**Trabzon University State Conservatory © 2017-2023**Volume **7** Issue **2 December 2023** 

**Research Article** 

Musicologist 2023. 7 (2): 238-268 DOI: 10.33906/musicologist.1241547

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# Music in the Bektashi Order in RN Macedonia: Aspects of Performance

#### **ABSTRACT**

The spiritual tradition of the Turkish population in RN Macedonia is rich and still nurtures some segments of Sufism from the Ottoman period such as the Bektashi dervish order. In the period before the arrival of the Ottomans (around the 13th century), numerous Sufis were active in these territories, which in some way represented a transition point for the conquest and settlement of the Turks. Numerous Bektashi tekkes were built during the Ottoman period, several of which are still active today. Depending on the ethnic composition of the followers, the linguistic dominance of these Sufi structures also changes. The only Bektashi tekke whose members are Turks is the tekke 'Dikmen Baba' located in the village Kanatlarci near Prilep. This tekke is one of the few in the Bektashi orders that, despite several divisions in the spiritual leadership, has operated without interruption since its founding in the 16th century. Such divisions did not affect the essence of the spiritual beliefs nor the ritual forms of this dervish order which remain almost identical to those practised at the very beginning. The main focus of this paper will be the musical tradition of the ritual, and for the following reasons: 1. music, as the main activity of the Bektashi rituals, is the essential vehicle for spreading and reinforcing beliefs and wisdom for everyday community life, 2. its importance as a fundamental tool in the expression of mystical theosophy, and 3. variations in the repertoire as a result of drawing upon and integrating sacred music from local populations. For this purpose, field research, interviews, and the analysis of audio materials from the sacred rites of the Bektashi tekke Dikmen Baba in the village of Kanatlarci have been carried out.

#### **KEYWORDS**

Musical tradition

Bektashi tekke

V. Kanatlarci

Macedonia

## Introduction

The first appearance of the Bektashis in the Balkans was way back in the 13<sup>th</sup> century, before the arrival of the Ottomans in these territories, as a result of the activities of dervishes who traveled and settled in these regions (Noyan, 1999; Çibik and Umaroğulları, 2017: 250). One of them was the dervish Sari Saltuk who arrived in 1261 with 10,000 Turkmen families (Hamzaoğlu, 2000: 466). The name of Seyid Ali is also mentioned as his contemporary (Noyan, 1999: 17), and his followers were Akyazili Sultan, Otman Baba, Ali Koc Baba, Demir Baba, etc. (Yılmaz and Coşkun, 2005). The expansion of Bektashism at the time of the Ottomans in Macedonia is confirmed by the proliferation of dozens of active Bektashi *tekkes* in the region.

At present, there are only a few active dervish lodges left: Arabati Baba in Tetovo, Dikmen Baba in the village of Kanatlarci near Prilep, Hıdır Baba in M. Brod, Halife Zija Baba in Kicevo and Derviş Ali Bektaşi in Resen. One Bektashi *tekke* that has almost never stopped functioning during the many centuries of its existence is the Dikmen Baba *tekke* in the village of Kanatlarci. As to ethnic composition, the members of almost all the Bektashi *tekke*s in Macedonia are from the Albanian community, and the only active *tekke* whose members are Turks is Dikmen Baba.

The members of this dervish order hold their ritual gatherings in the same way as at the time of its foundation and they attribute great significance to music because of its importance as a fundamental means of expressing mystical theosophy. The musical repertoire includes universal Bektashi sacred musical forms, commonly used in Bektashism everywhere. Additionally, characteristic musical works composed by local dervishes have been integrated within the repertoire.

For this reason, the focus of this paper will be on musical repertoire that represents a significant segment of the ritual ceremony, with the analysis of *nefes*es as the basic form of expression of spirituality. During the field research, 11 musical works were collected, and these will be analyzed in this paper in terms of their melodic, rhythmic, and poetic structures. Data was collected by means of in-depth qualitative interviews with dervishes, i.e. using a technique of direct conversations, and indirect or free interviews as the main source of information. We supplemented the field findings on musical traditions with the analysis of video materials from the sacred repertoire, as performed

during rituals in the *tekke*. In addition, the research uses the technique of text analysis and content analysis of various documents, including the statutes of the Bektashi community, and various books that complement this material.

## The Bektashi Order in Macedonia

The oldest Bektashi *tekke* in Macedonia, according to historical records, is Hidir Baba in Makedonski Brod, built in the 16<sup>th</sup> century (Trajanovski, 2018: 188). One of the most important and most influential *tekkes* was Arabati Baba *tekke* in Tetovo (Islam and Zelenkovska Leshkova, 2014: 80); Çelik and Süleymani, 2018: 46), built by Sersem Ali Baba in the second half of 16<sup>th</sup> century (Demir, 2016: 33). Among the other Bektashi *tekkes* active in the urban and rural areas in Macedonia were the following: the Mustafa Baba *tekke* and Suleiman Baba *tekke* in Skopje (Hafiz, 1976: 60; Islam and Zelenkovska Leshkova, 2012a: 3), Hussein Baba (Bitola), Hamza Baba (Stip), Haje Baba (Veles), Muharem Baba (Kicevo), Ali Baba (Debar), Dikmen Baba (v. Kanatlarci), Hıdır Baba (M. Brod), two *tekkes* in Prespa, Kamber Baba (v. Karatmanovo), Dzafer Baba (Gostivar), Jusuf Dede (v. Dzumali), Ilmi Dede (v. Tatarli), (Izeti, 2003: 248-249), Karadza Ahmet (Kumanovo), Yaver Baba (v. Poroj), Koyun Baba (v. Sipkovica) (Vishko, 1997: 20), Ismail Baba (Strumica) (Gülçiçek, 2000: 212-217).

Today, the Bektashis in Macedonia differ depending on where the world headquarters of the Bektashis is deemed to be located and who performs the function of the supreme leader of the world Bektashi community. With the move of Salih Niyazi Dede from Türkiye to Tirana at the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, the seat of the Bektashi tariqat was transferred to Albania, where the main Bektashi center is still located, headed by Edmond Brahimaj Dede-Baba. However, Bektashis of Turkish ethnicity believe that the seat of the Bektashis is located in the birthplace of Hadzi Bektash Veli in the Republic of Türkiye, where the first Bektashi *tekke* was established and where his tomb is located. They consider Ali Haydar Erdzan to be the Dede-Baba, ie., the head of the world Bektashi community.

In 2000, a Bektashi religious community was formed which was not recognized by the Islamic religious community in Macedonia. It was active until 2007, when a decision was made by the state that all religious communities established retroactively after 1998 should be re-registered within a period of 3 months. Unfortunately, the Bektashi

community headed at that time by Dzafer Tekeshanoski Baba from the village at Kanatlarci did not submit a request within the given deadline, due to which it was not renewed and re-registered (Halife Baba Sabedin Jusufoski, personal communication, 20 October, 2021).

With the support of the Islamic Religious Community in 2010, based in Kicevo, the Ahl al-Bayt Bektashi community of Macedonia was registered as an independent religious organization representing the Bektashis in Macedonia under the leadership of Murteza Pasho Halife Baba.

The Bektashi community is making an application to the European Court of Human Rights over the inability to re-register its religious community. As previously mentioned, even though there is an officially acknowledged Bektashi community which was formally registered in 2010, there are two different groups and the Bektashi community from 2000 wants to be registered as the Islamic Bektashi community, which has a different name from that of the already registered community (Kalajdziev, 2015: 34-35).

In 2018, the Bektashis were registered as a Bektashi (Sunni) religious community based in Hidir Baba *tekke* led by Ejup Baba, an elder in the Hidir Baba *tekke* in Kicevo, which does not cover all Bektashi *tekkes* in Macedonia (Trajanovski, 2018: 190).

## Bektashi Order in v. Kanatlarci

Reference to the village Kanatlarci reaches back to the censuses of 1544 (Çağ, 2010: 234). As of 2016, there are 270 households registered in the village, and it has a population of 1450 people (according to the last census in 2021). It is predominantly inhabited by Turks, with very few Macedonian and Bosnian families in the village.

Eighty percent of the population in this village (whose roots are in Konya and Karaman - Türkiye) are adherents to the Bektashi order, while only 20% of the population subscribe to the Sunni branch. Differences between the Bektashis and the Sunnis concern the sacred rituals, for the secular rites remain identical. Bektashi dervishes perform their rituals in the *tekke* instead of the mosque, they do not fast during the holy month, do not go on pilgrimage, do not pray during the day, light candles during the rituals, show pictures of *imams*, and consume alcohol (Islam, 2005).

With no concrete sources for its doctrine - its forms and its values - Bektashism in this region is understood by its believers by way of their own inner world, through the prism of their individual viewpoints. Throughout history one can see a variety of approaches among believers, depending on exactly which strand of Islam the Bektashis adhere to. Some of them believe that they cannot be considered either Shiites or Sunnis. Some are of the opinion that they are Sunnis, since they invoke and profess the first pillar of Islam Shahada, while a few others note that the Bektashi rituals contain Christian elements. The majority believe that the Bektashis are of Shia origin and that their beliefs originated exclusively with Imam Ali and the Ahl al-Bayt. The reason for such different perceptions lies primarily in the lack of written sources for this dervish order, since this version of Islam arose from and was primarily developed as an oral tradition and an inherited practice. The teaching of the Halife Baba was transmitted mainly orally in the form of traditions concerning the miracles of great holy people, but also – more practically – by way of religious rituals. Additionally, this perception is affirmed by favoring religious practices over religious teaching, which is strongly correlated with the folk tradition in which practice and ritual are assigned great importance (Trajanovski, 2019: 129-130).

The existing Bektashism in the village of Kanatlarci is maintained as part of the cultural heritage of Haji Bektash-Veli, Sari Saltuk, and Fatih Sultan Mehmet (Balat, 2019: 38). The founder of this *tekke* is Dikmen Baba (whose real name is Mehmet) from Khorasan, who, according to the testimony of the dervishes in this village, settled in this area before the arrival of the Ottomans. According to their claims, Dikmen Baba was a disciple of Hidir Baba, who founded the Bektashi *tekke* in M. Brod.

The Dikmen Baba *tekke* is considered to be one of the first Bektashi *tekkes* to be established in Macedonia. The tomb of Dikmen Baba represents a cult center for the Bektashi order in this region, and it is often visited by the dervishes, especially during the Eid holiday. In addition to Dikmen Baba, there is in the same location the tomb of another spiritual leader called Kut Dede Sultan (also from Khorasan by origin), who according to the dervishes' claims, arrived in this region before Dikmen Baba (Halife Baba Sabedin Jusufoski, personal communication, 20 October, 2021).

This *tekke*, which bears the name of its founder, was one of the most active *tekke*s during the Ottoman period. Over the many centuries of the *tekke*'s existence, a large number of

Bektashi leaders became prominent. Besides Dikmen Baba and Kut Dede, Edzat Dede, Demir Baba, Ismail Baba, Mustafa Baba, Halife Sulejman Baba, Isa Baba, Idriz Baba, Musa Baba, Dzafer Baba, Halife Hidir Baba, Halife Abaz Baba, Halife Zija Baba, Halife Ismail Baba, Ashim Baba, Musa Baba, Vejsel Baba, Kodza Seid Baba and others were also active (Halife Baba Sabedin Jusufoski, personal communication, 20 October, 2021).

For some reason, the criteria and rules for choosing the *Baba*, the spiritual leader (by inheritance or by merit), became the reason for the division of the Bektashi order in Kanatlarci. Until recently, in the *tekke*, the two groups existed simultaneously, with two spiritual leaders for the celebration of holidays and the performance of religious rites. One is in the main *tekke*, whose spiritual leader is Veli Baba, and the other is in the adapted room in *Misafir Hane* (the guest house) and is headed by Dzafer Baba who handed over the caliphate to Zeynel Abedin Baba (2016) as his successor. On January 16, 2016, Sabedin Halife Baba was appointed by the Head of the Bektashi in Türkiye first as a *Baba* and for a short period as a *Halife Baba*. The division within this dervish order in Kanatlarci is not based on differences in beliefs and customs, but mainly on a disagreement over the legitimacy of the *Baba*'s heir, which is more a political than a religious issue (Trajanovski, 2018: 188).

The ideology of the dervish order in Kanatlarci is based on union with God through the path of unreserved and unconditional love. To realize that spiritual path, the believer has to pass through four gates: *Shariah*, *Tariqah*, *Marifa* and *Haqiqah*. The initial stage is the *Shariah*, and it contains within itself pious and moral values, while the final goal is the *haqiqah* (divine reality). In fact, the path followed by the believer is a combination of these components of Sufi life (Dzilo, 2010: 71). This dervish order represents a system based on the teacher-pupil relationship (*murshid* and *murid*) as a practical method for guiding and training the student on how to trace the correct path, including appropriate thoughts and sentiments (Ćehajić, 1986: 18-19).

## Spiritual Rites in the Dikmen Baba Tekke in Kanatlarci

Despite the division of the members of this dervish order, there are no real differences in the sacred rituals. These are called *muhabbets* and consist of verbal communications, as well as the performance of sacred musical forms in which only the members of this brotherhood participate. In the verbal part, there is a discussion about essential

questions, as well as about the philosophical aspects of this dervish order: the love for God and the love for human beings. In this regard, Bektashism embodies a strong altruistic dimension, expressed through selfless love for other people, concern for the well-being of people, and willingness to sacrifice one's own interests for those of others. According to this ideology, man is a being that should be loved and has divine qualities, so one who loves man also loves Almighty God (Halife Baba Sabedin Jusufoski, personal interview date 15 November, 2019).

There are two types of *muhabbets* in Bektashism that are practised in the Kanatlarci dervish order:

- 1) Arifane muhabbets rites that are held every Thursday evening and
- 2) Official *muhabbets* rites that take place on special occasions.

The *Arifane* rite, which is held in the *tekke* premises, has a largely non-formal character. It starts immediately before sunset and lasts until late hours.

The basis of all these rituals is verbal communication, in order to discuss the existing problems of members of the dervish order and in their surroundings.

The rite starts with musical forms. The main purpose of music in *muhabbets* lies not in entertainment but in unity and togetherness in approaching God with love; to deserve the right for the love of Allah, the Messenger of Allah, and the Ahl al-Bayt. During these rituals, the human voice and words are always in the foreground, even though the first three *nefes*es are usually performed in accompaniment with the string instrument *saz*.

After a discussion between the spiritual leader (*murshid*) and the dervishes, a snack can also be served, although this is not required for gatherings of this kind.





**Figure 1. Figure 2.** *Muhabbet* in Dikmen Baba *tekke*, v. Kanatlarci (individual archive, 2018)

The second type of *muhabbets*, which have an official and solemn ceremonial character, have great significance for the Bektashis in Kanatlarci. These types of rituals are practised during the time of the celebrations of *Eid al-Adha*, *Ashure*, and *Nowruz*, as well as in the ceremonies for admitting new members, i.e., appointing new dervishes.

In addition to these occasions, *muhabbets* can be organized on the initiative of any dervish. The occasion usually arises from family issues, such as moving to a new house. Although these rites are held in the homes of the dervishes, their enactment and the background are identical to the *arifane muhabbets*.

Over the year, 12 sacred rites should be realized, because of the symbolism of the number 12, which is associated with Imam Ali and his 11 *imams* – followers. The Bektashi is the only dervish order in whose rituals women also participate.

During the ceremony, the musical form *nefes* is performed. This has a ceremonial character and that is why it is performed in strict silence and in a disciplined way. The lyrics of the *nefes*es represent poetic works by well-known poets, such as Yunus Emre, Nesimi Sultan, Pir Sultan Abdal, Bosnevi, Dikmen Baba, and others. In contrast to the Sunni dervish orders, Bektashi poetry praises the name of the Imam Ali. In addition to this repertoire, some of the local dervishes create autonomous poetic forms which are also performed during the rituals.

The rite in the Dikmen Baba *tekke* begins with the performance of parts of the Qur'an. The performance of *nefes*es is started by the leader of the dervish order (*murshid*), and then the other followers accompany him in singing (Sabedin Jusufoski, personal

communication, 15 September, 2020). The interpretation of these forms is accompanied by one or two *sazes* which can be either long- or short-necked. In both cases, they have seven strings divided into three groups (2,2,3) that are tuned on A G D (*bağlama düzeni*) (Alizgar Tekeshanov, personal communication, January 8, 2022).

The most closed type of spiritual rite is the one that is held for the admission of new members to the dervish order. This rite, named *Erkanl'k muhabbeti*, is held three to five times a year. This solemn rite begins with a verbal communication between the *murshid* and the new member, where a spiritual mentor is assigned for training him in the traditional dervish rituals. After this introduction, the table is set and the *murshid* starts the musical part of the ritual. Together with the rest of the dervishes (first those on his right and then those on his left) they sing three sets of three *nefes*es each without the accompaniment of a musical instrument. One of the *nefes*es performed on these occasions without exception is *Niyazına Geldık Dikmen Baba'nın* by Dikmen Baba, as well as *Şu Melamet Hırkasını* by the famous poet Nesimi. This formal part is followed by more free performances of *nefes*es, now accompanied by a *saz*. The total number of performed *nefes*es must not be less than 12. In this part of the ceremony, the spiritual dance called *semah* is also practised.

## Musical and Spiritual Characteristics of the Rites

On the occasion of *Eid al-Adha*, the rituals of the Bektashis start with the gathering of the dervishes in front of the *tekke*, which the spiritual leader enters first and where he stays alone for a short period. After a while, the dervishes go inside based on their years of service and on their position in the hierarchy.

Before the beginning of the rite, a prayer is held. However, unlike the Sunnis, who pray five times a day, the Bektashis from this *tekke* pray only once a week, on Fridays, as well as during *Eid al-Adha*. Before the prayer begins, a *Salat-u Ummije* sacred form is performed collectively and repeated 12 times.

In the Friday prayers, the Bektashi *imam* has his back turned on the other dervishes present, while during the Eid prayer, he faces them. During the prayer, the sacred musical forms that are practiced in the mosques are performed. The Bektashi *imam* performs some of them alone, while some are performed collectively.

The sacred rite begins with a performance of the *Niyazına Geldim Dikmen Baba'nın*, which represents a sacred hymn of this *tekke*, and whose subject matter is about the founder of the *tekke* Dikmen Baba. Every *tekke* has its own sacred hymn for initiating the ritual (in the Bektashi *tekke* in Kicevo, it is the *nefes Ağlaya Ağlaya*; in Tetovo, the *nefes* for Sersem Ali; etc.). The *nefes* is performed by the *murshid* with or without a *saz* accompaniment, and this intensifies the emotional ambience for the dervishes. In the continuation of the ritual, two more *nefes*es follow in a collective performance.

When the musical section ends, there is a discussion about the poetic content of the *nefes*es that have been sung. An analysis of the texts is made, and the main points of Bektashi philosophy, as expressed through the poetic language of the authors, are drawn out. After this verbal discussion, called *dem*, a table is set on which mainly salt is placed, followed by other snacks, and then brandy. Consumption of alcohol is one of the practices of this dervish order.

In continuation of the sacred rite, three series of *nefes*es follow (each contains three *nefes*es) in a hierarchical performance by different groups of dervishes: first, those who are sitting to the right of the *murshid*, then those on the left, and finally, those sitting opposite. The performance of *nefes*es, which basically represent one of the ways of submitting to divinity, reaches a higher level during the *muhabbets* with discussions about their philosophical, semantic, and symbolic depth where true values of humanity are expounded. The largest part of the verbal section during the sacred rites is related to spiritual poems presented through the performance of the *nefes*es.

Symbolism and mysticism, which are characteristic for this dervish order are present in the final part of the ritual ceremony, when at the table, in addition to dinner, a candle is placed as a symbol of the sun, light, and joy. At the beginning of the ritual, in the same room, 12 candles are placed, again to symbolize the twelve *imams*. The *murshid* blesses those present, thus closing the formal part of the ritual. Five or six hours after the gathering, the sacred rite ends with the departure of the dervishes, with their order once again based on their hierarchical status.

Aşüre (Ashura – a sweet dish) is a holiday celebrated on the tenth day of the month of *Muharram* as a symbol of mourning on the occasion of the execution of Imam Hussein (son of Imam Ali and grandson of the Prophet Muhammad (s.a.s.)) during the Battle of

Karbala. For this holiday *aṣūre* is cooked, and it is also offered to the non-Muslim population, which contributes to a greater socialization of the village population, regardless of religious or ethnical identity.

This holiday is also celebrated with a 12-day fast, which includes abstinence from drinking water (replaced with yogurt and apples), food of animal origin, personal hygiene (shaving and bathing), and every kind of entertainment. During this period, sacred rites are also absent. During the fast, reading sacred literature about the life of prophets is practised. The fast ends three days before the holiday *Aşüre* when the sacrifice (*kurban*) is slaughtered and the fasting ends. During the rites, musical works are performed whose contents are related to the tragic event in Karbala, such as the *nefes Her Sene Bugünde Ağlarız İmam Hüsevin'e*.

*Nowruz* represents one of the most important holidays for the Bektashis. This holiday, which represents Imam Ali's birthday, begins on March 21 and is celebrated for three days. On the first two days of the celebration the rites are performed by men and on the last day by women. The celebrations start at noon and last until the evening hours. At the women's gathering, the only man present is the *murshid*. The *nefes*es content is mainly about Imam Ali. During the performing of *nefes*es, in the female part of the celebration, there is no instrumental accompaniment.

In between the performance of the musical works, discussions are held about the historical aspects of Bektashism and about the close family members of Imam Ali (Ahl al-Bayt). Given the more liberal character of this holiday, people who are not dervishes and members of the Sunni community are allowed to be present.

#### **Musical Forms in the Rites**

The musical forms used in the sacred rites of the Bektashies from the Dikmen Baba *tekke* are *nefes*es (Islam, 2007: 210; Islam and Zelenkovska Leshkova, 2012b: 172). These mystical songs not only refer to elements of Islamic mysticism, the Bektashi belief system and ethics, but also convey messages about friendship, peace, affection, tolerance, hospitality, love, and destiny. Some songs may also take the form of advice or satire (Duygulu, 1997: 61). These themes provide a deeper understanding of the beliefs and lifestyle of the Bektashis. The multiple themes that appear in the sung poetry of the

muhabbets confirm the notion that the Bektashis place great emphasis on the meaning of life while they live it, teaching goodness, fairness, and solidarity (Bjelica, 2022). The expression of compassion, fraternity, philanthropy and affection in the Bektashis' songs has a great influence on the lives of almost all community members in v. Kanatlarci. The presence of these messages in their mystical songs and messages of universal value and ethical significance enable the rites to reach a wider range of listeners and believers, spreading beyond Bektashi communities. Through them, at the same time, the folk-cultural values of the village Kanatlarci are transmitted from generation to generation (Balat, 2019: 34-45).





Figure 3 Figure 4

Ashiks singing and playing on sazes during the muhabbet in Dikmen Baba tekke, v. Kanatlarci (Individual archive, 2018)

The music of the *nefes*es sung in this *tekke* is usually anonymous. Sometimes, songs with the same number of syllables can be sung according to the pattern of the existing melody. This principle applies most often to poetry created by local dervishes. More than 30 poems written by local dervishes were collected during our field research, and some of them are performed in practice in musical settings; they include *Niyazına Geldim Dikmen Baba'nın* (Pir Mehmet, the founder of Dikmen Baba *tekke*), *Yobazlara Kaldım Şimdi, Dikmen Baba Dergahın Harabat Olmuş* (Dervish Zekerya Memishoski), and *Yezidler Hep Bir Oldular* (Dervish Aliazgar Tekeshanoski). These texts are mainly adapted to the already existing melodic lines of some of the *nefes*es in use. The performance of musical forms is most often collective, accompanied by one or two *saz* instruments.

## Analysis of the Musical Forms of the Dikmen Baba Tekke

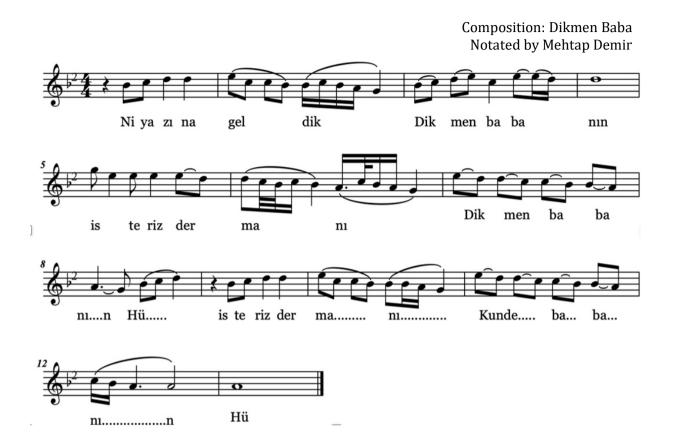
## Analysis of the musical structure

In a musical context, *nefes*es are usually mensural forms, with frequent repetitions of a musical motif. Since they are created by *ashiks*, they have a melodic structure akin to folk music (Nuri, 1992: 371-372; Şen, 2018: 214). In this context, they can be considered as a kind of authentic folk music (Yöre, 2011, 41-42).

During the field research, 11 musical works were recorded. Through the melographs, we can conclude that their melodic structure does not employ the full range of an 8-voice scale. Rather, they are based on a range of 4-5 (tetrachord-pentachord) scale steps, as frequently encountered in the Anatolian *makam* tradition but also in the folk tradition of this region (Islam, 2005). Therefore, the works do not exhibit all the characteristics of *Uşşak, Hüseyni, Karcığar, Mahur*, and *Segah makams*, as given in the *makam* theory of Ottoman-Turkish musical traditions. Changes to these *makams* can be noted on the axis of tetrachords and pentachords. The works can be explained with the concept of the mood and tonal structure typical of Anatolian traditional songs, which is in tune with the relevant *makam*.

Accordingly, in the *nefes*es, which are in the mode of *Yahyali Kerem*, which corresponds to the *Uṣṣak* and *Hüseyni makams* on tone A, the accidental B flat is heard with 2 comma microtones. The tone F sounds alternately as F sharp or F natural. Eight out of 11 works in our research are sung in this *makam* structure.

## Niyazına Geldik Dikmen Baba'nın



**Example 1.** *Niyazına Geldik Dikmen Baba'nın*. Performed by dervishes recorded in 2018.

The *nefes Niyazına Geldik Dikmen Baba'nın* (Example 1) uses the *Uşşak* tetrachord on the basic tone – A, while the *Hüseyni* pentachord is heard in phrase B. The *nefes* ends with the musical phrase C in *Uşşak* tetrachord.

A *nefes* which has the same *makam* structure is *Yezidler Hep Bir Oldular* (Example 2). The work is based on the *Uşşak* tetrachord on the tone A, which is equivalent to *Yahyalı Kerem Havası* in Anatolian folk music. Accordingly, the tone B flat sounds with two commas.

# Yezidler Hep Bir Oldular

Composition: Aliazgar Tekeshanoski Notated by Mehtap Demir du la iki Yezid ler hep bir o...... dek ke ok at tı la la net o ku oy ya lım ol la ra..... can lar lanet sun on hem on la ra kı yan lara vay

**Example 2**. *Yezidler Hep Bir Oldular*. Performed by dervishes, recorded in 2018.

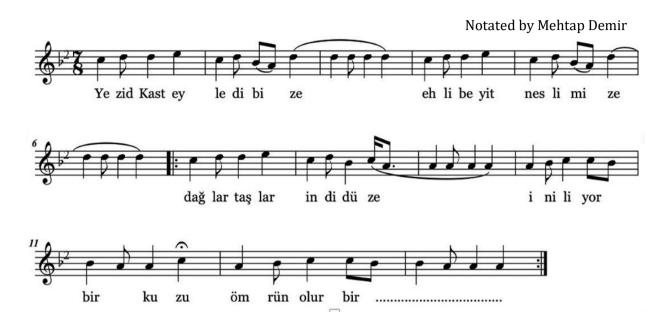
The same tonal structure is found in *nefeses Dikmen Baba Dergahın Harabat Olmuş* (Example 3) and *Yezid Kasteyledi Bize* (Example 4).

# Dikmen Baba Dergahın Harabat Olmuş



**Example 3.** *Dikmen Baba Dergahın Harabat Olmuş.* Performed by dervishes, recorded in 2018.

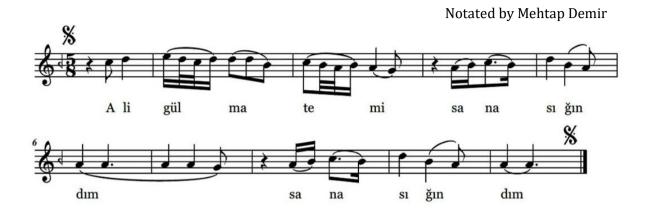
## Yezid Kasteyledi Bize



**Example 4.** Yezid Kasteyledi Bize. Performed by dervishes, recorded in 2018.

The *nefes Sana Siğindim* basically consists of two musical phrases. It is built on the *Uşşak* tetrachord in A, only sounding the E briefly in the second measure of the A sentence (Example 5). In this sense, the work does not have the character of a full *makam* system. It was sung in the form of *Düvaz-ı İmam* which is a *nefes* praising the 12 *imams*.

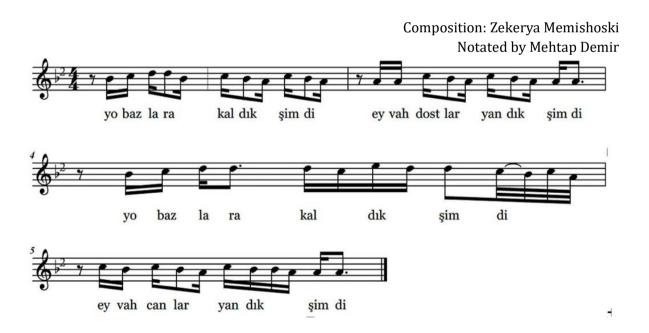
## Sana Sığındım



**Example 5.** Sana Siğindim. Performed by dervishes, recorded in 2018.

The *nefes Yobazlara Kaldım Şimdi* is also in the mode of *Yahyalı Kerem*, which corresponds to the *Uşşak* tetrachord on A and does not have a typical modal character and modal features. Accordingly, a 2 commas flat is heard on tone B, and the tone E appears only in the third measure as an ornamental note (Example 6).

# Yobazlara Kaldım Şimdi

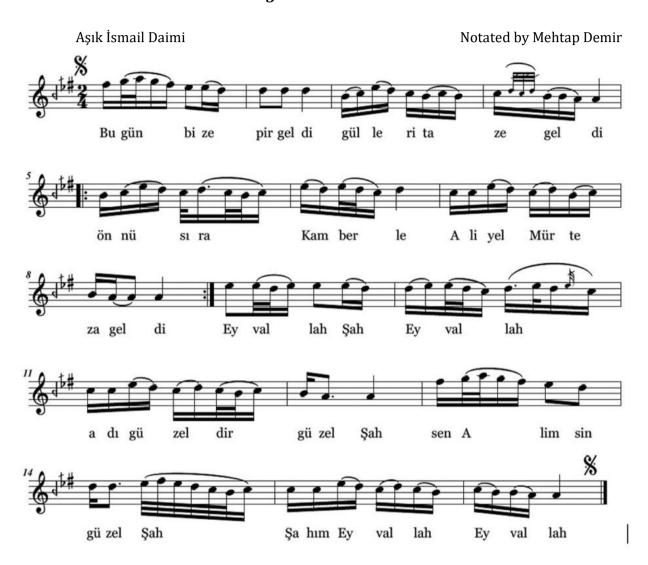


**Example 6.** *Yobazlara Kaldım Şimdi*. Performed by dervishes, recorded in 2018.

In the *nefes Bugün Bize Pir Geldi* (Example 7) sung in the *Karcığar makam*, the tonal structure is formed by adding the *Hijaz* pentachord on D2 (*Neva*) to the *Uṣṣak* tetrachord

on A. Accordingly, these comprise of B flat with 1 comma, E flat, and F sharp alterations that can be heard in the performance. There is only one work sung in this *makam* presented in the recorded material.

## Bugün Bize Pir Geldi



**Example 7:** Bugün Bize Pir Geldi. Performed by dervishes, recorded in 2018.

This *nefes* is also found in Erzincan as a work of Aşık İsmail Daimi (1932-1982), and although the original musical specificities are mostly preserved, a sound structure and melody typical of the Balkan region can be heard in this performance.

The second performance of the same *nefes* sung by a female vocalist is in the tonal structure of the *Uṣṣak makam* and has characteristics typical of the Dikmen Baba *tekke* (Example 8).

# Pir Bugün Bize Geldi

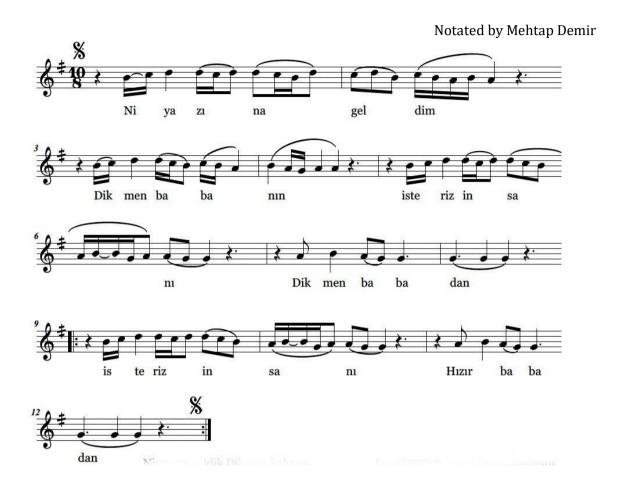
Resource person: Kanatlarci village women performance Notated by Mehtap Demir



**Example 8.** *Pir Bugün Bize Geldi*. Performed by dervishes, recorded in 2018.

One of two performances of the *nefes Niyazına Geldik Dikmen Baba'nın* (Example 9) sung by a female vocalist has a melodic structure in *makam Mahur*, which moves within a pentachord on the G as a tonic.

## Niyazına Geldim Dikmen Baba'nın



**Example 9.** Niyazına Geldim Dikmen Baba'nın. Performed by dervishes, recorded in 2018.

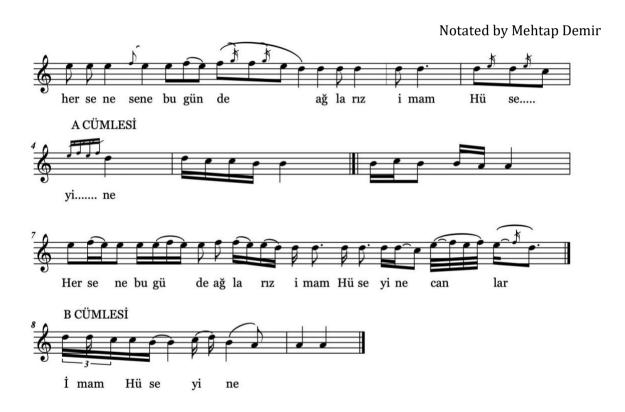
Niyazına geldim Dikmen Baba'nın İsteriz insanı Dikmen Baba'dan İsteriz insanı Hızır Baba'dan Dertliler de derde derman isterler İsteriz dermanı Dikmen Baba'dan İsteriz dermanı Hızır Baba'dan.

Ederim yezide daim laneti
Müminlere olsun Hakkın rahmeti
Kardaşlara olsun Şahın laneti
Büyükler yüz sürer ister himmeti
İsteriz himmeti Dikmen Baba'dan
İsteriz himmeti Hızır Baba'dan.

İkrar edip Ezeli demişiz Veli
Münkirin gözüne görünür Ali
Yezidin gözüne görünür Şahım
Erenler görsün gerçekleri
Görününür virane Mehmet Baba'dan
Sürülsün devranı Veli Baba'nın.

Ömrümüz dolsun Mehmed Baba'nı Duası burdadır Baki Geda'nın Gülbeng ile yanar çıra Sürülsün devranı Mehmed Baba'nın Açıktır meydanı Veli Baba'nın. The lament-based *nefes Her Sene Bugünde Ağlarız İmam Hüseyin'e* (Example 10) has the form of an *uzun hava*. This free-rhythm work contains two main themes. The first musical phrase A, which is known as *Azeri hava* within the Anatolian Turkish repertoire of folk music, is based on a diminished pentachord on the tone B flat with one comma. In the second phrase, the performer took the tone A as a tonic and changed the *makam* structure of the work, i.e., the tonal sequence here represents the *Buselik* pentachord over tone A. This is probably the result of the performer's lack of proficiency with the *saz*. When evaluated according to the recording at hand, this lament in free form reflects emotional transitions during the *muhabbet* and indicates that the community's performance is a kind of improvisation.

# Her Sene Bugünde Ağlarız İmam Hüseyin'e



**Example 10:** Her Sene Bugünde Ağlarız İmam Hüseyin'e. Performed by dervishes, recorded in 2018.

The *nefes Bugün Bayram Günü Derler* (Example 11) is an Anatolian folk song from Erzincan, written by Asik Ismail Daimi. Although the Balkan timbres and ornaments in the melodic line can be felt in the Kanatlarci version, it has preserved the original structure. The work has a structure corresponding to the *Uṣṣak makam*.



Example 11: Bugün Bayram Günü Derler. (Retrieved from www.baglamist.com. 2022).

The performance of the Erzincan *deyiş*es (an Alevi term for *nefes*) *Bugün Bize Pir Geldi* and *Bugün Bayram Günü Derler* as *nefes*es in the Dikmen Baba *tekke* in Kanatlarci can be explained by way of theories of cultural interaction and affiliation. According to the musical analysis, there is no change in the measure or rhythmic patterns. The difference in the performances of the members of this *tekke* from those in Erzincan stems from the vocal color and melodic traces characteristic of Balkan idioms. Vocal ornaments and

accents have not changed the basic melodic patterns and metric system. Certain melodic additions or subtractions are the result of an oral tradition that has been practised for centuries.

## Analyses of the rhythmic patterns and the poems

With regard to the rhythmic structure of the works, according to our analysis the number of regular and irregular rhythms are identical, and there is also one performance in free rhythm.

Three out of five in regular rhythm are in the 4/4 *Sofyan* while two are in 2/4 *Nim Sofyan usûls*. The presence of these rhythms corresponds to the rhythmic pattern characteristic of rural folklore in these regions (Islam, 2005).

In terms of irregular rhythms, one is in a 5/8 *Aksak* rhythm, two in 7/8 *Devr-i Hindi*, and one each in 10/8 *Aksak Semai* as well as 16/8 *Çifte Düyek*.

The following *nefeses* are sung in *Sofyan* and *Nim Sofyan* rhythms: *Niyazına Geldik Dikmen Baba'nın, Yezidler Hep Bir Oldular, Bugün Bize Pir Geldi, Bugün Bayram Günü Derler, and Yobazlara Kaldım Şimdi.* 

The work that is sung in the five-beat *usûl Aksak* (2+3) is *Duvaz-i İmam Sana Sığındım*, while the seven-beat rhythmic pattern *Devr-i Hindi* (3+2+2) is found in the *nefeses Dikmen Baba Dergahın Harabat Olmuş* and *Yezid Kasteyledi Bize*.

The second version of the *nefes Niyazına Geldik Dikmen Baba'nın* is in a complex rhythmic pattern with 10 beats (3+2+2+3). The only *nefes* in the 16-beat *usûl* is *Bugün Bize Pir Geldi*, and the *nefes* in free form is *Her Sene Bugünde Ağlarız İmam Hüseyin'e*.

The most common syllable structures in these musical forms are 7, 8, and 11, which appear equally in three examples each, while one of the *nefes*es contains 15 and one 16 syllables.

In the majority of the musical works, the content of the poetry relates to the 'Hak-Muhammed-Ali' trilogy, which presents the essence of the Bektashi belief system, while in two examples it is about the founder of the *tekke* in Kanatlarci, Dikmen Baba, as well as about Imam Hussein and the 12 *imams*.

In addition to the sacred forms of the mosque, which are practised during prayer and are in the Arabic language, other musical forms are performed in the Turkish language. The authentic language dialect that is used by the Yuruk population in this region is also reflected in the poetry in almost all *nefeses*. There is an example of the *nefes Niyazına Geldik Dikmen Baba'nın*, where the words *geldik*, *isteriz*, *dermani* are pronounced according to the local dialect.

Niyazına geldik Dikmen Baba'nın,

İsteriz dermani Dikmen Baba'nın Hu,

İsteriz dermani Kunde Baba'nın.

# Spiritual Dances - Semah

*Semah*, which is a part of Bektashi worship, is performed with the accompaniment of *saz* (Yöre, 2011: 232). Thus, this dance in the *tekke* Dikmen Baba is performed only on special occasions at the request of the *murshid*. During the year, from a total of 12 official ceremonies, the dance is integrated in *muhabbets* only on the occasion of the announcing of a new member or sometimes for one of the important Bektashi holidays.

There are two types of dances practised in this *tekke*: 1) the dancing *semah* and 2) the *gayip semah*.

In the first type of *semah*, the dervishes dance in pairs (men-women). The dance is usually performed by three couples who dance opposite each other, taking care not to turn their backs to the *Baba*. During the dance, the hands take on a characteristic position, with the left palm facing the earth and the right facing the sky to symbolize connecting the earthly to the heavenly, which is the primordial aspiration to God. In the absence of women, the dance takes place among men (Sabedin Jusufoski, personal communication, 3 January, 2023).

Within the sacred rite performed at the end of fasting during the *Aşüre* holiday, the dance *gayip semah* can also be performed on the *murshid*'s request, as well as the normal singing.

The second type of *semah* represents a passive dance that is performed in the sitting position. With the crossing of the arms of the dervishes, a chain is created that extends to

the *murshid*.

The symbol of the *semah* is attributed to the rotation of the planets in the universe. According to the dervishes, these dances are a means of purification from sins and of having instant communication with the Almighty. All full members, as well as women, can participate in these rituals, except for external guests who leave the space before the start of the dance ceremony.

During the dance, the *nefes Aynayı Tuttum Yüzüme Ali Göründü Gözüme* is performed, whose poem is written by Hilmi Dede Baba.



**Example 12:** *Aynayi Tuttum Yüzüme* (Retrieved from https://dilbeyti.com/besteler/399. 2023).

## **Conclusion**

Of the majority of Bektashi *tekke*s that are active in the RN Macedonia, the *tekke* in v. Kanatlarci is the only one whose members belong to the Turkish ethnic community. 80% of the population of v. Kanatlarci belongs to this dervish order, while the remaining part of the population is Sunni. However, despite the differences in religious affiliations, the everyday sacred rites and customs of the population are identical. This is one of the

Bektashi *tekke*s that had almost no interruption to its activity across many centuries.

In the sacred rites, the *muhabbet*s that are characterized by authenticity still preserved all segments of the Bektashi traditional rituals. Music represents a very important segment of the spiritual rites in this *tekke*. In the performance of these musical poetic forms, string instruments – *sazes* – are used.

Regarding their structure (*makams* and *usûls*), the *nefes*es are very similar to rural folk songs. These sacred forms are performed collectively or by the instrumental performers known as *ashiks*. In addition to the poems of eminent poets, the poems of local writers are also performed in this *tekke*'s sacred rites. These verses, created by some of the dervishes, are most often performed on the melody of some other *nefes* of the current repertoire.

The largest number of musical works are built on the tetrachord of the *makam Uşşak*. In terms of the rhythmic structure, regular and irregular rhythms are equally represented. The presence of these rhythms corresponds to the rhythmic pattern specific to rural folk traditions in these regions.

The spiritual dance *semah* is integrated into the formal sacred rites of the Dikmen Baba *tekke*, especially on the occasion of admitting new members to the dervish order, as well as during subsequent promotions to a higher status: first they are called *muhip*, then dervish, and after that *baba* and *halife baba*. Members, depending on their current mood, dance standing or sitting during these rites. From the cultural point of view, it can be said that despite the synergies between the dervish ritual tradition in the Dikmen Baba *tekke* Kanatlarci with the tradition in Türkiye, especially the Erzincan region, it is distinguished by its authenticity in the following respects: *nefes*es dedicated to the founder of this *tekke*; rhythmic patterns and melodic structures specific for musical folklore in this region; and integration of an authentic language idiom.

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