

# **rites of passage in ahmetli village**

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**JULY, 2018**

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## APPROVAL PAGE

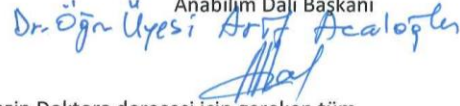
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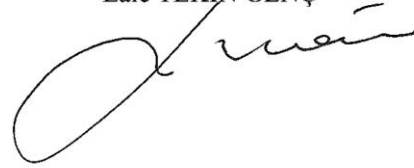


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12.07.2018

Lale TEKİN GENÇ



## **ABSTRACT**

This anthropological research investigates the rites of passage of the Yoruks of Ahmetli Village, the social organisation around the rites, social solidarity and the influence of rites on cultural continuity. In order to make these clear, the division of labour in the rites and the stages of the passage, what is changed as the result of these stages (individually/socially) and the relationship between how each position is structured are examined in this research. In order to understand the relation between the people in the village and the rites, their daily lives, beliefs, attitudes, actions and their relationships with other people and with the environment are observed. At the same time, the research focused on the behaviours and the tactics that village people exhibit in order to protect their own existence in the face of the changing circumstances.

The fieldwork that includes participant observation and interview techniques was conducted predominantly in 2016. I stayed in the houses of the local people, while I was conducting a fieldwork that took almost one year and covered all four seasons. I participated in a large part of the rites that took place during this period, integrating myself in the daily lives of villagers. I analysed the rites by observing their position in the daily life.. While focusing on the stages of the rites of passage namely weddings, births and deaths during the analysis, I aimed to understand the metaphorical structure and the role and influence of the rites in providing solidarity and continuity formed around the fact of "passing to a new position"

As a result, I have witnessed that the rites are carried out within the framework of solidarity and division of labour in the village during the occasions of the birth, wedding and death. I have observed that conflicts are resolved in a harmony as they turn into

reconciliation. I have determined that the rites that are carried out together with the community strengthen social solidarity and are considered to be more legitimate. It has been stated that “a lack” is felt when the rites are not carried out together with the community. Sharing the duties and responsibilities in the rites, where everyone is involved, also acknowledging and practicing these duties and responsibilities makes the solidarity stronger. In my opinion, the unregulated rule-based structure of this distribution of duties is based on the behavioural rules determined by the age and social status within the community and the practice of repeated rituals from childhood. I believe that this is the structure that makes cultural continuity possible.

**Keywords:** *Rites of Passage, Birth, Marriage, Death, Festivals, Narrative, Tradition, Solidarity, Yoruk, Nomadic Pastoralism, Zeybek.*

## ÖZET

Bu antropolojik araştırma, Ahmetli Köyü Yörüklerinin geçiş ritüellerini, ritüeller etrafında oluşan sosyal organizasyonu, toplumsal dayanışmayı ve ritüellerin kültürel devamlılık üzerindeki etkisini inceler. Bunu ortaya koymak amacıyla, ritüellerdeki iş bölümü, ritüelde takip edilen aşamalar, geçişin evreleri, geçiş sonucunda (bireysel/toplumsal olarak) nelerin değiştiği ve her bir konum arasındaki ilişkinin hangi sıralamaya göre ve nasıl yapılandığı incelenmiştir. Köydekilerin ritüellerle kurdukları ilişkiyi anlayabilmek için, günlük yaşayışları, inanç ve tutumları, eylemleri, diğer insanlarla ve çevreyle kurdukları ilişkileri gözlemlenmiştir. Aynı zamanda köy halkının değişen şartlar karşısında varlıklarını korumak için sergiledikleri davranış ve taktikleri de odak noktasında tutulmuştur.

Katılımlı gözlem ve mülakat tekniğinin kullanıldığı alan araştırması, ağırlıklı olarak 2016 yılında gerçekleştirilmiştir. Dört mevsimi görecekle şekilde düzenlediğim ve bir yıla yakın bir sürede gerçekleşen alan araştırmam boyunca, beni evlerinde misafir eden köylülerle kaldım. Araştırma sürecinde gündelik yaşamlarına dâhil olarak, bu süre zarfında gerçekleşen ritüellerin büyük bir bölümüne katıldım. Ritüellerin gündelik hayattaki yerini gözlemleyerek analiz ettim. Analizlerde geçiş ritüellerinin aşamaları olan düğün, doğum, ölüm konularına odaklanırken, “yeni konuma geçmek” olgusu etrafında şekillenen ritüellerin, dayanışma ve devamlılık sağlamadaki rolünü, etkisini ve metaforik yapısını anlamayı hedefledim.

Sonuç olarak, köyde doğum, düğün ve ölüm dönemlerinde yapılan ritüellerin dayanışma ve işbölümü çerçevesinde gerçekleştirildiğine tanıklık etmiş oldum.

Çatışmaların uzlaşmaya dönüşerek ahenkle tamamlandığını gözlemledim. Toplulukla birlikte yapılan ritüellerin toplumsal dayanışmayı güçlendirdiğini ve daha fazla kabul gördüğünü tespit ettim. Toplumsal olarak gerçekleştirilmeyen ritüellerde “bir eksiklenme” hissedildiği ifade edilmiştir. Herkesin bir arada yer aldığı bu ritüellerde görev ve sorumlulukların paylaşılması ve kişilerin görev ve sorumluluklarını biliyor ve uyguluyor olması bu dayanışmayı daha güçlü hale getirmektedir. Bu görev dağılımının yazılı olmayan kurallara dayalı yapısının topluluk içindeki yaşa ve toplumsal statülere göre belirlenmiş davranış kurallarına ve çocukluktan itibaren tekrarlanan ritüellerin pratik edilmesine dayandığını düşünüyorum. Kültürel devamlılığı sağlayan yapının da bu olduğuna inanıyorum.

**Anahtar Kelimeler:** Geçiş Ritüelleri, Doğum, Evlilik, Ölüm, Şölen, Anlatı, Gelenek, Dayanışma, Yörük, Konar-göçer, Zeybek.



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Every researcher starts to remember, even question, their own story during the study of their selected subject. With this experience and knowledge, they also change.

In other words, in this sense, every dissertation study is a passage...

The same flow holds true for this dissertation about passage periods and rituals. The process I've been through brought a thought-provoking, developing period during which I've questioned my own passage periods. It was tiring, wearing yet so full of memories that give me joy. Even though dissertations are prepared to be shared in the common field, it is actually a very personal experience and they are written by passing through one's mind filter. Even though it stays true to the academic guidelines, it is personal. In other words, the text that you're reading also reflects the person who wrote it and their passage.

I would like to mention the people whom I'm very thankful, who contributed to this from the beginning of my field study to the finalization of my dissertation that is the writing process. Without them, this work would not exist.

I especially want to dedicate this dissertation to my lovely daughter Elçin Umay Solak, who tells me "the key to cope with life is to not give up"...

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## INTRODUCTION

### 1.1. The Subject and Purpose of the Research

The subject of this research is the passage rituals in Ahmetli Village in İzmir Torbalı District. Cultural practices and social mobility experienced during periods of birth, marriage and death are conceived as rites of passage. Understanding these rites of passage which incorporate numerous cultural practices, beliefs and symbols is the key to obtain information on the examined society.

The term was first used by French folklorist Van Gennep (1873-1957), defined and used as “status change and accompanying ritualistic behaviours” in his intercultural works. For him, these periods are what make the passage to a new phase distinct. The purpose is to emphasize the new status in the periods which symbolize the life’s effect on human lives such as birth and puberty, marriage and death and to legitimize this passage. In these periods, individual or group aims to protect their new social status from adverse effects and bless, celebrate or legitimize it (Gennep 1960:64).

The main argument put forth by this dissertation is that in the communal life in Ahmetli Village, the passage rituals ensure social solidarity and cultural continuity. Moreover, it is also argued that the rituals change in accordance with the changes observed in the social structure and social fabric.

In order to make this assessment, the field findings are discussed in two main sections as "individual" and "community evaluations". Under the "individual evaluations" section, an interpretation has been carried out based on the data concerning the personal experiences of the ritual. The influence of the rituals on the community is dealt with in three basic approaches: the structure and purpose of rituals, social relations formed around the ritual and symbolic expressions appearing in ritual practices.

For this reason, in the first step, social organization of the rituals, division of labour and the flow process of the rituals were examined. It has been aimed to understand the phases of the passage, how it progresses, what changes socially at the end of the ritual and how and based on what arrangement the relationship between each status is structured. In this respect, age and sex-based division of labour, the role of social cohesion, interactions and relationships between people, forms of reflection of these relations in everyday practices are examined.

The symbols created for the passage rituals and how those symbols were interpreted by the villagers were other questions tried to be answered. The data on the cultural codes, social structure and social hierarchy specific to the community have been obtained through these symbolic expressions and the positions, duties and responsibilities in the rituals have been tried to be understood (Bock 1994:41-59). In addition, the value judgments, moral boundaries, belief forms of the community were tried to be evaluated through the rituals. In addition to this, material cultural elements such as the forms of economic relations, eating and drinking, dressing practices are also taken into consideration, so that the fact that they are not coincidental can be shown through the rituals (Hill and Daniel 2008:3).

Even though the cultural structure of the community was generally considered as a base for the ritual dynamics (Wulf 2004:231), the change and transformation in the cultural roles of

the humans and their encounter meeting with their new status might be examined under individual effects. During the rituals, the community recognizes the new status of the individual and approves their new social status. Thus the individual is made visible and the society gives them authority (Haviland 1996:665, Kottak 2001:378, Giddens 2003:281). With this authority the individual acquires a set of defined rights and responsibilities and it would be expected from them to act according the ethical norms and boundaries determined by the society. The individual must digest and internalize this new situation (Edensor 2002:22). This approval would be blessed and celebrated with advices and wishes (Avcı 2001:32). Moreover, the individual gains a guarantee of protection (safeguarding) by the society. Thus, the individual might experience a sense of heightened belonging through their integration in the society (Turner 1967:451). With that, the individual acquires social harmony, a new representation and a new identity. Also, he/she actively acts as a mediator to the new generations for the transfer of cultural knowledge and memory (Güvenç 2010:294; Connerton 1999:21).

When the rites of passage are examined socially, we can ascertain the methods and conditions to attend a ritual (Bates 2009:453), the time of the ritual, the way of performing it and its social impact (Grimes 1990:182). It has been said that these rituals are effective in keeping the social order (Gennep 1960:3) and the rituals have the role of maintaining the social supervision within its own dynamics. The personal and social experience takes shape by way of ensuring the social integrity and stability through the socializing process and of internalizing the “consensual values” of the society (Durkheim 1965:193).

Rituals as a social activity also turn into a performance. This transfer through drama carries a series of metaphoric meanings. This shows a similarity to the category Metin And expressed for the theatrical village plays (And 1979:76). Transferring of the performances through drama was observed in the rituals during the fieldwork. For instance, when a man of the

village puts on feminine clothes and dances during wedding celebrations, others, both men and women join him. At the same time, the money mentioned as "tip" given to those who dance was also given to the musicians at the wedding. These performances are submitted to the public eye visually and auditorily with a symbolic content depending on time and place. The purpose is to announce the new positions of the individuals of the community to the public (Avcı 2001:33).

Rites of passage, which are among the factors of social mobility, also have socio-economic functions. Rites not only provide an economic market to the people of the region but also ensure cash flow. Economy is both a key factor in the organization of the rituals and also an important element where social solidarity and collective action can be observed. In this respect, it is important to understand what is done to reduce the economic burden on the family, and the roles of the people in the stages of giving gifts or hosting guests, and to establish the strategies that people develop in order to understand the continuity of social solidarity constituting the basis argument of this dissertation.. Everyone being a part of the ritual within the limits of their own economic means for this solidarity is understood through several idioms such as “ölünle, dirinle, komşunla” (together with your neighbour in sickness and in health), “ev alma komşu al” (don’t buy a house, buy a neighbour).

Since these activities are not static, they can be transformed through the impact of political and economic changes. They may also present a politically common ground. Moreover, the place, duration and content of the ritual give information about the social status of the individual or the group. When we evaluate the prestige of the invitation-bearing items (oku dağıtma [small gifts as invitations], invitation cards, etc.) we can understand this situation more clearly. In this respect, economic status is an important evaluation criterion for social prestige.

When we look at the sources in the literature and the ways of handling the rites of passage, it is possible to encounter research in the disciplines of history, anthropogeography and folklore, sociology and anthropology.



## 1.2. Reflections of the Rites of Passage in Literature

In the literature, the passage rituals were studied in general terms, with their effects to individuals, community, economy and prestige in mind. It is possible to divide these sources into two categories as works based on theory and based on practice. Even though the rites of passage are mentioned in the studies in the field of history and anthropogeography, the main purpose is to give information about the area. The theory-based studies only adhere to titles such as religion, politics, economy, science, family and education in their interpretation of the rituals.

The studies on the rites of passage in Anatolian culture acting as guidelines, discuss the birth, wedding and death rituals of the groups in specific regions of Anatolia in detail. The guiding studies on the Anatolian folk culture, customs and traditions (Acıpayamlı;1974, Balaman;1983, Boratav; 2012, Erdentuğ;1977, Örnek;2000) were examined and utilized as guidelines for this dissertation. These studies are pioneering reference works and compilations aiming to record the customs, traditions and habits in Turkey and they contain significant findings. Besides the main focus on traditions and beliefs in Turkey, traditional practices of pregnancy and childbirth along with numerous practices concerning the mother and the child in this period are exemplified (Acıpayamlı 1974:77-81-116). It provides information on kinship forms rooted in childhood covering the cultural geography along with tradition and on acquired kinship systems such as ahretlik (adopted maid), sağdıç (best man), sütanne (wet nurse), kına anne (henna mother) etc. (Boratav 1999:145). In addition to this, an ethnologic study on the traditions of pregnancy announcement and the reasons behinds it (Örnek 1971) and sources on relative types born out of the marriage (Balaman 2002) constitutes important guidelines. Another study draws attention to the traditions concerning childbirth, postnatal



period and again the number forty. The details on how to avoid the drying of the new mother's milk and the rule of not letting any woman without children in the same room with the mother and the symbolic meanings behind these (Erdentuğ 1977:53) proved useful in establishing similarities/differences with the rites of passage in Ahmetli Village. In addition, data were presented under the guidance of the studies in which the number of forty, also determined by the fieldwork, points to the importance of the tradition of kırklama (making something forty) in Turkish folklore (Yüksel 1982 9:43:46, Alptekin 1992:16-22). Abdulkadir İnan's articles and reviews published by Turkish Historical Society contain important information (İnan 1998:265). In İnan's book titled "Tarihte ve Bugün Şamanizm" (Shamanism in History and Today), the symbolic practices (Umay Cult) to protect the birthing mother and child from evil spirits in the Turkish cultural history in the pre-Islamic ancient times and the modern reflections of these practices can be found. In addition to pre-Islamic folk belief research; while the symbolism of the practices for the new mother and her child are examined, there are references to childbirth, god of beauty and honour, spiritual healers. In addition to this, he made contributions through his personal opinion and advice about the protective attributes of fire in folk culture (İnan 1995:174). Furthermore, Osman Cilacı (1973:179) have mentioned these practices in his article published in "Türk Kültür Dergisi" (Turkish Culture Journal) called "Şamanizm'de Evlenme ve Doğum Ritüelleri" (Marriage and Birth Rituals in Shamanism). In addition to this, Şükrü Elçin's (1965:384) article published in the journal of "Türk Folklor Araştırmaları" (Turkish Folklore Research) called "Al-Kan" (Red-Blood) mentions the Shaman influence on postnatal practices. . The relevant practices were encountered during the data gathering period in Ahmetli Village, and the aforementioned resources were used as important guidelines during the evaluation of findings and comparison.

In terms of the general significance and contribution of this research in the literature; it constitutes the first anthropological study of the rites of passage in the Aegean Region, especially İzmir Torbalı district Ahmetli village. This is a qualitative research based on fieldwork and data obtained from the locals rather than being based on literature. With this in mind, in addition to the participant observation technique, the regional differences were taken into consideration during data evaluation.

The practices in the rites of passage examined with an anthropologic point of view have a structure which enables social organization and solidarity. The research findings are of a value that can contribute to theoretical accumulation of knowledge, analyses and literature on rites of passage. Another important aspect is that it contains more analysis and interpretation-based content compared with the studies made with sorting and archiving purposes.

How/why the social organization is carried out during the ritual process, what it symbolizes, what the underlying reasons are, are explained in detail. Within all data, the meanings of the notions/terms created by the villagers and how they interpret symbolic expressions were presented in a theoretically blended way.

Another important aspect of this study is that it provides data about a community born out of Yoruk and Zeybek cultures. Apart from these, interdisciplinary studies based on this dissertation can also be recommended. It can also provide data for studies aiming to work on social solidarity and cultural continuity that tie the community together.

In this section of my dissertation on rites of passage in Ahmetli Village; its purpose, importance and place in literature were discussed. Under the umbrella of rites of passage, following the selection of the topic, literature review and preliminary studies, the questions on the significance of this study and where it will fit in the literature have been discussed; because the answer to this question is directly related to the position of this dissertation as a

useful resource within the literature. In the next section, the theoretical, the chronological and contextual aspects are discussed.



### 1.3. Research Theory

In the history of anthropology, there has always been a high level of curiosity towards rituals and they have been examined through the suggested conceptual and methodological approaches. In the evaluation and interpretation of the data, firstly the guidance of the symbolic and interpretive anthropological approach was used.

Firstly, with the classification of rituals based on forms of implementation, timing and purpose; two categories were created, namely the “rites of consolidation” emphasizing control and loyalty and the “rites of passage” emphasizing the transition from one situation to another (Bates 2009:33). According to another classification, the rituals were grouped under the titles of rites of crisis, calendric rites and rites of passage. When we look at the categorizations inside this classification, they are detailed as follows;

- Rites of Crisis: individual or group centred, unpredictable rituals which cannot be repeated.
- Calendric Rites: group centred, predictable and repeating rituals.
- Rites of Passage: individual centred, predictable rituals which cannot be repeated for the individual (Alexander and Seidman 2009:175)

In Wulf’s (2004) classification; rituals revolving around assignments or promotions, undertaking new missions or positions are put in the first place. They are followed by “seasonal” national holidays, religious days such as Christmas, birthdays, and memorials. Also the consolidating rituals such as anniversaries, celebrations, etc. are mentioned. Another ritual category is peace and ecological movements in the form of "rebellion" or youth rituals. The greetings, departures, interaction rituals of conflicts that turn into practice are followed by

rites of passage carried out during childbirth, early years of childhood, adolescence, marriage, death, etc.(Wulf 2004: 130).

When we look at the main guiding resources of cultural theory on rituals; we see the works of theorists E. Durkheim (1858-1917), B. Malinowski (1884-1942) and M. Mauss (1872-1950). Malinowski (1992) comments on the organic bond of the rituals with culture and their general functions. Durkheim (1965) developed theories on how societies function, collective consciousness, social reality; and focused on the parts of the rituals, solidarity, relationship between rituals, religion and symbolism (Smith 2005:105). According to Mauss (1964), the terms of social forms, structure, classification and the relationships between the individuals in rituals and their function determines almost every aspect of a society. He touched upon the ranking mechanism of the analysed rituals, the impact of the social organization on world views and classification styles (Smith 2005:105).

In theoretical interpretations, there is a three-step classification of rites of passage. These are follows;

- As a performance; the individual, social influences of the drama, dance, ritual side in the practical and bodily aspects of experiences
- Through the symbols; which means the underlying reasons for the symbolic expressions in practices
- As relationships; theoretical evaluations through its role in understanding the social structures, social organization, function, its effect to social solidarity and cultural sustainability.

Evaluation as a performance can be detailed under three different categories.

First one is the one looking at the practical and physical (Stanley Tambiah;1990, Richard Schechner;1993, Pierre Bourdieu;1977, Cristoph Wulf;2004) aspects of the rituals. The details of the practices where the body is involved in the ritual process, the underlining meaning (Tambiah 1970:259) are an important part of the ritual.

On the other hand, rituals seen as interactive performances of drama/dance (Rappaport 1992), are transferred through this way (Bauman 1992) and carried out within certain times under the influence of the lived-in culture.. Rituals are counted as a social activity and categorizes as such. These performances are transformed into assistant movements in the organization of passage (Rappaport 1992:250) and convey a series of metaphorical meanings and are transferred through dramas (Bauman 1992:41). The transfer of the performances in this approach through drama is supported by the fieldwork and the meanings within are interpreted.

While many descriptions in anthropology talk about the liturgical side of the rituals, in religious and mythological contexts, they are interpreted through world belief systems (Frazer 1958) and as liturgical behaviours conducted to give meaning to what is sacred (Eliade 1959;1964;1998;2001). In the interpretations of rituals that embrace religion and liturgical relations, there is an emphasis on the relation between rituals, religion and mythology and rituals are considered primarily as performances and social activities in the form of liturgical behaviors or celebrations (Grimes 1990: 178).

Evaluation through symbolism is the theoretical evaluations which focus on the underlying reasons of the symbolic expressions in practices. Anthropologists have observed the rituals being conducted in the scenario in literature, theatre, storytelling and plays (Turner 1977; Ortner 1973). Personal performances, social dramas and symbolic practices in rites of passage, which are anthropologically parts of the symbolic system, reveal the particularity in social life. Turner said that; that the social structure is a static and unchanging process, and

that the ritual is a fluid and creative process, and that this structure can be entirely evaluated within the system of symbols, meanings and values of the society (1982:107). Symbols, personal performances, and social dramas should be considered as an important finding revealing social life/structure. Turner, indicating that this structure can be evaluated within the system of symbols, meanings and values of the community as a whole, exemplifies by stating that cultural symbols have been evaluated in terms of performance beyond abstract or cognitive structures (1982:107).

Rituals have channels which they use as symbols and codes contained within these channels. Relations between the concept symbolized by verbal ritual communication channels, namely the body language, gestures, facial expressions, voice, smiling, myths, folk stories, names, nicknames, jargons, , are the reflexes of the community. According to many theories, ritual contains shapes of action different from daily life. Its difference from the daily life is related to the meaning of the ritual action suggested through the use of symbols. Clifford Geertz describes a ritual as "an action wrapped in a network of symbolism" in the parentheses of his definition of culture and assumes that ritual has a communicative role (Geertz 1973:93).

In ritual theory, with his hermeneutical approach of "reading rituals as text ", Geertz (1973) considers symbols constitute a tool for understanding people's world view in a society. Which means the belief and social systems can be read as a kind of control behaviour through the symbols (Geertz 1973:52). Also the ritual practices within the description of culture, the way of looking the world from a religious perspective, the ritual asserted by using symbols between the ones considered holy brings attention to the meaning behind the action. The effect of its relation between the practice it directly or secretly symbolizes and the social structure can be seen. It is assumed that there is a purpose, a function and a meaning behind the ritual action (Geertz 1973:97). The source, model and authority of human relations,

regulations and institutions are not only nature; of course, it is not only people but also supernatural agents and realities that exist at the same time (Sahlins 1976:160).

Also, instead of Turner's dominant symbols, Ortner refers to the concept of key symbols by classifying symbols according to their functions. Symbols contain detailed information in various contexts. That is why he believes that the symbols are very important to understand what is culturally important in the community (Ortner 1973:1339-40).

Ritual is a kind of symbolic communication tool that develops a language in itself. In terms of being able to understand the rituals, the symbols that display the cultural structure are an important indicator. Symbols; can be observed in daily practices, in beliefs, in rites of passage, in human relations, in short, at every stage of human life. It contains certain types of information for the transmission of messages. This information is represented by shared symbols and meanings that are developed with reflections of everyday life. In addition to that, individuals create, learn and change rituals symbols and their meanings through an interactive process. Another way of communication is a kind of interaction between the group and their ancestors. Many elements with meaning behind each symbolic narrative can be researched (Turner 1977: 22). Turner focuses on symbols and interprets the defined symbols through the actions in ritual practices. According to Turner, a symbol is the unit of structure that preserves the characteristics of ritual behaviour in a particular context. To understand culture, one must look at the dominant symbols in rituals and the interpretation of these symbols by the community. He states that the symbols may be objects, activities, words, relations, events, gestures or spatial units. Turner points out that the symbols encourage action by underlining the social aspect of the symbols. Force is a unit of action because it has effects which can prompt people and groups to action (Turner 1967:36). The most prominent among them are rites of passage that accommodate the community within this identity. At the same time, these practices, which stand out in the ceremonies, can be regarded as the basic building stone that



provides interpretation of community life. In symbolic practices, the link between them and the passage to the new position should be considered as a criterion.

In Douglas's work titled "Purity and Danger" touching upon the interpretation of religious and symbolic concepts, (1988) symbolic expressions and beliefs (Douglas 1988:21), have a different connotation in every culture. Firth (1983), emphasizes that "meanings may vary" when talking about this difference. That is to say, while the symbols can be examined in general and specific terms, they must also be scrutinized in relation to what is directly or objectively documented. In the index, he points out that the index presents distinguishing features between the signal and the symbols (Firth 1983:27). Leach (1966) also interprets rituals as idealized abstractions. Rituals indicate that there is a communication code between the tools and the ends during the non-mechanical but culturally-defined communication of information. This emotion that is strong for the actor can have different strengths for the audience/participant (Leach 1966:403). Another remarkable explanation is; ritual practices draw attention to the distinction of the conceptual aspect of religion (myth, belief, symbol), "there could be beliefs without rituals; but rituals could not exist without their beliefs "(Bell 1922:19).

Evaluations in terms of relations; Theoretical perspectives on the role of rituals in understanding the meaning of social structures (Emile Durkheim;1915, Arnold Van Gennep;1909, Victor Turner;1974) were taken as the most used theoretical approach in the study and adopted in evaluating social organization (components, stages), function (effects on social solidarity and cultural continuity) of rituals in the interpretation of the social structure and the ritual relations in Ahmetli Village.

The book "Rites Of Passage" by Arnold Van Gennep published in 1909 on rites of passage is a masterpiece and has been the reference point for this work as well as many other studies.

Gennep (1909) interprets the dynamics of the ceremonial processes under the influence of

Durkheim, but in a wider, more in-depth and direct manner. Gennep also deals with biological, social and cultural processes in human life. He considers human beings as a resource in his work focusing on birth, marriage, death periods and activities organized in these periods. He treats the environment and all its components as a living organism. It emphasizes that a community should be evaluated together with the socio-cultural environment they live in and the context in which they are performed. He cites continuities as a reason for this.



## **2. RESEARCH METHOD**

### **2.1. Fieldwork**

This study is an anthropological study based on fieldwork conducted in İzmir, Torbalı, Ahmetli village between November 2015 and December 2016. Qualitative research method has been selected for this study. Participant observation, interview and in-depth interview methods has been used.

The fieldwork was conducted as a process during which the anthropologist made observations as a participant in living the process which can be defined as close observation, recording and simply being present in daily life of other cultures (Spradley 1980b: 55). For the techniques that will put the method into the practice; participant observation technique, which is one of the foundational anthropological study techniques and in which the data were gathered and observed (Spradley 1980a: 26), and an interview and if needed an in-depth interview technique were carried out in order to obtain individual opinions and collected data were analysed.

The research examines the social organization, the network of relations, and the effect of solidarity around the rites of passage. The religious, economic, political and prestige effects were also questioned and interpreted from individual and social perspectives. In this work, information about the rites of passage during periods of birth, marriage, and death are limited with the information conveyed by the people interview since the beginning of the fieldwork

specific to the Ahmetli Village. Findings relevant to the subject were amplified with the observations during the fieldwork and supported with the literature reviews. For the analysis of these socio-cultural practices, all rituals mentioned in this work were examined under three main titles; before, during and after the rites.

In general terms, during the fieldwork, a wide time frame was chosen, observations were made with participation in the daily life things that were said were listened, questions were asked and were recorded. The purpose in the fieldwork conducted through the participation in the daily life was to examine the basic research question from a wide perspective. These basic questions are; why do we conduct this study, what do we want to know. These basic questions were explored through more detailed questions. During research, we want to gather information about many different subjects, but the important thing is from where, whom and how we gather that information. Accurate selection of the people and places to gather information constitutes another crucial point. In other words, a fieldwork is an intentional activity it aims to gather information about different subjects within the framework of the main topic. At the same time it is a complicated and unpredictable study method. For the anthropology field, researchers' obligation to be in the field during the fieldwork increases the reliability of the study. It is a text where exact specifications, rather than generalizations, are presented.

One of the most importing things for this research is having to work with a small community and having other ethical concerns. Permission was taken from not only the authorized departments for the face to face interviews but opinions and consents of those who were interviewed were asked in case of them being uncomfortable. Video recording/usage in the participant observation was also another aspect that needed ethical sensitivity. Information about the study is given at the beginning of the structured questionnaire (Annex 2) prepared to gather the data and this information is also counted as a mutual ethical protocol. In addition to

this, in order to use the photographs used for the period analysis personal or institutional permissions are to be sought out. This was quite time-consuming in the flow of this study.

During the fieldwork, it is important to also focus on the effects of data gathering and reviewing experiences to the researcher's identity. The importance of the researcher's impact/contribution to the study field during this study also cannot be ignored.

The impact of the personal experiences from this period to not only the researcher but also to other researchers using similar methods is also important. These experiences should be seen as a painful process like the anthropologist being reborn and; because there is no going back, a good opportunity. Experiences from the beginning of the process until the end, the development as an academician, details about what the study itself changed and transformed were honestly shared in order to enlighten the path of the future research and researchers.

This work started the moment that the research question appeared in my mind. It would be beneficial to focus on the steps one by one in order to understand the process thoroughly. These steps are as follows.

- Deciding to work with Yoruks
- Choosing the suitable area
- Deciding on Ahmetli Village
- Preliminary research
- Fieldwork details (Annex D)

Research started with the preliminary work in 2015 November/December. First of all, information about the Yoruk Associations in İzmir and in the surrounding areas was gathered and they were personally contacted. Between 14-30 December 2015 literature review and village visits continued frequently in order to determine the geographical borders of the research(Annex D:).

When the search for a suitable location and for determining geographical limitation started, regional scanning was carried out and studies about the region and the subject were reviewed. Even though studies from different disciplines and subjects were identified, the area and subject was selected, considering the rareness of the anthropological studies and that my research might be beneficial. After the geographical borders were determined, the fieldwork started with the visits to the research area in order to determine the research region and with preliminary research.

Recently news about the Yoruks and their cultural activities in the local media of Aegean Region and İzmir attracts attention. On the other hand, the fact that I live in İzmir and my physical proximity to the area influenced me during the process of deciding to work on Yoruks. With the close attention and support of the president of İzmir Yoruks Solidarity Association Mehmet Gülcan <sup>1</sup> and Meryem Pişkinkaya's, from the same association, information on the activities of associations concerning Yoruks was gathered.

In addition to this information, the key person(s) (Flick 2007: 114), who has emerged as one of the anthropological data collection techniques, has been tried to be identified and contacted<sup>2</sup>. Information about the region was collected from the key persons. With Mrs Meryem and her team, villages with Yoruk majority in the 30 districts of İzmir were identified and visited<sup>3</sup>. During those visits, information about the area was given and transportation to villages was provided along with the introductory information on the area.

Additionally, their remarks about their interest in and support for this study and its importance

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<sup>1</sup> (İzmir Yoruks Association, [www.yorukocaklari.com](http://www.yorukocaklari.com))

<sup>2</sup> Contact points about the area which researcher Ali Aksüt recommended were identified. People he recommended: Sırma Sayın (Bayındır Municipality), Dr. Gani Peksan (Ege University Conservatory), Hamza Bilir (Tahtacı Culture, Kemalpaşa Association), Musa Güneş (Bergama Tahtacı Association). Dr. Hasan Kulakoğlu (Ödemiş Area), Lydia Zeghmar (Did an Anthropological Study on Zeybek Culture Paris Uni. Anth. Dept. Tire Culture Association), Munis Armağan (Researcher-Writer on the Region). Muammer Akgül (Isparta Yoruks Association), Nejat Çetin (Torbalı District Local Historian).

<sup>3</sup> Torbalı, Ahmetli Village; Buca, Belenbaşı Village; Torbalı, Karakuyu Village; Kemalpaşa, Çambel Village; Seferihisar, Payamlı Village; Dikili, Kabakum Village; Kemalpaşa, Damlacık Village; Kemalpaşa, Tepeköy (Aşağı, Yukarı Kızılca); Seferihisar, Orhanlı Village; Menderes, Tekeli Village; ... Kaplancık Village; ... Doyranlı Village,

made a remarkable positive impact on this study. In fact, this preliminary research process appearing as a news article in the association's web page <sup>4</sup> shows the people's wish and desire, in other words, need of the people to share information about themselves. For this reason, the idea of focusing on the traditional aspect of Yoruk culture, taking the sensitivity of the subject into account, has been a reinforcing factor in the preference of this work.

Afterwards, it was tried to clarify which village would be more suitable for the fieldwork that will use participant observation, interview/in-depth interview techniques (in order to spend four seasons on the field) from the beginning of 2016 until the end of 2017. With this in mind, Torbalı district Ahmetli Village was selected on the basis of the existence of adequate numbers of households and the high number of people who experienced Yoruk culture in the past. Another criterion which impacted this selection is the fact that living in tents is still maintained as a lifestyle by some of the families and that traditional ritual practices are still sustained.

### **2.1.1. Techniques Used**

#### **2.1.1.1. Participant Observation Technique**

With the decision step, the first contact with the village was established for the participant observation and simultaneously necessary permissions were tried to be obtained from the local authorities. Local researchers were also contacted and interviewed.

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<sup>4</sup> <https://www.facebook.com/profile.php?id=100004995665214> 25 December 2015 Friday.

After the determination of the location of the fieldwork; planning and the preparation of the documents to be used in the field started. For the targeted collection of data during participant observation, in addition to an observation plan, a questionnaire (Annex B) and a research budget have been prepared. Prepared questions were also controlled through model implementations.

When the expense items for the approximate budget of the study were prepared, it was predicted that the transportation and accommodation items would be the main expenses, however, because accommodation was covered as a guest of a family in the village, those predicted expenses did not come to fruition. However, additional transportation expenses did emerge due to the travels out of the village in order to meet with the local authorities and local researchers. In addition to these, there is also the printing and copying budget of the thesis, under the stationery item. Thus, an approximate budget of 4500 TL was estimated for this research.

After all the preparations were completed, the data collecting step of the fieldwork in Ahmetli Village started with the observation of the funeral of a deceased person (23 January 2016). During the process, two births, five weddings and six deaths occurred and the ritual practices were observed. Also, approximately 90 interviews with 56 people (Annex C:) were conducted and examined as data.

Within the course of observing the main ritual topic with the fieldwork, identification of the social organisation and solidarity occurring around those rituals required a highly dynamic work pace. With full attention, simultaneously occurring practices were discerned, questions were asked constantly and the what and the how of these rituals were tried to be determined. The notes and recordings from this period hold utmost importance for the future evaluations.



Thus, this personal experience and descriptive details enables to write about that culture (Bernard 2006:342)

As a part of the participant observation technique of the fieldwork, arrangement of the field notes by recording them contributed to the better analysis of the period spent in the field. Field notes constitute a rich material of ethnographic writing. For this reason, utmost attention was paid to record everything to the notebook day by day as descriptive notes.

Descriptive notes as a written source constitute the core of this study. While the notes are mostly descriptive, they have two sources, watching and listening (Bernard, 2006:397). These notes are composed through observing and writing of a process which is foreign to the researcher during the fieldwork. Descriptive notes are connected to the researcher's development as a data collecting tool. They are important in the self-recognition steps of the researcher as an anthropologist in the field. Experiences during the adaptation process, which is a troublesome process during the first stages of new fieldwork, and the experiences on the field are noted. These shall provide guidance in the evaluation of the research afterwards. It also ensures the intellectualization of what is learned on the fieldwork. Journals where the personal insights are written and other field notes are tried to be written periodically, significant events and behaviors during the study are also written and, when needed for certain details, supported with the photographs and voice recordings with permission.

### **2.1.1.2. Interview, In-depth Interview Technique**

Questions for the interview and in-depth interview technique during the fieldwork in Ahmetli Village were planned beforehand and interviews were conducted. Declarations were essential in the interview and in-depth interview techniques. Despite the fact that declarations are taken at face value, symbols, the underlying causes of what is seen, are constantly questioned. That is why, what was stated, explanations, the number and the identity of the persons making the statements, its role in the social structure, its function, the way it is done, its usage and interpretation are also addressed. However, symbols in the declarations are re-evaluated through observations during practices. Additionally, all different sources of information were taken into account and attention was paid to do the verification.

Even though the structure and the quality of the interview were determined before going into the field, interviews were also conducted and shaped in the light of the information from the field. The questions on the questionnaire were prepared and applied in a semi-structured and open-ended structure (Annex A). The purpose here is to collect more detailed information and bring forth the details that might otherwise be overlooked. During the interviews, voice recording devices were used based on the permission, and visual materials were also classified as photographs and video recordings.

Interviewees of the interviews in the Ahmetli Village were tried to be picked from those born and raised in the village, experienced this process and capable of providing information about the rites of passage. Different age groups were categorized in order to determine the differences between the generations and to explore different viewpoints. For these age groups, the young group was determined as ages between 15 and 24, the middle-aged group as ages

between 25 and 59 and the elder group as ages above 60-65. However, when these categories were determined, it was considered necessary to take the average lifespan and the age of first marriage into consideration, and it was evaluated that the grouping of the interviewed people within their own age categories based on these criteria would be healthy.

In addition, personal experiences of the individual subjects, who experienced ritual change of position through rites of passage were also recorded and tried to be understood. This formulation is also taken into account for the establishment of the sections of this dissertation. From the individual perspective, it has been questioned whether it would be possible for them to go out of or get rid of the network of classifications during rites of passage, which normally determines their situation and position in the cultural area. The positions and standards with which those on the threshold identified themselves through the morals, customs and rituals are detailed. It has been questioned whether ambiguous and uncertain qualities exist during that period and, if so, how it made them feel.

Within the course of the redaction of the dissertation, information collected from the field were classified and arranged under certain categories as collected data and data from the interviews in a way that also enables to make a comparison between different age groups and sexes. Since the subject of the research is about the processes of birth, marriage, and death, defined as the rites of passage those processes were grouped into three phases as it is in Gennep's three-part classification and every rite of passage is divided in phases as before - during - after.

Questions prepared for the interview were formulated and implemented in order to reveal the rites of passage both with its past as it is in the memories and its present as it is shown and performed. In the replies, the impacts that the rituals have on the individuals were tried to be evaluated through an anthropological analysis taking both age and sex-related differences into

consideration. Examples of verbal narratives constituting the main source of memory in verbal cultures (poems, folk songs, epics etc.) and practices belonging to the rites of passage were compiled within the scope of the research in case they provide access to cultural symbols and semantic world of culture.



## **2.2. Research Field: Ahmetli Village**

Before we talk about the rituals performed in Ahmetli Village for the transitional periods, we should give some information about the village starting with its geographical area.

Information about the people interviewed (Annex B), and demographical information of the village, historical and geographical background, dwellings, migration period, social life, economy, material culture items were also obtained to support the findings. For the elaboration of the subject, this work is detailed with the observations and interviews about the socio-cultural background of the villagers; social organization, division of labour and solidarity around the rituals with the social functions, duties and structures of the rituals also studied.

### 2.2.1. Historical Background

Ahmetli Village is a village connected to the Torbalı district (Photo 1). The village is located in the Aegean Region, İzmir province, on the west side of Torbalı district separated by Aydın-İzmir highway. It is 13 kilometres from the Torbalı district (Photo 2-3).

When looked at the region's historical background, it can be seen that there are settlements dating back to the 3000 BC. It is important to state that the region, home to the Metropolis (Torbalı) Ephessos (Selçuk), Smyrna (İzmir), Kolophon (Değirmendere), Nation (Ahmetbeyli) and Nif (Kemalpaşa) ancient cities and the centre of many civilizations since then, is also important for tourism.<sup>5</sup> Metropolis ancient city, closest to the village of the fieldwork, shares a border with Ahmetli Village (Photo 4-5-6) from the east entrance side (about 5 kilometres south of the present settlement).

The history of this city dates back to ancient times. Surviving remains show us that this city was a small but important centre during the ancient times (Armağan 2009:170). Metropolis ancient city, where remains from Ancient Greece, Hellenistic, Roman and Byzantine periods were found, is the most important archaeological site of the region. The archaeological excavations supported by Philip Morris/Sabancı have been on-going for over 10 years and have recovered artefacts which are exhibited in the province and district museums in the area (Korkut and Güneysi 2012:6)

It has been stated that the historical background of the Turkish settlement in İzmir region starts with the immigration of Seljuk Turks to Anatolia after the Battle of Manzikert (1071). It has been stated that the first settlements in the Aegean region, back then called Aydıneli,

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<sup>5</sup> [http://www.torballi.gov.tr/default\\_B0.aspx?content=1030.04.03.2016.17.39](http://www.torballi.gov.tr/default_B0.aspx?content=1030.04.03.2016.17.39)

started with the Turkish Beylic established by Chake Bey (Tzachas). Afterwards, following Timur's (1402) Battle of Ankara and establishment of Turkish dominance in İzmir and with the Ottoman dominance at the beginning of the 15th century, Torbalı area, back then called Kızılhisar, was connected to "Sığla Sancağı" (Ülker 2001:38). In 1811 Sığla Sancağı was connected to the newly established Aydın State. After the administrative change in 1867, Torbalı region becomes a jurisdiction of Aydın Province connected to İzmir Sanjak. Then, with the Tiryanda Village, it has been changed to *Tiryanda and Torbalı*'sub-district and Torbalı's title of sub-district continued until the first years of the Republic (Korkut and Güneysi 2012:6) Torbalı, which enters the last years of Ottoman Empire as a sub-district, stays under Greek invasion for more than three years between 1919-1922. During the Great Offensive, Torbalı is freed of Greek invasion on September 7, like the rest of West Anatolia. Shortly after the proclamation of the republic, Torbalı became a district with the Teşkilat-ı Mülkiye Law dated 26 June 1926 numbered 387, Torbalı Municipality was established in 1927 (Korkut and Güneysi 2012:7).

Looking at the population of Torbalı, it can be seen that Torbalı received external migration during the 1930s and 1950s. It is seen that Greek, Romanian, Bulgarian and Yugoslavian immigrants made Torbalı their home. In 1967, Torbalı is a district with 1 town, 1 township, 38 villages and 4 neighbourhoods at the centre. In the district, only 3 villages out of the 38 have electricity and there are 129 telephone subscribers. Again, according to the 1965 records, 11,712 people live in the city centre and 23,050 people live in the villages and 4600 families make a living from farming. In 1967, even though the industrial activities in the district are limited, 10 out of 1260 industrial enterprises in the province are located in Torbalı. Most of those enterprises are olive oil, cotton and cotton gin-based businesses. During 1990s, Torbalı became the shining star of the Turkish economy and many domestic and foreign industrial enterprises invested into the district. This transformed the district into a centre of attraction for

internal migration. New neighbourhoods appear at the city centre as a result of migrations especially from provinces such as Diyarbakır, Şanlıurfa, Ağrı, Kars, Muş and Elazığ. With the migrations, municipalities for the settlements with a population over 2000 people were established under the name of belde. After the 2009 elections belde municipalities were shot down and those settlements were included to borders of Torbalı Municipality and İzmir Metropolitan Municipality

(<http://www.kultur.gov.tr/TR,72739/torbalı.html>.29.04.20017,19.54).

Even though the first information about the Torbalı's population dates back to 1831, population statistics after 1889 hold importance due to the timeframe of the study. When we look from this perspective, it is seen that for long years village population exceeds the urban population. In the 1891 Aydın Province Annual, it is seen that the population of the Torbalı village, centre of the sub-district, is 534 while the total population of the sub-district is 10,059. According to this calculation, approximately 96% of the population lived in villages (Korkut and Güneysi 2012:8).

When the Torbalı's population change during the Ottoman Empire is studied, it can be seen that between 1889-1908, the population increased by 800 people in a span of twenty years. During the same years, the population of Torbalı is predominately Muslim. For example, in 1908, while 10,700 Muslims live in Torbalı, only 690 Greeks live there and no other ethnic/religious groups are recorded. First population census of the Republic was carried out in 1927. From that date to 1990, in all censuses, village population exceeds the urban population, at the same time, the population of the Torbalı city centre continues to grow. The population of the district centre increases from 1771 in 1927 to 21,163 in 1990. This means an approximately 11 folds increase in 63 years. The population, while followed a natural growth pattern, started to rapidly increase after 1960s. The main reason for this increase is the migrations. Especially the leap after 1980 occurred with the change of the district's



"Agricultural Town" identity into "Industrial Town". According to the 2010 data of the Turkish Statistical Institute, Torbalı's district centre population has been recorded as 116,320 while the total population of its villages was 11,316. Even though the inclusion of some belde and villages in the district municipality borders is a factor, still-continuing migrations are also effective for this abnormal increase (Korkut and Güneysi 2012:11).

First of the two important developments accelerating the transformation of Torbalı is operationalization of the first stage of İzmir-Aydın Railway, the first Anatolian railway in 1860 between İzmir and Torbalı. This has accelerated the urbanization process of Torbalı. Previously unpreferable due to the security concerns, plains became appealing after the railway and the settlements around the Torbalı Station started to multiply. The second development accelerating the urbanization process of Torbalı is Sultan Abdulhamid II purchasing of farms in Torbalı and in the surrounding areas. Those farms, some located in Torbalı (Tepeköy) sub-district some situated in Tire jurisdiction, cover a total of 19 villages (Korkut and Güneysi 2012:11).

When the geographical position and geological structure of İzmir -Torbalı district is examined; its neighbours are Bayındır and Tire in the east, Menderes in the west, Buca and Kemalpaşa in the north and Selçuk in the south. Its altitude is 35 meters and the highest point of Torbalı district is the Peak of Keçikalesi Mountain with 781 meters. The lowest point of Torbalı is the plains in the south of the district with 15-20 meters. Streams in the area; Fetrek Streamlet, Arapkahve Streamlet and Çevlik Streamlet connects to Küçükenderes River on the south. In the region where the Mediterranean climate dominates, summers are hot and arid, while winters are warm and rainy. (Lale Genç, Ağustos 2016 Alan Notları/August 2016 Field Notes).

When the historical background of Ahmetli Village, where the fieldwork is conducted, examined; the process starts with the Sultan Abdülhamit II purchasing farms in the area. These farms, some located in Torbalı and some situated in Tire, cover an area of total 19 villages. These villages are recorded as Özbey (Hamidiye), Yeniköy, Ahmedli, Tepeköy, Ertuğrul, Sepetçiler (Çaybaşı), Meşhed (Şehitler), Eğerci, (2) Arapçı (Pamukyazı), Subaşı, Naime, Tulum, Kırba, Yeniçiftlik, Bülbülderesi, Rahmanlar, Mahmutlar, Işıklar and Ayaklıkırı (Korkut and Güneysi 2012:12)

The name of the village (neighbourhood) was named after the Sultan's son Ahmet Nurettin as Ahmedliye and reached today as Ahmetli. Sultan Abdülhamid II ordered the construction of important monuments in these farms. In the village, mosque-centred services were executed based on the same plans like all other foundation villages. The Sultan ordered the construction of a mosque and a school in all of the villages; and additionally of a pool, a fountain and a water supply network for the villages of Ahmetli, Yeniköy, Özbey (Hamidiye) and Rahmanlar (Munis Armağan, 67, Tire Region Researcher, Writer, 23 August 2016 interview recording).

Permanent settlement started in the Ahmetli Village, which was previously used by Yoruks as a winter settlement, in the 1970s, and Yoruks started to adopt a sedentary life (Nejat, 83, 10 January 2016). It has been stated that during their nomadic past, they would migrate as far as Uşak, Afyon to feed their goats, sheep and camels (Durdu Çoban, 83, 23 January 2016) Since it is not a village which received migration, the general population of the village belongs to a group of Yoruks called Karatekeli Yoruks (Mehmet Şimşek, President of Ahmetli Village Beautification Yoruk Turkmen Efe Association, 59, 23 January 2016). In addition, as a result of settling in the Aegean Region, it has been observed that the Zeybek culture is also adopted. For this reason, in the village, there are also associations working for the maintenance and proliferation of the Zeybek culture. These two associations are "Ahmetli Village

Beautification Yoruk Turkmen Efe Association" and "Ahmetli Village Yoruk Culture Development and Survival Association".



### 2.2.2. Demographical Structure

Ahmetli Village is 13 kilometres to Torbalı district. The population and household information, according to the information obtained from the District Registry Office and provided by the local authority of Ahmetli Village shows that 1150 people live in the village (Musa Çoban, Ahmetli Village Local Authority, 57, 10 January 2016). These people form 400 households. The term “household” might refer to a nuclear family (mother, father, children) or a few families living together.

Main source of income of the households in Ahmetli Village is declared as farming. The main livelihood of the village is olive cultivation and gardening. Due to the fertile soil structure, all kinds of grains, vegetables and fruits are cultivable in the village. As a result of low levels of snowfall around the Ahmetli Village, agricultural lands might be harvested twice a year. In fact, it is reported that with some vegetable rotations, harvesting can be done up to three times. Tobacco planting came to a halt due to the quotas. Approximately 70-75% of the products are purchased by the merchants from the farmers on the field. Furthermore, olive trees can be found on mountainsides and upper regions of the mountains are covered with pine trees. The abundance and fertility of the irrigable land enables intense production of cotton, fig, corn, olive, peach and grains. Cultivated products vary based on the season. Generally cultivated fruits and vegetables are; tomatoes, peppers, beans, leeks, spinach, celery, broccoli, olives, peaches, mandarins and plums.

Also during the interviews, it has been said that most of the villagers work for themselves and thus, do not have social insurance. Nevertheless, it has been told that those who recently went from the village to the town to work are insured. Those who are insured state that they are

"safe" for having access to free medical services at the hospitals and having the right to retirement.. When we look at the female and male ratio of the village, we see that 40% of the population is consisted of females and 60% of the population is consisted of males. When the population is classified by age (0-14, 15-64, 65+), the majority of the population is between 15-64 years old. Ages between 0 and 14 and over 65 are labelled as people without active contribution to the economy and in Ahmetli village there are fewer people aged between 0 and 14. The age average of Ahmetli Village is calculated to be approximately 46. 87% of the population was born in Ahmetli or in Torbalı. The elderly generation born to Yoruk life are registered to where they were born (Afyon, Tire, Sincanlı).

Within the scope of the law numbered 6360, after the 30 March 2014 General Local Elections, its legal entity was annulled and it became a neighbourhood along with 22 villages. The village started to be described as one of the 60 neighbourhoods in the Torbalı District.<sup>6</sup> In 1905, the number of households in Ahmetli Village was 39 and its population was 150 people. When we look at the educational structure, we see that approximately 12% of the population is not yet at the schooling age. The education level of the population at the schooling age in Ahmetli Village is at the primary school level. Males have a more advantageous position compared to females. During the interviews in the village, the reason stated for this situation is that males are sent out of the village for education but for girls this understanding is not widely established. 7% of the uneducated population in the village never received any education. The rest are those who started their education but could not graduate due to the various reasons.

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<sup>6</sup> [http://www.tbb.gov.tr/storage/userfiles/rehber\\_ve\\_bilgi\\_notlari/6360\\_torba\\_personel\\_rehber.pdf](http://www.tbb.gov.tr/storage/userfiles/rehber_ve_bilgi_notlari/6360_torba_personel_rehber.pdf). 01.05.2017, 15.45. Villages the legal entities of which were annulled and which became neighborhoods after 30 March 2014 General Local Elections within the scope of the law numbered 6360.

There is a primary school and a middle school in the village (Photo 7-8). Ahmetli Village Primary School was first established under the title of Ahmediye Mektebi İptidaiyesi in the garden of Ahmediye Mosque. When the school was first established, it belonged to the category of small villages with only 13 male and 8 female students (Armağan 2015:35). In 1967, it is reported to have continued providing education to 15 students in a single-floor building with two classrooms. The lodgement constructed in the same year was later transformed into a kindergarten and a library. The first teacher of the school was Yaşar Kocabaş. In 1987 a 135 square-meter building was added to the single-floor building with two-classrooms. With the construction of two-floor building with six classrooms in 2000 the number of the classrooms in the school reached 10 (Korkut and Güneysi 2012:88). The school is heated with a radiator. Currently, the school has a total of 166 students, 77 of them being females and 89 of them being males. The students of the Sağlık Village also study in the same school through transportation services. There are currently 12 teachers and two administrators in the school (Lale Genç, Ağustos 2016, Alan Notları – August 2016 Field Notes)

However, those who complete the eighth grade are required to attend the schools at the district centre for their high school education. This leads to the end of the educational life of those who cannot leave the village. The education level of those who have received education remains mainly at the mandatory primary school levels. According to the information that I gathered from my interviews in the fieldwork, beyond the above-mentioned education level, children, mainly males, are sent to the schools at the district centre. In addition, it is stated that it has been preferred to guide the children to the boarding schools. It has been observed that females generally do not continue to pursue their education once they complete their mandatory schooling (Lale Genç, Ağustos 2016 Alan Notları – August 2016 – Field Notes).

The marital status structure of the village: The marriage age in the village starts with the ages of 16 to 20. It has been disclosed in the interviews that this age used to be younger but moved to the older ages. Those who of the marriage age and who still are not married are called "single". Those who divorced (not common) for various reasons and those who lost their spouses are both called "widowers". When we check those categories, 82% of the males and females of Ahmetli Village are married. There are more single men than single women under the category of "Single". It can be observed that there are more widower women (who lost their husbands). The reason for this is that while widowed women stay unmarried after losing their husbands widowed men remarry. (Lale Genç, Ağustos 2016 Alan Notları – August 2016 – Field Notes).

The most significant aspect of the working life of the population in Ahmetli Village is proportional to the economically active population. When this proportion is compared with the dependant population within households, it can be seen that it is at least equal to the number of households. With the majority of the villagers working as farmers, division of labour might cause this number to increase. Moreover, if we consider household work such as raising the animals and growing the plants and trees in the house garden, raising the kids; women in the households are already a part of the active working life. Nevertheless, the fact that these activities are not classified as "income-generating", levels down statistical evaluations to negatives. Despite this, the active workforce is one of the most important dynamics for keeping the household economic in balance. Single children and grandparents are also a part of this group. That is to say, the labour contribution of this group is overlooked when the income-generating group is taken as the sole basis.

When we look at the family structure of the Ahmetli Village, 80% of the families have two or more people. The majority of the village families are nuclear families. Extended families can also be observed. The Yoruk background of the village is the main factor behind this.

When we look at the characteristics of the dwelling types at the Ahmetli Village; until the 1970s, villagers were living in tents around the village during winter times and at the migration routes reaching to Afyon and highlands during summer.

The practices about the usage of the goat-hair weaved area called "kara çadır" (black tent) used by Yoruks as a settlement during their nomadic life (Horzumlu 2014:147), the practices related to putting tent up and taking it down, and the beliefs and meanings associated with it, have culture-specific characteristics (Kutlu 1987).

In tent life (Photo 22-23) nuclear family and the family of the husband live together. Usage of this area during nomadic periods and kinship ties has an impact on cultural identity construction (Erhan 1992:25). The transformation of the population leading a tent life has its own logic. The newlywed son brings his wife with him to the tent. Daughters go to the tent of the grooms' side. Thus, a constant change occurs in the tent population.

From the beginning of sedentism until now, villagers have built their own dwellings through their own means in accordance with the requirements of its time. Reinforced concrete housings built after sedentism have an approximate background of 50 years. With regard to houses located in fairly large gardens, additional outbuildings constructed next to the main house attract attention and another building would be located in the same garden for livestock. Fewer goats, sheep, and cows are raised compared to the past. In fact, it has been stated that there are no camel owners. Even though existence of camels in nearby villages is mentioned in passing, it has been stated that those camels are used in the ceremonies or camel wrestling competitions as an expression of traditional culture. With the multi-usage of land, the cultural side of the archaic culture of nomadic sheepherding became micro-sized. As a matter of fact, even if it is picked up by the new generation through word of mouth, it has been stated that it starts to be forgotten (Bates 1980:56).



There is also a place in the village houses where a fire is lit to bake bread or cook meals. It has been stated that this might be used for the individual use of the family or for communal meals. The general preference for the rituals performed in the village is for everyone to perform them in their own garden. With time, when needed, they have built new houses in their gardens for their children and gave it its current shape. It has been observed that the houses along with their gardens are generally their own property and that they not only grow fruits and vegetables in these wide gardens but also raise chickens, goats and cows. There is no systematic resemblance for the interiors of the houses and every family decides on the number of rooms and size of the house depending on their means. Wastewater and garbage of the households are handled by the sewage and garbage collecting services of the municipality. Heating stoves and electric heaters are used for the heating. Household items are for basic needs. Many houses have a television, a laundry machine, and a dishwasher.

In addition to the local authority's office (Photo.20), there is also a post office (ptt), the local authority's office, a community clinic (Photo.9-10), a wedding hall (Photo.11-12-13-14-17-19-22), a piny picnic area, a coffeehouse, a mosque and çeki (an old weight unit of approximately 250 kilograms) weighbridge in the village. Once a week a doctor and a nurse come to the community clinic and perform health checks. On the other days, these medical workers working in the Yeniköy community clinic nearby can be contacted. Villagers go the Torbalı State Hospital for issues requiring specialization. According to what the villagers told me, in the past, the births would be performed by female health workers assigned to the village as midwives. Nowadays, this practice is carried out at hospitals. The wedding hall is used for the henna nights, marriages, circumcision feasts and different meetings. The place serves as a common public area. There is also a building in the village belonging to a private firm for the products getting processed before being sent to the markets. The village has

potable water and sewage infrastructures. The road between the village and district being narrow and rough negatively effects the transportation of the villagers to the district.

(Neighbourhood) Mosque (Photo.21) and the school in Ahmetli Village belong to the "Beratlı Camiler" group of Sultan Abdülhamit II's "Çiflikat-ı Şahane" structure group. The mosque has a water tank with a fountain in the entrance of its garden. Other rooms on the west wing of the mosque are probably the remains of the classroom. Nowadays, these are used for different purposes. The Mosque; like the Mosques in the villages of Rahmanlar, Kırbaş, Arapçı, Subaşı; do not have its writing today (Armağan 2015:7)

After the general description of the field, the findings of my one year study conducted with these methods are presented below in three phases as introduced by Gennepe.

### 3. AHMETLİ VILLAGE RITES OF PASSAGE: BIRTH, MARRIAGE, DEATH

#### 3.1. Birth

Birth-related rituals in Ahmetli Village represent not only the birth of a new individual but also the process whereby the mother and the father assume new social identities. With the biological birth of the child, the new social structure acquired with marriage is said to gain a new quality related to the continuity of the family and lineage and is interpreted as the transition of man and woman into the status of father and mother.

According to Genep, during the rituals performed on passage periods, starting with pregnancy and birth, the mother and the group she belonged to are removed from their previous positions, and their new status is determined (1960:61) The social cohesion in the ceremonies for this occasion creates awareness and facilitates the process of adoption. During the rites of passage of birth in Ahmetli Village, a number of customs and beliefs are put into practice. There are many beliefs among these practices born out of the instinct to protect the mother, the baby and family from all negative impacts, from material and nonmaterial wrongdoings; and wishes for the birth to be without any problems and birth of a healthy and beautiful child. Customs and ritualistic practices of birth generally focus on the baby and the mother. The practices in these rituals are a (in a way) symbolic reinforcements for the health, plentifulness abundance and prosperity; celebration for the situation; blessing and protection from ill effects.

Three phases of the rites of passage which Gennep specified can be observed during the birth rituals in Ahmetli Village. First, the separation phase emerged with pregnancy. In other words, separation is the symbolic version of breaking from the previous position and cultural conditions. The next is the "liminality" phase, which is the state in the intermediate layer independent of the previous and the next position. The temporariness and uncertainty of the pregnancy dominate this period. Regardless of the socio-cultural circumstances of mother-to-be and father-to-be, they are considered to have equal conditions by the community during the course of pregnancy and in the moment of birth, as stated by Gennep (1960:61). Previous statuses disappear and people become prepared for the passage with birth. This liminality is expressed as "they are on their way to becoming parents" by the villagers. The end of the pregnancy period marked by the birth makes the passage to a new family order and new statuses possible and family members continue their lives with the new status (Gennep 1960:61)

When we look at the structure around birth through the symbols as in Turner's approach, participation and support for the spirit of the togetherness show the social solidarity side of the rites of passage (Turner 1995:41). During the practices grouped as before, during and after birth; the social solidarity was asserted more clearly with many examples.

### 3.1.1. Practices Before Birth

In Ahmetli Village, the period before the birth is called "hamilelik" (pregnancy). Pregnant women are also called "gebe" (expecting), "iki canlı" (one with two lives), "yükü" (loaded) in the area (Photo 36-36-38). Having a child is not only a biological process but also a passage period that is psychologically and socially important. Women and men who cannot have children are called "kısır" (infertile). There are certain practices performed to recover from infertility and avert the process. However, most of those practices are targeted for women.

According to the findings from the village, infertility is mostly attributed to the women and the practices for women are called "kusur giderme" (correcting a defect) while for the men they are called "güç verme" (giving strength). Even if this problem might stem from both men and women, in general, it is considered something to be attributed to women by the community (more so in the past).

One of the elders of Ahmetli Village Keziban Bacı says that in her youth, there was no waiting period between the marriage and having a child. Nowadays, it is left to the couple to decide on a time for having kids. Still, if the couple cannot have a child, shrines and entombed saints are visited and vows are taken to do something if a child is born. It is also said that the methods of folk medicine are rarely preferred (76, 23.01.2016). Those visits consist of visiting the tombs and of religious figures and saints who are believed to have a spiritual role in prayers getting accepted and benefit from their spirituality (January 1992:6-18). The close by Sinan Baba Shrine is one of the places for the visit (if it is not the migration time). It is understood that the reason for the villagers to go these places is their belief and/or hope that

those people who are considered to be a "messenger between Allah and themselves" and with their mediation their prayers becoming true (Ercan 2002:110).

If this did not work, women would first try the "kocakarı" medicines (folk remedies) among themselves (Durdu Çoban, 83, 05.07.2016). This practice was passed from generation to generation as a treatment of folk medicine. When asked about their opinion on folk medicine, villagers stated that because of the difficulty to reach doctors back then, it was a preferred way of healing.

There told to be some symptoms to recognize the pregnancy. These symptoms can be grouped as those which the person themselves feel and those which are, although not yet certain, presumed externally. First symptoms of the pregnancy can be listed as the halting of the monthly periods, tenderness of the breasts, sensibility for certain smells and sensitiveness of the stomach. It has also been said that among women, there are ways to understand whether one is pregnant or not. However, these have more of a curious, encouraging effect than a scientific reliability. When asked about their present preferred method for determining the pregnancy, the answers are pregnancy tests in the community clinic or by a specialist doctor. The community clinic in the village also provides family planning services. Family planning centre is open to visit on Wednesdays. On other days, services are provided in Sağlık Village which is the nearest. When a specialist is needed, people go to the Torbalı State Hospital or private clinics. It has been stated that births are no longer performed at homes but at hospitals.

When encountered with unwanted pregnancies, the general idea is that since it is "religiously disapproved" to terminate it, any practice for this purpose is frowned upon. However, in the future conversations, when talking about an operation that a neighbour or relative had, it has been stated that when necessary, people can resort to it. Jumping from somewhere or carrying a heavy load is some of the common practices from the past.

In addition to these external interferences, in the past, the stem/stalk application was performed with an extension that can affect the womb. Nowadays, even if it's not common, this operation is performed by a doctor at hospitals.

When the pregnancy of the mother-to-be becomes definite, those who live in the house are notified first (Photo 36-37). There is no distinct practice for time, place or form of this announcement. Even though there is no exact limitation, it has been stated that it is a common idea to avoid saying anything in the first three months. In the past, it was a common belief in Anatolian cultures that announcing a pregnancy was obscene and because of that, it was not declared publicly (Örnek 2000:135). It is naturally announced in the progressing stages once birth becomes imminent and the pregnancy can no longer be hidden. If the situation needs to be announced, the announcement would be made by the older women in the house such as the mother-in-law or the mother of the woman and not by the pregnant woman herself. The avoidance observed in the past in the form of not announcing the pregnancy or considering it to be obscene has lost some of its influence today. Pregnancy can now be learned by all family members at the same time as mother and father.

Following the announcement of pregnancy, the mother is constantly observed and kept under control and some of the behaviors that should be avoided for the health of the child and herself are mentioned. This belief is explained by Fadime Bakır as follows

“Hamile kadın saklı bir şeyi alır yerse çocukta iz olur mesela ciğeri yiyip ellerini yıkamadan gaşdımıydı böyle ciğer gibi parça parça kırmızı izi olurmuş bedeninde derler” (84, 27.01.2016) (If a pregnant woman eats something in secret it would leave a mark on the child. For example, if she eats liver and touches her skin without washing her hands it would leave a red mark like a liver on the baby).

The accounts of other interviewees also support this belief. Particular attention is paid to what the mother consumes during pregnancy. It is a general belief that when she wants to eat something special she should definitely eat it. It is called "aş erme" (food

craving) and is believed that if she does not eat what she craves, it would have a negative impact on the child. This food is procured through social mobilization. It is a widespread belief in the region that the actions of the expectant mother during pregnancy would reflect on the child. The belief that it would leave a physical mark can be also seen in the belief that the positive or negative characteristics of the things that the woman looks at with anxiety and fear would pass to the child. That is why she is prevented from looking at people, animals and objects looking like this.

Later on, there are mentions of practices carried out without the knowledge of the pregnant women by those around her for guessing the gender of the baby.

“Karnın genişliği kıza, sivriliği erkek çocuğa yorulur. Başına habersizce tuz dökülen kadın ağzını kaşırsa kızı olacağı, burnunu kaşırsa oğlu olacağı düşünülürmüş” (AyşeTarcan, 66, 23.01.2016). (If the pregnant woman's stomach is pointy they say it will be a boy; if it is wide they say it would be a girl. When they sprinkle some salt on the pregnant woman's head without her knowing, they say that if she scratches her mouth it would be a girl and if she scratches her nose it would be a boy.”

Right now, these practices are only guesses for the confirmation of the gender as specified by the doctor and do not affect the result for the mother or the child. Durdu Çoban comments on this issue as follows;

"ohooo neler var böyle yapılan. Şimdilerde gidip hemen dohturda öğreniyor gençler. Bizim zamanımızda var mıydı öyle. Dokuz ay meraktan gebe kadının yüzüne bakardık mesela...hala anlarım ben oğlan mı kız mı diye...oğlansa anne güzel olur bak, kızsı çirkin olur. oğlanda karnı sivri olur derler ya bizde... kalçası genişlerse kızsı olacağını düşünürüz biz. Bir de kızsı ekşi yer gebe kadın oğlanda datlıya meyil eder.” “bir de gebenin kafasından habersizce tuz dökülür. Ağzını gaşırsa kızsı olur, burnunu gaşırsa oğlan oturacağı yere habarsızdan bıçak ve makas goruz.. makasın üstüne oturursa kızsı, bıçağın üstüne oturursa oğlan olacak derler ya” (Durdu Çoban,83, 05.07.2016) (There are somany other practices like these. Now the young ones go and learnt it from the doctors. It was not like that back in the day. We would look at the pregnant women's face for nine months... I can still tell if it's a boy or a girl... If it's a boy the face of the mother becomes more beautiful, if it's a girl her face becomes uglier. We say that if it's a boy the stomach becomes pointy, if the woman's hips become wider the baby would be a girl. Also, if it's a boy the pregnant woman prefers sweets, if it's a girl she prefers



sour food. Also you sprinkle salt on pregnant woman's head. If she scratches her nose then it's a boy, if she scratches her mouth then its a girl. We put a knife and a scissor under her seat without her knowing. If she sits on the knife it's a boy, if she sits on the scissor it's a girl).

Here, different guesses and interpretations are made according to the behaviour or bodily changes of the pregnant woman. When asked about whether they prefer a boy or a girl, even though it is said that it does not matter, the future conversations reveal that boys are a little bit more preferred because when the girls marry, they join another family. Since the boys continue the family and the lineage; and since the boys carry the family's surname, it is seen as a reason for them to take care of their parents easier in their advanced age. Ümmü Küçük voices her opinion on it as; "kız-erkek çocuk sevgide ayrımı yapılmaz belki ama kız ele gider" (maybe you do not discriminate between boys and girls in terms of love but girls do go to strangers). Here, the fact that girls leave is interpreted as the family being separated. The view that boys ensure the continuity of the family is expressed as "bir zaman geldi mi baba ocağını tütürür" (when the time comes he ignites the father's stove). Here "stove" symbolizes home.

However, nowadays, views and preferences of villagers towards the number and the gender of the children have changed. This view is expressed by Cennet Güdücü as "eskiden oğlan istenirdi, şimdilerde kız daha hayırlı oluyor anaya babaya" (people used to want boys, nowadays girls are more dutiful towards their parents.) (88, 23.01.2016). Desired number of children also changed compared to the past. The number of children used to be average five or more but currently, those numbers are rarely seen. Nowadays, the differentiation between the boys and the girls is minimum. New generation families see it as sufficient when they reached their desired number of children, whether they have boys or girls. In fact, girls became more desirable than boys. Today, the number of children is generally limited with two or three and preference for boys is not what it used to be (Hamide Çoban 06.07.2016). The stated reasons

behind this new situation are the transition from an extended family structure to a nuclear family one, increased level of education of girls and women having more say in their new families thanks to their economic freedom. This way they can take care of their parents more and can assume the responsibility when they become old.



### 3.1.2. Practices During Birth

Pregnancy period also knows as the pre-birth period reaches another dimension with birth and facilitates the passage along with various practices. In the past, during pregnancy, women would not stop working in the farms and gardens, and would join migration, until the birth draws close. As there were no restrictions on the work they did, only when the birth draws really close and a short while after birth would women not do any work and this is answered by a comparison between old and new practices. Durdu Bacı, who lives in the Ahmetli Village and told her experiences about the birth "if your birth coincides with the migration, you have to give birth to your child in the mountains through your own means. If there is a migration as a Yoruk, you can't even sit for your birth" and thus, she talked about how births do not affect the migration.

“Göç gününe denk gelirse çocuk doğdu mu beler yola devam ederdik. Ağacın yamacına varın. Orda kendi kendine ıssızca doğurup, daşla bebenin göbeğini kestikten sonra sırtımızdan çaputla beleyip çıkardık tekrar yola. Ben öyle kaç dene bebe çıkardım ortaya vayh şimdikine ne var.” (Elif Çoban,83, 27.01.2016) (If your baby comes during migration we would tie the baby on our back when they were born and continue our way. You would go near a tree. Then you would give birth by yourself, cut the cord with a stone and tie them to our backs with some cloths and continue to our way. I've birthed many babies like that, what is it with the present ones).

is how birth and its afterwards is described .

If the birth would happen at home, one who would help with the birth, the midwife would be called and the moment of birth is recounted as;

"köydeysen doğuramayiverince ebe geliridi doğuma eskilerde. Sıcak su yapılır, gebe ya yatar ya da otururdu. Bu şekil doğuruncaya kadar yardım ederdik gayri”( Ayşe Şimşek 90, 06.06.2016) (If you were in the village and couldn't give birth, the midwife used to come. Hot water would be prepared, the pregnant woman would lie down or sit. We would help like that until the birth is done).

In addition to this, those who would birth would always have helpers with them. This would either be someone from the village experienced with this or an old member of the family who knows how to deliver a baby. If the birth is expected to be without any complications, during labour pains an "asa" (staff), which is a stick, would be given to the women and she would be walked around the room. At the moment of birth, for it to be easy, women would take a lying or sitting position and wait for the birth like that.

However, nowadays, births happen in the hospitals. The reason for this gravitation is the guidance of the health institutions in addition to the idea that any problem occurring during the birth that cannot be handled by whoever is delivering the baby would put both the baby and the mother in danger. Another important factor for people to lean towards giving birth at hospitals is the ease of access to hospitals due to sedentism. People would go to the community clinic for pregnancy controls; however, the hospital is preferred for the delivery.

Births at hospitals caused the customs, traditions and habits around the birth in the village to change. People who knew how to deliver a baby called "ebe" (midwife) no longer exist. Hamide Çoban talks about these changes as follows;

“Bu kişiler eskiden köyde önemli kişilerdi. Doğum sonrası işi bittiğinde gitmeden ona yaptığı bu hizmet karşılığında bir miktar para ile “müjdelik” olarak adlandırılan başörtüsü ya da şalvarlık kumaş hediye edilirdi. Hastanelerde doğum yüzünden ebelik de ortadan kalktı. Bu adetler de kalmadı” (06.07.2016) (Those were important people in the village back then. After the birth was done, we would give them some money and gifts such as headscarf or sharwal clothes called "müjdelik" [good news]. Because of the births at hospitals there are no more midwives. These traditions are gone too.)

Another practice which changed today is the burial of the placenta (partner, last). In the old times, during births at home, the practices about what is medically called "placenta" which leaves the mother's womb right after the baby catch the attention. In the village, because it

comes with the child, even protects it, the placenta is described as "eş" (partner), that is to say, as the partner of the child in the womb. If birth is interpreted as the birth of a new soul, it is believed that there is a continuing bond between the mother, child and placenta. It is believed that if this piece, considered as a living being, is not destroyed by burying, it would have negative effects, especially on the mother. When asked about the practices and beliefs about the partner of the child, it is told that in the past, during the births at home it used to be buried.



### 3.1.3. Practices After Birth

Women who just gave birth, who still did not get over the physiological and psychological effects are called "lohusa" (puerpera) until a certain time. Post-natal period is considered as a supportive period for the woman who is experiencing a physical and emotional passage.

During this period, it is possible to observe numerous traditions and practices which carry the purpose of celebrating the woman and the child, protecting them against material and non-material effects, introducing the new individual to his/her environment and ensuring the mother's passage to her new status. Many different practices exist because of the belief that the mother and the child are vulnerable to the dangers during the period after the birth.

For example; while it is important for a puerpera woman to eat and drink for her wounds to heal fast, they say that they avoid giving her water because they believe that "if her stomach fills with water she would die". Instead, they would be given molasses boiled with butter. It is believed that they would be vulnerable to the evil eye. There are many practices for this reason. Most important ones are "puerpera" woman carrying iron object on herself, wearing a red cover or ribbon, exchanging an item with another "puerpera" woman who gave birth during the same period with an emotion called "kırk karışması" (forty mixing) (Adiller 2015:68). The symbolic meanings of these practices are explained in the analysis part of the dissertation.

In the Ahmetli Village, there is an "ad koyma" (naming) ritual after the birth to give the baby the name that it would carry for the rest of his/her life. The name would be repeated to the new-born child's ears and then "ezan" (call for prayer/azan) would be recited as a finishing touch. This is carried out by the older males of the family such as the father or the

grandfather. Family elders naming and choosing the name of the child is described as a custom. The explanation of this is stated as follows: “eskiden çocuğa isim vermeyi bir tarafa bırak, gaynananın gayınbubanın yanında çocuk sevmek de ayıp sayılırdı yani ataya saygısızlık olduğu düşünülürdü” (Elif Akkurt,87,08.07.2016). (Let alone naming the children, it used to be considered inappropriate to caress the child in front of you in-laws, it would be considered disrespectful towards the elders.) First choices for the names of the children are the names of family elders such as grandmothers and grandfathers. Also, children are commonly named after relatives who passed away. The purpose of this is wishing keep that person alive in the child. Also the names of the people who are loved, admired and seen as examples can be given to the children. Another practice is that of the old Turks, choosing the names of the child from a striking event that took place around the same time as the child’s birth. Also names with symbolic meanings such as those given to kids by those who lost a child previously like "Yaşar" (viable), "Durdu" (stayed) or by those who wish for the child to be the last one such as "Songül" (last rose) or "Soner" (last man) can be given to the children. “Durdu” is given to the kids to not to have more children or so that the child would not die. “Döndü” as a name (turned) is given to both boys and girls so that the next child would be of the other sex. During the decision for the names of the kids, as an indicator of the mostly patriarchal structure, the grandparent of the child has the most influence. However, there are changes nowadays in this custom. In the families, it can be seen that fathers and mothers name their baby however they wish. When we currently look at the names given to the children, there is a shift towards names such as Yaprak (leaf), Ece (queen/sister), Efe (Efe), and Ege (Aegean). They also say that they choose names that they liked on television programs.

In Ahmetli Village, Marriage is considered to be the first step for the family to grow with the pregnancy and birth. Marriage rituals are the most visible ones amongst the other passage periods (birth, death, etc.) for those who are married.





### 3.2. Marriage/Wedding

With marriage, the transition is made to the new life and one becomes a part of the most basic and smallest unit of the social union; family. The process of marriage starts with the idea of the woman, man and those around them to be a "family". It continues with them re-joining the social life as "married". The rituals performed during this process, legitimize the copulation in the eyes of the society and guarantee the continuity of the lineage. Rituals publicly expose the legitimacy of the new nuclear family. Rituals are symbolic practices involving the celebrations and blessings for the abundance, plentifulness and prosperity for the newly established family. The rituals that take place at every stage of this process also have the intention of protecting this family from adverse effects and evils.

The social mechanism that drives the village community to the institution of marriage can be interpreted, as the İbrahim Yasa says; a reflex to ensure the conservation of the union in the village life which means to ensure the sustainability of the social system, continuity of the order (1955:162). That way, with the solidarity during the celebration, blessing and mourning periods, sustainability continues.

According to Genep, in the passage period starting with the idea of marriage, the social union in the rituals points to the individual or the group not being alone in their new social status and the passage being recognized and accepted by the society (1960:61). Various beliefs, cultural specific meanings are transformed by the community into practices through social solidarity to ensure the passage. Practices in this period are for blessing, celebration or remembrance, and protection from the effects. The three defining phases of the rituals, which Genep expressed as rites of passage, and which are arranged for the passage to this new

position, are seen in the marriage ceremonies in Ahmetli Village as follows. The first phase, "separation" starts with the promise and betrothal. In other words, it is the symbol of separating from being single by betrothal and removing yourself from the previous position and cultural conditions. The next is the "liminality" phase, which is the state in the intermediate layer independent of the previous and the next position. The transience and uncertainty of being engaged prevail here, and various practices take place in order to protect the bride/groom candidates from the invisible effects. Lastly, with the marriage, we return back to the "incorporation", consistent and defined with being married. Thus the passage period is complete. When the passage is complete, community accepts the new family with their new positions and qualifications (1960: 61). No matter who the bride and groom are, during this period, they are under equal conditions as Gennep stated (1960: 61). Previous statuses disappear and the passage becomes complete.

For the analysis of these socio-cultural practices, all rituals about the marriage mentioned in this work were examined under three main titles; before, during and after.

### 3.2.1. Practices Before Marriage

When growing girls and boys reach an appropriate age, they took a role in the order and come to a certain position in the community. This age, which we call marriage age, starts with puberty in every society (Yasa 1955:162). In Ahmetli Village, marriage age differs for the girls and the boys. Girls are generally married younger than the boys. According to the villagers, the reason for this is that is those ages being biologically most fertile ages. In addition to that, the age range for the boys is slightly wider. It is also preferred for girls in their marriage age to be younger than boys.

When looked at the spouse preferences in Ahmetli Village, it is told that they would first prefer someone from amongst their relatives.

In the region, unmarried people are called "bekar" (single), divorced people and those who lost their spouse are called "dul" (widowed). When we look at these practices, the most common one is the custom of increasing kismet. It is mostly performed by mothers whose daughters are not yet married and those who want accelerate the process of marriage for their daughters. Most performed practices are visiting entombed saints and benefitting from their spirituality.

When we look at the methods in the village for choosing a spouse; we see that the most common one is "görücü usulü" (arranged marriage) where people meet through the incentive of a mediator and get married. The ones who will marry through this method do not see each other until the decision to marry has been made and meeting step has been reached.

Another method for marriage, mutually agreeing to marry, happens when two people meet and decide to marry if they get along. The notification of families of this agreement and desire to marry differs for boys and girls. Son would first tell his mother about his decision. Then the mother would notify the father. It is not seen as proper conduct for the girl to directly tell her desire to marry. However, these applications now differ in Ahmetli Village; it is declared that the new values in the family structure are different from the old ones as a result of changes in openness and social norms. If the families agree with the decision, the wishes of the family of the boy are conveyed to the family of the girl.

Thus the rituals start and continue with the performance of the traditional rituals during the periods such as promise, betrothal, exhibition/preparation of the dowry, henna night, wedding night "gerdek" (nuptial) and after the wedding. However, if the families raise difficulties during this period, a method of marriage called "kız kaçırma" (kidnapping a girl/eloping) is also seen as common and ordinary. There are examples in the village where several generations eloped. As an example of that, Elif Çoban recounts her own experiences as follows;

“Benim nikahı Tepeköy’de kıydılar. Oba beni sürüdü getti... gaçırdılar beni. Geri dönsem gelirdim. Geleceğim ama yoyuldu derler diye dönmedim. Mecbursun geçinmeye” (83, 05.07.2016) (My engagement was at Tepeköy. The nomads took me... they kidnapped me. If I came back, I could. I would but I didn't because they would say that I was spoiled [meaning they would consider her virginity to be gone and her to be tainted]. You have to get along).

The most important reason for that is said to be the drastic sanctions of the society about these marriages.

During nomadic life, the girl would continue her life in the tent of the groom's family after marriage. In Yoruks, marriage order is from the oldest to the youngest. The same practice, newlyweds living with the family of the groom (patrilocal), partially continues. However,

recently with the living conditions in the towns and the cities and the preference of those living in the village being like that, newlyweds generally set up their own homes (neolocal).

The practices for the declaration of marriage intent and accepting/not accepting it consist of several phases. For this declaration, family or the elders of the boy visits the family of the girl, which is called "görücü" and tell their intent verbally. Those who go to the visit during this phase are called "dünür" (dünür means the father-in-law or mother-in-law of one's child) Girl's and boy's side are both called "dünür". For learning the answer of the house of the girl beforehand, "aracı" (mediator) is sent to "ağzını aramak" (search her mouth, which means test the waters). If it's more likely for the answer to be positive, it is time for "kız isteme" (asking for girl's hand in marriage) phase. At this stage, girl and boy at the age of marriage are present. After the meeting and marriage decision phases, which change according to the marriage methods, it is time for the "kız isteme" stage.

Marriage intention is declared by saying "Allahın emri ve Peygamberin kavliyle kızınız.. yı oğlumuz...a istiyoruz" (With Allah's orders and Prophet's utterance we ask for your daughter ... for our son ...). The answer of the family is given then or delivered later. During this period, a money for women as a guarantee for the duration of marriage called "başlık parası" (head-dress money, which means bride price/dowry) can be demanded from the man. The most important reason for this practice is to secure the woman in case of divorce or other negative events. Nowadays, dowry is no longer demanded, instead, gold and jewellery are asked to be given to the bride during the wedding. Asking for girl's hand in marriage can be done once or multiple times until an agreement has been reached. If a positive decision has been made, the girl's family declare this decision by saying "verdik gitti" (we gave her and she's gone) and this is called "söz" (promise). Boy, "damat adayı" (groom to be) and girl, "gelin adayı" (bride to be) then kiss the elder's hand and the decision is celebrated. At this phase we are on the way to marriage. Hereinafter, the bride and groom to be are defined as "sözlü" (promised) and

enter a liminality phase. This step separates them in a social status level from their age group and gender group and gives them a status of a candidate. Within the framework of customs and traditions, they are obliged to perform the behaviour and obligations of this status. This starts with serving the coffee, which represents that the promise is given. Then, with the practices such as putting on a ring, eating desert/Turkish Delight; joining of two families is announced to the society and acceptance by the society is strengthened with the practices.

With this acceptance step, the phase where the pre-wedding preparations and what would be done by each party are talked about starts. The most important phase here is the practice called “nişan” (engagement). This phase is where engagement ritual is performed. The promised couple is called “nişanlı” (engaged) after the engagement ritual. In fact, the engagement period is when the preparations for the wedding are done. During this period, date, duration and the place of the wedding is decided and gifting rituals between the families are performed. Elif Çoban, a villager, tells about the durations of the weddings as; “Bizim günümüzde düğünler üç gün olurdu. Hindiki zamanda öyle değil. İlk günü erkekler bayrağı çadıra dikerler düğün başlardı” (83, 05.07.2016) (Back in our days the weddings would last three days. Now it changed. The first day the men would put the flag on the tent and the wedding would start.) In the past, the weddings are said to take three days, Thursday, Friday and Saturday. However, with the present living conditions, this duration has shortened, and wedding rituals have undergone some changes. Nowadays, the weddings last two days; the night before the wedding called “kına gecesi” (henna night) and the “düğün günü” (wedding day). The economic burden of the wedding and the weekends being the most convenient days due to the attendants working are stated as the reasons for that. Those changes in the duration also caused the customs performed in the weddings to change.

### 3.2.2. Practices During the Wedding

For the location of the wedding, the common area of the Ahmetli Village, the village square, or the closed wedding hall is preferred (Photo 18). In rare cases, families might hold the weddings in their own gardens. The area is decorated before the wedding and the music, the sitting area for the guests and catering services are prepared. In another type of wedding, the henna night is held in the village, but the wedding is held in the hall at Torbalı. As for the marriage customs of Ahmetli Village; during the engagement period, on a day close to the wedding, a ritualistic practice called “çeyiz serme” (exhibiting the dowry) or “urba kesme” (cutting clothes) is performed. Elif Çoban details her process of preparing her dowry as follows;

“Kirmen eğderdim. Yangışlı da ettim. Hep gızlara yangış yapardım. Istar ederdik. Yangışı yapa yapa bitirirdik. Kimisine tarak yannış derler kimine kesik yannış derler. Goç boynuzu, emine yannışı vardı. Yönü eğirirdik. Onu boyardık. Boyacılardan alırdık boyaları. Keçi, koyun, deve yününden dokurduk hep. Deve yününü diderdik. Deve yününden ( yaz geldiğinde deve tüyünü döker) palaz dokurduk. Palazlara yatardık gece. Üstümüze onu örterdik. Isıcak tutardı. Namazlağa dokurduk. Pamuktan pek Bir şey dokumadık biz.” (83, 05.07.2016)  
(We would prepare the threads ourselves and weave different ornaments and fabrics and "nakış" [embroidery]. We would use goat sheep and camel hairs. We would weave a rug called "palaz" from the camel hairs. It would keep us warm. We would not weave many things from cotton).

Dowry represents the items which the bride has prepared. Those items, prepared for the decoration and usage, with the traditional handicrafts and the weavings, are called “sandık eşyası” (chest items). They are also the items placed inside a closed wooden box/area called “çeyiz sandığı” (dowry chest). Nowadays, if it is preferred to live in different houses, furniture and household items might also be prepared in this category depending on the

economic situation. With those preparations, items in the dowry category are displayed either in the house in which the couple will live or in a designated area and rituals are performed.

The items being picked from the bride's house and being carried to the house that would be lived in is called "çeyiz alma" (taking dowry). A vehicle goes to the bride's house with drum and zurna music and picks the items carefully packed in red ribbons and carries them, again with the music, in a festival atmosphere, to the house that would be lived in and place them to be opened that day or another day. Afterwards, dowry seeing ritual is performed with the announcements. This is generally performed amongst women (Lale Genç, Ağustos 2016 Alan Notları – August 2016 – Field Notes).

Another practice is the farewell to bachelorhood ritual which the bride holds in her house the night before the wedding with her family and guests. This ritual is called "kına gecesi" (henna night). Time and place for the henna night and the wedding is announced by the families with the okuntu (small gifts as invitations) or invitations. While the henna night is generally performed amongst the women, nowadays men might also attend. Groom's side brings the henna to the bride's house. During this ritual, the bride wears a garment called henna garment. This garment is worn in two stages. During the first stage, the garment is more like a nightgown or evening dress. Short or long with many decorations. Bride first attends the ritual with this garment. Afterward, when it is time for the henna ritual, she continues with her head covered with a red scarf. Kaftan or a mostly red dress can also be worn during this period. When it is time for applying henna, bride sits in the middle of the ritual area and women make a circle around her. Those in the circle start to turn around the bride while singing special songs for the henna and with trays with lit candles on their hands. Here, the bride is expected to cry. The girl hugging her mother and crying can be considered a critical moment at this passage from bachelorhood to marital life. Bride and her relatives crying during the last hug is an expected and accepted moment of sadness expressed with the words "hem ağlarım hem



giderim” (I both cry and go). Putting henna on the bride’s palm and waiting for her mother-in-law to put gold in her hand to close it legitimize the reciprocity of the passage. It can also be considered a sacrifice/dedication acceptance for the new household. Applying henna is also done by everyone attending to the ritual. Afterwards, the sadness disappears, and the celebrations start with a festive atmosphere. After the ritual people go back to their homes. However, her friends don’t leave the bride alone before her wedding the next day. In the later hours, they come to the village square together with torches for washing the henna. The ritual continues there with the practice called “heyamula” (symbolic henna washing ritual). The hanging clothes of the villagers (or the salwar of the mother-in-law) can even be stolen and burned here. After the henna is washed, the preparations start for the wedding on the next day.

All rituals during the wedding act are called “düğün” (wedding) (Photo 43-44-45-...51).

Invited guests for the wedding are greeted by the hosts of the wedding. Guests have responsibilities other than attending. Gifting is also performed here. The guests prepare by buying gifts they plan to give that day. Those gifts vary depending on the closeness of the relation. First degree relatives are expected to give gold. This practice is called “takı takma” (to put/give jewellery). Close attention is paid to the reciprocity in giving jewellery. Every family knows what kind of jewellery that family gave beforehand. These jewelleries have reciprocity. They are considered as some kind of a debt and returned back. This practice can be considered a cash cycle. Those who are coming for the wedding from outside the village might come early depending on their closeness. Their accommodation is the responsibility of the host. If they are not really close, they generally only have the responsibility to be there at the time and day of the wedding. The guests are welcomed by the parents and close relatives and accommodated. Drinks and food are served in every phase of the wedding rituals. These are served both at the bride’s and groom’s houses. Especially during the wedding day, the wedding meal is served. A big meal is prepared and served with the collaborative work of the

community. A working team is prepared days beforehand and job division is done for the meal preparation. The main meal for this kind of celebration and mourning rituals is “keşkek”. A common dish in Yoruk/Turkmen culture, keşkek is a meal prepared with boiling meat and wheat and mixed together by man until it takes a paste consistency.

The wedding day (Photo 43-44-45) starts with planting a flag ritual. With drum and zurna music, different stuff is hanged to a stick with a flag on it. Circle tying is common in the area. During this tying, host of the wedding gives items as gifts to the young group which holds the stick. During the wedding, this stick carried at the front by a young man called “bayraktar” (flag bearer) and his friends. Flag bearer is chosen by the groom and is generally one of his best friends. The responsibility of this group is to ensure that the wedding outside is going without a hitch. Also, inside there is another man closest to the groom called “sağdıç” (best man). The woman closest to the bride is called “yenge” (aunt/similar to maid of honour). This person is also there as the helper of the bride during the wedding. Both their job is to ensure that the bride and groom act according to the rules without too much excitement and the wedding is complete without a hitch.

Before the wedding starts, the bride and groom are dressed and adorned at the same time. While the bride has a more detailed preparation, the groom only has “damat tıraşı” (groom shave) and dressing to do. During the interviews about the wedding garments, it is stated that they show a difference between the past and present.

Those garments called “gelinlik ve damatlık” (bride and groom clothing) nowadays are generally white long gown and a suit for man. Even though the shape of garments changed, red cover for the bride’s head always stays the same.

In the past, colourful headscarves or cloths are put around a headpiece. This headpiece would be put on the bride’s head and a feather would be put on the top. This feather would be taken

from a crane and if not, a chicken feather is used. However, it is observed that this practice is not common in the present day.

The clothing of the *sağdıç* (bestman), *yenge* (aunt/kind of like the maid of honour), father-in-law, mother-in-law and close relatives might stand out in the community in a noticeable way. According to my observations during the fieldwork, in the village, guests attend the wedding with their daily clothes. In host families, men wear suits while the women generally wear evening gowns; the younger generation especially prefers long dresses, night gowns. No specific restriction on clothing was observed in the village. However, we cannot deduce from that that there are no restrictions. Here, norms and values are effective and inner control mechanism of the community can be observed from the outside in this manner.

When the wedding preparations of the bride and groom are completed, the bride waits at her father's home for the "gelin alma" (bride taking) ritual (Photo 46-47). This ritual consists of the bride being taken from her parent's house and being carried to her new one. At this phase, many traditional practices with symbolic meanings are observed. During this ritual, groom, his parents and close relatives come with the drums and zurnas to the girl's house where her family and close relatives are with her. Before the bride goes out, while she's saying goodbye to her relatives, a waiting for or not opening the door ritual is performed. During this time, while traditional games are played outside, inside the bride's father ties her daughter a red sash symbolizing her virginity. This is done by wrapping a long sash around the bride's waist while saying prayers and tying it. The girl says goodbye to her family one last time and goes towards the groom and his family. There are several steps during her passage to the groom's family. First step is asking for a price for opening the door while she's saying goodbye and leaving the house. This price might be money or goat, sheep or gold. While the girl leaves the house and is given to the "gelin alıcılar" (bride takers) a group of the village youth might also ask for a price. Here they create a pressure by saying "köyümüzden kolay kız vermeyiz" (we

do not easily give girls from our village) and say that they want alcoholic drinks. When the accord is struck, bride vehicles starts going towards the groom's house with the sound of the horns of the cars. When the bride arrives at the door of the groom's house, again people dance to the music of drum and zurna. During every phase of the wedding, both women and men do mostly zeybek (zeibek) dance (Photo 49-50-51). The ritual performed when the bride arrives at her new house is called "gelin indirme" (bride landing).

When the bride enters her new house, the religious marriage ceremony is performed. The civil marriage is performed in the wedding hall in front of everyone. Marriage can be performed in reverse order, first civil then the religious marriage. Afterwards, with the practice called "gelin görme" (seeing the bride) the guests give their best wishes to the bride who is waiting in the groom's house for the wedding.

### 3.2.3. Practices After the Wedding

In Ahmetli Village, the new family generally lives after the wedding with the parents of the man. In fact, it would be known as only when the new bride came the old one would move to a new place. The groom joining the bride's family is called "iç güveysi" (son-in-law living inside wife's parents home). It is stated that this situation is not very common and only seen in marriages where certain conditions and necessary situations are met. It happens when the men's side is too poor to accommodate the wife and the woman's side accepts that. Or if men power is needed on the women's side for the farm, garden or animal breeding. When talking about this situation, the villagers mentioned that it is an unwanted situation for the man and makes him feel like an underdog. In fact, it is said that the idiom of "iç güveysinden hallice" (better than a son-in-law living with his in-laws/mustn't grumble) emerged thusly.

After the bride seeing people move to where the wedding is held and the marriage of the boy and the girl is announced to the public. Thus, the rite of passage of the bride and the groom to marriage becomes legitimate. From an anthropological point of view, this phase can be seen as coupling for creating new generations becoming legitimate.

After the celebrations are done, it is time for the phase called "gerdek" (wedding night). Bride enters first to the "gerdek odası" (bridal chamber) specifically prepared for the first coupling. The groom is encouraged by the crowd and sent in. While it is stated that in the past the one called yenge (aunt-in-law/ here used as someone similar to the maid of honour) would also be in the room, now it is not preferred. This marks the beginning of the union of the newlyweds. After the wedding night, with the bride and groom going to their families and kiss their hands with their new statues their joining to the family is complete. First, they would go to the

groom's family and then they would go to the girl's family (Photo 48). While in the past there was a *çarşaf atma* (throwing the linen) practice to prove the girl's virginity (Adiller 2015:58), nowadays declarations and acceptance considered enough. After the wedding the responsibilities of their new statuses start for both the bride and the groom. The relation system automatically enters into force here. During the marriage the girl and the boy are called bride and groom and the first degree relative of the bride calls the groom "enişte" (uncle-in-law from female side). In fact, when it is asked why the father-in-law calls the groom enişte, they remark "maybe the term 'groom' never existed". The family of the enişte is called "dünür" (mother and father in-laws of your child). This is used for both the girl's and the boy's family. In addition to that, both the girl and the boy call the mothers "kaynana" (mother-in-law) and fathers "kayınbaba" (father-in-law), brothers "kayın" (brother-in-law) and sisters "görümce" (sister-in-law).

### 3.3. Death

In Ahmetli Village, there is a belief that death and the rituals related to death not only concern the dead person but also his/her close relatives and entourage. It has been stated that in Ahmetli Village, the rituals related to death have three main purposes. First, providing emotional support to the relatives of the dead person and making them feel that they are not alone in their social relationships by means of solidarity. In addition to that, making the departure (passage) of the deceased easier and eliminating the fear of their spirit returning to haunt their relatives might be listed as others reasons.

During death rituals, festivities and joy from the birth and marriage/wedding rituals leave its place to sadness and mourning. The death is considered as the beginning of a new life because of the belief in afterlife (ahiret). There are many practices in order to prevent the deceased from “gözü arkada kalmak” (leaving his eyes behind/leaving something undone). This is solved through the communal spirit and religious practices. With all these practices, death is turned into social and cultural practices by the society (beyond this being biological and physiological incident (Maden 1991,816).

According to Genep; the rituals applied in the passage period that begins with death have the idea that the person who died cannot be at the new social position of the individual or group and this can be overcome by social cohesion (1960:61). These practices are for blessing, remembrance and protection from the effects. The three main determinant phases for the passage to the new position which Genep has called “rites of passage” can be seen in the death rituals in Ahmetli Village as follows. First phase, “separation”, occurs with death. In other words, separation with death is the symbolic representation of leaving, breaking from

the previous positions and cultural conditions. The next is the "liminality" phase, which is the state in the intermediate layer independent of the previous and the next position. Here the uncertainty of death is dominant and culture-specific phases are completed to accept death.

No matter what the status of the deceased was when they were alive, every deceased person has the same conditions as Gennep stated (1960:61). Previous statuses disappear, and they become ready for the passage. This liminality is expressed through sayings such as “kefenin cebi yoktur” (shroud does not have a pocket) or “hepimiz bir gün toprak olacağız” (we will all become one with earth one day). Lastly, people reach the “incorporation” phase as consistent and defined and the passage process becomes complete. Once the passage process is completed the society and the family come to terms with death and go back to their previous lives (Gennep 1960: 61). In addition to that, different beliefs are transformed into practices by the community to facilitate the passage of the deceased. Helping the relatives of the deceased is one of the most important social solidarity examples. These practices carry culture-specific meanings within themselves.



### 3.3.1. Practices Before Death

The information about the phases and rituals about death which I will provide here are limited with the data given to me by the people I've interviewed since the third day of the passing of Mehmet Tercan, who died while I was conducting my preliminary work in Ahmetli Village. The in-depth information about the subject obtained through the funerals taking place in the course of the fieldwork enabled a comparison and more in-depth treatment of the rituals compared to other practices. For the analysis of these socio-cultural practices, all rituals about death mentioned in this work were examined under three main titles; before, during and after.

According to the information I was provided with in the Ahmetli Village, the practices about death are parallel with how the death occurred. Many factors such as whether death was expected or it happened suddenly, the age of the deceased, his/her status, etc. effect how the rituals are performed. Especially those who are soldiers or those who died for a purpose are called “şehit” (martyr) and are evaluated differently according their beliefs and even their graves are situated differently. Mustafa Şurgum states concerning those who died and where they are buried; “köyde askerde şehit düşmüş kişilerin mezarlığı yok ama Torbalı'da var. Taa Çanakkale Savaşı zamanlarından bizim köyden bir isim geçiyor ama mezarı burada değil, şehitlikte yatar onlar. Onların törenleri de definleri de farklı olur” (64, 08.07.2016). (There is no cemetery for the martyrs in the village but there is one in Torbalı. All the way back to Dardanelles Campaign there is a name from our village but his grave is not there, they lie in the martyr's cemeteries.) For other sudden deaths, it has been stated that the rituals before death might not be performed but those in the village try to perform everything including the burial rituals in the same way with solidarity. While he was stating these, he explains the solidarity culture as; "böyle zamanlarda kimin evinde olduysa köylü yardıma koşar. Bugün

sanaysa yarın bana olmayacağı ne malum” (Mustafa Şurgum, 64, 08.07.2016) (All village would help during those times no matter in whose house it happened. If this happened to you today, who knows it will not happen to me tomorrow?)

If the death is not sudden and the person is at their home waiting for death in a phase called “zekaret” it is seen that some rituals are performed. According to this, the person whose death is imminent wouldn’t be left alone; someone would always be with them. Neighbours and friends visit often. The relatives, neighbours, and acquaintances try to tell the sentence “hakkımı helal ediyorum” (I release all of your debt/I give you my blessing) for what they have done for each other during their lives. Cennet Güdücü recounts how this practice is performed as follows;

"Eğer kendi sıkıntı içinde değilse tövbe estağfurullah deye söylettirilir buralarda. Ama her zaman da cesaret edemeyiz ki biz... can çektiğini gördüysek hafiflik olsun diye Yasin okur hakkımızı da helal ettik diye söyleriz ki kolayca gededilsin gözü burda galmasın” (88, 23.01.2016) (If they are not in pain we would make them say "tövbe estağfurullah" [do not mention repentance]. But we cannot dare every time... if we see them suffering we read Yasin [thirty-sixth sura of the Quran] and we tell them we give them our blessings so they can pass away easier, they would not keep thinking about this world).

The underlying intent of the saying “gözü arkada kalmasın” reflects their wish for the deceased person to rest in peace.

In Ahmetli Village, what the person experiences at the moment of death is told as “canını, ruhunu teslim ediyor” (they’re surrendering their life, their soul). The dead person is called “rahmetli” (deceased) from then on and also it is said “geçindi”. "Geçindi" (pass away) term is also used when someone dies. For example, İbrahim Kılıç says “Ayşe Bacı geçindi, Mehmet Amca geçindi” indicating them passing away (62, 08.07.2016).

### 3.3.2. Practices During Death

In Ahmetli Village, a “hoca” (religious official) is summoned before the dying person. If there are no religious officials and the patient is deteriorating, the ones around them pray. The reason for that, as explained, is to prevent the devil from entering in between when the patient is dying. The praying continues until the patient is dead and their spirit is gone. The prayers are completed with an exhaling motion from head to toe of the dying person.

In addition to that, “zemzem” (zamzam) water from Kaaba is put on their lips and dripped into their mouths. It has been stated that if the dying person does not have zemzem water in their house, villagers would bring it from their houses. The prayer on their bedside, the water given to their mouth, etc. expresses the effort to help the dying person on their passage period. The purpose for that is explained as “ahirete susuz gitmesini önlemek” (preventing them from going to the afterlife without water). To prevent such a situation, everyone tries to give them water.

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Another practice is leaving the dead person’s shoes outside the door. “ölen kişinin ayakkabısı dışarıya koyulur evet avlu kapısına koyuyorlar. Öyle bir gelenek var ama ben de hiç bilmiyorum neden. Fakir fukara alsın sebeplensin derler ya...” (İbrahim Kılıç, 62,

08.07.2016) (They leave the shoes of the deceased outside in front of the garden gate. There is such a tradition but I do not know why. They say that it's so that the poor can take them but...)

It is said that many remarks and guesses are made based on the different indicators observed on the dead person's body.

“Ölünün gözü açıksa hasreti varmış, göremeden geçindi derler (Cennet Güdücü, 88, 24.08.2016)(If the eyes of the deceased are open they say that they had and died without seeing them) or “gözü açıksa...gözü açık gitti, rahat gidemedi diye yorulur”(Durdu Çoban, 83, 23.01.2016) (If their eyes are open they say they died with their eyes open, they couldn't pass away comfortably).

Another comment about is that; if the dying person starts staring somewhere, it is believed that they have seen the devil and they'll take the one in front of them with them. If the process of dying takes long, an item of a relative living far away is put on the dying person to make it easier for them. When they think that the person is on their last breath, (for their life to go out easily) they pull out the pillow from under their head and turn their head to the direction of the holy area which is “Kıble” (Qibla) or try to make them lie on their backs. Everybody would stand up, the door would be opened and everybody would move back. Those who witnessed this passage moment explains it as; "ayaklarından can çekilmiştir... ama üst tarafı daha durur en son ağızdan, son nefeslen höylece can çıkar gider” (Cennet Tekin,88, 23.01.2016) (their life would be pulled from their feet... but stays on the top, it leaves the last, from the mouth with their last breath). Due to the belief that angels would stand at the head and the devil would stand at the foot of the dead person, the ones who sit both at the head and at the foot would stand up. For their breath to go out easier the prayers would be told from the feet towards the head. After the patient passes away they keep repeating the “kelime-i şهادet” (eşhedü enna ilahe illallah ve eşhedü enne muhammeden rasullullah/ Islamic confession of faith). At the moment of death, crying and screaming are not considered appropriate because it is believed that it might disturb the dying person. The reason for this

belief is the belief that the soul would not pass away and the spirit would return (Cennet Tekin, 88, 23.01.2016). The things that are done in the Ahmetli Village right after death are listed as;

“Köyde, ölü olduğu zaman önce kulaktan kulağa bildirilir, sonradan hoca minareden duyuruyor..sâlâ veriyor. Selâ verilirken adını, soyadını söylüyorlar. Geçindi diyollar” (Keziban Bacı,76, 23.01.2016). (When there is a death in the village it first is spread through the word of mouth, then is announced by hoca from the minaret. The sela is told. During the sela their name and surname is announced. They say that he/she passed away).

First, the death is announced to all of the villagers and relatives living far away. If the death had happened during the night and the burial is left to the morning, religious officer in the mosque would announce it early in the morning with prayers, after the “sela” ezan (special azan for announcing a death or mourning) as “Mehmet Tarcan Allah’ın rahmetine kavuşmuştur” (Mehmet Tarcan has attained the mercy of Allah). The time of the funeral would also be announced here and the villagers would be invited. If the death had happened after the evening prayer, the deceased would wait until the morning; Keziban Bacı tells what would be done during that time and until the burial as; " ölü varsa soyarsın, rahat döşeğini yayarsın, yatırırısın. Üzerine demir korsun. Ölünün yanında beklersin sabaha kadar "(Keziban Bacı76, 23.01.2016) (If someone died, you would undress them, prepare a comfortable bed and make them lie down. You put a piece of iron on top of them. You wait with the deceased until the morning.) During this wait, the deceased would be placed somewhere comfortable in a lying position, if they have any jewellery or dentures they would be taken off. The deceased would be undressed. First of all, their toes would be tied together. Their hands would be positioned. If their eyes are open they would be closed, their jaw would be tied and a big cloth would be laid over them. It has been stated that a knife or a piece of iron would be put on top of the cloth. If the death happened in the house, there are also some practices performed in there. Fadima Bakır recounts some of those practices as; "Ölünün arkasından mum yakılır bir

hafta. ibrik konur, havlu konur. Yoksa ruhu gelir dolaşmış” (84, 23.01.2016) (You would light a candle for one week after someone dies. You would put a pitcher, a towel. Or their soul would come and wander.) The practice of lighting of a candle or a light is also mentioned by Elif Tarcan and Ümmü Küçük as; "ölü sonra evini ziyarete gelirse deye yedisine kadar lamba, mum, çıra yanardı yakarlar, şimdi ampul yakarlar, amma bilmem doğrumu yanlış mı" (56, 23.01.2016, (63, 23.01.2016) (They would light a lamp, candle, kindle until the seventh day just in case if the deceased comes to visit their own house. Now they light bulbs but I don't know if that's right or wrong).

In addition to that, afterwards, the window and the door of the room where the person died would be closed and the light would be left on. Another practice is leaving the dead person's shoes outside the door. "ölen kişinin ayakkabısı dışarıya koyulur evet avlu kapısına koyuyorlar. Öyle bir gelenek var ama ben de hiç bilmiyorum neden. Fakir fukara alsın sebeplensin derler ya..." (İbrahim Kılıç, 62, 08.07.2016) (They leave the shoes of the deceased outside in front of the garden gate. There is such a tradition but I do not know why. They say that it's so that the poor can take them but...)

It has been stated that before the burial, there is a procedure called "ölü yıkama" (bathing the deceased). The practices for the final journey of the deceased start with the bathing of the body. If the death happens in the village, it is told that; "ölü, evin bahçesinde ama kimsenin görmeyeceği şekilde yıkanır. Bir perdeyle kapatılır etrafı. Eğer gören olursa ölünün abdesti kaçır denir." (Emine Bakır, 86, 23.01.2016) (The deceased would be bathed at the garden of the house somewhere no one can see. They would be surrounded by a curtain. It is said that if someone sees the body the ablution of the deceased would be rendered invalid.) During the passage, abdest almak (performing an ablution) is symbolizes a metaphor of cleanness. Body ablution is washing every inch of the body to the smallest detail. Emine Bakır describes this procedure as; "boy abdesti nasıl abdest alıyorsun, cenaze de o şekilde yıkanır" (86,

23.01.2016) (The body is washed in the same way you perform a body ablution.) Before the bathing of the deceased, cauldrons are prepared with the prayers. Water is heated and a washing board is brought to the garden. Rugs and blankets are hanged on ropes and the board is turned to the Qibla. The material used is called “palaz” (Photo 73). This hand-woven surface has the purpose of blocking the view or covering and is no longer woven in the village. However, some examples can still be found. The bathers are at least two people.

Durdu Kulinanç tells about the bathing area and how the deceased is bathed as;

"ölü tahta tezgaha konur yıkarken...onun üstünde yıkanır. Yıkandığı yer tahtadır. Ölüyü genelde iki kişi yıkar ama çocukları da girebiliyor. Ölüyü yıkayan kişi abdest alır. Abdestsiz kimse yanaşamaz" (46, 23.01.2016) (The deceased is put on a counter when bathed... they would be bathed on top of it. The place where they are bathed is made of wood. Generally two people bath the deceased but the children of the deceased are also allowed in. The ones who bath the deceased perform ablution beforehand. Nobody can come close without ablution).

and he states that those who are bathing the death should also be abluted. The sex of the bathers is determined by the sex of the deceased. Women bath women and men bath men. After the bathing, the “gusül abdesti” or “boy abdesti” (whole body ablution) is performed by washing the body one more time with the inclusion of the mouth, nose, and ears. In the past, a gourd was used to perform the bathing. Nowadays, its usage has decreased but is still preferred. If their relatives and close ones want to pour water during the bathing, they too should be abluted. It has been stated that these people say their goodbyes by pouring water from the deceased’s head towards the feet. There are also practices after the bathing for the bathing area and items used in bathing. These practices are told as follows;

"ölü yıkandıktan sonra eğer su artmışsa bu suyla ölünün sırtı yıkanır, bu suyu içmek iyi sayılmaz o zaman ölen kişi ile ilişki devam eder derler. Bir de kimsenin ayak basmayacağı uzak bir yere bir yere dökülür" (Durdu Çoban, 86, 23.01.2016) (After the deceased is bathed, the extra water is used to wash the back of the deceased. It is not considered a good thing to drink that water. They say if you drink it, your relationship with the deceased continues. This water is then poured somewhere far where no one would step on it).

In addition, a cup would be filled with some water, put on the place where the deceased was bathed, covered with cauldrons and left there for three days. It is believed that the deceased would come and use that water when they are thirsty. After the Morning Prayer, the water is checked. If the deceased came, they would leave a lash in the water.

After the bathing, the deceased would be dried thoroughly and the process of wrapping the body with a cloth called “kefenleme” (enshrouding) starts. The ones who live in the village (especially after a certain age) would do the preparations for what is called kefenlik düzme (shroud arranging). Durdu Çoban explains this practice as follows;

"kefenlik düzmeye gittiğin gün her şeyini tam tekmil, pamuğuna kadar veriyorlar. Evden bir şeyler hazırlanıyor. Bazıları hazırlığını önceden yapar. Kefenini, havlusunu, sabununu, ölüm harcını cesareti varsa hazırlar "( 83, 23.01.2016)  
(When you go to shroud arranging they give you everything, including the cotton. Some things are prepared in the house. Some would make preparations beforehand. If they have courage they prepare their shroud, towel, soap, death fee beforehand).

. When asked what the kefen is, the answer would be a white cloth called “patiska” (calico/batiste). With the prepared shroud the enshrouding starts. First a written prayer paper (iman kağıdı [belief paper]) would be put on the chest of the deceased. “Ölen kişi cahilse, ahirette sorgu memurları geldiğinde cevap veremeyeceği için memurlar Kur’an-ı görünce o kişiyi tanıyıp, kollayacaklarına inanılır.” (It is believed that if the deceased is illiterate, they would not be able to answer questions when the questioners come to them in the afterlife but the questioners would see the Quran and recognize that person and guard them). This cloth, five pieces for women and three pieces for men, would be cut with a knife and would not be stitched. It would only be wrapped with prayers and tied at the head, waist and feet so that it wouldn’t unwrap. For women, their head scarf would be put on top of the shroud. Both for women and men rose water would be sprinkled on the outer cloth and nigella and “mersin sazağı” would be put to keep the devil away. Mersin sazağı is the green leaved branch of the



mersin ağacı (myrtle) which grows in the area. It is stated that if demanded, they would incense with the bark of sweet gum tree. After this process, the body would be taken to the mosque and a farewell ceremony would be held in the mosque by the community. For this ceremony, the deceased is called “cenaze” (corps) and the ceremony is called “cenaze töreni” (funeral ceremony). After the body is put on the musalla taşı (coffin rest), a prayer (salaat) is performed together as the community. This ritual is generally performed by men. While it is said that in the past only the men would attend to it, nowadays some of the women also attend. It has been said that there is no certain prohibition; it has always been like that.

Mehmet Şimşek tells what happens after the prayer is done as follows;

“cenazeyi kaldırmadan, cenaze namazı kılındıktan sonra, helalleşme yapılıyor. Genelde herkes hakkını helâl eder. Ama eğer helal etmeyen çıkarsa yakınları borcunu ödemesi gerekir. Manevi borcunu da öbür dünyada öder” (59, 20.01.20016) (Before they take the body, after the funeral prayer, people give their blessings. Generally everyone give their blessings. However, if there is someone who did not give their blessings, the family of the deceased should pay the debt of the deceased to that person. Any non-material debt would be paid in the afterlife.)

. This metaphor of “helallik alınması” (asking for blessing) and going to the other world without a debt is again for an easy passage and to avoid leaving any connection in this world.

After the funeral prayer and asking for blessing, the deceased is taken to the cemetery for the burial. During the road to the cemetery, the community would take the coffin to their shoulders and move with it changing hands as described in the following;

"tabutun altına sağdan girersin, omzuna alırsın üç adım yürürsün. Geriye doğru devamlı değişir ve her seferinde 'Bismillah' deyerek mezarlığa kadar öylece gedersin" (Emine Bakır, 86, 23.01.2016) (You enter under the coffin from the right, you put in on your shoulder and take three steps. It is moved towards the back and you go all the way to the cemetery like that, saying 'bismillah' [in the name of Allah] each time.) When they arrive at the cemetery, the body would be put on a pre-prepared hole on the ground. This process called “defn” (burial) is the process of placing the body on

the grave and covering it with dirt. When asked who prepares the grave and how, it is stated that men who have heard the sela go to prepare the grave. When someone dies, they would be measured with a rope. Their grave would be prepared according to their measurements.

Afterward it would be put/tied on top of the body.

“Mezar kazılırken ölen kişi yattığında kıbleye gelecek şekilde kazılır. Göğüs cephesi kıbleye doğru çevrilir, altı toprakla desteklenir. Cenaze gelene kadar, belki hayvan düşmesin diye kürekler çaprazlama mezara indirilir. Derinliği erkeklerde bel hizasında, bayanlarda göğüs hizasında yapılmaktadır (Mehmet Şimşek, 59, 20.01.20016). (When you dig a grave you dig it so that when the deceased is laid they are towards the Qibla. Their chest is turned to Qibla; they are supported from under by the earth. Until the body comes, maybe so that any animals won't fall in it, the shovels are put in the grave crosswise. The depth is the waist level for men and chest level for women).

When we look at the cemeteries in the village, we see that there are three of them. It is also said that there is another one with old writings called “selvili mezarlık” (cemetery with cypresses) merged with those cemeteries. Also, it has been stated by Mustafa Surgum that there are one or two other family cemeteries. “Ölen kişinin isteği üzerine tarlanın, bahçenin başına gömülürmüş (64, 08.07.2016). (The deceased would be buried on the farm, garden at their request.) The process of deciding which cemetery those people would be buried in is explained as;

“Şurgum'lar hangi mezarlığa gömülüyorsa o aileden ölen olursa oraya gömülür. Ama göç zamanlarında dağda ölen olursa onlar da en yakın köyün mezarlığına gömülürmüş. Öyle dışarda da çok ailenin ölenlerinin mezarı da var. Mezarlıklar eskiden açık alandaydı. Köy mahalleye dönüşünce şimdi muhafazalı. Kapısı kilitli. Ama görevlisi yok”(Mehmet Şimşek, 48, 08.07.2016). (Şurgums would be buried to whatever cemetery the rest of the family is buried in. But if there is a death during migration time they would be buried to the cemetery of the closest village. There are many families' graves out there. The cemeteries used to be out in the open. When the village became a neighbourhood they became guarded. Their doors are locked. But there are no attendants).

At the entrance of the cemetery, there is a coffin rest and a faucet to perform ablution.

Flowers and myrtle branches are put on top of new graves. In the past, only a big stone would be put on the head of the graves, so the people would know where they are. If there were no

stones they would put a piece of wood. Afterward they started to put pieces of marble. There are oak, pine and cypress trees in the cemetery.

When asked if there is a vehicle in the village for transporting the bodies, it has been stated that there is no need for it.

“Ama eğer hastaneden getirilecekse cenaze Belediye getiriyor. Köyün camisinde hazır bekleyen tabut var. Cenaze ona koyuluyor. Hoca (köyün imamı) gerekenleri yapıyor” (İbrahim Kılıç, 62, 08.07.2016) (But if the body is coming from the hospital the municipality takes care of it. There is a coffin waiting in the village mosque. The body is put in that. Hoca [village imam] does whatever is needed to be done).

The maintenance, repairs and security of the village cemetery are the responsibility of the Metropolitan Municipality. However, it has been stated that, no matter how much Municipality fulfils its responsibilities, the villagers would still clean and protect the cemetery. There is also a fountain in the cemetery. There are jugs at the head of the graves. The reason for that is explained as; “... susuz kalmasın diye konur. Öyle inanılır. Susarsa su içsin diye. Zaman zaman su bitiyor. Öbür dünyada içiyor mu bilmiyoruz.” (Mustafa Şurgum, 64, 08.07.2016) (... so that they are not without water. That's how it's believed. If they are thirsty they can drink it. Sometimes the water is finished. We do not know if they drink it in the afterlife or not.) Those are kept with water inside them.

When it comes to question of procuring the funeral items and the wooden box (coffin) used for transportation, it has been stated that there is a shop in Ertuğrul Neighbourhood in Torbali which sells funeral items and they are obtained from there (Mehmet Şimşek, 48, 08.07.2016). However there are also coffins in the village mosque. There are no differences in coffins for women and men. However, there are differences in the coverings laid on top of them. The one for women is used for women and the one for men is used for men. When the body is laid on the grave, the coffin is given back to the mosque. "Mezarın başına ağaç olarak gara selvi,

zeytin ağacı tercih ediliyor." (Black cypress, olive tree are preferred to be planted at the head of the graves.) In the past, myrtle trees were also used but they are not used anymore because their leaves would dry and fall and create mess on the graves. However, this tradition is not abandoned and the situation is explained as; "arife günleri daha hala mersin dalı götürönlör var. Dağlarda sulu yerlerde yetişiyor. Oradan toplanıp götürölüyor. Burdaki aşaki mezerlikte dikmiş adam dutmuş o da. Var yani. Mezarlıkların boyu ölen kişinin boyuna göre değişir." (Mustafa Şurgum, 64, 08.07.2016) (There are still some who brings myrtle branches on the eve of religious holidays. They grow it in the mountains, in the areas where there is a lot of water. They are collected from there. In the cemetery down here someone planted one and it did manage to take root. There are still some. The dimensions of the graves change depending on the height of the deceased.

When it is time for the burial, it has been said that there is a region-specific technique called saptırma (derivation). Mehmet Şimşek explains this technique as follows;

"bazı yerlerde saptırma olmaz. Düz korlar. Cenazeyi komple koyarlar. Biz düz koymayız. Mezarın dibine yatak yaparız. Cenazeyi oraya koyarız. Üzerine toprak gelmez. Cenaze yatağın içinde kalır yanına toprak koyunca mezarlık sağlam toprağın altında kalır. Üzerine atacak olduğumuz toprağın altında kalmaz. Saptırma dediğimiz o ( başına topraktan yastık yaparlar)" (48, 08.07.2016) (Some do not use saptırma. They put it straight. They put the body completely. We do not put it straight. We prepare a bed in the grave. We put the body there. The dirt do not come on top of it. The body stays in the bed and stays under strong soil when we put soil to the sides. It does not stay under the soil we throw on top. That's what we call saptırma [they make a pillow under the head out of soil].)

"Ölen kişi mezara getirildiğinde bir kenara konur. İmam Fatıha der, herkes Fatıha okur. Ondan sonra tabut açılır, cenazenin en yakınlarından mezara üç kişi iner. Biri baş tarafından, biri ortadan biri de ayaklarından tutar. Üç kişi de yukarıda tutar, mezarın içindekilere verirler. Onlar mezara yerleştirirler. Mezarda cenazenin yuvası derler, kazılırken bir yatak yeri açılır. Oraya yerleştirilir. İkişi çıkar bir kişi kalır içerde. O kişi tahtaları yerleştirir. Cenazenin her yeri kapalıdır, yüzünü hiç kimse görmez. Bağları gevşetilir. Onlar da içeride kalır. Tahtalar kapatıldıktan sonra üzerine naylon örterek onun üstüne de hasır örtü yerleştirilmektedir. En üste de tahtalar sıralandıktan sonra toprak atılır. Bunlar zamanla çürüyüp çöküyor. Tahtalar hasırın üstüne kapanıyor." (Mehmet Şimşek 48, 08.07.2016) (When the deceased is brought to the cemetery they would be put on one side. The imam

says Fatiha [prayer for dead] and everyone reads Fatiha. Then the coffin is opened, three of the closest people to the deceased enter the grave. One holds the head, the other holds the middle section and the last person holds the feet. Three other people hold it at the outside of the grave; give it to the ones inside it. They put it on the grave. When digging the grave, a bed is opened for the body called the nest of the body. The body is put there. Two people get out of the grave and the third remains. That person arranges the woods. The body is completely covered, nobody sees its face. The ties are opened. They are left inside the grave too. The woods are closed and they are covered with nylon then a straw mat. Woods would be lined on top and the soil would be put back. Those rot and collapse in time. The woods cover the mat).

It is also observed that myrtle leaves are put under the wood for it to smell good and then the grave is filled with earth. Everybody participates in filling the grave to achieve a good deed.

The hoca keeps praying during this time. Some water is poured on the grave from feet toward the head and prayed for a new death not to occur. After the body is put in the grave, the cloths tied to the feet and head are tied to the woods at the head and foot of the grave. The cloth on the waist is also loosened but left without tying (Photo 24-25-26-27).

If the deceased is a woman, her closest relatives, her husband and kids if she has any, if not her closest male relative lowers her to the grave. Kefen is covered with a rug while being carried to the cemetery. This cover is then removed. It used to be hand-woven and called “palaz” in the village. This cover is then washed and kept in a house for future uses. The same cover is used for women and men. Nowadays, due to there being no more hand-weaving, machine-woven rugs are used.

One the burial is over, people start to leave. However, hoca goes back to the grave. He reads prayers. When I asked the villagers what he is doing, it has been answered as; “O sadece ölen kişiyle imamın arasında bir şey olur. Yani hoca “talkın” verir. Yol gösterir” (İbrahim Kılıç, 62, 08.07.2016) (That is only between the imam and the deceased. The imam gives "talkın" [suggestions]. He shows the way.) When I wanted to learn the details of the talkın prayer they said "Ölüye en sonunda talkın verilir. Herkes gittikten sonra hoca son duasını yapar. Beş on

metre ötede birisi hocayı bekler, yalnız bırakılmaz." (Ayşe Arı, 65, 23.01.2016) (At the end, talkin is given to the deceased. Hoca prays after everyone leaves. We wait for hoca five to ten meters away. We do not leave him alone.)

The last prayers are said to the deceased and granted to their soul. Also, their headscarf, if they are a woman and cap or hat if they are a man, would be put on the wood at the head of the grave. Moreover, no possession of the deceased would be put in the grave with them. The reason behind this is explained as; "mezara dünya şeyi girmez. Ağzındaki takma dişleri bile çıkarılır. Küpesi, yüzüğü genellikle kalmaz. Sadece kefen" (Mehmet Şimşek, 59, 28.01.2016) (Nothing earthly enters the grave. Even their dentures are taken off. The earrings, rings are generally taken off. Only the shroud is left.)

Once the people on the cemetery start leaving after expressing their condolences to the family food is distributed to them. This practice is explained as; "Mezarlıktaki definden sonra eskiden evlerde yemek veriliyordu. Şimdi artık böyle Bir şey yok. Mezarlığın kapısında Belediye'den (haberi olursa) pide veriliyor. pide ve ayran veriliyor. Ya da "külür" veriliyor." (Mustafa Şurgum, 64, 08.07.2016) (People used to serve food at their homes after the burial in cemeteries. Now there is no such practice. The Municipality (if they know) gives out pide [Turkish flat bread with minced meat] at the gates of the cemetery. Pide and ayran [traditional Turkish drink] Or they hand out "külür" [fried dough].)

According to the practices of the village, once the deceased is buried, the grave stays as a temporary grave at first. It is preferred for it to stay as temporary for one year before it is made permanent. It is stated that if it is turned permanent before that, the grave would collapse. When we look at the structure of the graves and tombstones, we see that while the old graves used stone, the new ones use marble materials. When we look at the structures of the graves; "eski mezarlıklar kayrak taştan (hece taşı) yapılırmış. Üzerinde isim yazılmıyor.

Ama çok eski mezarlıklarda eski yazı var. Başında yapı taşı oluyor. Ama defineciler bunları hep alıp götürmüş. Şimdiki güne az kalmış. Kadın erkek diye değişmiyor. Ama çocukların mezarları daha küçük tabiki” (Mustafa Şurgum, 64, 08.07.2016) (Old cemeteries are made of slate [grave stone]. There are no names on them. But very old cemeteries have the old writing. They have tombstones at the head of it. But treasure hunters took all of them. Very few are left. There is no difference between women and men. But the graves of the kids are smaller of course.)

Graves are also called “Kabir” (tomb). The tradition of visiting the graves during the eve of the religious holidays, kandils, and on Fridays still continues. A day for this is expressed as; “Definden hemen sonra mezar ziyareti genelde ilk cuma günleri yapılır. Cuma sabahı.”

(Mustafa Şurgum, 64, 08.07.2016) (The first visit after the burial is made on the first Friday.

The Friday morning.) Also, the religious dimension of these visits are explained as; "kabir ziyaretini Peygamberimiz de tavsiye etmiştir. Burada genelde dini günlerde ziyaret ederler.

"Bayramlarda bayram namazı kılındıktan sonra cemaat, toplu olarak mezarlık ziyaretine gidiyor” (Keziban Bacı, 76, 23.01.2016) (Our prophet also advised visiting the graves. Here, they are generally visited on religious days. After the holiday prayer on religious holidays the community as a whole visit the cemetery.) Also, the graves are traditionally visited before the

holidays, during the eve. “dışarıdan misafirler gelir, erkekler, kadınlar, çocuklar. Cuma günleri giderler. Kadınlar da mezarlığa gider” (Durdu Çoban, 83, 23.01.2016) (The visitors come from outside; men, women, kids. They go on Fridays. Women also go to the cemetery.)

This constitutes a common practice. "Mezarlara isteyenler gider. Cuma günleri giderler, on beş günde giderler, bayramlarda giderler"(Durdu Çoban, 83, 23.01.2016) (The ones who want can visit cemeteries. They go on Fridays, bi-weekly, on holidays) When asked who visits the graves the most the answer is that; “önünden geçerken abdestli olunursa uğranabilir ya da yoldan dua okunur. Ancak arife günleri mezarlıklar mutlaka ziyaret edilir. Kadınlar mezarlığa

başörtü ile giderler” (If you are abluted you can enter while you are passing by or pray from outside. Also on the eves of religious holidays the cemeteries are visited for sure. The women enter the cemeteries with their head covered.) When asked how often the graves are visited, the answer was; "mezar ziyareti şimdi eskiye göre daha sık yapılıyor. Bayramlarda, cuma günleri ve misafır geldiğinde mezar ziyaretine gidiliyor" (Fadime Küçük,68, 23.01.2016) (Graves are visited more often nowadays. On holidays, Fridays and when there is a guest, people visit cemeteries.) When asked what kind of clothes are preferred for the visits the answer was; “her zamanki kılık kıyafetle gitsek de giderken bir tarafın açık olmuyor. Kapalı gidilir” ( Durdu Kulinanç,46, 07.07.2016) (We go with our daily clothes but not with anything revealing. They are visited with modest clothes.) Also, when asked about what would be done during a visit the answer was; “ buğday, şeker, çiçek götürülür. Destilere su konur. Buğday mezarların üstüne atarlar. Gurt, guş, garınca yer. Mezarın üzeri sulanır. Yasin okuruz biz. Dua ederiz” (You bring wheat, candy, flowers. Put water on pitchers. Throw wheat on the grave. Animals, birds, ants eat it. You water the graves. We read Yasin. Say prayers.)



### 3.3.3. Practices after Death

There are also practices to be performed in the deceased's house after their death (Photo 52-53-54-55-56-57). It has been stated that their clothes are generally burned within the scope of these practices. The reason for that is stated as follows;

“hiç kimse giymek istemiyor cenazenin elbiselerini. Benim de babam vefat etti. Eski elbiselerini yaktı çocuklar. Birkaç hatıra eşyası çocuklar arasında dağıtıldı sonra yakıldı. Ondan sonra gittik çarşıdan aldık yeni kıyafet ihtiyaç sahiplerine dağıttık onları” (İbrahim Kılıç, 62, 08.07.2016) (Nobody wants to wear the clothes of the deceased. My father also passed away. The kids burned the old clothes. A few keepsakes are divided between the children and the rest is burned. After that we bought new clothes from the market and distributed them to those in need.)

. It the deceased was sick, nobody would take their clothes and they would be burned.

"Ölünün gömülmesinden hemen sonra evini sularsın, pırtılarım yıkarsın. Ruhunu kalmasın diye yapılır. Konu komşu yıkamaya yardım eder. Kıyafetleri yıkayanlar, yıkadıkları suyu başka yerde kullanmazlar. Evde bir şeyi bırakılmaz, yedisine kadar verilir." (Cennet Tekin, 88, 23.01.2016) (After the burial you wash your house, clean it. This is done so that the spirit won't linger. The neighbors and friends help with the washing. The ones who wash the clothes do not use that water for anything else. Nothing belonging to the deceased is left in the house, it would be given to someone before the seventh day.)

During the days following the death there are some memorial activities for the deceased. It has also been observed that there is also a tradition of sacrificing an animal at the eve of a religious holiday. This practice is called "hayır yapma" (doing a charity). Durdu Kulinanç talks about this practice as follows;

“Adak arife günü keserler. Ölen babamın bile anam arife günü keser dağıtır. Yapan yedi sene o ölenin arkasından kurban kesilir. O dağılır. Şimdi anam bubamın kurbanını arife günü kesecek. Hee...yapabildiğim yere kadar keserim diyor anam. Gaynanam da öyle yapar. Gaynanam bu sene üçüncü seneye giriyor. Gayınbabam arife günü gaynanam oğlak alır, keser. Kendine kesmiyor. Biz kesme diyoruz. Biz kesiyoruz ona ayırıyoruz. O kesmiyor.” (46, 07.07.2016) (The sacrifice is made on

the eve. Even my mom sacrifices one for my deceased father on the eve and distributes it. Those who do it, do it for seven years. My mom says she will do it as long as she can. My mother-in-law does the same thing. She is in her third year now. My mother-in-law buys a goat on the eve for my deceased father-in-law and sacrifices it. She does not do it for herself. We tell her not to. We cut one and put aside some for her. She does not cut.)

. When asked for how long this tradition has existed and for how long a sacrifice would be made for the deceased, the answer was;

“Ölen kişinin arkasından gurban öteden beri var...neden kesiliyor bilmiyom ben..onu yedi sene gurbanı kesilceğimiş diyollar. Emme yapabilene.. Yapamayan bir sene kesiyo adağını ertesi sene kesemiyo. Arada hayırını yapıyo yine böyle Valla ben bilmiyom anam bilecek onu. Ben nenemgilin zamanından biliyom. Babamgil de yapardı. Keserdi arife günü. Arife günü keserdi. Kestiği gurbanı pay ederdi, dağıtırdı.” ( Durdu Kulinanç,46, 07.07.2016) (The sacrifice after the deceased has existed for a long time... I do not know why... they say that the sacrifice should be done for seven years... But only by those who can... Those who cannot cut it one year and they cannot do it the next year. They do charity in the name of the deceased from time to time I don't know my mom would know it. I know it from my grandma's time. My dad would do it too. He would cut one on the eve. He would then distribute the sacrificed animal.)

Other than that, performing charitable actions are observed as something generally done in the village; mostly performed during Ramadan and on the eve of holidays. The charity here is a kind of solidarity, the meals cooked would be shared with those who cannot afford to buy or cook them. This practice is performed by those who can afford it. When and how these charitable actions are performed is explained as;

“Hayır demek bizde; işte yemek veriyon hayırı yapan. Geçende mesela her guran okuttu ramazan içinde. Guran okuturlar bizde ramazanda. Oruçlulara yemek verirler. Bizim mahalle hep yaptı amma benim durumum yoktu. Ben Memet amcamı, yengemi bizim çoban vardı bi tane o annemi o, gaynanayı yemek yaptım yemeğe çağırdım, burda yemek verdim. Anama da bi sofraya duası yaptırdım. Ha benim durumuma göre yani. Ben de istiyom ama olmayınca o kadar.” ( Durdu Kulinanç,46, 07.07.2016) (For us charity is; you give food that's a charity. For example last year they asked someone to read Quran on Ramadan. They make people read Quran. They give food to those who fast. Everyone in my neighbourhood has done it but I could not afford. So I invited my uncle Mehmet, my aunt-in-law, a shepherd I know, my mom and mother-in-law for dinner and gave them food here. I asked my mom to tell a table prayer. Something that I can afford. I want to do more too but that's all I can do.)

After the funeral, the villagers would go to the funeral home to express their condolences. It has been observed that in the house, the relatives of the deceased would tell about the deceased and their importance for them in high and sad voices. This is called "ağıt yakma" (lamenting for the dead). For this practice, it has been said that "eskiden vardı ama şimdilerde çok yok bu olay. Eskiden vardı ama şimdi iki gün üç gün sonra bitti. Yok artık" (Mehmet Şimşek, 48, 08.07.2016) (It used to be done but not anymore. It used to be done but nowadays it ends in two to three days. Not anymore.)

At the night of the burial, Quraan would be recited at the deceased's house and pişi (a kind of fried batter) would be cooked and served to those who come. This practice is explained as "öldüğü gün kulür yani pişi yaparlar. Komşular yapar. Mevlitlerde katmer yaparız. Saçların üzerinde pişiriliyor. Geliyor komşular, toplaşıyorlar mevlütte. .Meyve suyuyla birlikte verirler katmeri " (Emine Bakır, 86, 23.01.2016) (On the day of death pişi [fried batter] is cooked. The neighbours cook it. We cook katmer [flaky pastry] on mevlüts [Islamic memorial services]. It's cooked on top of the sheet metal. The neighbours come to the mevlüt. We serve katmer with juice) (Photos 58-59-60-61-62). Also, there is "ölü yemeği" (meal of the dead) serving according to the old Turkish traditions. The time of those servings are memorial days after the death; the third, seventh, fortieth and fifty-second days. During those days, Quraan recitals called Mevlüt would be performed and remembrance with hymns would be carried out. During these days, the relatives would cook in the deceased's house starting with the morning. These meals would differ from day to day.

"Cenazemiz oldu bugün değil mi, Tebareke okuturuz hem bu gece mevlit yaparız. Ondan sonra yedisinde gene mevlit yaparız. Üçünde lokma yapar dağıtım. Helva istersen yapar dağıtırsın. Yedisinde gene irmik yaparsın. Kırkında yaparsın, elli ikisinde yaparız (Keziban Bacı, 76, 23.01.2016). (We have the funeral today, right. We read Tebareke [sura from Quraan] and have a mevlüt that night. Then on the seventh day we have another mevlüt. We distribute lokma [traditional Turkish batter fritters in thick syrup]. If you want you cook helva [halva] and distribute it. You again cook irmik [semolina] on the seventh day. We do it on fortieth, fifty second days.)

The most detailed one is the one served on the fortieth day. Those meals and their amounts are explained as follows;

"ölüye helva yaparız on iki on üç tava. İki kazan .. iki kazan ..., iki kazan pilav. Bütün köy halkı gelecek, yiyecek. Dışarıdan da davet ediyoruz, etraf köylerden. E kalanını tekrar kim kaşık vermiş, kim çanak vermiş, kim safra vermiş, sini vermiş hepsini koyacaz, gidecek dönüşte"(Emine Bakır, 86, 23.01.2016) (We cook twelve, thirteen pots of halva for the deceased. Two cauldrons ... two cauldrons ..., two cauldrons of rice. All villagers would come and eat. We invite people from outside too, from nearby villages. The rest, some would bring spoons, some would bring plates, some tables, some sini [trays], we would put all and give them back on return.)

Some of the foods served on the fortieth day of the death are; topalak çorbası (topalak soup), kuru fasulye (white beans), keşkek, üzüm hoşafı (grape stew), and zerde (saffron and rice dessert). The foods are served to the ones who come to express their condolences and some parts of the Kur'an-ı Kerim (Quraan) would be recited and the prayers would be made. Everyone would attend the meal of the dead unless they have an extremely urgent and important thing to do. It is believed that the food would touch the deceased's soul. The foods are prepared by the second-degree relatives and the volunteers.

Lamenting for the dead is also a tradition in the village but it is done by the close relatives and family of the deceased. Mostly the women hug each other or beat their chest and lament for the dead. If the death occurred during the night, lamenting would last until the morning, people would remember the past actions, statements and memories in praise of the deceased person and they would cry. People also lament when the body leaves the house. Mourning continues for a while in the house of the loss. This situation is explained by the villagers as; "Ölünün ardından yas tutma var. Kendi tanıdıkları yas tutuyor daha çok Başka tür bir yas yok. Yalnızca düğüne, eğlenceye gidilmez, bayrama çıkılmaz. Ölü evinin yakınındaki bir başka evde önceden kararlaştırılmış düğün varsa, o düğün yapılır ama ölü evine gidip gönül alınır. " (Ayşe Tarcan,66, 23.01.2016) (There is mourning after the dead. Mostly the ones who knew

them mourn. There is no other kind of mourning. But nobody would attend weddings, celebrations or festivals. If there was a pre-arranged wedding near the house of the deceased the wedding would take place but they would go to the house of the deceased and apologise.) In other interviews about death it has been stated that; "Köyde yas yoktur. Ama genç biri öldü. İki üç ay kimse oynamadı. Eğer düğün günü cenaze varsa saygı icabı davul çalmazlar. Bir hafta önceyse düğünü iptal edebilirler" (Emine Bakır, 86, 23.01.2016) (There is no mourning in the village. But someone young died recently. Nobody danced for two three months. If there is a wedding on the funeral day they would not play drums out of respect. If it was one week before they might cancel the wedding.)

When death occurs in the village, some restrictions would be made to the festivals and weddings. The scope of restriction is connected to the effect of the death on the village. The family of the deceased either do not attend to any of these events or they come and perform their responsibilities and leave. These details are explained by Emine Bakır as; "cenaze varsa düğün olacaksa ne yaparsın. Oynamaz hısım akraba. Onun düğünü kurulmuş artık elden ne gelir. Gene gelir dürüsünü verir ölü sahibi" (86, 23.01.2016) (If there is a funeral and a wedding what can you do. The relatives do not dance. Their wedding is prepared what can you do. The relatives of the deceased still give the bride a bundle.)

This period is called the mourning period for the dead. "canın çok yanarsa yas tutarsın. Tutan tutuyor. Düğünlere çıkmaz. Acısını çabuk unutan gezmeye çıkar" (Ayşe Tarcan, 66, 23.01.2016) (If you are hurting too much you mourn. Some do. They do not go to the weddings. Those who forget their pain quickly go out.) This continues until the fortieth day and after that day the mourning is over. "Ölünün arkasından kırk gün yas tutulur ama bu biraz da kişiye bağlıdır. Kırk gün evden çıkılmadığı olur" (Emine Bakır, 86, 23.01.2016) (You mourn for forty days but it depends on the person. Some do not leave their home for forty days.)



they had unfulfilled fasting days and unperformed prayers, they decide on an amount of money. They give that money to those in need. Now it is not that common.) and it is explained that the practice is not as common as it used to be.



## 4. THE ANALYSIS OF THE RITUALS

### 4.1. Socio-Cultural Structure

Ahmetli Village is a village established by the Yoruks who abandoned a nomadic lifestyle and permanently settled. That is why, it has been observed that they identify as Yoruks rather than villagers. The fact that the village is situated in Aegean Region provided data about Zeybek culture. In the village, it is seen that the Yoruk, Zeybek and villager identities are intertwined and turned into a mixed way of life. It would be beneficial to make an evaluation about the concepts of Yoruk and Zeybek in order to make this lifestyle more understandable.

Being a Yoruk, as it can be understood from the words of Eröz, is generally used to describe a lifestyle. According to this, all family members migrate from somewhere to another during specific times of the year for catering the animals which constitute the livelihood of the community (Eröz 1991:7, Khazanov 1984:16). In the Ottoman archives, the terms ‘konar-göçer’ (name for Turkish nomads in Anatolia), ‘göçerler’ (nomads), ‘göçer evliler’ (ones with migrant homes), etc. were also used alongside ‘Yoruk’ for this lifestyle (Şahin 2006:35).

Yoruk tribes who came to the Aegean Region during the Seljuk Empire and Ottoman Empire maintained their nomad lifestyle for a long time<sup>7</sup>. Their goat herds and them carrying their burdens on camels during their migrations are their distinguishing characteristics (Seyirci

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<sup>7</sup> Yörüks, with their nomadic traditions, migrated between their summer pastures and winter quarters without living sedentary in one place. They lived in their black tents in the areas they stayed during the summers and winters. The places where the tents are set are called “yurt yeri” (home area). The inside of the black tent, its usage have symbolic meanings. Those meanings reveal the belief structure of the Yörüks (Kutlu 2000:213).



2000:192)<sup>8</sup>. These movements of migration with a long history<sup>9</sup> have been subject to change with the settlement policy of the Ottoman Empire (Aydın 1993). After the establishment of the Republic the settlement policies have accelerated (Şahin 2006:32), the relationship between migration and government (Kasaba 1998:337), especially after 1950s have led to the gradual abandoning of migration by the Yoruks and adopting a sedentary life(Eröz 1991:7, Beşirli ve Erdal, 2008:4). The nomadic lifestyle turned into semi-settled in 1970s and completely disappeared in our day and the Yoruks in the area settled.

With the adoption of a sedentary life, there were changes in the oba (nomad group), boy (tribe) and aşiret (tribe) structures and the aşiret structure could not retain its old power and importance.<sup>10</sup> However, the name of the aşiret is known and the ones who live in Ahmetli village have stated that they are from the Karatekeli aşiret (Sümer,1999:153) named after the Teke Sanjak<sup>11</sup>.

Even though this research focusses more on the rites of passage rather than the daily life pertaining to Yoruk culture, many prominent practices in the rituals may also be interpreted as

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<sup>8</sup> Animal breeding, in addition to being the livelihood of the Yörüks, is a part of their lifestyle (Bates 1980:246. The feeding and care of the animal herds are the main component determining the time of the migration (Matsubara 1989:72). The deep analysis of relationship between the nomadic life and geography and the life depending on animal breeding is an important element to understand the concept of nomadism and nomadism types in Turkey (Horzumlu 2014:14, Kutlu 1987:26).

<sup>9</sup> This migration starts in spring and lasts for 9-10 days to one month. “Yaylalara ulaşınca kadar birkaç kere konaklayabilirler. Gittikleri yaylalarda kalma süreleri farklılık gösterebilir” (They may camp for a few times until they reach the pastures. The times spent on the pastures might change) (Emine Bakır, 83, 01.07.2016). They stay there until the fall and return back to the winter quarters during fall months (Tanyıldız 1990, Sümer 1999, Seyirci 1996).

<sup>10</sup> When we look at the historical background of the Yörüks; them being nomadic Oğuz Türkü (Ghuzz Turks) coming from the Central Asia to the Anatolia during the Seljuk and Ottoman Empire is the statement used by İlhan Şahin (2006). The first recordings of Yörük tribes living all over the Anatolia can be found in Fatih Code as “Yörük”s. Yörüks are also mentioned as the Muslim groups during Ottoman era catching the attention of the visiting travelers in Anatolia (Şahin 2006:35). Socio-cultural structures in the Yörük life are indicated with the terms oba (nomad group), boy (tribe), aşiret (tribe) (Doğan ve Doğan 2005). 8-10 tents together are called oba, which expands to form boys and aşirets.

<sup>11</sup> Karatekeli Yörüks are a sub-branch of Bozdoğan Yörüks (Eröz 1991:51).

the result of the nomadic lifestyle.<sup>12</sup> With the changes in the working conditions (in addition to agriculture and animal breeding there is an organized industrial site and production facilities around the village) the change become inevitable in the village, however, the population of those who experienced the nomadic lifestyle is bigger than those who didn't. This enables them to provide detailed accounts of the Yoruk culture, which makes it possible to compare the past with the present. As Wulf has specified, ritualistic acts provide a contextual connection between the past, the present and the future. They mediate the updating and changing of practices by making imitative references to the previous ones (2009:241).

Zeybek culture is interpreted as a widespread culture in Aegean Region and that is why it is said that in the region being Yoruk is also being Zeybek. Even though our focal point is not the change the Zeybek culture went through during the course of history, questions on what it means to be Zeybek were tried to be answered<sup>13</sup>.

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<sup>12</sup> Reading the ethnographic studies conducted to have more detailed information about the Yörük life would be beneficial. The oldest study about this subject still retaining its importance is the study of Ali Rıza Yalman. In his study of 1920s about the daily life of Yörüks in Toros Mountains, Yalman talks about the socio-cultural structure of the Yörüks and details the organizational structure of Yörüks (Yalman 1970). It is seen that foreign researchers in anthropology also are interested in studying the Yörük life. One of those studies is the study of Ulla Johansen (2005) in 1957 about the daily life practices of Yörüks, mainly in summer pastures, conducted in Kayseri, Maraş, Mersin, Niğde and Adana. Masateke Matsubara, working with Coşlu Yörüks in 1979-80 in Isparta, wrote about the daily life, migration and animal keeping practices, familial relationships in their fieldwork study (Matsubara 1982:1989). Another study is Daniel Bates' study about the Saçıkara Yörüks in Southeast Anatolian Region called "Yoruk Settlement in Southeast Turkey" (1973). He talked about the relationship between the migrant shepherding and land usage and showed the way to the other researchers for understanding their own cultures. Patricia Daugherty's (1997) study with Bahşiş Yörüks in Toros Mountains between 1992-1995 approaches the subject from a different perspective. The relationship between weaving and cosmology was studied from the Yoruk's perspective of the world with the weaving practices in Anatolia and their metaphoric expressions as a basis. It makes evaluations with cognitive structuralist approaches about how the patterns weaved by the women with their limited lives mostly in the tent materialize their word-view.

<sup>13</sup> Being a Zeybek "A social status at the Aegean and Mediterranean coasts of the Anatolia, with today's geographical names Aydın, Muğla, Manisa, İzmir and Denizli, in the mountain regions, existing from the late 18th century to early 20th century". Within this framework, being a Zeybek is expressed as; "a distinctive structure with its own demeanors, traditions, morals and rituals, ways of dressing, folk songs, dances and ways of living". The prominent opinion is that it is a "a structure and sub-culture group created by nomad-like social structure" (Avcı 2001:28-29). The authority struggle between the central government and local authorities in Ottoman Empire, the social, political and economic conditions were determinant to the development of brigandage period (Öztürk 2006:50; (Akdağ 1999).

When their opinions about the being a Zeybek were asked to the villagers, they generally said that being a Zeybek and Yoruk are intertwined, even the same thing (Photo 85). When being a Zeybek is explained within Yoruk Culture, it is mentioned as a behaviour specific to Aegean Region. This opinion is expressed as follows;

“Zeybeklik Ege’ye has bir şey. Başka yörede yok Zeybeklik. Aydın yöresi, İzmir yöresi birbirine benzeyen oyunlar. Antalya’da hızlı zeybek oynanır. Burada ağır zeybek vardır. Zeybek oyunları yaşanmışlıkları anlatıyor. Hikayesi vardır.”<sup>14</sup>  
(Mehmet Şimşek, 48, 08.07.2016) (Being a Zeybek is specific to Aegean Region. No other region has Zeybeks. Aydın area, İzmir area have similar folk dances. In Antalya people perform fast-paced zeybek. Here we have slow-paced zeybek. Zeybek dances represent past experiences. They have stories.)

The villagers have stated that the interest in this has recently increased. It has been told that there are also new developments. According to my observations, it is not really forgotten at all. It has again become a field of interest and there are some revivals. The reason for that is interpreted as the new generation wanting to develop their own culture by the villagers and the reasons behind this new found popularity is also questions by saying “son yıllarda son 2-3 yıldır bu Zeybeğe ilişkin kültür daha yaygınlaşmaya başladı. Nedense?” (Musa Çoban, Ahmetli Köyü Muhtarı, 57, 10 Ocak 2016) (In the last 2-3 years the Zeybek culture has become widespread. For whatever reason?).

In another remark it has been stated that there is a cultural revival and even like a "new movement". The newly-established Yoruk associations are cited as the reason behind this. In this view, it is interpreted as “Yeni kurulan şu dernekler sayesinde yeni nesil adeta özlemini çekmiş gibi bir durum var. İnsan adeta gurur duyuyor” (İbrahim Kılıç, 82, 08.07.2016)  
(Thanks to these new associations, we see that the new generation was almost yearning it.

<sup>14</sup> Mehmet Şimşek is also a member of a village group performing Zeybek dances. They also teach this dance to the village kids. From time to time they go to the Yörük Festivals in different areas as guests and perform as Ahmetli Village Yörük/Türkmen Efeleri Association. They sometimes also hold events in the village to promote the dance.

One feels proud). According to another opinion, they say that they used to be ashamed of being Yoruks, and they even try hiding it.

“Ya biz çocukluğumuzda Yörük dendiğinde utanıyorduk. Eskiden izirap ederdik. Şimdi de bir meşhur oldu bu iş. Şimdi herkes yörük olmak için uğraşiyor. Bir yere gittiğimde “ben yörüğüm” diyordum. Herkes söylemiyordu. Adeta utanıyordu. Ama Türk milletinin özü yörüklük. Adam Bulgaristan'a gitmiş onun aslı da Yörüktür. Konya'dan giden yörüklerden.” (Musa Çoban, 55, 08.07.2016). (When we we kids, we would be ashamed when we were called Yörüks. We would shy away from it. Now it became popular. Now everyone tries to be Yörük. I used to say "I'm Yörük" whenever I go somewhere. Not everyone would say that. They were, in a way, ashamed. However the core of being a Turk is being a Yörük. This man went to Bulgaria, his essence is also Yörük. He's one of the Yörüks who went from Konya.)

Here, it is questioned why it would be hidden in the past and is told that the new generation have their heart in it (İbrahim Kılıç, 82, 08.07.2016). Thus they explain this situation as “bastırılmış duygular, coşkuyla yeniden deberiyor, alevleniyor bence (Musa Çoban, 55, 08.07.2016) (I think the pent-up emotions are blazing with enthusiasm.)

According to the observations made in the region, it can be deduced that, especially in Western Anatolian traditions in Turkey, this culture shows a sense of continuity with the local folk dances in the daily life, thus the Zeybek culture subsists as a system and as a semantic world. The Zeybek culture is still displayed in the form of folk dances in the events organized by local non-governmental organizations and some associations and foundations, it is still taught to girls and boys from early childhood and kept alive through performances. This concept, transformed into an identity / personality expression in anthropological cultural context, has been transformed into a folkloric and touristic image and has now become symbolic (Öztürk 2006).

When we look at the research and literature on the Zeybek Culture, we see a pool of visual and written sources with rich content and information<sup>15, 16</sup>.

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<sup>15</sup> There are various periods, institutions, individuals and a number of studies starting from 1925 until today in Turkey. It is mentioned that in its first periods they were in the decrees, agendas, kadi registries, title deed books

Especially the elderly living in the village explain that the past rituals are not maintained in their original format by stating the following;

“şimdilerde imkanlar fazla. Bizim zamanımızda böyle miydi sanki. Göç yolundayken çocuk doğardı. Yine yola devam ederdik. Öyle işten güçten fırsat mı olurdu ki sanki yapmaya, ama şimdi öyle mi!” (Durdu Bacı, 86,05.07.2016)  
(Nowadays there are many opportunities. Was it like that in our time? The children would be born during migration. We would continue our way. Would we even have time from the work, but is it like that now!"

To the question of what exactly changed, they would reply by citing the transformation of people's priorities in accordance with multiplied opportunities as the reason. . Here we need to talk about the explanations of Gennep regarding the reflection of regional differences on the rituals. In different realms, regional rites of passage also vary (Gennep 1960:8).

The relationship between nomadic shepherding and land usage provides guidance in understanding the Yoruk lifestyle and culture. In addition to those living in the village identifying themselves as Yoruk, during the interviews, the frequent usage of the terms “village” and “villager” called for attention. In this perspective, the village as a term signifies a meaning beyond a geographical one and it is stated that the terms “village” and being a

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and travel notes of foreign travelers (İldem 2000). From those studies, Türk Folklor Araştırmaları, Folklor Dođru journals, research yearbooks and folk culture etc. were in a number of conference proceedings. Also, zeybeks were put visually in different paintings, prints, postcards and photographs by different painters and technical specialists. There have also been interviews with the local researchers conducting studies about the area and association workers about being zeybek and evaluated. (Seyfullah Ayvalı, 46, Tire Area Researcher/Author, Tire Kültür Association President, 23 Ağustos 2016 interview record). Necat Çetin, 54, Historian/Author, 25 Ağustos 2016 görüşme kaydı, Munis Armağan, 67, Tire Area Researcher/Author, 23 Ağustos 2016 interview record) During the Ottoman Empire time, the travelers coming would first describe zeybeks from their point of views, describe their looks and way of lives and the conditions of the times when the zeybek acts were increasing (Avcı 2001:22, İlhan 2001:324). İlhan (2001) states in their work that zeybeks were often subjects to the eastern painters with their costumes. These folklore compilations and sources, generally focusing on zeybek plays, music and clothes (Hakalmaz 1992, Holst 1983, Tanses 1997) also provide important data about the area where Zeybek culture has spread. Also Türkoğlu, Beyru and İlhan state the clothes used in this era by zeybeks and what each of them represents in a very detailed way (Türkoğlu 1991, İlhan 2001, Beyru 2000).

<sup>16</sup>The origin of the word suggests that the words zağ and bek meaning "always running without settling anywhere, the one who defends themselves from attacks when needed" merged and turned into the word zeybek (Avcı 2001:30). When being a Zeybek is evaluated as a structure, it comes with certain job definitions (Şapolyo 1954: 44-45). Also, according to the studies about the organizational structure (Özkaynak 1946:17, Çetin 2013:288, Armağan 2009:56), it is interpreted as having their own traditions and morals, which means being their own efe (swashbuckler) (Seyfullah Ayvalı, Tire Kültür Association President, 23 Ağustos 2016 interview record). On the other hand, the attitude of the community and the adjectives they adopt are also important.

“villager” cannot simply be adopted by living there. It is commonly expressed that “village” and being a “villager” are concepts standing above that.

“Mahalle kavramı tamam gelmişti, ama köyün tarihinin yanında köydeki sosyal yapı ve bu yapının işleyişini değiştiremediği belirtilmekteydi. Bu görüşü “mahalle bir coğrafi yer adı da köy farklı bir şey sanki. Köylünün kendi imkanıyla yaptırdığı bina, diktiği ağaç emeği var burada. İzmir'de oturan torunlar var benim, köye gidiyoruz diyorlar. Yani hiç mahalle demiyorlar. Burası bizim atadan kalma yerimiz yani” (İbrahim Kılıç, 62, 8 Temmuz 2016) (Yes the neighborhood concept arrived but this did not change the history of the village, its social structure and how it works. This view is expressed through the fact that the neighborhood is a geographical location but the village is different. There are buildings the villagers constructed on own means, the trees they have planted, their labor. I have grandchildren living in İzmir, they say we're going to the village. They never say neighborhood. This place is passed down to us from our ancestors.)

.The idea that the village is beyond being a short term phenomenon but something which was carried until today with a lot of time and effort was expressed as follows;

“mahalli idareler yasası gereği buranın adı köy değil mahalle olarak adlandırılıyor. Ama biz köylülüğümüzden vazgeçmeyiz. Biz kendimiz alışamadık mahalleye, hatta onlar bile köy diyorlar. Kağıt üzerinde öyle görünüyor ama biz köy kabul ediyoruz. Belki gelecek nesiller alışır bilmiyoruz.” (Musa Çoban, Muhtar, 55, 08.07.2016) (According to the local administrations law this place is not a village but a neighborhood. But we do not give up on our villager identity. We could not get used to the neighborhood; even they call it a village. This is a neighborhood on paper but we think of it as a village. Maybe the next generations would get used to it, we don't know.)

.The villagers generally say that the village turning into a neighborhood did not cause a change in their daily lives. The only specified change is the fact that the term "köy muhtarı" (village mukhtar/local authority) became "mahalle muhtarı" (neighbourhood mukhtar).

However, the interview with the Mukhtar revealed the effects of transferring some immovables considered to be the common property of the village, the fixtures of the village the municipality with this change. After 2014 the village became a neighbourhood however the villagers state that they do not give up on being villagers. It is commonly believed that this is not a made-up term but an ancient culture. As a matter of fact, because they do not know what will happen in the future they express their own stance on this issue as follows;

“biz bu nesil köyden vazgeçmeyiz. Yani milyondan liraya geçerken alışamadı ya onun gibi alışamadık daha. Biz köylüyüz vazgeçmeyiz köylülüğümüzden. Köylülüğün bir özelliği var yani bizim için.” (İbrahim Kılıç, 62, 8 Temmuz 2016) (Us, this generation, we will not give up on the village. We couldn't get used to it, like how we couldn't get used to when we changed from millions to liras. We are villagers and we will not give up on our villager identity. For us, being a villager is special.)

There are families in the village, which I have seen many examples of, which have returned to the village after they retired. They explain the reason for this as follows;

“burası gibi var mı? birlik beraberlik içinde, bu imkanlarla şehirde yaşamak zor. O yüzden biz de çocukları okutup everdikten sonra köyümüze geri döndük” (Musa Çoban, Ahmetli Köyü Muhtarı, 57, 10 Ocak 2016) (Is there any place like here? It is hard to live in the city, with solidarity and with these conditions. That's why after our kids finished their education and got married we returned to our village.)

.The importance of the two “Associations for the Development and Promotion of Yoruk Culture” of in ensuring the cultural continuity in the village is paramount. One of the prominent Yörük associations in Torbalı is described by the villagers as follows:

“Torbalıda tek Yörük derneği biz varız. Bizim köy var. Yörük olarak da bir Kaplancık Köyü var. Bir de Ahmetli Köyü var. Sade olarak karışmamış hiç. Yabancı yok yani içimizde. Yüzdedoksanbeş de birbirine akraba Ahmetli köyü. Ama diğer köyler işte Yeniköy var Özbey var işte doğulusu da var Karadenizlisi de var. Her şey var. Karışık. Biz sadeliğimizi hala koruyoruz.” (Mehmet Şimşek, 48, 08.07.2016 Ahmetli Köyü Yörük Türkmen Association President) (We are the only Yörük Association in Torbalı. There is our village. There is Kaplancık Village as a Yoruk village. And there is also Ahmetli Village. As pure, non-mixed. There are no foreigners within us. Ninety five percent of the Ahmetli Village is related to each other. But in the other villages, Yeniköy, Özbey, they have easterners, black sea people. They have everything. Mixed. We still keep our purity.)

. Here both how they express their Yörüks and how they internalize it and became popular is shown.

Here, one might need to look at the recent national policies and the developments in the world. Moreover, the rising privilege of the local cultural elements within the globalized world culture is also a significant factor. The rising number of Yoruk associations and the “synergy created by the festivals” (Horzumlu 2017:253) organized by them might be cited as

another factor. The global and regional political tendencies might also be considered as crucial in the increased identity politics and consciousness. I also think that alongside all these factors, the subject of this dissertation, i.e. the rites of passage play a role in this.





#### 4.1.1. Kinship and Family Structure

The most prominent elements in the social and socio-cultural structure of the Ahmetli village are the notion family and then the kinship ties. In the interviews, the villagers have stated that they are generally related to each other. An effort to avoid splitting the main income sources, lands and animals herds is cited as the main reason for this situation. This situation can be interpreted as the traditional village community's effort to maintain the supervising and safeguarding functions. The social organization in the village also functions through kinship ties. This affects the daily life, socio-cultural structure and organization.

Genetic and biologic relations emerging through reproduction and birth in the social structure and relationship network of Ahmetli Village were maintained by being transformed into a social relations network under the name of “akrabalık” (kinship). In addition to the kinship relations created by blood ties depending on the lineage (mother, father, sibling, etc.) there are ones created through marriage (mother-in-law, sister-in-law, etc.). As Yalman (1970) has stated, in the Yoruks the closed family structures are thought to be necessary due to the nomadic lifestyle. However, there also exist acquired (blood sibling, milk sibling, after life sibling, best man, maid in honour, henna mother, kirve, etc.) relations and ties created by social relations. The acquired kinships/social statues bring with them certain responsibilities that may vary from one community to other. It comes with a set of social relations for the person initiating the process, for the event itself and for the responsible person. The people related to each other have material/spiritual responsibility towards each other. This family structure continues to expand with new members of the family including mother, father and child biological (nuclear family) kinship, marriage or other social relations. That is why the

consanguineous marriage (endogamy) is more common in Ahmetli Village (Balaman 2002:73) thus they are closed to the outsider groups. This relation is explained as follows;

“burada herkes akrabadır. Şurgum, Şınığ, Küçük, Çoban soyisimleri var. Çoğunlukla. Şurgun, Şurgum iki soy isim var. Nüfusta yanlış yazılmış.” (Mustafa Şurgum, 64, 08.07.2016) (Everybody is related to each other here. Şurgum, Şınığ, Küçük, Çoban are the last names. Mostly. Şurgun, Şurgum there are two last names. They misspelled it at the registry.)

This explains the current situation as an expansion of a few families. . Also, they say that they have kinship ties with a few villages because they come from the same origin. This situation is expressed as follows;

“Buca Belenbaşı, Menderes Karakuyu ve Tekeli köyü var ama sadece bazen kız alıp verme var. Sade köyler bir Kaplancık köyü var bir de bizim köy var” (Mehmet Şimşek, 48, 08.07.2016, Ahmetli Köyü Yörük Türkmen Derneği Başkanı) (There are Buca Belenbaşı, Menderes Karakuyu and Tekeli villages but there is intermarriage only sometimes. The pure villages are only Kaplancık Village and our village.)

According to the statements of the villagers, there are no outsiders in the village. That is to say it is not a "mixed" village but a “pure” one. Here, the equivalent of the term pure is those not from us or those who are not our kin. When we look at the practices for that distinction; we see that those who enter the village by marriage are seen as relatives. However, if the individual bought a house and entered the village that way, the villagers would act reserved towards them, even if there is no obstacles. This pureness provides a control and trust mechanism in the family and kinship ties. For example, it is told that those who come to the village as seasonal workers from other villages are not permitted to settle permanently. People would act reserved, if not a little bit closed off towards those families who settle temporarily outside of the village. Moreover, the usage of the term "mixed" when talking about the other nearby villages is an approach explaining this situation. In fact, the mixed and conservative structure of the some villages are told as; “orada düğünler bu kadar şenlikli olmaz. Bizim gibi akraba olmadıklarından kadın erkek bir arada değildir oralarda” (Döndü Kuluinanç, 62,

06.08.2016) (The weddings are not that festive over there. Because they are not related to each other like us, the woman and the man are not together there.)

We see a partial change when we look at the marriage forms of today. The spread of the education, the increase of the opportunities for the youth to meet and see each other and the effect of the technology on the communication have a changing impact on the choices. Thus the outer marriage (exogamy), choosing your spouse from different families, became more common.



#### 4.1.2. Status and Hierarchy

While we continue to search the answer for how the rites of passage of Ahmetli Village are performed we can deduce that they continue within the frame of unwritten rules as traditions and customs. In fact, those who live in the village explain that “Biz bilmeyiz neden öyle neden böyle. Biz bildik bileli böyle yaşıyoruz” (İbrahim Kılıç, 62, 8 Temmuz 2016) (We don't know why this is like this and like that. We have lived like this for as long as we know) and this shows that it is accepted and adopted as it is. According to the information gathered through observations and interviews, the possible role of status and hierarchic structure in the village is also worth examining regarding this issue.

The fact that there are groupings such as the elderly, the youth, the women, the men, the boys and how the acquired qualifications such as mother-in-law, father-in-law, haji and mukhtar are seen and defined are also important evaluations.

With the village turning into a neighbourhood due to an administrative necessity, the term mukhtar became relevant. Mukhtar is the spokesman of the village towards the government and the local administrations. That it is why, he/she also has influence in decision-making. However in the past, in the village the group called "ihtiyar heyeti" (board of alderman) would play an active role in decision making. All problems relating the village used to be discussed in this council and the decisions made would be executed. Nowadays, even though their influence in problem solving has decreased, problems are still tried to be solved inside with solidarity. This solidarity spirit in the village is exemplified with the following statement: “gençlerin bir başka köyle kavga dövüşü olduğunda tüm gençler birlik olur. Başında durulur. Ezdirmezler” (Musa Çoban, Muhtar, 55, 08.07.2016) (If the youngsters in

this village have a fight with those from another village, all the young ones collaborate. They would stay with them. Would not let them be crushed.)

However, in the real status and hierarchic structure in the village the older ones called "ata" (ancestor/elderly) play a big role. In this structure, the relatives of both mother and father are recognized but the relatives of father are considered of first priority. The responsibilities towards them are considered a priority/more important. Even though being old is a prestigious, in the interviews with the villagers it is said that in the past there was more respect towards them.

Another thing mentioned is the notion of respect in the kinship systems in the past and present. When talking about this subject, evasions are generally mentioned. Also, it has been mentioned that long ago, there were practices for respect towards elders such as "söyletmelik" which is "lal gelin" (the gift or money given to the bride by the groom to make her talk). It is often mentioned that the brides keep away from the male relatives acquired through marriage (father-in-law, brother-in-law) (Horzumlu 2014:111). They would not speak nor eat at the same table without their permission. It has been stated in many studies that these practices can commonly be seen in Anatolia (Erdentuğ 1959:44). Nowadays this tradition which lost its validity shows the difference between the kinship systems of the past and present.

In addition, in Ahmetli Village, it is declared and observed that the people who are sick, old and without mental balance are never left alone, they are always protected,, their problems are always solved and their suffering is eliminated (İbrahim Kılıç, 62, 8 Temmuz 2016). Also during Ramadan food, clothes and money would be given to those individuals/families and they are supported. In addition, when these practices are performed, it is preferable to do it without anybody knowing because it is not welcomed with the thought that the person who receives the help may be disturbed.

#### 4.1.3. The Position of Woman/Man

When we look at the position of woman and man in Ahmetli Village and job distribution, we see that the jobs performed by women and men within the mechanisms of responsibility and decision-making are differentiated based on gender and performed based on a set of non-strict rules. Within the social life of the village it is seen that women and men work together in the common areas. When we look at the daily and social life in Ahmetli Village, we see that people live on not only with the seasonal work in the house but also by working in the nearby industries. The ones who work from morning to evening, especially men, are the majority. The villagers also call the planting work in nearby farms "gündelik" (daily) and go to dailies. In addition to that, they grow fruits and vegetables in their house gardens inside the village for their needs and meet the household needs.

However, when examined in depth, it is seen that there are gender-based restrictions with regard to jobs performed in the village. Also the women have more domestic responsibilities.

As a result of my observations; even though they work together in the garden and farms, the saying "dişi kuş yuvayı yapar" (lady bird builds the nest) symbolises the women and "yapmak, korumak ve sürdürmek" (building, protecting and maintaining) are identified with women. The same discourse held true for the previous nomadic life too. This distinction continues in the farm and garden works. Jobs are generally related to transformation for men (double ploughing with tractor, transportation, harrowing, holding the machine during olive collecting, putting up hair tents, bending the edge of palaz[rug]) and women perform domestic works, dishes, laundry, weaving and knitting, preparing the sacks for the olives and putting the olives in the sacks (Mustafa Şurgum, 64, 11.08.2016).

Even though this interpretation is generally seen in communities where the women are seen as second class citizens, in this village there is no practice in social positioning which makes women second class citizens. In other words, there are no practices called "kaç-göç" (run-migrate) where women and men gather separately, moreover, the villages which uphold such practices are talked about with judgement. On the other hand, according to my observations, there is matriarchy within the patriarchy in the village. Especially an old woman figure is a very dominant decision-making mechanism. Generally they have the right to speak in addition to the respect. This status is carried into effect by taking important roles in ritual practices. That is to say the women are observed to be the dominant characters in ritual practices.

The women in the village generally continue their social life by meeting in a house while the men meet in a coffeehouse in the village square. There are four coffeehouses in different sizes around the town square. From my observations, the women never sit in those coffeehouses and when I question why, the answer was very interesting. One of the women living in the village, Durdu told me that “kahveye değil, meydanın civarında bile gezilmesi hoş karşılanmaz” (never mind the coffeehouse, women walking around the square would not be received well). However, from my interviews, it was told that this is not a very strict opinion, those who are not from the village or those with a researcher status like mine can visit those places without a problem. Here, the distinction is "köyden olma"(being from the village) "köyden olmama"(not being from the village). The boundaries drawn with socially-established norms and values, thus, become visible. Again according to the observations concerning the restrictions; women smoking and drinking alcohol is not well received. During the weddings women and children would sit together. The men would sit elsewhere, at the tables for those who drink alcohol. For women, such a practice was not encountered.

However it has been expressed that during the nomadic times this job division was different. In the past, during the nomadic times there were more animal breeding, nowadays their main

income source is agriculture and partially animal breeding, which is shown as a reason for this change. My observations support this opinion. The change in the modern mode of production and its reflection on the social life and job division bring a change in the ritual practices as well. The change is unavoidable, however, here the main criteria is preventing the degeneration. For this reason, maintaining the structure in the social organization of the rites of passage is the most important factor in preventing the degeneration.





## **4.2. Rites of Passage**

### **4.2.1. Components of Rites/Rituals**

In rites of passage, the community structure, solidarity and the relationships they build can be evaluated by taking components and variables around rituals into consideration in a multi-directional manner (Turner 1977:7).

In Ahmetli Village, during the process of the rituals, time, space and people; along with environment/community constitute the components of the rituals. All components, if analysed under the main title of human/community within the structure and environment factors the process can be resolved. It is observed that the unwritten rules acquire a unique feature under the impact of components and variables. It is necessary to take into account the reasons for the variables that vary according to time and place, and in which conditions they can define themselves. For example, during the rituals I have observed during my fieldwork in Ahmetli Village; even though the death, birth and wedding rituals are similar to each other as practices, there are differences. There are differences in the meanings such as celebration, protection, saying goodbye, mourning and remembrance.

The environment, which is an important symbol of the situation or context in which the practice is done interactively, is put into practice as a place designed to influence non-natural beings or forces (Turner 1977:183). When it comes to the components and the phases of this process, time, space, regulator/participant, preparation, entertainment, catering/eating-drinking, gift, clothing/costume, material culture items, etc. come together. Thus all components for the ritual to be performed come together and transform into practice. When it

is completed the ritual also fulfils its function. All these components are actually the cultural dimension of the community.



#### 4.2.2. Phases of the Rites/Rituals

The first phase of the rites of passage in Ahmetli Village is "separation" (preliminary). The three decisive phases of the rites of passage, based on the Gennep's important guide-like interpretation, namely the separation, liminality, and incorporation states contributed to the categorization of this fieldwork and interpretation of these distinctions (Gennep 1960:3).

Separation phase is seen as the breaking away from a fixed position and cultural conditions as Gennep asserted for the rites of passage. This situation can be analysed as "the symbolic state of the behaviours withholding symbolic meanings within themselves" in accordance with the observations during the fieldwork (Gennep 1960:3).

The next is the "liminality" phase which is the "threshold" phase, indicating the state in the intermediate layer independent of the previous and the next position. Victor Turner (1969), one of the most important representatives of the symbolic and interpretivist theory in anthropology, emphasizes the liminality which is the state of being in between/being liminal in the course of the passage. In this work titled "The Ritual Process", Turner draws attention to both collective side of this phase and its connection to the individual life (Turner 1977:114).

The liminality is the intermediate phase where uncertainty prevails. This phase corresponds to the *peurpera* phase after birth, the engagement period before marriage and right before and after death for as long as a few days. In order to reach the target, one has to act first. One who starts the journey would never be the same again. Starting the journey starts with breaking away from this point. The individuals is neither in the old nor in the new place, but on the

road (Turner 1977:34), they are in between. When they reach destination they are different from when they started because of the things they have experienced.

Lastly, people reach the “incorporation” phase (post-liminal) in a consistent and defined manner and thus, the passage process is complete.

The experience of those who go through a passage is legitimized through the rites of passage under the testimony of the attendees. The individual who is the subject of the ritual and their position is celebrated and he or she is taken under protection against evils with good wishes. When the passage is complete the individual assumes his/her stable life. They have transformed into a new state (Turner 1977:35). The individual has become integrated into the society and their sense of belonging has increased (Gennep 1960:3).

The individual who is going through a change of status in Ahmetli Village might feel out of the community and in an uncertain status. This situation is described by Turner as "being in a border position". The threshold itself is neither in nor out. The individual who is at the threshold is at the middle of the positions determined and limited by the law, traditions, customs and rituals (Turner, 1977:95). The liminality phase can be interpreted as an inter-structural position. This position, regarded as extra societal and sacred can carry a special, even dangerous power for the protection, limitation and direction of social order. Since uncertainty is always regarded as scary, the society wants this to be resolved. However, this in-between state is a necessity for the completion of the passage and rebirth of culture through new dynamics. The situation of those who commonly experience the liminality is denominated by Turkey as a kind of “fellowship, companionship”. Turner coins the term "communitas" for this. According to Turner's interpretation, the act of departure starts with breaking off from the starting point. On the road one is neither at the old place nor in the new one. That is to say, in between. The most important point of this being a

fellowship/companionship is the spirit of togetherness created by social solidarity. It is expressed as the phase which there is equal support to pass, pull through the phase. When the individual completes the process and arrives to the destination, they would not be how they were when they departed but they would have taken a new form and would be transformed (Turner 1977:33). During the passages the concepts of time and space go through a change. The moment when the individual starts moving from somewhere to another to reach their target is a symbolic threshold, that is to say an uncertainty between different stages of existence (Turner 1969: 51; 1982:21; 1988: 5).

During the observations of the Ahmetli Village ritual phases, the transformation of performances or drama into plays have been encountered. Also, it has been told that these practices have been conducted in many ways during the migration times. These plays, mentioned under the name theatrical village play, are staged about many subjects (saya gezmek [kids going from door to door during holidays for candy and gifts], koç katımı [releasing the goats for mating], etc.) and their symbolic side is dominant (And 1985:74). These performances might be festive celebrations or can be practices of mourning/remembrance.

Within this framework, during the marriage rituals there is a festive atmosphere around the wedding. The festive atmosphere is the practices of celebrating and blessing the new household with good wishes. However, the ritual called "kına gecesi" (henna night) is a festive ritual incorporating a certain doze of sadness as the bride says goodbye to her mother and relatives. Müge Haktan Ercan's opinion of these rituals being based on the sympathetic magic can be seen in the practices at the village. According to Ercan the practices aim to protect the newly established family from the detrimental effects and evil eye. They aim to share this happy moment with the society with the wishes of this bringing prosperity, peace and luck to the new bride and her new family (Ercan 2002:164). Afterwards, the entrance of

the bride to the new household is practiced as a ritual called "gelin okşama" (bride caressing/applying henna to the bride's hand and making her cry with songs).

The ritual practices around death carry the meanings mourning and then remembrance. When the reason for these practices is questioned, we see that there are mentions of two different dimensions, "burası" (here) and "gidilen yer" (destination). This means there is a belief of a place after death. The underlying motive of these practices is symbolized with the aims of rendering the passage easier, making sure the departed is at peace and even preventing the haunting of the living ones. This practice symbolizes both making the passage easy and making the passage of those who stayed behind to the daily life easy as the villagers state that "ölenle ölünmez" (you do not die with the one who died).

### 4.2.3. Function of the Rites/Rituals

It is assumed that there is a purpose, function and meaning behind the ritual act. Emile Durkheim, one of the leading French sociologists of 1900s focused on the integrant function of the rituals. Durkheim explains the visible function of the rituals as follows:

“tanrı toplumun fiilî bir ifadesidir ve ritüeller müminleri tanrıya bağlayan bu bağları güçlendirmektedir. Bu nedenle ritüel aslında bireyi topluma bağlamaktadır. Ritüellerde toplumun kendisinin doğrudan temsil edilmesiyle, ritüel okumak toplum hakkında önemli şeyler söyler (Durkheim 1965:226 ) (God is the de facto expression of the society and the rituals strengthen the ties connecting the believers to God. That is why the rituals actually connect the individual to the society. With the society being directly represented in the rituals, ritual reading tells a lot about the society itself.)

Rituals as a social integration tool might function as a group behaviour ensuring cohesion and unity within the social structure amongst people (Strauss 1963:275). They aim to determine the individual identity, the position of the individual and the social function and to facilitate the adaption to the new position (Avcı 2001:32).

Rites or rituals are carried out by group members who create and maintain rules, resources, and who maintain these for a strong communication. In terms of social solidarity, the ritual symbolizes the social arrangements between individuals and groups, that is, the system of appropriate relations (Durkheim 1965). It is effective in the relations between politics and social structure.

In Assman's interpretation, the identity notion is shaped "bireyin ait olduğu toplumun beklentilerine göre" (according to the expectations of the community the individual belongs to).

“Toplumsallaşma sürecinde çocukta oluşan; milli, etnik, dinsel kimlikler ve cinsiyet olgusu o grubun değerleriyle üretilmiş ve verilen kimlikleridir. Geçiş törenleri etrafında yapılan etkinlikler bir kültürleme olarak görülebilmektedir.” (Assman 2001:91). (In the process of socialization, national, ethnic, religious identities and gender are the identities produced and given by the values of that

group. The activities surrounding the rites of passage can be seen as a process of acculturation).

The social cohesion and solidarity within the rituals supports the desire to live together. This learning process starting in the family continues in the society throughout life. Culture; “yaşayan, yaşatan ve yaşanan varlık olarak geçmişten geleceğe süreklilik göstermektedir. Doğar, gelişir, zaman içinde etkileşerek değişir. Toplumsal ve tarihseldir.” (Güvenç 2010:100)(shows continuity from past to the future as a living, sustaining and experienced entity. It is born, develops and changes with time and interaction. It is social and historical.) Kids start to practice the culture they learn by internalizing and mimicking (Bock1994:44). The process of shaping the personality of the child inside the family and society turns into cultural continuity in the form of traditional culture. According to Balaman, traditional culture is revealed through rituals as “nesne, olay ve olguları özdeşleştiren ve öznelenştiren kollektif bir düşünce biçimi” (1983:43) (A collective way of thinking that identifies and subjectifies objects, events and phenomena).

A practice turning into a tradition can be explained either with Shil's "three generations" rule (2003:104) or with Hobsbawn's process of "taking references from the past and becoming a routine at its core" (2006:5). Socially, traditions (kırklama [making forty], diş hediği [celebration of the first tooth of the child], düğün yemeği [wedding dinner], ölü gömme [burial], etc.) generally acts as the mediator of cultural memory in passing down information to the young generations. On the other hand, it has characteristics to annihilate the differences between the generations and increase the social solidarity and unity (Hobsbawm ve Ranger 1996:66). The ritual practices performed in the cultural environment during the childhood transforms into information the individual accepts as truth without questioning and turns it into practice in their daily lives. These internalized behaviors becomes, as Benedict has stated, the "group personality" (1959:47). Thus, because the way of thinking and behaviour is similar



in the community, it plays a role in ensuring the cultural continuity and maintaining the communication between the generations.

According to the discourse of Assman on memory;

“bellek sadece geçmişî kurgulanmakla kalmayıp şimdi ve geleceğin deneyimlerini de organize etmektedir. Toplumsal bellek üst kavram olacak şekilde iletişimsel ve kültürel bellek olarak iki ayrım yapılabilir. İletişimsel bellek yakın tarihe, kültürel bellek ise geçmişe yönelerek sembolik figürlere yoğunlaşmaktadır” (Assman 2001:46). (Memory not only fictionalize the past but organize the experiences of the present and the future. Social memory as a supra-notion may be divided into two as communicative and cultural memories. Communicative memory focuses on recent history, and the cultural memory focuses on symbolic figures of the past.)

The participants create order in their social groups, confirm and continue the order.

Metaphorically, a ritual creates a feeling of security by controlling and decreasing the anxiety of the participants. Accordingly, the assurance of emotions and desires is the psycho-social function of the rituals.

It has a central role in every area of human existence (religion, politics, economy, science, family, education) (Wulf 2004:231). As behaviour, it is organized and strictly structured. It can be organized collectively in a way that everyone can join (Bates 2009:453). There is an emphasis on the characteristics such as revealing common interests, overcoming differences, creating an order or the exact opposite, channelling the potential violence. It can also be effective in creating physical/material inner and outer worlds (Grimes 1990:182).

They can be evaluated as the assisting performances in the passages of the individuals in the community between the places, times, conditions and phases. In practice, it is the display of the oral culture turning into movements which incorporates specific messages expressed in a unique language and with paying regard to the element of cohesion (Rappaport 1992:250).

They generally turn into practices in occasions such as national holidays, memorial days and

other festive/celebration days with colour and diversity. These are activities through which the individuals learn about the sense of unity, an expression of power and a sense of belonging through ritualistic interactions. Spontaneity and creativity are encouraged. There are dramatic and outward-oriented accents such as carnivals, birthdays, and weddings. There are no questions asked about continuity, authenticity and origins. In addition, the sacred is represented in the religious rituals. It gives a sense of security. They enable the existential events to be called to the present, repeated and adapted (Grimes 1985:92).

According to Bauman's (1992) interpretation; rituals as performances and drama can increase the awareness of the audience. This practice has the obligation to reach the artist and the audience. It ensures that the performer is communicatively accountable in the performance and gives the audience the responsibility of evaluating the ability and effectiveness of the practice. However while the quality of a performance may be connected with social interaction, it may also carry a series of metaphorical meanings. This is transferred through the drama (1992:44).

From this point onwards, the practical side of the dissertation starts. In the following parts, the research methodology, findings of the fieldwork and the analysis of the findings are presented

In the birth, marriage and death rituals of the Ahmetli Village and in the social and socio-cultural analysis of them, community organization emerges as an important concept.

Furthermore, the social structure and its functioning consist of interwoven structures. The components of this structure can be divided into two as physical and social. The physical components are the number of houses, i.e. the number of households, their structure, the garden and the structures used as the common property of the village. Socially, self-perception of the villagers, that is to say their identity is extremely important for the scope of this study. Shaping of the individual identity is completed through this structure and is earned

starting from the childhood. Its effects first start in the family, once internalized, the similar practices spread through the community and become continuous. Rituals have the role of providing the ground on which the cultural production happens. The family and community life starts the enculturing of the child. The rituals ensure the transfer of certain values to new generations, the acquisition of cultural values and the reproduction of culture.

The solidarity and job division during the ritual periods decrease due to the recent changes in the working conditions of the villagers and due to the fact that people leave the village for work. In fact, because the families of those who work in Torbalı or İzmir also have to live there, the passages occur in the towns or cities and change and transform. Industrialization and the changes in the mode of production are reflected on the Ahmetli Village and cause transformations in the social life and job division. It inevitably affects the traditions, customs and ritual practices in the village.

### 4.3. Ritual Process

In this study which discusses the biological period rituals such as birth, marriage and death as rites of passage, it is seen that even though the progression of the passage, its sorting, its flow, and its structure are first seen as an interwoven, complicated system; it is then understood that it has a harmonious structure. The flow of the ritual is; determining place/time, announcement, job division and progression of the passage (that is sorting, flow, structuring). Also the variables in the rituals and controlling those variables are important for this dynamic structure. When we look at the ceremonies that are conducted under two titles, the individual or group/family which is the subject of the ceremonies is the first category. Then the relatives and lastly the villagers enter the widening circle (Hanko 2006:132). The flow of these rituals and their effects on subject and structure are analysed under the title of rites of passage in Ahmetli Village.

The question of what the rites of passage provide can be explained as the process of passing to new conditions and creating a new identity (Gennep 1960:8) They are learned in a general process, they are constant, they change, they have a historical background, they are passed down from generation to generation (Convay 1992:8) and they have symbolic representation. They are satisfactory, integrating for an individual through meeting a need (Güvenç 2010:100). The individuals acquire the cultural information from the community, not from the nature (Mardin 1999: 91). Humans have developed concepts to distinguish themselves from the others. The dynamic relations in the production of power, authority and hierarchy among the institutions of social elements are at the focal point of the structural description of the culture. In societies, the jobs for the people and their responsibilities are determined (Saran 1989:269). Children grow by experiencing the cultural processes and are shaped by them

without noticing (Bock 1969:47). They internalize the behaviour they see and mimic, follow certain prohibitions, perform the actions what they need to do and start implementing the culture (Bock 1969:55).

Also the social movement in the rituals requires solidarity. The incentive for this solidarity is the assurance that they will find the same response when they need it. This is the most important push for organizational commitment. This participation is expressed as "işin ucundan tutmak" (helping) with the intention of sharing each other's excitement and sadness. They also state that in the future the same would be done for them when they are going through the same thing. There are important evaluations to be made within the solidarity culture especially about the differences of social solidarity and commitment between rural areas and cities. That is expressed as; "büyükşehirlerde bazı cenazelere gidiyoruz. İki üç kişi katılıyor. Definden sonra herkes evlerine dağılıyor. Bir daha kimseden ses çıkmıyor. Oysa köyde cenaze defin edilmeden önce başlayan sonrasında da devam eden hareketler bize yalnız olmadığımızı hissettiriyor" (Musa Çoban,55,04.011.2016) (We sometimes go to the funerals in big cities. A few people attend. After the burial everyone return to their homes. You don't hear from them again. But the things done before the burial and continued afterwards in the village make us feel that we are not alone.) It is also expressed that the celebrations and ceremonies in the village are some of the most important factors effecting the relations in this social structure.

Within the social structure, there is a network of relations keeping the village together. The fact that there is reciprocity in these relationships is expressed as "bizim de başımıza gelebilir işte o zamanlarda onlar da bize yaparlar" (it can one day happen to us, then they would do the same for us).

This unwritten structure has changed with the spirit of time; however, it has a layered effect on villagers. The continuity of this reciprocity in the village expressed as follows:

“Tepeköy'de bile (Torbalı'ya köyde Tepeköy deniyor) farklı yani. Köylerdeki birlik beraberlik çok önemli... Mesela benim bir şeye ihtiyacım var. Köylü bu ihtiyacı görüyor. Eskiden bundan daha fazla varmış. Son zamanlarda yok artık. Değişim var. Ama düğün, cenazelerde hala devam ediyor. Şimdi bir cenaze var diyelim işi gücü bırakır gelir. Tarladaysa ya da fabrikadaysa bırakır gelir. Sadece birinci dereceden akraba değil köylü olması yeterli. Ama şehirde adam yedi katlı apartmanda oturuyor. Kim öldü kim kaldı haberi yok. Zaten şehirlerde insanın değeri kalmıyor şehirde. Tabi köyle şehir çok farklı.” (Mehmet Şimşek, 48, 08.07.2016) (It is very different even in Tepeköy [they call Torbalı Tepeköy in the village]. Solidarity is very important in the villages. For example I need something. The villagers would help me for it. There used to be more of this. Now, not that much. There is change. But it still continues in weddings and funerals. If we say that we have a funeral now, everyone would drop whatever they are doing and come. Even if they are at the farm or factory they would leave and come. It doesn't have to be first degree relatives, if they're from the village that's enough. But in the cities people live in seven-storey buildings. They have no idea who lives and who dies. In the cities people don't value people. Of course it's very different in the village and in the city.)

This shows the magnitude of the solidarity in the village. Also, in another discourse, it has been said that this solidarity increases with the old age.

“yaşlı, tek başına yaşıyor gibi göremezsin. Durdu Bacı'nın çocukları var arada gelirler. Zehra (Avlar) mesela 84 yaşında. Kimsesi yok onun. Beyi de ölünce tek başına kalıyor. Ama köylüler onu hiç yalnız bırakmıyorlar. Her ihtiyacına koşarlar. Genelde komşuları çevresi yardımcı oluyorlar. Bizim burada sıkıntı olmaz. Şu ana kadar köyümüzde kimsesi olmayan, yaşlı, yoklukta destek olunur. Bir de hepimizin birbirine bağlantısı vardır. Hepimiz aynı kökenden olduğumuzdan herkes birbirinin derdine, tasasına koşar.” (Ahmet Duman, 44, 08.07.2016) (You won't see the elderly as living alone. Durdu Bacı has children, they visit sometimes. There is Zehra [Avlar] for example, she's 84 years old. She has no one. When her husband died she was left all alone. But the villagers don't let her to be alone. They help her with everything. Generally her neighbors help. We never have problems here. We always help those who are alone, old, who don't have much. We are all connected to each other. Since we are from the same lineage everyone help each other.)

. With the power of collaboration and solidarity, the mechanism for the social organization of rituals in the village community operates and runs automatically.

#### 4.3.1. Social Organization

Social organization is the movement of the community participating in the ceremonies within the social structuring. When what changed after the passage and what the roles of the rituals are questioned, social organization, age and sex-related division of labour, mutual relations and solidarity, and reflection of social cohesion on basic life practices are seen in ritual practices of Ahmetli Village. Here the most important examples of the social structuring are exhibited around the ceremonies. Also it has been observed that there are days when the conflicts are cast aside and solidarity is brought forward because on those days, common feelings of excitement or sadness are shared. That is why, sorting out the relationships between the groups and protecting them are not only seen as mandatory, but as necessary.

Even though the social organization and management of this process seem complicated, it has been observed that it is solved through an integrated mechanism. This mechanism can be symbolized in the form of rings extending from the centre outward in terms of structure and subject. The responsibilities of the population decrease and widen from centre outward. The one who experiences the passage is located at the centre as the subject. The experiences/effects before, during and after the passage is an important journey and privilege for the individual to create their individual/existential meaning. This makes a great contribution. In Gennep's words, it is seen that the person has been removed from the old status and has been separated from the community for a certain period of time then announced to the community with their new status (Gennep 1960:5). Also, with the individuals being in the centre of the ceremonies, they become integrated with the society/community. During the ceremonies, since the flow and the organizing ways of rituals are also learned this contributes to cultural continuity.

The place, time and site where the ritual organization would be brought to life, that is to say, the practice ground needs to be determined. The practice, depending on its scope, can be performed in the house or garden or village square or the common area of the village, the hall. In some exceptional cases, the place where the weddings are held is preferred. The scope might get wider or narrower depending on the economic opportunities. The rituals around death and birth are generally performed in the house or garden of the family. The practices around marriage are partially performed in the house and the collective festival can be performed at the public square or the hall.

There are numerous practices to notify the residents of Ahmetli Village of these rituals. Even though these are naturally known because of the communication channels of the village, an invitation is expected for attendance. If they are to be done as feasts, it is said that there are some specific days. This is explained as; “bizde Çarşamba günleri gençlerden biri tüm köyü kapı kapı gezer. Hem şeker dağıtır hem de o evi davet eder. Bazan da yazma falan verildiği de olur. Şimdilerde davetiye bastırır oldular. Buna köyde okuntu diyoruz.” (Hamide Çoban, 53, 06.07.2016) (On Wednesdays a youngster goes from door to door. They both give out candy and invite that household. Sometimes they give out headscarves. Nowadays they print out invitations. We call this 'okuntu' in the village.) With the announcement of the wedding, attendance for the announced date is expected.



### 4.3.2. The Relationship Network

The responsibilities in the ceremonies also widen in harmony starting from the individual or their family to villagers. This harmony is learned through the unwritten enculturation process from generation to generation in the village. These rituals are adopted through the individual or group experiences as Gennep has stated.

The outmost circle consisting of audience and participants also has responsibilities and obligations in the ceremonies. According to my observations, the community has a supporting role as both the audience and the participants. Even though it is not actively seen, the children also attend the ceremonies, experience the culture and thus, the enculturing process takes place.

Another expectation is the act of support to the ritual owner. The ones who attend by the invitation have roles on the ritual process in accordance with their closeness. Here, it is seen that female and male attendance is at an almost equal quality. The reason for that can be shown as the social organization and division of labour starting in the family expanding towards the community. Participation is also provided in support services which are described as catering. Cooking, washing the dishes, serving food, etc. can be given as examples for this.

There is also a tradition of bringing a gift from every household for participation at the time and place designated by the ritual owner. Giving and receiving gifts are among the important responsibilities of the participants. The reciprocity principal is fundamental in this practice.

The children do not belong to a community as soon as they are born, but are accepted through the rituals. Individuals and groups, i.e. the foreigners, cannot enter the village right away.

First they need to state their intentions. With these ritual practices, one can be included in the community. The ones in the group show their acceptance by attending the ritual (Gennep 1960:26).



#### 4.4. Symbolic Practices around the Rituals

Gennep describes the phases of passage as follows; "in the society, a house with rooms and hallways where it is dangerous to go from a room to another" and states that the danger can appear during the passages. Again, in this interpretation, it has been stated that the passage cannot be described because "the passage, because of its nature, is neither the present situation nor the next one". It is asserted that the rituals are used to take control in case this dangerous situation spreads to the other members of the community. Thus, the symbolic meaning under the practice of the rituals is an important issue (Gennep 1960:16).

In other words, sequences are transformed into practice within the framework of defined contexts and symbolic practices are included in this context. Even though these practices are first conveyed as "böyle gördük, böyle uyguluyoruz" (that's what we saw, so that's how we do), the explanations of what is the belief behind them can be reached by looking a little deeper. The structuring of the sequence and flow is interpreted on the basis of a cause effect relationship by the villagers. The information about these sequences, flow and structuring are detailed in the following sections (as before, during and after rituals).

In Yoruks, a life integrated in nature is different from sedentary life. Şahin's (2006) statement regarding the Ottoman era travellers that reads as "Müslüman olmalarına rağmen farklı gelenekleri devam ettirdikleri, batıl inançlarında çok tanrıcılıkla ilişkilendirilen büyü, tılsım ve ritüelleri uyguladıkları" (2006:35) (Even though they are Muslim, they continue their traditions, they practice magic, charms and rituals connected to polytheism with their superstitious beliefs) and this shows the historical side of the practices. Patricia Daughtery's (1997) study with Bahşiş Yoruks in Toros Mountains between 1992 and 1995 approaches the

subject from a different perspective. The relationship between weaving and cosmology was shown with the Yörük's perspective of the world with the weaving practices in Anatolia and their metaphoric expressions taken as a basis. It shows how the patterns and rugs weaved by the women with their limited lives mostly in the tent materialize their word-view and thoughts. Tribes, socio-political relations, marriage ties and kinship ideologies effect the nomad life and the identity creation of the communities leading a nomadic lifestyle (Erhan;1992). The way that the Yoruks perceive the world, their customs and beliefs, identities and traditions (Artun;1996, Harmandar;2000) are materialized in the form of the folklore, clothes, weaving and handcrafts (Topkaraoğlu; 2001).

In the symbolic practices emerging from this lifestyle, the instincts and reflexes of protection and safeguarding can be identified. These statements can also be found in another study, Daughtery's (1997) study on the cosmic relationship between the weaving of the Bahşiş women in Toros Mountains and their way of perceiving the world. There metaphoric meanings underlying the practices, which can also be seen in Ahmetli Village, are given as examples in the many parts of this study.

#### 4.4.1. Fire/Light/Brightness

Fire or light is the most used practice in rites of passage. Examples for this are the candles or lamp lighted after the deceased. Fadima Bakır interprets some of those practices as; "ölüm evde gerçekleşmişse bu mekan içinde ölünün arkasından mum yakılır, bir hafta ibrik konur, havlu konur. Yoksa ruhu gelir dolaşmış" (84, 23.01.2016) (If the death happened in the house, you would light a candle for one week after the death in this place. You would put a pitcher, a towel. Or their soul would come and wander.) The practice of lighting of a candle or a light is also explained by Elif Tarcan and Ümmü Küçük as; "ölü sonra evini ziyarete gelirse deye yedisine kadar lamba, mum, çıra yanardı yakarlar, şimdi ampul yakarlar, amma bilmem doğrumu yanlış mı" (56, 23.01.2016, (63, 23.01.2016) (They would light a lamp, candle, kindle until the seventh day just in case if the deceased comes to visit their own house. Now they light bulbs but I don't know if that's right or wrong.) In addition to that, afterwards, the window and the door of the room where the person died would be closed and the light would be left on.

#### 4.4.2. Water/Purification/Cleanliness

Water and washing practices can be seen in the rites of passage. Dripping water to the dying person's mouth, lips and also the prayer told by the side of the deceased, water given to them, etc. are told to be the efforts to help them in this passage period. This practice, stated as "Ahirete susuz gitmesini önlemek" (preventing them going to afterlife without water) can be interpreted as the belief of purification with the water. Also, it has been stated that before the burial, "ölü yıkama" (bathing the deceased) is performed. The practices for the deceased start with the bathing of the body. If death occurred in the village, it is told that; "ölü, evin bahçesinde ama kimsenin görmeyeceği şekilde yıkanır. Bir perdeyle kapatılır etrafı. Eğer gören olursa ölünün abdesti kaçır denir." (Emine Bakır, 86, 23.01.2016) (The deceased would be bathed at the garden of the house somewhere no one can see. They would be surrounded by a curtain. It is said that if someone sees it the ablution of the deceased would be rendered invalid.) During the passage, abdest almak (performing an ablution) is expressed as a metaphor of cleanliness. Body ablution is the act of washing the body with water to the smallest detail. Emine Bakır describes this procedure as; "boy abdesti nasıl abdest alıyorsun, cenaze de o şekilde yıkanır" (86, 23.01.2016) (The body is washed the same way you perform a body ablution.) Before the bathing of the deceased, cauldrons are prepared with the prayers. Water is heated and a wooden washing board is brought to the garden. The bathers are at least two people. Rugs or blankets are hanged on ropes so that the bathing cannot be seen from outside. The wooden board on which the deceased would be bathed is turned to the Qibla<sup>17</sup>.

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<sup>17</sup> The sacred direction in Islam

According to the information provided by key people, there is a ceremonial practice called "ilk suyu" (first water) performed during the first days after the birth to wash the mother and the child. Certain special days are preferred for this practice.

It has also been stated that "tuzlama" (salting) is also performed for the child. The salt has both a semiologic meaning in the Turkish folk culture's ethnocultural traditions and a meaningful explanandum in the social behaviour and general social order (Acaloğlu 2014:139).

Ayşe Arı explains this practice as follows

"Önceden üç gün çocuk yıkanmazdı. Üçüncü günü tuzlardık çocuğu, kokmasın diye... tuzlandıktan sonra yıkanırđı.. 20 gün oldu mu bir gırklanırđı çocuk 40 gün oldu mu kırk das su ile bir daha gırklardık. Yıkadıktan sonra kırk uçurmaya çıkarırdık dışarı. Çadırı falan bu suyla yurduk." (65, 05.07.2016) (In the past, the babies wouldn't be washed for three days after they were born. On the third day we would salt them so they would not smell... they would be washed afterwards... we would wash the child on the twentieth day we would wash them again on the fortieth day with forty bowls of water. We would then go out to blow forty. We would wash the tent with this water.)

Salting is rubbing the baby with the salty water or putting salt to their armpits, under their feet, inside their mouth and other places where they might get rashes. It is believed that with salting during the washing, performed on the third/seventh day, they would prevent the child's mouth, feet and armpits smelling bad when they grow up and also protect them against evil eye. It has been stated that salting the child was a widespread practice in the past but is not performed anymore.

In the Turkish folk beliefs, the most common meaning of the salt is protection. According to the Acıpayamli there are almost no folk practices without salt. In addition to salting the baby which we have talked about here, there are also many other practices such as "tuz patlatma" (salt exploding) where the salt is thrown to the fire to get rid of the evil eye and guessing the

gender of the baby by pouring salt to the head of the expecting mother and watching her behaviour.





#### 4.4.3. Soil/Safeguarding/Cover

During the period called puerpera the mother and child are considered to be vulnerable to the effects of evil spirits. Many precautions are taken to protect their souls and many symbolic practices are performed to fend off the evil spirits. One of them concerns the most important connection the baby has with their mother (placenta). This practice stands out at births performed at home. However, nowadays, since births take place at the hospitals, it cannot be completed. As Akıncı (2004) told in his Mongolia example;

“plesentanın gömülmesi çocuğun ruhunu bedenine ve mekân olarak evine bağlama dileği yatmaktadır. Bir de özensizce yok edilmesi anneyi ve çocuğu olumsuz etkilebilecektir. Bu sebeple bir takım işlemler ve kaçınmaları beraberinde getirmektedir” (2004:99). (Burying the placenta is done to tie the spirit of the child in its body and to their home. Also, destroying it without care might badly effect the baby and the mother. That is why it is accompanied some practices and precautions.)

When we look at how and where this burial is done by the villagers, the following is observed:

“sonu bir kıyıya, üzerinden geçilmeyecek bir yere gömerdik. Derin olurdu, bir de üzerine taş goruduk. Kedi köpek gelip yemesin diye. İnsan geçmeyen bir yere gömülürdü.” şeklinde anlatılmaktadır (Fadime Küçük 68, 09.07.2016). (We would bury it somewhere on the edge, somewhere nobody would stepp on it. We would bury it deep and put a stone on top. So that the cats and dogs couldn't eat it. It would be buried somewhere none would pass by.)

However, since delivery of the babies now takes place athospitals, people don't have a chance to perform this practice and it has been stated with worry that this practice lost its value.

The following statement of Akıncı (2004) also reflects the beliefs surrounding birth rituals in Ahmetli Village:

“çocuğun doğumundan sonra plasentanın (eş) evin ateşinden alınan küle gömülmesi külün yumuşaklık ve sıcaklığı, bebeğin üşümesini ve soğuktan dolayı

hastalanmasını önlemek inancıyla yapılmaktadır. Bu açıklamada, bebeğin halen plasentasıyla bağlantılı olduğu kabulü önemlidir. Ayrıca plasentanın her hangi bir ateşin külüne değil, evin ateşindeki küle gömülmesi de, ateşin ruh ve mekânı birleştiren özelliği olarak görüldüğü” (2004:99). (The placenta [partner] being buried to the ashes taken from the fire at home was done with the belief that the softness and warmth of the ashes would prevent the baby from getting cold and sick. In this statement, the belief that the baby is still connected to the placenta is important. Also, the placenta being buried not in any ash but the ashes from the fire of the house shows that the fire is seen as the connector of soul and space.)

There is also the interpretation that the placenta of the child being considered this important by the villagers is similar to the "Umay kültü" (Umay cult) in the study of Ögel about Turkish Mythology (2010:96) (İnan 2000:39). Also, as Boratav has stated, it is believed that the offspring providing and child protecting abilities of the goddess (1999:151) can be found in this piece separated from the child. And, believing that it could affect the future of the child, it is buried to the ground with great care. We understand from this ceremony that the "last" is the very embodiment of the protector of the children, ayısı (Umay for the old Turks). Women worship her as the mother of the children. This belief has reached the present day as Goddess Umay, a spirit protecting the women and children (İnan 2000:39). However, since all births now take place at hospitals, we cannot make a comment on the belief that placenta carries a female spirit or the "Goddess Umay" herself.

The avoidance and safeguarding practice for partner (last) is also valid for the umbilical cord. Umbilical cord is also called belly bond because it connects the mother and the child. It is safeguarded by the family and not thrown anywhere. It has been stated that after a certain time, different practices are performed based on preference. Cennet Güdücü describes these practices as follows:

"göbek okusun diye okula götürür bahçeye gömerler...ya da başka ne olacaksa oraya götürür gorlar...eskiden böyle şeylerden habarımız mı vardı" (88, 26.01.2016) (They take it to a school and bury it there so that the child would receive education... or they would put it at a place connected with what the child would become... did we even knew these things...)

.Afterwards they would take it to the places they determine according to their education, profession and status preferences for their children in the future and put it to those places or bury it there. This practice is among the surviving ones.



#### 4.4.4. Visiting Sacred Places

It is possible to encounter visits to shrines and entombed saints to make wishes come true.

Villagers would pray at "Sinan Baba" shrine, do charity works, and make promises about the sacrifices they would make if their wishes came true. This promise is called "adak" (vow).

The promise is kept if the wish comes true and the process is completed in a way and a relief is provided. While there is no certain period for visiting the entombed saints and shrines, they are first visited to pray for a wish. Then they are visited again if the wish comes true.

As Nail Tan said about the visits to shrines and entombed saints “eski Türklerdeki atalar ruhuna bağlı inançların fonksiyon değişerek ve İslâmî kalıplar içine dökülmüş şekli olarak yorumlanabilir” (Tan 1977: 242). (They can be interpreted as the beliefs of old Turks about their ancestors changing function and being put into Islamic molds.) It can be said that this practice is "ata kültü" (ancestral cult). The respect towards the ancestors and the wish to keep their memories alive can be seen in many different beliefs and practices of Turks (Ocak 1992:6-18). It is due to the sense of gratitude and respect towards those who passed down the culture to them. Villagers visit these places with the hope of their wishes coming true. They believe that through the mediation of these important figures acting as “messengers between themselves and Allah”, in other words through their references, their wishes would come true and their prayers would be accepted (Ercan 2002:110). A psychological relief is also achieved in a way by promising sacrifice or gifts when they visit these entombed saints in the case of their wishes coming true. It was also stated that there are other entombed saints in the area but they are not visited.

A practice in Ahmetli Village called "çadır gezme" (visiting tents) when the child of a pregnant woman dies is also mentioned. The reason why this practice is called visiting tents is because tents were the designated living space during the Yoruk. Teslime Şurgum explains this practice as follows:

“ hamile kadın daha çocuğu doğmadan altı evin çadıı gezdirilir yedinci çadırın direğine kolundan çemberle bağlanırdı. Gezilen bu evlerden basmadır çemberdir göynünden ne goparsa o verilirdi. Bu yapıldımıydı çocuk yaşardı. Çocuk doğduğunda da yedinci evin sahibinin adı gonurdu. Kız ise kadının adı erkeğise adamın adı gonurudu” (Teslime Şurgum, 37, 20.01.2016), (Ayşe Şimşek, 90, 07.12.2016). (Before the child was born, the pregnant woman would visit six tents and would be tied to the pole of the seventh with a loop. The visited tents would gift her printed cotton cloths, loops, whatever they wish. If this was done the child would live. When the child was born they would be named after the owners of the seventh house. If the baby was a girl, she would be named after the woman and if it was a boy, he would be named after the man.).

#### 4.4.5. Defence/Avoidance

It has been stated that a knife or a piece of iron would be put on top of the cloth. Also two women in their puerpera period meeting was called "aydaş" (monthsake). Elif Çoban explains this as follows, "iki loğusa kadını bir araya getirmemeye çalışırdık kırkı karışmasın diye...suya gidildi mi karşı gelirse iki lohusa iğne deniřirdik birbirimizle... (83, 05.07.2016) (It was tried to keep two puerpera women separate from each other so that their forties would not mix... if we met while we were going to the water we would exchange needles...) and it was believed that the mixing of the forties would affect both mothers and their children. Iron is again used as a protector in this.

It was believed that the puerpera woman or her child would experience the effect called "ağırlık basma" (weight pushing), which means, they believed that evil powers would cause them to get sick or even die. The method of protection against these powers is explained by Cennet Güdücü as follows;

"demir takardık bi yerlerimize eskiden lohusayken... ikindiden sonra dışarı çıkarmazlardı, çocuk da yalnız kalmaz kırk gün. Yanımıza demirden çivi taşıtırlar ne demekti ne bileyim" (88, 26.01.2016) (We used to carry iron on us while we were puerpera... we would not go out after mid-afternoon, the child would not be left alone for forty days too. We would carry iron nails, how can I know what that means.)

The important point is keeping the evils away. These are the practices performed due to the belief of needing protection.

When we look at the practices, all the precautions are against abstract entities or powers which are based on pure belief. The symbolic entities, mentioned as the "pek fena varlıklar" (Emine Bakır, 86, 27.01.2016) (very evil entities) in the region, can also

be found in the Turk folk beliefs. It is believed that they are similar to the "al karısı" (mythological entity targeting puerpera women) and the "al bastı" (getting puerperal fever) beliefs in İnan's studies (2000:171).

According to İnan the same spirit has important roles in the myths of the Anatolian Turks too. It has been said that it is believed that this is a spirit targeting the puerpera women and what is done to be protected from it is detailed. These practices are told as follows;

“alkarısı tüfek sesinden, ocaklı adamlardan, demirden ve kırmızı renkten korkar. Bunun içindir ki lohusa yatakta iken başına beyaz yaşmak ve kırmızı tül bağlarlar. Kırmızı altın takarlar, lohusaya kırmızı şeker hediye götürürler” (İnan 2000:171). (Alkarısı is afraid of rifle sounds, men carrying stoves, iron and color red. That is why when a puerpera woman is in bed they tie a white veil to her head and a red net. They put red gold on her, gift her red candy.)

In the research region, the "al karısı" avoidance is mentioned as "ağırlık basması" instead of "al basması". The first precaution for this is to not leave the mother and the child alone. Some of the other precautions such as leaving washed laundry out after the mid-afternoon prayer, leaving Quraan, bread, broom wire, iron and coal in their room, leaving the door of the room ajar, not letting puerpera woman out at night, her going to the bathroom or toilet with fire or iron tongs in her hand are the same as the precautions against “al basması”.

Acıpayamlı states that the Anatolian Turks believe that the day is completed when the sun sets, which means the day ends. This is called "gün döndü" (the day has turned) (Acıpayamlı 1961:120). Thus the late-afternoon is considered the evening. Carrying iron to protect the household from the darkness, the spirits and “ıye” i.e. possessors which might come in the evening emerge out of this. Also, although these practices might have different names they always have the same purpose (Boratav1999: 78). Also, in Anatolia, people believe the existence of a bird. When that bird flies by, they hit sheet metal with tongs and scare it away (Acıpayamlı 1961:120).

For protecting the new-born child from all kinds of effects, as Horzumlu stated, no preparation is made even when the time of birth arrives. It is said that making preparations for an unborn baby is disapproved by the community (Horzumlu 2014:82). The reason for that is explained as “doğmamış çocuğa sırt dikilmez” (you do not stitch back [clothes] for an unborn child) and the child, from birth to the fortieth day, is considered " ne orada ne de burada" (neither there nor here) but in a temporary dimension and not in a human status yet. This is caused by the worry about the child's health during the first months and the fear of losing the child. That is why they do not prepare anything for the child even if they know that it would be born during migration and wait the fortieth day for it.



#### 4.4.5.1. The Evil Eye

The unknown scares people and it triggers a natural defence reflex. This exposure to dangers is called "nazar değme" (be affected by the evil eye), and all practices performed for the protection/safeguarding are called "nazarlık" (charms) (Candan 2008:444). The reason for that is the evasion from the evil eye, especially getting rid of even one bit of the concern caused by the passage during the passage period and protection against the effects preventing the passage. It holds the intention of preventing the unseen entities/supernatural spirits, evil eye, evil intentions and the effects of the words, energies and spiritual powers (Acıpayamlı 1962:19). This spiritual defence transforms into rituals, spells, charms etc. in direct proportion with the cultural infrastructure of the community.

The beliefs about the evil eye can be categorized as being effected by the evil eye, protection against the evil eye and casting out the evil eye (Artun, 2014:357). Experiencing unwanted negative effects during the course of normal life, for example getting sick or having an accident when you're healthy, sudden conflicts in the household, natural disasters or not getting enough yield from the farm or animals are interpreted as the consequences of being effected by the evil eye (Çıblak 2004:12). The expression "kem göze gelmek" (encountering the evilest eye) is also used. We can also talk about the categories of the evil eye or evilest eye within those. The separation of this is explained as "annesi çocuğu çok severse annenin nazarı değer, ama başkalarının gözü değer" (If the mother fondles the child too much she causes evil eye, if someone else does it its evilest eye) (Elif Çoban, Ahmetli Köyü, 83, 27.01.2016). Here, it is seen that the evil eye is seen as something more harmless/reversible while the effects of evilest eye is seen more harmful.

If it is believed that the one is affected by the evil eye they perform certain practices for healing; there are also spells/charms prepared by certain people for protection. These have different names in different regions and in the research region the term "sanaka" (superstition) is used. The most important practices are told to be "başında tuz çevirme" (circle salt on the head), "kurşun dökme" (lead casting) and "akgünlük atma" (throwing frankincense) to the fire. Elif Çoban explains why and how the salt circling is performed as follows; “Çocuk hastalandı mıydı tuz atardık ateşe ah ah ah diye eski garılar ahlarıdı” (When the child got sick we would throw salt to the fire, the old women would sigh as ah ah ah.) (83, 27.01.2016).

When I asked why and how the other practices are done, I received the following reply; “Gurşun dökerdik. Gurşunu eridirdik onu höyle suyun içine dökeridik. Kimin nazarı varsa onu deyiverirdi. Nazara dökeridik gurşunu. Bi de hocalara muska ettirirdik” (Emine Karaaslan, Ahmetli Köyü, 56, 08.10.2016) (We would cast lead. We would melt the lead and cast it to the water. It would tell us whose evil eye is responsible. We would cast lead on evil eye. We would also make the hocas prepare amulets/charms.) Another practice is also explained as follows; “çocuk ilk kakasını yaptı mıydı o saklanırdı. Gizlice çocuğun yattığı odanın eşiğine konulurdu bizim zamanımızda. Gelenler habersizce onun üstünden geçerlerse kırk basmaz denirdi.” (When the child pooped for the first time we would keep it. It would be put on the threshold of the child's room in secret. It was said that if the incomers passed from on top of it without knowing there would be no puerperal fever.) This practice was performed with the belief of preventing the negative effects of the eyes of those who see the child for the first time. While it was said that this practice is no longer in use, it was observed that it partially continues. The first step in case of a sickness is the use of herbal mixtures and teas at home for their healing properties.

The most common objects used for amulets/protections against the evil eye are gök boncuk (sky bead), nazar boncuğu (a blue bead), üzerlik (harmal), at nalı (horseshoe), kaplumbağa

kabuğu (turtle shell), muska (talisman), etc. Also, another object used in the Ahmetli Village against the evil eye is a kind of seashell (Cowrie). Even though it is seen in the handcrafts of other Yoruk groups, there are no significant studies on it (Photo 28). Here the question of why a seashell is used by a cultural group living on mountains so far away from the sea comes into mind. Another question is how they procure it. The answer in the interviews for this question was that it was brought to the village and sold by the procurers called "çerçici" for a very long time or it can be found in the local markets.

Also, during the interviews, it has been said that one of the most commonly used objects during the migrant life is the "çaltı bead" also mentioned by the Horzumlu in their study about the Sarıkeçili Yoruks. "Çaltı isimi verilen bodur çalı tipi bir ağaçtan yapılma tahta parçasından nazara karşı koruduğuna inanılan bir ağaç olduğu için bebek başta olmak üzere, çadırdaki, çuval kenarlarında, kaymak makinasının üzerinde, motorsiklet veya traktörde hatta süt bidonunda bile çaltı ağacından küçük tahta parçaları görmek olasıdır" (2014:214). (It is possible to see beads made out of çaltı, a scrub type tree believed to protect against the evil eye, on the babies, tents, sacks, on top of the cream machine, on a motorcycle or a tractor, even on the milk jug.) There are many details on who prepares or wears the çaltı bead. Its preparation is explained as follows; "çaltıyı ufacık ufacık bıçakla erkekler ederdi. Dizerdi, dakaridik çocuklara" (Elif Çoban,83, 05.07.2016) (The men would prepare the çaltı bit by bit. We would string it and put on the children).(Photo 28-29...35).

Yoruk life entails the transfer of animal herds from one pasture to another with migration, depending on the season and the conditions. The feeding of the herds and the end of the season are factors determining the time and duration of the migration (Bates 1980:193-222). Within this style, there are endless uses for plants and trees. They are used sometimes as tools, dyes, sometimes for food and from time to time as treatment. A tree called "çitlik" (celtis australis) is common around their living space. The bead is made of the branches of this tree,

generally referred as a briar. According to the belief, the branches are cut before the sun rises and shaped by hand. Little holes would be opened on the tip of the object and it would be used as an amulet against the evil eye by itself or with sky beads. This object should be put on a rope and put on the person, animal and place to be protected. It would especially be put on the shoulders of kids. It has been told that it would also be put on the animals, especially on the camels in the past. It can also be used as the material for the tools of shepherds (Artun 2014:362). Even though it left its place to the blue beads and talismans in time, it is still mentioned and used by those who experienced the Yoruk life. As Horzumlu mentioned in their fieldwork about the usage of this among the Sarıkeçeli Yoruks, little pieces of çaltı tree can be seen on the babies, tents, sacks, on top of the cream machine, on a motorcycle or a tractor, even on the milk jug (2014:214). About how and by whom the çaltı bead is prepared, it is said that it is the work of the shepherds. It has been said that it is passed down from generation to generation and distributed without a commercial concern. Its preparation is explained as follows; “çaltıyı ufacak ufacak bıçakla erkekler ederdi. Dizerdi, dakaridik çocuklara” (Elif Çoban,83, 05.07.2016) (The men would prepare the çaltı bit by bit. We would string it and put on the children) was told.

Each culture has important factors such as social structures, religions, beliefs, geography, etc., which determine its cultural characteristics and is shaped by past experiences. All kinds of reflexes of a community or one of its members can be used as a method to describe the community. This is the reflection of the protection and safeguarding expectation of the Yoruk/Turkmen culture symbolized in the migrant life on the çaltı bead. Carrying a çaltı bead in this practice might be interpreted as the symbolization of the protection reflex of the bush or thorn in the nature and reflection of its protector duty on an object. It is marked with a concern of not being able to complete the passage periods of life due to obstacles and with an effort to eliminate these obstacles. Beyond all these cosmological practices, they can be

interpreted as the representation of the miracle of existence and nature, of “ölümü ve yeniden doğuşu” (death and re-birth) Therefore, it incorporates being aware of the changing existence and the instinct to protect it.



#### 4.4.5.2. Henna

Wetting the powder of the henna plant, putting and leaving it on an appropriate part of the body for a while and letting its colour transfer on the body is called "kına yakma" (applying henna). Applying henna is a part of essential passage periods such as birth, marriage, circumcision and sending someone to the military which carry cultural significance for various communities in Anatolia. One of the practices performed on the woman after birth, on the woman and man who will marry, on the deceased to make their passages easier is putting henna on their hand and waiting. These practices are explained as follows;

"ölünün ellerine kına yakarlar bizde... taa peygamber zamanından beri var bu...kına, o ondan sebep sevaptır... eline ayağına kına konur ki melekler sorguda kına gördümüydü sormazlarmış gayrı... vazgeçer giderlermiş"(Durdu Çoban, 86, 3.01.2016) (We apply henna on the hands of the deceased... it's been done since the time of the prophet... that's why applying the henna is a good deed...we put it on hands and feet so when the angels come for the interrogation, if they see henna, they would not ask much and go away).

#### 4.4.6. Important Dates (three, seven, forty, etc.)

The duration of the period after the birth when the puerpera mother and the baby are believed to be under the influence of invisible powers is forty (kırk in Turkish) days. The number forty is important. Like in many different cultures, number forty and the groupings and practices related to it have an important place in Turkish culture. The forty days mentioned here should not be considered as the rest period of the woman. Depending on the economic conditions of the family and the scope of woman's responsibilities in the family, this period of rest may show variation. These forty days should be considered the period of purification, waiting, preparation and completion as a whole. In addition to this, there are different customs and beliefs related to the number forty such as "kırk karışması"(meeting of two women in their puerperal period) and "kırk basması"(getting puerperal fever). All of these demonstrate the importance attributed to the number forty. With the performed ceremony the mother and the child become ready to enter the social life with their new roles. Afterwards, the mother and the child go out to perform the ritual of "kırk uçurma/çıkarma".

Another bathing practice in the research region is called "kırklama". Kırklama ceremony is a practice performed to celebrate the birth and the child. When we look at the historical background of this practice, we see that it started after the complete adoption of sedentary life. This means that there was no practice such as puerpera during the nomadic life and if they were migrating, the woman would give birth to the baby under a tree and continue the migration without stopping. The practice is performed on the fortieth day of the birth and with the placement of forty stones in the bathing water. It is necessary to explore and detail the reason behind the use of stones. The bathing on the twentieth day is called "yarı kırklama"

(half kırklama). It is seen that the kırklama is completed in two steps. The first step is bathing of the mother and the child. This procedure is suggestive of Daughtery's argument on the “bedenle oluşan sınırların metaforik olarak dışa vurulması” (Metaphorical expression of boundaries created within the body). Here, the salting of the child and kırklama (bathing) can be interpreted as the rearrangement of the boundaries created within the body with the categories of dirtiness and purity (1997; 63). This bathing is performed with the prayers in a ceremonial atmosphere.

It is worth noting that kırklama is a practice under the responsibility of the woman. The kırklama ceremony in the region is generally performed among the women, because the pregnancy and the birth have a bodily connection between the mother and the child. This practice, in a way, is the removal of this connection and completion and legitimization of the passage. The "lohusa yatağı" (puerpera bed) is also prepared that day. Serving food and exchanging gift are the essential parts of the ceremony.

It is observed that when the mevlid (mawlid) is organized for the puerperal woman on the fortieth day, a red ribbon is put on her. The guests bring gifts, they drink sherbet and Turkish delight would be served. During the bathing, there is a ritual during which the wishes about the future of the child are said out loud. Once the bathing is complete, a new period starts for the puerpera woman and the child. The mother and the child, who were kept in a sort of quarantine for forty days, can now return to their daily lives.

After this bathing ceremony, the baby is taken on a tour called "kırk uçurma", which is a part of the kırklama ceremony. And with that, they proceed to the second phase. The neighbour, who was notified beforehand and who made some preparations, welcomes the mother and the child. During this, gifts with magical meanings are presented to the child. Cotton and eggs are the most common ones. It is stated that these objects have



symbolic meanings. The cotton represents the wish for the child to be gentle. The egg is a symbol of physical beauty for the girls and endurance for the boys. Also, as a symbol of long life, flour is put on the brows of the children and where a beard would grow for the boys. The child is no longer *kırlı* (under some kind of quarantine) after this ceremony. The puerpera period of the mother is also over.

This ceremony has an important place in the research region with its functions of acceptance and celebration of an individual entering the social life. Delivery at hospitals has led the villagers to give up on some traditional practices of the puerpera period.

This ceremony performed to introduce the child to the members of the community and celebrate the mother and the child is generally performed among women. The ceremony, as it can be understood from its name, resembles a wedding ceremony with serving of food and provision of entertainment. The *mawlit* in the ceremony shows that it is also in the religious practices category. These kinds of ceremonies are traditional practices going back a long time. When we evaluate the statements of key sources, we see that the puerpera women and her child are treated differently than other people.

#### **4.5. Material Culture Items Around the Rituals (clothing, weaving, etc.)**

The Yoruk culture is expressed in the material culture items in addition to the beliefs and practices. Observations related to weaving and clothing-embroidery as material cultural items again revealed different applications of nomadic and sedentary lifestyles. Since this culture has been influenced by the industrial development in the course of time, there is no active production based on weaving in the village. However, they mention that they used to do hand weaving and use it to make clothes and items to use at home.

The villagers buy what they use in their daily lives from the sellers coming to the village, outdoor market in the Tepeköy set up once a week and the shops in Torbalı. For their clothing needs, they buy the ready-made fabrics and they either stitch it themselves or take it to a tailor or use stitched clothes (Photo 74-75-...84). In the daily lives of the villagers, there are differences in clothing compared to those living in town. In fact, it is observed that they change the clothes they wear in the village while they are going to the town. Even though the pants and the shirts of men are the same with those in town, women's clothes are different. The women generally wear a type of pants with a cut between a pyjama bottom and a salwar. When examined closely, it can be seen that the elderly wear pants with a wider cut and with more pleats while the young use it with less pleats. The fabric used might change but all of them are printed. At the first glance it might seem like there are no differences in the prints, however, during shopping it was observed that they differentiate prints for the young from prints for the elderly. On top of this pyjama pants a short or long sleeved blouse is worn. A headscarf is also put on head. The use of headscarves might be put under different categories. They can be divided into two based on material and shape. Another category is the decorations around these headscarves. They carry characteristics distinguishing young, old,

single and married women from one another. Decorations with beads, commonly used by the Yoruks, are frequently applied. This clothing style changes during the celebrations and ceremonies different from the daily life for the host and close relatives while the other women keep dressing as usual. However when going to weddings, it is preferred to wear a special blouse and pants in the same style but specifically prepared for those occasions. When we look at the clothes worn in the past, we can make deductions from the examples found at homes and seen on photos. Also, Elif Çoban describes what they wore in their daily lives when they were young as follows;

“düz etek geyerdik. Zıbın geyerdik, yakalık dakardık. Etek siyah olurdu podiye çocuklarıinki gibi. Guşağımız olurdu. Üç eteğimizin eteklerini guşağa sokardık. Fericeden dolama dikilirdi.” (83, 05.07.2016) (We would wear straight skirts. Wear a snap-suit, put on a collar. The skirt would be black, like those worn by school children. We would have a sash. We would put the hems of our three skirts in the sash. A dolama [run-around] would be sewn from the ferace [long coat]).

It is seen that those clothes are very different from the clothes of today. When we think about the reason for that, it is enough to look at the other villages nearby. The clothing is the same in these villages. The research I have done previously for this detection shows that the same result is seen when the Yoruks in Toros Mountains adopted a sedentary lifestyle abandoning nomadism. This makes it possible to assert that the clothes might have changed due to the interaction with the local women after settling in. Another approach might be the addition of the need of comfort with the change of geographical and working conditions. As a matter of fact, comfort is prioritized in wearing one-piece pants. However, it is also seen that the elderly women still wear sashes due to old habits.

## 5. CONCLUSION

In conclusion, the data provided in this dissertation are corroborative with the hypothesis that the rites of passage ensure social solidarity and cultural continuity in the communal life of Ahmetli Village in İzmir Torbalı District. Thus I have explored the background of the rites of passage and witnessed the social organization of them based on the solidarity and collaboration which constituted the aim of this dissertation. Furthermore, I have observed that they act as a practical tool to pass down cultural information and memory to young generations. I believe that the Yoruk associations in the village act as a driving force for these the transfer and continuity of the tradition. To confirm this hypothesis in terms of individual and community evaluations, I have observed the central importance of the rituals in Ahmetli village in providing social mobility and I have utilized them as tools for understanding the cultural mechanism of the community. Thus, in this dissertation, I have compiled and evaluated them under three titles; the structure and purpose of the ritual, the social relations created around the rituals and symbolic expressions emerging in ritual practices.

The solidarity is an essential component of the rituals. In the first stage, when the social organization, job division and ritual flow process are analysed, the strength of social memory was revealed through the sharing of duties and responsibilities and through the fact that everyone knew and completed their duties and responsibilities in these rituals.

I believe that the structure of the distribution of roles based on unwritten rules in fact relies on rules of conduct determined through age and social statues and on the repeated

practice of the rituals starting from childhood. I also think that what maintains cultural continuity is this structure.

The beliefs and attitudes, actions, relationships with other people and the environment, and behaviors and tactics exhibited by the residents of Ahmetli Village in order to preserve their existence in the face of changing circumstances are revealed to be richness in ritual practices.

When we look at the stages of transition, how it progresses, what is socially changed as a result of the ritual, and the order in which the relationship between each position is structured and how it is structured; it is seen that rites provide solidarity and cohesion, making them feel strong and consolidating their sense of commitment and belonging in the community. Also, I have witnessed that during the rituals the conflicts turned into reconciliations and completed with the harmony.

During this process in Ahmetli Village, participation of people from all strata is achieved with solidarity. It is seen that everyone contributes to the ceremony within their economic means and on a volunteer basis.

Also, during the interviews in the village, it has been said that the unity and solidarity provider role of the ceremonies within the social structure is important especially at these moments. The mechanisms which come into play in the construction and practice of solidarity continue as an unwritten archaic culture. When these mechanisms are scrutinized, I believe that the most influential one is the kinship ties. Even though the responsibility increases with increased affinity, we can talk about the obligation of the whole community in general. From here, even only in these periods it functions for strengthening of the ties, for regulation of conflicts, for consolidation of bonds of future generations.

The ritual experiences in Ahmetli Village are the indicators of the cultural-specificity. It is accepted that performing the ritual with/in front of the community strengthens the solidarity.

This process influences both the individual and the community. The individual changing their position can create results such as acceptance, denial and prestige gaining thanks to the passage. It has been expressed that there was "an absence/a lacking" in the rituals not performed as a community.

At the end of the ritual, the subject of the rituals is left alone with their new status and he/she experiences changes and transformations in their other social roles. However, for this to happen, the community should recognize the new status of that individual as legitimate and express the acceptance of their new social status. Thus the individual is made visible and the society gives them authority.

With the passage to the new position the individual acquires social harmony, earns a new representation, a new identity and new rights. However, these come with new responsibilities. Thus, one acts according to the value propositions of the society, moral limits of their position, beliefs, norms and values and absorb and internalize them in time. As long as they protect these, the individual's sense of belonging to the community increases and they receive the guarantee of the protection/safeguarding by the society. There is also an archaic matriarchal side within the patriarchy in the village. My observations of the labour force participation in the daily life and the participation of the female population to the decision making mechanisms and ritual practices support this argument.

Rituals can create a time and space to experience the existential meaning. It is stated that rituals facilitate the establishment of peace and harmony by bringing the community together and creates emotional bonds. Rituals regulate the behaviors and actions of the villagers. In these periods of generating and practising norm and values, the social control mechanism presents itself. An environment is created where women, men, the elderly and children come

together to learn their social roles and learn how to act. This helps in settling conflicts and preserving relationships.

Thanks to all these practices the community ensures social order and control within its own dynamics and carry on the solidarity and stability. It is seen that the community internalize, with Durkheim's words, "rızaaya dayalı değerler" the (consensual values) (Durkheim 1965:193).

During my observations on the field, I have witnessed that the rituals generate financial burdens on the individuals or community. The place, duration and content of the rituals were considered an indicator of the economic and social position of the individual or the group. In addition to that, the rites of passage not only provide a socio-economic market to the locals, but it also provides cash flow. When we look at the invitation-like items (giving gifts as invitations, wedding candies, invitation cards, etc.) from this perspective, this situation can be understood more clearly. In this respect, economic status is an important evaluation criterion for social prestige of the host of the ritual. During the organization of the ritual, the responsible individual or family spends money on categories such as hosting, gifts and catering. However, this burden can be shared by the community through the reciprocity principle. During the catering and hosting, the roles people take on and the strategies they develop show the power and continuity of the social cohesion.

It has been observed that the symbolic expressions transform into performances during the rituals, which carry metaphorical meanings and relayed through drama. It can be said that its purpose is to announce the new situations of the individuals to the community. They carry visual or auditory elements with a symbolic content depending on the place and time. In these kinds of periods, it is seen that the intention of the individual or group which is to protect their new social status from adverse effects and to bless, celebrate or legitimize it, transforms into

symbolic expressions. The symbols created for the rites of passage and how those symbols are interpreted by the villagers reflect the community. Community-specific cultural codes, social structure and data about the social hierarchy were obtained through these symbolic expressions, and the positions, tasks and responsibilities surrounding the rituals were identified

During the rituals in Ahmetli Village, certain types of avoidance turn into practices through symbols. We encounter the avoidance tendencies mostly during the liminality phase as expressed by Turner. Kırklama for mother and the child, putting on a red ribbon, carrying iron or metal in the birth-related practices can be cited as examples. Also, the flag planted on the weddings and wedding fire can also be given as examples. As for rituals of death; leaving the shoes of the deceased on the door, sela (announcement from the mosque), leaving the light open for a certain time after the death, foods cooked on fire after the death, "akgünlük" (frankincense) that is to say incense thrown in the fire, sacrifice made on the eve religious holidays can be considered as symbolic practices for an easy passage of the deceased or for his spirit to not haunt anyone if it comes back. Since it is believed that the connection of the deceased with their environment is not terminated, traditions of leaving the lights open, putting water, burning fire to create certain smells are thought to please the deceased so that they would go back without any disturbances.

In Ahmetli Village, there are many different periods and rites of passage apart from these. For the men, in periods like circumcision and going to the military service, the ceremonies are conducted like festivals. For the women the period when they first start menstruating and when they enter the menopause are both biological passage periods. However, instead of a ceremony, it is more like a known but hidden topic among the women mentioned through the symbols (ex: "kirlenme" [being dirty], "halam geldi" [my aunt came], "ay hali" [time of the month]). This needs to be discussed.



Since the rituals have a dynamic structure, it is observed that they are influenced by the political and economic changes. As the social structure and texture change, it is seen that the rituals are continued with changes. The elderly people whom I have interviewed distinguished the practical differences in the ceremonies with the terms "Yoruk yaşamında" (during Yoruk life) and "buralarda" (here). With the adoption of a sedentary lifestyle, the changes in the conditions are reflected on the ritual practices. Especially the women mentioned that because the migration times required participation to the workforce, the pregnancy, birth and after birth rituals were significantly different. Mostly, they would give birth alone and continue with their daily lives without a resting period. In the present, I have witnessed different practices than they mentioned because the women generally spend their daily lives around the household. For example, I have seen that the burial of the partner/placenta is no longer practiced. The reason for that is stated as the births occurring in the hospitals and placenta remaining at the hospital.

During the migration times, the place of residence was the tents. Their usage of "eski zamanlarda yapılırdı" (it would be done in old times) when they were telling about their experiences on the subject and the fact that they had trouble remembering the details give us information about their time perception.

It also supports the differences in the ceremonial practices in both life styles and their transformation in time. They personally state that there are changes in the scope of the rituals. It is also said that during Yoruk life they used to live in the tents and the space perception is said to have changed since then. This change in the settlement is reflected on the cultural structure of the village. Again, in the past, the extended family would live together based on distribution of roles because of the living conditions of the tent life. With the adoption of sedentism, a change is observed in the family structure and distribution of roles due to this change of conditions.

Also, it is seen that the material culture items such as weaving, knitting, food, clothing, etc. are important categories in rites of passage. It has been revealed through the rituals and with intercultural studies that these items are not random, and that they carry cultural codes.

Material culture and tastes are also influenced by the introduction of technological opportunities in the village. The manners, customs and practices of the rites of passage also change along with this. During the ritual process, everything might not be the same each and every time, which means the impacts of certain variables might be observed. Change, in accordance with the time and conditions, is unavoidable. For example, the villagers always talk about the rituals and how they changed since the Yoruk time after adopting a sedentary lifestyle. The harsh conditions and reality of life on the mountains during Yoruk times are directly reflected on the rituals. These variables and changes cause differences in practices, even though they remain the same at their core.

This dissertation would become richer if the same subject is studied in different regions and comparisons are made. On the other hand, this study and other similar studies should be brought together to create a wide pool of resources. This information pool may even lead us to create a "Yoruk culture map". When this map which would stay up-to-date is detailed on a multi-disciplinary platform, this research shall reach its full potential.

## EPILOGUE

Apart from the concrete findings, the impact of the study, based on my experiences within the course of the fieldwork in the village, on me personally and on the village as a whole constitutes an important set of data for those who will conduct studies in the field of anthropology.

When I first started this study, the uncertainties, even though all the preparations were complete, were scaring me. After a while, the unease and worry turned into endurance and coping power. I have also experienced personal changes. During my study and the writing progress of my dissertation I have questioned my own rites of passage.

This study led me to transition to an era of variations/awareness in professional terms. Now I interpret the occasions of birth, wedding, and death differently. I realize that I now approach these practices not with a planar, but with in-depth or multidimensional analysis. As I walked past the communities or villages in which these were experienced, I could feel the layers and layers of stories, the depth of their symbols.

At the beginning of the fieldwork, there was the uncertainty/unease of the place where I would be staying in the village. I had planned to stay in a villager's home or rent a house and attend and observe the passage rituals, especially during summer. With the time I have spent on the field getting longer, I have witnessed that the villagers had a hard time sharing me with others.

At first, they have generally thought that I was a journalist or a photographer. There were those who did not want to pose because they thought that I was from a newsletter or

television channel, and there were those who asked when this would be published. I have seen this perception change in time when I told them they did not have to give any personal information or visuals.

During my observation and interviews, I have encountered procedural difficulties in addition to the emotions I have felt (hot weather, the effect of the crowd to the data safety, Şükran reading my notebook, children always taking/touching my camera and voice recorder). For example, I went to the village square for a pre-arranged interview with the mukhtar. I saw him sitting on the coffee house with the fountain, went there and sat next to him. Mr Mehmet, the President of the Yoruk Association was at the table. After I have chatted with them for a while, we became a big group with the villagers who took their chairs and came to the table. It was very hard for me to direct the interview in such an environment. With the hot weather on top of that, I started to sweat a lot. I had to manage this time in the most efficient way. The crowd, everyone talking at the same time was at first very confusing. Afterwards, I have managed to make it more orderly by calling them out to speak and repeating what they said to ensure the clarity of the recording. There was also an identity confusion I had while I was going to or returning from the village before or after intense observations and interviews and I had my methods to overcome it. This method was my discovery of Metropolis Ancient City on my way to the village. By going to this ancient city, I had an interim period where I arranged my notes in silence and soothed my mind.

Also, the meaning the villager women attributed to me and the privileges of my researcher identity was another experience about the role of the researcher during the research. On one of the days when I was conducting fieldwork, I had an interview with the mukhtar the next day (8 July 2016). I shared my plan with the villager women that day. I told that my interview would be with the mukhtar and I would meet him at the village coffeehouse. I had never seen women at the coffeehouse before. I wanted to test the waters to see whether me going there

would be disapproved. During our chat, I understood that they could not even pass by it but me going there as a researcher would cause no problems. They even joked and said “biz gidemeyiz de sen araştırmacısın, bizim yerimize de git şöyle gerinerek otur” (we cannot go but you are a researcher, go there on our behalf too and sit comfortably). When I went to the coffeehouse area and was trying to find the mukhtar, everyone who was sitting was looking at me. I overcome the personal hesitation with the courage my research gave me. I experienced another event which made me think that my research effected/helped the village. This was Durdu’s daughter Ayşe’s wish for an education and them asking me for guidance. The others around us wanting information for the educational future of their children while I was interviewing them was a happy development for me.

Even with the uncertainty at the beginning, the hardest part of my research was to leave the village for the writing process of my study when my fieldwork was over. The villagers would call me and notify me of weddings and funerals. However, I needed to start writing within the period I had determined. But still, my visits to the village for short-term chats still continue and it seems like they will continue in the future as well.

- A Kind of Passage

When I saw the village where I have conducted my fieldwork while I was going to the Selçuk direction I regarded it differently. Those lights were the borders of this area, the visible, physical borders. However, in my mind, it was a vast realm and a cultural area composed of numerous stories. Like a network, there were people who kept an intangible culture alive within a structure of social relationships. One could enter this network of relationships that cannot be recognized by a foreigner at first glance, only through kinship relations. Even though these relationships might seem to be responsibilities, obligations and burdens, they also signified a sense of belonging, loyalty and acceptance. Particularly the celebrations and

mourning around the rites of passage required the involvement of everyone even though it was the individual that was in the centre. There was such a functioning that once the process started in the mind the practices would also start. A mechanism functioned protected by everyone despite it seeming to be flexible due to a lack of written rules and strict definitions.

According to the things that were told to me about the passage period experiences, individuals become who they are today by experiencing many passage periods at different junctions in life. These passages are continuous during our lifetime. But the most critical ones are birth and death. They have an unknown world within them. And the marriage. That is also important because a child is included in their life from the unknown.

There is also that feeling of loneliness while experiencing these passages because not knowing the destination triggers the unease of the uncertainty. But there is a voice, a feeling which acts like a guide on this road. One can experience the peace of making a decision, determination but a little hesitation. This determination on the road increases the endurance against the hardships. The coping power increases. Even though this uncertainty is frightening at the beginning, when you look around, you see others experiencing the same periods. This feeling provides some power. Since the experiences of the community provide a roadmap, one can proceed step by step under this guidance. They even encourage each other during their passages and act with solidarity. One would get strength from this solidarity and move more comfortably with the feeling that they are not alone.

Even if the rites of passage change, their core would always stay the same. Every act between the first spark and the completion of the phase would continue the same as before, as it was for hundreds of years. Here, there was a learning mechanism passed from grandfather to grandson. Meanwhile, the rituals could be performed differently when they were for celebration or blessing and when they were for mourning. A non-written non-verbal calendar

would be followed for all these. Time, place and form of everything were defined and everything would flow in order. The continuity was harmonious without getting mixed up. For this, every individual's responsibilities were defined. They continue to expand from the centre like a system of rings. Even the kids who seem passive in their attendance are a part of the process by playing around. This culture, entering into their memory without realizing, would be kept alive with children and become sustainable.



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## ANNEXES

## Annex A: Work Plan

	2015	2016					2017					
	Nov./Dec.	Jan./Feb./Mar.	Apr./May/June	July/Aug./Sept.	Oct./Nov./Dec.		Jan./Feb./Mar.	Apr./May/June	July/Aug./Sept.	Oct./Nov./Dec.		
Literature												2015 November - 2016 December
Writing of the Thesis Introduction												2016 April - August
Fieldwork												2017 January - 2017 December
Analysis of the Thesis Discoveries												2016 September/2017 July
Thesis Writing												2016 November/2017 December

## **Annex B: Planned Questions List for the Field Research**

1. Ritual Process (social organization, place, time, announcement/getting the news, job division, progression of the passage (sorting, flow, structuring), things changed with the passage)?
  - Social (acceptance/rejection, prestige, commitment and belonging, control, solidarity and unity, reflection on the life practice, communication/interaction/borders/appearance of the relationship web, appearance of norms and values, appearance of the beliefs, appearance of the material culture/customs and traditions) impact
  - Economic impact?,
  - Political impact?,
  - Religious impact?
  - Its impact on cultural continuity?
  - Its impact on social solidarity and job division (the contribution/obligation of the villagers, relatives, neighbors during the ritual processes)?

### **QUESTIONS ABOUT THE RITUALS FOR BIRTH PROCESS**

- Before birth (time to have kids, practices to become pregnant, naming the women/men who cannot have children, practices to become pregnant...)?
- During pregnancy (naming the women/men who cannot have children, detection of pregnancy, announcement, the end(ing) of the pregnancy, food cravings, guessing/appointment of the children's sex, times close to the birth, things a pregnant woman can/can't do,...)?
- Environment during birth (person who aids the birth, who is present, things kept available...)?
- During birth (positions, difficult births, partner/end coming after the child, umbilical cord,...)?
- Things done to mother/child after the birth (washing, salting, cleaning, dressing, putting them on a bed with soil, etc.)?
- After birth (announcement of birth, first holding, first feeding, children born/will be born after the child deaths)?
- ,...)?
- Puerpera (kırklama/kırk basması/al basması, kırk uçurma...)?
- Childhood Practices, bed of the child (cradle, swing...) jewelry (talisman/amulet, gold), swaddling...?
- Things done for the child (breastfeeding, feeding, diş hediği, log throwing, pulling çeki, "seven Mehmet", monthsake/monthsake food, cutting sacrifice, seeing the child)?
- Naming ritual (choosing of the name, two names, durdu/döndü/yeter/yaşar... names, telling prayers to the ear)?

### **QUESTIONS ABOUT THE RITUALS FOR MARRIAGE PROCESS**

- Qualities wanted for marriage?
- Marriage methods (girl kidnapping, iç güveysi...)?
- Wish/intention to marry?
- Marriage rituals; asking for the girl's hand, promise, engagement, henna, wedding?
- Connection/relationship between families, naming (girl's side, boy's side, dünür, bride, groom, brother-in-law...) process?

- Bride/mother-in-law relationship ("söyletmezlik/lal gelin", not(can't) fondling the child in front of the elders...)
- Bride's price, bride-wealth, gift and weight?
- Invitation type? (invitation, gift)
- The contribution/obligation of the relatives/neighbors during this process?
- Clothing in the rituals (preparing the headdress...)?
- Catering in rituals?
- Religious/official marriage?
- Sağdıç ,yenge, bayraktar... duties?
- Henna, trousseau, dress preparing, girl's bath, bride bath, nuptial chamber, seeing the bride... rituals?

#### QUESTIONS ABOUT THE RITUALS FOR DEATH PROCESS

- What are the prodromals bringing death to mind?
- The precautions to keep the death away or avoiding it?
- Things done when it is understood that someone is going to die?
- Things done during death?
- Preparation of the deceased for the burial?
- Tradition of transferring the deceased to the cemetery (shroud, coffin)?
- Carrying the deceased to the cemetery, coffin?
- Burial of the deceased?
- Cemetery/head stone tradition?
- Things done on the grave?
- The practices after the burial?
- Things done in the house of the deceased?
- Things done to/by the participants of the funeral?
- Conveyancing, annulment?
- Mourning tradition, method, duration?
- Beliefs about death/soul of the deceased/age?
- Things done when the names of the deceased are mentioned?
- Traditions about the will?
- Grave visits?
- Memorials?
- Protection against evil/outer effects, healing (folk medicine, evil eye/bad eye, folk remedies, healers, visits to shrines/entombed saints)?

### Annex C: The list of the Interviewees Mentioned in the Text

No	Interview	Explanation	Date	Age	Marital Status	Children	Educa tion	Professi on
1	Ahmet Duman	Kahvede görüşüm.	(Ahmet Duman 08.07.2016) (Ahmet Duman 29.07.2016)	48	Bekar	-----	ilkoku l	Çiftçi-Hay
2	Abdil Çoban	Kahvede görüşüm.	(Abdil Çoban 08.07.2016) (Abdil Çoban 29.07.2016)	63	Evli	2 çocuk 1 erkek, 1 kız	İlkoku l	Çiftçi-Hay
3	Ali Kurt	Eski ilkokul öğretmeni, Ayhan Kurt Babaları	(Ali Kurt 06.07.2016)	74	Evli	4 çocuk 2 kız, 2 erkek	Öğret men okulu	Öğretm en Okulu
4	Ali Küçük		(Ali Küçük 08.07.2016) (Ali Küçük 29.07.2016)	58	Evli	3 kız	İlkoku l	
5	Ayhan Kurt	Emine Kurt Eşi	(Ayhan Kurt 08.07.2016)	44	Evli	2 çocuk 1 kız, 1 erkek	Lise	tekstild e çalışıyo r
6	Ayşe Arı		(Ayşe Arı, 65, 23.01.2016) (Ayşe Arı, 65, 05.07.2016)	65	Evli	5 çocuk 4 kız, 1 erkek	Okur-yazar	Çiftçi-Hay
7	Ayşe Şimşek	Muhtarın Eşi Hamidenin Annesi	(Ayşe Şimşek, 90, 06.06.2016) (Ayşe Şimşek, 90, 07.12.2016)	90	Evli	3 kız	okuma mış	Çiftçi-Hay
8	Ayşe Tarcan		(AyşeTarcan, 66, 23.01.2016)	66	Evli		İlk mezun	Çiftçi-Hay
7	Bircan Çobanoğlu	Emine Çobanın'nın Gelini	(Bircan Çobanoğlu 08.07.2016) (Bircan Çobanoğlu 03.07.2016)	24	Evli	2 erkek		Çiftçi-Hay

No	Interview	Explanation	Date	Age	Marital Status	Children	Educa tion	Professi on
9	Cennet Gdc	Sleyman Kuluinaç'ın annesi	(Cennet Gdc,88, 23.01.2016) (Cennet Gdc,88, 26.01.2016) (Cennet Gdc,88, 24.08.2016)	88	Evli	8 ocuk 6 kız , 2 erkek	Okur- yazar	ifti- Hay
10	Dnd Kulinan	Durdunun kaynanası	(Dnd Kulinan,62, 23.01.2016) (Dnd Kulinan,62, 06.08.2016)	62	Evli	4 ocuk 2 kız, 2 erkek	Okula gitme di	ifti- Hay
11	Dudu Ŗurgum		(Dudu Ŗurgum, 08.07.2016)	56	Evli	3 ocuk 1 erkek, 2 kız	okula gitme miŖ	ifti- Hay
12	Durdu Bacı/Elif oban	Nfusta Elif oban	(Durdu Bacı, 86, 27.01.2016) (Durdu Bacı, 86, 05.07.2016)	83	Evli	6 ocuk 5 kız, 1 erkek	okula gitme miŖ,	ifti- Hay
13	Durdu oban		(Durdu oban, 86, 03.01.2016) (Durdu oban, 86,08.07.2016) (Durdu oban, 86, 23.01.2016)	86	Evli	6 ocuk 5 kız, 1 erkek	okula gitme miŖ	ifti- Hay
14	Durdu Kulinan	Anahtar kiŖi	(Durdu Kulinan, 46,23.01.2016), (Durdu Kulinan, 46, 07.07.2016)	46	Evli	2 ocuk 1 kız, 1 erkek	İlkoku l	ifti- Hay
15	Ercan SınıĖ	Kahvede grŖtm	(Ercan SınıĖ,30, 04.06,2016) (Ercan SınıĖ,30, 08.07,2016)	30	Bekar	yok	ortaok ul	ifti- Hay
16	Elif Akkurt	Hseyinin eŖi	(Elif Akkurt, 08.07.2016)	87	Evli	3 ocuk 2 kız, 1 erkek	İlkoku l	ifti- Hay
17	Elif Tarcan		(Elif Tarcan,56, 23.01.2016)	56	Evli	2 ocuk 1 kız, 1 erkek	İlk mezun	ifti- Hay

No	Interview	Explanation	Date	Age	Marital Status	Children	Educa tion	Professi on
18	Emine Bakır	Fadime Bakır'ın kız kardeşi	(Emine Bakır, 86, 27.01.2016) (Emine Bakır, 86, 01.07.2016) (Emine Bakır, 86, 23.01.2016)	86	Evli	8 çocuk 4 kız, 4 erkek	Okur-yazar	Çiftçi-Hay
19	Emine Çobanoğlu		(Emine Çobanoğlu 08.07.2016)	63	Evli	4 çocuk 3 kız, 1 erkek	okula gönde rmemi şler	Çiftçi-Hay
20	Emine Karaaslan	Terzi	(Emine Karaaslan,56, 20.09.2016) (Emine Karaaslan,56, 08.10.2016)	56	Evli	3 çocuk 2 kız, 1 erkek	İlkoku l	Evde Çalışıy or
21	Emine Kurt		(Emine Kurt 08.07.2016)	44	Evli	2 çocuk 1 kız, 1 erkek	ilkoku l	Torbalı' da orman fidanlığ ında çalışıyo r.
22	Emine Uraz	Cennet Teyzenin Kızı	(Emine Uraz, 53, 23.01.2016)	53	Evli	6 çocuk 6 kız	İlk mezun	Çiftçi-Hay
23	Erhan Kurt		(Erhan Kurt 08.07.2016)	15	Bekar	yok	Eğitim e devam ediyor	denizcil ik
24	Fadime Bakır		(Fadime Bakır, 84, 27.01.2016) (Fadime Bakır, 84, 23.01.2016)	84	Evli	5 çocuk 1 kız, 4 erkek	Okur-yazar	Çiftçi-Hay
25	Fadime Küçük		(Fadime Küçük 68, 09.07.2016), (Fadime Küçük 68, 23.01.2016)	68	Evli		İlk mezun	Çiftçi-Hay
26	Güngör Akkurt	Elif Teyzenin Gelini, Malatyalı	(Güngör Akkurt 08.07.2016)	52	Evli	3 çocuk 2 kız, 1 erkek	İlkoku l	Çiftçi-Hay
27	Hamide Çoban	Muhtarın Eşi	(Hamide Çoban 06.07.2016)	53	Evli	2 çocuk 1 kız , 1 erkek	okur yazar	Evde çalışıyo r

No	Interview	Explanation	Date	Age	Marital Status	Children	Educa tion	Professi on
28	Hasan Şınığ		(Hasan Şınığ, 60, 08.07.2016) (Hasan Şınığ, 60, 29.07.2016)	60	Evli	3 çocuk 2 kız, 1 erkek	ilkoku 1	Çiftçi- Hay
29	Hüseyin Akkurt	Yaşar Akkurt'un Babası	(Hüseyin Akkurt 08.07.2016)	77	Evli	3 çocuk 2 kız, 1 erkek	ilkoku 1	Çiftçi- Hay
30	Hüseyin Şurgum	Kahvede görüşüm.	(Hüseyin Şurgum 08.07.2016) (Hüseyin Şurgum 29.07.2016)	61	Evli	3 çocuk 1 erkek, 2 kız	İlk mezun	Çiftçi- Hay
31	İbrahim Kılıç	Hacı amca, 84-89 arası eski muhtar	(İbrahim Kılıç 08.07.2016)	62	Evli	3 çocuk 1 erkek, 2 kız	Orta mezun	Çiftçi- Hay
32	İbrahim Küçük	Kahvede görüşüm.	(İbrahim Küçük 08.07.2016)		Evli	2 çocuk 1 kız, 1 erkek		Çiftçi- Hay
33	Keziban Bacı		(Keziban Bacı, 76, 23.01.2016)	76	Evli	6 çocuk 3 kız, 3 erkek	Okur- yazar	Çiftçi- Hay
34	Keziban Şurgum	Mehmet Şurgum'un Eşi	(Keziban Şurgum, 68, 08.07.2016)	68	Evli	3 çocuk 1 kız, 2 erkek	okula gitme miş	Çiftçi- Hay
35	Mahmut Kurt	Ali Kurt'un oğlu	(Mahmut Kurt 01.07.2016)		Evli	2 çocuk 1 kız, 1 erkek	Orta okul	Torbalı' da çalışıyo r.
36	Mehmet Şimşek	İlk irtibat kurulan kişi. Yörük derneği başkanı	(Mehmet Şimşek, 48, 20.01.20016), (Mehmet Şimşek, 48, 23.01.2016) (Mehmet Şimşek, 48, 28.01.2016) (Mehmet Şimşek, 48, 08.07.2016) (Mehmet Şimşek, 48, 26.08.2016) (Mehmet Şimşek, 48, 08.10.2016)	48	Evli	2 çocuk 1 kız, 1 erkek	İlk terk	Çiftçi- Hay

No	Interview	Explanation	Date	Age	Marital Status	Children	Educa tion	Professi on
37	Mehmet Şurgum	oğlu	(Mehmet Şurgum, 38, 08.07.2016)	38	Evli	2 çocuk 1 kız, 1 erkek	İlk mezun	Çiftçi-Hay
38	Muzaffer Kurt		(Muzaffer Kurt,48, 08.07.2016) (Muzaffer Kurt,48, 29.07.2016)	48	Bekar		ortaokul	Çiftçi-Hay
38	Meral Kulinanç	Durdunun eltisi	(Meral Kulinanç 03.07.2016) (Meral Kulinanç 24.08.2016)	1981	Evli	3 çocuk 1 kız, 2 erkek	ilkokulu	Evde çalışıyor
39	Musa Çoban	Muhtar	(Musa Çoban, 55,10.01.2016), (Musa Çoban, 55,08.07.2016) (Musa Çoban, 55,24.08.2016) (Musa Çoban,55,04.011.2016) .	55	Evli	2 çocuk 1 kız, 1 erkek	Lise	Ptt memuru
40	Mustafa Ali Kurt		(Mustafa Ali Kurt 01.07.2016)	72	Evli	3 çocuk 1 kız, 2 erkek		Öğretmen
41	Mustafa Şurgum		(Mustafa Şurgum, 64, 08.07.2016) (Mustafa Şurgum,64, 11.08.2016).	64	Evli	3 çocuk 1 kız, 2 erkek	İlk mezun	Çiftçi-Hay
42	Neşat Çetin		(Neşat Çetin, 83 10.01.2016)	83	Evli	6 çocuk 3 kız, 3 erkek	Okur-yazar	Çiftçi-Hay
43	Sinan Kurt		(Sinan Kurt 08.07.2016)	28	Bekar	yok	Lisans	Torbalı'da Mühendis
44	Sinem Kurt	Zeynepin Oğlu	(Sinem Kurt 04.07.2016)	22	Bekar	yok	Lisans	Diş teknisyeni



No	Interview	Explanation	Date	Age	Marital Status	Children	Educa tion	Professi on
45	Sultan Küçük	İbrahim Küçükün..	(Sultan Küçük,64, 01.07.2016)	64	Evli	2 çocuk 1 kız, 1 erkek	İlk mezun	Çiftçi-Hay
46	Süleyman Kuluinanç	Durdunun kocası	(Süleyman Kuluinanç, 47,07.07.2016)	46	Evli	2 çocuk 1 kız, 1 erkek	İlk mezun	Çiftçi-Hay
47	Teslime Şimşek	Muhtarın Ablası	(Teslime Şimşek, 63, 08.08.2016) (Teslime Şimşek, 63, 20.01.2016) (Teslime Şimşek, 63, 23.01.2016). (Teslime Şimşek, 63, 27.01.2016). (Teslime Şimşek, 63, 02.03.2016) (Teslime Şimşek, 63, 14.03.2016).	63	Evli	5 çocuk 4 kız, 1 erkek	İlk mezun	Çiftçi-Hay
48	Teslime Şurgum	Dudu Şurgum'un Gelini	(Teslime Şurgum, 37, 20.01.2016).	37	Evli	2 çocuk 1 kız, 1 erkek	okula gitme miş	Çiftçi-Hay
49	Ümmü Kurt	Anneleri, mus.. alinin eşi	(Ümmü Kurt 08.07.2016)	70	Evli	2 çocuk 2 erkek	ilkoku l	Çiftçi-Hay
50	Ümmü Küçük	Yandaki evin annesi	(Ümmü Küçük, 63, 23.01.2016) ((Ümmü Küçük, 63, 26.01.2016).	63	Evli	4 çocuk 1 kız, 3 erkek	İlk mezun	Çiftçi-Hay
51	Ümmühan Kurt		(Ümmühan Kurt 16.08.2016)	18	Bekar	yok	Eğitim e Deva m Ediyor	tıp fakültes i
52	Yaşar Akkurt	Güngörün eşi	(Yaşar Akkurt,53,04.06.2016)	53	Evli	3 çocuk 2 kız, 1 erkek	İlk mezun	ramaza n davulcu su
53	Zehra Avlar	Yalnız yaşıyor	(Zehra Avlar 08.10.2016)	84	Evli	2 çocuk	okula gitme miş	Çiftçi-Hay

No	Interview	Explanation	Date	Age	Marital Status	Children	Educa tion	Professi on
54	Zeynep Akkurt	elif teyzenin eltisi	(Zeynep Akkurt 06.11.2016)	102	Evli	9 çocuk 6 kız, 3 erkek	İlk mezun	
55	Zeynep Kurt	Ümmü Teyzenin gelini	(Zeynep Kurt 11.11.2016)	46	Evli	2 çocuk 1 kız, 1 erkek	ilkoku l	Çiftçi
56	Mehmet Özçoban		(Mehmet Özçoban 18.07.2016)	58	Evli	2 çocuk 1 kız, 1 erkek	Ortao kul	Çiftçi

- \*ORAL SOURCES
- Seyfullah Ayvalı, 46, Tire Area Researcher, Author, Tire Culture Association President, 23 August 2016 Interview Record
- Necat Çetin, 54, Historian, Author, 25 August 2016 Interview Record,
- Munis Armağan, 67, Tire Area Researcher, Author, 23 August 2016 Interview Record.

### Annex D: List of the Things Done During Fieldwork

ALL OF THE THINGS THAT ARE DONE DURING FILDWORK			
THINGS THAT ARE DONE	DATE	EXPLANATION	WORK DURATION
FIRST CONTACT WITH THE AREA	NOVEMBER 2015	Village Visits (Tırazlı, Karakuyu, Belenbaşı, Tekeli....) Yörük Association Visits (İzmir Yörükler Association Web...)	26 Days
LOCAL AUTHORITY INTERVIEWS		24 August 2016 Torbalı District Governor Aydın Memük Interview, Mayor Adnan Yaşar Görmez Interview.  23 August 2016 Tire (Munis Armağan, Seyfullah Ayvalı, Dilek Ayvalı , Lidya Zeigmar Interview  25 August 2016 (Torbalı Local Historian Necat Çetin Interview)  26/28 August 2016 Civil Registry Office Interview (Turkish Statistical Institute Population Distribution by Districts), District Sanitation Department Interview, Public Education Center Interview, District National Education Directorate Interview, Gendarmerie Commander Interview.	06 Days
FIRST CONTACT WITH THE AREA AND LOCAL AUTHORITY INTERVIEWS TOTAL 58 WORKDAYS			
PARTICIPANT OBSERVATION AND INTERVIEWS	DECEMBER 2015	08-30 December Observation	22 Days
PARTICIPANT OBSERVATION AND INTERVIEWS	JANUARY 2016	20 January 2016 (Murat Şurgun Death First Day Burial, Well Wishes, Prayers, Külür) 23 January 2016 (Murat Şurgun Death 3. Day Well Wishes and Food: Chicken, Rice, Halva) 27 Ocak 2016 (Murat Şurgun Death 7. Day/Mevlüt (Memorial): Katmer)	18 Days
PARTICIPANT OBSERVATION AND INTERVIEWS	FEBRUARY 2016	07 February 2016 Hasan Şınığ Death 27 February 2016 Saturday Evening Hasan Çoban's Son Ali Çoban's Engagement Ceremony	22 Days

PARTICIPANT OBSERVATION AND INTERVIEWS	MARCH 2016	02 March 2016 (Death Murat Şurgun 40. Day/ Mevlüt (Memorial): Katmer) 14 March (Murat Şurgun Death/52. Day Mevlüt (Memorial): Keşkek, Topalak, Chickpea, Rice, Salad, Zerde)	
PARTICIPANT OBSERVATION AND INTERVIEWS  22 APRIL 2016 PROPOSAL	APRIL 2016	08 April 2016 Durdu Akkurt Death Pervin Arı Birth	16 Days
PARTICIPANT OBSERVATION AND INTERVIEWS	MAY 2016	Gamze/Ahmet Özlü Marriage (Eyüp Hocanın Ahmet)	19 Days
PARTICIPANT OBSERVATION AND INTERVIEWS 20 JUNE 2016 TİK1	JUNE 2016	Hüseyin Özçoban Death  Mustafa Şurgun Wedding (Rukiye/Mustafa)	20 DAYS
PARTICIPANT OBSERVATION AND INTERVIEWS	JULY 2016	1-10 July 2016 Observation 4 July Eve Grave Visit 5/7 July Holiday Emine Küçük/Cengiz... (They Married on July 15)	10 Days (I didn't work after July 15)
PARTICIPANT OBSERVATION AND INTERVIEWS	AUGUST 2016	25 August 2016 One Soldier Was Matyred, Was Buried in Torbaly With Ceremony	26 Days
PARTICIPANT OBSERVATION AND INTERVIEWS	SEPTEMBER 2016	12/15 September 2016 Holiday 11 September 2016 Eve/ Grave Visit 09 September 2016 Wedding	23 Days
PARTICIPANT OBSERVATION AND INTERVIEWS	OCTOBER 2016	Özlem Şınığ Birth  İbrahim/Sultan Wedding (Ali Küçük's Children)	20 Days
PARTICIPANT OBSERVATION AND INTERVIEWS	NOVEMBER 2016		20 DAYS
PARTICIPANT OBSERVATION AND INTERVIEWS	DECEMBER 2016	07 December 2017 Hair Tent Visit(Ayşe Şimşek) 22/24 December 2016 Wedding	20 Days
PARTICIPANT OBSERVATION AND INTERVIEWS 23 JANUARY 2017 TİK2	JANUARY 2017	Hasan Bakır Death	22 DAYS
PARTICIPANT OBSERVATION AND INTERVIEWS	FEBRUARY 2017	20 February 2017 School 22 February 2017 Community Clinic Hamide Haynak/İsa Alaylı Wedding Elif Özlü/Aykut Çomak Wedding	2 Days

PARTICIPANT OBSERVATION AND INTERVIEWS	MARCH 2017	19 Mart 2017 Karakuyu Yörük Festival Ali Kalkım Death	1 Days 19 Days
PARTICIPANT OBSERVATION AND INTERVIEWS	APRIL 2017		17 DAYS
PARTICIPANT OBSERVATION AND INTERVIEWS	MAY 2017		8 DAYS
MAY 2016/MAY 2017 TOTAL 283 WORKDAYS			
21 JUNE 2017 TİK3	JUNE 2017		----- --
ALL FIELDWORK IS APPROXIMATELY TOTAL 342 WORKDAYS			

\*Saha çalışması sırasında; 2 doğum, 5 evlilik, 6 ölüm ritüeli ile ilgili veri toplanmıştır.

## Annex E: Visual Documents

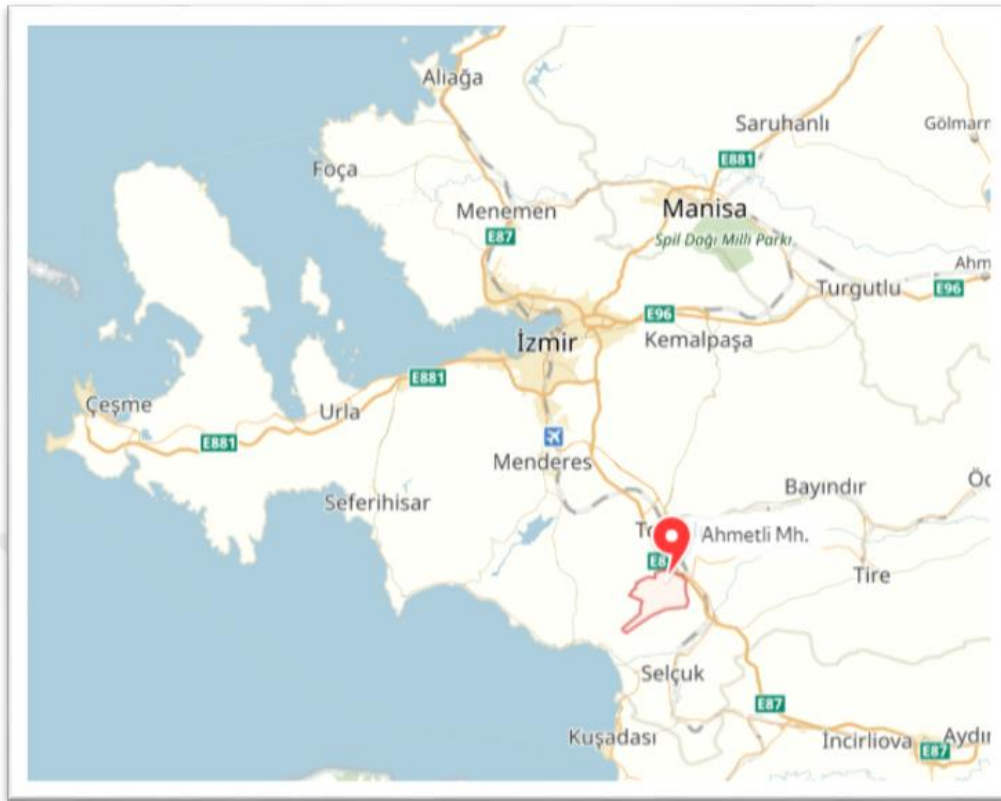


Photo 1 : Ahmetli Village Location (18 September 2016, L.G.)



Photo 2: İzmir and District Maps , (18 September 2016, L.G.)([http://www.torbalı.gov.tr/default\\_B0.aspx?content=1131.....](http://www.torbalı.gov.tr/default_B0.aspx?content=1131.....))



Photo 3: Ahmetli Village General View1, 18 September 2016, L.G.



Photo 4: Ahmetli Village General View2, 18 September 2016, L.G.





Photo 5: Ahmetli Village General Distances, 18 September 2016, L.G.



Photo 6: Ahmetli Village General View3, 18 September 2016, L.G.





Photo 7: Ahmetli Village School, 18 September 2016, L.G.



Photo 8: Ahmetli Village School, 18 September 2016, L.G.



Photo 9: Ahmetli Village Community Clinic, 18 September 2016, L.G.



Photo 10: Ahmetli Village Community Clinic and Agriculture Center, 18 September 2016, L.G.





Photo 11: Ahmetli Village Mosque, 18 September 2016, L.G.



Photo 12: Ahmetli Village Grocer, 18 September 2016, L.G.



Photo 13: Ahmetli Village Square, 18 September 2016, L.G.



Photo 14: Ahmetli Village Butcher, 18 September 2016, L.G.





Photo 15: Ahmetli Village Yörük Culture Association1, 18 September 2016, L.G.



Photo 16: Ahmetli Village Yörük Culture Association2, 18 September 2016, L.G.



Photo 17: Ahmetli Village Fountain, 18 September 2016, L.G.



Photo 18: Ahmetli Village, Square Where Weddings Are Held, 18 September 2016, L.G.





Photo 19: Ahmetli Village Şadırvan (Water Tank With Fountain), 18 September 2016, L.G.



Photo 20: Ahmetli Village Neighborhood Mukhtar Office, 18 September 2016, L.G.



Photo 21: Ahmetli Village Mosque Minaret, 18 September 2016, L.G.



Photo 22: Ahmetli Village The Outer View of The Tent of Mehmet Şimşek and His Family 7 December 2016, L.G.





Photo 23: Ahmetli Village The Inner View of The Tent of Mehmet Şimşek and His Family 7 December 2016, L.G.



Photo 24: Ahmetli Village Graves of The Newly Deceaseds 08 December 2016, L.G.



Photo 25: Ahmetli Village Old Grave 08 December 2016, L.G.



Photo 26: Ahmetli Village New Graves 08 December 2016, L.G.





Photo 27: Ahmetli Village New Graves 08 December 2016, L.G.



Photo 28: Ahmetli Village Things Placed on The Graves 08 December 2016, L.G.



Photo 29: Çaltı Bead Used in Ahmetli Village Against Evil Eye 08 December 2016, L.G.



Photo 30: Çaltı Bead Used in Ahmetli Village Against Evil Eye 08 December 2016, L.G.





Photo 31: Çaltı Bead Used in Ahmetli Village Against Evil Eye 08 December 2016, L.G.



Photo 32: Çaltı Bead Used in Ahmetli Village Against Evil Eye 08 December 2016, L.G.



Photo 33: Çaltı Bead Used in Ahmetli Village Against Evil Eye 08 December 2016, L.G.

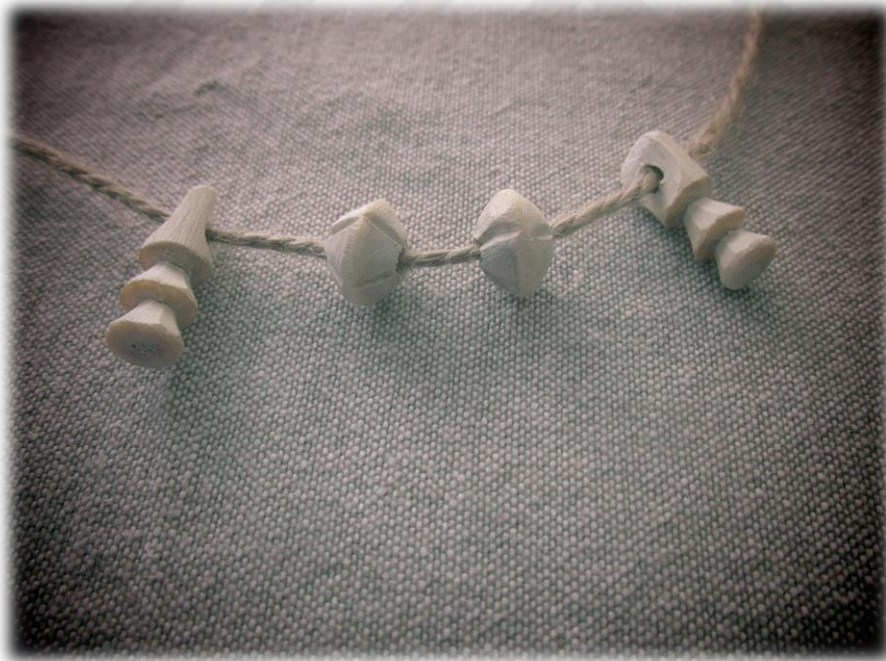


Photo 34: Çaltı Bead Used in Ahmetli Village Against Evil Eye 08 December 2016, L.G.



Photo 35: Eye Bead Used in Ahmetli Village Against Evil Eye



Photo 36: Pregnancy Period in Ahmetli Village





Photo 37: Childhood Period in Ahmetli Village1



Photo 38: Childhood Period in Ahmetli Village2





Photo 39: Childhood Period in Ahmetli Village3



Photo 40: Childhood Period in Ahmetli Village4



Photo 41: Childhood Period in Ahmetli Village5



Photo 42: Childhood Period in Ahmetli Village6



Photo 43: Flag Planting and Carrying in Ahmetli Village1  
18 September 2016, L.G.



Photo 44: Flag Planting and Carrying in Ahmetli Village2  
18 September 2016, L.G.





Photo 45: Preparing the Horse That Bride Will Ride for The Wedding in Ahmetli Village  
18 September 2016, L.G.

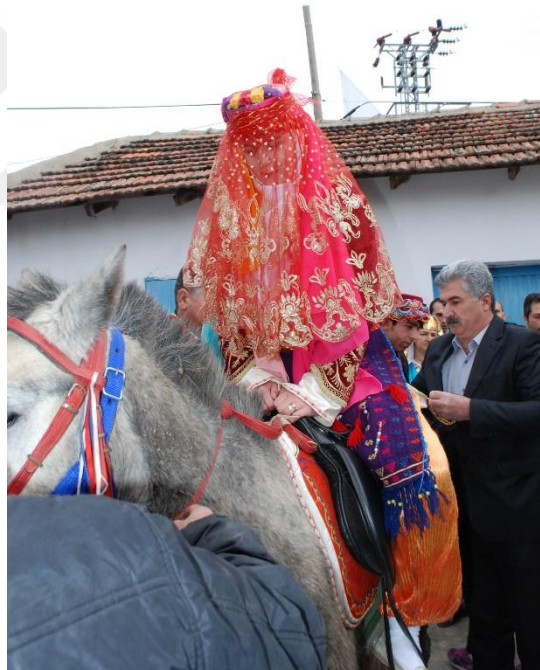


Photo 46: Bride's Ride on Horse in Ahmetli Village  
18 September 2016, L.G.



Photo 47: Traditional Look of Bride and Groom for Wedding in Ahmetli Village  
18 September 2016, L.G.



Photo 48: Family Visit After Wedding in Ahmetli Village 26 September 2016, L.G.



Photo 49: Look of Bride and Groom in Ahmetli Village 18 September 2016,





Photo 50: Solidarity Example for Wedding in Ahmetli Village 18 September 2016, L.G.



Photo 51: Attendance to Wedding in Ahmetli Village 18 September 2016, L.G.



Photo 52: House Visit on the Third Day After the Death of Someone in Ahmetli Village  
23 January 2016, L.G.



Photo 53: Food Cooked in House of the Deceased on the Third Day After the Death of  
Someone in Ahmetli Village 23 January 2016, L.G.





Photo 54: Food Cooked in House of the Deceased on the Third Day After the Death of Someone in Ahmetli Village 23 January 2016, L.G.



Photo 55: Food Cooked in House of the Deceased on the Seventh Day After the Death of Someone in Ahmetli Village 27 January 2016, L.G.



Photo 56: Food Cooked in House of the Deceased on the Seventh Day After the Death of Someone in Ahmetli Village 27 January 2016, L.G.



Photo 57: Food Cooked in House of the Deceased on the Seventh Day After the Death of Someone in Ahmetli Village 27 January 2016, L.G.



Photo 58: Mevlüt in House of the Deceased on the Seventh Day After the Death of Someone in Ahmetli Village 27 January 2016, L.G.



Photo 59: Food Cooked in House of the Deceased on the Seventh Day After the Death of Someone in Ahmetli Village 27 January 2016, L.G.





Photo 60: Treats Served After Mevlüt in House of the Deceased on the Seventh Day After the Death of Someone in Ahmetli Village 27 January 2016, L.G.



Photo 61: Treats Served After Mevlüt in House of the Deceased on the Seventh Day After the Death of Someone in Ahmetli Village 27 January 2016, L.G.



Photo 62: Treats Served After Mevlüt in House of the Deceased on the Seventh Day After the Death of Someone in Ahmetli Village 27 January 2016, L.G.



Photo 63: Goats Raised Near Homes in Ahmetli Village 14 April 2016, L.G.





Photo 64: Preparation of Goat Meat for Wedding in Ahmetli Village 05 July 2016, L.G.



Photo 65: Preparation of Goat Meat for Wedding in Ahmetli Village 05 July 2016, L.G.



Photo 66: Cooking of Goat Meat for Wedding in Ahmetli Village 05 July 2016, L.G.



Photo 67: Preparation for Wedding in Ahmetli Village - Cooking  
18 September 2016, L.G.





Photo 68: Example of Solidarity for Wedding Preparations  
Cooking of "Keşkek" 18 September 2016, L.G.





Photo 69: Preparation for Wedding in Ahmetli Village 18 September 2016, L.G.



Photo 70: Solidarity During Preparations for Wedding in Ahmetli Village  
18 September 2016, L.G.



Photo 71: Food Serving During Preparations for Wedding in Ahmetli Village  
18 September 2016, L.G.



Photo 72: Treats Served for Wedding in Ahmetli Village 18 September 2016, L.G.





Photo 73: Camel Hair Blanket Called "Palaz" in Ahmetli Village 07 December 2016, L.G.



Photo 74: Goat Hair Ground Cloth in Ahmetli Village 07 December 2016, L.G.

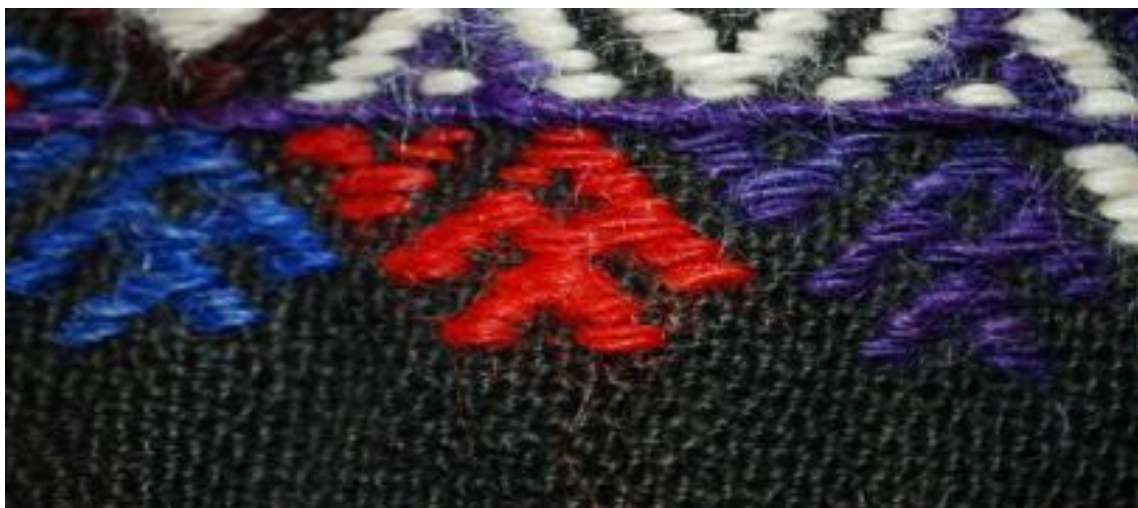


Photo 75: Motif Example of Goat Hair Ground Cloth in Ahmetli Village  
07 December 2016, L.G.



Photo 76: Old Carrier Called "Heybe" in Ahmetli Village  
14 April 2016, L.G.



Photo 77: Motif of Old Carrier Called "Heybe" in Ahmetli Village  
14 April 2016, L.G.

## CLOTHING



Photo 78: Old Zeybek Head Piece in Ahmetli Village 14 April 2016, L.G.





Photo 79: Clothes Worn in Ahmetli Village in the Present



Photo 80: Clothes Worn in Ahmetli Village in the Past 14 April 2016, L.G.



Photo 81: Women Clothes Worn in Ahmetli Village in the Past and Used in Demonstrations Today 14 April 2016, L.G.



Photo 82: Examples of Women Clothes Worn in Ahmetli Village in the Past and Used in Demonstrations Today 14 April 2016, L.G.





Photo 83: Example of Women Clothes Worn in Ahmetli Village in the Past and Used in Demonstrations Today 14 April 2016, L.G.



Photo 84: Men Clothes Worn in Ahmetli Village in the Past and Used in Demonstrations Today 14 April 2016, L.G.





Photo 85: Men Clothes Worn in Ahmetli Village in the Past and Used in Demonstrations Today



Photo 86: Examples of Old Weaving Tools in Ahmetli Village 14 April 2016, L.G.

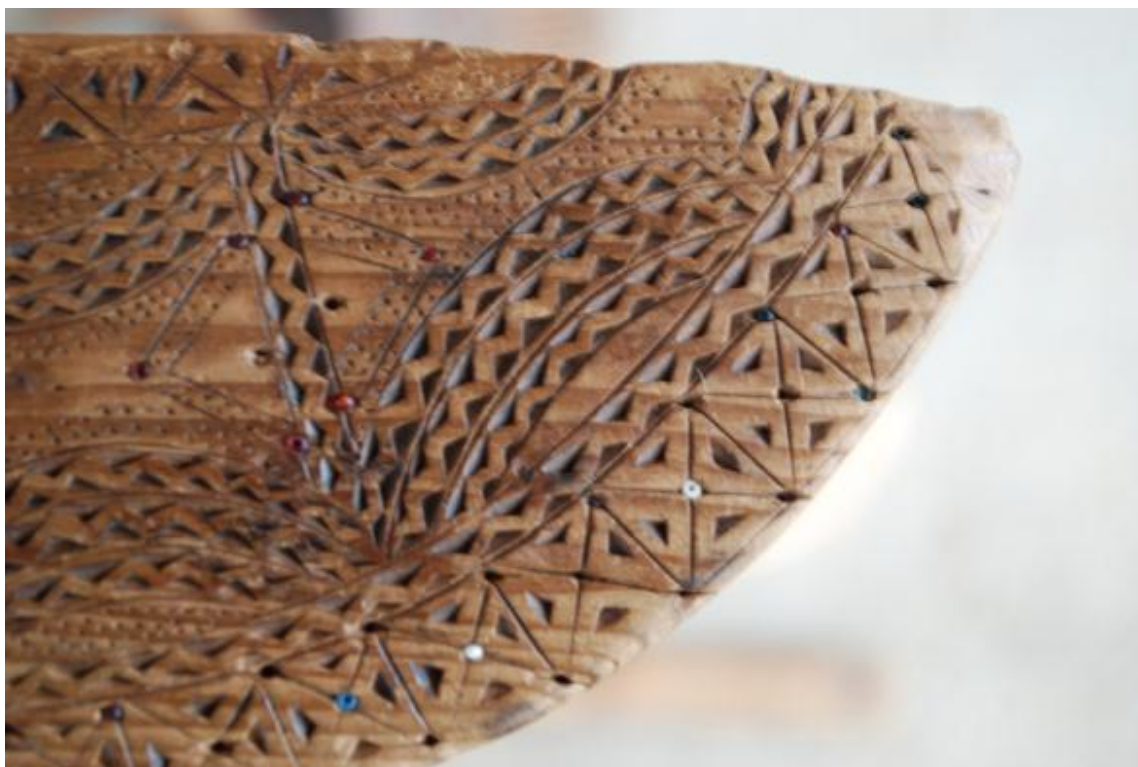


Photo 87: Details of an Old Weaving Tool in Ahmetli Village 14 April 2016, L.G.