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# Mythological Foundations of Highland Festivals: The Case of The Kadırga Otcu Festival\*

Yayla Şenliklerinin Mitolojik Temelleri: Kadırga Otçu Şenliği Örneği

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#### ABSTRACT

High places have created a sense of respect and trust in people throughout history, and the ancient Turks also gave special importance to mountains due to their majestic appearance and proximity to the sky. The waters of the mountains, which were seen as the seat of God, were considered sacred, reaching them was found valuable, and sacrifices were offered to God. These beliefs were also carried to Anatolia with the Turks, and although some changes were observed under the influence of Islam, the meaning attributed to the mountains continued. Some of these beliefs still exist in the lives of the Turks, who have moved between the highland and winter residences in the Black Sea Mountains for the purpose of animal husbandry for centuries. The study aims to reveal that the highland festivals are ceremonies that include mythological elements rather than rural entertainment with the example of the Kadırga Otçu Festival. In the research, data obtained from in-depth interviews with local people, horon (*a folkloric dance*) trainers, local artists and local association managers were used by using a semi-structured interview form. It has been determined that the Kadırga Otçu Festival is a ceremony with mythological rituals that was born in the light of the ancient belief systems of the Turks, reorganized in the Islamic framework in Anatolia, and still maintains its ties with the past beliefs.

Keywords: Otçu migration, highland festival, Turkish mythology

# ÖΖ

Yüksek yerler tarih boyunca insanlarda saygı ve güven duygusu oluşturmuş, heybetli görünüşleri ve göğe yakınlıkları nedeniyle eski Türkler de dağlara özel önem vermişlerdir. Tanrı makamı olarak görülen dağların suları kutsal sayılmış, onlara ulaşmak kıymetli bulunmuş ve adaklar adanmış, kurbanlar kesilmiştir. Bu inanışlar Türklerle Anadolu'ya da taşınmış, İslamiyet'in etkisiyle birtakım değişikliler görülse de, dağlara yüklenen anlam devam etmiştir. Karadeniz Dağları'nda yüzyıllardır hayvancılık amacıyla yaylak ve kışlak arasında yer değiştiren Türklerin yaşamında bu inanışların bir kısmı halen varlığını sürdürmektedir. Çalışmada Kadırga Otçu Şenlikleri örneğiyle yayla şenliklerinin kırsal eğlenceden öte mitolojik öğeler içeren bir tören olduğunu ortaya koymak amaçlanmıştır. Araştırmada yarı yapılandırılmış görüşme formu kullanılarak yöre halkı, horon eğitmenleri, yerel sanatçılar ve yerel dernek yöneticileriyle yapılan derinlemesine mülakatlardan elde edilen veriler kullanılmıştır. Kadırga Otçu Şenliğinin Türklerin seki inanç sistemlerinin ışığında doğmuş, Anadolu'da İslami çerçevede yeniden organize edilmiş ve halen geçmiş inanışlarla bağını sürdüren mitolojik ritüellere sahip bir tören olduğuna dair birçok bulgu saptanmıştır.

Anahtar kelimeler: Otçu göçü, yayla şenliği, Türk mitolojisi

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# **1. INTRODUCTION**

Mountains have been the subject of many creation myths, and it is believed that mountains were created either with the world or just after the creation of the world. The basis of this is the belief that the dynamics that are in the center of the world or that enable it to stand are the mountains. Likewise, every temple, palace, and therefore every holy city and royal center is a sacred mountain, and accordingly, the center of the world (Polat, 2020:156). According to mythology and some belief and thought systems, creation first started from the mountains, and mountains were accepted as beings that held the world stable and connected the three realms. According to the belief, the places where the god in the sky connected with the people on earth were mountains. For this reason, mountains have been accepted as the place of god in many mythologies (Şahbaz, 2018:2250).

While Olympus for the ancient Greeks, Mount Sinai for the Palestinian Jews, Arafat for the Meccan Arabs, Kangrinboqe Peak and the Himalaya for the Indians, Burkhan Khaldun for the ancient Mongols, Fuji for the Japanese, the Egyptians placed the creator God on First Mountain and put their depictions in temples, and the Phoenicians considered the high mountains sacred (Tanyu, 1973:5; İnan, 1986; Önal, 2003:100; Baş, 2013:168; Akyüz, 2017:156). In the old Turks, every tribe has its own sacred mountain, also called "kut (holiness) mountain" (Baş, 2018:172). Mountains, which are considered to be the closest places to God in terms of their height, are thought to be sacred places where the spirits of ancestors gather. It was also believed that every mountain had a spirit. This sanctity attributed to the mountains led to the emergence of rituals performed around the mountains over time and the cult of the mountains through these rituals (Cobanoğlu, 2020:44).

Ancient Turks believed that every mountain had a guardian spirit. This is why; they always went to the tops of the mountains when they asked the mountain spirit, when they needed their help; they offered their sacrifices there and performed their rituals there (Sönmez, 2003:105; Baş, 2013:169; Şahbaz, 2018:2258). Altai Turks presented their sacrifices to Kok Tengri with a ritual they performed on the high mountain top, and they called this ritual "*tengere tayig*" (i.e. god - sky sacrifice). The fact that the high mountain tops are close to the sky and appear blue from far away can be accepted as the reason for the establishment of this belief. For this reason, most of the Central Asian Mountains are mentioned with Turkish or Mongolian adjectives meaning blessed, holy, great ancestor, or great khan (İnan, 1986:46).

In Turkish mythology, there is no question of worshiping beings other than God. For this reason, objects called cults should not be accepted as being worshiped instead of gods. The ancient Turks believed that these objects carried the God's kut, and therefore, they considered the objects they considered sacred as beings used as tools to reach the god. Mountains, one of these means, have an important place in the belief and thought system of many communities, as well as in the Turkish belief and thought system. For man, height and eternity became the place of god. For this reason, human beings accepted the mountains, which they felt to be a little closer to God, as sacred, and accepted the mountains as the place of the gods (Tanyu, 1973:42). According to the beliefs of the Turks, these mountains, which rise like they pierce the sky at the top, and their heads disappear in the clouds, seem to talk to God and establish an interest. These were accepted as the closest way to God (Ogel, 2014:583). Just as each village and tribe has its own sacred "iduk mountain", there is also a mountain that is considered sacred by the great units formed from the tribes (Sahbaz, 2018:2255).

Turks who migrated from Asia to Anatolia renamed many mountains in Anatolia with names such as ancestor, father, grandfather or with the mountain names they knew in the regions they came from (Onal, 2003:109; Polat, 2020:156). Religious and water-related practices performed on mountain tops, and rituals such as sacrificing and feasting can be considered as a remnant of Shamanism in Anatolian people (Aydoğan, 2019:418). In this sense, it is seen that the change of religion or changes in belief systems did not change the understanding that the mountain is sacred, only the mountain cult was adapted to the principles of the new belief system. As a matter of fact, it is possible to see the deep traces of the mountain cult with names such as "Baba Dag (Father/Great Mountain)", "Ulu Dag (Great Mountain)", "Kocadag (Huge Mountain)" in many parts of Anatolia, and that many of the pre-Islamic traditions, both religiously and socially, continued by being Islamized (Gökçe and Akgün, 2020:43).

Obas and highlands, which are established on or on the slopes of the mountains and are among the natural habitats of the Turks, are defined as animal grazing areas at high places in mountainous regions, where it is so cold that the winter season cannot be spent, and in the summer, it is cool (İzbırak, 1992:340). In the Eastern Black Sea Region, where agricultural lands are narrow and fragmented, Trabzon and its surroundings are among the areas where transhumance activities are concentrated. The highlands, where the pastures remain green for a long time, are of great importance for the local people who make their living mostly from animal husbandry. Transhumants who migrate to the highland with their animals during the summer period have both a wide feeding area to feed their animals and a cool environment that protects them from the summer heat (Kaya and Yılmaz, 2018:69).

The highlands are like a hidden treasure of a cultural accumulation. Communities that moved between highland and winter residences for the purpose of animal husbandry for centuries, first in Central Asia and then in Anatolia, have created a unique culture with the effect of their economic activities and the geography they live in. One of the most important elements of this culture is the highland festivals, and one of the most important of these festivals is the Kadırga Otçu Festival, where the transhumance from Trabzon, Giresun and Gümüşhane come together.

Transhumance activities carried out in and around Trabzon have been conducted by many different researchers (Somuncu, 1997; Zaman, 2000a; Köse, 2002; Baştan, 2002; Tunçel et al., 2004; Yalçınalp, 2005; Zaman, 2007; Zaman, 2008; Çavuş and Altaş, 2010; Çolak, 2010; Zaman, 2010; Özalp and Sütlü, 2011; Sen,2011; Somuncu et al., 2012; Eksioğlu, 2020) considered from different perspectives such as cultural, economic, sociological, etc. In addition to these studies, there are also studies that deal directly with highland festivals (Baykara, 2000; Zaman, 2000b; Zaman, 2001; Hacıfettahoğlu, 2003; Şişman, 2010; Gülay, 2011; Kıran, 2015; Somuncu and Ceylan, 2015; Özdemir, 2017; Kaya and Yılmaz, 2018; Aydın Emiroğlu, 2019; Bostan, 2019; Gündoğdu, 2020). However, seeing the events and actions that took place in the history of Turkish culture, developed and kept alive today, in the origin and in reality, "not as they are now, but in terms of how they became that" will enable the evaluations to be based on more realistic foundations (Özdemir, 2017:65).

In this context, it does not reflect the reality to see transhumance activities only as an economic activity, and highland festivals as a form of entertainment where rural communities engaged in animal husbandry come together and are dancing horon in the company of kemenche. It is not possible to imagine that the local people, the majority of whom are Oghuz Turks, forget their pre-Anatolian lifestyles, old beliefs and national ceremonies in a short period of time, in the areas where they settled. However, old beliefs and traditions have undergone many changes under the influence of Islam, and they have been able to continue their lives by being veiled in the unknown and incomprehensible small ceremonies and inner beliefs of large strata of people, which can be considered insignificant and harmless (Caferoğlu, 1956:67).

Here, these festivities are not simple entertainments, but a chain of rituals, in other words, mythological ceremonies, which have been traditional in the region for centuries, each stage of which is meticulously planned and valued by the local people. It is this perspective that distinguishes this work from others and makes it important. In this context, the Kadırga - Otçu Festivals, the biggest festival of the semi-nomadic communities living in the region and held by the transhumants from Giresun, Trabzon and Gümüşhane on the Kadırga highland within the borders of Trabzon and Gümüşhane, were handled from a mythological point of view and the mythological elements exhibited at every stage of the festival were tried to be determined.

# 2. PURPOSE AND METHOD

In the study, in which the qualitative research method is applied, answers to the following questions are sought:

• What is the reason for the importance that the local people give to the Kadırga Otçu Festival?

- Is this festival just a traditional rural entertainment organization or is it a part of the old beliefs of the Oghuz Turks, especially the Chepni, who settled in Anatolia centuries ago?
- If this is a mythological ceremony, what are the traces of it and at what stages does it appear?
- Which of the rituals in the festivities preserved their original function, and which of them underwent changes and transformations in line with Islamic principles?
- To which extent has the festival been able to protect itself in the 2000s, when technology and communication developed?

In-depth interview, which is one of the data collection techniques of the qualitative research method, was used in the research. In-depth interview is a data collection technique that covers all the dimensions of the researched subject, asks mostly open-ended questions and allows detailed answers to be obtained, and allows information to be collected through face-to-face interviews. The feelings, knowledge, experiences and observations of the other person are obtained through interviews (Tekin and Tekin, 2012:101). Within the scope of the research, a total of 21 people, consisting of journalists, local researchers

Source person (Sp)	Province-Municipality	Duty	Format and date of interview
Sp-1	Trabzon /Şalpazarı	Non-governmental organization Manager	Phone call (2022).
Sp-2	Trabzon / Beşikdüzü	Non-governmental organization member	Phone call (2017).
Sp-3	Trabzon / Akçabat	Horon trainer	Phone call (2022).
Sp-4	Trabzon /Şalpazarı	Non-governmental organization member	Phone call (2017).
Sp-5	Trabzon /Şalpazarı	Journalist	Phone call (2017).
Sp-6	Trabzon / Tonya	Retired teacher	Face-to-face interview (2021).
Sp-7	Trabzon / Tonya	Local researcher	E-mail (2017).
Sp-8	Trabzon /Şalpazarı	Halk trainer	Phone call (2022).
Sp-9	Trabzon /Şalpazarı	Horon trainer	Phone call (2017).
Sp-10	Trabzon /Şalpazarı	Horon trainer	Phone call (2017).
Sp-11	Trabzon / Tonya	Retired	Face-to-face interview (2022).
Sp-12	Trabzon / Tonya	Teacher	Face-to-face interview (2021).
Sp-13	Trabzon / Tonya	Kemenche performer	Face-to-face interview (2020).
Sp-14	Trabzon /Beşikdüzü	Retired	E-mail. (2017).
Sp-15	Trabzon /Tonya	Merchant	Face-to-face interview (2019).
Sp-16	Giresun / Görele	Non-governmental organization member	Phone call (2022).
Sp-17	Trabzon / Tonya	Horon trainer	Phone call (2022).
Sp-18	Giresun / Görele	Local researcher	Phone call (2022).
Sp-19	Giresun / Görele	Local researcher	Phone call (2022).
Sp-20	Giresun / Eynesil	Non-governmental organization member	Phone call (2018).
Sp-21	Trabzon /Şalpazarı	Non-governmental organization manager	Phone call (2018).

### Table 1: Brief Information About the Participants.

living in the region, non-governmental organization managers, horon trainers, kemenche players, those who took part in the organization of the festival and the local people participating in the festival, were interviewed. These interviews were conducted face-to-face, over the phone and via e-mail using a semistructured interview form.

In these interviews, the meaning of the festivals to the local people, the importance of the festivals for the local people and the origin of the rituals here were tried to be revealed. Openended questions were preferred in order to examine the subject in depth. The same questions were not asked to each participant, and the interview form was renewed by changing the questions in the light of the information obtained from the interviews and adding new questions. Interviews were also conducted with those who were originally from Trabzon, Giresun and Gümüşhane and lived in different provinces but continued this tradition.

Data obtained from different periods were used in the study. In addition to the data collected in 2021 and 2022, the same method and the relevant parts of the data collected from the same region for a different study in 2017 and 2018 were included in the study. Some of the interviews were recorded with a voice recorder with the permission of the participants, and the interviews were transcribed directly in the interviews where voice recording was not allowed. In the study, descriptive analysis was used by using direct quotations from in-depth interviews. The data obtained from the collected information, opinions and thoughts were evaluated by comparing them with

the literature, so that the mythological dimensions of the festival were tried to be determined.

# **3. FINDINGS**

# 1.1. Kadırga Otçu Festival

A highland is a place where you go out or go to graze animals for a certain period of time in the summer, to do agriculture and to work in all kinds of jobs that will benefit you in earning your livelihood, even to rest, outside the life of the village, often the common property of the village, separate from the village and often very far away. However, it is defined as a second part of the village (Tunçdilek, 1967:138), attached to the main livelihood area of the village or a locality completely dependent on the village with socio-economic ties. "Livestock" is the main economic activity in nomadic societies. The lifestyle created by this economic activity has a great role in the emergence of the cultural characteristics of the society. The lifestyle of the society and the culture are directly related and they develop together. For this reason, the identification of cultural characteristics is very important to better know and understand society. For this reason, it is necessary to talk about the meaning and function of the word in the past together with the present meaning of the word highland, and to explain its current meaning and function by examining the phases it went through (Köse, 2002:15).

Turks are a society that has continued the tradition of transhumance from the time they emerged on the stage of history to the present day. The highland, which means wide pastures in

Central Asia, was used in the same sense when Anatolia became a homeland, and high places and mountains were instrumental in the continuation of the same tradition for a different purpose, even if there were no large pastures. The Chepni Turks living in the Black Sea Region, and exhibiting the best examples of transhumance culture in Turkey, played an important role in the emergence and development of transhumance activities (Dost, 2008:5). As a matter of fact, the fact that the highland settlements around Trabzon are called oba and the names of many chiefs, tribes, tribes and tribes such as Sahmelik, Sıhman, Emirler, Oğuz, Oğuzeli, Alanyurdu, Ahmetalan, Alisuyu, Alimeydanı, Kumanandoz are found in the highlands, and that the settlements in the region were founded by Turkish communities indicates that transhumance started with the Turks (Zaman, 2000a; Zaman, 2000b; Zaman, 2007). The Chepni, who used to make a living only with animal husbandry and went to the highlands with their animals in the summer, and went down to the winter residences they called *cenik* in the winter, later started to build houses in the winter residences and engage in agriculture (Hacıfettahoğlu, 2003).

With the start of agricultural activities, families began to split into two, while the elderly and children went to the highland with their animals in the summer period; the young people began to stay in the winter quarters to deal with planting. In the villages, the young people who are in charge of clearing the weeds formed in the corn and preparing the grasses that are the winter food of the animals are called otçu. The otçus remaining in the winter were given a period of time to finish the field work. The field works will be completed on the first Friday of the sickle month according to the folk calendar (the third Friday of July according to the Gregorian calendar) and everyone will gather in the Kadırga Highland. After completing the field work, the herdsmen sometimes come together as a neighborhood, sometimes as a whole village or a few villages, take their weapons, food and kemenche and move to their tribes. Along the way, the otçus, which go to the highland with the kemenche accompaniment, singing songs, horon, shouts, and exploding guns, meet with the families waiting for them on the highland and perform the Kadırga - Otçu festivities.

# 1.2. Mythological Ceremony: Mythological Aspects of Otcu Festivals

The mountains, which allow the Turks to meet their vital needs such as establishing a homeland, springing and hunting, have also become places that shape folk philosophy, beliefs, practices and myths as places that affect social life (Akyüz,

2017:155). As a matter of fact, in the pre-Islamic period, the kams performed their rituals in the mountains, prayed and sacrificed in the mountains at the end of the ceremony. Shaman Turks used to go around the mountain on horseback every year, then go up to the mountain and offer sacrifices to the sky (Önal, 2003:103). In the medieval Islamic sources, there is information that the Turks blessed and respected the mountains, and performed some ceremonies in the mountains. This information includes that the Turks took an oath on behalf of these mountains that they sanctified, said that this was the residence of God, prayed in the mountains, made vows and sacrificed. It is understood from these expressions that Turkish communities use mountains, hills or high places as places where the sky and the earth are worshiped due to their size and proximity to the sky. The most important sign of this is that they come to the same place every year and perform the same rituals (Coruhlu, 2002).

Turks believed that mountains have spirits, that these spirits do good to people, give them health and happiness, enable their animals to multiply, give health and safety, give prey to all hunters and protect their herds from evil. It was believed that climbing the mountains and worshiping there would enable to be close to God, so that God would hear the prayers better (Önal, 2003:101; Dost,2008:48). After accepting Islam, the changes in the belief systems of the Turks did not change the understanding of the sanctity of the mountains, but only adapted to the principles of the Islamic structure (Gökçe and Akgün, 2020:40). In this sense, the fact that the festival is held on a highland close to the summit, such as Kadırga, indicates the mountain cult belief in the Turks. In addition, the day of the festival is another issue that can be considered as a continuation of holiness. With the selection of Friday as the holly day, the Friday Prayer became a part of the festival, so the religious structure within the organization continued within the Islamic framework.

It is possible to see the traces of the mountain cult in the names of the highlands and festivals in the region (Kadırga, Hıdırnebi, Bektaş, Haçkalı Baba, Karaabdal, etc.), as well as in the burial areas of special importance (Kalyoncu, 2018; Atalay, 2019), which are claimed to be the graves of saints or martyrs on their peaks. Although partnership with Allah is prohibited in the understanding of Islam, in some cases, when asking for something from Allah, beings that are considered sacred are included. This sanctuary can sometimes be the tomb of a saint or a martyr, sometimes an object or place that is considered the protector of the region, and sometimes a tree that is believed to have a light on it.



Figure 1-2. Unknown tomb in Kadırga Highland (Kalyoncu, 2018:80-81)

There are graves in Trabzon and its surroundings with unknown occupants which lie on the summits of the mountains and which are considered sacred, but are believed to be martyrs' graves by the local people. Around these tombs, rituals bearing traces of the Shamanist period are performed and wishes are offered. At the beginning of the wishes and wishes are to have children, to seek healing, to get rid of diseases, and of course, most importantly, animal husbandry, which is the basis of the economy in the region. The human-like obelisks around the martyrdoms, which have kurgan features at the top of the mountains, also have balbal features. Atalay (2019:28) reports that one day before the highland festivals, all the children in the highland were sent to the Mountain Highland martyrdom by the elders, and at least 8 to 10 people walked around the martyrdom and shouted "Allah Günes (God, (give us) sun)" with a loud voice and tied a rope to the martyrdom. It is stated that it is believed that the prayer is accepted if the weather is sunny on the festival day after the ritual, which is completed by walking around the martyrdom at least seven times. On the Kadırga Highland, there is a tomb surrounded by large stones on a hill, and there are two martyrs' graves on the hill on the opposite side. According to some of the local people, there is a saint in the tomb, which is the only one, and according to others, there is a martyr there (Kalyoncu,2018:80).

In order to understand the festivities, the components that make up the infrastructure of the festivities such as space, time, historical reality or story, belief, costume, food, participation and economy, and the relations of these components with each other should be examined in more detail (Aksu, 2017). In a livestockbased life, it is very important to prepare the grasses that the animals will eat in the winter season in the summer period. According to old Turkish beliefs, when the harvest of winter grass was completed, God was thanked, and for this purpose, horon and similar dances were performed within the scope of ritual (Pez, 2012:196). The Kadırga is more than a fun-themed festival or a rural market, it is a ceremony held with great discipline and respect from start to finish. The Kadırga is the area where the people reveal their games, weapons, clothing, horses, folk songs, instruments, and, in short, all their cultural resources.

Kadırga Otçu Festivals have been held on the first Friday of the month of sickle, according to the folk calendar, and on the third Friday of July, according to the Gregorian calendar. In the period when transportation was provided on foot, the otçus,, who set out sometimes one or two days earlier, depending on the distance of the low-altitude villages to the Kadırga, would meet with the people in the highland and spend that night on the highland. On the morning of the festival, the kemencheci (kemenche player) would start playing his kemenche at a dominant point of the oba, informing him that it was time to set out for the oba. The transhumants that came together with the sound of the kemenche and set off, would unite with the transhumants from different tribes at certain points and reach Kadırga. This march is not done in an ordinary way; it is carried out with a certain discipline and system. There are horsemen in the front, men in the form of a horon arm behind them, and women behind them. In front of both the men and women, there are people called administrators, who control the walking and horon order, and ensure that it continues with a certain seriousness. Regardless of the age or position of the person chosen by the master-apprentice relationship and accepted as the manager, everyone must follow his instructions in this walk.

This organization, which takes place once a year and does not repeat itself, requires great seriousness. The horsemen try to maintain order and disperse the crowd in front by riding their horses left and right. In the second row behind the horsemen,



Figure 3-4. Walking to the festival area: Horsemen in front, men walking behind and women behind them (Source: Yusuf Kurt (left) – Kadırga Yaylası, 2022 (right)).



Figure 5-6. Friday Prayer image from the old and the new version (2022) of the open-topped prayer room on the Kadırga Highland (Kadırga Yaylasi, 2022).

riflemen and gunmen shoot behind them and march towards Kadırga like a war winner. The group slows down as they get closer to Kadırga. Since this is an open-air theater where folk dances, figures and skills are exhibited, the slower the progress, the longer you will stay on the stage (Gülay, 2001:265).

When the obas reach Kadırga, the green appearance of Kadırga turns into a riot of colors consisting of thousands of people (Kaya and Yılmaz, 2018). Each oba enters the festival area from a different direction and a wide horon ring is set up. As the obas enter the area, the edge of the horon ring is opened and the obas are taken into the ring. Horon lasts until the time of Friday

Prayer. When the prayer time comes, men go to the prayer hall, another symbol of Kadırga. At the end of the prayer, each oba continues the horon until the end of the festival, with the horon ring they set up within themselves.

...the Tonyans held hands. Yusuf Kurt leads the Otçu horan in his local clothes. A whistle in his mouth, a wand, a whip in his hand... It causes great horan, wounds the crowds... two horsemen in front... It makes one think of centuries ago. One is young and one is old... Yusuf Kurt gives the impression of an ecstatic "shaman". Players of all ages play the horon worshipfully.



Figure 7. Horon and the administrator who ensures order and discipline in the march (Yusuf Kurt)



Figure 8. Horon ring and audience in the festival area (Kadırga Yaylasi, 2022)

Coming to the field. There are "microphone", "stage", "singer", "presenter", "speakers"... which are not in line with Otçu's essence. Otçus from Tonya are intrinsically connected. Doesn't give a damn about what I said. The march of Horan turns into a ring of Horan... The people are growing and growing... They are suppressing all the voices I have mentioned. All eyes are now watching Otçus from Tonya... (Günay, 2016)

Societies dealing with agriculture organize entertainment in the style of festivals or fairs after the harvest. However, it would be an incomplete and wrong point of view to evaluate the highland festivals, especially the Otçu Festivals, in this context. Akçaabat is 57 km, Beşikdüzü 61 km, Düzköy 45 km, Eynesil 70 km, Kürtün 30 km, Maçka 50 km, Şalpazarı 38 km, Tonya 37 km, Torul 56 km, and Vakfikebir is 56 km away from Kadırga. In the period when the transportation was carried out on foot, even a journey lasting sometimes one or two days from the settlements mentioned above reveals the spatial importance of the Kadırga alone.

While an entertainment-based organization can be held in a much more accessible place, taking this trouble has a sacred meaning. In addition, in societies where animal husbandry is the main source of livelihood, a separate activity is carried out in every period of the year, and it is very difficult to use the term end of harvest in these societies. On the other hand, those who are engaged in agriculture along with animal husbandry in the region return to the villages for hazelnut farming after the festival. In this sense, for the communities united in Kadırga, the festival can be considered as a short break from all activities rather than the end of harvest entertainment. On the other hand, the importance given to the festival, the discipline and seriousness of the festival require a different perspective for this organization. Celik (1999) stated that both men and women participated in the festival with their most beautiful clothes, that there was a hierarchy in every area of the festival, that men walked in an order with women in the back, and in this order, there was another hierarchy in men's and women's groups, with the elderly in the front and the young in the back.

On the way to the festival, there is a manager in the group. There is a ruler for both men and women, and whatever he says happens. No one comes out of the manager's word. Management develops in a master-apprentice relationship. My master saw that I was eager to be the manager and transferred it to me (Sp - 10).

On the descent or at the entrance to the festival area, horsemen are lined up in the front, and those with pistols and mauser rifles behind them. When the manager gives an order, first the pistols and then the rifles are fired. This is done in a disciplined and rhythmic way. Years ago, an extraordinary number of uncomfortably large bullets were fired. Later, the gendarmerie started to take precautions. Women are lined up behind the riflemen and men at the very back. Everyone plays horon or takes rhythmic steps, hand in hand or arm in arm (Sp - 14).

Participation in this organization, which will be held only once a year, is extremely important for the local people. Everyone is making all kinds of sacrifices to participate in the festival. It is possible to come across those who work for a year, sell their animals or goods, and postpone their funerals in order to experience the festival day as a family in the region (Kaya and Yilmaz, 2018:74). The judge's postponement of the new hearing date of a case before the local court to Friday, which is the Kadırga Otçu day, caused the plaintiff and the defendant to object to this decision, declaring that it was obligatory for them to attend the festival. The situation became a matter of discussion, and the trial day was changed due to the judge's respect for the local culture, and the trial continued on another day after the parties attended the otçu festival (Gülay, 2011:52).

Everyone has the right to participate in this festival and it is highly respected. Trabzon and its surroundings are a region where blood feuds were quite common in the past and many people lost their lives because of this. But despite this, no one was ever shot someone with whom they had a vendetta at the festival. Those who looked for an opportunity to kill each other under normal circumstances forgot about their blood feuds for a while, even though they knew that they would meet at the festival.

It is told that a family who had a funeral at home on the morning of going to the festival quickly buried its body and participated in the festival (Sp-1).

A crying sound is heard in the house just as the party is about to leave for the feast. When the man of the house asks what happened, his wife tells him that his father (father-in-law) is dead. Although the man of the house lost his father, he said to the household, "Don't cry, we will wash and wrap my father well. We will go to the festival, and when we return, everyone will cry and bury him as if he had just died." (Sp-17).

As the festival week is approaching, a household head whose financial situation is not good in Ağasar has begun to brood



**Figure 9-10.** Posters of festivities held in Europe (Munich Kadırga 2020 on the left and Biefeld on the right) (Source: Münih and Biefeld Highland Festivals official page).

about how to go to the festival. Of course, this demoralization was noticed by his wife and children at home. When asked about his distress, the man said, "The festival has come, the children and everyone will go, we don't have any money, what will we do?". Even though his wife says, "Don't get discouraged, we'll find a cure", the man states "Everyone expresses his despair, who will give us money in preparation for the festival". His wife says, "We will sell the yal cauldron (the big copper cauldron used to prepare food for animals), we will go to the festival, when we return, we will go to the hazelnut diary and buy the cauldron again" and in this way they sell their cauldrons and go to the festival (Sp-4).

Why go to the festival area with a ceremony? Do you need this fuss? This festival is neither just a fair nor a celebration. There is something different here. Why does he go to Kadırga when his field work is done? This is a ceremony; this is a sign of unity (Sp-3).

The date of the festival has been the third Friday of July for centuries. For this reason, we cannot make an information announcement about the festival date. Knowing this, expatriates living abroad and in other parts of Turkey, adjust their leave according to the festival. Thousands of people from Şalpazarı, Beşikdüzü, Tonya, Görele, Akçaabat, Vakfıkebir, Eynesil and other provinces of the Black Sea Region attend the festival. Expats who have migrated to different regions or countries from the region organize their leave and vacation plans according to the festival. It is not possible to explain the festival with the desire to meet the need for entertainment alone. Many people from Trabzon, Giresun and Gümüşhane, who have moved away from rural life, abandoned agriculture or animal husbandry, migrated to a different country in the country or work in the industry or service sector, are trying by all means to join the Kadırga, and those who cannot participate try to continue this tradition in the places where they live.

Otçu Festivals are held in many countries and cities such as Istanbul, Ankara, Bursa, Kocaeli, Samsun, Zonguldak, Sakarya, Izmir (in Türkiye) and abroad in Germany (Hamburg, Duisburg, Bielefeld, Frankfurt, Heilbron, Ulm, Munich (Allgäu), Oberhausen, Lenningen), France (Paris), Belgium (Genk), Austria (Linz), Netherlands (Amsterdam) and the USA (New Jersey) (Kaya and Yılmaz, 2018:75). Considering all of these, Otçu Festival is perhaps one of the most comprehensive organizations in the world.

My remedy is Kadırga. When I come to Kadırga, I find peace. I always took my leave on the first of July when I was working. It still is (Sp-3).

A non-muslim boss asked someone who was going to get a job from here in Istanbul, where is his hometown? When he got an answer "from Trabzon", he asked where he came from. "Şalpazarı" was the answer. He asks "will you go to the festival?" and when the man says yes, he does not hire the man. Because the boss knows that when the time of the festival comes, he will quit his job no matter what ((Sp-9).

An important part of our people who went abroad used to go to Zonguldak for mining. Workers working hundreds of meters underground in the mine would set their annual leave according to Otçu, and would return to the mine by spending the money they saved in almost a year, especially bullets, in festivals (Sp-18).

Attire is very important in the festival. The clothes begin to be prepared in the spring. Men's clothes consisted of zipka, pant trousers, linen shirt (handmade), vest, jacket, sandals and pants 70 to 80 years ago. Today, suits (especially dark blue) are preferred. Women used to wear hand-woven loincloths, an apron on the collar, a fez under a hoop, sandals, colorful socks and leggings, and some small accessories. Today's clothes consist of scarves on their heads, ateliers on their backs, belts on their waists, socks and shoes (Kaya and Yılmaz, 2018:71).

In the past, local people needed a reason to dress well. Appearing in new clothes when there was nothing to show was considered ostentatious and condemned. Here is the right place to show off, these were the festivities. Every family would reveal whatever they could brag about or exhibit at these festivities. The men wore their newest clothes, put on their guns; the girls wore their newest clothes and jewelry, and came to the festival like that (Sp-3).

One of the most important links of the chain of rituals in Kadırga is the horon. The horon is played with great seriousness. The most important person responsible for ensuring this seriousness is the administrator, who controls the movements of those who play the horon with the instructions he gives. Commanding is very important and not a task for everyone. The administrator, who stands out in society, must have reached a certain age, know the horon at a level that can be called a master, and have the ability to manage it.

Horon has a commander. He controls the horon with his staff and only he speaks. Others are silent. The only sound is the kemenche, the drum and clarion. It won't come off. You listen to the kemenche, drum, and clarion and play your horon. Those who do not comply with this are removed from the horon. Elderly people who do not enter the horon sit in the horon ring and watch. Now, neither the kemenche nor the drum and clarion can be heard from the loudspeaker (Sp-13).

Horon is played very seriously. It is not welcomed to enter the festival with dirty or worn out clothes, and to act unpretentious in the horon (Sp-10).

The horon in the festivities is the showcase of the region. Everyone shows their presence. His money, his clothes, his son's



Figure 11. The transhumance marching to the Kadırga by horon under the direction of the administrator.

valor, his daughter's beauty, whatever he has is revealed at the festival (Sp-3).

The festival was held in all conditions. According to the information received from the interviewees, the festival was held even during the Russian occupation after the First World War. Even though many highland festivals were banned after the '80 military coup, the Kadırga festival could not be prevented.

The Russians came as far as Harşit River. Even they joined the festival. It also attracted their attention (Sp-8, Sp-9, Sp-10).

Shooting into the air at the entrance to the festival area is also a mythologically based behavior. According to the Turkish mythological system; Turks shoot arrows into the air to greet *the Gok Tengri (Sky God)* (Avc10ğlu and Gonca, 2019:608). Shooting into the air while entering the festival area can be considered as a mythological greeting in this context. In the interviews, it was learned that only the musicians drank alcohol during the festivals 30 to 40 years ago, and it was condemned for the attendants to drink. With the widespread sale and consumption of alcohol in festivals, the use of guns became dangerous and prohibited.

In the past, there was no harm in shooting guns, as alcohol was not allowed. The event was controllable (Sp-3).

Erata (1975:7362-7363) reports that weapons are very important at every moment of the festivities and are used quite frequently:

All the lads have guns...There are at least ten riflemen in each village. Thousands of bullets are fired along the way. Shooting guns is the greatest pleasure and entertainment. Bullet prices are not cheap... However, each young man shoots 300-500 rounds. Everyone tells the number of bullets fired. The one, who saves money abroad for a year, consumes this money on the way to the highland and takes a loan on the way back... You reach the highland on Thursday evening. Arrival to the highland takes place with a ceremony. Hand in hand, they go in line, with the mausers in the front and the others in the back.

It is played by following the lithe sound of the drum or the kemenche. Weapons are drawn, group shots are fired. At least one hundred-odd bullets are fired with each shot. Whichever villager fires a lot of bullets, the name of that village is said. It's morning, they're getting ready to go to the Kadırga bargain. Arrival at the market happens at the same time as the crowds of all the villages. On the way, the otçu crowd of the villages grows together.



Figure 12. A group from Tonya who goes to the festival with their guns (Yusuf KURT)

Arriving at the market, various villages greet each other by firing bullets. They compete not to be inferior to each other. It is as if a war front was established that day.

The practices developed under the influence of popular culture also negatively affect the festivals. Instruments that are not suitable for the traditional structure of the festival began to be used, music (Gypsy style and rap) began to find a place for itself, and people who smoked in the horon ring, spoke on their mobile phones and even chewed gum began to be seen in the festivals where local people attach importance to every stage. Unfortunately, the concerns of local governments and the concerns of local people differ. In the festival area, the fact that the vendors who only observe commercial concerns and are far from the tradition of the festival are not controlled and causes problems. The request to stop the horon for the protocol speeches, the confusion of the speeches with the sound of the kemenche, or the protocol speeches made during the entrance of the tribes to the area disturb the original owners of the festival.

A police station was built on the Horon plain, a mosque was built, and shops were built, as a result, there was no place to play horon on the Horon plain (Sp-2).

Too many cars cause problems. Our people get in the car from the camp, so the community that enters the festival area with the walking arm decreases. 300 people from our camp go by car and only 200 people walk (Sp - 9).

Cars are normally supposed to be left in the Hartama gorge. Since Kadırga is open space, they enter the right vehicles on the grass. We even built a wall to close the area, and they climb on it with off-road vehicles. The occupation of marketers rather than vehicles puts us in a difficult position. A vendor wanted to unload a truck sofa at the festival area. Although I said that if you empty them here, you will narrow the festival area, I could not make them listen. Because of them, there is not even a place to play horon (Sp-21).

There should be no protocol at the festival. Whoever comes here comes for horon. There should be no protocol speeches. The only wish of those who come here is to sing with drums and clarion. A penalty kick is taken while playing Horon. This is disrupting our order and is not in line with our habits (Sp-8, Sp-9, Sp-10).

In the middle of the horon, the kemenches are stopped. Announcements are made that the Governor or our deputy will call out to you. Horon is not such a simple activity, everyone should understand that. We want our governor, district governors and politicians to come and join the horon with us (Sp-10).

Politicians, loudspeakers, the real owners of the festival come but cannot have fun. Just where people are going to enter the area, the corn seller comes. They put a football goal and shoot. There are roads everywhere (Sp-3).

Horon ring represents unity. The ring is broken today and the entertainment models of the age began to be effective. First, we need to convey this to the children. I could only take my child to the highland by buying a gift. "What am I going to do, there's no internet there," he says. I want him to know his culture, to know how people lived in the past. It's hard to give that to kids who don't know their history. Today we all come from abroad. Some from Izmir, some from Istanbul, some from Ankara, all come to Kadırga from different cities. This difference is evident in every aspect. In the past, we were all kneaded with the same culture (Sp-1).

Festivities are livestock based festivities. As livestock decreases, the atmosphere of the festivities changes. The generation who walked to the highland in their childhood keeps this tradition alive. When this generation is gone, these traditions will be completely excluded (Sp-5).

From time to time, alternative festivals were tried to be organized between villages and districts. These should not be allowed. Kadırga is a way of life, a part of our life, rather than a feast for us. The people of Eynesil have their own horon. They play a more free-style horon. The people of Ağasar come to the fore with their clothes. Tonya draws attention with her straight horon. Even the stance of the kemenche player excites people (Sp-20).

# 3. CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The cultural elements of a society are directly related to the lifestyle of the society, and the cultural elements and the lifestyle develop in the same direction (Köse, 2002:10). Depending on the mountainous and rugged nature of the land, a lifestyle based on animal husbandry activities emerged in the Eastern Black Sea Region. Perhaps the most important of the activities brought about by this lifestyle is transhumance. While animal production, production of milk and dairy products constitute the economic part of transhumance, activities such as highland migration, highland life and highland festivals also constitute its cultural part. As a matter of fact, these are the features that distinguish the Eastern Black Sea Highlands from their counterparts and make them a cultural center rather than a geographical feature.

The Kadırga Otçu Festival is one of the most important highland festivals, which are the most important means of displaying the local culture in the Black Sea Region. Kadırga festivities are a chain of rituals that originated in Central Asia, carried out under the leadership of the Chepni Turks who settled in this region and with the participation of other Turkish tribes. Kadırga/Otçu Festivals are an organization that is seen in rural communities living in different regions and should be kept apart from fairs, feasts or festivals to meet the entertainment and shopping needs. Considering the importance that the local people attach to the festival, the seriousness of the festival, the hierarchical structure within the festival, and the activities before and after the festival, it is obvious that this organization should not be regarded as rural entertainment. Although this festival, which was born in the light of the old belief systems of the Turks, it was reorganized within the Islamic framework and still has mythological rituals that maintain its ties with past beliefs.

This magnificent ceremony, which was previously held by thousands of people in the cleanest and newest clothes, in a place that can be reached by a walk that lasts for days and kilometers, unfortunately, has its share of popular culture pressure. As the types of economic activities develop and change in the Black Sea Region, which has a very strong bond between economic life and culture, culture is adversely affected by this change. As roads and means of transportation improved, highland migrations disappeared, animal husbandry started to be abandoned as the economic level rose, the contribution of the highlands to economic life decreased, and the highlands became empty pastures where a few herds that were depleted in number grazed. As people move away from the transhumance culture, the cultural loss increases, and the existing cultural elements unfortunately continue their lives by breaking their ties with the past. The population, which carries urban life forms to the highlands during the summer period, also negatively affects the cultural life of the region. This change has started to cause a structural deterioration of the highland festivals.

Today, those who participate in the festivals in the highlands or try to continue the tradition are the generation who spent their childhood in the highlands and reached the highlands on foot, and who knew the rituals. When this generation, which tries to make the festival in accordance with its essence, disappears, the festivals will either continue by losing their identity or completely disappear. The disruption of festivals, whose primary purpose is to keep traditions and customs alive, is the beginning of the disappearance of culture. These festivities are a type of celebration that carries rich traces of the life, traditions and customs of the Turkish nation in their ancestral homeland. Entertainment here essentially assumes the role of a tool in keeping traditions and customs alive because "most of the traditions, customs and beliefs that make up the cultural identity were created in entertainment environments" and continue to be kept alive with the entertainment environments in which they developed (Özdemir, 2019:16).

This issue is not only a situation with cultural effects, but also an issue that needs to be taken into account on the economic side. The highlands are the most important natural and cultural tourist attractions of the region. Tourists visiting the highlands travel with the desire to make observations for cultural purposes in traditional highland settlements and even to be included in this life, in addition to staying and resting in the highlands (Somuncu et al., 2012:33). The need to create a new economic resource such as tourism causes the revival of old highland festivals. Although the horon and kemenche retain their place in these modern festivals, which are different from the old ones, they are celebrated quite differently from the highland festivals of the past, and gain an extroverted character rather than being a traditional holiday (Pez, 2012:202).

An important organization such as the Kadırga is turning into a fair today, as popular music and rap are added to the kemenche and horon, and many traditions, from the traditional clothes to the rituals, are abandoned. Efforts to protect the transhumance culture based on animal husbandry from Asia to Anatolia, which make the Black Sea highlands not a sole place and turn them into a cultural attraction and to transfer them to future generations should be carried out rapidly. Therefore, when the Kadırga is considered as an ancient tradition and a completely unique intangible cultural heritage element, its cultural significance will be more clearly understood. It is very important to identify the rituals at all stages of the Kadırga Festival, which is perhaps one of the most important rural organizations in Turkey and even in the world, and whose origins go back hundreds of years, to register them as an intangible cultural heritage element, and to transfer them to future generations. All highland festivals, which originated hundred years ago, especially the Kadırga, should be evaluated a forms of a mythological ceremony that have been shaped within the framework of Islamic belief and have reached the present day. The festivals that are registered and protected in this way will reach the next generations in a healthier and least spoiled form, and this will ensure that the festivals become the center of attention both in Turkey and around the world.

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