

Finally, here is a little more detail concerning one of my research projects:

Basic musical forms in a Bektashi community

Since 1999, my wife, Éva Csáki, and I have collected more than 1000 melodies in 24 villages from Turkish men and women of the Bektashi faith, whose grandparents migrated from the Balkans to the European part of Turkey. By the end of this research series it seemed that we had reached our goal, and recorded the majority of their religious and secular songs. Who are these people, what are their ceremonies like, where and how they dance their dances and sing their songs? To answer to questions we have to examine the ancient history of Central Asia.

The nomadic and semi-nomadic Turks did not become Muslims at any one time but rather gradually, over centuries. They adopted some Sunni, Shiite and mystic elements of Islam while continuing to cling to their traditional shamanistic beliefs and practices.¹⁰ The Bektashi faith begun to spread in the Balkan Peninsula during the 13th-14th centuries (Birge, 1937: 51). According to early tradition, the founder Hajji Bektash sent one of his missionaries Sarı Saltık to Rumeli (Europe) (Birge, 1937: 50-51). In the 16th century the Kizilbash who supported the Iranian Safavids were exiled from Anatolia. At this time several Bektashi groups migrated to the Balkan.

Bektashism is a syncretistic folk religion connected to nature; they worship mountains, trees and heaven.¹¹ Over the centuries, this religion was

At the beginning of the 16th century a new dervish order, the Kizilbash, became the ruler of Iran. This was followed by continuous Turkmen turmoil and the Osman-Persian wars. The Turkmen whose religion contained several Shiite elements became suspicious to the Osman Empire. As counteraction of the constant persecution and as an effect of the Safavid propaganda, the Bektashi-Alevi religion began to take better and better shape, and was standardized by Balim Sultan in his Erkanname.

The Bektashi order split into two. The popular and not unified Chelebian branch belonged to the Turkmen masses, only those could be members whose father and mother were members too. The Babagan Dervish order followed more strict religious practices. This latter was spread mainly in Istanbul and in the Balkan. However, the religion, the ceremony and the literature of the two branches was very much the same. The Babagan

^{10.} Similarly to American Indians or some Turkic people in Asia.

^{11.} The religion left by Muhammad very early developed in two directions. On the one hand it produced a rigid, scholastic theology with an inflexible religious law. At the same time, even from within the first two centuries, a tendency began to manifest and quickly developed into individuals and groups who emphasized the ascetic life and the mystical approach to direct knowledge of God (Birge, 1937: 13).

It was advantageous for the order that in the middle of the 14th century, Hajji Bektash became the *pir* "patron saint" of the Janissary army. The Bektashi dervishes could fight in battles and could cultivate land and at the same time their tolerance made them acceptable for the Christians in the newly occupied lands.

influenced by other religions, including Neo-Platonism, Judaism and Christianity.¹² Bektashi faith is different from the majority Sunni religion. We can consider it a Turkish form of Shiite religion mixed with Sufism.¹³

There are no special books, like the Bible or a catechism, which are used to enlighten the essence of Bektashism. They accept the Koran as a holy book, but they practice the rules according to their own conception of them. Bektashis follow their path; in their self-definition Turkish nationality comes first, fidelity to Islam comes second, and belonging to the Bektashi faith comes last.

Elements of shamanism live among them even today.¹⁴ According to their tradition, Bektashi, saints and legendary figures had special "shamanistic" gifts: their soul leaves the body and returns there, they fly to heaven,

- 12. In Anatolia, Christianity was present since the 1st century. The early Christians escaped from persecution into the Ihlara valleys and the caves in Cappadocia where they had built underground cities. There was a large number of Christian in Seljuk era and from the 13th century too. This time there was a strict connection between the Islam and the Christianity. The Manichaeism had influence to the Bektashism too.
- 13. Though Bektashis accept the basic Shiite principles, they have a special conception of the Holy Trinity. According to them, the only existing God manifests itself in Mohammed and Ali. That is why their prayers begin with *Bism-i ah* (in the name of the king Ali) instead of the usual Muslim *Bism-i llah* (in the name of God). It is characteristic that the Shiite Iranians consider the Bektashis Sunni. Mélikoff (1993: 55).
- 14. They gather at night, men and woman together, they use fire (in these days, only candles), respect mountains, sacrifice animals in honor of a guest etc. The prohibition of uttering certain names or words can be considered shamanistic feature as well. Though the prohibition of stepping on the threshold has a religious explanation as well, this taboo can be dated back to the pre-Islamic Central Asia, it is known among Mongols too. Another example: the Tahtajis in the Taurus Mountain do not name the bear, it is taboo. Instead of *ayı* (bear) they say *koca o lan* (elder boy) or *da daki* (highlander). Atalay (1924:13).

branch had strong connection with the Janissary army, so they became very strong at the edges of the Osman Empire.

When in 1826 the dissolute Janissary army was dissolved, the Bektashi Order, especially the Babagan branch was abolished. Later the Bektashis built up good connections with the Young Turk movement and Atatürk. They participated in the war of liberation (1919-1923), but in 1925, together with the other orders they were abolished again. In spite of this, the order exists even today in secret, and the picture of Atatürk can be found on the wall of many Bektashi homes.

they talk to God while on their horses, they direct the forces of nature as they please, they do not burn in fire, etc.¹⁵

Instead of beating drums to visit the unearthly worlds, the Bektashi *ba lama*¹⁶ player knocks on the instrument with the middle finger of his right hand while playing the melody. They do not pray five times a day and do not visit the mosque. However, there are mosques in their villages, which are not condemned by the majority of Sunni society.¹⁷

The Bektashis sing psalms and folk songs as well. The learning process of the folksongs is not different from what we see in many parts of the world. More unique, however, is their religious ceremony.

The ceremony is directed by the elected leader of the community, the *baba* "father". He is accepted, respected and loved. If a *mürid* (disciple) wants to join the order, he has to look for a *mürshid* (helper) whose judgment, opinion and advice help him in everyday life.¹⁸ The candidate can join the community as a fully qualified member only after completely understanding the concept of Bektashism and what seems to be more important, only if the community accepts him. Husband and wife can only decide together to choose this lifetime duty. As one of the formal conditions of joining, a candidate has to organize a ceremony.

^{15.} Similar attributes: they practice magic, cure illness, find lost things, foretell future, restore an animal to life from its bones etc. (Ocak 1983: 95).

^{16.} Ba lama is a lute with three strings. See Picken (1975: 200-295) for more detail.

^{17. 21} March is Nevruz (New Year), the feast of the light and Ali, and the day of the wedding of Ali and Fatima. 6 May is the beginning of the summer and the day of Saint Hıdır and lyas (Hidrellez). They keep a very strict fast on 1-12 Muharrem months remembering the sufferings of Hussein and his companions. The culmination of the fast is on the 10th day, the Ahsura, the day of Ali's martyrdom. The fasting ends on 12th Muharrem, eating dessert and candy.

^{18.} The way leading to the perfection has four periods – four gates. First is the *sheriat*, the Islam religion law, which means in practice that the disciple has to respect basic human norms. The second gate (the *tarikat*) is already the right way, the disciple has to join an order or do lonely meditations. During the second period the disciple develops a new way of seeing. The third gate is the *marifet*, the period of the real divine understanding, steady knowledge and clear-sightedness. The fourth period is the *hakikat*, the true reality, where knowledge is combined with love. These gates lead to *the fanafillah*, the final dissolution. Because of human frailty, this way has to be wandered over several times.

Since the banning of the order in 1926, Bektashis organize religious meetings in private houses, where foreigners usually are not let in. In the morning they clean up the place, prepare food, and the sacrificial lamb. The participants arrive after sunset. Only members of the community may join the first part of the meeting, where they discuss inner problems. If somebody wants to enter the ceremony, he has to know several rules and habits e.g. kiss the feet, hands and chest of the *baba* and touch the ground with forehead before entering and leaving. One has to know the melody and the text of the songs and must not turn his back to the *baba* while dancing, etc. During the *jam*, twelve candles are burning to the left of the *baba* ²⁰

In the second part of the religious ceremony, the participants eat and drink (alcohol included). The *baba* reads and explains edifying texts. These lectures do not always achieve great success, but the community behaves in an orderly way.

After that, follows an amusing conservation with anecdotes, laughter and, from time to time, singing. They eat healthy Turkish dishes with lots of vegetables, cheese and fruit; drink water and *raki* (anise brandy). The *raki* is consumed always collectively after prayers or dances; a drunken man or

^{19.} The row of the 12 imams (religious leader) begins with Ali. They represent the chain of the disciples. Every imam died a violent death, and they are remembered by the 12 dignitaries on the Bektashi ceremony. According to some researchers, the number 12 shows Christian influence.

^{20.} Though the functions and their name might be different in different regions, the essence of the ceremony is very much the same everywhere. A version of the full list is as follows (Do an 1999: 115): the *baba* leads the ceremony; the *davetçi* (messenger) informs the community about the events; the *kapıcı* (gate-keeper) watches the homes of those joining the ceremony; the *gözcü* (watcher) keeps order during the ceremony, and watches if there is any danger; the *a çt* or *sofract* blesses, cuts and skins the sacrificial animals, he/she cooks and serves the meal in the ceremony; the *ayakçt* is the helper of the a çt; the *meydanct* is the master of the house, he warns the participants to take their shoes off, watches the discipline; the çera ct is responsible for the candles; the *süpürgeci* (sweeper) symbolically tidies up the room between the sections of the ceremony while crying: *Ya Allah, ya Muhammed, ya Ali* (Oh, Allah, oh, Mohammed, oh Ali); the *sakact* (water-carrier) sees after the water during the ceremony; the *selman* brings water for the ritual hand-washing, and the *zakir* sings religious songs and plays the ba lama.

woman is very rare. While drinking, they hide the glass in their palm according to the old tradition, because alcohol is forbidden in Islam culture.

The pleasant sensation of being together, the social entertainment and the feasting leads step by step to more spiritual and mystic forms. Through the influence of the religious songs, participants gradually become estranged from the trouble of the material life and devote themselves to God.

After eating and drinking, the *baba* and the member of the community sing poems of the honored founders, saints and poets.²¹ These Turkish poems are effective tools of the spiritual education, they give advice, explain the faith and the rules of coexistence. These verses substitute for the sacred texts, and Bektashis call their instrument *telli Kuran* (Koran on strings). Though the *nefes* have authors,²² they have lots of different variants.²³ There are similar verses with different poet's names, structures and melodies. Let us now look at the text of a *nefes*.

Şu dünyanın ötesine	"I've surpassed this world"
Vardım diyen yalan söyler,	Who says so, tells a lie.
Baçtan baça sefasine	"I've had a good time from the beginning"
Sürdüm diyen yalan söyler	He, who says so, tells a lie.
Avcılar avlarlar kazı,	Hunters hunt for wild geese,
Hakk'a ederler niyazı!	They say prayer to God,
Şunda beç vakit namazı	"I said prayer five time every day"
Buldum diyen yalan söyler	He, who says so, tells a lie.
Kuru açaçta olur gazel,	They dig ditches exhausted,
Kendi okur kendi yazar.	The fate spins your wheel!
Zıkkı bütün, kalbı güzel	"In this world you have property, wealth"
Güzelim diyen yalan söyler	He, who says so, tells a lie.

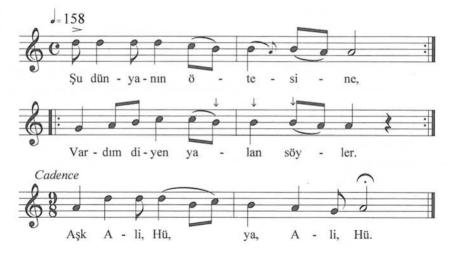
^{21.} *Nefes* is an Arabic word in Turkish; it means "breath, breathing on". There are legends that the mystic poet Yunus Emre breathed in inspiration from saints and wrote his hymns about worshipping God.

^{22.} Some poets, e.g. Ashik Veysel, have a worldwide reputation in our day too.

^{23.} The life of the poets is usually not cleared up. They often grow legend, and different poets living on different places and times often have the same name. The name of the poet occurs compulsorily in the last stanza of the poems, but identical or very similar poems are often signed by different names.

Kuru a açta olur gazel,	Even on the dry tree there are leaves,
Kendi okur kendi yazar.	He sings, he writes himself,
Zıkkı bütün, kalbı güzel	"There are people with only charity in their heart"
Güzelim diyen yalan söyler	He, who says so, tells a lie.
Pir Sultan'ıma varılmaz,	We cannot reach my Shah Hatayi,
Şah Sultan'ıma varılmaz,	We cannot reach my Saint Sultan,
Varsa da bizce dönülmez ,	Even if we reach him we cannot return,
Rahbersiz yollar bulunmaz,	Without a leader we do not find the way,
Buldum diyen yalan söyler.	"I found it" – he, who says so, tells a lie.

Example 14. The text and the melody of a nefes



Toward the end of the séance men and women dance *semah* "religious dances", sing songs and approach God with saintly enthusiasm and high spirits. In these customs many scholars see the continuation of shamanistic traditions too. The participants consistently do not consider the *semah* as prayer.²⁴

^{24.} Van Bruinessen (1999: 549-553) says that *semah* turning is totally different from shamanistic dance.

In the last decade more and more studies have been published about the Bektashi faith and customs; poems of their famous poets are now published in several volumes. About the melodies the Bektashis sing and play, however, there is no significant work or comprehensive study, though these poems have been never only recited but always sung and dance, and music has played a fundamental role in their culture.²⁵

The members of the Bektashi community know and sing hundreds of melodies. These songs are not independent from each other; they are variants of much smaller number of basic musical forms. Let us see now the musical classification.

MUSICAL CLASSIFICATION

Before starting a more detailed examination to decide which method is more fruitful we have to raise a question: is it really necessary to examine the sometimes agonizing phenomena of the folk music of nomadic people or the repertoire of a specific religion? Should not we study modern musical trends in the villages and cities instead?

Undoubtedly the inspection of newer phenomena is important. However, besides the language, folk music is one of the most outstanding creations of a people, one which deserves special attention. Many layers of it were created by communities having a common cultural background, and over decades, centuries or sometimes thousands of years, these communities had been forming and polishing melody types and styles, preserving their essence in the process of continuous change.

^{25.} As Boratav (E.I. III: 1094a) states that there are no comprehensive studies about the songs of the folk religion. According to Duygulu (1997: IX): "more and more studies are written about historical, theological and political aspects of the Alevi-Bektashis, but only a few scholar examine their culture". Especially insufficient is the research on the music and dance of the Bektashis. I can only mention two publications which contain several musical transcriptions: the *Bekta î Nefesleri* (Istanbul, 1933) and the different publications of Turgut Koca – *Zeki Onardan, Gül Beste* (e.g. Ankara 1987 or 1998). Even in these books there is no musical analysis and one can find only a few songs which are known and sung by the Bektashis in Thrace.

Music really does have its own life, which is not totally but to a high degree independent from the society in which it exists. When we analyze Bach's fugues or Schoenberg's compositions we do not necessarily have to know every tiny moment of their lives. And, although cultural and social approaches are fundamental in the newer ethnomusicology, we cannot expect representatives of other branches of sciences to study the music as it is and to make the musical analysis. It has to be done by us, musicologists and ethnomusicologists.

Linguistics, especially comparative linguistics, set a good example in this. Having different methods and approaches, linguists agree that dictionaries and grammar are important tools. In the case of folk music, a dictionary might be a reliable collection of songs, and grammar a classification, that is, descriptions of relationships between melodies. This means a typology for grouping similar melodies into melody types; then melody types organize themselves into melody classes and melody classes form melody styles.

Classification is especially important when we want to compare the folk music of different peoples, because while the similarity of a few melodies does not have great significance, the similarity of large and musically homogeneous melody styles might refer to deeper, sometimes genetic relations between different folk musics or –in other cases– they can help to trace musical universalities.

In an optimal case, the folk music of all the peoples in the world would be lined on our shelves in systematized publications. Then we could attempt to plot the musical map of the world, in which the overlapping seas and the islands of folk music could be demonstrated suggestively. It would reveal how far and in what specific form tune types and musical styles spread; are they national or supranational, do they live locally or have a generally prevalent character? That is, unfortunately, only a dream yet.

In January 2004 I attended the 37th World Conference of the International Council for Traditional Music in Southern China. If all of the many hundred participants would have collected and analyzed 7000 melodies and written 6 books like myself, now we would have an archive of more than two million melodies and a library of some two thousands monographs on these melodies. How much nearer we would be to Béla Bartók's dream of becoming acquainted with the folk music of the world! This time I will only show you an example of the classification of a large song collection. First let us specify the principles of the classification.

Principles of musical classification

Having classified material ordered into melody types, classes and styles, we have the chance to compare the entire folk music of different peoples instead of only observing a few random similarities. Owing to six years of fieldwork and simultaneous transcribing and analyzing, we have reliable material.

The next step was to choose the principles for classifying the material. Because we are now talking about *musical* classification we take non-musical aspects into consideration only secondarily. There are several connections between melodies. The number of syllables, the number of sections, the compass, the rhythm, the musical structure, the scale etc. might be similar or even identical. We can group the material according to any of these features and these groupings would bring melodies similar in one or more features close to each other. But these characteristics are usually unambiguous and can be characterized by one or two numbers; consequently, we can use comprehensive tables to introduce the rhythmic, structural and other kinds of relationships.

According to our experience, the melodic line encloses more complex and more substantial musical essence and cannot be characterized by only a few numbers or letters. That is why we choose the melodic line as the main principle of the classification. To be more exact we made the classifications according to the melodic progression of the first half of the melodies which -in this musical culture- usually identifies the whole melody satisfactorily. The second half of these melodies is usually less characteristic, and moves under the first part with a descending or an ascending-descending tendency. At the same time, and in the case of the four-sectioned melodies, structure plays a prominent role. Therefore, in the classification of these melodies the cadences (the closing tones of the sections) are more important than in the classification of the one- or two-sectioned melodies.

Classification according to the melodic line

The goal and at the same time the difficulties of the musical classification is that from many variants we have to choose the central forms and melodic lines to which the majority of the songs are traceable. As we will see, in the majority of the cases we could sort the melodies into types and classes according to their melodic lines, and only a few songs could be classified into more than one class or even into none of the classes.

As in the folk music of many people, the most typical melodic line in the Bektashi material is descending or ascending-descending (hill-shaped). In this musical world these two forms are not worth differentiating because only the first few tones of the first section are different. A more specific phenomenon is the undulating movement on a smaller compass (of a third, fourth, or perhaps a fifth) which can reach up to or fall below the keynote in the middle of the first line. Relatively rare are melodies that are traceable back to twin-bars or to a single bar, and even rarer are melodies with an ascending first line.

In the first step, I divided the folksongs and the psalms of the Bektashis into 12 arrays according to their forms. These arrays may contain melodies moving on different scales if their other features were in harmony with the other melodies in the same array.

Array	Basic form of the melodies in the array
I-II.	One short section
III-IV.	Two short sections
V.	Four short sections with (1) main cadence
VI-X.	Four short sections
XI.	One or two tripodic sections
XII.	«Domed» structure
App.1-2.	Special melodies

Now let us survey the melodic groups in the arrays in order to develop an acquaintance with the musical world of the Bektashis. After learning these melodies, the majority of the Bektashi songs will seem familiar. Melodies traceable back to a single short section (I-II)

I. Melodies built up of motives rotating around the middle tone of a trichord

II. Melodies traceable back to a single short line (motif)

Melodies traceable back to two short sections (III-IV)

III. First line is undulating or ascending, often $A^k\!A$ form and 1, 2, (b)3, 4 or 5 cadences

IV. Two short static, descending or hill-like sections with a small compass and 2, (b)3 or 4 cadences. A special subgroup consists of melodies starting with mi-re-do mi-re-do.

Melodies with four short sections and (1) main cadence (V)

Melodies with four or more sections (VI-X)

VI. Low melodies with 2/b3(2)x cadences and higher melodies with 4/5(2)x cadences

VII. Low and higher melodies with b3(b3)x cadences

VIII. "Psalmodic" and descending melodies with 5(b3)b3/1 sometimes 4(b3)b3/1 cadences

IX. A special "Chanakkale" melody group

X. Melodies with characteristic line or bar-sequences

XI. Disjointed melodies

XII. One- or two sectioned tripodic melodies

XIII. Melodies in «cupola» form

Appendices

- Lament-like melodies with D-C cadences

- Melodies with movement by leaps

Example 15. Melodies representing the melodies in the arrays: I) 2, II) 34, III) 90, IV) 146,V) 254, VI) 301, VII) 333, VIII) 368, IX) 446, X) 478, XI) 502, XII) 545, XIII) 577, App-1) 593, App-2) 598



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Now I will introduce an array in more detail. As we have seen, melodies in the arrays III-IV are traceable back to two short sections. Here we see two melody groups, each with many subgroups. The main difference between the melodies in these arrays is the melodic movement of their first sections. The melodies of Array IV are composed from two short and smallcompass sections with static, descending or hill-like movements. As we already know, this melodic progression is typical of the area.

The first section of melodies in Array III is undulating or ascending, with A^kA form being quite typical. This character is rather different from not only the majority of the Bektashi songs, but also from Anatolian and Bulgarian songs. A closer examination of this characteristically Bektashi melodic group reveals that the first section of these small compass (G,-D/A) melodies descends to the keynote in the middle, then ascend to the final note of the section which is usually on the 3rd or 2nd and seldom on the 4th degree. A descending or hill-like second section answers to this undulating first line. III-1. An A-C-D-C-A-B-C/B wave (ex.16-1). The wave in the first group ascends from A to D/E, then descends to A/G and from there ascends to B/C again. The sections with different cadences are united by the specific low undulating movement described above.

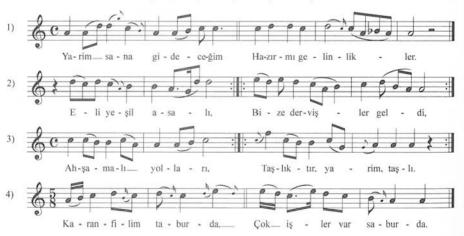
III-2. An A/D-E-D-C-A-C-D valley or wave form (ex.16-2). The first lines of the melodies in this group form a valley, but the characteristic form of these melodies is A^kA , that is the wave-form is only the result of a jump at the end of the first section. The typical cadence is D.

III-3. This group contains melodies which are Ionian counterpart of melodies in III-1 (ex.16-3).

III-4. The first section ascends to D/E (ex.16-4). I take a section ascending if its closing note is higher than the backbone of the sections, and not only when its last tone jumps higher as in the melodies with A^kA form. Such a melodic progression is quite rare in the music of Turkic people, especially in the first line of a melody consisting of two short lines.

The first section of some of these melodies ascends from A to D/E, and the second section closes descending on A. The first lines of other melodies recite in the C-D range then close on D/E. The genre is usually folksong but we do see many lullabies and one rain-begging song here as well, the latter moving on a scale with an augmented second between the 2nd and 3rd degrees.

Example 16. 1) 90, 2) 95, 3) 100, 4) 118



SUMMARY

A great advantage of musical classification is that we can compare different folk music with the help of basic forms. In this case, the music of the Bektashi community should be compared with that of the Turks living in Thrace and in Bulgaria, with the music of other Alevi-Bektashi groups in Turkey, and with Bulgarian music. This work is not impossible to accomplish because of the availability of the music of many of the groups mentioned. What is more, we have developed a software program to facilitate the comparison of large quantities of melodies. However all this will be the focus of another study, or rather of a book.

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