Rumi; 1207-1273) – a prominent Muslim philosopher, poet and mystic.

Under the skies of Middle East in the city of **Assos** (not far from the Turkish city of Çanakkale) Aristotle founded the first school of philosophy. Here is a brilliant philosopher of the Ancient World has developed this world. His ideas were dominated over the minds of man until the Middle Ages.

Turkey is famous not only historical and architectural monuments, but also the extraordinary natural phenomena, the most interesting of which are **Pamukkale** and **Capadoccia**.

The preservation of the Greek roots in the modern Turkish toponyms undoubtedly attracts more and more foreign tourists to visit Turkey.

We cannot choose our parents: they are given to us by God. Similarly, the people, the nation cannot choose its history – this is good, but that is bad. You may not follow the example of your parents and to go your own way, but you have to respect your parents, whatever they are, to take care of them, to protect them. So is with the history of the nation. Let's respect our History, take care of it, do

not try to embellish, and especially do not try to rewrite it for the sake of someone's personal interest.



## **Relationship between Culture and Language**

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### **Abstract**

The relationship between culture, language and literature cannot be overemphasized. Culture shows itself in everything-language, literature, performing arts, verbal and non-verbal behaviour of people, etc. We not only represent but also embody our respective cultures. Cultures may differ in codes, conducts, cuisines and culinary delights, customs, conventions, costumes or clothing, courtesies, conversation or communication, clock-time, concepts, conveniences, calendars, currencies, contracts, contacts, queues and quietness, courting, questions, crossing, consumerism, collaboration and competition, collectivism and crafts. The present paper focuses attention chiefly on relationship between language and culture.

**Keywords:** culture, language

### Introduction

The world has become a global village. Gone are those times when every nation was like an island. People in the past did not require communicating with people from other cultures like we do today. Today, people travel from their own countries to other countries for employment, business, tourism, etc. They need to communicate with people from various cultures and so need to be aware of the fact that cultures differ in many ways. What is considered acceptable, polite and appropriate in one culture may not be considered so in another culture. Patterns of behaviour reflect varying perceptions of the principles of power and solidarity.

### What is language?

*“Language is the road map of a culture. It tells you where its people come from and where they are going”* Rita Mae Brown

Language is the ability to acquire and use complex systems of communication, particularly the human ability to do so, and a language is any specific example of such a system. Language is the divine gift of the god. It is language that distinguishes man from animals. Language is man’s finest asset. To the philosopher, language may be the instrument of thought, for we think through language. Language is an extremely important way of interacting with the people around us. Without language we cannot communicate with people. As it is a vital tool for communication. We all know that we are living in multilingual world that is becoming globalized and therefore it is very important to know more than one language. By learning more than one language it could open many career doors, it can help us progress in our career, we can gain awareness of other cultures and it can increase our understanding and knowledge towards language. In today era it is compulsory to learn at least 2 languages. Knowing language is not only means of communication but it builds economic relationships, friendships, and culture ties. As we all know that English language had become a unique language, but in this world there are still many people who don’t know even English language. English is one such connecting links. Learning language fascinate opportunities to develop their listening, speaking, reading and writing skills and to express themselves with full confidence.

John Stuart Mill referred that “language to be the light of the mind”. In today era, the basic knowledge of a single or more language has become crucial. Language has become the major tool of communication between countries, cultural groups, varies companies and organizations, communities and friends. Wittgenstein says

“The limit of my language is the limit of my world”. He implies that people those who speaks one language, live only in one world. A baby is born without language, but even without any formal training, at the age of 4 or 5, the child knows several hundred words and grammar of a particular language. For a last few years, millions of people across the world, who share common interest, are able to communicate with each other and exchange ideas. Not only they are able to do this due to advanced technology, but also because they share a common language. Language is the bridge which connects individual and the outside world. Language is closely related to the culture, you can only get to understand the person very well if you can speak his language. Due to the development of technology, our world today is the world of information with a fast speed of globalization. Thus understanding each other through language become an even more important issue. Language is like a vehicle that we use in presenting our ideas, thoughts, feelings, and opinion to the world.

As Chomsky proves the purpose of language he said “the purpose of language is for communication”. Krech also explained the major function of language form the following three aspects:

- 1) Language is the primary vehicle of communication.
- 2) Language reflects both-the personality of the individual and the culture of the society.
- 3) Languages make possible the growth and transmission of the culture and the continuity of societies and the effective functioning and control of social group.

### **Meaning of Language**

According to Benjamin Whorf “Language shapes thoughts and emotions, determining one’s perception of reality”. Language is a tool to transmit information, learn knowledge, express feelings, emotions, and ideas, construct social identity. As we all know that language plays a great role in the process of transmitting knowledge. Now days, at a very earlier age of the life everybody learns a different – different language and this means of communication will be used throughout in order to give and receive knowledge. A quote from The Status of Linguistics as a Science by Sapir summarizes “Human beings do not live in the objective world alone, nor alone in the world of social activity as ordinarily understood, but are very much at the mercy of the particular language which has become the medium of expression for their society.”

Language is a living and dynamic phenomenon, and people have always found ways of expressing their thoughts, feelings even in the most tightly controlled and oppressive societies. In fact language is continuously creating new words in order to define a new concept.

Man has rightly been called “a talking animal”. Man is gifted with the quality of speech, which differentiates him from other living beings. Language consists of words, idioms and syntax.

Through language human beings think, feel, judge, and express. In producing this speech man will utter some sounds. These sounds are conventionalized and recognized as common usage and provide the social aspect of a language. In short, language is speech. Language and life are inter-related.

### **What is culture?**

Culture is like gravity. We do not experience it unless we jump two metres into the air. It jolts us out of our complacency when we are uprooted from our own milieu and planted into another, either temporarily or permanently. It is so glutinous that it sticks to us from womb to tomb. Although, we can integrate ourselves into our adopted culture to some extent, our own culture stays with us perennially, follows us like our own shadow, wherever we go. Consequently, each one of us is an ambassador of our own culture. Our cultural identity peeps through our personal as well as interpersonal behaviour, both verbal and non-verbal.

As Patil (2002) says, culture, like a banana flower or onion, exists in layers. We can only understand it if we peel it layer by layer, cover by cover. However, it is easier said than done. The outer layer is easy to perceive, as it comprises concrete and tangible manifestations like art, monuments, food, language, etc. The middle layer consists of norms and values, and hence it takes us some time to unfold it. The inner layer is rather difficult to penetrate because it subsumes assumptions about birth, life, death, happiness, unhappiness, and so on. Cultures may differ in codes (language, literature, law, etc.), conducts (verbal and non-verbal behaviour), cuisines and culinary delights (e. g., curry, pasta, pizza, sushi and sashimi and so on), coaxing (hospitality, the way guests are perceived and treated), customs, conventions, costumes or clothing, courtesies (norms of politeness, the power principle and solidarity principle, etc.), conversation or communication (greetings, topics, turn-taking, opening and closing sequences, patterns of interruption, etc.), clock-time (how people perceive and manage time), concepts, conveniences (toilet habits, fast food habits, household devices, etc.), calendars (solar, lunar,



etc.), currencies (pictures of national heroes, national animals and national birds, etc., heritages, and language/languages we find on paper currencies), contracts (negotiation tactics, clarity or ambiguity in terms and conditions of business agreements, etc.), contacts (eye contact, physical touch, physical distance people maintain when they converse, etc.), queues (have a look at how people in most South Asian countries board trains and buses), quietness (see the difference between levels of sound pollution caused during festivals and wedding ceremonies in countries such as India on the one hand and those in Europe or Japan), courting (arranged and love marriages), questions (which questions to ask and which to avoid), crossing (observance and violation of traffic rules), consumerism (attitude to material possessions and physical gratification), collaboration, cooperation and competition, collectivism (whether individuals are secondary to society or vice versa) and crafts (handicrafts, souvenirs, etc.).

Culture is a very complex phenomenon. It takes even the most thoughtful, honest and introspective person many years to understand even a small part of their own culture. How, then, can we be sure about what constitutes another culture? Time and again, we come across people who talk as if we could measure the contents and list the characteristics of another culture as easily, accurately and fully as the contents of a suitcase. This is not to say that we ought not to try to understand more about other people's cultures, but only that we must be very modest and tentative about what we think we have found out.

### **What are the types of cultures?**

We usually classify cultures into two main types: (i) universalist, individualist, neutral, self-centred, non-ascriptive, and (ii) particularist, communitarian, emotional, other-centred, ascriptive cultures. In the former type of culture, rules and regulations are considered universally applicable. In other words, relationships, connection, influences do not meddle with their application. Secondly, this type of culture prioritizes individual freedom and privacy. Thirdly, in this type of culture, rational thinking gains the upper hand over the emotional approach. To put it differently, the head dominates the heart. Fourthly, people pursue personal comforts and pleasures almost hedonistically. Finally, individual achievements rather than seniority, connections, and relationships are accorded weight. Cultures that belong to the second category exhibit different behaviour patterns. Here, no doubt rules and regulations are important, but very often personal preferences, relationships and connections tend to wield control over them. Secondly, the needs of the community take precedence over individual

requirements. Thirdly, people tend to put a premium on emotional appeal rather than on rational argument. It seems that these people are more inclined towards the dictates of the heart than those of the head—

### **What is the relationship between culture and language?**

The relationship between culture and language has two main aspects to it. First, it is similar to that between generality and specificity or that between a super-ordinate lexical item and a hyponym: language is one aspect of culture. Secondly, language and culture are as inseparable as dance and dancer. It is this inseparability which offers English language teachers opportunities to familiarize their learners with various cultures, and lexical, idiomatic, grammatical and pragmatic properties of different varieties of the English language. At the same time, the synchronous existence of culture and language poses pedagogical challenges for teachers of English as a second/foreign language.

Cultures determine the means in which individual's process and cope with information, as it provides the frame of reference as per the concepts and objectives that make a language. Meanings of particular words depend on the historical relation that is ascribed to the object being described. Verbal and non verbal communication also affects the way in which culture is shaped. It can express the differences in culture quite clearly, as different groups interpret non verbal communication differently. This is a fact expressed in many different ways by media outlets, and is celebrated rather than ridiculed. Verbal and non verbal communication can help define the way in which intercultural communication can interact, and is of significance as it allows for individuals to learn the difference existing in various cultures as per their gestures and body language.

Every language can represent the role of culture through its own reflection of reality it presents. The versions differ as every nation has had to face a different set of problems to arise at their current state. There are different set of values and beliefs attached to each, and they are all equally important, and as far as language is concerned, is supposed to be just as important as it is a reflection of the nations identity. The role of culture in language and its bearings as per its evolution are highly significant and felt every day in each culture.

### **Implications for language Teaching**

Teachers must instruct their students on the cultural background of language usage. If one teaches language without teaching about the culture in which it

operates, the students are learning empty or meaningless symbols or they may attach the incorrect meaning to what is being taught. The students, when using the learned language, may use the language inappropriately or within the wrong cultural context, thus defeating the purpose of learning a language. Conflict in teaching styles also stem from the relationship between language and culture.

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## **Zelve Valley During Byzantine Period: First Observations**

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### **Abstract**

Zelve Valley is 2 km far from Göreme-Avanos road and consisted of three valleys. Byzantine period rock constructions and sites in Zelve Valley and on its sides constitute the major axis of this research.

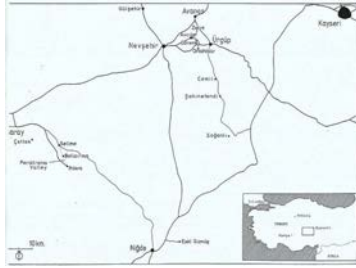
The region was one of the important center of population and religious of Christians between the 9<sup>th</sup> and 13<sup>th</sup> centuries. Balıklı Kilise, Üzümlü Church, Geyikli Church, Yazılı Church, Holy Cross Church, Church Number 1 and Church Number 2 are among the most important religious architecture of the valley, and also a lot of civil architecture examples such as houses, kitchens, cookstoves and stables and agricultural structure examples such as wine workshops are located in this valley. These structures haven't been dealt with as a whole within Cappadocia Region before, but only religious structures have been included. Dealing with civil and agricultural structures together with the religious ones is important to reveal the social life of a settlement in rocks. For this reason, civil and agricultural structures are important as well as religious structures.

The purpose of this study is to document the valley studying on it as a whole, to bring these structures, which are in a difficult position because of both natural and human destructions, to the world of science, to try to determine the place and importance of the Byzantine settlement in rocks in the region within the art of Byzantine.

**Keywords:** Byzantine Period, Zelve Valley, Church, Housing, Stable, Wine Workshop, Cookstove, Kitchen.

### Bizans Dönemi'nde Zelve Vadisi: İlk Gözlemler

Antik adı Venesa olan Avanos'un yüzeyine kurulmuş olan Zelve Vadisi, Hristiyanların önemli dini merkezlerden biridir. Bir haç merkezi olduğu ve keşişlerin inzivaya çekildiği yer olarak bilinmektedir (Thierry, 1994, s. 323). Zelve Vadisi, Jerphanion tarafından ziyaret edilmiştir. Fakat Jerphanion sadece Rahip Simeon'u ziyaret etmiş ve Zelve yollarında gördüklerini anlatmıştır (Thierry, 1994, s. 323). Ayrıca Zelve hakkında Papaz Gransault'tan dinledikleri ile yetinmiştir. Zelve, üç vadiden oluşmaktadır. Yerleşimin beşinci yüzyılda başladığı bilinmektedir (Thierry, 1994, s. 323). Fakat Arap akınlarıyla Venesa şehri büyük bir harabeye dönüşmüş, bu yüzden bölge 9. ve 10. yy da yeniden kurulmuştur (Thierry, 1994, s. 323). Vadide dini, sivil, zirai ve ticari yapılar bir arada bulunmaktadır.



Harita 1: Avanos- Zelve (Rodley, 1985, s. 11)

I No'lu yapı; Zelve Açık hava Müzesi sınırları içerisinde, müzenin giriş kapısının kuzey doğusunda yer almaktadır. Gezi güzergâhı üzerinde bulunmamaktadır. Yapı kuzeydoğu-güneybatı yönünde dikdörtgen planlı bir mekân<sup>1</sup> ile güneybatısına bitişik güneydoğu kuzeybatı yönünde ikinci bir mekândan oluşmaktadır (Çizim 1, Fotoğraf 1). Muhtemelen bu mekânın ahır olarak kullanılmış olabileceğini düşünümekteyiz.

<sup>1</sup> 7.60x6.36 m. ölçülerindedir.



Çizim 1: I No'lu Mekanın Planı  
(Güneri, 2015)



Fotoğraf 1: I No'lu Yapının Genel  
Görünüşü (Güneri, 2015)

Yapının giriş mekanında güneydoğu duvarında beş tane niş bulunmaktadır<sup>2</sup>. Kuzeydoğu duvarında bir tane küçük boyutlu ve daha yükseğe yapılmış bir niş vardır. Yapının giriş kısmı yani kuzeybatı duvarı kısmen yıkılmış olup, sadece iki ayak günümüze ulaşmıştır. Güney batı duvarında bir niş, diğer mekanla bağlantılı bir pencere<sup>3</sup> ve diğer mekana girişi sağlayan düzgün dikdörtgen bir kapı bulunmaktadır (Fotoğraf 2,3).



**Fotoğraf 2:** I No'lu Yapı Giriş Mekanı  
(Güneri, 2015)



**Fotoğraf 3:** I No'lu Yapı Giriş Mekanı  
(Güneri, 2015)

İkinci mekan güneydoğu kuzeybatı yönde dikdörtgen planlıdır<sup>4</sup>. Güneydoğu yönü genişletilmiş ve yuvarlatılmıştır. Güneybatı duvarında hafif yuvarlatılmış dikdörtgenimsi bir niş yer almaktadır<sup>5</sup>. Kuzeydoğu duvarında doğu tarafında diğer mekanla bağlantıyı sağlayan düzgün dikdörtgen planlı bir kapı<sup>6</sup> kapının kuzeyinde

<sup>2</sup> Nişler yaklaşık 0.80 m genişliğinde, 0.53 m. derinliğindedir.

<sup>3</sup> Pencere sonradan kapatılmıştır.

<sup>4</sup> 4.75x 2.40 m. ölçülerindedir.

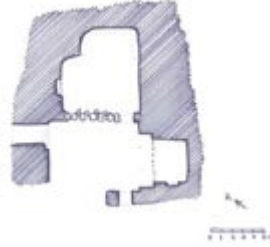
<sup>5</sup> Niş 0.93 m genişliğinde 0.59 m derinliğindedir.

<sup>6</sup> Kapı 0.98 m genişliğindedir. Et kalınlığı 0.77 m'dir.

sonradan örülerek kapatılmış bir pencere bulunmaktadır<sup>7</sup> (Fotoğraf 4). Tavanları düzdür.



**Fotoğraf 4:** I No'lu Yapı İkinci Mekanı  
(Güneri, 2015)



**Çizim 2:** VII No'lu Yapı Planı (Güneri, 2015)

VII No'lu yapı; müze girişinin doğusunda yer almaktadır. I No'lu Kilise'nin batısında orta kotta bulunmaktadır. Yerleşim alanı ile ilgili birim olarak düşünülmektedir. Yapı giriş mekanı ile ona bağlantılı diğer bir mekanla beraber iki mekandan oluşmaktadır (Çizim 2).

Giriş mekanı kuzeydoğu güneybatı yönünde dikdörtgen planlıdır<sup>8</sup>. Giriş mekanına kuzeybatıdan düzgün dikdörtgen bir kapı<sup>9</sup> ve yine güneybatıdan düzgün dikdörtgen çerçeveli bir kapıdan<sup>10</sup> girilmektedir (Fotoğraf 5-6). Güneydoğusunda kuzeydoğu güneybatı doğrultuda düzgün bir niş bulunmaktadır<sup>11</sup> (Fotoğraf 7). Tavanı düzdür.



**Fotoğraf 5:** VII No'lu Yapı Genel Görünüşü (Güneri, 2015)



**Fotoğraf 6:** VII No'lu Yapı Ön Mekana Güneybatıdan Giriş Kapısı (Güneri, 2015)

<sup>7</sup> Pencere 1.52 m genişliğinde 0.77 m derinliğindedir.

<sup>8</sup> 6.40x3.00 m. ölçülerindedir.

<sup>9</sup> Kuzeybatıdaki giriş kapısı 1.10 m genişliğinde ve 1.70 m derinliğindedir.

<sup>10</sup> Güneybatıdaki kapı 0.60 m genişliğinde ve 1.26 m derinliğindedir.

<sup>11</sup> Pencere 1.52 m genişliğinde 0.77 m derinliğindedir.



**Fotoğraf 7:** VII No'lu Yapı Ön Mekanda  
Yeralan Niş (Güneri, 2015)



**Çizim 3:** VIII No'lu Yapı Değirmen Planı  
(Güneri, 2015)

Ön Mekanın kuzeydoğusunda ikinci mekan yer almaktadır. İkinci mekana güneydoğu köşede düzgün dikdörtgen bir kapıdan giriş sağlanmaktadır<sup>12</sup>. Bu bölüm günümüze orijinal haliyle gelememiş, kapının yanında yer alan açıklık taş bloklarla kapatılıp, pencere yeri açılmıştır. İkinci mekan kuzeydoğu güneybatı yönünde olup dikdörtgen planlıdır<sup>13</sup>. Yapı günümüzde orijinalliğini kaybetmiş, u şeklindeki duvar nişi sonradan açılmıştır. Türk Dönemi'nde ihtiyaca göre işlev kazanmıştır. Vadideki en büyük sıkıntı üzerinden ikinci bir kullanımın geçmiş olmasıdır. Yapının kuzeybeti duvarında düzgün dikdörtgen bir niş<sup>14</sup> ve bu nişin ortasında yine ikinci bir niş bulunmaktadır<sup>15</sup>.

VIII No'lu yapı olan değirmen, üçüncü vadi 'de yer almaktadır. Balıklı ve Üzümlü Kilise'nin bulunduğu kaya kütesinin kuzeyinde bulunan değirmen, yerleşimdeki tek örnektir (Çizim 3). Zelve Vadisi'ndeki mimari yapıyı konu alan kaynaklarda değirmen hakkında herhangi bir bilgi yer almamaktadır. Değirmene giriş güneydendir. Girişin doğusunda iç içe yaklaşık dikdörtgenimsi iki mekân bulunmaktadır ve bir tünelle devam etmektedir. İkinci mekânın doğu duvarındaki uzun geçidin, tam olarak nereye açıldığı belirlenememiştir (Fotoğraf 8-9).

<sup>12</sup>. 0.74 m genişliğinde ve 0.20 m derinliğindedir.

<sup>13</sup>. 4.42x 3.00 m. ölçülerindedir.

<sup>14</sup>. Niş 1.01 m genişliğinde ve 1.10 m derinliğindedir.

<sup>15</sup>. Niş 0.83 m genişliğinde ve 0.43 m derinliğindedir.





**Fotoğraf 8:** VIII No'lu Yapı Değirmene  
Genel Bakış (Güneri, 2015)



**Fotoğraf 9:** VIII No'lu Yapı Doğru  
Duvarındaki Mekan ve Geçit (Güneri,  
2015)

Değirmenin bulunduğu yer üç bölümden oluşmaktadır. Batıda yer alan mekân doğu-batı yönde olup dikdörtgen planlıdır<sup>16</sup>. Kuzeyinde bir niş, güneyinde de bir baca ile bir niş bulunmaktadır. Doğusunda yer alan bir kapı ile ikinci mekâna geçilmektedir<sup>17</sup> (Fotoğraf 10-11-12). İkinci mekân kuzey güney yönünde olup dikdörtgen planlıdır<sup>18</sup>. Batısında ve kuzeyinde birer niş yer almaktadır (Fotoğraf 13). Değirmen bu bölümün doğusunda bulunmaktadır. Bu bölüm doğu batı yönünde dikdörtgen planlıdır<sup>19</sup>. İki bölüme ayrılmıştır. Doğudaki bölüm seki şeklindedir. Batıdaki kısımda ise değirmen yer almaktadır. Düzensiz planlı değirmenin merkezinde, zeminde, daire şeklinde döner taşın tam ortasında oyuk bulunmakta ve bu oyuğun ortasından kol geçmektedir. Bu kol sayesinde döndürme hareketi yapılmakta ve alttaki havan taşına konulan buğdayın kepeği çıkarılmaktadır. Güç kaynağı olarak da antik dönemde insan gücü, daha sonraları da hayvan gücü kullanıldığı bilinmektedir. Seki bölümünde iki niş, değirmenin olduğu bölümde de bir niş yer almaktadır (Fotoğraf 14). Değirmenin yanında yer alan mekânlar muhtemelen öğütülen buğdayları depolamak için kullanılmış olmalıdır.

<sup>16</sup> 4.50x1.20 m. ölçülerindedir.

<sup>17</sup> 1.65x0.45 m ölçülerindedir.

<sup>18</sup> 5.70x2.10m ölçülerindedir.

<sup>19</sup> 6.50x3.80m ölçülerindedir.



**Fotoğraf 10:** VIII No'lu Yapı Değirmen Batıda Yeralan Mekan (Güneri, 2015)



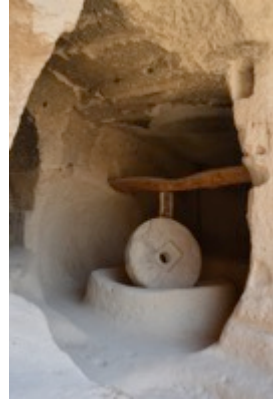
**Fotoğraf 11:** VII INo'lu Yapı Değirmenin Batıda Yeralan Mekanın Güneyinde Yeralan Baca (Güneri, 2015)



**Fotoğraf 12:** VIII No'lu Yapı Değirmenin Batıdan Doğuya Bakış (Güneri, 2015)



**Fotoğraf 13:** VII No'lu Yapı Değirmen Mekan (Güneri, 2015)



**Fotoğraf 14:** VIII No'lu Yapı Değirmenin Olduğu İkinci Mekanı (Güneri, 2015)

XI No'lu Yapı, Balıklı ve Üzümlü Kilise'nin güneyinde yer almaktadır. Vadinin doğusunda bulunmaktadır. Yapı muhtemelen bir yerleşim kompleksidir. Büyük bir kısmı yıkıktır. Yapı iki katlıdır. Alt katı günlük yaşam alanı, üst katı ise odalardan oluşmaktadır<sup>20</sup>. Alt kattaki bölüm iki bölümden meydana gelmektedir (Çizim 4). Kuzeydeki bölüm kuzey güney doğrultuda dikdörtgen planlıdır<sup>21</sup>. Kuzey tarafının büyük bir bölümü yıkılmıştır. Batıdan bir açıklıkla yapıya giriş sağlanmaktadır (Fotoğraf 15).

<sup>20</sup> Sadece alt kattaki bölümün krokisi çıkarılabilmektedir. Diğer birimler çok hasar görmüştür.

<sup>21</sup> 5.40x3.80 m ölçülerindedir.



**Çizim 4:** XI No'lu Yapı Planı (Güneri, 2016)



**Fotoğraf 15:** XI No'lu Yapı I. Mekânı (Güneri, 2016)

İkinci kısma, I. bölümün güney duvarından düzgün dikdörtgen bir kapıyla giriş sağlanmaktadır<sup>22</sup>. İkinci mekân doğu batı yönünde dikdörtgen planlı ve beşik tonozludur<sup>23</sup>. Bu bölümün kuzey kısmı yıkılmıştır (Fotoğraf 16).



**Fotoğraf 16:** XI No'lu Yapı II. Mekân Görünüşü (Güneri, 2016)



**Fotoğraf 17:** XI No'lu Yapı Yapı Kompleksi (Güneri, 2016)

XI No'lu yapının iki katlı olarak yapıldığı düşünülmektedir. Bütün yerleşim alanları bir arada bulunmaktadır. Kalabalık aileler için tasarlanmış olabileceğini düşündüğümüz bu konutlar ön cephesi tümüyle açık bir giriş mekânına açılan, birbiri ile bağlantılı, düz tavanlı ve duvarları nişli odalardan ibarettir. Yerleşimin bazı bölümlerinde ise tek mekânlardan oluşan, düz tavanlı basit konut tipleri de görülmektedir. XI No'lu mekânın üst katında bir bölümü yıkılmış düzgün odalar bulunmaktadır. Bu odaların güneyinde üst örtüsünün bir bölümü yıkılmasına rağmen kalan kısmından anlayabileceğimiz mutfak bölümü dikkat çekicidir.

<sup>22</sup> 1.14 m genişliğinde, 1.00 m derinliğindedir.

<sup>23</sup> 6.50x3.45 m ölçülerindedir.

Mutfagın üst örtüsü koni şeklinde olup ancak çok az bir kısmı günümüze gelebilmiştir ( Fotoğraf 17-18-19).



**Fotoğraf 18:** XI No'lu Yapı Oda  
Olarak Düşündüğümüz Mekâna  
Giriş (Güneri, 2016)



**Fotoğraf 19:** XI No'lu Yapı Mutfak  
Bölümü (Güneri, 2016)

XIII No'lu yapı Zelve Açık hava sınırları içerisinde olup vadinin güney doğusunda yer almaktadır. Yapı kompleks şeklinde oluşturulmuştur. Yaşama alanlarından oluşmaktadır ve birbiri ile bağlantı sağlanmaktadır. XIII No'lu yapı güneydoğu kuzeybatı yönünde olup yaklaşık kare planlıdır<sup>24</sup> (Çizim 5). Yapıya güneybatıdan dikdörtgen bir kapı ile giriş sağlanmaktadır<sup>25</sup>. Yapının batı köşesi sonradan düzgün olmayan taşlarla düzensiz bir şekilde doldurulmuştur. Kuzeybatı duvarında biri büyük biri küçük olmak üzere iki tane niş bulunmaktadır<sup>26</sup>. Kuzeydoğu duvarında biri büyük biri küçük iki tane niş<sup>27</sup> ve güneydoğu duvarında yine biri büyük biri küçük iki niş<sup>28</sup> yer almaktadır. Güneybatı duvarında yapıya giriş kapısı ve bir tane niş vardır<sup>29</sup>. Tavanı düzdür. Yerde güneydoğu köşede bir tane depo yeri bulunmaktadır<sup>30</sup>. Güneydoğu kuzeybatı doğrultusunda dikdörtgen planlı bu bölüm,

<sup>24</sup> 3.50x3.00 m ölçülerindedir.

<sup>25</sup> Kapı 1.11 m genişliğinde ve 0.60 m derinliğindedir.

<sup>26</sup> Nişlerden büyük olan 0.47 m genişliğinde ve 0.37 m derinliğindedir. Küçük olan 0.15 m genişliğinde ve 0.18 m derinliğindedir.

<sup>27</sup> Büyük olan 1.25 m genişliğinde ve 0.26 m derinliğindedir. Küçük olan 0.30 m genişliğinde ve 0.25 m derinliğindedir.

<sup>28</sup> Büyük olan 1.89 m genişliğinde ve 0.33 m derinliğindedir. Küçük olan 0.35 m genişliğinde ve 0.26 m derinliğindedir.

<sup>29</sup> Niş 0.98 m genişliğinde ve 0.35 m derinliğindedir.

<sup>30</sup> 0.70x0.70 m ölçülerindedir.

muhtemelen depolama işlevinde kullanılmış olmalıdır (Fotoğraf 20, 21). Fakat orijinalliğini koruyamamıştır.



**Çizim 5:** XIII No'lu Yapı Planı (En soldaki) (Güneri, 2016)



**Fotoğraf 20:** XIII No'lu Yapı Giriş Kapısı (Güneri, 2016)



**Fotoğraf 21:** XIII No'lu Yapı İçten Görünüşü (Güneri, 2016)

XIV No'lu yapı olan fırın; Zelve Açık hava Müzesi sınırları içerisinde olup vadinin güneydoğusunda yer almaktadır. XIII No'lu yapının kuzeydoğusundadır. Küçük boyutta yapılan fırın ön mekân olarak adlandırdığımız giriş mekânının kuzeybatı duvarındadır (Bakınız Çizim 5). Fırın küçük boyutta yuvarlak kemerli nişe oyulmuştur<sup>31</sup>. Yarım daire planlıdır. Fırının tam ortasındaki daire biçimindeki oyukta ateş yakılmakta üst bölümünde ise ekmek ve diğer yiyecekler pişirilmektedir (Karakaya, 2008, p. 34). Fırının mutfaktan ayrı oluşu, şarap işliği ile yan yana olması ilgi çekicidir. Giriş bölümünde alt kotta yer almaktadır. Üst örtü koni şeklindedir. Fakat kısmen yıkılmıştır (Fotoğraf 22, 23).

<sup>31</sup> Ön mekan 2.10x 1.75 m ölçülerindedir. 1.60x 1.75 m ölçülerinde bir nişe oyulmuştur.



**Fotoğraf 22:** XIV No'lu Yapı Fırının Genel Görünüşü (Güneri, 2016)



**Fotoğraf 23:** XIV No'lu Yapı Fırının Görünüşü (Güneri, 2016)

XV No'lu yapı olan şarap işliğı, Zelve Açık hava Müzesi'nin sınırları içerisinde yer almaktadır. Fırının kuzeydoğu bitişığindedir (Bakınız Çizim 5). Yapı şarap işliklerinden tek ezme havuzlu ve tek toplama havuzlu plan tipine girmektedir. Bu tipteki işlikler, basit bir yapılanmadan oluşmaktadır. Şarap işliğı, kare ya da dikdörtgen planlı ön mekân etrafında, sadece bir üzüm ezme havuzu ve şıranın toplandığı haznenin bulunduğu şıra biriktirme haznesinden oluşan, basit diyebileceğimiz plan tipinde yapılmıştır (Frankel, 1997, p. 74). Ön mekân düz tavanlıdır. Bu gruptaki dikdörtgen ve kare olan üzüm ezme havuzları, ön mekâna yuvarlak kemerlerle açılır.



Tek Bir Üzüm Ezme Havuzu ve Tek Bir Şıra Biriktirme Haznesine Sahip Olan Plan Tipi (Güneri, 2013).

Yapı, ön mekân ve şarap işliğı bölümünden oluşmaktadır. Ön mekâna güneydoğudan bir açıklıkla girilmektedir. Giriş dikdörtgen formdadır. Ön mekân kuzeybatı güneydoğu yönünde dikdörtgen planlıdır<sup>32</sup>. Bu mekânın güneybatısında yerden bir niş mevcuttur<sup>33</sup>. Güney yönünde fırınla bağlantıyı sağlayan düzgün hatlı

<sup>32</sup> 3.40x 2.50 m ölçülerindedir.

<sup>33</sup> 1.52 m genişliğinde ve 0.55 m derinliğindedir.

dikdörtgen bir kapı bulunur<sup>34</sup>. Kuzeydoğu duvarında bir niş vardır<sup>35</sup>. Ön mekânın zemininde şıranın saklandığı amphoraların yerleştirildiği daire biçimli yuva görülür. Tavanı düzdür. Üzüm ezme havuzu, ön mekânın kuzeybatısında olup, güneybatı kuzeydoğu yönünde dikdörtgen planlıdır<sup>36</sup>. Üzüm ezme havuzu ön mekâna kademeli yuvarlak kemerle açılır<sup>37</sup>. Ezme havuzu ile toplama havuzu arasında bir perde duvarı görevi görecektir şekilde bırakılan bölme duvarına açılan bir adet küçük akıtma kanalı ile iki bölüm arasındaki bağlantı sağlanmaktadır. Yani ezme havuzunda elde edilen sıvı, bu akıtma kanalı yoluyla toplama havuzuna biriktirilmektedir. Akıtma kanalı, toplama havuzuna bir oluk şeklinde uzatılmıştır<sup>38</sup>. Toplama havuzu, ezme havuzunun güneybatısında yer almaktadır. Üstten yuvarlak görünümlüdür<sup>39</sup>. Toplama havuzu, ezme havuzunun kısa kenarında bulunan bir akıtma kanalı ile bağlantılıdır. Toplama havuzları, sadece ezme havuzlarından preslenen üzümden çıkan sıvının toplanması için kullanılmaz, aynı zamanda mayalanma için sıvının bekletildiği kaplar olarak da kullanılmaktadır. Toplama havuzu, üzüm ezme havuzundan daha aşağıda yapılmıştır (Güneri, 2013, p. 44) (Fotoğraf 24).



**Fotoğraf 24:** XV No'lu Yapı Şarap İşliğinin Görünüşü (Güneri, 2016)



**Fotoğraf 25:** XVI No'lu Yapı Genel Görünüşü (Güneri, 2016)

XVI No'lu yapı, şarap işliğinin doğusundadır. Yapı kuzeydoğu güneybatı yönünde dikdörtgen planlıdır<sup>40</sup>. Küçük bir mekândır. Yerleşimle ilgili bir bölüm olduğu

<sup>34</sup> 0.90 m genişliğinde ve 0.63 m derinliğindedir.

<sup>35</sup> 0.55 m genişliğinde ve 0.33 m derinliğindedir.

<sup>36</sup> 2.26x1.46 m ölçülerindedir.

<sup>37</sup> Kemer kalınlığı 0.51 m.'dir.

<sup>38</sup> 0.44 m. uzunluğunda, 0.15 m. genişliğindedir.

<sup>39</sup> Toplama havuzunun ağız çapı, 0.81x0.90 m.'dir.

<sup>40</sup> 1.40x3.60 m ölçülerindedir.



düşünülmektedir. Kuzeybatı duvarında iki tane küçük niş bulunmaktadır<sup>41</sup>. Kuzeydoğu duvarında bir tane niş vardır<sup>42</sup> (Bakınız Çizim 5) (Fotoğraf 25).

XVII No'lu Yapı, XVI No'lu yapının kuzeydoğusunda yer almaktadır. Yapıya güneydoğudan düzgün dikdörtgen bir kapıdan girilmektedir<sup>43</sup>. Yapı plan olarak farklılık göstermektedir. Hafif dairemsi bir plana sahiptir. Yapının batısından sekiz merdivenle hafif kavis yaparak üst kata ulaşılmaktadır (Bakınız Çizim 5). Üst kat küçük boyutta olup kare planlıdır. Güneydoğusunda pencere açıklığı vardır. Yapının yüksekte olması, vadiye hakim bir yerde bulunması ve boyut olarak küçük olmasından dolayı gözetleme kulesi olarak yapılmış olabileceğini düşünmekteyiz (Fotoğraf 26, 27).



**Fotoğraf 25:** XVII No'lu Yapı Genel Görünüşü (Güneri, 2016)



**Fotoğraf 26:** XVI No'lu Yapı Genel Görünüşü (Güneri, 2016)

Kutsal Haç Kilisesi, Avanos ilçesinin 5 km kadar güney doğusunda, ikinci vadinin doğusunda yer almaktadır. Kutsal Haç Kilisesi yayınlarda 2 No'lu Kilise olarak geçmektedir (Jerphanion, 1932, pp. 582-583) (Teteriatnikov, 1998., p. 232) (Thierry, 1994, pp. 335-340). Tek mekânlı<sup>44</sup>, doğu-batı doğrultusunda uzanan kilise dikdörtgen planlıdır (Thierry, 1994, p. 336) (Jerphanion, 1932, p. 582). Beşik tonoz ile örtülü olan kiliseye ait bir inşa kitabesi bulunmamaktadır. Kiliseye batıdaki beşik tonoz örtülü dikdörtgen bir açıklıktan girilmektedir (Fotoğraf 28). Bu açıklığın üst kısmında bir yazıt yer almaktadır (Thierry, 1994, p. 336) (Fotoğraf 29).

<sup>41</sup> Nişlerden güneybatıda olanı 0.65m genişliğinde 0.36 m derinliğinde, kuzeydoğuda olanı 0.60m genişliğinde ve 0.35 m derinliğindedir..

<sup>42</sup> Niş 0.65 m genişliğinde ve 0.40 m derinliğindedir.

<sup>43</sup> 0.81 m genişliğinde 0.70 m derinliğindedir.

<sup>44</sup> Kilisenin ana mekânı 5.39x10.50 m. ölçülerindedir.



Σημηρον Θεου  
 τητλον<sup>1</sup> η[ρηνης ?]  
 πυ[λι] παραδης[ου]  
 [ι]λ[ασ]μα πταισμα[το]ν  
 θρ[α]σ[ο]ς [α]σθ[αι]νον  
 κλισις [ε]θνο[ν]  
 οπ[λ]ο[ν] αι[τι]τον  
 υ[ψ]ι: [ου]ρανο[ν] ισ[ον]  
 .....  
 .....

Σημετον Θεοῦ,  
 τίτλος εἰρήνης,  
 πύλη παραδείσου,  
 ἱλασμα πταισμάτων,  
 θράσος ἀσθένων,  
 ὕλησις ἐθνῶν,  
 ὅπλον ἀήττητον,  
 ὕψι οὐρανῶν ἴσον<sup>2</sup>  
 .....  
 .....

(Thierry, 1994, s. 336)

Açıklaması: Ey kutsal haç, tanrının simgesi, İsa'nın unvanı, cennetin kapısı, kusurların akıntısı, yoksulların cüreti, halkların çağrısı, yenilmez silah, nefretin sarsılmazı, üç kere kutsanmış değnek, dilerim tanrı Khristos'u ve O'nun ellerini dilediğince hoşnut edersin. Niketas... (Thierry, 1994, p. 336).



**Çizim 6:** Kutsal Haç Kilisesi planı  
 (Thierry, 1994, p. 338)



**Fotoğraf 28:** Kutsal Haç Kilisesi (Güneri, 2016)



**Fotoğraf 29:** Kutsal Haç Kilisesi Giriş  
 Kapısı ve Kapı Alınlığında Yer Alan



**Fotoğraf 30:** Kutsal Haç Kilisesi Apsisi  
 (Güneri, 2016)

Yazıt (Güneri, 2016)

Doğuda yarım daire planlı apsis yer almaktadır (Fotoğraf 30)<sup>45</sup>. Apsis, zeminden iki basamak yüksekliğinde olup iç yüzeyinde sıva izleri bulunmaktadır. Apsisin içinde dikdörtgen altar vardır<sup>46</sup>. Altar iyi korunmuş durumdadır.

Kilisenin güney duvarında yan yana iki kör niş ya da arkad düzenlemesi bulunmaktadır (Fotoğraf 31) (Jerphanion, 1932, p. 334). İkisi de yuvarlak kemerle sonlanmıştır. Doğudaki niş kemeri, iki kademeli silme ile çevrelenmektedir. Bu düzenleme iki niş arasında kalan duvar yüzeyinde de devam etmekte ve batıdaki niş kemerini de çevrelemektedir. Duvar yüzeyinin üst kısmı ise, zikzak motiflerinden oluşan friz düzenlemesine sahiptir. Zikzak motifleri doğu ve batı duvar yönünde aşınmıştır. Her iki niş de alt seviyede seki düzenlemesine sahiptir. Bu bölümde; kilisenin, çift üzüm ezme havuzlu tek toplama havuzlu plan tipine giren şarap işliği bulunmaktadır (Güneri, 2013, p. 44; Y) (Fotoğraf 32). Bu işlik tipinde, ezme havuzlarında gerçekleştirilen pres işleminden elde edilen sıvı, her iki ezme havuzuna da birer akıtma deliği ile bağlanan ortak bir toplama havuzuna birirmektedir<sup>47</sup>. Üzüm ezme havuzları, ön mekâna yuvarlak kemerle bağlanmaktadır. İşlikteki üzüm ezme havuzları iki kademeli silme ile çevrelenmiştir. Kemer üst kısmında batı yönünde zikzak motiflerinden oluşan friz düzenlemesi görülmektedir. Nişin iç kısmındaki duvar yüzeyi kemer alt seviyesinde yuvarlak bir şekilde oyularak kademelendirilmiştir. Niş, seki düzenlemesine sahiptir. Şarap işliğinin zemin seviyesinde olasılıkla çocuk mezar yeri bulunmaktadır.



**Çizim 7:** Çift Üzüm Ezme Havuzu ve Tek Bir Şıra Biriktirme Haznesine Sahip Olan Plan Tipi (Güneri, 2013)



**Fotoğraf 31:** Kutsal Haç Kilisesi Güney Duvarındaki Kör Niş Düzenlemesi (Güneri, 2016)

<sup>45</sup> Apsis, 3.71x4.96 m. ölçülerindedir.

<sup>46</sup> Altar 0.84X 1.00 m. ölçülerindedir.

<sup>47</sup> Doğudaki üzüm ezme havuzu 3.25x 2.25 m, batıdaki ise 2.30x 1.85 m ölçülerindedir. Toplama havuzunun ağız çapı 0.97 m.dir.



**Fotoğraf 32:** Kutsal Haç Kilisesi Güney Duvarında Yer Alan Şarap İşliği (Güneri, 2016)



**Fotoğraf 33:** Kutsal Haç Kilisesi Kuzey Duvarındaki Kör Niş Düzenlemesi (Güneri, 2016)

Kilisenin kuzey duvarında beş kör niş yer almaktadır (Fotoğraf 33). Doğu-batı doğrultusundaki dört niş oldukça iyi korunmuştur. Nişlerin kemerleri iki kademeli silme ile çevrelenmiştir. Nişler, alt seviyede seki düzenlemesine sahiptir. En doğudaki beşinci niş ise zaman içerisinde kaya yüzeyinin aşınması sebebiyle bozulmuştur. Kuzey duvarda, niş kemerlerinin bitiminden itibaren başlayan, zikzak motiflerinden oluşan bir friz düzenlemesi yer almaktadır (Fotoğraf 34).



**Fotoğraf 34:** Kutsal Haç Kilisesi Kuzey Duvarındaki Zikzak Motiflerinden Oluşan Friz Düzenlemesi (Güneri, 2015)



**Fotoğraf 35:** Kilise'nin Batısında Yer Alan Giriş Kapısı (Güneri, 2016)

Kilise, batısında bulunan kapı açıklığının üstünde, dikdörtgen biçimli bir pencere açıklığı ve bu açıklığın kuzeyinde bulunan kare bir açıklık ile aydınlatılmaktadır (Fotoğraf 35). Giriş açıklığının güneyinde ve kuzeyinde zeminde, irili ufaklı mezar yerleri bulunmaktadır. Kutsal Haç Kilisesi'nin kuzey batısında bir şapel yer almaktadır. Şapel tek nefli ve tek apsislidir.

Kilisede konulu sahne yoktur. Kilisenin batısında, mekâna girişin sağlandığı dikdörtgen kapının kuzey duvarında zikzak motifleri görülmektedir. Güney

duvarda ise kırmızı kökboyası ile yapılmış Latin haçı vardır (Tuncer, 2014, p. 25). N. Thierry, kapı açıklığının üst kısmında bulunan arkadların ortasında Latin haçı tasvirinin olduğundan bahsetmektedir (Thierry, 1994, p. 335). Bu haç tasviri günümüze ulaşamamıştır. Araştırmacı, haç tasvirinin kollarının ucunda da inci motiflerinin bulunduğu söz etmektedir (Thierry, 1994, p. 334). Kırmızı boyalı arkad tasviri ise kısmen günümüze ulaşabilmiştir. Arkad kemerinin içi zikzaklar ile bezenmiştir. Kapı açıklığının kuzey ve güney iç duvarlarında, daire biçimindeki kademeli olarak çerçeveler içine alınmış, orta kısmı dört kademe, haç kolları iki kademe şeklinde yapılmış kabartma malta haçı yer almaktadır (Jerphanion, 1932, p. 582). Bu tasvirlerin benzerleri Güllüdere Vadisi'ndeki dini yapılarda da görülmektedir. İnşa kitabesinin olmaması ve duvar resimlerinin bulunmaması kiliseyi tarihlendirmede zorluk yaşatmaktadır (Teteriatnikov, 1998., pp. 232-237). Kutsal Haç Kilisesi; Balkan Deresi'nde yer alan Kubbeli Kilise, Çavuşin'de yer alan Vaftizci Yahya Kilisesi, Güllüdere'deki 3 no.lu şapel, Zelve 1 No'lu Kilise ile birlikte, plan olarak farklı olmalarına karşın, mimari öğeler ve süsleme bakımından benzerlik göstermektedir. Balkan Deresi'nde yer alan Kubbeli Kilise'nin tavanı üzerindeki kornişin yanı sıra dairelerin etrafına oyulmuş zikzak motifleri aynı dönem özelliği göstermektedir (Teteriatnikov, 1998., pp. 232-237). Bu motif aynı kilisede apsis yönünde yuvarlak madalyonda Güllüdere'deki Şapel 3'de, Çavuşin'deki Vaftizci Yahya Kilisesi'nin güney koridorunun doğu duvarında ve tavanında, Zelve Kutsal Haç Kilisesi'nin duvarlarında yer almaktadır. Aynı motif ayrıca 6. Yy Zawovni St. Vardal Kilisesi'nde de bulunur. Genellikle 5. Ve 6. Yy kiliselerinde bu klasik motif sıklıkla kullanılmaktadır (Teteriatnikov, 1998., pp. 232-237). Erken ermeni mimarisini inceleyen Tokarskii 6.yy dan 7. Yy ın ortalarına kadar tarihlenen bazı ermeni kiliselerinde bulunan bu frizlerin en son 7 yy. ın ortalarını gördüğünü söylemiştir (H. M. Токарский, 1961, pp. 149-154). Birçok ermeni kilisesi yazıtlarla tarihlendirilebildiğine göre 7. yy'ın ortaları bu mimari motif için son tarih olarak kabul edilebilir. Kornişte ve dairelerin etrafını dolaşan zikzak motifleri bu yüzyılın kiliselerinde görülür. Tüm bu motiflerin varlığı tesadüf olamaz. Muhtemelen Kapadokya'daki bu kiliselerde yer alan süsleme; aynı sanatçı grubu tarafından çalışmış ya da aynı yerel atölyenin elinden çıkmış olmalıdır. N.B. Teteriatnikov 2 no.lu kilise olarak adlandırdığı Kutsal Haç Kilisesi'ni 6. Yüzyıla tarihlendirmektedir (Teteriatnikov, 1998., pp. 232-237). Araştırmacı ayrıca Balkan Deresi'nde yer alan Kubbeli Kilise, Çavuşin'de yer alan Vaftizci Yahya Kilisesi, Güllüdere'deki 3 No.lu şapeli 6. Yüzyıla tarihlendirmektedir (Teteriatnikov, 1998., pp. 232-237).

N. Thierry, Zelve Vadisi'ndeki Hristiyanlık dönemine ait yapıların mimarisinin 5. yüzyıla ait olduğu görüşündedir (Thierry, 1994, p. 321). Sonuç olarak; vadideki

yaşam muhtemelen 5. yüzyılda başlamış olmalıdır. Vadideki kiliselerin resim programlarında konulu sahne olmayışı, bazı figürlerin İkonoklazma Dönemine tarihlenmesi, vadideki yaşamın ikonoklazma veya öncesindeki yüzyılda başlamış olabileceği ihtimalini desteklemektedir (Thierry, 1994, p. 321). Arap akınları ile birlikte tahrip olan bölge, 9. ve 10. yy da kısmen yeniden kurulmuştur (Thierry, 1994, p. 323). Daha sonra da Türk Dönemi'nde kullanılmaya devam etmiştir. Bölge ile ilgili çalışmalarımız devam etmektedir. Vadide dini, sivil, zirai ve ticari yapıların bir arada kullanıldığını görmekteyiz. Fakat vadide ikinci bir kullanımın olması, tarihlendirmeyi zorlaştırmaktadır. Çalışmamızın ilerleyen aşamalarında vadiyle ilgili daha net sonuçlara ulaşabileceğimiz kanaatindeyim.

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## **Chapter 9:**

### **Traditions, Customs and Rituals**

## **Horse-Sacrificial Ceremonies in Turkish and Indian Cultures**

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### **Abstract**

Sacrificial ceremonies accompanied by a number of rituals to gain the believed creator's satisfaction, to carry out a vow, to kick off evil spirits and to gain abundance and fertility have been carried out from the prehistoric ages. In these rituals existing in many religions, the sacrifices offered to the creator are basically divided into two categories such as bloody and bloodless. Whereas the bloodless sacrifices especially are consisted of goods, foods and beverages, in bloody sacrifices, human and animals are used as altar. The species of animals in the bloody sacrifices vary according to cultures. The horse known as “the wing of the Turks” among these animals is also one of the altars in these sacrificial ceremonies. The horse having much importance in Turkish culture also maintains its importance in Indian culture and especially offers to God with great ceremonies called as “Ashvamedha”.

In this works, it will be revealed horse-sacrificial ceremonies in Turkish and Indian cultures, and it will be presented how and in which ways these rituals are carried out and also the ceremonies applied by two different cultures.

**Keywords:** Ashvamedha, Horse, Horse-Sacrificial, Sacrificial Ceremonies

### **Türk ve Hint Kültüründe At Kurban Törenleri**

Arapça kökenli olup “dinin buyruğunu ya da bir adağı yerine getirmek için kesilen hayvan” manalarına gelen (Türkçe Sözlük, 2011: 1529) “kurban”, Eski Türklerde “Yağış” olarak tanımlanmakta, kurban törenlerine ise “yağışlık tapıg” denilmekte idi. (Divitçioğlu, 2000: 67) Türklerde kurban, sadece canlı bir hayvanı kesip, kanını akıtmak için uygulanmayıp onları doğaya serbest bırakılmaları ile de uygulanırdı. Bu noktada Türk kültüründeki kurbanları kansız ve kanlı olarak ayırmak mümkündür. Saçı, ıduk (ruhlara bağışlanmak üzere saliverilen hayvanlar), (Kâşgarlı Mahmud, 2003: 67) yalma (ağaçlara veya kamın davuluna bağlanan paçavralar), ateşe yağ atma, tözlerin ağızlarını yalama ve kımız serpmeye kansız kurbanlara örnek teşkil eder. (Gömeç, 2011: 63) Bu kansız törenlerden en önemlisi saç’dır ve hemen hemen bütün Türk boylarında müteşekkire olup günümüzde dahi bazı bölgelerde uygulanmaktadır. (Gömeç, 2011: 63; Kurtoğlu, 2009: 89-99) Saçıda kullanılan malzemeler ise çağa ve topluluk için önemine göre değişmektedir. Bunlar avcılık devrinde; avın kanı, yağı ve eti, çobanlık devrinde; süt, kımız ve hayvanların yağı, çiftçilik devrinde ise darı, buğday, meyve, altın, para, mücevher gibi kıymetli eşyalardır. (İnan, 2000: 100)

Kanlı kurban törenlerinde ise büyük ve küçükbaş hayvanların kullanıldığı bilinmektedir. At, koyun, öküz, deve ve ren geyiği en sık kullanılan kurban hayvanlarıdır. Kurbanların sayısı ölenin ve ailesinin zenginliğine göre bazen yüzleri bazen de binleri bulurdu. İbn Fazlan’a göre kurbanların iki gayesi vardı: ilki ölümden gelecek zararlardan kurtulmak bir diğeri de ölümden sonraki hayatında ölüyle lüzumlu şeyleri göndermek. Ancak Oğuzlarda ise bu ölümden sonraki hayatında yaya yürümemesi için ölüye kurbanı takdim edildiğini yazmaktadır. (İbn Fazlan, 1995: 131) Bu hayvanların başında ise at gelmektedir. Çünkü Türk’ün en değerli varlığı attır. Öyle ki, “Türk’ün Kanadı” olarak bilinen at, sahibi öldükten sonra bile onu yalnız bırakmaz. Sahibi vefat eden at, en kısa sürede kurban edilir. Eski inançlara göre bu kurban işlemi gecikmemeli aksi takdirde felaketler yaşanabileceğine inanılırdı. Dolayısıyla kendilerine ait en önemli varlıklarını Tanrıya kurban sunmaları, onların tanrıya olan bağlılığını göstermekte idi. Türk topluluklarındaki at kurbanı konusunda çok ayrıntılı bilgilere ulaşılamasa da farklı yöntemler kullanıldığı bilinmektedir. Herodot’un bilgilerine göre defin merasiminde hükümdarın mezarının içinde boş kalan yerlere atlarının boğulup konulduğu ya da hükümdarın ölümünün sene-i devriyesinde en güzel atlarından elli tanesinin boğulup, içleri boşaltılıp saman doldurularak dikildiği bilgileri yer alır. (Herodot, 2006: 323-324)



Türk adetlerine göre kurban edilecek atın rengi de dikkat çeken bir unsurdur. Geleneğe göre daha çok ak, boz ve sarı atlar kullanılır. Beyaz renkli atlar iyi ruhlara ya da Tanrılara sunulduğu Ögel'in " Hıtaılar'da beyaz ata binerek, beyaz tilki avlama merasimleri, beyaz atla beyaz öküzün Gök Tanrısına kurban edilmesi, bir şehir zapt edildikten sonra, yine beyaz atla koyunların kurbanı, Çok Eski Türk-Moğol adetlerinin bize gelen akisleridir" (Ögel, 1998: 500) cümlelerinden gayet net bir şekilde anlaşılmaktadır.

Sarı atların büyük saygı ziyaretlerinde kurbanı edildiği bilinmektedir. Ancak bu renkteki atların tercih edilme sebebinin Türk kültürü açısından önemli oluşundan mı yoksa sarı rengin soylu tabakayı işaret etmesinden mi olduğu net olarak bilinmemektedir. (Ögel, 1998: 522)

Türk destan ve mitlerinde sık bir şekilde geçen kır ya da boz at da daha çok Şaman ayinlerinde kurban edilmekte, daha sonra da etinin iyi bir parçası şamana verilip kalanı merasimlere katılanlara dağıtıldığı böylece kurban edilen atın ruhunun şamanla birlikte gökyüzünde dolaştığı ve üçüncü cennete ulaştığı düşünülür. (Seyidoğlu , 1996: 51-56)

Bunların yanı sıra bazı hastalıklar için de belirli renklerdeki atların kurban edildiği bilinmektedir. Örneğin gök at, baş hastalıklarından, boz at, karın ve göğüs hastalıklarından, doru at veremden, sarımtırak atların romatizma gibi hastalıklardan kurtulmak için kurban edildikleri bilinir. (Gömeç, 2008: 76)

Eski Türklerde bu kurban merasimleri kutsal oldukları kabul edilen özellikle dağ (doğu yamacı), su kenarı, mağaralar, büyük taş ve ağaç altları gibi yerlerde gerçekleştirilirdi. (Günay-Güngör, 1998:52,63; Eberhard, 1947:18) Kurbanlar Tanrı'ya kesilerek değil boğularak sunulur. Ayrıca bu hayvanların kemikleri kırılmaz, köpeklere verilmez onun yerine ateşe atılır<sup>1</sup> veya gömülürdü. Bazı özel törenlerden sonra ise kurban kemikleri toplanarak bir kaba konulup kayın ağacına asılırken at kurbanlarının kafatası bir sırtık üzerine takılırdı. Bazı Türk topluluklarında ise kurban edilen atın derisi bir sırtığa geçirilip tıpkı at şekline sokulurdu. Altay Türkleri buna "baydara" Saha Türkleri ise "tabık" ya da "kerek" , derinin takıldığı ağaca ise "tükölö" ismini verirlerdi. (Gömeç, 2008: 77; İnan, 2000: 101)

Türk kültürü içinde yer alan bu kurban törenleri elbette ki belirli dönemlerde gerçekleştirilmekte idi. Mesela ataları anmak için yapılanlar yeniay ve dolunayın

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<sup>1</sup> Kurban etinin ve kemiklerinin yakıldığı ateş (ot) kendi başına kült oluşturmaktadır. Türk kültüründe "Ateş" kurbanı, göğe veya adandığı ruha ulaştırmasının yanında temizleyici, hastalıklardan arındırıcı bir ruh olarak da kabul edilir (İnan, 2000: 68-71).

ilk günleri, Tanrıça Umay'a sunulanlar yeniayın dokuzuncu günü, büyük Tanrılara sunulanlar ilkbahar ve yazın belirli zamanlarında icra edilirdi. Ayrıca Çarşamba ve Cuma günleri yaslı gün sayılıp cenaze gömme ve anma merasimleri bu günlerde gerçekleştirilirdi. (Özderim, 1963:19; Akgün, 2007:144).

At, Hint kültürüne yabancı olmakla birlikte onun Hindistan'a Ariler ile birlikte girdiği ve özellikle Ak Hun döneminde kullanımının yaygınlaştığı tahmin edilmektedir.

At, eski Hint metinlerinde "Aşvamedha" adı verilen at kurban törenleri ile anılmaktadır. Bu törenlere Hint-Ari topluluğunun hüküm sürdüğü Kuzey Hindistan topraklarıdır. Kronolojisi net olarak bilinmeyen bu törenler ilk olarak Vedalar, daha sonraki dönemlerde ise Brahmanalar, Puranalar, Mahabharata ve Ramayana gibi edebi metinlerde Aşvamedha'dan bahsedilmektedir. (Stutley, 1969:253)

Aşvamedha törenleri ile ilgili olarak ilk bilgiler Veda kitaplarının ilki olan Rgveda'nın I. kitabının 162-163. beyitinde (şloka) yer almaktadır. Burada atın övülmesinden çok onun güneş ile olan bağlantısından söz edilmekte iken Rgveda'nın V. kitabının 61.2-3 ilahisinde ise atın bir savaş ve aristokrat aracı olduğu vurgulanmaktadır. (Stutley, 1969:255) Ayrıca Rgveda'nın 7. kitabının 18. ve 19. ilahilerine at sahipleri Dasyu kabilesi olarak görülür. Ancak Rgveda metinleri hakkında yorum yapan bazı araştırmacılar onların atı savaşta kullandığına dair bilgi olmadığını vurgulamaktadırlar.

Meşhur Hint efsanesi Okyanusun Çalkalanması sırasında okyanusun derinliklerinden çıkan bir atı anlatır. Burada beyaz renkli ve iki kanatlı olarak sembolize edilen at Uchchaihsharawas (Williams, 2004:173) adını almaktadır. Ayrıca Puranik dönem tanrılarında Indra'nın da kutsal evine (svarga) at ile gittiği bilgisine de ulaşılmaktadır.

Hint kültüründe de, Türk kültüründe olduğu gibi at kurban törenleri düzenlenmekte idi. Bu törenler Türklerdekine nazaran çok fazla gösteriş ve şaşa içerirdi. Hintte bu at kurban törenlerine "Aşvamedha ismi verilir. Vedik ritüeller arasında en büyük ve en karmaşık tören olarak bilinen (Teshima, 2005: 1004) Aşvamedha, hükümdar ve devlete şans ve zenginlik getirmesi için yapılır. Söz konusu törendeki at genellikle Hindu tanrılarında Agni (ateş Tanrısı), Soma (Kutsal bitki Soma'nın tanrısı), Vāyu (rüzgâr tanrısı), Indra (savaşçı Tanrı), Mitra (güneş) ve Varuna'ya (su ve okyanus Tanrısı) sunulur. (Stutley, 1969:256)

Aşvamedha dini bir tören olmasının yanı sıra askeri bir kutlamadır (Śatapatha Brahmana 12.4.1) ve tören sonunda hükümdar ve devlet kutsanmış sayılır. (Śatapatha Brahmana, 13, 2.2.1) Aşvamedha törenlerini iki aşamada ele almak gerekir. Bunlardan ilki törene hazırlık aşaması diğeri ise seremoni kısmıdır. Hazırlık

aşamasında damızlık at seçilir ve yukarıda ismini saydığımız tanrılar tarafından kutsallaştırılır. Daha sonra bu at Tanrılara öncülük etmesi ve fethedilmemiş topraklara ulaşması için kuzey-doğu yönünde dolaşması için özgür bırakılır. Bu dolaşma esnasında ise yüz prens, yüz haberci, yüz savaşçı, yüz yönetici oğulları ata eşlik eder. (Stutley, 1969:256) Bu bir yılın sonunda at hiçbir yenilgiye uğramaz, kralına ihanet etmez ve kendi topraklarına geri dönerse o gerçekten kutsal sayılıp aşvamedha töreninde kurban olmaya layık görülür. Seremoni aşaması ise şu şekilde icra edilir: tören yerinde hükümdar ve onun dört eşi bulunur.<sup>2</sup> Bunlar, Mahiṣī (büyük eş), Vāvātā (en sevdiği eş), Parivrkta, ve Pālāgalī. Tören yerinde bu eşlerin etrafında da yüz hizmetçi, yüz suta kastına ait, yüz savaş arabası kullanan ve yüz tane de prenses yer alır.

Tören Adhvaryu, Hotr, Brahmin ve Udgatr adlı din adamlarının eşliğinde yazın, ay dolunay halini almadan 4 gün önce başlar ve üç gün sürer. Bu üç gün boyunca pirinç pişirilir<sup>3</sup> ve pişirilen bu pirinçler hükümdar ve ona eşlik eden eşleri ile din adamlarına sunulur. Bir tane at yavaş yavaş yıkanır, temizlenir. (Śatapatha Brahmana, 13, 4.1-8) Bu at 400 asker tarafından korunur. Bu askerlerden 100 tanesi zırh giyinmiş, 100 tanesi kılıçlarla, 100 tanesi yaylarla donatılmış ve geriye kalan 100 tanesi de tören kıyafetleri giyinmiştir. Ayrıca bu yüzer kişilik grupların ayrımını belirtmek için 100 tane de atlı askerler vardır. Sunak olan at, 100 yaşlı at ile çevrilidir. Hükümdarın etrafı da devlet görevlilerinden oluşan 100 kişi ile çevrelenir. Hükümdara en yakın olanlar eşleri, kardeşleri ve çocuklarından oluşan sekiz kişi vardır. (Pamcaviṃṣa Brahmana 19.1.4) Bu sekiz kişi ikiye bölünür dört bir yanda dururlar. Daha sonra meydana bir direk getirilir ve at ona bağlanır. Ardından güvenlik amaçlı etrafına 20 direk daha dikilir. 12 tane hayvan getirilir ve bu hayvanlar sunak olan atın gövdesine bağlanır. Merkeze en yakın olan direklere 17, bir sonraki sıradaki direklere de 16 geri kalan direklere de 13'er hayvan bağlanır ve toplamda 337 evcil, 260 tane de evcil hayvan bağlanmış olur. Artık kurban etme işlemi başlar ve önce at daha sonra da etrafındaki evcil hayvanlar kurban edilir. Vahşi hayvanlar ise serbest bırakılır. (Kak, 2001:34)

Rigveda'da anlatılan Aşvamedha töreni biraz farklıdır orada sadece iki kurban vardır: at ve keçi. (Rigveda 1.162. 2-4, Rigveda 1.163.12; Kak, 2001: 34; Teshima, 2005: 1001-1004) Elde edilen bilgilere göre tören sırasında atın göğsüne keçi bağlanır ve kurban töreni öyle gerçekleşir. (Stutley, 1969: 258)

<sup>2</sup> Bu durum her hükümdarın dört eşi var anlamına gelmemektedir. Ancak hükümdarların tek bir eşi de yoktur. Burada dört sayısı ile vurgulanmak istenen kast sınıflarıdır.

<sup>3</sup> Bolluğu simgelediği için pirinç tercih edildiği düşünülmektedir.

Meşhur Hint destanlarından biri olan Ramayana'nın Bala Kanda bölümünde kral Dasharatha'nın uyguladığı ashvamedha törenleri anlatılır. (Ramayana, Bölüm 8, Bala Kanda)



Resim: Sahib Din tarafından Ramayana destanı içinde anlatılan aşvamedha'nın çizimi. (bkz, [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ashvamedha#/media/File:Asvamedha\\_ramayana.JPG](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ashvamedha#/media/File:Asvamedha_ramayana.JPG))

Bir diğer Hint destanı Mahabharata'da ise bu kutsal tören için özel bir bölüm ayrılmıştır. "Ashvamedhika Parva" olarak geçen bölümde Yuddhishtira'nın imparatorluğu güçlendirme ve hâkimiyetini arttırması için Tanrı Krishna'nın tavsiyeleri ile uygulanması anlatılır. (Vyasa, section I- XV)



Resim: [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ashvamedhika\\_Parva#/media/File:Arjuna\\_followed\\_the\\_horse\\_used\\_for\\_Aswameda\\_Yaga.jpg](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ashvamedhika_Parva#/media/File:Arjuna_followed_the_horse_used_for_Aswameda_Yaga.jpg)



Resim: [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ashvamedhika\\_Parva#/media/File:Krishna\\_Advising\\_on\\_the\\_Horse\\_Sacrifice.jpg](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ashvamedhika_Parva#/media/File:Krishna_Advising_on_the_Horse_Sacrifice.jpg)

Kutsal metinler ve destanlarda geçen bu törenler Hint tarihinde Shunga (M.Ö. 185-149), Satavahana (M.S. 1.-2. yy), Gupta (M.S. 4.-6. yy), Vakataka (M.S. 5. yy), Kadamba (M.S. 5.yy) ve Chalukyalar (M.S.543-566) gibi büyük devletler tarafından uygulanmıştır. Bu devletlerin ortak noktası hem güçlü hem de Hindu devletler olmasıdır. Çünkü söz konusu tören hem maddi açıdan oldukça külfetli hem de din açısından özellikle Buddhizm’i benimseyen toplumların mantığına aykırıdır. Dolayısıyla Hindistan tarihi ve kültüründe at kurban törenlerinin uygulanması dinin etkisine göre zaman zaman zirve yapıp bazen de düşüşe geçmiştir. Aşvamedha törenlerinin zirve yaptığı dönem Türk tarihinde Ak Hunlar ile aynı dönemi yaşayan ve onlarla sürekli mücadele içinde olan Gupta dönemidir. Söz konusu dönemde Gupta hükümdarlarından Samudragupta, I. Kumaragupta gibi hükümdarlar bu törene oldukça önem vermişler ve büyük aşvamedha törenleri düzenlemişlerdir. (Çelikaş, 2015: 23) Öyle ki, bazı araştırmacılar söz konusu törenlerin maddi açıdan devleti yıpratmasına bağlı olarak devletin çöküşüne zemin hazırladığını savunmaktadırlar.



Resim: I. Kumaragupta’nın ashvamedha töreni ile ilgili dövdürdüğü para  
(bkz. [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ashvamedha#/media/File:Ashvamedha\\_Kumaragupta.jpg](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ashvamedha#/media/File:Ashvamedha_Kumaragupta.jpg))



Resim: Samudra guptanın ashvamedha ile ilgili dövdürdüğü para.  
(bkz. <https://www.the-saleroom.com/en-gb/auction-catalogues/spink/catalogue-id-2910271/lot-22654512> )

### Sonuç

Konar-göçer toplum yapısında önemli bir yer teşkil eden at, özellikle Türklerin sosyal, dini, ekonomik ve askeri alanlarında hep ön planda olmuştur. Söz konusu toplumun adeta kanadı olarak nitelendirilen at, sadece bu dünyada değil öbür dünya da sahibinden ayrılmayıp onunla birlikte gömülmüştür. Öyle ki Tanrı'ya sunulan kurbanlar arasında da onlar için en değerli varlık olmasından sunak olarak kullanılan en önemli hayvandır. Türk toplumunda atların kurban edilme amaç ve yöntemleri de topluma göre farklılıklar göstermiştir. Özellikle eski Türk toplumlarında uygulanan bu geleneklerin günümüzde halen Anadolu'nun özellikle Çorum şehrine bağlı bazı kasabalarında uygulandığı bilinmektedir.

Hint toplumuna bakıldığında ise at aslında onlara özgü bir hayvan olmayıp Ariler ve Hunlar vasıtası ile gelmiş ve özellikle savaş zamanlarında kullanılmıştır. Ancak at, Hint kültüründe günlük hayat ve savaş alanlarında kullanmasından ziyade dini törenler olan ashvamedha yani at kurban törenleri ile karşımıza çıkmaktadır.

Sonuç olarak at, hem Türk hem de Hint toplumunda kurban törenlerinde sunak olarak kullanılmasından onun bu toplumlar için ne kadar önem teşkil ettiği açıktır. Söz konusu törenlerin iki toplumda da uygulanış şekil ve biçimlerin birbirinden oldukça farklı olması onların birbirlerinden etkilenmiş olma ihtimalinin olmadığını ortaya koyar.

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## **Cultural and Feminist Discourses in Sarwat Khan's Novel "Andhera Pag"**

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### **Abstract**

India is a country with cultural and linguistic diversities after seven decades of independence, we find illiteracy and social backwardness there are traditions and rituals death contradicts a cultured society. This backwardness of the society not only prevents the social, cultural and economic development lead the gender discrimination also. Sarwat Khan's novel *Andhera Pag* is a novel that got attention from literary circles and critics for its socio-cultural and feminist discourse. It deals with the old traditions beliefs, ritual, child marriage, dowry, widowhood etc. The characters from old generations not only follow old tradition but also force the new generation to follow them. The strife between the thinking and life style affects the lives of both. The boys of the family manage somehow to escape from the tense situation due to the opportunity of social mobility which they enjoy in the name of education and career. But the family members failed to succeed as they don't have the chance to move outside the "haveli" they suffer but survive. Roop Kunwar, the heroine of this novel, revolts against the system she openly manifests her ambitions. These simple ambitions of a young girl taken as a revolt against socio-cultural system of the family and ultimately the society. "Sati" was a famous ritual in Indian specially in Rajasthani culture. Where a widow had to get herself burnt with her husband's dead body. By the passage of time the ritual of "sati" has been abandoned but the conditions of widows are the same. They were deprived from legitimate social status and rights. This novel deals with the socio-cultural feminist struggle of the characters and presents a modern state of the Indian society. This paper will try to bring forward a comprehensive study of the cultural and feminist discourses present in this novel.

**Keywords:** Traditions, sati, socio-cultural problems, feminist approaches and gender discrimination.



### **Cultural and Feminist Discourses in Sarwat Khan's Novel "Andhera Pag"**

"Darkness pag" said Sarwat Khan's first novel. It has come to the fore in a legendary collection of "grains Heat" 2004. Sarwat Khan as social worker and works especially in rural areas. The villages are well aware of the habits and life, culture and traditions, and there are women. It is the woman's pain, its limitations, deprivations, his personal sense of hindrances in the way of any of helplessness and development.

Many years after India's independence, has no light of learning through so many villages, towns and villages, or did you have them practice the wrong practice and theory are so dear that are still bound together in their new do not wish to benefit from the light. Even today he will find on his lap while implementing the principles for the development has no meaning. To know that these men and women not only have the right to think it deserves.

Novel "The dark Pag" consisting of thirteen chapters. This story about a girl Bikaner childhood, marriage, and then pick off her widow darkness coming all the problems of the Rajputs ruled priests mansion located five kilometers from the town of poison tip. Which is two to four. She then against the social order. But the voice of the people is gagged bound together in social custom. Despite the poor girl does not give up and keep working hard trying to shift the floor.

India is delivered from each Province for its colorful culture, its traditions and slang etc. Rajasthan also has its own culture. Culture has its rituals and traditions. "Conversation with you write the title of the rich" "Rajasthan color is known as the center of civilization, where a palace is served life you've dipped his dynasty splendor online whales there crawling on kthursty her majesty the sake of life on the other side, sobbing, outdated customs and heritage Google for'll get a chance to face the brutal realities. If the village to the rescue. "

While some of this novel are conservative and our cultural heritage and outdated customs and want to lap up culture, wishing to proceed to take a new path with a mix of classic and modern there and some of which the Modern Age if you want to enjoy the blessings of the customs union together, but it should do what they can't decide.

The novel begins, and there is conflict. Light and darkness to the entire novel takes place over human life in its grip. This novel has become a social and cultural conflict within the conflict of ideas gathered on the old and new generations think of your own way. The new generation ahead by breaking this tradition of safety and development plans to the old generation sand cultural heritage and traditions while embracing the Planted look far to assert and believe that despite the

deviation. Mother, mother-in-law, grand daughter and grandmother dygrkrdarun conversations and domestic events are helpful in presenting the conflict.

While the novel's main character is known as a roop Kunwar alias Bittu, but as a paternal role of Raj Kanwar Kanwar has its own identity and importance. If you look at the whole novel center axis of the two characters who dominated the first novel to akrpury. The role of parents, grandmother and mother are important laws, so that the bald old Tai, they last long remain Roop Kanwar and even inspire them to consciously apply, there are many roles that help the novel moves forward. Raj Kanwar worked not only to shape the personality of the rupee's unique and balanced personality, but also the spirit of protest inside. And determination played a major role in the organism's magnanimity. The role of the rupee against the injustice and sound system comes rebellion against society emerged in the form of a rebellious girl to raise. When his desires, aspirations and desires is to trample becomes protest. And the question.

"I asked my dad how long we will live up to destroy the victim of the system. This is worse than the communists. Minded, mission, weight." (P. 15). He asked his rights (Adhikar) male society".

He says: "I demand from their own rights (Adhikar) Data"(p. 15)

The male society would have to dust if Adhikar him, annoyed average pedigree but do not sleep the spirit, the mind falls not blunt dupys conditions and provoke him not being with injustice and stirred up his mind the question becomes, and she asked the mother again and again :

- 1) Mother! Why is confined daughters married life?
- 2) "Mother is the lady, use and throw?"
- 3) "Mom, is the life has no object?"
- 4) Mom! You ask why traditions our sacrifice.

Our freedom is so eclipsed why? "(P. 69)

"Mom, you thought that was bad, they would face the achawn mnysh prynam the pressure?" (P. 70). They not tolerate injustice and false compassion of the female society of people to protest against this system failure is definitely not silent protest so loudly.

Raj Kanwar's role has emerged as a front end to a balanced personality, determination and courage to speak in the protection of rights and anti organism. She is ready to do anything for the pass from speaking confidently, silver protection in the full House of rights and wrongs of injustice. If sbhdra queen against injustice. The protests inside the mansion. Not only the employee, but

Ronnie's mansion Bittu who also protested against violence and injustice and wrong is right to get punished, they also discussed the law, such as:

"Mom, you're still ironing out the injury Adhikar ..... So do the ironing hurt deer. Ronnie is a living creature, there are two other spouse joining in. His murder he is thinking of a glaring similarity ..... careful to keep it under the plan."

But this time it felt strange when he jumped with the oppressors rather than the oppressed justice. It all ideals are the blank. He has a standing in a row to keep the similarity of weapons. The height of the mother of the novel's beginning, and his greatness, his love wins wife struggle between becomes collapsed, suddenly was sitting in mind, the mother and wife and mother love love, the voice of protest against oppression becomes buried somewhere in the canyons and the concept of the dignity of the mother's role is shattered subhadra

Tall do with my character so if subhadra oppressed themselves and grow. Because it is novel, past and present events which gather inside it is impossible to stand by the oppressed. Rattan Singh's role is in the midst of the struggle to accept the entire novel. They will be confiscated and lighting, to "the dignity of the family, despite being bound in customs and practices and ideals prmprawn novel." When systems are speaking out against the seasoned and innovative things made yourself.

We will then prepare for the beneficiaries. Grandma character reflects off the tradition and strict compliance practices so their customs and practices, traditions, idealism, love your culture. She reluctant in honor and dignity and let Protect limits kill his own family has come to its creed social rule of law broken the glorious look at where they are when they needed to, the rules of society in their sight some, not the humans. I see dialogue:

"There is not ironing value not a bass. The whole game rule of society have the same name are as follow. Man could not take object replace time conditions under ..... the key to life is advantageous. Sis is based on all the guntr ..... we have to be changed every moment with new decisions ..... so sdantun she says the new side of life ..... I speak from experience .... I do not have any school. We need to put death to their heirs when. You don't know about history, and mistresses. What maidens of the offspring." (p. 124).

These semi-axles at the moment are in the niche of silver goes to study medicine. They bring awareness pricked them: "Do not and never also be given the right to do what they can afford new Sansar live happily." (P. 86) "I was born to be your granddaughter died Rand has happened ..... mateshwari avatar is the incarnation of Mata unions. Forgot your own Rule of law is the end of my life .....

good. "(P. 100) in the darkness of the novel The moon was shining with his glory rdsny start of the conflict. A systematic and integrated plot written theme thousands of years old this novel has been a widow ever so valued in our society. It was seen from the dignity of sight. He hit sesame. The mis behave with It is the leaf pile is forced to offline, is considered a curse. They are to take all right (Adhikar) live. But Madame wealth has transformed into a theme from the past theme expertise a widow in the persecution of their own For it is not the only protest but also to the Sati also prove to his thought process that developed off against. She is the woman of today who participate in the development of society. Depending on the theme, the novel has several levels inside. Beautiful smile, smiling, Laughter (childhood), ghosts, suffering, full of troubles and has a bright bright future, generations and cultures clash etc. This novel is a large canvas. Depending on the language and the novel also has a cohesive and a charming style. While the novel's language is Urdu, but somewhere novelist used the Hindi and Rajasthani language. In such conversations he had with great skills Presented and put real thought into that. For readers convenient places he has also translation. So as not to trouble. Urdu is strengthened his grip on the language draws the reader goes on. It is Urdu, Hindi and Marwari language beautiful crossroads in terms of language and described. A feature of this novel is that it throws light on almost every aspect of society. Politics, terrorism and bullying clients and penchant, love, hate, protest, rebellion, passion so this novel is gathered every aspect of humanity.



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