

**SOCIAL SOLIDARITY, RELIGIOUS BELIEFS AND HOLY
PLACES:**

7 VILLAGES AROUND THE OHI RIVER



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SOCIAL SOLIDARITY, RELIGIOUS BELIEFS AND HOLY PLACES:
7 VILLAGES AROUND THE OHI RIVER

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PLAGIARISM

I hereby declare that all information in this document has been obtained and presented in accordance with academic rules and ethical conduct. I also declare that, as required by these rules and conduct, I have fully cited and referenced all material and results that are not original to this work.

22/07/ 2019

Emrah Tüncer



Abstract

In the district of Karakoçan in Elâzığ, following the west of Ohi River, respectively, Tekardıç, Demirdelen, Akcicek, Çamardı, Çayırgülü, Üçbudak and Yoğunağaç villages, 3 of them are Sunni, 4 of them are Alevi population densely. Although these villages differ in their faith practices and social way of life, common rituals, narratives and cults have transformed the “space” there into a “place” over time, and social continuity has also been achieved through the common memory and memory process created by the areas that have been transformed from the space to the “place”. During the one-year period spent in the villages mentioned in the participatory observation method in this region, villagers were included in their life practices, went to shrines and conducted interviews. As a result, many factors have been found to be effective in forming syncretic and symbolic processes, as well as developing solidarity based on them.

Key words: Karakoçan, Social Solidarity, Sacred Place, Place, Ritual,

Özet

Elâzığ Karakoçan ilçesinde Ohi Deresi’ni batıya doğru takip eden sırasıyla Tekardıç, Demirdelen, Akçiçek, Çamardı, Çayırgülü, Üçbudak ve Yoğunağaç Köylerinden 3 tanesi Sünni, 4 tanesi de Alevi nüfusu yoğunluktadır. Bu köylerin inanç pratikleri ile sosyal yaşam biçimi farklılık gösterse de ortak ritüeller, anlatılar ve kültürler oradaki “mekân”ın zamanla bir “yer”e dönüşümünü sağlamış ve mekândan “yer”e dönüşen alanların yarattığı ortak bellek ve hafıza süreciyle de toplumsal süreklilik sağlanmıştır. Bu bölgede Katılımcı gözlem yöntemiyle bahsedilen köylerde geçirilen bir yıllık süre boyunca, köylülerin yaşam pratiklerine dâhil olunmuş, türbelere gidilmiş ve görüşmeler yapılmıştır. Sonuç olarak senkretik ve simgesel süreçlerle biçimlenen birliktelik ve buna dayalı gelişen dayanışmanın oluşmasında çok sayıda faktörün etkili olduğu görülmüştür.

Anahtar kelimeler: Karakoçan, Sosyal Dayanışma, Kutsal Mekân, Yer, Ritüel,

To Carina Cuanna Thuijs's cherished memory



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“There are no stories of the sea on which we can grasp only one shore” says Bilge Karasu.

So I came across Anthropology on such a path that I went out on behalf of exploring, finding, settling, leaving, and, importantly, learning the stories there. Anthropology was luck for me. It made me go outside the patterns, the rules, the drawn boundaries that formed in my mind. First of all, I would like to thank Mr. Bederettin Dalan and his family, especially his son Barış Dalan, who gave me the chance to study on a scholarship in the Anthropology Department of Yeditepe University, one of the most important foundation universities in Turkey with its lush campus, excellent teachers, innovative approach to international standards.

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I apologize to the people living in the villages where I know the fact that “Every human being is a world” but I could not write their names due to ethical rules and unfortunately reduced

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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

1.1. The Topic Of Research

This study examines how the solidarity network established by the people formed in the seven villages and sacred places of Karakoçan district of Elâzığ province following the Ohi Stream to the west and how the place became a common place. In order to analyze the solidarity network between these four Alevi and three Sunni populated villages in the study area, religious rituals are realized, the factors leading to syncretic processes and the socio-cultural factors in which the symbols in this context are shaped and changed and the effect of this on social solidarity.

1.2. The purpose and importance of research

In the anthropology literature, there are two main orientations developed on Muslim societies and Islamic cultural traditions, which are defined as “Islam anthropology” and “Islamic anthropology”. “Islamic anthropology” can be defined as seeking an anthropological perspective to study Muslim societies or communities, and “Islam anthropology” can be defined as anthropology from an Islamic perspective. In other words, Islam anthropology can be defined as seeking an anthropological perspective for studying Muslim societies or communities, and Islamic anthropology can be defined as anthropology from an Islam perspective. Therefore, the main factor behind Islam anthropology is not the need for Islam to be understood as a monolithic, unchanging totality, but as a human activity that changes and gains reality through the practices and worlds of meaning of the people who live it and bring it to life (C. Geertz 2012, 15-97).

In this study, it is aimed to explore the connections in terms of Islamic anthropology by focusing on the relationship between Sunni communities in the field and Alevi communities in historical and contemporary processes, strategies of existence and the relationship between sacred spaces, rituals and myths.

Especially in the face of the accelerating pace of the modernization process, traditional values and practices are being pushed to the background in every field of life, and despite the claim that tradition is disappearing in the face of modernization, rather than being destroyed in the face of modernization, the examples that show that modernization continues to exist, in many ways it also appears in relation to worship practices (Atay 2012, 133). In these 7 villages in Karakoçan district of Elazığ, the religiousness determined and shaped in accordance with the way of life and culture still exists, frequent visits to the places of sacred tombs, narration of evliya legends, the occurrence of tree cult manifestations and the problems encountered in the analysis. It is striking and worthy to point out the relationship between belief practices and the social way of life.

Therefore, the religious rituals, place influence, place names, virtual kinship, marriage, sacred, memoratas, etc., which took place in the seven villages in the study area and in the sacred spaces between these villages. In this context, it is one of the main aims to examine the role it plays in social solidarity and to examine the role of practices in these villages and sacred places in the formation of syncretism¹ through Islamic anthropology.

¹ Syncretism, that is, religious adaptability, can be defined as the emergence of new elements of faith or patterns as a result of the interference of different belief systems by interacting. In Atay's phrase, syncretism from an anthropological perspective can be conceptualized in the form of cultural concoctions, which are the product of the process of "culturing" (Atay, 2012, 137).

The issues covered by the survey, and it is worth trying to understand why this matter to the rural areas to work in Turkey and it is useful to look at the contribution to the literature of the study.

1.3. Overview of village studies

The fact that the majority of the population (75%) lived in the rural areas in the establishment of the republic led to an increase in initiatives towards rural areas and the rural area attracted the attention of social sciences. In this case, in parallel with the first work in the field of rural sociology in Turkey, under the influence of the resulting current in France with Le Play we can say that the rest is handled by Prince Sabahattin. In this period, Ziya Gökalp tried to explain the Turkish culture and civilization with the peasantry. Prince Sabahattin, who was influenced by Le Play and Mehmet Ali Şevki Bey and Selahattin Demirkan, who are widely known in the literature as the followers and monographers of the same *ecole*, actually replace the monograph of Tevfik Nevzat's Ören Village of İzmir (Nerse, 2014,169).

From the establishment of the Republic till the 1940s, Kayaalp&Karsak (2018) who states that village studies in Turkey consist of detailed monographs, refers to the works of Mehmet Ali Şevki, Sadri Aran, Selahattin Demirkan, Niyazi Berkes, Behice Boran and Ibrahim Yasa in the context of modernization and development. Kayaalp & Karsak states that change in the rural area can only be realized as a result of the effects coming from the center because the villages do not have dynamism in themselves, and they are perceived as a static and closed areas and perceived as a laboratory where the modernization process of the villages can be monitored (Kayaalp and Karsak, 2018, 83-84).

German sociologist Gerhard Kessler in 1944, Orhan Tuna and Ziyaeddin Fahri Findikoğlu, Zonguldak and Karabük mineral quarries in the study of working conditions, Ibrahim Yasa's 1944 Hasanoğlu village study and Sindel village study of 1944 are important studies of the year (Türkdoğan, 2006, 48). In the 1950s, interest in rural areas increased and the number of researches in the field of village sociology increased. The development of the village people is the main subject. As a matter of fact, there has been a change in the techniques used in the field researches in the 1950s, the number of foreign researchers in the researches has increased and subject changes have occurred. Mahmut Makal, who grew up in the village Institutes, described the situation of the rural area of Turkey by depicting the village he was teaching in his book “Our Village”. An important development of this period in terms of field research is that Nermin Erdentuğ used anthropological researches in the Hal and Sün Villages of Elâziğ and used participant observation in addition to the survey technique. According to the dominant anthropological approach of the period, the most important work that can be called as structural functionalist is Paul Stirling's “Turkish Village” (1965). Stirling first began work in 1949 and continued this work for many years. Similar to Stirling, Orhan Türkdoğan studied the Malakans, a Russian ethnic group in the three villages of Kars, starting from 1959 until 1962, and completed the work “Social Structure of the Malakans”. Research conducted in the late 1960s was a preparation for the 1970s. We can also evaluate the studies conducted in this period as criticizing the village-city traditional-modern distinctions that do not include the assumption that the village looks like a modern city (Kayaalp and Karsak, 2018,86).

Researches on rural areas and villages on the Eastern and Southeastern regions have gained weight especially with the establishment of the State Planning Organization (1961). As a foreign expert within the SPO investigations conducted by Frederick W. Frey, on the basis of

nine zonal Turkey classification used by the erstwhile farmers, more than 6000 lives on 1962 458 villages and aged 14 villagers who on the reputation of a survey has been subjected. Today, this study constitutes being the most systematic of inter-regional studies in our country. In this study by Frey, a) regional differences in the characteristics of the village, b) regional differences in the characteristics of the peasants, c) comparison of regional differences among the peasants with other types of differences were identified (Türkdoğan, 2006, 80-81).

In the mid-1970s, under the leadership of Ruşen Keleş and Orhan Türkay within the framework of the research project on Turkish economic development, a research was carried out taking the example of 44 villages of 6 regions except the Southeastern Anatolia Region (Planck, 1977, 277-296). Bahattin Akşit, Çağlar Keyder and Ali Akçay, who were important social scientists in the 1970s, studied rural transformation methods, capitalization, modernization and polarization problems similar to Kıray until the late 1980s. After 1970, the ratio of the peasant population to the general population has gradually changed and village surveys have continued to be conducted in the form of comparative studies. With the increasing population in the cities and the decrease in the village population, there has been a discourse change in the field of village studies in the 1980s (Aksit 2006, 125). Rural area, sustainable rural tourism, renewable environment and energy are defined as rural problems in relation to the needs of the city or in relation to the urban, such as rural impoverishment, decreasing future expectations, and employment problem (Nerse, 2014,171).

After 1980, the rhetoric of liberalization and opening to international markets increased. Since 1980s; names such as Bahattin Akşit, Çağlar Keyder, Nükhet Sirman, Huricihan İslamoğlu, Zülküf Aydın, Abdülkerim Sönmez, Nejdet Oral, Zafer Yenal, and Gülten Kazgan; they

examine changing production relations, price policies, the importance of state subsidies and other subsidies in terms of production relations, rural adaptation policies, changing class profiles and the roles of local and global actors in rural production. In 1982, Carol Delaney, *Seed and Soil: Gender and Cosmology in Turkish Village Society*, studied the life practices of the villagers during the two years she spent in this Sunni Turkish village through participatory observation between 1980-82 and investigated how gender was formed through the concept of creation.

1.4. Contribution of the Study to Literature

There are no anthropological studies in the literature covering Karakoan villages within the narrative and ritual based on Alevi-Sunni interaction and covering 7 villages. There are only two studies on Karakocan and their villages at the doctoral level in the field of geography. Ahmet Mor's "Geographical study of Karakoan District" and Sevda Bayram's "Geography of the Upper Peri River Basin" discusses the natural and geological-geomorphological structure of the area as well as the human and economic characteristics of the area through its geography. Abdulkadir Kiyak's doctoral thesis "A Religious Science Research on the phenomenon of visits in Elâzığ and its region", although it includes the sacred places around Elâzığ, does not include social- cultural data related to the region except for the promotion of visits.

The most important of the works, which emphasize the general characteristics and cultural structure of kKarakoan and give place to everyday life in villages in general, are the books of Mithat Özcan called "Oxchiyan with its distant and recent past" and "From the language of witnesses: Fairy Valley". These books provide numerous testimonies, documents and data on the ethnic, cultural and social structure of the region.

In some studies, outside the study area but related to the study area, namely Bingöl, Elâzığ, Tunceli, there is some general information about the research area. For example, Mehmet S. Kaya's work "Zaza Kurds" is an important ethnographic study in this way about the Zaza Kurds in Bingöl Solhan. In his book, Kaya has developed a holistic approach that gives importance to understanding the whole of society rather than telling it alone. In this context, Zaza society has addressed the traditional institutions of patriarchy, sheikhism, tribal relations, religion, kinship, reciprocity, culture and identity, gender relations, marriage, economic structure, and some central importance issues such as their relationship with nation state and nation state policies. In his study "Being Sunni in Tunceli: Ethnological examination of national and local identity elements in Tunceli – Pertek", Ahmet Kerim Gültekin also considers the Sunni communities in the minority within the dominant Alevi population living in Tunceli province from an ethnological point of view within the framework of cultural identity and religion. In the same way, Erdoğan Yalgın's book "Enigmatic Dersim History 1-2" traces the tribes and makes determinations on the origin of the Reya/Raa heqi faith. The book "Path/Ré: Dersim symbolism of faith-an anthropological approach" by Dilşa Deniz was formed around the concepts of Tunceli-sanctity and space with a similar approach. İsmail Beşikçi's book "Change and structural problems in the East (Nomadic Alikan Tribal) " is an important work that is covered in the framework of Tribal Relations, underdevelopment structure and economic development factor.

Although there are important studies in the anthropology of religion in the general literature, two more important sources can be mentioned in terms of methods and approaches. Author Çakır Ceyhan Süvari's book "Malakans-the Malakan belief from Russian peasant movements to the present" is a wide-ranging book that will attract the attention of all interested in topics such as the history of Malakanism, the emergence of Malakanism, the exile of Malakans to

Kars, the past and present situations of Malakans in Turkey and Azerbaijan and may be a reference. The author carried out part of the field research in Ivanovka Village and then supported the comparison and study of the Ivanovka Village data with the data obtained in the Arpaçay field research.

The book titled “The Mysterious Belief of Anatolia, Nusayrilik Belief Systems and Cultural Properties” written by Hüseyin Türk was created according to the similar understanding in Malakans study. In this study, it gives detailed information about tomb belief, Khidr cult and Nusayrilik based on scientific research. At the same time, this study not only describes Nusayrism, the second largest community after Sunnism, but also contains a wealth of information on the history and culture of Antakya.

These studies in the area of the immediate surroundings of Karakoçan and the anthropology of religion were greatly utilized during his doctoral work. However, the fact that the syncretic structure is not mentioned in the studies related to Sunni or Alevi groups in Turkey and that the effects of narratives, spaces, cults and rituals in shaping social solidarity between groups in any source makes this work unique.

PART 2: ETHNOGRAPHY, THEORETICAL EVALUATION AND CONCEPTS IN RESEARCH

2.1. Ethnography and Theoretical Evaluation

2.1.1. Changing Ethnography

Ethnography can be defined as a method of research consisting mainly of the Greek words *ethnos* (folk) and *graphie* (drawing), aiming at a complete description of the process to the human community or any cultural institution that has been made an object of research, and consisting of specific theories and various research techniques related to them (Haviland, 2002, 33). In this regard, Marcus and Fischer describe ethnography as a process of research in which the anthropologist closely observes, records, participates in, and then writes about this culture with emphasis on descriptive details (Marcus and Fischer, 2011, 59). In his book "Tales of the Field", John Van Maanen sees Ethnography as the written representation of a culture (or the chosen sides of a culture). In the continuation of his definition, Maanen States:

He bears a rather serious intellectual and moral responsibility for images of others, as recorded writing is often assumed to be not objective. Ethnographic spelling can inform on human behavior and judgment by pointing out the preferences and limitations at the very core of social life in numerous different ways (Maanen, 2011, 1).

Bronislaw Malinowski's concept of field research adapted from physical science to anthropology (Altuntek, 2009) paved the way for ethnographic research, and field notes published in 1967 served the birth of a critical anthropology (Marcus and Fischer, 2013). Sibel Özbudun describes the development process of ethnography and its relationship with colonialism through the narrative of Norwegian sociologist Johan Galtung:

A painting was hung in the waiting room of the office of Kwame Nkrumah, the former President of Ghana. It was a huge painting.; the main figure was Nkrumah himself, who broke down the last chain of colonialism. The chains were about to be broken; lightning strikes in the sky, the ground was shaking. At the edge of the painting three were three small figures, who were scampering away with pale faces. One of them was a capitalist, he had a bag in his hand. The other one was a priest or a missionary, with a Bible in his hand. The smaller third figure had a book titled "African Political Systems": He was an anthropologist (Özbudun, 2011).

Galtung's picture in this narrative has been quite a while since the beginning of the 1980s, and an internal inquiry in anthropology has begun. This critical point of view focused on the connection between anthropology's roots and colonialism, deepening further over time, problematize the relationship that the anthropologist established with the "other", the source of information. The representation of the "other" could not simply be considered as an innocent academic research, and the hierarchical relationship between the "other" and the anthropologist established his own subjectivity over the issues of criticism has been made (Kayaalp, 2014).

"The monographs that geographers, anthropologists, sociologists produce on society, ethnic groups, tribes, regions, neighborhoods, slums, etc. Provide important information for the political and military news services of the great powers." This information, which has been accumulated for a long time, has allowed us to intervene successfully and rapidly anywhere in the world (Lacoste 2004,21), " said Yves Lacoste, a French Marxist geographer, adding that ethnography was invented by statisticians and was a method used by members of the British military, bureaucrats, and the population in colonial India according to castes and tribes.

In ethnographic terms, these criticisms made significant gains. Ethnography, which is seen as both a method and a discipline, has developed continuously with its changing definition and scope in the historical process. Ethnographic studies began to be conducted that questioned Western civilization and colonialism, explored the margins of the state, and studied capitalist

transformation. The emphasis in many of these works shifted from the issue of representation of the “other” as a cultural subject to the study of the processes of power that establish subjects in different ways. Just how and by whom knowledge is built within this network of power has emerged as a very important and questionable issue. With the axis shift in the subjects of the study, the seeking in ethnographic research resumed. Anthropological studies, whose subject is solely focused on human and culture, gradually left their place to multi-doer, multi-area field research (Kayaalp, 2014, 105).

As a result of this ethnographic criticism and self-criticism that prepared the groundwork for being more sensitive, certain preliminary assumptions and prescriptions were also avoided in this field study. It is aimed to include the village in the sample in sufficient number and level to represent the universe, to describe their lifestyles, thoughts, material and spiritual cultural elements they have created, to ensure that the change of cultural values in the region can be easily monitored and to make more comprehensive studies on the recorded material. Therefore, instead of selecting a particular village with its average characteristics, such as village monographs based on positivist method, anthropological studies concentrated in one area and representative of the countryside as an example, seven villages along the same road along Ohi River were taken together in this study. Accordingly, the perspectives, in-depth interviews and participatory observation of the actors who revealed them in the interpretation of daily life and religious rituals in 7 villages and religious places of Karakoçan were tried to make clear in the eyes of those belonging to another culture, as Clifford Geertz² says. (Geertz, 2010, 20-23).

² Geertz considered Bali cockfighting rituals as a ‘readable’ ‘text’ for symbolic meanings that must be interpreted to reveal experience and meaning. According to him, cockfighting is not a superficial social practice, it is related to the bottom principles of Balinese culture and represents a form of imagination and a worldview. Repetitive cock fights, which are repeated over and over again, allow Balinese people to see their own subjectivity. Cockfights indicate masculine status and hierarchy, good and bad, and associate life with more than a game tan after establishing it as “just a game”.

2.1.2. Theoretical Evaluation

In addition to holistic elements when researching a community, it is essential to understand and analyze the socio-cultural structure of that community, especially to look at diversity and diversity. Efforts to conceptualize the differences that are important in understanding the structures and internal dynamics of societies have continued for a long time between sociologists and anthropologists. For example, Tönnies' distinction between congregataion and community, Durkheim's organic and mêkanic solidarity, Cooley's primary-secondary groups, Tocquville's mass and elite culture, Marks' feudal and capitalist, Lévi - Strauss's distinction between warm-cold or domestic-wild societies, Redfield's folk-urban dichotomy and its expansion, as well as the concept of high and low/little culture. These distinctions were not used in a single theoretical framework, but were sometimes used in evolutionary, sometimes dialectical, sometimes functionalist, and sometimes confrontational. However, in addition to the functionality of these concepts, they also have instrumental roles, especially in some stereotypical and idiosyncratic approaches. This can lead to not a very inaccuratepractice in examining a certain socio-cultural structure, ignoring the multiplicity and diversity of its discourse and practices in different contexts, and going to some easy dichotomic generalizations.

In this study, there is an approach to Ibn Khaldun's 'frustration' society, Durkheim's 'mechanical' society, Turner's 'commünitas' concept, Bilgiseven's 'cem and difference' approach. Even though the views and reading styles of these thinkers are different, it can be said that the subject they take in the center is the same. Because Ibn Khaldun reading the concept of social solidarity and frustration through nomadic society; Durkheim, based on whether or not industrial society; Turner believes that when a problem arises in the society, the rituals and society try to solve it and in fact, in doing so, it creates a new communal

association. Bilgiseven reads the concept of social solidarity and holism through Islamic terminology. In other words, although it may seem as though it is not separate and holistic, we can see how the social solidarity elements supported by the findings work in the field with these concepts. Therefore, in this study, religious, social and anthropological data are tried to be used together and social solidarity is tried to be considered holistically.

A similar situation is accepted for the social science approach. The necessity of geography, history, sociology should not be considered separate from Anthropology, has been emphasized. Therefore, the anthropological approach was not only made up of fieldwork subjects, but other social sciences such as history, geography, religion, and sociology studies were also utilized. Based on the findings, ideas were developed on the basis of the symbolic-interpretive approach. In order to understand the structure that will support this approach, the concepts mentioned in the thesis should be emphasized. These concepts have also been discussed and supported in a way to support and include the theory.

2.2. Terms Used In Research

All the concepts in the study were evaluated under the umbrella of this section. Explanations will be made when these concepts are related to the subject in the relevant places.

2.2.1. Social Solidarity

“Solidarität” in German, “solidarité” in French, and “solidarity” in English is the equivalent of the concept of solidarity, which the Turkish Language Institution describes as “the mutual connection of individuals who form a community to each other through feelings, thoughts and common interests”. The concept, derived from the Latin word *solidus* (real/true), describes the harmony between human communities on a political plane and their common values in force. The concept is based on the rule “*obligatio in solidum*”, which is enshrined in Roman law and

means common commitment (Ekinici, 2018, 2). Solidarity is a controversial and contradictory concept that cannot be conceptualized by certain formulations. According to Ekinici, factors such as the fact that the concept is open to different attempts and interpretations trying to categorize it, the absence of an interpretation of universal validity, or the fact that it is always an up-to-date and multifaceted phenomenon have obscured the concept of solidarity, which is the basis of human interaction (Ekinici, 2018, 2).

As we mentioned before we see that the concept of solidarity first appeared in Roman law. There, the community expressed a mutual obligation in micro sociology such as guild. With the emergence of the Christian faith, solidarity has become an element that strengthens social ties by adding to the belief in God and a world view based on the basis of the brotherhood of religion. The concept of solidarity, which began to be used in smaller and local meanings in the Middle Ages, encompassed city states, feudal structures and monarchies through the idea of brotherhood and kinship, and the concept of solidarity, which underwent transformation in the age of Enlightenment due to rising rationality, was stripped of the idea of brotherhood of the ancient world and left its place. According to this concept, which was crowned with the French Revolution, solidarity began to be used within the framework of the concept of brotherhood, which complemented the concepts of equality and freedom, which are the mortar of the nation state. Thus, through morality, law, individual rights and freedoms rising on the basis of reason, the Old World's conception of fraternity based on religion was secularized and cemented social bonds. The breakthrough in science and technology along with industrialisation, the increase in labour and transport, the growth in capital investments, the transition to mass production, urbanisation and the transformation of living standards have led to the shaping of a new/modern life on the European continent (Ekinici, 2018,2-3). It is Durkheim who first discussed the concept of solidarity in this period and evaluated it within his own sociology. According to him, every social structure needs solidarity in order to

sustain its existence. However, Durkheim argues that solidarity takes place in different forms in traditional and modern societies, describing solidarity as a “social phenomenon that occurs because many states of consciousness are jointly present in all members of a society” (Durkheim, 2006,141). Solidarity takes different forms in different types of society. Therefore, according to Durkheim, there are two types of solidarity: Mechanic solidarity, the kind of solidarity that stands out in communities where people live together as small groups, where people know each other in their habitat, establish face-to-face relationships, share common history, where change takes place very slowly. In these communities, the Department of Labor is not very diverse. People have similar types of work and living habits. There are strong traditions, social communication and control mechanisms in such societies. In societies where mechanic solidarity is effective, individuals are not very differentiated from each other. The values and beliefs that individuals in society have are similar or even identical. Because individuals are not differentiated, social structures of this type are consistent in themselves. In the aforementioned societies, individual action takes on collective identity and often the collective consciousness becomes dominant. Organic solidarity; according to Durkheim, the industrialization process deeply affects traditional social structures. Agricultural structures began to unravel and cities came to prominence as new centers of life. In cities where hundreds of thousands of people live together, affinity has been replaced by diversity and distinction. Therefore, mechanic solidarity has lost its character and organic solidarity based on “division of labor” has been revealed. Therefore, organic solidarity is observed in modern societies in other words, capitalized societies. Individuals have differed in these societies (Uluğbey, 2008.45-49). Durkheim also intended to connect religious belief with social solidarity, and to portray suicide as one of the consequences of social dissolution (Sarp, 2016, 36).

In addition to philosophers such as Karl Marx, Ferdinand Tönnies, Emile Durkheim, Max Weber and George Simmel, Ibn-i Haldun's concept of indignation is often expressed in terms of “social solidarity” or “sense of solidarity”, which take advantage of the concept of solidarity in micro and macro analyses related to concepts such as sociality, social solidarity and social integrity. Ibn-i Haldun believes that in order for social life to be possible, there must be a unity of rules that will keep the members of society together, as well as people coming together and having productive relations. That is, it makes clear that societies lacking political organization also have a social and legal order unique to them. In particular, he states that the Bedouin societies on which he worked have social and legal schemes in which they will abide by their behavior, apply for disputes, establish rules and ensure that the society they have established lasts. The basic elements of this order are “irritability” and “chairmanship” (Aydın, 2015,54).

According to Ibn-i Haldun, who examines the irritability in two parts as the lineage and the cause irritability, the lineage is valid in the Bedouins and the cause irritability in the Hadarians. It is essential to be of the same lineage and cognate in lineage's temperament. In any attack from within the group, the spontaneous regulatory role of the tribal leader will be effective, while in the attack from outside the enemy, the courage of the tribe's prominent young people, the sense of protecting their relatives and his / her nature, by bringing them to the defense will ensure. The solidarity provided by factors such as blood devotion and kinship is more prominent in Bedouin communities. According to Ibn-i Haldun, there are a number of factors that contribute to the coexistence of the community, other than blood devotion and kinship, that will create a sense of solidarity, such as acting together, being able to think in common, having common ideologies. For example, since the emergence of the property, as a result of increased prosperity and wealth, lineage irritability will gradually weaken, instead,

due to a number of socio-economic developments, which have nothing to do with the blood bond, modernization will be valid in society (Kızılçelik, 2011, 38).

The concept of social integration is used instead of the concept of social solidarity by Bilgiseven, one of the most important philosopher of our time. According to Bilgiseven, it is expressed as social integration that the elements of material and spiritual culture come together in a society and complement each other in a manner that will express meaning and create a functioning whole. In short, he defines social integration as the situation of complementarity between various elements of social structure such as small communities interest associations, institutions (Koca, 2018, 2032). Bilgeven, while revealing the types of social integration, also moves from Sorokin³. He states that there are two types of integration, the accidental and forced types and the true types of integration. According to him, “earthly contiguity” and “coming together with external influences” are in non-real (“incidental”, “forced”) types of integration, while “functional integration” and “integration around meaning” represent a real integration (Koca, 2018, 2032). According to Bilgiseven, “the first of the real types of social integration” is the functional integration in which the elements of culture perform functions and render the society mechanism. The second is “integration according to a central sense in which the elements gain a whole identity” by expressing a meaning when they come together. The integration between socio-cultural integration types is expressed as the perfect integration type according to the meaning. Because” in societies where the state of “meaningful integration” stands out, various elements are not only a function, but rather they complement one by their own character (Bilgiseven, 1982, 325).

³Soviet sociologist with theories such as socio-cultural systems, social deviance, and layering.

As a result, social solidarity, which plays an important role in the transition from individuals to society, is used in this study in a similar context to Durkheim's concepts of mechanic solidarity, Ibn-i Haldun's anger and Bilgeven's concept of integration according to meaning.

2.2.2 Cem and Difference

Tawhid, derived from the vahd (vahdet, vühud) root meaning “to be one and unique” according to the TDV Encyclopedia of Islam, 2012, means “to accept that something is one and only”. This concept is a concept that has an important place in Bilgiseven's views on the sociology of religion. Bilgiseven, offers a theory of faith in his work. He tries to put forward this theory with the tawhite formula. In order to understand the true meaning of Tawhid, the Tawhid formulas suggested by Bilgiseven, which stated that these Tawhid formulas should be discussed together, are “Cem+Difference=Tawhid”, “Tenzih+Tashbih=Tawhid”, “Sharia+Truth= Tawhid” and “Self-consciousness+ Our consciousness = Tawhid” (Dikici 2018, 187; Bilgiseven, 1989, 53).

According to Bilgiseven, who focuses more on the concepts of cem and difference in his work, difference expresses the separation, multiplicity and diversity of the beings in the universe, while the concept of cem refers to the existence being one despite the characters such as multiplicity, separation and difference in the world of difference. In fact, difference+cem= explains that the law in the form of Tawhid occurs spontaneously in material and biological reality as follows: “There are different organs in the organic world called the body, each of which is different from the other. The function of each is different. However, all these organs come together to form a whole. If the order that provides unity and the harmony between the organs is broken, that body will be scattered and destroyed” (Bilgeven, 1989, 136). The concept of cem according to Bilgiseven is more of a natural reality

with its static dimension and a natural law with its dynamic dimension. For example, in the organic realm we call the body, when the unity between the elements is broken and a harmony cannot be formed again, the whole of the body with the elements is wiped out from the realm of being. If the functional functioning that leads to the destruction of the order that provides unity is disrupted, the body that is the unity (cem) realm with its static appearance is disintegrated. This dissolution means the destruction of both the whole and the parts. In this context, the difference and cem together with the formation of Tawhidi situations that occur outside of the individual and society will have negative consequences (Dikici 2018, 188; Bilgiseven, 1989, 58). In the anthropology literature, Radcliffe-Brown is the basis of this approach in Bilgiseven. Radcliffe-Brown, who viewed society as the sum of the interrelations of the elements and institutions that supported each other and who said that culture is a product of this social functioning, not individual individuals, likened the society to an organism. According to this, it is a whole that establishes its existence and works in balance, providing its continuation. In this context, while Malinowski emphasized the basic needs of the individual, Radcliffe-Brown drew attention to the continuity of the social structure.

As can be seen, Bilgeven points out that there is a similarity between the concepts of difference and cem and the concepts of individual and society in sociology and bears these concepts to the sociological background (İnan, 2013, 405). In the same way as the separation and unity between the individual and society in sociology, the realms of difference and cem are both separate and one in a way. Despite this separation in social reality, the state of unity can be understood. In the material reality, which is the simplest reality, no matter how deep we go in the atom, even in the smallest parts we can reach, we realize the property of commitment to the realm of unity. Even in biological reality, every organism is a world of unity. The ability of cooperation between organs and life to be envioning to the whole organism is the most clear evidence of this union. Psychological reality is a world of unity

between emotions and perceptions shaped around love and ideals. In social reality, the unseen bonds bind us to each other and to society. Rather it makes us feel that we are already connected (Dikici, 2018, 186-187). In short, according to Bilgiseven, the idea of communities devoid of the idea of tawhit is vicious communities from the care of unity and voluntary cooperation. It is stated that the communities cannot become a union in such cases, and that the dissociations and thawings begin to show that this situation is a pathological state for the societies. In this context, Durkheim's anomie as described primarily Talcott Parsons and Robert Merton as the rule of many sociologists called the anomine Bilgiseven reason for cem and the lack of difference. So for a community life that has not realized the idea of tawhit, anomie considers that thawing and dispersal is inevitable (İnan, 2013,403). Stating that the ones who work the concepts of difference and cem in the most perfect way are Turkish-Islamic Sufis, Bilgiseven states that these concepts seem to be opposite to each other, but they are actually two concepts that complement each other and are connected (Demirçin Efe, 2014, 207). And he explains that without one, the other can't make any sense:

The whole issue is a matter of realizing that monotheism is a concept that encompasses not only one of the difference and exclusivity of cem states, but both (Bilgiseven, 1989, 53).

According to Bilgiseven the most obvious example of the difference without cem is caste system. According to him, this system is against both Islam and the conditions of Sociology for Social Development. Because there is no transition between classes in such a system, there is no cem state. Another example of the difference without cem is the state of world politics. Strong states are implementing policies that weigh on difference perception. With these policies, the world cannot be seen to be a cem reality at the same time. The result of this is that the developed states crush the weak states so that they do not lose their superiority in the areas where they are superior. According to Bilgiseven, the Ottoman State is the most important example of cem policy without difference. According to him, the Ottomans gave

more weight to cem comprehension than they should. Therefore, while countries were conquered on the one hand with cem ideal, on the other hand, the difference element was neglected. In short, according to Bilgiseven, the essence of Islam is tawhit and its soul is the love of truth. According to him, the treatment of Tawhid as a different understanding of cem will result in the elimination of all kinds of individual responsibilities and the elimination of individuals ' personalities. In the Qur'an "We have divided you into Ummah so that you may know each other (Surat al-Hucurat, 13th verse)" Bilgeven states that individuals and nations who differ should recognize each other and reach cem consciousness in the awareness that they all come from the right, otherwise, difference without cem and non-difference cem understandings will lead the world to destruction in the international field and says:

The Qur'an refers to the individual creation of various nations on earth as a test for human beings. Indeed, in surat EnNahl 98. verse, it is said that" If Allah had wished, he would have made all of you a single Ummah." On the other hand, in Surat EnNahl 90. verse he states that the decent attitude is the attitude of sacrificing justice, goodness and to his own relatives and therefore to the members of his own nation). According to the Qur'an, the purpose of the creation of nations separately is for them to become ready with the decency of knowing each other. The aim to be expressed in the Qur'an with the concept of recognition is to give the formula $\text{difference} + \text{cem} = \text{tawhid}$ in international field (Bilgiseven, 1989, 364).

In short, Bilgiseven emphasized that: " $\text{Cem} + \text{difference} = \text{Tawhit}$ " concept in society through the similarities as well as differences, but they can live together by showing solidarity stressed. Therefore, it is stated that the way to understand social dissolution and to achieve social integration is through applying and understanding these concepts.

Rituals are the place where we can express cem and the difference as performatic elements, and in daily life and in religious practices.

2.2.3. Ritual

When taken according to common characteristics and functions, ritual is the repetition of certain values related to individuals or groups with successive forms of behavior that, at appropriate times, are symbolic and do not change up or down. Ritual⁴, a standardized and repeated form of symbolic behavior, is an emotional channel that reveals group consciousness and unity beyond individuality, as a guide to new knowledge and experiences, and is one of the main topics of the social sciences due to the link between the past to the present and the present to the future (Mor, 2008). Rituals, which are also mentioned as one of the main research topics of social anthropology, are the elements that are examined and discussed in terms of religion, society, culture, icon and performance relations. While the rituals of the 19th century were mostly dealt with on the basis of discussions about the source of religion, they followed the way of approach, whose antecedent theories featured the problem of function and structure, with a high emphasis on society, treating rituals as a social phenomenon. As an alternative to ritual analysis as a social phenomenon, approaches have been developed that analyze ritual from a cultural perspective and evaluate rituals as one of the basic dynamics of culture.

The functionalist tendency, emphasizing that all the institutional practices of a society are intertwined and thus the structure of society as a whole is ensured, has considered the ritual as a tool for the regulation and balance of the social system, which is the sum of social institutions, habits and beliefs, adjusting the internal interactions, maintaining group values, creating a state of order after any negativity.

⁴Although each followed a separate theoretical tradition, from Durkheim to Turner and Goffman; Many people, from Robertson Smith to Clifford Geertz, considered rituals to be one of the basic forms of sociocultural and religious life. Especially since the 19th century, it was of central importance for many social scientists, and there was a large literature about it.

The sociological approach to the ritual, which Roberston Smith has seeded and systematic with Durkheim's classic work the *Elementary Forms of Religious Life* in which he analyzes the basic forms of religious life and increases its functional emphasis, is markedly enhanced by Radcliffe-Brown's structure and Malinowski's social-psychological emphasis, both the sociological form associated with Radcliffe-Brown and the social-psychological form associated with Malinowski, have the sociological approach, which took its origin from Durkheim and increased structural emphasis with Radcliffe-Brown, emphasizes that faith, in particular, has re-strengthened traditional social ties between individuals, and states that through the mystical and ritualistic symbolization underlying social values, the social structure of a group has been strengthened and perpetuated. Durkheim points out that when society comes together to celebrate a religious ceremony, a collective feeling will be formed with the gathering of people, and this feeling will create a collective enthusiasm for movements on the one hand and a order on the other. In short, Durkheim, while analyzing the basic components that he has determined in order to conceptualize the phenomenon of religion in the center of primitive societies, states that these elements can actually be seen as the basic forms of religious life that date back to the present day. According to Durkheim, which states that there can be no ritual that does not contain sanctity even to some extent, the rites⁵ strengthen the ties that bind the individual to the society of which he belongs, reproducing and creating the society (Durkheim, 2006,87).

As it stands, Durkheim, who founded the society analysis on the question "what holds society together?", "a mechanism of social rituals" answer to this question with the basic concept of

⁵ Durkheim examined the rituals under two headings according to the nature of the worship: positive and negative. Negative rituals do not impose mandatory orders on the person, but prohibit certain forms of behavior. These prohibitions take the form of taboo (prohibition, haram). Positive rituals are intended to involve the individual in holy life. In order to reach the sacred in this form of worship, one must fondly and willingly move away from the unreligious. Based on this distinction, Durkheim has negative ascetic rituals; imitation rituals, representative and remembrance rituals and atonement rituals defined as positive quality (Durkheim, 2011, p. 407-525).

the ritual model has made, ascribed a completely social identity to the ritual. According to him, society can only coexist as long as rituals are performed effectively and their effects remain alive in the human mind. The society held together is not an abstract unity of the social system, but groups of people connected to each other through ritual participation and symbols installed in a ritual form (Şahin, 2008, 269).

The society maintains its structure through rituals through improving its current values. According to Durkheim, the functions that ritual performs in a social sense are necessary for a society to maintain its existence with a general expression. In the context of its social functionality, ritual meets the most basic social needs, and these needs are the same for each community. In this context, the social function of the rituals is summarized by Metin And in the text and four articles as determined by Durkheim. 1. Rituals prepare the individual to suffer the tightness of the bond of order required by society to live in society, educating him on this path. 2. The ritual brings individuals together, reinforces social ties between individuals, reinforces partnership. 3. The ritual has an uplifting function in society. It brings the relations of society to the consciousness of their heritage; it keeps the society alive by helping to maintain traditions, renew beliefs, root out value judgments and ceremonies. 4. Happy function: It gives the sense of happiness that being a member of society. It corrects the deteriorating balance by allowing people to express their feelings together, especially during the depressed periods of society. Mass demonstrations and ceremonies portray collective truths. Rituals are also collective demonstrations, performed together, invigorating, provoking, protecting, recreating those who participate. It shows the person how to behave in the face of sacred phenomena, events. Whatever the qualities and purposes of the ceremonies, the function of all of them is to bring individuals together, to replicate the bonds between them, to achieve common consciousness (And, 2003,307-308).

While Malinowski added an individual and psychological dimension to Durkheim's socialistic approach to rituals, Radcliffe-Brown (1881-1955) sought to establish a correlation between religious ideas and social structure, thus suggesting a structural-functional emphasis on rhythms. Stating that social phenomenon is a result of social structure, Radcliffe-Brown refers to “social structure” as “the place of persons in relationships defined and regulated by institutions, patterns of behavior with the institution, or the series of patterns related to social life”. Radcliffe-Brown conceptualizes social life as the functioning of social structure, stating that social structure is maintained by the social life process. According to Radcliffe-Brown, who conceptualized the structure as a sequence of social relations and function as the functioning of the structure, rites are a part of social life and serve to maintain structural continuity (Şahin, 2008). Thus clarifying the course of a structural-functional approach, Radcliffe-Brown states that a religion consists of beliefs and ceremonies, calling the ceremonial and actions part of the religion as rit.

The lack of a student of Durkheim and the limited influence of the Durkheim tradition on the Radcliffe-Brown trend do not represent a direct theoretical approach to the relationship between structure and function. Van Gennep (1873-1957) indirectly addressed rituals on the basis of the relationship between structure and function, the Rites of Passage became an important reference point in ritual research and made significant contributions to the general of ritual theories, especially in the context of the conceptual framework he developed. Van Gennep, who considers the life of individuals as a series of transitions and expressed interest in “all of the ceremonial patterns that accompany the transition from one state to another, cosmic or social world”, conceptualizes all these seremonie patterns under the name of a single special category, namely transition rites. For this single category, three stages are defined: rites of separation, transition rites, rites of incorporation (Şahin, 2008,270).

Although Durkheim's sociological approach has long established a marked dominance in ritual analysis with the addition of Radcliffe-Brown's increasing emphasis on structure to Malinowski's individual and psychological contribution, a cultural perspective has emerged that gradually diverges from the Durkheim tradition by pointing to cultural dynamics in various contexts, such as structure, language, and symbols, forming a trend that taking rituals as a social phenomenon and pointing specifically to their functional dimensions, the social approach was found reductionist because of its extreme emphasis on society, and it failed to explain the variation and diversity of rituals in different cultures with their different qualities, and it began to face criticism from the 50s and 60s onwards (Durkheim, 2006,68).

As with Lévi-Strauss's structuralism, the forms of approach that see rituals as a cultural phenomenon, as opposed to approaches that seek to explain them as a social phenomenon, exhibit a diversity that follows the symbol system itself, or the relationship between symbol and context in the forms of approach that Mary Douglas and Victor Turner emphasize in the same model. However, the main common attitudes of theorists who adopt the cultural approach are that their theories are based on religion and ritual. Segal emphasizes this situation with the phrase “religion is the key to culture, ritual is the key to religion” for Geertz, Douglas, and Turner (Şahin, 2008). In general, the approach form that deals with rituals as a cultural phenomenon has been differentiated on the basis of the symbolic meanings of rituals, although they have been reconciled on the basis of the ways in which they are handled, and has extended to seeing rituals as formal patterns that are free of meaning. The leading representatives of this form of approach, which is increasingly divergent from the Durkheim line by emphasizing the diversity of cultural and social space, taking into consideration the rituals by taking a special interest in the action, with a cultural point of view, but which is not completely stripped of the influence of the Durkheim ritual model, V. Turner and M. Is Douglas. Victor Turner (1920-1983) was an important touchstone

in ritual analysis as he developed a complex theoretical approach by crystallizing the ways in which ritual is treated as a social phenomenon, and on the other hand by interpreting the system of symbols as their meaning and placing the culturalist approach into his own model, laying the groundwork for a comprehensive and in-depth Victor Turner, known for his research on transitional rituals in the sense that it performs a social function, places particular emphasis on the threshold stage of consciousness. Turner described the transition between different forms of social integration, namely formal 'societies' (*societas*) and informal 'communities' (*communitas*), as a dynamic mutual influence between the threshold of consciousness and the different situations required. According to Turner, rituals have basic functions that ensure the sustainability of social life. Turner emphasizes the functional aspect of rituals with his explanation of the regulation of social life and calls the performances that mediate the realization of this functionality as drama "social drama." What is meant here is the staging of ritual practices as a form of performance, regardless of the social cause (Murtezaoğlu, 2012, 347). In other words, according to him, rituals are also a store of meaningful symbols. Objects, words, relationships, activities, events, mimics, etc. a symbol that exists in the forms is the "storage unit" and meaningful means of religious ritual.

Mary Douglas (1921-2007), who developed an approach based on structural functionalism and Lévi-Strauss's structuralism, was another theorist who considered religion and ritual a social and cultural phenomenon. Douglas developed the concepts of grid and group to be related to socio-cultural life in a manner similar to Turner's conceptualization of structure and non-structure. When Grid is a special classification system, the group is the experience of being controlled by the discipline and pressure that people set up. Grid points to the power of rules governing interpersonal social relationships, group closed or tightly bound human unions. Douglas points to the aspect of ritual and symbols showing society through the metaphorical relationships it establishes between the body and society. In his work *Purity and*

Danger, he mentions the human body as a means of symbolizing society, and sees the human body as the source of shared meaning and a system of symbols in which social meaning is encoded. According to Douglas, the body is a complex structure, and the function of each part and its relation provides the source of the symbols of other complex structures. Therefore, it is not possible to interpret rituals without understanding that the body is a symbol of society, a situation associated with social structure, reproduced as a small example in the human body of power and danger. Douglas, who sees the human body as a symbolic system whose boundaries are set against uncertainty and threats, points out that this conceptualization is a symbolic expression of the group boundaries of the human body.

The rituals, which are ultimately passed down from generation to generation, have an important place in ensuring the continuity of the faith. In this aspect, the past, the present and the future are the elements that connect. Within the field of study, too, rituals move out of the mediocrity of everyday life, creating a different perception of space and time. In most rituals, time is sacred and intense, while ritual venues are often loaded with symbolic codes. In this context, it is seen that the rituals performed in the shrine, visitation and investiture within a religious framework serve the social purpose. In this sense, faith and its associated rituals play a fundamental role in fulfilling a social function in the process from a sense of partnership to solidarity. In other words, rituals in this area are a way for people to connect to the collective, to remember and build the mythological past, to establish social integrity and to sustain it by creating society. Here, in order to understand the way of maintaining, that is to understand the place where the ritual is done, one has to look at the space that is the basis of social solidarity.

2.2.4. Space and place

2.2.4.1. Spatial Paradigms

Space and possibility are of the same root.
Therefore, if there is space, there is also the possibility.
Turgut Cansever

The concept of space connects the mental one with the cultural one,
the social one with the historical one.
Lefebvre

Historically, space has always been the focus of discussions within science and philosophy. Historically, there are those who see space as a container, a pot, a stage or an environment, as well as those who see complex relationships and a shaping dynamic (Kaya, 2014, 2). The space, which has a central place in the identity and approach of geography, shows differences in the historical development of geography as well as according to different traditions and paradigms within the geography. According to the ontological and epistemological approach of each paradigm, different space definitions and conceptualizations have been made (Kaya, 2014, 1). It is possible to divide the major paradigms, which occupy an important place in the social sciences and which geography also derives from these differences, as follows: The period until the 1950s (environmental determinism and possibilism-regionism), the quantitative transformation in the 1950s and 1960s (positivism and critical rationalism), behavioral and humanistic (phenomenology and symbolic interactionism) approaches in the 1960s and 1970s, structuralist and radical paradigms (structuralism and Marxism) that began to dominate since the 1970s and 1980s and the paradigms that came to the forefront with the new cultural geography since the 1980s like Feminism, Realism, Post-structuralism and Post-modernism. (Öztürk & Karabağ, 2013,9).

Environmental determinism the adaptation of Darwin's natural selection and adaptation to geography has produced an understanding that the physical environment is a controlling force and that human behavior is a natural consequence. This understanding claims that the physical environment is the dominant force shaping the culture and that human beings are essentially a passive product of the natural environment. The environmental determinist perspective argues that cultures are entirely shaped by nature, so similar physical environments produce similar cultures. This idea has actually been felt very strongly in the geography since ancient times. Environmental determinism, whether in Western literature or Eastern literature, is the dominant mode of thinking in geographical studies up to the last 100 years. In the B.C. 5th century, he tried to establish a relationship between Hippocratic diseases and the physical environment and determined that certain diseases occurred in places with certain characteristics. Hippocrates, by questioning the effects of wind, drinking water and seasonal climate changes on human health, has revealed that the environment has an impact on human beings (Pattison, 1964). The most important advocates of this view in the 19th century were Halford Mackinder in England, Friedrich Ratzel in Germany, Ellen Semple and Elsworth Huntington in America. Mackinder's Theory of Land Dominance, which is entirely dependent on physical factors, ignores all technological developments and cultural heritage (Ari, 2017, 5). This cult, which was dominant in the early periods when geography emerged as an academic discipline, saw the “underdevelopment” of cultures in various regions of the world as a “natural” result of the natural conditions of those societies. As a result, the colonization of those societies and geographical knowledge became an instrument of “occupation and exploitation”. At the beginning of the 20th century, this approach was removed from the agenda of the geography (Öztürk & Karabağ, 2013, 10).

This theory, Pasibilism and Regionalism, which was associated with the French Cult of Cultural Geography at the beginning of the 20th century, suggests that the physical

environment has certain limitations on the social world, but that people change the environment in line with their needs. In other words, he argues that by abandoning the definitive judgments of determinism, natural features cannot have a holistic determining effect on human activities and that people have the capacity to choose one “possible” or “potential” from various modes of action against physical conditions (Öztürk & Karabağ, 2013, 10). In terms of regional geography, various variables are uniquely interconnected in space. In this sense, soil, climate, land forms, natural environment, cultural environment, traditions, political and economic systems, beliefs and habits are uniquely related to each other. In this context, Paul Vidal de la Blache and his followers, who placed the region at the center of their analysis, tried to understand the unique lifestyles of the regions. These analyzes, based on the integrity relationship, were based on the principle of establishing a close relationship between the physical environment and cultural life. According to this approach, the basis of the lifestyle difference between regions was the constructive roles of natural environment and cultural forms. Natural environment and cultural forms came together to give the region unique characteristics and make it different and unique from other regions. Physical environment characteristics, people's clothing and lifestyle showed significant differences from region to region. Therefore, the concept of this space, which comes with regional geography and still exists as a strong issue in Turkish geography, refers to the concept of the region rather than the space (Kaya, 2014, 6).

Especially in the 1960-1970s, the space has a central place in the discussions between positivist geographers who adopt the spatial science approach and humanist geographers. The logical positivism that emerged with the Quantitative Revolution resulted in the *mêkanisized* understanding of space and objectified space. According to this approach, which places a passive meaning on space, people make rational decisions in the rational world. Quantitative geographers have evaluated space with meanings such as location, distance, spatial patterns

and emptiness and made their analysis accordingly. Therefore, according to this perspective, space is an object or a scene consisting of some coordinates, positions and distances (Kaya, 2014, 4). In this context, positivist concept of space has been criticized especially by humanist geography and the concept of space has started to be at the center of intellectual discussions. In short, the humanist view has been expressed that positivist geography treats space in a way free of emotion, experience and memory, as a reductionist approach, and is far from understanding space.

Geographers of Marxist, Feminist and Post-structuralist traditions brought more critical approaches to the concept of space and argued that humanistic approaches conceal power relations reflected in space. They found Heidegger's concept of dwelling incomplete and exclusive, expressing a close relationship between power relations in society and the organization, construction, reproduction, and meaning of the world. Marxist geographers, who view this approach as an ecological way of thinking, expressed that humanistic approaches are far from seeing the whole picture. According to Marxist geographers, in the humanist approach, human spaces were presented as if they were natural, authentic and as they should be. In particular, Marxists emphasized the relationship between space construction and social processes and power, drawing attention to social processes shaped under the capitalist system and capitalist production models (Kaya, 2014, 6).

Postmodernist geography rejects the modernist geography approach, which acts with the mission of uncovering all the facts about the world and other societies in order to dominate nature and then exploit other societies. As in Post-structuralist theory, they reject general theories and grand narratives because they cover differences, and instead argue that the world is perceived by people as being in line with their own subjectivity, as in phenomenology, so there are multiple truths or realms instead of one truth or fact. Therefore, in postmodernism there is "heterogeneity, plurality, tension, temporary reconciliation, violation and

extremism...” instead of totality in spatial analysis (Öztürk & Karabağ, 2012, 429). Finally, post-colonial geography is the approach that aims to replace Western-centered (colonial) knowledge produced in geography and directed to the whole world with knowledge produced from the environment (formerly produced in exploited geographies). The anarchist approach of geography, as in many other approaches, has a political purpose. Based on the argument that the state and social regulations hinder human freedom, it aims to produce and employ geographical information in order to expand individual freedoms to all authorities, especially the state (Öztürk & Karabağ, 2012).

As can be seen in the geography of Man-environment, the subject is actually the relationship between man and his environment, but this relationship has not always been evaluated in the same way throughout history. From the first period of history to the beginning of the last century, human-environmental relations were looked at in terms of the impact of the environment. Therefore, the main issue was the environmental factors and their investigation was important. However, the fact that human development is in different directions in places with the same physical conditions over time has given rise to the idea that cultural development is influenced not only by environmental conditions, but also by the beliefs of societies, their history, relations with other societies, technological levels and adaptation capabilities. Thus, different perspectives have emerged in the human-environment geography such as studying the cultural landscapes revealed by different cultures, examining the earth as the home of man, examining the impact of man on the Earth and the technological, social and political factors that determine this effect (Ari, 2017,38). In other words, it is useful to consider space as multidimensional in order to solve social power relations and cultural codes that are committed to space. Instead of the approach that sees the place as more of a map, statistic, coordinate, line, point, stream, mountain, valley and other physical environment elements, it is necessary to apply deeper analyses and to reveal social inequalities and their

spatial reflections. Because the space is not just a stage, a container and a location. Their conceptions such as intertwining, complex social networks, power relations, memory and belonging, mutual shaping and formatting, remove space from being a static entity and transform into a dynamic entity that produces movements and phenomena produced by movements. Therefore, the geographical approach of the field of study will not focus solely on the elements of the physical environment. It will be supported by historical background and ethnographic data obtained. Because environmental factors are only one of the factors that affect human activities as restrictive or encouraging; but it is not determinative. Factors affecting human activities can be both environmental and cultural factors. The climate is harsh or temperate, the amount of rainfall, drought, etc. as environmental factors play a restrictive role in human activities; political systems, relations with other societies, technology, belief systems, social and economic institutions also fundamentally affect human activities and relations with the environment (Ari, 2017, 10).

As can be seen, the space holds an important place in human relations and everyday life. Therefore, understanding the human-space relationship can make it easier to understand society better. But only a reading through space can condemn the person to deterministic approaches. Therefore, displaying a process-and interaction-centric view can help you understand the current reality in a healthy way. Therefore, the physical geography conditions of the field will be explained in terms of the visibility of the field and will be discussed in the context of the actual space and place.

2.2.4.2. Transformation of Space to “Place”

In the historical article of the Encyclopedia of Islam, local histories on urban settlement centers were first published and it is said to have been produced in A.D 11 century and

continues to the present day. In these local histories "a systematic catalogue of the city's important sites and monuments was used as a framework for the presentation of various historical and biographical material. Generally, urban topography is carried out individually, and biographical sketches of the principal persons connected with that building were added to it after they explained what conditions certain buildings were built under. In this way, it was revealed that the physical structure of the city was connected to the people who created and maintained it, and embodied their aims, values and actions (Davis, 2011,178). Although this approach is not widely used in Turkey, the subject of "space" is covered in some social science studies which are taken into consideration in the context of place names, sacred space and city. In fact, in the academic world, space-related studies have increased with postmodern and poststructuralism debates. Space, a concept discussed within the disciplines of sociology, philosophy, geography and architecture, has also been an important place in anthropology in recent years. Although disciplines discuss in different ways and forms within the context of their conceptual framework, it is seen that space is not a concept that is studied in a wide range of social sciences. Especially in rural areas studies, the place is hardly addressed at all.

The word space in Turkish has passed through Arabic. Epistemologically, space is derived from the "kevn" root, which corresponds to the meaning of "existence", "being", "be". As natural and structured environments, the space, defined in terms of its physical dimension, which corresponds to a geographical location, the individual and social relations formed within and on it, the loaded meanings acquire a deep and multi-layered social dimension by being a part of the memory formed in time. The process of having space at different depths than just pointing to a physical and geographical position is the process of transforming "space" into a "place." (Akbalık ,2015).

The inability to discuss space only with its physical dimension came to the fore with the 1960s, and the concept of "place" began to be a concept that came to the fore with its

subjective and social experiences content. According to Heidegger, who argues that the most basic “being” of man can be accomplished by “settling-dwelling”, the transformation of space into a “place” may be possible with time when a culture takes root in him. According to Heidegger, it is associated with settling-dwelling. Dwelling means realizing the existential state of man above the earth, under the sky. The place is therefore an intrinsic part of existence. Man “dwells in” as belonging to a “place” with distinctive features in the world. The concept of place here, however, does not point to any place; the adobe is a place where the experiences people share over time are concentrated, where traditions, behavior, and thoughts take root. The place is root. Dwelling is provided by being part of the harmonic totality between a human community (Macit, 2017). In this approach, being in existence on Earth is paired with settling-dwelling.

As it becomes important that the relationship between man and environment should be dealt with by approaches other than the physicality of space, new readings on “place” come to the fore. The Genius-loci concept is one of the concepts produced within these readings. The concept of “genius loci”, which architectural historian Christian Norberg-Schulz has updated by referring to the myth of The “Guardian Spirit” in Roman culture, is also used today to describe the distinctive atmosphere of a building or place in the process of turning the space into a place. Geographer Yi-Fu Tuan's concept of topophilia (love of place), which points to a much deeper bond between people and places, also points to a bond deep enough that in fact people will change the nature of a place (Akbalık, 2015).

Geographer John Agnew also examined “the place” in three basic respects: 1. Location, 2. Locale and 3. Sense of place. Location objectively determines the coordinates on the Earth's surface. We can find a specific location, on the appropriate scale, on the map. The word location is also used in daily life, often in relation to location. “Place”, however, may not always be constant. For example, a ship can become a special type of place, even if its

location constantly changes, for people who share it over a long journey. By "Locale", Agnew refers to the material set-up of the place, the scene of social relationships, the real forms of places where people somehow live their lives. The place has to be related to people and their sense production abilities and consumption tendencies as well as the fact that it has a material visual form and its position is determined (Turna, 2011,3). According to Tim Cresswell, space is far from the concept of "place" as spaces without meaning. Locale is a fact of life, just like time, and sets the basic coordinates for human life. But when one develops a sense of a part of space and ascribes that meaning there, it becomes a place. In this context, the place is a specific space where meaning is attributed by an individual or a group. This is expressed in short and in essence as "place = space + meaning" (Harrison and Dourish, 1996). Relph, one of the leading people of humanistic geography, describes the place as follows: "Places are felt in the shadow-light play of the stage, in plots, in rituals, in routines, in other people, in personal experiences, in the importance of the house and in the dealing with the house, and in the context of other places (Turna, 2011.4).

In short, the place that forms the base of belonging becomes a 'place' as time intensifies with time or as a culture takes root in it and becomes a 'place', gaining definition and meaning. This is a 'self-identification' situation. So 'Place' is the bearer of constant values-traditions, behaviour and habits of thought- that connect people to one another through self and culture. "Settling" is also possible by being part of such a holistic structure. A culture, a 'place', is based on the harmonic totality between a community of people. At this point, the meaningful understanding of a place is the 'identification' with it and the 'orientation' there. According to Norberg-Schulz, for the individual to have a "point of existence" i.e. to "dwell", he must first identify himself with the environment. Norberg-Schulz said, "The identity of men requires, first and foremost, the identity of a place." he says. The individual needs to have a certain identity; but that identity needs to be identified and orientated with a space, meaning he or she

needs to know where he or she is. Here, thanks to “these two psychological functions”, the individual literally regains his identity (Polat and Sucu , 2017, 1336).

Based on the point that human-built spaces are a system of pieces that are added to each other, it is desirable in this thesis to reveal the spatial practices that occur in the private shrines of Pir Cemal Abdal, Sefkar Baba and Güzelbaba and the causal relationships that will form a deeper understanding on society and culture through the relationships established through them. Because the tradition of writing about” places ” encompasses more than physical spaces, it also links these spaces to people, events, actions, social relationships, and cultural production. In this context, the folklore, cultural heritage and cultural traditions of the field of study will be addressed through the concept of this “place”. Because these “places” affect social relations. Studying “place” is not to see it as a “thing”, a “fetish object”. For this reason, examining the identities, cultures and narratives of those living in these villages in the context of the place in general and the sacred place in particular helps to recognize and understand the region in part. Therefore, the bearers of his cultural memory in the field of study are the sacred “places”, narratives of these “places”, the great people who gave their name to the “place”, and their personal experiences. There are a number of items that make “places” such as villages, promenade areas and tombs more than a simple “place”.

In short, the process of creating the specific spatial areas of the people that consists the social system in these settlements can be said to have formed around the environment- space-human axis with the historical development, and the traditional way of life, the fictional layout of the spaces and the networks of cultural relations developed around a common language. They also demonstrated how “sustainable” is a culture that adapts to the physical environment in rural settlements and determines the relationship between human and nature with the textual meanings they attach to various objects in nature (Sami, 2013, 169).

Memory is undoubtedly the most important function element in this process of sustainability and the transformation of space into place. This process needs to be evaluated in terms of location and memory.

2.2.4.3. Place and Memory

The concept of collective memory, first used by the Austrian writer Hugo von Hofmannsthal in 1902, was introduced to the social sciences and their cabules by Maurice Halbwachs, one of Durkheim's students. It is possible to define collective memory, with its broadest meaning, as the active history of a group shared jointly by group members and forming group identity (Bilgin, 2013,73). Based on the definition, collective memory⁶ is one of the major pillars of the identity building process. Because social groups need to make reference to the past in order to identify themselves. Collective memory, which combines the different personal histories of members of a group into a single common past in which all members remember collectively, is an important mainstay in the construction of group identity. Therefore, in the construction of group identity; a common past is invented. The group builds its identity from a tradition laden with symbols, memories, artworks, ceremonies, habits, values, beliefs and information, and from the legacy of the past, in short, from the “collective memory”. The collective memory repeats itself by adopting spaces and narratives that add meaning to its identity and remind us of its past, language and religion (Uygur, 2015,457). In other words,

⁶ Halbwachs collective memory ranks the roles they play in group identity as follows: 1-identification: collective memory provides group members with stories that tell them who they are, where they come from and where they go. In addition, a common past prediction, as Anderson (1983) put it, ‘creates a horizontal solidarity between the current members of the group and a vertical one with past generations’. 2-identity glorification: identity is enhanced to the extent that belonging to a group provides respectability to the members of that group. For this reason, in collective memory, achievements in the group's past are brought forward, while unethical, negative actions and mistakes are covered. Thus, self-respect is sought to be protected and elevated. 3-Legitimising group actions: a selection of past in accordance with current norms and criteria. It also justifies our current actions. 4-Mobilization of the group (collective mobilization): it is one of the most important sources that mobilizes a past community. Because in discourses involving identity demands, references to the past operate as an effective form of rhetoric.

the elements of memory that are filtered and transferred from generation to generation contain values and meanings that are fundamental to collective identity. Groups understand and define who they are, what they can do, what they know to do, and their special nature through this common past (Bilgin, 2013,74). According to Halbwachs, too, memory needs the durability and continuity of the material world around them, and space adds a dimension of continuity to collective memory. An important way to make the idea of group memory immobile and durable lies in the way it shapes space with its own character. By formatting material forms, the group immobilizes the past, so that collective memory mimics the passivity of sedentary matter (Çavdar, 2017,239- 240).

Pierre Nora, whose work on the concept of “memory spaces” is very influential in relation to memory and space, expresses that the space evokes a sense of continuity and reveals the concepts of memory spaces (*lieux de mémoire*) and memory environments (*milieux de mémoire*). Nora, one of France's leading historians, leaned on the relations between history and collective memory and published his work in his giant work *Les Lieux de Memoire* (1984 -1992). This work of Nora, which is an inventory, deals not with the memory places that are remembered, but with the places where memory works. Moving through items such as symbols, monuments, memorial days, pedagogical artifacts (Larousse, Lavissee, etc.), culliates, sacred places, traditions, emblems, state figures, the book reveals how the French have reinvented and built their history over the centuries. Nora is also attached to the physical sites like memory; cemeteries, cathedrals, battlefields, prisons etc. He is also associated with intangible venues such as commemorations, ceremonies and rituals, which present an aura of the past. Hence memory spaces covers geographical venues, monuments and buildings, historical figures, public demonstrations and commemorations.

One aspect of the relationship between space and memory is also performative; rituals such as festivals, theatrical plays, and civil ceremonies also point to a form of recollection based on

bodily repetition. These and similar rituals, which are always performed in a manner attached to the venue, raise important questions about the struggle of various groups. In other words, Nora establishes the relationship of memory with the concrete. Following the Halbwachs, placing social groups at the source of memory, Nora refers to the concepts with which memory relates: Memory is rooted in the embodiment, elongation, motion, image, and object (Nora,2006, 17-19).

Built from collective memory and strengthening relations between the villages and importantly providing roots to the ground is the main element of the sacred spaces in the field. It is also necessary to see the sacred places in this respect.

2.2.4.4 Holy Places

One of the phenomena in many belief and religious systems as ancient as human history is the sacred places⁷ and visits to them (Yeğin 2012,56). In academic studies on the “The Concept of Holy”, it is noticed that two different approaches⁸ have gained weight.

In particular, the ontological approach that Otto represents acknowledges that space is sanctified by the manifestation of “Holy”. The socio-cultural approach that Durkheim represents is in the effort to define “holy”, citing from the space, which he treats as a form of cultural-symbolic interaction. Durkheim mentions “new manifestations of the sacred” and

⁷ Yeğin, the following factors are seen to be effective in the acceptance of the holy place. a-the Declaration of the Holy place by Allah Himself, B - the Allocation of a Place to Allah, C - The Divine Message (revelation) Occurs in a Place, D-the Acceptance of a Place to be Holy by the People (Yeğin 2012,56-63).

⁸ About this “the relationship between place and human (geographic and geographic) perspectives on transitivity distinctions between the holy place and he apparently expressed not manifested in the form of the distinctive attribute of the place, the Saints too close and too distant at the same time the consciousness of being and the existence of a representation that leads to seemingly infinite perspectives that comprise the passage between the status of representation,” stated Tatar, the parsing of people in the middle of sacred space the spatial separation Profana-power is stopped since the merge, being on the threshold of the third perspective, he also refers to the fact that the entire universe —as God's realm of creation — is sacred as a fourth perspective.

“social production of sacred things”. According to him, society constantly needs consecration, “producing new sacraments” (Nisbet, 1974, 74). This production of the sacrament is social and closely related to the need for the sacrament. As can be seen, the phenomenon of “the construction of the holy place” and “the production of the holy place” appears before us in the life of society. The sacred space is being reproduced and built in social life. It is also notable for Lefebvre's conceptualization of “the production of space” when it comes to the production of the sacred (space). According to Henri Lefebvre, “An institution has to spatially express itself, no matter how abstract it is.” For example, the religious institution shows itself by establishing holy shrines in the city environment, physically producing its own space. This applies to popular religion as well as to formal-normative religious institutions. Right next to the venues of the normative religion, shrines and different visiting places function as sacred venues of the popular religion (Arslan, 2013,23,24). Eliade, who came to the fore with his phenomenological analyses of the sacred space, also appears to have ultimately turned to the ontological approach, although he follows Durkheim in the Holy-profan binary contrast. It is also possible to see similar differences of approach in architects such as Fuksas and Botta, who were interested in the problem of architectural design in the context of the sacred space. While Fuksas does not see sacred architecture as possible in the ontological sense, Botta thinks that the architectural structure, as well as its technical and functional dimensions, will allow the experience of transcendent reality as a “value” transferee (Tatar, 2017,9).

In this regard, Tatar says: instead of distinguishing between spaces in the form of pure scripture and pure profan, it seems more meaningful to focus on the phenomenological approach to temporal and historically established perspective-based relations between spaces and humans (Tatar, 2017, 9). For religious communities, ‘Holy space’ is also the living and experienced spaces, meaning that historically emerging religious experiences are accumulated within a space, hiding and opening the door to the conception of a future that keeps hopes

alive. In short, holy spaces become a memory spaces and a gateway to hope, where the meaning of religious experiences is hidden in them. For example, Mecca (Kaaba), for Muslims is separated from other cities as a gate (sill, dehliz, bridge, etc.) symbolizing the future visions and metaphysical hopes of Muslims and the memory space in which a deep historical and religious experience taken back to Hz. Abraham is preserved in itself (Tatar, 2017, 19).

Regardless, people did not perceive every place equally, and created differences and privileges between the places. These spaces, which make special sense to the person, have a unique feature. It's as if these places are special to him and are the “sacred” places of the universe. This is the situation in which the activity of human starting from the natural environment and giving meaning to the environment or space that is experienced in it is most obvious and it is the fact that it imposes the meaning of sanctity on the space and environment. In this context, it is possible to describe the phenomenon of visiting structurally as “a kind of manifestation and way of living of the Holy”, since the attraction to visiting places is the sanctity that is believed to be present in them. In our society, visiting places stand out as an integrated structure in the context of public piety, intertwined with the religious, social and cultural life of the society. In this respect, evaluating and addressing the subject within the framework of its structural, functional, cultural, dynamic and dialectical dimensions and character will enable the acquisition of a number of scientific data, both anthropological and socio - psychological (Yeğin, 2012,55). In short, sacred spaces are places of remembrance and learning of cultural memory and social memory. Therefore, the relationship and functionality of saints and sacred spaces are not independent of each other. It allows the individual to establish a relationship of belonging not only with God, but with the congregation of which he is a member. It is therefore important for the believer to visit the place where he ascribes sanctity with his belief in the healing power of the place. In this way,

the belief based on the cult of the saint is maintained without interruption in the social memory thanks to the existence of the place. The relationship between the saint and the holy place becomes stronger as well. Therefore, these sacred places play not only passive but also active roles in the process as they affect social relations; they have a characteristic that strengthens relations between villages. Therefore, communication produced in sacred spaces can serve “the preservation of solidarity” (Öztürk, 2012, 26-27).

For the sustainability of social relations and the effect of communication with narratives on solidarity; legends, myth, memorate and menkibe needs to be categorized and defined.

2.2.5. Legend, Myth, Memorate and Epics

Narrative types such as myth, fairy tale, legend, subgenre, epic and memorat continue to be produced and consumed according to the needs of people from the past to the present and the conditions in which society is located. Before moving on to the examples of these species in the field of study, it is necessary to focus on the classification and description of these species and the differences in them. However, it can be seen that there are no definite judgments about the definitions and limits of these types of oral narratives, which are formed around religious personalities, and there is no unity of literature that has been allied with them. This is due to the continuation of the formation processes of the narrative types in question. Many narratives are performed in various social settings around religious personages considered sacred by the people. As a result, various views are put forward on the description and classification of these narratives (Erdogan, 2013,94-97). Classificatory work on narrative genres formed around religious personalities concentrates on myth, epic and memorat. Therefore, in this study, we will evaluate the narratives in the field of study according to their types based on the definition and characteristics of legend, memorat and epic.

Many shrines and visits here can be said to be linked to the cult of ancestors. The Turks gave importance to their ancestors, those who died, and formed a cult around them after Islam, just as they believed in the Tengrisim system before Islam. The traces of this cult show itself strongly in many oral folk products, especially in the form of the epic taken in this study. These narratives also contain historical and sociological realities, and the practices of faith around the tomb and visit can be interpreted as important examples of religious and cultural syncretism.

Myths consist of narratives that are shaped by the traditions and beliefs of societies, are related to creation and are stories of extraordinary states. Myth and legend are similar in terms of these features. However, the myth tells the distant past and non-human beings; legend is the subject of recent history and human. The first people who were forced to make sense of the events of nature preferred to take the concepts of life, death, orb, rain, fire, and mountain into extraordinary states formed by imaginary thoughts. This prepared the ground for the formation of legends (Boran, 2017, 13).

But legend is actually not at all an easily identifiable species “Legend, in the common view of folklorists, is a traditional story or narrative that is artistically formulated, told to a third person, and set in the past or historical past. It is not actually real but is believed to be real by the narrator and his listeners.” (Pehlivan, 2009,89). Max Luthi, known for his research on fairy tales, described the myth as follows: “The concept of myth is the name of a kind of narrative that has a characteristic shape, passing through verbal transmission from generation to generation, which claims to be told real events consciously by the narrator, suggesting to listeners whether this event is real or not (Keser, 2017,9). According to Balaban, myth is a traditional way of telling that finds body, power and space in the control of religions and past beliefs in close relation with faith. (Balaban, 2013,26).

Narrative texts formed around religious personalities are gathered under the roof of legend in the broadest frame in this context. In narrow terms, the legend is the presentation of a supernatural event, as in the fables; it is the storytelling. The original folk legend speaks of things, shapes and events that are unusual, strange and often cause unrest. According to folkroists such as Bilge Seyidoğlu, Kurt Ranke and Von Sydow, the events described in legends do not reflect the objective truth; however, the narrators and listeners accept this event as fact, noting the faith aspect of the legends. Pertev Naili Boratav said, " The main nature of the legend is that it is the subject of belief; the things it describes are true, they are considered to have really happened." With this feature, the legend distinguishes from the tale and approaches the epic and folk story."the statement emphasizes the belief characteristic of the legend (Erdogan, 2013,98). In short, the type of folk literature about religious personages is generally accepted as myth (Pehlivan, 2009,89).

In our country and in the Turkish world, many studies have been made on the legend type and various classification trials have been conducted on these studies. The legend classification adopted by Pertev Naili Boratav at the International Congress in Budapest in 1965 has been reconstructed for Turkish legends with some changes. The classification of Turkish legends begins with the influence of the first classifications in the west. Considering that the classification adopted by Pertev Naili Boratav in Budapest did not fully fit the Turkish legends, the Anatolian-Turkish legends were classified as follows by making some changes to the relevant classification. Boratav's category is as follows:

I. Creation Myths

Legends of formation and transformation- legends about the end of the universe (The days of Judgment and Resurrection).

II. Tarlicity Legends

- A. The names mentioned on certain places (mountains, lakes, etc.),
- B. Narratives about the places where human communities live (city, village, etc.),
- C. Famous large buildings (churches, mosques, bridges, etc.),
- D. Treasures, It is believed that the remains of the historical people or nationalities
- E. Nations, descendants of the ruler,

- F. Great disasters,
- G. Extraordinarily powerful creatures believed to be fought by historic famous people,
- H. Wars, conquests, distributions,
- I. Rebellions to an established order,
- K. Other important historical events or other prominent persons (scholars, poets, sheikhs, followers, people who have guided the civilization, etc.),
- L. Lovers famous for their adventures, various family relationships,
- M. Insignificant people who have left their mark in the history of a society with their place in various other events (eg: shepherd, servant, etc.),

III. Myths on Extraordinary Persons, Entities and Powers

- A. Destiny,
- B. Death and beyond death,
- C. Secret places,
- D. Places that are part of nature (forest, lake, etc.) and animals “owners” (protectors).
- E. Gins, fairies, dragons and so on. Creature with extraordinary strength,
- F. Satan
- G. Disease and disability-causing assets (such as Albastı),
- H. People with extraordinary powers (such as sorcerers, healers, magicians),
- İ. Tellings on “Mythique” kind animals and plants (such as adamotu)

IV. Religious Legends (Akt. Erdoğan 2013, 99- 100).

Balaban, who draws attention to many different distinctions, classifies the legends according to four main titles and sub-titles in Amasya.

1. Legends

1.1. Creation Legends-Formation Transformation Legends

- 1.1.1. Legends of Turning to Stone
- 1.1.2. Legends on other deformations
- 1.1.3. Descriptive Legends

2.1. Legends on Extraordinary Beings

- 2.1.1. Myths about Alkarısı
- 2.1.2. Legends about Gins
- 2.1.3. Legends of Other Extraordinary Assets

2. 2. Epics

- 2.1. Epics about religious men
- 2.2. Epics about Parables and Sacred Persons
- 2.3. Epics about Religious Places and Visits

3. Memorates

- 3.1. Memorates about Religious Figures and Sacred Places
- 3.2. Memorates about Khidr Aleyhisselam
- 3.3. Memorates Related to Extraordinary Assets
- 3.3.1. Memorates Related to Alkarısı
- 3.3.2. Memorates Related to Gins
- 3.3.3. Other Memorates (Akt. Balaban 2013, 42-43).

Epics⁹ as a subgenre of the legend is a type of narrative like other types of anonymous narrative, a person put forth by a narrative but over time anonymized to become the property of the public. Menkibe is an Arabic word that refers to “the virtue and the virtues of a person, and the article and treatise that mentions it, medhiye.” and jokes, stories, most of which belong to the Ahwal of well-known or historical persons.” means. The word is in its plural form and in this sense in the Hadith books, has been used for the virtues of the Hz. Prophet's companions (Erdogan, 2013, 100). As can be seen, epic finds its place in the Turkish legend classification made by Pertev Naili Boratav as a sub-branch of the legend. According to this classification, epic is actually a kind of legend. According to Boratav, these myths only focus on the beliefs and processes of religion and take their qualities from these elements. In Anatolia, many myths and legends dating from the pre-Islamic period, have laid the groundwork for epic. Many of these narratives are the narratives that deal with events that go through the shamans. These stories were told by dervish poets in the form of evliya epics for the purpose of religious propaganda. The medicinal literature, which was born before the adoption of Islam and has become traditional over time, has been particularly influential in the emergence of stylistic features of the epic genre. Elements such as Tengri, ancestral cult, natural cult, magic, hami spirits, changing place have found their place in the realms (Erdogan, 2013, 101).

The term “epic” is also used in the sense of story and history. Again in religious literature, it is a term that has been used as early as the IX century in relation to extraordinary events caused by parents and prophets. Epics are the texts that include these people show magics in their lives, scenes from their lives, their views of the universe. From a structural point of view, the subject of the realms is the sacred ones. According to us, epic is a narrative about

⁹Saim Sakaoğlu states that the correct form according to the grammatical rules of the myths described in religious subjects is “epic”. He accepts the term “epic” as it is in the form of “epic” in the dictionaries and has become famous.

those who go through the beginning of the assumed time in which the religious person is physically living in this world (Pehlivan, 2009,89-90-91).

On the other hand, Rasul Ay pointed out the propaganda direction of the epics. The effort to prove the legitimacy and supremacy of the holy people mentioned in the material serves this purpose. Therefore, epics are the works that serve the mission of uplifting the guardian or the Sheik before the community. There are numerous examples of rivalry or struggle for supremacy between sects and sheikhs in epics. Ay bases this struggle on reasons such as gaining the support of the people, getting help from the elite and gaining prestige (Boran, 2017, 11).

A. Yaşar Ocak made the classification of the epics as follows.

1. Epics Based on Historical Facts: Although the epics are based on real events in general, it is seen that these actual events are deformed and enriched with epic motifs based on the aim of glorifying the guardian.

2. Epics Based on Human Imagination: These are not based on real events reflect the social and psychological aspects of society.

2.1. Epics derives from the social value system of the society,

2.2. Epics based on a moral theology,

2.3. Epics which are aiming propaganda (Erdoğan, 2013, 102)

A. Yaşar Ocak, in his work "Motifs of pre-Islamic faith in the Bektashi Epics" expressed that the epics are parallel to the idea of Sufism and said:

In the Islamic World, starting from the IX century, when the Sufi order began to be seen, it is known that sects have been formed since the XI century. In parallel with this development, epics which means the short stories that tell the stories of a man have gradually emerged. These first appeared in Sufi tabakat books and evliya tezkires. Probably starting from the XIII century, the individual works that collected the figures about a single man and called menakib, menakibname or sometimes vilayetname were born, written in various languages, such as Arabic, Persian or Turkish, and read all over the Islamic world (Ocak, 2002,25).

The Memorat is described as "A person-related story told by someone who has experienced or listened from a natural person experience" (Çobanoğlu, 2003,22). Çobanoğlu used the

supernatural expression in his description to “See, talk, touch, feel, dream and communicate in a different way with beings who are believed to be living a social life, consisting primarily of the genie, fairy, devil, alkız, karabasan or various souls who share the same places with people as well as being in a different world and a different dimension”. According to Sydow, who created the memorat by separating it from the legend and gaining it into the literature, the memorat is material that is “totally personal experience”. Fuzuli Bayat describes the memorat as "Life stories believed to be true and mythological rumors told about good and bad beings, narratives of experiences or extraordinary events believed to have happened" (Erdogan, 2013, 102-103).

Gürol's “memorat”, which he translated into Turkish as “memory of faith”, is a description of what happened by someone living or listening to it (Pehlivan, 2009,90). In short, the concept of memorat is to perform a subject belonging to the legend by showing a witness. The witness of the incident may be the narrator himself, his fourth-generation relative, or even the researcher who compiled this supernatural event, which has been passed on for four generations. Every legend told by showing witnesses regardless of its place in the chain of transmission is a memorat (Keser, 2017, 15).

Linda Degh has classified the memorates as "1. Business Memoirs, 2. Autobiographical Stories, 3. Migratory and nomadic Epics". Fuzuli Bayat stated that military service and Road memorabilia may also be added to this classification (Erdogan, 2013, 103- 104). Çobanoğlu who collects the memorates under the title 12 on the extraordinary forces in Turkish folk culture and forms of communication established with them examines the memorates under the following titles:

1. Types of communications with gins and events believed to be experienced
- 2.Types of communications with Alkarısı and the events believed to be experienced

3. Types of communications with Heavy feelings-nightmares, congoloz, erkebit, hirtik, hinkur munkur, çıtlık bird, kırk basması, women of Wednesday, yol azdıran, kara ura, gelincik, demirkıynak and the events believed to be experienced
4. The forms of communication with Hızır and the events believed to be experienced
5. The forms of communication established with saints and martyrs and the events believed to be experienced
6. Communication established through dreaming and events believed to be experienced
7. Communication and events believed to have occurred through the touch of evil eye
8. Forms of communication with the dead and events believed to be experienced
9. Communication and events believed to be experienced through magic and various traditional practices and events believed to be experienced
10. Communication and events believed to have happened through fortune telling
11. Forms of communication and events believed to be experienced with an extraordinary power and events believed to be experienced
12. Epics of modern city life: summons, astral journey, re-incarnation and communication with UFOs and events believed to have occurred (Çobanoğlu, 2003,77-82).

According to Çobanoğlu, epics strengthen and confirm the existing social structure by underlining and reinforcing the social values that make up it. However, social and cultural values are transferred between generations by preserving (Çobanoğlu, 2003,64).

When we look at the distinction between these species, we can express the differences as follows. Epic is a type of narrative that has passed through a guardian who is believed to have lived, and has gained its own specificity by taking the miracles that belong to him mostly. On the other hand, epic has the same features structurally as the legend under its roof and has minor differences with the legend in terms of content and function characteristics. Memorates, on the other hand, has the same characteristics as legends like epics. However, it is a subgenre of the legend with the fact that the person experiencing the experience is different from the legend in terms of its distinctive and functional characteristics. It stands as narratives that are more individual in function. On the other hand, memorates differ in terms of transmission characteristics and belief (Erdogan, 2013, 116).

Pehlivan distinguishes the types of legend, myth and memorat which are used easily in different researches with the following criterias:

1. The hero is alive: This criterion distinguishes the legend from the myth and the memorat.
2. Belief violence: It is thought that it can be used especially to distinguish between memorat and legend.
3. Experience: While the person who experiences the extraordinary experience in memorat is the person we know or can give his name to himself, the person who experiences the extraordinary experience in the legend is uncertain.
4. Timeliness: Time in the legend, according to the criterion of experience, becomes ambiguous or obsolete.
5. The subject of the text: When these species are examined structurally, the subject of the epic is a religious figure; The subjects of the memorate and the myth are seen to be experiencing extraordinary experience in the face of religious personality (Pehlivan, 2009,95).

After the cult of the guardians became a deep-rooted belief in Anatolia, shrines were formed everywhere, regardless of villages, towns and cities. While living in the region, shrines were built for the people believed to show magic, and the tomb was famous by creating realms around it. It is not possible to find many of the saints lying in these shrines in written sources. These are the saints that continue to exist in the oral tradition (Yalçınkaya, 2008, 11). The word guardian that the plural form of evliya in folk thought, is mostly people who show mercy, accept prayer, know what passes through the person and respond to it, and prevent the wrath from coming even if the people are deviated from it – because Allah is his friend- who is seen as the heir of the prophet, who continues his magics even after death. Therefore, many epics in this region will be covered within the framework of the cult of the Guardian. In the epics, this cult is frequently encountered.

People who are believed to show magic while living in the region are very much created for the epics. Ahmet Yaşar Ocak's general motif classification in Turkish epic made up of studies on Turkish epics will be used in this study. The classification of Ahmet Yaşar Ocak is as follows:

I. Motifs that are connected to the pre-Islamic Turkish beliefs and continue in the Islamic Period:

1. Mountain and hill cult 2. Stone and rock cult 3. Tree cult 4. Magic 5. Healing animals 6. Informing about the future 7. Appearing God as a human being 8. Dominating the natural forces 9. Dominating the fire 10. Resurrection from bones 11. Fight with the wooden sword 12. Faith of peace 13. Faith of the soul 14. Change of frost 15. Fight with the dragon 16. Flying in the air 17. Faith of four elements 18. The cult of fire

II. Motifs from the Quran and Hadiths Related to Islamic Beliefs:

1. Resurrection of the dead 2. Splitting the river and the sea 3. Making animals talk 4. Making the wand dragon 5. Knowing the Unseen 6. Informing about the Future 7. Disastrous infestation to the public 8. Removing water from the stone and the ground 9. Resurrection from the bones 10. Cursing 11. Non-flammability 12. Revitalizing inanimate beings 13. Relieving illness and body pain 14. Dominating the natural forces 15. Bringing out food and drink from nothing 16. Receding to the sky without dying 17. Feeding many people with less food

III. Motifs derived from Kitâb-ı Mukaddes (Torah-Bible):

Resurrection of the dead (Torah) 2. Splitting the river and the sea (Torah) 3. Walking on the sea (the Bible) 4. Making the wand dragon (Torah) 5. Turning the water to the blood (Torah) 6. Making friendship with wild animals (Bible) 7. Disastrous infestation to the public (Torah) 8. Extracting water from stone (Torah) 9. Extracting water from the ground (Torah) 10. Bringing fertility (Torah) 11. Curse of the retention (Torah) 12. Making vicious women have children (Torah) 13. Fighting the dragon (Torah) 14. Curing diseases (the Bible) 15. Correcting body failures (the Bible) 16. Dominating the natural forces (the Bible) 17. Satisfying many people with little food (the Bible) 18. Receding to the sky without dying (the Bible) 19. Extracting food and drink from nothing (the Bible)

III. Motifs in Various Epic, Myth and Folk Traditions:

1. Turning to animal 2. Keeping the curse 3. Talking to inanimate beings 4. Talking to animals 5. Being informed by prophets 6. Exceptional situations during childbirth 7. Shaping goods 8. Punishing adversaries with death 9. Interviewing with Hızır 10. Receding to the sky without dying 11. Knowing when you will die 12. Showing miracle after death 13. Dominating the forces of nature 14. Resurrecting 15. Transcending the space 16. Making animals to obey 17. Fighting with the dragon 18. Not burning in fire 19. Getting water from stone and ground 20. Walking on water 21. Turning to stone (Ocak 2010, 71-88).

The factors that affect the differences and types between legend, myth, memorat and menkibe are the cults that create the sustainability of this. Therefore, the concept of cult should also be evaluated in terms of holiness and faith.

2.2.6. Cult

The belief systems that emerged with the life of mankind continued to exist with various changes and transformations from the past to the present. These belief systems are composed of a number of cults, some practices that have not gained religious identity, and rituals that take place within various religions. Cults and related practices in the field of study are also important for the social and cultural structure of the region.

The cult meets the meanings of “adoration” and “worship” in general, as of word structure, from the point of view of existing dictionaries. As a matter of fact, in the Great Turkish Dictionary prepared by Mehmet Doğan, the cult is expressed in the meaning of “worship, adoration, religion”. In addition, in the TDK Turkish dictionary (2005), this word is expressed in the forms “worship, adoration, religion, religious ceremony, pray, liturgy”. In the Basic Turkish Dictionary, which is an updated form of Kâmûs-ı Türkî, which is written by Şemseddin Sami, the word cult is described as “ritual, respect for sacred beings”. In addition to such meanings, it is necessary to draw attention briefly to the conceptual aspect of the word cult.

Indeed, in the Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences (1991, 351), cult concept has been described as “respecting and worshipping what is considered to be God or God (supernatural powers), making words and behaviours that express devotion to them”. Again Sedat Veyis Örnek, expressed the concept of cult as “the reverence shown against beings and objects known as the sublime and the sacred, the worship to them” (Örnek,1998).

From an anthropological point of view, the concept of cult refers to beliefs and religious acts belonging to a particular group in relation to God or deities. All these definitions are important in terms of demonstrating that the concept of cult is involved both in primitive belief systems and also in divine and human religions (Çoban 2017, 82). The cult is the respect shown towards the beings, objects, which are believed to have extraordinary powers, therefore to what is known as the “supreme and holy”. For example, A.Y. Ocak mentions the necessity of three conditions in order to speak of the existence of a cult. These are;

- a. The existence of an object and person that may be the subject of cult,
- b. The existence of the belief that this object or person may harm human beings,
- c. As a result of this belief, Existence of applications like visits, sacrifices, etc. that can remove the damage and be useful. (Ocak, 2017,113).

This shows that the beliefs that have developed around places and objects are located in Islamic thought for the time when the people go to sacred places, wish for healing, pray for the people after the adoption of Islam. So much so that the practices connected with the old beliefs do not obey the Islamic rules, but it shows that the people in the field of study comply with Islamic rules.

Based on these conditions, it can be mentioned that there are many cults in the study area. There are many cults in Turkish folk culture that have survived from the mythological period to the present day, already. The main ones are ‘tree’, ‘place’, ‘water’, ‘fire’, ‘sky’, ‘mountain’, ‘rock’, ‘cave’, and ‘ancestors’ cults (Çoban, 2017,82; Çobanoğlu, 2003,68). The belief that the souls of the dead ancestors and especially the fathers can touch the survivors' goodness or evil, the sense of gratitude towards them, forms the basis of the cult of the ancestors. Since the earliest known periods of history, the mountains and hills have been regarded as a symbol of greatness, glory and divinity for people due to their height and proximity to the

sky. There is also a lot of data on the fact that some stones and rocks were considered as a blessing in the pre-Islamic period. In the cult of the tree, it is stated that the characteristics of the tree and the power it represents are not the material assets of the tree, but the cult subject. Finally, in most of the myths about the creation of the world, it is believed that the world initially consisted of an ocean. Therefore, it can be said that water cult has an important place both in pre-Islamic Central Asia and in the field of study.

Among these cults, we can say that beliefs shaped by the cult of mountains, trees, water, stones and ancestors, various objects believed to be related to sacred spaces or sacred spaces, still shape the lives of people in the field of study.

At the end of this section, which is followed in order to understand the theoretical and conceptual approach to the field of study, the next section will give information about the determination of the field, observations and the research methods used.

CHAPTER 3: FIELD AND RESEARCH METHOD

3.1. Introduction to the field and limitations

In 2015, under the leadership of the Anthropology Department of Yeditepe University, a TUBITAK project, “Social Anthropological Research on forest villages in Turkey”, 12 villages were selected according to the classification of 12 regions, 26 sub-regions and 81 provinces, and it was aimed that people who would be involved in the field survey would observe their chosen villages for three months. I chose¹⁰ Çayırğölü, a forest village in Karakoçan District, Elâzığ province, as a research area between 5 July 2015 and 15 September 2015. I had worked to determine the social, economic and cultural status of this village and to establish the relations of the people in the village with the forest resources. In this project, which aims to determine the social, economic and cultural structures of the villages in Turkey and forest-folk relations, the ecosystem understanding with the changing, transforming and disappearing forests, forest and human relations were brought to the agenda through new environmental awareness concerns and included anthropology in the research.

With my research and knowledge, I can state the reasons why my field work is Çayırğölü village: Firstly, Çayırğölü village was one of the forest villages near the center of Karakoçan. It was also my interest in the fact that it was a village inhabited by Alevis and against the social, religious and cultural structure of Alevism. Again, due to the fact that it is located on the crossing roads, it was a village where many local tourists pass by for hot spring tourism during the summer months, and accordingly, it was a constant cultural interaction with the

¹⁰ Robert A. Georges (Author), Michael O. In his work “Studying People the Human Element in Fieldwork”, Jones (Author) mentions the importance of the moment when he decided he wanted to do fieldwork. He thus claims that field work has begun to progress and evolve as a project (Georges ,1980, 23,42).

other villages around it. Finally, because Elâzığ was located at the intersection of Bingöl and Tunceli, it was to know whether it formed a different structure as a result of different cultural interactions.

It was my first priority to observe the roles they had been given in relationships with those contacted as they began to work, in changing times and places. I have to point out that the distrustful stance of the people I contacted in my field study forced me quite a bit. First of all, I created some impressions in my interviews in the coffeehouses in Karakoçan, where people from the surrounding Alevi villages often go. This is where I met the person who is an employee of the municipality (S.K from Bingöl Kiğı) I had the opportunity to chat. After learning that he was from Bingöl, he tried to help me by making a lot of narratives about the town of Kiğı, some narratives about the matter and its historical process. According to Goffman, when people meet someone they didn't know before, they either start to get information about that person, or they evaluate that person using the information they have. Their curiosity about the new person is generally about what the social and economic status of that person is, how he sees himself, how he communicates with those around him, his business success and whether he is trustworthy. When they get information about these aspects of the person, they will present themselves according to them and try to be seen as they wish (Hülür, 2017, 158-159). In fact, there was a case of being an insider over Bingöl. But the fact that I was educated in public school from a young age with other languages and cultures made it debatable that I was an insider. I was also seeing the contribution of this relative situation in this context, For example I opened the entrance doors to the village with the help of S. K with the introduction of the former headman of the village who would hang

into the same coffee house and do the work. It was revealing the advantage and disadvantage that Tony L. Whitehead noted in his study of Jamaica¹¹.

H.G, former headman of Çayırgülü village, generated the first interaction in the field. Then, I began to develop relations with other villagers and accepted the invitation of the villagers to the place where they spent the day, which is also used as the promenade of Güzelbaba mausoleum, which is run by another peasant every 4-5 years. So he spends most of his time in the promenade area of Güzelbaba mausoleum, sitting with them in the gazebo where the villagers spend their time, doing interviews and doing I was trying to help H.E.E with his work. H.E.E, who operates the promenade in the mausoleum, he was also a very important contributor to the shaping of the research by introducing both his own villagers and their relatives.

Intimacy was quite important to those in this village. Because there used to be a number of tensions in the village and even cases of death, someone from the outside was questioned and not accepted in the first place. At the same time, the thought that the Alevi group would be harmed in their collective memory kept their vitality while I was there. The paper and the pen in my hand remind them of the state, the official one, and sometimes they looked at me with suspicious eyes. The jokes they made in this context is, "Are you going to give information about our village to ISIS¹²?" was actually the expressionism of the painful experience that was contained in their collective memory and that they expressed what they had experienced in the past. Although they were cautious, when we are face-to-face, and had rather heartfelt

¹¹ Tony L. Whitehead is setting up identification with his own field research group. Because he's African-American in the group he works with like himself. Although this identification and sensitivity can work in many areas, it can cause other problems in some areas because it comes from a different sociocultural area (Whitehead, 2015, 40-44, 83-87).

¹² Abu Bakr al-Baghdadi laid the foundations for this Al-Qaeda affiliate in Iraq during the Iraq War. He went to this country with the civil war in Syria and declared in April 2013 that he had united the Al-Nusra Front and his own organization under the name of the Islamic State of Iraq and Damascus (ISIL). He proclaimed his caliphate on 29 June 2014. The fear that they would harm or attack Alevi during the time of the fieldwork was quite high.

and harsh political rhetoric, especially during the hours of when there was no pencil, paper, or sound recording. The first time I went out into the field, they began to tell me about their past, their present, their daily lives, their aspirations, their hopes, as self-disguised attitudes and behaviors replaced intimacy and trust in time.

During my three-month field work, I stayed in different houses in the village (Çayırgülü) and became involved in everyday life and finished work at the end of three months. At the end of this study, there were other things that I was interested in. In my opinion, there had been issues that should be focused on the fact that faith was very strong in the region, that sacred spaces were very important, and that solidarity between Alevism and Sunnism was realized through rituals, narratives and space. In the process of determining the doctoral qualification and thesis subject, these subjects came to the fore and the thesis subject was planned to be made in this framework.

On December 3, 2017, I went for a second field experience, i.e. Phd thesis. After landing at Elâzığ Airport, it took about 2 hours for the shuttle to the eastern garage and from there to the Karakoçan center by minibus. This trip in this process had gone from being a distance between two places to becoming a living space where I was alone with myself. The view of the extraordinary Keban Dam, which I watched flowing through the window, was leaving its place in the wasteland as it approached to Karakoçan. There was a great silence in Karakoçan this time, unlike when I arrived in the summer two years ago. Although the district turned into a carnival mood with those who came from home and abroad in summer, those who stay at their homes in winter, those who returned to the cities where they worked, gave the impression of being abandoned with those who went abroad.

At the end of the nearly two-hour drive, at the military checkpoint at the entrance to Karakoçan, the soldiers stopped the van and were conducting an identity check. Many areas

of Karakoçan had been declared a security zone at the time of my visit. In Elâzığ governorate's statement, I learned that 8 of the 15 regional security zones in Elâzığ province were in Karakoçan. Immediately after December 6, a 15-day security zone was declared again, and Karakoçan was again included in this security zone with 8 zones¹³ and some of the villages I would work in were included in this zone¹⁴. The villagers stated that this decision did not affect their villages but affected some villages outside the working area, because the livestock activity was not carried out in the pasture in winter and the lack of transhumance in this area and the remote area away from the settlement areas was chosen as a security zone. I did not think that this would have any negative impact on my work because the university informed all the civil and administrative supervisors in the district that I would do fieldwork there and the necessary permissions were taken and importantly everyone in the village and some people in Karakoçan knew me.

My first contact in the research process related to my doctoral thesis about Karakoçan and its villages was staff ensign İ.Y whom I interviewed because of the permission letter (Ap-E) written by my university to the civil and administrative chiefs. İ.Y said the document sent from the school had come to the military branch but had to be forwarded to the Gendarmerie Command in the area. İ.Y. stated that she was very interested in ritual, tomb and menkıbe subjects as she was a social studies teacher and spent her childhood in a village in Bingöl / Solhan. Later I began to understand why he was interested in this subject as İ.Y explained his thoughts, prejudices and feelings.; İ.Y was born in a 3-4-digit hamlet of Solhan, Bingöl. He stated that there were many tombs and visits around his villages and he often returned to his

¹³ <http://www.elazig.gov.tr/basin-duyurusu-18>

¹⁴ The statement made by the Elâzığ governorship is as follows: “Due to the operations carried out within the scope of counterterrorism, private security zone has been declared with the decision of Elâzığ governorship between 22 November 2017 – 06 December 2017 in the separate (15) region within the borders of Alacakaya, Arıcak, Karakoçan and Palu District of Elâzığ province with the following coordinate information. For the safety of our people's lives and property, access to private security areas without the permission of the local authority is prohibited.”

past. After studying 1st grade in his village, he had to take a break from school for 3 years because of the state of emergency (90s). Now again he is in the state of emergency, but this time he was working as a military personnel. İ.Y. stated that this period, which was considered as the best times of his life, shaped him. Delivering the document about the school to other institutions and after this long interview with the headman of the village of Çayırgülü I informed him that I asked him to pick me up with his own car.

As a kind of outsider (someone who lived in the big city (Istanbul) for about 20 years and was born in a Sunni family-the village where I will stay is Alevi village), the first time that going to the village gave me the “Don't know what to do” situation came and stuck to my throat for the second time. In fact, this situation started at the time I wanted to work in the village of 7 and reached the climax on the road to the village. In this sensitive region, the state of being a party could occur at any moment and the confidence that would occur could quickly disappear. Hence I had to be very careful. Çayırgülü (Badran) Village, was a village I had stayed three months before within the scope of TÜBİTAK Project, I would not feel as foreigner. Thanks to Mukhtar, who had been taxicab in Karakoçan for many years, I could easily contact the other villagers in the working area.

Mukhtar, because he runs the Yeşilvadi picnic area in the summer, he was busy in summer, but in the winter, I knew that the Mukhtar sometimes collected garbage along the way, sometimes trying to turn the closed village school into a village house, sometimes trying to fence around the village house, but I had no choice but to call the Mukhtar to go to the village of Çayırgülü. It was impossible to go from Karakoçan center to Çayırgülü village in winter and in the afternoon except for taxi or individual car options. So Mukhtar sent his son to take me to the village, to their house.

There was only one road left that entered the Karakoan center and left Karakoan. Previously existing alleyways were not being used due to safety concerns. During the Ohal period, large stones and rocks were placed on all the side roads and the side crossings were completely blocked in order to provide vehicle controls.

Normally, it was possible to enter the village road by crossing the bridge over Ohi River through the city, but it was now possible to go to the village (the villages I was working in) by entering the Karakoan- Yayladere road and crossing the military checkpoint and connecting to the village road.

Mukhtar, who had finished his houses under construction at my previous visit, immediately began to explain this process. He described how he planned this process, how he worked in its construction, and the amount of iron he used to withstand earthquakes, and the external mantle he made using stone wool to prevent heat and cold.

Although it was winter, the first days I went to the village were sunny. Though, for the people of the village, the transition between the seasons, the rain, the snow, the frost did not matter much. The lack of a lot of year-round season changes, the fact that they had completed their preparations seemed to give them a different confidence. The natural flow of life here was continuing in extreme weather events, while sudden rainfall in major cities had an impact on many things. The frost event occurred in the morning, the fog surrounding towards noon, and the severe frost during the night did not affect daily routine activities. The people who went to feed the animals, arranged their gardens, removed the chickens and geese from the coop, prepared to go to the bazaar (Karakoan) were carrying out their work from the early hours of the morning despite the cold weather. I woke up early and for the first time in Demirdelen (Kafan) village outside ayırgölü village, where the Sunni population is dense, the headman talked before E.H. went to meet the headman.

There was a mosque on the side of Demirdelen (Kafan) village road that looked as if it had lost its old remarkable green colour paint. In one of my readings before I came to village, it was stated that this village was vacated 200 years ago when Armenian citizens left the village and settled in America, and that the Ottoman administration of the time settled the village in Urfa/Birecik Karye from Karakeçi Turkmen tribal people by resettling the village community. The Armenian name of the village was Kerkor, then the people called it Kafan, the name was changed to Demirdelen after the 1930s. The old village names used by the people of the region instead of the official names, written here on the sign, included a memory, individually and socially, in the words of Gülbetekin (2017,21). Because almost everyone was constantly using the old name to establish and maintain the connection with the past. Therefore, my encounter with the second village in the field and entering the field Çayırgülü village with the contribution of the headman Demirdelen (Kafan) village was taking place over the headman. The headman of this village recently migrated here from Karlıova District of Bingöl 20-30 years ago. He was a little closer to me when he found out I was from Bingöl, too. The headman of this village said that he came from Bingöl Karlıova. After talking about Bingöl a little bit, he said that he would help me to do what I wanted, that he could arrange a meeting with whoever I wanted to see in the village, and that I could attend the mosque conversation on Thursday evenings. Demirdelen village headman talked on the phone and arranged a meeting with E.H. and we went their home. E. H. wanted me to record the interview and told me that I can ask everything to him, so we conducted a 3-hour interview with E.H.

Tekardıç village was the second village where I developed a relationship with the help of the Çayırgülü headman and we went to the village with the headman the next day. It's Dilimli, as the people say. I first came across this village name in the book "Palu - Harput 1878: Çarsancak, Çemişgezek, Burrakçur, Erzincan, Hızan and the surrounding regions". Arsen Yarman's book (Bardizaktsi and Natanyan 2015) describes this village as follows: "Dilimli

(Tekardıç nowadays): a mixed Kurdish and Armenian village located on the north-west side of Tepe (Karakoçan). These have as many as ten households where they live in separate neighborhoods. The village is near a church and it has a Sev Kar [Black Stone, ç.n.] Baba, the place of a visitation-votive. Pastor Harutyun states that the Armenians left the village before 1915.” A few of the people I interviewed said that they used to live here in Armenians, but none of my trips to the village saw any church ruins. S.F from this village, according to the story, there may have been some long ago, but he said he had no idea.

The road divided the villages of Akçiçek (Alıkanajerin) and Çamardı (Alıkanajor). On one side there was Çamardı towards the tumble, and on the other side there were the villages of Akçiçek, located below the tumble. The old name of the village "Alıkan" is used with both villages. Later on, it is expressed and named as up and down. In some stories, the residents of Kızılca village used the site of today's Çamardı as a spring. According to the rumor, the person named Ali then settled here permanently and this place took the name of Alıkan. In the villages of Akçiçek and Çamardı, the two villages we mentioned here, I also made interviews and made readings about the shrines. I woke up in the morning with the headman, talked to the people he had decided and met them in the evening while his son was preparing for the exam and I was studying and taking notes, too. In the month after I went to the village, I was always in a hurry. Apart from Çayığülü Village, which is the village I live in, I contacted 3 villages in the first week thanks to Mukhtar, told about the work and provided them with information about the work I did in the village. Everyone I spoke to was telling the story of the Beautiful Baba mausoleum, the Sefkar Baba mausoleum, Pir Gamal Abdal, Sheikh Deli Berxecan, the White Fountain. They talked about why the lush green trees that surround these places were considered sacred and what happened to the people who took them home from the trees here. Therefore, this geography, which was the place of steep roads and fast rivers, also stood as a quarry of houses, pirs, sacred trees. It was possible to come across numerous

shrines, fountains, trees and rock cults that were considered sacred over short distances. I can say that these sacraments, which are in the belief structure of the region, shaped and changed the people here. I was very convinced that I had made the right decision at the end of these journeys and that it was necessary to study these villages and the sacred places between them. Every village I went to seemed to have virtually no young population except the elderly, those who owned animals and who had facilities. I think the villages here began to migrate first with the use of tractors and other agricultural tools in the following years with the sending of workers to Europe, migration had accelerated. The first affected ones from the migrations was the mountainous regions with narrow agricultural lands. Although Karakoçan is located in the flat region according to the environment, the villages in the area I worked in were generally set up towards the mountainous areas, so their livelihoods were limited and this had an effect on migration. Their love of making their children a civil servant was one of the factors of immigration in this region. "Let the man, let the man be with the people (livestock makers use it more) Man With Ties, let the state guarantee work " here, too many of the idioms were coming against me. According to the Mukhtar's narration, the former peasant could not enter any officer's room without knocking on the door, could not enter without removing his hat, could not tell the officer whatever he wanted, and could never object to the officer. In short, the officer was a whole state. So they really wanted one of their own family members to be an officer and to be respected in that way. They believed that they could achieve this only by emigrating to the city.

The second week I went to the other two remaining villages, I interviewed M.A. from Yoğunağaç Village and C.D. from Üçbudak Village and contacted all the villages at the end of the second week. The villagers I spoke to in the early days were naturally being cautious. Testing my sincerity, they would invite me to their house in the following days. So when the anxiety in the early days subsided, I began to adapt better and participate in social and cultural

activities. In this process, I got rejected from the social assistance and solidarity foundation which I applied to help the headman, at least to get fuel for his car (Ap-F) so I had to cover all my expenses individually in this process.

In the villages where I work, almost all of those first met me-after my first name they asked Where Are you from? This approach, which includes knowing a person, knowing who he is, where the family roots of the person are based, where they grew up, was actually important to them. Explaining the reason for the “Where Are you from” question, Amy Mills says: The deep reason for the question "Where Are you from?" is based on placing the newly met person on an imaginary map of a nation, albeit in general. In this way, the person does not necessarily have to be placed in the location in Turkey or in the neighborhood of any city. But that question relates to an imaginary geography that somehow positions the person within the nation in terms of culture, socio-economic status, political identity and even ethnic identity. For example, the word “Ankara “means” from Ankara “or "belongs to Ankara". To be part of it, to represent it, to know the city well, to be lived or still living there, and to be part of an imaginary community, together with other people from Ankara, something that is difficult to express in words” (Mills 2004, 28). Who am I? Or who are we? Our answers to these questions are, “Where am I from?” or “Where are we from?” are closely related to the answers we give to his questions. Because space is a reality that shapes “me” and “us” with the opportunity and limitations it has. Individuals and societies form their identities with the information they receive from the past that they will transfer to the future. So when I said I am from Bingöl, I was judged by these identities. This had both advantages and disadvantages in fact. As Bingöl was perceived as a conservative city, it was seen as close to them by Sunni villages. The Alevi villages considered Bingöl to be an extremely religious city and thought that they had prejudices about Alevis. So as Besim Can Zırh stated, I had realized that “the question of where you are from opens the door to a very important ethnographic experience in

terms of research" (2017,69). Especially in Sunni villages, it is not important that I am from Bingöl, whereas, the cautious approach to it felt itself in Alevi villages. The inhabitants of this region seemed to be under the influence of Bingöl and Tunceli, both economically, religiously and ethnically and culturally. Maybe even this district was supposed to be evaluated on a county-by-county basis. Kovancılar ve Palu District of Elâzığ on one side, Nazımiye District of Tunceli on the other side and Kığı and Yayladere districts of Bingöl on the Northeast. Palu and Kovancılar are shaped according to the extreme religious and Sunni sect; Nazımiye and Kığı came across as areas where more Alevi life forms were exhibited. Maybe that's how the adoption and defense mechanisms were. I had a similar situation in the Elâzığ Public Library. Before I went to İstanbul, I stopped by the Elâzığ Provincial Public Library and looked at the books I might need there. There were also questions asked about which district of Istanbul I live in and an evaluation was made over there. The librarian had tried to help, especially in the warehouse where the books about Harput and Palu history were found, and he had taken a few books and given information about the historical development process of the region. I was photocopying the necessary sections while the librarian was chatting with his friend and I heard them unintentionally. "- Does he live in Bağcılar? - Isn't that a bad place? Although this ironic situation evokes Bourdieu's concept of place effect, I understand that where you live is as important as where you are from.

In the second month of my arrival in early February, I was now regarded as one of the villager of the village, being described as a relative of the headman and the villagers of Çayırgülü. With problems, solutions and effects, I had become one of the “them” now immersed in a common atmosphere. It wasn't me walking around dozens of different villages with the same point of view what I do now. It was about trying to see life, people, cultures and nature with a different eye.

3.2. Method of Research

Qualitative research model was used in this research to study social solidarity in villages and sacred places. Qualitative research is defined as research in which qualitative data collection techniques such as observation interview and document analysis are used, and a qualitative process is followed for the realistic and holistic presentation of perceptions and events in the natural environment (Yıldırım ve Şimşek, 2005). In this study, which was designed as the ethnography at the same time, it was composed of secondary data analysis where theoretical models were evaluated and parts where field research data were evaluated. The techniques used in the research consist of participant observation, interview, in-depth interview, life history, scanning of archival documents, audio and video and documentation. Participatory observation refers to informal field methods that form the basis of many field investigations, whether supported or not by other techniques. The aim of this method is to go as deep as possible in the social and cultural area explored (Kottak, 2014, 41). In this context, I participated in many events such as weddings, sacrifice, shrine visits and environmental cleaning, and tried to get as deep as possible.

This research was carried out in Çayığülü Village and the other villages in the field of study were visited at intervals. During this time, various social and cultural activities of the villages usually were observed in the natural environment, thus making it possible to obtain more accurate and first-word information about this culture. The discipline of Anthropology, as it is known, is based on a tradition such as that a field research involves at least four seasons. This is why it is also intended to observe seasons and seasonal transition at the work site. I spent all my time there, including or even exceeding all seasons, except for the three-month period I was staying at the Forest Village project. Semi-structured interviews were conducted using “in-depth interview” technique with a total of 50 people from 7 villages and at least 10 people from the surrounding villages who came to the mausoleum, provided that there were at least

three people from Çayırgölü Village and other research area villages. Accordingly, each participant was asked questions that were prepared in advance and the elements that played a role in solidarity were tried to be determined. On average each interview lasted between half an hour and two hours. In order to obtain more accurate information during the research period, friendly and natural environments were created outside of the official identity and other persons were reached through the trusted persons recognized by the villages in order to secure trust. Interviews on advice have provided an environment of trust with these individuals more initially.

As a researcher, during both fieldwork and the evaluation of the data collected, I made the utmost effort to be objective under the light of the events I encountered and listened to, the issues I discussed and the interviews I conducted. Again, I tried to understand and convey events, people and what was said in the context of the area's own special history, cultural and social structure. In other words, in this study as much as possible, a combination of emic and ethical approach was used.

3.3. The Ethical Dimension of Research

When it comes to research on the everyday life of people, the concepts they live in, their culture, the ethical framework to be established for determining the area of movement of research is critical. The responsibility for the individuals or communities who undertake the role of resource for the research and the analysis of the research topic and the evaluation of the collected data form the frameworks in this sense. Therefore, the most important task of the researcher is to protect the rights and interests of the people who are subject to the research and not to dangerr their safety. In order to secure these ethical principles, it was declared that the Elâzığ governorship, Karakoçan Governorate, Karakoçan Municipality and other civil

administration authorities, I would go to the villages to conduct research and the authorities were informed of the purpose, scope and method of the research.

No audio recordings were taken from the interviews for about 5 months after the entering process to the field, and during the subsequent interviews, all audio recordings were made with the consent and informing the subjects. These sound recordings are explained to the persons who made the sound recordings to be used in writing in their thesis work. In addition, the persons I have been with to perform “observation by participating” during the field research, activities, rituals are informed about the subject of the study. All interviews were conducted with voluntary consent of the subjects. As well as in-depth interviews, it was not hidden from the subjects I was compiling information on in everyday conversations.

It was suggested to the interviewees that their names could be kept secret in the study, and accordingly their initials were used instead of their real names.

3.4. The Scope of Research and Universe

The scope of this research is some of the villages of Karakoçan (Tekardç, Demirdelen, Akçiçek, Çamardı, Çayırgülü, Üçbudak and Düzağaç) and and sacred places like Sevkar Baba mausoleum, Güzel Baba mausoleum, White Fountain, Pir Cemal Abdal Mausoleum and çori Bori these villages. Geographical, social and symbolic factors played a role in the selection of the 7 villages that were the subject of the research.

The fact that 3 of these villages are Sunni and 4 of them are Alevi, that common rituals are established in holy places, that they are located on the same road leading to tourist, promenade areas such as Golan spas and holy places has extended the scope of the study. It is also necessary to consider the geographical and social dimensions of the region as a cultural

indicator in order to address its structural and cultural dimensions together and to expose the relationship between various types of data and different levels of abstractions.

The district of Karakoçan, which is based in Elazig province, is located in the northeast of Elâzığ, Bingöl Central District in the east, the districts of Yayladere and Kığı connected to the north of Bingöl, Nazimiye District in the northwest of Tunceli, the west again connected to Tunceli, Mazgirt in the south and the districts of Kovancılar affiliated to Elazığ. It is observed that the development process of Karakoçan district has developed in the northwest – southeast direction. In this way, the development of the same direction along with more farmland extending Ohi River has been effective. Therefore, Ohi River, which is the important water source of Karakoçan plain and feeds Peri Water, has continued to exist as a residential area since the past. (Mor 2008, 167) Gül River and Karakoçan River in the West, Karakoçan-Yayladere Road on the name of the merged River Ohi, around the village of Yoğunağaç Fairy water merges. There are villages established on the edge of Ohi River. (Tekardıç, Demirdelen, Akçiçek, Çamardı, Çayırgülü, Üçbudak and Yoğunağaç villages lie along this line) and there is economic and social interaction between these villages.

To better see this interaction, both the socio-cultural structure of the villages in the region – taking into account the emic point of view- was put forward, and the role of rituals, beliefs, narratives and place influence were examined in the formation process of solidarity between these villages.

This research includes these questions:

1. What are the roles of rituals, myths, menakipnames and memorates in these villages in social solidarity?
2. How do religious beliefs and practices shape the participants ' mental map?

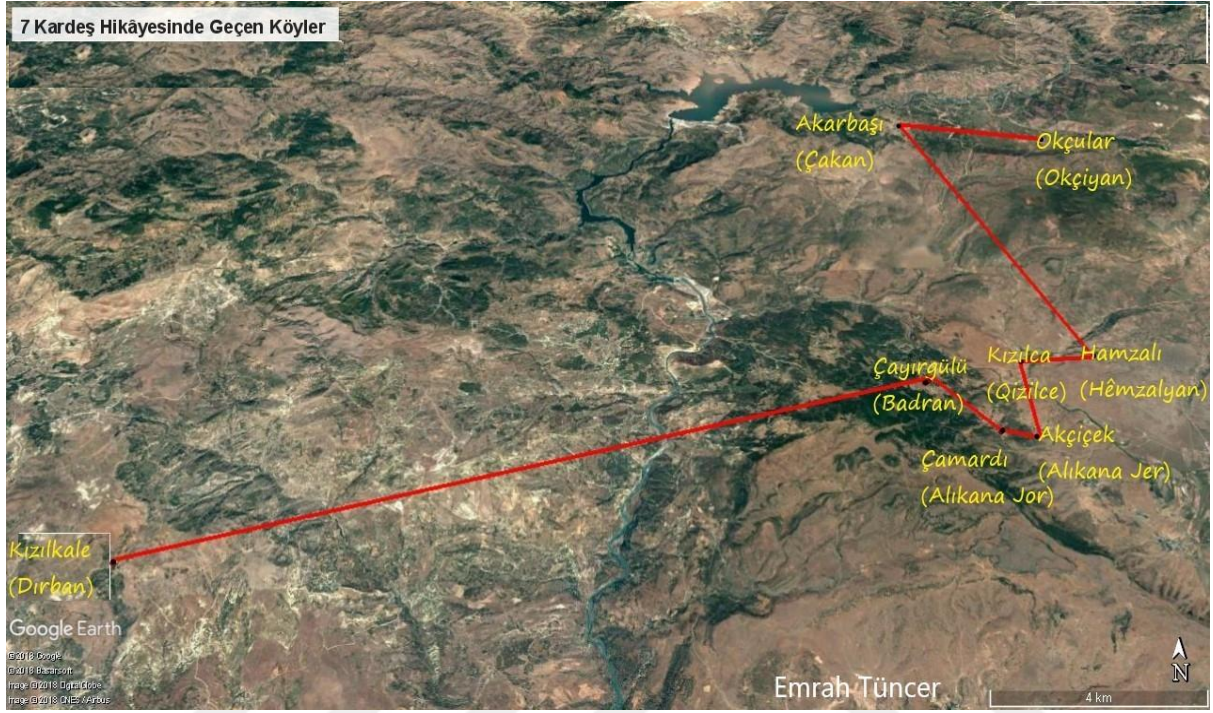
3. How is religious syncretism formed and what is its role(s) in social changes/ solidarity?
4. How have space and place building processes been realized?
5. What are the similarities and differences between the ritual practices of the villages to be addressed?
6. What is the process of holiness and the formation of sacred space?

3.5. The selection of 7 villages

Now our village (Okçıyan), is the first. The village next to it (Çakan) is the second brother. Some say the name is Çekdar. Some say Çek. So he was a good hunter, a sept. The third brother is Kızılca. The fourth is Herzliyan. The fifth brother is Alikan. The other one is Badran and the other is Dırban. 6 brothers. One of them did not come here. We know these 6 here. Okçıyan, Çakan, Hemzalyan, Alikan, Kızılca, Bardan. The 6 of them is clear. Certain places, their villages are obvious. The other one's Dırban (H.E., Male, 75, Okçıyan, 23.06.2018).

The epic of Pir Cemal Abdal's saving the seven sons from the dungeon (in some narratives, this number is five or six sons) of an old woman who was a member of the Shadiyan tribe she tells the story of the establishment of the villages in the region. In these narratives, villages are generally used with the local/old name. Old and new names of villages used in the first narrative are as follows: *Okçular (Okçıyan), Kızılkale, (Dırban), Akarbaşı (Çakan), Akçiçek (Alikana Jer), Çamardı (Alikana Jor), Hamzalı (Hênzalîyan), Kızılca (Qizilce), Çayırgülü (Badran)* (Map1).

Map 1. The Villages Founded by 7 Brothers in the Narrative of H.E



The distance between these villages is nearly 39 km. It is also on the roads that remain quite steep to each other. As can be seen again, there is no direct transportation between the village of Kızılkale (Dirban) and other villages in the Mazgirt District of Tunceli. The intervening Peri River impedes transportation. Also between Çayırgülü, Çamardı and Akçiçek villages Hamzalı crosses and between Kızılca villages the Ohi River crosses. The effective factor in showing the map as 8 villages instead of 7 villages is the separation of the village as “Upper Alıkan (Çamardı)” and “lower Alıkan (Akçiçek)”, which is referred to as “Alıkan”.

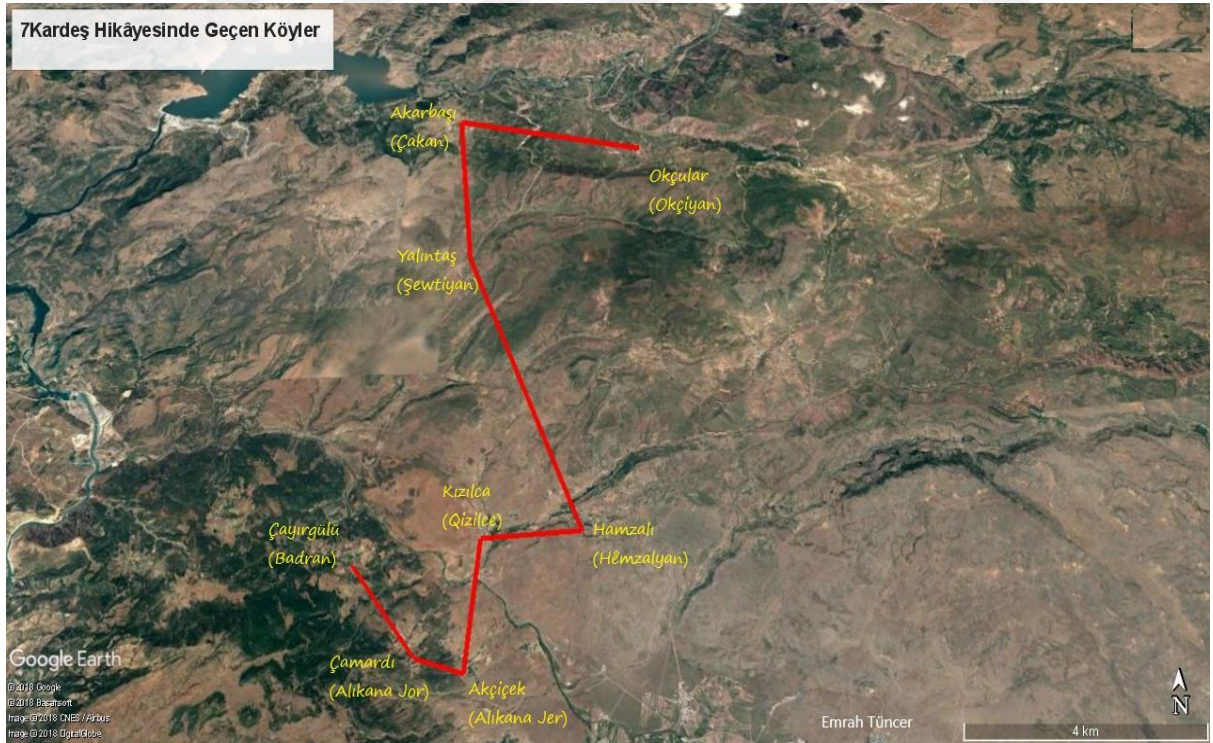
İki ayrı köy olarak kayda geçen ama halk arasında sadece yukarı ve aşağı mahalle şeklinde bir ayırma tabi tutulan bu iki köyü anlatıya göre tek köy olarak görmek mümkündür. Sarp nehirlerle bölünmüş ve eğimli araziler arasında yayılmış bu köylerin hepsinin ortak özelliği

kendini Şadilli Aşireti mensubu saymaktadırlar. Çalışma sahasında tecrübe ve hafızaya dayalı söylemler farklılaşsa da 7, üzerinde sıkça durulan bir rakamdır.

Again, C.D who is from the village where Cemal Abdal's tomb is located, he saw 7 people saved by Pir Cemal Abdal as his suitors and said: *"For example, Hamza, Okçu, Bahadır, Çaka, Ali, Kızıl and Şevti were the suitors of him all the time. Pir Cemal Abdal's suitors. They were always connected to him."*(C.D. Male, 72, Üçbudak Village, 13.02. 2018).

In this narrative, the village of Kızılkale (Dırban) is not included instead Yalıntaş (Şevtiyan) is included. (Map 2). The distance between these villages is about 25.5 km. The transportation between these villages is done from the Karakocan center because there is no passage through the Ohi stream. Akarbaşı, Hamzalı and Yalıntaş villages are very difficult to go from the village of Okçularlar on K1ğı road.

Map 2. The Villages Founded by 7 Brothers in the narrative of C.D.



In other narratives, instead of Dırban village, it is added from other villages connected to the Shadi Tribe and counted as 5 or 6 villages instead of 7. The most common and similar story described in the region is like K.B described: *Especially our 7 villages, namely Alıkan Oxçıyan, Çakan, Badran, Hemzelyan (K. B. Female, 49, Akçiçek, 03.04.2018).*

As seen, in this narrative, only 5 villages are counted but 7 brothers are mentioned. We find more information about the life narrative in which oral sources are concentrated in the region.

B.G who expressed a similar discourse expresses and defends totally 5 villages:

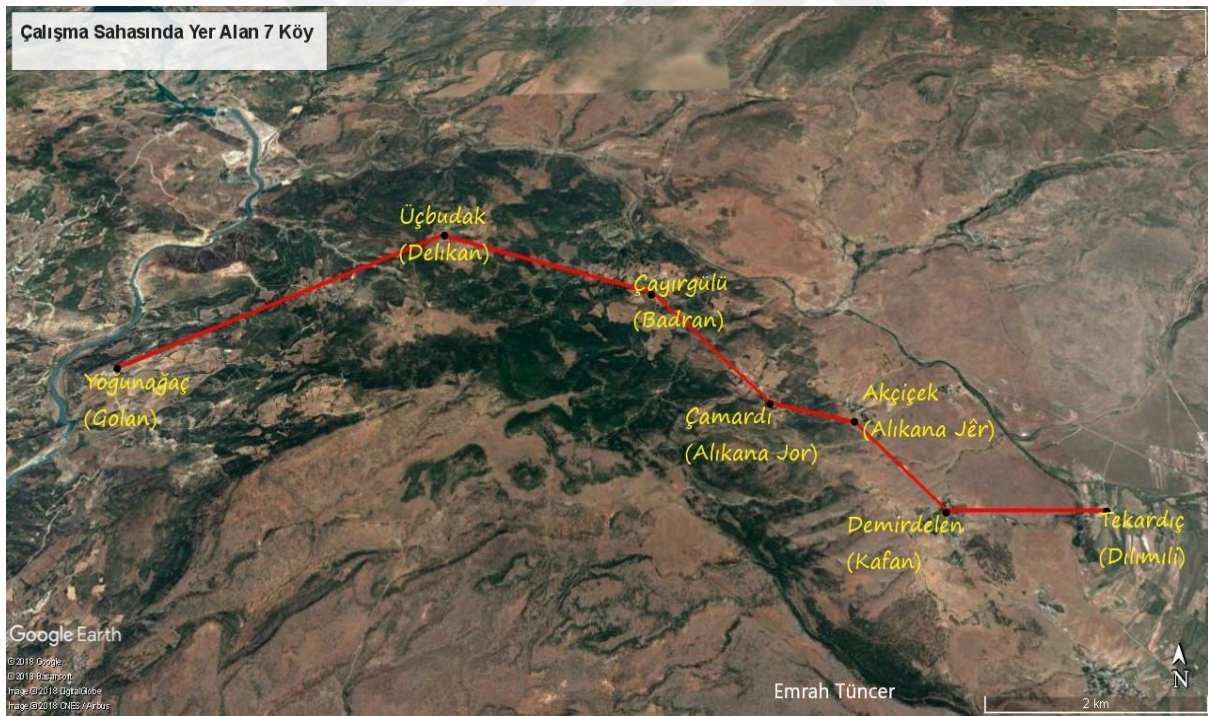
They said that while Cemal Abdal was residing there, there was a king named Allaaddin in Bağın Castle. I do not know the King's name exactly. According to the legend, there are 5 brothers coming, looking for a place to stay. Someone says Let's tell Cemal Abdal to give us a place. They tell Cemal Abdal. Cemal Abdal goes to Bağın Castle to tell the King about the situation. So the King tells them to come here at this hour of the day. They meet on the hill near the village of Okçıyan, the king asks for their names. The name of one of the brothers is Okçu, the name of the other is Çakır, the name of the other is Hamza, the name of another is Bahadır, the name of the other is Kızıl. According to legend, Okçu settled in the village of Okçıyan, Hamza settled in Hamzalıyan, Çakır settled in Çakan, Bahadır settled in this village (B.G. Male, 55, Çayırgülü Village, 03.08.2015).

As seen, the figures and villages are at odds with each other. Therefore, following this story and examining the villages in this story is a problem in itself. The fact that these narratives, based on oral culture, are not included in any document comes with it the question "Which villages should I investigate?" In short, many legends about Pir Cemal Abdal in the region, the spread of the Sadi Tribe to the surrounding provinces and many other villages and the adaptation of these narratives by different villages make difficult to determine which of these 7 villages are. Again, the fact that the geographical conditions are not favorable and that the villages in the narrative are too distant to each other makes it very difficult to work. For example, passing from a village on the edge of Ohi River to Karakoçan and from there to other villages on the Yayladere and Kığı road requires high-cost and continuous means of transportation. Because every village has a vehicle departing at a certain time in the morning

and this vehicle returns to the village at the certain time in the evening. There is no vehicle without them.

Therefore, I selected Tekardıç (Dılımılı), Demirdelen (Kafan), Akçiçek (Alıkana Jer), Çamardı (Alıkana Jor), Çayırgülü (Badran), Üçbudak (Delikan) and Yoğunağaç (Golan) depending on Karakoçan district and following the Ohi stream towards the west, as an example when determining the work area (Map 5). Çamardı and Akçiçek villages in the study area were also considered as separate villages. Although both villages are based on the Shadi tribe, they are officially named as two separate villages.

Map 3. 7 villages in the study area



It was important to see that 3 of the villages selected for the research had a Sunni population while the remaining 4 had Alawite population density, as well as the factors in syncretic processes and which socio-cultural factors shaped the icons in this context. The presence of sacred places such as Sevkar Baba Tomb, Güzel Baba Tomb, White Fountain, Pir Cemal

Abdal tomb and Çori Bori among these villages differentiates the area from other regions. The fact that the Alawites and Sunnis form common rituals in the holy places that are located here and that they come together continuously for the same purpose makes the examination site important. Again, the fact that these villages are located on the same road leading to touristic promenade areas and sacred places such as Golan Hot Springs causes the road to become more widely used and creates economic and social interaction between these villages. The active use of this road and the trips of a large number of individual cars from this road also makes it easier to work in these villages.

The importance and symbolism of the number 7 in other cultures and the geographical, historical and religious background of the field of study are useful in order to better understand the sharing and social solidarity examples of these 7 villages that are connected through these meanings.

CHAPTER 4. GEOGRAPHICAL, HISTORICAL, RELIGIOUS BACKGROUND

"Watch out, man, you're about to get out of history. Read my descriptions again, it's so clear. If you call yourself a historian, you should not set foot here, these areas are given to sociologists. Nor here: From here to psychologists. What about the right side: No, no, don't think of it, because geography is the region and the ethnologist is on the left. "

Lucien FEBVRE

4.1. What do numbers say?

As it is known, mankind has always endeavored to decrypt its own creation. It is believed that the numbers¹⁵ that are the fullest of every creature created by God are the first key to the creation of the universe. Therefore, the number symbolism holds an important place in many societies, religions, cultures. The belief that the numbers have an unseen divine power behind the visible corresponds along with their symbolization, in mythological narrative, in worship, in religious rituals, in theological and scientific studies. However, everything in the universe is explained by a single or double numerical value, the number symbolism used in mythology and scriptures, in which there is a great advantage of single numbers and especially the number of seven in all other numbers (Kılıç and Eser, 2016,96).

According to Pythagorean thought, the number is the principle and essence of the realm. In other words, according to Pythagoras, the numbers contain the “secret of things”, and God is

¹⁵ The science that researches numbers is called numerology... According to this, each number has its own language and a shaped rule. In the first books, each letter is given in numbers. The words are said to be written in numbers first. As time changes, the meanings of numbers are shaped.

the universal harmony and the principle of being is considered. In short, each entity represents a number. According to this idea, numbers affect the characters of the things they regulate, so that the number becomes an intermediary between God and the created world, and if the transactions with the numbers are followed, these transactions also affect the things connected with the numbers used. Thus each number has a special character, a special mystery of its own, and a special metaphysical meaning (Keleş,2017,50). We can divide this situation, which is expressed as number mysticism, into 3:

1. Numbers affect the character of the things they arrange.
2. The numbers are mediators between God and the created world.
3. When the transactions with the numbers are followed, it can be seen that they also affect the things they are related to (Kılıç and Eser, 2016,85).

In this way, it is emphasized that each number has a special character, its own mystery and metaphysical meaning. In contrast to the fact that letters are the product of the human mind, the existence of a system of numbers derived from divine power is a reality that has been accepted since the Sumerians. As a product of this idea, it has been argued that numbers also contain a divine (spiritual/mysterious) meaning that does not appear beyond the mathematical (material/visible) values. Since the first periods of the Sumerians, the existence of sacred numbers in Mesopotamia¹⁶ and Anatolia has been known, and it can be seen that this sanctum was also settled in theology. The attribution of the number 50 to the temple of God Lagas, son of the earth God, since the beginning of 3 thousand years BC is proof that the “fictional” side of the number has been improved. It has also been symbolized in the Mesopotamian pantheon by the number of celestial deities 60, the earth deities 30, and the sun deities 20. The number of the goddess Iştar, daughter of the celestial God, was thought to be 15 (Kılıç and Eser, 2016,84).

¹⁶ Even Mesopotamia was one of the places where astronomy and mathematics were developed in early times, and most of the meanings of certain numbers we use today belong to Mesopotamians.

According to Hartner, the most advanced of the numbers is the Mayan system, which deals with astronomical calculations and is surprisingly error-free. It is known that numbers are worshiped in ancient Indian texts. In the Jewish, Christian and Islamic spheres, the interest in numbers and their characteristics is mainly based on the foundations of Pythagoras (Hartner akt. Keleş, 2017).

As a result, the numbers are a collection of systems produced by the human mind, transmitted from generation to generation, which have undergone some evolution during this journey. The existence of both divine and non-divine religions and of folk beliefs and nature events has been effective in acquiring new meanings of numbers (Özarslan, Salkynbaev, and Dossymekova, 2014, 164).

4.1.1. The symbolism of Number 7

With the development of the idea of questioning that began with the creation of the universe and man, the number 7 is of a different importance within the system in which each entity is characterized by a number. About the symbolism of the number seven, Schimmel made serious inferences and shared the following: Seven contains the trinity of creative principles (active intelligence, passive subconscious, and the regulatory power of cooperation), together with the material quaternary (air=intelligence, fire=desire, water=emotions, earth=morality), which encompass the four elements and corresponds to the sensory forces (Keleş, 2017). The number symbolism used in ancient thought and scripture is believed to have a great superiority over all other numbers, especially odd numbers and especially the number of seven. The division of seven into 3 spiritual and 4 into material two parts was very often used in medieval interpretation science. Indeed, in Mesopotamia, the cradle of civilization, seven Gods, seven wise, seven planets, seven evil spirits, seven regions of the world, seven seas,

seven rivers, seven winds, seven headed cosmic monsters, such symbols have been included in many theological and mythical texts (Kılıç and Eser, 2016,77).

The number of seven is also known as the number of planets in Babylon: The Sun, The Moon (both of which are within this system, although not a planet) Mercury, Mars, Venus, Jupiter, and Saturn. These seven planets are in turn part of Seven Heavenly Spheres, and this view has stimulated human imagery for thousands of years. The temple of the Sumerian King Gudea, whose ancient Babylonian Zigurat was seven stories tall and likewise composed of Seven Steps, was called the "House of the seven parts of the world" to remind the visitor of the seven celestial spheres. The tree of life is also represented by seven branches; each branch has seven leaves, and this can be thought of as the model for the seven-armed Jewish ceremonial candelabra. In the B.C XVIII. Century the Babylonian calendar, which first appeared at the time of Hammurabi, was based on the phases of the month, so that the seventh, fourteenth, twenty-first, and twenty-eighth days of each month were seen as the unlucky period in which certain events should be avoided. Indeed, in Judaism, the seventh day is the divine resting day. So it is sacred (Schimmel, 1998, 142-143). The Old Testament is full of sevens. In the seventh generation after Adam, there is Lamekin, who lived 777 years and was to be avenged 77 times. Noah's dove flies for 7 days and Tufan's preparations take 7 days. Rewards and penalties are repeated 7 times. Again in the Old Testament in Erden, it is mentioned that someone will be saved from the dead without washing 7 times, and sneezing 7 times. Seven's ambivalence is well expressed in Pharaoh's dream, seeing thyme and 7 rickety cows. Seven is praised in the section "Parables as the Seven Pillars of Wisdom" in terms of containing everything. The 7 steps leading up to the temple of Solomon coincide with the 7 floors of the Babylonian temples. The Euphrates is divided into 7 branches. In ancient Israel, blood is shed 7 times in sacrificial penance (Schimmel, 1998, 144-145; Keleş, 2017,52).

The seven is important not only in the Near East but also in the Mayas in pre-Columbian America. The Mayans believed that the sky had seven floors and used the seven as a symbol of locating. Likewise, in ancient Greek society, Jews, Christians and the Islamic world, there are many examples of the sacred and virtue of the number seven. In ancient Greece, the Pythagoreans and the Neo-Platonists represent this work, while the Jewish Kabbalah has seven sacred names. Again, in Christianity, it was believed that the seven symbolisms represented the continuous development of the state and society. Finally in some Islamic interpretations; number seven is perceived as the key to attaining divine power, opening the door of the righteousness, and getting rid of worldly qualities and exquisites.

In Mesopotamian belief, an image of a world was created in which the ziggurats represented the center of the world and thus provided communication with the gods. According to this belief, the ziggurats were at some point the Babylonian phrase Bab-ilani, meaning “gate of the Gods”, and the gods descended from there to the Earth. For this reason, many temples have been named “The Bond Between Heaven and Earth” (Eliade,2014, 102).

Indeed, the seven-storey temple structure in Mesopotamia and the idea that this structure is used as a staircase to reach the god are considered as equal to the “Bell” in Christian architecture and “minarets” in Islamic architecture (Kınal, 1954,12). Another notable aspect is that cities in Mesopotamia were also built in seven layers and seven distinct colors. In Mesopotamia, Ur, Nippur, Eridu, Kullab, Kiş, Lagaş and Şuruppak are related to the number of seven cities (Greenfield, 1985,16). The existence of this belief and tradition in other societies is also observed. As a matter of fact, according to the transfer of Heredotos, the city of Ekbatan in Iran was built as seven layers like the cities of Mesopotamia and each layer was dominated by a separate color (Bakır, 2011,385).

We also see the different uses of the number seven in other societies. For example, in the Persian speaking societies, there are Nevruz traditions related to the number 7. These societies used to light great fires on the ground at the celebration of Nevruz, put oil on the fire, and look at the seven newly planted grains (grain seeds) on the ground and try to predict what their crops would be like. Until the Arab invasion, the Iranian people used to put seven foods/items on the table starting with the initial letters of the Sun on Nevruz day (Özarslan, Salkynbaev, And Dossymbekova, 2014, 161). Likewise, in the Sami and Persian tradition, the most important number is considered to be 3, which is considered spiritual and sacred, and 4, which is considered physical. It is one of the numbers with three, five and seven primary connotations between the Indian and Persian Arians, and is also considered sacred in the Mecusis. In particular, the number of Seven has been evaluated by various nations in the context of a mystical sighting and sign because of its integrity. For example, the seven advisers of the King who conducted and guided law and justice in Persia were counted as Royal judges. Although the Persian army was in the decimal system, seven field commanders had the task of dispatching and handling the army. In addition, the number of deities they worshipped since ancient times was reaching seven, including “Ahura Mazda, Sun, Moon, Air, Fire, Water and Wind” (Keleş, 2017,53).

In Turkish culture, the meanings charged to the numbers are derived from religious beliefs, but also traces from the pre-Islamic life. In Turkish culture, it is observed that the numbers have a very important place in the Shamanic faith, Central Asian Turks, Islam and the Turkish faith and social life until today. The number of one, three, four, five, seven, nine, twelve, forty was found to have a certain importance in Turkish culture when the sources and literary works were examined. Especially the number 7 has a very important place in the Altai Turks. The belief systems of the Altai Turks have seven sons of Ülgen and Erlik, the imagination of the

sky and the underground as seven floors, and the emergence of seventy-seven kinds of ill diseases on the ground when Erlik put his staff under the ground (Türker, 2012,84).

We see the number 7 in many society's literature, which is not only in faith but also in oral and written culture. In the stories of the Eastern societies, we know that there are seven-headed monsters, seven-headed dragons, seven-day-seven-night travels when they go on distant expeditions, seven-fold skies, seven-fold under the ground. In the works that have these concepts, motifs such as the chief priest or heroes taking seven cities, passing through seven lakes and exceeding seven waists are also seen quite frequently in Kazakhs as well as in Chinese. Many peoples have also reflected the number of "Seven " in their proverbs. In Bengali "I shot and killed flies seven times", Georgian "Look seven times and wave a sword once" or "Seven demons can't do the evil of man himself", Persian "Seven divans fit on a mattress, two old men can't fit in a ring", Japanese "If you want to know man, try him seven times", Chinese: "Die seven times and stay alive eight times", Kazakhs "The rootless who does not know the seven ancestors" ,"Like he found seven rabbits on the ground", In Buddhism, the number of ascension and reaching the highest, reaching the center is 7, whereas in Mevlevi, 7 is the number of wisdom. There are 7 greetings in the Mevlevi. Hz. Maulana has 7 counsels.

Seven is also important in the Christian tradition. XIV. century Egyptian historian Makrizi (d. 845/1442) reported that the Christians (Copts) in Egypt celebrated 7 big and 7 small festivals in their churches. Mary has seven joys and seven sorrows. The number 7 is so central to the medieval Christian thought that John of Salisbury (d. 1180) in his book *De septemseptenis*, which he wrote in the XII. century, he mentions 7 kinds of wisdom, 7 fine arts, 7 gifts of the Holy Spirit, 7 degrees of contemplation, and 7 basic principles of philosophy. According to him, 7 is the number of universality (Schimmel, 1998: 148-150).

In addition to all these, 7 is also prominent in the Ismaili sect. The ismailian philosophers know the principles of the seven eternal fountains in the 7th letter of the word "Kun feyekun" (كُنْ ذَوْكُ يَفْ), the word of divine creation, and First they say that 7 heavens and then 7 earth were born. 7 The Great Prophet (Enosh, Noah, Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, Moses and Jesus) corresponds to the 7 celestial sphere and 7 Imam emerges during the time of each 7 Prophet corresponds to the earth (Schimmel, 1998: 162-163)

There are many signs of the sanctity of the number of seven in the Islamic faith as well. Surely the most striking of these is the Fatiha sura, which is the first time of the Qur'an, which is thought to have seven or seventy meanings in each part, and consists of seven verses. The so-called seven-fold Sky mentioned seven times in seven different verses, the distance between Safa and Merve, as well as the 7-times Tawaf of the Kaaba during the pilgrimage, is also seven times sa'y, and the three times during this worship of the devil grinding task performed with seven stones seven numbers of the Islamic faith that emphasizes the sanctity (Kılıç and Eser, 2016,82).

There are also seven numbers in the Hadith narrations. The fact that the Qur'an is revealed in seven letters, that the container contaminated by the drinking of the dog is washed seven times, that seven parts of the body touched the ground in prostration, that in a rumor it is restricted to seven counts of great sins, that two angels are in charge at the seven gates of hell, that the sacrificial cattle and camels. (Keleş 2017,53). In addition, because of the different readings of the Qur'an by more than one companions, Hazrat Mahdi (as) will bring clarity to the situation. Çetin states that in many hadiths, 7 have passed which he refers to as the prophet and says that he wants them to read the Qur'an as it is revealed in seven letters and that it is easy for them to read it (Çetin, 1987,76).

Numbers also play an important role in Hurufism, which is one of the most influential beliefs in Anatolia. The foundation of Hurufism, founded and developed by Fazlullah Hurufi (796/1394), based on the mystery of letters, is based on the understanding from ancient times that accepts the sanctity of numbers with letters and places various symbolic meanings on them. Irène Mélikoff says that Hurufism is able to survive thanks to its influence on Bektashism, and even Hurufism is able to challenge the centuries thanks to Bektashism. The Hurufis are particularly prominent in numerical speculation. They believe that everything contains the numeric values of letters and letters. With the Sevens in the Qur'an, they make connections between the 7 parts of the human face, hair and the rest of his body very easily (Schimmel, 2008, 160-161). According to this system, all the universe and beings are described by two seven-line appearances, one of them is called as hutut-ı ebiyye and the other one is called as hutut-ı ummiyye, which is considered to be on the face of man (Aksu, 1998, 409). According to the Hurufis, there are 7 illiterate lines on the human face. They are hair, four lashes and two eyebrows. This 7 illiterate lines correspond to the 7 heavens. The face also has 7 holes. They are two eyes, two snouts, two ears and one mouth. Again, according to the Hurufis, these 7 holes are equivalent to 7 Stars, 7 layers of the earth/sky, and 7 seas. There is also hutut-ı ebiyye, which occurs in the male at adolescence. These are also two beards, two inside of the nose, two moustaches and one anfeke [under the lip] (Keleş, 2017, 55).

We see that the syncretic structure, which is shaped under the influence of Christianity and pre-Islamic beliefs, is effective in the places in the study area. Therefore, number symbolism is often used in these areas. For example, one of the first things that draws attention in Alevi-Bektashi communities is that a number of numbers such as “threes, fives, sevens, forties” are widely used or said. As these numbers draw people’s attention from outside, it is also a matter of wonder what they mean, what they symbolize. Alevi-Bektashi worship or djems reading gülbank starting with “Bism-i Shah, Allah Allah,” by saying “threes, fives, sevens, twelve

imams, fourteen innocent paks, seventeen kemerbests, forties, all saints, Husn ü helps and favors of saints ready and happy on us!” nobles are mentioned who are symbolized with some numbers. According to Alevi-Bektashs seven symbolizes Hz. Muhammed and his wife Hz. Hatice, his daughter Fâtıma, his son-in-law Hz. Ali, the grandsons Hz. Hasan, Hz. Hüseyin and Selman-ı Farisî. The seven imams up to Imam Musa Kazim were also called “Sevens” or “seven Imams” (Günşen, 2007, 342-344). In the encyclopedic Dictionary of terms Alevism-Bektashism, it says seven superior attributes believed to be found in “Imam Ali”; seven attributes found in the sect, seven methods found on the road; seven colors of the Fatma Ana generation; seven holes in the face of man; seven heavens and seven integers.” are written. In the same study, seven Abdal, seven stages, seven ancestors, seven fathers, seven lines, seven holes, seven important people, seven religious duty, seven heavens, seven climates, seven castles, seven channels, seven colors, seven adjectives, seven crowns, seven hell, seven attitudes, seven great man, seven great minstrels and seven stars and the meanings of these terms are included in the Alevi-Bektashi culture (Korkmaz, 2016, 709-710). Again, the number of the poets¹⁷ in Alevi-Bektashi education is 7. Although there are thousands of poets, the understanding that limits the number of poets by seven may be due to the desire to reinforce the idea of giving important hidden information at the core of this teaching with symbols and numbers. In this case, the number of “seven” can be said to contain a value that reflects the “cosmic consciousness” in question and a symbol. In short, seven is a symbol of completeness, integrity, unity, celestial harmony, evolution, perfect order, functionality of celestial management in many places. Özarslan et al. Makes the following determination about 7:

¹⁷ According to the Alevi-Bektashi circles, the XV-XVII. Poets who lived in the centuries are: Nesîmî (d. 820/1417 [?]), Hatâî (d. 930/1524), Fuzûlî (d. 963/1556), Yemînî (XVI. Century), Pir Sultan Abdal (XVI. Century) , Irânî (XVI-XVII century) and Kul Himmet (XVI-XVII century).

Hz. Ali has seven special adjectives. The Earth and sky are composed of seven floors. There are 7 days in a week. The bright spot rotates 7 times a second. The rays of the white shules coming out of the sun are also seven. Other than human beings, the bones of the neck between the body and the head of all living things are also seven. The Qur'an begins with 7 verses and it has been descended in 7th century (Özarslan, Salkynbaev, And Dossymbekova, 2014, 158).

It is clear from this that cultural, political and economic relations between people lead to the emergence of common motives. The Figure 7 therefore holds an important place in the formation and history of the world and man. The number 7 has frequently appeared in folk literature, narratives, belief systems of ancient Indian, Greek, Sumerian, Maya, Mesopotamian, Anatolian Arabs and Farsi. Therefore, if we look at the historical sources that we exemplify, we see that the granting of sanctity to the number “7” is not only related to one society, it is caused by the interaction of many people. For this reason, it is necessary to see that there are common thoughts in common worldviews in the culture of peoples spread all over the world as a natural formation.

Therefore, the story of 7 brothers saved by Pir Cemal Abdal in the field where I worked, 7 visits to the tomb to find healing, 7 separated branch of Shadilli Tribe which many villages depend on, etc. Such discourses make the number 7 significant in the field and create symbolic meanings. Through these meanings, sharing of interconnected villages and showing examples of Social Solidarity were also effective in selecting 7 villages.

4. 2. Geographical Background

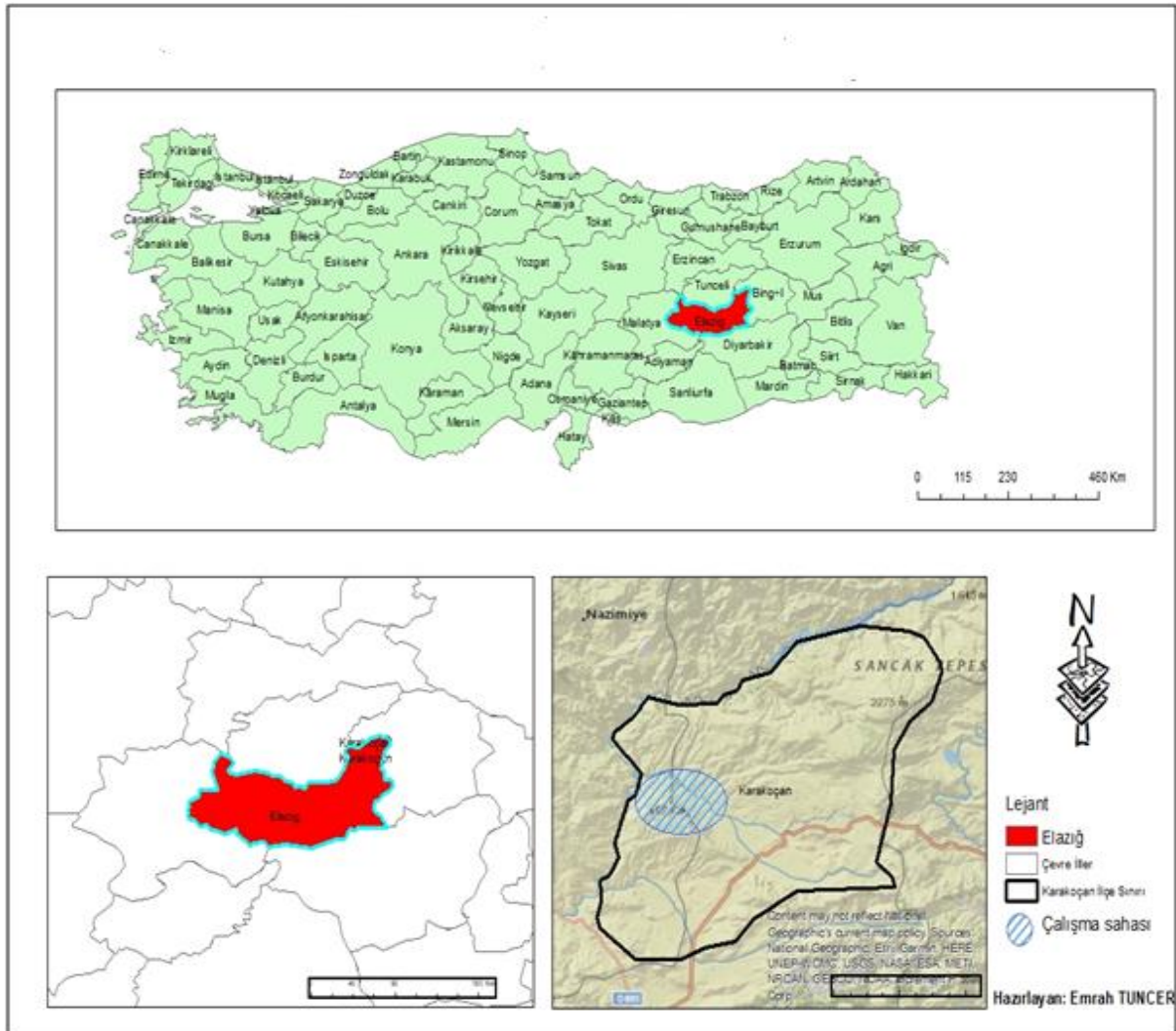
The study site is located within the boundaries of Elâzığ Province in eastern Anatolia region (Map 4). Eastern Anatolia is the highest and most bumpy region of our country¹⁸. The highest mountain range of our country is located in this region. The surface shapes of the region form the plains between the large platos, mountain ranges and platanos. The upper Euphrates region, which is part of the research site, is the largest division of the Eastern Anatolia region. There are a number of regions in which there are different geographical characters. These are Uzunyayla in the west, the southeastern Taurus and the lower field band accompanying it in the north (from Elbistan to Elâzığ, then through the valley of Murat River to Mus plain), between Karasu and Murat River Tunceli and Bingöl districts is divided into three with its principal reputation (Darkot, 1943, 261).

Elazığ is located in the upper Euphrates Department of eastern Anatolia region between 38 ° 43 ' -38 ° 36 ' latitude apartments and 39 ° 07 ' -39 ° 19 ' longitude l ocated in the middle of the upper Euphrates department, Elazığ province is also present in the historical natural Roads (caravan), which maintains its importance¹. This route connects the various plains with natural means by monitoring the north of the wide arc drawn by the East Taurus Mountains (Özdal, 2010, 10). In the upper Euphrates basin of eastern Anatolia is one of the provinces that connects the eastern provinces of the region to the other regions of the country with its 10 districts and 10 towns, 26 villages, 537 village and 33 districts connected to the city. Elazığ is comprised of morphological units such as mountain, plateau and plain in terms of ground shapes. The presence of these units in nested systems has caused a change in the conditions of elevation at short distances (Üstündag 2009). The depression of Elazığ and Uluova is located

¹⁸ Sırrı Erinç, one of the famous geographers who wrote the first comprehensive book about eastern Anatolia, states that the distinguishing feature of the Eastern Anatolia region is its average elevation.

on the northern edge of the south-east Taurus winding system. This area within the Alpine Orogenic zone also includes Elbistan, Malatya, Uluova, Bingöl, Muş, Lake Van and Gevher depression. They are separated from each other with low threshold fields. Therefore Elazığ and Uluova are of great similarity with these tectonic collapse bastions (Erinç, 1953).

Map 4. Location map of Karakoçan District



Emrah TUNCER,2019

An important part of the villages of Elazığ province is located in mountainous areas. The proportion of villages located on the slopes, such as the ridge, skirts of the mountain, approaches to 70%. Due to the bumpy topography, the villages mostly consist of small and multiple settlements. 40% of the villages consist of scattered settlement units. This is more

intense in the Palu, Karakoçan, Basque, Arıcak mines and Sivrice sides. Since the villages consist of more than one settlement, the number of settlements in Elâzığ Province exceeds 1200.

The district of Karakoçan, which is based in Elazığ province, is located in the northeast of Elâzığ. Bingöl Central District in the east, the districts of Yayladere and Kiğı connected to the north of Bingöl, Nazimiye District in the northwest of Tunceli, the west again connected to Tunceli, Mazgirt in the south and the districts of Kovancılar affiliated to Elâzığ. (Map-1) The borders of Karakoçan district are based on natural elements as the province, district, village borders are usually determined by natural elements in Turkey. These boundaries follow the water section of the Mountains of Faerie Water and Mazı Mountain, the Heserek Mountain, the Kurucadağ and the Körboga.

The land forms of the region consist of plains, mountain ranges and large platanos between the Platos. In the region, the mountains lie in three rows in the east-west direction. There are Erzincan, Tercan, Erzurum and Aras River depressions in the south of the Çoruh – Kelkit mountain range that forms north of the region. In the south, the depressions on the strip divided starting from the Elbistan basin, continuing with Malatya, Uluova (Mollakendi), Bingöl (Çapakçur), Muş, Lake Van, Baskale (Havasor) and Yüksekova (Gever) basin. In the south of this series of depression lies the southeast Taurus Mountains which stretches as a wall (Mor, 2008, 13).

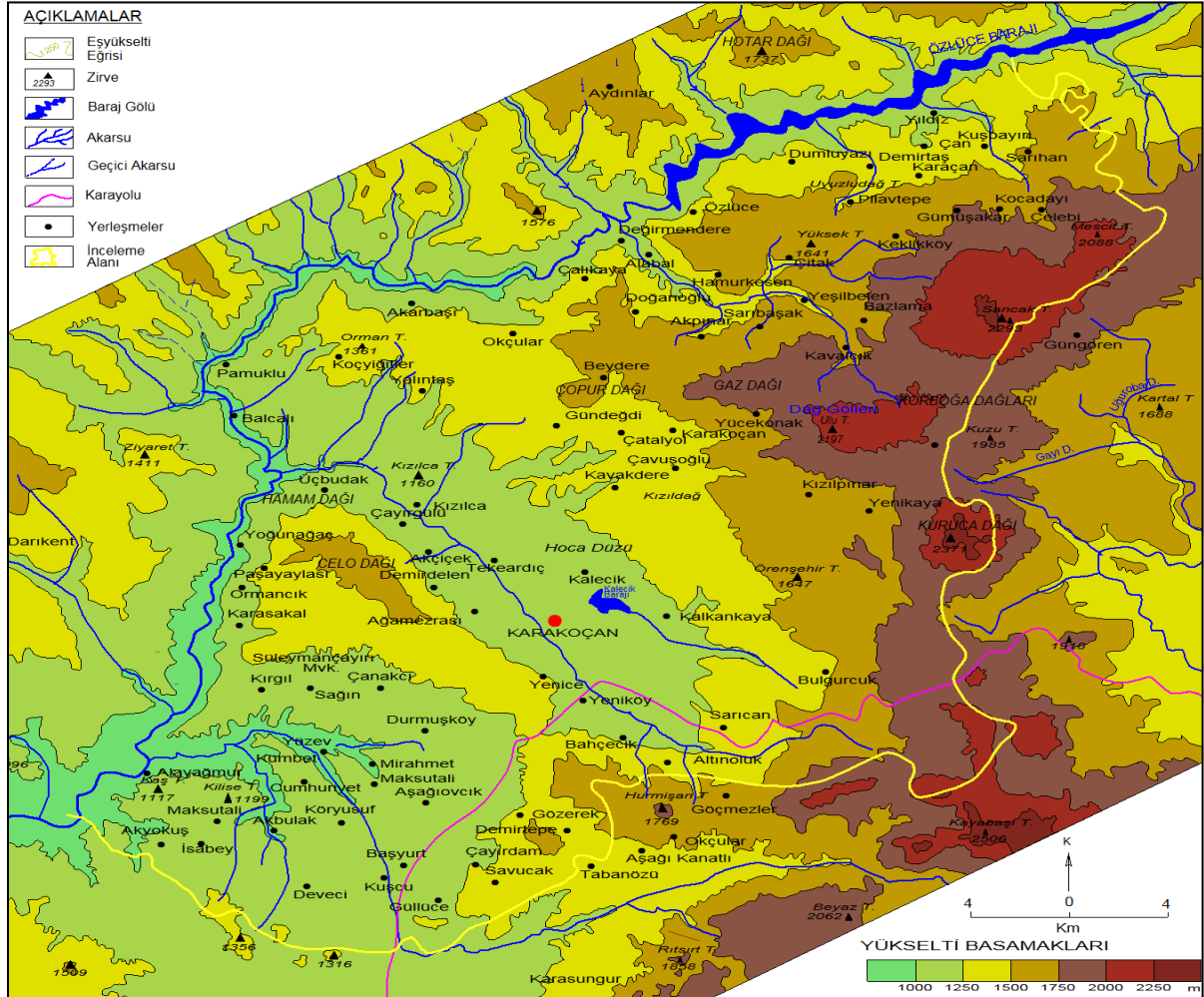
In Karakoçan, there were mountainous areas with orogenic¹⁹ movements and these areas increased with epirogenic²⁰ movements. Mountainous areas with erosion activities of rivers have been significantly fragmented. Thus, the field corresponds to the mountainous and rugged terrain. An important part of the sediments was accumulated in Karakoçan and Basyurt Plains and a thick alluvion layer was formed (Mor, 2008, 24). Atasoy also states the

¹⁹ The formation of sedimentary layers deposited in geosynclines by folding and breaking movements is called mountain formation or orogenesis

²⁰ Large-area descending and elevating movements in the earth's crust are called epirogenesis.

physical characteristics of Karakoan as follows: The city of Karakoan is located in the plain of tectonic origin formed by the Karakoan fault Zonu. The area is surrounded by high mountains, consisting of wide alluvions on the volcanic structure (Atasoy, 2011, 159).

Map 5. Physical map of Karakoan District



(Mor, 2008, 7)

Karakoan has had a very dense tectonic activity, as it suggests in its construction properties. Because East Anatolian fault which is one of the active faults of Turkey passes through the east and southeast of Karakoan and in the north of Karakoan, Ovacık fault passes through. In this area, there are three broken zones, one with a right lateral throw and two with left lateral splits. The right lateral pulsed Karakoan fault zone cuts the left lateral pulse fault

zones with the Bardaklı fault zone and the Pamuklu fault zone. Karakoçan Fault Zone is 6 – 10 km wide, 50 km long northwest trending, right lateral and it is active. It is followed by Tunceli, which starts from the 3 km east of Altinoluk village and passes through the village of Hamam Mountain and Sütöc (Mazgirt) to the northwest. The northwest-trending Karakoçan fault Zone is cut by a north-northeast trending Bardaklı fault Zone and creates a conformation geometry. These two fault zones are formed by the intersection of the field Kolan (Golan), vineyard and Ballica hot water sources, and on these hot water outlets, the terraces and cracks of the ridge travertine formations are seen today. The stress energies formed by the tectonic movements of the plates are discharged in the form of earthquakes by following the fault lines showing poor resistance of the crust. Northwest-Trending Karakoçan fault zone with the intersection of approximately north-northeast trending Bardaklı fault zone, Golan (Kolan), vineyard and Ballica hot water sources and terraces and cracked back travertine formations on these hot water outlets are now (Mor, 2008, 19). Golan Hot spring, which is the main tourist area of the field of study, is located on fault zone.

In short, the determination of the morphological units of Karakoçan has the effect of tectonic movements, such as Orogenesis, epirogenesis, and internal forces such as volcanism, as well as faulting occurring during the formation of these movements. The inner forces have formed mountains, plains and platanos, and are shaped by faults. Today's topographic figures have emerged with the effect of the alluvial processes of this structure formed by tectonics (Map 5).

Hamam Mountain, Hamam Mountain has a very broken structure. Peri Suyu settled on the Bardaklı fault line and formed a very deep gorge around Hamam Mountain. The western slopes of the Hamam Mountain are rising like a wall from the Peri Suyu valley. 1100 - 1250 metres of the Hamam Mountain between the Pliocene Alibonca formation is composed of limestone, sandstone, marl and conglomerate. There are caves and hot springs on the fault slopes of Haman Mountain. The caves on these slopes are connected by small galleries. Since

the Hamam Mountain is fragmented by fault lines, there are hot springs on the slopes of this mountain. Karstic shapes such as travertine, stalactites and stalagmites are encountered depending on the thermal springs. Kolan (Golan), the outlet of the spa waters of the vineyard has changed many times. This shows that tectonic movements are effective in this field (Mor, 2008, 28-29).

Celo Mountain which is located in the study area, is 1594 metres high. The Celo Mountain, which is composed of basalt, andesite and anglomerate, is included in the upper Miocene – quarternary Karabakır formation. Mount Celo is fragmented by right strike-slip faults. At the top of the Celo Mountain, which is covered with forests and heaths, we reach to the plateau area on the top. Celo Mountain, which is separated from Karakoçan Plain and Peri Suyu by fault steeps, is a typical horst (Mor, 2008,31).

Apart from the mountains, water resources in the region are also important. Ohi River, which forms the boundary of the work site, originates from the higher parts of Heserek Mountain (2075m). Ohi River arises with Ceviz River in a mountainous region. It takes the name Sarıcan River between Sarıcan and Tekardıç. Sarıcan River takes Kalecik River which is formed by the merging of Kulundere and Uzakyıǵ River near Tekardıç. After Tekardıç, it reaches the Peri Suyu under the name of Ohi River. From the west of Tekardıç, Ohi River takes Karaoǵlan River, Hamzalı River, Kızılca River, Uyuz River, Çakan River and Koçyiǵitler River. Ohi River shows parallel drainage network along the side arms. Karakoçan Fault Zone has an effect on the emergence of this type of network (Mor, 2008, 96). The characteristics of the side arms that are mixed with Ohi River are different from each other due to the fault line. So that we can divide the branches of the Ohi River into two groups, north and south. While the branches in the north form permanent rivers, the branches in the south form seasonal rivers. There are fault steeps on the south of Ohi River. Following the fault steepness, the Rivers reaching Ohi River are short in length. While the length of seasonal

rivers reaching from the source of Paşayaylası to Ohi River is 6.3 km, the length of Karaoğlan River which reaches to Ohi River from Kurucadağ is 24.9 km (Mor, 2008, 96-97).

Ohi River opens to the plain with a strait near Sarıcan and leaves the plain with a bench near Üçbudak. In addition, there are small hills at the base of the plain which can reach up to 1415 metres. As the accumulation cone and its fans developed between the fault slope and the Ohi River, it was prevented from expanding towards the plain floor. Because this field is very narrow. The colluvial material extending to the plain floor is carried by Ohi River. A large number of slope sources emerge from the deposition cones and its ranges. The fact that these areas have both fertile soil and lush resources is of great importance in terms of settlements. Altınoluk, Bahçecik, Yeniköy, Yenice, Tekardıç, Akçiçek villages are the villages located on these deposition cones and their ranges (Mor, 2008,39-40)

The Peri River is one of the important river tributaries of the Euphrates river and takes its resources from the Şakşak Mountains (3057 m). It is said that the Peri Suyu takes its name from a legend. According to this legend, the shepherd loves Peri: the beautiful girl of the Aga. Aga mocks the shepherd who wants to get married with his daughter. He is angry that he wants his daughter without thinking about his poverty. The shepherd wants a job that impossible to happen, he says: "If you bring the thirsty herd to the water and bring them back without drinking a drop of water, I'll give my girl to you." And the day comes, Aga constantly gives too much salt to the black sheep. The shepherd brings the flock to the water in front of the people. Black sheep head for water. The shepherd constantly begs to prevent the black sheep from drinking water. The shepherd's emotional tibia affects the black sheep and raises his head while leaning back in the water. Aga is forced to give his daughter to the shepherd. The name of the water remains "Peri Suyu" (Bayram, 2015, 1).

4. 3. Historical background

"It is thought-provoking. The West does not mention between the two rivers (Mesopotamia).

Because if he does, all the theories he develops will be wasted.

Between the two rivers is the cradle of civilization and culture. "

Dr. Ali Shariati

The character and structure of a society occurs as a result of a long historical development. Therefore, referring to the social and cultural structure without the historical background of the region does not reflect reality. By region, it is essentially aimed to obtain historical data within the boundaries of the area, which is not only a wide geography, but rather a region. However while addressing the some villages in Karakoçan province which are in the district of Elazığ in the upper Euphrates Department of the Eastern Anatolia, Bingöl the central district of the east of Elazığ, the district of Yayladere and Kigi, connected to the north of Bingöl, Nazimiye District in the northwest of Tunceli, the town of Mazgirt connected to Tunceli in the west, the district of Kovancılar connected to the south of Elazığ should be considered and evaluated with the interaction in this context.

This addressed area was the scene of Hurri, Mitanni, Urartu, Roman and Byzantine domination. It has been in the hands of Muslim Arabs in the VII century. Until the end of the XI. century, this region was the area of struggle between Byzantium and Muslims. After the Battle of Malazgirt, it has been in the hands of all Anatolian Turks (Ünal, 1990, 241).

Halil İnalcık stated that the beginning of the Seljuk period began with the first Oguz-Turkmen inflates and settlements in the East Anatolia in the 1020s:

The Turkmens who settled in Azerbaijan in the 1020s were in the administration of their own gentlemen, then under the control of the Şehzadas sent by Kılıç Arslan and Melikşah, they made great inflates to Eastern Anatolia, and they

proceeded to Kayseri and Ankara, and at the end of this struggle two great empires in 1071 faced the Seljuk Empire and the Byzantine armies (İnalçık, 1997, 65-66)

In the victory gained in Malazgirt, Anatolia was opened to Turkmen tribes. After the victory, the Turks spread to Anatolia in more crowded groups. On the one hand, Kutalmışoğlu Süleyman Shah, taking İznik on 1075, while laying the foundation of Anatolian Seljuks, the Seljuk commanders came to eastern Anatolia with the Turkmen under their orders and founded the principalities here. In and around Erzurum Saltuklular (1072-1202), in and around Erzincan Mengüceclular (1080-1228), Barogullari in Harput (1085-1113), Danishmends in and around Sivas (1080-1178), Demleplulları in Bitlis and Erzen (Dilmaçoğullari) (1084-1393), in the Van lake basin, the Disintegrators (AhlatŞahlar) (1100-1207), the Yıalogullari in Diyarbakir (1098-1183) and Hasankeyf, Mardin and Harput Center were established in southeast Anatolia, Artuqids (1101-1231, in Mardin until 1408).

After the victory of 1071, Mengücek Ahmed Gazi; Erzincan, Kemah, Shabbin Kara Hisar, Divriği, Dersim and Palu cities in the region dominated by the Mengücek principality establishes. (Sümer 1998, 1) Thus, while the Mengüceks dominated the north of Dersim region, Çubukogullari also dominated the southern sides of Dersim. However, this dominating of the Çubukogullari has not lasted long, the increasingly strengthened Artukoğulları, demolishing the Çubukogullari in the mess took the Harput fortress. After the Artukluis fell out with Danişmendli Yağıbasan, Yağıbasan, overrun the Cemişgezek region. Later on, they fell out with the Lord of Mengücek in Kemah and the lord of Kemah dies in the war. This region, which changed hands among the principalities of the Eastern Anatolia, came under the rule of the Seljuks during the reign of Alaeddin Keykubad I of the Anatolian Seljuk Sultan (Taş, 2012, 28).

The Anatolian Seljuks, in the time of I. Alaeddin Keykubad (1220-1237), live the brightest periods in the political, economic and cultural sphere. I. Alaeddin Keykubad has had an important place in the history of this field of study. Today, in the local genealog, there are his effects.¹² Turkish tribes with the names of this genealogymen, which was sealed by Alaeddin Keykubad on 1232; came from Khorasan to Erzincan, Bağın and Hısnı Mansur towns. Later, Orhan Gazi and I. Murad also stamped this genealog (Fırat, 2007, 93).

After a while, the Anatolian Seljuk state, which lived under the Mongolian domination but had no previous strength, new principalities emerged in various regions of Anatolia (primarily at the ends). When it collapsed in 1318, the principalities were subjected to the Mongol-Ilhanlı State for a while, and it was subordinated to the Eretna State, which was established in Central Anatolia and founded by the Uighur Turket Eretna (Taş, 2012, 36).

Burhan Kocadağ has assessed the tombs that are heavily involved in the region and and stated that the tombs became widespread as an attempt to reduce the influence of Christian missionaries:

While the Seljuk sovereignty was settled in Anatolia for many years, the Anatolian Seljuk state was weakened during the Mongol invass; The place is influenced by principalities, sects, Christian Missionants; In Kayseri, Goreme, Cukurova regions, Christianity propaganda has been taken. Meanwhile, Sufi dervish currents such as Ahilik, Babailik, Khorasan Erennes and Bektaşism also gained widespread popularity. In many parts of Anatolia, Alperenler such as Abdal Musa, Geyikli Baba, Doglu Baba, Hasan Baba, Sultan Baba, Karaca Ahmet, Karadonian Can Baba, if they did not work with faithful devotions in such a spiritual collapse, Anatolia would not be able to get rid of Christian Byzantines (Kocadağ, 2008, 56).

The Karakoyunlu State, which expanded its borders from Horasan to the Ottoman and Mamluk borders, lost their struggle with the Akkoyunlu State and the Karakoyunlu State was dissolved in a short time. Eastern Anatolia was dominated by the Akkoyunlu State. The dominance of the Akkoyunlu State in this region continued until the reign of Mehmet the Conqueror. Fatih, who wants to establish unity in Anatolia, after the Uzun Hasan's aid to the

Karamansons from Akkoyun, Uzun Hasan's, he took the expedition on the state of Akkoyunlu. In 1473 Uzun Hasan defeated in the Battle of Otlukbeli. Halil Inalcık expressed this situation as follows:

It was the Ottoman Empire that weakened and destroyed the sovereignty of these powerful states in Eastern Anatolia and supported other ethnic groups there. At that time, the idea of a Turkish union was not prevailing. The Akkoyunlus, who dominated eastern Anatolia and were based in Turkmens, threatened to support the Ottomans ' dominance in central Anatolia by supporting Karaman and other principals. Therefore, the Ottomans and the Akkoyunlu state came across. The Ottomans struck a massive blow to the Akkoyunlu state (İnalçık, 1997, 67).

After the war, some of the Akkoyunlus fell apart and took refuge in Ovacık and Pülümür. This region, which was far from struggles for some time, fell into turrets with the establishment of a new state in Iran. This state was the Safavid State, which was a dangerous rival for the Ottoman Empire for many years.

As can be seen, at the beginning of the 12th century, Artuklu Belek Gazi took the region from the Çubukoğullari and established its principality, followed by the rule of Artuklu and Seljuk, Mongolian, Karakoyunlu, Kadı Burhaneddin and Akkoyunlu. In the early 16th centuries, Palu and its environs were in the hands of Safevans like all of eastern Anatolia. (Ünal, 1990, 241).

The fact that Shah Ismail, who founded the Safavids, was both a Turk and the situation of the Ottoman state at that time caused many Kizilbash (Alevi) tribes in Anatolia to go to Iran and led the Shah to enter the order. In addition, Nur Ali Khalifa, which Shah Ismail sent to Anatolia, was also influential in the course of these votes. Because he invited the Alawis in Sivas, Tokat, Amasya and Çorum to the union in the name of Shah. In addition to Nur Ali Khalifa, Şahkulu also carried out activities in South Anatolia (Uzunçarşılı, 2006, 253).

In this break, the application of Sunni faith is effective as Yavuz Sultan Selim won the Çaldıran War and became dominant in this region. The influence of the Safavids in the region was replaced by Sunni beliefs after this process. As can be seen, it can be said that there has

been a change of belief in the region especially in this period during the historical process. Yavuz Sultan Selim, who returned to Anatolia after the Çaldıran victory, sent his tribes to Viransehir, Varto, Muş, Hınıs, Eleşkirt, Patnos, Ağrı, Erciş, Van, a strong front of the Sunni Kurdish tribes against the Safavids, and they formed a strong front for the Safavids, who traveled nomadically in Konya, Karaman, Teke, Ankara, Kayseri, Milan, Barzan, Karakeçili, Cibranlı, Hasenan, Sipkan, Hayderan, Zilan, Jalali. Shah Ismail against the Ottomans was also known to have joined the Zaza-Dümbüli tribes living in steep mountains such as Sason, Mutki, Çapakçur (Bingöl) to his side at the time. However, the Ottoman Empire tried to keep the tribes in unity with the Ottoman state by granting the status of homelessness and principality to the many Sunni tribal chieftains who served in the war against Safavids in the war of Çaldıran (Ebinç, 2008, 63).

When it is taken in terms of the Ottoman State's enlargement period, it will be lacking to assess the villages to be addressed without introducing the Kiğı and Palu banners and to make inferences about them. One part of the region is the Kiğı, some of which remain within the Palu boundaries, and these banners sometimes have a displacement between the provinces. For example, the Kiğı region, according to Hoca Saaddin's record, was attached to the Safevis of Moustached Mehmet Pasha. We see that Moustached Mehmet Ali Pasha, after defeating and killing Nur Ali Khalifa in Göksu, gave a new order to these sides. After his being brought to the Safevis of Diyarbakır, we have learned that Kiğı connected to the Safevis of Diyarbakır, 924/1518 dated from the Book of Diyarbakır Tahrir. Later, in 1535, with the establishment of the Safevis of Erzurum, it was understood that the Starboard of Kiğı was separated from Diyarbakır and connected to it (Özcan, 2011, 64).

Before going into the details of these sanjaks, it is necessary to mention about the administrative structure in the Ottoman Empire. As it is known, in the classical Ottoman administrative system, the country was divided into large administrative units called

"provinces" and the provinces were divided into "sanjaks". Cities with state and Starboard central status have the distinction of being the administrative center. Those who served in both the states and the sanjaks were also primarily responsible for the city administration. For this reason, the changes in the Ottoman administrative structure have also directly affected the city administration (Yılmazçelik, 2000, 234).

Within the Ottoman administrative structure, governor was both the civil and military chief of the province given to him and stayed in the cities called "Sanjak of Pasha", which was the provincial center. In the period of establishment and development, the governor have military control over their starboard units in particular. Although there was no authority in the Sanjak of Pasha in terms of Administration other than "lord", the situation began to change from 1550 onwards and in parallel with the increase of kapu people²¹, they also began to interfere with the internal administration of the sanjaks. Meanwhile, the deterioration of the manorial system and relinquishing its place to the administration with asylum brought about significant changes in the management of the country. As a result of the increase of the pashas in the rank of vizier in the administration of the country from the XVII. century onwards, the obligation to find the duties appropriate to their titles emerged and some of the sanjaks were introduced to these Pashas as "benefice". The people who have been given starboard revenues as benefice have started to carry out their administration through "mütesellims" and in the XVIII. century, the sanjakbeys have largely left their seats to the "mütesellims" (Yılmazçelik, 2000, 234). As can be seen, the Ottoman provincial administration, which has its foundation in the territorial regime, has shown different forms of administration according to special conditions in various provinces, far from being monotype. For example, the eastern provinces of the Ottoman Empire, such as free mirimiranlık and country estate, quarry forms of administration are also encountered. The free mirimiranids are Cizre, Genç, Bitlis, Hakkâri whose ownership and

²¹ **Kapı/ Kapu people**, is the general name given to civilians and soldiers in the mansions of Grand Vizier, vizier, governor and ilmiye dignitaries in the Ottoman Empire.

administration in eastern Anatolia was left to their former owners and recognized the sovereignty of the Ottoman Empire. The owners of these sanjaks, which was named as "Government", are released in administration each year on the condition that they pay certain taxes and provide military services as required (Özcan, 2011, 70).

The quarry flags are divided into two groups as of the structure. The first is the government sanjaks, the other is the country estate-quarry sanjaks called Liva (Sanjak). In Ottoman sources, the term liva or Sanjak was not used when the estate-quarry sanjaks are mentioned. The word liva or sanjak was used when the estate-quarry flags were mentioned, but it was emphasized that they were saved by the quarry cult. The point of attention here is that the term kiln shows the shape of the directing. In practice, both the government and the estate-quarry stands are actually quarries.

According to the information in the treatises and the laws, the most important difference that distinguishes between the estate-quarry sanjaks and the government sanjaks is that no registration was made in the government sanjaks. Although most of the government sanjaks did not register in accordance with this tradition, at times this theme was also found to be violated (Kılıç 2001). Collecting tax revenues is under the jurisdiction of the governor of a sanjak. He is the only responsible to pay a certain tax to the centre every year. In addition, the sanjak society was exempted from the taxes like avarız, sürsat, nüzül. However, this exemption is not granted to the "estate-quarry" sanjaks. Apart from these, both sanjaks have the same qualities. During the time of the expedition, both sanjak soldiers are obliged to gather under the sanjak of the governor. Judicial matters in both sanjaks can be settled by Kadi appointed from the center, and again both sanjaks have financial obligations to the center as stated above (Ünal, 1990, 242).

In the region, Kiğı is in the status of homeland-quarry, while Palu is in government status. Therefore, the Ottoman state has applied different administration styles according to the characteristics of places under its dominions rather than an absolute centralism. Orhan Kılıç; explains the administrative and political purpose of the government, citizenship-quarrying status as follows:

The government and the banners of the homeland-quarry were located in the border regions of the Ottoman Empire, which were politically active. The most important reason for this was to benefit from the influence of the indigenous lords in these regions and to protect and establish the central authority to some extent through these lords (Kılıç ,2001, 258).

In short, with this application, local gentlemen have been made responsible as an official officer of the state in order to ensure public order, political stability and military order in the regions where it is difficult to establish the central authority fully and have political mobility and they are provided to work in the service of the state. In this way, tribes in these regions were largely prevented from becoming an element of internal unrest, and even as other classical starboards, they served faithfully to the state (Kılıç, 2001, 257-259).

4. 3. 1. Tribes in Historical and Theoretical Terms

Gökalp, describes the tribe as communities that protect their members, citizenship traditions and lifestyle for the external attacks. According to Gökalp, political domination belongs to the sovereign clan or ancestry. As tribes move from nomadism to semi-nomadism and settled evolution, this sovereignty passes from tribal to larger organizations (Gökalp, 2009, 45). Rondot, who makes a similar definition, defines the tribe as a community that is based on its own traditions and defends against the outside (Rondottan akt. Ebinç, 2008, 16). The tribe consists of clans each with a common ancestor, clans from ancestry, ancestry from descendants and descendants from houses. Clans, ancestry and subroutines may stretch the

boundaries over time, and the ancestry, clans can leave one tribe to another tribe. In this case, even if they come from another lineage, people feel like they belong to the new line. New breeders are considered to be of the same lineage after one or two generations, and forgot their origins, producing the legitimacy of their community identity with the myth of common ancestors. Ebinç expresses the reason for this as the instinct to overcome the feeling of insecurity created by not being a member of any tribe (Türkdoğan, 1987, 19).

In a study conducted by Doğu Ergil for TOBB in 1994, he defined the tribe as follows:

The tribe is a power source. The tribe offers the individual physical security as well as spatial security such as land and pasture. But tribal is not as divisive as it is solidarity. It is not equalizer and resource distributor. It does not regulate cooperation and division of labor for production. It is a protective umbrella. It protects its members from external dangers and threats (Ergil, 1995, 110).

Uluç, who considers the tribe as social and political organizations formed as a result of necessities such as meeting economic needs and providing life safety against external dangers, states that although the modernization process loses much of its old importance, tribal structuring still maintains its effectiveness (Uluç, 2010, 35).

Malinowski describes such organizations, which he sees as the fundamental truth of culture: The fundamental truth of culture is the organization of people in continuous groups. The relations of such groups are regulated by a traditional law or custom, with an agreement similar to Rousseau's 'Community Agreement (Malinowski, 1990, 45).

The concept of tribe, often referred to as tribal, boy or clan, and which has social, political and sometimes economic foundations, is also referred to by linguists as ashira²² or synonyms. In literature, it is often stated that this word derives from the Arabic word aşire and refers to the community. The word "tribal" in Arabic origin is described as "the people of the Bedouin, who lived together and migrated together and were settled together, and the tribe of the

²² In social anthropology, chiefdom is used as the word for aşira.

undivided," "The people gathered in a place were described as being a prayer and praying to a sect, and a man who constitutes a congregation." The scout is defined as "the separation of a nation, the tribe. It has a wide variety of meanings such as people, ancestry, pedigree, tribe, family, village, peasants with many flock of sheep, uruğ, tribe, shueba, âl, a member of a foreign tribe, living with livestock. Today, many nomadic communities living in Anatolia are known as tribal tribes, which are called tribal tribes or carvers who have established villages together by surviving and settling into a certain place. According to a recognition of the Konar-Wanda Folk; The length (tribe), tribal, congregation, carving, neighborhood, Oba (family), as well as the other definition, according to the length (tribal), Goumak (congregation), Oba (neighborhood) divided into sections. In Ottoman documents, the migrant settlers were often called "tribal".

As can be understood from all these definitions and concepts, an organization is mentioned on the basis of kinship ties established in tribal organization and the common interests of individuals. These definitions and features are mostly explained in Western literature and Arabic language terminology. However, this concept, whose sociological aspect is generally emphasized, needs to be understood within local definitions. Therefore, the elements that make up the tribe should be expressed both in Turkish and Kurdish. These items are;

1- Merchandise: It is stated that it is used in Persian and Kurdish and it means family which is the smallest building block in the formation of the tribe. Ziya Gökalp considers the place of this concept as "Akev" in Turkish sociology (Gökalp,2009,48). Lale Yalçın-Heckmam uses the term "clan" in the literature of anthropology (Yalçın-Heckman,2012,43).

2-Malbat: Malbat” or “Gang” refers to a group consisting of more than one Mal, each with five cores. It takes an average of 100 years for a Mal to reach the level of Malbat. An average of 100 years must pass for an Mal to reach the level of Malbat.

3-Tribe: Tribe is formed by the merging of the branches within the concept of tribe. The tribe by definition is formed by the unification of Malbats.

4-Tribal: In general, it is seen that there is no consensus in tribal definitions. The underlying reason for this is that the tribe is regarded as a simple clan organization or a primitive society object. The concept of tribe, which is a form of social and political organization, can be defined as a kind of social organization that includes feudal remnants and is based on kinship with its traditional patriarchal structure. In tribal descriptions, it is necessary to underline the important assumption of concepts such as ancestry and lineage. These two concepts are the main foundations of the tribal scheme. In addition, while explaining the tribal, there are also authors stating that the common denominator is based on the relationship between the blood bond and the siblings (İlyas and Turan, 2013, 300).

Many researchers who have done research on tribes have also made different classifications (Table 1). Ahmet Özer said, Zom is formed when many families come together. Oba is formed when several Zoms come together. Oba is a stronger union than Zom. The Obalar tribe and the tribes form the tribe”, while Ziya Gökalp identifies this structure as the clan in his book “Sociological Investigations on Kurdish Tribes”, especially the tribe's focus. In the semi (clan), the semi-tribal tribe, if the point of gravity is in the west (lineage or generation), the Bâtini Tribal, the center of gravity amarede (confederation), the tribal tribe, the center of gravity is tribe, tribal tribe, if the point of gravity is in sha'b province (tribal nature, not a small nation nature) emerges. Arab and Kurdish tribes are tribal, while Turkish provinces are the last type. Martin Van Bruinessen, while evaluating the element of the tribe, tribe, household, sub-lineage, lineage, clan and tribe is divided. According to Edmund R. Leach, the tribe consists of Taifa, each clan. In Taifa, it is subdivided into Tira. According to Leach, the elements that make up the tribe, the terms Taifa and Tira, generally correspond to the terms tribe, clan and ancestry in anthropological classification. In Ismail Besikci, who defines the

tribe as an institution of feudalism, the elements that make up the tribe are in the form of tents, zombs and tribes. Therefore, if the basic elements of each author are concretized, a table emerges as follows (İlyas and Turan, 2013).

Table-1: Elements that form the tribe

	PROPERTY	FAMILY	MALBAT	TRIBE
Ahmet Özer	Family	Tent, Nomad, Clone	Tent, Zom, Nomad group	Group, tribe
Ziya Gökalp	Pair	Seedbed, ancestry	Seedbed, Ancestry	Troop
İsmail Beşikçi	Tent	Zom	Zom	Tribe
Edmund Leach	Tira	Group	Taifa	Aşiret
Bruinessen	House	Dynasty	Lineage	Clan

(İlyas and Turan, 2013)

In short, because the structures belonging to the traditional agricultural society such as tribal and congregations show their own characteristics in relation to time and space, the relations of the people's belonging to these structures are in a state of multiform and continuous change. In its form, change is so multidimensional that it is not reduced to just a cultural change. The dynamics that determine change are shaped within the multi-interaction of economic, political, technical and natural environmental conditions.

The tribal and quarry structures that constitute the main elements of this work are also structures that have evolved and shaped in distant history. But these structures have also anachronistically extended into recent history and current time. Therefore, the tribal and quarry system is one of the major issues of social history in general, as well as having a long history of this system and continuing to exist today, as well as the social and cultural effects of the tribal presence in the field of study should be focused on the continuing issue.

4. 4. Religious background

If religion doesn't work before death,

It won't do any good after death.

Dr. Ali Shariati

It is very difficult to define religion, which is one of the most discussed, thought and researched subjects. In fact, every science that handle the religion as a subject of study or research starts with a religious description that works for itself. A psychologist's religion is often an experience; for a sociologist it is a social institution or event; a theologian sees it as a system based on reason and transfer. For example “Schleiermacher focuses on the emotion aspect of religion, Max Müller on faith, Durkheim on collective, and Vernon on practical. In this context, we can say that the definitions of religion are divided into three categories: Essential definitions, functional definitions and multidimensional (politic) definitions. Essential definitions refer to the transcendental aspect of religion, while functional definitions refer to the functions of religion in individual or communal living. Otto's definition of “Religion is the experience of the sacred.” refers to essential definitions; Durkheim's definition of “Religion is the belief and practice that consists of beliefs and worship of sacred things, which holds its members together as a spiritual community on what is forbidden” is an example of functional definitions (Aman, 2013,8-9).

Keskin, defines religion in individual sense as connectting people with the transcendent, to establish a world, knowing the world in which to live and to be a model of human self-placement in this world as a model to define itself. As a social level of hierarchy of value, social control and control of the mecanism of society, the general. It is a phenomenon that has

many social dimensions such as being complementary to its lines, being instructive and directing, and having ideological and cultural meanings to the society (Keskin, 2004,55).

In other words, religions are not only spiritual and ascetical fields that are interested in the afterlife but also affect many variables such as power relations, production relations, family structure and culinary culture that intervene in the secular field. If we accept the “subsistence pattern” in the simplest sense and the “culture” in the broadest sense, it is seen that religion has a direct or indirect influence and direction on both variables (Suvvari, 2014, 134). That is, man is not an entity limited to biological needs. He needs to make sense of his existence. In addition to many concerns, he is also interested in human origins and destiny. At this point, religion, which forms part of the cultural system of a society's worldview, comes into play (Aman, 2013, 59).

Ahmet Yücekök, who answered the question, Is religion an ideology²³? states:

Religion, as a common system of values and beliefs within the cultural structure of society, is a comprehensive ideology that directs individual behaviors, either through explicit commands or through beliefs emitted by society in a vague and mystical way (Yücekök, 1971, 10).

As can be understood from the definitions, it can be said that the phenomenon of religion is interwoven with many ideological, cultural, psychological and economic loops both in terms of having an institutionalized structure and a belief system. In this context, it has been the center of attention²⁴ of social scientists in all periods of history because religion, which plays a decisive role in individual's thoughts and behaviors and relations with others, affects and influences other institutions of social life and is influenced by these institutions. Therefore,

²³ The approach that religion is one of the elements of the social structure and that it will lose its existence with the modern age expresses a comprehension frequently adopted by modern thinkers.

²⁴ Aman, who expresses the importance of religion for societies, states that there is not a group of people who have lived on earth in the last 100 thousand years and have not had any religion or belief. Even in the communist states, where atheism was accepted as the official ideology for most of the 20th century, religion does not completely disappear, and according to a study, only 16% of the world's population defines itself as atheist. According to Aman, this situation does not hold the prophecy that science will eliminate religion.

the topic of religion is frequently found in anthropology. From an anthropological point of view, the phenomenon of religion first appeared in the works of Max Müller, W. Robertson Smith, Edward B. Tylor and Sir James G. Frazer at the end of the nineteenth century. Certainly, these scientists were not the first to draw ideas about the religions of unwritten communities and tribal peoples with an interest in the comparative study of religion. However, these researchers differed from their predecessors in that they were anthropologists who pioneered the idea that certain special methods and techniques could be used for comparative analysis of religious beliefs and practices. Therefore, these scientists were the first anthropologists to point out that tribal religions should be examined in accordance with the rules of the scientific method. These anthropologists carried out their work from the center of a civilization such as the Great British Empire, which had spread to a vast territory on earth. Thus, they had the opportunity to compare the historical and anthropological knowledge of a wide cultural geography (Akt. Şahin 2016, 457).

In most of the anthropology books, religion is defined as a phenomenon pointing to a number of mental attitudes and patterns of behavior developed in relation to supernatural beings and forces in the process of community-cultural relations. In this definition, the term “mental attitude” means faith (faith-creed), and “behavior patterns” means “ritual” (worship, ritual). The term “supernatural” is used to describe the extraordinary realm outside the observable world, but believed to be in contact with it. Supernatural; it is a metaphysical field that is unverifiable, mysterious, and cannot be explained in ordinary terms, apart from people's everyday life experiences. Therefore religion is the general name of processes and actions that occur as a result of people's efforts to connect with the unobservable, unpredictable, unexplained, or "unknown" (gaip) which has already been derived from the word “religare” which means connecting, unifying in Latin (Atay, 2004,18; Kottak, 2002,466).

Therefore, anthropological interpretation of religion finds its place in the cultural context. From this point of view, religion is not only a cultural element, but also plays a key role in explaining culture. Theological tradition, based on the theological basis of research on religion, was based on the tendency to define the presence of forces placed against the god, but also to emphasize its negativity (Morris, 2004, 151-152). Anthropology mediated approaches that led to a revision of this theological tradition. The anthropological approach, while considering religion as one of the components of a cultural system or cultural system, has put aside the debate on whether it is rational or not, and has positioned it through its cultural attributes and functions (Mirza, 2014, 12). Therefore, anthropologists do not intend to prove that any religious belief or practice is more effective, superior or logical than others. Anthropologists endeavor to understand and explain the dimensions of the relationship between religious rules and ritual behavior with the political, economic and cultural processes that make up the social structure (Aydın, 2007,203). In other words, the anthropology of religion has focused its attention on the forms of social belief that developed for supernatural powers and gained widespread expression through the rituals (Eriksen, 2009,328). The anthropology of religion argues that individuals enter into a process of reconciliation with their religious concepts and patterns in their subjective and socio-cultural lives, making them meaningful and even constructing them. In this context, the anthropology of religion emphasizes religiousness, belief motifs and practices that are shaped by adapting the content and framework to the lifestyles or cultures of people and societies, and tries to understand and explain their relationship with major systematic and normative religious systems (Atay, 2004, 27).

On the other hand, studies on Islam are divided into two main orientations developed in the anthropology literature about Muslim societies and Islamic cultural traditions, which are expressed under the titles of ant “Islam anthropology” and “Islamic anthropology.” The

difference between these two orientations is evident in their response to the question of how to do anthropology. What they share in common is questioning the perspective of Western anthropology to Islam. However, the starting points and the goals they want to reach when making these criticisms are different (Atay, 2004,29). “Islam anthropology” can be defined as seeking an anthropological perspective to study Muslim societies or communities, and “Islamic anthropology” can be defined as anthropology from an Islamic perspective (Şahin 2016, 468).

Due to the fact that the study area is a place with different beliefs and cultures, trying to identify pre-Islamic beliefs, and taking place in the field of interaction, this study will be discussed in the context of Islamic anthropology. But firstly, the interaction between religion and society should be briefly mentioned.

4. 4. 1. The interaction between religion and society

The question of whether the religion affects the society or whether religion affects the society is examined with different views and approaches. Wach argues that if the interaction between religion and society and groups is examined closely and systematically, this effect can be seen as the first degree of the effect of religion on society and the group. According to him, social organization, shape and characteristics of individual and group behaviors are formed by this effect. In Roman, Indian, and Chinese family religions, the role of the father of the head of the family is likened to the duty of the king, the relationship between men and women formed according to the patriarchal rules, the sanctity of the settlements (Delhi, Rome and Mecca) are examples of the known effect (Wach, 1987, 17-19). We see similar approaches in Berger from a different perspective. According to him, the interlocutor of religion is human. Religion

brings meaning and purpose to life, thus strengthening human life in the face of big and small problems. In this sense, piety is the condition for both the material and spiritual security of the human being. Religion not only refers to this world, but also refers to the other world (Berger, 1962, 12). The relationship between religion and society may secondly be seen from the influence of the society to religion. The influence of society on religion manifests itself both in terms of content and form. Every religion emerges under certain social conditions and is kept alive by certain social groups. When a serious analysis of religious groups is made, it is possible to see how religions differentiate from each other primarily according to the sources of the history and emergence of the religions and how they undergo radical, partial or total changes through sociological influences during the development and formation process (Cengiz, 2000,26).

The reciprocal relationship between religion and society reveals the relationship between religion and social change, which is a social event.” Erdoğan says (2010). He states that there is a 3-way relationship between religion and social change. These are as follows;

Religion as a factor of social change: Any religion wants to change the socio-cultural environment in which it was born or entered according to its own norms. It wants to enter the culture of the people living in that region and turn the cultural etho on behalf of it. Each religion plays an important role in the formation of economic morality and social understanding with its system of values and symbols. Religion has influenced and has been influenced by social changes. In this sense, religion is already presented as an element of change. Religion as an obstacle to social change: Commitment to a number of sacred texts, symbols, and tradition can be transformed, in particular, into a structure that preserves the present order of an established religious object, and in this case religion is often perceived as the protector of old values rather than the creator of new values. Since religion carries the function of an obstacle against all kinds of changes in values, norms and cultural structures, it desires that some actions and movements should be sanctified by giving sanctity, and some movements will be bound by the idea of sin, and that people should not make them and avoid such behaviors. Effects of social change on religion: The phenomenon of religion is one of the basic elements of society. Since the change in all societies from the simplest to the most advanced is a natural process, this change has an effect on religion in the process

of putting religions into practice. This effect is more pronounced in the practice of religions. When the religious history of humanity is analyzed in general, the perceptions and practices of people belonging to the same religion differ even in the same period (Erdoğan, 2010, 39-42).

These approaches are easier to identify in small-scale areas. Especially in traditional society, religious and other socio-cultural institutions are mixed. In such a society, the social organization of the society is closely linked to the sacred. Power, family, kinship and all social activities at all levels also have a religious meaning. The culture of the traditional society, which takes its basic value from the sacredness of religion, constitutes a whole and the person becomes integrated with the society by adapting to this culture.

Since the orders, principles and rules of worship of religion in rural areas are derived from traditional folk culture sources rather than written sources, they sometimes have mystical elements. The peasant, who is in direct and constant contact in nature, is more sensitive to the supernatural magic forms than other social environments. As a matter of fact, in traditional village society, magical, mystical and mythological elements emerge as important manifestations of folk religiosity, which are strictly adhered to the sacred texts or their accepted and institutionalized interpretation in different forms. It presents itself under a form of folk religiosity that is practically intertwined with traditional, conservative and magical and mystical beliefs and practices, which are simpler, ritualistic, which allow for less communal diversification and seasoning (Keskin, 2004,62-63).

In short, as it can be seen in the field of study, religion enables people to overcome and deal with the questions and problems that people have difficulty in explaining, making it easier for them to get the sense of the world. Therefore, psychological and sociological functions of religion, which provides social solidarity in crisis, are mentioned. As societies fail to fully control current and future conditions, they have to relate to religion.

At the point that transcends itself, man tends to inevitably turn towards a supernatural and infinite power. It does not matter whether it be God, the spirits of the ancestors or the forces of nature. As a result, the religion formed around this being takes a certain shape with the rituals, clergy and temples and emerges as an important element shaping the society (Aman, 2013, 60-61).

The fact that sacred centers are frequently seen in the study areas shows the importance of ancestral spirits. The idea that man is not merely a bodily being, but composed of body and soul, may have led to the acceptance of the belief that ancestral souls can return. The existence of a soul in human beings naturally carries the belief that “The body will die but the soul will not die.” This undead soul also exists and can come back.

Therefore, it is necessary to read from a historical perspective the forms of belief, content, concepts and the system of the beliefs in the field. In particular, it is necessary to examine the structure and content of Alevism, Sunnism and syncretic processes in this context. In other words, although it seems to be approached from a functional point of view, it is claimed that religion has both transcendental and functional sides. Therefore, in this study, we will consider religious belief, ritual, myth, as an element which has a social effect including anthropological dimensions and a system of symbols and leads to solidarity.

4. 4. 2. Alevism And Sunnism

*If I can't see the real existence
What if I am Sunni or Alevi
If I have acquired art, the fraud
What if I am Sunni or Alevi*

...

*If I don't have respectability I'm endless
If I do not aspire to science and virtue
If I can't control my hand, tongue, waist
What if I am Sunni or Alevi
Aşık Daimî*

Many people who are members of Alevism and Sunnism profess the belief of Allah, the Prophet and the Hereafter, which are the basic principles of religion, but even though they seem to be in the same situation in terms of the lack of religious practices, the Alevi in the society is completely irreligious or similar. This is a religious prejudice provoking the Alevi-Sunni anogrism and at the same time it becomes a factor that leads to social divisions.

According to Bilgiseven (1991), there are many factors that led to the emergence of Alawite-Sunni segregation. But almost all of these are due to three main reasons. The first of these reasons is related to the internal politics of Turkey, and the Ottoman State carried out an educational policy that gave the opportunity to rise to non-Turkish elements in its internal politics, so the acquisition of Enderun school, which educates the highest level of military and civilian leaders of the state, the inability of Turkish children to enter this school has led to Alevi infelicity. According to Bilgiseven the second factor that underlies this separation is Iran's propulsion. In 1502, the Akkoyunlu dynasty withdrew from Iran and was replaced by the Safavid State. The Safavid dynasty, which was in the Shia faith, looked at Sunni Ottoman rule as a possible enemy. According to Bilgiseven, the third factor of the Alevi-Sunni distinction, which is of great importance, is that the Ottoman Empire became a state devoid of

a Turkish-Islamic cultural policy. According to him, in the period of the rise of the Ottoman Empire, the Sufi essence and philosophy of Islam was understood even by the masses of the people, but even the religious scholars of the period of pause and decline distanced themselves from this philosophy and duality occurred between the Sharia Ulama and the Sufis. Besides these internal factors, Bilgiseven divided the external factors of Alawite-Sunni separation into two in itself. He explained these as the negative effects of forces other than Islam and the abuse of the past (Bilgeven,1991,43).

It can be said that it is not wrong to consider this situation as a symptom of the prejudice of religion and the freedom of will created by the approaches that fanatize their owners around certain natures in a day when religion and religious values are not centered and a pluralistic lifestyle is adopted and dominates. As a matter of fact, in this study, it is aimed to interpret the behaviors and beliefs in the field instead of making certain judgments about Alevism and Sunnism. Therefore, after considering the structure, change and effects of the concepts in the historical process, syncretic processes will be emphasized.

4. 4. 2. 1. Sunnism

Islam was first formed and institutionalized in a society based on the concept of tribe and regulating social relations within this point of view. Due to conflicts such as politics and state administration after the death of the Prophet, Muslims have been divided into groups such as Sunniism which accepts the Shiite, Haricism and the confirmation of the four general caliphs in the historical order. Sunnism and Shiism, which initially emerged as a social phenomenon, gradually became a doctrinal structure, and in the historical process these two phenomena constituted the classical and scholastic structure of Islamic thought (Arabacı, 2009,58). It is also seen that there are dangers of severe bloody exuberance and social disintegration of the

Sunni in the connection of the Sunnism understanding to the current order more and more, this understanding becomes a doctrinal principle (Arabacı, 2009,68).

The word, Sunni comes from the word “Ahlli Sunnah” which means watching, following and applying the behaviors of the prophet. Since the emergence of the term Sunni from the 14th century to the present day, the field of meaning has expanded considerably. It is said that this term was first used by Muhammed B. Şirin who died in H.110 as the term “Ehlüs-sunne” (Arabacı, 2009,57). After the death of Hz. Muhammad, the separation of Sunnis and Shia after the dispute over who will rule the Muslims has survived till today. In this regard, Hançer states:

After the death of the Hz. Prophet, the problem of who will be the head of the ummah emerged. Before the death of the Hz. Prophet, he did not appoint any heir to the caliph. Therefore, for the Islamic Ummah, the issue of imam has emerged as a major issue that needs to be resolved first. The prophet had not left any human and divine method to his ummah about who would take the leadership of the state he founded and even what the principle and method of business would be. This situation lead up to the different voices about caliphate. The political situation of Medina on that day necessitated urgent resolution of this issue. Learning the death of the Hz. Prophet, Ansar before the completion of burial work, they had gathered at the Ben-i Saide Sakife to decide who would be the caliph after the Prophet. After the Prophet, Ansar wanted to get Sa’d bin Ubade to be the caliphate. Sa’d has given a sermon to those there: In this sermon: Ansar gained virtue by first accepting Islam, and the Quraysh people had the Prophet. He said that this emirate is the right of the Ansar. The immigrants also said that the caliph should be theirs. Another group is the top of the Hashimogulları wanted Ali to be president (Hançer, 2013, 12-13).

As it is known in the period of Hz. Abu Bakr, the ridde movements including tribes which has started during the period of the Hz. Prophet were observed. Sickness and death of the Hz. Prophet, those who want to satisfy their political desires to resort to various means and encourage the people to rebellion, the people want to be exempted from zakat and jizyah, not want to enter under the rule of the Quraysh because of tribal frustration, the new religion is

not fully understood for the worship are the reasons for riddet. (Canbolat 2004, 58). Some of the sects before the death of the Hz. Prophet, before the death of a portion of the occurrence of saying that the Süleyman Uludağ, the book of the Prophet's disease is aggravated at a time when the people around him wanted to write a testament to fall, but Hz. Omar said, "The disease of our Prophet got worse, we have the Qur'an, that is enough for us." and expresses the following situation as follows:

According to Shiites Hz. Prophet wanted Ali to be the caliph in the testament. According to the Sunnis, the subject of the testament was not related to the caliphate nor was it obligatory, vacip and circumcised. Otherwise it would be necessary for the Prophet not to give up this work (Uludağ, 2014,199-201).

The debate continued for a long time, as Hz. Muhammad did not explicitly state in his healthy days that it should be replaced by the caliph. For those who support Ali and are convinced that he is the highest and most entitled to the caliphate, Shia-i Ali (Ali's friends and supporters, Alicis), Shia-i ula (early Shiites), Shia-i Muhlisin (sincere Shiites) mufaddıla (who believe that Ali is the most superior man) was called. On the other side, the view that Ebubekir was worth to be the caliphate later became the Sunni conviction.

An important part of these conflicts influenced the rupture between the Islamic Ummah. Ibn Abbas in a rumor transferred from the Prophet when the disease was on the rise, the Prophet said, "Let me write you a book, so don't be misguided after that." Thereupon a group of people there, Hz. Prophet may have said these words under the influence of his severe illness, that the religion was completed, that the Qur'an and the Sunnah would be enough for them, and that another group did not need such a thing. Some insisted that the Prophet's order be fulfilled. When the debate began to turn into harsh noise, Hz. Prophet, "It is not suitable to quarrel next to a prophet." said, wanted them to go away. This event has caused conflicts between the ummah about who will be entitled to the caliphate in the periods after the Hz.

Prophet, and especially caused great divisions between Shia and Ahl al-Sunnah. Indeed, Shia tried to prove the imamate theorems by this event saying “If the Prophet had written his will, he would have appointed Ali as the caliph.” On the other hand, the Ahl-i Sunnah, the Hâricîs and Mu'tezile did not accept this. That the Prophet did not leave any heir to him; because they argued that the meaning of the verse “I have completed your religion today” is clear and there is nothing left to be recorded with the completion of the Qur'an (Hançer, 2013, 11).

The basic characteristics of the Sunnism sect which are given to these explanations are listed as follows;

1. In the Sunnism sect the four caliphs who came to the caliphate after the death of Hz. Muhammad are also known and respected.
2. Any person of the Sunni sect cannot deserve to be imamate because of their descendants.
3. One of the main features of the Sunni sect is not known, all the hadiths and sources in the corpus is based on the words and actions of Hz. Muhammad directly. In this respect, as in other Islamic sects, Sunnism sect, there is deep love and respect for the last prophet Hz. Muhammad.
4. As in other Islamic sects, the Sunnism sect accepts all the prophets mentioned in the Qur'an. Muhammad is considered to be the servant of God and the last prophet.

Arabacı explains that throughout history there has been no significant opposition to Sunnism and central power: Although the reasons for this are different, theology and the content of the principles of the Sunnah seem to be relevant at first. Because according to the Ahl al-Sunnah, obedience to the state is essential even if the ruler is cruel” (Arabacı, 2009,65).

To summarize, in Sunni thought, there is an attitude that accepts Ali with his historical personality, adopts him as the fourth caliph and does not consider him virtue superior to other

caliphs. In Sunni tradition, although Ali was valued because of the proximity to the Prophet, this did not make him superior to other caliphs (Ünlüsoy, 2011).

4. 4. 2. 2. Alevism

It is imperative that we go backwards in terms of determining the historical and social contexts of the arguments used to justify the meaning attributed to it after the concept of Alevism ‘emerged as a political view’ but at the same time driven by economic, socio-psychological and in particular personal reasons and turned into a religious faction. But first we need to look at how it is defined.

The Alevi word in Arabic means “belonging to Ali”, belongs to Ali” “adhering to Ali”, “loving Ali”, “connected and descending from Ali”. In Islamic history and Sufism literature it is used as “to love Hz. Ali, to count and be committed to it in every respect”; in the history of the sects, it is used as “the ones who sees Hz. Ali as the most superior companions and after Hz. Muhammad, with the determination of God and Hz. Prophet, he should be the caliph”. In time, with this concept, a fanaticism, which emerged mainly in Islam, advocating a religious belief, started to mean that Alevi means those who follow Ali”, that is, ‘Shiites’. Its emergence to name a non-conformist and heterodox Islamic sect is only towards the XIX century. The concepts used in the Seljuk and Ottoman sources about heterodox groups: Zindik, External, Rafizi, Mulhid, Batinilik and Ahl-i bidat; official historians did not recognize such groups that did not conform to the religious understanding of the state they belonged to, and which showed differences and political structure (Arabacı, 2009,28; Keskin, 2004,39; Özmen ,2010, 119).

Ersal stated that the first document in the Ottoman archival records that the word of Alevi was mentioned was dated 2 September 1826:

This document was found by A. Yılmaz Soyver who is known for his studies on Bektashism and introduced this to academic life. Before this date, either the Sayyid and sheriffs who came from the line of the Prophet Ali used for Alevi term, the sects based on Ali were meant. Today, the Alevi concept has become an overarching concept. Alevism, a naming that was used to describe the Bektashi-Kizilbash groups in the 19th century, was adopted by the people working on the society and the field in a very fast process. This ownership has become used in many sub-groups that contain Shiite, Bâtîni, and Non-Sunni elements without giving opportunity to settle the terminological definitions. The names of Zındık, Mülhid, Rafizi, Kızılbaş, Işık, Tarlak, Kalenderi, Bektashi etc. have absorbed in the Alevi concept. In fact, we see that even Nusayri, Shiite and Jafari groups have been evaluated under the umbrella (Ersal, 2016,10).

The syncretic process in Alevism is often repeated except for the variety of nomenclature. According to Ocak, Alevism is a syncretism of a wide range of religious, political and socio-economic factors and has a unique religious form and a social economic structure connected to it (Ocak, 1980, 18).

According to Özmen (2010), Alevism is a general term and is used for the whole community. All beliefs such as Shiism, Haydarilik, Hurufîlik, Kalenderilik, Rafizîlik, Kızılbaşlık and Alevism are interrelated, affect each other in various ways, and there are fundamentally no differences in their beliefs and they are different sister institutions. According to Özmen, they form a blend. They are similar to compound vessels, the exchange of beliefs and culture is continuous, the structure and contents are almost the same, and there are minor nuance differences, just because the beliefs are verbal, indicating that many Alevi species still living in practice are not compatible with the facts. Özmen summarizes this by stating that many opinions, ecoles and systems have been created within the scope of Alevism.

a) Shiism After the Prophet Muhammad, Ali ibn Abu Talib, who believes that he was assigned to the caliph through his will, is the Ahl al-Circumcision sect formed by his

followers, and later he gained a sectarian structure in Iran, Irak, Syria and Egypt. It is still in power in Iran and Syria.

b) Haydarism: Seyid Kutbettin is a cult that has been established in the XII. yy. of Heydar and is committed to reaching out to immortality and to God, which has been devoted to the twelve Imama, the world and the blessings of the hereafter. Over time it dissolved in Alevism. It is also known as Haydariye. Haydarilik is an alloy of Calender and Melâmism. It is completely in Batini character.

c) Hurufism: It is a sect that deified the human being founded by Fazlullah Hurüfî, explaining God, man and all the beings in general with letters and numbers, and attributing holiness and secret to letters and numbers, and eventually dissolved into the paths of Alevism and Bektashism. It is a path that Seyyid Nesimi, who is skinned in Aleppo, is a member. In the future their views will be discussed deeply. However, this pathway also contains Batinî content. Islam is as deep as Sufism.

d) Kalenderiyye, Kalenderilism: It is a completely in Heterodox and Western path. Apart from the dictionary meaning, there are three different meanings:

1) This is the name given to the members of the order established by Kalender Yusuf Andalusi, a Spanish Muslim who is the contemporary of Haci Bektas Veli. There are five basic principles and conditions of this sect:

a-Heart cleaning

b-Spirituality of self

c-To be free from dirt in the world

d-To travel continuously in the Muslim world by living only with zakat

e- To live by applying strict and simple simplicity as in ecstatic and mystical enlightenment to achieve e-God's appreciation.

2) When it comes to the second meaning of the word Kalender; it is used to describe the dervishes who are distinguished by their overwork on this topic. They add color and beauty to Islam.

3) The word Kalender literally means; it is used to describe the miserables who have fallen out of sight, wandering under the mask of sanctity of their own accord, away from cleanliness, begging for living, and using hashish.

e) **Rafisim:** means separatist, a fan of the division as a word. It is one of the names given to insult the Alevi / Bektashis²⁵.

f) **Kizilbaslik:** The historical development and the source and content of this word is explained as follows:

1) The turban on the head of Hz. Abu Ducane, who wanted to protect Muhammad, had become red-dyed with blood. Therefore, this word is said to be used.

2) During the conquest of Khaybar Castle Hz. Ali had wrapped a red turban, which meant not to go back to his head, aiming to be a martyr.

3) Again in the Battle of Siff's Muaviye soldiers to distinguish, to prevent a confusion Hz. Ali had wrapped a red turban on the heads of Islamic soldiers, and he had tied a red cloth on his head too.

²⁵ Arabacı says that Rafizilik, which was used for Shiites, was one of the names given to the Alevis for insulting in the Ottoman sense in the pejorative sense since the 16th century in Anatolia.

4) While Hz. Ali praying in the Kufe mosque, Ibn-i Mülcem wounded him with a sword in the head, the blood flowing on his head resembled a red crown. There are some who say that is why this word is used.

5) Shah Firuz, one of the Safavids, sometimes wore red cones on his head.

6) Sheikh Haydar, the son of Sheikh Cüneyd, one of the Safavids, had a red turban tied to his soldier while he was walking to Şirvan to get revenge on Sultan Halil who killed his father.

7) The army of Shah Ismail used to bind red turban, which it is called as the Kizilbash army.

g) Alevism: After the Prophet Hz. Muhammad, it is the general name given to those who know Ali as a caliph, that is, those who turn to Shiism. Therefore, those who belong to Hz. Ali are called Alevi. They have a very sincere devotion and love for Imam Ali and his sons born from Fatima Ana. Since the Alevi / Bektashis did not recognize the three caliphs before Ali, they accepted that the order came from Ali. Some of them went further and began to believe that spiritual development could be achieved not by Hz. Muhammed to Ali, but from Hz. Ali to Hz. Muhammed; the Miraj of Muhammad was after the Miraj of Ali; they accept that Hz. Muhammad took the love wine from Ali's hand and drank it at the meeting of the Forties, and then turned semah. According to this belief, the Prophet Muhammad had the secret of prophecy, Hz. Ali had the secret of the guardian. However, some say that Velilism is superior to Nephbilism. However, Muhammad and Ali are one body. Because of the high qualities of Hazrat Ali, the ones who close to him are called Alevis. This title is more common among Turkmen carvages. They know the sixth imam Caferi Sadık as the imam who determines the jurisprudence of the founder of their sect. In fact, this word emerged in the 19th century in Syria. First, it was used for the Syrian Alevis (Özmen, 2010, 119- 123).

In fact, we can say that every “Alevi” concept in this context bears the characteristics of the society in which it is located. According to this situation, it is possible to say that Sunnism

and Alevism, which are characterized by different names in different times and places in history, have an inevitable relationship with the social and political structures of the societies they express. Because the structures of religious groups and sects develop for the social and political conditions of the communities in which they live. When the socio-political structures of the associations change, they change in the religious groups within them. These changes can also lead to differences in the concepts and meanings that express them. Arabacı expresses that every concept has a social context and therefore it is necessary to understand what is related to religion and not by religion but by establishing a relationship with social structure (Arabacı, 2009, 51).

Likewise, the concept of “Alevi” was afraid to be used because it was considered out of the center. Gülçiçek shares an anecdote about this topic: “French Orientalist M.F Grenaerd during a trip to Anatolia in 1904, he was the guest of Kuluncak village between Divrigi and Darende. He asks the Kizilbash Ahmet, the master of the village, if he is Alevi or not. Ahmet Efendi says it changes according to the days of the week” (Gülçiçek, 2004,38). The important point here is that they need to hide themselves. Gülçiçek quotes a similar approach as follows: “Grenard, in his article “A religious sect from Asia: Kızılbaşlar” it is a religious community that is scattered from Erzurum to Aydın and call themselves "Alevi" but is often called "Kızılbaş", they carry their beliefs for utmost secrecy, some of them are Kurdish, but the majority of them are Turks who are afraid to say that they are "Kızılbaş" or "Alevi" (Gülçiçek, 2004.399).

Gülçiçek therefore states that Alevis, who were scattered or forced to disperse in a wide geography in Anatolia and the Balkans, were given different names such as Kızılbaş, Tahtacı, Çepne, Nalci, Sıraç, Abdal, Amuca, Bedreddini, Babagan, Nusayri because of the pressure on them, depending on their profession or the clan they came from, were given different names (Gülçiçek 2004, 198).

As a result, it seems that this concept is likely to have undergone a change of meaning, a contraction of meaning, or an expansion of meaning in the historical process, and contains relativity. In short, historical, social and religious conditions have been influential in the identification and shaping of Alevis both by themselves and by others.

4. 4. 3. The Processes of Syncretism

Plutark (Plutarch) (B.C 50-120) used²⁶ the ‘syncretism’, to describe the unity in which cretists who constantly fought among themselves, when it comes to a common enemy, put all disputes to one side and formed." beginning of 16th the century, theological and philosophical teachings have been used for eclectic mixtures (Aydın ve Emiroğlu, 2003, 730-731). Syncretism is defined in its general sense as the equivalent of the concept of cultururation in the religious sphere, which is defined as a kind of cultural change resulting from a relationship or exchange with another culture (Su, 2003,732; Okan, 2014,36). In this way, two or more cultures, which are meant by culturalism, are faced with social, political and economic reasons such as immigration, war, neighbourly, trade, and the cultural elements they possess, and a new cultural composition (Aydın, 2003, 537).

In short, syncretism can be expressed as the transfer of religious beliefs, rituals and interpretations from one religious doctrine to another through culturalization depending on the intercultural contact. In this regard, Atay explains the form of religious syncretism as follows:

“The manifestation of the phenomenon of religious syncretism may be in the form of a newly formed religion or cult, or in the form of innovations added to existing religious traditions. Of course, each new religion incorporates many

²⁶ Parladır (2010), on the first use of the literature, states that Christianity is used as an example of Haitian folk religion or voodoo syncretism as a reconciliation of African and South American wild religious life (the association of wild African tribal beliefs and Catholic Christian beliefs).

elements from the beliefs, practices and myths that predate it. Taken from this perspective it would not be wrong to say that all religions are syncretic” (Atay 2004, 109-110).

The syncretic conception of religion is the forms of faith of those who are excluded from official power. It is more commonly known as a feature of traditional societies²⁷, which include a combination of different beliefs, teachings, and principles, which also refer to literature as folk religion¹⁴. In fact, religiosity, which is characterized as a folk religion, is quite different from the official religious understanding of the central authority. The people who formed a new phenomenon of religion by dissolving the motifs of faith, religious practices and patterns of behavior within traditional culture have developed an extremely flexible religious understanding within themselves. Folk religion is more adaptable in this respect than normative. In other words, a new religious practice has been introduced by articulating both oral and written culture with the phenomenon of religion, which extends these rules as far as possible, rather than traditional rituals within certain rules. The point is that folk religion does not have a pure, homogeneous and uniform characteristic in itself. In other words, there is a situation that occurs as a result of the articulation of different belief systems and there is a mix of non-religious elements in this process. However, it is necessary to mention two important features that reveal the originality of folk religion here. The first is that folk religion does not carry an authentic identity of its own. In other words, there is a structure that develops without being dependent on written texts and without following a certain tradition which is standardized in itself. Because we know that folk religions were formed by the melting of many different beliefs, beliefs, symbols, values, images and symbols in a crucible of culture. In other words, cultures that have come together in different places and times have influenced each other, and as a result of this influence, a new religious understanding has emerged. Second, although there is no mention of the originality and

²⁷ “Popular religion”, “folk/volk religion”, “sub-religion” as well as various concepts expressed in the Public Religion is more into the official religion entering the subject of theology fiqh and Hadith, other than the form of the official religion, people believe in the name of religion, think, say and do is defined as all of the things.

totality of folk religion, there has always been a tradition of oral culture that ultimately perpetuates this conception of religion. For example, the mysterious Sufi conception and the cult of the guardian hold a very important place within this tradition (Mardin, 1991, 201). Parents are spiritual personalities who circulate among the public and enlighten the public on matters of religion (Gellner, 1994, 26). Besides the cult of the guardian, shrine visits and the cult of the tomb are also important. Because folk religion, as mentioned above, has historically included a syncretic structure that includes many different elements. This structure, is mostly based in the countryside and mixed with mythological cults and elements, which are divided into two forms: Sunni Folk Islam and Heterodox Folk Islam. According to Ocak, the characteristics of Heterodox Islam; 1. It is syncretic, that it combines and kneads the remnants of the religions that existed before Islam among the Turks in Islamic concepts. 2. This mystical heterodoxy Islam, which is meant to be expressed and interpreted with old traditional patterns, developed by institutionalizing around a powerful evliya cult built on the cult of ancient ancestors and the cult of saints left over from Buddhism thanks to sufi propaganda and created the main characteristic of Turkish folk Islam. 3. It is at the core of a revolutionary Mahdi ideology (Ocak, 1983).

As one of the concepts used in the studies on folk Islam or Heterodox Islam in Turkey, the informal belief (heterodoxy) has become one side of the field in which both segments exist, with a mutual discourse of political, religious and ideological othering, which is in the most general sense, outside of the current official belief (orthodoxy). This heterodox Islam, which has a syncretic, mesianic and mystical appearance with its political, social, theological and Sufi dimensions, also has a “non-Congregational” structure (Ülken, 1983, 346; Ocak, 2001, 106- 109; Çamuroğlu, 2005, 128; Melikoff, 2009, 95).

Heterodox Folk Islam has been described in the past with negative concepts such as Zındık, Rafizi, Kızılbaş, “those who extinguish candles”, “those do not eat rabbits”, and today it is

used to describe Alevi communities (Duman, 2011, 195). In the history of Islam, discussions about the concepts of Zindik and Mülhid used for heterodox groups show that these concepts are used to denote religious currents of Iranian origin within Islamic societies by using diminutive meanings. These concepts have been used to describe those who are Muslims but who protect their true religion and hide their identity because of oppression, who have all kinds of 'heretical' beliefs, and even those who live dervish lives that are excluded from them. According to Lewis, Zindik and Mülhid have been concepts that "show all kinds of suspicious beliefs, materialism, atheism, agnosticism and, ultimately, all kinds of intellectual and religious tendencies that are believed to be dangerous for the state and the order of society". In addition, the Ottoman central administration used the term 'Rafizi' for the Kızılbaş along with the attributes of Zindik and Mülhid for standing outside of Sunni Islam (Ocak, 1998, 14-15; Ocak, 2009, 50).

Although Alevisim is in the Islamic circle, it has reached a syncretic structure encountered as a result of social events such as migration and war by being influenced by the beliefs, rituals and interpretations of various religions and teachings. Hence traces of syncretism are found in the Alevism faith, known as opposition to the Orthodox Sunni-Hanafi sect. The geography of Anatolia has historically been the cradle of many different civilizations and religions. It shows a cosmopolitan feature in which different cultural identities are intertwined. Naturally the belief systems found here are also intertwined. As a matter of fact, with the migration of Turks to Anatolia, they mixed both their pre-Islamic beliefs and their new post-Islamic understanding of religion (Fırlalı, 1996, 86). This in itself has given rise to a new religious understanding. From this point of view, Alevism has produced a syncretic form of religious belief by adding both pre-Islamic Turkish beliefs and Byzantine culture and Christian faith to Islam (Atay, 2004, 107-110). As a matter of fact, Alevism holds both pre-Islamic traditions and beliefs and Islamic values together in terms of the principles of belief in Islam and the

application of religious worship. It is necessary to see this as a characteristic of heterodox faith and folk religion.

The syncretic characteristics of Alevism were formed by the fact that pre-Islamic religions included some similar characteristics of Shamanism, Buddhism, Zoroastrianism, Maniheism, Mazdekism, Judaism and Christianity (Ocak, 1983,19). Tenasüh (reincarnation) belief, one of the main belief characteristics of Buddhism, which monotheistic religions do not accept, is based on the belief that after one's death, one's soul migrates to another human, animal, plant or inanimate being. Hulul, the belief that God in the shape of human body, unlike the belief that God is thought of as human (anthropomorphism), bears the imprint of the beliefs of Buddhism and Zoroastrianism. Shape replacement (metamorphose), seen in Shamanism and Buddhism, is the transformation of man into an animal, plant, or inanimate object by changing its external image as a reward or punishment by a sacred force. This shapeshifting has a temporary, not permanent feature (Ocak, 1983). The ancestral cult, which was one of the defining elements of the pre-shamanism Turkish beliefs, is one of the beliefs that marked Alevism. Ata is “mostly mythological persons who believe that an individual or a group of people are descended from " (Emiroğlu, 2003, 80). The reverence of the deceased ancestors caused the custom of burial with the belongings of the dead. In Alevism, the soy-based quarry system is known to be closely related to the ancestral cult. However, the fire cult, which is one of the main elements of Zoroastrianism, Mazdeism and Shamanism, merged with the ancestral cult and was instrumental in the formation of the soy-based hearth system (Ocak, 1983). Alevism's basic principles of ‘hand, waist, language control’ understanding of Maniheism ‘mouth, hand and waist seal’ in the form of ‘three seals’ coincides with the principle (Ocak, 1983,56; Mélikoff, 1994, 129). Again Hurufi effects have been quite effective in shaping Alevism. The second half of the 14th century emerged in Iran and 15th.-

16th century, the sound of the influence in Anatolia, the letters and numbers of the great importance of Huruphilic, deity and 'Mehdilik' is linked to the belief (Duman, 2011, 196).

In fact, it would be more useful to look at the early times when Turks chose Islam in order to better understand the religiosity of the people. The Turks first came across Islam at the borderlines. The propaganda of merchants and Sufis has been more effective in reaching Islam to the Turks than through official channels. In this religiosity, there is mention of the basic principles of Islam as well as spells from various ceremonies. The point here is that although they are willingly attached to a new religion, they continue to live their old beliefs and Customs in a different way. It is known that a religion spread as a result of conquests (Islam) will be very difficult for the peoples living on the lands they rule to change their religion with harsh interventions, and even if they do so, the indigenous people will continue to live their old beliefs within this new religion. Rather than changing religion with such a drastic intervention, developing a mutual relationship with indigenous people has had some positive consequences for both religions (Çakmak, 2012,2-3). The old religious cultures of those who need it are becoming more and more integrated with the elements of the new religion adopted by the people and a mixture of faith is formed. In this way, a creeper is formed that allows the old religious conceptions to continue to be true to their essence, either in a new disguise or under a new style. In particular, heterodox sects and other Sufi institutions have been places where non-Islamic religious elements have been converted and incorporated, as they place more emphasis on lore than Sharia. This is also the work of the birth of parent cults which are influential on the people (Su, 2009, 31).

Ocak (2011) stated that these conquests were seen as more planned and systematic after the conquest of Anatolia and the foundation of the Anatolian Seljuk State after the victory of Malazgirt in 1071, while the non-Muslim population was present in the lands seized.

Heterodox sheikhs and dervishes²⁸ played a key role in this transformation¹⁶. According to Ocak, at the end of the 13th Century and from the beginning of 14th century. The sheikhs and dervishes belonging to the Rufailik, Kalenderlik, Halvetilik, Naqshbendilik and emsali Sunni. In fact, the dervishes of these sects did not participate in the conquest movements in the borders and among the soldiers, whereas the sheikhs and dervishes of the heterodox Sufi movements were more than able to gather in the tekkes in the cities from the beginning of the 13th century, they participated in the conquest movement in the borders, and they started to contact the non-Muslims in the newly conquered lands and make them suffer. Again, this "heterodox Sheikhs and dervishes both joined the conquering movements of the military and settled in the newly captured lands and in the old conquered areas of non-Muslims living on the reason for their missionary activities in places where Sunni Islam is strong and they can not feel comfortable and free (Ocak 2011, 132).

Gülçiçek (2004) describes this process by saying that the founders and managers of these mystical institutions (pirs, sheikhs, dervishes) have important effects not only on religious, social and cultural life, but also on the expansion of political borders in the regulation of political and economic life, and reconstruction and settlement in the operation of the resulting lands:

When the Ottoman Empire began to establish, it found itself behind the religious and social events, the people with knowledge and experience, and the spiritual forces that had ascended in the four quarters of a world that was being united in such vast borders. At first with Osmanogulları, many sheikhs came and settled on the garb sides of Anatolia. Some of these newly arrived dervish Muhajirs, along with the veterans, were busy opening towns and making futuhat, while others settled in villages or completely empty and secluded places around them and engaged in farming and raising animals with their disciples. This influx of dervishes and the movement of Dervishes to settle in villages and engage in religious propaganda, and the efforts of the Lords of the time to grant such colonizing dervishes some exemptions, rights and lands, are as old as the

²⁸ Ocak (2011) points out that with the expansion of Sufism in the Islamic world and especially the emergence of sects, there is definitely a shrine of holy people that was created there as a way to emphasize the Islamic identity in the eyes of the people of some of the conquered cities and some of the newly established ones.

Anatolian invasions and settlements, and these invasions have been found to gain strength and importance (in proportion) (Gülçiçek, 2004,581).

Bayrak, the Ottoman rule, beginning in the late 15th century, the Anatolian Kızılbaşs and the Balkan countries conquered by breeding the Christian peoples to bring closer to the Muslim and the palace in order to organize the Bektashi means (Bayrak, 2005,45). Gülçiçek, as of Silsile, based on Hazrat Ali and carrying a character of the West, such as the cult of Bayramiye and Zeyniye, especially the period of II. Murat stated that they have very close relations with the palace. He later quoted from Kissiling that the Ottoman Empire, especially it states that Beyazıt took the high Islamic State character during the reign of Yavuz Sultan Selim, who came to power after his defeat to Mongol ruler Timurleng in the Ankara war of 1402, and that he turned to orthodox Sunni Islam and started an unrelenting struggle against the opposition heterodox (Alevi-Bektashi) sect. Known as Naqshbandi, refers to the rise of Rukaiye, Kadirya, Gulsheniye, Celsetiye and some other Sunni sects in this turn, and the development of relations in the palace, as the Ottoman administration turned to orthodox (Sunni) Islam (Gülçiçek, 2004,582). In the following process, there have been tensions and differences between cultural traditions and practices and official-institutional religious beliefs, and theological religious teachings have continued to the present day with syncretic religious beliefs and practices.

To summarize, the syncretic structure of the Alawites and Sunnis living in the field of study stands out in addition to the very little differentiation in the local area. In addition, whether Alevism or Sunnism, the beliefs here are influenced by such beliefs as Shamanism, Hinduism, Taoism, Buddhism, Manichaeism, Mazdeism, Zoroastrianism, Christianity. Although they do not fully embrace the belief, they have adapted these beliefs into the sky god belief, which has always existed in their substructures, in their own way of life. In the following pages, the effects and elements of the previous beliefs as mentioned in the cult and holy place were not

erased in the region, and a more recent synthesis was created by combining and fusing these elements with new elements. The many cults of the Islamic process in Anatolia are the result of this long adventure. Therefore, the heterodox Islam here is called Folk Islam, based on practices, oral culture, marriages and visiting places shaped according to the needs of everyday life. Where forms of belief arise, it should be emphasized that the region has a rich background consisting of remnants of various religions and beliefs, fed by customs, legends, narrations, motifs, icons and a common memory, connotation network and information distribution in that geography. Therefore, when we consider the concept of folk Islam here as a unity of religious belief and practice that exists in the context of historical, cultural processes and preserves their existence, in the form of living and thinking in the present way of life and not in the holy books, we are able to evaluate the communities divided on the basis of sects in a common.

CHAPTER 5. ETHNOGRAPHIC FINDINGS

*No one was making our definition, so let us know who we are.
Though some men came out to understand us; but they told you about us, not us about
ourselves.
Oğuz Atay*

Information collected in the field is given in this section. These sections, addressed in accordance with field research and background, are listed to feed the elements that play a role in solidarity. Topographical figures and climate were examined in terms of their effects on humans in relation to place and space. The place-human relationship is explained through the settlement characteristics, the livelihoods shaped in everyday life, and the phenomenon of migration. Family, kinship, gender roles, and tribal structuring that still remain alive in the collective memory have also been evaluated in this context. Examples in the field of study in terms of quarries, shrines and narratives, which are important in the thesis as a result of their impact on the formation process, were conveyed through the statements of the participants, thus creating a trail for a better understanding of the elements of solidarity.

5.1. Place and human: Mercy in the sky, blessings in the ground

5.1.1. Topographic Figures

There are two important elevations within the study area. These are Hamam and Celö mountains²⁹. No one in the region refers to these areas with these names. The local people

²⁹ In addition to the fact that mountains appear as an important element in the development of the sense of Nativity, they also play a major role in human-environment interaction. People living in Turkey are inevitably affected in many ways by the mountainous and high nature of the land. Like many other areas of culture, this situation has manifested itself in music and therefore on folk songs. It is not surprising that the geographical word with the most frequency of transition in folk songs is Mountains. As a matter of fact, according to Mehmet Şahin's findings, the mountains come first with 875 samples among the geographical words in folk songs. In Turkish poetry during the Republican period, Narlı, which says that the poem- mountain connection depends on several foundations, sorts them as follows: 1- the mountain as part of the love of Anatolia and the countryside, which developed with the first generation of syllables, 2-The Mountain as an escape from the city and as an asylum to the natural one, 3-the mountain as besides being cult centers, these mountains in the region also

have used the upper parts of Mount Celo as a religious visit and plateau and they call it “Uştep”. Çayırgülü village headman, who often finds a place in the narratives of H.G. describes the following situation regarding this place during their time in highland:

We used to go to Uştep together in the summer. There's a grave there, but we don't know whose it is. It's a tomb for us, actually. We can reach to a certain place by tractor, but it is very difficult to reach there in winter. There are also remnants of houses there. It's been a long time since I haven't been there (*H.G. Male, 45, Çayırgülü Village, 23.03.2018*).

The water brought from this hill in the villages, where there is no plateaus, is distributed during the day in such a way as to make irrigation of Çayırgülü Village. Although this sometimes causes controversy, everyone is somehow watering their garden and truck farm with water from here. Therefore, it is still a hill that retains its importance in this sense and is mentioned.

On the other hand, Hamam Mountain is identified with the name Golan with its thermal spring, village and surroundings. I asked about this subject to İ.S from Yoğunağaç village. He stated that he had heard the phrase Hamam Mountain for the first time and said:

We call it the Hamam, but we don't use it as the name of the mountain. We call this mountain in the back as Çiyaye golan. Since our village is founded on this hill, we call them all Golan. Is there another name? If there is, I do not know (*İ.S. Male, 52, Yoğunağaç Köyü*).

River Ohi flowing along Celo Mountain is important for both the villages and the center of the district within the study area. The name Oxu- or Ohi is also used as the name of Karakoçan and the surrounding region. A name given to a large area based from Palu to Mazgirt, Kiği and Çabakcur, Ohi is said to be Ohu, Oxu, Oxi in the region. I have interviewed

function as an economic activity area. Braudel, as he is known, discussed civilization on the axis of geography in his study of the Mediterranean, ascribed a special meaning to space and even described geography in the form of studying society through place. “The mountains are the poor districts of the Mediterranean, their proletarian depots... they are a refuge against Mountain soldiers or pirates,” he says of the preeminent mountains... The mountain is essentially obliged to live by leaning on itself, to produce everything it can, to grow grapes, wheat and olives even if its soil or climate is not suitable. The mountain is normally a world outside of civilizations, something created by cities and low countries. Civilization remains a very unsafe value on the mountain.

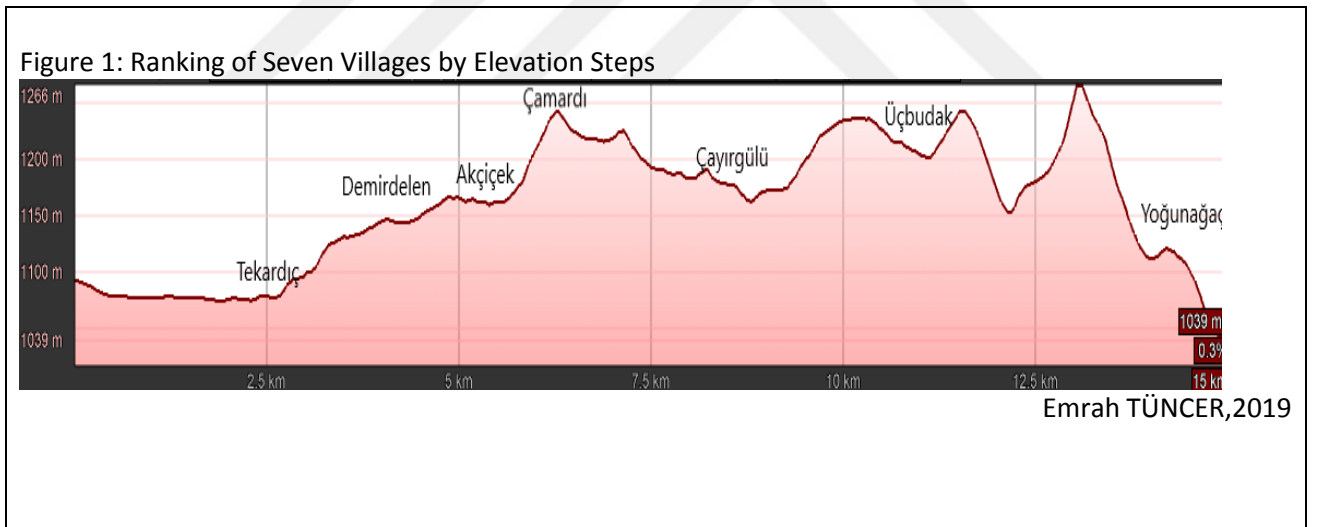
with M.Ö who have work on the region explained as: “I think it's from Ax. Ax means land in Kurdish. Axi must have turned into Oxi.” (*M.Ö. Male, 63, Okçıyan Village, 06. 06. 2018*).

As it is known, the new administrative arrangements in Turkey in 1936-1937 years Çan township of Kiğı and Ohi and Lahan townships of Palu combined as a new district which was established under the name of Karakoçan in the province of Elâzığ. (Kılıç and Altuncu, 2014). Therefore, Ohi is also used as the old name of the settlement. Already, Karakoçan was established where Kalecik River joins Ohi River (Atasoy, 2011, 160). In 1936 and 1960, the city was located in a very scattered texture on the agricultural land suitable for settlement and it stretched through northwest-southeast direction. Ohi River, which extends in the same direction along with agricultural lands, was effective in this development (Atasoy, 2011, 165). In addition, the Ohi River, which joins Peri Suyu, is also important for the villages on the southern slopes. Because for the villages here, there are significant effects of this River both in mythological, environmental and economic terms.

The Peri River is one of the important river tributaries of the Euphrates river and takes its resources from the Şakşak Mountains (3057 m). It is said that the Peri Suyu takes its name from a legend. According to this legend, the shepherd loves Peri: the beautiful girl of the Aga. Aga mocks the shepherd who wants to get married with his daughter. He is angry that he wants his daughter without thinking about his poverty. The shepherd wants a job that impossible to happen, he says: "If you bring the thirsty herd to the water and bring them back without drinking a drop of water, I'll give my girl to you." And the day comes, Aga constantly gives too much salt to the black sheep. The shepherd brings the flock to the water in front of the people. Black sheep head for water. The shepherd constantly begs to prevent the black sheep from drinking water. The shepherd's emotional tibia affects the black sheep and raises his head while leaning back in the water. Aga is forced to give his daughter to the shepherd. The name of the water remains "Peri Suyu" (Bayram, 2015, 1). The Peri River, which has a

very important place for the working area, has been the subject of depictions that its use has decreased compared to before due to the construction of numerous dams, its waters have gradually worsened the climate by gathering in some areas, and it has prevented snowfall. They stated the most important impact of the dams as the reduction of water resources. There is also a view that the connection of the villages in the working area with Tunceli was almost severed due to the lack of a bridge over it. Indeed, there was no crossing in a long area other than the suspension bridge in the village where there were Golan Hot Springs (Yoğunağaç).

When we look at the villages in the investigation area, we see that the elevation has increased from the Karakoçan center. While the regular elevation increases to Çamardı Village exceeding 1200 meters, the distance to Çayırözü Village decreases. (Figure 1)




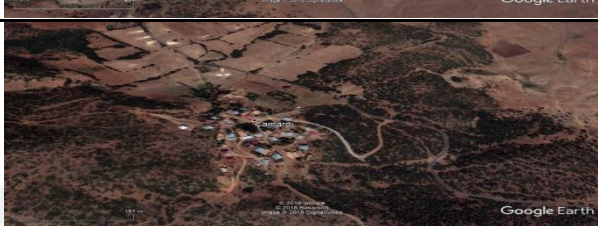
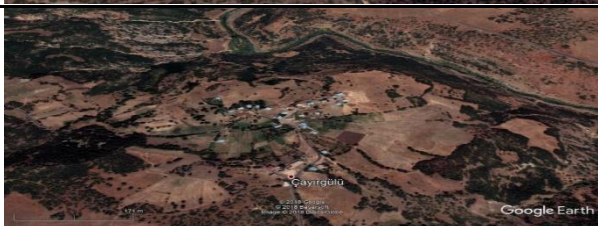

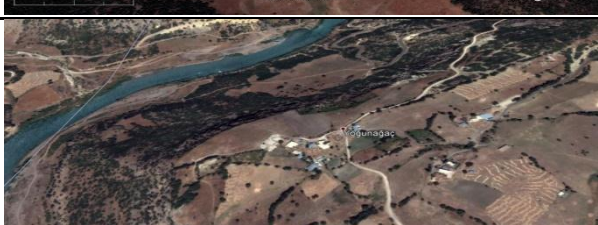


Celo and Hamam Mountain in the region form the elevations in this area. The village of Çamardı was mostly established on the lands of Celo Mountain and Yoğunağaç Village on the elevations of Hamam Mountain. Tekardıç Village is the village with the least elevation in the villages and allocates more land to agriculture (Figure 2). Tekardıç, a village where economic activities increase due to its proximity to the center, has a higher level of relationship with Karakoçan district center compared to other villages. The village with the highest altitude among them is Çamardı. It is located on the dominant hill across Karakoçan. Çayırözü

Village is located on the slope of Oxi River and it has an elevation above 1100 metres (Figure 2). The villages and land structures in the study area are as follows:



Figure 2: Land Structures and Characteristics of Villages

Tekardıç (Dılımlı)		Tekardıç Village is on the west of Karakoçan and 2 km far from the center. It is very rich in arable land. From the Ohi River, the height increases towards the south and from the village center to the west.
Demirdelen (Kafan)		Karakoçan is 4 km far from the city center. There is a visit to Sefkar Baba and a promenade within the boundaries of the village. As it can be seen from the image, the hill located to the southeast of the village where Sefkar Baba tomb is located is rich in oak and water. The tomb is 1180 m high.
Akçiçek (Allikana Jêr)		The village is 6 km away from Karakoçan. It is located at the west of the district. The southern part of the land is largely covered with oak trees, as can be seen from the visual. The elevation increases towards south.
Çamardı (Allikana Jor)		The distance to the center is 7 km. It is located to the west of the district. Most of the land is covered with oak. From the road, the elevation towards the village increases. There are houses built at 1273 m.
Çayırgülü (Badran)		Distance to the center is 10 km. The land is usually oak and meadow. The altitude of this village, which is established on the slope where the elevation of Ohi River towards the south, is around 1170 m. Güzelbaba visit and promenade is within the borders of this village.
Üçbudak (Dellikan)		The distance to the center is 14 km. In general, the land of the village is mountainous and covered with oak. The Holy White Fountain, Sheikh Delil Berxecan and Pir Camal Abdal are within the borders of this village.
Yoğunağaç (Golan)		It is 17 km away from Karakoçan district. The altitude is 1064 meters. Çoribori Visiting House is within the borders of this village.

Emrah TÜNCER,2019

5. 1. 2. The Characteristics of Climate and Flora

As it is known, the climate of the Eastern Anatolia Region has terrestrial characteristics. This feature shows a more stable and distinct situation as we move towards Erzurum-Kars section, where the elevation average increases. In eastern Anatolia region, winters are cold and snowy, summers are hot and dry, the characteristics of terrestrial climate are evident (Mor, 2008, 50). According to meteorological data (1975–2006), the average annual temperature is 11.1oC, the average minimum temperature is -3.1oC, the average maximum temperature is calculated as 24.1oC. Compared to Karakoçan in the plains, the average temperature in villages is lower in winter and summer due to the elevation³⁰. Therefore, although the region has the characteristics of the terrestrial climate as a macroclimate, there are fields that show different characteristics in terms of regional air conditioning³¹.

The average annual rainfall (1975–2006) in the region reaches 654.5 mm and 60% of precipitation rains in the spring. In winter, precipitation is usually snow. The number of snowy days exceeds 35. The average snow thickness in the region exceeds 8.5 cm and 15 cm and the snow stays 90 days in February. Although 11% of total annual rainfall falls in summer, irrigation and drought problems are experienced due to severe evaporation (Atasoy, 2011, 160). The average annual rainfall in Karakoçan is over 654.5 mm (Elazığ 420.7 mm, Kovancılar 503.1 mm, Bingöl 965.2 mm and Kiğı 1004.3 mm). The average annual rainfall in these values indicates that the field is separated from steppe areas. In mountainous areas, annual average values increase further up to 1000 - 1200 mm depending on elevation and maintenance conditions (Atasoy and Çitçi 2010, 738). The fact that the villages in the study area are forest villages also proves this situation.

³⁰ During my stay, I experienced this and observed that the summer was cooler than the Karakoçan center of Çayrgülü Village.

³¹ Sometimes there is also very harsh winters. For example, on February 18, 2012, a news website says: "Today, the day-long storm and blizzard caused the electricity to be cut in Karakoçan in the evening. In the evening, according to the latest information from local sources reaching our site, Karakoçan district center, especially on the roads around the village can be difficult to transport. Electricity was cut in the district because of the storm and blizzard."

http://www.karakocan.info/tr/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=5569&Itemid=148

The main argument in the observation of climate change in the study area was the negative impact of the dams built along the Peri River in the region. The majority of the people I interviewed stated that there was more snowfall in the past and the snow was longer on the ground and there was very little snow due to the effect of dams and global warming.

Especially the oldest one of the work site S.E. stated these about the climate change:

Two pipes from the fountain next to us at the moment were going full and increased more water from behind. In this village, every house used to have a cornfield, a bean field, and now we can't find water to drink. It doesn't snow, and even now snow can't even be seen on the ground. Behold, we open our hands pray or call mercy to heaven. On the ground we call it blessings. Well, there is no mercy in the sky, so that there can be blessing on the ground (*S.E. Male, 80, Çayırgülü Village, 16.08.2015*).

In fact, there are meteorological data to prove this situation (Table 2). When we look at the meteorological data of 1985 and 2017, we can see that a change occurred due to humidity in the months when the lowest temperature and the highest temperatures were experienced, and the average of extreme hot and cold changes.

Table 2: Comparison of Climate Changes of Karakoçan District in Different Years

<p>Karakoçan 38.95°N / 40.03°E 1482m rakım (30 x 30 km)</p> <p>1985-01-01 - 1985-12-31 365 gün</p> <p>meteoblue</p> <p>min/max Sıcaklık(°C)</p> <p>Bağıl nem(%)</p> <p>Oca Şub Mar Nis May Haz Tem Ağu Eyl Eki Kas Ara</p> <p>1985 1986</p>	<p>Temperature and relative humidity values for the year 1985</p>
<p>Karakoçan 38.95°N / 40.03°E 1352m rakım (12 x 12 km)</p> <p>2017-01-01 - 2017-12-31 365 gün</p> <p>meteoblue</p> <p>min/max Sıcaklık(°C)</p> <p>Bağıl nem(%)</p> <p>Oca Şub Mar Nis May Haz Tem Ağu Eyl Eki Kas Ara</p> <p>2017 2018</p>	<p>Temperature and relative humidity values for the year 2017</p>

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When we compare this data in terms of pre-and post-dam climatic properties, there are still significant differences. We can say that the temperature in the post-dam period is more balanced and the relative humidity is more.

The most important factor in shaping the vegetation in the research area is climate. In general, plant communities suitable for these climatic conditions are seen intensely due to the low humidity in the region, it's being arid region and low and high temperatures in the region. However, because the region also varies in terms of ground shapes, tree clusters and meadow cover vary from place to place depending on elevation and viewing conditions. For example, on the northwest-facing slopes of the Celo and Hamam Mountains, forests cover a larger area which is more humid and more sloping. Also, the presence of calcareous lands starting around Hamam Mountain and extending towards the inner parts also affected the expansion of the forest land.

The nature of the villages where I work is almost entirely the natural axis of oak forests. In the vicinity of these villages, oak forests are sometimes found mixed with junipers. Oak trees form different species in itself. Oak forests occupy a large area in the region. The large area covering of oak trees here is explained in the 2015 environmental status report of the Provincial Directorate of Environment and Urbanization of the Elâzığ Governor's Office: (Elâzığ 2015 Environmental Situation Report, 2015,48). However, due to climate change, goat breeding and safety / neglect / carelessness in the region for a long time, a significant part of the oak forests have lost their properties or disappeared. Therefore, anthropogenic steppe fields are gradually expanding. The inhabitants of the region explain the reason for this in two ways. The first is goat breeding, which was previously widespread, and the other is the burning of forests for security reasons.

Considering the sacred trees in the region as a cult, especially the protection of the trees around the tombs has an importance. Even the tree branches that fall around the tomb are not taken home by the villagers. In addition, the opening of the tomb area as a recreation area provides protection of the trees in this region. But as far as I can see, oak forests continue to be destroyed in time due to the fact that the oak forests are grazing areas for animals, feeding animals with the tree leaves in winter and being used for heating in winter.

In the study area we can say that there are arid oak species such as thuja oak (*quercus infectoria*), acorn oak (*quercus ithaburensis*) and shrub species such as juniperus excelsa and wild plum (*Prunus spinosa*). In addition, tar juniper, ordinary juniper are common species. Although not very common, ash, meningich, sycamore, tamarind, hawthorn, willow, blackberry, rosehip, wild pear, wild pine, dardağan tree, angustifolia tree, wild hazelnut tree species are seen. During my interviews with the villagers, it was seen that they introduced tree names in the forests with Kurdish names such as “Gijok, Aluç, Dardağan, Kızvan, Benav”.

Their relationship with the forest is limited in present-day conditions, as the villages actually give a lot of migration. In the past, it was stated that the way of benefiting from the forest in animal husbandry and fuel supply was being observed to be more intensive. For example, H.E.E. lived in the village until the age of 21 and then emigrated to Istanbul expresses this situation:

Most of my childhood, even before I started primary school, was always with woods in the forests. We were always cutting woods. We sacrifice ourselves to the mountain. We were always cutting woods on the mountain. We were taking the wood and putting them on the donkey, we were taking them to Karakoçan, we were selling it in Karakoçan. We were getting gas in return for it. There was no electricity in there then. We were buying soap. We were buying tea and sugar from time to time. I was buying tobacco for my father. So my childhood passed through with animals in the woods (*H.E.E. Male, 55, Çayırgülü Village, Güzelbaba promenade area, 16.08.2015*)

This situation, expressed in the 1980s, has completely disappeared. In the present case, the woodland is considered as a natural feeding ground, recreational regreation area, promenade

areas and mushroom collection area for animals with limited numbers. People who live in the village to collect mushrooms, which are called as “Kunkor” and collected in April and May, usually wait for the snow to melt and carry out long hours of searching in the forest with the rain and temperature.

5. 1. 3. The Properties of Settlement And Housing

People living in and around various settlements in which their vital activities are carried out collectively or dispersed are called residential areas. The settlement is the totality of all kinds of socio-economic activities carried out around the dwellings together with the dwellings where people live. Therefore, it is necessary to examine the settlement with its socio-economic and cultural activities, not only the area it occupies (Mor, 2008, 137). It is seen that the villages in the study area are settled according to the geography and economic activities are carried out accordingly.

Some villages in the study area have collective settlement characteristics while some villages are scattered. In the villages that exhibit collective settlements, the houses and their additions (barn, haystack, etc.) are very close to each other. It is seen that the landforms in these villages are simpler and the agricultural areas are wider. In the scattered settlements that consist of single houses and annexes, agricultural lands are limited and rugged areas are widespread. Established on slopes such as ridge, skirt, mountain, these villages consist of scattered settlement units. The settlements lean on the slopes like stair steps since the soil is limited due to the slope on the sides of the road leading to these scattered villages.

The density of settlement in Tekardıç Village is on the right side of the road and houses are located on both sides along the road. Compared to other villages in the study area, the settlements in Tekardıç, Demirdelen and Akçiçek villages are more organized due to the flat topography (Visual 1).



Visual 1. Tekardıç, Demirdelen and Akçiçek Villages (Emrah Tüncer, December 4, 2017).

Since Çamardı Village is established on a hilly area, the settlement features are scattered. Although the houses in the village of Çayırgülü are mostly clustered on the right side of the road, it is seen that there is a settlement on the left side of the road. Üçbudak Village, which is relatively far from the road, shows an example of a circular settlement according to the area where the Cem house is located. Finally, Yoğunağaç Village is a scattered settlement area spreading around (Visual 2).



Visual 2. Üçbudak, Çayırgülü (Emrah Tüncer 4 December 2017), Yoğunağaç, Camardı (Emrah Tüncer 6 August 2017)

There are no houses built near the shrines in the villages due to fear / respect etc. Another reason that shapes the settlement is this feature. For example, the Sefkar Baba Mausoleum in Demirdelen Village was established in the hilly area and the surrounding trees were preserved and turned into a visiting area. Therefore, the houses are spread towards the opposite area of the tomb. Güzel Baba Mausoleum located in Çayırgülü Village is located in a protected forest area below the village. It is turned into a fenced area and kept away from the settlement. Pir Cemal Abdal Mausoleum and Şıx Delil Berxecan fountain in Üçbudak Village were also kept away from the settlement areas. Çori Bori is exceptionally shaped. A house in the village of Yoğunağaç was transformed into a place of visit without entombed Saint.

If we pay attention we can see that in the distribution of the settlements, there are relief, geological structure, soil, vegetation, hydrography and climatological factors as well as religious influences.

Although the number of settlements in the villages in the research area is low, we see that there are only one permanent settlement areas and more than one settlement in the administrative area of the village (Table 3).

Table 3: Settlement Characteristics in the Field of Study

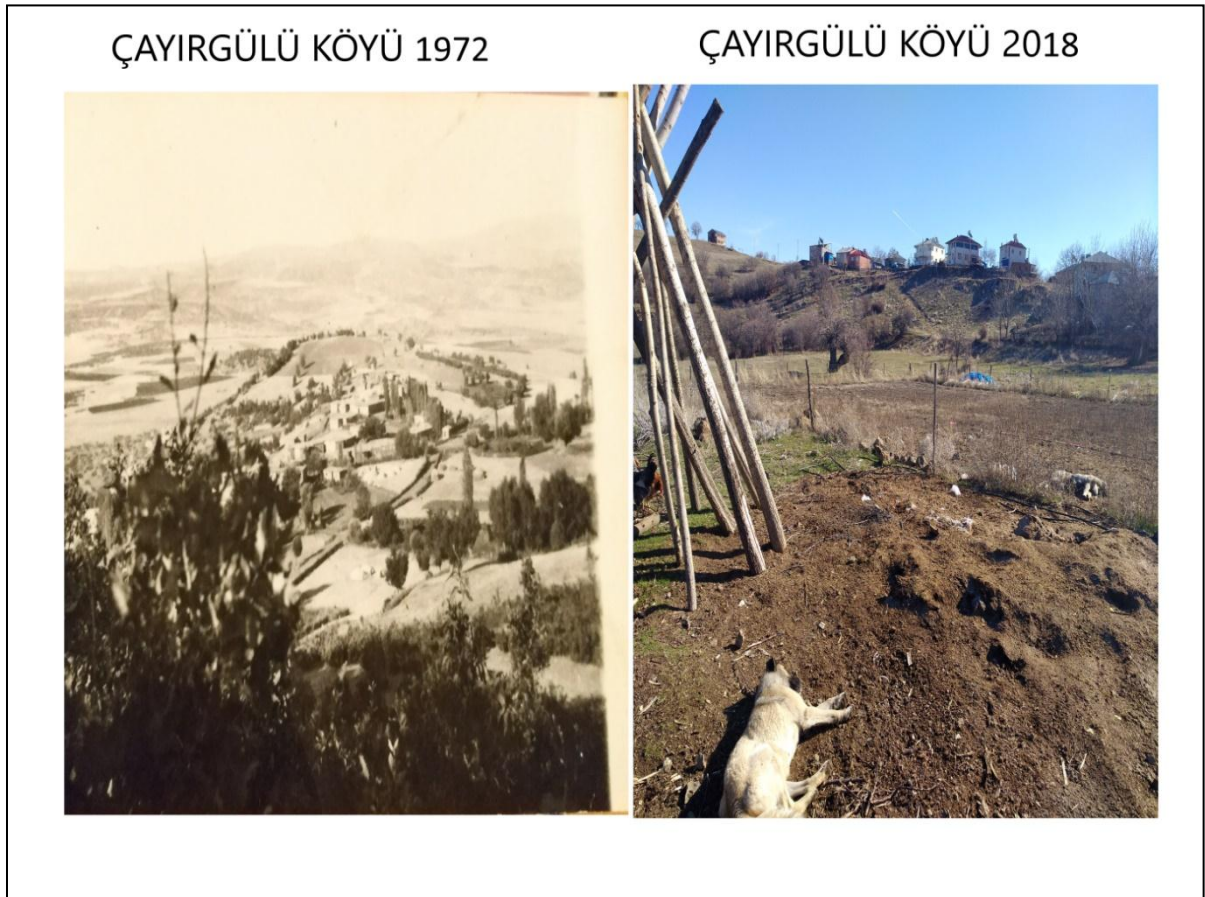
Village	The number of the Houses	The number of Neighborhoods	Neighborhood Names	The number of the Housings	Distance To The Village Center (Km)
TEKARDIÇ	36	-	-	-	-
DEMİRDELEN	33	-	-	-	-
AKÇİÇEK	9	-	-	-	-
ÇAMARDI	14	2	Dursun	3	1
			Çamardı	11	-
ÜÇBUDAK	16	2	Üçbudak	13	-
			Dede mezra	3	3
YOĞUNAĞAÇ	32	3	Yoğunağaç	20	-
			Çukurca	10	2
			Ali	2	1.5
ÇAYIRGÜLÜ	32	4	Çayırgülü	9	-
			Çayırılık	12	4
			Fındıklı	8	2.5
			Göl	3	1.5

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Areas referred to as hamlets or village pastures are valid only for four villages. The permanent settlement center, which gives its name to the whole village, is shown as a neighborhood in the table. Although the number of dwellings varies, we can say that the numbers increase with the migration back to the villages.

Stone, wood, soil and concrete are generally used as building materials for village houses. In the past, more and more adobe houses were being built, and nowadays, multi-storey and

luxurious houses are being replaced to these houses. Although there are very few examples in the villages, it is stated that the old houses are usually built as 2 rooms with a living room or 4 rooms with a living room and it is built as 2 storey or single storey. (Picture 3). There are also one, two, three or even four storeyed new houses which are reinforced concrete. A significant portion of these are duplex apartments. The upper floors have very large balconies and the walls are decorated with materials like marble, pvc, wood etc.



Visual 3. The image of Çayırgölü Village from 1972 (H.G. Archive) and 2018 (Emrah Tüncer, 4 December 2017)

As can be seen from the pictures, single-storey flat-roofed houses have been replaced by multi-storey houses with roofs made of sheet steel. 74-year-old H.G. described the old houses as follows:

In the past, houses were often next to each other and connected to each other by passageways. It was made of a mixture of adobe and stone. The houses had high ceilings and pumpkin and willow trees were used for ceiling construction. The ceiling was generally flat. Sometimes it was made in the form of a dome. At the top of the dome there was a window. The houses usually had small windows. The kitchen would usually be in a corner of a room. There were shelves called Terek and square concrete tubs called çerx, which were used to supply water with the help of a pipe. There weren't plumbing system in the house, not even a toilet. The need of water met from the village fountain and we had a bath in cerxt (*H.G. Male, 74, Çayırgülü Village, 28.07.2015*).

As parallel to this speech, it can be said that old houses were built by the mudbrick material obtained by mixing the soil with straw and shaping it and using the large stones which were shaped and flattened. In the two-storey old houses, it can be seen that the lower floor was built as an animal shelter (Visual 4). In single-storey houses, the animal shelter was built adhering to the house.



Visual 4. Two storey old village house (Emrah Tüncer, 11 August 2015)

Very few of these old houses are still used as living spaces. The parts of other houses had not collapsed are also used only as haystacks or stables.

It is seen that the people who migrated to the outside have returned to the village again, built new houses with reinforced concrete and brick building materials. In this context, we can say that quite luxurious houses emerge with a little more careful workmanship in the village (Visual 5). In all the houses where I went as a guest or just looked, I would say that there are kitchens, bathrooms and plumbing and sewage systems in every house. We can also say that these houses have modern equipment such as washing machines, dishwashers and televisions.



Visual 5. Newly built luxury house in Çayırgülü Village (Emrah Tüncer, 2 July 2018)

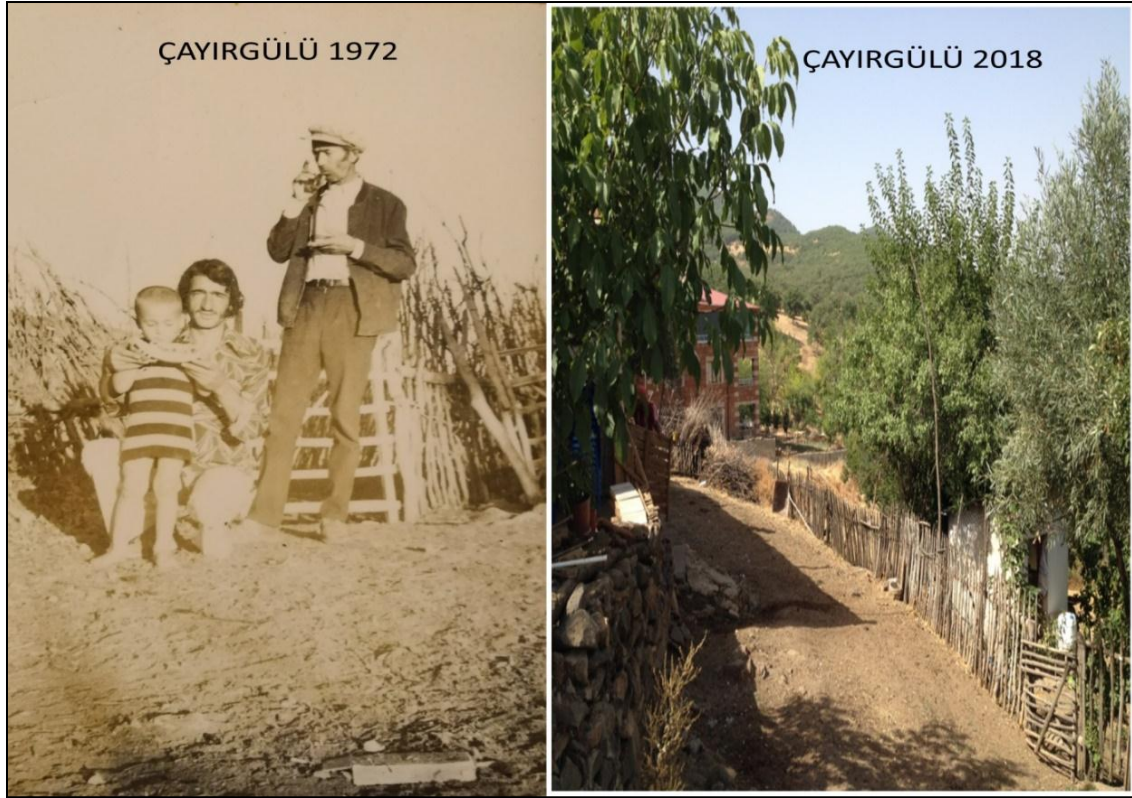
The basic elements of the houses in the villages are the rooms. The formation of the rooms has been developed and diversified in the process with the contribution of the economic situation, environmental conditions, tradition, customs and cultural differences. Therefore, it is seen that the newly built houses are generally built with two or three floors for siblings, children and the relatives coming from outside (metropolitan or abroad).

In addition, new houses built with bricks and reinforced concrete have balconies that create a social space and are covered with beams, columns and pimapens. In extremely hot and cold weather, the villagers spend most of their time on the balconies of their houses with their family or guests. There is also a fireplace in the balcony which is used in both cooking food and heating tea and warming. (Visual-6)



Visual 6. The balcony which is frequently used in the houses (Emrah Tüncer, 11 August 2015)

Many houses were covered with natural fences made of trees and stones (Visual 7). The aim is to prevent both their animals and wild animals from entering and damaging the crops. As it used to be, it is seen that the fences are made with oak tree branches today. If we pay attention, we can see that the differences in terrain and climate are effective in shaping the architectural environment.



Visual 7. A view of Çayırgölü Village from 1972 (H.G. Archive) and 2018 (Emrah Tüncer, 4 December 2017)

It is stated that especially wild boar is damaging the gardens. Some of these gardens are covered with fruit trees. Mulberry, apple, pear, plum, cherry, sour cherry are the most common tree species. Also, tomatoes, peppers, cucumbers, eggplants, beans, melons and corn are planted in a part of the garden.

In the courtyards of the old houses, there are generally areas where bread and food are cooked (Visual-8). In addition to cooking in these areas, molasses, fruit pulp and kömbe³² to be distributed to the villagers will also contribute to their economies. It is important to note that living spaces, such as sacred spaces, are cared for at the common point of life.

³² Kömbe: a kind of bread, doughnuts, pie



Visual 8. Cooking area in the courtyards of the houses (Emrah Tüncer, 13 September 2015)

As a result, mankind has always built itself in space from past to present and established villages and cities in response to different aspects of life, needs and desires. As in many other parts of Anatolia, the settlement activities in and around our research area Karakoçan, go back to ancient times. Therefore, the settlement characteristics and housing types exhibited a structure that changed and transformed over time and this situation was reflected in the space.

5.2. Everyday Life In The Area: Our Village Was A Hard-Working Village

5. 2. 1. Migration And Daily Life

Many reasons, especially economic and security concerns, have caused people to leave their places in masses. There is a close relationship between living and the place where he was born and lived. The social and the physical environment play an important role in the formation and development of the human being which has a special place in living things. Ibn Khaldun, who is accepted as one of the founders of sociology, builds his sense of frustration on environmental conditions and it is very significant in terms of the effect of space on social structure and relations. Migration, which corresponds to spatial change (Güvenç, 1996,21), is a phenomenon that affects almost everything about the society, especially the psychological state of the individual (Ekici and Tuncel, 2016, 11). Although the fertility rate of the population in the study area is very high, migration can be seen as the reason for the low rate of natural population growth. The inhabitants of the villages had to leave their places for various reasons. Beside social and political reasons, the most common reason of these migrations is economic. In this regard, the most intense migration movement is going abroad. Although it reached its peak in the 90s, it continues by diminishing today.

In the villages where the young population is very low, the difference between summer and winter populations is quite significant due to migration. In summer, people come to their villages from many places, especially Istanbul and Germany. Migration, which causes circulation in the villages both in terms of its causes and consequences, leads to long-term problems. Depending on the economic and political reasons, this wave of immigration which takes place towards to big cities in Turkey and Germany has almost made the village almost unmanned. Increasingly, nature remains unmanned and mankind remains without nature. Rural repulsion and the attractiveness of the city (Ficher, 1994, 155-156) tried to make sense

through the general judgment of the migration process has led to a decrease in the number of people living in abandoned rural areas.

People who have been separated from their places of birth involuntarily are subjected to discrimination and prejudice in the places they go and face the second biggest problem. Most of the migrated families left their land, animals, and houses behind. For example, the headman of Çayırgülü Village, H.G. tried to go abroad by illegal means in the 90s and stated that he was damaged both economically and physically (Visual 13). H.G. who has been traveling thirsty and hungry for days between the sacks of nuts stated that they were subjected to intense torture especially in Serbia because they were Muslims.



Visual 9. News of H.G.: the journey of hope in the newspaper (H.G. Archive)

In this incident, the subject of the news, H.G. and others stated that they had traveled in inhuman conditions despite the high sum they had paid, and that they were often threatened with death, especially after being arrested (*H.G. 45, Male, Çayırgülü Village, 23.03.2018*).

Today, except for economic reasons, migration to abroad with different concerns continues. For example, B.G., whose father survived the most difficult processes in this context, is looking for a way of going abroad. This understanding has continued for a long time in the villages of those who come back to the villages from abroad to buy land, build new and big houses, travel with luxury cars also affect young people.

Those who stay in the village, those who do not go, and those who cannot go do different activities. Young people who are not included in the economic activities, participate in activities such as fishing, going to picnics, helping village affairs, while elderly people rest in shady places and entertain the guests coming from outside. In any case, the service of young people to the elderly people is an important and generally accepted understanding in society.

Since older women or older men are perceived as wise because of their life experiences, they are often listened to and accepted as guides. In the villages where the words “Jina Bere” - the old woman- “Mere Bere ” -the old man- are used frequently, we can say that this phrase coincides with courage and hard work.(Visual 14) Elderly people think that people in their generation were more understanding and people, especially young people, are disrupted nowadays. For example, as one of the oldest people of Üçbudak village R.D. said these when we talked about the dead parents of G.Ö.: “Bı wi toprağa Cemal Abdalê ew meriye makul tê biramin keyfamı tê. Eywax ez wan makulan car ku bıbınim zor mesele (I swear the land of Cemal Abdal's tomb that those reasonable people come to my mind and I enjoy. Alas, where can I find those reasonable people again?)” (*R.D. Male, 89, Üçbudak Village, 13.07.2018*).



Visual 10. One of the oldest people in the village (80), S.E. (Emrah Tüncer, 13 July 2015)

It is seen that old women in the village, wearing some kind of thin cloth for covering their hair, called lacik, and fistan, shalwar, the middle-aged and young women are wearing half-sleeved shirts, trousers and shalwar. Older men rarely wear shalwar-baggy trousers but usually they wear a helmet (Visual-11).



Visual 11. Elder people in the village (Erkal Elmas, 26 August 2012)

In this context, different from the traditional style of Islam, which has been created in Turkey for the last 15-20 years, the clothes are shaped to reflect the traditional style of clothing. European costume style creates more models for men than women. Modern clothes such as shirts, trousers or capris, are preferred between young men. The villages in the study area, as a result of their cultural and social processes, have formed similar clothing style. However, differences in religious beliefs and values and economic structures (despite the association of objects/materials used in clothing) have enabled the original clothing cultures unique to societies to continue to exist today in some extent.

Women and men in their spare time spend time at promenade areas like the Güzel Baba, Pir Cemal Abdal, Sefkar Baba and sit on the balcony of their homes. They spend time in the space that is shared with the villagers and is reserved only for them. Although it is not a hierarchically arranged area, the Güzel Baba promenade area where the rummies or card games are played for the men of the village and the Golan Hot Springs are an area frequently visited by men.

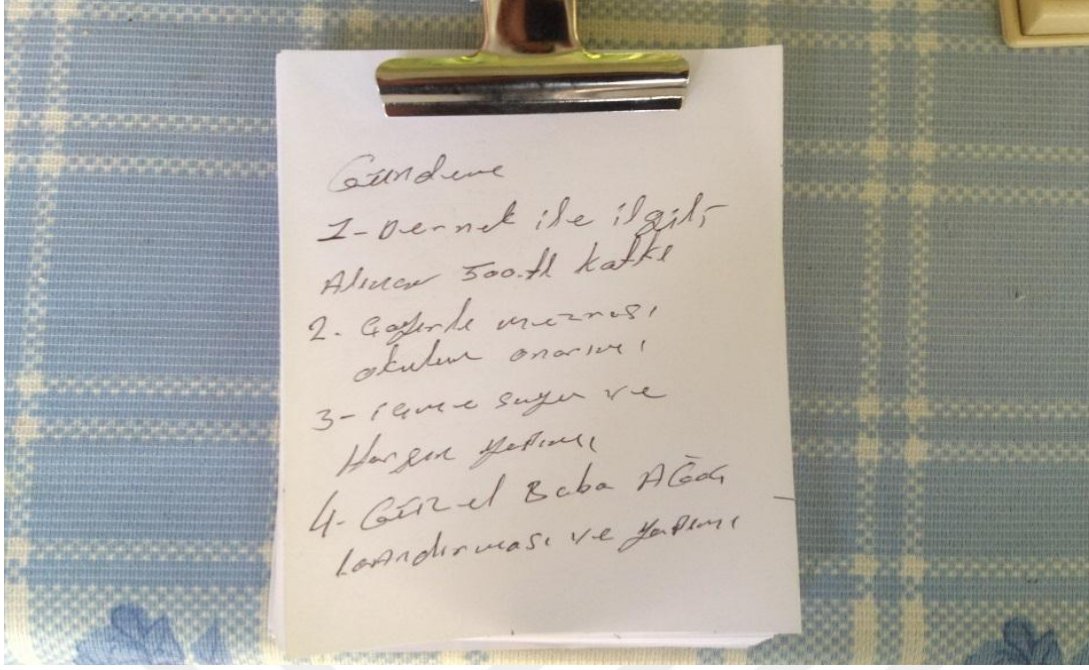
Rational co-operation between the peasants and parallel to these traditions continue. The imagination of politics in daily life has permeated every area of life in the daily relations network within the village. Again, Alevism and Kurdish culture, in a way, give meaning to the behavior of the villages and regulate the forms of action. Examples of indicators that characterize these cultures are often seen in these villages. Due to the fact that I am Sunni and I was born in a Sunni village, I can say that there are significant differences in Alevi villages. It can be said that Alevis are more liberal and relatively more secular than the Sunnis, especially in their angle of care for women. In the villages where the Sunni population is dense, women are less visible. For example, B.Ö whom I met from Demirdelen Village, made a statement in support of this:

Our women usually do housework, gardening. We do the hard work. We go to the mountain, the forest to collect wood. On Thursdays, women go to the religious conversation at the mosque. Men and women participate in mosque chats on separate days (*B.Ö. Male, 58, Demirdelen Village 13.06.2018*).

Although there are health centers and school buildings in the villages, they are not used. It was seen that children were taken to and from school by minibus in the field where mobile education was held. Dialogues on state institutions are mostly based on village headmans and district governorships.

In villages, Turkish and Kurdish are usually spoken simultaneously. In the villages where Turkish is more dominant while speaking Kurdish, many Turkish words are used in the meantime. Among the people I interviewed, it can be said that elderly people have a higher rate of speaking Kurdish.

Rather than a situation determined by the richest or most property possessed of the village, the leaders of the village, the former village headmen, the president of the association, the elderly, and the youth have a right to make a decision about village. They make decisions about common lands, Güzelbaba mausoleum, drinking water and school. During my time there, a meeting was held about Güzelbaba Recreation Area to determine the agenda items and to make some decisions (Visual 12, 13).



Visual 12. The agenda items determined at the meeting to be held on the village (Emrah Tüncel, 30 July 2015)



Visual 13. Meeting about village (İlhan Doğan, 30 July 2015)

A few middle-aged men living in the village, former village headmen and Village Association president from Istanbul attended the meeting whose agenda items were determined with the

proposal and offer of B.G and the issues were discussed. The meeting was postponed because there was no consensus on the problems and the headman of the village wasn't a participant.

5. 2. 2. Livelihoods

Ministry of Environment and Urbanization in 2018, Malatya-Elâzığ-Bingöl-Tunceli Planning Zone 1/100.000 scale Environmental Scheme Plan Description report for Karakoçan, determinates the following: "Karakoçan is an administrative district of Elâzığ. The premise sector of the settlement is agriculture.

There is also a similar discourse on the sites of the municipality and the district governor. Even the emblem of Karakoçan municipality was designed to reflect this in circular form. The exterior frame surrounding the emblem contains the logo of the district and the date of its establishment, as well as the wheat spike symbols (Figure 3). Red color is preferred at the bacckground of the emblem. The narrative form of the emblem is illustration. The emblem features “sheep” with the figure of “Shepherd” on the mountain slope as the figure (Kavuran and Cetinkaya, 2014, 1158). These visuals are thought to be used because of the fact that agriculture and livestock are an important source of livelihood in the region.



Figure 3. Logo of Karakoçan Municipality

Golan Thermal facilities located in the district of Yoğunağaç village are projected to contribute significant development of the tourism sector. Third sector is livestock "(2018). While this report focuses on the more potentials of the region, there are some differences in the situation. In the report economy based on small production, agriculture and livestock, actually the biggest supporter of the economy is the relatives living abroad or in Istanbul. Other than the economic contribution of the ones working outside of the village (especially in Istanbul, Germany) the ones who operate a minibus, work in public, get the widow's salary, work in the bus company, work in the construction of dams, are retired, work for agriculture-livestock and work for picnic areas and a spas also contributes to the economy.

The villagers carrying out agriculture and livestock activity are continuing their work by keeping the shepherd. V.A from Demirdelen Village expresses the work they have maintained today with the difficulties as follows:

In general, spring is the season of growing crops from season to season. We harvest³³ our teas. We care for our wheat. It is like small scale family business. I mean, we prepare our land for the house. We plant their seeds. Here in the summer we are harvesting herbs, if we have products, they are harvested. But in this process, our neighbors are united. In other words, the village house and the village committee make a decision. Shepherd is found. We talk about that shepherd's salary. Price is given per animal. That's how much we will give you. We meet his needs so that he does not become aggrieved. Electricity and water supplied. There is a house with three rooms, solar powered bathroom and toilet available. We have our shepherd' shelter house. Everyone wants to be shepherd especially in our village. We want it to last 7-8 months, but grazing animals is not available in the pasture creates intimidation. The shepherd is having trouble. We call it Moz. What kind of idiom are you going to use in Turkish? In April and May there is a fly that bites a lot that wants to lay eggs on the animal's back. The animal makes flapping wings. At that time, the needle hurts the animals' vulnerable parts. Then they're moving, running. That's when the shepherd's situation is very troublesome. The animal comes running. When the animal comes, it goes to the meadow and the field (V.A. Male, 63, Demirdelen Village, 18. 12,2017).

³³ Cutting meadows, mowing process

Of course, the situation is quite different than before. It can be said that in villages where economic relations have been based on more animal husbandry and agriculture in the past, adaptation to rural life is higher. When I asked H.E.E. who stated that there was more poverty but that production was widespread in the past and who lived in the village until the age of 21 and then emigrated to Istanbul, she said:

The economy of the village is based on animal husbandry. Because it is a mountainous village. It is a forest village. There was not enough land. Even before 80s the village was densely populated; the fields were not enough. Fields did not meet the needs of a house, people made their living with wheat, barley, etc. generally with livestock. Poverty was extreme but everybody was busy with the gardens, fields, they were working in the gardens. Most of my childhood was spent in woods and even before starting primary school. We were always chopping the wood. We devoted ourselves to the mountain. On the mountain we were always chopping wood. We took the firewood with donkeys and we were taking them to Karakoçan and we were selling them in Karakoçan. We were getting gas in return. There was no electricity. We were buying soap. From time to time, we were taking tea and sugar. I was buying tobacco for my father. I mean, I spent my childhood with animals in the woods (*H.E.E. Male, 55, Çayırgülü Village, Güzelbaba recreation area, 16.08.2015*).

Families that rely on livestock and cattle breeding provide food for the winter, but include their animals in the economic cycle, especially as a sacrifice festival sale. Demirdelen, Akcicek, Üçbudak and Yoğunağaç are the villages where these activities are more. We can say that agriculture and animal husbandry have decreased in other villages and that these activities have almost disappeared. For example, B.G. previously said that animal husbandry was the most important source of livelihood in the village, describes the present situation as follows:

Well there used to be animals husbandry and agriculture. But now it would be more correct to say people are predominantly retired. The village, which had 80 households before I went to Istanbul, now has 11-12 households in winter. Thank goodness we live in the old density again in summer. In other words, our young people, children from outside of the villages. They say our youth is our future. Here we have a little money from retirement, our children also send a few. This is a source of our livelihood. There is no production (*B.G. Male, 55, Çayırgülü Village, 03.08.2015*).

Similar characteristics are observed in other villages in the study area. C.D. from Üçbudak village makes the comparison as follows:

Our village was a hardworking village. Although we are old, we did not have suitors. Our elders did not take suitors, too. After they had Cemal Abdal, our grandfather, my father, my grandfather did not buy suitor, why did not they buy? Of course, according to now, maybe those who have not received or are not interested in our followers are usually lazy. Expenses each year, the suitors collect what they found, they would get, they turn back and eat those throughout the year. Ours weren't like that, we always give. For example, that big grass, in a small village, that hamzaliyan etc., these villages, this Karakoçan always buy wheat from us. So they were hardworking people. They were very hardworking even if their population includes just 10 houses, they were hardworking even they are 5 houses. They were very busy with animal husbandry, our village was crowded, there was not much of a thing in these villages except recent times. Each one moved to Istanbul, Izmir, went to Germany, here and there. Only 10 houses left (C.D. Male, 72, Üçbudak Village, 13.02. 2018).

Except for the villagers who provide the needs of their animals from pastures and meadows; outsiders also maintain their gardens and prepare their winter supplies. Products from these gardens are the tomatoes, peppers, eggplants, mulberries, apples and pears, plums, melons, watermelons, corn, cherries, cherries, grapes. They are used both fresh or dried. Mulberry tree, which is seen almost everywhere in the villages, is the dominant element of the molasses with the highest yields and high economic value. It is a frequent activity both for relatives and for consumption in winter (See fig. case study).

In most of the villages today, one member from almost each family lives abroad or in Istanbul, and there is an economic contribution from those who come to the village during the summer months. Naturally, without this economic contribution coming from outside of the village, there is no opportunity that they can make their living with agriculture, animal husbandry or forestry.

5. 2. 3. Collaborative work example: Mulberry molasses production and its' stages

In the early hours of the morning (usually around 06:00-07:00) under the shaved mulberry tree, sheet or nylon cover, etc. are covered. The mulberries falling here are gathered together with the ones spread around and put into containers. The family members who come together - sometimes villagers come to help - pick up the handful of mulberries and sort them.

(Visual -14, Visual -15).



Visual 14. Mulberry sorting process (Emrah Tüncer, 9 July 2015)



Visual 15. Mulberry sorting process (Helin Önal, 9 July 2015)

The extraction process is very laborious. Branches, leaves, insects and flies in the collected mulberries are cleaned with great care. The cleaned mulberries are placed in large basins. In the hut-shaped place where the food is usually cooked, the mulberries collected and cleaned are boiled (Visual-15).



Visual 16. Boiling the cleaned mulberries (Emrah Tüncer, 9 July 2015)

Mulberries boiled for about half an hour with their own slightly fermented juice are filtered with things like cloths, sacks, etc. with two or three bowls. Squeezed mulberries are hot in this process so they are slowly filtered. This process continues until all water is removed (Visual 16).



Visual 17. Filtration of boiled mulberries (Emrah Tüncer, 9 July 2015)

The remaining pulp of the mulberries whose water is completely removed is given to the animals. The obtained mulberry juice is boiled again for approximately 3-4 hours. During this boiling process, the foam on the top of the water is removed. This process is repeated during the boiling process. This mulberry juice, which is put back in the basins, is placed in a place that will always face the sun directly. It is kept under the sun for 3-4 days according to its consistency and density and when ready, it is filtered again and it is ready to use.

5.3. Family and Kinship: They Call our Headman's House Mala Resê Kevê

5. 3. 1. Family, Kinship and Gender Roles

Family, the smallest unit of the society, is as old as human history. A family is a relationship between marriage or through blood ties (such as mothers, fathers, children, grandparents, grandfathers) (Giddens, 2000, 148). According to another definition, family is a group of intimate relationships formed by people who are connected with blood, sexual intercourse or legal bonds. The family is a very flexible social unit that has managed to survive and adapt to changes over time. Social anthropologists are examining the kinship systems in stateless societies. In such societies, kinship is a fundamental institution¹⁴ in the regulation of social relations (Marshall, 1999, 7). In this context, relatives and families are perceived as partnership expressions in the villages of the working field. The relationships between these units are extremely tight, and the principal belonging, relationships and social ties of individuals are subject to these institutions and departments. Again, blood ties and soy-based kinship systems affect many relationships among individuals.

The villages are places where the majority of people make their living with agriculture and livestock, and the emotions and acts of "local" are more intense. It hosts a society in which family bonds are strong in communication between family members and families, and social interaction is provided through kinship (Turna, 2011,63). Therefore, inheritance, property, social issues, positions, roles in a life organized on the basis of the lineage are largely based on kinality. When a person is assessed at the work site, it is important to whom he comes from, whose family he is from, his grandfather, his tribal, and the quarry. In other words, a form of arrangement arising from the belonging of relatives, grandparents, or common meninity is developed. In this context, people who live in the village usually have an attitude to look out for the welfare of their relatives and improve their relationship.

The main element constituting the common denominator between villages is the tribal link. Apart from the villages that define themselves through the Şadi tribes, a common background is established by referring to the story of 7 brothers. For example, H. K. from Tekardıç Village makes a statement that will include both tribal and soy-based relations:

My grandmother is from the Shadi tribe. The 13 father has settled in this village. For example, I just told you, the seven brothers came here. There are only two brothers left from the seven brothers here. They settle in the village of Karapınar. They came here during Necip Aga. When they arrive, one of our brothers takes the surname Sarıkaya. Ours takes Kaplan surname. The surname law comes after that. For example, my uncle's children are now Sarıkaya, while we take the surname Kaplan. The tribe is completely disintegrating. It's not clear where they come from. For example, they call us Mêmê Ağo in the village. They call the house of our village headman Resê Kevê. That's the name. So can you get it? They call it Karêrli Mala Hemzê. Originally because they came from Bingöl side, Bingöl Karêr. They call it Mala Qêmer. They call it Mala Resê Kevê. So this is known by its old Turkish name. They call it Mala Mêmê Ağo. They call it Mala Seterian. They call it Mala Bılcanân. They call it Mala İyê. So they say, remembering his grandfather's name. They call it Mala Mêwliyan. Yes, because they came from Okçular village. They are Mala Mawwian, they come from Okçular, Mala Hêmzi. Mala Hêski Qaş has Mala Hüsê Fidanê and Mala Çaniyan. They all come from one place. Each one comes from somewhere. In the past, some of our families called Demirdelen village Kafanâ Xırabe (*H.K. Male, 44, Tekardıç Village, 20.03.2018*).

As can be seen from this description, social organization also expresses itself through biological bonds. Kinship by father is more dominant in this context than kinship by mother. In other words, the definition is usually made on male basis. Social, economic and religious factors are effective in this kinship organization. The fact that the number of the family members, the number of lands and pioneering role in the religious sense extends the family's dominance.

Some of the villages in the study area consists of Alevi population, while in some villages the Sunni population is major. Here, families who define themselves through faith groups generally state that the Shadi tribe to which they are affiliated is actually Alevi, but that some of them later turned to Sunnism, but that this change did not harm kinship, and they also

regarded them as relatives. For example, H.E. from Üçbudak Village, where the Alevi population is dense states for the Shadi tribe:

They are all Alevi. Our region belonged to the Shadi tribe at that time. The Shadi tribe is the Alevi tribe. These Alevis are part of Çarsancak, Mazgirt, Nazımiye and Nazımiye Demenan. There are several groups. The area of these Shadis is called Çarsancak in the Peri valley. This Çarsancak region is the Alevi zone. Previously in our villages all of them were Alevis (*H.E. Male, 52, Üçbudak Village, 08.07.2018*).

V.A. from Demirdelen Village, where the village mosque is located and its population is predominantly Sunni, explains the relationship of kinship in his own village as follows by supporting the claim above:

Now, our village consists of three parts. First, we are. Son of Father Shadi tribe. I mean he came from Tunceli. We don't know where he came from to Tunceli. We don't know that our origin is from Konya? Is it from Çanakkale? We don't know where we come from. The tribe of Shad son is separated from Shadili. There is also something named as Izol. We are the sons of Sadi when they say Sade they mean Sadoglu tribe. We come from Tunceli, we have other neighbors and they are from Demenan. They're Gıyasettin, they're Tape Kazım. They are also from Tunceli. They are from that tribe. There is a tribe named as Hadi, they have just arrived, they have just settled. The Sevkari tribe comes from a father. Karlıova Demenan was former, Sevkari tribe has come for 18 years and Demenan and Şadi tribe have been here for a long time (*V.A. Male, 63, Demirdelen Village, 18.12.2017*).

In addition, in some villages, members of one of the larger families often express themselves by their surname. Although the Çayırözü Village refers to the Şadi tribe, they make the distinction between themselves as follows: “A Güneş family, Güzel family, Dilek family and Önal family” these soy ancestors constitute the main families in the village.

In all villages in the study area, special attention is given to families who are descendants of the grandfather. It is possible to hear the phrase “*They are descendants of the grandfather*” when describing a family member. Alevi grandparents are also respected and valued in the Sunni populated villages. Since Üçbudak Village is a village where the grandfather tradition is experienced, the families there are more prominent in this context.

One of the most common kinship species in the villages within the study area is tassavurri³⁴ kinship. Tassavurri kinship is also called virtual kinship, are kinship relations established with the consent of individuals. It is seen that in addition to individuals' own wishes for the formation of tassavurri kinship, this formation is accompanied by a ceremonial practice. Swearing an oath plays an important role in the formation of such kinship. After this, individuals accept themselves as relatives and often form a bond more than their true relatives. There are psychological, economic, social and religious factors behind individuals' desire to establish such a bond. The tassavurri kinship is the relationship that was established later, the formation of which was left to the consent of individuals and based on treaties with heavy sanctions. Although these kinship started with the consent of two people, it affects all family members (AYAZ 2015,38). Kirvelik and muhsablik, which are commonly encountered in the study area, are the examples of such kinship. For example, C.D. from Üçbudak village defines kirvelik as follows:

C.D: Look, you see, we bring our uncle's daughter or our brother's child to our child, but we don't bring the daughter of our kirve to our child as a bride.

E: You see them as siblings?

C.D: Sure, closer. Our brother's daughter is halal for our child. There can not be a marriage with our kirve. So kirvelik is very sacred to us (C.D. *Male, 72, Üçbudak Village, 13.02. 2018*).

According to the similarity, the groups that are not related to each other are considered as relatives after the ceremony. Due to the later kinship bond, it is understood that the marriages of the two families are considered prohibited just like incest.

³⁴ Virtual kinship in literature is also expressed by concepts like spiritual kinship (Maden 1991), later acquired kinship or false kinship (Balaman 1982), tasavvuri kinship (Tezcan 1982), pseudonymous kinship (Kudat 1974), etc.

These relationships are important to see how the social organization is reshaped with needs. Virtual kinship bonds are close relationships outside of conventional institutional structures, which are rather common in traditional societies.

As the villagers emigrated to Istanbul and Germany and the summer migrants traveled to and from the village frequently, it affected the family structure as well as all the institutions of socio-cultural life and influenced the traditional structure, role and function of the family. But the fact that many rights in the village shows that there are cores of a patriarchal system. For example, the fact that H.G. had written the name of his son, who was born after two daughters, in his car with huge letters and that many men in the village value the boy more than the girl proves this situation. In short, traditional mentality, thoughts and behaviors and secularization have not yet broken the male-dominated structure in the family. The role of the man in the family system is still persistent.

For example, when I ask "Which decisions would you consult with your husband?" Her answer is very important in this context: "I consult everything with him. I wouldn't do anything unaware of him" (Z.G. Female, 44, Çayırgülü Village, 10.07.2015).

However, the distinction between men and women is less in these villages. Gender-based behaviors are diminishing day by day. Women are more integrated into social life and are more involved in common spaces. In terms of the responsibilities of chores, it can be said that although the works identified with men such as forestry, livestock, construction are also performed by women. Previously, the female interviewer F.Ö. said about milking the goats: "I used to do all chores in the house of my mother-in-law and also milked 200 goats on my own" (F.Ö. Female, 53, Çayırgülü Village, 11.07.2015)

It can be said that the situation did not change much according to the previous situation. For example, with the memories written earlier in this topic, the working conditions of women has

been identified as: "Both urban and peasant women of Palu are twice as worked as slaves in the terrible hot summer and at home and in the fields" (Bardizaktsi, Natanyan, and Sirvantsdyants 2010). In addition, women go to the forest to collect trees, the maintenance of the field and garden can be included in the category of work that requires physical force. Therefore, it cannot be said that muscle strength is a justification for the division of chores. But in the village, culture-specific orders, rewards, social control mechanisms, social exclusion, rebuke, approval, obedience are effective in creating some kind of gender roles. Indeed, gender-based adaptation and action play a role in the formation of natural and socially accepted roles.

Marriage is perceived as a basic social institution in the village. Permanent and monogamous marriage is dominant and forms the basis of the family institution. The most important reason for the family institution is the continuity of the lineage. In marriages in this village, marriage is commenced within the framework of the legal institutions of the municipality. Divorce is a rare condition. Marriage is still seen among close relatives. The hardest stance on this issue is about kirvelik. According to the belief, one of the strictest rules of this relationship is not getting married with the girl of the kirves.

5. 3. 2. Tribes in the Field of Study

As can be seen in the process of historical development, the social life of the people living in the region was shaped by historical and social organisms. Today, it is possible to see this situation when we examine the social, economic structure, religious, historical and cultural background. Today, the existence of a significant number of clans / tribes in these lands, each with its own history and often a defined settlement area, is also related to this history. Therefore, one way to recognize the region is to analyze this tribal, community and quarry

organization. The social organization of the studied region is also based on a tribal-based structure in which centuries-old customs and traditions determine the form of social relations. Therefore, it is useful to look briefly at the lineages that played a role in this region.

Today, it is possible to identify big and small lineages in the region³⁵. The sub-groups of these tribes are divided into dozens of families called *ezbet*. When we look at the historical background of these tribes, we can see why they are very important. The expansion of the tribal structure and influenced area in the region is related to some political approaches that change within the historical process. The strengthening of the central government and the fact that the tribes were considered as equilibrium led to the strengthening of the tribes. Uluç expresses these about the topic:

The Ottoman Empire tried to strengthen the central structure in order to maintain its sovereignty over the lands it dominated because of the land losses it experienced in the 19th century. To this end, he appointed central authorities to the autonomous regions, which were dominated by local powers. The centralization policies of the Ottoman Empire resulted in the abolition of all emirates towards the middle of the 19th century. As a result, the problem of public order in the region has made the existence of tribes compulsory again." (Uluç, 2010, 37).

The most important event encountered during this period is the abolition of emirates. With the end of the existence of the Emirates, two important situations were encountered: First, the tribes re-emerged as the main determinants of social and political organization. Second, the importance of sheikhs (religious leaders) increased. There were two important developments

³⁵ There are numerous scientific studies on the tribes in eastern and southeastern Anatolia. Perhaps the most important of the studies about the tribes in eastern Anatolia is the tribal work prepared by Beşikçi as his doctoral thesis. The critic who describes the tribal as the political superstructure of Eastern Anatolian feudalism, a form of social- political organization, also sees these institutions as the reason for the failure of eastern Anatolia to thrive. According to Beşikçi, the elements that base and form the social structure in eastern Anatolia are: human-soil in the first degree, soil-religion in the second degree, and tribal-religion in the third degree. It is necessary to look for the basic contradiction in infrastructure institutions such as property and production forms and institutions such as sheikhlik and tribal structure which these institutions have determined according to their own requirements. Others who came to prominence in this regard were: R. R. who studied tribes living in the Rewanduz region of northern Iraq in 1938. Leach; in the 1950s, Barth studied the Caf tribe in northern Iraq; Ismail Beşikçi studied the Alikan tribe in Eastern and Southeastern Anatolia as a doctoral study in the late 1960s; and in 1974-76, he visited all the geographies of Kurds (Turkey, Iraq, Iran, Syria) and did a PhD study on the tribes. V. Bruinessen and Lale Yalçın- Heckmann, who investigated tribes in the Hakkâri region, where he was the subject of his doctoral study between 1980-82.

that increased the importance of the clergymen: First, there were no “mir”s that ruled the fights between the tribes, and clashes between the tribes began with the abolition of emirates (Jwaideh, 1999, 143). In this turmoil, the sheikhs played the role of “peace ambassadors” who ended the conflict between their religious identities and the tribes and ensured security in the region. This strengthened their public authority. The other is that the mid-1800s, when the emirates were abolished, also increased the number of simultaneous missionary activities. In these years, missionaries from the West were engaged in intensive activities for Christians living in the region. People who reacted to this, began to get closer to religion (Islam). Therefore, the reputation of the sheikhs, who are representatives of religion, increased (Bruinessen, 1995, 109). Beşikçi states that the tribes of Eastern Anatolia become institutionalized because they adopt certain social functions that the state should do, and that the factor that supports these relations in the religious direction is sheikhism (Beşikçi, 2014, 64).

In fact, according to Beşikçi, the main event that determined the Ottoman policy of the East Anatolia during the Ottoman Empire was the Çaldıran War with the Safavids in 1514. According to him, during this war, the Ottomans fought with the Kurdish tribes in Eastern Anatolia and the feudal order they created, but realized that they could not take them organically. In this case, he stated that the best way for the Ottomans was to recognize the feudal order of the Kurds and to use them against Iran (Beşikçi, 2014, 120).

M.Sharif Fırat, who states the tribes in the region are of Turkish race (1998), says that Yavuz Sultan Selim, who feared that the Ottoman Empire was falling apart, acted with the intention of destroying the Kizilbaşı in eastern Anatolia in that era when Sunnism and Shiism were marching in a political party against each other in the Euphrates. Forty thousand people from the Alawites of Central and Eastern Anatolia have shed their blood and Yavuz defeated Shah Ismail in the Çaldıran Plain in 1504, and returned to the eastern mountains of Bektashi and

Kizilbas. He wrote that these Turkish and Turkmen tribes, who escaped to the mountains and took refuge in the mountains, were among the Turks who came to the eastern provinces of the Seljuks before establishing civilization and these Turks later lost their self in these deserted steep mountains.

As can be seen, tribes are claimed to be Turkish in some sources and Kurdish in others. The same claim applies to the Shadillis / Shadian and the Izol / Hizol tribes, who play an active role in the field.

There are two big tribes in the study area, Şadi and İzol, to whom they refer to in terms of their lineage. In the interviews conducted in the villages, many of them identified themselves as members of “Şadi / Şadilli / Şadiyan” and “İzol / Hizol / İzoglu” tribes.

In the book³⁶ "History of Tribes" published by Kaynak Publications, the information proving this situation for the region where Şadilli people live under the title of tribes in Elâzığ region is given as follows:

Şadilli

Name of tribe (or lineage): Şadilli

Population: 2873

Language: Kurdish (Kirmanch)

Sect: Hanafi

The name and surname of the chief or the prominent, if any, his nickname, usually where he lives: Okçuoğlu, Karakoçan district, Yeniköy

Place of residence or accommodation: Karakoçan District: Okçular, Akarbaşı, Çayırgülü, Çamardı,

Akçiçek and Kızılca villages (Tribes Report, 2014).

Özcan says that there is wrong information about the Şadilli tribe here and that Şadilli and Okçiyans tribal leaders are the childrens of an uncle. Therefore, he states that the Okçiyans

³⁶ This asirets report, which is called “top secret” by state-owned units, was prepared in the first half of the 1970s. This report was first published in the journal Towards 2000, No. 51, dated 13 December 1987. It was published carrying numerous top secret stamps. Due to this publication, Doğu Perinçek was tried and acquitted. In this report covering 23 provinces, the individual populations of the tribes, the languages they used, their denominations, the present-day chieftains and other rulers and their places of residence were mentioned. The report assessed more than two million people in four groups as “untrustworthy”, “those who appear to be homesick”, “unreliable” and “those who support Kurdishism”.

cannot be represented as a tribe, but perhaps a community affiliated to the Shadi tribe (Özcan, 2011, 132). Sadık Yigitbas explains the relationship between Okçıyan and Shadi in his book on Kiğı and the people interviewed in the region as follows:

According to their traditions, their ancestor is named as Okçu Yusuf. Together with his seven brothers and Mevlâna Celaleddin Rumi's father, Baha Veled, came from Khorasan to Erzincan. When Baha Veled went to Konya, some of them accompanied him while Okçu Yusuf and the rest were left by Seljuk Alâeddin Keykubat as a guard to the Bağın Castle and Kiğı and its environs. According to the same narration, the name / Archer comes from this meaning. Archers are considered and are known as Shadili tribes. Okçu Yusuf and his brothers are the leaders of the Şadili Tribe (Yigitbaş, 1965, 254).

In this report on the tribes, we also see the Şadi Tribal not only in Elâzığ but also in Erzurum's Hınıs, Çat and Tekman districts, Erzincan's Rafahiye, Tercan districts, Malatya, Kahramanmaraş, Sivas, Tunceli, Urfa. The tribal nomenclature or belief differences should also be considered in this context. For example, in Elâzığ, this tribe belonging to the Hanafi sect has changed from region to region. If we look at the densities and distribution of the cities in which they live and their denominations, we see a picture like this: Alevi (Erzincan, Sivas, Elâzığ, Dersim); Shafi'i (Urfa, Ağrı, Elâzığ); Hanafi (Elâzığ, Malatya); Jafari (Iran-Khorasan); Ezidi (Armenia) is a tribe that has members connected to their faiths. They are referred to by names such as Şadıllı, Şadian, Şadili, Şadillı, Sadili, Şeddadi.

Erzincan Governor Ali Kemali writes about the Shadi tribe:

According to a rumor, the inhabitants of Erzincan and its neighborhood are almost entirely members of the Shadilli tribe and have grown from four siblings. One of these brothers is Celal (the tribes called Celali, who live in Van and Beyazit) and the other is Haydar (Haydarans live on the Kiğı side) The third is Mil (Milli tribe, they live in Mardin and Diyarbakir) and the fourth is Sadi and "Şadıllılar" derived from this (Kemali, 2013, 215-216).

Ali Kemali, according to the author of the footnote "History of Van" stated that these were originally Turkish, and Baha Sait Bey said that the original name was "şadeli" and that the governors made aristocrats in Turkish were called "Şad". Kemali divides the tribes in general

into two major branches: The frequently mentioned Şadilli and İzol tribes in the field of study show their places in Dersimliler branch as Mazgirt, kığı, Rafahiye (Kemali, 2013, 219).

M. Sharif Fırat criticized Ali Kemali over tribal names and stated that the governor of Erzincan, Ali Kemali, “extended this work on the people of Dersim like a foreign weapon, qualified them as Kurds, Kızılbaş, completely erased their feelings of Turkishness, embossed their false feelings and perhaps caused this people to be dragged into the last disaster” (Fırat, 1998, 52). Again Fırat, in his book eastern provinces and the history of Varto writes the sentence "There can be no Kurdish coming from Khorasan" by saying that it is wrong and unfounded that many tribes in Dersim are qualified as Kurds, Umayyads, Sayyids and Arabs. According to the claim of the Fırat, Ottoman Sultan Yavuz Sultan Selim had massacred the Kızılbaşı living in Yozgat, Sivas and Tokat regions while moving east. The inhabitants of Sivas, Kayseri, Erzurum and Erzincan had fled to Sivas mountains, Maraş and Dersim. Çarıklı, Lolanlı, Şahdeli (perhaps the tribal Shahveli or Şadillı tribes), located around Tercan and Erzincan in this period. Aslanuşağı and Balaban tribes are alleged to have fled to Dersim (Fırat, 1998, 52).

Özgül, who gives information about the historical background of this tribe, states in the historical sources found in Dersim and its environs that many tribes such as Şadillı and İzollu in the 16th century are still living in Iran, Azerbaijan and Khorasan today and says:

In the sources related with Dersim and its surrounding sources in the 16th century, we do not find Tsarıklı, Lolanlı, Şahdeli tribes and Balabans. Although it is possible to detect the name of Yavuz Sultan Selim as an event originating from a fugitive as it mentions in the period and immediately afterwards, it is impossible to recognize that the information transmitted is not true. In short, these regions may be settled in the later period than is said. In the sources of the 16th century which we have reached so far, we did not find a significant majority of the tribes living within the boundaries of today's Erzincan-Dersim. In the sources we have reached, Pilvenk, Milli; Şakak, Kavri, Disimli, Şeyh Hosen tribes lives in the Çemişgezek (Dersim) brigade, as well as Okçulu (Okçular, Okçuyan), Şadila (Şadillı) tribes lives in the Kığı brigade, it appears in the early 16th century (Özgül, 2005, 64-65-66).

Again in some sources related to its historical origin (Özcan, 2011, 131; Cengiz 2008) the Shadis are defined as follows: “Muhammad Bin Sheddadi (founder of the state of Sheddadi, founded in 951) and Saladin Eyyubi's grandfather is based in Shadi Bin Marwan. It is known that these names came from Kirmanshah in the Iraq-Iran border region of Divin (the city where Saladin's family roots are located in the territory of today's Armenia, where the sheddadis were founded). The Sheddadids fought against Byzantium together with the Seljuks. The Seljuks took the city of” Ani ” from Byzantium and gifted it to the Sheddadis. The Pakradunis, the original natives of the city, were an Armenian (The Roots of which are Jewish according to some historians) dynasty that the Ravadis (the ancestors of the Sheddadis) took in girls. Destroyed by Alp Arslan 124 years after its establishment, the Sheddadids continued their emirate in Ani until 1199. The ancestors of this tribe have been involved with Armenians, Arabs, Turkmen and other races throughout history. The Arab Explorer “Holy” wrote in 982 that Christians were in Duvin, but that the city was in the hands of the Sheddadi Kurds. Although there are claims that the tribal name came from the river şad (Tigris), it is not clear whether the Shadis named the river or the river named the Shadis. Because it is a tribe mentioned in 16th century in Kiğı and Çemişgezek. Anatolian Alevi quarries from Khorasan (Iraq Khorasan) arrival routes are certain to be between the Durmeli Çukur-Aras. This means that before Malazgirt, the Şadills came to Anatolia. W. Ivanow, in his notes on Khorasan Ethnology says that: “Towards the end of the Safavid period, Doli Khan, who was the Kurd of Shadili (Shadlu), founded “Bezneverd”, now an important city of Khorasan.”

A branch of Shadilli is also called Kımsor³⁷. In 1780 in a petition submitted to the government from the region of Dersim there is also Shadilli among the tribes who requested exile. Among

³⁷“Kim” means the hat in Kurdish and “Sor” means red. In this sense, it means Red-headed and the one who wears red hat and they live in Bingol-Erzincan.

the tribal leaders who were captured and killed in Çemişgezek in 1787 there is Şat³⁸ son of Ali.

In short, Shadilli are also regarded as one of the few Kurdish tribes that played important roles in the establishment of the first Kurdish dynasties. In the section on "Eyyubogulları" in Şerefname, it is presented as Revadiler and Seddadiler and the association of Şeref Khan with Eyyübis, which his ancestors say "Sadi bin Marwan", as proof of this.

This tribe called Izo in Adıyaman, Izollar in Bingöl, Izol in Diyarbakır, Hizoli in Izolan, Hizoli or Izoli in Tunceli is another tribe that continues its influence in the region. In the History of Tribes book, with the title "Tribes in the Elâzığ region", the tribe named İzöğlü is mentioned as follows:

Name of tribe (or lineage): İzöğlü

Population: 2270

Language: Kurdish (Kurmanci)

Sect: Hanafi

The name and surname of the chief or leader, and his nickname, if any, usually resides in: 1- Mehmet Yıldırım, Bardaklı village; 2- İbrahim Gedik, Kaksutalı village; 3-Keko Yıldırım, Alayağmur village; 4- Hüseyin Aytaç, Yoğunağaç Village

Place of residence or accommodation: Karakoçan District: Üçbudak, Yoğunağaç, Bardaklı, Karasakal, Ormancık, Alayağmur, İsabey, Maksutalı, Kırıl and Akbulak villages (Tribal Report, 2014,102).

It is possible to see contradictions and dissonances in the information about the origin of the isolated tribe. Although there are not a lot of details about the origin, it is also discussed in different sources in the form of different soy citations. M. Şerif Fırat mentions in his work "Eastern provinces and the history of Varto " as the indigenous peoples of Varto Cibran, Lolan, Abdalan and Circassians, as well as the Turkish carvings of the Hormek Tribe mentioned in the Register of the Sharik lineage Izollu tribal. It was noted that the seals of Seljuk Sultan Alaaddin Keykubat and Ottoman sultans Orhan Gazi and Murat Han were

³⁸ "Şat" means lame in Kurdish.

found on the genealogy of the Sarik village of Varto. According to genealogy, 12 Turkish tribes, including the Izollu tribe, came to Erzincan from Khorasan, Bağın and Hüsnü Mansur towns during the Seljuk period. In this genealogy, the Izollu tribe is mentioned as follows: “Abdullah min tribe Izol, elmusamma üçayak bilakabı Two Divisions". In other words, the place they came from is called “Abdullah of the isol tribe, whose nickname is named in the Üçayakta, is two divisions” (Fırat, 1998). In Erzincan history, penned by Ali Kemali, it is stated that a Kurd or Sayyidin named Kalmamsır came from Khorasan and lived in the Kalmamsır village of Dersim and gave his daughter to a man named Sheikh Hasan who was his servant with him, and that one of about fifty tribes derived from this girl with Sheikh Hasan was also an isolated tribal (Kemali, 2013). The Izollu tribe, named Hazollu in Erzincan history, has been described by Ali-Kemali as a Kurdish tribe sitting in the vicinity of Mazgirt. However, in reference to this work, Fırat asserts that the isolated tribe came directly from Khorasan and took refuge in the mountains of Dersim, in this case it was proved by Alaaddin Keykubat to a man called Dervish Beyazi, which appeared in Sharia with the secere. Because according to him, it is not conceivable that as many as fifty tribes, including the isolated tribe, came from Khorasan and descended from the people of a house that took refuge in the Dersim mountains. In other words, according to Fırat, these tribes did not appear in the Dersim mountains and came from Khorasan as a tribe (Çetintaş, 2002, 55).

Another source related to the origin of the tribe Edip Yavuz, Izollu tribal'nin before Hijri 1186 with the National carving of Urfa, then a branch of them came to Elâzığ and Baskil's Izol village after giving the name of the central and Keysun districts of Malatya Besni stated. Today, Besni is not within the borders of Malatya province and is connected to Adıyaman. Edip Yavuz stated in Erzincan history that a part of the same tribe called Hazollu was settled between Diyarbakır-Siverek and Elazığ–Malatya. With respect to the origin of the isollu Tribe Orhan Türkdoğan, the origin of the tribe, M. Sharif attributes the Euphrates to the Hormek

tribe, which he States is from Khorasan and is from the Harzem Turks. In the archives of the General Directorate of land registry and Cadastre, recorded in number 142, in the book of tahrir written in 1560 in miladi, is mentioned the village of Izollu connected to Baskil. Baskil, which was a nahiye connected to Malatya, is today connected to Elazığ. It is understood from this source that there were 355 men and 213 households in the village of Izollu with information about the tax populations. The framework of the settlement policy carried out by the Ottoman Empire for the Konar-migrant elements in the 18th century, we can see that the isolated tribe was also trying to settle in a certain place. In the records containing this information, Izollu Tribal is mentioned as a serene Izollu Tribe in the Çobaş nahiya of Malatya, spreading in Erzurum and wintering in Diyarbakır. Again from these records, we learn that the isolated tribe was ordered to be resettled in Raqqa in 1719 because they cut off the roads of the reaya and extorted their animals and property, and even slaughtered some people. Raqqa at that time was one of the places where tribes engaged in this type of behavior were exiled. The isolated tribe has 1000 tents in 1766 (Çetintaş, 2002, 54).

According to the record, written by Seyit Derviş Tur and written by Erkanname in the chapter on the spread of Alevism, Shah Mansur of Khorasan Eren and Sayyid Mahmud Adani came to the town of Bagin in Erzincan towards the end of the eleventh century, and the date of miladi was attested by the Seljuk ruler Alaettin Keykubat in 1232 and sealed with the seal of the Sultanate, Alan, Balaban, Mili, Izol, Hiran, Karsan, Lolan, Quraishan, Abasan, Hormek, it includes the shadil tribes. These tribes together with Seyid Shah Mansur and Sayyid Mahmud Adani came to the towns of Erzincan Bagin and Hüsnü Mansur from Khorasan during the Seljuk period. At the beginning of the tribes, the Alawite Caliphs of these saints Khorasan Sayyid Mahmudi Adani and Shah Mansur, Hüsnü Mansur established the town of Tekke. In 1232, Sultan Alaattini Keykubat came to the town of Bağın, and Shah Mansur and Mahmud Adani gathered his son Quraysh and Dervish White and asked for miracle from these Sayyids.

Of these, Shah Mansur carried out his wall, and Quraysh and Dervish White entered the burning furnace. When Sultan Alaattin saw these miracles, he approved their choice. He gave the guru and sage of this tribe to Shah Mansur and Haji Quraysh. He left his guidance to Dervish White. According to other records, Dervish White was the vizier or commander of Alaattin Keykubat (Tur, 2002, 254).

Apart from the Şadilli and İzol tribes, it is necessary to mention some tribes to which the quarries in the study area are connected. Again, Demenans are another tribe that is not common in the region. Gülmez said about this topic:

After their son crosses the western bank of the Pülümür River, they build the first house in the village of Ağdad. Demenans have very rapid population growth compared to other branches. Mist and Kerz recitations-spread to Pertek, Çarsancak and Oxiye (Karakocan) region. Demenans, the majority of whom have left the Alevism and are Sunnized, live in the Karakoçan region (Gülmez, 2014, 790).

The other tribes seen in the area are the Pilvenk, which is shown as the tribal to which the Şix Delil Berhican quarry is attached, and the Delikan Tribe, which is connected to the village of Delikan (Üçbudak), where the Pir Cemal Abdal Quarry is located. However, the inhabitants of the village of Delikan (Üçbudak) identified themselves not as tribal members, but as depending on the Pir Cemal Abdal and Şix Delil Berxecan quarry.

5.4. Quarries and shrines: Ey Ewliya yé Feqiran (ey the Saint of the Poor)

5. 4.1. Quarries in the field of study

The fact that four of the villages in the study area are of Alevi population density necessitates understanding of Alevism related concepts, features and structures. Therefore, the quarries that have an important effect on the shaping of Alevism should be considered and evaluated in this context.

In the historical process, the quarry system has a great effect on the protection of Alevis' own systematic structure. Because the quarries are generally referred to as the main institution that ensures the continuity of the Alevi belief system. In this context, a healthy understanding of the social order of the Anatolian Alevism in the rural and urban settlements of Alevi density is equivalent to the understanding of the race-based quarry institution. Again, in terms of understanding the social and religious environment in Turkey we must address the quarries.

When we look at the etymological origin of the concept of quarry, it includes references to the concepts of "genealogy", "Handan" and "silile" as well as the meaning of "the place where fire is burned". Similarly, in Turkmen Turkish (Oşak): "family, nest, hearth, place where something is found, nest; in New Uighur Turkish (yuçağ): "boy, generation, family"; in Gagauz Turkish (Ocak): "family, hearth, the fathers' quarry " meaning.

Ali Yaman, who is known for his works on this subject, defines the concept of quarry in Alevism; grandfather, sayyid, pir, murshid, mentors such as the names of the families, is a concept used to characterize their descendants (Yaman, 2006).

In other words, quarry in Alevism refers to the lineage that grandfather³⁹ belongs to. When a grandfather dies, his son replaces him. This phenomenon is called as quarry in Alevis. It is

³⁹ Alevis also use the words "Pir", "Serçem" and "Sayyid" instead of the title "dede". But nowadays the most common words are "Grandfather" and "Pir."

believed that each grandfather had a quarry and that the quarries were based on sacred foundations. Each of the families that make up their own lineage hearths to Hz. Prophet. The quarries were institutionalized by grandfathers over time (Küçük, 2017, 36).

Ersal, Alevism research should be more centered on the hearth stating that the hearth; the lineage of a charismatic belief leader based on Ehlibeyt through the twelve imams established on behalf of him, according to a suitor and hierarchy of the hearth community, and uses a definition such as:

Silsile is a structure called pir, mürşid, dede to the descendants and representatives of the leader of the charismatic faith. The structure of the belief system, which has a hierarchy in itself and in other quarries, defined by the names of guide, Pir and mürşid in some regions, followed by a period or erkan system, is called "quarry" or "Dede quarry" (Ersal, 2016, 41).

There are also different opinions about how the concept of Quarry and grandfather emerged. These are;

- 1- Since the foundation of the quarries and grandfather was based on the Ehlibeyt range, the foundation of the quarries was laid in this period.
- 2- It is stated that the quarries were born from the religious and political authority which Turkmen fathers had been subjected to.
- 3- The quarries appeared during the time of Hacı Bektaş Veli⁴⁰
- 4- It was founded by Ardabil Dervish Lodge during the time of Shah Ismail Hatayi. (Ersal, 2016, 43).

The main point of these four views on the formation of the quarry concept are those that are active in the origin of the belief system (Ersal, 2016, 43). Despite the differences of these thoughts expressed, Shah Ismail himself can be mentioned as the person who gave the

⁴⁰ Another topic of discussion is again about the ethnic identity of the quarries, as in the tribes. For example, Arslanoğlu states: The founders of the quarries are usually Khorasan Erens who migrated to Anatolia together with Hacı Bektaş Veli. After arriving in Anatolia, Hacı Bektaş Veli organized them and sent them to various regions of Anatolia, giving them the task of Turkification and Islamization of these regions.

quarries a formal identity. It is stated that Shah Ismail, who organized Alevism on the basis of quarries, benefited from the Kalenderi sheikhs on the one hand and the Vefai caliphs in Eastern and Southeastern Anatolia (Ocak, 2014, 67). Therefore, it can be said that the Turkmen fathers, who were given Sayyid and grandfathered identity by the Safavid ruler Shah Ismail, were instrumental in the formation of an institution that they attributed their ancestry and devotion to (Yaman, 2006, 67). However, since these quarries formed long before the Safavid ruler Shah Ismail and organized hierarchically, they had the chance to organize together with Shah Ismail in an ideological dimension for the first time, the misconception that they were formed and organized after Shah Ismail for the first time in history is revealed (Akin, 2017, 256).

Especially during and after the struggle with Safavids, the Alevis, who were excluded by the Ottoman state and who grew an introverted social organization as a result of this snoring, maintained their existence by forming their own organizations through the hearths during this period. The Ocakzades, who took on another important role here, took part in the transfer of traditional Alevi culture from one generation to another and guided the Alevi society. As a result of the Alevis ' relations with other cultures in the historical process, the quarry system has a great contribution in not dissolving and disappearing. In this way, the concept of quarry, which qualifies its membership as a structural feature of each family that claims sayyidlik, dedelik and dervişlik, has also been formed. Quarries, which was formed by the institutional establishment of the quarries by the grandfathers in time, has also established the tradition of the execution of the duty of grandfathers by these quarries. Yaman States this:

Indeed, the quarries have been the only illuminating power for the Alawite community. The Ocakzade grandfathers performed these lighting functions by traveling around different parts of Anatolia, village by village, until the phenomenon of urbanization was introduced with their religious, educational and legal functions. The quarries, like a network, have been organized to see the religious services of the Alevis in Anatolia and even in the regions outside of Anatolia today, and have seen important functions (Yaman, 2006,68).

This is also evident in Alevi populated villages in the study area. In these villages, grandfathers are still the leaders of the community. Grandfathers are at the top of a kind of social hierarchy. For centuries, the powers and sanctions of the grandfathers have been a very effective force in maintaining the social order of the community. In this way, Alevi communities living in different regions lived under the strict control of the same power, the grandfathers.

In short, each grandfather's family is included in a quarry. The values he represents are attributed to great sacredness and spiritual power. Among the Alevis, there is great respect for the quarries. Many extraordinary miracles related to the quarry event (menkıbe) is transferred from generation to generation (Yaman, 2006, 55).

Organized in the form of a network in Anatolia and the Balkans as religious institutions and have survived to some extent, the basis of the quarries is religion, but they have formed a wide range of functions for social life. In addition to religious status, it has important functions in institutional areas such as morality, law, politics and economics (Tatar and Tatar 2014, 61).

The common Alevi quarries in Anatolia are: Derviş Cemal (Seyyid Cemal Sultan), Hıdır Abdal, Kızıldeli (Seyyid Ali Sultan), Hacım Sultan, Garip Musa, Battal Gazi, Otman Baba, Şücâüddin Baba, Şadıllı, Sarı Saltuk, Akyazılı Sultan, Demir Baba, Sarı İsmail, Abu'l Vefa, Abdal Musa, Karadonlu Can Baba, Hubyar Sultan, Kara Pirbad, Dede Garkin, Boz Geyikli Kureyşanlı, Guardian in the Castle, Kaygusuz Sultan, Augiçen, Üryan Hızır, Pir Sultan, Kul Himmet, Koca Haydar, Father Mansur. When we look at the Pir Quarries connected to the Mürşit Quarries, we see that they are grouped as follows (Table 4).

Table 4: Pir Quarries connected to Mürşit Quarries

HACI BEKTAŞ Sultan Samit Güvenç Abdal Koçu Baba Hüseyin Gazi Seyit Cemal Şeyh Çakır Sarı İsmail Kızıldeli Şücaeddin Veli Ali Koç Baba Seyit Selahaddin Koca Mekan Kara Yağmurlu Sultan Söylemez Mehmet Dede Seyyid Kalender Cibali Sultan Hacı Ali Turabi Hacı Murad Veli Mehmed Abdal	AVUÇAN Kara Pirbad Koca Leşker Sarı Sultan Kalender Üryan Hızır Hubyar Sinemil Cemal Abdal Şeyh Çoban Şeyh Şazeli Yalincak Seyit Sabun Şih Delil Berhican Şah Ali Abbas İmam Rıza Seyit Ali Hüseyin Abdal	DEDE GARKIN Ali Seydi Şeyh İbrahim Pir Sultan Ali Baba Çalabverdi Kul Himmet Arzuman GÖZÜ KIZIL Kazımoğulları Beyaz-ı Bostan Köse Süleyman	BABA MANSUR Hacı Kureyş Derviş Gevr ŞİH AHMET Derviş Cemal HAYDARI-KLEZİ BELİRSİZ* Keçeci Baba Garip Musa Yanyatır Hacı Emirli Hıdır Abdal Koca Haydar Zelil Kalender <small>* Konumu belirlenemeyen dede ocakları</small>
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Reference: <https://kizilbasAlevilik.wordpress.com/2014/12/29/Alevilikte-ocak-sistemi/>

Especially in rural areas, the quarries have lost their function in parallel with the modernization and urbanization process. Although the effects of the quarries are diminished, it can be said that they still play an important role in the region. There are two main quarries that remain active in the study area and are under the influence of many villages. These are Pir Cemal Abdal Quarry and Sheikh Delil Berhican. Pir Cemal Abdal⁴¹ and Sheikh Delil Berhican are seen in Avuçan region.

⁴¹ The title “Abdal/Avdel”, commonly used today as the nickname of Gamal Abdal, is probably inspired by the titles of “Abdal/Abdalan” seen in the Vilayetnameler. It should also be thought that Pir Sultan Abdal, Kaygusuz Abdal, Abdal Musa and similar personalities were also mentioned. (Abdal / Ebdal is an Arabic word. It has passed into the Kurmanci language as “Evdal/Avdil/Avdel” and into Persian as “Ebdali”, which is plural. In short, the explanation is given as ewliya / eren, sect road man, humane kâmil.

5. 4. 1. 1. Pir Cemal Abdal Quarry

Too many legends are told about Cemal Abdal. We come across information about the narrative of life, which is predominantly oral sources, based on oral sources. Yaman first states:

Cemal Abdal Quarry is located between the villages of Madran⁴² and Delikan in Elâzığ Karakoçan. There are two tombs: Great Cemal Abdal and Small Cemal Abdal tombs. Part of the Şadılı tribe are the suitors of this quarry. Cemal Abdal grandfather's followers are the grandfathers of the Ağu İçen Quarry. It's been claimed that Cemal Abdal and Seyyid Nuri Cemaleddin is the same person” (Yaman 2006, 103).

In the book "Oxcıyan", Özcan states that Gamal Abdal lived between 1160-1230, his other name was Seyit Nuri Cemalettin, but the people recognized him as more Cemal Avdel/Abdal. According to Özcan, there is no definitive information about his life in written sources. For example, there are also those who claim to have lived in the early part of the 11th century (Özcan 2011, 154). According to Aydoğmuş, Cemal Avdel lived during the Seljuk period (1160-1230). He is one of the sheikhs who was the son of Ahmet Yesevi, who came to Anatolia from Central Asia (d.1166) (Aydoğmuş, 1998, 240).

Seyit Kekıl, who is a member of Kurêşan, gives the following information about Seyit Kureş that is Cemal Avdal: Seyyit Kureş's name is Kureş and its tag is Mahmud. His birth date is Hısn-ı Mansur (Adıyaman), Hijri 535 / Gregorian 1141 (Kekıl, 2000, 11).

According to Ali Kemali, the members of the Dervish Cemalli and the members of the Dersimli branch are the followers of the Qurayshans and Baba Mansur. In Bayburt and Kelkit villages, there were some things that were scattered in which they were derived from a person in the name of Sheikh Delil Berhican (Kemali, 2013, 212).

Hacı Bektaş-i Veli's life and those around him is described, written in the name of the Vilayetname said Sayyid Cemal', today three quarries and three separate “Cemal” name of the

⁴² The village mentioned here as Madran is actually the village of Badran (Çayırgülü).

founder of the quarry is explained. The quarries claiming to come from “Sayyit Cemal” in the Vilayetname are:

- 1) Cemal Abdal Quarry: It is established in Karakoçan Delikan village and it is connected to Kurmanç / Kurdish Şadiyan and Balucan tribes.
- 2) Derwêş Cemal Quarry: He established a quarry in Derwêş Cemal village of Hozat district of Dersim. Dersim is a member of various tribes of Kurds belonging to the Shux Hesên group scattered in different regions, especially in Erzincan.
- 3) Seyid Cemal Sultan Quarry; The suitors of this quarry in Çalköy village of Altıntaş district of Kütahya belong to Karakeçili tribe and various Turkmen Alevis. In addition, quarry suitors are also in Eskişehir and its vicinity (Aksüt, 2006, 60).

Again, as a historical personality, some narratives about Cemal Avdel are very common in the study area. One of these narratives is related to the Shadiyan tribe. Cemal Avdel takes the seven sons of an old woman (in some narratives this is 5 and 6 sons) from the dungeon. Thus, the Shadiyan tribe settled in the region aspire to Sheikh Gamal. E.D. reported about this topic:

I know it like this. Of course, it doesn't have a written history, it's an oral, ear-to-ear discourse. Pir Cemal Abdal, who came from our village Khorasan, corresponds to the Seljuk period. During the reign of Alaeddin Keykubad, the Seljuk ruler, there is a castle called Bağın Castle on the edge of the Peri water. Seeing and living him is a different thing to tell. The important thing is to see it in place and do something. In this process, Pir Cemal Abdal is both the leader of the region and the leader of the road. Also in the Alawite philosophy, Seyidi Saadet-Sonlu Rasul, a descendant of the Prophet, is called pir. This Pir, while residing in the village of boy who rebelled against Alaeddin Keykubad, or how they now call themselves terrorists, or at that time, the Alaeddin Keykubad system that rebelled against the 7 brothers are removed from the execution thing. One of his relatives is so desperate. Here's how to save 7 brothers. It's from feudal origin. Pir Gamal Abdal, who lives in Delikan, says that maybe he can help you. One of the relatives of these 7 Brothers comes to the boy and talks to Pir Gamal Abdal. By mediating, he demands that those people be spared. Of course, he is a guide, a leader. He mediates the destruction of hatred. As a result, Alaeddin goes to the stronghold of Keykubad's Vineyard. On the way to the Castle of Vineyard, he takes off his own fur and lays it on top of the Peri water, shoots the rod, crosses it. Across the street, sees a shepherd grazing. He says I saw Hızır and he leaves the property case and goes after Hızır. Let's call them rangers or keepers, says to them I will meet with Alaeddin Keykubad. They're going to say someone like that has come and wants to see you. He agrees to meet. Who is he? They tell the story. So who are you, why should I release 7 rebels for your sake? He says I am a descendant of the Prophet seyidi Seyda. I want to prevent evil things, evil does not benefit anyone. He says if you have miracle I give order to burn the oven let you throw in the oven. If you burn, you're gone. If you get out alive, I'll let them go. Of course he

agrees, they're burning the oven. Anyway, there was a phrase that used to be called, do not say that we have not heard the congregation gathered in front of the public, they throw the father in the oven. It is in who's hands that not to do what the king says. Everyone will come, watch. They're gonna throw him in the oven, and it is like showing off, if these kind of things heppen, I will put anyone to the oven. He asks: Does anyone want to go into the oven with me? The shepherd who saw her crossing the river says I'm coming. They go into the oven together. The oven then opens. He goes out with the shepherd he's holding. Looks like he has ice on his beard. Anyway, he invites him to his palace. Anyway, these 7 brothers are forgiven. One of those seven brothers is Bahadır, the founder of this Badran village. One of the other brothers, Okçu Yusuf, Çakan, Hamzali, Kızlı or something like that, when these brothers were freed, each of them set up a village within the boundaries of Karakoçan. This is the founding of our village but there is no written source. Our investment in Güzelbaba now according to some of Pir Gamal Abdal'in son, according to some of Pir Gamal Abdal'in brother, but according to me, Pir Gamal Abdal son. Because Pir Jamal Abdal comes alone on his way over Khorasan. Since he's here alone, he doesn't have a brother. We have such a beautiful place thanks to him. There are 80 villages in Karakoçan, of course, everyone has their own village, but there is a promenade area in the surrounding villages, there is investment in the association, we keep it clean and protect it and try to protect it (*E.D. Male, 60, Çayırgülü Village, 22.08.2018*).

Here, the situation of the Seljuks and the situation given about Alaattin Keykubat is told through the struggle of magic, miracle and religious power of the deceased and the connection with today is established. The knowledge of these experiences is also influential in the formation of thoughts about the moral system and justice. This shows that there are many discourses based on experience and memory in the village. We can say that this plays a big role in expressing and developing their identities.

The story of foundation that coincides with the story of many tombs in the region is important in terms of understanding the history of settlement, economy and social situation of the region.

5.4.1.2. Şeyh Delil Berhican Quarry

The center of this quarry is located in the village of Dedeagaç (Pilvenk), southwest of the Kırmızıdağ near Tunceli. Şıh Delil Berhican, considered to be the ancestor of Pilvenk Tribe, a majority of whom live in Pertek District of Tunceli, was also the founder of the quarry. His

tomb is located in the village of Pilvenk (Dedeagaç) with the same name as the tribe. Today, a book believed to be written by him, a seal, a document given by the Milman Bey, a golden stone with inscriptions, and the skin of the lamb which he had perished, as mentioned below, is called “a holy visit (Aksüt 2006; Gültekin 2004; Yalçın, 2013).

It is believed that he showed a miracle of resurrecting⁴³ he cooked lamb. For example, Ali Kemali⁴⁴ writes the narrative about Sheikh Delil Berhican:

There is another local superstition. There was a person named Sheikh Delil Berhican. One day he ate a lamb with his disciples; then he brought the bones of the lamb together and prayed, the lamb was resurrected, so he was given the meaning of the sheikh that resurrected the lamb (Kemali 2013, 204).

There are similar myths about Şix Delil Berhican in interviews and some narratives in the study area (Kekil, 2000; Yaman, 2006; Yalçın, 2013). The most narrated story is as follows: The Armenian monk of the Pilvenk (Dedeagaç) village, where he has been working with him for a long time, asks Piro for a share of the village and the region where they live. At the end of the mutual reconciliations, Şix Delil accepted them his "spiritual" superiority; Piro sends a sacrificial ram to Sıx Delil. The bones of the ram cut are filled back into the hide and revived by Sıx Delil with a scepter, so Şix Delil is called "Ber Berxecan" in the sense of an "sheep reviving.”

As can be seen, there are different approaches in narratives and oral sources. One of the examples related to this issue is to establish the link between Sheikh Delil Berhican and Pir

⁴³ Although the motif of resurrecting an animal from its bones is generally thought to have originated from Shamanism and the Turkic-Mongolian folk beliefs of Central Asia, it is believed that the resurgence will also be due to the bones. As can be seen in the Central Asian Shamanic beliefs, the bones of the sacrificed animals are not broken and given to the dogs, they are either burned to the fire or buried on the ground. In some ritual practices, the bones of the sacrifice are collected and placed in a bowl and hung on the beech tree. In addition, the flesh and bones of the horse that was slaughtered as a victim are separated from each other and cooked, and the bones are placed under the skin called “baydara”.

⁴⁴ Yalçın, in his study, ranked the name of Dersim Sayyids Kemali, 12. "Shaykh Deli Berhican: Hacı Bektaş Veli Caliphs" refers to the fact that this information is false. In fact, this misinformation has always been used as a standard source by other later authors.

⁴⁵ A similar approach is said for Pir Cemal Abdal and Güzel Baba whose tomb is located.

Cemal Abdal, who are accepted as quarries. Some approaches are: Cemal Avdel and Şıx Delil Berhican are the children of an uncle. Cemal Avdel was a son of Berhican. Cemal Avdel is the brother of Berhican⁴⁵. Cemal Avdel and Berhican studied together at the school of Abu'l Vefa-i Kurdi in Baghdad and came to the region together. During his visit to the village of Delikan, Berhican showed Cemal Avdel as a caliph of the suitors here voluntarily (Yalgın, 2013, 185). In this context, Yalgın establishes the relationship between Sheikh Delil Berhican and Pir Cemal Abdal through the family tree of Sheikh Cemal as follows.

Sheikh Mahmud (1600s, is pyrid of Cemal Avdel Quarry.)

Ebul Kasım (Father of Pir Mahmud)

Sheikh Imre (Pir Mahmud's grandfather)

Sheikh Yadigâr

Muhammed

Ali Erbaa

Sheikh İmre

Sheikh İbrahim

Sheikh İsmail

Sheikh Cebrail

Erbaa

Sheikh Yadigâr

Sheikh Seyyid

Şeyh bin Şeyh Cemal (the owner of the Cemal Evdal quarry in the village of Delikan)

Şeyh Delu Belican (estimated birth 970, date of genealogy written on 400/1009/10'e.y)

Bin Şeyh Abdullah (Father of Belincan)

Bin Şeyh Belu (Grandfather of Belincan)

Muhammed (Grandfather of Belincan's father's)

Bin Şeyh Musaffir (Grandfather of his grandfather) (Yalgın, 2013, 185).

According to this calculation, Sheikh Cemal (Avdel) was the son of Şix Dilo Belincan of the 15th generation. Since it fits 4 generations on average in every hundred years, it can be seen that Cemal Evdal lived in 1000s. It is in the same era with Berxécan.

5. 4.2. Tombs and Visits At the Worksite

The word visitation, which in its most general sense means going to see a place or a person, also includes the behavior of going to sacred places in Anatolia. The saying visit includes going to tomb, mausoleum, tekke, grave of ancestor, and often referred to by various names such as visiting the parent, evliya, ancestor, father⁴⁶, saint, holy person, abit, zahit, alim, sofu etc with certain wishes to places that are known by such names, believed in spiritual powers and virtues, and the beliefs and practices that have been formed in this area. The places of visit, on the other hand, are not just the tombs, shrines or authorities dedicated to the people who are believed to have a certain spiritual power, power or abundance, and who are ascribed certain legends, stories, keramets and ranks. Because visiting a number of known sacred stones, trees, resources, lakes, rocks, mountains, etc. also are included in the category. Visiting places such as stone, tree and spring water can often be considered as a relic and continuation of beliefs such as a legend, a marriage, being very close to the deposit, as well as recognizing the tree, the source, the stone with all kinds of reasons and conditions seen in many countries throughout history (İnce, 2009,25).

The mausoleum is called the structure built on the tomb of famous people such as the elders of the state and religion. In the past, state elders built shrines for themselves and their families

⁴⁶ The most common concept that exists in the sacred places in the field of study is the concept of “Father”. According to Aday, the title of father is used not only among the Turks, but also in Persian, Berber, Russian and Romanian languages as an ancestral meaning, and this word is also used in the Seljuks and Ottomans as an administrative and Sufi term (Aday, 2013, 123).

before they died, and they were buried there when they died. This has also brought architectural importance to the shrines. The mausoleum is a structure usually built on the graves of the great people, the married people and the martyrs. Over time, the graves of these people became a place of great interest and trustworthiness of the people and became a place of visit (Ak, 2012, 15). Although similar in architectural terms, the shrines of interest are not the ones for the state elders, these are the structures on the graves of the people referred to by names such as evliya, ermiş, veli, Sheikh, pir, baba. The places referred to as the shrine are the places that have the feature of “visit”. The term mausoleum is met with the Arabic word kubba (Dome), since most shrines in various Islamic countries are covered with domes. This concept also includes flashy shrines besides simple tombs belonging to evliya and sheikhs. In Azerbaijan and Iran, the term kubba is referred to as “kunbad”, while the term “turba” is referred to as “turbad”. In Anatolia, however, the word turba, which has been replaced by a dome in Arabic writing language, finds use as a shrine with the change of thick vowels to thin vowels (Aday, 2013). The mousaleum is generally referred to guardians by the society and built on the graves of famous people such as scholars, clergymen and the ones with miracles. What should be mentioned here is the difference between the entombed saints and shrines. The point that separates the entombed saints from the tomb is that their names are not known and there is no structure on them. So we can refer to the three places as shrines in the study site. Apart from this, the holy places are commonly referred to as visitation by the society (Table 5). In the field of study, the word “visit” is often used instead of the tomb or shrines. There is hardly any use of the word entombed saint.

Table 5: Characteristics of the Sacred Places in the Field of Study

The ones has tomb and vaults	The ones with no grave or similar constructions	The ones with fountain-Spring water, the ones close to the fountain-Spring water-Trees
Sefkar Baba	Çori Bori	Şeyh Delil Berxecan
Güzel Baba	Uştep	Beyaz Çeşme
Pir Cemal Abdal		Golan

Emrah Tüncer,2019

5. 4. 2. 1 Sefkâr Baba Tomb

The first tomb to be seen on the way to the village of Yoğunağaç (Golan) from Karakoçan District is the Sevkar Baba tomb. When you pass the village of Tekardıç (Dılımlı) and reach the village of Demirdelen (Kafan), you can go to the tomb on the hill. This tomb is located on a slightly high hill covered with trees in Demirdelen (Kafan) Village. The tomb, which was built in a circular manner, was completely covered with a dome. The top of the dome is covered with sheet metal. The perimeter of the grave was later surrounded by marble up to an average height of one meter (Visual 18).



Visual 18. Tomb of the Sefkar Baba (Emrah Tüncer, 15 July 2018)

The Sefkar Baba Tomb was restored by Seyyid Molla, one of his generation, and opened it to visitors by rearranging it in the form of a dome. As it is written on the tomb and according to the people of the region, the name of this person, known as Sefkar Baba, is Seyyid İbrahim. (Visual 19).



Visual 19. Descriptive sign on Sefkar Baba Tomb (Emrah Tüncer, 15 July 2018)

According to historical information, during the reign of Harun Reşid, one of the Abbasid caliphs, he migrated from Sefkar village in the northern part of Iraq for the purpose of Irshad and settled in Kartalkaya village with the present name of Sheikh Katul (Sheikh Kattal), which is connected to the mine in the Diyarbakır District of Anatolia. He then resided in Çaybağı for a while. He resided in Demirdelen (Kafan) village of Karakoçan between 1250-1350, where he died. According to another rumor, Sayyid Ibrahim lived in the 1250s. He lived in the nahiya of Karachor (Çakçur), formerly connected to Kovancılar. He then left and resided in Hamzali village of Karakoçan. Sefkar Baba is 4 km away from Karakoçan, he was killed fighting in the vicinity of the village of Kafan. Sefkar Baba was buried in this place where he was martyred (Kıyak, 2010, 199).

In this tomb where the shoes are removed while entering, there is an old stone which was written in Arabic, and there were cushions for the people to rest and there are many rosaries (Visual 20).



Visual 20. View of Sefkar Baba Tomb from inside (Emrah Tüncer, 15 July 2018)

Today, this tomb is extensively visited by local people. There is no specific day for the visit and the tomb is visited every day. The people who come to visit read the Qur'an and pray to this person and they ask for forgiveness and healing from Allah. They come to visit for all kinds of illness and hope for healing from Allah. In addition, visitors whose wishes came true, sacrifice an animal and give alms.

5. 4. 2. 2. Güzel Baba Tomb

Güzel Baba Tomb is located in the promenade area close to Çayırgülü Village and this promenade area is operated by another villager (from Çayırgülü Village) every five years.

Beside the sanctuary of Güzel Baba tomb and promenade area, it is located on the hot spring road, it has a green grove and spring water at the same time.

Previously, the surrounding area was surrounded by railings and protected by a green cover (Visual 21), on August 23, 2018 it has been renewed by one of the businessman of the village N.G. to have a different appearance (Visual 22).



Visual 21. Tomb of Guzelbaba (Emrah Tüncer, 10 July 2015)



Visual 22. Image of the Guzelbaba Tomb (Emrah Tüncer, 23 August 2018)

There is no written information about the life of the Güzel Baba, according to the rumor, is said to be the brother of Pir Cemal Abdal. It is also said by the local people that he was the son of Pir Cemal Abdal. Because of his love and respect among the people, the grave site and the forest around the grave were preserved after his death. Today this visit area is used both as a visit place and a promenade place with the arrangements made.

Along with the visit of Alevi citizens intensively, Sunni citizens also visit this place. There is no specific day for visiting, and it is said by the public that it is visited every day of the week. Next to Güzel Baba's place there are two candlestones facing each other. Some of the visitors come here to light candles. They wish and tie cloths to the wooden fences surrounding the visit and the trees around. Also, the trees around the visit are not cut because they are considered as sacred. Drying branches of these trees are used by the visitors for cooking and preparing the sacrificial meat. The tomb is visited for all kinds of illnesses, wishes and vows.

The inhabitants of the village we talked, believed that Güzel Baba was believed to be "a tall grandfather with a long white dress and a long beard."

5. 4. 2. 3 Pir Cemal Abdal Tomb

The exit of Üçbudak (Delikan) village there is Pir Cemal Abdal Tomb, which also gives its name to the quarry. The tomb is surrounded by iron fences. A large area around the tomb was surrounded by trees and afforested. There is also drinking water in the garden of this tomb and it is also used as a promenade place (Visual 23).



Visual 23. Image of Pir Cemal Abdal Tomb (Emrah Tüncer, 8 August 2015)

It is estimated that Pir Cemal Abdal lived between the years 1160 and 1230. He is one of the Yesevi dervishes who came to Anatolia from Central Asia. According to a rumor he started from Belh region and came to Erzincan with Mevlâna Celalettin Rumi's father-Bahaüddin Veled. Later, it is explained that it has miracle in the establishment of some villages within the study area. According to the inscription at the entrance of the visit, Pir Cemal Abdal, who

is a postniche from the great ulama, is the piri of the Şadili tribe and a large amount of the people and is still a respectable visit in the region (Visual 24).



Visual 24. Signboard introducing Pir Cemal Abdal Tomb (Emrah Tüncer, 8 August 2015)

There is no special day for Pir Cemal Abdal visit and can be visited every day of the week. It can be seen that candles are lit at the edge of the mausoleum and cloths are attached to the surrounding trees. In addition, there are stoves for the visitors to cook their sacrificial meals. The trees around the tomb are not cut and taken to the houses. Since these trees are considered sacred, there is a belief that a person will suffer a plague if he cut and take these trees. Drying branches are used by the visitors to cook sacrificial meat and other dishes. As well as just visiting the tomb, it is also visited to pray for healing to the certain wishes and diseases.

There is a visit and a Cem house where worship and condolences are performed on the ruins of a house which is believed as Pir Cemal Abdal has lived in the village of Üçbudak (Delikan) (Visual 25).



Visual 25. Pir Cemal Abdal Condolence House (Emrah Tüncer, 6 August 2017)

This visit is located on the first entrance, slightly to the left and the plan symmetry is exactly as follows: The outer gate is adjacent to the right wall and faces west. The stone walls of the inner structure, which is 10 meters high and 9 meters wide, are exactly 80 cm. wide. While entering through the door, on the north side of the right wall, there is a small window, about 70 cm. There is another window of the same size in the eastern part. When you enter the door, there is a fire (Rojin) on the left wall (Visual 26).



Visual 26. Ustuna (Column) Reş at Pir Cemal Abdal visit (Emrah Tüncer, 6 August 2017)

The ceiling squeaks inside this place are very old and still maintain their vitality. Inside the place there are pillars thrown under the ceiling drizzle (sutün) Reş/Hustina Reş/Kara. The same tradition was carried to the djemevi/dervishlodge of the Laços who were from the Shadiyan tribe in the village of Kızılkale (Dirban) in Mazgirt and to the "Turabi quarry/visit" in Muxundi (Köksal, 2001,18). Thus, Hustina Reş, blessed among the suitors of Shadiyan, walks to her main bed like a holy water, on this long thin road leading to Berxécan, before Gamal Avdel." Together with the Blessed Hustina Reş, Cemal Abdal dervish lodge also has a sacred" rod "which they call" tarix/darik", which is used in religious rituals, and which they call" visitation/bumbarek", by another definition. They swear upon this holy rod, saying “daré heq/daré heqi, daré Xiziri, Cuyé heq, Cuyé Xiziri” in the belief of Ré Heq. Tarix / darik was also consecrated in the Berxécan quarry (Yalçın and Özcan, 2013).

5. 4. 2. 4 Çori Bori Visit

Before entering the village of Yoğunağac (Golan), there is a visit house called "Chori Bori". At home there is the fez of the person who has a miracle called (Arab Aga). Çorîborî means, "in Kurdish," eat poison. Çori Bori, which is the most visited place in the region and continues its divinity from generation to generation, is the most recognized and visited place in the region (Visual 27). This visit is located on the right-hand side of the entrance to the village of Yoğunağac (Golan). This visit is not a mausoleum or the place where a holy man is buried, it is a house where the family who descended from the Arap ancestors lived their social and economic life and the sacred (fez) which was transferred from Arap Agha.



Visual 27. Çori Bori visit house and visitors (Emrah Tüncer, 12 July 2018)

This (holy) fez is applied three times to the places above the waist, to the face, arms and chest of the guests especially every Thursday evening and again fez is placed in the small crate

where it is kept (Visual 28). It is also done through a visit to Chori Bori when people in the area swear on any matter.



Visual 28. Visitors visiting Çori Bori to find healing (Emrah Tüncer, 12 July 2018)

If they have sacrificed animals, those victims are cut there that day. In addition to sacrificing a sheep and goat, those who cannot afford these animals can sacrifice poultry in this context. Cutting is usually performed by the tomb owner M.G. (Visual 29).



Visual 29. Sacrifice at Cori Bori Visiting House (Emrah Tüncer, 12 July 2018)

Sacrificed meat is served to everyone who comes there. In general, men and women eat meal made with sacrificial meat in separate places (Visual 30). If the sacrificed meat is too much and left, it is also given to each guest to take their home.



Visual 30. Serving sacrificial meat and other dishes cooked at the Çori Bori visit house (Çiğdem Tüncer, 12 Temmuz 2018)

The narratives of the family's history and our discussions on the sanctity of the Arab Agha are common and their historical background is generally as follows: the first owner of the "Çoribori" is the Arab Agha. The reason Arab Agha is called "Arab" is because she is a brunette. The title of Agha is not because it is a real Agha, but because it is dynastic (hospitable). Today the title of the family named as "Agay Awis". Arap Agha comes from the village of Paş1 to Golan and settles down. The Golan Agha takes the Arab Agha because he loves him so much and brings her with him. Over time, the Arab Agha becomes an important influence in the environment. Where he comes from, when there is no one of his own tribe, his own tribe is forgotten. Since the villages around the Golan where he settled are from the "Hizol" tribe, he considers himself Hizol, subjecting himself to Hizol tribe. Those who bend their mouth, who have a trapezoid, who have a stroke, who are under the control of the jinn, who fall into the land, who have sara, who stutter come here every Thursday to the evening of

Friday in order to heal. They stay here that night and attend the Cem ceremony, returning to their home on Friday, next morning. When visitors come, they bring rooster, sheep etc. With themselves according to their economies. Anyone may come here without distinction of denomination and ethnicity. In the evening, the sacrificial animals are cut off and meals are prepared. After the meals are eaten, the host ceremony starts. The host removes the Fez with the cloth he is wrapped in by reciting prayers. Without removing it from the green shroud, it puts it on the patients' mouth, face, and while putting it on, he prays. With the atmosphere of the event, the ones that cries of the weeping, screaming almost vibrates the house. The cone is put back in the holster and hung in place after the ceremony of riding the patients.”

In an interview with him, İsmail Aydın describes the sanctity of this place with its historical background as follows:

Our grandfather is called "Mehmet Aga-I Kal". Mehmet Aga-ı Kal is a person who wants to be constantly neglected because he is a supporter of Ehlibeyt during the Abbasid reign. Arap Agha, the son of Mehmet Agha, is a military commander in the Abbasid army with the rank of "Milazim-i Sani. The chance to come and establish a place in the Golan would be given to the Children of Osman, the grandson of Arap Agha. One day after settling in "Pasha", Arap Agha sees a fire burning in the forest, above the village. He stands up and gets near the firebombers. He sees that those who light fire are three strangers. He sits down and talks to them. He understands from his speeches that they are "Soldiers" and they are people who have mercy. One of these three is Seyit Mahmut Kal. He places him in the "Sey Mamudan" village of Mazgirt today. The second is "Seyit Mahmut Hayrani". He goes west. I don't know who the third one is, but he goes to Malatya and settles there. Arap Agha also does horse breeding. There is a great studfarm in the region. For this reason, one name of the Arab Agha is "Arab Agha-ı Zengi-Zerin (Arab Agha with golden saddle). Here is the "Çoribori " event also occurs during this period.

(<http://www.golankoyu.com/?pnum=38&pt=CORI-BORI+%28Fes+ve+Mes+%29>).

Many people come here especially during the summer months. It has been seen that those who want to spend their summer holiday coming from abroad to their hometown come and sacrifice animals intensively (Visual 31).



Visual 31. Guests from abroad visiting Çori Bori (Emrah Tüncer, 12 July 2018)

In short, there is a subject-oriented approach to Çori Bori beyond its Alevi and Sunni identity. Without the difference of age, gender, sect, belief, people come to this house where there is an Alevi family living with animal husbandry, where daily life is maintained, and where the Fez of the Arab Agha is located, and perform common rituals. The sacrifice is cut, the food is eaten, then the enshrined fez is removed by the host and rubbed into the body of everyone who is in line. They express that it is more important to stay there on Thursday evenings, to sleep, to accept their wishes, pray and find healing.

5. 4. 2. 5. Şix Delil-i Berxécan

Kani ya Berxécan u Dar a Berxécan, Berxécan Fountain and Berxécan Tree are in Üçbudak (Delikan) village. The root of the Chewing Gum = Ash Tree, also known as Bénaw = unnamed in the Kurdish language bearing Berxécan's name, is at least 10 meters wide. Its body, which rises a little over the soil, is divided into two, and rose as a twin. Its branches are

thick and very spread and are developed both transversely and longitudinally. Some branches touch the ground and extend over the earth and rise again by bending towards the sky (Visual 32).



Visual 32. Şix Berxécan Fountain and Tree (Emrah Tüncer, 6 August 2017)

The earth's area covered by its branches draws an oval / curvature of 86 meters around its trunk. Especially in the summer months, families come here and sacrifice animals and pray for Şix Delil-i Berxecan. Those who come here first kiss the Berxecan tree, then drink the water of the fountain and pray by burning its kindling and say "Ya Delil u Berxecan ya ewliya yé Pilvankan, ewliya yé me, Ewliya yé Feqiran du me xılas ke!" (Visual 33).



Visual 33. Praying by kissing the Holy Tree in Berxécan (Emrah Tüncer, 6 August 2017)

According to the narratives, the taste of sleeping under this tree in the summer was completely different. A deep sleep and metaphoric interpretations of the dreams kept the men fit. Tree branches can not be cut or taken to houses and burned.

In the village of Üçbudak (Delikan), Sıx delil-i Berxécan⁴⁷ tree and Sıx deli-i Berxécan fountain flowing under this tree are consecrated by their followers with mythical expressions. Şıh Delil-i Berhican (Gültekin, 2006, 87), considered the ancestor of the pilvenk tribe, most of whom lived in the Pertek District of Tunceli, was also the founder of the quarry that bears his name. His tomb is located in Pilvenk (Dedeğağaç) village of the same name as his tribe. His real name is Sheikh Dilo Belincan. Ewliya/teofani, known in local literature as “Sıx deli-i Berxécan”, was formed in the name of the “Berxécan quarry” within the Pilvankan/Pilvenk

⁴⁷ In 1600s, a genealogy in the name of Sheikh Mahmud, one of the Pirs of Jamal Avdel quarry, shows that Sheikh Jamal was a descendant of Sheikh Dilo Belincan. In the traditional origins of both quarries and pirs, similar lineage is established, such as Sheikh Dilo Belincan and Sheikh Cemal Avdel's brother, son of an uncle, road/ school friend.

tribe, which spoke Kurmanci/Kırdaşı (here were). The name Berxécan is a compound name derived from two separate Kurdish words. According to the mythical narrative, a lamb that was cut and eaten in the village of Şix Pilvank come to life from its bones, which were put /wrapped in its skin.

This village and its environs, where the Cemal Avdel Tomb is located, is blessed in Berxécan and the “fountain-tree”, which exists in its name, is perceived as a place of visit. The Berxécan cult created in Delikan is still alive today.

5.4.2.6. Other holy places: Uştep, Beyaz Çeşme (White Fountain) and Golan

For Uştep, H. G. stated that Uştep was in the highland (45, *Male, Çayırgülü village, 23.03.2018*), that the villagers used to come out once a year to cut sacrifices, and distributed morsels there. In the field, it is usually said that there is a deposit of a Saint or holy person. After the end of the highland activities, it is said that no one left and gradually the place was forgotten.

The White Fountain (Qaniya Spi) is in Üçbudak (Delikan) Village. H.D. stated that there used to be a lot of water, the water was gradually decreasing, and that according to the analysis carried out in it, arsenic was not known much of its former sanctity:

Everybody used to drink this water every time they came, they would take it to their home, they would let their children to drink it. It's water is running out. Researchers from Euphrates University have said there is arsenic in this water. People are afraid to drink now. (*H.D.45, Male, Üçbudak Village, 23.03.2018*).

Perhaps the discovery of arsenic in the analysis of water of the white fountain can be conted as a factor in the disappearance of the sanctity. We see this situation in other villages which we can evaluate in the context of adaptation strategies. For example, in the Kuşaklı

(Manakırek) village opposite the Yoğunağaç village on the work site, the sanctity of a previously considered sacred rock was lost after it crumbled and dissipated due to the influence of the climate and was replaced by a house. In fact, even if this rock still has a place in the collective memory, it is possible for people to turn to other sacraments. In this regard, it can be mentioned that the interaction between culture and environment and the adaptation of relationships to the environment and a cyclical relationship (Kottak 2002).

Discourses attributed to the sanctity of Golan hot springs have rarely been found. It has been stated by some that the hot water coming out of the ground is a sanctity because it is good for health, and that the water will dry up when a bad, sinful person enters the water. Other interviewees have either forgotten or skipped Golan hot springs while counting holy places. H.E accepted the sanctity of Golan Hot Springs and considers the emergence of water from the underground as a sign of great sanctity in itself and has stated that:

Do you hear that sound? Oh dear God. He's sending us water that can be used. It's good for the disease, it's good for the body. What is sacred if this is not? (*M.E., 58, Male, Yoğunağaç Village*)

The presence of a large number of mountain goats near this hot spring on the banks of the Peri River, good for diseases, the sound of water coming out on top of the ground can be read as a factor in the formation of this sanctity.

It does not subject all these holy places to a Sunni distinction as “This is the shrine located within the Alevi village” or an Alevi as “This is the shrine of the Sunni village”. Therefore, these are areas that can be accepted as the partnership of the individual and the social. Because here different faith, sect does not come into play. There is also a commonality here over the sanctity of space.

CHAPTER 6: ELEMENTS THAT PLAY A ROLE IN SOCIAL SOLIDARITY

If life is always a struggle, a human being
He can lift his eyes up and say:
Would I want to be like this? Yes. Compassion
Purity, if still left in your heart, man
Can not compare himself in vain
With God. Is God Unknown?
Is it clear like the sky?
Don't believe the last one. It's a human measure.
Full of Knack, but in Poetic Form, Human
Settles in this earth. But it is not more pure.
The shadow of the starry night,
If I say like this,
A person called the surrogate of God.
Is there a measure on Earth? There is no. None⁴⁸
Hölderlin

6.1. Sharing the Place

6. 1. 1. Transformation of Space to “Place”

Everyone has a root. Even the tree rises from its root.

The people I interviewed in the field of study relate to the spaces they live in, ascribe meanings to them, and form their collective identity through this vital environment in which they reside. Alevi villages and Alevi villages which were later Sunnised, also form the settlement areas through Pir Cemal Abdal, Güzel Baba, Sefkar Baba, which continues to exist

⁴⁸ Heidegger, in his text entitled “... in poetic form, man holds abode...”, quotes a long quote from Hölderlin's poem, and elaborates on the term surveying, which is used in “to build, to think, to inhabit”. Adam Sharr points out that in Heidegger's quote from Hölderlin's poem, people are also chanted of the other “elements” that make up the “quartet” alongside their existence from being mortal. Earth, sky, God and man pass in Hölderlin's poem. The area between Earth and heaven “measured and separated for the settlement of man” is particularly important, he says (Lütfi Bergen n.d.)

as a common ancestral cult. This is a kind of deep emotional relationship towards the places where their identity is defined. These sacred “places⁴⁹”, which constitute the important aspect of memory, gain more meaning and importance in social events. Especially in the context of Sunni and Alevi relations, these “places” become a common sign that transcends their physical existence and meaning. In other words, in the formation of “place”, the memory of these places comes into play. Therefore, we can evaluate the relationship between “place” and “memory” over Hallbwachs⁵⁰ relationship between collective memory and space.

Therefore, it is useful to take a similar approach to the role that the field of work plays in social solidarity. Because the “place” here is an important element in terms of meaning and social relations at the point of spatial context and the common memory it creates. Through collective memory, group members have a common representation, knowledge of the past, beliefs, feelings, and morale judgments, and develop a common language. Having a common memory ensures solidarity and commitment within the group by providing a strong point of reference and building moral consensus (Bilgin, 2013, 75).

In the questions I asked about the establishment of the village in the field of study, this situation was shaped by the Holy “Place” E.D. gives the following answer to the question I asked about the establishment of his own village:

Anyway, he forgives these 7 brothers. The founder of this Badran village is Bahadir, one of the seven brothers. One of his other brothers, archer Yusuf, here is Çakan, Hamzalı, Kızıl or something like this when these brothers got free each of

⁴⁹ In the Ezidi faith "the place" is the habitat of sacred beings who descend to Earth along with humans and other creatures in anthropomorphic forms. For this reason, the Earth, just like the sky, is loaded with sanctity with the style of being. In fact, the place is also described as a dervish-Derweş Erd (Dervish place)- in the hymns of this belief.

⁵⁰ Jan Assmann, Halbwachs' main thesis, followed in all his works, states that memory depends on social conditions. According to Assmann it is the social circle in Halbwachs that is essential for the formation and preservation of an individual memory. In addition, Assmann said that the concept of “social environment” developed by Halbwachs expresses similarity to the “framework analysis” theory developed by Goffman, which is based on studying the structure or “organization” of everyday experiences determined by the social environment.

them set up a village within the boundaries of Karakoçan. This is our village's establishment thing but there is no written source. According to some our holy Güzelbaba is Pir Cemal Abdal's son, according to others he is Pir Cemal Abdal's brother, but according to me, Pir Cemal Abdal's son. Because Pir Cemal Abdal came from Horasan and comes alone. Since he came alone, he has no brother. We have such a beautiful place thanks to him (*E.D. Male, 60, Çayırgülü Village, 22.08.2018*).

In addition, some questions of the members of the group (Why are we so? Why do we live here? In our case, what's the artifact of the past? etc.) Response Group memory plays an important role in identity building. Individuals repeat some of the basic group stories in which they find meaning to their existence (Bilgin,2013,42). For example, H.E. that I interviewed first, it is based on the following example that they come to this region and release the root of the quarry to which it is attached.

Pir Cemal Abdal was an intellectual I mean he is charged with this duty. He says Wherever worm eats your donkey, it's your place. We call it Kaniya spi (white fountain). It is actually Kale spi (white old man). It's holy too. Maybe now we can't investigate history. He's lying there. She gets up in the morning. His donkey is gone. He says this is my place, then. In fact, this place is banned during the Aladdin Keykubat period. You know he's got his miracle. When he shows it, he says that this Delikan area is mine. Then he doesn't send him to the military, he doesn't get any tax and he assigns this region to him (*H.D. Male, 45, Üçbudak Village, 23.03.2018*).

In fact, many similar specimens are found throughout the region. The floor, settlement, housing is based on the understanding of memorates frequently used. For example, there is a similar narrative about Şıxmamed, one of the Sons of Khalmam Sır: Pir Khres tells Şıxmamed that “When you wake up tomorrow morning, saddlebag will be ready in your room, your lot is in it.” Early in the morning, Şıxmamed takes the saddlebag at his bedside and starts his journey before sunrise. Khures Baba is resting at the top of a rock about 10 km east of the village, and sees movement in saddlebag. When he opens the saddlebag he says “Oh dear, Hz. Pir”, he sees two snakes in it, one black and one red...he decides to abode here (Gülmez, 2014,788). In these narratives it determines where people see places like their “homes”, where they belong and they are not, where they can go, and the story of the settlement.

The places and spaces in this area also affect every social phenomenon in people's daily lives. C.H who says “Everyone has a root. Even the tree rises from its root” and lives in Çamardı Village, where the Sunni and Alevi population lives together, he tries to look at the situation from a more secular perspective, but he attributes the story of the settlement to previous narratives. This also shows that the memory of individuals is “affected” by the group they belong to.

I don't believe in stories. We actually came here from Kızılca⁵¹, while one of our elders grazing animals, most probably goats, when we think far away, always the mountains, the forest more. The goat that is leaving the other goats, there is the old fountain of our village. There it comes, the beard of the goat gets wet around here. The Shepherd came and immediately followed the goat, and he notices that there's a fountain here. So our grandfathers are settling here. The truth is, according to our elders, Alıkan actually is Kızılca, these five or seven brothers, they came to Kızılca. Pir Cemal Abdal saved them (*C.H. Male, 55, Çamardı Village, 18.08.2017*).

These discourses and narratives bring to mind the connection that Halbwachs established between the social group and the collective memory. As is known, Halbwachs asserts that memory is built within society by criticizing the study of memory in the field of psychology as an abstract being, separating man from his social relationships. Man builds his memory in everyday relationships. Remembering happens with someone else's encouragement; memories help each other. In this context, memory does not exist spontaneously or is not retained in the mind; it is rebuilt from the moment it is in. Memory during this construction takes advantage of collective frames. Halbwachs “social frameworks of memory”, which constitute a very important point of memory theory and also give his work its name, are the tools that collective memory makes use of. The individual remembers the extent to which he was involved in the framework of the group to which he belonged. Collective memory, according to Halbwachs, is always socially framed; social groups determine what is memorable and how to remember

⁵¹ The village, referred to Kızılca, is located opposite the village of Alıkan (Çamardı).

(Çavdar, 2017,239). That is, the identification function is concerned with the fact that members of a group recognize each other in the presence of a common past. A reference to a common past is as solid a ground as it is a mandatory condition for the group to be able to identify itself. This situation provides a sense of continuity between the past and now. Because an ethnic or cultural group seeking identity does not expect its members to remember the past naturally, they try to make it familiar with that past in order to integrate it (Keslassy and Rosenbaum, 2007). "Collective memory is not concerned with 'conforming to the methodology of a branch of science, like a historian,' while the group acts by instrumenting history according to its norms and requirements, needs and expectations. Its ereksivity is not to be 'true 'but to be 'functional', 'useful ' for the group" (Bilgin, 2013,31).

We can say that this collective memory, formed as the subject of holding the groups in the field of study together, works in this sense. For example, voicing a similar rhetoric in relation to the founding of the village B.G. states:

There are some legends about the founding of this village but we cannot know how true it is. They said that while Cemal Abdal was residing there, there was a king named Allaaddin in Bağın Castle. I do not know the King's name exactly. According to the legend, there are 5 brothers coming, looking for a place to stay. Someone says Let's tell Cemal Abdal to give us a place. They tell Cemal Abdal. Cemal Abdal goes to Bagin Castle to tell the King about the situation. So the King tells them to come here at this hour of the day. They meet on the hill near the village of Okçıyan, the king asks for their names. The name of one of the brothers is Okçu, the name of the other is Çakır, the name of the other is Hamza, the name of another is Bahadır, the name of the other is Kızıl. The king asks Why Is Your Name Okçu? Okçu says it's because I throw arrows. Then the King says, 'throw it then' and Okçu throws an arrow at a bird in the air, and the arrow goes through one eye of the bird and comes out from the other. Okçu goes and brings the bird with the arrow. The King says all right, then draw a circle fort he place wherever you want to stay. Okçu draws the arrow with the bird in his hand, which they call Oklu at the moment. The king also says okey you can now reside here. According to legend, Okçu settled in the village of Okçıyan, Hamza settled in Hamzaliyan, Çakır settled in Çakan, Bahadır settled in this village (*B.G. Male, 55, Çayırgülü Village, 03.08.2015*).

It is through this common ancestral cult that the villagers feel themselves part of the place, although the story is different if attention is given. However, religions also involve the

religiousness of space and are reproduced with a number of mechanized practices such as “religious rituals; sacrifice, distribution of pies, purification.

As a result, in this study, I actually use the point of origin of the concept of “place” as belonging. In the process of examining this concept, I express that there is a kind of energy and a kind of spirit of place in the places where belonging is experienced. Therefore, in this section, the concept of "place" is focused on, and this concept is expressed as the situation in which the person feels himself in the "home" and feels there and as his own, at the points where he can establish communication with himself, others, where he lives.

6. 1. 1. 2. What Do Place Names Say?

In Turkish, the word “name” is defined as the word used to describe, explain, report a person, something; the word that informs living and inanimate beings, feelings and thoughts, various situations" (Ceylan, 2018, 15). In other words, the need to define itself, the need to understand events and phenomena, the curiosity of the goods, the place and the desire to transfer the results have led mankind to the understanding of naming. So that “name” has always been important in many cultures. In ancient Egyptians, for example, it is thought that man was composed of me and “name”. It is believed that there are two halves of a human being and the physical existence of one of these halves the other one is the name. This name emphasis in ancient Egypt has continued in other civilizations/societies as well. For example, in the Islamic faith, one of the most important tasks of the father and mother is to give their children proper/beautiful names. In addition, individuals who adopt the Islamic faith by changing their religion while belonging to other religions definitely change their names (Gülbetekin, 2017, 55). In short “name” “naming" is the ability to compare one thing to another, to identify some common characteristics and to think. According to Pierre Bourdieu, the “name” is to show and move into existence. Because the name of an object or entity is an existential part of it (Bourdieu'dan akt. Köse 2014, 291).

Adomics (Onomastic) also works in this context. This term is also called “sciences namastiques, onomastic sciences, onomastique, onomastics, onomastik and namekunde”. This branch of science, which deals with names, helps to draw historical results by looking at names. It is divided into three:

1- Science of place names or place name science (toponymie, toponymy).

Place names science or science of place names (toponymie, toponymy) Greek topos consists of words like; 1-place 2-residential, region, province, country 3-site, space, geographical object onim name; (science that examines the name of any geographical object). There are the ones name the term toponimi as “Toponomastic, microtoponomastic”, "toponymie", “toponomika, toponomy.

2- Geographic names science: Stream names science (hdyronymie, hydronymy, hydronymie), mountain names science (oronymie, oronymy).

3- Science of person names (anthroponymie, anthroponymy, antroponymie) (Yavuz And Şenel, 2013, 2241).

The point to focus on here are place names. Place names have an important function besides narratives, especially in the transformation of the space into “place”. Place names that provide information about people's values, beliefs, ways of living include their very different connotations, cultural hinterland, ethnic and philological richness. It is also the subject of tomorrow, due to its roots extending into the bottomless depths of history-which are therefore often not fully dated- and because of the fact that yesterday is being repeated thousands of times every day in the flow of daily life, and because they will be passed down from generation to generation as a cultural heritage. Therefore, as an important part of the research, we will focus on the old and new place names in the field of study.

In social memory, villages have generally taken place with their old names. This situation is frequently encountered when the direction is indicated, where it means that it is from, and when information is given about the neighboring village. As it is known, in the Anatolian lands a wide variety of civilizations lived and and these lands were witnessed all kinds of social and cultural interactions of human groups. Communities that need to name the region in which they live, have adopted the regions in which they are stationed either by their previous

name or by renaming them again, in their own language. They were able to transfer these adopted names, which are common, from generation to generation (Koç, 2016,2). Therefore, as in many regions, there are place names transferred from the past to the future in Karakoçan and the people contributed to this transfer personally. Therefore, the toponomic examination of the old place names of these villages discussed in this study, determining the sound and etymologic characteristics that are effective in the formation of these place names, keeping the history of the region alive and contributing to its culture is very important. The rapid migration movements in this region, the rapid inclusiveness of technology, the development of transportation and communication tools lead to the oblivion and trivialization of these place names. Therefore, this may lead to the inability of the very rich cultural heritage to be transferred to future generations. In this case, place names should also be registered in their old form. Keith Basso also says that the place names symbolize the state of the place when it was named. Therefore, even if the current state of the place is in a situation that cannot be related to its name, it is important for it to show what has changed since the day the name was given (akt from Basso. Tuztaş 2014, 272).

The names of the villages in the study area, whose names were different until 1933 (Table 6), were subsequently changed. The name changes in Anatolia became official with the 8589 circular issued by the Ministry of Interior at the end of 1940 and thus the place names de in foreign languages and coming from old roots were changed⁵² consciously, unlike the natural change process.

⁵² The number of villages whose name was changed in Elâzığ, including the villages in the field of study, is 383.

Table 6: Old village names in the study area prepared in 1933

The Name of the Village	The Province	The District
Dilimli	Elâziz	Palu
Kafan ⁵³	Elâziz	Palu
Alikâni Süflâ ⁵⁴	Elâziz	Palu
Alikâni Ülyâ	Elâziz	Palu
Badiran	Elâziz	Palu
Delikan	Elâziz	Palu
Kolan	Elâziz	Mazkirt

(General Directorate of Local Administrations Internal Affairs Ministry 1933)

One obvious example of changing place names is Tsarist Russia. A policy of Russification was implemented in the territories occupied during the period of Tsarist Russia. Russian became the compulsory language of education and the bureaucracy was formed from 'Russians'. Only those who follow the Russian culture and marry Russians are given the chance to rise. Local languages are banned. Settlements are given names that carry Russian or Christian culture (Kanbolat, 1996, 5). In this context, Alagöz, who considers his work in similar type, gives the following examples.

1-The fear of encountering unknown conditions in newfound places has prompted dangerous surprises, explorers or immigrants to give religious names to these places. They are the names Prophet Jesus, Prophet Mary and Christian saints. Place names beginning with San and Santa are over 200 in Reader's Digest World Atlas. Starters with Portuguese Sao are more than 40. The number of place names beginning with St. in the Canadian province of Quebec is 35. Let's paraphrase this: San Antonio in Chile, San Carlos in Argentina, San Diego in California, San Francisco in California, etc.

⁵³ The suffix-an, mostly brought to the end of place names in the basin- is another notable point. It is understood that this supplement serves as a plural supplement in Kurdi.

⁵⁴ It is thought that the Arabic language of correspondence at that time was effective in giving these names, as the adjectives ulya (up) and sufla (down) brought to the end of the village names were Arabic.

2-For various reasons, immigrants gave their places of origin the name of their old hometowns " New York, New Amsterdam, etc.”

3-Newfound places have been named after explorers: Hudson (as the name of the Bay, River, Strait), Colombia (several), J. Ross (from explorers of the South Pole).

4-The names of the rulers of the state to which the explorers belong are given: Queen Victoria's name is found in 9 places, including Trafalgar winner Admiral Nelson, Palmerston, and Wellington, who defeated Napoleon. The name Washington is seen in many parts of America (8 places).

5-The names of well-known personalities in science, art or other form are also reflected in the place names. George Everest (1790-1866); was a British Geodesy and Mathematics scholar. He worked in India for a long time. He accurately measured the Meridian arc from the Cape of Comorin to the Himalaya. He has been awarded a name after the highest peak on Earth in the Himalaya (8880 m.). Kosciusko, Polish national hero. He defended his homeland against invasions from the East and West. He has been granted with a name after the highest peak of the Australian Alps (2228 m.). Korsakofsk. The Russians named the port south of Sahalin Island in East Asia after this master of music (Alagöz, 1984, 11-23)

An important part of the village names changed in Turkey because they weren't Turkish. In Anatolia many villages named in different languages like Arabic, Persian, Kurdish, Laz, Greek, Armenian, Georgian, Circassian have been renamed and given new names and they were nationalized.

Name change operations in Turkey, due to World War II, was disrupted for a long time and no change of name was made. In 1949, with the Provincial Administration Law No. 5442, the process of changing place names gained a legal basis, followed by the establishment of a “Name Changing Specialized Board” in 1957. The work of the board in question lasted until 1978, although it was occasionally disrupted. Again, the same board made efforts to change the natural place names between 1965 and 1970 and 1975-1976. As a result of these studies, as many as 2000 place names have been changed and they have been published as a book. In 1967, the Ministry of Interior changed the name of 12,200 villages due to the fact that it "came from a foreign root and gave rise to the ambiguity" by law No. 7267 (Table 7) (Koç 2016).

The Ministry of Internal Affairs made a statement on this issue as follows:

The village names in our country and the administrative departments they are connected to the work started in 1928, the same year for the first time (in old letters), again in 1933, "our villages" was published in two books. For the last time in 1946, a two-volume publication was published under the name "Guide to residential places in Turkey", covering all residential place names such as village, neighborhood, farm, kom, hamlet, winter quarters, summer pasture and nomad camping site. This time, in accordance with the law No. 7267, the name of 12000 villages, which are understood to come from foreign roots and which are determined to be related, has been examined by the «Commission for changing foreign names» working in the Directorate General of Provincial Administration of our ministry, and has been changed with Turkish names and put into the field of use. In order to provide an accurate source for the changes made for the reasons described above and the names of the villages established, both for drillers and those working in the theoretical field, this book was re-prepared and published under the name "Our Villages" (Ministry of Interior, 1968).

Table 7: New and old village names in the study area prepared in 1968

Name	Old Name	The subdistrict	The district	The city
Tekardıç	Dilimili	Center	Karakocan	Elâzığ
Demirdelen	Kefan	Center	Karakocan	Elâzığ
Akçiçek	Aşağı Alikân	Center	Karakocan	Elâzığ
Çamardı	Yukarı Alikân	Center	Karakocan	Elâzığ
Çayırgülü	Badran	Center	Karakocan	Elâzığ
Üçbudak	Delikan	Center	Karakocan	Elâzığ
Yoğunağaç	Kolan	Center	Karakocan	Elâzığ

(Ministry of Interior 1968)

The name “Dêp” is often used for the Karakoçan district. There are also several claims regarding this name. The first claim is that this name comes from Kurdish. The Turkish equivalent of the word "Dep" in Kurdish means "wood". The first claim is that this name was taken in the past and today due to the fact that poplar trees and wood were often used in the construction in the center of the district. The second claim was established in 1870 by 32 Armenian families and named Tepe/Tepeköy. Karakoçan, which is often used and expresses the interaction, is named after the same name, which is taken from the village of Karakoçan near the district and Kiğı- Elâzığ highway construction, Karakoçan village near the Hill is established. The name Tepe is commonly used by the kurmanci language of the people of the region as “Depe” because of the interaction of Turkish and the Kurmanc dialect used in the

region. In this context, in the Book of Ottoman place names, Sezen stated the name of Karakoçan as in the table below (Table 8)

Table 8: Ottoman and Administrative Status of Karakoçan

NAME OF PLACE	NAME OF PLACE (Ottoman Turkish)	ADMINISTRATIVE STATUS	DEPARTMENT OF ADMINISTRATION
KARAKOÇAN (Tepeköy)	هرق ن اچوق	Kazâ (1936 / 2885)	Köy Ohi → Palu → Elâzığ Elâzığ

(Sezen 2017, 749).

In addition to this interaction in the region, addressing the place names in etymological, grammatical and historical aspects is important in terms of revealing the cultural codes in which it is located. Therefore, the old names will be analyzed first and then their changed names will be analyzed. (Table 9 and Table 10).

Table 9: Old names and meanings of villages

DİLİMİLİ/DİLİ MİLİ Dil+ı+mıl+i	<p>* DİL/DİL: heart</p> <p>*MİL: arm, shoulder</p> <p>*At the beginning of the 20th century it is expressed as 1 Armenian / 1 Kurdish settlement (Nişanyan, 2010: 119). At the same time, the sources of some Armenian writers refer to the village of Dilimli as "Deli Mizi." (Hayreni 2015, 429).</p>
KEFAN, KÜÛAN Kef+an	<p>*KÊF: pleasure</p> <p>*KEF: foam</p> <p>* It was expressed as an 1Armenian settlement at the beginning of the 20th century.</p> <p>* Names bearing the suffixes “-yan’ “-an” kan -kan indicating belonging are also very common. Most of them coincide with the names of tribes in Zazaki and Kurdish. In some cases, the tribes gave their names to the area or village they settled in, and the new tribal branches took the name of the village where they lived (Hayreni 2015,54).</p>
ALİKÂNA JÊR Alık+an+a Jer	<p>*ALÎ: fence, side, flank, side, direction</p>
ALİKÂNA JOR Alık+an+a Jor	<p>*JÊR: down</p> <p>*JOR: up</p> <p>* In the İsmail Beşikçi's doctoral dissertation, which was about Alikan tribe who lived unsettled in Bingöl, Alikan tribe is said to be from the Torunlu Avşars.</p>
BADÎRAN/ BADRAN Badır+an	<p>* The name of Badran village formed with the addition of the suffix -an in Kurdish to the Bahadır, the founder of the village, as Bahadırın (Bahadırlar- Bahadırgiller). In time, it turns to Badran.</p>
DELİKÂN/ DEKÂN Delk+an	<p>*DİL/DİL: heart</p> <p>*DALİK: A wet/swamp area in the pit</p> <p>* As some researchers have pointed out, Diliki/Delikan tribe is the first village in this region to be founded in their own name (Nişanyan, 2010: 119; Yaman, 2006: 103; Aksüt, 2010: 212)</p> <p>* There are Delikan tribes described in non-confederate and Delikan tribes living in the Xalxal region. It is also stated that it's name comes from a branch of the tribe of İzoli.</p>
KOLAN / GOLAN Gol+an	<p>*GOL: lake</p> <p>It is claimed that the name came from the lakes. The majority of the population prefers the name of Golan instead of Kolan. While” gol “means lake in Kurdish,” an ” is used as a plural preposition in Kurdish.</p> <p>*KOLAN: 1.street. 2.digging, excavation.</p>

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The persons in the field of study state that the names in Table 8 are Kurdish names. Instead of Turkish nomenclature, these names are mainly used in the region. It is noted that these names,

which have Kurdish, Armenian and Turkish meanings, are included in all narratives. This can be expressed as an element of both memory and syncretism. The pronunciation of these village names varies from region to region or even person to person. For example, some call Dilimili, some say Dılımılı while some says Dîlımılı to the Tekardıç village. There is a similar situation for other villages. Different pronunciations such as Alıkan, Alikan or Badran, Bahadiran; Delkan, Dêlkan are observed in the area.



Table 10: Changed names and the meanings of villages

TEKARDIÇ Tek+ardıç	<p>TEK: 1. Unique, only 2. (Drink) to a certain extent in a glass. 3. a. Each of the objects of the same type or complement each other 4. adverb. Adds the concept of desire and longing to the sentence used before 5. zf. Only 6. methapor. None, nothing. 7. math. Cannot be divided by two (number)</p> <p>ARDIÇ: Tree or shrub plants derived from the Cypressaceae family, from some species that do not shed leaves in the winter.</p>
DEMİRDELEN Demir+del+en	<p>DEMİR: a. 1. chemistry. Atomic number 26, atomic weight 55,847, density 7.8, melting at 1510 °C, blue light brown, especially in case of steel, castings and alloys, the most suitable element for industry (symbol Fe). 2. adjective. Made from this element 3. A piece made of this element. 4. A piece of specially made metal that crashes into the shoe heel or shoe to prevent abrasion. 5. adjective. Metaphor. Strong, hard 6. sailing. Anchor.</p> <p>DELMEK: (-i) Make the hole. 2. metaphor. Hurt, break.</p>
AKÇİÇEK Ak+çiçek	<p>AK: a. 1. The color of snow, milk, etc., white, anti-black and non-black. 2 adj. Thing with this color 3. White stain 4. adj. Metaphor. Clean. 5 adj. Metaphor. Honest. 6.adj. Metaphor. Trouble-free, comfortable</p> <p>ÇİÇEK: a. 1. botanic. b. The most fragrant, colorful part of a plant that carries reproductive organs. 2.botanic. b. blooming prairie or garden plant. 3. metaphor. Someone who doesn't follow the social rules. 4. chemistry. Powder obtained by sublimation or flowering. 5. medicine A feverish, severe and infectious disease that leaves traces of pours by pouring blisters.</p>
ÇAMARDI Çam+ard+ı	<p>ÇAM: a. botanic. b. An example of the pine plant, can stay green for four seasons, coniferous, a forest tree that can grow many species in our country</p> <p>ARD: Mill funnel shed wheat little by little, very good., back, background</p>
ÇAYIRGÜLÜ Çayır+gül+ü	<p>ÇAYIR: a. 1. Smooth and damp place where the grass grows on 2. Grass grows in such a place</p> <p>GÜL: a. botanic. b. 1. Sample plants of rosaceae (Roza). 2. The layered, usually fragrant blossom of this plant.</p>
ÜÇBUDAK Üç+budak	<p>ÜÇ: a. 1. The name of the number comes after two. 2. Name of the number indicating this number 3 and III. 3 adj. One more than two.</p> <p>BUDAK: a. botanic. b. 1. The twig of a the tree. 2. The round-shaped hard section of the branch, which is the starting point of the branch in the body 3. The cylindrical stone used to smooth the tops of the roofs or to close cracks after rain.</p>
YOĞUNAĞAÇ Yoğun+ağaç	<p>YOĞUN : adj. 1. Dense, with a lot of weight relative to the volume. 2. Dark, thick 3. Strong, heavy (smell etc.). 4.metaphor In an increased, proliferated state. 5. metaphor Full, tight, cramped, too much. 6. metaphor. Fat, big, chubby 7. soc. Coarse, thick (sieve, needle)</p> <p>AĞAÇ: a. 1. botanic. b. A plant that can yield fruit, is suitable for wood or timber and can survive for many years.</p>

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As can be seen from the table 10, we see that natural flora and geographical environment factors are effective in giving Turkish names. For this reason, pine, juniper, flower, tree, meadow and snag, which are the main elements of village life, are used as village names. The high mountainous section that surrounds the work site is covered with rich forest. Due to the economic value of forest and flora in the region, most of the settlements were established within the forest. There are meadow-pasture areas in the forest. Thus, depending on the natural vegetation, we can say that phytological village nomenclature has been made.

As can be seen from both tables, it can be said that the geographical and human characteristics together play a role in naming. In other words, it is seen that both natural environment and human environment elements are important together (Table 11).

Table11: Sources of Place Names Used

Name of the settlement	Source of the new name of the settlement	Former name of the settlement	Source of the old name of the settlement
Tekardıç	Botanic	Dilimli	Antrophic
Demirdelen	Mine	Kafan	Antrophic
Akçiçek	Botanic	Alıkana jerın	Antrophic
Çamardı	Botanic	Alıkana jorın	Antrophic
Çayırgülü	Botanic	Badran	Antrophic
Üçbudak	Botanic	Delikan	Antrophic
Yoğunağaç	Botanic	Golan	Hydrography

Emrah TÜNCER,2019

Although compatible with its geographical character, Kurdish nomenclature is more commonly used by the public in everyday land description and land nomenclature in the region. These names, which we can consider as the nomenclature of the environment of the villages, have been included in the language as natural resources and structures such as streams, hills, fountains. These are; Mezelâ Aşîkan, Deştê Memed Ağa, Kemêran Zozan (Plateau), Kanîya Qusiyan, Çıllê (Yantaraf/Hill) Qurigayi⁵⁵ Bor (Ox Hill), Uştep, Fındık(Hamlet), Peştê Ariçiya, Sinik (Cementry), Qurigan(Named Because It Looks Like An Ox Head.), Kêwirê Qun (Stone with a hole), Deştê Gılgıla (it used to be planted with millet) Quri Taşan (Stony hill) , Şengul Baba , Deşt, Mezra Delkan, Goma Gûlavi, Kaniya Delil Berxecan, Cemal Abdal Ê Mezin, Cemal Abdal Ê Pıçuk, Goma Hêsikerê (Abbreviation of Hes Hasan), Goma Jêrın, Goma Sîmel Êziz/ Hemli, Xezazâ Gulliyan, Têxtê Apê Êli,Mezarlık /Bazikê Şemê, Gutî Şari, Gola Tizrugan (Sülük Lake),Kevirê Dundılê(There was a footprint

⁵⁵ Hill means “Gir” in Kurdish. These nomenclatures have been quoted by interviewers. Here the interviewer means the hill when he says Qur.

of Hz. Ali), Nalâ Bum , Gola Dırsê, Textê Kêlê, Aşê Qêmê, Aşê Qırmê, Tırba Xıdır, Hezâz, Mêrga Kavunan , Hewşa Kılıçan, Kewırê Gewr, Pozkê Kilise, Tırê Çekem, Nâlâ Sale Sor, Mergâ Xinziran(Pig), Nalê Baxçe, Kewırê Huli , Zewiya Sûr, Qaniya Gâze, Qaniya Zêwix, Xolikan'. It is necessary to consider these names in terms of microtoponymy. Murzayev defines the microtoponymy as "The sum of the geographic names of very large objects that continue to exist as the people living in a narrow environment around pasture, ekinlik, position, remarkable natural shapes, flood slits, mounds, wells, small stream folds, barracks, springs, vineyard houses (Şahin 2011, 1808). So most of the land mentioned is in this context and generally only known by those living in this area are not very large geographical names. One of the place names we often come across in the field of study is 'deşt'. Deşt means flat plain. Plains with very little space have been expressed in such a dominant way. Qurikan, Mendo, Uştep, while the hills, Bum, Sürüng, Koprik, Zeux, form the Rivers. Again, Kani means fountain, while Kewır means stone.

In short, place names are the historical records of the mutual relationship between nations and cultures. Places or objects have gained personality through nomenclature in the field of study. According to Tuan," The personality of the place is a combination of natural features and the arrangements that the human generation creates over time", naming is an act as ancient as human beings (Tuan, 2005,120). Societies have reflected their experiences in the context of this relationship to places and place names, which are one of the most defining and distinctive features of places. Societies have embroidered their cultural identities by calling them "places" and thus making spaces themselves (Gülbetekin, 2017, 19). Place names include a memory, both individually and socially. Because all that is going on about human beings is taking place in a space and being saved in memory by the name of the place in question-for generations - is being kept alive and taking important roles in the formation of the identity of "I " and "we" (Gülbetekin, 2017, 21). Therefore, while explaining the importance of place

names, it is also necessary to emphasize the connection of these names with the past. So changing these place names which are so often used in everyday life, would be ripping people living there from their past.

6.1.2. The Effect of Holy Places on Social Solidarity

The places that have a role in regulating social relations in the field of study and protect the existing structure are the tombs, entombed saints and visits. The importance of these places in the protection of religion, the construction of identity and the practice of rituals is also undeniable. It can be seen that there is a simultaneous connection between the existence of these places and the existence of the people in the region, a state of mutual existence and existence. The presence of these holy places also elicits a sense of belonging. The shrine, the place names of visits and tombs can also be seen to have an important place in social memory in the context of the sense of place. In this respect, the concept of "belonging " comes to the fore. Sacred spaces are the topographic "texts" of cultural memory, "mnemotopes", memory spaces. In this context, Maurice Halbwachs described the mythical topography of the Holy Land as a form of expression of social memory. In defining the functions of memory, Halbwachs makes use of spatial analogies with concepts such as "frame", "space" ("espace"), "place" ("lieux"), "placement" ("localiser", "situer") (Uygur 2015, 463).

The importance of preserving the identity of the local people is due to the multi-ethnic and religious structure of the geography in which it is located. Therefore, "religion and ethnicity " should be seen as the facts that separate the community. Having these features and maintaining them can also be a way of "maintaining their existence." The symbolic and concrete centers of religion and ethnicity are therefore places of worship. The places of worship that bring together the people here are also transformed into places where communication is established and tradition is perpetuated. Thus places of faith gain a new dimension, not only religiously, but also through rituals and relationships related to everyday

life. Considering the political, historical and cultural conditions, the villages in the field of study are in communication from religious, political and cultural aspects. As the cornerstone of social organization, places of faith exhibit a multifaceted functionality such as education, social solidarity, construction of social norms, as well as their basic functions in terms of producing and transferring tradition and culture. Thanks to space, faith is also strengthened by time and habit.

In short, holiness has a functional feature. The fact of the holy place in almost every faith also reveals the necessity of visiting these places. Pilgrims believe that God has power in sacred relics and icons belonging to saints in sacred places and expect benefits through them. The journey to the blessing is also a step on this path (Uygur, 2015, 465). At the same time, sacred spaces are places that form the basis for the practice of rituals. Rituals, a series of symbolic actions organized and codified over time, put interpersonal communication and interactions into a rhythm, giving them a predominant place in the functioning of traditional societies and playing a key role in understanding collective life. Rituals common in all areas of traditional society are indispensable in the practices of religious, political, economic and public life. As of their position and role in social life, rituals are of a multifunctional nature (Wulf, 2009, 135-143; Bilgin 2013, 149; Uygur, 2015,465). With a functionalist approach, religion, sacred space and rituals in terms of social relations are elements that facilitate the unity and solidarity of society (Su, 2011, 28).

In this context, the sacred places in the field of study show different characteristics. Religious scholars such as Pir Jamal Abdal, Güzel Baba, Sefkar Baba, Seyh Deli Berxecan are generally considered scholars. Since these scholars are people who have come to Anatolia with the aim of teaching the requirements of the Islamic religion, rituals like tie ropes around these tombs, sacrifices for holy persons, etc. are observed. The cult of water, trees and tombs together are the main figures of the shrines here and the sanctity of the visits. It is also effective to

consider these areas as a promenade area if they prefer these areas to be sacrificed. In addition, distributing pastry and praying is more preferred.

At the graveside of these tombs and visits, it was stated by the inhabitants of the village that the wish-keeping and burning candles are performed and burned candles are placed on the grave. It was told by the elders of the village that they came to this tomb and wished, prayed, lit candles and placed around the grave especially on Thursdays.

At the same time, the people living in the surrounding villages described Güzel Baba, Sefkar Baba, Çori Bori and Pir Cemal Abdal functioned among the people as a frightening figure. For example, among adults, mostly children, “Güzel Baba, Sefkar Baba and Pir Cemal Abdal will appear in front of you” was afraid to go to the shrine at night. Besides this intimidation, when it appears in front of you, it is also stated that there is a belief that instead of harming they can “warn and say good things to people”. As can be understood, Güzel Baba has a positive personality as well as a personality that is startled and afraid of him. With R. Otto's famous definition, Holy has a meaning that is “feared, hesitated, and at the same time, attracted to him.” The situation in which this meaning is expressed is also seen in the concept of Güzel Baba, Sefkar Baba ve Pir Cemal Abdal.

One of the most important functions of the sacred places in the field of study is to create a culture environment. The villages in the working area are nowadays a part of Alawite and a part of Sunni. So they have a kind of different culture and way of life. These sacred places play a role in bringing the villages into contact with each other and in bringing about changes in their cultural patterns. It is possible to read these changes as a culturing process as a result of the contact of the villages with each other. The most common definition of the phenomenon is the definition of Redfield, Linton, and Herskovitz. Culturation by authors; “It

is the formation of changes in the cultural patterns of one or both groups, when groups of individuals of different cultures come into contact with each other first-hand and continuously." Berry⁵⁶ describes culturing as a process in which two or more cultural groups and individuals involved in this group experience mutual cultural and psychological changes as a result of contact with each other. Sam, who gave a simpler definition, stated that culturalization involves all the changes that result from the contact of individuals or groups with different cultural backgrounds (Karakuş, 2014, 103). In general, a kind of cultural change that occurs as a result of relationships and shopping with another culture is called culturization (Su, 2011, 50). As a result of culturing, both cultural elements undergo changes. In Karakoçan, which has a multicultural structure, the societies in which inter-faith communication and relationship are involved are influenced by each other. The visits to the holy place for different reasons in the field of study are also the "place" of "culturing".

There are many reasons for these visits without regard to the difference of faith. Some of these are visits for the belief in the blessing, psychological and physical reasons and touristic purposes. It is observed that "culturing" in life-related activities such as eating and drinking and entertainment is more intense when the effect of faith is reduced or relatively less decisive. For example, some villagers call the bread "Zılfet " in Alevis commemorations, while Sunnis distribute it on the seventh day after the death. This bread made with the same ingredients is thus involved in the different transitional practices of the local people.

⁵⁶ Berry, Kim, Monde and Mok have gathered the changes that occur as a result of culturing under five categories: the first are physical changes; changes such as a new place to live, increased population density are common changes in the culturing process. The second is biological changes, like new diseases, new eating habits. The third is the cultural changes that lie at the core of the concept of culturization; the existing political, economic, technical, linguistic, religious and social institutions change. Fourth is the new network of social relations; the internal group reestablishes the dominant group patterns with external group affiliations. The last category is psychological changes experienced by the individual at the behavioral and mental levels.

6.2. Sharing Narratives

6.2.1. Legend, Myth, Memorate, Epics and Their Effects On Social Solidarity

As can be seen, my field of study shows differences with its ethnic and religious structure. This region has created a cultural texture spread over a wide area due to factors such as migrations and wars in the historical process. Khidr cult, quarry grandfathers, high mountains, hills, trees, flowing rivers are constantly blessed and each has a different story. Therefore, it is difficult to evaluate and understand the fictions of most of the narratives according to the place and time. Legends and stories should be evaluated with the religious identity of the people of the region. The fact that the myths created differ even in the region and that they have different interpretations proves this situation.

In this context, Pir Cemal Abdal is the first miracle owner in the study field. While explaining the life of Cemal Abdal, it is especially emphasized that he is one of the caliphs of Hacı Bektaş-i Veli and the name "Seyyid Cemal" mentioned in the narratives. Therefore, if we accept the myth as a narrative about what happened at the time when the religious personality was supposed to live physically in this world, we will evaluate Pir Cemal Abdal's narratives in this context⁵⁷. The first of the two different narratives is as follows:

Abdal comes from Khorasan and travels with Hacı Bektas-ı Veli in Anatolia. He lived in Hacı Bektaş, Suluca Karahöyük until 1273. Hacı Bektaş prays for God and Cemal Abdal is coming to this region. As soon as he arrives here, he is laying

⁵⁷ The quarries claiming to come from "Sayyit Cemal" in the Vilayetname are: 1) Cemal Avdel quarry: It is located in Karakoçan Delikan village and it is connected to Kurmanç/Kurdish Shadiyan and Balucan tribes. 2) Derwêş Cemal Quarry: Dersim hozat district, Derwêş Cemal village mêkan and established a quarry. His suitors Dersim belong to various tribes, mainly Erzincan, which are scattered in different regions and are Kurdish affiliated to the Shix Hesên group. 3) Seyid Cemal Sultan Quarry; The suitors of this quarry in Çalköy village of Altıntaş16 District of Kütahya belong to Karakeçili tribe and various Turkmen Alevis. There are also quarry suitors in and around Eskişehir.

the foundations of this quarry with his own hands. At that time, the Archbishop sitting in Bagin looks at The Hill, Temran (villages) coming to visit these areas, where he is unaware of a construction being carried out. He immediately comes to Gamal Evdal and asks: "Who Are you? You're building construction on my land, unaware of me?" Jamal Evdal Pir answered: "I'm a person like you! But I am the messenger son of God! the Archbishop said, "If you were a son of the messenger, your ancestors would be faithful. Show us your kindness and prove yourself to us!"

Gamal Evdal then looks at one of his men next to the archbishop and sees the icon made from gold and Crusader Philae, the flag in his hand. With a pray, this gold cross suddenly turns into stone. The Archbishop understands that he is the people of magic and takes away his men and go. Since then, the name of our village "Delikan" changes to "Altıntaş-Golden stone". The stories of the name Delikan are very different...! Seyid Gamal Evdal goes to Bagin. With Bagin and us, the Fairy water flows. When it comes to the front of the water, Cemal Evdal takes out his gabardine, sits on the water, passes to the opposite side to Bagin. He takes his gabardine out of the water and shoots him with his rod (em darık dıwén) and cleans the dust then puts it on his shoulder and walks away. The Bishop's scouts all see this situation and immediately report it to him. The Bishop also orders them to take this stranger who has come to the city and bring him with them (Yalgın and Özcan, 2013,34).

The most important motif in this context is the interaction between the bishop and Pir Gamal Abdal, and an important function that highlights their respective divine missions is the function of "Islamization". Non-Muslims prefer to be Muslims when they see the hero's various extraordinary feats, and generally become the protagonist's disciple. This can be seen in other epics, too. For example, in Abdal Musa custody, a non-Muslim man becomes a Muslim when he witnesses the wine being turned into honey while Abdal Musa is in Parliament." The change of the nature of material" is one of the most widely seen motifs in religious narratives (Boran, 2017,62). Pir Cemal Abdal's encounter with Psychopos can be read as both a reference to the Armenian faith in this region and a reference to Islamization. This is a similar approach to mythic narration. The event contains very similar and parallel data with those happened between Şeyh Delil Berxécan and The Monk (Yalgın and Özcan, 2013).

"With a pray this gold cross suddenly turns into stone." this rhetoric saying brings this narrative closer to myth. The Legends of turning into stone are also origin myths. It is based

on the meaning of landforms that are somehow different from the surrounding nature in terms of their natural shape. They are mythic texts; but they are not myths. They formed not in a period before the beginning, but in a known time (Balaban, 2013, 419). Turning to stone is the transformation of man, animal, plant or any object into stone. There are several reasons for turning to stone. Sometimes the curse causes to turning to stone, sometimes those who commit sins are petrified by the wrath of Allah. Sometimes this happens with wish. Those who remain in difficulty ask Allah to turn themselves into stones in order to get out of the situation they are in. "The turning of animals to stone is rather about their owners. They turn into a stone because they are with them." (Balaban, 2013, 422). Therefore, in this narrative, the understanding of converting some objects to stone can be discussed in terms of turning to stone.

One of the motives is that "thrown into the furnace of fire and then they survived without burn." Such narratives are often seen as equivalent to pre-Islamic beliefs. We come across a similar statement in Abdal Musa custody. "Abdal Musa is tested both by a non-Muslim community and by the Teke Bey, who is an active governor in the region. Following Abdal Musa's founding of the Tekke, a non-Muslim community tests him to understand whether he is a" custodian of rights." Teke Bey makes a big fire for him, informing him that if he does not burn in the fire, he will believe him (Boran,2017, 38). Another epic of the Pir Cemal Abdal is described more commonly in the region. This narrative is as follows:

Pir Gamal Abdal goes to save the old woman's children. As he passes from Peri water, he takes off his fur and lays it on the water. The fur as a bridge, helps him to cross. Seeing this, the shepherd goes with him to Alladdin Keykubat's Palace. This shepherd walks in with him as he enters the oven. The oven's been burning for days. When they open the door, they see Mubarak and herder, whose beards have held ice and sitting with a bunch of grapes in their hands (*K.S. Female, 40, Çamardı Village 02.05.2018*).

The most important motif in this narrative is that he "takes off his fur and lays it on Peri water and runs across it" and "comes out of the burning oven with his beard holding ice." The

motifs of these narratives, which are in the category of the narratives described by A. Yaşar Ocak regarding the saints and the holy persons, can be evaluated in the similarities of the understanding of cutting the river and the sea into two (Torah) and dominating the natural forces (Bible) within the motifs originating from the Kitab-i Mukaddes (Torah-Bible). For example in the Bible, similar motifs are described in the miracles of Jesus⁵⁸. It mentions that Jesus spread his miracles all over the world through his apostles. Some of the miracles; it is believed that extraordinary situations such as reporting from the unseen, healing the sick, walking on the river or sea, cutting the river or sea into two, squirting water from the ground or stone, turning dry wood into trees, resurrecting dead people or animals, making the blind see, feeding many people with little food, bringing blessings, retreating to the sky before dying are passed through Jesus to his disciples.

The origins of many of these narratives are based on mythological events, as well as being similar to the narratives of the Saints. Some of these miracles are the main subjects of the narratives of saints and guardians, they are about healing diseases and also dominating natural events, walking in water, satiating many people with little bread (Uygur, 2015, 145). Within the motifs of various legends, myths and folk traditions, it is also seen that the item bears a resemblance to the category of changing shape, walking on water.

The following narrative is used as a common narrative form in the evidence about Şıx Delil-i Berxécan:

Berxécan visits the village of Üçbudak (Delikan) before coming to the village of Pilvank/Pilvenk, which is connected to the centre of Tunceli. When he enters the village, Berxécan sees an old woman sitting outside with her daughter-in-law. He goes near them. After a small talk, the elderly guest of the village asks for a glass of water. The bride comes in and brings water. The old man drinks the water and

58 Jesus and his disciples are trapped by the sea during their pursuit. Hz. Jesus put his disciples on the boat and sent them across. He distracts the people until they survive. He then walks across the sea between the gaze filled with amazement and grows to his disciples. Peter the Apostle also imitates him by asking permission; he is also the Prophet (SaaS). He walks in the sea with the miracle of Jesus (Matthew, XIV, 22- 29). It is reported that Mevlâna and Ahi Evran showed similar magics. (Ocak, 2010, 278). Mor Evgin walks on the sea, too.

asks why the water is hot rather than cold. The old woman said that the village has no water/fountain and that the village men go to the Bağın /Peri water to bring water, asking the old man to wait patiently, drink the fresh water that will come, and remain guests to them. Then the villagers return from Bağın with cold water. They begin conversation with the guest. The day passes and it's time to cook dinner. The villagers whisper to each other about what they will offer to the guest to eat. The most wise of the village advises other neighbors to sacrifice a sheep. A secret argument ensues between them! The oldest woman of the village rejects this because she has received milk from her sheep and there is not much sheep in the village! All this discussion is heard by the old guest sitting outside. He also participates in the debate and asks them to slaughter a lamb. Everyone is surprised...! The lamb is cut. The elderly guest let the villagers take care not to break the bones of the lamb and put it in their skin and wrap it. It's done exactly. Dinner's over. The chat ends. The skin of the lamb, which is full of bones comes to the stage. The elder guest, who has divine knowledge reached through the (non-educational) western path to the marifi hymn, picks up his wand and touches it on the skin/post where the bones are wrapped. And says: "Walk! blessed walk, get rid of this drama!" The lamb comes alive. As he gets up and wants to walk, a hitch on his hind leg is conspicuous. The old guest looked at a peasant next to him and said, "Bring out the bone you hid and the animal will not suffer!" The peasant shamefully removes a piece of bone he hides in his pocket and gives it to him. The old guest goes to the lamb with a piece of bone in his hand. He kisses the lamb, the bone in his hand becomes a secret, and the lamb walks without a hitch and goes to the "kom" where there is a herd. He goes near his mother. The villager hiding the bone, pleads forgiveness, saying he tried/tested him because he suspects the elderly guest. Old guest forgives the peasant. And he says: "You didn't behave like this bolt," you tested me! I know that you will all aspire to me here, but in time some of you will return from this profanity⁵⁹ way." After this magic Delikan community will aspire to reach the secret of this old guest. The old guest say his goodbyes to the villagers. Before saying goodbye, he touches the spot with his sceptre. It removes/drains the water of today's Berxécan fountain on the spot. He puts his sceptre at the head of the water/fountain and the sceptre instantly turns green. The congregation of the Delikan who witnessed all this and fascinates by the secret of the old guest. After the old guest whom they did not know the name until that moment, they call him "Berxécan "as he revives the Lamb/berx". According to the "tree "and the" water "flowing under it, they add the name "evidence-Delil" a nickname for Berxécan. Because of his old age and impressive conversation, they consider him worthy of the title of scholar "Şix". From now on, the Delikan villagers live the name "Şix deli-i Berxécan " as a cult of saint in their villages for centuries. That's not enough! Although they were originally of the "Ré Heq/Kızılbaş" faith within the Delikan tribe and the Shadiyan tribe, some clans/families of both tribes switched to the "Muslim/Sunni" faith over time. In the source of two distinct religious theologies within these tribes, after the bolt in the Delikan of Shix, who hid the bone to test him, he said to the peasant, "You will aspire to me, but some of you will return from this profusion." they indicate that his foresight is accepted (*M.G. Male, 42, Yoğunağaç Village, 2.08.2018*).

⁵⁹ İkrar: It is the event of people making promises to themselves. In other words, it is the fact that people are holding him as a witness (Akbaş, 2011, 458).

The most important element and motif in this narrative is that it resurrects the lamb from its bones. This motif is a motif of shamanistic origin. Bones have been seen as the most continuous element of the human and animal body since ancient times. According to the beliefs of some peoples, the immortal soul is found in the bones. It is for this reason that the bones of the people, including the Turks, were considered as an object of respect and the bones of the hunted animal were meticulously preserved after the meat was eaten. The underlying belief is that the resurrection will be thanks to the bones (Ocak, 2002, 170). M. Van Bruinessen de, Bektaşilerdeki bu inancın, aynen İran'da Ehl-i Hak Kürtler arasında da çok yaygın olduğunu tespit etmiştir (Ocak, 2002, 141). This motif shows a partnership in the works we have worked with as follows: When Hacı Bektaş visits Seyit Gazi's tomb and sets off again to Sulucakarahöyük, when he arrives in Bacı province, a lover surrenders to Hünkar and sacrifices the lamb to show his devotion. The bones of the lamb cooked are put back into the skin and its head is placed next to it, and the lambs become alive with the prayer of Hünkar (Gölpınarlı, 1958, 72). Sultan Suçattin; Baba Mecnun comes to Anatolia and wants to be a disciple to the Sultan's existence. But to be sure of his machete, he turns himself to a goat. Sultan; catch the goat, skin him, cook him in the cauldron. When the cooked meat is eaten, they put their head and skin on the bones and goat comes alive and becomes Baba Mecnun. He immediately becomes a disciple to the Sultan (Say, 2010, 111). M. Van Bruinessen also found that this belief in the Bektashis was also very common among the Ahl al-Haq Kurds in Iran (Ocak, 2002, 141)

Another motif is to remove water from the ground. This motif is found in the Kitab al-Muqaddes and the Qur'an. It is told that Samson took out water from the ground and drank it on the orders of the Lord when he was going to die of complete thirst (Hakimler, XV, 17-19). In the Qur'an, it is explained that Ayyup Prophet became thirsty during the illness, drank from

the water and washed his wounds by hitting his foot on the ground on the orders of Allah (Ocak, 2010, 274). An example from Hacı Bektaş-ı Veli's epic is as follows: Hünkar sees himself in a dark cave at Arafat Mountain. He pokes a place in front of him with his blessed finger, and water comes out of it. Those who visit Hünkar, bathe in that water in celebration (Gölpınarlı 1958: 28). The motif of the Shaykh Shucca squirting water was the Sultan who came to the place called Yağpınarı and took the evil eye. He put his footbase on the ground and a water came out of the place of his gauntlet (Çoban, 2017,77).

Another epic is about "Çorî borî." In this regard, epics in a similar manner are told. The first one is as follows:

One day, at the time of dinner, a group of 40 people comes from Dersim. The purpose of the group was to stay there and rob the house in the middle of the night. As the thieves speak among themselves, the Lady of the House understands what is spoken, as she is from Tunceli. Arap Agha asks for food to be prepared for the guests. However, dinner was made enough only for seven people. When Arap Agha says get the food ready again, the lady says "They may eat Çori bori" (Poison). Food is not prepared. Guests look at each other's faces on this saying from the housewife. They get a little bored, but they're very pleased. They think that "it is a good excuse to rob the house." The dinner time comes. "Pie" (kömbe) is put on the table enough for seven person. The meal is eaten, but never finishes. Remains as much as it is first cooked. Because of this incident, thieves get scared. They're full, but the meal stays the same. They stay there that night. They desist from robbing the house. They'll leave in the morning. Two of them don't learn from this miracle. On the way out, one takes the iron woodenpillow (gisin) and the other takes the cushion unfilled with hair- (balif). Before they reach the water's edge, they both fall in water with fear and their mouths bow. Upon this incident, his friends go to "Xarik"and take a sacrifice meat. They take their friends along with the sacrificial animal and take them to the presence of the Arab Agha. They beg and ask for forgiveness. Arap Agha takes out the cone on his head and touches with it to the one's mouth and the boot on his foot in the other's mouth. Both of them recover." In other narrative, the person who says Let them eat Cori Bori changes. This time, the host woman who told them to eat poison changes with the guest who says "Shall we eat poison? The other narration is as follows: "A guest group of 40 people come from his old surroundings. Dinner is served to the guests. The prepared meal is " Zırfet/Zırafet ". But the Zırfet is too small. It is only the size of what few people can eat. When the table is prepared and the Zırfet is served, the host will invite the guests to the table. Guests look at each other's faces, with one saying "Çor bori" ("Let's eat poison" – it means, nothing). But they still start eating. Forty people eat Zırfet, but it never finishes. Upon this event, the name of this quarry remains "Çoribori". The guests leave in the morning. As they leave, one of the guests steals the iron woodenpillow (gisin),

which is in front of the door, and hides it under his cardigan. While going not more than 100-150 meters, the one who steals the iron woodenpillow (Gisin) falls to the ground. The man, whose mouth is bent, hands and feet are crooked, is taken by his friends to Pamuklu, Pir. Pir prays and gives his blessings but the man still doesn't get well. So his friends bring him back to "Çoribori". The Arab Agha puts a handkerchief over the man's mouth and the man heals. According to a rumor, he takes "kulik" (cone) out of his head and puts it in his mouth. After that, this place becomes an Saint quarry (*M.A. Male, 55, Yoğunağaç Village, 9.08.2018*).

If attention is paid, the sacred book texts as well as the narratives in the written and oral tradition are described in more detail. The motifs of faith originating from the book of the Holy Scriptures have also entered into the realms in this field. "Feeding many people with little food", the motif was told on to the narratives of Christian saints from there to the narratives in this region. In Abdal Musa's Velayetname, it is told that Abdal Musa feed forty thousand hungry soldiers with his magic. We can come across with this motif in religious narratives. For Example, when Hz. Muhammad goes to Abu Talha's house with a crowded group, Abu Talha fears and worries that the food in the house will not be enough; however, the food is fertile and enough for the guest. In addition, Ocak evaluated the motif of "feeding many people with little food" in the Kitab-i Muqaddes and the common motifs in the menakibnames. Abdal Menakibname also describes Abdal Musa's protection of those around him from the plague. Again, Menakibü'l-Arifin shows a motif similar to the following menkabe: "Sultan Veled one day came to Çelebi's vineyard and complimented him. My friends wanted honey, but they didn't tell it. Çelebi ordered his gardener to 'remove fresh honey from the hive'. The gardener opened the hive, took out a few honeycombs of white honey and brought it to him. Çelebi again ordered 'bring honey'. He brought five or six honeycombs of honey from the same hive 'Bring it again' he said. 'This is the end (there is no more honey in th hive), ' said the gardener. 'The honey you bring is from a sea that is inexhaustible to the son of Hudavendigâr. If you bring it from it till the apocalypse, it will not run out,' Çelebi said. He finally brought seventeen pure honeycombs, but the hive was again

full' All this abundance is the result of the (auspicious) foot of Maulana Bahaeddin Hazrat,' Çelebi said. The plate was still full even though he devoured two hundred close friends. When the friends got up and left, Çelebi gave that hive to his veled holiness. Sultan Veled took it to his home. After a while many hives descended from that hive. They took advantage of it for a long time. Every patient who drink Sherbet from that honey was recovering quickly (Açıkgöz, 2015, 41).

If the inhabitants of the villages in the study area change their existence as a nomadic being belonging to a certain 'place', the effect of the epics is quite high. At the same time, they play a role in social organization, inter-village relations and the construction of social rules. In addition, sitting, residing or keeping abode "and" taking root in the place where they live, there are epics, myths and memorates that they provide for this continuity and transfer to the next generations.

Another element that has social functions after epics is memorat. There is a lot of memorates in the area, especially about religious personages and holy places. The most important functional role of these cults, whose existence has been known in Anatolian culture since the mythological period, are undoubtedly the memorates. From the beginning to the present, the generalizations that man has encountered in his struggle with nature, as a result of his own logic and interpretation in a consistent manner, have formed his world views or ideologies due to the systematics that have evolved into folk beliefs and belief chains. However, with the new situations, they are interpreted and assimilated from the current ideology, or they are articulated as "new elements" in a way that does not contradict the present form of the basic functioning of the philosophy of the people." In this way, many of them enrich the culture with new diversification and nationalization by ensuring the continuation of "ethnic" and "cultural" identities that have been established before history. In this process, there are

institutionalized discourses that have formed around them with assets that are considered to have extraordinary power.

Communication with saints and martyrs; the first of the memorates that manifest through dreaming and in the form of events believed to be experienced are as follows:

The axpin field, registered in Pir Cemal Abdal 's name, has not been planted or mowed in any way to date. Someone from the nearby village wants to sow this field over time. Saints don't agree with that. The peasant does not receive the warnings and one morning he takes his oxen and enters the field. Begin to plow the field. But in vain! Oxen don't move! The man said to the oxen, "Oh My Father, Ho my father!", the oxen would not walk even a step, and then one of the oxen would sleep, collapsing where it was standing. The man takes the decision that this is not going to be, the last time he takes his oxen out of the plow and overwhelmingly returns home. At night in his dream, he sees Piri Cemal Avdel". He says in an angry manner " Lo tu çıma ew şund a hesp é mın dikoli, diki cud? Kes lé dere ne kot! Ew zewi, şunda ye hesp é mine, çıma du va nézan i! (Why are you riding my horse's field? That field is my horse's field! And don't you know it!") The man wakes up from sleep in by sweating. On that day, he takes his ox lying in the field and comes to the field in the morning. In the same place he cuts the Ox and sacrifices it to the saint. He cries and asks for forgiveness from Cemal Avdel ". Thus, the problem is solved (*C.D. Male, 72, Üçbudak Village, 13.02.2018*).

When we look at this text in terms of functional⁶⁰ features, we can say that this memorat strengthens and confirms social values of society. Here, a function in the context of protection of areas belonging to others or seen as sacred emerges.

The subject of the memorat is in harmony with the socio-cultural and psycho-cultural environment. The Holy acceptance of the shrines in the region and the trees originating from faith therefore brought about not being touched by the trees in the vicinity of the shrines. Even the trees that have fallen off the ground are not taken home by the villagers (Visual 34).

⁶⁰ Çobanoğlu states that these functions are divided into two as follows: "Open functions are functions that can be easily defined and observed within the socio-cultural structure. Hidden functions can not be easily defined and observed within the social structure, their main purpose is not obvious. It is a construct derived from the fact that the movements or behaviors of these individuals may not "find identical or synonymous" with the principal motivation in their consciousness.



Visual 34. The use of falling branches in Güzelbaba Tomb for visiting area (Emrah Tüncer, 12 July 2018)

The continuation of these areas through memorates has made important contributions to the protection of trees in this region. For example, C.D. explains not cut down the trees in the following words:

Well, they have dreams. Look, now you tell me, "I'll give you the country if you go and cut a tree from there." I won't. If you give the deed of this district, my opinion, it is my personal opinion that if you buy me a thousand mercedes, 500 mercedes and tell me go and cut the tree on Cemal abdalın, I will not cut. I can not. Because the cutter has always been punished (*C.D. Male, 72, Üçbudak Village, 13.02. 2018*).

There is a similar belief in the Sunni villages. For example, H.K. states these for the tomb in the forest area within the boundaries of the Demirdelen, (Kafan) villages:

For example, when we go to visit, we cannot interfere with the trees there. We don't cut or burn or let someone bring it from there. For us, they are great trees, they are valued. They are valuable according to our belief. When we go, we go to the shrine firstly and visit. After the visit prayers pray. They read the Koran and pray. They prayed according to his belief. We cook our food there after praying.

We have our dinner. We will come to our house after a nice conversation in a festivity style (*BÖ. Male, 58, Demirdelen Village, 22.04.2018*).

In this sense, the memorates show that many of the Islamic, human and moral values that make up the socio-cultural structure of society have an important function in keeping the society alive. C.D describes a similar event in the context of strengthening belief:

I've seen it myself. I don't want to bother you, my mother was a cancer, she had breast cancer. We were in İstanbul. I went to the Pir Cemal Abdal and said this woman was of service. What if the thing that our doctor said would happen. You killed us all. Kill us before them that we can not see today. So I admonished. It came from inside. I also felt such pity, I said oh how my mother would lose 30 pounds, 30 pounds she is a skin and bone. So when you look at her, you die. I told. I swore to Pir Jamal Abdal... I got in the car, after 2 minutes my phone rang, he said get your mother to the doctor quickly she get worse. My mom was like you and me, nothing worse about her, she was 78 kilos. I have a good doctor with me from Hozat. It was a coincidence that we went in with him, we get off with him right away, this is yours, this is mine, this is yours, this is mine, I couldn't catch and see my mother. Okey I couldn't catch up, but I couldn't accept how my mother died. His doctor came to condolence Özcan uçar who owns Hayat Pharmacy. I said: Özcan, let me tell you something but don't tell it to anyone, I said oh, how this woman was going to die like this. You know what he said she died beacuse of lung stopped breathing. Well, I swear. This is a cancer patient, skin and bone remains, skin and bone ... I now say Allah Muhammad I say even if I never believe, I can not do wrong even if you put a gun to my head when somebody says Cemal Abdal. I saw it with my eyes, saw it (*C.D. Male, 72, Üçbudak Village, 13.02.2018*).

As can be seen from this memorat, this narrative memorat protects environmental and social values, and is the subject of events leading to "punishment" as well as "warning".

One of the many memorates on strengthening faith and increasing the commitment to the tomb and visits points to an interesting situation. The incident which H.E.E. claims to have happened during his visit to Düzgün Baba, which is not in the field of study but is considered especially sacred for the Alevis of the region, is described as follows:

Let me give you another example. Maybe there were a lot of rumors about this Düzgün Baba during our time as a revolutionary. We were always trying to frustrate them. So in a religious sense, and that's all rumour. We were always trying to frustrate things that had nothing to do with reality. There are discourses originating from the myths that developed during the periods when the Düzgün Baba lived. We were trying to waste them all. Perhaps the teacher (his own peasant, retired teacher) heard about it. 40 friends going to the Düzgün Baba.

Eighty-ninety percent of the people who go there and bring real faith and sacrifice are dreaming. They were dreaming about things. And the dream usually comes true, my friends are also rumored to refute the thesis that it is a lie. 40 of my friends go there, most of them have the same dream. Seventy percent of them had the same dream and seventy percent had the same similarity with 70 percent. In different ways, but this place is a place of worship where the people who work here in this region of the religious rules, that is, a lie in the effort to impose such a person living here. It was said at the time that the friends who went there were always thinking the same thing because they thought we were trying to disprove it again. You always think the same thing psychologically, the same thing you saw for him. We were trying to frustrate them. You know Güzel Baba here in our region too. You know I care. You know we value and give meaning, but at that time we were trying to eliminate it completely.” The world has a rule. I mean, this world works in a way, it's being directed, and this world has an owner, so you can call it nature. You can call it Mother Nature, you can call it something different. However, I think that there is an owner of this world. There are many events that have come from past to the present. Besides, in our business, of course, more than 70 percent of them are not all. The people who lead our religion have always been guided. People have sought solutions within themselves from seeking solutions at the gates of the state. Seventy per cent of the solution has also been with people who have pioneered the religion. We learn, for example, that there are extraordinary aspects of a person who has experienced various extraordinary situations in different parts. For example I've seen a miracle with my eyes. But I do not know how much it has to do with it. My two nephews Metê and Altun. Their grandchildren from Çakanlı, two twins came here from Istanbul. They were both 67 years old, both of them were crosseyed and wearing glasses. We took him to the çori bori. They stayed here for 3 weeks. We took them every Thursday. We put their heads in that thing so I mean I'm taking them, I am. That's when I was still saying so this is a tradition, that is a belief. I thought it wouldn't have a side effect, and then these kids, you know, now they're each about 30-35 years and their eyes are all fixed. And now is it with the help of the doctor or the glasses, but I'm just about to, uh, relate it with this situation. Because of belief (H.E.E. Male, 55, Çayırgülü Village, 26.06.2018).

There are many similar narratives in this context. One of the examples where the tomb, visitation and its surroundings are blessed in this way is the one that is related to the Sefkar Baba Tomb⁶¹. The narrative on this subject is as follows:

⁶¹According to the description of Sefkar Baba's tomb in the area until about a hundred years ago there was no tomb next to it. Because those buried here were seen to be out of their graves when they left the next day. The local people stated how it was converted into a cemetery: "while the Russians occupied Erzurum and its surroundings, Sayyid Mullah Osman and his companions from the same lineage migrated westwards and stayed near Karakoçan. An old man named Pasha Bey died in Karakoçan in the tribe of Dolan from the village of Mullah Omar, who served him for twenty years and was connected to the İaşes of the students and the Great services of tedrisata, Çat the district of Erzurum. Sayyid Mullah Osman wants to defend Pasha Bey with his Eminence Sayyid Ibrahim for his help and services. Before the burial, Sayyid Mullah Osman visited the Tomb of this person and read a Yasin-i Sharif beside the tomb and said, "O great ancestor! This man has served us for more than twenty years. Through this, knowledge and lore were spread in that village and in the surrounding villages. If you let us bury you." His son Sayyid turns to Ismail and says, "dig where I point, we will bury Pasha

When the tomb was being built, a person named Abdullah helped build the dome. When the tomb construction was finished, some material left. Mr. Abdullah asked the man who built the tomb for permission; "May I take the left material? He answered "Take the ingredients but don't take the sand. Because the sand has donated by someone else." But Mr. Abdullah didn't not listen to the man, he took away all the material, including sand. That night, the neighbor of Mr. Abdullah saw two young men with a bag in his dream. He asked to the youngsters "Who are you looking for? They say they are looking for Abdullah for interrogation. When he asked about the crime of his neighbour Abdullah, young people replied "He has taken our sand, and we will take him away." In the morning, the neighbor tells his dream to Mr. Abdullah. Then, Mr. Abdullah took the sand and poured it back into place it belongs to (*H.E.E., Male, 55, Çayırgülü Village, 26.06.2018*).

The majority of the memorates in the field of study contain motifs such as healing after visiting, dreaming, and distributing healing. This condition can be seen in many memoratts. For example, when we went to the visit the house of Cori Bori, we met H.G. He describes the incident that went through as follows.

We came with my uncle's daughter. I was at the middle school. Our elders took us here. They said there's a round window up there on the roof. Look down there three times. So there I've looked three times. I looked and then I came downstairs. I slept one night. That night this place started to itch (by showing the inside of the eye). The black thing in my eye can not be seen, it's been there ever since. There was the daughter of my unccle. She laughed as she was looking through the hole, her eye didn't heal. That same evening, my eye itch, itch, and it opened. My eye has healed. Everybody knows this place. We know that. The owner's daughters were my friends. We're going to the spa, we're coming here. So we love it. We believe, we have faith. A lot of people would come here. There were crazy ones, for example who had gone crazy. They came to this Saint to heal. You should just have faith. Everything happens after you have faith. That night, my body shook. Then I felt. I lay on top of him that night looking at him from the roof, that's when it happened. I hadn't been in nineteen. My uncle's daughter, if you laugh, if you don't believe it won't happen. My uncle's daughter did not get well. Although she had a surgery, she did not recover. I came because I believed in Saint. The black of my eye can not be seen. Then recovered (*H.G., Female, 42, Yoğunağaç Köyü, 12. 07. 2018*).

As it can be understood from this narrative, the historical identity formed around "Çori Bori" is intertwined with the myths and expresses itself in the memorates of the present day. The

Bey here." The tomb is prepared and the Pasha Bey is buried. They spend that night in Karakoçan. In the morning Sayyid Mullah Osman said to the son of Sayyid Mullah Ismail "go look at the grave is it there? Sayyid Ismail, who goes and checks, informs him that he is in place. After this date, the people willingly defend the neighborhood of this person in the surrounding villages and those who died here in the center of the district, buried there."

Arab Aga, who showed various miracles in his health and who favored the people, continued his characteristics after he died. And she continues to vitalize himself in Çori Bori.

H.K. who expresses his healing, emphasize this feature of many visits or shrines in the region.

H.K. refers to:

I got up in the morning and said I'm going to the ... I don't have a car then. I said Gehoka lets go. He said okey. We came the half-way, he said not to go. He said if we go, we'd crash on that Gas hill and die. I said if we will have an accident, we will go. We went near that cemetery. Close to that Garip Baba, before I got there, a stone run out from under my foot and we were nearly fell down. I went through more strange things when I approached the shrine. Exactly 5-10 meters left, he said don't go. I said we'd go anyway. He said don't go, they'll tear you apart. I said, yaw, who are we gonna tear me up? He said, Don't you see the wolves? Can't you see the snakes? I told let them come. He pulled himself back and I grabbed him. There are a few women, I don't know where they came from. We finally reached to visit and he read the Qur'an. I said, um, read to the shrine a little bit, you know how to read? As soon as he came to the Tomb Hewşê (the tomb area surrounded by stones) he passed out. He fainted. I said to those women stay out of the way, let him stay like this. He lay for 5 minutes then woke up. It's like he became a different person. So he regained his consciousness. I said what happened? He said that a bright young 20-year-old man came in front of me. I said I don't know how many people disappeared, woke up there. So it wasn't like he was awake at the time, let me tell you. We came home the next day and he stayed here, we'll go to Palu. We went there and I looked his situation is not good. So when you go to visits, those patients get worse. I said with the mini bus, it would be a bit difficult with the passenger, let me hire a private taxi. The morning I went, there was no one, I went to the hill. We turned the taps there was no water. I said lets have ablution, let's visit the shrines. There's one village while you're looking at from top to bottom. Now when he spoke, he said he would be a guest there one night, he said to the bearded uncle. We went there, there was an uncle with a beard, I said, uncle, we came to get water. He said Come. He said there's no water in the plump, it is broken. You know. He gave us some water. Said my nephew. He said your lady is sick. I said, yes she is. He said stay here tonight and leave tomorrow... I wonder if this is the way they say it is all true. I said. We can't wait. I said Maybe she'll be sick. We got the water, we came to the top of the hill. We went through those visits, those shrines. I mean, she becomes a little better. And then we came. And after that, she's never fainted so far. They said it was two or three years ago when we were going. We haven't been there yet, she's recovered, she hasn't fallen up to now (A.G., Female, 44, Yoğunağaç Village, 12.07. 2018).

Current and new memorates are also produced with these. M. A. in the region is generally seen as both very smart and a little crazy. He had some discourse that he knew the things before, and whoever he would curse. M.A.who sees people who are invisible to everyone, expresses the incident that he has experienced:

Okay, that's tea. I pour. I'm making tea, you know. I come too early in the morning. I get up at 5:00 a.m. I poured the tea and looked, they surrounded the tomb. The bride and groom hold hands. There's one horse with them. The horse held his head like this. I said to myself. Maybe they're getting married, they're coming here, they're taking pictures. They just got married. At that time my shoelace opened. I got it under my foot. I tied it, okay? I raised my head and looked again and there was no one. I was so shocked. It wasn't a dream. They were alive. They were standing there. I said I'll go there and say I've made the tea come and drink. That's what I said. I said I've made tea, I'll give you tea. I tied the shoelace, raised my head, looked and there was no one. Oh this can't be happening (*M.A, Male, 43, Çayırgülü Village, 15.07. 2018*).

The social values strengthened by the memorates not only include the "religious" ones in their origins, but also include a wide range of social and cultural practices. For example, some of the interviewees who stated that Alevis tried to express themselves easily with the Republic and Atatürk period and stated that they were visible for the first time after this period created some memorates in this context. M.A:

I saw Atatürk in my dream. He said go and tell the government to get the body bags ready. Let me tell you. We have a cafe here. I said I saw Atatürk. He said go first when I saw him, but he said go tell the government to get the body bags ready. Also I didn't care. And the earthquake happened in that evening. There was an earthquake in Istanbul in 1999. That same night, that guy said, Let's show you on TV. He said you said you saw Atatürk. Look, the earthquake happened and a lot of people died. Let's show you on TV. Your dream came true. It happened in the following evening. Atatürk came again. He said, didn't I tell you? Go tell them to get the body bags ready. Anyway, he took me to a field. You go to Istanbul to Çatalça. I said, you're a big man. I said I'm poor, I can't afford. You tell the government to help you. I said, help me. He said no, I'll give you an idea. I said no I don't want. He said do you want a lot of money. I said, yes I need the money. He said come on then he took me to a field by the side of the road, he said in the field there is something very valuable in that my mother buried in the war. He said that's enough for you, take it. I looked and opened. There was something similar to the shiny gold. I was ashamed to take it while he is there. He said just take this. I saw it again in one day. He has two disabled sons. They're both in bed. I saw every night. Then it was disappeared (*M.A, Male, 43, Çayırgülü Village, 15.07. 2018*).

Present a different example of memorate. As can be seen, the memorates also have a multifaceted function with their economic, political, historical and psychological aspects. Important events in which people live and are affected in personal, family and social spheres

in daily life, ignored situations can emerge with sleep and prepare the ground for the formation of memorates.

Educating, teaching and lecturing in the memorates and legends are also prominent. When I was a child, I heard the legend of a "pepuk bird" which I heard most frequently and I was very upset every time I remembered it. As everywhere in this village too, the meanings imputed to the sounds it made. The example of typical legend group is:

These two beautiful children, who are loved in the village where they live, grew in joy with chirping bird sounds, baas of lambs, in the beauty of the highlands with the best of blue and green together, in the shadows and the breeze of the trees in the mountain side. Until one day their mother suddenly became ill and died. This situation has destroyed all the joy, peace and happiness of the family. The two siblings neither laughed nor rejoiced and played as they used to do. A heavy cloud of mourning and fog surrounded all around...After a while, their father had to remarry because he had no one to cook at home. He was married, and their stepmother was vicious and had no children, so she never liked children and was hostile. She is evil when she has the opportunity, she does not hold back from doing every cruelty she can. Especially when their father leaves the house, pity them that his children suffer all kinds of torments and she never let them be comfortable. She maket he kids work and beat the them day and night and scared them not to tell anyone. Poor children, despite all these evils, still try to live their lives by enduring every desperate torment so that their father does not believe in what their stepmother did...On a spring day when their father is not home again, their stepmother sends kids to the mountain to collect a kind of plant, gave bags, knives and pickaxes to the two siblings. They left home early in the morning and made their way up the mountain to collect kenger-a plant. The sister put the kengers in the bag that his brother carried on his back, and so they collected the kenger until it started to get dark. When they were about to return to the village, the sister took the bag to see if the bag he was carrying on her brother's back was full, and there was no kenger in it. Surprised by the situation, the sister said, 'You've eaten the kengers we've been collecting all morning secretly, haven't you?' How do we get home now? Our stepmother will kill us!..., ' And his brother said, ' no, sister, I have not eaten except for the one kenger you gave me!' said. But he couldn't get his sister to believe it. 'Sister, if you still don't believe me, open my stomach if you want to!' he said. His sister took the knife and slit his stomach so that he could not eat the kenger, except for a kenger she gave. His stomach was empty, it turns out that he did not eat the kengers!... His brother told the truth. She tried to sew his brother's belly, but his brother died on that spot. She looked at the bag which bore at the bottom and she understood that the kengers they had collected since the morning had been fallen from the hole. It turns out that their stepmother gave them a hole-in-the-bottom bag (for being evil in the evening). The sister, who made the mistake of not believing her brother and caused his death, was surprised by this pain and remorse and washed her brother with the water of the fountain there and buried him crying. The sister, who made a

mistake by not believing her brother and caused his death, began to beg and pray to Allah with this pain and remorse. 'God make me pepuk bird and release, so that as the world turns I will keep calling my brother! from the mountains to the mountains. Legend is that, the girl's wish came true that night, the young girl that night, luckily, became a Pepuk bird and fly to the tree on the bedside of his brother and was always calling out for his brother. And from that day this girl, wandering around in the mountains as a pepuk bird, reports to everyone that she killed her brother. Every spring, when the kenger bush out of the ground, the sad song of the pepuk bird begins.

Table 12: Manifestation of Pepuk Bird Story in Different Languages

(Zazaish)	(Kurdish)	(English)
<p>"Phepu" "Kheku" "Kam kerd" "Mı kerd" "Kam kişt" (çışt) "Mı kişt" (çışt) "Kam şüt" "Mı şüt" "Ax! Ax! Ax!"</p>	<p>'Pepuu' "Kekuu" "Ke qir?" "Mın qir" 'Ke kuşt?' 'Mın kuşt' 'Ke şuşt?' 'Mın şuşt' "Ah! ah! Ah!"</p>	<p>"Pepuu" "Kekuu" (father) "Who did this?" "I did" "Who killed?" 'I killed' 'Who washed?' 'I washed' "Vah! Vah! Vah"</p>

Emrah TÜNCER,2019

All these narratives, which contain traditions, beliefs, socio- cultural values, can also be said to serve as a social and moral orientation for society. These discourses can be expressed as the protection of the shrine area, the belief of the people, the respect to the elders, the people who are sacred, and providing solidarity. In the same way, the greatest representatives of Islam and the members of Islam are sacred, and any bad behavior related to their shrines will result in accident, trouble and disaster.

6.3. Sharing the belief

6.3.1. The Effects of Cults On Social Solidarity

In the study area, these cults can be listed as “mountain / hill and stone cult”, “water cult” and “tree and forest cult” respectively. As the cult of the ancestors was evaluated with the tomb and visits before, this issue will not be mentioned again.

6.3.1.1. The Cult of Mountain / Hill and Stone

The first of the important cults in the study area is “Mountain / Hill and Stone Cult”. Mountains and hills have been accepted as a symbol of greatness, glory and divinity for people due to their heights and proximity to the sky since the earliest known periods of history. For this reason, it was thought to be the place of superhuman beings and deities (Ocak, 1983, 70-71).

The mountains are considered sacred due to several common features. In the beliefs of primitive societies, mountains are among the important places because they are the residence of the gods, while in the more advanced religions, the sanctity of the mountains symbolizes the glory and transcendence of God. So that in places where there are no mountains, people have built various towers to get closer to the God. The Tower of Babylon, the ziggurats in Mesopotamia, the Pyramids of Theocalli in Mexico are among the mentioned structures. In the mountain cult that was in Anatolia, in parallel with the influence of the Islamic religion, a number of changes began to be seen. As for the mentioned changes, it is necessary to express that the mountain meaning attributed to sanctity is parallel to Islamic line. With an Islamic view, the mountains shown among the blessed places have begun to be consecrated with great importance, especially by the Bektashi and Alawite groups (Ocak, 1993, 402).

People are presumed to view the high mountains and volcanoes, which are mysterious to them, as a sacred object or deity from the Neolithic period, although there is no certainty for earlier periods. It is thought that human beings may have the possibility to think that there is a

gate or palace of heaven in the mountains because of the sun setting through the mountains when they are caught in such a thought in the mountains. With this idea, some mountains were not only seen as sacred in polytheistic beliefs, but also as a sacred place in monotheistic beliefs. In the Torah, Allah tells Moses, “I will be with you, and it will be the sign for you that I have sent you: When you remove the people from Egypt, you will worship Allah on this mountain.” With the help of this knowledge, in some monotheistic religions, the thought of the mountains as a sacred place can be reached. The Hittites also saw the mountains as the place of the Gods, due to this idea, and this thought was reflected in their mythological stories. Also III. Hattušili, on II. Šuppiluliuma's death, it is understood from the phrase “When my grandfather Šuppiluliuma reached the mountain” that the new residence of a deceased King was the mountain (Turgut and Murat, 2013, 106).

The study site and the surrounding mountains are considered sacred and this date back to very old times. One of the observations on this subject is about the Palu environment, where the field of study was also formerly connected. The Reverend Boğos Natanyan, who has detailed observation about Palu, tells that there are three ways to go to Palu. The route of the third road is through the Black Sea Trabzon, then again through with camel train to Gümüşhane, Erzincan, from the high mountains of Kuzucan to Surp Luys mountain⁶² (sacred light) adjacent to the Kığı, from the foothill of Kığı arrive to Palu directly that it is at the southeast side." Defines the form. Also he gives the following information about the mountain he refers to as Surp Luys:" the mountain is separated from the nearby mountains because of its high position. Rumour has it that this mountain, topped by frequent trees and large rocks in the shape of crosses, was once a visiting place.

⁶² Surp Luys (Holy Light) is nowadays called Mount Sülbus. This mountain is located directly opposite of the work site.

Both Turks and Armenians visit this site, which was established in a place to the south, off the road between Kiğı and Palu, and most of them find healing. Its air is healthy and its water is cold and sweet (Bardizaktsi, Natanyan, and Sirvantsdyants ,2010). There are many mountains, hills and stones which are attributed to sanctity in the study area and constitute a place in our research. Most of them have been sanctified by a parent or saint. For example, Uştep is used both as a hill used as a plateau and a shrine where a martyr lies.

It is also noteworthy that the vast majority of the tombs are built on high places, hills. According to the common belief, these hills where the tomb of the saint often descends from the sky light or as a result of the light of the shrines are formed here. Sefkar Baba, Pir Cemal Abdal are the tombs established in the dominant hilly area.

When we look at the stone and rock cult, Menakıb-ı Hacı Bektaş-ı Veli is the only menkıbe containing motifs in this sense. Rumor has it that Hacı Bektash-ı Veli is believed to have climbed a red rock to meet the fan and run the rock for a long time in order to show mercy to Seyyid Mahmud Hayrani, who came to visit him by riding the lion and whipping the snake. Bektashis and Kizilbaslar believe that this rock, which is three hundred and fifty meters away from the tomb, is actually walking (Ocak, 1983,78).

In Central Asia, there is a great deal of data on the pre-Islamic period in which some stones and rocks are regarded as blessed by Turks. The famous Kut Mountain Legend of the Uighurs is a good example of this. In this myth, the prosperity of the Uyghur country is attributed to a large jade rock called Kut Mountain, and thanks to this rock, the country and the people lead a life free from disaster. Chinese people learn this, in exchange for giving the emperor's daughter to the son of Uighur khan want that rock. Despite the resistance of the people Khan accept the proposal. The Chinese shred the rock and take it to their country. However, scarcity

begins with the disappear of rock and eventually Uighurs are forced to migrate (Ocak, 1983, 79).

In the study area, there is a rumor that there is a footprint of Hz. Ali on the rock expressed as “Kevirê Dundilê. This situation has led this rock to be sacred. In addition, a large portion of the tombs that we can identify in the study area are loaded with sacred stones and used for healing purposes. According to the belief among the people, these stones get their power from the owner of the tomb. For example, the candles are lit in the rocks at the entrance of Güzel Baba Tomb and there is a narrative that there are stones that the bucket cannot break during the road construction. Kêwirê Qun, Quri Taşan are another important rock cult areas in the area. (Visual 35).



Visual 35. The sacred stone at the entrance to the shrine (Emrah Tuncer, 18 November 2015)

Again Kêwirê Qun are other important rock cult areas in the Quri Taşan area. These stones are also visited and cared for by the villagers.

6.3.1.2. The Cult of Water

Humanity has been in need of water since its existence, and thus they lived in the regions where they can meet their water needs. For people living in the early stages, water stands for “renewal” and is at the root of the most important religious rituals. It has been stated that it enables men to enter the administration of the sanctuary. Water continued to be seen as a sacred after the Hittites. During the Late Hittite Principality, the existence of monuments on water cult is known. Perhaps it was stated that this cult of water, which came from the Hittites in Anatolia, may have formed the tradition of bathing with water cults in the Greek and Roman faiths.

The earliest examples of river gods are seen in Mesopotamian societies and especially in Babylonian culture, rivers are accepted as the mother of the seas. Similarly, the Sumerians, who had established a civilization before the Babylonian society and had great influence on the Babylonian culture, attributed sanctity to the Euphrates. In a Sumerian painting, Euphrates and Tigris rivers flow over the top of God Enki (Turgut and Murat 2013, 123-124).

According to the oldest records on “water cult” in Turkish cultural history; Under the dominance of Huns, water was considered sacred by the Turks. In June, the Huns of Asia and the Uighurs in the Ongin River region also sacrificed horses and sheep to Göktenrı, ancestors and natural forces at the source of Tamır River. In the Orkhon inscriptions, the earth is mentioned as the protective spirits of the Turks (Gökbel, 1998,267). There are many examples of water motifs in written sources on belief system in ancient Turks. Some of these can be summarized as follows: Orkhon Inscriptions refer to holy water sources. Therefore, water pollution is avoided. In Çağatay it is forbidden to enter the water flowing during the day (İnce 2009, 145).

Water resources in the study area are also an important element that we include within the scope of the visit concept. Some of the water resources in the area are considered as sacred. For example, the White Fountain in Üçbudak Village occupies an important place in this context. In addition, there are water sources attributed to holiness due to a tomb or a person believed to have been lying there. Sefkar Baba tomb, the fountains in the beautiful Baba tomb is considered sacred because of the people buried in the mausoleum.

There is also a water source and a tree, believed to be flooded with the wand of Six Delil Berxecan in Üçbudak village. They are considered as sacred. Another narrative about Çori Bori was that, people brought water from there to their house and expressed that they wished to put this water in a corner of their home and bring abundance to their homes.

6.3.1.3 The Cult of Trees and Forests

As another cult; "tree and forest cult " can be shown. In the distant and recent past, the cult of trees and forests, which occupied a very important place in various times and places of the Turkish belief systems, has been revealed by various researches that today, as in various parts of the Turkish world, it is living in Anatolia in different ways and there are positive-negative beliefs and practices around the tree. For example, a belief among the Black Kirghizians that "vicious women roll down under an apple tree alone to give birth to children, believing that they will have children by this means" is related to the cult of trees and forests (Frazer, 1991, 78-79). The fact that the Muslim cams in East Turkestan treated the patients brought before them with aphasia while keeping beech trees around them can also be regarded as a reflection of the tree cult in ancient Turks dating back to today, according to İnan's information. The belief that "passing through the tree hive", which occurs among Damal Turkmens, can also be considered as a functional reflection of the treatment of diseases in this context (Çoban 2017,88). For the situation in Anatolia, Ocak makes the following statement:

The Anatolian site is seen as one of the most interesting examples of tree cult in Muslim Turks. Although this cult is located in the Sunni section, it can be said that it is mostly found in Alevi groups. This cult has even entered official documents. In a report sent by an Ottoman governor named Memduh Pasha to Abdulhamid II, it is stated that the Kizilbashs respect the big trees and visit them frequently (Ocak, 1983, 89).

On the basis of this cult, there is the notion of the soul, which is believed to be strong in nature beings, depending on various reasons (Kaya, 2001,206). Eliade stated that in the tree cult, as in other natural cult, not the material existence of the tree, but the properties and the power represented by it are the subject of the cultation. On the other hand, he emphasises that human beings are growing, evolving, and finally rotting for some reason having parallels between their own life with the tree (Eliade, 1999,23).

As in all parts of Anatolia, the reflections of the tree cult are also highlighted in the places of visit in the workplace. There are various types of trees attributed to sanctity in the region, where the public pays attention and protects, visits at certain times and sacrifices. Especially the most commonly found oak in the region is valuable in terms of wood properties, fruit and leaves are considered as animal feed.

Beside the tombs and graves at the work site, some nearby trees are considered sacred because of the connection between the saint and the tree. Apart from its economic and recreational function, some of the trees are sacred because they are located next to the tomb and the grave, and because of the connection between the tree and saint. Therefore, it is considered as a sin to damage some trees because they are located next to the entombed saint, and it is believed that those who break the rules will be struck or that a disaster will happen to them. On the other hand, there are beliefs such as tying cloth to the branches of trees and the ingestion of fruits with the intention of healing. Trees, especially in shrines, are certainly not taken home, the animals are not allowed in and is not used for anything with individual

purposes. Only when the sacrifice is done, the fire can be burnt by taking from the dry trees in that shrine.

As a result of these cults in existence; in particular, mountain, stone, water, tree and forest are counted among the assets attributed to sanctity by the local people, so these assets are highly respected and also constitute the basis of various belief practices. Therefore, it has important effects such as coming together and playing a role in solidarity. In this context, we can say that cults in the field of study have an important function in the transformation of space into place and that these cults realize the sustainability of environment-human relations and the formation of sacred space and transfer it to collective memory.

6.4.Sharing Kinship Codes

6.4.1. The Impact of Marriages on Social Solidarity

In many mythologies, “sky” is depicted as the Supreme God, and “the place” is defined as his wife. Therefore, the marriage of sky and Earth is the first holy marriage. The worship to the goddess was at the beginning of the rituals of fertility and reproduction, and in Mesopotamia, it was thought that the goddess provided the welfare and abundance of the people. For this reason, special festivals and holidays in the country were arranged in honor of the goddess and religious ceremonies were held. The most important of all holidays is the New Year which is celebrated with special holidays and ceremonies lasting for days. The most important ceremonial of the new year was “holy marriage”, performed with the aim of securing abundance and the welfare of the country and the people. In the ceremonial, a “holy marriage” ceremony would be held between one of the chief nuns representing the goddess and the king representing the god Tammuz (Sumerian Dummuzi). The marriage of the goddess Īštar and the god Tammuz was considered a symbol of abundance and fertility, and it was believed to

be a “holy marriage”. The “holy marriage” ceremony, which is believed to provide the happiness of society by bringing abundance and fertility, was first held in Sumerians in an era earlier than 3000 B.C and was symbolically revived in temples during more than 2000 years among Mesopotamian societies. This ritual, which started with the Sumerians and then continued in the Sami societies, was repeated every year in The Ululu month. In the new year, it was believed that the world was recreated periodically and that the ritual of holy marriage had significant consequences. Thus, the divine energy is distributed to the Earth and prosperity and happiness are secured in the new year that begins (Kiliç and Uncu, 2011, 189).

As in Mesopotamian culture, marriage, which is considered sacred in many cultures, is also universal as the beginning of the family. Marriage is also considered as a ritual, symbolizing the individual's transition from one social status to another. As it is known, rituals which have a collective character as their main character, keep the group together, increase solidarity and strengthen the collective consciousness of the community. Therefore, this kind of ritual, role and status transformations of people, causes the changes in the social structure. This transition is accomplished through rituals in order to prevent the changes that occur in the social structure in question from creating situations that conflict with the existing structure. Because rituals enable such transformations in the social structure by preventing conflicts or legitimizing the transformation experienced.

Mead also mentions the characteristics of the institution of marriage in the Mundugumor tribe, a New Guinea tribe he studied:

The Mundugumor social organization is based on mutual hostility between all persons of the same sex, and allegiance among those of the same sex can only be established through those of the opposite sex...They are considered as members of the same group according to either father or mother and there is a strong bond between them... It is the marriage that connects brothers and sisters in a strange way. Marriage here is based on the principle of replacing the sister-brother. One brother gives his sister to another man and takes his sister (Saran, 115-126).

As can be seen, the marriage institution has a significant effect on traditional inter-communal relations. Therefore, the family unit established through marriage is the most fundamental carrier of the value judgments, belief structures of society. It is also a fertile unit that reproduces society. We can add to these determinations that, citing Bourdieu and Halbwachs, the family is not only a social and economic, but also an ideological unit (Depeli, 2009,185). So it is not just and simply transforming the relationship of acquaintance into a relationship of kinship/lineage, carried out here by marriage. To reinforce this relationship in line with socio-economic conditions and to secure the continuity of the relationship.

In the field of study, marriage is perceived as a basic social institution. In villages, permanent and monogamous marriage is dominant and forms the basis of the family institution. The most important reason for the family institution is the continuity of the lineage.

It's role in social solidarity and the establishment of relations between villages are evident. Despite the differences in belief, many people who advocate coexistence consider marriage as an element of an exchange. For example, Sunni interviewer summarizes such an approach as follows:

I'm 18 years old. When we went to Istanbul, I learned what Alevism and Sunnism are. We live here together as a family. We also get married with Alevi girls. We gave girls to the Alevis. My aunt is Alevi also we gave girls to the Alevis. Therefore, we never knew what Alevism and Sunnism are (*H.K. Male,44, Tekardıç Village,20.03. 2018*).

Again in the study area C.D. noted that the impact of Alevi / Sunni marriages on the development of relations between villages makes similar description:

Either girls getting married in change or they have kirvets. Look, my three brides are Sunni, three brides in the Netherlands are Sunni, but I want five of them to be Sunnis. What the hell! I protect them, my brothers protects them. They are close to each other. They love each other, so the people here are different. They are different from other people (*C.D, Male ,72, Üçbudak Village, 13.02.2018*).

In marriages between Sunni and Alevi individuals, Alevis have the prejudice that their freedom will be restricted and pressure will be on them, while the Sunnis have prejudice because of the fact that they are outside of their own sect and that the information is incorrect and incomplete. After the marriage process and the families getting to know each other more closely, most of these prejudices disappeared.

The increasing number of such marriages paves the way for the gradual elimination of the Alevi-Sunni distinction. Therefore, there are many common areas in the society where they can establish their unity.

While weddings in the field of study also have ritualistic and religious dimensions, they have the effect of bringing together, providing social support, empowering solidarity (Visual 36).



Visual 36. Wedding night feast and entertainment in Çayırgülü Village (Emrah Tuncer 27 July 2015)

H.D who says that this situation was more dominant and decisiveat past:

If you say our wedding, we would gather in the same way as our wedding. We used to distribute candy before. Since there was no invitation letter, we used to distribute our candies to invite people. Those weddings used to last 3-4 years. It would take three to four days and the time spent in joy. It was dinner party. Of course, people who came would not come without present. Nobody, neighbours would not come without present. They come with something in their hand to make a contribution. And these presents turned into money. There wasn't money at past. I mean, people used to bring what they can afford. In the past, we couldn't find cars at weddings. Now we have vehicles too, going in the form of convoy. This wasn't like this at past. Our elders used to tell for example when they brought my mother, they went with horses and brought her. Now they don't, of course they are going in the form of convoys. Our weddings are this way (*H.D. Male, 45, Üçbudak Village, 23.03.2018*).

S.E, who still does not assimilate this situation, summarizes the situation as follows:

Weddings are at past. The real wedding was the old ones. When ding (the sound of drum) is heard in a village, the ones heard this voice came from miles away. Of course, I experienced those times. At the groom's house they play drums 3 days and nights, they sacrifice animals, everybody dances, at 8-9 at night, people take their guests; 3 people, one person, 5 people according to the their convenience. They take them to their houses, they have breakfast in the morning, they bring their guests to the wedding house on the other day. Again, dance, jump, play. When it is the evening, again they take their guests. After 3 days and 3 nights, they get on their horses. They used to ride horses that night. They'd go to the bride's house that night. If you have a car, the cars are cheaper now, before that they would go to the house without a car and on horses. That night there was takreq in that village, after dancing they take your guests away. 3 people, 5 people, ten people of course nobody was left outside, they take them all. They'd get up in the morning and have breakfast, pick up the bride and bring her to the front of the house (*S.E, Male, 80, Çayırgülü Village, 16.08.2015*).

S.E says, those who came to their homes for the purpose of attending the wedding, stayed and slept there for at least 2-3 days, even if they came from the nearest villages, this situation creates permanent relationships, increases solidarity.

6.4.2. The Impact of Virtual Kinship On Social Solidarity

In the cultural anthropology literature, the form of kinship known as 'imaginary kinship' and 'şibih kinship', which is commonly used today with the name of 'semi-kinship' or 'virtual kinship', is a special convergence acquired later. In fact, virtual kinship is not related with bloodtie, but is contractual and aims to reinforce the friendship of those who are sincere to each other. Through virtual kinship, apart from blood kinship, a separate support and power is

provided and there are personal connections involving a high degree of mutual sense of duty (Kolukırık and Saraç 2010, 218-219).

Two of the important virtual kinship in the study area are muhasip and kirvesism. These two practices impose social sanctions and responsibilities for the parties that do not depend on marriage or bloodtie. These are not written rules, but they have enforcement powers; the parties of virtual kinship mutually comply with these rules. Such practices, other than the existing social institutions, which have been developed by the members of that community over time in order to ensure social solidarity and reconciliation, are important in terms of how the social organization is reshaped according to the needs.

Because in a multi-religious and local environment, cultural interaction is related to both inter-group harmony and inter-group tension. Living with groups of different religions or ethnicities brings about constant social tension. In order to reduce the tension in the villages, to maintain the relations between the groups and prevent the problems that may arise, some social obligations were applied. One of the ethnographic studies examining examples of virtual kinship established between different social classes or religious and ethnic groups is Messerschmidt's (1982) study of virtual kinship expressed in Nepal by the concept of myth (friendship). This study shows that people with different caste transcend the hierarchical structure of Hindu society by establishing virtual bonds and can establish vertical social relations (Güç, 2018, 242).

Virtual kinship was established between Alevi and Sunni villages in the study area. This established kinship provides integrity in its own meaning in this context, The villages that shape their social memories through divinity, elements of belief, virtual kinship, and common rituals exhibit an example of social solidarity and reduce tension. These ties, though, may also be an expression of the minority group's quest for reconciliation with the dominant group.

This issue is especially seen in the selection of the Sunnis as kirve of Alevis. In this way, we can say that they have established close relations with the Sunnis in which they are in close proximity and provided some kind of social security.

6.4.2.1.Kirvelik

Kirvelik is a socio-cultural practice; is a virtual kinship developed for the implementation of a religious ritual but not determined by religious provisions. Kirvelik has a long historical background and has been developed with the aim of developing intimacy between families or strengthening peace in connection with the circumcision ritual. The Kirvelik institution, which has a long history in the geography of Eastern Anatolia, corresponds to the relationship between the person who has circumcision and who undertakes the costs of circumcision and their families, producing a new kinship other than bloodtie. The tradition of kirvelik, which is maintained in the villages within the study area, is a common practice among different social groups.

In etymological sense, kirvelik is the name given to the virtual kinship established between two families when somebody takes the burden and expenses of the circumcision ceremony from an elder in another family besides his parents. This kinship is essentially a reciprocal relationship and a social wealth that people continue to create throughout their lives (Kudat, 2004, 13).

Kirvelik corresponds to a relationship, kirve refers to a person. In other words, kirve is the one who held the child in her arms during the circumcision process. In some villages and according to tradition among Turkmens, it is known that kirve is considered to be the ‘milkman’ of the child (Türkdoğan, 1969,203).

Most of the participants that I met at the working site, used “Kirva” or Kurdish “Krîv” instead of kirve⁶³. The frequent use of the word appears to be culture-dependent. In these uses, the understanding of kirvelik which is connected with circumcision process is expanded and has an important function in establishing social intimacy. Therefore, this concept is used to define the person who provides financial and moral support to the circumcised child can be used as mate/friend.

As an institution that eliminates inter-communal alienation, kirvelik has its roots in ancient times. For example, it is known that Armenians and Kurds and Armenians and Turks were kirve to each other before a century. According to Beşikçi, kirvelik plays a major role in establishing and developing relations with other ethnic groups (Beşikçi, 1969, 375). Similarly, compared to other social groups, it is accepted that kirvelik is an effective tradition for Alevi and Yezidi groups (Aksoy, 1997, 53).

In the field of study, compared to Sunnis, great importance is attributed to kirvelik and circumstation ceremony in Alevis. The Prophet circumcised his descendants Imam Hasan and Imam Hussain, attributing meaning to kirvelik. The blood flowing in the sunnah is the blood of an imam in symbolic terms for the Alevis. So it is as Hz. Hasan and Hz. Mahdi’s blood. In Alevism, kirve is considered more important than the father. Kirve's daughter is taboo and marriage with her is not accepted (Türkdoğan, 1969, 206).

⁶³ In this regard, Köksal gives examples of the different meanings and etymology of this name as follows:

Kir kriv: means male tenacul organ in Persian.

Kirov: Kurds give this name to penis

Kumera: In Persian, it means to keep. Among the Turkish Cypriots, the child is circumcised and at the wedding

Kivra: used in the sense of deputy.

Kirve: figure used by indigenous people in Kars.

Küvre: Used by Terekemeler in Kars. Used in the villages of Elâzığ.

Kirve: the figure used by Gaziantep Turkmen.

Krive: figure used in Malatya.

Kirve: Armenians use it both in the sense of "best man" and in the sense of the godfather of the child.

A similar view is offered by Kudat. As in musahiplik, it is a religious taboo to marry girls with the boys from another family who is Kirve. Because the blood of 12 imams was shed between kirve and he was professed. According to the Alawite faith, there is a prophetic friendship in kirvelik (Kudat, 2004,202). The kirvelik relationship established between people due to the Sunnah event has been made an institution of a sect, and this institution has been attributed at least as much importance as musahiplik. During the circumcision, the blood flowing over Kirve creates a spiritual connection between the kirve and the child. With this connection, the two families who are kirve, are connected to each other through a strong spiritual connection, rather than kinship. There is no marriage between the two groups for up to seven generations due to this bond. Through Kirvelik, feuds, resentments and inter-family disputes are avoided (Üçer, 2005, 376). For example, C.D. expresses his clarification in this regard: *"The daughter of our brother is halal to our child. But kirvelik is very sacred to us. We can't want for her daughter marry with one man of our family (C.D. Male ,72, Üçbudak Village 13.02.2018)*

A different factor that makes sense of the Kirvelik tradition is the role of social insurance mechanism between the two families. Social solidarity is also provided through kirvelik in economic distress, illness or situations that cannot be overcome (Kudat, 2004, 192). Apart from this, kirvelik has important functions in social control and social peace (Aksoy, 1997, 53). As a matter of fact, in cases where interpersonal disputes reach to the higher level, a virtual kinship is formed by establishing kirvelik bond and a conciliatory role is aimed. In this sense, kirvelik is an important social tool (Şahin, 1991, 129) that extends the social relationship network of families by consolidating the existing relationships order. In this regard, C.D. expresses the obligation of this concept in the following words: *If we talk about Kirva, we should give your life to him, whether your Kirve is hungry, you can not be comforted. (C.D. Male, 72, Üçbudak Village, 13.02.2018)*

Developing a similar approach, S.E. states that belief leads to a solidarity in life as a social value and a way of expression: “*Accountancy and kirvelik are very important in Alevism. These families have to support each other throughout their lifes*” (S.E. Male, 80, Çayırgülü Village, 16.08.2015).

Therefore, it can be said that the family of the people who will be circumcised in the village come together and make preparations and at the end of the ritual which takes place based on the ceremony in which the sacrifice is done, these families will stay connected to each other forever and create a common sense of responsibility to help each other. This is done in the Sunni villages with a similar approach. For example, H.K. says:

We used to read a mawlid-i Sharif at first when we had Sunnah. After that, we tell the people that we have circumcision on that day. We brought our child home after the circumcision. We used to read a Mevlut. After that, we would have our festivities. We'd come together with the villagers. We would also call friends and relatives (H.K. Male, 44, Tekardıç Village, 20.03.2018).

He explains the effect of this ritual from the beginning of gathering, solidarity and establishing relations between villages. There are many examples of this kind of virtual kinship established between the villages as can be seen in the study area. Therefore, the practice of kirvelik is important in terms of seeing the close relations established between these two groups.

6.4.2.2. Musahiplik

One of the important institutions of Alevi-Bektashi tradition and virtual kinship is companionship. The meaning of the concept is the journey mate, companion, the one that you can chat and consult. It is a confession of brotherhood that is not based on a kind of relationship of Sıhriyet (blood). A member of faith in the Anatolian Alevism is a kind of virtual kinship that can be realized in the form of promises of two married wives who will

remain brothers with the wives of the Hereafter and live in unity and solidarity in the presence of society and Ancestry (Dönmez, Balcı, and Çelik 2019, 256).

Musahiplik; refers to an important institution that lived in Alevi / Bektashi communities since the centuries and brought to the present day. “Brotherhood of the road” is given to musahiplik because it is necessary for the road and it aims the solidarity among the people in this world life; also because it is necessary for this union to last until death and because it will be held responsible for the actions of the person against musahib, in some regions, named as “hereafter/ahret brotherhood”⁶⁴

The origin of musahiplik is based on the Kırklar Cemhouse, Medina Brotherhood agreement (muahede) or Gadir Hum incident, but its essence is based on the brotherhood relationship of Hz. Prophet and Hz. Ali (Tanrıverdi, 2018, 155). In written and oral sources there are three different narratives about when and where Hazrat Muhammad (as) and Hazrat Ali (as) became musahip. These are: Miraç, Medina Muahedesi and Gadir-i Hum incident. In some narratives it is explained as: In the Cemhouse of Kırklar, which is believed that Hazrat Muhammed have participated in the return from Miraj before he has fallen to the earth, some believe that when Hz. Muhammad emigrated from Mecca to Medina when he declared Mecca and Medina are brothers in Medina (Muahedesi of Medina), some of them also say Hazrat Muhammed (as) in his speech at the place called Gadir-i Hum on the return of the farewell pilgrimage of him, Hazrat Muhammed became musahip with Hz. Ali. (Dönmez, Balcı, and Çelik, 2019, 258).

In the same way according to Dönmez, Balcı and Çelik's statements, the source of musahiplik in Alevism is present in some sources in ancient Turkish culture. The alleged approach is as

⁶⁴ According to the narratives in the field, musahips are very close to one another. In fact, in some discourses, musahirs are responsible for each other's sins and deeds. They share the bad side of life as well as the good side. When one of the musahips dies, the other is obliged to take care of his children and family members. Musahiplik is done once and lasts for a lifetime.

follows: There is a “brotherhood” in the Scythians (Saka) to an advanced extent. This organization is also common in Harezm. “Musahiplik”, which originated in Asia and Shamanism, passed through Oghuz to Ahis and then to Alevis” (Dönmez, Balcı, and Çelik 2019, 258). Musahip or (sülük)- the Brotherhood of the two talibis - is also seen in the Yazidis, who has the similar commonalities to Alevism. According to Mêlikoof: “The brothers of the hereafter in the Ahl al-Haq, like avow custom in Ateşbaği, Muhammad and Ali were the first musahip of this World, Gabriel and Adam were the first muhasip in the ninth heaven.” (Güç 2018,237).

According to the narratives in the field of study, musahiplik, which is very important especially in Alevism, plays a role in solidarity between the villages. On the one hand, Musahiplik reduces tensions and conflicts arising from the differences between the groups and on the other hand it helps to establish and maintain close relations between the groups. Those in the field of study stated that they constantly controlled each other's course, the behaviours and movements of their children, and that they kept an eye on them so that they did not tend to bad ways. According to the interviewers, the musahips must bear the obligations they undertake against their own children, as well as against their muhasips' child, so they must not separate their children from them. Therefore, it can be said that the musahips help each other at every stage of their lives, help each other economically and thus provide social solidarity.

About the idea of Kirvelik and Muhasiplik led to a solidarity in life as a social value and expression style, İ.B says: “*Well, muhasiplik is very important to us. We also see the children of our muhasips more than brothers.*” (İ.B. Male,56, Üçbudak Village, 22.09.2018). His statement shows that solidarity has been reinforced through this code of belief. Therefore, in accountancy, as in kirvelik, people have great responsibility towards each other's families and the sense of ownership of each other is strengthened.

As a result, kirvelik and musahiplik relations are also very important in terms of social solidarity. These bonds can also be considered as points of resistance to social unraveling. It has had important functions in reducing inter-village tension in the working area. These virtual kinships have helped to reduce the social tension caused by religious and ethnic differences.



CHAPTER 7: DISCUSSION

The villages in the working area, which have built a solidarity network based on social, cultural, economic and religious principles through place and narratives, have consolidated this solidarity network with rituals and brought it to the present day. This interaction and development created a view both for the coexistence of people of different faiths, different ethnicities, and for the formation of common life together with ancient ties to religion. It is possible to read this view through Amiran Kurtkan Bilgiseven's concepts of cem and difference, Ibn-i Haldun's irritability and Victor Turner's Communitas.

7.1. Irritability: Was there an invitation letter?

It is seen that the villages in the field of study maintain their lives in balance and harmony by forming unity among themselves and interact with other villages. In particular, the villages which are included in a group which they feel belong to for their common use and which act together, express that there is a sharing and togetherness from the past regarding sacrifice cutting and distributing, weddings, funerals, circumcision ceremony, aid to poor families, common road, environmental cleaning, feasts. About these H.K. states the following:

For instance, there was a feast. Alawites were also coming to the feast praying. We performed our prays together. When we went to the shrines, we went and turn back together. So did weddings and funerals ... Was there an invitation letters? There wasn't. We used to distribute candies ... We used to walk around and say one by one that we have a wedding ceremony. Our weddings would last three or four days. It used to be dinner parties. Of course, the people who came would not come without present (*H.K. Male, 44, Tekardıç Village, 20.03. 2018*).

Apart from this example of solidarity, the villages in the field of study also come across narratives and practices that they create about their past and share through common images. It is possible to evaluate this situation in the framework of Ibn-i Haldun's concept of irritability, which emerged in the form of a tendency of individuals with similar endeavors and aims to

make efforts towards unification and continuation of this group within a meaningful group. Because we see Ibn-i Haldun's use of irretibility, which he describes as a driving force that holds the community together, as a concept that reinforces the bonds between individuals. Hasanov also stated that this concept of Ibn-i Haldun is horizontal and vertical in terms of size, and that it is insufficient and incomplete to perceive and evaluate the concept of irretibility in social science studies only through blood ties. In other words, the fact that a social group has a common past image is a component of ibn-i Haldun's concept of irretibility and this shows significant parallels with Halbwachs' concept of “collective memory” (Hasanov 2016, 1441-1442).

In this context, we can see that narratives in the field of study, namely menkibes, memorates and legend strengthen and affirm them by drawing attention to social values; they play a role in social organization, in relations between villages, in the construction of social rules. It is also shaped by these narratives that people in this region reside or “abode” where they live and “take root” there. The shrines of Pir Cemal Abdal, Güzel Baba, Sefkar Baba and Çori Bori, which were described earlier as subjects of these narratives, hold an important place in the field.

We can say that this approach, which parallels the situation expressed by Bilgiseven as the completion of the material and spiritual cultural elements in society in a way that will express meaning and create a functioning whole, also creates effects such as the protection of the shrine area, the faithfulness of the people, the respect of the elders and the people who are sacred. Because these narratives can be the fundamental element of control and collective memory when it comes to the violation of accepted norms and values. For example, the Visit of Cori Bori was raided many times on complaints, but both by the extraordinary powers of the holy house (fes) was protected and it is also said that the raiders had a catastrophic incidents. A similar situation has also happened to those who have harmed the shrine and its

surrounding living beings. It is stated that those who break branches from the tree, who kill a snake/squirrel around the shrine, who take the fallen trees around the shrine to their homes and burn them, surely dream or something bad happens to them. There are numerous narratives about this, “I had taken wood home from the tomb. The next day my son disappeared. My son lived in the woods for two days without food or water. Then we found him. We brought the sacrificed animal and cut it at the site of this Mubarak (Güzelbaba mausoleum). My son wouldn't have lived if he didn't want so,” said B.G., “nature has an owner ” and many examples, describing what happened to the people who damaged the Tomb. The expression of these narratives is an example of creating a control mechanism and ensuring that cultural memory is kept alive continuously.

In short, we can see that these views, which contribute to the coexistence of the community and which come across as factors that create a sense of solidarity, such as moving together, thinking in common, having common ideologies, create collective consciousness with values and beliefs in the villages, so that even if these villages show different characteristics, we can often see that they are able to cooperate and integrate with each other.

7.2. Cem and Difference: Our Faith Is Different But Our Route Is Same

According to Bilgiseven, the concepts of “difference” which represent diversity and “cem”, which represent being one, appear to be diametrically opposed at first glance, but are actually two sides of the same reality and complement each other. Bilgiseven, difference+cem= formula as Tawhid and it is necessary to consider these concepts together in a balanced order that focuses on the necessity of having a proper cultural policy. In other words, the realms of difference and cem are both separate and one in a way. So if one of these concepts is applied in such an extreme way that it endangers the existence of the other, then unilateralism arises. Bilgiseven, who states that society is based on differences as well as similarities, uses the concept of difference more for the separation, multiplicity and diversity of beings in the

universe. Therefore, the religious attitude in a region, the way of worship, culture and everyday life contain differences, but “to be one” means that in order for the Tawhid to occur, the essence of this difference must be seen in the cementing spirit.

When we look at the villages in the field of study, we find obvious examples of this difference and cem state. For example, when we look at the difference, we see that Alevis give importance to the “faith and morality” dimension rather than the “worship” dimension of Islam, and they make up their Islamic judgments in general over the “values”. In other words, Alevis highlighting Hz. Ali is seen as a religious difference; pray, pilgrimage and fasting at different times are also seen as a worship difference.

According to Bilgiseven, one of the most important factors that makes the difference between the various social groups is the culture factor (Bilgeven, 1989, 145). Culturally there are also differences between Alawite and Sunni population-intensive villages. In the Alawite and Sunni population-intensive villages located within the study area, it is possible to see that the styles of clothing, the weddings and meals eaten at weddings, the daily life pursuits also differ. For example, while the Sunni predominantly villages does not drink alcohol at weddings in, Alawite villages do not have a limitation on this. In addition, it is observed that middle-aged and young women living in Alawite villages wear half-sleeve/sleeveless shirts, T-shirts, pants but in Sunni villages they wear more covered clothes in the form of shalwar, long-sleeve shirts and skirts.

Although Alevis and Sunnis in the field of study went to different interpretations in everyday life, faith, worship and cultural sense, their similarities/ becoming cem processes are quite high. For example, as in the Sunni belief, the Alawites in the field of study are also regard Hz. Muhammed as the last prophet. In fact, it is possible to hear from many people the phrase “Allah, or Muhammad, or Ali”, which is the symbol of their faith in this region. It should be noted that the fast held in Alawite villages and the fast held in Sunni villages are based on the

same logic, and that the prayers, surahs in cem and verses and surahs read in the mosque are paralleled. M.A who said "Allah is the God of all of us." and described himself as Alewite said: "We believe in the same God, the same prophet.", describing himself as Sunni S.L said; "The process is one thousand one, but faith is one. One says rahman. You say Allah, he says Xudê, the other says Abraham. He says Moses. The other says David, but all the way is to Allah." R.A who is the president of the Alewite Cultural Association who came to Çori Bori Visitation from Mudanya and M.K who settled in the Sunni village says: "Our faith is different but our route is same." Despite the differences in Bilgiseven's statement, they are examples of how the quintessential, unifying soul is structured. Therefore, it is possible to talk about a definite unity on tawhid in Alawite and Sunni villages.

In addition, the use of shrines together, cutting off the sacrificial victim and distributing the meat to the poor ones, devoting the votive to those who are in a bad situation, in joy, in thinking that their wishes are accepted can be listed as the common rituals of Alevis and Sunnis in the field of study. Therefore, when they come together and show solidarity, it can be said that cem and difference evolved in a common monotheism, but the difference also increased when both sides did not know each other enough at some point, approached each other prejudicially and were incapable of empathy.

7.3. Communitas: If You Don't Believe, If You Laugh, It Won't Be.

The transitional rituals of Arnold Van Gennep, which he laid out and called "Rites of Passage" (1972), actually consist of transitional stages that can be considered important in human life. These transitional periods, which vary according to cultural differences and religious beliefs, are complemented by rituals in almost every society. According to Gennep, this takes place in three stages. Separation, transformation (transition/threshold) and integration (Özbudun, 2009, 326). The period of separation is the period of disconnection of

individuals from their past period, status, position or identity. A purification is seen here, and these are also characterized by many ritualistic behaviors. Threshold is the period in which the individual is neither in his or her former status nor in his or her new status. This situation is described by Turner in the form of *Betwixt & Between* (neither this, nor that, the middle of the two), and the individual usually encounters many limitations in this case. The integration phase is the phase in which the individual is transferred to the new status and the individual has access to the necessary equipment which is accepted in the new status. Turner, in his book “*The Ritual Process*”, focuses more on the threshold, trying to explore the social aspects of this universe than on the symbolic aspects of it, and describes this phase as the “interstructural situation” (Özbudun, 2009, 326-327). Turner states that, based on this situation, those who share the threshold stage determined by characteristics such as diversity, equality, anonymity, uniqueness, minimization of the distinction between genders, hierarchies, lack of attention to physical appearances, lack of wealth-related distinctions, generosity, general subjugation, straightness, acceptance of pain and anguish constitute a *communitas* (Özbudun, 2009, 327). The term derives from the *cominianus*, which comes from the Latin meaning of companionship, and is given to the association and sense of association that people break down all hierarchical patterns and create a different social structure while performing the ritual during the liminal stage. In short, Turner calls the situation in which people come together, feel together and put aside social differences, get rid of the pressures of daily life, “anti-structure” and experience of ritual companionship as “*communitas*”.

It is possible to see the counter-structure phase and the situation of *communitas* in the rituals in the 7 villages of Karakoçan and visits to the surrounding shrines. So that customary and accepted rules, identities and other differences in daily life are suspended in shrines located in the field of study. In these areas, where many people of different faiths and opinions come

from domestic and abroad, they eventually become part of the whole of behavior and beliefs within that community, even though they belong to a different culture and belief.

The most important example in this context is the visit of Çori Bori. People come here every day of the week but mainly on Thursday and the night. Those who come to Çori Bori Visitation House spend time together in the shadow of the house. People who put aside their social, religious and cultural differences sit side by side here. Those who wish to perform prayers during the prayer hours go and perform their prayers in the visiting house, while others help with their home/kitchen work, if any. The sacrificed animal is brought by the visitor with the help of M.S who is the host of the visiting house, is cut and cooked in the cauldron kept ready in front of the house. This sacrificial meat, usually accompanied by bulgur/rice and salad, is eaten by anyone who comes there. The sacred Fez, wrapped in green fabric, which is then removed by the host in a room of the house, is rubbed onto the body of everyone who is in line and in turn. Accompanied by murmuring prayers and requests, the person who kissed the blessed three times and put it on his head again goes outside to the other guests. If the patient, who thinks that his wish is accepted thanks to this shrine, has no children, has illness, physical and mental problems, he usually spends Thursday night in this house. In separate rooms prepared for men and women, people sleep side-by-side in beds laid out on the floor without any difference of location/belief. What is fundamental here is that the person is obedient and believes in this process. For example, the previously healed H.K. "If you laugh, if you don't believe, it won't happen. I believed in it. That night, my body shook. I felt it then. The next day I got up and recovered," is an example to be considered in this context. In short, those who come here try to realize all the practices by believing, and this makes the spirit of togetherness dominant.

Apart from other shrines where socialization is seen in the study area, the prominent place is the facility where Golan Hot Springs are located. This place can also be described as a place where rules in everyday life have disappeared or been suspended for some time. In this facility where the belief that "If a bad person/sinner baths in the water, the hot spring water becomes a desert", people of different faiths and cultures are being side by side. People who come here use the pools together and relax in the communal area. They chat with people they don't know and share the food they bring from home. In the restaurant belonging to the facility, the person who wants to drink alcohol, but according to his belief, definitely does not drink and can sit around the same table, chat, eat.

In this region, where people connected to different belief systems live, we can also see the existence of counter-structure and communitarianism in the marriage ritual of men and women who change their status by marrying. For example, at a village wedding, the whole village is joined to the folk dance, there is corperation, work sharing is done, meals are prepared together, the bride and groom are also especially dressed by the people who support them, financial support is provided at almost every event, at that time people have fun. There are also many events during the wedding where the groom and the bride are not present. The hierarchical structure in daily life disappears completely and a different social structure occurs. As can be seen, "the feeling of togetherness" is the main unifying characteristic of communitarianism. When there is a funeral in the field of study, all the necessary practices for the ritual such as attending prayers, offering condolences and giving one's blessing are performed together with those from the surrounding villages. Those who belong to the Sunni and Alawite faith allow this situation because the unifying feature in the communitate that occurs during this ritual is sharing pain, and no one breaks this social structure.

In short, we can express that the spirit of unity is dominant in the rituals where the boundaries of social structure are crossed, and that this situation becomes vital for the field of study with different examples.

As a result, strong traditions, social communication and control mechanisms are seen in the villages in the working area, where people live together, know each other, form face-to-face relationships, share a common past and show an example of traditional society where change takes place very slowly. At the same time, these bonds, which form a sense of solidarity between villages, differ from village to village, but as the field findings reveal, examples of converging on the processes of irritability, *cem* and *communitas* are frequently encountered.

CHAPTER 8: RESULT

*Among the sciences, anthropology appears to be a candidate to be a science
that will teach love and fellowship of humanity
in the end.
Calvin Wells*

The field of study has been the scene of various conflicts throughout history, and has become an area where people of different ethnic backgrounds live together and different belief systems develop. Over time, various forms of faith have emerged in different ways based on the cultural codes of society. The diversity and richness of these beliefs and practices, which are different from each other but are not in stark contrast to each other and can be maintained together, are related to the deep-rooted historical and cultural past of the region. Therefore, in order to be able to perceive and interpret the factors that play a role in social solidarity in a holistic way, it was necessary to make sense of that phenomenon in the fiction of time and space. In other words, geographical conditions, historical process and belief; economic life, social organization, the effect of spatial plane has been seen to have important links.

First of all, this intricate structure of the region-economic, religious, etc.- an approach has been adopted that seeks to establish an interdisciplinary relationship and understand better. Because the process of creating the spatial areas of the people that is a part of the social structure in these settlements is shaped around the environment-space-human axis with the historical development. In the settlements mentioned, the traditional way of life, the fictional order of spaces and the networks of cultural relations that envelop the social structure developed around a common language. This has also shown how “sustainable” a culture in rural settlements that aligns with the physical environment and determines the human-nature relationship with the textual meanings they place on various objects in nature.

The people I interviewed in the field of study relate to the spaces they live in, ascribe meanings to it, and form their collective identity through this vital environment in which they

reside. Pir Cemal Abdal, who continues to exist as a common ancestral cult in Alevi population-density villages and Sunni population-density villages, shapes the settlement areas through Güzel Baba and Sefkar Baba. This is a kind of deep emotional relationship towards the places where their identity is defined. It is through this common ancestral cult that the villagers feel themselves as a part of the “place.” Especially in the context of Sunni and Alawite relations, these “places” become a common sign that transcends their physical existence and meaning. However, religious identities also involve the religionization of space and are reproduced with a number of spatialized practices such as “religious rituals; sacrifice, distributing pies, purification”.

In addition, beliefs in the field of study have many rituals that regulate social relationships. These rituals are performed individually or collectively, such as shrine visits, praying, worship, ceremony. In addition, the provisions of celebrating ceremonies such as birth, circumcision, marriage and death together help to establish social bonds, eliminate resentments and achieve social order, while also psychologically giving people the feeling that they are not alone. The sacred places where these rituals are performed play a role in making villagers contact with each other and in making changes in their cultural patterns. Therefore, the visits to the holy place are also the “place” of “culturization.” These “places”, which constitute the important aspect of memory, gain more meaning and importance in social events. It is also possible to make this inference through place names. Place names are like the historical records of the mutual relationship that cultures establish with the place. With naming places or objects have gained personality.

Pir Cemal Abdal, who is believed to live in the region, the epic of him is based on the rescue of seven sons of an elderly woman belonging to the Shadi tribe from the dungeon, and this forms the story of the establishment of the surrounding villages that enclose to the field of study. The trees around the shrines in the villages that has an important place in this

establishment story are certainly not cut down and taken home, animals are not allowed to graze in this vast area, and even the dry branches of the trees here are not used for anything for individual purposes. Damaging the trees is considered as a sin because of the connection between the tree and the saint, it is believed that those who violate the ban will be struck or a disaster will happen to them. Therefore, the protection of these places is perpetuated through memorates, myths. The shrine, Maqam, and places of visit which are visited by the people and are considered as sacred areas that people believe in. By praying and helping to Saint in the mausoleum or the Maqam, where people from all social status may go, people have expectations for themselves and their family. The people go to visit the shrines because they believe and respect the beliefs derived from the quoted words. It is believed that people who have tomb or shrine have certain powers.

These and similar practices are the forms of public religiosity that arise in the interpretation of religion by local people in almost every society. For example, it can be said that the beliefs here are influenced by Shamanism, Hinduism, Taoism, Buddhism, Manichaeism, Mazdeism, Zoroastrianism and Christianity. In short, the effects and elements of previous beliefs have not been wiped out in the region, a new synthesis has been formed by combining and fusing these elements with new elements. When we consider the concept of Folk Islam here as a unity of belief and practice that exists in the context of historical, cultural processes and preserves their existence, not of the holy books, but of the contents of the rural settlements, we are able to evaluate the communities that are divided on the basis of sects in a common criterion. It is necessary to express that it is not right to predict or expect that public piety will be abandoned in parallel with the advances in social, economic, technological and academic fields.

As a result, the common memory created by the places that are transformed from space to “place” is also seen as an important element in terms of social relations and environment. In order to reside there or “abode” and to “root” there, they create realms, myths, memorates that

they provide continuity and transfer to later generations. These narratives also have an important function in terms of environmental sensitivity. As a result of these narratives continuing to exist; in particular, the mountain, stone, water, tree and forest are considered to be among the beings ascribed to sanctity by the local people, and therefore these beings are highly respected, and they are also found to be fundamental in various faith practices. So all of this has important implications, such as coming together and playing a role in solidarity. The people of the region also exhibit a beautiful example of harmonious life. In other words, considering the historical, geographical and religious background of the field of study, there have been many areas where prejudice is increasingly broken by the influence of faith, ritual and place, and where people display social solidarity.

Besides this subject, multi-field ethnography can be made in the field of study based only on the follow-up of narratives, as well as numerous researches on cults and memorates can be made. Again, due to the fact that some of the old houses have reached the present day, the 'house' phenomenon, which relates the relationship between the human and the space, can be studied in a way that compares the old and the new. In addition, the fact that many people emigrated abroad in the 80s, some of them returned and those who did not return built houses in their villages, can also establish a basis for the work that will be done with place-human focus.

In short, I aimed to understand the relationship between the seven villages in this study, I tried to convey information about the relationship networks between the villages in general lines, the factors that stand out in solidarity and the relations of these factors with the place. In this way, it was revealed that social solidarity, which was problematic, took place through space, narratives, rituals. This thesis has been put forward as one of the important examples of this. The villages in the field of study have shown us some elements of the life experience and solidarity network with the connection they have established between the past and the future.

Therefore, the concept of producing politics, young generations, this issue should be transferred. Because the changes that are taking place in the life of the society and the transformations that include some break-ups within it have made the protection and / or establishment of socio-cultural integration one of the most important issues of the societies of our time. Instead of creating 'the other' in society by making the values that people have or adopt, victims of prejudices, there needs to be increased work that motivates social integrity through values and ideas that promote harmony. It should be essential not to transform, but to understand; not to impose, but to act on commonalities; not to define, but to try to understand what appears; not to remember prejudices, but to evaluate differences with tolerance.

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APPENDIX

APPENDIX A: PROFILES OF INTERVIEWERS

Name*	Gender	Age	Education Level	Birth of Place	Marital Status
A.G.	F	44	Primary School	Yoğunağaç Village	Married
A.G.	M	62	Primary School Graduate	Çayırgülü Village	Single
B.G.	M	55	Primary School	Çayırgülü Village	Married
B.G	M	64	Primary School	Çayırgülü Village	Married
B.G.	M	22	High School	Çayırgülü Village	Single
B. Ö	M	58	Secondary School	Demirdelen Village	Married
C. D	M	72	Primary School	Üçbudak Village	Married
C. H	M	55	High School	Çamardı Village	Married
D.G.	M	27	Secondary School	Tekardıç Village	Married
D.S.	M	58	High School	Yoğunağaç Village	Married
E.D.	M	60	Primary School	Çayırgülü Village	Married
F.D.	M	22	Secondary School	Üçbudak Village	Single
F.Ö.	F	55	Primary School Graduate	Çayırgülü Village	Married
F.Ö.	M	24	High School	Çayırılık Field	Single
G.Ç.	F	52	Primary School Graduate	Çayırgülü Village	Married
H. K.	M	44	High School Graduate	Tekardıç Village	Married
H.E	M	52	Primary School	Üçbudak Village	Married
H.E	M	75	High School	Okçıyan Village	Single
H.E.E.	M	55	High School Graduate	Çayırgülü Village	Married
H. D	M	45	High School	Çamardı Village	Married
H.D.	M	41	Secondary School	Üçbudak Village	Married
H.G.	M	68	Left from Secondary School	Çayırgülü Village	Married
H.G.	F	42	Primary School	Yoğunağaç Village	Married
H.G.	M	43	Primary School	Çayırgülü Village	Married
H.G.	M	74	Primary School	Çayırgülü Village	Married

İ.B	M	44	High School	Tekardıç Village	Married
İ.Y.	M	28	University	Bingöl/Solhan	Single
İ.S.	M	52	High School	Yoğunağaç Village	Married
K. B	F	45	Secondary School	Akçiçek Village	Married
K.A.	M	59	Primary School	Çayırğölü Village	Married
K.D.	M	58	High School	Akçiçek Village	Married
K. S	F	40	Secondary School	Çamardı Village	Married
N.Ş.	F	40	High School	Karakoçan/ Center	Single
M. A	M	43	Primary School	Çayırğölü Village	Single
M. A	M	55	Primary School	Yoğunağaç Village	Married
M.E.	M	58	Primary School	Yoğunağaç Köyü	Married
M.E.E.	M	36	University	Yüzev Village	Married
M.S.	M	48	High School	Çamardı Village	Married
M. Ö.	M	63	University	Okçıyan Village	Married
Ü.A.		28	High School	Tekardıç Village	Married
N.S.	M	39	Secondary School	Çamardı Village	Married
İ.D.	M	38	High School	Üçbudak Village	Single
R.D.	M	86	Primary School	Üçbudak Village	Single
R.B.	F	28	Secondary School	Akçiçek Village	Single
S.E.	M	80	Primary School	Çayırğölü Village	Married
S.K.	M	52	University	Bingöl/Kığı	Married
S.K.	F	40	High School	Tekardıç Village	Single
Ş.D.	M	52	High School	Akçiçek Village	Married
V. A.	M	63	High School	Demirdelen Village	Married
V.G.	F	54	Primary School	Kızılca Village	Married
Z.G.	F	44	Primary School Graduate	Çayırğölü Village	Married

* The names of the participants are not written in accordance with ethics.

APPENDIX B. INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

I am Emrah Tüncer, Phd student at the Anthropology Department of the Faculty of Arts and Sciences, Yeditepe University. I am here to conduct a research on my doctoral dissertation titled **“Social Solidarity, Religious Faith and Holy Places: 7 villages around Ohi River”** Your answers to the questions prepared on this subject will only be used within the scope of the thesis. Your name and voice recordings will not be kept or used by me. You may withdraw from the interview at any stage of the research if you wish. I ask your permission to ask the questions in the research and find out your answer.

Name and Surname of The Interviewee:

Interview Date:

Interview Location:

Interview Time:

I. Personel Information

Birthplace:

Age:

Education:

Marital Status:

Current job:

Which village do you live in?

What does the name of your village mean? Where does this name come from?

Is there a legend, a story about your village? Can you tell us?

How long have you lived in this village/neighborhood?

What does village life mean to you?

What does Ohi River mean to you?

Do you have a tribe or quarry?

Where did you spend your childhood?

What can you tell us about your childhood?

What are the names of children's games you know?

How do these games play?

How old were you when you were married? (If married)

How many children do you have? (If married)

How did you get married? How was your wedding? What did you do? (If married)

Have you got children? What are their names? Who gave your children their names by considering which criteria?

What criteria do people in your environment name their children by taking into consideration, are there any points that attract your attention?

Are there any special things you do before your child is born?

What do you do after your child is born?

How do you have your circumcision ceremonies here?

How would you have done circumcision ceremonies before, are there any significant differences from current circumcision ceremonies?

Could you tell us about your marriage and premarital customs?

Where, how do you perform your funerals, who attends these ceremonies, and how do you support the funeral relatives, can you tell briefly?

What do you do in the days after the burial for your deceased relatives?

On which days / times do you visit the graves?

Can you tell us a few of the first days that come to your mind that are considered religiously valuable?

Where do you spend these nights by doing what?

What are you doing during Ramadan / Sacrifice / Ashura Festivals? What do you especially care about to do?

Are there any feasts with other villagers?

Is there a sacred place, object, geographical element, etc. in your village?

Which factors do you think are effective in thinking this place sacred?

Do you have any shrines, visits, entombed saint, etc. in your village?

How often do you visit here?

What is the most important reason for visiting the shrine?

Are there other sacred places you've been visiting?

Does anyone own these sacred places?

Are there things you care about to do when you go to shrines and visits?

Are there sacred spaces that Alawite and Sunni citizens use in common?

Is the situation of getting married with girls from Sunnis / getting married with girls from Alawites happening in this region?

Do Sunnis and Alawites attend each other's weddings and funerals?

Do you have Sunnis and Alawites in the same tribe? If any, which tribes are they?

Is there a situation in the same tribes where Alawites become Sunni or Sunnis become Alawites?

What do you think of Musahiplik?

Is there a kirvelik connection between Alawite and Sunni citizens?

Are there rituals for Kirvelik?

Have you seen any of the other villagers?

Which village are you more involved with?

In what circumstances would you meet more with other villagers?

In what circumstances do you spend time with other villagers, and what are you able to share with them? Are there any changes in these relationships over time?

Are there any situations where you are in a union and support each other with other villagers and what are you able to share?

Do you have different thoughts on religious topics with the next generations and the points that they criticize you?

APPENDIX C: TIME AND SCHEDULE TABLE

	2017					2018												2019							
Months	8	9	10	11	12	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
THE WORK																									
Literature review	X	X	X																						
Determination of the subject and research question		X	X	X	X																				
Final form of the proposal and approval from the Institute			X	X																					
Development of literature and getting to the field			X	X	X			X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X									
Creation of interview frames and starting to interviews				X	X	X	X	X																	
Continuing the negotiations and beginning the solutions						X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X								
Analysis, data collection and their analysis											X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X					
Findings and evaluations													X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X				
Writing the thesis															X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	
Completion of the thesis and submission to the Institute																									X

APPENDIX D: INTERVIEW EXAMPLE

Emrah: Dede Pir Cemal Abdal'ın Türbesi ve evi sizin köyde ya hikayesini anlatabilirmisin bana?

C.D.: kadınların çocuklarını kurtarmak için o zaman ceket işte neyse atmış suyun üstüne, geçmiş o tarafa. Geçerken nöbetçiler fark etmiş, olamaz dur falan işte şu bu derken yakalamış götürmüşler adamın yanına, demişler ordaki neydi ismi, ismini sonra öğreneyim, gitmiş oraya demiş ki “paşam veyahut komutanım demiş, bu amcamız geldi cambaz mı bu ne suya attı ceketini bu tarafa geçti.” O da demiş “böyle şey mi olur”. Demiş “ evet biz gördük “ paşa da demiş “ öyleyse atın fırına fırında yanar mı yanmaz mı?”

O fırına at derken, tabi alıyorlar götürüyorlar fırına, bu tutmuş onun götürenin kolundan tutmuş onu da çekmiş fırına. Zoraki olsa da içeri almış, gitmiş. Tabi fırın, koca yanan fırın. Rivayete göre gitmiş, tabi arada 3 saat 5 saat, bir gün artık ne kadar geçmişse, fırını açıyorlar bakalım cesetler ne oldu? Çıkıyorlar ki Cemal Abdal'ın bismillahirrahmanirahim her tarafı buz tutmuş. “ aman demiş, bu adam ermiş bir adamdır” ondan sonra “neye geldin?” demiş. O da heralde “ falan yerde bir çeşme var, sen müsaade edersen ben orda ufak bir yer yapayım orda barınayım” paşa “ yav demiş sen git o köy senindir”

Emrah: O dediği delikan köyü mü?

C.D.: tabi. Ondan sonra bir gün geliyor bakıyor ki, o cisimler duruyor bizim ziyarette

Emrah: sütunlar. ben geldim, yazın gittim,

C.D: köyün içine gittin mi? Hıstuna reşe?

Emrah: evet

C.D.: o dört beş kişi bir tarafı tutmuş, C.D. bir tarafı tutmuş, şeyden küçük cemalden sırtlamış oraya götürmüş. Öndekilere de demiş arkaya bakmayın ama. Siz sırtlayın bunları 3-4 kişi artık nasıl yapmışlarsa. Sırtlamışlar o da arkasında tek tutmuş. Oraya kadar götürmüş. Yani bizimkiler çokşey anlatıyorlar. Asıl bizim , ben de yetiştim gördüm sana söyleyeyim mi kızmak yok, ben de gördüm bizim geyik postun üstünde seceremiz vardı. Geyik postun üstünde ha.. o cemal abdalın seceresi vardı. Benim babam ziyaretteydi, bir gün demek olacak nasip, birgün bizim İsmail efendi demişti ” amca ben bunu götüreyim izmirde tercüme yaptırayım”. Babam demiş” valla İsmail iyi olur, götür gtercüme et, al getir, hele neyin nesidir” o geyik postun üzerinde o zaman o yazı varmış, çok eski bişeymiş, en az 300- 400 senelik bir şey, nedir neyin nesidir okuyamıyorlar ki. O da götürmüş oraya, orda senin gibi hocalar var çözsünler. O da gitti gelmedi , bir sene oldu gelmedi, iki sene oldu gelmedi. İsmail2e sormuş babam ne oldu diye, İsmail bir adam verdim falan demiş.. sonra İsmail takla atmış demiş kaybettim. “ yav İsmail sen bunu nasıl kaybettin, bu kaybedilecek bir şey değil, bu bizim hepimizin malı. Nasıl kaybolur?” babam çekti İzmir’e gitti b u iş için. Gitti çağırdı ismaili dedi al götür beni o adama, beni onunla yüzleştir, bu işi ben çözeceğim. İsmail ha

bugün ha yarın seni götüreyim derken İsmail babamı ekti. Ekince biz de dedik ki demek İsmail götürdü bunu sattı. Öyle ya para ediyor demek ki.

Emrah: fotoğrafı falan yok mu peki?

C.D.: yaw işte o zaman kim ne bilir fotoğraf falan, şimdiki gibi olsa hemen çek götür. Yav zavallı insan ha. Ha ben de yetiştim ben büyüttüm o zaman. Atıyorum 40-50 sene evvel. Yani biliyordum ordaydı, orda şeyin içindeydi. Bezin içine sarılıydı. Ondan sonra şeydi ocakta saklanıyordu, geyik postunun üstündeydi. Babama söyleyeyim gel git bazı şeylerde oldu, şimdi söylemiyorum tabi, yazık oldu. Belki de Allah tarafından, ismailin bir tane çocuğu vardı, gitti, senin gibi aslan gibiydi, bir anda yatalak oldu felç oldu. Neyse onu boşver. Biz bulamadık, bulamayınca soğuduk birbirimizden, soğuduk. E sen şimdi orayı yaparken, ben oraya 1 lira vermedim. Ben niye orayı yaparken dayıya yardım etmiyorum? Çok şükür durumum var. Ama vallahi vermedim o yüzden. E sen götürüyorsun bu postu kaybediyorsun, veyahut da gel sen bizi topla, adam ölmemiş sağdır. Gidelim adamı bulalım, ismini ne koyuyorsun bunun dimi. En azından kendini temize çıkar di mi? Bizim İzmir’de yüz evimiz var, yüz. Delikanlı 100 yoksa 50 evimiz var, onları da al yanına 3, 5 kişi, git de bak arkadaş ben geldim bu adama verdim, bak ben de bu adam gibiyim. De ben bunu sattım yedim bir şey de bizim de tesellimiz düşsün. Ondan sonra da oraya da ben bu yüzden bir lira masraf etmedim.

Emrah: bu köyde yapılan yere mi?

C.D.:e tabi şimdi niye yapmayayım ki ben, çok şükür 50 milyar versem orda bana ne olur ki. Ama valla tek lira içimden gelmedi vereyim. Daha da vermedim vermem de. Yani orası da öyleymiş, pir cemal abdalı’n ilk evi orasıymış. Orda kalmış. Sen gittin gördün pir cemalin evi odor, mezarıda zaten ileridedir. O cisimlerin olduğu ev varya, gördün değil mi her bir cisimi nasıl sırtlamış getirmiş.

Emrah: şeyh delil berhecanın hikayesi nedir? dede

C.D.:o da onun az aşağısında zaten. Valla ben onu bilmiyorum ama o da bizim bir şeyhdir. Ben sana dedim ya bizim cemo gelseydi, bizim cemo her şeyi tek tek biliyor. Cemal amcam her şeyi biliyor. Birgün seninle arabaya bineriz, gideriz.

Emrah: zaten bir yıl sürecekle gelip gideceğim zaten.

C.D.: zaten bir ay sonra burada. Almanyadadır sobayı indirmemek için gelmemiştir. O geldiği zaman gideceğiz onda bazı belgelerde var, biliyorsun. Sadece belge değil, konuşacak şeyleri de var. Delil berhecan nerden gelmiş sonra cemal abdal nasıl gelmiş?, nereye yerleşmiş ? nerden nereye geçmiş? hepsini tek tek biliyor. Sonra müridleri kimdir? Mesela bu Hamza, Okçu, Bahadır, Çaka, Ali, Kızıl ve Şevti bunlar hep bunun talipleriymiş. Pir cemal abdalın talipleriymiş. Hep ona bağlıymış.

Emrah: peki sizin köyün bağlı olduğu aşiret, ocak?

C.D.: dedeyiz ,aşiret değiliz biz, biz piriz... mesela, sen Kärerliydin?

Emrah: yok ben Bingöllüyüm. Merkeze bağlı Hacıçayır köyündenim

C.D.: hacıçayır köyündensin hım.. mesela bizim o tekkede sağ yanda, sağyan tekkesi var ya sizin.. duydun mu hiç? Seynür falan, yakınız biz seynurla, cemal abdaliz biz, dedeyiz.. horasandan gelmişiz. Cemal abdal gelmiş tabi buralar bomboşmuş. Belki de kaçmış gelmiş, bir iş için gelmiş, yoksa niye gelsin değil mi? Zulümden kaçıp gelmiş belki de, niye ta ordan geliyor veyahut da burada bir adamı var, ne bileyim yani belki burada bir beklentisi varmış gelmiş buraya yerleşmiş kaç yüz yıl önce, Alaaddin keykubat döneminde Bağın onlarınmış, merkezmiş başkentmiş.

Emrah Dede peki sizin çocukluğunuzun olduğu dönemde köy nasıldı?

C.D.: şimdi bizim köy çalışkan bir köydü. Her ne kadar dedeysek de bizim taliplerimiz yoktu. Bizim büyüklerimiz talip almamış. Bak varlarmış cemal abdaldan sonra bizim dedelerimiz benim babam, dedem talip almamış, neden almamış? Tabi şimdiye göre belki işine gelmemiş almamış veya talibi olanlar bizim seyitler genelde tembel olur. Giderler her sene taliplerde toparlar ne buldularsa alırlar getiriler o sene yerlerdi. Bizimkiler öyle değil bizimkiler daima veriyorlarmış. Mesela o koca ot, ufacık bir köyde, o hamzaliyan mamzaliyan, bu köyler möyler, bu Karakoçan hep buğdayı bizden satın alıyorlarmış o zaman. Yani çalışkan insanlarmış . 10 evde olsalar çok çalışkanlarmış, 5 ev de olsa çok çalışkanlarmış.hayvancılık mayvancılıkla uğraşmış, bizim köy kalabalıktı, bu son zamanlardaki bu olaylardan ziyade bizim köyde pek olay bir şey olamadı, etkilenmedi ama gene de rahatsızlandılar. Her biri istanbul'a İzmir'e kaçtı gittiler,Almanya'ya şuraya buraya.. düştü şurda 10 eve düşmüşler,hep de burada bir iki evin dışında çok yakın akrabadırlar. Yani bir babadan ayrılmışlar. Yani kaç babalık köydür: bir, iki, üç, dört babalık, 4 babalık köydür. Ekseriyeti bir babanın çocuklarıdır. Çünkü bunlar, asıl bizim köy, bizim akrabalarımız var qer dedeleri var, bu Kiği'nın Qer köyü var, asıl bu köy onlarınmış, onlar gitmeden buraya onlar bakıyormuş. Demek bizimkiler yarıcıymış, öyle oluyor da. O gittikten sonra onlardan biri gelmiş, köyü bunlara satmış, bizimkilere. Herkes parasına göre köy almış. Dörde bölmüşler; 25ini biz almışız, yirmibeşini öz akrabamız almış, ellisini de köylülere vermiş. Paylaşımı da öyle yapmışlar. Onlarla daha bağlarımız vardı bu son zamana kadar, bu Qer dedelerinin Yayladere tarafında Qer köyü var onlarla bağlarımız vardı, kız alış verişimiz vardı. Yani öyle çalışkanlardı, talip malip almamışlar. Almamışlar işte ne bileyim ihtiyacı mı yokmuş ve yahut ta kendilerine ters mi düşmüşler bu son zamanlarda kendilerine talip almamışlar. Dedemin talibi yoktu mesela bizim akrabaların vardı, gidiyorlardı; sivas'a gidiyorlardı, Erzincan'a gidiyorlardı, babam söyleyeyim Erzincan Refahiye'ye gidiyorlardı, orda talipleri vardı, Kiği'ya giderlerdi. Onlar oraya giderlerdi de benim dedem onlar yapmadıkları için babm da intikal etmedi. Kendi emeğiyle çalışıyorlardı. O da öyle gitti.

Emrah: peki düğünleriniz nasıldı? Nasıl yapılıyordu.

C.D.: düğünler eskiden işte, eski düğündü. Bir köyde dıng dedi mi, ta kilometrelerce öteden davul sesini işiten gelirdi. Tabi ben yetiştim o zamanlara. 3 gün 3 gece erkek çocuk tarafında davullar çalarlardı, hayvanları keserlerdi, oynarlardı, herkes gece 8-9 oldumuydu misafirlerini alırlardı; 3 kişi, bir kişi, 5 kişi yüküne göre.. alırlardı doğru eve götürürlerdi, sabah da kahvaltılarını yaparlardı, deversî günde düğün evinin önüne getirirlerdi

misafirlerini. Yine, oyna zıpla, oyna zıpla akşam oldu yine misafirini götür.. 3 gün 3 gece.. 3 gün 3 gece bittikten sonra atlara binerlerdi. Atlara binerlerdi o gece.. o gece giderlerdi kız evine. Araban varsa bu son zamanlarda çok cüzi araba oldu ondan evvel arabasız, atlı olarak giderlerdi kız evine. O gece o köyde takreq vardı, oyna.. köyde dağılma vardı, misafirlerini götür.. 3 kişi, 5 kişi, on kişi tabi dışarıda kalacak hali yok onlar da götürüyordu. Onlarda sabah kalkardı kahvaltısını yaparlardı, gelini alırlardı, doğru şeye.. getirirlerdi evin önüne. Damat çıkardı damın üstüne, 2 tane elma varmış. O elmayı tak bırakırdı gelinin kafasına..

Emrah : Neden öyle yapıyorlardı?

C.D.: vallahi öyleydi.. demi Kenan abi. Sadıç da bismillahirrahmanirahim tak onu da bırakırdı başına. Elmayı alan değil mi elmayı alan ne oluyordu. Hiçbir şey olmuyor muydu..

Kenan: şimdi mesela sıradaki adam evlenme şeyine gelmişti ya o adam alırdı.

C.D.: heee. Gelin çiçek atıyotya o zamanda elma atıyorlardı. Kim elmayı aldıysa.. bir de o zaman şeker, ufak bir şey leblebi onu da dökerlerdi. Un da serperlerdi gelin kafasına

Başka biri.. şeker de o kızmızı şekerlerden pek kimsede de yoktu. Kim kapan kapana.

C.D.: düğünden sonra yemek falan

Emrah: 2 mi 3 elma mı atıyorlardı?

.genelde elmayı atarken tutmaya çalışırlardı. Atarlardı artık kim yakaladı. (Kürtçe)

Emrah: dede bu sünnetler nasıl oluyordu?

C.D.: sünnetler biz de daha kutsaldır. Bizim alevi şeyinde süneler daha şeydir. Bak görüyorsun değil mi, biz amcamızın kızını ya da kardeşimizin çocuğunu çocuğumuza gelin getiriyoruz, ama kirvemizin kızını çocuğumuza getirmiyoruz.

Emrah: kardeşi gibi görüyorsunuz yani?

C.D.: tabi, kardeşimizin kızı çocuğumuza helaldir. Ama kirvelik biz de çok kutsaldır.

Emrah: devam ediyor değil mi dede o?

C.D.: yaw tabi devam ediyor ama o eski şeyler nerede kaldı, farklıydı, kirva dedin mi canını verirdin, kirven aç yattı mı sen tok yattın mı olmazdı.. o zaman daha farklıydı tabi ne de olsa. Sen ne sormuştun.

Emrah: sünnet nasıl geçiyor demiştim.

C.D.: aynı onda da öyleydi, aynı sünnet de düğündü. Sünnet de bir düğündü, gönderirlerdi şeker gönderirlerdi davetiye şeklinde gönderirlerdi köylere, düğünümüz, sünnetimiz var seni davet ediyoruz. Gelirlerdi, o gün oynarlardı, zıplarlardı, belki de o gün orda kalırlardı. Sabahleyin Saat 10-11 olunca çocukları sünnet ederlerdi, sonra çocuklara hediye götürürlerdi, öperlerdi, hediyeleri yatağın altına koyarlardı. Kimi paraydı, kimi şekerdi, kimi kilim neyse

artık.. ondan sonra çeker giderlerdi yani düğün olmasa da düğünün yarısı gibiydi. O da düğün gibiydi.. çocuğun birinci düğünü gibiydi.

Emrah: dede cenaze süreci nasıl oluyor biri ölünce? O süreç nasıl gerçekleşiyor mesela?

C.D.: eskiden cenaze oldu mu sabah kalkarlardı, tabi o zaman selam mela yoktu o zaman. Köylüler kalkardı “ ne oldu ne oldu? Kalkın, C.D.nin babası ölmüş.” “ yapma yaw, allahrahmet eylesin” kalkarlardı herkes, kimi kazma kimi kürek alırlardı her evden bir genç iki genç çalışabilecek giderlerdi. Ondan sonra mezarın yerini tespit ederlerdi. sahibi neresi ise orayı kazarlardı. Ondan sonra onlar orda uğraşırken bu diğer köyde kalanlarda mesela cenazeyi getirirlerdi güzel biyere dışarıya bırakırlardı. Etrafını kapatırlardı, altına tahta mahta atarlardı. Sonra hocayı çağırırlardı.hoca gelirdi, tertemiz yıkardı. Ondan sonra defnederlerdi. Ondan sonra da çokları o zaman cenaze evi yemek vermiyordu, köylüler kendi misafirini alır götürürdü herkes. Herkes bir tane iki tane misafirini alır götürürdü evlere. Ondan sonra evde onların yemeğini memeğini her şeyini veriyordu. Ondan sonra geliyordu taziyesini yapıyordu. Ondan sonra çekip evine gidiyordu. Ama şimdi farklı oluyor, görüyorsun herkes ölü yemeğini kendisi yapıyor. Bu zaman öyle değil.o zaman komşuları yapıyordu.

Emrah: lokma falan dağıtılıyor muydu?

C.D.: 3. Gün mezara giderlerdi, helva pişirirlerdi 3. Gün. Köylülerde ne getirmişse, sadece sahibi değil köylüde yapıyor getiriyor mesela. Çerez, portakal neyse elma, armut ve yahut da şeftali getirileri orda şeylere koyarlardı lokma olarak poşetse poşet, tabaksa tabak, cepse cebe koyarlardı. Herkes alır götürürdü. Takıldığın bir şey sen sor, ben unutuyorum.

Emrah: peki pir cemal abdal, şeyh delil berxecan dışında kutsal yer var mı?

C.D.: küçük cemal abdal..

Emrah: o pir cemal abdalin kardeşi midir?

C.D.: he kardeşidir. Pir cemal abdal ayrı, küçük cemal abdal ayrı

Emrah; başka öyle ağaç olabilir, taş olabilir öyle kutsal yerler var mı?

C.D. : delikanda ? sütuna reşi biliyorsun, tumusor var... şey.. bizim en yüksek yerimiz.

Emrah: baba hıdır gösterdi bana, o tepenin üstü.

C.D.: hah o da bizim ziyaretimiz. Her sene bir ay vardı, hangi aydı? Tüm köylüler giderdi orda kurban keserlerdi yemekle etler ora meşel olurdu. Ben yetiştim..

Emrah: acaba hangi aydı?

C.D.: yazdı, çünkü yaylaya gelmişlerdi. Yaylaya gelenler gidiyorlardı. Yani hangi ay olabilir? Atıyorum temmuz mu ağustos mu? Onu da öğreniriz. Tüm etraftaki köyler ondan sonra insanlar.. meşeldi. Ağlayan, sızlayan, yaya giden. Giderlerdi orda kurban keserlerdi, mumlarını yakarlardı.anladın? bizim yüksek zirveye ha. Uçtep.. demek ki üç tepeymiş ki uçtep demişler.

Emrah: ama şimdi gidilmiyor galiba?

C.D.: yaw nerde kaldı o eski inanç, nerde kaldı, gençlik öyle bir yaptı ki her tarafı berbat oldu. Şimdiki gençler tamam gine saygılıdırlar ama. Eski itikat yok. Şimdi gitsem söylesem diyor bu yağcılık için ağlıyor ve yahut da diyor bura ziyaret değil gidek kazak burada altın var. Ya nerde kaldı ne zamanda kaldı. O eski itikatlar kalmadı.

Emrah: dede türbe ziyaretleri yapılıyor değil mi? Gelen giden çok oluyor mu?

C.D.: he, her sene dışarıda gelen Almanya'dan mesela bizimkiler gelen..

Emrah: yok yani sizin köyün dışından, çevre köylerden, çevre illerden ?

C.D.: Geliyorlar. Sene de belki yüz kurban kesiliyor bizim orada. Erzincan'dan geliyorlar, Kemaliye'den geliyorlar.

Emrah: acaba sadece aleviler mi geliyor Sünniler de geliyor mu?

C.D.: He, onlar da geliyorlar. Niye biliyorsun, bak niye rüyalarında görüyorlar. Valla rüyalarında görüyorlar. Bak, şimdi sen bana deki "ben sana ilçeyi vereceğim git oradan ağaç kes" ben kesmem. Bu ilçenin tapusunu versen bak bu ilçenin ,ha kendi kanaatimce benim şahsi görüşümdür deki ben sana bin mercedes alacağım 500 mercedes sen de git cemal abdalın üstünde, kesmem. Kesemem. Çünkü kesen hep ceza gördü.

Emrah: böyle örnekler var öyle mi ?

C.D.: tabi, gece rüyasına geldi, gitti

Odun yükledi arabasını devirdi, iki gözünü kaybetti yani var u var. Ben de görmüşüm. Ben kendim görmüşüm.senin başını yormayayım, benim annem kanser hastasıydı, göğüs kanseri vardı, istanbuldaydık. Oranın kanser kürsü anabilim dalı Cihan Uras bak imini hiç unutmuyorum. 30 senedir hiç unutmuyorum cihan uras.

Emrah; hangi hastanedeydi ?

C.D.: Cerrahpaşada. Şimdi Türkiye'de kürsü başkanı olmuş, en büyük adamı. E tabi biz ordayız, hanımla bize bir oda vermişler biz çok şükür vardı para vardı, biliyorsun. Nevresimleri kendim alıyordum, terliği kendim alıyordum, temizliği kendim yapıyordum, kadın geliyordu temizliyordu. Odaya farklı bir görünüm vardı. O fark etti bizim durumumuzun şey olduğunu. Biliyorsun 2-3 ay orda kaldık. Ben dedim doktor bak ne giderse bu annemin bize çok faydası dokundu, biz daha bunun hakkını yiyoruz dedim, ne giderse dedim. Dedi ben sizi fark etmişim, fark ediyorum dedi. Fakat dedi elden ne gelir nice ağalar nice padişahlar bu hastalıktan gitti, bunun parayla alakası yok dedi. Ama ben sizi nasıl sevdim bakıyorum temizlik bakımından dedi, ama keşke parayla olsa bu iş desem şu ilacı al getir iyileştirelim, fakat dedi ben bir taraftan da üzülüyorum dedi ben de dedim niye üzülüyorsun doktor, dedi senin annen kaç kilo geliyor? Hiç unutmam dedim 78 kilo, dedi senin annen 30 kilo dedim deme doktor, dedi annen günü gelir 30 kilo düşerse o zaman ölür. Böyle aklıma mış gibi koydum hiç unutmam eyvah dedim. Dedi bu hastalık öyle bir hastalıktır. Benim

annemin ölümü daha aklıma gelmedi sadece dedim ben nasıl yapabilirim. Dua ediyorum diyorum ben nasıl yapabilirim. Ben çektim geldim benim 2 tane arkadaşım vardı doktor Kenan, doktor düzgün.. bizim eczanemizde vardı onlarla çok samimiydik. Gittik bizim köyden o yana bir taziye ölmüştü oradan da gidecektik yemek yiyecektik. Hıdır'ın o alt tarafında o zaman tabi hıdır mıdır yoktu. Ben dönüşte geldim hiç iyi etmedim ama ben ona kurban olayım ben kendimi dar ettim. Benim anam çok acayıptı, sor Karakoçan2da benim annem babam değil, annem evliyaydı. Oradan kim geçseydi evin önünden onu yemeksiz bir yere göndermezdi hiç mümkün değil , kim geçseydi. Gelirlerdi biz de bir hafta kalırlardı, on gün kalırlardı , bir ay kalırlardı, bize bit düşerdi. Gelirlerdi 30 iğne vermiş köyden gelmiş adam a köyü b köyü c köyü, babam koyu bir politikacıydı. Menderes döneminde Yassıada'ya gitti babam. Yassıada'da kaldı, Sivas üzerinde kaldı, Elazığ üzerinde kaldı babam, çok partici bir adamdı babam.

Emrah: ben röportajını okudum galiba dede, Mithat Özcan diye bir avukat var istanbulda, ben tanıştım onunla kitabını aldım. Görüşmüş onunla. Bu görüşmeyi kitabına almış.

C.D.: bizim Mithat hoca, benim arkadaşımdır. Babam çok koyu politikacıydı. Aşırı menderesciydi. Aşırı. Hayatında bir defa ağlamış, menderes uçaktan düştüğü zaman ağlamış ha. Başka ağlamamış benim babam, kimse babamın ağladığını görmemiş. Ne diyordum işte geldim pir cemal abdalın üstüne dedim ya cemal abdal bu kadın bu kadar sana hizmeti oldu yani Allah muhafaza dedim bu bizim doktorun dediği gibi olursa ne olacak sen hepimizi öldürdün dedim. Bizi ondan evvel öldür biz bu günü görmeyelim dedim. Yani bir sitem yaptım. Tabi ziyaretin başındayım. Türbenin başındayım. Ama korkunç bir sitem yaptım yani. İçimde olmayan bir hareket geldi yani aniden. Bir de böyle bir acıma duygusu bastı içimi, dedim yaw nasıl annem 30 kilo olur, 30 kilo bir deri bir kemiktir. Yani baktığın zaman ölürsün. Yani söyledim söyledim. Bak allah2a sövdüm bak Cenab-ı Allah'a sövdüm. Ben arabaya binmedim 2 dakkika sonra telefon geldi dedi çabuk doktora yetiştir anneni, fenalaştı dedi. Annem de senin benim gibiydi, hiçbir şey yok ha, daha 78 kilo civarındadır. Düzgün de yanımda doktor düzgün, Hozatlı. Tesadüf onunla birlikte girmiştik ya, hemen beraber bindik, bura senin bura benim, bura senin bura benim, anneme yetişemedim. Yetişemedim ama kabul edemedim dedim annem nasıl öldü. Onun doktoru hayat eczanesin sahibi vardı Özcan uçar taziyeyle geldi, edim Özcan abi sana bir şey söyleyeyim kimseye söyleme, yav dedim bu kadın böyle böyle ölecekti nasıl oldu. Dedi biliyor musun nasıl öldü akciğer şeye bastı solunumu kesti öldü dedi. Vallahi de billahi de. Ha bu ki kanser hastasıydı, deri kemik kalıyor, deri kemik. Görüyoruz da beraber yaşıyoruz. 6 ay yatalak kalıyorlar de mi. Sene yatalak kalan var değil mi? Onun için diyorum ben görmüşüm olayı. ben ne istemişim de banan vermiş. Ben şimdi Allah diyorum Muhammed diyorum hiç ben inanmasam da cemal abdal dediği zaman benim kafama keleş de soksan yanlış yapamam. Görmüşüm, benim gözlerim görmüş.

Emrah: kerameti çok demek ki.

C.D.: ben gittim adamlar orda piknik yapıyordu dedim babam burası piknik yeri değil, kurban olayım, burada cenaze var, türbe yeridir, ben size kıymıyorum siz ailece gelmişsiniz, bir daha gelmeyin buraya dedim, burası bizim kutsal yerimizdir. Yani geldiğiniz zaman biz güceniyoruz dedim. Dedi o zaman cemal abi söz bir daha gelmeyeyim gibisinden dedi, geldi o

gece rüyasını gördü, sabahına geldi kurbanını kesti dünyası yıkıldı, Cengiz ismini de söyleyeyim belediyede itfaiye memuruydu. Diyor ben neler gördüm o gece neler. Sabah gitmişti kurbanını kesmişti, özür dilemişti gelmişti. Bakma işte bizim gençler yetiştirdi biri dedi Allah yoktur, biri dedi Muhammed yoktur, biri dedi ziyaret yoktur. Allah ıslah etsin. Nasıl bu doğanın sahibi yoktur değil mi babam ?

Emrah: Karakoçan aslında Türkiye içinde güzel bir örnek. Hani aleviler, Sünniler birlikte yaşıyorlar Şimdi bunu nasıl sağlıyorlar?

C.D.: çok eskiye gidersek hepsi aleviymiş. O Badran'ı, Delikan'ı, Xelan'ı hepsi bizim alevidirler, akrabamız sonra değişim olmuş. Sonra değişim nasıl olmuş. %80 karı-kız alışverişi, bak %80. Kızı sünniye gitmiş, Sünni karı getirmişler. Yani ekseri o. Çok eskiden zaten hepsi taliblermiş. Bu köyler ha. Zaza köyleri demiyorum tabi. Bizim bu köyle. Oxciyan, Hemzelyan, Alıkan, Badran, Aşağı Alıkan, Golan hep akrabalar. Alevilermiş, sonradan değişmiş. Çok uyumlular. Ya kız alışverişleri var ya kirvelikleri var. Bak benim üç tane gelinim Sünni, hollandanda' da üç tane gelinim Sünni ama ben isterim ki beş tane Sünni olsun. Ne varki ya. Ben de onları tutarım, kardeşlerim de onları tutar. Birbirlerine sıcaktırlar. Birbirlerini severler yani buranın insanları farklı. O diğer insanlara göre farklı. Benim asker arkadaşım vardı. Askerde dedi benim adım Hüsnü'dür nufusta dedi Hüsnü sen alevi misin? Dedim he, dedi Allah etmeye ya. yaw yok de tövbe tövbe tövbe söyle. Şefik Çiftçi hiç unutmam. Van'lıydı. Ben geniş adamım. O birlikte bizim dayı vardı. Karakoçan'lı iki tane başçavuş vardı. Yani iyi kötü tutuyorlardı beni. Dedim niye Şefik abi. Dedi Abi sen olamazsın ya bırak dedi. Söyle yok ya. Dedi bana söyle yok ne olur. Dedi hele söyle yok ya. Öyle de yalvarıyordu. Dedim valla olmuyor. Dedim hem Aleviyim hem de dedeyim. Yaw dede nedir dedi. Bilmiyordu. Dedim dede böyle ocakzade şöyle. Dedi sen nasıl alevi olursun. Yaw dedim niye eninde sonunda sonra oturdum konuştum. Dedim size yanlış anlatıyorlar. Yaw dedi bize öyle anlatmadılar. Dedim bak Şefik ben nasılım? Dedi sen abemsin, sen babamsın. Dedi ben sana bakıyorum senin mertliğine bakıyorum, senin insanlığına bakıyorum, senin görüşüne bakıyorum. Dedim budur ya bizde böyledir. Ee dedi bize öyle anlatmıyorlar. Dedi kötü şeyler anlatıyorlar. Dedim o zaman git deki benim askerde arkadaşım vardı böyle böyle. Yada beni çağır ben de gelem oraya, siz gelin bizim oraya. Gelin bizi görün bizde sizi görek. Anladın. Yani öyle diyem.

Emrah: bu köyler arasındaki ilişkiler.

C.D.: Odur. Çok birbirlerine bağlıdırlar. Yüzde 80 kirvadırlar. Kirve olmayanda kız alışverişleri vardır. Anladın. Birbirlerini yıllarca tanımışlar. Yani bizde öyle kin yok. Düşmanlık müşmanlık olmaz. Biri yanlış yaparsa gider dersin ne neden böyle yapıyorsun. Sen yanlışsın. Öyle birbirlerine şeydirler. Biliyorsun buranın alevi köyü çok azdır. Tahminen bi 20 köy var. 20-30 köy ya var ya yok. Yüzde 25'tir ha. Alevi köylerin çoğu boşaldı. Nüfus değil de köy olarak %25. Nüfusu azalttılar.

Emrah: Dede Alevilerde de de önyargı var mı biraz?

C.D.: var, olmaz mı? Ne cehalet. Okumuş adamda da var. Ya ne kadar biz gericiyiz. Size göre bizimkiler biraz esnektir ama. Sizinkiler daha hırçındır.

APPENDIX E: PERMISSION LETTER WRITTEN BY THE UNIVERSITY TO THE CIVIL AND ADMINISTRATIVE AUTHORITIES



T.C. YEDİTEPE ÜNİVERSİTESİ

08.11.2017

ELAZIĞ VALİLİĞİ

Antropoloji Bölümü 20134009001-2D no'lu Doktora Programı öğrencimiz Emrah Tuncer, doktora tezi olarak "*Toplumsal Yaşamın Örgütlenmesinde Dini Antropolojik Temeller: Karakoçan, Ohi Deresi Çevresinde, 7 Köy ve Kutsal Mekanlarındaki Mit ve Dini İnanç Ritüellerinin(in) Sosyal Dayanışma Oluşturmasındaki Rolü*" başlıklı bir tez hazırlamayı hedeflemektedir. Bu tez için; Elazığ İli Karakoçan İlçesi'nde gündelik yaşam, dini inanç çevresinde şekillenen ritüel ve pratikler hakkında antropolojik alan çalışması gerçekleştirecektir.

Kasım 2017 - Kasım 2018 tarihleri arasında bir yılı kapsayan alan araştırması sırasında katılımlı gözlem tekniğinin yanı sıra mülakat ve derinlemesine mülakat teknikleri de kullanılacaktır. Bu süre zarfında araştırmacı, yörede gerçekleşen etkinliklere ve uygulamalara katılarak gözlemde bulunup, görüşmeler yapacak, dini pratiklere, ritüellere ve geleneklerin yaşatılmasına ilişkin kayıt tutacak, fotoğraf ve gerektiğinde video kaydı alacaktır. Araştırmacının alanda bulunduğu süre içerisinde bölgede bulunan adli ve idari makamların bilgilendirilmeleri mahiyetinde bir yazının sağlanması hususunda gereğinin yapılması bilgilerinize sunarım.

Saygılarımla,


T.C. YEDİTEPE ÜNİVERSİTESİ
FEN-EDEBİYAT FAKÜLTESİ
ANTROPOLOJİ BÖLÜMÜ BAŞKANLIĞI

Prof. Dr. Mehmet Bayraktar
Antropoloji Bölümü Başkan Vekili.

APPENDIX F: RESPONSE TO SOCIAL ASSISTANCE AND SOLIDARITY APPLICATION

T.C.
KARAKOÇAN İLÇESİ
Sosyal Yardımlaşma ve Dayanışma Vakfı Başkanlığı

Sayı : 2017/ 363
Konu : Emrah TÜNCER

29/12/2017

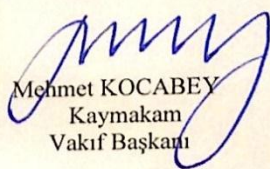
Emrah TÜNCER
(Kirazlı Mah. Fidan Sok. No:6/33)
Bağcılar/İSTANBUL

İlgi : Elazığ İl Basın ve Halkla İlişkiler Müdürlüğü 26.12.2017 tarih ve 1186 sayılı Açık Kapı Talep İzleme Formu.

İlgi tarih ve sayılı formda, Yeditepe ontropoloji doktora öğrenci olduğunuzu, öğrenim hayatınız boyunca sıkıntılar çektiğinizi, doktora teziniz için ilçemizdeki çalışmalar yapmanız gerektiğini, çalışmalarınız için ilçemizdeki köylere gidiş dönüşlerde ve kalacak yer konusunda sıkıntı yaşadığınızı belirterek, Sayın Valimizden yardım talebinde bulunmaktasınız.

Talebiniz Vakfımız Mütevelli Heyetinin 28.12.2017 tarih ve 2017-33 sayılı Mütevelli Heyeti toplantısında görüşülmüştür. Talebiniz, 3294 sayılı Sosyal Yardımlaşma ve Dayanışmayı Teşvik Kanununun amacı doğrultusunda bulunmadığından reddedilmiştir.

Bilgilerinize arz/rica ederim.


Mehmet KOCABEY
Kaymakam
Vakıf Başkanı

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Emrah TÜNCER
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APPENDIX G: RESUME



Emrah TUNCER

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Military Service Completed (2014)
Status
E-mail tunceremrah@gmail.com

EDUCATION STATUS:

Degree	Field	University	Year
Graduate	Geography	İstanbul University	2005
Master	City and Regional Planning	Mimar Sinan the University of Fine Arts	2009
Master wwithout thesis	Educational Sciences	İstanbul University	2014
Doctorate	Social Anthropology	Yeditepe University	Continues

Master Thesis

Spatial Organization Of Power: Major Shopping Centers In Istanbul As Spatial Fantasmagoria of Power

Advisor: Yrd. Assoc. Dr. M. Turgay GÖKÇEN

Programming Languages

Spss, Nvivo, Autocad, Microsoft Word, Excel, Access, Powerpoint

Experiences

2015-2016: Kültür Basic High School, Geography Teacher
2013-2017: Eksen / Test school Publications Geography Question Bank and Subject Narrative Book Authorship
2010-2015: Final Dergisi Dershanesi, Geography Teacher

Certifications

MSGSU-Solidarity Workshop Gümüşsuyu Urban Planning Workshop Certified-February 2007
Chamber of Environmental Engineers, Workshop on Life and Environmental Policies, June 2013
Bahçeşehir University, Democracy and Participation Summer School, Certificate Program

Projects / Scholarships

1. TÜBİTAK, 114K125 Social Anthropological Research on Forest Villages in Turkey, Field Study, Report, 2013-2014

Book

Spatial Organization of Power as Spatial Fantasmagoria of Power Major Shopping Centers in Istanbul, Kibele Publishing, Istanbul 2013.

In-Book Chapter Authorship

Defending Cities-Venue On Society And Politics, Published By: Gürkan Akgün, Çare Olgun Çalışkan, Esra Kaya, Aysun Koca, NotaBene Publications, 2013

Citations by author

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