

**ISTANBUL TECHNICAL UNIVERSITY ★ GRADUATE SCHOOL OF
ARTS AND SOCIAL SCIENCES**

MUSICS OF HARSIT VALLEY, NORTHEASTERN TURKEY

Ph.D. THESIS

Mustafa Kemal ÖZKUL

**Department of Music
Music Doctoral Programme**

JUNE 2019

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İSTANBUL TEKNİK ÜNİVERSİTESİ ★ SOSYAL BİLİMLER ENSTİTÜSÜ

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DOKTORA TEZİ

Mustafa Kemal ÖZKUL

(409122007)

Müzik Anabilim Dalı

Müzik Doktora Programı

Tez Danışmanı: Doç. Dr. Emine Şirin ÖZGÜN TANIR

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Mustafa Kemal Özkul, a Ph.D. student of ITU Graduate School of Arts and Social Sciences student ID 409122007, successfully defended the dissertation entitled “MUSICS OF HARSIT VALLEY, NORTHEASTERN TURKEY”, which he prepared after fulfilling the requirements specified in the associated legislations, before the jury whose signatures are below.

Thesis Advisor : Assoc. Prof. Dr.Emine Şirin ÖZGÜN TANIR
Istanbul Technical University

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To Robert Reigle and all brave academicians,

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ABBREVIATIONS

FİSKOBİRLİK	: Fındık Tarım Satış Koopeatifleri Birliđi (Cooperative Association of Hazelnut Agriculture and Trade)
IMF	: International Monetary Fund
PKK	: Kurdistan Workers Party
TRT	: Türkiye Radyo Televizyon Kurumu (Turkish Radio and Television Corporation)
TÜBİTAK	: Türkiye Bilimsel ve Teknolojik Araştırma Kurumu (Scientific and Technological Research Council of Turkey)
USA	: United States of America
WASP	: White Anglo Saxon Protestant

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MUSICS OF HARŞIT VALLEY, NORTHEASTERN TURKEY

SUMMARY

This dissertation focuses on the musical change of Harşit Valley since 1950. Harşit Valley is situated in Northeastern Turkey and is divided by two cities: Giresun and Gümüşhane. The main sources of income had been agriculture and husbandry, but this economy went through a rapid change in the last eighty years. The main question of the dissertation is in what ways this rapid socio-economic change affected Chepni music in the last eighty years. In addition, I searched how they have reacted to these changes. I summarized my main questions and methods that I will use in the first chapter.

In the second chapter, I focused on the history of Chepnies and the Harşit Valley. Chepnies are a Turkic clan who came from Central Asia. They invaded the valley in the 13th century and interacted with the local culture which were Kipchaks, Georgians and Pontic Greeks. Chepnies were Alevi and their music was important for both their sacred and secular life. I also gave information about instruments and musics of the Valley as well as differences between shore and inland musical styles.

To answer my main questions, I investigated the socio-economic change with several different perspectives: demographical changes, globalization, identity and the role of the state in the third chapter. All of these interrelated factors affected local musics. To understand this affect, I did some interviews and attended several musical activities with the inhabitants of the Valley. Moreover, I interpreted my findings with related literature.

According to my findings which are listed in the fourth chapter, the broken bond between nature and dwellers transformed the musical activities in the Valley. Agriculture and herding are no more main sources of income of the valley people; they usually live in townships and work in service industry of trading. Thus, the musical activities related to nature like *imece* songs and pasture fests are transforming.

Black Sea popular music is another factor of change. Local musicians are leaving traditional musics for the sake of being famous. Besides, young listeners prefer to listen Black Sea popular music, as they grow up in towns, mostly. Towns are building places of imaginal Black Sea community and Black Sea popular music is the music of this identity.

Lastly, a kind of dualism appeared in the last ten years. Shore townships held their own fests in township centers. These shore fests are as crowded as pasture fests and especially take attention of the young generation. On the other hand, some people want to revive pasture fests and their ritual nature. They consider today's pasture fests (and definitely shore fests) rootless and corrupt. They want every element within the borders of tradition; however, stage, protocol, sound systems, microphone and even non-Chepni singers are out of tradition. Consequently, it seems that fest issue divided Black Sea again in coastal and inland regions.

HARŞİT VADİSİ MÜZİKLERİ, KUZEYDOĞU TÜRKİYE

ÖZET

Bu tezin konusu, Harşit vadisinde 1950 yılından itibaren değişen sosyo-ekonomik yapıya paralel olarak değişim geçiren müzik geleneklerinin incelenmesidir. Harşit vadisi adını Gümüşhane'nin Torul ilçesi ile Giresun'un Tirebolu ilçeleri arasında akan yaklaşık 100 kilometre uzunluğundaki Harşit nehrinden alır. Nehrin yolu üzerinde dört ilçe ve yaklaşık 300 köy bulunmaktadır.

Bölge insanı olan Çepniler yakın zamana dek hayvancılık ve tarımla uğraşırlardı. Tarım arazilerinin küçülmesi, hayvancılığın zorlaşması, fındığın eskisi kadar para etmemesi gibi sebeplerden dolayı Çepniler büyükşehirlere veya bölgedeki ilçe merkezlerine göç etmişlerdir. Bu göç ve yarattığı sosyo-ekonomik değişimin müziğe etkisi alan araştırması, kişisel görüşmeler ve ilgili literatür çerçevesinde bu tezde incelenecektir.

Tezin ilk bölümü, değişimin yorumlanmasında kullanılacak bakış açılarını tanıtmaya ayrılmıştır. Sosyo-ekonomik yapıdaki değişimlerin kültürleri etkilediği başka araştırmacılar tarafından da gösterilmiştir. Örneğin, ekonomileri tarıma dayalı çoğu toplumda hasat festivali benzeri şenlikler görülür. Bu şenliklerin hasat sonrası oluşan fazla ürün ve fazla zamanın kutlanması olduğu ileri sürülebilir. İş ve oyun, din ve günlük yaşam, çalışma ve boş vakit birbirlerinden henüz ayrılmamıştır. Tohumların topraktan çıkmaları, doğanın bahar ayında canlanması bu insanları pastoral inançlara yönlendiren etmenlerdir. Bu tür toplumlarda meslek farklılıkları henüz oluşmamıştır, bir insan hem çiftçi hem çoban hem evini yapan işçi hem de hasat festivalini müzikleyen bir müzisyen olabilir.

Buna karşın endüstrileşmiş toplumlar doğadan kopuktur. Fabrika ya da ofis gibi dış hava şartlarından oldukça bağımsız mekanlarda, bazen ne işe yaradığını bile anlamadıkları işlerde çalışırlar. Meslek farklılıkları had safhadadır, herkes tek bir işte uzmanlaşmıştır. Bu sayede müzisyenler de ustalaşmışlar, tek işleri müzik olduğu için amatör müzisyenlerin çok çok üzerinde beceri kazanmışlardır.

Harşit vadisi de tüm Türkiye gibi yaklaşık son seksen yılda tarım ekonomisine dayalı kültürden endüstri kültürüne geçiş yapmıştır. Halen eski, tarıma dayalı kültürlerini korumaya çalışsalar da her yeni kuşağın tarımsal hayat tarzından bir adım daha uzaklaşması kültürü kaçınılmaz biçimde değiştirmiştir. İçe ve dışa yoğun göç de bu değişimi şekillendirmiş ve hızlandırmıştır. Bu tezin dördüncü bölümünde bu değişim ayrıntılı olarak incelenmiştir.

Bir diğer değişim kaynağı ise küreselleşmedir. Bölgede küreselleşmenin etkisinin radyoların çoğalması ile ortaya çıktığı düşünülmektedir. TRT müzikleri, ve hatta Rus ve Arap radyoları gibi farklı kültürlerin müzikleri ile yoğun karşılaşma yöre müziğini etkilemiştir. Bu etki, gelişen teknoloji ve kapitalist pazarlama teknikleri ile radyodan kasete, televizyona ve internete doğru hızla büyümüş, müzisyenleri de etkisi altına almıştır. Ünlü Karadeniz popüler müzik figürlerini televizyonda gören yerel müzisyenlerin bir kısmının da onlar kadar ünlü olabilmek için kendilerini ve

müziklerini onlara benzetme çabasına girdikleri ve ilk fırsatta büyük şehirlere taşınarak seslerini duyurmaya çalıştıkları gözlemlenmiştir.

Küreselleşme, org gibi yeni çalgılar ve ses sistemleri gibi teknolojik araçları da bölge kültürüne sokmuştur. Fakat diğer taraftan müzikal kültürün bazı öğeleri küresel piyasanın içine girememektedir. Destanlar ve atma türkü gibi uzun ve interaktif formlar, kemençenin çok sesli (ve bazen gıcırıtılı) çalınışı, tam olarak 5/8'lik veya 7/8'lik olarak ifade edilemeyen müzikler bu öğelere örnektir. Bölge müziklerinin küreselleşme ile birleşip etki alanını arttıracaklarını veya küreselleşmenin içine karışıp yok olacağını söylemek için ise henüz erken olduğu kanısındayım. Bu, biraz da bölge insanının kimliğini ne kadar koruduğu ile ilgilidir.

Kimlik sanıldığı kadar aksine sabit değildir, sürekli değişir. Kimliğimizin bir parçası saydığımız şey bir süre sonra yerini bir başkasına bırakabilir. Kimliğin şekillenmesi sürecinde eğitim de çok önemlidir. Bir milletin parçası olmak eğitimle kişinin kimliğine kazınabilir. Bu nedenle ulus-devletler eğitime büyük önem verirler. Çoğu ulus-devlette, “makbul” veya “şablon” olarak nitelendirilebileceğimiz bir üst kimliğin olduğu gözlemlenebilir. Türkiye Cumhuriyeti’nde Türk üst kimliğini en iyi benimseyen yerel halklardan birinin Lazlar olduğu iddia edilebilir. Bu nedenle Lazlık, Çepniler, anadili Rumca olan Karadenizliler, Hemşinliler gibi daha az bilinen Doğu Karadeniz halkları için büyükşehirlerde koruyucu bir üst-kimlik görevi görmektedir. Bu da yeterli gelmediğinde, Karadenizli üst kimliğine başvurulur. Karadenizli kimliğinin öğeleri ise Türklük, (Sünni) Tutuculuk, Milliyetçiliktir, çoğu zaman Trabzonsporluluk da bu kimliğe eklenir. İşte Karadeniz popüler müziği, (bir-iki istisna dışında) bu kimliğin müziğidir, bu kimliği müzikler. Çepniler de Karadenizli kimliğine tutunup, Karadeniz Pop tarzının üreticisi ve tüketicisi olmuşlardır. Bu durumun Harşit yerel müziğine yansımaları tezin dördüncü bölümünde ayrıntılı olarak işlenmiştir.

Tezin ikinci bölümü Harşit bölgesi ve Çepnilerin tarihi ile müziksel gelenekleri hakkındadır. Harşit vadisi zengin maden kaynakları ile insanlar için her zaman bir çekim merkezi olmuştur. Bölgedeki bilinen en eski uygarlık, MÖ. 14. yüzyılda kurulmuş Hayaşa-Azziler olarak bilinen bir çeşit konfederasyondur. Daha sonra sırasıyla Yunan koloni dönemi, Pers İmparatorluğu yönetimi ve Pontus Krallığı bölgeye hâkim olmuştur. MÖ. 64 yılında Pontus Krallığı Roma İmparatorluğu’na dahil olmuştur. MS. 395 yılında Roma İmparatorluğunun ikiye ayrılmasının ardından bölge Doğu Roma (Bizans) İmparatorluğu topraklarında kalmıştır. 1204’de Bizans İmparatorluğu’nun Latin istilasına uğraması nedeni ile Konstantinopolis’ten kaçan Bizans İmparatoru’nun torunları, Bizans toprağı olan Trabzon’u ele geçirerek Trabzon İmparatorluğu’nu kurmuşlardır. 1461’de Fatih Sultan Mehmet’in Trabzon’u fethetmesi ile bu bölge Osmanlı İmparatorluğu’na katılmıştır. Cumhuriyetin kurulması ile bölge Türkiye Cumhuriyeti sınırlarına dahil olmuştur.

Çoğu Türk kavmi gibi Horasan’dan geldiğine inanılan Çepni Türkleri ilk olarak 13. yüzyıldan itibaren vadinin iç kesimlerinde görülmeye başlamıştır. Çepniler, Anadolu’ya giren diğer ilk Türkler gibi Alevi inancına sahiptir. 14. yüzyılda Trabzon İmparatorluğu’na ciddi bir tehdit oluşturan Çepniler, vadi boyunca savaşarak ilerleyip Karadeniz kıyısına ulaşmışlardır. 1404 yılına gelindiğinde, Kastilya Kralı 3. Henry’nin elçisi Ruy Gonzales de Clavijo seyahatnamesine Harşit’teki çoğu köyün Türklerden oluştuğunu yazar. 1461’de Trabzon’un fethi sırasında Çepni Türkleri Fatih Sultan Mehmet’e büyük destek olurlar. Bu nedenle vadideki Çepniler uzun yıllar vergiden muaf tutulur. Yavuz Sultan Selim’in 29 yıllık Trabzon valiliği dönemi ve Çepni derebeylerinin sünnileşmeleri Alevi Çepni halkın üzerindeki baskıyı arttırmıştır. 16. Yüzyılın başlarında Çepnilerin Osmanlı İmparatorluğuna karşı Şii inancına sahip Şah

İsmail'i desteklemeleri, Osmanlı'dan aldıkları desteklerin yerini şiddete bırakmasıyla sonuçlanır. 19. yüzyıl başlarında başlayan ümmetçilik akımıyla Anadolu'da Alevilere olan baskı iyice artar, bu dönemde Çepniler de Sünniliğe geçmeye başlarlar. 16. yüzyıl ortasından 20. yüzyıl başlarına kadar vadi Müslümanlar ile Gayrimüslimler barış içinde yaşarlar. 1916'da Karadeniz'de Rus işgali ile bu ortam bozulur. Ruslar doğudan ilerleyerek Harşit Vadisi'ne kadarki tüm Karadeniz bölgesini işgal ederler. Harşit Vadisinde yoğun direnişle karşılaşılıp ilerlemeyi durdururlar. 1916 yılından Rus birliklerin çekildiği 1918 yılına kadar vadinin doğu yakası Rusların, batı yakası Türklerin olmuştur. 1. Dünya Savaşının ardından Çepniler Kurtuluş Savaşı'nda da etkin rol oynamışlardır. Bölgeden Rumların ve Ermenilerin göç ettirilmeleri ile günümüzde Vadi neredeyse tamamen Sünni Çepni Türklerinden oluşur hale gelmiştir. Günümüzde Vadi'de kullanılan çalgılar Karadeniz kemençesi, davul, zil zurna denilen küçük bir tür zurna, org (bir tür elektronik klavyeli çalgı), bağlama ve kavaldır. Kemençe hem sahil hem de iç kesimlerde yaygın olarak kullanılsa da davul, zurna ve bağlama daha çok sahil kesimlerinde görülür. Org ise düğün salonlarından yayla şenliklerine kadar tüm Vadi'de yaygındır.

Vadinin en önemli müzik geleneği Otçu Göçüdür. Temmuz ayında mısır tarlalarındaki otların temizlenmesinin ardından yaylalara yola çıkılmasından dolayı bu adı alan Otçu Göçü sırasında bir kemençeci mutlaka yürüyüşe eşlik eder. Yemek veya dinlenmek için mola verildiğinde de kemençe eşliğinde horonlar oynanır. Yayla yollarının asfaltlanması ve özel araçların yaygınlaşması sonucu artık yaylalara yürüyerek çıkılmıyor olsa da yaylada bu şenlik havası halen devam etmektedir. Vadi'de görülen diğer kayda değer müzikal aktiviteler ise düğünler, asker uğurlamaları ve oturak alemleridir. Bunlar da ikinci bölümde işlenmiştir.

Vadi halkının kullandığı birkaç yayla bulunmaktadır. Vadi'nin Kuzey, denize yakın kesimleri Sis dağı, Kadırga ve Erikbeli, Güney, yani Gümüşhane'ye yakın kesimleri ise Güvende ve Kazıkbeli yaylalarını kullanırlar.

Tezin üçüncü bölümünde, vadinin yaşadığı demografik ve ekonomik değişim ve bu değişimlerin vadi müziğine etkileri anlatılmıştır. Bölgenin dağlık ve ormanlık coğrafyasına bağlı olarak tarım alanlarının darlığına, miras nedeni ile iyice küçülen tarım arazileri de eklendiğinde bir ailenin yalnızca tarımla geçinebilmesi imkansızlaşmıştır. Ormanlara sürülerin girmelerinin engellenmesi de hayvancılık faaliyetlerini baltalamıştır. Özellikle sahile yakın kesimin bir dönem zenginleşmesine neden olan fındık da artık kârlı olmaktan çıkınca bölge halkı köylerini terk edip yurtdışına, yurtiçindeki büyük şehirlere, onu da yapamıyorsa vadi'deki ilçelere göç etmişlerdir. Bölgenin göç rakamları incelendiğinde, bu göçün bölgenin şu anki nüfusunun birkaç katı büyüklüğünde olduğu ortaya çıkmaktadır.

Müzik gelenekleri açısından bu göçün iki temel sonuca yol açtığı görülmektedir. İlk sonuç, büyükşehirlerde büyüyen ikinci ve daha sonraki göçmen kuşaklarının bölge müziklerinden ziyade Karadeniz popüler müziği dinleyicisi olmaları, dahası, bu müziği bölgelerinin gerçek müziği sanmalarıdır. Bu durum, özellikle yayla şenlikleri döneminde eski topraklarına gelen göçmenlerin yayla şenliklerinde Karadeniz popüler müziği yapan müzisyenleri talep etmeleri ile bölgeye yansımıştır. Dahası, yerel sanatçılar da yayla şenliklerinde görünür olabilmek için popüler müziğe yakın eserler bestelemeye ve çalmaya başlamışlardır.

Göçün yol açtığı ikinci sonuç ise vadinin pastoral kültürüne yabancılaşmadır. Tarımla ilgileri kalmayan, şehir hayatı yaşayan insanların Otçu Göçünün ardındaki zengin ritüel arkaplanın farkında olmamaları doğaldır. Otçu Göçü onlar için orgdan çıkan yüksek sesli ritimler ile topluca dans ettikleri ve aynı gün alandan ayrıldıkları bir şenliktir. Bu durumdan yararlanmak isteyen Karadeniz'in sahil ilçeleri (bu tez için

önemli olan Tirebolu ve Görele), Otçu Göçleri ile yakın tarihlerde ilçe merkezlerinde kendi festivallerini kutlamaya başlamışlardır. Bu kasabalara ulaşımın kolaylığı, İlçe belediyelerinin nüfuzu ve nüfusu ile de birleşince yayla festivallerinden aşağı kalmayan kalabalıkta ve görkemde festivaller düzenlenmeye başlamıştır.

Buna karşın, Otçu Göçünün geleneklerini korumak isteyen insanlar da “çifte geleneksel” diyebileceğimiz yayla şenlikleri düzenlemeye başlamışlardır. Bu şenliklerde sahne, protokol, ses sistemi bulunmamakta, şehirden müzisyenlerin yerini yerel müzisyenler almaktadır. Geleneksel olan Otçu Göçünün bugünkü hali ile gelenekten uzaklaştığının düşünülmesi, bu “çifte geleneksel” dediğimiz şenliklere yol açmıştır. Yaşlılar ve özellikle yurtdışında yaşayan göçmenler bu şenliklere destek vermektedirler.

Dördüncü ve son bölüm olan sonuç kısmında bulgular özetlenmiş ve şu sonuçlara varılmıştır: Ekonomideki değişim müziği de değiştirmiş, bu durum imece şarkıları gibi bazı türlerin unutulmasına, Otçu Göçü gibi bazı geleneklerin dönüşümüne sebep olmuştur. Vadi müziği popüler Karadeniz müziğinin ve hatta genel anlamda küresel popüler müziğin yoğun etkisi altındadır. Buna karşın müzisyenlerin sosyal statüleri yükselmiş ve müzisyenlik artık para getirebilen bir meslek olarak görülmeye başlanmıştır. Son olarak, yayla festivalleri ve sahil festivalleri bölgeyi yeniden sahil ve iç kısım olarak ikiye bölmüştür. Yayla festivallerinde yerellik ve otantiklik akımı ortaya çıkmış, sahil festivallerinin ise Karadeniz popüler müziklerine teslim olduğu gözlemlenmiştir.

1. INTRODUCTION

This research investigates the change in the music of Harşit Valley in socio-economical aspects. To better understand the change, I benefited from globalization and identity studies. For more than two years I worked in Giresun University Görele Fine Arts Faculty, which is just twenty kilometers away from Harşit Valley. I talked with some colleagues and students from Harşit Valley during this occupation. I did my fieldwork in Harşit Valley and visited Tirebolu, Doğankent, Kürtün, Özkürtün, Torul provinces and Kazıkbeli, Kadırğa, Erikbeli and Güvende pastures in the summers of 2017 and 2018. I made interviews with residents of the valley, immigrants from the valley and musicians. Also, I attended several pasture fests. This dissertation stands on these interviews, observations and readings.

Harşit Valley, which is located in North-East Anatolia, lies between Gümüşhane and Giresun provinces of Turkey. The valley took its name from Harşit River (Philabonites), which rises from Gümüşhane mountains and flows into the Black Sea. The valley is mountainous and heavily forested. Also, it has rich mineral stratum. There are five townships in the valley: Torul, Özkürtün, Kürtün, Doğankent and Tirebolu (Figure 1.1). There are nearly 300 villages with a population of approximately 70.000.

Agriculture and animal husbandry were important sources of income. Because of the geographical situation of the valley, both of these sources of income can only supply a limited number of people. For that reason, a large number of inhabitants emigrated to close towns like Giresun and Trabzon, or to metropolises like İstanbul and Ankara. Also, an important number of inhabitants emigrated abroad (*gurbetçi*¹). They usually come back to the valley in the summer and attend pasture festivals. According to local

¹ *Gurbetçi* is a person who has gone abroad for work. In order to keep the text as fluent as possible, I used some words in Turkish. All Turkish words in the text will be italicized except these ones: Chepni, Kemeñçe, Alevi, Sünni, İslam, Bađlama, Davul, Zurna, Horon, Kayde, Türkü, Atma Türkü, Kaval, Otçu Göçü, Laz, Tulum, Aksak, and Org. The meanings of these words and most of the italicized words can be found in the Glossary.

historian and researcher Ekrem Ünlü, nearly 700.000 Harşit-originated people live outside of Harşit Valley (Ekrem Ünlü, personal interview, August 08, 2017). Population statistics confirm this information as well (Yıldırım, 2016, pp.180-182).



Figure 1.1 : Townships in Harşit valley.

Due to this immigration, population of the valley now consists of mostly elderly people. The only entertainment places of townships are coffee-houses (*kahvehane*). In our conversation with Doğankent resident Emrah Ünlü (30), said that even they do not have a cinema in the valley and it is so boring to be young there. He spends his days watching and collecting films from several internet sites (Emrah Ünlü, personal communication, August 08, 2017). There is one vocational school of higher education in Doğankent (opened in 2015). This is the first and only institution of higher-education in the valley's inland. Each township has one hospital, one or two first education schools and one or two high schools. Students who live in villages usually stay in townships on weekdays and go to their villages at weekends. This is both because of the distance between villages and townships and because the roads of the villages are usually closed in winter due to snow or landslides.

Inhabitants of the Harşit Valley are mostly Chepni Turks. They began to settle in the area from 13th century onwards. It is believed that Chepnies came from Khorasan region of Iran (Ünlü, 2016, p. 20). They invaded the valley from South to North, i.e.

from Torul to Tirebolu. Chepnies founded Beylik² of Hacıemiroğulları in 1301 and Beylik of Taceddin in 1348. The local people of the valley (mostly Anatolian Greeks³, Kipchaks and Armenians) moved to Northern, coastal parts of the valley. In 1404, Ruy Gonzales de Clavijo, the ambassador of Henry III of Castille asserted that most of the villages in Harşit were Turkish villages (Yüksel & Bağcı, 2015, p. 14). Chepni people were Alevi⁴, but Sunni Islam spread gradually. Now, very few Alevi Chepni people live in the valley.

The musical instruments of the valley are not different from Black Sea⁵ instruments. Bağlama (a kind of long necked lute) is the most important and quasi-sacred instrument among Alevi people. For that reason, we can assume that bağlama is the primary instrument of Chepnies, but it is not. Instead, they use kemençe in their music. Kemençe is a viol-like instrument played with a bow. It is very common in the Black Sea region. In addition, they use davul (large double-headed drum) and zurna (a kind of double reed aerophone).

Transhumance (*yaylacılık*) is the most important activity in the summers. It is very common in breeding societies. The local name of this seasonal immigration is Otçu Göçü (weeder immigration), because they go to grazing lands after weeding their corn fields in July. Kadirga, Güvende and Kazıkbeli pastures are the main pastures for the inhabitants of Harşit Valley. They begin the preparation for the immigration 15 days before: they hire a kemençe player, buy new outfits, decorate their cattle and buy some leads and gelignite (Güvendi, 2016, p. 117). They walk to the plateaus with their cattle and sheep and a kemençe player always accompanies them. When they stop for rest, they play horon⁶. When they arrive at the pasture, they celebrate this with horon and they fire guns at the sky as in Mustafa Güvendi's connotation:

...(when they arrive to Güvende pasture), 15-20 men began to fire gelignite. 8-10 gelignite were fired at once. All the people of Güvende came to watch. Uluköy villagers finished dancing and came to watch as well. After about ten minutes of firing gelignite, they began to fire their guns at the sky. Hundreds of guns were fired at once (Güvendi, 2016, p. 119).

² Beyliks are small principalities under the jurisdiction of leaders called *Beys*.

³ Anatolian Greeks (Rums) are mostly evangelized local people of Anatolia.

⁴ Alevism is a heterodox and syncretic Islamic belief of Anatolia, a branch of Shia Islam.

⁵ "Black Sea" is used to address "Turkish Black Sea region".

⁶ Horon is a group of circle dances which is very common in Eastern Black Sea.

With the aids of the changing economic status and newly constructed roads, dwellers of the valley travel to their pastures by their cars now. They carry their cattle with trucks. After so many accidents, gendarmes do not allow the use of guns and gelignite. So, Mustafa Güvendi's memory is part of history.

Every pasture has its own pasture fest. These fests usually take place in July and August. If we divide Otçu Göçü as walking to the pastures and pasture fest, I can assert that walking to the pasture part of it disappeared. But it is still alive in dwellers' memories as a symbol of past, a kind of nostalgia that connects them to Chepni identity.

I will investigate the musics of Harşit Valley in terms of socioeconomical change, globalization, and musical identity.

1.1 Socioeconomical Change

Briefly, socioeconomics investigates the effects of economics in social life. Social activities are rigidly dependent on economics. For example, nearly all agricultural societies have harvest fests. This is related to ample food and ample time after the harvesting of crops. Humanity needs free time for creating technology, art, science, briefly, creating culture. So, culture is deeply connected to economics.

Emile Durkheim and Max Weber are the first sociologists that addressed to socioeconomics in their books, *The Division of Labour in Society* (1922) and *Economy and Society* (1922) respectively. Written in 1893, Durkheim's work reflects the era's view of socio-evolutionism. For Durkheim, societies evolve from primitive societies to industrial societies. Division of labor is an important sign of an industrialized society. Societies that have complex economies also have a complex social life, laws and art. Based on this point of view, Harşit Valley was close to be labeled as a primitive society until recently. Labors were not so much divided; therefore, one could be a farmer, shepherd, builder and a kemençe player at the same time. With the changing economics, every one of these labors became a profession that needs certain skills. Thus, music and musicianship changed in the valley.

Weber also focuses on capitalist societies versus traditional societies. He gets to consensus with Emile Durkheim on the opinion that changing economy changes the

society. Yet, apart from Durkheim, he criticizes modern capitalist societies and does not agree that modern societies are evolved forms of traditional societies. In his opinion, one of the features of modern societies is *disenchantment*. This term refers to rationalism and secularism in the society; religious beliefs do not determine daily life. On the other hand, traditional societies have strong bonds with religious or mystic beliefs in every step of daily life. Harşit Valley is in the threshold of this change in the light of my observations. Beliefs are still important in daily life, but myths have disappeared and are forgotten. For example, they still visit the peaks of mountains, hold fests in pastures but most of them have forgotten the roots of this tradition which is probably remained from Shamanic and Alevi beliefs of the past (see chapter 3.2 for more detailed discussion). However, these ritualistic behaviors are in the process of disenchantment, which I will deal with in the following chapters.

Similar to these ideas, anthropologist Victor Turner divides cultures as liminal (pre-industrial) and liminoid (industrial). Turner asserts that in liminal cultures, work and play are hardly distinguishable but in liminoid cultures they are totally different (1982, pp. 34-36). This is related to divisions of labor in the society. Since there are no borders between different labors in pre-industrial societies, work and play is somehow entwined. However, divisions of labor produced its opposite: leisure. In industrial societies, work hours are certain and not allowed to play during work. Rest of the day is leisure and most people do not work in their free times.

Chepni culture was transformed from liminal to liminoid culture. Otçu Göçü was born from seasonal farming related activities like planting and cleaning corns, and transporting herds to pastures. Otçu Göçü could not be separated from these activities; it was embedded to work. But today, Chepnies use their annual leaves to attend the fests. It is certainly a leisure activity (or play). Also, ritualistic nature of the fests is disappearing in this transition. Liminal cultures use rituals to “influence preternatural entities or forces on behalf of the actors' goals and interests” (Turner, 1973, p. 1110). Besides, rituals are not significant in liminoid cultures. Thus, Chepnies started to forget rituals in their daily life under the effect of liminoid culture.

With the effects of changing economics, music also began to change. In fact, changing economics transforms social life and this is generally the reason of change in music. When Bruno Nettl wrote about musical stability, he asserted that the first cause of stability can be technological (in other words economical) inadequacy:

...Musical change is (was) absent or exceedingly slow in societies with a minimum of technology. Some technology and maybe some division of labor is needed for the making of instruments, for the establishment of social contexts that foster musical events. It has been widely assumed, in many cases probably correctly, that the technologically simplest tribal and folk cultures experience little musical change (Nettl, 2005, p. 280).

So, we can assume that in most cases musical change bears on economic change. Effects of socioeconomic change on music are well documented in ethnomusicology. For example, Margaret Kartomi's article "From Agricultural Tool to Identity Symbol: Musical and Socio-Political Change in the Pestle-and-Mortar Music of the Natuna Archipelago, Indonesia" (2017) is about how socioeconomic changes affect the Main Alu (local name of pestle and mortar music). She observed that, with the discovery of natural gas, villagers left their rice fields for working in gas plants. As a result of this, communal life weakened, and pestle and mortar music began to be forgotten. Main Alu music also has some spiritual-shamanic associations that Muslim groups disapprove of. So, increasing of Islam is another factor behind this situation. But when Natuno regency needed a united symbol of their identity, they chose Main Alu music. Thus, with a slight difference to reconcile with Islam, Main Alu music revived as a cultural symbol.

This article has very significant similarities with the change of musics of Harşit Valley: Both areas suffered from religious and socioeconomic oppression and their musics differentiated due to these reasons. Like Main Alu music, Alevi musical traditions were disapproved by Sunni governors. Socioeconomic change also can be observed all throughout Turkey, especially from 1950's on. Immigration from villages to towns is a fact of the country and this created a cultural shift in Turkey (as will be seen in the fourth chapter). Harşit Valley had subsistence economy: It does not have a suitable area for large agriculture fields and is not adequate for big ranches. For that reason, inhabitants seek jobs in service industry both inside and outside of the valley. Thus, they are becoming alienated to pastoral life and their musical tastes are changing accordingly. Eventually, this is not the only reason of change. With the developed technology, they can listen to musics different than their local ones. Radios, tapes, televisions and lastly internet opened the door of different music genres to local people. They can easily find musics that fit in their new urbanized or semi-urbanized life than pastoral one. So, they connected to global world and affected by global music industry.

1.2 Globalization

Globalization has perhaps been the best popular research topic in social sciences since 1980's. When it is considered that this term includes sociological, economic, political, and technological changes, it will be easy to understand why globalization is so "popular" among researchers.

It is widely accepted that globalization is not a new phenomenon; traces of globalization can be found in Alexander the Great's Hellenistic Empire, Silk Road trade in Medieval Ages, in Portuguese and Spanish conquests between the 15th and 18th centuries, or Industrial Revolution in the 19th century. Yet, it is certain that this process has never been as fast and easy as in the 20th and 21st centuries. For this reason, most globalization researches focus on the recent past.

Globalization is tightly related to cultural imperialism and capitalism because technologically advanced civilizations (mostly developed countries) export their cultures to the rest of the world. For that reason, Arjun Appadurai asserts that "Globalization is certainly a source of anxiety in the U.S. academic world" (2000, p. 1). This is the fear of homogenization, for "it proclaims that global culture is becoming standardized around a Western or American pattern", as defined by Robert Holton (2000, p.140). Bruno Nettl emphasizes this homogenization in music:

And the life of music, too, transmittable by computer networks, heard mostly in recorded form, and rarely performed live without sound technicians, has an unprecedentedly different existence. And we're tempted to think, as a result of seeming technical unification of the world, that the fears of many music lovers and of the first generation of ethnomusicologists have been realized, as the principal elements of Western music –harmony, instrument hegemony, and simple meters- have penetrated the world's cultures and have been adapted by them into their own traditions, while the world's peoples have developed their individual versions of the popular musics that grew out of combinations of ultimately European and African elements, with input from the Middle East and South Asia. Has the "cultural greyout" foreseen by so many loved the world's musical diversity actually come about? (Nettl, 2005, pp. 431-432)

On the other hand, globalization gives a chance to the other: if a culture learns to combine their culture with the dominant one, it can gain global popularity. There are several examples of this like yoga, Bollywood films, sushi, world music genre, Latin dances, Zen philosophy, and the like. This is what Holton says about hybridization:

“Cultures borrow and incorporate elements from each other, creating hybrid, or syncretic forms” (2000, p.140).

Rene Lysloff’s research shed light to how hybridization works in non-Eurogenetic⁷ music cultures. In her work titled *Worlding Music in Jogjakarta: Tales of the Global Postmodern*, she points out that the active usage of media technologies can change the way of globalization:

In any case, my purpose is not to debate the merits of these diverse studies but, instead, to present a preliminary ethnographic study of how Javanese musicians and arts activists use media technologies in developing their own global networks; how the local, instead of simply being the end point of global circulation, might also be a starting point, a node. (2016, p. 486).

With this point of view, Lysloff interprets two Indonesian musicians’ arts as active examples of global music, although they consider themselves as nationalistic composers. These musicians found a way to unite their music with technology; thus, their music has become a part of the global music market.

Musics of Harşit Valley are highly affected by popular music as it is the case throughout Turkey and probably all over the world. Especially Black Sea popular music is a key factor to understand the effects of globalization in Harşit Valley. Black Sea popular music is an umbrella genre consisting of musics of several communities in Eastern Black Sea like Chepni, Laz, and *Hemşinli*, using Eurogenetic harmony and instruments. Like Indonesian musicians in Lysloff’s work, Chepni musicians are trying to unite their music with media technologies. Nevertheless, it is too early to say that these efforts will result to *homogenization* or *hybridity* of cultures. Besides, the place of Chepni music within Black Sea popular music is another question. To answer this, we should investigate the relationship between Chepni identity and imaginative Black Sea identity.

⁷ Eurogenetic refers to music with at least one component originating in Europe. Assoc. Prof. Dr. Robert Reigle coined the term. As the terms “Western” or “European” are inadequate to show European-affected cultures, “European originated” is a much more reasonable and intuitive term.

1.3 Musical Identity

Definition of identity is highly controversial among psychologists, sociologists and anthropologists. The prominent sociologist of identity studies, Stuart Hall, distinguished three conceptions of identity: Enlightenment object, sociological subject and post-modern subject (Hall, 1996, p. 597). According to Hall, current view to identity is “postmodern subject” conception:

This produces the post-modern subject, conceptualized as having no fixed, essential, or permanent identity. Identity becomes a "moveable feast": formed and transformed continuously in relation to the ways we are represented or addressed in the cultural systems which surround us. It is historically, not biologically, defined. The subject assumes different identities at different times, identities which are not unified around a coherent "self." Within us are contradictory identities, pulling in different directions, so that our identifications are continuously being shifted about. If we feel we have a unified identity from birth to death, it is only because we construct a comforting story or "narrative of the self" about ourselves. The fully unified, completed, secure, and coherent identity is a fantasy. Instead, as the systems of meaning and cultural representation multiply, we are confronted by a bewildering, fleeting multiplicity of possible identities. Any one of which we could identify with - at least temporarily (Hall, 1996, p. 598).

In other words, genes may not important in determining identity, but environment is. Also, we do not have a solid, coherent identity. Instead, our identity is very changeable. Since there is not an essential constant identity in humans, we question the groups which a person feels as part.

Humans are social animals, as Aristotle pointed out (Aristotle, 1999, p. 5). They are part of a family, a clan, and many other groups. So, identity can be defined as belonging to particular groups. One of the biggest groups that one can participate is nation. Nations are not born or awake, they are invented by nationalists. Every nation has a myth in its core. Nations consist of people who believe in and share this myth. For that reason, Benedict Anderson defined nations as “imagined political communities” (Anderson, 2006, p. 6). “It is imagined because the members of even the smallest nation will never know most of their fellow-members, meet them, or even hear of them, yet in the minds of each lives the image of their communion” (Anderson, 2006, p. 6). These imagined nations create identity templates and those templates carry the national culture as Hall points out:

... national identities are not things we are born with, but are formed and transformed within and in relation to representation. We only know what it is to be "English" because of the way "Englishness" has come to be represented, as a set of meanings, by English national culture. It follows that a nation is not only a political entity but something which produces meanings - a system of cultural representation. People are not only legal citizens of a nation; they participate in the idea of the nation as represented in its national culture (Hall, 1996, p. 612).

The first priority of nations is to defend themselves and guarantee their continuity. The best way to do this is constructing bonds between citizens and the state. Creating a homogenous culture strengthens nation states, as Stuart Hall points out (Hall, 1996, p. 612). Management of one identity is easier than management of multiple identities. For this reason, every state has created an identity that is "more equal than others" (Orwell, 1996, p. 112). I will use *template identity* to refer this created identity. Template identity has been imposed on people by films, television series, and formal education. Consequently, states support this template; they constitute all formal education on this desired identity. Therefore, melting and reshaping process of other identities start in schools. For example, in the United States of America, White Anglo Saxon Protestant (WASP) is regarded as a strong, upper class identity by sociologists (Digby Baltzell, 1964; William Thompson and Joseph Hickey, 2005; etc.) and students of Ivy League universities and Seven Sisters colleges are still mostly composed of WASP students. When these students graduate and move up to an executive position, they tend to hire persons with the same identity.

Similar to USA, Turkish Republic has a dominant template identity. After the emerging of the Turkish Republic in 1923, two institutions were founded to construct this Turkish identity: *Türk Tarih Kurumu* (Turkish Society of History) and *Türk Dil Kurumu* (Turkish Language Association). One of the first laws imposed by the newly founded Republic was *Tevhid-i tedrisat* (integration of education) law in 1924. With this law, the aim of the state was to apply secularism to education, but more importantly, teaching the new identity of the newly founded country. Turkish Republic had created a template identity and spread this identity via education. With education reform and associations like Turkish Society of History and Turkish Language Association, Republic constituted a national culture as Hall points out.

At first, accepting Turkishness was enough for this template identity, even that person did not have to be Turkish in origin. Turkey's founder Mustafa Kemal Atatürk's

expression of Turkishness was easy: Those who founded Turkish Republic are Turkish people. Journalist Andrew Finkel sums Atatürk's viewpoint as:

“How happy is the one who says, ‘I am a Turk,’” said Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, speaking in an emotional finale of a speech in 1933 — a time when Turkey was still trying to forge a national identity out of the ruins of the Ottoman Empire. The notion seemed simple enough: If you think you're Turkish, then you are (Finkel, 2013).

But then, requirements of this identity gradually rose: being Sunni, speaking Turkish (starting in 1930's with *Vatandaş Türkçe Konuş* (Citizen Speak Turkish) initiative, supported by the government), and being *Atatürkçü*⁸ added to these qualities later on. Giving non-Turkish names to children were forbidden (1934). The new surname law forbade non-Turkish names and surnames (1934), and thousands of names of places were changed because of not being Turkish (started in 1913 and reached its peak after late 1950's (Nişanyan, 2011, p.13)). These factors increased suppression on minorities.

Template identity concept had not significantly changed on second half of twentieth century. Turkish people witnessed three coups and countless economic and political crisis, severe external and internal migrations in that fifty years. But I can still assert that being Turkish, speaking Turkish, being Sünni and following the path of Atatürk stayed the features of acceptable identity in Turkey.

Finally, during the governance of the conservative Justice and Development Party, being Islamic-conservatist or at least being nationalist is also added to this template Turkish identity, according to my observations. In 2002, vice president of the Justice and Development Party, Abdullah Gül, gave a clue of this new identity, stating: “we (Justice and Development Party) are the WASP's of this country” (Url-1). The most significant difference between template Turkish identity and WASP identity is the stress on religion. Protestantism is an inseparable part of WASP identity, but Sünnilik was never completely put in Turkishness, because of large non-Sünni population of Turkey. Despite the fact that being Sünni was already a part of template Turkish identity, traditional politicians (and popular figures, celebrities) mostly did not emphasize their Sünni beliefs for the sake of secularism. They prefer to make

⁸ Atatürkçülük (Atatürkism or Kemalism) can be defined as following Atatürk's ideas and accepting him as the legendary leader of Turkey. His most important ideas are secularism, nationalism, and acceptance of the Western world as a model of high civilization and ambition to reach that level.

references to Islam if they must, not any branch of it. But Abdullah Gül, who is coming from a Sünni political organization, referred the WASP identity while introducing their views. The later acts and discourses of Justice and Development Party supported this tendency. So, in the light of this progress, I can list the current features of template Turkish identity in the order of importance: being Sunni, being Turkish, being conservative and/or nationalist. Atatürkism has lost its importance, but it still remains as a powerful symbol of Turkish nationalism.

Identity consists of different identifiers such as nationality, clothing, language, ethnicity and the like. Among these elements, music is one of the most important identifiers. Music has the power of sticking different people under the same identity. National anthems are perhaps the oldest way of uniting people with music. With the decay of the nation-states and rising individualism, pop stars gained importance and their popular songs became new anthems of different identities. Technology is also an important factor in this process:

At the same time, music plays a greater part in the everyday lives of more people than at any time in the past. This is partly the result of the extremely rapid technological developments that have occurred in the last two decades or so, allied to the increasing commercialization and economic power of the music industry. In the developed countries of the world at least, the widespread availability and relative inexpensiveness of the Walkman, the Internet, the MIDI interface, the video recorder and more means that a vast diversity of musical styles and genres is available to us as listeners. The ways in which people experience music—as ‘consumers’, fans, listeners, composers, arrangers, performers or critics—are far more diverse than at any time in the past, as are the range of contexts in which this takes place (Hargreaves, Miell, MacDonald, 2002, p. 1).

Thus, music became an inseparable part of everyday life. Humans used music to express themselves too, and music became an inseparable part of identity also. With the aids of globalization, dominant identities (usually nationalist identities of nation-states, but also global music industry) use musical identity to assimilate smaller, local identities.

Turkey’s dominant identity has been created by the Turkish State itself during the first years of the Turkish Republic. Although some parts of it changed in eighty-five years, it still remains as template identity of Turkey. Bağlama (Saz) is the instrument of this template identity because it is the most common folk instrument of Turkey. Martin

Stokes sums the process of increasing value of Bağlama in the newly founded Turkey well:

The saz is above all considered by music educationalists in Turkey to be an eminently logical instrument, its operation involving methodical and systematic thought. The high value attached to "system" and "logic" reflects the notion of the "rational" and secular regeneration of the modern Turkish state in Kemalist political philosophy, framed by the nationalist ideology known as Turkism (Türkçülük). The terms in which Turkist ideology condemned Ottoman Turkish art music are particularly interesting in this respect. For Ziya Gökalp, the principal architect of Turkist ideology in the late Ottoman and early republican period, the makam of Ottoman art music were built upon the "irrational" structure of the "quarter, eighth and sixteenth tones" of Byzantine music (Gökalp 1923:130-1). "Real" Turkish music, that of the villages of Anatolia, "consists of melodies, unfettered by rules, systems and techniques, of sincere songs which express the heart of the Turk" (ibid.:24) that is, possessing rationality of something culturally appropriate and true to the social needs of Turkish villagers (Stokes, 1992, pp. 92-93).

Recent news about a project reflects this reality profoundly: Ministry of Education will distribute about eighty-five thousand bağlamas to schools all throughout Turkey (Url-2). The state is imposing bağlama to all people in Turkey with this project. But unfortunately, bağlama is not a proper instrument for folk musics of all over Turkey. For example, it can distort some Black Sea musics as I will explain in second and fourth chapters.

There are many different ethnic groups living in Eastern Black Sea: Chepni Turks, Laz people, Georgians, Hemşin people and several smaller groups like Pontic Greeks and Lom people. Each of these ethnic groups have different musical traditions. However, Black Sea popular music usually has only two "features" of Black Sea culture: Black Sea accent and *aksak*⁹ rhythm. They also use some Black Sea instruments like kemençe or sometimes tulum¹⁰. Rest of the music is not different from popular Turkish music: Eurogenetic harmony, Eurogenetic instruments and Eurogenetic popular music sound. This music has become part of Black Sea identity and local musicians have left their traditional music to become popular and preferred musicians, which will be investigated in second and fourth chapters.

"Black Sea Türkü" genre is a key factor to understand popularization process of Black Sea musics. Abdullah Akat asserted that Black Sea Türkü genre born from unification

⁹ Aksak rhythm is using of binary and ternary rhythmic groups in a piece.

¹⁰ Tulum is a kind of bagpipe with two parallel pipes. Tulum is common in Rize and Artvin provinces.

process of different identities of Black Sea under one solid Black Sea identity (2010, p. 143). Albums of prominent kemençe players like Picoğlu Osman and Rizeli Sadık in the first half of twentieth century can be regarded as first Black Sea Türkü examples. Although the fact that these first albums were reflecting a rich presentation of different Black Sea musics, the sales amounts of these albums high and this demand helped to creating Black Sea Türkü market. There were Turkish-*Romeika*¹¹ mixed albums and Black Sea music albums played with *oud*¹² and *qanun*¹³ which were composed by classical Turkish music¹⁴ composers like Sadettin Kaynak. The first radios (Ankara Radio and İstanbul Radio) opened in 1927 and broadcasted Black Sea Türküs time to time. In 1940's, Ankara Radio has a repertoire of Black Sea Türküs sang in choir with imitating Black Sea accent and İstanbul Radio has another Black Sea music choir led by Hasan Sözeri (Akat, 2010, p. 144). The both radios generally used bağlama to accompany Black Sea musics, because there were only a few note reading kemençe players in Turkey at that time (the most prominent ones were Hasan Sözeri and Hasan Tunç). TRT (Turkish Radio and Television Corporation – official broadcast agency of the Turkish Republic) radio and then TRT television founded in respectively 1964 and 1968. İstanbul and Ankara radios committed to TRT. TRT continued to broadcast this new Black Sea Türküs with a handful of local instruments (for example kemençe and tulum rarely heard) and usually only in song forms (*uzun hava, destans, yol havaları* etc. rarely broadcasted).

The first popular Black Sea Türkü arrangement *Burçak Tarlası*, released 1964. *Burçak Tarlası* is a Tokat Türkü, but it was arranged by Doruk Onatkut as rock form. This song is one of the first examples of Anatolian rock¹⁵ genre. Later several other Black Sea musics used in Anatolian rock genre, like *Derule* and *Hekimoğlu*. They used org, drumset, guitar and sound effects in arrangements. *Arabesk* genre became popular in Turkey in 1970's, and Black Sea musics fused with *arabesk*. Erkan Ocaklı is

¹¹ *Romeika* language is Pontik Greek's language which is a dialect of Ancient Greek. Pontic Greeks were totally gone with the population exchange between Turkey and Greece in 1923. However, some of them became Muslim (or stayed crypto Christian) and did not leave with population exchange. In addition, neighboring Turkic villages learnt this language. For these reasons, *Romeika* is still alive and used in the Black Sea.

¹² Oud is a short neck lute, used in classical Turkish music.

¹³ Qanun is a kind of plucked zither, used in classical Turkish music.

¹⁴ Classical Turkish music (or Ottoman court music) is a microtonal music with large variety of modes (maqams).

¹⁵ Anatolian rock is a popular music genre which blends Anatolian folk music with rock music sound.

prominent Black Sea singer of that period. Black Sea popular music genre born and blossomed in 80's and 90's.

All these progresses have affected local Black Sea musics too, as well as Harşit music. After the emerging of Black Sea popular music Harşit valley musics melted in this genre. The effect of identity issues on Harşit music will be investigated in depth in fourth chapter.

1.4 The Scope, Methodology and Related Studies

I focused on the changing musical activities of Harşit people in this dissertation. My main question was how rapid change in socio-economics affected local musics in Harşit Valley. I have also tried to answer related questions like: which features of music changed? Is society aware of these changes in music? What is their reaction to change?

With “musical activities”, I refer to holistic events related to music. I can clarify these musical activities by Christopher Small’s “musicking” term:

To music is to take part, in any capacity, in a musical performance, whether by performing, by listening, by rehearsing or practicing, by providing material for performance (what is called composing), or by dancing. We might at times even extend its meaning to what the person is doing who takes the tickets at the door or the hefty men who shift the piano and the drums or the roadies who set up the instruments and carry out the sound checks or the cleaners who clean up after everyone else has gone. They, too, are all contributing to the nature of the event that is a musical performance (Small, 1998, p.9).

Stemming from this point of view, I did not interview musicians only; I also talked with organizers of events, listeners, residents of the valley, and immigrants.

This work is limited by the geological borders of Harşit Valley. However, I did some interviews with the immigrants of the valley because they are important and inseparable parts of the pasture fests.

Primarily, I will analyze the change from 1950 to 2017. There are several reasons to choose these dates:

- With the affects of globalization and technology, musicking dramatically changed in this time span, which will be investigated in detail in the following chapters.

- The road by the Harşit River was opened in 1952. This road connected inland provinces to the shore and cracked the valley's isolation in a way. This process was completed when Black Sea Coastal Highway was connected to Harşit road in 2007. Thus, Harşit Valley became easily reachable. We can assume that these roads facilitated musicians' visiting in the valley.
- Finding a Harşit region musical recording that is recorded before 1950 is almost impossible. There are several Turkish or Non-Turkish research groups who made recordings in the Black Sea region, but very few of them are from Harşit region. This situation obstructed my desire to compare old and new recordings and analyze change. For this reason, I focused on the phase after 1950, which is a more practical time period to find musical recordings.
- As I mentioned above, musical recordings before 1950 are rare. Another source of my dissertation is my interviews. Yet, the oldest man that I interviewed was in his 80's, so he could barely remember the time before 1950's. Therefore, ages of the interviewees created another limitation for me.

Fieldwork and participant observation are the most common methods used in ethnomusicology. Usually, open ended interviews accompany them. The aims of these methods are to understand a culture as objectively as possible. The researcher should forget her/his biases and try to fully understand the culture that she/he is doing research about. These methods facilitate the understanding of a foreign culture.

In my situation, the culture that I searched was neither fully foreign nor fully familiar to me. I was not in a threshold of a culture shock like Malinowski's expression: "Imagine yourself suddenly set down surrounded by all your gear, alone on a tropical beach close to a native village, while the launch or dinghy which has brought you sails away out of sight (1984, p. 4)." But I certainly had difficulties in understanding their accent and body language.

I grew up in Antalya, which is located in the southern part of the country and distant from the Black Sea region in both senses of the word. I used to regard all of the Eastern Black Sea people as Laz and think that Laz language was a distorted version of Turkish. After I was employed in Giresun University, I began to investigate the history and culture of the area. Thus, I learned about the people and history of the Black Sea. After moving to Eastern Black Sea, I experienced the life in there: a rough sea, almost

always cloudy weather, forested mountains, working women in steep slopes of hazelnut fields, but altruistic people despite all these conditions. I saw this foreignness as both my chance and mischance: I could speak the same language with my interviewees, I was educated in similar schools with the same curriculum, but I did not know their dances, cannot play the kemençe, and did not know their daily life routines.

The faculty that I started to work is in Görele, which is regarded as the capital city of kemençe. Most of the legendary kemençe players were born here like Tuzcuoğlu, Karaman, and Picoğlu. It was an amazing opportunity to work there as an ethnomusicology PhD student. After reading some Giresun and Trabzon fieldwork reports and suggestion of Prof. Dr. Abdullah Akat, whose master thesis and PhD dissertation was related with the area, I decided to work on the musical traditions of Harşit Valley. The valley is very close to my workplace and so I had the opportunity to meet and observe people from Harşit Valley: even my Dean was born in Doğankent and his cousin was the major of Doğankent! My first trip to the valley was on the 26th of October 2016, which was coincidentally the first day of Harşit Valley Symposium, where I learned about its history, culture and importance. I also observed how culture changed by time. Then, in April 2017 I met Sinan Güvendi and Ekrem Ünlü. They are two amateur historians from Harşit. During our nearly one day long interview, I definitely decided to focus on the musical change issue in the valley.

I applied to TÜBİTAK (Scientific and Technological Research Council of Turkey) to receive funding for my field research. I was planning to conduct a three-month long fieldwork in the summer of 2017. My plan was to rent an off-road vehicle and buy the newest sound and video recorders for fieldwork with this fund. After doing lots of paperwork and obtaining the required permissions from the governorate, I fulfilled the application in May 2017. Four months later, in October 2017 TÜBİTAK rejected my proposal. This caused some limitations on my fieldwork unavoidably.

Although I was disappointed, I had prepared myself for this result. I had already done a two-month long field research in July - August 2017 with my own car and equipment which I borrowed from Karadeniz Technical University State Conservatory, with the help of Director Prof. Dr. Abdullah Akat. I stayed in a pension in Doğankent, and I visited Doğankent, Kürtün and Özkürtün provinces and villages. I also attended the pasture fest of Güvende and visited the pastures of Kadırğa and Kazıkbeli. I interviewed more than 20 people and recorded almost all of them. Going there by on

my own car caused some problems, too. After visiting a highland village in Dođankent (its road was very rough because of landslides), my car broke down. After repairing it, I tried to drive from Gvende pasture to Kazıkbeli. This road was worse than the previous, and my car broke down again. The friendly people of Gvende helped me, but my field research extended for those reasons. Some misfortunes are parts of every fieldwork and gave me the chance to observe and chat with people in depth.

Fieldwork is essential for ethnomusicology researches, but reading the related literature is equally important. For example, the book “*Harşıt Vadisi Tarih ve Kltr Yazıları*” (History and Culture Writings of Harşıit Valley) (2016) consists of short articles about Harşıit Valley and is written by local people. This book presents insider view to Harşıit culture, so it is very valuable for my dissertation. In addition, it has a small lexicon for Chepni dialect and a section for local beliefs and myths. Unfortunately, this is the only book about Harşıit culture written by local people. Ayhan Yksel and Sezai Balcı’s book “*Harşıit Nahiyesi Nfus Defteri*” (Registers of Harşıit Province) (2015) and Ayhan Yksel’s books “*Giresun Tarihi Yazıları*” (Essays on Giresun History) (2007), “*Dođu Karadeniz Arařtırmaları*” (Research on Eastern Black Sea) (2013) and “*Tirebolu Kazası Nikah Kayıtları*” (Marriage Registers of Tirebolu Township) (2008) are important books that stand on Ottoman archives. Ayhan Yksel transliterated these old Ottoman registers to modern Turkish. I tracked demographical and economic changes of the area through these books which showed me the treatment of Chepnies by Ottomans and their relationships with other people of the area.

Another cultural study about the area is Arzu ztrkmen’s article “*Rethinking Regionalism: Memory of Change in a Turkish Black Sea Town*” (2005). ztrkmen focused on the demographical change of Tirebolu from historical – anthropological perspective. The main issue of the article is the contrast between village and town culture. After an important number of Tirebolu’s inhabitants moved to metropolises like İstanbul (Arzu ztrkmen’s family was one of them), villagers who moved to Tirebolu became the new urban class. This article presents important insights to these people’s views of modernism, urban culture and rural culture. Tirebolu is just one example of demographical change. zkrtn, Krtn, Dođankent, and Torul were also affected by immigration, which is an important part of my research.

Researches about Black Sea musics are also important sources for me. Nilfer Tařkın’s book “*Bu Bir İsyân řarkısı Deđil*” (This is not a Riot Song) (2016), investigates Black

Sea popular music as the dominant musical genre of Black Sea identity and compares it with Black Sea protest-rock music as an alternative to this identity. Especially the section about Turkish State's impact on local musics and local economy was inspirational for me. Taşkın asserts that the state's power of regulating hazelnut and tea prices has tied local farmers to the State, and this factor facilitated assimilation. In my research area, this can be the key factor to understand how Alevi Harşit identity merged with Black Sea Turkish identity. Regulation of hazelnut prices by the Turkish State has strengthened the bonds between Chepnies and Turkish State. High prices increased people's prosperity and patriotism. This is very similar to Ottoman Empire's method to tie Harşit Chepnies to the Empire: Harşit Chepnies were free from taxes (Pekin, 2011, p. 35). When Ottoman Empire removed this exemption, rebellions started in the region. So, hazelnut prices have a powerful effect on Chepni people in the Turkish Republic, which will be investigated in later chapters.

Another resource about Black Sea identity and music relationship is Kimberley Bowen's MA thesis titled "*The Role of Music in the Reconstruction of Laz Identity*" (2009). Bowen investigates the revival of Laz identity especially in non-Laz regions in Turkey. There are no Lazs in Harşit Valley, but Harşit residents and Lazs were affected from the same Turkish popular music and both of them changed accordingly. This thesis shed me light on how I should interpret these changes.

Didem Albekoğlu's book "*Karadeniz Pop*" (Black Sea Pop) (2015) focuses on the popular music of Black Sea. Her arguments on how Black Sea songs changed during the popularization processes are valuable for my work. She asserted that languages of songs are adapted in Istanbul dialect¹⁶ and instruments and timbres are changing for the sake of popularization. This suits my observations in the field: local musicians were seeking "popular music sound" during fests. Apart from the popular music, there is some important information about Black Sea folk music.

Another work about Black Sea popular music is Ayşenur Kolivar's chapter "Karadeniz-Rock" in the book "*Karardı Karadeniz*" (Black Sea Darkened) (2012, pp. 321-364). She investigates how Black Sea rock music evolved from Black Sea popular

¹⁶ Istanbul dialect is the formal dialect of Turkish in Turkey. Some collectors used this dialect while collecting songs in Anatolia and changed the meaning of songs, and this caused to sing that songs in İstanbul dialect.

music in the light of changing socio-economics. I adapted some explanations of her, to explain the impact of socio-economics on local musics.

Ömer Asan's article "*Karadeniz Halk Kültürü ve Tektiplleşme*" (Black Sea Folk Culture and Homogenization) (2012) focuses on the changes of local musics. Asan expressed that TRT broadcasts were perhaps the first foreign musics local people heard. These musics affected their music and increased an interest towards bağlama. This is the same for Chepnies: they first heard other musics with TRT radio. These have some significant effects in their singing and playing styles, as I will explain in the following chapters.

İdris Ersan Küçük's (2014) master thesis "*Giresun Yöresi Halk oyunlarının Etnokoreolojik Yönden İncelenmesi*" (An Ethnochoreological Assessment of Folk Dances of Giresun Region) is related to folk dances of Giresun. He gave detailed descriptions of Giresun folk dances, choreography and costumes of dancers, which I learned a lot. This is the the only research focusing on Giresun Folk dances that I found.

Veysel Usta's article "*Osman Fikret Topallı'nın Notlarına Göre Giresun'da Halk Müziği: Bağlama, Saz ve Başka Çalgı Çalanlar*" (Giresun Folk Music in Osman Fikret Topallı's Notes: Bağlama, Saz Players and Another Instrumentalists) (2015) gives important insights in early 20th century Giresun musical scene. He lists leading musicians of that time, including non-Muslim musicians. There is not any musician from Harşit in the article, this work is important because shows the multiculturalism of region. This work led me think that Giresun musical culture was not belong to just Turkish, Pontic Greek or Armenian culture, it is sum of these cultures, it consisted from components of different cultures.

Abdullah Akat's book "*Doğu Karadeniz Bölgesinde Çepniler ve Müzik*" (Chepnies and Music in Eastern Black Sea Region) (2012) is my main source about Chepni music. This book indeed evolved from Akat's master thesis and based on Akat's fieldwork in Görele, Tirebolu and Şalpazarı regions of Giresun. He introduced musical instruments of Chepnies and analyzed their musics. He also gave valuable information about musical life of Chepnies.

Another important work about Chepni music is Martin Stokes's article titled "*Fındıklar ve Sazlar, Bir Doğu Karadeniz Vadisindeki Kültürel Değişime İlişkin*"

Gözlemler” (Hazelnuts and Lutes: Perceptions of Change in a Black Sea Valley) (1998). Martin Stokes did a field research in a Chepni valley called Ağasar from 1987 to 1989. He compared the musical differences of Ağasar and Beşikdüzü. Ağasar is located in mountainous and isolated area, and Beşikdüzü is located in Black Sea coast, open for all road and maritime trade. He also observed that younger musicians preferring to play bağlama, instead of kemençe. According to him, TRT is responsible for that change. TRT is working to enforce Turkish nation-state, so they use bağlama in musical broadcasts. Stokes asserts that Black Sea musics mostly played with bağlama, and bağlama changes both the spirit and style of the songs. People were used to this TRT sound and they were seeking for this. As a consequence of it, especially coastal towns of Black Sea left playing the kemençe and learned the bağlama. Stokes also points out the unifying power of pasture fests. Stokes’s work has several valuable observations and insights. When I did my field research thirty-years later than him, I still observed similar things. Nevertheless, I noticed that Stokes ignored the Alevi past of Chepnies. For that reason, bağlama was always important for Chepnies; TRT’s affect on spreading bağlama among Chepnies is limited. I will explain this issue in later chapters.

The following chapter (chapter two) will be about the musics of Harşit Valley. But I will begin with a brief historical background to fully grasp the local culture. Who are valley residents? Where they came from? Which past cultures shaped their cultures? Will be the questions that I will try to answer. Then instruments, musics and musical events of the valley will be investigated. This investigation will not focus on change, it will only express the present situation.

The third chapter will be about the change in the valley. Firstly, I will describe traditional Otçu Göçü and narrate my own experience of 2017 Güvende pasture fest. Also, I will compare past Otçu Göçü and modern ones. Then, I will focus on demographic and economic change. The later part is about affects of socio-economic changes on music. I will support the reasons and consequences of change with the aid of the interviews that I made during my field research. I will also try to explain these changes with the aids of prominent thinker’s ideas and concepts.

The fourth chapter will consist of conclusions. I will answer my main question and other questions there. I will also make some predictions about the future.

2. MUSICS OF HARŞIT VALLEY

This chapter is about the history and musics of Harşit valley. After a short section of history of the area, I will focus on musicking in Harşit valley. Instruments, dances, musical structure and popular Black Sea music will be the main topics of this second section.

2.1 Brief History of Harşit Valley

The earliest known civilization of the area is Hayasa-Azzi civilization. Several Hittite cuneiform clay tablets mention this civilization which was like a confederation located between Hayasa and Azzi kingdoms. While Azzi kingdom was founded in Middle east Anatolia near lake Van, Hayasa kingdom was founded in North-east Anatolia, south of Trabzon. Therefore, it can be assumed that Harşit Valley belonged to Hayasa Kingdom between 14th and 12th centuries BC as in figure 2.1.

This confederation was an important enemy for Hittites, who mounted several expeditions to Azzi-Hayasa confederation. Eventually, Hittite general Suppiluliuma won the war and signed a treaty with Hayasa king Hakkani around 1350 BC. Also, Suppiluliuma's sister married Hakkani. How Hittites saw Hayasas as a primitive community can be seen in the quote below:

My sister, whom I gave you in marriage has sisters; through your marriage, they now become your relatives. Well, there is a law in the land of the Hatti. Do not approach sisters, your sisters-in law or your cousins; that is not permitted. In Hatti Land, whosoever commits such an act does not live; he dies. In your country, you do not hesitate to marry your own sister, sister-in law or cousin, because you are not civilized. Such an act cannot be permitted in Hatti (Url-3).



Figure 2.1 : Hittite, Kaska, Hayasa and Azzi lands.

After a short peace, Azzi-Hayasas attacked Hittites again. Mursili II was the emperor of Hittites and this time Azzi-Hayasas were eliminated totally.

Roughly 500 years later, the first Greek settlements began on the coasts of the Black Sea (see figure 2.2). Historian Charles King asserted that these first settlements could be found much earlier than expected: “Greeks entered the Black Sea in the first half of 1000 BC, perhaps earlier. Probably they were seeking mines in south shores...The rising population of Aegean shores can be the factor for searching new places in the North” (King, 2015, p. 46).



Figure 2.2 : Black sea in 6th century BC.

The first Greek colonies of Eastern Black Sea were Sinope and Trapezunt. As can be seen on the map above, in 6th century BC they had many colonies there. We know about social life of local people via these Greek colonists. Also, Xenophon's *Anabasis* and Herodotus's *History* are important sources about this early period. Herodotus denoted that Eastern Black Sea people (Moschoi, Tibareni, Macrones, Mossynoeci and Marres) used to pay 7700 kilograms of silver annually to Persian emperor Darius I in 5th century BC (Herodotus, 2011, III:94). Mossynoecis are important for us because they used to live in the West of Trapezunt, so probably Harşit Valley was their territory. We can find much more information about them in *Anabasis*. When Xenophon's soldiers invaded the capital city of Mossynoecis, they found bread, wheat grains, dolphin flesh and dolphin oil, nuts (probably hazelnuts) and wine (Xenophon, 2011, V:27-29). So, we can assume that Mossynoecis had fishing and farming economy, but herding was not common. Also, they operate silver mines of the Harşit valley probably.

The other assimilation factor of the time was Persian Achaemenid Empire. The entire Anatolia was invaded by Cyrus the Great in 6th century BC. All people of Anatolia - including Greek cities- had to pay taxes to them.

After nearly two hundred years of Persian rule, Pontus Kingdom emerged. This was a mixed Hellenistic kingdom: rulers were Persians and the society were Greeks and local people. In 64 BC, this Kingdom annexed to the Roman Empire.

From then on, Black Sea region stayed as a province of Roman Empire for approximately 1200 years. Even though Roman Empire was divided in 395 AD, there was no change for Black Sea region. It stayed as a part of Eastern Roman Empire (Byzantine Empire).

Probably the most significant phenomenon of this period was the emergence and spreading of Christianity. This new religion spread slowly but covered all Anatolia in 5th century. Local belief systems of local people were either forgotten or merged with this new religion. Consequently, we can assert that Christianity became more successful than all of the recent empires in creating bonds among Anatolian inhabitants.

Byzantines divided their territory to administrative divisions called Theme. Black Sea region belonged to Armeniac Theme from 640's to circa 820. After 820, Armeniac

Theme was divided into smaller sections and Eastern Black Sea (including Harşit Valley) joined to the Theme of Chaldia. This Theme would constitute the heart of Empire of Trebizond.

At the end of the first century of the first millennia, Seljuk Turks cut off Chaldia Theme from Byzantine Empire, but could not invade the Theme. Ultimate strike came from Catholic Europe: Byzantium (Konstantinopolis) was invaded by the fourth crusade in 1204. This invasion led Alexios Komnenos to siege Trebizond, the capital city of Chaldia Theme. Alexios was the grandson of Byzantine Emperor Andronikos Komnenos; for this reason, the Theme surrendered easily.

Alexios Komnenos' Empire of Trebizond had several enemies, primarily Byzantium and Seljuk Turks. However, Alexios' sons' successful diplomatic policies kept Trebizond Empire alive. Intense economic activities with Italian merchants supplied enough revenue for the Empire. Mongol invasion in the middle of 13th century interfered the Silk Road trade. This was a great chance for Empire of Trebizond, because Trebizond was on the safest trade way in that period. Thus, Empire of Trebizond became the wealthiest Empire of the region (see figure 2.3).

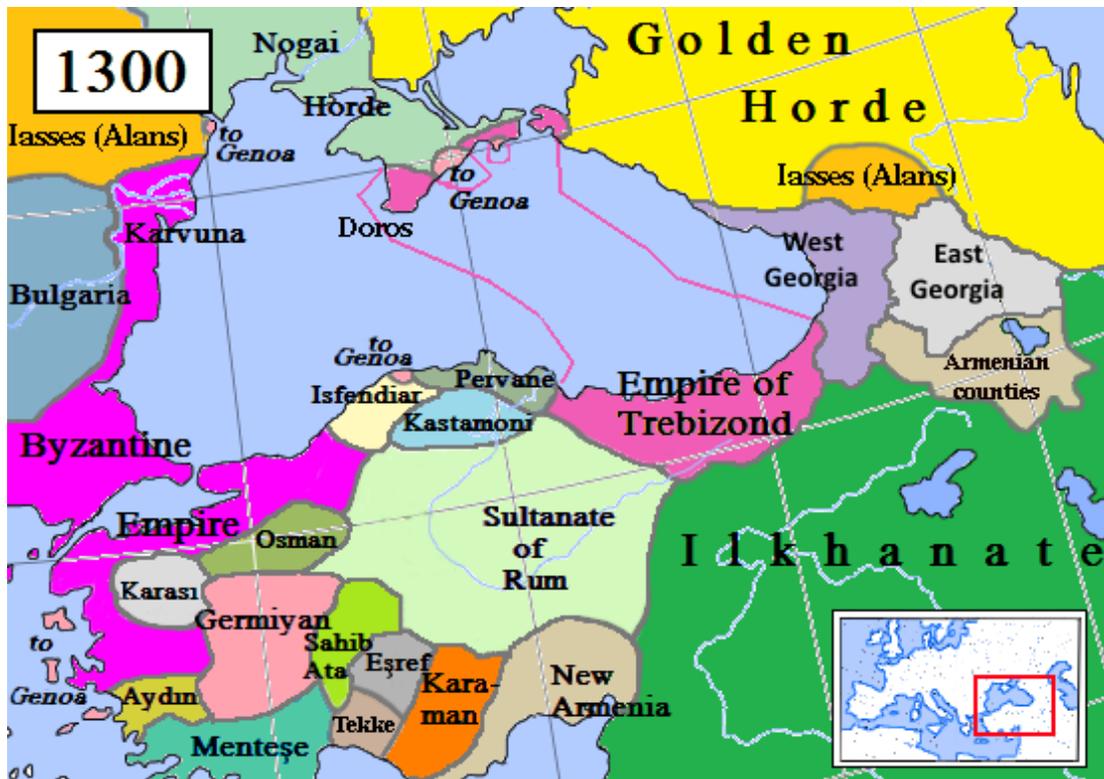


Figure 2.3 : Anatolia in 1300.

Nevertheless, there is one side effect of Mongol invasion: Turkic clans of Persia emigrated to Anatolia to escape from Mongols. Chepni Turks were one of these clans. Chepnies had begun to settle in the area from 13th century on. They were Alevi Muslims coming from Khorasan region of Iran. According to Coşkun Kökel (Kökel, 2016, p. 20), Alevi leader Haji Bektash Veli settled in Suluca Karahöyük, Kırşehir and sent his follower Güvenç Abdal to Black Sea. He settled in Kürtün's Şıhlı (Taşlıca) village in Harşit Valley (Pekin, 2011, p. 96). He became the religious leader of the Chepni people in the region. His life story based on legends. He is still such a powerful figure in Alevi villages from Sinop to Trabzon.

Chepnies invaded that valley from South to North, from the inland to the shore. Yet, the southernmost part of the valley called Ardasa (Torul) stayed untouched by Chepnies. Ardasa had not only silver and gold mines but also strong fortresses and guards to defend these mines. This explains why Turks could not invade the township until 1481. The local people of the valley (mostly Rums and Armenians) moved to either northernmost (Tirebolu) or southernmost (Ardasa) parts of the valley. In 1404, Ruy Gonzales de Clavijo, the ambassador of Henry III of Castille asserted that most of the villages in Harşit were Turkish villages (Yüksel and Bağcı, 2015, p. 14). Chepnies founded Beylik of Hacıemiroğulları in 1301 and Beylik of Taceddin in 1348 and attacked the Empire of Trebizond (figure 2.4).



Figure 2.4 : Anatolia in 1335. Red arrows show Chepni attacks to Empire of Trebizond.

These attacks caused serious problems for the Empire of Trebizond. They felt the pressure of these nomadic and warrior people. Trebizond emperors tried to solve the problem by making some marriage of states with Turkish leaders to negotiate with them: Maria, the sister of Alexios III was married to Aq Qoyunlu leader Fahrettin Kutluğ (1352); another sister of Alexios III, Theodora was married to Hacı Emir (1358); Eudokia, daughter of Alexios III, was married to Taceddin (1362) and the daughter of John IV Theodora Megale Komnene was married to Aq Qoyunlu leader Uzun Hasan (1458). Anthony Bryer asserts that 11 Trebizond princesses were married to Muslims in total (2014, p. 206). However, these marriages did not bring long peace to the area. In 1380, Alexios III had to make an expedition to Chepnies in Philabonites (Harşit) valley and push them to inland, but Chepnies continued to attack their territories. Thus, in the middle of 15th century, Chepnies spread from Sinop to Trabzon. Non-Muslim people of the region were forced to move to coastal towns except some villages that operated mines in Gümüşhane.

In the summer of 1461, Ottoman Emperor Sultan Mehmet II mounted an expedition to the Empire of Trebizond. He had conquered Konstantinopolis and ended Byzantine Empire eight years earlier. Chepnies helped Sultan Mehmet II during the siege of Trabzon. In 15 August 1461, the last Trebizond Emperor David Megas Komnenos was surrendered.

After the conquest, Kürtün became a sanjak of Trabzon. Giresun, Tirebolu, Görele, Gümüşhane and Torul were provinces of Kürtün in 1486. According to Öztürk, 67 Christian families and 901 Muslim families were living in Kürtün province that year (2012, p. 726). The population change of Kürtün sanjak can be seen in table 2.1.

Table 2.1 : Population change of Kürtün sanjak (Öztürk, 2016, p. 726).

Years	Muslim family	Christian family
1486	901	67
1515	2253	469
1554	3303	605
1583	5470	958

As you can see from the table above, population of Kürtün province continuously increased. The main reason of this increase was peace in the region. From the 11th century on, this area was inside a perpetual war. With the Ottoman administration, this war ended, and a relatively stable period began. Another reason was rich mineral stratum of the valley. This profitable situation attracted people from other provinces. Besides, Ottoman Empire did not collect taxes from mine workers. This also increased the non-Muslim population of the area.

The only significant event of the following three hundred years was the Battle of Chaldiran in 1514. The roots of this battle can be found in aggressive policies of Safavid leader Shah Ismail. Shah Ismail wanted to spread Shia Islam in Anatolia. His grandfather Shayk Junayd was seen as a leader among Alevi Chepnies. Shayk Junayd settled in Kelkit valley, which is very close to Harşit Valley and sieged Trebizond in 1454 with the aids of Chepni soldiers. After his death, Chepnies' loyalty to this family continued. Some Chepnies believed that Shayk Junayd's grave was in Pinti pasture of Kürtün. The best proof of this loyalty can be seen in a Facebook sharing in July 2018: The administrator of Kazıkbeli pasture's Facebook page wanted its followers to pray for Shayk Junayd when they arrive at Kazıkbeli (figure 2.5).



Figure 2.5 : “Knowing history and culture is important. We care for praying for Shayk Junayd in Kazıkbeli pasture.”

Alevi Turks of East Anatolia deported to Morea during the reign of Ottoman Sultan Beyazid II because of their sympathy for Safavids. But this precaution did not work well, Alevi Shahkulu rebellion started in Southwest Anatolia in 1511. This rebellion was supported by Shah Ismail. In the same year, Sultan Beyazid II's sons Prince Selim and Prince Ahmet were struggling for the throne. Shah Ismail supported Prince Ahmet during this struggle. Shortly after his coronation, Sultan Selim I dictated and spread a religious statement about Qizilbash Alevis:

O Muslims know and be aware that the Qizilbāsh people, whose leader is Ismail son of Ardabil has looked down on our Prophet's laws (Sharia), his custom (sunna), the religion of Islam, the religious science and the Qur'an, which tells us what is right and wrong. They have regarded the prohibitions of the Great God as being allowed. They have offended the Holy Qur'an and burned it by throwing it into the fire. They have even seen their own damned leader as God and prostrated to him. They have cursed and denied the caliphate of the noble Abu Bakr and Umar. They have slandered and cursed the Prophet's wife, our mother Aisha. They intend to eradicate the Prophet's laws (Sharia) and the religion of Islam. Their other bad statements and behavior similar to what is mentioned here, is known clearly by both me and the rest of the Islamic scholars. We have therefore in accordance with the rules of the religious law (Sharia) and the rights provided in our books, issued a statement (fatwa) towards this population as being infidel and pagan. It is any Muslims duty to destroy such a population. The holy martyr Muslims who die in this connection will achieve the highest paradise (Jannat ul-Ala). The infidels who die, will become contemptible and end up in a place in the deepest hell. The condition of this population is worse than the unbelievers (Christian and Jews). The animals that these people butcher or hunt down are impure (murdar), whether it is by falconry, bow or dog. The marriages they make among each other or with other populations are not valid. They have no right to inheritance. If they live in a village, only the Sultan of Islam, has the right to take over their properties and values and their children by slaughtering all the villagers. These values can only be divided between soldiers of Islam. After this collection, one should not listen to their repentances and regrets, but kill all of them. If it is known that there are any one of them or anyone who supports them here in this town, these must be killed. This kind of population is both incredulous and pagan and at the same time harmful. For these two reasons, it is necessary (wajib) to kill them. God helps those who help the religion and harms those who do harm to a Muslim (Tekindağ, 1967, pp. 54-55).

Bearing to this fetwa, Selim I ordered for the execution of Alevis of Anatolia. Some sources claim that about 40,000 Alevis were executed during this period (Karakaya, 2018, 29). After that, he mounted an expedition to Safavids. In 1514, Ottoman and Safavid armies battled in Chaldiran, Iran. The Ottoman army won the battle and Shah Ismail escaped to East Iran.

This battle had tragic results for Anatolian Alevi. Selim I continued to deport Alevi to prevent another Shia rebellion. Alevi Chepnies also affected by this policy. Some of the Chepnies were exiled by Selim I, because of helping Shah Ismail. A number of Chepnies already had emigrated to Iran to join Safavid Army (Yüksel and Bağcı, 2015, 14).

Ottoman Sultans always saw all kinds of Shiism as a thread risk after that war. In 1826 Bektashi order was prohibited and Bektashi tekkes were closed. Sultan Abdul Hamid II's pan-Islamism policies also affected Alevism. Sultan Abdul Hamid applied pan-Islamism to unite Muslim people of the Ottoman Empire. However, his pan-Islamism was born on the Sunni belief: he wanted to unite all Muslims in Sunni Islam. For this reason, he opened madaris (religious schools) in all over Anatolia. These madaris were official education institutions of the Ottoman Empire, usually constructed in gardens of big mosques and only teaching Sunni Islam in religion courses. Some elder interviewees in Harşit Valley stated that their grandparents were sent to madaris in Trabzon for education. These brilliant young men of the valley converted to Sunni Islam in these madaris and they learned to see Alevism as a heretic belief.

Due to Ottoman Empire's suppression of Alevi belief, Chepni people gradually changed their beliefs to Sunni Islam. Today, the valley almost totally consists of Sunni Chepni people, and some of them refuse their Alevi past. There are only a few Alevi villages remaining.

During World War I, Russians invaded Northeast Turkey. They invaded Tirebolu but could not invade the west part of the Harşit River because of severe resistance of Chepnies (see figure 2.6). So Harşit River was a kind of border between Turks and Russians for nearly two years. Russians did some mining and built roads to the mines. After the October Revolution (1917), Russian army began to retreat from the region. Today, there are several songs and legends that remain from the invasion.

After the war, Chepni people helped the Turkish war of independence. With the Lausanne Treaty (1923), Greece and Turkey agreed on a population exchange. Both of these newly founded states felt the necessity of creating a solid population. Muslim Turks of Greece and Christian Greeks in Turkey seemed an obstacle for creating a new, solid national identity. Nearly two million people forcibly immigrated during the exchange period, including 280.000 Pontic Greeks. This changed the demography of the Harşit Valley as well.



Figure 2.6 : Russian invasion.

Following this, names of towns and villages began to change according to newly created Turkish identity. Greek, Kurdish, Armenian or other names of towns, villages and even geographical areas derived from a minority language were disturbed by intellectuals and governors of newly founded Turkish Republic, especially after 1950. From 1925 to 2000, names of 15.585 places were changed in Turkey (Nişanyan, 2011, p. 50). The most significant change happened in Eastern Black Sea coast and South-east Turkey, as seen on the map in figure 2.7. Names of 189 places were altered in Giresun and names of 209 places were changed in Gümüşhane (Nişanyan, 2011, p. 51). Moreover, names of some townships were changed. For example, Doğankent's former name was Harşit. Besides, names of some settlements that implied Alevism were changed: Güvenç Abdal's village was Şıhlı (can be translated as "having a sheik") implying Güvenç Abdal himself, so it became Taşlıca (stony).

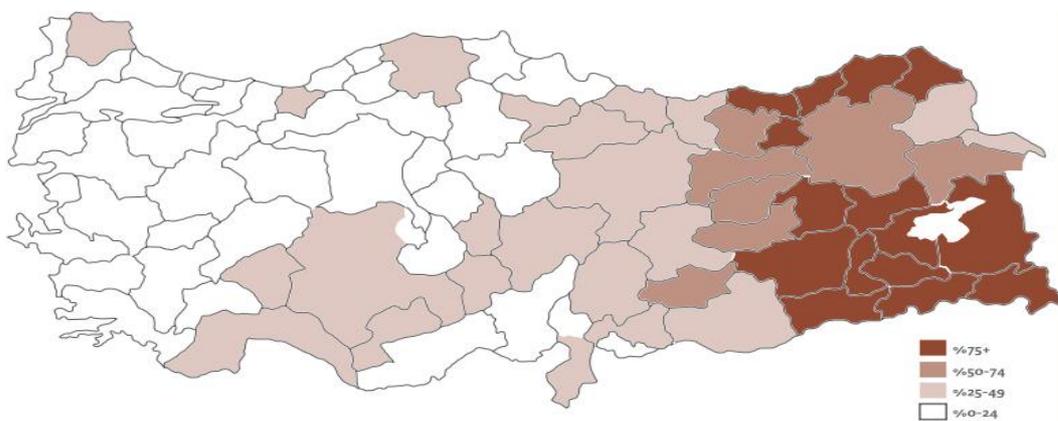


Figure 2.7 : The percentage of changing names (Nişanyan, 2011, p. 52).

Demography and economy of the valley also faced with some changes after the republic. First of all, mines in the valley lost their importance after Greek and Armenian population left the region. Turkish state gave high stimulus to hazelnut and tea farming in Black Sea. These stimuli increased the population of especially coastal parts of the valley for a while. However, dividing of agricultural lands by inheritance reduced the money earned from agriculture. Also, to protect forests, the state restricted sheep and goat breeding. These factors created an immigrant population outside of the valley. Many of the residents immigrated to Germany to work in 1960's. Valley residents also immigrated to industrial provinces of Turkey. This immigrant population exceeded population of the valley probably: while Black Sea region population was 7.075.375, the people registered in Black Sea but living in other areas was 7.757.515 in 2014. 4.679.713 of them living in İstanbul (Yıldırım, 2016, pp.180-182).

2.2 Introduction to Valley's Music

As it can be seen from the history of the region, modern Black Sea culture consists of different cultures. Turkish, Greek, Armenian, Georgian and Persian musical elements merged among one another. It is very challenging to know which cultural artifact comes from which culture. Besides, all musical instruments are closely linked with cultural and even economic life of the valley, as I will interpret below.

The musical instruments widely used in the Harşit Valley is Karadeniz kemençesi, davul, *zil* zurna (small zurna), bağlama and kaval. While kemençe is the most common instrument both by the coast and inland, davul, zurna and bağlama are mostly used in coastal regions. Lastly, electronic keyboards (org in Turkish) have entered the musical universe of the valley especially in the last 30 years.

2.2.1 Kemençe

Kemençe is a viol-like string instrument with a narrow body. It is played vertically with a special bow. It is very common in Eastern Black Sea and Greece due to Pontian

refugees. You can see the map of its distribution in Turkey in figure 2.8. From Giresun to Rize, kemençe is the most widely used musical instrument.

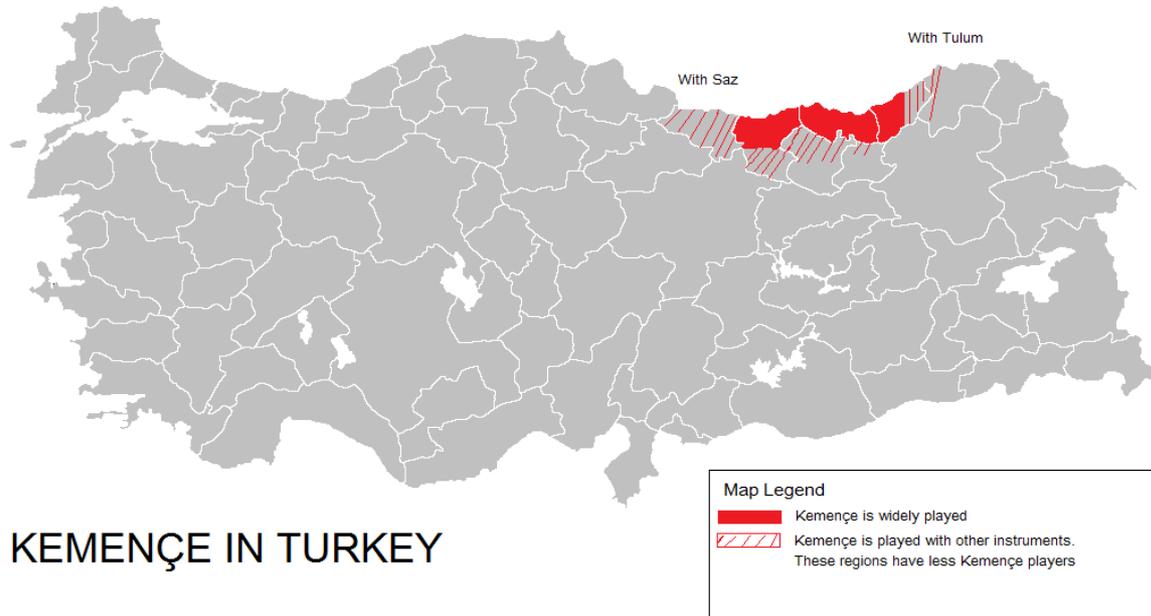


Figure 2.8 : Distribution of Kemençe (Url-4).

Dimensions of the kemençe vary in different regions, but in Görele it is 55 centimeters long, 9 centimeters wide and 3 centimeters deep, which can be regarded as standard. Its bow has the same length as the kemençe itself, being approximately 55 centimeters. This kemençe is a bit high pitched than East Trabzon kemençes, which is the reason why it is sometimes called *zil* kemençe. Maçka and East of Trabzon have quite bigger kemençes, about 60 centimeters long. You can find the dimensions of kemençe in figure 2.9. Kemençe's parts are shown in table 2.2.

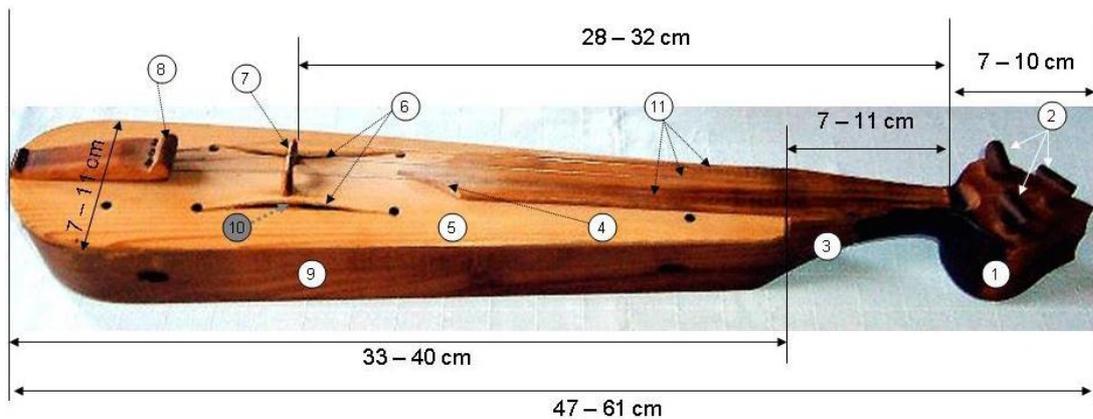


Figure 2.9 : Dimensions of kemençe (Url-5).

Table 2.2 : Parts of the Kemençe (Url-6).

	Part Name	Meaning	Function
1	Tepe, To Kifal	Top, Head	Peg holder (same as the body)
2	Kulak, Otia	Fist, Ears	Pegs
3	Boyun, Goula	Neck	Place for hand (same as the body)
4	Krvat, Spaler	Bed, Slabbering bib	Fingerboard
5	Kapak	Cover	Soundboard
6	Ses delikleri, Rothounia	Sound holes, Nostrals	Soundholes
7	Eşek, Gaidaron	Donkey, Rider	Bridge (pine)
8	Palikar	Stalwart Young Man	Tailpiece
9	Gövde, Soma	Body	Body (plum, mulberry, walnut, juniper)
10	Solucan, Stoular	Worm	Sound post (inside)
11	Teller, Hordes	Strings	Strings

Kemençe has three strings (unusually four string kemençes can be found). It can be played while sitting or standing (as figure 2.10) due to its small body. This gives the player nearly unlimited freedom, he/she can play while walking or dancing. It is usually played with short and harsh bow movements. Strings are usually tuned to E, A and D, but different tuning styles (F, B, E / D, G, C even A, E, A and C, F, G) can be used according to regions, its dimensions and repertory. Usually the melody is played in one string and others act as drones or the melody is played in two strings to create a parallel fourth effect.



Figure 2.10 : Two kemençe players from Harşit valley: Ali Can Bölük and Hüseyin Demiral (Url-24).

The origin of kemençe is highly controversial among Chepnies, Pontic Greeks and Lazs. Some of the researchers (Karadeniz, 2012; Akat, 2010; Bilgin, 2010) asserted that these three groups learned kemençe from a Turkic clan named Kipchaks (Kumans).

Academician Ali Karadeniz claims that kemençe is a genuine Turkish instrument evolved from *ıklığ* (2012, pp. 42-61). However, it is not clear in his book whether Kipchaks, Chepnies, or even Cimmerians or Chalybes (Karadeniz believes that the last two communities were also Turkic, but this is highly controversial) created kemençe first.

Ali Karadeniz's and some other Turkish researchers' (Akat, 2010; Bilgin, 2010) claims about Turkishness of kemençe should be read in line with Greek claims of Greekness of kemençe. For example, kemençe virtuoso Matthaios Tsahourides advocates Greekness of the instrument in his dissertation. He gave a detailed organological study of the instrument and looked into its history, concluding that it has a

European/Byzantine rather than a Middle Eastern origin (Tsahourides, 2007, pp. 34 - 44).

Abdullah Akat (2010) and historian Mehmet Bilgin (2010) propose that kemençe is originally a Kipchak instrument and Chepnies, Greeks and Lazs learnt it from them:

We can present kemençe identities in the area in 1700's as: a kemençe that Chepnies learnt from Kipchaks and became a part of Chepni identity, a kemençe that Lazs learnt from Kipchaks and became a part of Laz identity, a Greek kemençe that assimilated Kipchaks brought to Greeks, and lastly other people's kemençes in the region (Akat, 2010, p. 55).

Searching origins of an instrument always brings some problems. It is too challenging to determine certain issues about the past. Besides, this is not really important for ethnomusicology. The certain point about kemençe is that it is an inseparable part of both Greek and Turkish Black Sea culture. There are many Greek virtuosi of kemençe: Stavris Petridis, Gogos Petridis, Nikos Papavramidis, Kostas Dimitriadis, and Matthaïos Tsahourides in addition to many Turkish virtuosi: Tuzcuoğlu, Karaman (Halil Kodalak), Picoğlu Osman (Gökçe), Kemal İpşir (Durkaya), Sırrı Öztürk, and Katip Şadi.

Meanwhile, organizers of pasture fests sometimes invite famous kemençe players of Greece. In 2010, Matthaïos Tsahourides came and played in Kadırğa fest. *Romeika* speaking Tonya people liked him and his atma türküs in *Romeika* language so much. This talented kemençe virtuoso was appreciated by the Chepni audience as well. YouTube comments of his performance are full of positive messages from Turkish listeners.

2.2.2 Bağlama

Bağlama (or *saz*) is the most common folk music instrument of Turkey. It is a kind of long necked lute played with either plectrum or fingers (*şelpe*). It has different names for different dimensions. The smallest bağlama called *cura* is about 50 centimeters long. Median bağlama is the most common one and it is about 100 centimeters long (You can find an example of it in figure 2.11). The tallest one named *divan sazı* is about 120 centimeters. Except these three, there are several kinds of bağlama called *üçtelli*, *çöğür*, *kısa sap*, *meydan*, *aşık*, and the like. Its name probably comes from its movable frets: they are tied to the neck for transposing and “*bağlamak*” means “to tie” in Turkish.

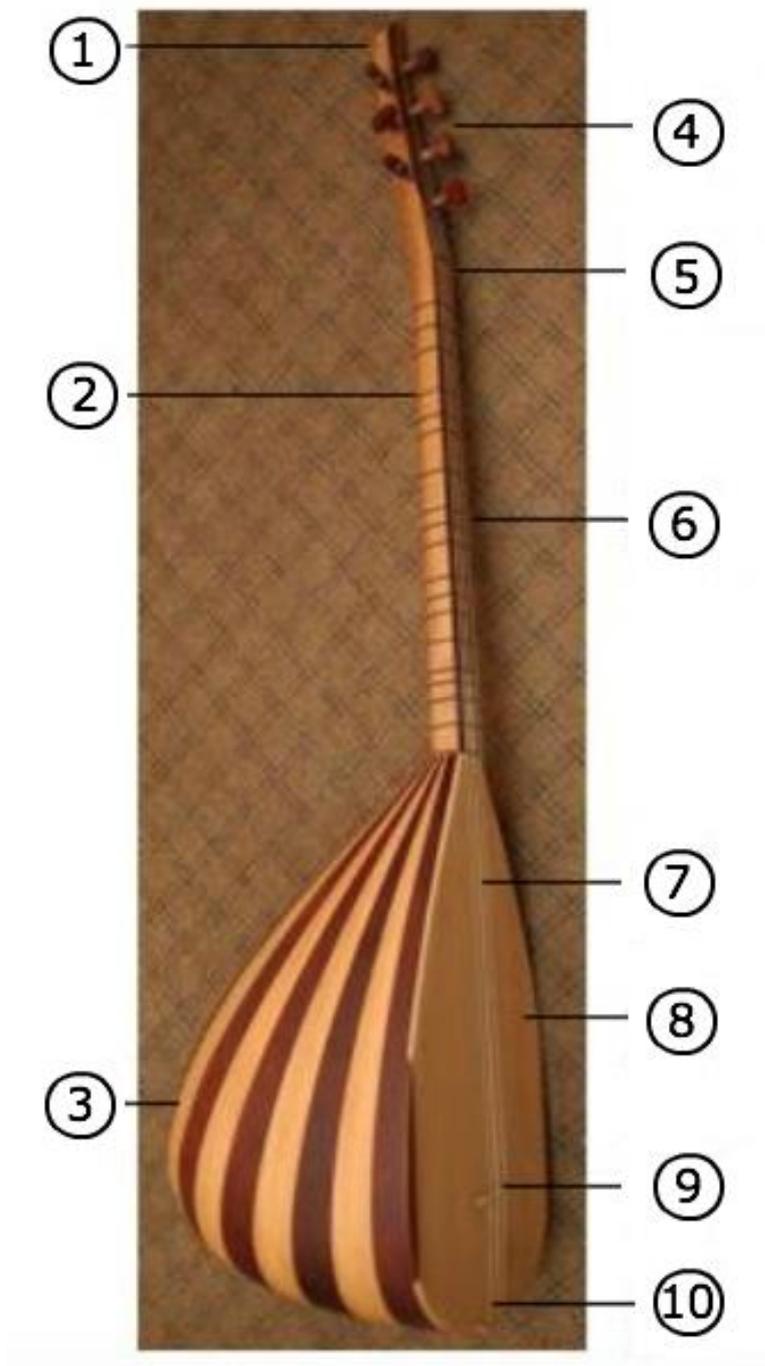


Figure 2.11 : Bağlama and its parts (Url-25).

Bağlama has three string groups. Each string group is usually comprised of two strings. Tuning of the bağlama shows a variety as the varieties of the instrument itself. A, G, D can be regarded as the standard tuning of bağlama.

You can find the names of the parts of the bağlama in table 2.3 below:

Table 2.3 : Parts of the bağlama.

	Part Name	Meaning	Function
1	Burguluk	Peg holder	Peg holder
2	Sap	Handle	Fingerboard, Neck
3	Tekne	Body	Body
4	Kulak, Burgu	Ear, Screw	Pegs
5	Üst eşik	Upper threshold	Threshold between fingerboard and peg holder
6	Perdeler	Frets	Frets
7	Teller	Strings	Strings
8	Kapak	Cover	Soundboard
9	Alt eşik	Lower threshold	Bridge
10	Tel bağlama takozu	String pin	Saddle

Despite the fact that bağlama is one of the most common instruments of Anatolian people, for Alevi people bağlama is more than an instrument. Bağlama has significant bonds with their religion. They attributed symbolical features to bağlama, it is a sacred instrument for them.

By the 11th century, a long-necked lute similar to the bağlama, called kopuz, was the favoured instrument of the minstrel poets (*ozan*) of the Oğuz Turkish tribes of south-west Asia. Their Ottoman descendants, called *saz şairleri* (saz minstrel poets) or *aşıklar* (sing.: *aşık*), use the bağlama to accompany the recitation of epics and popular tales (*halk hikayeleri*) as well as their own compositions and repertory of songs by earlier *aşıklar*. The bağlama is still played in the dervish ceremonies of some sects, including the Alevi. The instrument itself is viewed as symbolically significant: the body is “Alt”, the neck his sword, and so on (Morris, 2001).

Alevism is a heterodox and syncretic Islamic belief of Anatolia, a branch of Shia Islam, as I explained before. It is the second largest belief in Turkey after Sunni Islam. Alevi worshipping is significantly different from Sunni worship:

Like other heterodox Shia groups, Alevi use an extensive Islamic vocabulary but usually with significantly different meanings from the way such words are used in Sunni Islam. Some of the differences that mark Alevi from Orthodox Muslims are the use of *cemevi* halls rather than mosques but similar to some other Sufi and Shia groups; worship ceremonies that feature music and dancing, candles and grape juice, and where both women and men participate; a completely different approach to *salat* (they only prostrate twice in during the *cem*) as to *Ramadan*, and the *Hajj* (considering true pilgrimage to be internal one) (Url-7).

Music is the essence of worship in Alevism. An Alevi idiom says that “minstrel’s song is the essence of Quran”. *Cem* (gathering) ceremony is the main ritual in Alevism. They gather in *cemevi* (gathering house), and worship in Allah and Prophet Ali. During the *Cem*, *Zakir* (*aşık*, minstrel) plays the *bağlama* and sings old spiritual songs called *nefes*. *Semah* is also a part of *Cem* ceremony. In *semah*, men and women dance together with the accompaniment of *bağlama*. *Semah* symbolizes uniting with god, called “*wahdat al-wujud*” in Islamic mysticism.

The most important *bağlama* players in Turkey (Aşık Veysel, Neşet Ertaş, Aşık Mahzuni, Arif Sağ, Musa Eroğlu) have Alevi origins. There are some differences between Alevi and non-Alevi playing style. But the most important difference is gendering of the instrument: while *bağlama* is associated with males by non-Alevi, this association is looser in Alevi society. So, Alevi tradition produced some important female *bağlama* players as Yudum, Güler Duman, Özlem Özdil and Efsal.

Chepni people were Alevi Muslims as I explained in the previous section. For that reason, *bağlama* was more important than *kemençe* for them some time ago. However, suppressions on their belief system weakened their relationship with the *bağlama*. They saw it as a symbol of Alevism and hesitated to play it. Sinan Güvendi interprets the reasons of why Chepnies left the *bağlama*:

The first reason is the suppression of Sunni Islam; so, they identified *bağlama* with Alevism and wanted to wipe off their Alevi past. The second reason is *kemençe*’s dimension: it is smaller than *bağlama*, so it is easier to carry in pontic jungles (Sinan Güvendi, personal communication, April 03, 2017).

As a consequence, the other dominant instrument of the area, *kemençe*, became popular among Chepnies. As they gradually transformed to Sunni Islam, *bağlama*, *Cem* and Alevism faded out slowly (but never completely disappeared). Over time, Chepnies have raised some important *kemençe* players. A Chepni town, Görele, is famous for its *kemençe* players: Tuzcuoğlu, Karaman (Halil Kodalak), Picoğlu Osman

(Gökçe), Kemal İpşir (Durkaya), Sırrı Öztürk, and Katip Şadi are all from Görele. Therefore, Görele is known as the capital city of kemençe.

But when ethnomusicologist Laurence Picken visited Turkish Black Sea coastal towns in 1970's, he noticed an interesting attitude towards bağlama: younger musicians preferred to play it instead of kemençe (Picken, 1975, p. 325). He thought that dominant Anatolian music culture affected and transformed the local musical culture and to become a part of this dominant culture, young musicians prefer to play bağlama. However, another ethnomusicologist, Martin Stokes, criticized this view (Stokes, 1998, p. 149). He did a field research in a Chepni valley called Ağasar from 1987 to 1989. He also observed this attitude during his research. According to him, not dominant Anatolian music culture transformed local Black Sea music as Picken asserted; TRT is responsible for that change. TRT works to enforce Turkish nation-state and bağlama is inseparable part of Turkish identity for them. Stokes cites Ottoman nationalist Ziya Gökalp's views: for Gökalp, Turkish nation should return to itself, to Central Asia culture (Stokes, 1998, p. 152). Bağlama is the symbol of this Central Asia Turkish culture. TRT uses bağlama in musical broadcasts to enforce and spread the Turkish identity. Local listeners are used to that sound and so their demand for bağlama increased. Yet, this was not the only reason: there were some technical problems in uniting kemençe with the TRT orchestra: "Its stratchy, yet dense, polyphonic texture is considered by recording technicians and producers to fit badly with the other instruments" (Stokes, 1998, p. 158). Finally, it was really hard to find a musically literate kemençe player. Almost all of the kemençe virtuosi learned the instrument by imitating their master. For these reasons, Stokes observed that Black Sea musics are mostly played with bağlama in radios, and bağlama changes both the spirit and style of the songs. People are used to this TRT sound and they were seeking this. As a consequence, especially coastal towns of Black Sea left playing kemençe and learned bağlama. We may think that Tirebolunese bağlama virtuosi Temel Kara (b. 1936) grew under these conditions (figure 2.12).



Figure 2.12 : Bağlama virtuoso Temel Kara from Tirebolu. Photograph taken in 1970's (Url-26).

On the other hand, Picken and Stokes seem to miss the fact that Chepnies come from Alevi culture. Probably that is why bağlama tradition never disappeared among Chepnies. Kalafat Muharrem Ağa (1880–1954) from Giresun asserted that “before our generation, nobody played any instrument except bağlama and *saz*” (Usta, 2015, p. 76). This statement shed light to the depth of bağlama tradition in Giresun. Fikret Topallı had collected data about instrument players in Giresun before the Republic. From this source, we learn the names of Muslim and non-Muslim bağlama players of those years: Hafız Mustafa Efendi, Talip Ağa, Ethem Efendi, Fenkoğlu Mehmed Ağa, Dumanoğlu Veys Efendi, Kalyoncuoğlu Eşref Ağa, Hafız Osman Efendi, Tevfik Ağa, Hacı Ömer Bey, Hüseyin Ağa, Nuri Ağa, Dervişoğlu Talib Efendi, Germiyaoğlu Hacı Bey, Arap Mehmet Efendi, Kancaoğlu Kadir Ağa, Küçük Hüseyin, Kalafat Muharrem Ağa, Aşık Karari, Seyyahi (Armenian), Topal Hafız, Bekir Ağa, Hafız Avni Efendi, Kuşyakalı Yorika (Rum), Yorgi (Rum), Eşekcioğlu Hafız (Rum), Abacı Anesti (Rum), Çolak Kosti (Rum), Kaptan Pandalı (Rum), and Keçmen Petro (Rum) (Usta, 2015). So, Temel Kara's situation might be different than once thought probably he learnt bağlama from a local master. These bağlama players show that bağlama was always played in the music scene of Giresun.

Nearly thirty years later, when I went to Harşıit, neighboring valley of Stokes's valley Ağasar, I observed that bağlama and kemençe are played alternately. Musicians changed their instruments according to the song, they usually use kemençe for Black Sea musics and bağlama for Turkish popular music. Also, some of my interviewees told me that they do not like kemençe sound and one of them was playing bağlama unprofessionally. Sinan Güvendi's explanations about bağlama-kemençe dualism is noteworthy: "Kemençe is not our instrument. We learnt it from Kipchaks. Our instrument is bağlama. Now, Chepnies are finding our original culture and discover our original instrument." (Sinan Güvendi, personal communication, April 03, 2017). This situation has created a balance between kemençe and bağlama, I think. Abdullah Akat cites that Görelenese kemençe players adopted some songs from bağlama repertoire to kemençe like "*Konyalım*", "*Hey Onbeşli Onbeşli*", "*İndim Havuz Başına*" (Akat, 2013, p. 34). So, it seems that kemençe is an important instrument and they are proud of it. But they have a special relation with bağlama. While kemençe connects them to common Black Sea identity, bağlama connects them to both Turkish identity and their Alevi past.

2.2.3 Zurna and other aerophones

Zurna is small wooden aerophone instrument which is very common in Middle East, Caucasia and Balkans. It is played with double reed and have seven holes in front and one hole in rear. It has strong, high pitched sound, for that reason it is played in open air with the accompaniment of a davul.

The instrument has several parts. The double reed consists of two blades of cane-like reed (usually *Arundo donax*) nearly 2 cm in length. For storage these are held closed with a bridle. The double reed fits over a small tubular staple, usually of brass, joining to the body. The player's lips press on the pirouette (or rosette), a small disc of wood, ivory, mother-of-pearl or other material. Not all instruments have one. In models belonging to the Ottoman region, following through into the Caucasus and Central Asia, a fork is placed inside the body of the instrument. This ingenious device serves to convert the air column inside from a cylindrical shape into a conical one; this causes over-blowing to the octave rather than the 12th. (Poché and Sultanova, 2001)

Parts of the zurna can be found in figure 2.13 a,b,c.



Figure 2.13 : a) Main body b) Fork c) Double reed (Kaya, 2007, pp. 78-79).

A small zurna used in the Black Sea region is called “*zil zurna*”. Its length can change from 25 to 40 centimeters. Researcher Emrah Kaya asserts, “it is easier to play fast tunes with *zil zurna* and tunes are fast in Trabzon region. For that reason, *zil zurna* is preferred” (Kaya, 2007, p. 80).

Another woodwind instrument of the valley is kaval. It is a kind of end-blown flute with different lengths (see figure 2.14). It is very common in the Middle East and usually associated with shepherds. Harşit Valley’s shepherds also play the kaval. Its sound is not so powerful to accompany outdoor dances, but it is sometimes used to accompany horons. It is usually used in domestic entertainments like *oturak alemi* or *kına gecesi*.



Figure 2.14 : Two kavals with different lengths and tones (personal archive).

2.2.4 Davul

Davul is a kind of double-headed large drum used all over Anatolia (see figure 2.15). To use its two heads simultaneously, davul is used with a shoulder strap and is held sideways (see parts of the davul in table 2.4). Black Sea davuls are smaller than other areas due to difficulties to carry it in forests. For that reason, Black Sea davul is higher pitched than those of other areas.

In Harşit Valley (and in the Black Sea in general) davul accompanies zurna in open air fests and wedding ceremonies (figure 2.16). They usually play horon melodies, especially in crowded fests where the sound of kemençe is not enough for dancers.

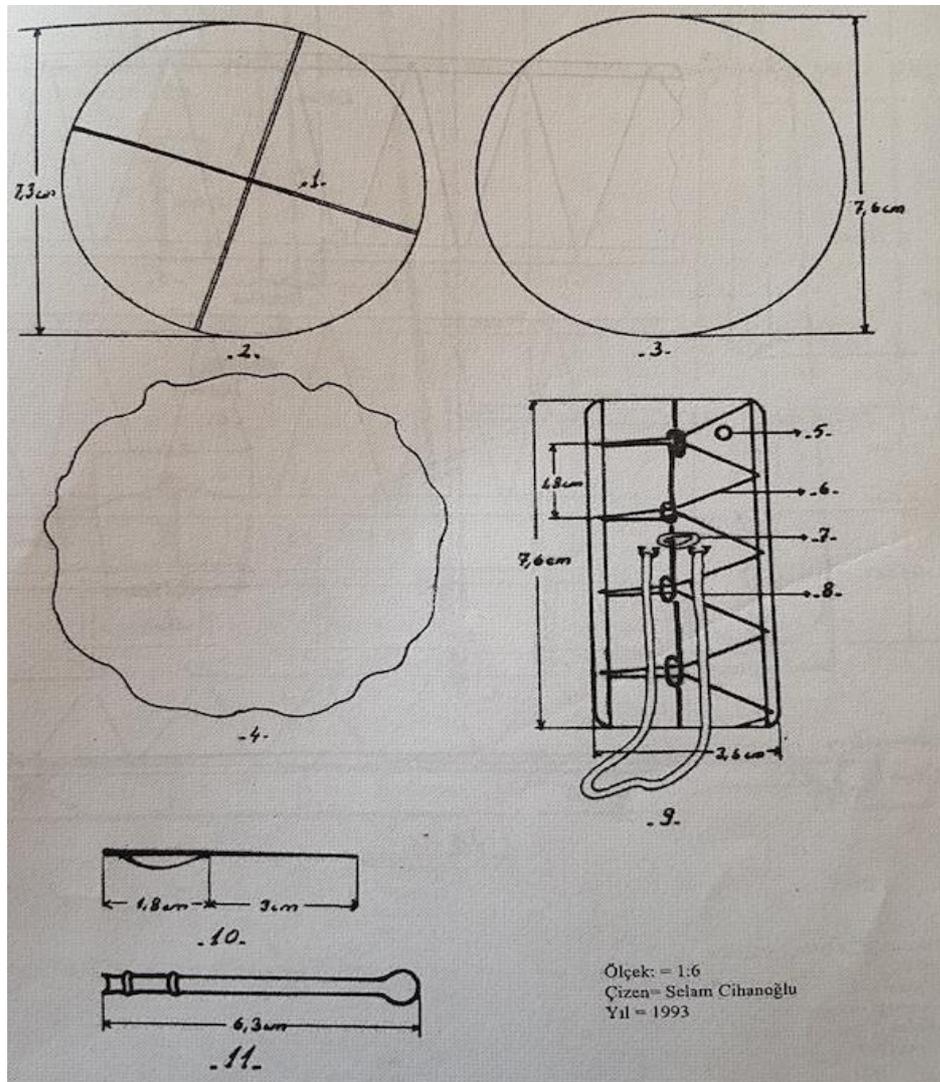


Figure 2.15 : Technical drawing of Black Sea davul by Selim Cihanoğlu (Cihanoğlu, 1997, p. 107). Scale is 1:6.

Table 2.4 : Parts of the davul.

	Part Name	Meaning	Function
1	Çıta	Lath	Supports the shell
2	Kasnak	Hoop	Rim
3	Çember	Circle	Shell
4	Deri	Leather	Drum skin
5	Hava deliği	Air hole	To prevent muffled sound
6	İp (gatma)	Rope	To tighten and tune drum skin
7	Meşin halka	Leather circle	For further tuning
8	Kayış	Strap	Shoulder strap
9	Yandan görünüş	Side view	Side view
10	Çubuk	Stick	Thin stick for unaccented beats
11	Tokmak	Mallet	Thick stick usually muted with cloth, for accented beats.



Figure 2.16 : Horon with davul and zurna, Kadirga, 2017 (Url-27).

2.2.5 Electronic keyboard (org)

Although it is not a traditional instrument, portable electronic keyboards (org in Turkish) are too common to be ignored. I have not seen a section in any article about Black Sea music that talks about org yet. I can understand this point of view since org is a relatively new instrument and certainly not a traditional one. However, I present musical change in which this instrument has a very significant role.

I could not find any document about when org first appeared on the Black Sea music scene, but orgs entered the Turkish market in the second half 1980's, so we can assume that first orgs have appeared simultaneously in the Black Sea as well. Once entering the music industry, orgs became an inseparable part of –especially popular- music. Electronic bağlama and org duo captured wedding halls and public scenes of Turkey. There are several reasons of this success: firstly, hiring an org player is cheaper than hiring an orchestra. Orgs are capable of producing nearly every sound that a local wedding orchestra can: a drumkit, a piano, strings, guitar, oud, or qanun. Moreover, org players usually sing while playing. A well-known Black Sea musician, Birol Topaloğlu, point outs the impact of org: “When wedding orchestras discovered org, orchestras dissolved because orgs can produce the sound of every instrument” (Taşkın, 2016, p. 154). One org player and one roadie (usually a relative of org player) holding the entire wedding feast is still very common in Turkey. The second reason is its practicality. Its volume can be adjusted according to environmental conditions; this makes it suitable for both indoor and outdoor music. Also, orgs do not need any tuning or maintenance: it is easy to carry and set up.

On the other hand, orgs have two serious problems. First, they need electricity and a basic sound system. Yet, every big pasture in the Black Sea has electricity. In addition, sound systems are set before pasture fests because especially singers and kemençe need microphones in open air. The second problem is that orgs are basically heptatonic instruments: they could not produce microtones of Turkish folk music. For this reason, org companies produced org models with a pitch bend in the market. Pitch bend is a small wheel usually on the left side of the keyboard and can change the pitch in a continuously variable manner. This tool facilitated localization process of orgs. After a while, programmable org models solved the problem to a high extent. Now, the performer can change the pitch of a key before the performance; thus, he/she can

obtain a microtonal Turkish music scale (maqam in Turkish classical music or ayak in Turkish folk music) practically.

Consequently, I was not surprised to see an org in the scenes of pasture fests (figure 2.17). Orgs are played with kemençe in these fests. As far as I observed, the main function of orgs in these fests is to provide rhythm and a musical base to kemençe.



Figure 2.17 : A shot from Güvende fest in 2017. Org player can be seen on the left-back of the singer (personal archive).

2.2.6 Other instruments

Historian Ayhan Yüksel states that every house had an oud in Tirebolu. Also, he asserts that oud, *cümbüş* and bağlama are played at the wedding party in the bride's house and kemençe and bağlama are played at the groom's house party (Yüksel, 2007, p. 239). However, I could not observe oud and *cümbüş* in Tirebolu or elsewhere in Harşit Valley.

Fikret Topallı mentions violin, clarinet and santur players of Giresun: Seyyahi (violin), Pesendi (violin), Maksudi (violin), Uzun Panayot (violin), Vasil (violin), Burçoğlu (violin), Ayvazın Panayot (clarinet), Lazari (clarinet), and Setrak (qanun and santur) (Usta, 2015, p. 85). It is an interesting issue that all of these names are non-Muslim people of Giresun. Emrah Kaya also asserts that clarinet is still used in the coastal regions of Black Sea (Kaya, 2007, p. 96), but I did not hear of any current clarinet player from Harşit.

2.2.7 Dances

Black Sea region, especially Eastern Black Sea region is famous for its dance called horon. Horon is a group of circle dances accompanied with kemençe from Giresun to Rize; with tulum from Rize to Artvin; and with davul-zurna in almost all over the Black Sea. Horon is a Greek-originated word derived from the verb *choros*, which means “dancing” and “singing while dancing”. The earliest versions of the word are found in Anabasis (Xenophon, 2014, p. 379) and Odyssey (Homeros, 1998, p. 142). Probably, these words did not refer to modern horon dances. *Choros* was a general verb of dancing in these texts.

Horon can be regarded as a unisex dance, since both males and females do horon. Although some horon dances are peculiar to females (*kız horonu*) and some dances are peculiar to males (*erkek horonu*, *dik horon* in some regions), I did not witness a horon peculiar to any gender in pasture fests that I attended. In the light of my observations, readings and interviews, male/female mixed groups do *kız horonu* because *erkek horonu* and *dik horon* are not appropriate for females. But nowadays, this view is changed largely.

As I mentioned above, horon is the general name of nearly twenty different dances. *Dik horon*, *bıçak horonu*, *çaytaklı horonu*, *düz horon*, *sıksara*, *ikiayak*, *koçari*, *akçaabat*, *sarıköz* and *tamzara* are the most frequently played horon dances. In Harşit Valley, *düz horon* (*üçayak*), *dik horon* and *çaytaklı horon* are popular.

Düz horon or *kız horonu* is a basic horon dance with 7/8 or 9/8 rhythm. The Pontic Greek name of this horon is *omal*. It is played for several hours with calm steps. Usually kemençe, sometimes davul and zurna accompanies this dance. *Düz horon* was a part of Otçu Göçü; villagers used to play this horon in stopovers during Otçu Göçü. This is a unisex dance as I explain before. *Düz horon* is usually connected to *dik horon*.

Dik horon (*Tik* in Pontic Greek) is more complicated than *düz horon*. The most characteristic feature of this dance is rapid movements of upper torso and shoulders. Turks believed that these movements are derived from anchovy fish (*hamsi gibi titreme* – shaking like an anchovy). *Dik horon* was a male dance, because some movements of this dance like raising arms or *aşağı alma* were seen as disgraceful for females. *Aşağı alma* (taking down) movement is a set of movements of respectively

lowering the hands, bending and putting one step to front while keeping shaking of the upper torso and shoulders, and returning to previous position. This is the peak point of the dance, which starts with the shouting of musicians or the lead dancer: *Al aşıağı! Aşıağı alma* movement can be used in different horon types. Females have been playing this dance for nearly thirty years (see figure 2.18). Stokes witnessed this change in the late 1980's: "Although I saw even old women playing this dance, it is accepted that this dance is disgraceful for women" (Stokes, 1998, p. 155).

Çaytaklı horon is common in Harşit Valley, especially in the villages of Doğankent. This horon is played by males and females together. *Çaytaklı horon*'s meter is 9/8 in moderate rhythm.



Figure 2.18 : Raising hands during *dik horon* in Güvende fest 2017 (personal archive).

While horon is common in the west of Espiye (including Tirebolu, Harşit Valley and Görele), *Karşılama* dances are common in the east of Espiye (including Giresun town center). The word *karşılama* has two meanings in Turkish: welcoming and face-to-face. Considering that this dance performed with a couple facing each other, the name of the dance becomes meaningful (see figure 2.19).

Karşılama's meter is 9/8 in 2+2+2+3 pattern. The movements of the dancers are mostly improvisational. In Harşit Valley, *karşılama* is not common. I have not

observed *karşılama* dances in pasture fests, but it is used in wedding ceremonies occasionally.



Figure 2.19 : İnece village folk dance team playing Giresun *karşılama* (Url-28).

Another important dance of the valley is *Cemo* dance. This dance is very common in Harşit but not common in other parts of Giresun; so, it is known as Harşit horonu. *Cemo* dance and its melody is different from Black Sea style. This led researchers to think that this dance and its music were adopted from a foreign culture. İdris Ersan Küçük implied that the dance and tune are originated from a Giresunese Association in Bursa (Küçük, 2014, p. 55). On the other hand, Ekrem Ünlü quotes an old Harşit resident Ali Babayiğit's reminiscences about where this dance came from:

It was in the years after I came back from military service. It was probably 1947-48. Hacı Mehmet Güvendi was singing beautiful türküs and *manis*¹⁹. I think he was *aşık* at those times. He had a türkü from Urfa in his repertoire which Zehra Bilir²⁰ was singing:

Cemo gele sen de gel

Bahçeyi dolan da gel

Eğer anan vermezse,

¹⁹ *Manis* are short Turkish poems with -usually- allegorical meanings.

²⁰ Zehra Bilir (b. 1913, d. 2007) was a popular singer of Armenian-origin from 1944 to 1990's.

Pencereden kaç da gel

Oy Cemo vay Cemo Cemile

I cannot remember all the lyrics. It was a long time ago. The kemençe player of our village, Mahmudo Mustafa (Pir), composed Hacı Mehmet's lyrics on the kemençe. Then we created the choreography of the dance together with Hacı Mehmet. Otçu Göçü was very crowded in those times. While we were going to Güvende pasture, Mahmudo Mustafa played the tune and Hacı Mehmed and I danced. Mahmudo Mustafa played and we danced at every stopover of Otçu Göçü. When other people wondered and wanted to learn this dance, we accepted one or two people among us and the dance gradually spread. If you ask people who attended the same Otçu Göçü with us, they will tell you that this dance was created by Hacı Mehmed and me. Then, Çaylaman began to play this tune on the kemençe. After Mahmudo Mustafa, Çaylaman played this tune in Törnük and Kanyaş villages, and people began to dance (Ünlü, 2016, pp. 210-211).

This interesting remembrance shows how an alien tune became localized and accepted by large populations. Cemo song was collected by Zehra Bilir in Şanlıurfa, according to TRT archives. Hacı Mehmet Güvendi probably listened to that song on the radio and memorized it. But consciously or not, he changed the first verse of the song; the original version of the first verse is *Cemo Gül Açanda Gel* (please listen track 1 from CD from the original recording of Zehra Bilir). Also, the rhythm of the song has changed from 12/8 to 7/16. I came across 9/8 and 8/8 versions of the song. Besides, nearly all performers change lyrics to whatever they want. You can find transcriptions of original version and Giresun – Güce version of *Cemo* in appendix A. Figure 2.20 shows a figure of Cemo dance in Doymuş village. *Cemo* song is a significant example of how Harşit residents (maybe how Chepnies) combine an alien cultural fact with their culture easily.



Figure 2.20 : *Cemo* dance from Doğankent Doymuş village (Url-29).

2.2.8 Musical structure and sound

Türkü is a dominant form in Black Sea music, especially in Chepni provinces. Türküs are folk songs mostly in bağlama accompaniment. Chepnies do not frequently play or listen to instrumental music. Dance musics accompany horon, and *karşılama* and *cemo* dances are mostly in song form. In Harşit Valley, türküs are mostly in aksak 5/8 rhythm, but 7/8, 9/8 and 4/4 türküs are also common.

The melodic structure of Black Sea music consists of kayde (or *gayde*). Kayde's definition differs from region to region, even from musician to musician. Literally it means "base" or "rule" in Turkish "*kaide*". It is usually defined as short melodic phrases, but sometimes it refers to a whole song with more than one phrase (mostly three). So we can assume that kayde is a base motif that an aşık improvises on. According to Martin Stokes, kaydes have three parts: *açılış* (opening theme), *sayma* (repetition) and *kapanış* (closure theme) (1998, p. 156). He also gave an analysis of an Ağasar kayde; *Evlerinin Önünde* in figure 2.21 (1998, p. 163). The A section of this kayde (*Evlerinin Önünde / Direk Geçiyu, Geçi*) is repeated twice. B section is the most important part of kayde, because the singer tells the main story here. In this kayde, B section is repeated 12 times, beginning with the verse "Annenin Verdiği Kız / Seni İstemedim". C theme is also repeated twice with the same verse "Gel De Yemek Yiyelim". You can find a similar Ağasar kayde on CD track 2.



Figure 2.21 : Kayde example: *Evlerinin Önünde* (Stokes, 1998, p. 163).

Lyrics of kaydes are mostly improvisational but based on a love or epic story. On the other hand, the most common and popular kaydes have relatively fixed verses. Stokes

mentions that TRT collectors are responsible for fixed verses as well (1998, p. 159). I observed that kaydes are sung with relatively fixed verses now. In fact, the singer usually begins the kayde with fixed verses (section A), then he/she improvises new verses during the concert (in section B), and usually finishes with fixed verses of section C. This changeability also takes the attention of another researcher, Kimberley Bowen:

Despite the similarity, different people from different villages, and even the same performer, may sing the same song in several different ways. The same variations are true for lyrics as language is freely influenced by the accent or linguistic nuances of the village or the performer....The idea of song is perhaps different in Laz music. Music is to be learned and repeated. Improvisation is, by the far, the norm. Birol Topaloğlu attributes this to the influence of oral culture and the lack of writing historically. Melodies are borrowed from one village and given new words along with musical twists and changes in another. Words are not necessarily associated with a tune and form has little meaning – songs can go until the singers decide to stop (Bowen, 2009, pp. 14 - 15).

Atma türkü is another improvisational musical tradition of the valley (and all Eastern Black Sea). Atma türküs usually consist of short kaydes with improvisational lyrics. A kemençe always accompanies to atma türkü, and the kemençe player may sing, too. Atma türkü can be sung by one singer or two or more singers. If atma türkü is sung by more than one singer, a call/response between singers (*atışma*) starts. Call/response in atma türkü is a feature of fests, weddings and sometimes *oturak alemi* because of its energetic and entertaining nature. Singers mostly tease each other ironically and audiences applaud or laugh at them. Atma türkü call/responses end when one of the singers gets tired and cannot find an appropriate rhyme to the kayde. Atma türkü and generally türkü poems are composed in quatrains. These quatrains are usually in aaab, abab, aaba and abcb rhyme schemes.

Atma türküs have the same problems with kayde: lyrics are fixed, and duration of song is limited in TRT repertoire. According to singer Ayşenur Kolivar, türküs are even collected to fit that format and some *destans* and atma türküs are ignored because they do not fit the format (Kolivar, 2012, p. 346).

2.2.9 Musical activities of the valley

The biggest musical activity of the valley, same as all Eastern Black Sea, is pasture fests. I will investigate pasture fests in detail in the following chapter. Here, I want to

focus on other musical activities like weddings, laments, circumcision parties, *asker uğurlama*²¹, and *oturak alemi*. But before these secular activities, I want to mention religious musics of the valley briefly.

As emphasized before, Alevism probably disappeared from the valley. Researcher Armağan Coşkun Elçi also confirms that cem ritual is not held in the valley anymore. Therefore, she participated and investigated another Güvenç Abdal *cem* ritual in Ordu Gürgentepe village (personal communication, October 19, 2018). For that reason, I could not observe *semah* or other Alevi rituals in the valley.

Weddings and circumcision parties are usually held in large halls which every township has at least one. In summers, these parties can be held in open air. In both situations, org and kemençe are an inseparable part of the event. In addition to these instruments, davul and zurna can be used in bigger parties or in wedding parades.

Repertoire of these events is very rich. They usually begin with slow-romantic songs and finalize with horon and *Cemo*. Popular music and Black-Sea pop are widely played. I observed that wedding parties in all over Turkey have gradually resembled to one another. Due to popular music, the repertoires of weddings in Antalya and weddings in Tirebolu are at least fifty percent the same. In both, orchestras play the same popular musics in weddings. Only local musics and dances differ.

Two music related traditions before wedding party is worth pointing out: *kına gecesi* (henna night) and *gelinçi* (picking up the bride). *Kına gecesi* is usually held in the bride's house one day before the wedding party. Only elders and married or fiance couples can attend this event, except groom's and bride's first-degree relatives. Kemençe or bağlama player sings a special *kına gecesi* repertoire. These songs can be local songs like "*Çalı Gibi Durağım*" or common songs like "*Yüksek Yüksek Tepeler*". *Gelinçi* is organized on the morning of the wedding day. Groom, his family, friends and all villagers walk to bride's home with davul-zurna or kemençe accompaniment. The musician sings and plays all the way. At the door of bride's house, he sings a song to open the door. When the door opens, groom or the father of groom gives a tip to the musician. Thus, they pick up the bride.

²¹ Turkey has compulsory military service for all male citizens of twenty years of age. Usually a small fest is organized before these young men leave for military service.

Asker uğurlama musics are usually played in streets and bus stations. Davul is the unchangeable instrument of *asker uğurlama*, and sometimes accompanies kemençe or zurna. If the family of soldier nominee is wealthy, *asker uğurlama* can be held in a wedding hall. Org and kemençe are the most common instruments in that case. The repertoire is also similar to those of wedding parties, with more horon and Cemo dances.

Oturak alemi is perhaps the most authentic musical event in the valley. *Oturak alemi* is simply a dinner with Turkish alcoholic drink *rakı* and kemençe (see figure 2.22). It is a male entertainment; no females are allowed except dancers. It is usually held in *kahvehanes* or small restaurants. The repertoire of *oturak alemi* mostly consists of local musics. Kemençe player can also sing improvisational *atma türküs*. This makes *oturak alemi* event unique; therefore, every *oturak alemi* has a different repertoire and is a different experience. Moods can be rapidly changing after a very sad and pathetic *türkü* about lovers, everybody can attend a fast, dithyrambic horon. Kemençe players are usually not paid for *oturak alemi*, but they do not pay for *rakı* and dinner.



Figure 2.22 : Kemençe player Şenol Çakır in *oturak alemi* in Kadırğa pasture (Url-30).

2.2.10 Musicianship

I would like to write about being a musician in the valley at this point. Music is learned from masters in traditional culture. Neither the master nor the pupil knows notation; so, music is transmitted orally. If a child wants to learn to play the kemençe (or other instruments), he begins to spend time with a local (kemençe) player. The master assigns some etudes and easy songs to his pupil, then lets him play one or two songs in musical events. The most known example of this tradition is legendary kemençe virtuosos Halil Kodalak (Karaman) and Picoğlu Osman. Picoğlu Osman was the student of Halil Kodalak. Halil Kodalak was the pupil of another legendary virtuoso - Tuzcuoğlu. After Picoğlu Osman proved his adequacy, he became the master of Sırrı Öztürk.

Local beliefs about becoming a good kemençe player are also interesting. In Harşit Valley, it is believed that one must break seven fountain bowls to become a good kemençe player. Ali Karadeniz quotes a real story from 1960's about this tradition:

Muammer Demir and Ali Gül from Örenkaya village of Tirebolu wanted to play the kemençe. They bought a kemençe and tried to learn it themselves. After a while, they decided to learn it from a master. The master told them that they could not learn kemençe unless they broke seven fountain bowls. These guys went to neighboring villages of Harşit Valley and broke fountain bowls at night. Then, they forgot how many fountain bowls were broken. That is why they broke nearly all the fountain bowls of close villages! On the following day, residents investigated the case and found out the guilty ones. Muammer and Ali escaped from the valley and did not return for a long time (Karadeniz, 2012, p. 228).

Şerif Pir, a well-known kemençe player from Doğankent, also confirms this tradition: “Some ambitious pupils even broke the fountain bowls, because of the belief ‘to become a good kemençe player, one must break public property’”(Url-8). I observed this belief among only Chepni kemençe players. For example, kemençe players from Rize and Sürmene heard of this tradition but do not have such a belief.

Historian Ayhan Yüksel and Ali Karadeniz explain that this tradition comes from Islamic fundamentalists - they made up this belief to alienate people to play music (Karadeniz, 2012, p. 229 and Url-9).

Another sign of music – religion conflict can be seen in a lawsuit from the Ottoman era. According to Ayhan Yüksel, in a court among Giresun people in 1891, the judge did not accept musicians as witness. The reason behind this judgment was that

“musicians are fools, they play and dance in weddings and parties, they are despicable” (Url-10).

This view about musicians had continued until very recently. Civan Şen (55 years old), who is the child of a kemençe player from Kürtün, explains the difficulties of having been raised as the son of a musician: “My father was a musician. He did not earn much, usually he played for *rakı*. For this reason, I had to leave school and begin to work.” (Civan Şen, personal communication, August 19, 2017). Musicians’ statues are beginning to change after Black sea musics have become part of Turkish popular music. Nowadays, very few parents are against their child’s desire to be musician.

2.2.11 Women musicians of Harşit Valley

There is no well-known women kemençe player in Turkey. I also did not meet any - even amateur- women kemençe player during my fieldwork. On the other hand, I observed a tendency to kemençe among young women. They attend kemençe courses and upload their videos to internet. According to Ayhan Yüksel, girls play oud before 1940’s in Tirebolu (2007, p. 239). But my interviewees do not remember this, probably this urbanized generation immigrated to bigger cities, as Arzu Öztürkmen argues in her article “*Rethinking Regionalism: Memory of Change in a Turkish Black Sea Town*” (2005). Öztürkmen confirms 1930’s and 40’s “modern” Tirebolu:

Women wearing elegant hats in the streets of Tirebolu during the 1930’s is a strong image in the minds of the townspeople. This image is also recollected as an important symbol of modernity: the town once had an elite who were interested in art, played piano and violin, painted modern oil paintings on the walls of their houses, attended theater performances and joined “garden parties” in the *Cumhuriyet Parkı* (Republican Park) (Öztürkmen, 2005, p. 50).

The most significant musical activity of today’s Tirebolu is *Tirebolu Kültür Sanat Festivali* (Tirebolu Culture and Art Fest), which is similar to pasture fests. So, I investigated about *kına gecesi* musics. *Kına gecesi* is a special musical event in terms of gender, because mostly women musicians make music in *kına gecesi*. *Def* (a kind of frame drum) is the most frequently played instrument by women in *kına gecesi*. But *def* is not common in Black Sea. According to my personal communications, kemençe and bağlama used in a typical Chepni *kına gecesi*. These instruments are played by men. If the family is rich enough, they hire an orchestra with org, drumset, bağlama and/or kemençe. If not, only *kına gecesi* CD or mp3 is enough.

Women singers are invited to pasture fest frequently, but usually the majority of the musicians are men. For example, there were two women singers but eight men singers in Güvende pasture fest 2017 and only one women singer but nine men singers in Kadirga pasture fest 2018. All other people in background (org player, bağlama player, kemençe player, sound engineer, announcers) was also male.

Clothing's and performance practices of women singers were different than men. While men mostly wore suit or just jean and shirt in stage, two of three women singers that I watched wore traditional Black Sea women costume with headscarf. These costumes created familiarity with audiences, kind of "she is our sister/mother" feeling. Singer Yeşim Civelek stressed this with her statement "I am your sister". According to my observations, women singers are more eager to leave the stage and sing through audiences. They usually left the stage and joined the horon cycle while singing. This may an effort to create bonds between singer and audiences.

Black Sea popular music is also a male dominant genre. Despite the fact that there are several women singers like Hülya Polat, Şevval Sam, and Ayşenur Kolivar, this genre circle around men, even manhood.

2.2.12 Black Sea popular music

Black Sea popular music is a relatively well-researched area in Black Sea music. Several academicians and musicians have presented their thoughts about Black Sea popular music. It is worth investigating why Black Sea popular music is so popular among researchers. The answer might be its uniqueness. Turkey has several regions and every region has different musical traditions and even different instruments. But Black Sea popular music is probably the biggest market among other local genres. Therefore, it is worth investigating how this music became a genre in Turkey.

Didem Albekoğlu asserted that Black Sea popular music began in 1980's and proliferated in 1990's, especially in the second half of 1990's (2015, p. 16). Albekoğlu gives several reasons for this proliferation: Black Sea music radios and television programs, Black Sea music performances of some popular musicians like Sezen Aksu and İbrahim Tatlıses, recording companies founded by Black Sea originated people like *Senseç* and *Karadeniz Müzik*, and soap operas about Black Sea people in particular (2015, p. 16). However, these are causes rather than effects in my opinion. It seems

that after Black Sea music became popular, it was sung by prominent pop singers and so this took the attention of radios, televisions and recording companies.

We can trace back the roots of Black Sea popular music in “Black Sea türkü” concept. Black Sea türküs played a crucial role in building Black Sea popular music:

Black Sea türkü concept is stemming from the political will of unify Eastern Black Sea region in one solid Black Sea identity, according to nation-state idea. Newly emerged Black Sea identity took attention of the market in later period. Black Sea music concept born from experimental attempts to adding different but popular genres into Black Sea Türküs. Black Sea music concept still provides a basis for the delusion of “Eastern Black Sea music is whole and solid one genre” (Akat, 2010, p. 143).

Rizeli Sadık can be regarded as the first famous musician of Black Sea türküs. Rizeli Sadık (Sadık Aynacı) was born in Rize, Yeniköy in 1888. The first kemençe album in Turkey belonged to him. He composed and recorded first popular Black Sea türküs to his albums like “*Ateşim Var Külüm Yok*”, “*Kiremite Su Düştü*”, “*Yenge Kızın Bir Tane*”.

Another popular figure of that time was Picoğlu Osman (Osman Gökçe). Picoğlu Osman was born in Giresun, Görele in 1901. He learnt kemençe from Halil Kodalak. Folklorist Muzaffer Sarısözen met with Picoğlu Osman during a fieldwork and invited him to Ankara radio studio in 1943. Picoğlu Osman recorded an album here. Also, he recorded one album for Columbia Records.

Hasan Sözeri (born in 1921) was the first kemençe player of TRT. He also sang with kemençe accompaniment. He worked together with Cemile Cevher (born in 1926) and broadcasted Black Sea music on TRT radio. They sang mostly Black Sea türküs on radio. Black Sea türküs are short, repetitive and have catchy melodies, for that reason it is became popular in a short time. The road from Black Sea türküs to Black Sea popular music is very short.

The other important person of those times was Yaşar Turna, who was born in Artvin, Arhavi in 1931. He worked to spread kemençe music in Turkey with fests and albums. Erkan Ocaklı (born in 1949) is another flag carrier of Black Sea popular music. His carrier began with his first album in 1972. His interpretation of Black Sea türküs was close to *arabesk* genre, which began to be popular at those times. Musician and researcher Ayşenur Kolivar’s observation is key to understand how Black Sea popular music spread to all throughout Turkey: “When *arabesk* was popular, a singer from

Black Sea region sang *arabesk*-Black Sea; when tavern music became popular, a Black Sea singer sang tavern music-Black Sea, etc.” (Kolivar, 2012, p. 348).

At that point, whose demand created this market becomes a question that I must answer. The answer lies in the economic status of Black Sea. The residents of Black Sea region have begun to immigrate abroad or to bigger cities of Turkey, starting in 1970’s. The main reason of this immigration was the dream of a better life in bigger cities. The region’s mountainous geography hardens agriculture and husbandry. Goods produced in Black Sea are only enough for a limited number of people. Therefore, population increase means immigration here. In 1990’s, this immigration reached its peak. According to Turkish Statistical Institute, 276,456 people immigrated from six provinces of Eastern Black Sea (Ordu, Giresun, Gümüşhane, Trabzon, Rize and Artvin) between 1985 and 2000. In 2014, Black Sea population was 7.075.375; however, people registered in Black Sea but living in other areas were 7.757.515, 4.679.713 of whom were living in İstanbul (Url-12). Black Sea is the most emigrant region of Turkey. This big population created a demand to Black Sea music:

...The significant part of Eastern Black Sea population lives in bigger cities in the west of Ankara. Such a common and big immigrant population miss their homeland. In this context, especially television shows are selling the dream of their homeland...But this dream is not real, it is a constructed image of Black Sea (Kolivar, 2012, pp. 350-351).

Erkan Ocaklı can be regarded as the first singer (and one of the actors) of this constructed image of Black Sea. To take the attention of non-Black Sea people, he included *bağlama* and *org* to Black Sea popular music in 1970’s and 1980’s:

I aroused people’s interest to *kemençe* smoothly. I merged the sound of *kemençe* with *bağlama* firstly and then *org* and other instruments.... After 1985, we continued with disco music. Young generations liked disco music. I was observing the streets, and knew what people wanted. We tried *lahana* disco and *mısır* disco formats²² (Url-11).

Another important figure of this period is Mustafa Topaloğlu. He was born in 1957. He was a very popular singer in the second half of 1980’s and first half 1990’s. His album “*Oy Oy Eminem*” sold more than 2 million in 1986, breaking a record in Turkish music industry.

²² These are the names of cassettes of Erkan Ocaklı’s disco music. Corn (*mısır*) and cabbage (*lahana*) are the most consumed plants in Black Sea.

Two popular musicians influenced 1990's Black Sea popular Music: Volkan Konak and Kazım Koyuncu. Both of them still keep their popularity, although Kazım Koyuncu passed away in 2005. Unlike other popular musicians, Volkan Konak (born in 1967) has an intense formal music education. His first album in 1987 was composed of Black Sea türküs collected by himself. After that album, he gradually added guitar and other popular music elements to his music. Although his music is mostly popular in urban culture, he is still regarded as a prominent singer of popular Black Sea music genre.

Kazım Koyuncu (born in 1971) is the legendary musician of Black Sea. The ironical point about him is that popularity was not what he was seeking for, but he became the most well-known and influential Black Sea musician. He learnt music from Yaşar Turna in his teens. During his university years, he founded a group called *Zuğışı Berepe* with Mehmetali Barış Beşli. *Zuğışı Berepe* was a rock music band which used Laz language. After leaving the group in 1998, Kazım Koyuncu released two more albums: *Viya* and *Hayde*. These albums were close to ethnic and world music rather than rock but kept Koyuncu's protest identity. I want to add some information of that protest identity because this identity helped to increase his fame. Founding a music band that made music except Turkish is alone a protest act in Turkey, especially in 1990's. Furthermore, Kazım Koyuncu always defended nature and human rights. He protested the construction of Black Sea coastal highway, mining with cyanide, nuclear plant construction in Akkuyu, thermoelectrical power plant in Gökova, and human rights abuses in Turkey. This brave and protest identity took the attention of urbanized and educated people of Turkey, whether from Black Sea origin or not. He also composed musics of a soap opera called "*Gülbeyaz*" between 2002 and 2003 and acted in some episodes. Kazım Koyuncu became familiar to everyone in Turkey after that soap opera. Unfortunately, he passed away in 2005 from cancer, while he was just 34. His memory is still alive.

Unlike Kazım Koyuncu, İsmail Türüt (born in 1965) can be regarded as the star of uneducated, suburban people. His music is simply Turkish pop music with Black sea accent. Türüt gained his popularity after 1998. His albums are sold more than one million in total. It can be asserted that İsmail Türüt is the musician that made Black Sea pop a part of Turkish pop music. Through the first decade of the 21st century, every top ten list had at least one Black sea pop song. Türüt also presented talk shows

and starred in television series. He is also known with his nationalist-conservative identity, which is imitated by some young people of Black Sea.

Another popular singer who can be matched with İsmail Türüt is Davut Güloğlu (born in 1972). His style is close to Erkan Ocaklı. He composed especially dance songs. Local sounds like kemençe and tulum can be found in his music occasionally, but Black Sea accent an inseparable part of this music. His albums are very popular among young Black Sea immigrants and in Black Sea itself. Hülya Polat and Adnan Yılmaz are other singers of this genre.

I want to point out one interesting fact about all these Black Sea-originated singers: all of them have at least one song about *Trabzonspor*²³. This football team had strong bonds with Black Sea identity, especially between 1970 - 2000. *Trabzonspor* was not an ordinary city football team; it was the representation of all Black Sea, and even all Anatolian football teams, contrary to Istanbul teams i.e. *Galatasaray*, *Fenerbahçe* and *Beşiktaş*. It was the role model of Anatolian teams like *Antalyaspor*. Its success - especially between 1974 – 1996- made *Trabzonspor* the leader among Anatolian football teams. Artvinese, Rizenese, Trabzonese and Giresunese musicians composed marches and songs inspired from this magical success.

As Black Sea music's market value is increasing, Black Sea music has been pushed to constant change. Every attempt to extend Black Sea music's market share changed one of its features: bağlama distorted the singing style; pop music harmony ignored the polyphonic nature of kemençe and tulum; artificial Black Sea accent neglected all other accents and languages that Black Sea has, etc. Ayşenur Kolivar expressed this fact well:

The constructed image of Black Sea can be allowed for the first generation of Black Sea immigrants because it satisfied their homesickness. However, this image caused severe misunderstanding for their children and grandchildren. As they did not see their homeland, they believed that this constructed Black Sea image is reality.... If this attitude was restricted only to big cities, this could be regarded as cultural diversity. But bigger cities exported that artificial Black Sea culture to Black Sea itself. Take an example of local summer fests in Black Sea: local musicians take stage as prelude to city-originated singers.... When it is considered

²³ *Trabzonspor* is the football team of Trabzon city. Football is the primary sport of Turkey and it is associated with the perception of masculinity in the society. A man who dislikes football or does not support any of the football clubs might be blamed as not a real male in some circles. Football is generally part of identity in Turkey.

that most of the audience is city-originated immigrants, it is certain that they demand what they used to see in cities, not in original Black Sea culture (Kolivar, 2012, pp. 351-352).

This situation severely affects musicians of Harşit Valley. Every local musician that I met dreams of being popular like İsmail Türüt or Davut Gülođlu. They sing their songs at concerts and compose similar dance musics. It is a big opportunity when an immigrant calls them to sing at their wedding in İstanbul, because that concert may open the door of fame. Calling for an event from abroad like Germany has an awesome prestige. Perhaps for that reason, if a Harşitian musician becomes renown, he or she immediately moves to bigger cities like İstanbul or Bursa.

This is a summary of how and why popular Black Sea music has affected Harşit Valley musics and musicians. Now, I want to describe traditional Otçu Göçü and compare it with modern pasture fests.

3. CHANGE IN VALLEY'S MUSIC

I will focus on demographical and socio-economical changes in this chapter. I will investigate the reasons behind them and their affects to local musics. To show the contrast between past and present time, I will compare past Otçu Göçü with today's pasture fests.

3.1 Otçu Göçü

Otçu Göçü and following pasture fest is the most characteristic musical event of the Valley. Because of pasture fest is result (or the last part) of the Otçu Göçü, the whole event is cited as Otçu Göçü in literature. But due to weakening of the Otçu Göçü tradition and emphasizing the fest feature, the whole event began to cite as pasture fest, ironically. I will use "Otçu Göçü" for old fests and "pasture fests" for new fests. It is a little bit confusing, so I will explain old Otçu Göçü and compare it with modern pasture fest to clarify the situation.

3.1.1 Traditional Otçu Göçü

I will describe past Otçu Göçü with remembrances of old Harşit habitants and videos that I found on the internet. You can find a similar video of Otçu Göçü in track 4 of the appendix CD. This "past", of course, refers to 1950's, 1960's and 1970's. The audio-visual sources are very limited in that time span. So, interviewees and printed documents are my main sources of information.

Otçu Göçü is mainly a part of transhumance, which is very common in breeding societies. In late spring (usually in May), when the snow melts, and pastures' roads are opened, herd owners go to highlands with their herd to find fresh grass for their herd and protect them from hot summers. These herds are not so big - usually a family has one or two cows and several sheeps and goats. But every herd owner is also a

farmer; otherwise, it is very hard to live on. Hazelnut was not prevalent in those times, especially in inland. The main agricultural product was corn. Usually they used to plant corn in April. After planting, there were no jobs for about two weeks. This was a convenient time for going pasture with the herd. Every family went to pastures in different times depending on their work in corn fields, but usually preferred Mondays and Thursdays.

This first immigration to pastures is the hardest one because the weather is still cold; roads are bad; their home in pasture needs small repairments because of the snow; there is no food in their homes and there is no firewood in the pasture. They have to carry their herd, firewood, repairing tools and foods with them. Donkeys and mules help them to carry all of these. They begin to prepare for the immigration beforehand. Also, they decorate herds, putting bells on goats and sheeps, putting amulets to cows, renewing the saddle blankets and bridles of mounts. Every village in Harşit Valley has a certain pasture. The most crowded ones are Güvende, Kazıkbeli, Kadırğa, Erikbeli and Sis pastures but there are about 20 more pastures all throughout Harşit Valley. The journey starts early in the morning and they walk all the way. Usually they arrive at the valley in the afternoon. It takes about 10-12 hours. When they arrive, firstly they ignite the stove for children and elders, and then begin to repair the home. Every winter snow breaks or cracks ceilings and then melting snow enters homes. They also repair the fences for their livestock. Lastly, they plant some vegetables like potatoes and cabbages. Two weeks later, young people of the family return to their villages, leaving behind livestock, elders and children in the pasture.

Corns are now about a handspan and need to be cleaned off weeds. Young farmers rapidly clean the field and go to help their neighbors in turn. “*İmece*²⁴” is the name of this helping one another. They also sing some work songs during *imece*. Unfortunately, *imece* tradition disappeared in the valley due to hazelnut farming. So, *imece* songs are forgotten in the Valley.

These times in Villages are exciting for especially young farmers. The elders of the family -who are the conservative part of the family- is in pastures. They can meet, chat and work together with the opposite sex. This is a chance they have waited for a year. In fact, it is very limited freedom because there is always a parent nearby. This

²⁴ “Meci” or “imeci” is also used in the region.

controlled freedom from tradition and religion continues during and after Otçu Göçü fest, as Martin Stokes mentions: “In the valleys, business is dealt with, marriages contracted and celebrated, the dead buried, and social existence is articulated by the call to prayer from the mosque. At the *yayla*, all such matters are forgotten, religion left far behind, and the time is given over to food, drink, music and guns (Stokes, 1998, p. 153).”

About a week later, weeds grow again in first cleaned fields, so the cleaning cycle starts again. After that work is completed, farmers prepare for Otçu Göçü. There will be at least two weeks for corn harvest, so they have some spare time to rest in pastures. They hire a kemençe player if they do not have any in their village, buy new outfits, buy some leads and gelignite (Güvendi, 2016, p. 117). They also buy candies for children in pastures and some other food which they cannot find in pasture. Every pasture has a diverse Otçu Göçü day. This day is the first Thursday of July for Güvende pasture. All villages sharing Güvende pasture have to finish their field works and complete their preparation for pasture before that time. Usually some family members return to the villages with mounts one day before Otçu Göçü. It seems that they return to villages only to bring the mounts for carrying new goods to pasture, but the real reason is mostly their will to join Otçu Göçü and feel the thrill.

They wake up with the rising sun and hit the road early. Thus, there are several processions on Güvende road that day. A kemençe player always accompanies them. When they stop for rest, they play horon. Every village wants to enter the pasture gorgeously. When they arrive at the pasture, they celebrate this with horon and fire guns to the sky as in Mustafa Güvendi’s connotation:

...(when they enter to Güvende pasture), 15-20 men began to fire gelignite. 8-10 gelignite were fired at once. All the people of Güvende came to watch. *Uluköy* villagers finished their dance and came to watch as well. After about ten minutes of firing gelignite, they began to fire their guns to the sky, hundreds of guns fired at once (Güvendi, 2016, p. 119).

Another remembrance from Gençay Uzun:

We began to ask two months before the Otçu Göçü: when will Otçu Göçü be held? Everybody did their preparation before the Otçu. There was no road to the pasture. We used to start the walk with morning prayer on Thursday. Entering the pasture was the most exciting part: first people with guns entered while firing their guns. Then men in horon cycle with kemençe and behind them, women in horon cycle entered the pasture. Gendarme was not there, or they allowed the guns. There were only several homes in the pasture, thirty people slept in one

room. There were no beds, we broke branches of trees and made our bed ourselves. What wonderful days! Now they do the pasture fests unwillingly, there is no joy of the fests (personal communication, 08.09.2018).

Thus, pasture people and village people embrace and a large horon cycle is built. They play horon for a long time, tired people leave the cycle, rest and rejoin. Audiences fire guns and shout during the horon. Sometimes fights may spark but elders conciliate immediately.

After the horon, everybody goes home for dinner. Several hours later, kemençe sound is heard from a home or *kahvehane*. Young men have fun with kemençe and an alcoholic drink, mostly *rakı*. Small home or *kahvehane* are not suitable for horon, so their dance spills outside. Once the horon begins outside, everybody joins one by one. This is male/female mixed horon, everybody holds hands following him/her. A fire is lit in the center of horon cycle. Kemençe player observes the dancers. When he sees signs of tiredness, he stops playing horon and begins to play *uzunhava*²⁵. Everybody sits and listens to the kemençe player. This fest continues until the first hours of the following day. People go to sleep because of cold air and fatigue of the day. Young men continue to dance and drink until dawn.

The history of Otçu Göçü is uncertain. As you read from above, it is strictly related to corn farming, but it is known that corn farming started in the area in the 16th century the earliest. I did not read about a similar tradition in Pontic Greeks, who play the kemençe and horon in their fests as Hristos Samuilidis wrote in his book (2016). Pontic Greeks were mostly merchant or mine workers in the region; as a result, this tradition could be peculiar to Turks, whose economy is based on farming and herding. The origins of this tradition could be found in some old shamanic beliefs, sacredness of mountains in Turks and lastly Alevi mysticism of Chepni Turks, which I will describe later.

3.1.2 Modern pasture fests: 2017 Güvende pasture fest example

When I decided to attend a pasture fest, I was worried about how I will learn the fest dates. But as the dates closer, several web sites announced the fest dates. Also, the dates are announced in several facebook groups and banners are hung in Harşit

²⁵ Uzunhava is rhythmically free songs usually with a sad character.

townships. Announcing of the fest dates is a sector; websites of some tour operators announces all pasture fest dates of a year, with their tour offer. The aim of this effort is taking attentions of tourists to pasture fests.

I went to Doğankent one day before the pasture fest. I got up early and drive to the Güvende on the fest day. Güvende road is passing through a natural park called *Örümcek Ormanları*. Here is a good place to see old spruces and fir trees, also has a waterfall. On fest day there was several cars parking on the roadsides to take photograph of these beauties. While the road ascending, the traffic getting busier. Thanks to that traffic, I did not go astray. Soon after a thick fog added to the traffic. The road was concrete but single lane, also one side was always cliff. I really stressed and focused the only thing that I could see in the fog: the car in front of me. After nearly twenty kilometers, we stopped. I saw gendarmes that showing the suitable park areas for cars. There was a big car queue in front of me. It lasted about thirty minutes to park my car. Licence plaques of cars took attention of me: there were lots of German and Holland licence plaque cars around.

It was 09:30 am and the fest has not started yet, so I decided to wander around. It was very crowd. I saw hundreds of tents around the fest area (figure 3.1). There is no hotel in Güvende and house number limited, so camping is very common. There was a bazaar in the main road Güvende and hundreds of people chatting, shopping and strolling around. It is a little bit strange when you think one or two thousand people meet in the early morning on a distant plateau with 2200 meters high, despite bad road conditions, busy traffic, foggy, rainy and cold air. I met several people who drive from Germany to catch the fest.

Stage was prepared for the concert with banners and sound system. Turkish flags, Kürtün municipality flags and an Atatürk poster hung on the back of the stage. A group of people were sitting in protocol area. The protocol area was fenced completely, there was a door to get in and a gendarme always stands here. Protocol area was connected to the stage, so musicians have to use protocol door to reach the stage.

At 10:10 am singer Ünal Turan appeared in stage. He thanked to audiences and his supporters and said his org player “let’s start”. I felt that Ünal Turan is disappointed because he was the first singer of the day. Audiences were very few in that hour, still most of them on the way of Güvende, others were in bazaar. He did not thank to Kürtün Major. The presenter grabbed the microphone and thanked to Kürtün major and Kürtün

municipality officers while Ünal Turan tuning his kemençe. There were just about twenty audiences in fest area, but after the first song the number increased. Ten minutes later the first horon cycle built.



Figure 3.1 : Tents around Güvende fest area, 2017 (personal archive).

Second musician of the day was Muhammet Güner. He took stage with kemençe player Paşa Ceylan. Paşa Ceylan is known kemençe player among Harşit, and usually work with Muhammet Güner. They continued to play and sing horon melodies, until noon prayer. It is a common rule in Turkey that music stops during prayer, so they gave a praying and lunch break. Bazaar was very crowd during this break. There were long queues in front of fast-food stores. Some people brought their barbeques with them. They bought meat in local butchers and cook it. The only mosque of Güvende was also very crowded. One reason of this crowd was noon prayer, but second reason was the mosque has the only public toilet in Güvende pasture. It lasted about twenty minutes to enter the toilet, but no one seems complaint about it.

After the lunch break, Kürtün major Ahmet Kanat made a speech. He stressed the importance of the unity of society and campaigns against PKK²⁶ in both Gümüşhane highlands and Syria. Also, he talked about some infrastructure projects. After him, Gümüşhane governor Okay Memiş took the stage. He made similar speech like Ahmet Kanat. They sat on protocol chairs later. The people once sitting on protocol chairs moved away before major and governor arrived. Only elders allowed to sit.

Then Yeşim Civelek started her programme. She is one of the two female singers of the fest. There was eight male and two female singers invited to the fest. This may show the confirmation of male dominance in Black Sea popular music. As I mentioned before, the prominent Black Sea popular music singers are male. The conservatist, nationalist and macho image of Black Sea people is responsible for this inequality, I think.

Unlike other two male singers, Yeşim Civelek's costume was traditional Black Sea dress with headscarf (see figure 3.2). The other female singer, Meryem Akyüz also took stage with traditional Black Sea dress with headscarf. While men singers can wear a suit or even jean, women preferred to be in stage with traditional costumes. This costume covered the body figures of women and make familiar them to listeners, make them a part of family, *bacı* or *ana*²⁷. Yeşim Civelek stressed this with her statement "I am your sister".

Yeşim Civelek's second difference from former singers was her using of stage. After two slow songs, she left the stage and joined to horon cycle. She sang the song while dancing. Why male singers did not leave the stage but Yeşim Civelek left and joined to the horon? Because this behavior has strengthened the familiarity of her; created "she is one of us" feeling.

After Yeşim Civelek, Ünal Turan took the stage again. This time he was more energetic and cheerful. After the first song, he thanked to Kürtün major and governor. Then horon started again until the next singer, Sinan Yılmaz took stage. Sinan Yılmaz started his concert with a song from his album. He thanked to gendarme and police in

²⁶ PKK is the abbreviation of Partiya Karkeren Kurdistane, which means Kurdistan Workers' Party. It is a Kurdish terrorist organization which is responsible for more than 30.000 killings according to official figures.

²⁷ *Ana* is mother in Turkish, *bacı* can be translated as sister. Both of these terms are purified from sexual connotations, so usually used by female folk singers and politicians. On the other hand, female popular music singers usually do not need to use these words.

Güvende. Unlike other singers, a bağlama added to his orchestra. His performance was like a concert rather than fest. He sang popular Black Sea türküs and wanted audiences to accompany him. Horon stopped, people begun to record the concert with their cell phones. He sang a horon as last song of the day.



Figure 3.2 : Traditional costume of Yeşim Civelek (personal archive).

The fest ended about 3:00 pm. I could not find a chance to talk with any of the singers, because they immediately left the concert area after their performance. Audiences also begun to leave Güvende after the concert. Although I knew there will be occasional musical events in fest nights, I could not stay more. My return way was again foggy and busy. I thought large majority of audiences return with me.

As you read from one old and one modern pasture fest observation, past fests are very different from what we witness now. There are several factors of this change on the music of the valley. The most dramatical change in residents' life is their occupation. Change in jobs and moving to town center changed lifestyles as well. A large number of the residents in the valley are not farmers now. So, they became alienated to farming and herding-related traditions like Otçu Göçü. Besides, a big proportion of the audience of the pasture fests lives outside of Black Sea region. At this point, I want to quote some data from a research about audience of 2015 Güvende pasture fest.

According to this research, 44,7 percent of the audience came from Gümüşhane province; 10 percent of them was first to arrive at the region; 43,3 percent does not have any relative to accommodate in the region; 37,3 percent comes for one day and only 12,7% comes especially for pasture fest (Kızıloğlu et al., 2015, p. 37). This datum verifies the alienation of audiences. Pasture fest is an only authentic show to watch when they are already there for its clean air (32,7%) or for holiday (28,7%) (Kızıloğlu et al., 2015, p. 40).

The children of second, third and later generations of immigrants usually see livestock like chickens, cows, sheeps and plants like hazelnut and corn the first time in the valley. So, they cannot establish a connection with agriculture and pasture fests. If their parents are born outside of the valley, this link totally disappears. This unawareness is parallel with their grand grandparents' forgetting about religious dimensions of Otçu Göçü. I will explain this shift under the light of socio-economic data in next section.

3.2 Socioeconomical Change in the Light of Quantitative Data

As I mentioned in the first chapter, Harşit Valley is a mountainous and forested area. Therefore, the valley has always fed limited population. The main income of inhabitants was from hazelnut, corn farming and animal husbandry. They used barter to sustain their economy. They also used to walk to close townships to sell butter and cheese. In this respect, Harşit Valley has an interestingly central location between Giresun and Trabzon. Take an example of a shepherd living in Özkürtün township. This shepherd wants to sell his dairy products to bigger townships such as Görele or Vakfikebir. As you can see from the map in figure 3.3, Görele, Eynesil, Vakfikebir or Maçka is maximum 45 kilometers in a beeline.

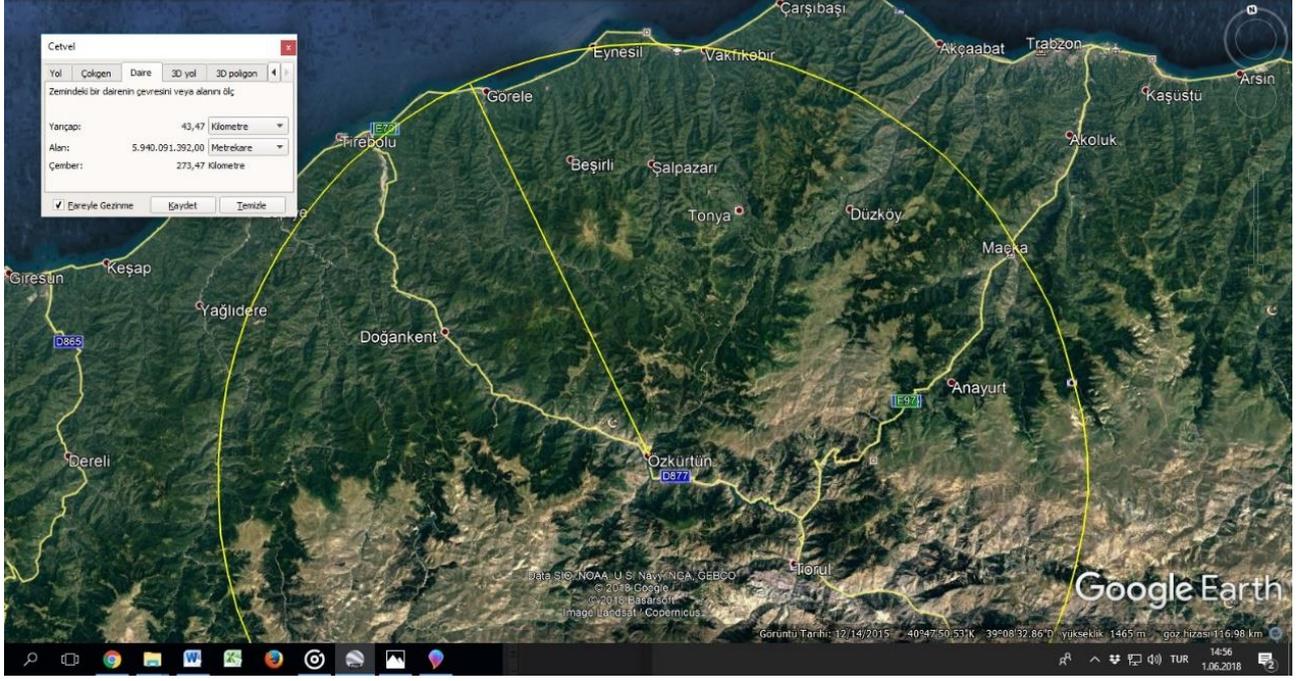


Figure 3.3 : A circle with 43 kilometers radius whose center point is Özkürtün.

The modern road from Özkürtün to Görele (figure 3.4) and Vakfıkebir (figure 3.5) is 73 and 109 kilometers respectively:

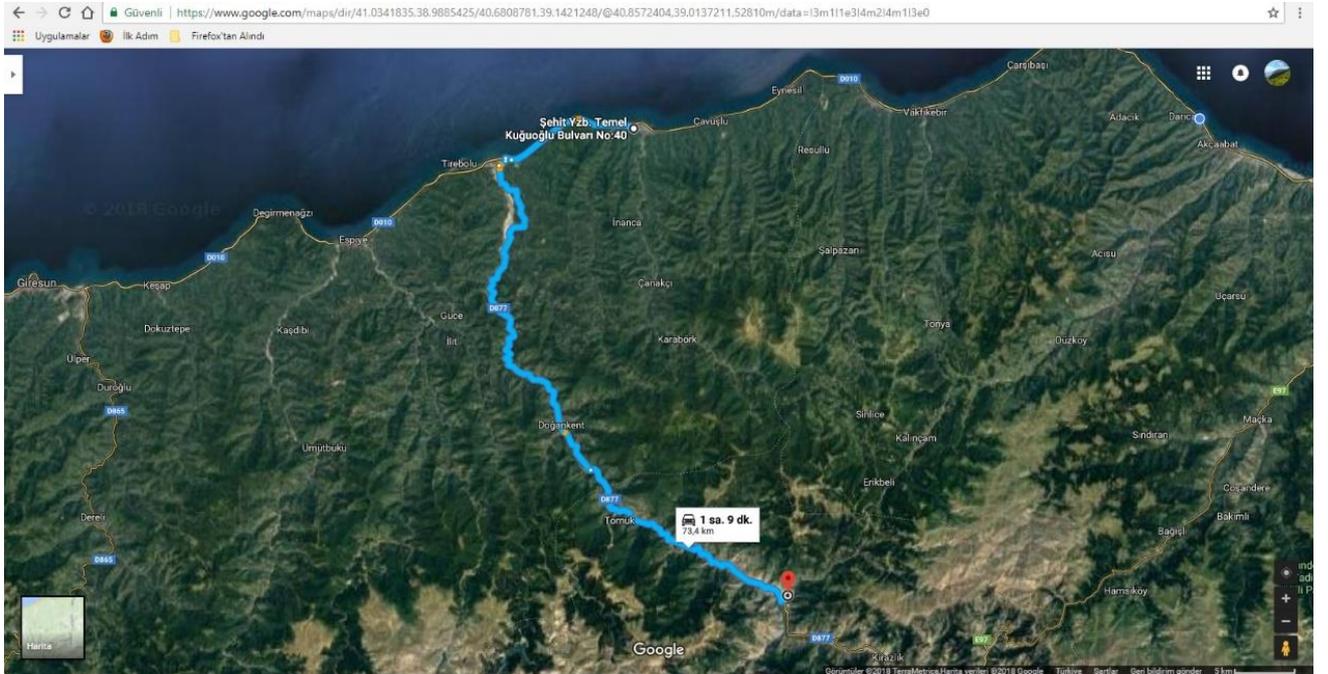


Figure 3.4 : Driving distance from Özkürtün to Görele.

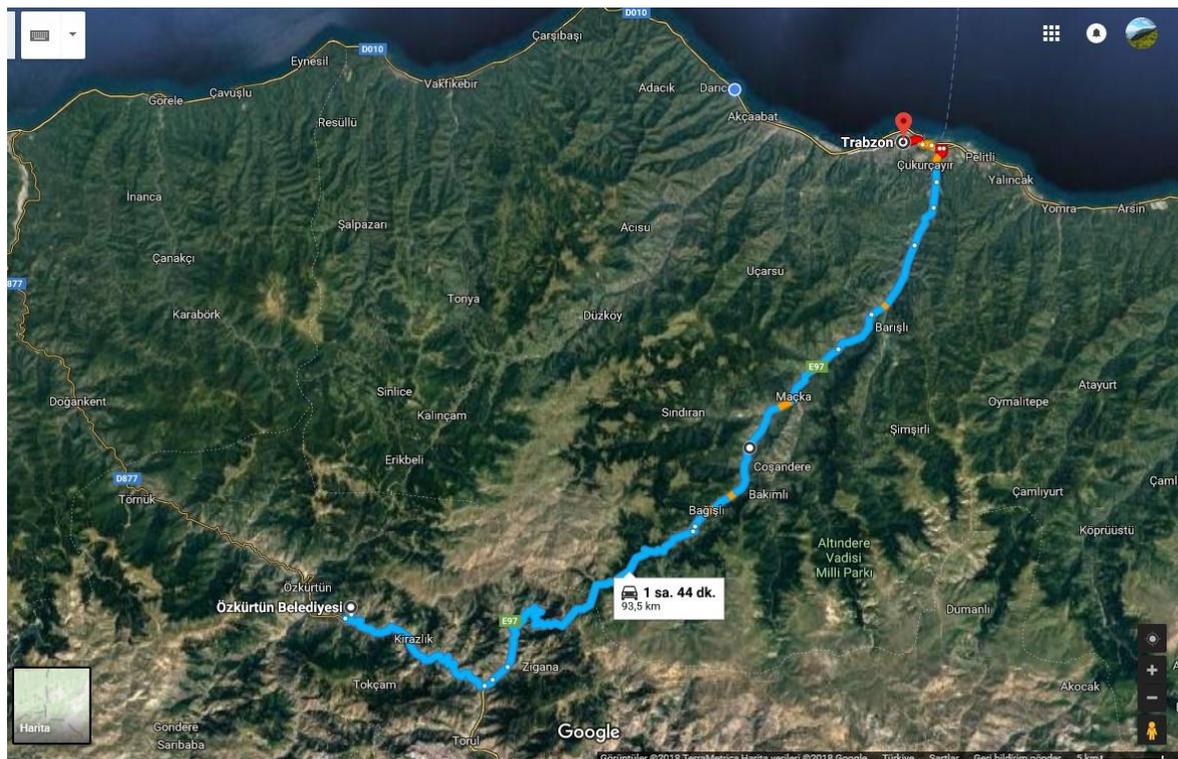


Figure 3.7 : Driving distance from Özkürtün to Trabzon.

Despite the fact that real distances are longer than beelines, walking paths of shepherds and merchants are very close to these beeline distances. In my interview with Sinan Güvendi, he clarified how they manage it:

They use mountain ridges (see figure 3.8). If you want to go West or East, you should climb to a hill, and go down to the river, then pass the river and climb the hill again. You get tired soon. Besides, it is heavily forested. But if you want to go North or South, you should climb a hill, and then keep walking from the ridge. There's no forest or river. My father used to get up early and walk to Trabzon. He would arrive at Trabzon in the afternoon, sell our butter and cheese, stay there one night and return home in the afternoon the following day. The way goes by ridges, not in valleys. River valleys had ambushes. Bandits were hidden in valleys. But ridge is safe: there are no forests or secluded places to hide. You can walk with a smooth slope. But modern roads are built in valleys now (Sinan Güvendi, personal communication, April 03, 2017).

So, Harşit Valley residents were not in total isolation (except winters): they could sell their products to bigger towns and buy necessary stuff for themselves. This isolation was not an obligation and they chose to stay isolated as much as they could, probably because of Alevism. We can see the trace of that isolation in Tirebolu marriage registrations: there are 3298 marriages from 1861 to 1906, but only in 10 of them the bride or groom is born outside Chepni towns (Yüksel, 2008, p. 29). Ayhan Yüksel

interprets these 10 marriages as marriages of civil servants working in Tirebolu (Yüksel, 2008, p. 29). This statistical data can be interpreted as Chepnies did not want to marry non-Chepni people because of Alevi belief. Sunni people married Sunnis and Alevi people married Alevis. This approach is still very common in Turkey. The different family structures, different traditions of these two beliefs and prejudices complicated Alevi – Sunni marriages in especially conservative families.



Figure 3.8 : Mountain ridges do not have any forests, which makes it easy to walk (personal archive).

But modern roads and decreasing in agricultural production have turned productive Harşit residents to passive consumers. During my stay in Doğankent, I observed that every township has at least one chain discount store. Inhabitants preferred to buy their dairy products from there. This is an important indicator of how their economy has changed. Although they went to townships to sell their products thirty years ago, now they go to townships for shopping. One of my interviewees, Mehmet Yalçın confessed about this situation: “Valley’s products are not enough for itself! For example, Harşit Valley’s honey is the most beautiful honey in Turkey. We want to buy it, but we cannot find any. My mother lives here and even she buys honey from stores.” (Mehmet Yalçın, personal communication, August 19, 2017)

One of the reasons of this inadequacy of goods is division of agricultural lands by inheritance. While four decares is enough for a six-person family, after the deaths of parents, only one decare of land fell to one child's share. If we assume that every child built a six-person family like their parents, they will be four times poorer than their parents. So, usually only one of the children continues to do agriculture and other three seek jobs outside of the valley. They usually move to bigger and industrial cities like İstanbul and Bursa. Agriculture, especially hazelnut, became seasonal work for them. Parents and grandparents continue to live in valley and lands are sold after their deaths. In table 3.1, 3.2, 3.3 and 3.4 you can find population changes in four Harşit Valley townships from 2000 to 2016:

Table 3.1 : Population changes of Tirebolu (Url-12).

Year	Center	Villages	Total	Change
2000	16,112	20,835	36,947	-
2007	13,672	15,163	28,834	-8,113
2011	14,327	15,481	29,808	+974
2016	18,742	12,429	31,171	-1,363
Total Change				-8,502

Table 3.2 : Population changes of Doğankent (Url-13).

Year	Center	Villages	Total	Change
2000	3,789	3,688	7,477	-
2007	3,499	3,382	6,881	-596
2011	3,585	3,378	6,963	+82
2016	3,161	3,078	6,239	-724
Total Change				-1,234

Table 3.3 : Population changes of Kürtün (Url-14).

Year	Center	Villages	Total	Change
2000	3,488	12,058	15,546	-
2007	2,901	9,493	12,394	-3,152
2011	2,976	9,379	12,335	-59
2016	7,839	7,235	15,074	+2,739
Total Change				-472

Table 3.4 : Population changes of Torul (Url-15).

Year	Center	Villages	Total	Change
2000	4,592	10,824	15,416	-
2007	5,823	7,295	13,118	-2,298
2011	4,366	7,677	12,043	-1,075
2016	8,375	4,548	12,923	+880
Total Change				-2,493

As you can see from the tables above, people are emigrating from the valley. But tables point out another interesting issue: while village population descends, township center populations are rising. This means that farmers and shepherds are leaving their villages and moving to town centers. Most of them do this to work in service industry or trading. Agriculture or husbandry is not as profitable as in the old days; therefore, they are not enough to maintain their living standards. Besides that, it is more comfortable to live in townships. Children can easily go to school and elders can easily reach hospitals. Landslides are very common in this region due to heavy rains and steep

slopes. Every year several landslides occur and affect daily life. In 2016, a landslide damaged a school road and students had to walk on debris in one of the villages of Doğankent (see figure 3.9). In addition, snow is another problem that hardens life in villages. Townships are relatively secure places compared to high villages. This is the reason why I met only one shepherd during my fieldwork. The rest of my interviewees were either working in municipality, service industry or trade (see figure 3.10) and living in townships.



Figure 3.9 : Students were going to school in debris because of landslide in Doğankent (Url-31).

According to Serdar Özdoğan, a music researcher from Giresun University, division of agricultural lands also dissolves bonds among Chepnies and strengthens the force of assimilation:

Their (Chepnies') economy was based on animal husbandry. They were wandering with their cattle; thus, their bonds were stronger, they were recognized by all near villagers. They had consciousness of being Chepni. Then animal husbandry was banned. The state gave economic stimulus to hazelnut farming. Farmers built houses in the middle of big hazelnut fields and

houses were divided by hazelnut trees. This led people to individualism. They lost Chepni consciousness; they lost their bonds. Besides, they began to fight for borders of their lands. This made them open to assimilation (Serdar Özdoğan, personal communication, April 3, 2017).



Figure 3.10 : Almost all of my interviewees work in trade or service industry. For example, amateur researcher Ekrem Ünlü has a glassware shop in Doğankent (personal archive).

Even Kazıkbeli pasture was founded after these border fights:

During my childhood (1970's), every Friday Yukarıköy and Aşağıköy residents used to fight in Güvende pasture bazaar. Güvende pasture (figure 3.11) belonged to Aşağıköy village and they did not allow Yukarıköy residents to build a house there. Yukarıköy residents insisted. Every Friday we have bazaar here. Every Friday Yukarıköy and Aşağıköy residents met in the bazaar and began to fight. Then, people from shore townships (i.e. Doğankent and Tirebolu) felt disturbed and protested the bazaar. This meant a serious financial loss for the bazaar because they had money from hazelnut, and we had no money. Consequently, Yukarıköy villagers built another pasture called Kazıkbeli (figure 3.12) and made their houses there. Their bazaar day is Wednesday (Civan Şen, personal communication, August 19, 2017).

Şen also pointed out that these border fights have not finished yet. After building a home for himself in Güvende, someone complained about him. He still has a case in court for that reason.



Figure 3.11 : Güvende pasture (personal archive).



Figure 3.12 : Kazıkbeli pasture (personal archive).

Speaking about the fights, I want to point out one more reason of immigration. During my journey to Kadirga pasture, I talked with minibus driver Serhat Özdemir (born in 1975). He mentioned mortal fights as another factor of immigration. For him, there were lots of mortal fights among Chepnies, especially inland Chepnies. Murderers left

the region and usually moved to a relative living in bigger cities, even abroad. Özdemir claimed that this kind of immigration is very common among Chepnies. He evaluated this kind of immigration as positive because only innocent and quiet people remain in region now (Serhat Özdemir, personal communication, 21.07.2018).

Another key factor in understanding immigration and socio-economic change in Harşit is hazelnut agriculture, especially in the light of unstable and short-term hazelnut policy of Turkey. Hazelnut is probably the oldest economic resource of the area together with forestry. It has been an important export good since the first Greek colonizers, i.e. for approximately three thousand years. Turkey produced 57% of the world's hazelnut production in 2016.

In the first decades of the Turkish Republic, the government noticed the potential of hazelnut farming. For encouragement of hazelnut farming, Cooperative Association of Hazelnut Agriculture and Trade (*FİSKOBİRLİK*) was founded in 1935. This association has bought surplus hazelnuts and given credits to farmers. But from 1964 to 1979, this association was used as supporting hazelnut farmers for votes. Before the elections, *FİSKOBİRLİK* gave high prices to hazelnut farmers voting for the present regime. *FİSKOBİRLİK* faced with loss because of that policy. Besides, this loss was compensated by state budget. Also, to receive these high prices, farmers transformed forests to hazelnut fields. According to Erdinç Alp, from 1964 to 1979 hazelnut production skyrocketed to 250% (Alp, 2016, p. 240).

The crisis in early 1990's slowed down the prices and finally after the 1999 crisis, International Monetary Fund (IMF) suggested restricting production of hazelnut. In 2009, another regulation about hazelnut farming was approved by cabinet. According to this new regulation, the state would encourage removing hazelnut from unlicensed fields. If a farmer wanted to remove hazelnuts and began to cultivate another plant in an unlicensed field, the state would support him/her for three years. This supporting fund was 300 liras per decare for the first year and 150 liras per decare for the remaining two years in 2009. From 2009 to 2014, 1599 farmers used that support and removed hazelnuts from their fields. Also, the state supported licensed hazelnut farmers. This support was 150 liras per decare in 2009. However, despite these regulations, hazelnut farmers are still in financial loss as you can see from table 3.5.

Table 3.5 : Expenditure and sale prices of one kilogram Ordu hazelnut (in Turkish Liras) (Alp, 2016, p. 251).

	Expenditure (a)	Sale prices (b)	Profit (b-a)
2009	5,05	3,49	-1,56
2010	4,39	4,1	-0,29
2011	5,97	5,72	-0,25
2012	4,71	4,15	-0,56
2013	4,88	5,31	0,43

I think that the table above is enough to explain why farmers left their field and immigrated to townships. It is nearly impossible to live on hazelnut. For that reason, while landowners work in townships for minimum wages, hazelnut fields are neglected. This process reduces the quality and quantity of hazelnut; so, both sale prices and competition power of Black Sea hazelnut decline.

Some well-intentioned enactments also have damaged the traditional lives of Valley residents. The legislation about protecting the forest is one example. This legislation which banned the entrance of goats and other livestock to forests was promulgated in 1956 in Turkey. Shepherds and farmers sold their livestock as a result of this legislation in Harşit. They either immigrated or began hazelnut agriculture. This process also affected their relations with each other, as Serdar Özdoğan asserted. Fields gained importance for them, especially after the state started to support hazelnut agriculture. Furthermore, losing importance of animal husbandry has weakened the Otçu Göçü tradition because the essence of Otçu Göçü is a ritual of cattle holders.

This redirection of villagers from animal husbandry to agriculture could help Turkish Republic to suppress rebellious Chepnies. Chepnies were quasi-liberate in nearly every phase in their history. They had their emirates before the Ottoman era. Ottomans allowed them limited independency in internal affairs. From 1914 to 1923, independent Chepni gangs ruled between Ordu – Trabzon provinces unofficially.

Chepnies were used to be free and this could be a problem for the new republic. Ayşenur Kolivar widens this perspective to all Eastern Black Sea:

When you look at the situation from a cultural aspect, the most significant historical feature of this region is to be under the boundary of two major strong sources for the most part of history. This situation prevented founding of long lasting and powerful states in the region. Thus, the cultures in the region stayed away from assimilation forces of states (Kolivar, 2012, pp. 330-331).

Especially high pastures of the valley were totally out of control of centralized administration. An incident that Sinan Güvendi told me is especially interesting to show when the state became to rule the pastures:

In 1950's, one afternoon a drunk shepherd randomly fired his gun. This was a normal thing at that time, but gendarme was in the pasture for the first time. Immediately two gendarmes came and warned the shepherd. "Oooh, state arrived at Güvende!" said the shepherd. Gendarmes wanted his gun, but he threw it to his friend and punched to one gendarme. Gendarmes beat him upon this. (Sinan Güvendi, personal communication, April 03, 2017).

Settling of nomadic peoples also facilitate to govern the area. One of the reasons behind the livestock banning in 1956 was this. Yaşar Kemal's novella *Binboğalar Efsanesi* is about a conflict between nomadic people (*yörüks*) and the state. State wants to settle them in Çukurova, but nomads refuse to settle. This novella helped me to understand Chepnies' psychology even today.

Supporting agriculture, especially hazelnut and tea farming in the Black Sea (In Mediterranean region, state supported cotton farming in Çukurova to settle nomadic *Yörüks*) also improved the relation between the State and locals. State offered high prices for these goods and won farmers' confidence. Building roads is another way to ensure loyalty of locals. The road that connects Torul to Tirebolu (Harşit road) was built in 1952. Roads are important both for carrying goods to/from inner regions and carrying the power of the state everywhere. Nilüfer Taşkın's statement about tea farmers–state relation is the same as hazelnut farmers-state relations: "Lazs becoming 'citizens' with tea farming in the eye of the state and the doors of modern life style were opening for them" (Taşkın, 2016, p. 45). Economy was the issue which opened the door of modern life style for Lazs. In Black Sea villages, economy was mostly bore to barter. With tea and hazelnut farming, large amounts of money entered the local market. Taşkın explained this process well:

As the tea farming spread, farming of the other plants decreased, and farmers had to buy their edible plants. On the other hand, new roads for cars facilitated going to townships for shopping. This changed consumption habits radically. With the cash money flow, people bought goods which they used to produce a while ago. Today, nearly all needs of a family in villages are supplied from these towns. With the rising money in the market, bazaars and shops were proliferated and product range widened. Thus, the production of only one industrial good changed the region's economic and sociological situation in a short time (Taşkın, 2016, pp. 46-47).

Dependence to the state was also shaped and developed by formal education. Lazs, Romeika speakers, and Hemşinense people began to forget their language; Chepnies forgot Alevism (Asan, 2000; Kolivar, 2012; Özkan, 2012; Taşkın, 2016). All people of Black Sea have melt firstly in Black Sea identity than in Turkish identity pots. Thus, the template identity of Turkey has expanded in the Black Sea as being Sunni, speaking Turkish, and being a nationalist Turk.

3.3 Transformation of Otçu Göçü: From Ritual to Leisure

Mountains have always been important for Turks. They have had a leading role in the very first Turkish sagas like *Ergenekon* saga. French Turkologist Jean-Paul Roux mentions old Turkish texts about pilgrimage to sacred mountains for sacrificing rituals (2012, p. 62). In addition, he asserts that Turks transfer their sacred mountains to newly conquered places. “A saint tomb (but usually not real, fictive) exists in nearly every mountain” (Roux, 2011, p. 160). In the light of this information, we can understand why nearly every mountain has a saint name in Harşit Valley: Akıl Baba (or Hal Baba) mountain, Abdal Musa hill, Bektaş pasture, and the like. Güvende pasture was named after Güvenç Abdal, who disappeared in this pasture. There is a tomb of him in the pasture, which you can see in figure 3.13. The origin of Güvende Otçu Göçü is probably an old ritual of Alevi Chepnis. They went on a pilgrimage to Güvenç Abdal's tomb at certain times and perhaps held a *Cem* ceremony for him there. After the corn farming began in the valley, the time of pilgrimage was adjusted according to farming calendar. As I pointed out in the second chapter, some of the residents still visit tombs of saints while they are there for pasture fests (see figure 2.5). This behavior can be interpreted as an inheritance of past pilgrimages.



Figure 3.13 : Güvenç Abdal's tomb in Güvende (personal archive).

But unlike the past, audiences now go to pastures by car or minibuses. They go there individually or with small groups, usually with families. A small amount of livestock left in the valley is brought by trucks. So, the tradition of walking to pastures with livestock has died. Traditions like *kemençe* accompanying all the way and entering the fest area gorgeously also disappeared. Today, livestock (if any) is moved to pasture in May with trucks, residents usually stay in the pasture all summer and go to their jobs from there.

Furthermore, audiences are different, too. According to my observations, there are four groups of audiences who attend in pasture fests: the first group is *gurbetçis*; the second group is internal migrants of valley; the third group is domestic tourists; and the fourth group is residents of the valley. Let's start with *gurbetçi*. I was surprised when I saw lots of foreign-license-plated cars in Güvende fest in 2017. I later saw similar cars on Erikbeli and Kadirga pastures. These were *gurbetçi* cars. They have waited all year long for pasture fest dates, and they came by their car all the way. They are important part of pasture fests. Their significance comes from two reasons: first, they are crowded, at least 20% of audiences are *gurbetçi*. Second, they are wealthier than Turkish people usually only because of the exchange rates of Euro. Thus, they support pasture fests financially; they donate to village foundations; give advertisements to local radios and television channels; and spend more money than an average domestic tourist or internal migrant.

Internal migrants are the most crowded group. Nearly half of the audiences are internal migrants. They come from industrial cities like İstanbul and Bursa and most of them have a house in the pasture. The most important feature of this group lies in their relationship with Turkish popular music. They are exposed to it and they have contributed to the birth of Black Sea popular music. The second and later generations of them believe in this constructed Black Sea image and export this image in real life. They have created a demand to city-originated pop singers in pasture fests. This demand has pushed local musicians from the central part of the fest. There is an interesting observation about these two groups -internal migrants and *gurbetçis*-; their will of attending the pasture fests are increasing with their ages. Usually elderly members of the families are the most eager to attend the fest. Younger generations prefer to spend their holiday in warm and touristic hotels in South-West Turkey. Most of the families divide their holiday between pastures and South-West Turkey for that reason.

The third group, domestic tourists, constitutes about 10% of the audience. They have heard of the fame of pasture fests and attend fests to see the show. They can be found especially in Kadirga and Sis Dağı pasture fests since these fests are more renowned than Güvende and Kazıkbeli fests. Most of these tourists have no or limited idea of Chepni culture. They usually think of all Black Sea people as Laz. They have suffered from popular Black Sea culture shown on televisions. So, it is normal for them when they see an imitation of İsmail Türüt in the pasture fest scene.

Finally, the fourth group is valley residents. They are about 20% of the audience as far as my observations. They stay in pastures mostly. In some families, the husband stays in township on weekdays and at weekends goes to the pasture where the rest of the family stays. They also attend other pasture fests nearby; for example, Güvende residents attend Kazıkbeli fest, too. Because of staying in pastures, they hold (or attend) night events like *oturak alemi* or simply horon with kemençe.

All these changes have transformed pasture fests as well. Firstly, pasture fests are organized by municipalities, not by locals. This process began in late 1990's to attract domestic tourists to the fests. Now, nearly all of the pasture fests are organized by municipalities or state institutions. Municipalities decide when a fest will be held, and which musicians will be invited. They build permanent stages to fest areas (figure 3.14), fence the horon area, set up the sound systems, even construct a protocol area

(figure 3.15). Now, Otçu Göçü has an exact program: the starting and ending times, names of singers and their duration on stage are programmed. Fests are using as political propaganda tool by mayors and governors (*kaymakam*) of townships. They made long speeches in the beginning of the fests. Furthermore, they emphasize their importance on pasture posters (figure 3.16). They also hang lots of banners in pastures to promote themselves. I want to take your attention to the word *gurbetçi* on the banner in figure 3.16. This is an indication of significance of *gurbetçi* for pasture fest holders.



Figure 3.14 : Stage and welcome message from Mayor of Kürtün in Güvende fest 2017. “Dear fellow countrymen, *gurbetçiler* and visitors, welcome to Güvende pasture fests” (personal archive).

There is a schedule of the events in fests. They start at a determined hour and every musician plays at a certain time. Perhaps the most important change is the stage. It divides the fest as entertainers and entertaining people, job and leisure, performers and audiences, active and passive. Before the municipalities invaded the fests, stage was never built. As you can see on the video, in 1970’s (in attachment CD track 4), musicians walked with people (not audience). There was no line or stage separating them. They joined the horon and kept playing at the same time. Even the fest area was not fixed: they played wherever they found suitable. But after the stage, musicians’

field was restricted by the dimensions of the stage and length of the microphone cable. Also, sound systems and electronic instruments like orgs have limited their mobility.



Figure 3.15 : Protocol chairs opposite of the stage (personal archive).

All these changes remind me Dionysian – Apollonian features of different cultures in Ruth Benedict’s book *Patterns of Culture* (1934). Dionysius and Apollonius are two Ancient Greek gods, i.e. they are sons of Zeus. While Apollonius is the god of rational thinking and order, Dionysius is the god of wine, chaos, emotions and instincts. In other words, Apollonius is logos, Dionysius is pathos. Anthropologist Ruth Benedict investigates Apollonian and Dionysian cultures in her book *Patterns of Culture* (1934). She asserts that all of the Indians of North America, including Mexico has Dionysian culture, except South-West Pueblos. South-West Pueblos have Apollonian culture (1934, p. 58). Benedict’s main method was tracing the use of narcotics in social and religious life. While Dionysian cultures tend to use narcotics (peyote, datura, all kinds of alcohol, etc.) to reach ecstasy and strong communal bonds through narcotics, Apollonian cultures avoid it: “In their strict Apollonian ethos, the Pueblos distrust and reject those experiences which take the individual in any way out of bounds and forfeit his sobriety” (Benedict, 1934, p. 64).



Figure 3.16 : Poster of Güvende fest 2017. It focuses on Kürtün municipality more than the musicians of the fest (personal archive).

Ruth Benedict learned this discrimination from the renowned philosopher Friedrich Nietzsche. Nietzsche was the first person to apply this perspective to culture and art. In his book *The Birth of Tragedy*, he describes Dionysian excitement as singing and dancing in ecstasy (Url-16, p. 9). This excitement and ecstasy reach the peak of feeling like a god, as in Alevi mystics' belief; wahdat al-wujud (unity of existence):

Singing and dancing, man expresses himself as a member of a higher unity. He has forgotten how to walk and talk and is on the verge of flying up into the air as he dances. The enchantment speaks out in his gestures. Just as the animals speak and the earth gives milk and honey, so now something supernatural echoes out of him. He feels himself a god. He now moves in a lofty ecstasy, as he saw the gods move in his dream. The man is no longer an artist. He has become a work of art. The artistic power of all of nature, the rhapsodic satisfaction of the primordial unity, reveals itself here in the intoxicated performance (Nietzsche, Url-16, p. 10).

You can imagine the joy of Otçu Göçü in the light of this powerful quote from Nietzsche. This was a fest that has been waited for all year. When Otçu Göçü arrives at the pasture, music, horon, noises of firing guns and gelignite, alcohol, feeling of

entering to a sacred place creates an ecstatic mood in people. Religious and societal rules are broken now; young girls and boys can dance hand in hand; and everybody becomes equal in the horon cycle. This is an excellent definition of Victor Turner's *communitas* term. For Turner, *communitas* situation appears during rituals. Either Dionysian or Apollonian, it is certain that Otçu Göçü is a ritual. Victor Turner described a ritual as:

A ritual is a stereotyped sequence of activities involving gestures, words, and objects, performed in a sequestered place, and designed to influence preternatural entities or forces on behalf of the actors' goals and interests. Rituals may be seasonal, hallowing a culturally defined moment of change in the climatic cycle or the inauguration of an activity such as planting, harvesting, or moving from winter to summer pasture; or they may be contingent, held in response to an individual or collective crisis (Turner, 1973, p.1110).

Victor Turner's predecessor Arnold van Gennep divided rituals to three steps:

All such rites are marked by a threefold progression of successive ritual stages: (1) separation or the pre-liminal (after limen, Latin for threshold), when a person or group becomes detached from an earlier fixed point in the social structure or from an earlier set of social conditions; (2) margin or the liminal, when the state of the ritual subject is ambiguous; he is no longer in the old state and has not yet reached the new one; and (3) aggregation or the post-liminal, when the ritual subject enters a new stable state with its own rights and obligations (Deflem, 1991, pp. 7-8).

For Turner, the most exciting part is the second step. He improved and enlarged the idea of liminality of Van Gennep. Turner claims that during liminal state, society (or person) is in betwixt and between, structure of society broken. This situation is named *communitas* (or anti-structure) (Turner, 1991, p. 96). Otçu Göçü is a good example of *communitas* in that manner. I want to cite Stokes' observation here:

In the valleys, business is dealt with, marriages contracted and celebrated, the dead buried, and social existence is articulated by the call to prayer from the mosque. At the *yayla*, all such matters are forgotten, religion left far behind, and the time is given over to food, drink, music and guns (Stokes, 1998, p. 153).

The main force behind the Chepni society is religion. Everything in valley related with religion, there are strict rules every person should obey. But once a year, rules are slackening. Alcohol is acceptable, young girls and boys can dance hand in hand, social classes are broken, and everybody becomes equal in the horon cycle. This is an egalitarian moment in kemençe player's leading. Otçu Göçü is the opposite of valley

life in a way, this is *communitas* (or anti-structure) in Turner's term. A research on Sis dađı pasture fest is summarize the different nature of old Otçu Göçü well:

[in ideal folk fests] All of the fest area is stage and every person in the area is an artist of that fest. Some of them with kemençe playing, some of them with hand crafts, some of them with Türküs, some of them with jewelries and ornaments, some of them with only audiences, everybody is a part/an artist of the fest. Otçu Göçü should be thought as coming together, meeting, dating, showing aptitude, being motive day for society (Kıran, 2015, p. 74).

Otçu Göçü is very similar to shamanistic rituals that Chepni Turks once had; shaman's davul is transformed to kemençe (davul – zurna are still alive in some regions); shamanic dance is transformed to horon; and animist beliefs are dissolved in Alevism. But the essence, ecstasy and egalitarianism have stayed intact until recently.

I defined Otçu Göçü as a ritual, but today's pasture fests are certainly not rituals. I am using Victor Turner's ritual definition which cited in previous page. Today's pasture fests are disconnected from nature, agriculture, and husbandry. It is not "designed to influence preternatural entities or forces on behalf of the actors' goals and interests" as in Turner's expression (Turner, 1973, p. 1110). Economically transformed society has lost the spirit of Otçu Göçü and delivers the organization of fests to municipalities. This broke the egalitarianist spirit of Otçu Göçü; municipalities set stage and protocol chairs in fest area. Thus, they stressed social class disparity. Gendarme in fest area showed the power of state and prevent the spirit of old Otçu Göçü. Lastly but the most importantly, aims of the audiences changed. They come to pasture fests just for entertain. But old Otçu Göçü was nearly a sacred activity: mountains were sacred places and the way they walk to reach fest area was a kind of pilgrimage. When they arrived, they visited some places like saint tombs and prayed. Now, the majority of the audiences are coming for dancing and taking photographs. All of these changes created a new "structure" and transformed ritualistic nature of Otçu Göçü.

Turner asserts that in liminal cultures (pre-industrial cultures), work and play are hardly distinguishable but in liminoid (industrial cultures) cultures, they are totally different (1982, pp. 34-36). Chepni culture was transformed from liminal to liminoid culture. Otçu Göçü was born from seasonal farming-related activities like planting and cleaning corns and transporting herds to pastures. Otçu Göçü could not be separated from these activities. It was embedded to work. But today, Chepnies use their annual leaves to attend the fests. It is certainly a leisure activity (or play). This makes pasture

festivals an Apollonian event. There is no allowance of guns and fights as gendarmeries are ready to intervene. Alcohol is not appropriate, at least during daytime. Beginning and ending times of the festival are fixed. In short, transformation of Chepni culture from liminal to liminoid, or agricultural to industrial, transformed the festivals from Dionysian to Apollonian, or from ritual to play.

Sometimes, the involvement of the state in festivals reaches to absurd levels. In 2014, Hayrettin Öztürk, the mufti of Samsun made a speech in Sis mountain pasture festival:

If I do not warn you Allah will call me to account for it. You shall not play horon hand to hand with the opposite sex, even with your siblings. There is no prejudice to play horon among women according to Islam. They dance themselves; they watch themselves. Even I, as Samsun mufti, cannot look at them. You must never watch them. So, women will dance, women will watch. Men will dance, men and women will watch. It is illicit in Islam to dance with opposite sex and this brings punishment. Also, türküs shall not have obscene lyrics (Url-17).

These words of the mufti did not change anything in the pasture festival, but not surprisingly he did not resign or was not unseated because of his statements. In 2016, some pasture festivals (including Sis mountain and Kadirga festivals) were cancelled because of martyrs in Black Sea mountains. Some local newspapers interpret this decision as a reflection of mufti's statement. They claim that the reason behind the cancellation is dancing in mixed groups (Url-18; Url-19). But these festivals were held in the following years and dancing with opposite sex is continuing still.

There are some efforts for reviving Otçu Göçü and its ritualistic nature, but it is like flogging a dead horse because cultural core of Otçu Göçü has been long swallowed by modern life. I cited these festivals as *double traditional*, because they want to return traditional roots of an already traditional festival. Otçu Göçü is name of several traditional festivals that have at least two hundred years of history. These traditional festivals evolved to today's pasture festivals, which are held in same places and roughly same times of the year. Despite this continuation, there are important changes occurred as I handle in this thesis. Double traditional festival supporters do not accept these changes, traditionality of pasture festival is not enough for them, they want more traditional festivals, for that reason I cited their festivals as double traditional.

The most prominent examples of double traditional movement are Yusuf Kurt's attempts. Folk dance instructor Yusuf Kurt is trying to organize alternative pasture

festivals in Tonya. His manifesto of double traditional Otçu Göçü can be summarized in five items (Url-20; Url-21; Url-22):

- Do not use stage, protocol and sound system,
- Do not make political speeches in festivals; do not propagate a political organization,
- Only play Black Sea musics, try to keep away from composed kaydes,
- Do not name all festivals “Otçu Göçü” except July, because real Otçu Göçü month is only July,
- Invite only local musicians to festivals, we do not need exported musicians.

To protect Chepni Turkish identity, Yusuf Kurt wrote articles to local newspapers and made speeches to local television channels. He also holds an alternative festival in *Honefter* pasture of Trabzon. In this alternative festival, there is no stage and sound system and no fixed schedule. The festival continues all day. These ideas are largely supported by locals (not immigrants). For example, Temel Gündoğdu, the administrator of Kazıkbeli Pasture page on Facebook shared a quote from historian İlber Ortaylı that criticizes festivals and carnivals in Turkey. In this quote, Ortaylı asserts that these kinds of festivals are newly created by local mayors for attracting tourists. They do not have historical or traditional background; thus, these festivals are a shame (Ortaylı, 2008, p. 116). Gündoğdu also made an explanation under this quote:

It is not festival or carnival in our pastures, it is Otçu Göçü. It should be only Otçu Göçü, if an event will be held. Others are held everywhere, every time, like Görele’s...rootless, empty, and senseless. This is not cultural continuity; this is cultural degeneration (Url-23).

While some followers of the page found this comment radical, most of them really bothered festivals of shore townships in close dates of traditional pasture festivals. At this point, I feel the need to mention the summer festivals of Görele and Tirebolu. In fact, nearly all shore townships hold summer festival in the Black Sea, but only these two ones are related to my dissertation. Apart from pasture festivals, Görele and Tirebolu municipalities have held summer festivals (Culture and Art Festival in Tirebolu and Kemeñçe and Horon Festival in Görele) for the last ten years. These festivals are organized in July (like pasture festivals) and use the large lands of these municipalities. Since accessing these shore townships are very easy (they are on the way of Black Sea coastal road) and budgets of these townships are far more than inland townships, these festivals are more

gorgeous and crowded. Also, usually they invite more famous singers than pasture fest singers; thus, they attract more tourists, immigrants and *gurbetçis*. For these reasons, residents of inland townships protest these fests as you can see in Temel Gündoğdu and Yusuf Kurt's ideas. So, it seems that fest issue divided Black Sea again as coastal and inland. We saw this split in culture because of geographical isolation and introvert nature of inland. Although this isolation has been cracked with new roads, trade, immigration and media, fests have created a new kind of division now. While shore coasts tend to organize fests in shores with renowned singers, inland is preparing to remove stages and sound systems and make fests Dionysian again.

These two different fests have their own audience, as far as I see. Although a crowded group tries to attend both of them, I can assert that young people love shore fests and older people love pasture fests. Shore fests are more crowded, far more accessible; singers are more famous; concert repertoire consists of Black Sea pop and disco musics and lasts several hours; so, young people can go anywhere after the fest. Yet, older people cannot feel the spirit of Otçu Göçü in shore fests, according to my interviews. Pasture fest is a nostalgia for them. They feel alienated in shore fests. They even feel this alienation in modern pasture fests as I quoted above. I think that this dichotomy is temporary. It is impossible to keep traditional (or conservative like Yusuf Kurt's) pasture fest alive because this fest has lost its context. Audiences do not come from weeding, they come from urban cities with their car. Their children want to attend shore fests, if not to go on holiday in South-West Turkey. My impressions from the fieldwork shows that pasture fests will disappear in medium term and shore fests will substitute pasture fests.

Another conservative tendency can be seen in Chepni diaspora abroad. Chepni pasture fests are celebrated in several European countries, especially in Germany. They hire a green land, pitch their tents, invite musicians from Turkey and a crowded group of Black Sea immigrants in Europe attend the fests. The fest does not have an exact schedule and music lasts more than 24 hours. You can find a video of Kadirga pasture fest held in Ulm, Germany, 2017 on appendix CD track 6. These fests are far more similar to past pasture fests in the Black Sea. Please compare this Kadirga Ulm fest video with 1970 Hıdır Nebi pasture fest video, which is also on appendix CD (track 4). In both of them, musicians do not use the stage. They dance with people while playing and there is not any sound system or electronic instruments. There are neither

banners of municipalities nor a protocol chair. Both of them seem like a Dionysian fest. This can be a good evidence of diasporic communities' conservatism. In our interview with Nadi Kırıcı, -who is a *gurbetçi* living in Germany- I asked his thoughts about the change in pasture fests in Turkey. After he implied that he did not like pasture fests in Turkey, he said “*modernleştik ama modernleşemedik*”, which can be freely translated as “we are modernized but could not become a modern society” (Nadi Kırıcı, personal communication, August 19, 2017). I felt that this is a nostalgic point of view. He was disturbed from high volume of sound system and from instruments not belonging to Chepni culture, like *org*. For him, using these technological innovations in fests is unnecessary. These are not signs of a developed culture. From our interview with other *gurbetçis* like Nadi Kırıcı and the fests that Chepni diaspora organized abroad, I can assume that *gurbetçis* are clearly on the side of inland residents. They do not accept alternative summer fests in shore and want to change pasture fests parallel to Yusuf Kurt and Temel Gündoğdu's ideas.

3.3.1 Identity and globalization issues in Harşit music

I want to take your attention to Turkish and *Trabzonspor* flags in Ulm Kadırga fest. Those flags are signs of an imagined community that all Black Sea people belong, inspiring from Benedict Anderson's ideas. Furthermore, I can assert that kemençe, tulum, horon, and sometimes *Trabzonspor* are parts of the imagined Black Sea identity. Smaller identities like Chepni or Laz merge under Black Sea identity. On top of them, the roof identity is Turkishness.

I have talked about the tradition of *imece*, which means helping each other in farming. *İmece*, walking to pastures and dancing in fests echo Benedict Anderson's “the physical realization of the imagined community” (2006, p. 145). This strengthened the bonds of community and helped to create a Chepni identity in the past. Similar to this, dancing under the Black Sea popular music in discos, fests, or “Black Sea Days” in İstanbul helped to create an imaginative (or constructed) Black Sea identity today. While Chepni identity weakened in consequence of changing socio-economy and immigrations, Black Sea identity gained strength in contrast.

This Black Sea identity has certain effects on Harşit-originated musicians. Black Sea pop music is seen as an umbrella which has merged all Black Sea culture. But this is a very deficient umbrella: it has excluded local languages (like Hemşin language),

local instruments (even kemençe and tulum), and some local musical forms (like *destans*). Neither local languages nor local forms can find a place in mainstream Black Sea music; they are confined to stay marginal. Some people still think that a song in Laz or Hemşin language is a separatist action. When TRT started a channel that would broadcast in Kurdish (TRT 6) in 2009, some Laz intellectuals demanded a television channel in Laz language. The strongest reaction came from Laz people to that demand: “We are (Lazs) not separatist like Kurds; we are a Turkish clan” (Taşkın, 2016, pp. 96-97). This behavior reinforced the excluding of using Laz and other languages in Black Sea popular music.

The sexist, nationalist and conservative characters of popular Black Sea musicians create a role-model for local musicians. Although this character set does not truly reflect Black Sea people, it has become popular and is stuck to Black Sea identity. Harşit musicians are adapting this identity because they think that this is the way of fame. Consequently, when we listen to the albums of Harşit musicians, we encounter Turkish with Black Sea accent, some kemençe, aksak rhythm, catchy melodies and lyrics. It is very close to mainstream Turkish popular music. You can listen to Şerif Topal’s or Alim Koca’s songs to confirm these features in Harşit musicians. They are two prominent singers of Harşit Valley. They both play kemençe and sing, and both of them are frequently invited to fests and weddings in Turkey and abroad.

Şerif Topal was born in Kürtün. He lives in İstanbul, as all semi-popular and popular Black Sea musicians. He released an album with *Mavi Deniz Müzik* label in 2018, titled *Bakmayı Bilmiyorsun*. *Mavi Deniz Müzik* is a renowned music company among Black Sea popular music. They worked with Davut Güloğlu, Mustafa Topaloğlu and Erkan Ocaklı. Şerif Topal’s music has no Harşit connections, except some area names in some song lyrics. I analyzed his hit song *Bakmayı Bilmiyorsun* on table 3.6. You can listen to the song in attachment Cd track 7.

This song is similar to atma türkü because it uses the same kayde for every quatrain. It can either be a fixed atma türkü used in Harşit or it can be a composed atma türkü. Lyrics and music are written by Şerif Topal himself, which increases the chance of being a composed song. As you can see from the flowchart, the song does not have any reference to Chepni culture or Harşit music. Yet, use of kemençe and its aksak rhythm make this song a part of Black Sea popular music.

Table 3.6 : Flow chart of *Bakmayı Bilmiyorsun*.

Basic information: The meter of the song is 5/8 (2+3) in 230 bpm. All quatrains including chorus are composed from the same kayde. Chorus sings after every quatrain. Lyrics are in İstanbul Turkish. The singer did not use local (Harşit) or regional (Black Sea) words or pronunciation. Kemeñçe, kaval, org, bağlama, drum set, and guitar are used in the song. Kemeñçe and kaval share the melody as call and response.

Duration: 4'18	Music	Lyrics Turkish	Lyrics English
Introduction	Song opens with cymbals, then kemeñçe and kaval share the melody as call and response. Bağlama and guitar are mostly in the background. Sometimes bağlama plays the bridges. Kemeñçe, kaval and bağlama altogether play the last repetition of kayde.	No text	No text
First Quatrain	Kemeñçe accompanies the singer, bağlama plays the bridges. Org and drum set continuously accompanies in the background.	Durmaz kan ağlar gözler Kalbim hep seni özler Gerçek seven bir insan Sevgiyi nasıl gizler	Eyes shed tears of blood ceaselessly My heart always misses you How can a real lover Hide his love
Chorus	The same structure	Dargın mısın sen bana Neden hiç gülmüyorsun Gözlerin güzel ama Bakmayı bilmiyorsun	Are you displeased with me Why don't you smile Your eyes are beautiful but You don't know how to look
Second Quatrain	The same structure	Haram mı oldu bize Yalan dünyada gülmek Ölümden daha acı Sevip de sevilmemek	Is it illicit to us Being happy in this transitory life It is more painful than death Loving but not to be loved
Third Quatrain	The same structure	Ettin beni perişan Olursun benden beter Sen beni sevme ama Sevdiğimi bil yeter	You perturbed me Be worse than me Do not love me but Know that I love you
Fourth Quatrain	The same structure	Büyütmeye gerek yok Küçük olayları Zoru bana bıraktın Hep seçtin kolayları	Don't need to exaggerate Small incidents You gave me the hard one You chose the easy ones

Lyrics are also different from traditional Harşit music. Firstly, the language is Istanbul Turkish, like the collection and broadcast of türküs on TRT. The reason behind this language is to attract urban people. As I explained in the previous section, the main listeners of Black Sea popular music are urbanized young citizens. Secondly, in almost all Harşit türküs, lyrics point out several areas, villages or municipalities. But there are no such signs. This obscures the origin of the singer. In fact, this song can be written by a Rize or Trabzon singer. Due to this, the origin of the singer becomes anonymous and the song gets involved in Black Sea pop genre.

The second song that I will analyze is Alim Koca's song *Nazlı Yar* (see table 3.7). Alim Koca is another singer from Kürtün living in Kocaeli. Although his style is more traditional than Şerif Topal's, he also has some Black Sea popular music songs. I chose *Nazlı Yar* for analysis because this is the first and only song that has a music video. You can listen to the song on attachment CD track 8.

Table 3.7 : Flow chart of *Nazlı Yar*.

Basic information: The meter of the song is 5/8 (3+2) in 190 bpm. Despite this speed, the song is slow and sad in character. All quatrains have the same melody, but the melody of the chorus is different. Chorus sings after every quatrain. Lyrics are in İstanbul Turkish. The singer did not use local (Harşit) or regional (Black Sea) words or pronunciation. Kemeñçe, qanun, kaval, guitar, and drum set are the instruments used in the song. Kemeñçe almost always plays polyphonically in fourths and fifths. Also, some sound effects are used.			
Duration: 4'55	Music	Lyrics Turkish	Lyrics English
Introduction	Song opens with unmetred improvisation of qanun (<i>taksim</i>), then kemeñçe enters the main melody (melody of the chorus) with the accompaniment of guitar and drum set. Later, kemeñçe disappears and kaval plays the main melody with accompaniment of guitar and drum set. Playing style of kaval has several glissandos and ornaments.	No text	No text

Table 3.7 (continued) : Flow chart of *Nazlı Yar*.

First Quatrain	<p>Only a guitar and drum set accompanies singer. They sometimes use sound effects in transition of verses. Singing style is similar to <i>arabesk</i> singing style. Music continues with chorus part without a rest.</p>	<p>Dağın eteği oldum Çığlar üstüme düşmüş Dağ dağa küstü Sali O yar da bana küsmüş oy</p>	<p>I turned to a mountain foot Avalanches fell on me Mountains displeased each other Beloved one is cross with me, ah!</p>
Chorus	<p>Singer and qanun play the main melody while guitar and drum set accompany. In bridge between chorus and the following quatrain, qanun and kemençe play the main melody respectively; guitar and drum set again being in the accompaniment.</p>	<p>Nazlı yarin yüzünü Ne zaman göreceğim Derdimden kederimden Düşünüp öleceğim oy</p>	<p>When will I see The face of coy love Sorrow and grief Will kill me, ah!</p>
Second Quatrain	<p>The same structure as first quatrain</p>	<p>Kaderim böyle imiş Bu yüzümü güldürmez Dertlerim yeter bana Mermi beni öldürmez oy</p>	<p>This is my fortune This won't amuse me My sorrows are enough Bullet cannot kill me, ah!</p>
Third Quatrain	<p>The same structure as first quatrain</p>	<p>Sözlerin kurşun gibi Acısı içimde Kimse derdimi bilmez Sakladım yüreğimde oy</p>	<p>Your words are like bullets I feel the pain inside me No one knows my sorrow I hid it in my heart, ah!</p>
Closure	<p>While chorus loop repeats in background, singer reads a short poem. Kaval improvises. Chorus fades out, kaval and singer's poem stay. After the poem, chorus fades in and fades out again for about eight seconds.</p>	<p>Chorus and poem</p>	<p>Chorus and poem</p>

Like Şerif Topal’s song *Bakmayı Bilmiyorsun*, Alim Koca’s *Nazlı Yar* does not have any reference to Chepni culture or Harşit music. Also, the singer used Istanbul Turkish in the song, as in all popular Turkish musics. However, using kemençe and aksak rhythm make this song a part of Black Sea popular music. Different from *Bakmayı Bilmiyorsun*, *Nazlı Yar* also has some *arabesk* implications. These implications can be found in the lyrics and singing style of Alim Koca. As Ayşenur Kolivar points out, every popular music genre has a corresponding Black Sea music (Kolivar, 2012, p. 348). *Nazlı Yar* is situated between Black Sea pop and *arabesk* in this manner.

In the light of these two popular music examples, I want to analyze my recordings from 2017 Güvende pasture fest. There are four singers took stage in first day of the fest: Ünal Turan, Muhammet Güner (with kemençe player Paşa Ceylan), Yeşim Civelek and Sinan Yılmaz. These four singers sang twenty-one songs. I analyzed these songs in five categories. In table 3.8, you can find primary instruments used in songs. In eighteen of the songs kemençe was used and in only three of them played with bağlama. An org always accompanied them, but always in behind. Also, kemençe and bağlama played together in four songs, but I separated them into bağlama or kemençe categories considering which is leading instrument. As you can see from the table, kemençe is the foremost used instrument in Güvende fest. This data supports my observation about kemençe: kemençe is primary instrument of Chepnies.

Table 3.8 : Used instruments in Güvende Fest 2017.

	Kemençe	Bağlama
Primary Instrument	18	3

You can find the rhythms used in the songs in table 3.9. These three categories are horon rhythms, although they did not play horon in all of them (see table 3.11 for dances). It is an interesting point that there are neither 9/8 nor 7/8 melodies, which are also common in Black Sea region. Christian Ahrens listed only two 10/16 (version of 5/8 rhythm) songs but twenty-two 7/8 and thirty 9/8 songs in ninety-six Black Sea music example (Ahrens, 1970, p.145). It seems that 5/8 rhythm repertoire increased in last fifty years. The reason of that can be found in Black Sea popular music. 5/8

rhythms are very common in Black Sea popular music, these eight 5/8 song supports the effect of Black Sea popular music in local musics.

Table 3.9 : Rhythms.

	5/8	4/4	2/4
Rhythm	8	6	7

You can find the distribution of genres in table 3.10. Although there are no certain borders with Black Sea popular music and türküs, I separated them according to lyrics, melodies and my familiarity to both genres. I counted popular türküs in türkü category. Otherwise more than half of the fest repertoire will be comprised of Black Sea popular music. This is a good example of effect of Black Sea popular music.

Table 3.10 : Genres.

	Black Sea Pop	Türkü
Genre	5	16

Table 3.11 shows the dances played in fest. Despite the most common dance of Black Sea is horon, nearly half of the repertoire was non-dance musics. This situation can be explained with resting needs of audiences. Nearly every singer started their repertoire with slow, non-dance musics. Then, they began to speed up and play horons one after another and finalize their program with the fastest horon. Thus, the next singer must start with slow songs again, to let audiences relax. So, we can assume that all day long horons of old fests were disappeared.

The other interesting point was two popular Black Sea türküs which are not horon. The last singer of the day, Sinan Yılmaz sang these two türküs respectively. The first is an Ordu province türkü “*Oy Kemeñçe Kemeñçe*”, which became popular with singer Kamil Sönmez’s album in 1987. Despite its name, this türkü played with bağlama and its dance was similar to Central Anatolian dances. Second türkü was “*Çayır Biçerim Çayır*”, which is probably from Artvin but again played with bağlama. This türkü

became popular with Erkan Ocaklı's 2004 album. This song was also similar to Central Anatolia night club style, which was a very popular style until recently in Turkey. Dance of this genre is freestyle, with some figures from Central Anatolia Folk dances. Observing this style in a traditional Black Sea pasture fest is an example of effects of popular styles in Turkey.

Table 3.11 : Dances.

	Non-Dance music	Horon	Other
Dances	9	10	2

Only one singer (Ünal Turan) used an instrument (kemençe) during performance as seen in table 3.12. The others brought their kemençe and/or bağlama players. This shows us the old kemençe masters who plays, sings and lead the horon stayed in the past. New musicians focus only on singing, probably because most of the popular Black Sea musicians are only singing, are not play any instrument.

Table 3.12 : Singers' instruments in Güvende Fest 2017.

	Yes	No
Is singer playing an instrument?	7	14

According to my observations on pasture fests, popular music industry drastically changed the musicking in pasture fest as I asserted above. As it is understood from this data and two popular examples of Harşit music that I analyzed, there is no significant difference between Harşit and Black Sea popular musics. Harşit identity is dissolved in Black Sea identity as Harşit music is dissolved within Black Sea popular music genre.

Globalization is the main force behind this dissolvment. Globalization has affected Harşit music in several ways: by selling new musical instruments and sound systems; broadcasting new genres via radios, tapes, televisions and internet; and promising fame and richness to local musicians.

The two possible effects of globalization on local musics are *homogenization* and *hybridization*. Homogenization is basically a process of mimicking the dominant culture. Turkish popular music is a good example of homogenization, because this genre is similar to American popular music in terms of harmony, melody, timbre, instruments, music videos, even lyrics. Black Sea popular music is following trends of Turkish popular music, so it is also affected from globalization. The second effect is hybridization, which creates blends of local music and dominant musics. *Cemo* music and dance in Harşit Valley is a great example of hybridization. As I mentioned before, the origin of *Cemo* song is Şanlıurfa, a town in South-east Turkey. Valley residents hear this song from radio and adapted it to Black Sea culture: changing the rhythmic structure, lyrics, instruments. Then they made a horon-like choreography to it. Thus, they blend two distinct cultures. Furthermore, they upload videos to internet and spread this dance and tune to Turkey. Even a little-known Black Sea popular music singer Ali Gedik made a music video to *Cemo*.

I can summarize how globalization changed the music in Harşit Valley: everything started with a radio. Probably the vast majority of today's old Harşit residents heard different musical genres on the radio at first. Here they listened to different instruments, too. So, the radio had a unique power to affect local musics. As Martin Stokes points out, Ankara and İstanbul radios and then TRT prefer to use bağlama instead of kemençe in Black Sea musics (1998, p. 158). Bağlama affected the singing style of songs. Birol Topaloğlu asserts:

Bağlama entered the area after 1970. People started to sing Laz türküs with bağlama. Bağlama has a special timbre. When one sings Laz türküs with that timbre, the style of Laz türküs can be deformed. Besides, musics broadcasted from radios and televisions can affect local music. The singing style of Laz music has been adapted to bağlama. I especially observed this attitude in young musicians... There is not any bağlama method for Black Sea music. It is inaccurate to learn Laz music with bağlama (Albekoğlu, 2015, p. 37).

This issue is similar to all Black Sea musics played with either kemençe or tulum. Bağlama deforms the rhythm and timbre of the songs. Stokes asserts that this is a conscious deformation led by TRT. Moreover, TRT changed lyrics, melodic and rhythmical structure and tulum and kemençe's polyphony to satisfy the expectations of Black Sea immigrants in metropolises (Stokes, 1998, pp. 157-158). As a consequence, this approach merged different local musics of Black Sea in one pot and opened the way for Black Sea popular music.

Local musicians have imitated popular singers on radios and televisions to enter the popular music market. They are charmed with life and financial comfort of popular singers; therefore, every single musician has tried to write her/his success story. Semi-celebrity musicians immediately move to Istanbul to become a real celebrity, as I mentioned before. These popular musicians also changed people's view on musicians. They saw that a person can be as rich as landowners only with musicianship. This increased the social status of musicians all over Turkey. The idiom "*Bu devirde ya topçu ya popçu olacaksın*" (one shall be football player or popular music singer in these times) can explain the increasing of the status well. Consequently, globalization and changing socio-economic structure have a certain affect on Harşit culture, its musics and musicianship.

I explained the demographical and cultural change in Harşit Valley in this chapter. Also, I analyzed the effects of these changes on Harşit music. The following chapter is conclusions, where I will summarize my findings and answer my initial questions in the light of my research.

4. CONCLUSION

This dissertation rests on my two-and-a-half year of fieldwork. By “field”, I refer to all Chepni area in the Black Sea. My knowledge of Chepni culture was very limited; I was nearly in an outsider position. However, patience and interest of my interviewees encouraged me to keep the research. Now, I feel that I have the right to make some comments on the culture of Harşit Valley. But before this, I want to remind my findings and observations briefly.

Harşit Valley is situated in north-east Turkey, known as the Black Sea region. The valley has two different climates: while it is warm, rainy and humid in shore parts (Tirebolu and Northern villages of Doğankent), in inland it is cold and snowy (especially Kürtün and Torul). The economy has been shaped by this climate. The main sources of income of shore villages were hazelnut farming and fishery and for inlands it was mining and animal husbandry. Mining lost its importance in the early 20th century. Hazelnut farming and animal husbandry are not enough for living now. Besides, area’s mountainous jungle is not suitable for constituting big farms. Hence, residents started to migrate to the metropolises especially since 1990. This immigration is not special to Harşit Valley; it can be generalized to all Black Sea region.

Also, villagers immigrated to townships in the valley. This means that farmers and shepherds left their villages and moved to town centers. Most of them did this to work in service industry or to trade. Neither agriculture nor husbandry are as productive as in the old days. In fact, they are not enough to maintain their old life. Besides these, it is more comfortable to live in townships. Children can easily go to school and the elderly can easily reach the hospitals. Arzu Öztürkmen’s article about the changing social texture in Tirebolu presents definite observations and interpretations about this process (Öztürkmen, 2005). After an important part of urbanized people of Tirebolu moved to metropolises like İstanbul, villagers came to Tirebolu and they became the

new urban class. Öztürkmen's article presents conflicts of urban and rural people, which is similar to all Harşit townships.

How have these rapid changes in economy and social life affected Harşit music? This was the main question of this dissertation. Every economic change has the power of creating cultural change, as Timothy Rice points out:

...first, there is a fundamental dialectical relationship between the economic structure of society, the so-called base, on the one hand, and the political, legal, religious, artistic, and philosophical view and institutions of society, the so-called superstructure, on the other hand. The second principle, a corollary of the first, is that "if the base changes or is eliminated, then ... its superstructure changes or is eliminated; if a new base arise, then ... a superstructure arises corresponding to it" (Stalin 1972: 80-81). If music is taken a part of the superstructure, then we have in these two principles a theory of the interrelationship between music and society and a theory of why and how musical change occurs (Rice, 1996, p. 177).

So, the answer of the question is yes, these changes in socio-economics changed the cultural life in all Black Sea as well as in Harşit Valley. State policies, capitalism and globalization are other factors of cultural change in Harşit, as I investigated in detail in the previous chapter. The cultural change in Harşit caused a musical change, which was my main research topic in this dissertation. I would like to focus on the changes in Harşit music in the light of my observations:

- Change in economics triggered the change in musics. Harşit people's relationship with nature, agriculture and husbandry is limited today. Most of them work in either service industry or trading. This change became apparent in farming and herding-related musical activities like *imece* songs and Otçu Göçü. *İmece* songs have been forgotten; Otçu Göçü is transformed (and still being transformed). In the past, Otçu Göçü and pasture fests were rituals. Today, Chepnies use their annual leaves to attend the fests. It is certainly a leisure activity. These factors led rural fests to urbanize; stage, protocol chairs, sound system, inviting popular singers are signs of this urbanization. Thus, the Dionysian nature of fests is transformed to an Apollonian character.
- From pasture fests to wedding musics, all musics of Harşit Valley are under the influence of popular musics. Singing styles, lyrics, instruments, rhythm, and timbre changed accordingly. There are at least two reasons for these changes: globalization and Black Sea identity. Music broadcasting technologies strengthened the impact of globalization on Harşit music. The

first radio that Harşit people heard was Ankara and Istanbul radios and kemençe was rarely played on those radios. Black Sea türküs were transferred to bağlama for several reasons and that sound and playing technique became a norm for Black Sea music. I met several people that do not like kemençe sound and define its sound as “*vıy vıy*” or “*riv riv*” pejoratively in Giresun and Trabzon. They all like Black Sea türküs in accompaniment with bağlama. As Martin Stokes and Birol Topaloğlu point out, this adaptation to bağlama has changed timbre, singing and playing styles (Stokes, 1998, pp. 157-158; Albekoğlu, 2015, p. 37).

With formal education and media, state pumped the template Turkish identity to the area. Most of Lazs, Romeika speakers, and Hemşinense people began to forget their language; most of Chepnies forgot Alevism. All people of Black Sea have melt firstly in Black Sea identity then in Turkish identity pots. Thus, the template identity of Turkey has expanded in the Black Sea as being Sunni, speaking Turkish, and being a nationalist Turk.

These changes have been observed on all Black Sea musics, not only Harşit musics. The adaptation to TRT format broke the differences between local Black Sea musics. This caused homogenization of musics of Black Sea, different Black Sea musics squeezed to one solid genre. Black Sea popular music was born from TRT sound. Immigration to metropolises created an imaginative Black Sea identity. Moreover, this identity created a demand for Black Sea popular music. When Black Sea immigrants came to the Black Sea fests, they demanded to listen to Black Sea pop. In Ayşenur Kolivar’s words, “Metropolises exported artificial Black Sea culture to Black Sea itself” (Kolivar, 2012, pp. 351 - 352). Consequently, authentic Black Sea music marginalized, while Black Sea popular music is the mainstream.

- Black Sea pop genre has changed the musicianship in Harşit Valley as well as in all Black Sea. Musicianship was not regarded as a real profession in the past. Farmers or shepherds also used to play music in weddings or fests. Usually they were not paid for the job; a bottle of *rakı* and dinner was enough for them. After Black Sea popular music market emerged, social status of the musician has increased. Local musicians imitated the singing styles, sounds, lyrics, and clothing of popular Black Sea singers to become as famous as them. As I

analyzed in previous chapter, musicking is dramatically changed in region, as well as pasture fests. They usually do not play any instruments, they bring the kemençe and bağlama players with them. Their repertoire changed accordingly, they play mostly popular music songs or at least popularized Black Sea türküs. Musicians did not want to play among the dancing folk. The stage separated them from people and raised their statues parallel to height and size of their stage. In addition, microphones, sound systems and some electronical instruments like *org* have tied musicians on the stage. This separation also contributed to reevaluate the place of musicians in the society. Furthermore, they saw Black Sea popular music singers on tabloid TV shows. The idiom “One shall be football player or popular music singer in these days” is a relatively new idiom that summarizes the view of the society on the new status of musicians.

- Finally, a kind of dualism has appeared in last ten years. Shore townships started holding their own fests in township centers on “coincidentally” close dates with pasture fests of the inland. These shore fests have drawn a big crowd because of easy transportation and famous guest singers. Also, they have benefited from the high population of townships. While Kadirga and Güvende are situated in highlands and it is hard to reach by an ordinary car (my car was broken down twice), thousands of people can walk from their house to shore fests in five minutes.

On the other hand, some people want to revive Otçu Göçü and its ritualistic feature. They saw today’s pasture fests (and naturally shore fests) as rootless and corrupt. They do not want anything except tradition: stage, protocol, sound systems, microphone and even non-Chepni singer are out of tradition. They started to hold traditional (I use the term “*double traditional*” here, because even Görele’s shore fest, which is only ten years old, uses traditional in its title) pasture fests in Honefter and Kazıkbeli pastures. In these alternative fests, there is no stage and sound system. Moreover, they do not have a fixed schedule; fests continue all day. So, it seems that fest issue divided Black Sea again in coastal and inland regions. We have seen this split in the culture because of geographical isolation and introvert nature of inland. Although this isolation has been cracked with new roads, trade, immigration and media in the last

eighty years, fests are creating a new kind of division now. Local people (especially elderly and immigrants) approve of these *double traditional* initiatives. However, young people tend to attend shore fests. For that reason, I do not think that these *double traditional* fests will be spread. The cultural core of Otçu Göçü and pasture fests has long been swallowed by modern life. Shore fests seem to be more suitable with the modern lifestyle.

One more interpretation can be made about this split, I think. As I explained in the previous chapters, pasture fests have strong bonds with Alevi beliefs. Although this link has been forgotten, it has not totally disappeared. Reaching the pastures and amusing oneself or praying there still have a ritualistic dimension for some people. Bringing down pasture fests to the shores can serve the disappearing of Alevi rituals. In Weberian interpretation, this secularization of fests is a disenchantment process. In addition, the governmental support of shore fests can be clarified with this viewpoint, as Alevi belief is not proper to the Turkish identity that they want to construct. So, the state supports “secular” shore fests for the sake of weakening the pasture fests.

Economics, globalization, capitalism, identity, and technology are some of the changing forces of cultures. It was an inspirational experience to investigate the traces of these changes in Harşit culture. If Harşit Valley’s different societies, different cultures had not been affected and merged with each other in nearly three thousand years of its history, neither Otçu Göçü nor shore fests would have existed probably. The task of an ethnomusicologist may not to protect a culture, but to record, interpret and report it. For me, every culture is valuable just because humans create them. I am very happy for having found the chance to record, interpret and report Harşit Valley music culture in a short period of time during its long journey of history.

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- Url-6** <<https://goo.gl/PrNmRE>> Data retrieved 12.07.2018.
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- Url-8** <<https://goo.gl/G4cLka>> Data retrieved 05.10.2018.
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- Url-10** <<https://goo.gl/Xke6Ku>> Data retrieved 05.10.2018.
- Url-11** <<https://goo.gl/52jYWr>> Data retrieved 05.10.2018.
- Url-12** <<https://goo.gl/ovMjES>> Data retrieved 05.10.2018.
- Url-13** <<https://goo.gl/4HkuVy>> Data retrieved 05.10.2018.
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- Url-22** <<https://goo.gl/y7YRx9>> Data retrieved 08.10.2018.
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- Url-25** <<https://bit.ly/2Kigz96>> Data retrieved 30.05.2019.
- Url-26** <<https://bit.ly/2wtITNL>> Data retrieved 30.05.2019.
- Url-27** <<https://bit.ly/2ELQIbA>> Data retrieved 30.05.2019.
- Url-28** <<https://bit.ly/2EKpPiQ>> Data retrieved 30.05.2019.
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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A : Cemo Transcription (Harşit Version)

APPENDIX B : Cemo Transcription (Şanlıurfa Version)

APPENDIX C : Glossary

APPENDIX D : CD Track List

APPENDIX A

CEMO

TRT Repertuvar No: ----

Derleyen: İdris Ersan KÜÇÜK

Yöresi: Giresun / Doğan kent / Güce

Derleme Tarihi: Eylül-2013

Kimden Alındığı: Ali BABAYİĞİT

Notalayan: İdris Ersan KÜÇÜK

♩ = 120

Ce mo ge le sen de gel Bah çe yi do lan da gel
E gel a nın ver mez se pen ce re den kaç ta gel
Oy Ce mo vay Ce mo Ce mi le

Figure A.1 : Transcription of Cemo Horonu (One of the Harşit Versions)

APPENDIX B

T.R.T. MÜZİK DAİRESİ YAYINLARI
T.H.M. REPERTUAR No : 3677
İNCELEME TARİHİ : 13.8.1993

DERLEYEN
PİANON

YÖRE
ŞANLIURFA
KAYNAK KİŞİ
ZEHRA BAKIR

DERLEME TARİHİ

NOTALAYAN
MUSTAFA ÖZGÜL

CEMO GÜL AÇANDA GEL

SÜRE :

SAZ

CE MO GÜ LA ÇAN DA GEL

BAH ÇA YI DO LAN DA GEL BAH ÇE DEN GE LE MEZ SEN

PEN CE RE DEN GAÇ TA GEL OY CE MO VAY CE MO

OY CE MO VAH CE Mİ LE HAY RA NIS Mİ NE CE MO

GUR BAN CİS Mİ NE CE MO VAH CE MO VAH CE

Figure B.1 : Transcription of Cemo (Original Version From Şanlıurfa)

APPENDIX C : GLOSSARY

Aksak Rhythm: *Aksak* rhythm is using of binary and ternary rhythmic groups in one piece, like 7/8: 2+2+3 or 9/8: 3+2+2+2. It is very common in Turkish music. Black Sea musics usually use 5/8 formation of aksak: 2+3 or 3+2 in high tempos.

Alevism: *Alevism* is heterodox and syncretic Islamic belief of Anatolia, a branch of Shia Islam. It is second largest belief in Turkey after Sunni Islam.

Arabesk: *Arabesk* is a popular music genre with sad and rebellious lyrics. This genre was common in suburbans of big cities and usually defined as degenerate or bad music by educated city people.

Atışma: *Atışma* is improvisational musical games of two or more musicians. One musician starts atışma with an improvisational verses in a kayde. Verses mostly related to another musician to invite him or her to atışma. Then, atışma continues with recipropal ironical quarrel with music.

Atma Türkü: This is improvisational form of Black Sea music. In Atma Türkü, singer usually uses a known kayde but improvises the verses. Sometimes another musician replies to first and the from transforms to atışma.

Cemevi: Cemevi is worshipping places of Alevi. Cem ritual hold in Cemevi.

Chepni: Chepnies are a Turkic clan lives in commonly in Ordu, Giresun and Trabzon provinces. They are one of the oldest Turkic people in Black Sea region.

Gurbetçi: A person who has gone abroad for work. The noun “*gurbet*” means foreign place, and derivational suffix “*çi*” denoting a profession or occupation. This is another key term in Turkish culture, like *gelin* (bride) and *asker* (soldier). While brides and soldiers are away from their family, gurbetçi is away from his/her mainland and he/she is full of homesickness. Gurbetçi feels this sorrow in his/her heart and works for establishing mainland culture in abroad, as every diasporic community does.

Hemşinli: Hemşin and Çamlıhemşin are two municipalities in Rize. *Hemşinli* refers to people living in Hemşin, Çamlıhemşin, Çayeli, Pazar, Fındıklı and Hopa. But there are several Hemşinli groups in Russia, Georgia, Armenia and Uzbekistan. *Hemşinli* people of Turkey are Muslims, but their native language is a branch of Armenian language.

Kahvehane: *Kahvehane* or shortly *kahve* means coffeeshop in Turkish. But in Turkey, they are socialization places of men. They usually drink tea and play backgammon or card games. There are at least one *kahvehane* in almost all villages in Turkey.

Kayde: *Kayde* (or *Gayde*) is a short musical phrase using in Black Sea music. It is usually using in strophic form.

Laz: *Lazs* are an ethnic group in Black Sea Turkey. While their language is from Kartvelian family, they have a strong Turkish identity. Although there are about one million *Laz* people lives in Turkey, *Laz* people are sterotype of all Black Sea people in Turkey.

Lom: Lom or Bohsa people are Romani people living in Caucasia. There are about a thousand Lom lives in Turkish Black Sea.

Org: Portable electronic synthesizer. It is very common instrument in Turkey.

Otçu Göçü: *Otçu Göçü* is a Çepni tradition of seasonal immigration. It means weeder immigration, because they go to the pastures after the weeding their field in July. This is a ritualistic immigration, with fancy dressed cattles, music and dance.

Sunni Islam: The most common Islamic belief in Turkey (66 %). It can be defined as “Orthodox Islam”. Sunni Islam was official religion of Ottoman Empire.

Trabzonspor: *Trabzonspor* is the sport club of Trabzon. Although Trabzonspor has basketball and swimming teams, football team is the first thing comes in mind. It was very popular in all Black Sea and also İstanbul till 2000. *Trabzonspor* was an important part of Black Sea identity.

Yaylacılık: It means transhumance, seasonal immigration of herders. It was very common in Black Sea, but it lost its importance due to animal husbandry’s decay. Now it is very symbolic as I wrote in third chapter.

APPENDIX D : CD TRACK LIST

- Track 1: Cemo Song (Zehra Bilir)
- Track 2: Kayde example from Ağasarlı Necmi
- Track 3: Giresun Ormanında (Alican Bölük)
- Track 4: Otçu göçü from 1970's (video)
- Track 5: Ünal Turan - An excerpt from Güvende Şenlikleri 2017
- Track 6: Ulm-Kadırga 2017
- Track 7: Şerif Topal – Bakmayı Bilmiyorsun
- Track 8: Alim Koca – Nazlı Yar
- Track 9: Sinan Yılmaz - An excerpt from Güvende Şenlikleri 2017

CURRICULUM VITAE

Name Surname : Mustafa Kemal Özkul
Place and Date of Birth : Afyon, 1985
E-mail : kemalozkul07@gmail.com

EDUCATION :

- **B.Sc.** : 2008, Akdeniz University Faculty of Fine Arts Music Department
- **M.Sc.** : 2011, Akdeniz University Institute of Fine Arts Music Programme

PROFESSIONAL EXPERIENCE AND AWARDS:

- 2009 – 2011 Research Assistant in Akdeniz University Faculty of Fine Arts Music Department
- 2011 – 2012 Research Assistant in Mimar Sinan Fine Arts University State Conservatory
- 2012 – 2016 Research Assistant in Istanbul Technical University Center for Advanced Studies in Music (MIAM)
- From 2016 to present: Research Assistant in Giresun University Görele Faculty of Fine Arts Music Department

PUBLICATIONS, PRESENTATIONS AND PATENTS ON THE THESIS:

- **Özkul, Mustafa Kemal.** (2018). Changing Religion, Changing Musics: On the Musics of Chepni People. *International Phd Musicological Conference: Musicology (in)action: Past Musics, Present Practices, Future Prospects*. February 9-11, 2018, Thessaloniki, Greece.
- **Özkul, Mustafa Kemal.** (2019). On the change of Otçu Göçü tradition in Harşit Valley. *The Journal of Academic Social Sciences*, 88(7), 487-498.