İSTANBUL TECHNICAL UNIVERSITY ★ INSTITUTE OF SOCIAL SCIENCES

**MUSIC AND IDENTITY
IN ATMA TRIBE**

M.A. Thesis by

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Department : Turkish Music

Programme : Turkish Music

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ATMA AŞİRETİ'NDE MÜZİK VE KİMLİK

YÜKSEK LİSANS TEZİ

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FOREWORD

This study is a graduate thesis prepared for and presented to Istanbul Technical University, Institute of Social Sciences, Turkish Music M.A. Program.

I would like to express my deep appreciation and thanks for my advisor Prof. Songül Karahasanoğlu due to her altruistic attitudes and support with her knowledge, experience, and scientific background. Additionally, I want to present my respects to Dr. Robert Reigle who encouraged me to conduct a study related to my hometown and my own culture.

I want to thank to my family who helped me during the study and I want to thank to Abdurrahman Çıplak who gave me recordings of his fieldwork. Furthermore, I want to thank to Ali Kaya, Ali Haydar Kaya, Ali Şahin, Mehmet Ali Çıplak, Battal Çıplak, Tahsin Çıplak, Mehmet Ali Başıbüyük, Zahide Duman, Rıza Parlak and all people in Northern Atma Tribe who carried customary cultural values to our present day.

June 2011   Süleyman Cabir Çıplak

                                                                  Turkish Music

This study is dedicated to my family.

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ABBREVIATIONS

CHP **:** Republican Peoples Party
ITU **:** Istanbul Technical University
NAT **:** Northern Atma Tribe
THM **:** Turkish Folk Music
TMSC **:** Turkish Music State Conservatory
TRT **:** Turkish Radio and Television Association
TSM **:** Classical Turkish Music

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MUSIC AND IDENTNTY IN ATMA TRIBE

SUMMARY

This study investigates music of Northern Atma Tribe –living Arguvan district of Malatya, and hybrid musical culture created by set of values regarding ethnic and religious differences from the majority and created unique characteristics of its own. Additionally, the difference due to the change in production relations and living practices of people occurred in last a few decades' cause people to redefine their outlook and re-position their existence among the society. In this context, music has a critical function and becomes a significant aspect during creating –or renewing, identity, which helps these people to balance differentiation between cultural values imposed by modern times and cultural values causing from their –and their ancestors, customary living practices.

At the introductory chapter reasons and all other background information is provided, methodology and hypothesis is stated. At the second chapter, a little survey about the concept of identity is given. The third part is about Alevilik as a central concept in Northern Atma Tribe and related details and terminology are stated there. At the third chapter, information about Atma Tribe is given. It starts with an informatory and a debate about the different meanings –or translations, of word tribe. Then a literature review is conducted and a survey of written sources about Atma Tribe in general is given. Then the scope is narrowed to Northern Atma Tribe and collected information and observations are given in an order. The third part is about music in Northern Atma Tribe. In this section, a little information about wedding traditions, language, instruments, musical scales and forms used in Northern Atma Tribe is given and then fifteen songs are analyzed. At the last part of this chapter, common characteristics of music of Northern Atma Tribe are stated. On the last chapter, all information given on the main text is discussed in detail. Arguments supporting the hypothesis are also discussed in the last chapter.

ATMA AŞİRETİNDE MÜZİK VE KİMLİK

ÖZET

Bu çalışma, Malatya/Arguvan yöresinde meskun Yukarı Atma Aşireti'ni ve onun etnik, dilsel ve dinsel pratiklerindeki farklılıklardan kaynaklı olarak ortaya çıkardığı kültürel değerleri ve hibrit müzik kültürünü incelemektedir. Buna ek olarak, son yıllarda üretim ilişkilerindeki ve insanların yaşam pratiklerinde görülen değişiklikler, bu insanların kendilerinin dışarıdan algılanışlarını ve toplum içindeki varlıklarını yeniden tanımlamayı zorunlu hale getirmiştir. Bu bağlamda, müzik bir kimlik yaratmada ya da yenilemede kilit bir rol oynayabileceği gibi o insanlar için de modern zamanların dayattığı kültürel değerler ve kendilerinin –daha doğrusu atalarının- geleneksel yaşam pratiklerinden kaynaklı kültürel değerleri arasındaki farkın dengelenmesinde kilit bir rol üstlenebilir.

Giriş kısmında gerekçeler, arkaplan sunuldu ve metodoloji ve hipotez kısaca verildi. İkinci kısımda kimlik konusunda küçük çaplı bir kaynak taraması yapıldı. Üçüncü kısımda, Atma Aşireti için merkezi konumda sayılabilecek olan Alevilik kavramı hakkında detaylardan bahsedildi ve bu konudaki terminoloji incelendi. Daha sonra Atma Aşireti hakkında bir literatür taraması ve yazılı kaynaklara dayalı genel bilgilerin ardından gözlem ve inceleme yoluyla elde edilen bilgiler de sunuldu. Beşinci kısımda, Atma Aşireti'nde müzik hakkında ve bu bölümde düğün geleneği hakkında kısaca verilen bilgilerin ardından Yukarı Atma'da dil, müzik aletleri, kullanılan ses dizileri ve formlar gibi detaylardan bahsedildi ve onbeş şarkı notalanarak analiz edildi. Son kısımda ise analizlere dayanarak yörenin ortak müzikal özellikleri saptanmaya çalışıldı. Son bölümde ise metinde geçen bütün konular teferruatlı olarak tartışıldı ve hipotezi destekler nitelikteki bütün görüş ve çıkarımlara yer verildi.

1. INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background and Methodology

It is a great pleasure for a human being to talk about himself says Mauriette. (Zeldin, 1994: 183) This dissertation has been excited me for the reason that the subject matter of this study is musical tradition of my own culture and I can be considered as one of the people whose culture would be investigated. This paradoxical process –being both explorer and explored, sounds interesting for a person who likes to learn.

Primitive steps of this study have initiated many years ago. My first recordings from the region start in 1998, when I was a high school student. Honestly, it was not a conscious scientific activity; what I did was just pushing the record button of our tape when one of our relatives starts to sing an authentic song from our region. In other words, besides listening to these songs, I also wanted to document them. During the time, my curiosity about this musical tradition is developed and I started to record with my walkman in the villages, and I collected recordings in personal archives too. These recordings were not more than personal memories for me for a long time. After a few years, during my activities in Boğaziçi University Folklore Club, I met the art and science of ethnomusicology and built up a huge interest interested towards it. Then, I re-discovered the treasure lying on my bookshelf. Some of these materials are processed in this study and my visits to the region are continued until a few weeks before giving the thesis. In other words, this thesis is based on a fieldwork lasted more than a decade and this is a chance for an ethnomusicologist candidate.

Another type of fieldwork I conducted was collecting collected works. That is, people record songs sung by their parents just for memory, for example and these recordings are waiting in personal archives. Some of them are recorded many years ago which is impossible to reach them again. I gave a special importance to take personal recordings and being a person from the region helped me too much. Furthermore, another special source of recordings came from one of my relatives

written a book about songs of Northern Atma Tribe. He gave all recordings he collected in four years of fieldwork.

In this study, my main concern was related to related to objectivity, reliability and validity. In my point of view, to conduct both scientifically and ethically accurate study, data and information sources' reliability and validity should be confirmed before using them. Auerbach & Silverstein (2003:78-79), in their book tell about objectivity, reliability and validity as follows;

> Objectivity is difficult to define precisely; generations of philosophers have devoted their lives to the task with no end to their labors in sight. For our purposes, however, the definition is straightforward: Objectivity simply means the absence of subjectivity. If our measuring scales are objective then we are studying the phenomenon as it really is, excluding our subjective biases about what we would like it to be.

> What is the connection between objectivity, reliability, and validity? We begin considering this question by defining reliability. The way to determine whether a scale is reliable is to administer it twice. If the numerical score you get from the second administration of the scale is the same, or almost the same, as the numerical score you got from the first administration, then the measure is reliable. Conversely, if the numerical scores on the first and second administrations are wildly different, then the scale is not reliable.

> The reliability of a scale is a necessary condition for the scale to be objective. […] However, the reliability of a scale is not a sufficient condition for the scale to be objective. […] For a scale to be objective it must not only be reliable, it must also be valid. A scale is defined as valid if it measures what it claims to measure. Thus, a scale of satisfaction with fatherhood is valid if it measures how satisfied fathers really are, as distinct from how satisfied they say they are.

Objectivity was another problem for me due to the fact that, the explored region were my own hometown and I was collecting songs, doing reportages, and getting observations from people in my daily life. For instance, I recorded traditional songs from even my own father; or in the historical documents, names of my ancestors were mentioned. No doubt, this atmosphere triggers the enthusiasm; however, a truthful researcher has to be extremely careful not to combine his/her personal

interests and curiosity with scientific ones. This was one of the most exhaustive part for me.

Methodologies I have used during this study were mainly observations. I have attended these people's traditional and ritualistic activities for many years. I generally gave importance not to bother people and tried to watch they in their natural environment. This is not only for musical performances. It covers daily speech, political discussions even watched TV channel is observed by me. However one problem were about recording it. It is a fact that people doesn't like to be recorded, it suddenly diminishes the usual environment and creates an artificial environment. For this reason, many observations are not recorded by technological devices. During the text, I am going to emphasize my unrecorded observations.

Another method was document search. I read nearly everything written about Atma Tribe and mentioned it in the main text. However, they are very few. Furthermore, I also tried to be depended on literature in issues regarding identity, Alevilik etc.

A different method was interviews. I conducted series of interviews. Most of them were not about the topic directly. However, long and general interviews are directed towards the topic and necessary data is picked among them.

Analysis was another method I used. Analysis is generally used in technical subjects, for example music. Musical pieces is investigated and analyzed in detail.

1.2 Hypothesis

My main hypothesis is that, music in Northern Atma Tribe is a kind of opening, a mystic connection to an authentic past and it is an objection to exterior ideas, which attempt to describe and identify these people, tries to create a new past and create set of codes. Moreover, it has an important role creating balance between the legendary past and modern times and the collective nature of both performing and/or consuming music contributes to deletion of the sense of loneliness. In other words, music in Northern Atma Tribe is a key factor of creating and forming a collective identity and representing unique characteristics of it.

2. IDENTITY

In this chapter, I want to present a very little survey about the concept of identity before starting the main text of the dissertation. Technically, this is not a complete review of the related literature; nevertheless, I saw it necessary to clarify certain issues in order to give the main theme of the study. However, the arguments about the concept of identity and how they are associated with music of a small tribe will be discussed on the last chapter.

The concept of identity is principally investigated by psychologists and social psychologists. However, its footsteps could be found in many disciplines concerning social sciences and the discipline of ethnomusicology as well. In recent years, concept of identity is becoming more and more important issue in the field of ethnomusicology.

In ethnomusicology, the term identity first used in 1982 and it mainly developed in recent years in American ethnomusicology. (Rice, 2007: 17) However, in order to understand the nature of identity, a little survey from neighboring disciplines are needed.

As a central concept of the social psychology, (Worchel, 1998) concept of identity has a complex nature. Dictionary definition of identity is basically *"being oneself or itself, and not another"* and another definition is *"sense of sameness in a community"* (LLC, 2011: web) however, the term is more profound than "sameness" or "being identical". The main focus will be personal and social identity and its usage in ethnomusicology.

According to R. Jenkins, identification is important for the reason that it is one of the essential cognitive mechanisms, which people use to sort out themselves and other people, but identity is not a mechanism that decides behavior patterns. (Jenkins, 1996: 13)

According to S. Lawler, there are different ways of conceiving the concept of identity and each approach creates its own definition; that is, it is not straightforward to produce a single and a wide definition of identity. The notion of identity can be considered as a combination of sameness and difference. (Lawler, 2008: 1-2) Timothy Rice, in his article, prefers to use words "identity" and "identities" together (Rice, 2007) most probably because of the complex structure of identity.

The primary or maybe the smallest occurrence of identity could be self-identity. Te notion of elf-identity starts with the basic and primary question of "what is the person?" and there are different approaches to this question regarding different philosophical aspects. This question can be answered simply by saying that "person is a thing or a soil" ext. However, this question couldn't be satisfied minimally. B. Garrett tells us about three main materialist answers to this question. Animalist theory says that "person is identical to an animal"; body theory says that person is identical to human body and the third theory –brain theory, says that a person is identical to physical seat of the mental life. Besides them, there are other materialist definitions of identity which refuse the prejudgment that human is just a biological entity as well. (Garrett, 1998: 9)

Group identity is another occurrence of the concept of identity but this statement will preciously be associated to the concept of social identity. Group identity, is a collective self-identity. Ethnomusicologist Timothy Rice defines group identity as "*collective self-understanding as represented by various characteristics, activities, and customs including music*" (Rice, 2007: 23).

Another terminology related –and also combined, to group identity is social identity. Social identity as a theory first developed by Henri Tejfel and John Turner (Hannum, 2007: 8) and it is used in organizational contexts. (Hogg & Terry, 2000) According to Tajfel and Turner, social identity is basically used to categorize, identify and compare people. (Hannum, 2007: 8)

According to psychology, identity is a cognitive construction of thee self and the concept of the self also primarily focuses of the individual. However, in social organizations individuals are not the only focus. That is, there is a difference between being an independent individual and being member of an organization (Korte, 2007: 168) and the concept of the social identity mainly derives from this fact.

According to Kelly Hannum, social identity is *"the combination of aspects of our selves –including age, ethnicity, race, religion, gender, sexual orientation, nationality and socioeconomic status– that make us a part of various social groups."* (Hannum, 2007: 7) In addition to this definition, he says, "social identity refers to our way of thinking about ourselves and others based on social groupings" (Hannum, 2007: 8)

One of the founders of the social identity theory, Turner says that categorization of people to distinct groups can produce intergroup behavior and intergroup attitudes can be predictable by group members due to collective definition and perception. (Turner, 1999: 8-9).

Hannum states principles of social identity as follows (2007: 11);

- Identity has multiple components.
- It is human nature to want to fit in as well as to be unique.
- Some parts of identity are visible, while others are not.
- Some aspects of identity are spoken about openly while others are not.
- Aspects of a person's identity can be gained, lost, or changed over time.
- Context determines which parts of a person's identity are most important, helpful, or harmful for influence as a leader.

Another interesting definition about identity comes from journalist and writer, Muhsin Kızılkaya. I have heard a simple and effective definition at an interview we conducted during Mesopotamian Music classes run by Dr. Reigle in spring 2010. According to Muhsin Kızılkaya, identity is a person's impressed qualities. In other words, if a person's ethnic distinctiveness are impressed, then ethnicity becomes his or her identity. If a person's religious beliefs or sexual orientation etc. will be impressed then they becomes his or her identity. (Kızılkaya, 2010)

The understanding of identity, especially social identity could be created.

3. ALEVILIK, ALEVI IDENTITY AND KURDISH-ALEVI IDENTITY

In this section, I am going to explain Alevilik, connections with identity and Kurdish-Alevi identity with its unique characteristics. Furthermore, terminology related to Alevilik will be explained and clarified during this section.

3.1 Alevilik

3.1.1 "Alevilik" or "Alawite"

The word *Alevi –Alawi* (علوية) in Arabic, comes from the name of *Ali bin Abu Talib,* the cousin and martyred son-in-law of Mohammed. It literally means *"follower of Ali"* (Kaplan, 1993: web) and it can be accepted as an extraordinary version of Shiite. However, the terminology here is confusing. Arabic inscription and pronunciation as *Alawi* generally used to indicate *Nusayri*s –Arabic speaking exoteric Shiite groups living in Syria, Lebanon, and south districts of Turkey. On the other hand, Turkish inscription and pronunciation as *Alevi* used to indicate exoteric Shiite groups following Bektashizm, mainly live in Anatolia and Balkans, speak Turkish –and Kurdish, Albanian, Bosnian etc. as well, as their daily language. David Zeidan also says that *Alevis* are different from the Arabic speaking *Alawi's* (*Nusayris*) of Southwest Turkey. (Zeidan, 1995) Furthermore, the word *Alawite* –means Alevism in Arabic, is used to indicate Arabic Speaking *Alawi*s where *Alevilik* –means Alevism in Turkish, used to refer to *Alevi* people. For this reason, in order to avoid possible ambiguities of terminology, words of *Alevi* and *Alevilik* will be used during the text.

3.1.2 Alevi, Bektashi, Kizilbash

Historian Alişan Akpınar states that, the word *Alevi* is a new word to define *Alevi* people in Turkey and it refers to different groups sharing similar religious practices. Furthermore, they are not a homogeneous group. The word *Alevi* also connected with group names as *Bektashi, Kizilbash* etc. (Akpınar, 2010) Irene Melikoff also agrees

with Akpınar. According to her, the word *Kizilbash* is replaced by the word *Alevi* around 19th century and came from Syrian *Alawi*s. However, she, too, uses the word Alevi because it is generally used and accepted today. (Melikoff, 1994: 34)

Before making a detailed definition of *Alevilik*, Bektashizm has to be explained first. Bektashizm is basically, the religious order or sect named after Islamic saint *Hajji Bektash Wali[1]*. It uses symbols and myths of Shiite; however, practically it has differences. Melikoff tells about the foundations of Bektashizm. She says, *Hajji Bektash Wali* never established a sect and our information about him mainly depends on texts his wrote. Bektashizm as an institutionalized religious sect by Balım Sultan in 1501 during Sultan Bayezid II's (1481-1512) sultanate and Sultan Bayezid II himself was also a member of the sect. Moreover, she adds that, Bektashizm has aspects existed centuries ago in Turkish religious world. (Melikoff, 1994: 22)

Another terminology that is necessary to be explained here is *Kizilbash[2]*. Literally it means "*red head*" in Turkish and it was using in place of *Alevi* two centuries ago. *Kizilbash* are defined as "*Turcoman tribes who adhered to the Safavid Sufi Order, whose Sheikhs claimed descent from Ali. Under Isma`il (d. 1524) they became dominant in Eastern Anatolia and conquered Azerbaijan with its capital Tabriz, where Isma`il named himself Shah in 1501 and went on to conquer all of Iran. His missionaries spread a message of revolt against the Sunni Ottomans in Anatolia, claiming that Isma`il was the awaited mehdi (messiah), and Anatolia became the scene of protracted warfare between Ottomans and Safavids*" by Zeidan (Zeidan, 1995) and it refers to refer to Bektashis who are nomads or semi-nomads. (Melikoff, 1998)

Word *Kizilbash* is first used in 15th century, when Sheyh Haydar (1460-1488) –father of Shah Ismail, was in charge in the Safavid Empire and it refers to their first partisans who wear a red headgear. They accept one of the main concepts of Shiite, Twelve Imams[3], but they have beliefs like reincarnation, (Melikoff, 1994: 54) which is contrary to Islam. Shah Ismail's followers used word *Kizilbash* to define themselves. Furthermore, in writings of Shah Ismail, word Alevi is never mentioned. (Melikoff, 1994: 54)

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[1] Spelled as "Hacı Bektaş-ı Veli" in Turkish.
[2] In some cases it is spelled as "Qizilbash" but I prefer "Kzilbas". (scc)
[3] Saintly and political successors to Muhammad for Shiite.

Irene Melikoff tells that, the word Alevi is used instead of *Kizilbash* due to its unenthusiastic meanings. It is used like 'rebellious' and/or 'misbeliever'. As a result, word Kizilbash had an insulting and discourteous meaning for people carrying it (Melikoff, 1994: 53) and they most probably choose to use another word for themselves.

Melikoff also tells about differences between *Alevilik* and Bektashizm. She says; first, Bektashizm is a folk's religion; that is Nomadic people's religion and it has more connections with natural forces etc. She initiates roots of Bektashizm in Central Asia and she creates connections with Shamanist nomadic clans of Central Asian Turks by their religious practices, rituals etc. (Melikoff, 1994: 30-33)

Melikoff defines *Alevilik* as "the folk's version of Bektashizm" and accepts that *Alevilik* and Bektashizm cannot be separated. (Melikoff, 1994: 29) She explains the difference between *Alevilik* and Bektashizm as a social status of people sharing the same belief. (Melikoff, 1994: 32)

There is also another important relationship –and also, difference between *Alevilik* and Bektashizm. Janissaries had a very close relationship with Bektashi lodges[4]. Their religious, moral and military qualities are thought them by Bektashi priests and Bektashi doctrine is important for them; furthermore, they are named as "Army of Haji Bektash".[5] In other words, Ottoman barracks were a sort of Bektashi lodges. (Eğri, 2002: 113) On the other hand, Alevis are seen as an enemy by Ottoman government. Sadık Eral, in his book about massacres against Alevis from Ottoman and Turkish history, gives detailed information about relationships between Ottoman Empire and Alevis. He says that, Ottoman Empire was powerful in Europe but it cannot rule Anatolia completely. There were always a rebellion in Anatolia and all of them were suppressed with blood. These rebellions were a mass response to corruption of the government and administration mechanism. For this reason, Alevi ideology was seen as the main target for Sunni Ottoman government in order to protect its future. (Eral, 1995: 24-26) And he says "Alevis are always became supporters in the weak times of government while they are seen as enemies in the powerful times". (Eral, 1995: 39) In addition, he emphasizes certain important

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[4] Word "lodge" is used as English translation of "*tekke*" (Arıkan, Yenal, & Taşpınar, 1985, p. 421)
[5] "Hacı Bektaş Ordusu" in Turkish.

aspects. He quotes from Hamza Efendi –or Saru Görez, a mufti from 16th century. Hamza Efendi explicitly says that killing *Kizilbash* is an obligation for a Muslim. Even though they surrender, penitent and accept "the religion", the Muslim one should not trust his penitence and should kill them; take their women, their properties and share between ghazis[6]. (Eral, 1995: 41-42) By following the fatwa[7] given before Chaldiran War[8], Ottoman Empire murdered more than 40,000 *Kizilbash* in Anatolia. (Eral, 1995: 44)

Akpınar also tells about this distinction between two terms –*Kizilbash* and *Bektashi*. He says that, *Kizilbash* –or *Alevi* in today's terminology, is mainly used by Ottomans to indicate *Bektashi* living in the rural areas and keeping the side of Safevid Empire while other *Bektashi* who kept side of Ottoman Empire and generally live in urban areas are just named as *Bektashi*. That is, it is a kind of the difference between "good *Bektashi*" and "bad *Bektashi*" for Ottoman Empire. (Akpınar, 2010)

According to Zeidan, *Alevilik originated from a complex mix of mystical (Sufi) Islam, Shi`ism, and the rivalry between the Ottoman and Safavid Empires* (Zeidan, 1995)

David Zeidan (Zeidan, 1995, web), in his article, tells about population as follows;

> The Alevi constitute the second largest religious community in Turkey (following the Sunnis), and number some 25% (15 million) of the total population (Alevis claim 30%-40%!). Most Alevis are ethnic and linguistic Turks, mainly of Turkmen descent from Central and Eastern Anatolia. Some 20% of Alevis are Kurds (though most Kurds are Sunnis), and some 25% of Kurds in Turkey are Alevi (Kurmanji and Zaza speakers).

Map on Figure 3-1 (Wikipedia, 2011: web) displays Alevi settlement in Turkey. The second map on Figure 3-2 prepared by Washington Institute for Near East Policy (Washington Institute, 2007: web) displays Alevi population in Turkey by province.

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[6] People who attended the war.
[7] Religious anouncement published by religius authorities in Islam.
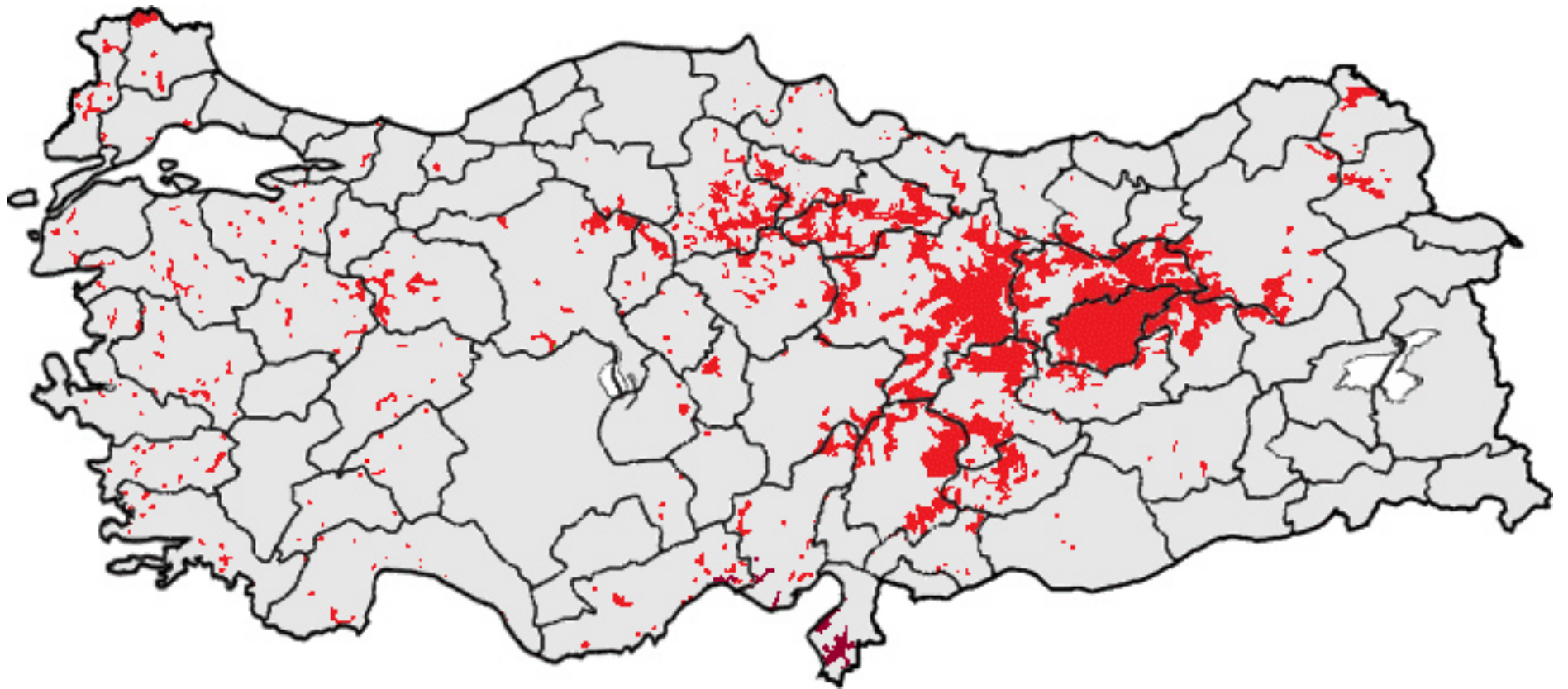[8] Occured between Ottoman Empire Selim I and Savefid Empire Shah Ismail in 1514.

Figure 3-1 A map depicting the Alevi population of Turkey
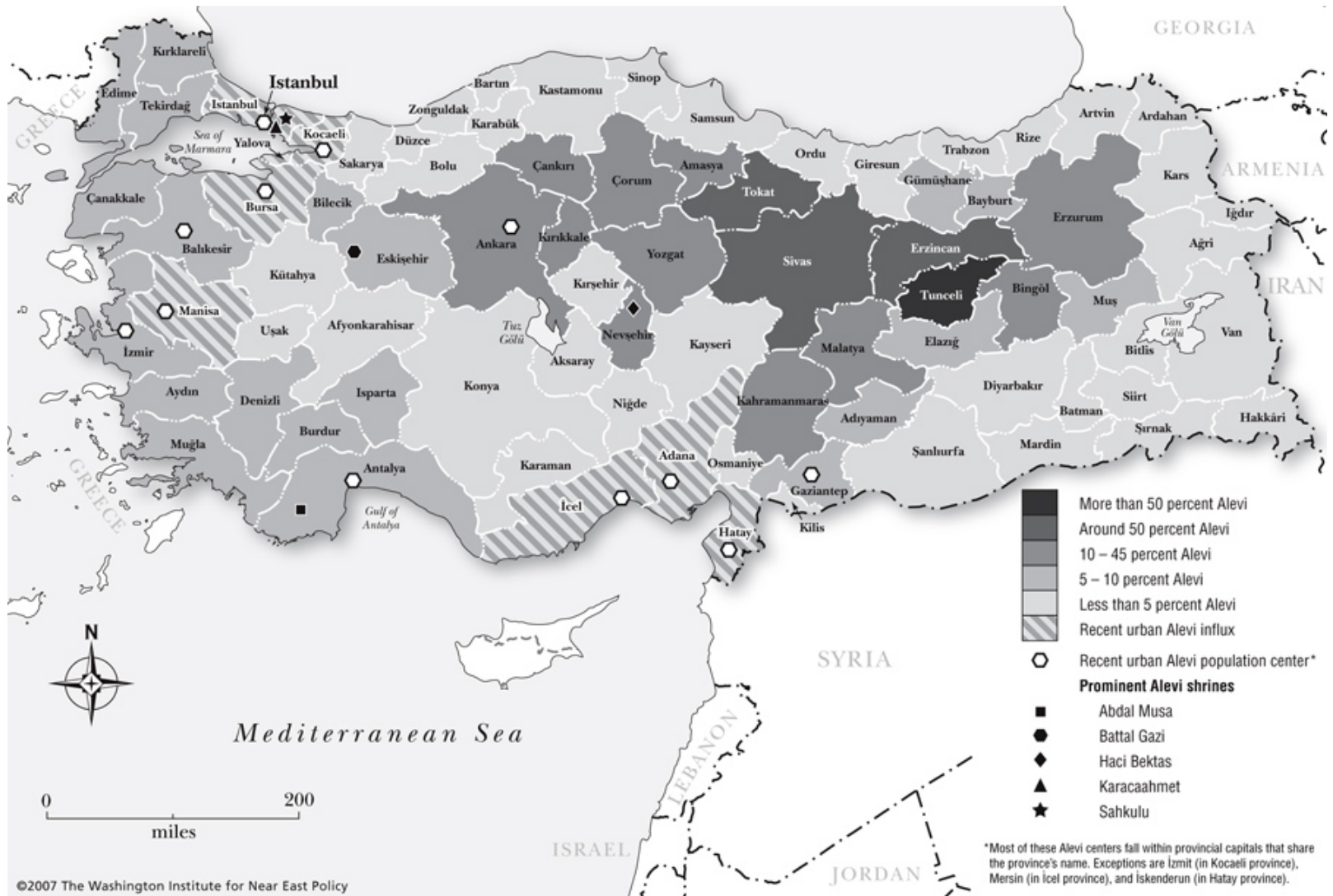
Figure 3-2 Alevi Population in Turkey by Province

3.1.3   Kurdish Alevis

In this part, I am going to try to create a sense and an understanding of the concept of "Kurdish Alevi" and its unique characteristics. However, before going into the details, I want to explain one thing related to terminology going to be used. These people are both Kurd and Alevi and they could be defined as both Kurdish Alevi and Alevi Kurd. In my point of view, both definitions are true but I will prefer usage of the word Kurdish Alevi since Alevilik is more important than being Kurd for these people[9]. In other words, grammatically, the statement of "Kurdish Alevi" is an adjective clause and in an adjective clause, the first part is adjective that qualifies the noun but the noun is the central concept of this phrase. For instance, in the adjective clause "red apple", apple is the main entity and being red is just a qualification of the apple. In the same way, in the statement of "Kurdish Alevi", the important aspect here is being Alevi and being Kurd is just one of the additional assets of being Alevi.

Martin van Bruinessen, an academician from Netherlands has conducted series of studies about both Kurds and Alevis, and wrote a detailed article in 1997 about those live especially around *Dersim* region of Turkey. At the part titled "who are Kurdish Alevis" he says that;

> I shall use the term 'Kurdish Alevis' as a shorthand for all Kurmanci- and Zaza-speaking Alevis, irrespective of whether they define themselves as Kurds or not. My use of this term does not imply any claim that they are 'really' or 'essentially' Kurds or whatever. The heartland of the Kurdish Alevis consists of Dersim (the province of Tunceli with the adjacent districts of Kemah and Tercan in Erzincan and Kiği in Bingöl). The Dersimis themselves perceive a cultural difference between the (Zaza-speaking) Şeyhhasanan tribes of western Dersim (Ovacık and Hozat with parts of Çemişgezek and Pertek) and the Dersimi tribes proper of eastern Dersim (Pülümür, Nazımiye, Mazgirt), among whom there are both Zaza and Kurmanci speakers.
>
> [...]

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[9] And this idea constitutes one of the important points of the main hypothesis of this study.

Another series of enclaves stretches south, through Malatya, Elbistan (in Maraş) and Antep to Syria and Adana. Little more is known of these tribes than the names of the most important among them. According to Dersimi these tribes, all of which allegedly speak Kurmanci, also claim an old connection with Dersim. We do not know to what extent their religion corresponds with that of the Dersimis and how it relates to their Yezidi and Nusayri neighbours. At least some of these communities were served by seyyids of lineages based in Dersim, but there were also other *ocak* (seyyid lineages) among them.

The American missionary Trowbridge reports that the Alevis of Antep, whom he knew well, considered the *Ahl-i Haqq seyyid*s of Tutshami (near Kirind, west of Kermanshah) as their highest religious authorities.

P. E. Andrews, in his study about ethnic goups in Turkey give information about Kurdish Alevis. He examined Kurdish Alevis in two different titles, Zaza and Kurmanji speaking Alevis. He says Kurmanji speaking Alevis that the constitute 30% of all Kurds. They generally live in *Bingöl* (*Karlıova* and *Kiği* districts), *Tunceli*, *Erzincan*, *Sivas*, *Yozgat*, *Elazığ*, *Malatya*, *Maraş* (especially *Elbistan* and *Pazarcık* districts), *Kayseri* (*Pınarbaşı*, *Sarız* and *Tomarza* districts) and *Çorum* (around *Alaca*). And they are generally live in neighboring villages. Furthermore, there are smaller groups live in *Adıyaman*, *Antep*, *Hatay*, *Kırşehir*, Nevşehir, *Samsun* and *Tokat*. (Andrews, 1992: 162)

He also gives information about group identity of Kurdish Alevis. He says that, they are defined first by means of religion, then by means on language and then by means of the tribe. Their relations with Turkish and Zaza speaking Alevis are more than Sunni Kurds. These relationships sometimes contains marriages and this causes some rituals are completed according to Turkish ritualistic codes. As in Turks, there is a polarization of Alevi and Sunni for Kurdish Alevis. For instance, Kurds[10] helped the government in Dersim Rebellion[11] in 1938. There are two kinds of families; *seyyids* and non-*seyyids*. Religious leaders are chosen from these *seyyid* families and it is a right for them. Furthermore, in order to protect this "right", endogamy is a necessity.

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[10] He means Sunni Kurds
[11] It is a rebellion made by Kurdish Alevis living in the Dersim region and it took place in 1938.

They respect to their tribal leaders and this is also related with internal loyalty towards the tribe. However, this loyalty is getting weaker because tribal leaders also lose their power in the tribe. Connections of tribal and religious authority weakened young generations dependability toward the hierarchy but internal connections of tribe is re-organized by taking the tribal and religious fellowship as the basement. Furthermore, Tunceli (Dersim) plays an important role even today's group identity. (Andrews, 1992: 162-163)

The official claim about Kurdish Alevis are that they are purely genetic Turks who forgotten their language during the time. this politics is propagated even today. In Turkish press, I read some articles written by two writers, *Rıza Zelyut* and *Gülay Kömürcü* and they are defenders of the claim even today. For instance, Gülay Kömürcü, tries to prove Turkishness of a pan-Kurdish parliamentary by presenting historical information. (Kömürcü, 2007: web)

Martin van Bruinessen also gives information about this claim in his article. He says that, the official ideology about Kurdish Alevis were always a conflicting issue. It is said that they are Turks but they have seen unreliable because they are not Turks and they wanted to be assimilated. This approach has always been paradoxical and inconsistent. It is believed that, they could easily be assimilated because of the fact that ritualistic language of Kurdish Alevis is Turkish. However, Kurdish-Alevis' history which is full of rebellions against the government make them suspicious about Kurdish Alevis. (Van Bruinessen, 2000: 104)

Van Bruinessen gives an important point that I want to emphasize which is that, there is a report about Zaza Alevis and prepared by Gendarmerie in 1930s. It says that; "language of their sectarian and worship is Turkish. In their rituals, people have to speak in Turkish. Alevi Zaza is not departed from being Turkish and it is possible to communicate with Alevis of *Dersim* in Turkish but not waiting for a response. It is possible to speak in Turkish with people above 20 and 30 years old but they are zazaicized[12]; it is impossible to view Turkish speaking children who are under 10. For this reason, if they are ignored, one they they are not going to speak Turkish language anymore." By this way, they are presented as Turks who lost their identity. Nevertheless, in following paragraphs, it says, "the most important aspect in Alevilik

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[12] This word is used by Van Bruinessen. (1997)

and Turkishness is the significant difference between them and this difference is the way of *Kızılbaşlık*. Kızılbaş doenst like Sunni Muslim, they always hated, they are their enemy from the eternity. They define Sunni as Rumi[13]. Turk and Sunni, Kurd and Kızılbaş are the same concepts. (Van Bruinessen, 2000: 104-105)

It is a fact that, even the writers of this report do not believe the claim of Turkishness of Kurdish Alevis.

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[13] Literally "rumi" means "from Roma" and it refers to infidelity.

4. ATMA TRIBE

Atma Tribe *(Atma Aşireti in Turkish and Eşîre Atma in Kurdish)* is a nomadic tribe lives in Eastern and South Eastern Turkey. Members of the tribe speak mainly Kurdish, Kurmanji dialect, as their daily language. More than 99% of them are literally Muslim (both Alevi and Sunni) and there is just a little group follows Syrian Orthodox Church.[14]

In spite of urbanization, migration and modernization, traditional living style and production relationships, are continued due to its isolated structure. Additionally, traditional music production is also continued as well. For this reason, it is worthy to be explored for an ethnomusicologist. It is a fact that, such a spread group of populace is not straightforward to be studied; hence, our area of study will only be limited with the Atma Tribe live in Malatya/Arguvan region.

There is no worthy information I noticed about etymological roots of the name *Atma* in neither documents explored or nor in fieldwork materials. Furthermore, the word *Atma* is used with its variations in different locations. Some variations I noticed are; *Atmalı* –means "*from Atma*" in Turkish, *Atmi* –means "*from Atma*" in Kurmanji, *Atman* –plural form of *Atma* in Kurmanji, *Atmanki* or *Atmenaki* –means "*the little Atma*" in Kurmanji, *Atmakan* or *Atmanikan* –means "*from the (little) Atma*" in Kurmanji.

Before starting a literature review about Atma Tribe, concept of tribe will be explained since word 'tribe could be translated in different ways in Turkish and each translation has a diverse meaning. Hence, the related terminology has to be clarified first.

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[14] For details, see section 4.2 Literature Review on page 19

4.1 Concept of Tribe

Term "*aşiret*" is mainly translated as "tribe" in English (Arıkan, Yenal, & Taşpınar, 1985: 34) however; there are many different translations of the term "tribe" in Turkish (Arıkan, Yenal, & Taşpınar, 1985: 661) which are "*aşiret*", "*oymak*" and "*kabile*" and each translation has an another meaning and indicates a different perception. In order to understand the terminology better, each translation will be explained.

4.1.1 *Oymak* and *Kabile*

Dictionary definition of *oymak* is "each part of a nation". (Söylemez, 2007: 18) According to Söylemez, it is mainly used to indicate a subgroup of an *aşiret* and each subgroup of *oymak*s are named as *kabile*. (Söylemez, 2007: 18,19) However, the term *aşiret* mainly refers to Kurdish or Arabic speaking people where term *oymak* refers to a Central Asian terminology. For instance, the term *oymak* is translated into Azerbaijani as "*oymag*", into Bashkurt Language as "*uyıv*", into Kazakh as "*oyuv*", into Kirgiz as "*oyü*", into Uzbek as "*oymak*", into Tatar as "*uyu*" and into Turcoman as "*oymak*" (TDK, 2011: web) which are connected to each other etymologically. However, just a small number of people named as *aşiret* use Turkish as their daily language among the ones mentioned in the report prepared by The General Command of the Gendarmerie (Perinçek & Yazıcı, 1998). As a result, *oymak* generally indicates a Central Asian oriented –Turkic, nomadic people where *aşiret* is used to indicate a Kurdish or Arabic, originated nomadic group.

4.1.2 Aşiret

Word *aşiret* derives from Arabic word *ashira* (عشـــة ىر) and usually used to refer to nomadic people in Eastern and South Eastern Turkey. For Turkish Language Association –known as TDK, dictionary definition of the word *aşiret* is "a group of people commonly having a unity of language and culture, having economical, religious, cultural or family relationships among members and consisting of other subgroups". (TDK, 2011: web) Faruk Söylemez in his book about Ottoman Empire's policy about *aşiret*s in Eastern Turkey and he defines the term *aşiret* as nomadic people having same ancestors and living together and some of them not nomads anymore. (Söylemez, 2007: 17)

Doğu Perinçek and Fatma Yazıcı published a report having a mark of "confidential" on *aşiret*s prepared by The General Command of the Gendarmerie in 1970s. This report has a list of nearly all big and small *aşiret*s in Eastern and South Eastern Turkey –and even Syria and Iraq near the borders of Turkey. This book gives demographic information, language or dialect they speak, details about religion, and a few sentences about their attitude towards Turkish states authority.

At the introduction part of the book, Perinçek and Yazıcı say that roots of *aşiret* are connected to antique ages and it became a part of feudal system in middle ages. (Perinçek & Yazıcı, 1998: 9) Furthermore, Mehmet Bayrak in his book about Kurdish-Alevi Tribes, he argues that, concept of *aşiret* in Armenian and Kurdish geography, and Mesopotamia has 3000 years of history. Because of the geographical conditions of the mentioned territories, animal husbandry was more achievable than farming; and animal husbandry and nomad life style are connected to each other in the region. Moreover, he references to Prof. Veli Sevin's works, Sevin argues that concept of *aşiret* could be found at the Urartu and Assyrian civilizations records and according to these records, each aşiret had its own ruler and each aşiret were consisting of sub parts. According to Assyrian records, there were 50 or 60 aşirets in the area. (Bayrak, 2006: 26-27)

Mehmet Bayrak also references to Armenian Kurdologist, Arshak Poladian's works. Poladian argues that, Kurdish tribes in Arabic resources were named as "*kabila*", "*ashira*" and "*taifa*" and these people generally connected to each other with blood. (Bayrak, 2006: 27-28)

Throughout this document, the term tribe will be used to indicate "*aşiret*".

4.2 Literature Review

This section is a survey exploring written sources about Atma Tribe. There is not too much written information about Atma Tribe but it is mentioned in different sources.

According to the report of The General Command of the Gendarmerie prepared in the first half of 1970s[15] and published by Perinçek and Yazıcı in 1998, there are

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15 As mentioned above, it is a confidential document and date for the data is not exactly given. Perinçek and Yazıcı just say that this report is written in 1970s.

many branches of Atma Tribe live different locations of Eastern and South-Eastern Turkey. For instance; three different parts of Atma Tribe lives in Ağrı, they speak Kurmanji, they are Shafii and their population is 8,900 (Perinçek & Yazıcı, 1998: 52-55). In Bitlis they speak Kurmanji, they are Shafii and their population is 800 (1998: 84). In Malatya they speak Kurmanji, they are Alevi and their population is 8,000 (1998: 202). There are nine parts of Atma Tribe in Maraş; they are Alevi, Hanefi and Shafii. Their total population in Maraş is 19,029 and 1,529 of them are Shafii, 11,252 of them are Hanefi, and 6,248 of them are Alevi (1998: 204-207). In Mardin, they speak Kurmanji and Arabic, they are Shafii and Christian (Syrian Orthodox), and their population is 11,500 (1998: 225). In Urfa, they speak Kurmanji, they are Hanefi and their population is 927 (1998: 308). There are two parts in Van, the first part speak Kurmanji, they are Shafii and their population is 13,000 (1998: 341) and the second part speak Kurmanji as well, they are Shafii and their population is 840 (1998: 346). Table 4-1 is prepared according to the information given in the report.

Table 4-1 Language and Religion in Atma Tribe Around Turkey

City	Name[16]	Language	Hanefi	Shafii	Alevi	Total
Ağrı	Atmaneki	Kurmanji	-	8,000	-	8,000
Bitlis	Atmakan	Kurmanji	-	800	-	800
Malatya	Atma	Kurmanji	-	-	8,000	8,000
Maraş	Atmalı	Kurmanji	11,252	1,529	6,248	19,029
Mardin[17]	Atmanki	Kurmanji, Arabic	-	11,500	-	11,500
Urfa	Atmanlı	Kurmanji	927	-	-	927
Van	Adamanlı, Atmanaki	Kurmanji	-	13,840	-	13,840
TOTAL			12,179	36,569	14,248	62,996

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[16] Name column indicates mentioned name in the report.
[17] Arabic speakers are non-Muslim members of the tribe (1998, p. 225) and number of Christians is not given separately in the report.

Summary of the information represented in the report is that there are 17 parts of Atma Tribe in 7 different cities; their total population is 62,996. 36,569 of them are Shafii, which constitute 58%. 12,179 of them are Hanefi, which constitute 19%; and 14,248 of them, are Alevi, which constitute 22%. Number of Christians is not given separately in the report but most probably, number of Christians is less than 1%.

However, it seems that the report does not have the all information about tribes in Turkey, specifically Atma Tribe. In August 8, 2010, people from Atma Tribe came together in Qadabela (*Güngören)* Village[18] and attendees were from 23 different cities and 80 different districts in Turkey. (Arguvan Haber, 2010) Furthermore, according to interviews I conducted during my fieldwork, in Malatya there are two considerable parts of Atma Tribe; Northern Atma –in *Arguvan* district, and Southern Atma –in *Arapgir* district. Additionally, there are a few villages from Atma Tribe in *Doğanşehir* and *Akçadağ* districts of *Malatya* (Çıplak İ., 2011); nevertheless the report only took Northern Atma –which is our field to study, into consideration.

On the other hand, we have no other quantitative data about Atma Tribe in general, but it is a fact that, these are biggest branches of Atma since; groups belong to Atma Tribe I notified apart from the document are not more than a few small villages in some cities. For instance, there are only four villages in *Nurdağı* and two villages in *Araban* districts of Antep; two villages in *Besni* and one in *Gölbaşı* districts of *Adıyaman*. (Atmalı & Uçar, 2010: 46) That is, it can help us to imagine the whole picture with a little deviation. It is a fact that populations are missing today because the report prepared in 1970s; however, percentages may be important in creating an idea of the religion and language of the Atma Tribe. Consequently, the thing we can observe from the report certainly is that Atma Tribe speaks Kurmanji in all different locations even though they have different religious practices; in other words, Atma Tribe is a Kurdish tribe having different religions.

Hamza Aksüt, in his book about Alevis, gives a little information about Atma Tribe. According to him, Atma is a tribe lives around Malatya, Maraş, majority of them are Alevi and they went Maraş from Malatya. According to him in Malatya, there are two parts of the tribe –Northern and Southern Atma, and Southern part is Sunni[19]. In

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[18] City of Malatya, district of Arguvan.
[19] Most probabily, by saying Sunni he refers to Hanefi branch.

addition, he claims that at the beginning, all of them were Alevi; however, due to a conflict between Ottoman Empire and Atma Tribe, some members of tribe escaped to mountainous areas of Arapgir[20] –today's Northern Atma, and remaining members accepted Sunni Islam over time. (Aksüt, Aleviler, 2009: 208-210) The map of Figure 4-1 also supports this claims. (Göğebakan, 2002: 189)
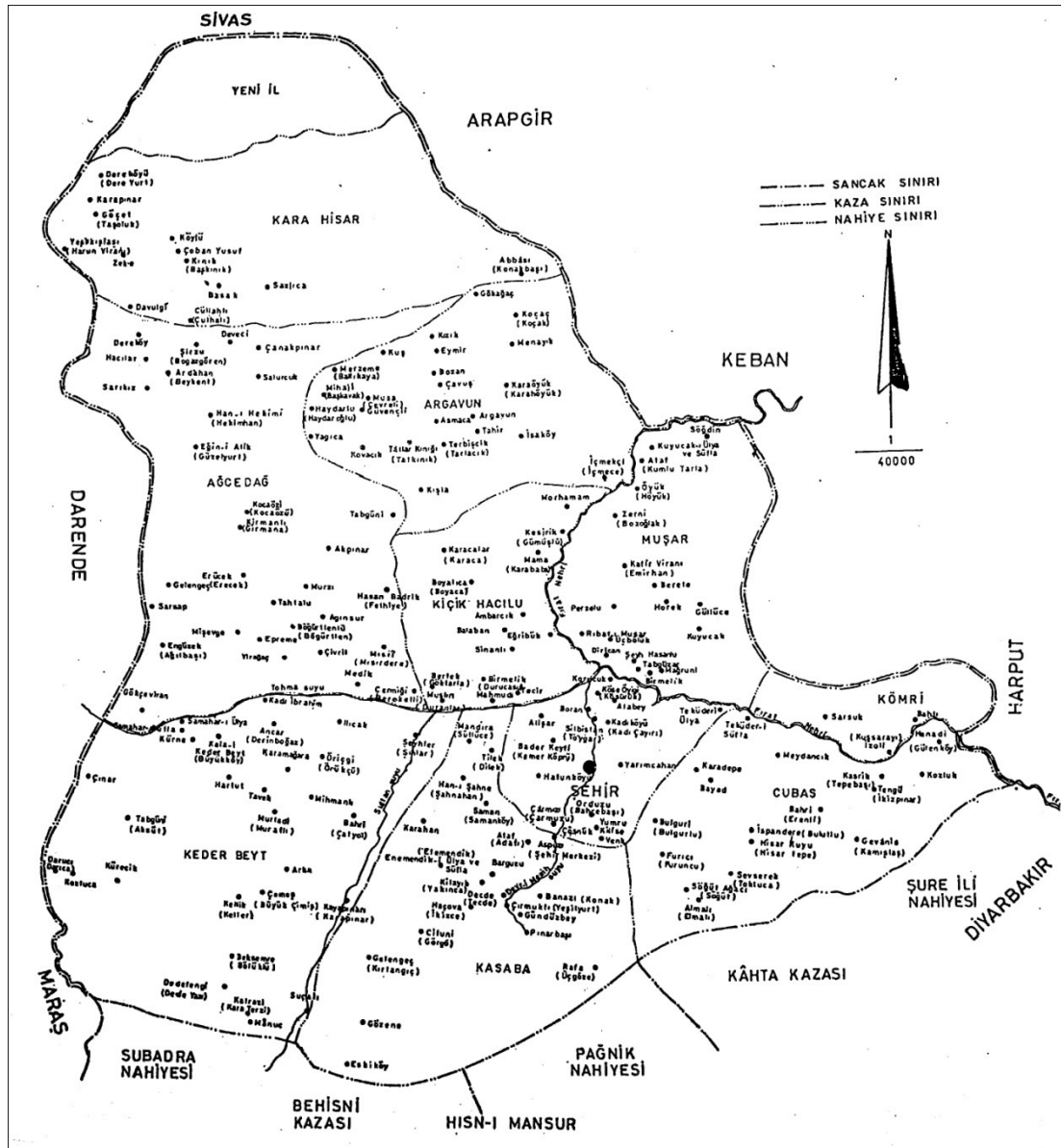

Figure 4-1 A map displaying Malatya in 1516-1560

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[20] Arguvan district is established in 1956 and in every document before 1956, both Arguvan and Arapgir districts are mentioned as Arapgir.

According to Aksüt, in 16th century, there is no record for Atma Tribe in Maraş, there is just a little group named as *"Atmalu"*[21]. The land they settled is Keder Beyt –today's *Akçadağ* district, and today's Northern Atma is not founded yet.[22] Furthermore, first record about them was recorded in 1734[23]. The Ottoman Government wanted to settle them to *Alacahan*, and it couldn't be succeed. Atma Tribe was liaising with *Kılıçlı*, *Doğanlı* and *Bektaşlı* tribes. This is interesting because other parts of these tribes are also neighbors of Atma Tribe in *Maraş*. They are also religiously connected to *Sinemil Ocak* in Maraş. (Aksüt, Aleviler, 2009: 208-210).

Mehmet Demir Atmalı, in his book named *"Atma Tribe with Its History, Culture and Folklore"*, tells about Atma Tribe living in *Antep* region of Turkey. He initiates the history of Atma tribe with migration of Turkish clans from Central Asia. He also connects *Alevilik* of the members of the tribe with the Central Asia as well; furthermore, along with the book, he considers Atma Tribe as a Turcoman Clan. (Atmalı & Uçar, 2010: 21-23) He gives extremely detailed and precise information about historical facts but he does not state any evidence to his claims. His proofing system mainly depends on similarities and sound shifts of particular words. For instance, he ties the word "Atma" with the name of "Ottomans" by looking at similarity of the pronunciation; and he connects Ottoman Sultanate family with Atma Tribe by depending on this data. (Atmalı & Uçar, 2010: 25-27) In ongoing chapters, he provides Prophet Noah as ancestor of Central Asian Turkic societies and draws a "family tree" from Noah to Central Asian Turks, then to Atma Tribe and at last to himself. Again, he does not see it necessary to provide any evidence. (Atmalı & Uçar, 2010: 56) Besides being unscientific, the manner in the book is extraordinary. Everything is unexpectedly tied to Central Asia an these connections are wide spread during the book. The attention of the writer is focused on even a little evidence and it is repeated a lot of times. In my point of view, the writer is extremely affected by present day Turkey's political atmosphere and his main aim is to demonstrate

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[21] Which means "from Atma" in Ottoman Turkish.
[22] This fact could be seen on Figure 4-1 A map displaying Malatya in 1516-1560. Only name of Gökağaç Village is mentioned on the map. Most probably, Gökağaç is the name of a place used before NAT settled there it is in Turkish. Furthermore, both words Gök (Sky) and Ağaç (tree) indicates name of a place more than name of a group of people.
[23] It is a misfortune that he doesn't give any information or reference about the record.

"*Turkishness*" of himself and his family more than writing the history of the Atma Tribe[24]. For this reason, I will consider only objective observations, which do not rely on commentary issues.

Nejat Birdoğan, who is an important researcher on Alevilik, talked about Atma Tribe in his book about Alevi inhabitance from Anatolia to Balkans. He mentions name of Atma Tribe with *Sinemil* Tribe as two known Kurdish-Alevi tribes. Then he says that some parts of Atma Tribe are Sunni and some parts are Alevi. Furthermore, their ethnic origin may vary; for instance, one of the biggest branches of Atma Tribe, *Kizir* is Kurd in Malatya and Turk in *Kars* and *Amasya*. What's more, branches of Atma Tribe are founded by number of twelve, which is a holly number for Alevis. (Birdoğan, 1995: 102-103)

Birdoğan describes Atma Tribe as a subgroup of *Rışvan* –read as [rishwan], Tribe and adds that Atma Tribe is located in "Kurdish Mountains" around *Maraş*, *Antep* and *Islahiye*. Furthermore, there are many different branches of *Rışvan* located from East to Central Anatolia. Their ethnicity and religious practices vary too. Some of them are Turk and some are Kurd; some of them are Alevi where some others are Sunni. (Birdoğan, 1995: 119-122) Birdoğan states that, Atma Tribe consists of twelve parts[25]. They are *Tilki, Kizir, Haydarlı, Keti, Sadaka, Kızkapan, Karahasan, Kara, Ağaca, Turunç, Kaba* and *Mahka*. Furthermore, he makes citation from Mahmut Rışvanoğlu; he claims that the greatest parts of *Rışvan* are Atma and *Sinemil*. (Birdoğan, 1995: 122) However, these twelve parts may be generalization of a local information. This is because, I couldn't noticed during my fieldwork and oral history records name of any of these parts except *Karahasan* –or only *Hasan*.

The same hypothesis, being a part of Rışvan Tribe, is supposed by Mehmet Demir Atmalı too, but both Birdoğan and Atmalı do not offer any significant evidence or give references about this claim. On the other hand, according to my fieldwork and documented oral history recordings, the name of *Rışvan* is not mentioned even once. Furthermore, names of totally different Tribes are mentioned as the root of the Atma tribe. I made a tiny survey on Rışvan Tribe and noticed that, *Rışvan* is a neighboring Tribe of Atma in *Adıyaman*, *Antep*, *and Maraş* region and it has too many members

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[24] I searched for him on the internet. He is, not surprisingly, an important and enthusiastic member of a nationalist political movement. (scc)
[25] He uses Turkish word "boy" to indicate each part.

than Atma. Moreover, in Söylemez's book about Rışvan Tribe[26] (Söylemez, 2007), he mentions names of Atma several times (Söylemez, 2007: 69,254,256) but in any part of the book, he does not directly or indirectly argue that Atma is a division of *Rışvan*. Furthermore, in the introduction part of the book, he mentions all divisions of *Rışvan* but there is nothing about Atma at all. (Söylemez, 2007: 20-37) In my point of view, again this may be generalization of a local information; that is, both Atmalı and Birdoğan confused the relationship between *Atma* and *Rışvan* in mentioned locations.

However, extremely interesting and important information about Atma Tribe came from a British Army Officer, Major E.W. Noel in the first half of the 20th century. Major Noel who is identified by a "British Spy" by Mustafa Kemal Ataturk[27] and "Kurdish Lawrens" by Kemalists,[28] (Bayrak, 2006: 178) made a trip to places where Kurdish people live in 1919 and took notes about the trip.

In 1919, Major Noel made a trip starting from *Diyarbakir*, then *Antep, Maraş and Malatya*. There are three main works in different countries about Major Noel's trip and each of them has a different point of view. (Bayrak, 2006: 175) According to Armenian-Soviet professor, Prof. Lazarev, Major Noel's trip mainly covers a region from *Antep* to *Malatya*. Major Noel notices that 80% of the population here is Kurd; Armenian population is nearly to be extinct. 75% of the Kurdish population here is Shiite[29] and remaining proportion is Sunni. Generally, Kurdish tribes here are anti-Turkist. (Lazarev, 1991: 106) Cemilpaşazade Ekrem wrote that, Major Noel went East with Celadet and Kamuran Bedirxan. Furthermore, Abdurrahman Zapsu was giving Kurmanji lessons to the Major Noel. Major Noel's team was consisting of 17 people, three of them were British and remaining were Kurds. (Cemil Paşa, 1991)

In his notes, he detail give information about Atma Tribe (Bayrak, 2006: 222-226):[30]

> Atma Tribe lives in Maraş and Malatya, and the word "Atma" is
> Turkified as "*Atmalı*" by the government. They came here a few

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[26] Which is a detailed book (scc)
[27] Turkish General in World War I, founder of the Turkish Republic and chief of Turkish modernization process. He is seen the most important Turkish leader of all times by many people in Turkish Republic. (scc)
[28] A group of people, strictly following the Mustafa Kemal Atatürk's doctrine. (scc)
[29] Most probably by saying Shia, he refers to Alawite. (scc)
[30] I couldn't reach the original text. I re-translated the text I have taken from Bayrak's book.

centuries ago from silver mines close to *Harput*.[31] They consist of 2565 families. Most of them live in *Pazarcık*, *Besni*, *Elbistan* and *Akçadağ*. Furthermore, there are other parts of the Tribe in *Maden, Arapgir, Islahiye, Kilis* etc. During the war, Atma Tribe sent 200 men to the Turkish army but just 30 of them returned.

They speak Kurdish (Kurmanji) and Turkish. Kurmanji they speak similar to spoken in *Diyarbakır*, maybe 6 or 7 percent of them are different. In summers, they wear '*Şalvar'*, '*zıbın'*, '*seko'* (European style long jacket), in winters they wear *shal* or *shepik* (Kurdish national dress). They wear a red *fes,* or white wool *kullik* and a *sarık* to their heads.

Half of the tribe is *Shii* (or Alevi) and half of them are Sunni. However, there is no gap between Alevis and Sunnis. They can marry each other. After all, both Alevis and Sunnis are not very strict Muslims. They just talk about *Seyyid*s[32] etc. but they do not appear often.

None of the members[33] of the tribe work as worker. Women generally weave carpet and saddlebags.

Figure 4-2 (Bayrak, 2006: 39) displays a photo taken by Major Noel. In the photo, there are people from Atma Tribe. Figure 4-3 (Bayrak, 2006: 192) displays map of places where Major Noel visited in 1919. Marker number 1 indicates Atma Tribe in Arguvan, number 2 and 3 indicates Atma Tribe in Maraş.

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[31] Todays "*Elazığ*" (scc)

[32] *Seyyid* is a generic term for the person whose ancestors are Mohammad. *Seyyid*s are important people in Alevi doctrine. (scc)

[33] Most probably, he refers to men. (scc)

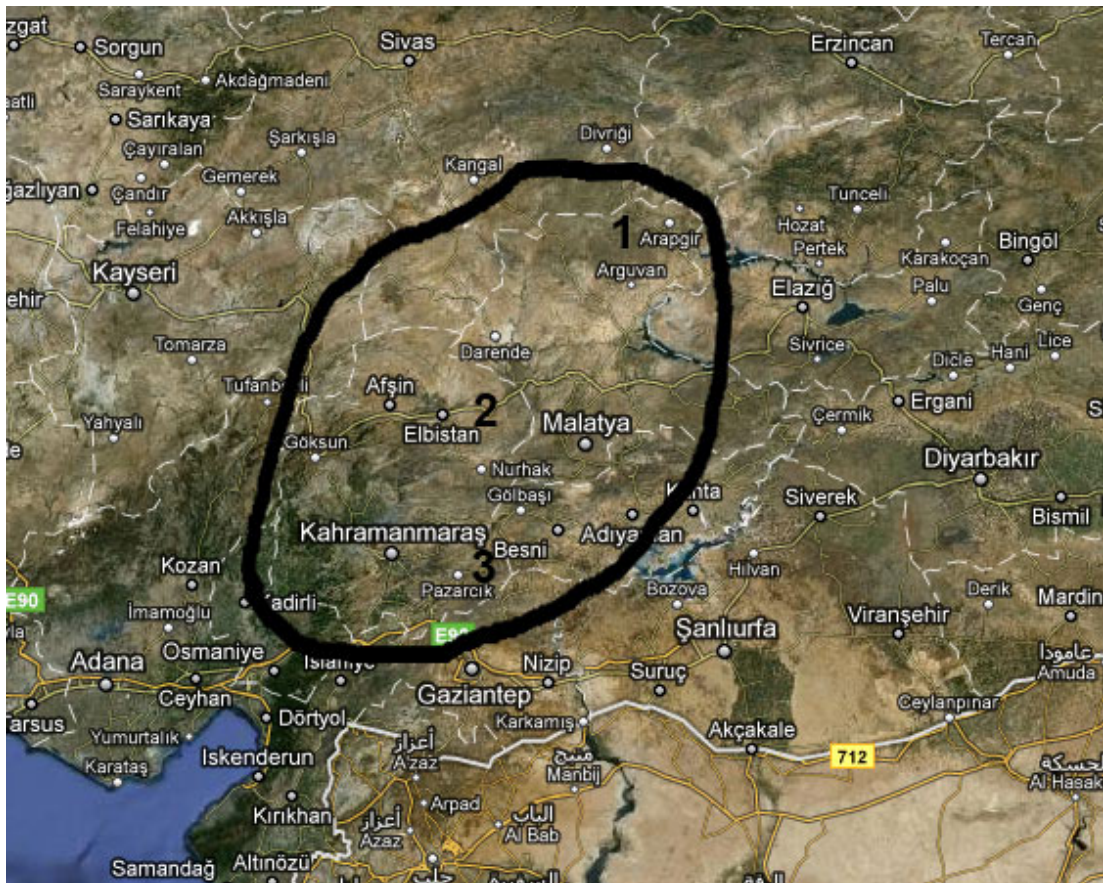**Figure 4-2 Kurds belonging Atma Tribe (1919)**

Figure 4-3 Places Where Major Noel Visited[34]

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[34] Original map is at the Mehmet Bayrak's book (Bayrak, 2006, p. 192); however, it was an old map drawn in 1909. Its measure was not consistent; furthermore, it contained just older names of places.

He gives information about their wedding traditions as well. In his notes having the date of August 21, 1919 (Bayrak, 2006: 197) he says:

> A *davul* and *zurna* player is found at this morning and they started to dance along with a very rough music. These Kurds folk dances are similar to Greek *hora*. They become a circle, keep their hands, first swing foot and then the other, they bend their body to front and left. During this period, they cry vulgarly.

He also took numerous of photographs and two of them are related to Atma Tribe in 1919. For instance, Figure 4-4 (Bayrak, 2006: 34) below displays people from Atma Tribe.

Figure 4-4 Kizilbash Kurds belonging Atma Tribe from Malatya (1919)

As seen above, Major Noel gives detailed information but his main concentration is their political status, their capability of fighting etc. He also gives information about their production relationships and daily life practices. Furthermore, this is one of the oldest written and reliable information about Atma Tribe.

For these reasons, it is re-drawn by me on the contemporary map -taken from Google Maps, of the area. (scc)

Hamza Aksüt, in his book named as "Social and Geographic Roots of Anatolian Alevilik" tells us about Atma Tribe located in Malatya. He says that, all Kurdish-Alevis living in Arguvan belong to Atma Tribe. These inhabitances are[35] *Qadabela (Güngören), Alxason (Alhas Uşağı), Ballikon (Bellikler), Kömürlük, Goxac (Gökağaç), Raşşon (Kuruttaş), Koron (Korolar), Goçaryon (Göçeruşağı), Brikon (Yoncalı), Çaxmax (Sığırcıuşağı).*[36]

He continues that, there are speculations about the name of *Atma* by people but most of them are difficult to be true. He mentions a story, which tells about the roots of Atma, but he finds it irrational as well and he adds that most probably word *Atma* was the name of a person or a place. He also mentions that people living in Northern Atma in Malatya believe that they came here from *Maraş/Pazarcık* and he tells a story that tells about separation of two Atma Tribes in Malatya.

He continues mentioning the information I give above which is diversifications of twelve parts of Atma in Maraş and he has the same idea with me which is these diversification is local to Maraş, it is far away from explaining Northern Atma Tribe in Malatya.

The most important and the significant information he mentions in the book is that, there is no Atma Tribe around Arguvan in XVI. Century. In 1577, there were a little group named as *Kömürlü*[37] attended to the rebel of *Şah İsmail* around Eğribük[38] but we have no information about is there connection between Kömürlük village of Northern Atma or not. However, it is a well known fact that Kurds of Rışvan Tribe had an important role in the rebel.

Atma Tribe is only located in a place called "*Kederbeyt*" on today's *Malatya* and *Adıyaman*. (Aksüt, 2002: 234-236)

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[35] Older names of villages are mentioned and Turkish (or official) names are given in parenthesis.
[36] Most probably, he forgot Şotik (Çobandere) village.
[37] One of the villages of Northern Atma is "Kömürlük".
[38] A village in Malatya.

4.3 Atma Tribe from Ottoman Archives

Archives of the Ottoman Empire are helpful place in order to look for information about societies in the past. Ottoman Empire wanted to record lands, production produced on lands, number of goat that nomads have etc. Furthermore, judicial issues, potential threats etc. are also recorded by the Ottoman Government.

The oldest record I found about Atma Tribe in Ottoman Archives belongs to 28.03.1853[39] and on the title; it says, "This document is related to the canalizing of *Kılıçlu, Sahanlu, Atmalu, Çakaklu* Tribes to cope with agriculture". In other words, it is about inhabitation of these tribes since the Ottoman Government saw nomadic tribes as a potential treat and wanted to place a certain locations by giving them a land and canalize them to deal with agriculture. The second document[40] belongs to 18.10.1855 and it is about collecting taxes from tribes around Besnî. The third document[41] belongs to 24.03.1887 and it is about settling Atma tribe to *Pazarcik* region of *Maraş*. It is also about canalizing them to give up the nomadic life style.

Fourth document[42], which is dated as 05.04.1887, is directly related with Northern Atma. It says, a branch of Atma Tribe who gave up their own land around A*r*guvan and *Arapgir* and settled around *Eğin* district, committing crimes. In the document, people from Northern Atma are mentioned as "*Atmalı Kürdü*" which means "Kurds of Atma" in Turkish. Another document[43] dated 15.04.1906 is about people from Atma and their crimes around *Eğin*.

The document[44] having the date 01.08.1907 is about preferment of Battal Efendi – one of the former landlords of Northern Atma, for the Ottoman Government and another document[45] dated 18.07.1911 is about a judicial issue related with Battal Efendi. Furthermore, the document[46] dated 18.12.1894 tells about the relationship

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[39] Location: Dosya No:87 - Gömlek No:5 - Fon Kodu: A.}DVN.
[40] Location: Dosya No:167 Gömlek No:77 Fon Kodu: A.}MKT.NZD.
[41] Location: Dosya No:1494 Gömlek No:13 Fon Kodu: DH.MKT.
[42] Location: Dosya No:1410 Gömlek No:17 Fon Kodu: DH.MKT.
[43] Location: Dosya No:1068 Gömlek No:72 Fon Kodu: DH.MKT.
[44] Location: Dosya No:1189 Gömlek No:89 Fon Kodu: DH.MKT.
[45] Location: Dosya No:22/-1 Gömlek No:42 Fon Kodu: DH.MTV.
[46] Location: Dosya No:536 Gömlek No:40188 Fon Kodu: BEO

with *Hamidiye Alayları* –a military division in Ottoman Empire especially used against Armenians in Eastern Anatolia, and Battal Efendi.

Besides I mention, there are many other documents giving information about Atma Tribe in different places in Ottoman Archives.

4.4 Northern Atma Tribe in Malatya

As mentioned above, there are many parts of the Atma Tribe spread around Eastern Turkey. However, our main area of focus is Atma Tribe in Malatya. Even though, it is not mentioned in the book prepared by The General Command of the Gendarmerie's report published by Perinçek and Yazıcı (1998), I have noticed that there are two branches of Atma Tribe in Malatya –which are named as Southern and Northern Atma Tribes[47], and some independent villages in *Doğanşehir* and *Akçadağ* districts. Among them, our focus will be given to Northern Atma Tribe. Up till now, I have given information about general and common characteristics of Atma Tribe; however, from now on, I will only take Northern Atma Tribe in Malatya into consideration.

Northern Atma Tribe is located in mountainous areas of Malatya/Arguvan district and it consists of nine villages and lots of hamlets. As mentioned above, they speak Kurmanji in their daily life and they are Alevi. Turkish is also known and spoken in Northern Atma Tribe; furthermore, Turkish is also holly language of Alevilik and they use Turkish as language of religion. However, the main –or the dominant, language of the tribe is Kurmanji especially for the folkloric and cultural aspects.

Figure 4-5 shows location of Malatya, Argucan and NAT on the map.

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[47] *Aşağı Atma* and *Yukarı Atma* in Turkish. Literally they mean "Lower Atma and Upper Atma". Words "up" and "low" may also be used instead of "north" and "south" in Turkish after all. Furthermore, because translation of lower and upper may mean in a different way in English, I have transited as Northern and Southern to prevent possible confusions. (scc)

Figure 4-5 Map of Northern Atma Tribe[48]

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[48] First map (top-left) displays Turkey and signs place of Malatya, the second map (top-right) displays Malatya and signs Arguvan, the third map displays Northern Atma Tribe.

32

4.4.1   Location of NAT

Northern Atma is located in mountainous areas of Arguvan district of Malatya near the border of Sivas. *Divriği* district of Sivas is at the north, *Hekimhan* district is at the west of the Northern Atma, *Arapgir* district of Malatya stays at the east of Northern Atma and other villages of *Arguvan* stays south of Northern Atma. Its shape is similar to a polygon where north-west point's coordinates are shown on **Error! Reference source not found.**.

Nearly the whole the area is covered with mountains and the mountain chain called *Yama Dağları* –in Turkish (scc), covers the northern side. The southern side is a plain place where agriculture is more common. Table 4-2 Geographic Coordinates of Northern Atma displays geographic coordinates of NAT.

Table 4-2 Geographic Coordinates of Northern Atma

Point	Latitude	Longitude
North-West	39° 4'22.36"N	38° 5'49.63"E
South-West	38°51'42.77"N	38° 9'1.41"E
South	38°52'31.96"N	38°15'42.19"E
East	38°57'57.63"N	38°18'15.25"E
North-East	39° 6'38.75"N	38°13'28.73"E

4.4.2   Neighbors of Atma, Ethnic and Religious Situation

As mentioned above, Northern Atma is located in the mountainous areas of Arguvan district and has borders with *Arapgir* and *Hekimhan* districts of Malatya, and *Divriği* district of Sivas. Mentioned districts are mainly inhabited by Alevis and Turks. On the other hand, Kurdish population in the area also constituted a huge proportion. Furthermore, there was a considerable Armenian population in the region, furthermore; Arapgir was an important center of Armenian population before 1915

but there were a few families stayed there and in present days Arapgir, Armenians near to be extinct.

As the map on Figure 4-6 shows us, most of the neighbors of the Atma Tribe are Turkish-Alevi. There are just three Kurdish- Alevi villages (*Sazlıca, Saraylı, Aşağısazlıca* of *Hekimhan* district)[49] at the West side of the Northern Atma and one Alevi and Sunni mixed village (*Sugeçti*) at the North East side of the Northern Atma remaining ones are Turkish and Alevi. There are Kurdish-Sunni neighbors as well at the West and North West and Turkish Sunni neighbors at the South West. That is, they share common characteristics with nearly all neighbors but only people they are an isolated society of their own with their unique characteristics of being both Kurdish and Alevi and this fact may bring about generating a unique identity of their own.

I want to emphasize one point here, *Sazlıca* and *Aşağısazlıca* villages of *Hekimhan* district are important since in these two villages, there are *dede*[50] families from *Sinemil* Tribe and religious practices are mainly conducted by *dede*s from there.

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[49] Originally, they are hamlets of the same village but they are separated due to administrative issues.
[50] Alevi monks. However, in order to be a "dede", blood connection with certain people is needed.
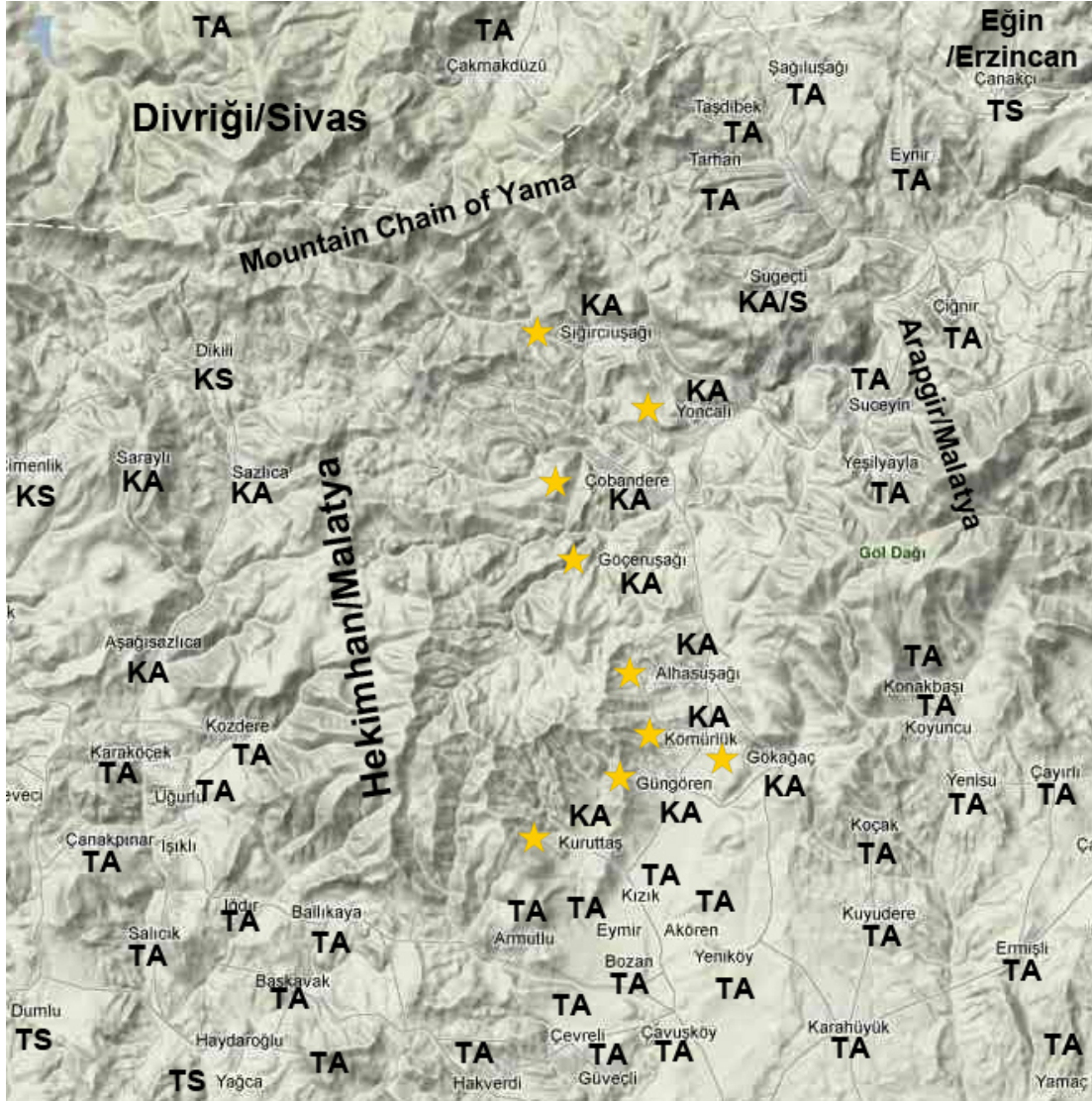
Figure 4-6 Ethnic and Religious Map of Northern Atma and its Neighbors [51]

Figure 4-6 displays ethnic and religious map of Northern Atma and its neighbors. On the map, there are village names and all village names are Turkish (official) names. Villages having the star icon are villages of Atma Tribe. Other signs display ethnic and religious situation of the village and meaning of the signs are explained below:

TA: Turkish and Alevi, **KA**: Kurdish and Alevi, **TS**: Turkish and Sunni,

KS: Kurdish and Sunni, **KA/S**: Kurdish, and both Alevi and Sunni

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[51] Map is drawn on a map from Google Maps ® and ethnic and religious situation of villages are explored one by one.

4.4.3 Social Organization of NAT

At the part 4.1 above, concept of tribe tried to be defined by looking at written sources and there were generalized information about the concept of tribe. However, besides being superficial, it also does not fit the structure for Northern Atma. Here, I want to give details of the social structure of Northern Atma by a deductive structure.

According to my observation, the tribe consists of villages –which are called as *dhi*. However, they are more than being administrative or geographic divisions; village is mainly an abstract concept for the case of Northern Atma. Most probably, it depends on administrative or geographic divisions of older times but today not all villages are geographically united. Furthermore, administrative divisions may not cover villages whose population is fewer.

A village basically, consists of families called *taife, qabile* or *aile*[52] and they are generally, people having the same ancestors and generally they share a surname.[53] They are a bigger perception than what we understand from a family and these ancestors may have hundreds of years of history. For instance, I have discovered a family tree going back to 17th century for a family of Northern Atma.

Families consist of "house"s called *mol* in Kurmanji. Actually, house is what we understand from family. It is an immediate family consisting of individuals and they are named as "house" because all these people live in a house and each "house" belongs to a family; that is, family of the man of the house.

To sum up, individuals constitute houses, houses constitute families, families constitute villages and villages constitute the tribe. This hierarchical structure is displayed on Figure 4-7 below;

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[52] Which means "family" in Turkish.
[53] In some cases, they may have more than one surname.
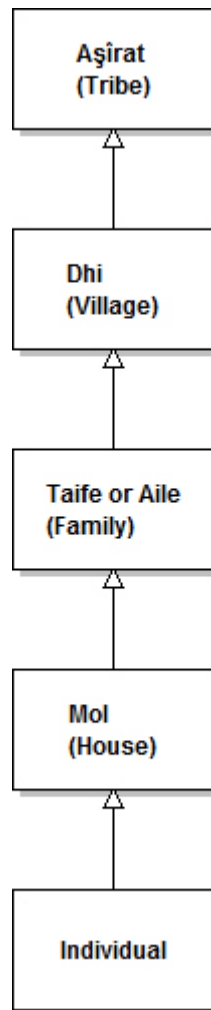
Figure 4-7 Social Organization of Northern Atma Tribe

The general idea of the concept of tribe in the books I looked at was, they have the same ancestors and all of them tied together with blood. However, this idea does not fit the case of Northern Atma. There are families might have the same ancestors but there are also families coming from different ancestors, furthermore, some families ethnically not the same, speak different language or might have different religious practices and they might accept common belief or language. In order to understand this fact better, I have explored the roots of families of a village and I got interesting results.

4.4.4 Case of *Qadabela* (*Güngören*) Village of Northern Atma

Village of *Qadabela* is located at the south part of the Northern Atma. Its original name is *Qadabela*; it is named as *Güngören* by the government in 1960s but its old name is still in use. Word "*Qadabela*" consists of the combinations of two Turkish words "*kada*" which means "trouble" and "*bela*" which means "misfortune". It is said that, it was the nickname of a person lived about two decades ago.

Geographically, it is a lowland zone, more than being a mountainous area. It consists of two main parts of inhabitance and about 500 meters distance between them. These sub divisions are the central village and a small arable field called "*Xaraba*" which means "ruin" in Kurmanji. There are also ruins of an ancient town or village but there are no archeological research done about the civilization lived there. Most people in Northern Atma believe that these ruins belongs to Armenians lived there hundreds of years ago but I have no valuable information more than a legend about whether is this belief true or not.

Its neighboring villages are *Kömürlük* (of Atma), *Goxac* (of Atma), *Raşşon* (of Atma) and *Kızık*. Among them, *Kızık* is a Turkish Alevi village; furthermore, *Kızık* is one of the names of the twelve Turcoman Tribes. Fields of *Kızık* and *Qadabela*, are mixed together especially at the South parts of the village and it is difficult to know borders of these two villages.

Population of *Qadabela* is 147 people in 33 houses. 21 houses live at the central village and 12 houses live at the arable field of *Xaraba*. Most of the population is older people.
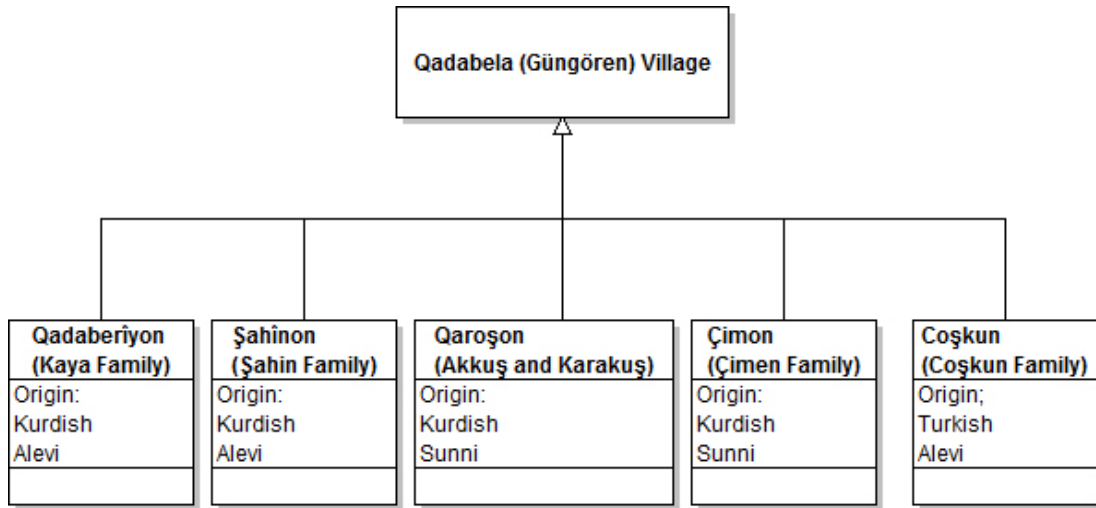
Figure 4-8 Families in Qadabela (Güngören) Village

There are five main branches of families live in *Qadabela* and they are displayed on Figure 4-8 Families in Qadabela (Güngören) Village above.

The first family is *Qadaberîyon* and their surname is *Kaya*. They are the biggest family of the village; 16 of 33 villages are from this family. They could be accepted as the main family of the village since *Qadabela* was the nickname of the ancestors of this family who lived approximately two decades ago. They accept themselves as Kurdish Alevi and all known ancestors of them are Kurdish Alevi too.

The second family is *Şahînon*, and their surname is *Şahin*. I am told that, originally they are not from Atma Tribe. They came here from *Kokon* (or *Sazlıca* in Turkish) village –which is a Kurdish Alevi village located at the North-West of NAT. Their ancestors came here to work for the person called *Qadabela* and they settled there. Today, even they have connections with the village where they came from, they accept themselves as a part of Atma Tribe even their roots are different; furthermore, they believe Alevilik and they used Kurmanji as their daily language.

The third family is *Qaroşon*, and their surname is *Akkuş* and *Karakuş*. I am told that, originally they are not from Atma Tribe as well. They came from a village called "*Kirocîyon*" –or *Kiracılar* in Turkish, which is Kurdish and Sunni people were inhabited. However, they converted into Alevilik throughout the time; furthermore, today most of them strict fanatics of Alevilik. They also accept themselves as a part of Atma Tribe even their roots are different.

Fourth family of the village is *Çimon* and their surname is *Çimen*. They are originally not from Atma Tribe; they came from a Kurdish and Sunni village called *Çimon* and they converted into Alevilik throughout the time.

Fifth and the smallest family is *Coşkun* –also have the surname of *Coşkun*, who came from a Turkish Alevi village called *"İğdir"* and they are originally not from Atma Tribe too. During time, they spoke Kurmanji instead of Turkish.

As seen above, families may have different origins but they could easily receive language, religion etc. of their habitation. That is, a tribe could be defined as a volunteer unity of families.

4.4.5 Today's Situation in NAT

Until now, we defined an older and rural society which tribal relations are still important. Furthermore, even the usage of the word "tribe" may create an authentic comprehension. However, present day's situation is quite different.

When I last[54] visited NAT, village of *Qadabela* (*Güngören*), what I have seen was a bit different than we told on paragraphs above. That is, modernization was in action and it was running quicker than I guess. There are televisions, radios, phones nearly in each home. Cell phones are also owned by all young and middle-aged generations and many old people used them too. Roads are asphalt for more than ten years and substructures like water, electricity, canalization are in use for many years. Computers, satellite and digital TV receivers are owned and number of people using them is increasing every day. It is not surprising people to use electronic devices in their daily life but it was higher than I expected –or assumed. For instance, on the day I arrived, some young and mid-aged people were busy of measuring their fields from satellite by using Google Earth. This was quite surprising. Moreover, many youngsters and mid-ages use Facebook and upload photos and videos, watch videos from YouTube. Popular TV series are watched by people from all age groups and all people watch news from TV at least once a day. In other words, the older authentic and close society is changing.

However, listening habits are not changed too much. Both Turkish and Kurdish songs from Arguvan region were the most frequent listened genre[55] and other Alevi and/or Kurdish music was also listened. As I perceived, even though arabesk and other genres are listened, they are not too common.

Again, as I observed[56] Su TV, Cem TV and Yol TV were three of the most watched TV channels in addition to popular TV channels of Turkey. These channel's common characteristic is that they are owned and managed by Alevis and there is a tendency towards Alevi culture and propagation of Alevilik is customary on these channels.

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[54] April 24-28, 2011

[55] I could not have the opportunity to make a survey what do people in NAT listen but as I observed general tendency of people is to listen Alevi and/or Kurdish songs and their regional genres (both in Turkish and Kurdish) has a special importance.

[56] Again, I could not make a survey but these are my observations about the general tendency.

They watch TV channels which broadcasting in Kurdish too, but as I observed, it is quite rare compared to popular Turkish channels and Alevi channels mentioned above. Furthermore, people in NAT generally use Kurdish channels to listen music programs, watching news or other programs are uncommon.

Politics is important for people in NAT and it is worthy to be mentioned. There are elections in June 2011 politics are one of the popular topics for people to discuss. During political discussions, I listened in my fieldwork in April 2011, most people supports CHP[57] and the main reason they present to support CHP is that because they are Alevi. Other religious parties and nationalists are dangerous for them. On the other hand, they are suspicious about Kurdish political discourses even though they are Kurdish. For instance, I am told that during the elections took place in 2007 in the village of *Qadabela* (*Güngören*) there were 96 voters; 93 of votes were CHP –in other words, 96% of all votes. Remaining three votes were independent candidates.

Footsteps of modernization could be seen by looking at the architecture too. Older houses were built with stone and ceilings were wooden. However, these kinds of houses are not built anymore; furthermore, remaining ones are restored and renewed in accordance with the modern architecture. Twenty years ago, all houses were old style but today, there are a few samples of old houses are remained in NAT. Figure 4-9 shows an abandoned old house from *Qadabela* (*Güngören*) village of NAT. Today, half of the building is used as barn. Squalor and desolation of the building is obvious on the photo.

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[57] Republican Peoples Party. This party is founded by M.K. Atatürk and it is a leftist-conservative party.

Figure 4-9 An abandoned old house from NAT.[58]

However, the Figure 4-10 shows photograph of *Qadabela* (*Güngören*) village taken in April 28, 2011. As seen on the picture, many houses are concrete buildings. Modernized older buildings could be selected from the picture.

Figure 4-10 *Qadabela (Güngören)* Village (2011)[59]

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[58] Photo is taken by me in April 27, 2011.
[59] Photo is taken by me in April 28, 2011.

However, not too much, a few decades ago all the houses were in old style. Figure 4-11 shows *Eşkınlı* hamlet of *Şotik* (*Çobandere*) village in 1998. Because I could not reach Qadabela's older picture, I put *Eşkınlı*'s photo. As seen on the picture, all houses are in old style, there are no concrete buildings. The newest house on the picture is about 70-80 years old and oldest one is about 150 years old.

Figure 4-11 Photo from *Eşkınlı* Hamlet (1997)[60]

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[60] Photo is taken by Ali Cihan Çıplak in 1997.

Another change of present days NAT is also related to production relationships and modernization. In older documents, Ottoman Archives for example, name of NAT –and nearly all tribes in Ottoman, are mentioned with its leaders or landlords' names. These leaders or landlords generally belong to certain families; in other words, we can talk about a kind of nobility. These landlords –or noble people, had enough power and legitimacy to administrate the tribe and control relationships with the government. However, today there is no centralization of power for NAT. People belonging "noble" families do not claim "nobility" or supremacy over other people living in NAT. Even if they claim, most probably nobody from the tribe would accept their supremacy although nearly all people in NAT are proud of their former leaders and landlords.

However, migration is also an important fact, which is faced by NAT as all villages faced in Turkey's recent history. In the report of The General Command of the Gendarmerie prepared in the first half of 1970s, population of NAT is given as 8000.[61] (Perinçek & Yazıcı, 1998: 202) Additionally, Sevda Şahin in her book about NAT give demographic information about NAT between years of 1980 and 1995. In 1980, population of NAT was 3762, in 1985, it was 3396, in 1990, it was 2742, and in 1995, it was 2149. (Şahin, 2010: 65) I do not have precise statistics for actual population of NAT today but whole population of Arguvan is now 8379 (Turkish Ministary of Tourism, 2011: web) and we can predict the approximate population of NAT by looking at the ratio between Arguvan and NAT. In 1980, NAT constituted 19.5% of population of Arguvan, in 1985 this ratios is 18.3% and in 1990, this ratio is 18.3%. In a word, NAT constitutes approximately 19% of Arguvan district and current population of NAT should be about 1592. To sum up, there is a continuous decrease in the population of NAT for last a few decades.

The migration is towards big cities in general, but some families in NAT migrated to other villages due to economic reasons too. For instance, there is a village called *Dedekargın*,[62] which all settlers are from NAT who went there in last forty years. However, the biggest migration wave is migration to cities, especially Istanbul and

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[61] Most probably, it is not a precise number; it is just an approximate value.
[62] This village is located in *Yazıhan* district of Malatya. Old settlers were Turkish Alevis but they migrated from the village.

Malatya. Moreover, the bigger community of NAT lives in Istanbul and Malatya, in other words NAT is still alive in big cities.

Existing of the tribe in big cities could be accepted as a big challenge to modern times. People migrated from NAT founded associations in cities they keep tribal relations alive. I noticed nine associations. The most important and inclusive one is located in Malatya and its name is "Association of Atma Social Cooperation and Unity". Besides this one, there are eight other associations founded with names of villages of NAT in Istanbul.

I conducted an interview with Mehmet Ali Başıbüyük –the director of Association of Atma Social Cooperation and Unity[63], and he told me about his projects. He told about the school in the *Kömürlük* village of NAT which built by the association in 2009. The schools cost about 1.5 Million Turkish Liras[64] and all expenses are supplied by donations came from members. (Başıbüyük, 2011) He told about other expensive projects, which will be started in a few years. Furthermore, there are properties of the association, too.

Furthermore, they organized an important event in 7-8 August 2011. They collected people belonging Atma Tribe from 23 cities and 80 districts of Turkey. For the ad related to this event, see Figure 4-12 Ad of the Meeting of Atma Tribes all over Turkey.

A reportage conducted with Başıbüyük by a local newspaper of *Malatya* could be seen on Figure 4-13. On the reportage, he states his objections towards double standards applied by governmental institutions because of their ethnic and religious differences.

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[63] "Atmalılar Sosyal Yardımlaşma ve Dayanışma Derneği" in Turkish
[64] It is about 1 Million Dollars

Figure 4-12 Ad of the Meeting of Atma Tribes all over Turkey

sonnokta

ATMALILAR SORUYOR SUÇUMUZ ETNİK VE MEZHEPSEL YAPIMIZ MI?

BAŞYAZI

HEM ALEVİ HEM DE KÜRT KÖKENLİ OLMAK (MI?)

İbrahim GÖÇMEN

Atmalılar Arguvan ilçemizin kuzey bölgesinde ki dağ köylerinde yaşayan alevi ve kürt kökenli ancak Türkiye Cumhuriyetine herkesten daha çok bağlı Türkiye Cumhuriyeti vatandaşlarımız.

Bu köylerde yaşayan ve atma aşiretine mensup olan vatandaşlarımız asıl olarak Türkiye'nin dört bir yanında boyları ve kolları olan büyük bir aşiret.

Geçen yıl Malatya da ki atmalılar dernek başkanı Mehmet Ali başı büyük çok önemli ve bir o kadar da başarılı bir organizasyonla Türkiye'nin dört bir yanında olan bütün Atmalıları Arguvan'ın atma köylerine getirdi gezdirdi ve bir gece de hepsini misafir ettikten sonra herkesi bölgelerine uğurladı.

Atmalılar Siirte, Urfa da, Maraş ta, pazarcıkta, Van'da iç anadoluda velhasıl Türkiyenin her köşesinde geldiler ve sanki kırk yıllık birbirlerini tanıyormuşçasına birbirleri ile anlaştılar kaynaştılar.

Dışardan Malatya ya gelen bu atma aşireti mensuplarının bir bölümü bölgelerine göre Türk ve sünni olmuş bir bölümü Türk ve alevi bir bölümü de kürt ve sünni bazıları da bizim bu rada yaşayan Arguvanlı Atmalılar gi-

işte ne yaparsan yap her dönemde her zamanda bir muaviye ya da bir yezit bir yerlerde çıkıyor.

Asıl konumuz tabii ki ne yezit ne de muaviye bizim derdi miz bu günkü Türkiye de barış içerisinde kardeşçe ve bütün inanç ve etnik yapıların dostça yaşamasıdır.

İnsanlar inançlarından ya da mezheplerinden dolayı ha keza etnik yapılarından dolayı suçlu görülmemeli aşağılanmamalı hor görülmemeli devlet kademelerinde var olan ya da olması gereken işleri sadece bu nedenle ertelenmemeli kulak arkası edilmemeli inkar ya da sümen altı hiç edilmemeli.

Yıllardır Atmalı kardeşlerimizin bir işi var ve bu iş bir şekilde ihmal edilmekte savsaklanmakta ertelenmekte artık olmaması için ya da oluşturulmaması için ne gerekiyorsa o yapılmakta.

İş nedir iş bireysel bir iş değil iş birkaç kişinin de sonu ma değil belki böyle olsa idi hatırlı adamlar araya girer ya da araya sokulur çözülürdü zaten işin garip ve acayip tarafı da bu.

Kısaca Atmalıların yıllardır özlemini çektiği okul işi ne yazık ki hiçbir şekilde sonuca vardırılamadı vardırılmadı Yapılacak iş aslında çok basit

köy, Akören, Eymir, Kızık köylerinin öğrencilerinin bu okula gitmesi gerekirken, Arguvan Cumhuriyet İlköğretim Okulu'na gönderilmeleri... Bu gön dermede de servis ücretlerinin yarısının Arguvan Kaymakamlığınca ödenmesi... Atmalılar İlköğretim Okulu'na gelmesi gereken öğrencilerin, ilçe merkezine devlet destekli taşınmalar... Amaç, okulumuzun öğrencilerini a zaltarak okulumuzu kapattırmak mı?

7) Çobandere Koru mezarasındaki öğrencilere; "Ya okula gelin ya da yatılı okula gidin." dayatması neden? Küçücük çocukla rın, dağlık, ormanlık ara zide, kış koşullarında iki üç kilometre yürümeleri, böylece okula ulaşma larını istemek ne kadar in sancıl? Yatılı okula gönde rerek ruhsal sorunlarla baş başa, aile sevgisinden

Yıllardır bölgelerine bir okul yapmak çocuklarının eğitim ve öğretimlerine katkı sunmak için uğraşan Atmalılar ne yazık ki dev letin kendilerine verdiği sözü yerine getirmeme sinden dolayı mağdur ol dular adına bu projeyi ta kip eden ve bu güne ka-

raf üslendik, okulumu zun yapımı için. Devletin yüzde yirmi beşinin 70 bin lirası okulumuza har canmadı, neden?

3) Bahçenin kum ve çakılla örtülmesi, ilgili ku ni, böylece okula ulaşma larını istemek ne kadar in sancıl? Yatılı okula gönde rerek ruhsal sorunlarla baş başa, aile sevgisinden

rumlarla yazışmalar sonu cu İl Özel İdaresi araçla rınca ve özel firma araçla rınca yapıldı. 24 bin lira

Figure 4-13 Reportage of M.A. Başıbüyük with a local newspaper of Malatya

48

In Istanbul, associations are mainly founded with the names of villages of NAT. This may be because of two reasons. First, there is a fashion of "village associations" in Istanbul and founders may be affected from this environment. For instance, you can find many of "village associations" on the streets of *Bağcılar* district of Istanbul.

Another function of "village associations" located in Istanbul are being more local than a general association and they are socially powerful than the Association in Malatya. Cultural activities are the main purposes of these associations. For instance, Association of *Çobandere* (*Şotik*) Village Social Cooperation and Unity[65] organized a seminar named "Alevilik and Identity" in March 13, 2011 and attendees were respected writers and researchers in their field and there were hundreds of listeners. Figure 4-14 displays people listening to the panel.

Figure 4-14 Listeners at the Panel of "*Alevilik* and Identity"[66]

The social side of "village associations" also helps inheritance of the identity as well. For instance, at the Alevilik and Identity Panel in March 13, 2011, I met with young people born and grew up in Istanbul but define themselves as Kurdish-Alevi from

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[65] "Çobandere (Şotik) Köyü Sosyal Yardımlaşma ve Dayanışma Derneği" in Turkish.
[66] Taken by me in March 13, 2011.

Atma Tribe proudly. They learn local dances, playing *bağlama* and related cultural aspects from Association of *Çobandere* (*Şotik*) Village.

One of the cultural activities related music is conducted by Association of *Çobandere* (*Şotik*) Village Social Cooperation and Unity. They collected forty-five songs from NAT, inscribed them and pressed as a book in 2010. The book depends on four years of fieldwork conducted by Abdurrahman Çıplak and it is the first written resource in its area.

Music has a central function among cultural aspects for people from NAT as in many other Alevis. This is because; music is one of the most important aspects of Alevi rituals, and music has a mystical and sacred nature for Alevis even though they are not religious songs.

In the next chapter, we will be examining music in NAT in detail.

5. MUSIC IN NORTHERN ATMA TRIBE

Before explaining the music, we should make a brief look at language and wedding traditions of NAT.

5.1 Language in Northern Atma Tribe

As mentioned above, the main language in Atma Tribe is Kurmanji dialect of Kurdish, but it is a little different accent. This special accent of Kurmanji dialect is defined as Western Kurmanji by British Major Noel during his visit to the region in 1919. He says that, this is the same language and the same dialect with spoken in Diyarbakir region, there is a difference but they can understand each other easily. (Bayrak, 2006: 192) I agree with Major Noel; that is, they use the same grammatical patterns, the same lection but there is a difference in pronunciation. People in NAT are tend to pull all [e] sounds to [a], [a] sounds to [o] and in some cases [o] to [e] compared with other Kurds living in the Eastern regions. Let me explain this difference with an example:[67]

NAT Kurmanji   : N**ovî** min Silêm**ona**.

Eastern Kurmanji   : N**avê** min Silêm**ane**.

English   : My name is Süleyman.

On the other hand, Turkish is also an important language for people belong to the NAT because of three reasons. The first reason is that, NAT is surrounded by Turkish speaking Alevis and not surprisingly, they have relationships with each other. These relationships could be thought in the context of trade, work, cultural

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[67] I signed different pronunciations by making them bold.

exchange, religious activities, marriage; namely, nearly all areas of daily life. That is, communication and connection with Turkish originated neighbors cause NAT to have connections with Turkish language too.

The second reason is that, Alevilik use Turkish as language of rituals. This fact is an interesting issue but independent from ethnicity, nearly all of sacred songs of Alevilik and *gulbang* –psalms, are written in Turkish. Furthermore, there are seven sacred poets –known as *ulu ozanlar* in Turkish, whose names are *Nesimi, Fuzuli, Pir Sultan Abdal, Hatai, Yemini, Virani Kul Himmet*, (Kaleli, 1995: 32) I have no detailed information ethnicity of these people but it is a well-known fact that all of their writings are in Turkish. Most of sacred songs are composed from these poets' writings and sung in Turkish in rituals. In other words, Turkish is the language of non-secular music in NAT. As a result, they have to have a connection with Turkish language by means of the religion.

The third reason here is that, Turkish is the official language of Turkey. Furthermore, it is the language of education, language of governmental and administrative duties, language of televisions, radios and press. Moreover, this issue was an important fact in the past as well. Landlords of NAT were good speakers of Turkish in the past and it was an indicator of being educated. For instance, Major Noel, in his notes gives an example from *Kurecik* Tribe –a Kurdish-Alevi Tribe lives at the west of Malatya, and he says that educated people in this tribe use Turkish and some of them have forgotten Kurdish completely. (Bayrak, 2006: 200) That is, increase on the education and development in communication technologies increases the importance of Turkish.

Today, nearly all of the members of the tribe are bilingual. A few decades ago, most of children starting school could not speak Turkish but today most of children speak both Turkish and Kurdish fluently. Furthermore, in villages whose relationships with Turkish neighbors are more, children speak only Turkish and just understand Kurmanji. The second generation who do not grow up in NAT use Turkish as their first language and most of them cannot speak Kurmanji. For instance, my fathers and mothers native language is Kurmanji; however, as a second generation grown up in Malatya –the central city, Turkish was the primary language in our home. I could understand Kurmanji a little bit but I couldn't speak. I have developed my speaking skills with my grandmother and grandfather in summers.

As a result, in spite of the fact that Kurmanji is the main language used in NAT, Turkish is gaining an importance in daily life. Because of Turkish neighbors, Alevilik and being official language people are not strange to Turkish, but increasing usage of mass media and increase in the number of educated people also increases usage of Turkish language in NAT. Today, most of the songs of NAT are in Kurmanji and some of them in Turkish.

5.2 Wedding Traditions

Wedding tradition is an important issue for our purposes since weddings are one of the most important environments for performing music. Moreover, weddings are not only performance environments but they are also exchange and exhibition environments as well. Before explaining the music performances in weddings, I would like to tell about weddings in detail.

Word wedding is translated into Kurmanji as *dowat*. Most probably, *dowat* derives from Arabic word *dawat* (TDK, 2011, web) and it is used in Turkish as *davet*. It means "to call", "to invite" as verb and "invitation" or "party" as noun.

Marriage age was 16-20 for females and 18-23 for males in the past. However, in a few decades age of marriage is increased and today it is about 23-30 for females and 26-35 for males.

Before wedding, there are two more rituals, which are *söz* and *nişon*. These rituals are common in Anatolia and their functions are quite the same, but there are differences in details. I want to briefly explain these rituals.

Literally, *söz* means "the promise" and it is the initiative ritual starting the marriage process. It is named as "*xwastin*" too in Kurmanji and literally, it means, "to want, to request". Family and close relatives of the bridegroom goes to the bridges house. The family and some close relatives of the bridge are waiting for them. Father of the bridegroom or an older person from their family "wants" the girl from her father. A simple ceremony of ringing is made. These rings are called "rings of *söz*". *Nişan* or engagement is another ritual has to be completed before the wedding.

Wedding traditions here are quite the same plot. As I notified that, it takes three days. It starts at Friday afternoon and continues until Sunday noon. However, in older times, it was five or nine days and it is decreased to three days in last fifteen years.

The main instrument of the wedding is *dawul* and *zurna*. This couple of instruments is the main tool of the weddings in nearly all regions of Anatolia. After all, different variations of these instruments are used by Turks, Kurds, Armenians, and Arabs.

Main aim of the wedding is marriage. Besides marriage, some families prefer to make a wedding for circumstance of their son (or sons) as many other Muslim Tribes, and in some cases, wedding for the circumstance may be united with another marriage from the family. For instance, eight years old nephew of the bridegroom could be circumstanced and two weddings could be united.

Weddings are important because, one of the performance environments are weddings especially Saturday evenings. People drink and sing songs collectively and this important issue will be mentioned in next paragraphs.

5.3 Instruments

5.3.1 *Bağlama* (or *Tambur*)

Originally, word *tambur* refers to a stringed instrument in Classical Turkish Music –known with its Turkish abbreviation; TSM. However, in Kurmanji, word *tambur* is used to indicate the instrument called *saz* or *bağlama* in Turkish. During the text, I use word *tambur* to indicate this instrument too.

Bağlama family instruments could be categorized three main branches, which are long-necked, short-necked, and *cura*[68]. As name indicates, long necked *bağlama* is used to indicate *bağlama*s those neck are longer compared with their body. They are generally longer than one meter and they are generally used in secular music but this is not a rule. One of the members of the long necked members of bağlama family is called *tambura* and most probably, it has a connection with *tambur* of NAT.

The second category is short-necked *bağlama* and these instruments change from eighty centimeters to one meter. They are mainly used by Alevi and *Bektaşi* societies of present day as the instrument of the ritual. However, a few centuries –and even decades, ago the main ritualistic instruments used by Alevis and *Bektaşi*s are shorter than a short-necked bağlama, *cura*. *Cura* indicates the smallest members of the bağlama family and they are generally shorter than eighty centimeters. They may have three groups of strings. Depending on the length of the *cura*, these three groups of strings may have up to five strings. [69]

Tambur is the main instrument used in the music of NAT. It is the most common instrument used in Turkish folk music, additionally; it is the sacred instrument and the symbol of Alevilik, after all.

According to Erol Parlak *bağlama* came from an instrument called *kopuz* which is from Central Asia but the main advancement of bağlama has occurred in Anatolia. First, it played with hand and then it played with a pick in 14th century Ottoman court in order for *bağlama* to increase the volume. However, Alevi and Bektaşi societies

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[68] Reads like "jura"

[69] In this part, I have not seen it necessary to give references to written sources since *bağlama* (or *tambur* or *saz*) is my main instrument and I see myself enough to argue about it.

used bağlama in the middles of 20th century. According to him, as a close social group having a profound musical culture Alevi society plays *bağlama* with hands even today. Moreover, he adds that, new generations used neck afterwards. (Parlak, 2001: 9-11)

According to my fieldwork and reportages, pick is a new tool used in music of NAT. Today in most cases *bağlama* is played with pick but some kinds of *bağlamas* are just available for playing with hands.

I have an old *bağlama* (*cura*), which is about eighty years old played in NAT. This *bağlama* is a typical example of what made and played about 80 years ago in NAT. It has only twelve frets and this twelve refers to Alevi mysticism[70].

> Its body is different from today's *bağlamas*. Today's *bağlama*s are elliptical compared to the older ones. However, older *bağlama*s are sharper and edged.

Figure 5-1, Figure 5-2 and Figure 5-3 below display the mentioned 80 years old *bağlama*.

Note: The ruler is 30 centimeters (or ~1 feet) long.

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[70] 12 could be accepted as a holly number in Alevilik. For instance, "*Oniki İmamlar"* which means twelve monks are the most important people after the prophet Mohammad. It is similar to Jesus and twelve saints.

Figure 5-1 80 years old *bağlama* from the left.

Figure 5-2 80 years old *bağlama* from the right.

Figure 5-3 80 years old *bağlama* from the back.

Another *cura,* which is smaller than the one displayed above is also share similar characteristics. It is newer; it is about 60 years old. It also has three strings and twelve frets.
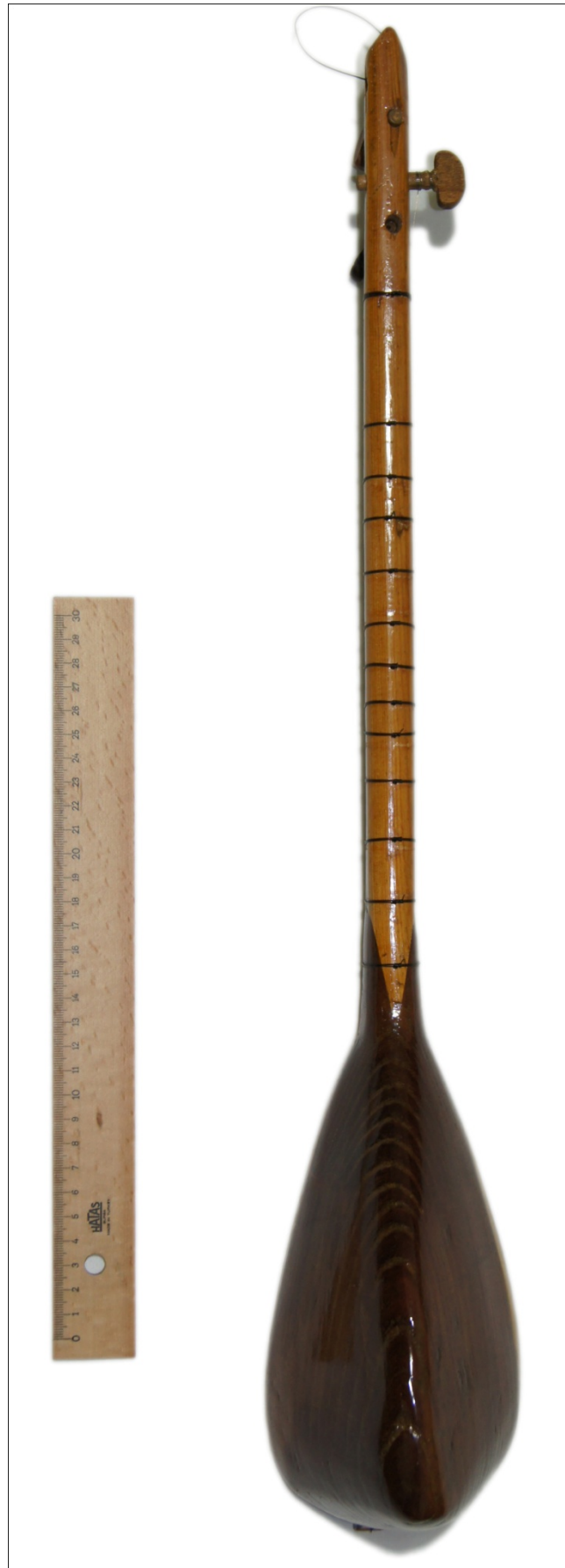
The structural difference with the older one is that, the dimension between the neck and the highest point of the instrument is quiet sharper, in other words, it has a smaller body compared to older one.

Figure 5-4 and Figure 5-5 below displays 60 years old *cura*.

Note: The ruler is 30 centimeters (or ~1 feet) long.

Figure 5-4 60 years old *bağlama* from the front.

Figure 5-5 60 years old *bağlama* from the back.

The third sample is a long-necked *bağlama* from NAT. It is broken; it has no frets, no strings even any augers but it still in one piece. It is newer than the others; it is about 40 years old. It could be accepted as a form between modern and traditional *bağlama*s. Its body is smaller but its curves are obviously oval.

Figure 5-6 and Figure 5-7 below displays 40 years old *bağlama*.

Note: The ruler is 30 centimeters (or ~1 feet) long.

Figure 5-6 40 years old *bağlama* from the front.

Figure 5-7 40 years old *bağlama* from the back.

5.3.2 Davul and Zurna

Davul is an outdoor drum and *zurna* is an outdoor wind instrument. These two instruments are played together in general. This couple has a multi-cultural characteristic in Anatolia and around. The *davul* and *zurna* couple is the main orchestra of weddings and other kinds of entertainments.

In spite of the fact that, playing *bağlama* is an indicator of a prestigious status in the society, playing *davul* and *zurna* is an indicator of a lower social status in NAT. Until recent years, *davul* and *zurna* players were coming from neighboring Turkish-Alevi villages. However, in recent years, there are davul and zurna players in NAT as well. This exchange of musicians also caused a mixture of cultures between Turkish and Kurdish Alevis living in the Arguvan region. Names of dance musics are generally in Turkish after all. Some dance music names I have noticed are "Elazığ Dik Halay", "Karşılama", "Üç Ayak", "Düz Halay", "Delilo", "Kartal", "Tamzara", "Temürağa", "Büyük Cevizin Dibi", "Lorke", "Kaçike", "Tura", "Sing Sing", "Kol Oyunu", "Ha Bu Diyar". Most of them are also mentioned in a book written by Atılgan and Turhan (1999) about folklore and music of Malatya. Furthermore, we can see names of *Tamzara* and *Temürağa* from a book about music and folklore of *Bayburt*[71]. (Tan & Turhan, 1997: 89). Furthermore, word Tamzara is also used as a name of dance songs by Armenians. For instance, name of an album by Armenian musicians, Anush, Inga Arshakyan is *Tamzara*. (Arshakyan & Arshakyan, 2009). Furthermore, obviously dance song names "*Lorke*", "*Kaçike*", "Tura" and "*Sing Sing*" are in Kurmanji. "*Lorke*" means "play –or dance", "*Kaçike*" means "the girl", "*tura*" means rope and "sing sing" means "chest to chest". Names of *tura* and *sing sing* mentioned by British major Noel's notes about Atma Tribe in 1919. (Bayrak, 2006: 197) On the other hand remaining dance song names are obviously Turkish.

Dance songs are generally depends of repeat of a little theme consisting of just a few measures.

Figure 5-8 and Figure 5-9 display people dancing with *davul* and *zurna*.

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[71] A city located at the North-Eastern Turkey.

Figure 5-8 People dancing with *davul* and *zurna*.[72]

Figure 5-9 People dancing with *davul* and *zurna*[73]

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[72] Photo by Rıza Parlak, March 2011.
[73] Photo by Rıza Parlak, March 2011.

5.3.3   Blur (or Kaval)

Blur (*kaval* in Turkish) is a wind instrument used in Anatolia and Balkan regions. It is generally known as "shepherd's instrument". Its sound could be accepted as similar to a flute and its playing logic is similar to Arabic nay.

In NAT, blur was played but today I haven't noticed any traditional blurs or blur players. The ones playing blur –generally they are young generations, have learned to play it from TRT based versions and teaching practice. Blur could be accepted as an extinct instrument for NAT.

5.4 Scales and *Makam*s Used in the Music of NAT

A musicologist have a knowledge of Turkish music could easily understand the scale structure of the music on NAT, that is, *makam* could give the most appropriate notion and understanding but I didn't want to apply a different theory to a music tradition and avoided deductive style but I will use some aspects of the makam theory as well.

Literally, makam is processing of a particular scale by following a certain flow towards a certain direction. The word *makam* is also used in NAT; however, it is used as the translation of melody. However, I am going to use word *makam* to indicate its academic definition.

Here, I am going to explain basic concepts of the *makam* theory but I am not going to go in deep.

Scales in Turkish music are built by adding one tetrachord to a pentachord.[74] However, as we mentioned above, notion of makam is more than a scale and a song in a certain makam may not complete a full scale especially in folk songs. Furthermore, in music of NAT, majority of songs do not complete a complete scale of the *makam* its belonged to; however, other characteristics –f.e. cadences, ascending-descending structure etc., may give us the necessary information about the makam.

I want to emphasize one other important aspect, which is related to writing system of Turkish Music. In traditional system of Turkish Music, notes are not labeled by their absolute frequency. Their main system depends on their first degree[75] and all other levels are defined by their relation to the first degree. What is more, theory in Turkish Music is named as "*nazariyat*" which means "relativity". The absolute tones are explained with the concept of *ahenk*. Actually, they are names of different sizes of *ney*s[76] and they are used to define absolute tones as well. There are *ahenk*s, which could be accepted as absolute levels or tones of Turkish Music. In 1930, when

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[74] This is not the only rule, there are also exceptions.
[75] It is called as *karar* in Turkish. This terminology is taken from Aydemir's book. (2010, p. 26)
[76] A wind instrument used in Turkish Music.

Turkish Music is westernized a little distinction between Turkish and Western Music occurred and it is still used in this way. This is, on a G-Clef, 440 Hz frequency is note D while it is note A in Western music (Aydemir, 2010: 15) and this system –or *ahenk*, is called *bolahenk*. There are twelve other *ahenk*s, as well. (Özden, 2007: 87) That is, for a trained musician of western music, what is written and what you read is different. (Aydemir, 2010: 15)

Another important expression related to this issue is that, even though westernized system is adapted to Turkish Music, scholars of the field and musicians carried their past habits and practices from the traditional learning and teaching chain. This is, they generally take G, A –in some cases another note, as first level depending on the certain *makam*s structure regarding the *ahenk* –or absolute position by diapason. I am going to apply this method to the notes I am writing and I am going to tell the absolute arrangement of the notes by giving its first levels position on diapason.

Before explaining tetrachords and pentachords, I want to give information about the concept of *koma* which is a key terminology would help us to comprehend the system used.

5.4.1   The Concept of '*Koma*'

There are some notes used out of the temperament system but they are known and defined in Turkish Music. The littlest part of the notes in Turkish Music called *koma* and a *koma* is the 1/9 of a one note –about 23 cents, sound interval. *Koma*s are displayed with a number at the right side flat or a sharp symbol. If there no numbers, it could be thought that it is a regular flat or sharp used in western music.

The notes which are out of the temperament system are B flat 2[77] and F sharp 3[78]. B flat 2 means two *koma*s lower than B, in the same way, F sharp 3 means 3 *koma*s higher than F.

In next two sections, I am not going to explain all pentachords and tetrachords used in Turkish Music, I will only explain ones used in the music of NAT.

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[77] I will use as Bb2 in texts.
[78] I will use as F#3 in texts.

5.4.2 Concept of Flavor (*Çeşni*)

As mentioned above, main scales of *makam*s are created adding pentachords and tetrachords together and they are known as "*çeşni*" in Turkish, which means flavor in English. Murat Aydemir, in his book about Turkish Music Makam theory (Aydemir, 2010), uses word flavor instead of "*çeşni*" and I am going to use this terminology, as well. Under this title, I am not going to explain all tetrachords and pentachords used in Turkish Music. I am just going to explain ones used in NAT.

The first pentachord –and the most used one, is almost the *Hüseyni* pentachord of Turkish music. It uses A, B flat 2, C, D and E. During the text, in order to prevent possible confusions, I will use *Hüseyni* 5 to refer to this pentachord. Its illustration on the staff is displayed on Figure 5-10;

Figure 5-10 Illustration of the Flavor *Hüseyni*

The second pentachord is the *Hicaz* pentachord of the Turkish Music. It uses A, Bb, C#, D and E. I will use the name *Hicaz* 5 to refer to prevent possible confusions and its illustration on the staff is displayed on Figure 5-11;

Figure 5-11 Illustration of the Flavor *Hicaz*

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The second pentachord is the *buselik* pentachord of the Turkish Music. It uses A, B, C#, D and E. I will use the name *Buselik* 5 to referto prevent possible confusions and its illustration on the staff is displayed on Figure 5-12 below;

Figure 5-12 Illustration of the Flavor *Buselik*

There are two tetrachords during my studies concerning the music of NAT. The first pentachord –and the most used one, is the *Uşşak* tetrachord of Turkish Music. It uses A, B flat 2, C, D, in other words, it is just first four levels of a *Hüseyni* 5. During the text, I will use *Uşşak* 4 to refer to this tetrachord. Its illustration on the staff is displayed on Figure 5-13 below;
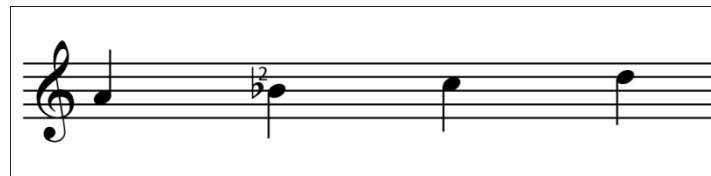
Figure 5-13 Illustration of the Flavor *Uşşak*

The second tetrachord is quite different. It is similar to the *Kürdi* tetrachord of Turkish Music. Literally, *Kürdi* means, Kurdish but I have no information about whether the name of this scale has any relation with Kurds or not. This tetrachord uses A, B flat, C, D. Its illustration on the staff is displayed on Figure 5-14 below;
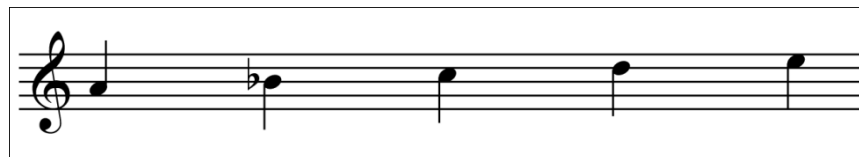
Figure 5-14 Illustration of the Flavor *Kürdi*

5.5 Music Types and Forms

5.5.1   Religious Music

Religious music is performed only by authorized people, in other words, *dede*s. The play a smaller *bağlama* called *cura* in the ritual called *cem* –read as jam. First, I want to tell about *cem*.

Literally, *cem* means "to come together" in Persian and it is the main foundation of the social organization of Alevilik. According to interviews I conducted, *Cem* was taking forty days in winters. Besides religios speeches, all kinds of judicial problems covering family issues, theft etc. was solving at the *cem*. Furthermore, all meetings was ending with holly songs called *deyish* and a different form of dance called *semah* was a part of the ritual. Today, *cem*s are shortened to hours and it is called as *kısır cem*[79] in Turkish. These smaller *cem*s has mainly focused on the music, dance and religious speeches.

Today, many people of NAT listens religious Alevi songs mainly from popular artists, more than *dede*s of older times. Many people play songs belonging religious songs and in the recent years there is an obvious increase on the interest of people to religious Alevi songs in NAT. However, even though they are listened and sung rather than *cem*s but they are not as common as the secular music. I will give a sample from the religious music but this is not my main area of consideration because of the fact that religious music is not produced in NAT. They just listen and play it.

5.5.2   Secular Music

Secular music in NAT has a different nature. Ordinary people are not only the listeners of the secular songs. They can also be considered as creators of the music. Ordinary people use songs to their feelings, loves etc. by writing songs. There are two main environments of secular music. The first one is funerals and the second one is weddings.

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[79] Means barren *Cem*

In funerals, women come together and family or close relatives of died person sing laments. They are generally improvising having no rhythmic pattern. Lyrics are also improvised. However, I have no recordings of these laments because of ethical reasons. People in NAT do not welcome to record a funeral and it is an unquestionable social fact. For this reason, I respect to these people's important entities and I will not investigate any of the laments.

The other environment of performing songs is wedding. At the evenings of weddings, men come together and sing songs by drinking *raki* –a kind of alcoholic drink[80]. These drinking sessions of weddings could be considered as a special ritual. Men joining this drinking session drinks limitless. Generally, a person who can play *bağlama* plays and people sing known songs. *Bağlama* can be played by other people attended to the session who can play it. There are not professional musicians in NAT but people play in such meetings are generally specific people who proved their talent of playing or singing. At the late night –it means most of the attendees are drunk and tired of singing, talented people play songs they have recently written. However, these sessions are only for men; women cannot join to their meetings, have they sung nor they listen. In next pages on Figure 5-15 , Figure 5-16, Figure 5-17, Figure 5-18 and Figure 5-19 displays samples from men's drinking and singing traditions.

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[80] Other alcoholic drinks like beer etc. are drunk as well.

Figure 5-15 People drinking and singing in a wedding[81]

Figure 5-16 *Bağlama* player in a wedding[82]

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[81] Photo by Rıza Parlak; March, 2011.

Figure 5-17 People play and sing in a wedding[83]

Figure 5-18 Old men drinking *raki* in a wedding[84]

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[82] Photo by Rıza Parlak; March, 2011.
[83] Photo by Rıza Parlak; March, 2011.

Figure 5-19 Men playing and singing in a wedding[85]

5.5.2.1 Two Main Forms; *Klom* and *Stron*

Word song could be translated into Kurmanji as *klom* and *stron*. These two translations refer to two different forms as well.

The first word, *klom* which derived from Arabic word "*kelam*" which means "word, saying, speech or talk" and it is used to indicate two different meanings. The first meaning of *klom* is song and it is used to indicate the concept of the "song" in general. The second meaning of the *klom* is a kind of song which having a certain rhythmic pattern and this could be accepted as a genre in music of NAT. A similar – or the same, genre in Turkish Folk Music is called "*kırık hava*". Samples from the form *klom* are given below.

The second word, *stron* (or *istron*) is the noun form of the word *istrîn* in Kurmanji and it means "to wail, to cry". It generally refers to a song, which does not have an ordinary rhythmic pattern, it is similar (or in most cases the same) to a genre in Turkish Folk Music called "*uzun hava*". It has a general melodic pattern and it usually depends on improvising in the same melodic patterns with an uncertain rhythmic pattern.

5.6 Samples in the Form of "*Kilom*"

5.6.1 Dangî Conî

Literally, "*dangi conî*" means "my well-matched darling" and this is one of the typical songs, which constitutes main characteristics of the music of NAT. Four different recordings of the same song are observed from three different people with the same music and the same lyrics. Furthermore, there are different variations of this song, which have the same music but different lyrics but generally used and know lyrics are the ones I have considered. The song is also mentioned in Abdurrahman Çıplak's book. (Çıplak A. , 2010: 45)

Among four recordings, I have written scores by considering Ali Kaya's version. Ali Kaya plays *bağlama* and sings, as well. Recording is made by İbrahim Çıplak in a tape recorder at home in 1988 and the recording is from his personal archive. The other three recordings are made by me from Ali Kaya, Ali Şahin in 2001 and from Tahsin Çıplak by Abdurrahman Çıplak in 2008.

It is a love song having themes from village life. Its main theme is separation of two lovers and the narrator is the male.

Its rhythmic pattern is interesting; however, consistent with NAT's general rhythmic patterns. Its measure is 6/4 but between two groups of lyrics there are 4/4 instrumental additions which are generally out of the general rhythmic flow of the song.

The song is in *Uşşak Makam*. Tonic is A, the melodic progression begins around D and displays an ascending character and the initial cadence is played around E. It does not use high F. It ascends to high G and plays a cadence around E. Before giving the final cadence, it decreases below the tone with G and F#[3] and song final cadence is played on the tone, A.

The recording I have processed was very close to the diapason. In other words, the tonic (A) was approximately 440 Hz.

Dangi Conî

(saz...

baj nê rin____ dê to yi sin____ ce____

he şin da__ kir____ la tu lu____ ce

az qur bo no___ no ve ri____ de____

po re ra__ şî____ dav hu_____ ce (saz..._____)

dan gî dan____ gî dan gî co____ nî____

The lyrics beneath the staves (measures 12–14):

 çi şî rî ne az hay ro nî

von xi ro bon tuye xi ro bî

ba min gu la ka ba bi nî (saz...)

Lyrics;	English Translation;
Bajnê rindê toyî since,	Length of the beautiful like an oleaster,
Heşin dakir la Tulluce,	It was turning green in *Tulluca*,
Az qurbono nove rindê,	I can give my life for the name of the beautiful,
Porê raşî sar quluncê.	Who has black hair on her shoulders.
Dangî dangî dangî conî,	My match, may match, my match my darling,
Çi şîrînê az hayronî,	What a beautiful, I admire,
Vo xirobon, tuyî xirobî,	For these bad people, you are bad,
Ba min, gulaka ba bunî.	For me you are a smelled rose
Molê rindê (la) davî nholê	House of darling at the brook,
Giron giron har(i)ma molê,	Let me go to home ponderously,
Gotin ki rindkota nuxwaş bîyê,	It is said that your darling became ill,
Ka qurbon bim harima hande.	I will give my life for her and go to her.
Harma mole sole core,	I go her house once a year,
Az qurbono novê yore,	I can give my life for the name of the beautiful,
Kibor wara kam biravin,	My kind, let us run away,
Dardîma ro tak av çore.	This is the only choice for us.

5.6.2 Wedo Wedo

This is one of the typical songs of NAT. Literally, "*wedo*" means "this side". During my explorations, I have collected many different versions of this song; in other words, it is one of the popular songs of the NAT. Its asymmetric and changing rhythmic pattern is also a general characteristic we could see at the song.

As I mentioned, I have notified many different recordings for this song but I have considered the one recorded in a wedding in 1988. Three people sings and there is a *baglama* played.

Its rhythmic pattern is mainly an 11/8 measure. In connecting sections, there is a 5/8 measure played instrumentally. Two rhythmic patterns of the songs are displayed below;

11/8 = 2/8 + 3/8 + 3/8 + 3/8

5/8 = 2/8 + 3/8

Each section begins with a 1/8 silence and theoretically, it equalizes 11/8 measurement to two 5/8's. By this way, additional rhythmic changes do not break the flow of the song.

Scale of the song is narrow compared to the other songs. Its tonic is A, its highest level is E and it descends to F#[3] before the final cadence. If we do not consider the region under the tone –due to the fact that, it is just a way of preparing listener to the final cadence, it is just a pentachord from A to E.

Scale of the song is identical to the *Uşşak Makam* but the song does not go higher than E. In other words, song starts around A, plays half cadences on D and plays its final cadence on the tonic A The extraordinary point during the flow of the song is that, at the end of each section, the final cadence could be extended in a random length.

Wedo Wedo

Lyrics;

Barfak borî tana hura,

Molê rindê la ma dura,

Kî ku dardemin pirs daka,

Dardî dilîminî gira.

Wedo wedo çov raş wedo,

Çîyoyê Şotik'e tumon tedo.

Bino mole wa ba oxa,

Bişkocêxa waka vexa,

Soze walla ta nodina min,

Tasalîyoxa la min bexa.

Molê ma la hav yoxina,

Payo wara …

Ka qurbono vî xwadeyî,

Tasallîyoxa lamin mexa.

Çotol pira do çifta konî,

Rinde barxaç la sar donî,

Hato ki rinde dar ve dar bu,

Min kula warame doni.

English translation;

It is snowing, snowflakes are little,

House of the beautiful is far away from us,

If who asks sorrow of my heart,

Sorrow of my heart is huge.

This side this side, black eyed this side,

Mountains of *Şotik* are foggy.

Basement of your house is soil,

Open and take out your button of your shirt,

If your engagement is not given to me,

Just forget about me.

Our houses are close to each other,

For the sake of the God whom I can die for,

Do not forget me.

Double well and double spring,

The beautiful put copper bucket on it,

Until the beautiful came out,

I had lesions of tuberculosis.

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5.6.3 Gözün Aydın

The difference of this song is that, it is in Turkish. This song is taken from a wedding recording made in 1980 and it became a part of my personal archive in 1999. Although it is in Turkish, it constitutes general characteristics of the music of NAT. First, its rhythmic pattern is 11/8 and is a common rhythmic measure; furthermore, it become 10/8 at the end of each section, that is, changing rhythmic pattern is also another common style used in music of NAT.

It is a love song and its lyrics constitute a complaint to beloved person. I could only find the first section of the song.

Scale of the song is quite narrower. The song is played in an *Uşşak* 4; that is, and does not go higher than D. Song starts around D and plays its final cadence on the tonic A The extraordinary point during the flow of the song is that, at the end of each section, the final cadence could be extended in a random length. Rhythmic patterns with the song 5.6.2 *Wedo Wedo*.

Gözün Aydın

Anonymous

Lyrics;

Yar sevdiğim gözün aydın,

Şu alemde sözün aydın,

Benim boynum eğri koydun,

Şu dünyada gülmiyesin.

Translation;

Oh my dear, you can be happy now,

Let your words to be listened,

You have broken my heart,

You will not be happy in this world.

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5.6.4   Çulîye Heşin

Literally, "*çulîye heşin*" means, "green leaf". This is again one of the well-known songs of the NAT. During explorations, I have notified many different recordings of this song too. This song has different variations having different lyrics too and it is mentioned in Abdurrahman Çıplak's book. (Çıplak A. , 2010: 69-70) Among them, I am going to consider Ali Kaya's version recorded in 1988.

The song is a love song not surprisingly and it is again written by a male.

Its rhythmic pattern has a changing structure like many other songs in Atma Tribe. Its rhythmic pattern is mainly a 5/4 measure. In connecting sections, there is a 4/4 measure played instrumentally. Two rhythmic patterns of the songs are displayed below;

5/4 = 1/4 + 1/4 +1/4 +1/4 +1/4

4/4 = 1/4 +1/4 +1/4 +1/4

The song is in *Hüseyni Makam*. Lyrics, start with a jump of A to higher G, follow a descending direction and play a semi-cadence on A. Then, the second set of movements start. The song follows an ascending movement with *Uşşak* 4 flavor between A and E and when it is decreasing below A, *Uşşak 4* turns into *Kürdi 4*. In other words, in ascending movement, it plays F#[3] but in the descending movement, it plays F natural.

Çuliyê Heşin

♩ = 72

(saz..._____)

çu li he_____ sin___ xa zol__ no_____ bin__
sad dar gust_____ ye__ mar yon__ ha_____ bi__

ma ri_____ be_____ kor_____
sar yo_____ ron_____ ro_____

ve yor__ no_____ bin (saz..._____)
ho vol__ no_____ bin (saz..._____)

av qa dar_____ o li av qa__ da__ ra____

qa dar____ bar_____ da____

yo xo__ mi_____ nê (saz ..._____)

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Lyrics;

Çuliye heşin xazol nobin,

Marî bêkor vey or nobin,

Sad dargustîye maryon habi,

Sar yoron ro hovol nobin.

Av qadara Oli, av qadara,

Qadar barda yoxo mine.

Kûr bi Norsik, yoylo bhore,

Mol bor dakan sole core,

Min la atketa ummîş nokir,

Ki dabê ki î fiqore.

English Translation;

Green leafs cannot turn yellow,

A single person cannot be without a lover,

One have even one hundred engaged,

Nobody can be a better friend than a fiancée.

This is the destiny Ali, this is the destiny,

The destiny, get off me.

Damned *Norsik* upland of the spring,

We migrate there once a year,

I didn't expect from your mother,

She said "poor" for me.

5.6.5 Kinê

This song is recorded by me in 2001 from İbrahim Çıplak. He said that he heard this song from his father Mustafa Çıplak (birth: 1900; death: 1987) and according to him, this is one of the oldest and fewer known songs of NAT. Additionally, by the information I have noticed regarding this song, this fact is to be proven. That is, this song is also sung by other Kurds in different regions. For example, the same song with the same melody is sung by Kurds living in *Konya* –Central Anatolia. (Yildirim, 2004) Furthermore, this song is sung with Eastern Kurmanji dialect by a Kurdish Music band Koma Amed in 1991. That is to say, this song is known by other Kurds as well.

This is an exceptional song compared to ones investigated until now. This songs rhythmic pattern is 4/4 and it never changes.

In the song, D is the tonic; the lowest level is C and the highest level is A, and displays a descending behavior. It begins around the high tones G and F#³, decreases to E moves around D then decreases to C and the song and with a cadence at D. It uses Rast 5 flavor of classical Turkish music starting from D.

Kinê is a dance song that is, it is not a pessimistic song as other songs, it does not tell a story of sadness, separation etc. Furthermore, it has very few lyrics and. There are also dance songs in NAT but they are generally instrumental songs. However, according to the information given to me, this is just an oral song, sung during the dance called *govand*.

Kinê

Lyrics;

Lê lê kinê, lê lê kinê way way,

Novê kinê kin Zaynikê,

Qa ronobi bar naynikê.

Nove kinê lele Fota,

Banne piştê davçor qota.

Translations;

Lê lê kinê, lê lê kinê way way,

Name of the short girl is Zaynik,

She always sits aganist the mirror.

Name of the short girl is Fatma,

Rope on the waist has fourteen levels.

5.6.6   Konî Konî

Literally, "*konî*" means "spring, source of water" and it indicates one of the main themes of village life of nomad Kurds, the beautiful girl going to spring in order to take water. This theme is used in other songs that will be processed in this thesis, too.

This song is different amongst the songs I have processed. I have found recording of a song having the same lyrics with little different music in *Kürecik* Tribe of Malatya. They are also Kurdish Alevi and they speak the same dialect. Because they live at the borders of *Maraş*, they have connections to other Kurdish Alevi Tribes in Maras as well. Furthermore, the same song with the same lyrics and music by Kurdish artist Şivan Perwer's album, *Naze* (published in 1996). In the explanations of the album, it is said that this song belongs to *Sariz* region of *Kayseri* (a city in the Central Anatolia). In Mehmet Bayrak's book, he mentions about Kurdish Alevi's belonging Sinemil Tribe (Atma's sibling tribe) live in *Kayseri/Sariz*. That is to say, this song may be a very old song known by other Kurdish Alevi Tribes. The other possibility coming into my mind is that, as we mentioned above, *dede* (Alevi Priest) of Atma Tribe came from *Sinemil* Tribe in *Maras* and they may sing this song all over the *Malatya*, *Maras*, *Kayseri* etc. and this song is known in different regions.

Rhythmical structure of the song is quite different, that is it has a 4/4 measure and it never changes which is unlike from the general rhythmical patterns of the songs of Atma Tribe.

The melodic progression is played mainly on an Uşşak 4 flavor. Even though, it does not use the whole scale of the *Uşşak Makam* –only uses first 5 notes, behavioral patterns support the fact that it is similar to *Uşşak Makam*. For instance, insisting half cadences on D could be evidences.

Konî Konî

Lyrics;

Konî konî ov sor konî,
Molon bor kir la sar donî,
Falak dastêxa borhav kir,
Ma mirozexa hilnonî.

Konî konî ov xoş konî,
Du rindon lê ov hilonî,
La von rindon yek omin bû,
Bare poşe min av zonî.

Lyrics;

Spring spring having cold water
They migrated to the nearby,
The fate allotted what it has
We couldn't attain our wish.

Spring spring having tasty water
Two beautiful were getting water,
Amongst these two, one was mine,
I always know this.

5.6.7 Wore Raşon

Literally, "*Wore Raşon*" means "Upland of *Raşon*[86]". Again, it is a love song, it uses themes of the nomadic life, and the narrator of the song is a male.

1st Variation

I have noticed two different variations of this song. First variation is recorded from a village wedding in September 4, 2009 by Abdurrahman Çıplak. It is one of the typical songs of NAT. It has 6/4 rhythmic measure and there are 2/4 additions between lines.

This song mainly uses *Uşşak* flavor and goes one level higher. Even though, it does not use the whole scale of the *Uşşak Makam* –only uses first 5 notes, behavioral patterns –f.e. insisting half cadences on D, support the fact that it is in *Uşşak Makam*.

For the first line, the song start around the tone (A), descends to G, ascends to D, descends to A, and plays a cadence on A. For the second line, it starts from D, plays a melody showing a decreasing character. After a cadence on A, it drops under the tone with the 2/4 part and play the final cadence on A.

As a general technique, at the additional parts between each second line, vocal and *bağlama* are different. Generally, bağlama drops under tonic and turns back, at the same time, vocal plays the tone until the end of the measure. Mentioned multiphonic[87] behavior is illustrated at the next page.

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[86] Rashon (Kuruttaş in Turkish) is one of the villages of Northern Atma.
[87] Instead of the word polyphony, I choose to say multiphony.

Wore Raşon –1st Variation

wo re ras son— wo re ra___ son___ (saz..._____)
von so la ka__ çi qan rin_____ din ___ (saz.____)

oy fas sik xor ki__ von çov ra___ _____ şon
oy ço ra na dîn__ la sar__ xo_____ şon

Lyrics;	Enslish Translation;
Wore Raşon Wore Raşon,	Upland of *Raşon*, upland of *Raşon*,
Fassik xor kir von çov raşon,	These black eyes bended their hat,
Von solaka çiqand rindin,	Recent years are very beautiful,
Çora nadîn la sarxoşon.	Nobody could find a cure for drunk people.
Wore Raşon ba dalov kam,	I will turn Upland of *Raşon* into a slope,
Kariyek pazê ka le soz kam,	I will lay out some amount of sheep,
Kasî dostî noçi nê oy,	None of friends comes of goes,
Ka rindikêxa silov kam.	I will say hello to my darling.

2nd Variation

I cannot present a recording for the second variation, but myself. When I was little boy, I have heard in weddings another variation of this song. Lyrics are the same but music is very different. I do not remember from whom I heard but I can refer to me as "source person". I remember only two stanzas of the song; there were a third one as well.

This songs melodic pattern lows in a *Hicaz* flavor. Melodic progression starts from D, decreases to A, and gives the final cadence on A.

The song begins its flow from D and shows a descending character. The song does not ascend upper than E and does not descends lower than G. It has 2/4 additions between lines.

Rhythmic pattern of the second variation is quite different. Its rhythmic pattern is shown below;

$$12/8 = 2/8 + 3/8 + 2/8 + 2/8 + 3/8$$

Wore Raşon –2nd Variation

Lyrics;	Enslish Translation;
Wore Raşon Wore Raşon,	Upland of *Raşon*, upland of *Raşon*,
Kullik xor kir von çov raşon,	These black eyes bended their hat,
Har dardak ro çora dîna,	Help for every sorrow is found,
Çora nadîn la sarxoşon.	Nobody could find a cure for drunk people.
Kawê kawê kawo minê,	The partridge my partridge,
La ta texin sawo minê.	You are killed because of me.
Çîyoyê Kokono, Çîyoyê Kokono,	Mountains of *Kokon*, Mountains of *Kokon*,
Barfak borî do çokono,	Snow is knee-deep,
Ki hun la rindon dagarin,	If you are looking for beautiful girls,
Dokafin warin a Şotikono.	Came to *Shotik*.

5.6.8 Bo Nê Awron Bilo Noka

Literally, "*bo nê awron bilo noka*" means, "wind doesn't spill clouds". This song is also one of the typical songs of NAT. This is a love song, which contains an objection to the fate as well. However, the unique characteristic of this song from other songs is that, composer of the song is known and the recording is made from him. Let me tell about him.

Composer of this song, Mehmet Ali Çıplak, a middle aged man living in the *Şotik* (*Çobandere*) Village of NAT. He is a animal husbandman and he plays *bağlama* from his little ages. He learned songs from old people around him and he started to compose his own songs, as well. Furthermore, he re-arranges known songs and this technique is also used not only in Atma, nearly everywhere in Anatolia. This song is written by him but the song contains nearly every aspects of music of NAT.

Songs main makam is *Uşşak* and there are Modulations to *Hüseyni*. The song starts on D and displays a descending character, gives a cadence on A, plays between A and G and gives the final cadence on A. Then at the repeat of the same line, it starts playing melody from E and then follows a similar plot.

For instance, the first repeat of lyrics is in *Uşşak Makam* and the second repeat makes the same melodic movements consisting with *Hüseyni Makam*s melodic patterns. This is a typical example to the modulation between *makam*s.

Rhythmic pattern of the song is 5/8 but additional parts are also has the same measure. For this reason, there is no change at the measurement. There are 1/8 silences at the entrances of some lines.

Bo Nê Awron Bilo Noka

♩ = 72

bo nê aw ron bi lo___ no___ ka___

tu mo nî sar___ min ro no ka (saz...___)

1 - bo nê aw ron bi lo___ no___ ka
2 - av bo oy ri li xe___ tî___ ni

tu mo___ nî___ sar___ ma ro___ no ka (saz...___)
min rin___ dê___ va___ da qa___ tî ni (saz...___)

kûr bi ço ve___ von sa___ ba___ bon___
har çî ki yor___ da lo___ rî___ ni___

xwa de___ ye ka___ gir te___ no ka (saz...___)
î çe___ rî min___ da saw___ tî ni (saz...___)

no bi no ni   noz li no___ bi___ dil ba___ bi   rûn___

ve   ta___ no   bi   (saz..._____)

ki   tu   la   han___ dê   min   na___ bu___ ro   î   vor   sav___

su   ba___ no   bi   (saz..._____)

Lyrics;	**Turkish Translation**;
Bo nê awron bilo noka,	Rüzgar gelip bulutları dağıtmaz,
Tumonê sarmin ronoka,	Başımdaki dumanı almaz,
Kûr bi çove von sababon,	Bu sebeplerin gözü kör olsun,
Xade yeka sarro noka.	Allah'tan da büyük değiller ya.
Nobi nobi nozli nobi,	Olmaz olmaz nazli olmaz,
Dil ba birûn ve ta nobi,	Yaralı gönül sensiz olmaz,
Ku tu la hande min nabuy,	Sen yanımda olmaz isen,
Ro, îvor, şav suba nobin.	Gün, akşam, gece sabah olmaz.
Av bo oyrilixe tîni,	Bu rüzgar ayrılığı getirir,
Min rindê va daqatîni,	Beni güzelimden ayırır,
Harçîku yor dalorîni,	Her yar ağladığında,
İçerî min daşawtîni.	İçeriğim yanar.

5.6.9 Lowik La Molon Yermiş Bû

Literally, "*Lowik La Molon Yerîmiş Bû*" means "the boy walked from the neighborhood" and it is not a love song. This song is a kind of lament written after a young man murdered because of a girl. This action is happened about eighty years ago and most probably, the composer of the song is the mother of the man died. First clue that convinced me to think in this way is that, "*lowik*" means "the boy" but it may also mean "the son". Secondly, the noun forms in the song tell us that narrator is a woman. However, in my point of view, composition as a the rhythmic song is made after the woman because of the fact that, there are additional measures played with *bağlama* connecting lines together but in NAT woman doesn't play *bağlama* or any kinds of instruments as in many places of Anatolia.

Song is in *Uşşak Makam*. Melodic pattern starts in the *Uşşak 4* and increases to D and it plays the final cadence on the tonic, A.

Rhythmic pattern of the song could be accepted as ordinary. It changes between 5/4 and 4/4. The lyrics are sung with 5/4 and lines are connected with instrument as 4/4.

Lowik La Molon Yermîş Bu

Lyrics;	**Translation**;
Lowik la molon yermîş bu,	The boy walked from the neighbourhood,
Beşlî la pi parlamîş bu,	The riffle has been obvious on his shoulders,
Hatoku tu la molon war bu,	Until you pass the neighbourhood,
Omirê min çûrûmîş bu.	My life has been spoiled.
Tu kawonro kawî nero,	You are a male grouse from grouses,
Dehir tari tak daçêro,	Walks and eats alone,
Hastîyê bovêta kaçkennim,	You damn girl,
Lowik genci dartli kiro.	You made the boy in trouble.

5.6.10 Yukarı Atma'nın Yüksek Konağı

Literally, "*Yukarı Atma'nın Yüksek Konağı*" means "high house of the Northern Atma" in Turkish. This is a love song and written by a male again. Even though it has most of the characteristics of the music of NAT, it is in Turkish.

The song is collected by Abdurrahman Çıplak and inscribed by him as well. (Çıplak A. , 2010: 61)

The song is identical to the *Hüseyni Makam*. However, at the 7th level, it does not use F#3, instead it uses F natural exceptionally. Melodic pattern begins from C, goes to the E, and give half cadences on E and it plays other half cadences on C and Bb2. This melodic movement is one of the key movements of *Hüseyni Makam*. Moreover, it decreases to the tonic (A) and plays the final cadence on A.

It uses three different time signatures which are 14/8, 8/8 and 10/8. Connectors are 10/8 and lyrics are sung with 14/8 and 8/8. Details of the time signatures are shown below;

$$14/8 = 2/8 + 2/8 + 3/8 + 2/8 + 3/8 + 2/8$$

$$8/8 = 3/8 + 3/8 + 2/8$$

$$10/8 = 2/8 + 3/8 + 2/8 + 3/8$$

Yukarı Atma'nın Yüksek Konağı

Lyrics;	Translation;
Yukarı Atma'nın yüksek konağı,	High house of the Northern Atma,
Al al olmuş o güzelin yanağı,	Cheek of dear became red,
Meri kekliğim nedir çektiğim.	My little zool, I am in trouble.
Kınalı parmağı telli duvağı,	Her hennaed finger and veil,
Gelin eylemişler gurbet eline,	She has married and gone to foreign places,
Meri kekliğim nedir çektiğim.	My little zool, I am in trouble.
Konağa gidiyor kızlar sürüsü,	Girls are going to the high house,
Yaktı beni içlerinden birisi,	I am in love with one of them,
Meri kekliğim nedir çektiğim.	My little zool, I am in trouble.
Bana derler hangi rengi seviysin,	I am asked which color I love,
Esmerlere dayanamam doğrusu	I like dark shined ones, being honest.
Meri kekliğim nedir çektiğim.	My little zool, I am in trouble.

5.6.11 Darî Molon Ba Hervisa

This is one of the typical songs of NAT. Literally, "*Darî Molon Ba Hervisa*" means "there are juniper trees in front of the houses". During my explorations, I have collected different versions of this song.

Its asymmetric and changing rhythmic pattern is also a general characteristic we could see at the song.

As I mentioned, I have notified many different recordings for this song but I have considered the one recorded in a wedding in 1988. Three people sings and there is a *baglama* played.

Its rhythmic pattern is mainly a 5/8 measure. In connecting sections, there is a 10/8 measure played instrumentally. Two rhythmic patterns of the songs are displayed below;

5/8 = 2/8 + 3/8

10/8 = 2/8 + 3/8 + 2/8 + 3/8

Scale of the song is in *Hüseyni Makam*. Melodic progression starts from A and jumps to E, then decreases to the tonic. In the parts where song is increasing, melodic progression is an *Uşşak 4* starting from E. Then song plays half cadence on E and during the decrease, the Uşşak 4 becomes Kürdi 5. At last, the song decreases to the tonic A with *Hüseyni 5*.

Darî Molon Ba Hervisa

Lyrics under the staves:

(saz...

da rî mo___ lon_____ ba her___ vi sa_____
wa ra ho___ lî_____ min bi___ pir sa_____

za___ ri wa ra_____ kam bi ra___ vin_____

tho lê___ or ton_____ tu ma_____ tir sa_____

u   ye   u   ye_____   uy   la____   mi   nê_____

(saz..._____)

Lyrics,

Darî molon ba hervisa,

Wara holîmin bi pirsa,

Zari wara kam biravin,

Tole orton tu matirsa.

Translation,

Juniper trees in front of the houses,

Come and ask my condition,

Blonde come let's escape,

Do not be afraid of stupid guys around.

5.6.12 Qawoxe Darîma

This is one of the typical songs of NAT. Literally, "*Qawoxe Darîma*" means "poplar trees in front of our house". This is one of the well-known songs of NAT. I have considered two different recordings.

Its asymmetric and changing rhythmic pattern is also a general characteristic we could see at the song.

Its rhythmic pattern is mainly an 5/8 measure. In connecting sections, there is a 10/8 measure played instrumentally. Two rhythmic patterns of the songs are displayed below;

5/8 = 2/8 + 3/8

10/8 = 2/8 + 3/8 + 2/8 + 3/8

The song is in *Hüseyni Makam*. Melodic progression begins from C and increases to E. Then plays a *Uşşak 4* on E and when decreasing back to the E, *Uşşak 4* becomes *Kürdi 5*. Finally, the melodic progression decreases to tonic A with *Hüseyni 5*.

However, one of the differentiations of this song is that there is another Turkish song named "*kaşlarını eğdirirsin*" (Temiz, 1998: 68) which is identical with it.

Qawoxê Darîma

Lyrics;	Translation;
Qawoxê darîma bîstin, Kam ba ta va tav dalîstin, Xalkê gişton yor dagirtin, O min o ta çi zu bîstin.	There are twenty poplar trees in front of our house, We were dancing to dather, Everbody were being lovers eachother, Your and mine is heard so easily.
Qawoxê darîma şaşin, La gulîyon do hildawoşin, Kibor wara kam biravin, Kam yêlkonî boyî raşin.	There are six poplar trees in front of our house, Fell down from trees, My dear let us escape, We are sail of black wind.

5.6.13 Istanbulê Xallî Dara

Literally, "*Istanbulê Xallî Dara*" means "Istanbul is far away". Most probably, it is written a few decades ago this is because its main theme is love in the context of homesick.

I have considered Aşık Celal's recording which is recorded by Özcan Güler.

Its rhythmic pattern is mainly an 5/8 measure. In connecting sections, there is a 10/8 measure played instrumentally. Two rhythmic patterns of the songs are displayed below;

5/8 = 2/8 + 3/8

10/8 = 2/8 + 3/8 + 2/8 + 3/8

Melodic progression flows in a *Hüseyni* flavor. The song starts with E, displays a decreasing character, and at last decreases to the tonic A.

Istanbulê Xallî Dara

Lyrics;	Translation;
Istanbulê xallî dara,	Istanbul is far away,
Qoldirimêxa marmara,	Its sidewalks are from the marble,
Harçîk ma la bîre hav kir,	When we miss togather,
Haftok îzin hilgir wara.	Give a break for one week and come.
Bimrim bimrim nozko bimrim,	Let me die my dear,
Az la sabê ta damirim.	I can die for you.

5.6.14 Çîyoye Gollê

Literally, *"Çîyoye Gollê"* means "Mountain of Gol". This is an interesting song because there is a modulation between scales. The song starts in an *Uşşak* flavor ascended to E. Then when descending, its lower flavor is turned into *Hicaz* and it gave the final cadence as *Hicaz* on the tonic (A).

Its rhythmic pattern is mainly a 5/8 measure. In connecting sections, there is a 10/8 measure played instrumentally. Two rhythmic patterns of the songs are displayed below;

6/4 = 1/4 + 1/4 +1/4 + 1/4 + 1/4 + 1/4

3/4 = 1/4 + 1/4 +1/4

5/4 = 1/4 + 1/4 +1/4 + 1/4 + 1/4

Çîyoyê Gollê

Lyrics;	Translations;
Tu la çîyoyon Çîyoyê Gollê oy,	You are mountain of Gol from mountains,
Mol bor dakana yoylê oy,	They migrate to the high plateu,
Az qurbono ta yoylê bim,	I can die for this high plateu,
Molo rindkê minê le oy.	Hy dears home is there.
Hiro dîson hiro dîson,	Today again doday again,
Tu kas namo la kîlîson,	Nobody stayed in the churchs,
Çovê doyketa kûr bibi,	Your mothers eyes would be blind,
Nodina meron, dadina pîson.	Didn't gave to a good person, gave to a bad guy
Hambar molon tiji mora,	There are snakes at the opposite of the houses,
Az da şawtim ovo sora,	I am burned, bring cold water,
Suba warim ta bibînim,	I want to see you at the morning,
İvor dabi usti xora.	In the evening, I am so sad.
Hiro dîson hiro dîson,	Today again doday again,
Tu gowir top kirna kîlîson,	Nobody stayed in the churchs,
Çovê doyketa kûr bibi,	Your mothers eyes would be blind,
Nodina meron, dadina pîson.	Didn't gave to a good person, gave to a bad guy

5.6.15 Omon Xwade Tu İmdot Ka

Literally, *"Omon Xwade Tu İmdot Ka"* means "please God help us!". This song is recorded by me in 2001. It is not a well-known song in the region but it displays nearly all common characteristics of music of NAT.

Its rhythmic pattern is mainly a 5/8 measure and it never changes.

5/8 = 2/8 + 3/8

The song is similar to *Hüseyni Makam*. Melodic progression starts from C and increases to E, goes to G and gives another half cadence on E, and then decreases o the tonic by giving half cadences on D, C, and Bb2.

Ommon Xwadê Tu İmdot Ka

Lyrics;

Ommon Xwade tu îmdot ka,

Topê lexa, çîyon bilo ka,

Kullak la dilê min hotye,

Ba dastêxa tu darmon ka.

Ha la hnolê ha la nholê,

Gul daçondin ba dasmole,

Kasî noçi neo virdo,

Ka silov kam nozli yorê.

Translation;

Dear God, you help us,

Fire a gun and destroy the mountains,

There is a boil heart,

Make it better with your hand.

At the river, at the river,

Roses were grown by hands,

Nobody is going to or coming from there,

I am going to greet my dear.

5.7 Common Characteristics of Secular Music of NAT

In this section, I am going to draw borders of music in NAT by explaining its common characteristics. Some of these characteristics like scales, forms, language are already mentioned but I will summarize all of them.

5.7.1 Rhythmic Patterns

First of all, there are unique rhythmic characteristics of music in NAT. They are generally non-symmetric measures, and these measures generally change during the song. These changes are generally results of additional measures between lines or stanzas. However, measure changes are not made randomly; that is, it has an internal order and it may be unique for each song.

In 13 of all songs above added measures change the rhythmic pattern. For instance in the song 5.6.1 *Dangî Conî* above, lyrics are sung with 6/4 and added measures played with *saz* are 4/4; in the song 5.6.2 *Wedo Wedo* above, lyrics are sung with 11/8 and added measures played with *saz* are 5/8. The same common sense is true for many other songs.

On the other hand, in some cases, rhythmic measures changes not only because of added measures, the melody of lyrics could be changed as well. For instance, in the song 5.6.10 *Yukarı Atma'nın Yüksek Konağı*[88] above, the first lyrics starts with 14/8 measure but after completion of one measure lyrics continue with 8/8 measure and a line of lyrics is completed. Then added measure also played with its own rhythmic pattern. However, one important point here is that, rhythmic change the melody of lyrics generally occurs in additional lyrics at the end of each line and they are generally repeats the last part of the song. For instance, in the song 5.6.10 *Yukarı Atma'nın Yüksek Konağı* above, a line is organized as follows;

  Yukarı Atma'nın yüksek konağı, neydem konağı,

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[88] Means "high residency of Northern Atma" in Turkish.

The statement of *"Yukarı Atma'nın yüksek konağı"* is a consistent and a meaningful part itself. However, *neydem konağı*[89] is just emphasizing the word *konak*[90] and the second part has a different rhythmic measurement than other lyrics.

In some cases songs both lyrics and added measures can have the same measures. For instance, the song 5.6.8 *Bo Nê Awron Bilo Noka* has just one measurement which is 5/8. In my point of view, this is just a coincidence; this is because generally, additional measures are 5/8 and by chance, lyrics are 5/8. That is, general tendency I mentioned above is true in general.

5.7.2 Scales

We explained scales on 5.4 Scales and *Makam*s Used in the Music of NAT section since it was necessary in analysis of songs in detail and now I am not intended to repeat the same thing again but I have to call attention to the most important aspects related with scales again.

As mentioned above, there are four main scales used in NAT that are identical with *Hüseyni*, *Uşşak*, *Hicaz* and *Hümayun* scales of Turkish music and modulations among them are also possible.

5.7.3 Language and Lyrics

Language used in the music of NAT is also important. By saying "language" I refer to two concepts; first, language in the linguistic context and secondly language in literary context.

First, the language used in the music of NAT is mainly a special accent of Kurmanji dialect of Kurdish language. Turkish is also an important language used in NAT and its importance is increasing every day. One of the criteria of authenticity for the songs of NAT could be connected to being in Kurmanji.

In the second dimension, the general theme of songs is love, more specifically separation. General subjects of songs are; a cruel parent does not allow them to marry, marriage of the darling with another person or sometimes an objection

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[89] Grammatically "*neydem*" is written as "*ne edeyim*" and means, "what shall I do".
[90] Residancy.

towards the beloved person. But all these love themes expresses has a male characteristic which I am going to explain on the next paragraph.

Songs are generally written by males. It could easily be understood by looking at noun cases; that is, in Kurmanji, noun forms are changed according to the gender of the noun. For instance, word '*yor'* means "lover, darling" in Kurmanji. If it refers to a male, it has to be used as "*yoro*" and for female; it has to be used as "*yorê*". One of the songs I have investigated above is written by a female. Song 5.6.9 *Lowik La Molon Yermiş Bû[91]* main theme is murdered and the song is written by his mother. Another sample –which I haven't investigated in this dissertation, again female was the narrator and again she was the mother of a young man going for completing his military services. In other words, there is a limitation for females to tell about their love.

5.7.4 Hybrid and Unique Characteristics of Music of NAT

Up till now, we tried to draw an image of about music of NAT. This music has a double-sided character and it stays between interception point of Alevi and Kurdish music. It contains aspects of both traditions and all of these aspects enriched musical tradition of NAT. Furthermore, they have synthesized these aspects and created a hybrid music tradition, which has its own characteristics. On the other hand, it is difficult to categorize with deductive approaches. I am going to handle all these categorizations.

Music of NAT could be categorized under Kurdish Music. However, there are significant differences from other Kurdish music traditions. First of all, in music of NAT –and also in musical traditions of all other Kurdish-Alevis, *dengbej* tradition does not exist. (Sarıtaş, 2010: 123) However, *denbej* tradition has an important place in musical traditions of Sunni and Yezidi Kurds.

Secondly, instrument of bağlama causes another difference. As mentioned above, bağlama is a Turkish originated instrument and sacred instrument of Alevi rituals. Furthermore, it is the main instrument in NAT too. However, Kurdish-Sunni musical practice mainly bases on oral traditions and place of instruments could be accepted as limited. Furthermore, in musical tradition of *Hakkari* there instruments are not used

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[91] Literally means "the boy walked from the neighborhood".

in songs with lyrics. Only special people are authorized to play *davul* and *zurna*. (Kalan Müzik, 2004: web)

Difference in rhythmic patterns is another important aspect between music of NAT and Kurdish-Sunnis. According to Dilşiyar and Ekremo, there are three main rhythmic patterns used in Kurdish Music[92] which are 6/8, 2/4 and 10/8. (Dılşiyar & Ekremo, 1998: 201) However, rhythmic patterns have a complex nature in the music of NAT as explained above.

Music of NAT could also be categorized under the category of Alevi music. However, the main problem related with this fact is that, there is no religious music is produced in NAT.

However, there is another musical tradition, which has nearly all common characteristics of music of NAT. Not surprisingly, this is music of Turkish Alevis living in the Arguvan region.

A Turkish folk music artist from Arguvan region, Muharrem Temiz written a book (1998) about music of Arguvan region. There are 60 songs collected in the book. 2 of them are in Kurmanji and remaining are in Turkish. I looked into the book and discovered the fact that, half of the songs except *deyiş*s –the ritualistic songs, were in the changing measures, all of the song –including *deyiş*s, were using the same scales used in NAT, and nearly all songs –except *deyiş*, have the same theme with NATs. The melancholic structure and the male dominant lyrics were obvious. Just the difference was they were in Turkish and music of NAT is in Turkish. Furthermore, the song *"Kaşlarını Eğdirirsin"* (Temiz, 1998: 68) is the same song with different lyrics in different languages with the song *"Qawoxe Darîma"* (*see* 1095.6.12 above). Another example of singing the same song with different lyrics in different languages is *"Oy Qedere"*[93] song from a. Çıplak's book (2010: 73) about music of NAT. This song is identical with the song *"Oy Kaderim"*[94] published in the album *Firkat* in 2004.

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[92] They mainly refer tu Kurdish-Sunni music.
[93] Oh my destiny.
[94] Has the same translation.

6. CONCLUSION

In this study, I tried to investigate a musical tradition of NAT in an objective way. From now on, I am going to discuss music and identity in Atma Tribe in the context of the information presented above.

The concept of identity for people in NAT has a multidimensional and a complex nature. These people are defined by themselves and others as both Kurdish and Alevi. The official claim about Kurdish Alevis are that they are pure Turks who forgotten their language. On the other hand, majority of these claims couldn't answer even the question of "why do they speak Kurdish". General claim is that they have learned Kurdish later. (Kömürcü, 2007: web), (Van Bruinessen, 2000: 104) However, Kurdish Alevis has infrequent relations with Sunni Kurds compared to Turkish Alevis. (Andrews, 1992: 161) Furthermore, they mainly live in cities like *Erzincan*, *Tunceli*, *Malatya*, *Maraş* etc. (Andrews, 1992: 161-162) while Sunni Kurds live more eastern cities like *Hakkari*, *Diyarbakır*, *Mardin*, *Şırnak*, etc. (Andrews, 1992: 154) Plus, the map displaying Ethnic and Religious Map of Northern Atma and its Neighbors (*see* Figure 4-6 Ethnic and Religious Map of Northern Atma and its Neighbors above) shows us that there are nine Kurdish Alevi villages and they are completely surrounded by Turkish Alevis. Most probably, the same situation is also in use for Kurdish Alevis in Maraş and other places. As a result, it is impossible for them to give up Turkish and learn Kurmanji –or Zaza, during the time. Furthermore, they always use Turkish as ritualistic language and "hypothesis of forgetting" is just an invalid assumption.

Being Kurdish Alevi is an important aspect for people in NAT, but first I want to go into details of being Kurd. People in NAT are generally not nationalists. They are aware of Kurdishness of themselves, but they neither proud nor ashamed of being Kurd. Being Kurd or Turk is just a personal qualification for them and it is not more than being short or being tall. Marriages with Turks are possible; furthermore, nearly all people living in NAT have Turkish relatives. Exceptionally, I could say that there

is a negative attitude towards Armenians due to happenings in 1915. According to my oral history observations, there was a conflict with NAT and Armenians living in the Arapgir region. Armenians killed people from NAT and people from NAT retaliated. Nevertheless, this attitude is common among old generations; young people in NAT do not have nationalistic ideas towards Armenians anymore.

On the other hand, Kurdishness of NAT includes an interesting definition and it is loaded with different set of codes. No doubt, they define themselves as Kurd; furthermore, denial of Kurdishness is an insulting action for people in NAT. However, they differ themselves from the other Kurds especially Kurds living in the eastern regions of Turkey. In daily speech, you can hear statements like *"Kurmoncê vo doxîye"* which means "Kurds of the east" or *"Kurmoncê Malati"* which means "Kurds of Malatya" and they refer to Sunni Kurds living the villages around the city center of Malatya. I believe that, this fact is important because their definition of Kurd does not include Sunni Kurds.

Being Alevi is the most important aspect of their identity; yet more, it is more important than being Kurd. As mentioned above, their relations with Turkish Alevis are more than Kurdish Sunnis; furthermore, religion is the first important aspect of their group identity. (Andrews, 1992: 162) There are innumerous numbers of reasons. First, in older times where there were no nationalism, religion was the primary criteria of categorization of people and social organizations were mainly depending on religion. Hamza Aksüt, in the conference of Alevilik and Identity, says that the terminology of Kurdish Alevi, Turkish Alevi, and Arabic Alevi is incorrect. During the history of ethnicity became more and more important and Alevilik is pushed back. There are many Alevi groups speaking different languages. (Aksüt, 2011) As we all know, nationalism is a modern idea and a recent perception. It is a fact that, concept of tribe is an inheritance of hundreds or maybe thousands of years and its organizational structure is also organized before the modern norms and values. Therefore, it is not surprising that organization of an older –or maybe ancient, social structure mainly depends on religion more than ethnicity or nationality.

Secondly, Alevilik is a flexible religious system and a close social organization where endogamy is common and marriages from "strangers" are not welcomed. Furthermore, in older times, it was fit into feudal living practices and religious hierarch was supported by the tribal authority as well. In such an environment, no

doubt, religion was more concrete than the ethnicity. Furthermore, we can also talk about tangible evidences that support this idea. First, as we mentioned above, marriages with Turkish Alevis are welcomed easily by Kurdish Alevis; on the other hand, marriages with Sunni Kurds were rare[95] and their acceptance of the society of Kurdish Alevis, specifically people in NAT were difficult.

The second evidence from present days is the elections results. As mentioned at the part 0

Today's Situation in NAT, in the elections of 2007; in a village in NAT, CHP has taken 93 votes of 96. Remaining three votes went to pan-Kurdish independent candidates and most probably, results were not different in other villages of NAT. Moreover, NAT has always been a supporter of CHP from the foundation of Turkish Republic, and former chairman of Malatya branch of CHP was grandson of one of the landlords of NAT who died seven decades ago. This fact is important because CHP is a conservative party and its policy towards Kurds is identical with the official politics of the government. However, CHP is popular among Alevis because of its position against religious Islamic parties. Hence, we could say that, this extraordinary support to CHP from NAT could be seen as another indicator of the Alevism's importance for people in NAT.

Combined identity of being both Kurd and Alevi is a better identity definition for people in NAT. There are very few Kurdish Alevis living around NAT. Generally, closest Kurdish Alevi villages are in the other districts of Malatya and Maraş mainly. People from NAT easily get associated with these people and they are ready to accept them as one of them. However, there is an exceptional situation related to Kurdish Alevis from *Elbistan* district of Maraş. Although, it is more than 200 km away from NAT, there were connections –covering religious activities to marriage, with *Elbistan*. As mentioned above (*see* 4.2 Literature Review), NAT is religiously connected to *Ocak* of *Sinemil* located in *Elbistan*. *Dede* of NAT came from *Elbistan* for many years; furthermore, it is a general belief –and historically accurate claim, that NAT came to Arguvan region from Elbistan about 400 years ago. For these reasons, *Elbistan* is seen both a holly location and an earliest hometown, and there is close relationships with Kurdish Alevis living in *Elbistan*.

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[95] But not impossible.

On the section 5.6.6, I analyzed a song named "*Konî Konî*" and I stated that these songs are sung among Kurdish Alevis living *Akçadağ* district of Malatya and *Sarız* district of Kayseri. Furthermore, this song's general characteristics were a little bit different from the general characteristics on songs of NAT. In my point of view, this is important because it is an evidence of cultural exchange among Kurdish Alevis of NAT and other places even though there are hundreds of kilometers distance between them.

Additionally, relations with Alevis of *Tunceli* (*Dersim)* are also in a good manner since they share the same identity too. That is, for people in NAT, inhabitation of strange people to their lands is seen as a potential threat. They have relations and connections they wouldn't accept inhabitation of even their Turkish Alevi neighbors. However, they could accept a Kurdish Alevi from *Tunceli* (*Dersim*). A few years ago, a family from Dersim region who abandoned their village settled and lived more than five years in the *Qadabela* (*Güngören*) village of NAT and they leaved the village just because of personal and economical reasons. No doubt, people in the village easily accepted this family because of their are Kurdish-Alevi identity.

I noticed about connection of identity depending on being Kurdish Alevi from the reportage I conducted with Mehmet Ali Başıbüyük, the chairman of Atma Social Cooperation and Unity. Before explaining the issue, I want to remind one definition of identity made by journalist Muhsin Kızılkaya which is mentioned on chapter one. According to him, identity is a person's impressed qualities, if your religion is impressed, then religion becomes its identity. However, what I have seen from Başıbüyük's sentences was a constructed identity through creating a perception of victimization. He told me that, they were preparing a project for improving animal husbandry in the region and governments support is needed. However, he said that, they are not supported by governmental institutions just because they are Kurdish Alevi. Furthermore, he mentioned the same issue when he is talking about the difficulties when they were building school. This may be true or not, but no doubt, the differentiation from the majority of Turkey is used to create identity for people in NAT.

However, the most important indicator of identity for people in NAT is the tribe. In other words, being from Atma Tribe is a source of pride for people in NAT. During my fieldworks, I met with many people searching for roots of Atma and this is the

first busyness of retired educated people from NAT. I have heard countless numbers of stories regarding the history of Atma. Some of them are about their landlords are they are productions of oral history but there are many stories which are full of exaggerations and most of them are stolen from other legends. I am not going to give details about them but I want to cognate and comprehend the situation itself. The reason why do people making up a legendary history for themselves is that it is a response to modern times and the reflexively fill the emptiness staying after losing older values and most probably they see it necessary to create a more powerful past.

Maybe one of the most concrete action prove of the importance of tribal identity is an organization. In August 8, 2010, people from Atma Tribe came together in *Qadabela* (*Güngören)* Village and attendees were from 23 different cities and 80 different districts in Turkey. (*See* Figure 4-12 above for the ad of the organization) Unfortunately, I couldn't attend the organization but I have been informed about the organization. Many people came from different cities of Turkey, there were about one thousand people attending to the organization. Many people among them were Sunni but even this religious difference was ignored towards people belonging Atma Tribe. M.A. Başıbüyük, the chairman of Atma Social Cooperation and Unity, explained the organization and clemency in the environment as "there many people from different cities in Turkey. Some of them were Alevi and some of them were Sunni. There were even Christians among them but we have liked these people because we are relatives and they said that today all of us became Alevi". (Başıbüyük, 2011) As we mentioned a few lines above here, religion was the primary aspect of the identity but if the Atma Tribe is the subject matter, even difference of religion could be ignored. As a result, tribal connection is more powerful than the religion when forming and constructing identity.

However, in the process of constructing or forming the identity, music has a special importance here. This fact causes from series of reasons, which I want to express them one by one.

First of all, making music is a holly activity in Alevilik. That is, Alevis play *bağlama* in their rituals and they do not put their *bağlama* from a lower place under a person's waist. This is the rule applied for Quran and they apply the same rule to their

instrument. In such environment, we could easily see the connection between religion and all related holly concepts and music and in my point of view, music is a shadow of religion for people in NAT and it carries the religion's identity construction aspects.

Secondly, unique musical characteristics could easily be comprehended and differentiated by an experienced listener and even an unknown song composed in the same style could easily be recognized. For this reason, these identical characteristics are protected in ne compositions as well. For instance, the song 5.6.8 *Bo Nê Awron Bilo Noka* above is a recently compiled song. However, it perfectly fits the general characteristics of songs of NAT. This is not a coincidence, that is, people from NAT chose to both produce and consume music completely in the traditional way for the reason that this unique style belongs to them and this fact could be accepted as a way of constructing identity towards music.

Moreover, language is another fact. As mentioned above, most of the songs are in Kurmanji and some songs are in Turkish –which is not a foreign of strange to people in NAT. However, importance of Turkish is increasing

Turning back to traditional themes is also another fact. That is, a few decades ago function of music was just a way of expressing their ideas, their problems, grief faced in daily life. However, during the time, modern concepts started to be removed and new productions are more authentic than the noes written afew decades ago. For instance, the song 5.6.9 *Lowik La Molon Yermiş Bu* and 5.6.13 *Istanbulê Xallî Dara* are songs written a few decades ago. In the first song, items like "beşli"[96] and in the second song, an urbanite word "*kaldırım*"[97], are used. This is not surprising because all these concepts are entered people's daily life. Furthermore, the main theme of the first song is a murdered young boy and the main theme of the second song is must to live abroad. However, in the latest composition, 5.6.8 *Bo Nê Awron Bilo Noka* there is a more authentic environment, in other words, even though there are more changes in daily life, songs atmosphere is kept more authentic. In my point of view, this fact is also a result of forming a social identity regarding their authentic past.

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[96] A kind of riffle taking five bullets.
[97] Means pavement in Turkish.

One more thing about the identity construction towards music is that, in weddings, music is performed as a collective activity. That is, this fact itself also turned into a ritual itself. Furthermore, these performances are not done without drinking and alcohol helps to rapture. This environment also deletes the idea and the notion of loneliness and this collective activity supports the perception of carrying traditions remained from mystical times to today. This point could also be accepted as an indicator if identity formation in social context.

To sum up, music is an opening or sightseeing to their past, their traditional life style or their ancestors world. Furthermore, they use music in balancing the distinction between modern times and their traditional set of codes.

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