# CAMS / SHAMANS, THE FOLK HEALERS LIVING IN ANATOLIA: OCAK FOLK HEALERS

## ЗНАХАРИ АНАТОЛИИ- КАМЫ/ШАМАНЫ: ФАМИЛЬНОЕ НАСЛЕДСТВО

# ANADOLU'DA YAŞAYAN HALK HEKİMİ KAMLAR / ŞAMANLAR: OCAKLILAR

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#### ABSTRACT

The roots of the practices conducted with the folk medicine and folk remedies date back to cams /shamans. And the "Ocak folk healers" who have a vital place in the Anatolia folk healers came to be as the continuation of cams / shamans. Ocak healers who are believed to possess healing mystical abilities heal certain diseases with traditional method. Along with these traditional methods, some other practices based on faith and magic are used. The ocak healers are believed to gain their supernatural healing abilities genetically. Along with the genetically gained abilities, the knowledge obtained through the mentor-protégé relationship also renders the ocak healers superior.

When the treatments and the practices conducted by the ocak healers are examined, it's understood that these practices base on the cam / shaman beliefs. Among these, ones related to fire, iron, water and happy numbers come into prominence.

In this research, putting forth the similarities between the ocak folk healers and cams / shamans who are living in Anatolia is aimed.

**Keywords:** Ocak, Ocakli /Ocak Folk Healer, Folk Medicine, Cam / Shaman, Mythological Characteristics

## **АННОТАЦИЯ**

Знахарство и лечение народными лекарствами основано на шаманизма. Потомственное наследование методов лечения в Анатолли тоже основывается на шаманизме. Мистические особенности лечения потомственных целителей опираются на многовековые традициии. Эти способности передаются генетически.

Исследуя потомственное целительство установливается его происхождение от шаманизма. При лечении, в первую очередь, применяется огонь, железо, вода и т.н. святые предметы.

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В статье рассматривается сходство знахарства народа Анатоллии с шаманизмом.

**Ключевые слова**: фамилия, потомственнотсь, шаман, мифологические особенности

## ÖZET

Halk hekimliği ve halk ilaçları ile ilgili uygulamaların kökenleri kamlara / şamanlara dayanır. Anadolu halk hekimleri arasında önemli bir yeri olan "ocaklılar" da kamların / şamanların devamı olarak ortaya çıkmışlardır. Şifa verici mistik özellikler taşıdığına inanılan ocaklılar, belli hastalıkları gelenekli yöntemlerle iyileştirir. Gelenekli yöntemler yanında inanç ve büyü kaynaklı bazı uygulamalara da başvurur. Ocaklıların şifa verici olağanüstü özelliklerini genetik olarak kazandıklarına inanılır. Soyaçekim yoluyla kazanılan özellikler yanında usta-çırak ilişkisiyle edinilen bilgiler de ocaklıları diğer halk hekimlerinden üstün kılmaktadır.

Ocaklılar tarafından yapılan tedavi ve uygulamalar incelendiğinde, bu uygulamaların kam / şaman inanışlarına dayandığı anlaşılmaktadır. Bunlar arasında ateş, demir, su ve kutlu sayılarla ilgili olanlar öne çıkmaktadır.

Bu araştırmada, Anadolu'da yaşayan halk hekimi ocaklılarla kamlar/şamanlar arasındaki benzerliklerin ortaya konulması amaçlanmaktadır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Ocak, Ocaklı, Halk Hekimliği, Kam/Şaman, Mitolojik Özellikler

### Introduction

The ocak healers living in Anatolia and who have a vital spot within the traditional medicine practices are the folk healers with the cam / shaman properties. The ancestors of these people possessing supernatural powers believed to come genetically and / or gained through certain education are named variously in the Turkish culture: such as "Cam", "shaman", "play", "raid", "bahşı / bakşı [healer], "poet". These people who are the ancestors of the ocak healers gained a respected spot in the community life as man of god, wise man, teacher, story teller, theater player, fortune teller, folk poet / tunesmith, musician-music lover, composer, vocal artist, pendulum, mage, soul healer / doctor [folk healer], chemist [herbalist], consultant, envoy, judge, soldier, poet and wanderers. As communities grow and spread through large geographies, these mysterious people became experts in certain areas and distributed the work (Köprülü 1989: 65-66, Durbilmez 2008: 15-16). Due to social needs, new types taking on these duties and responsibilities have emerged through time in the wake of this specialization. In the religious / Islamic matters, types like grandfather, father, saint, protector, dervish and sheik; in the matter of healing the patients, ocak healers and bonesetters (osteopaths); and in the matter of utterance regarding the past and future, fortune tellers specialized (Köprülü 1989: 67-69, Araz 1995: 84.).

People who are believed to possess healing mystic powers on some diseases have emerged in Anatolia as the continuation of cams / shamans. Family, accommodation and the treatment place of these people in the folk medicine are called "ocak", and the ones who have gained the competence and the authorization to conduct folk medicine and who are a

member of an ocak are called "ocak healer" (There are some parts where the words "ocak" and "ocaklis" /"ocak healers" are used with the same meaning). To put it differently, "an ocak or ocak healer is an individual or a family who can heal a certain disease or plural diseases or other similar problems with his hand, breath or water and mud as an instrument and the ones who inherited this characteristic of his hereditary." (Kalafat 2010: 122)

The word "ocak" has plural meanings. To make it so that the subject is better understood, mentioning about these other meanings shorty will be beneficial.

1. Lineage (Example: Ocağin batsın!) meaning = curse on your lineage, 2. "The happy offices, which the Alewi and qizilbash communities are zone-by-zone tied to" (The lineage of the sect nobles who gave name to these offices are called "ocak".), 3. "The one with the ability of treating a certain disease or plural diseases, who's knowing about this profession and who specializes on it." (Boratav 1984: 113), 4. High-income, noble family, dynast", 5. "Homeland", 6. "A sect of the people who comes together due to the same goal and idea" and the building of this sect (Example: Turk Ocağı) meaning = Turkish quarry / (Duvarcı 1990: 34), 7. "the part of a house where fire is lit" (Boratav 1984: 115), 8. "Hole or a pit dug for the purpose of mining", 9. A hole prepared for the planting of seeds of various plants, or a hole dug around the plants for irrigation" (Duvarcı 1990: 34).

When the word "ocak" is examined, it seems that "lineage" is rather apparent. In a sect-based "ocak", the captainship goes from father to son. The ones coming from the lineage of the nation of ocak which also means "homeland" are called "ocakzade". In a remedial ocak, "lineage" is also vital. "In this third meaning, "ocaklık" (a property given to a family to be passed down from father to son) is either given from father to son or mother to daughter, though this is not a specific rule" (Boratav 1984: 114). 89.1% of the ocak healers in Denizli gained their remedial abilities and authorization through genetics and 10.9% of them with "permission" (Öngel 1997: 26). There are some people uttering that there is relation between the sect-based ocaks and remedial ocaks. "People who are ocak, plurality, are from the people of a village nearby an entombed saint; in his shrine, either them coming from the lineage of the saint or them being attendants in a place of visit is believed to give them authorization." (Boratav 1984: 113-114). Even to the extent that all the members of a village where some famous entombed saints are situated could be ocak healers (Boratav 1984: 114). Here we can say that some ocak healers are accepted as saints in the eyes of the public due to their abilities and after their death, their tombs are converted into a place to visit due to being accepted as entombed saints. And the houses of the ocak healers being called "ocak" are related with the fifth and sixth meanings of the word given above. The fact that the ocak healers use "fire" mostly in their remedies must be related with the seventh meaning of the word "ocak". "Precautions such as using the stuff made from iron against incubus, in that using the sword of the ocak healer; when the postpartum milk has ceased, putting a wet felt on the breast and pressing a flaming rod atop; cauterizing some swellings; bathing the child with the water, into which rocks taken from the furnace is added, against "kırk basması" (a disease of the Anatolian folk, which is believed to make babies under 40 days always sick and after those 40 days causes the child to have a growth deficiency) gain a meaning in this regard." (Boratav 1984: 115). Likewise, seeing a connection between the ocak healers using some mines and plants in their treatments and its last two meanings is possible.

Ocak healers generally direct this ability and authorization to someone from his own lineage with the method "giving hand". The one / ones who acquire this ability and

authorization are called "the one receiving hand" / "the permitted one". Also the ones who become bride to a family accepted as Ocak can gain the remedy abilities of the family. Another way to gain these abilities is to catch an evil soul named as "Albasti" meaning puerperal fever or "Alkarısı". If the one who takes the "Alkarısı" into his command by sticking a needle into his head or taking his comb from his head frees this soul on the condition that he doesn't hurt anyone, then that person is called "Al Ocağı" [Al Ocak healer]. "If the hat, napkin or belt of this ocak healer stays beside the puerperant, then the "Alkarısı" is not to be feared. Only the Al Ocak healer can heal the given damage." (Duvarcı 1990: 35-36). According to the Caulking, "this power is obtainable through drinking wine in a dream or by receiving **hand** or sometimes **breath** from someone with these abilities. And if one receives hand from Mother Fatma in a dream, then he's considered to be a ocak healer." (2010: 122).

Ocak healer teaches the one, to whom he will give hand, through the mentor-protégé method with practice. During these practices, if he were to be permitted about the matter of disease(s), he is to learn all the works and processes about it. The ocak healer, who goes through an applied training about the disease(s) he's permitted to, becomes specialized by learning how to treat the patient, the processes he must adjust to and the necessary precautions against the disease which can infect the patient (Araz 1995: 85). Some Ocak healers are known to be "permitted" about plural diseases. To wit, according to a research conducted on the ocak healers in the Denizli region, 51.3% of the ocak healers works on a single disease, 48.7% of them on plural diseases. Also in the same research, 86,5% of the ocak healers was determined to be male, 13.5% of them to be female (Öngel 1997: 26).

## CAM / SHAMAN BELIEFS IN THE PRACTICES OF OCAK HEALERS

There are numerous ocaks regarding varying diseases in Anatolia. These ocaks are named after the diseases they heal. Ocaks within the Denizli, Aydın and Hartup regions can be given as examples to this regard. The names of the ocaks in Denizli containing many examples within are as follows: 1. Köstebek [Skin cancer], 2. Balbastı /yakmaca [Carbuncle], 3. Temre [], 4. Domuzbaşı [Lumpy jaw], 5. Kızıldonlu [Red spotted / red dress?], 6. Sarılık [Icterus], 7. Siğil [Verruca], 8. Yılancık [Erysipelas], 9. Ağız Kabarması [Oral blistering], 10. Külleme [Powdery mildew], 11. Dolama [Whitlow], 12. Yel [Rheumatism], 13. Nazar [Evil eye], 14. Korku [Horror], 15. Baş Ağrısı [Headache], 16. Bademcik Patlaması [Tonsil explosion], 17. Kabakulak [Mumps], 18. Kulunç Kesme [Cramp cutting], 19. Meme Ucu Bıçkını [nipple cracks?], 20. Ulama [Appendix], 21. Dil Üstü Yarası [Tongue wound], 22. Göz Çıbanı [Eye carbuncle], 23. Yılan / Akrep Sokması [Snake / scorpion bite], 24. Göz Kapağı Şişmesi [Eyelid swelling], 25. Midede Su Toplanması [Ascites], 26. Yüksek Ateş [High fever], 27. Topalan [stomach and abdominal pain], 28. Vücut Ağrısı [Body ache], 29. Ballama [a mixture of honey and dried mint drug for stomachache], 30. Kulak Ağrısı [Ear ache], 31. Mide Şişkinliği [Stomach bloating], 32. Dalak Kesme [Spleen removal], 33. Kuduz Parpılama [Beating rabies], 34. Ağız Silme [Mouth wiping], 35. Eğe batması [Rib penetration], 36. Kısırlık [Sterility], 37. Çıkık [Dislocation], 38. Donanma / Donama / Segitgen [Smallpox], 39. Sirkence [a mixture of vinegar and honey, a drug], 40. Ot Kesmesi [a traditional treatment method], 41. Dolanma [Cord Entanglement], 42. Karadonlu [Black spotted/ black dress?], 43. Göbek Çekme [Navel Fall], 44. Doğum [Birth], 45. Sulu Yarada Çakma [Succulent Plant Wound], 46. Kıl Durması [Hair failure], 47. Kasık Çekme [Groin Strain], 48. Bağak Sıkma, 49. Göze Üfleme [Pupil blown], 50. Tavukgötü [A type of callus], 51. Yaşçı Yara, 52. Devre

[Epoch], 53. Aydaş Aşı [A meal prepared for the meagre kids], 54. Yaşıt [Coeval], 55. Sıtma Bağlama [Fixation in Malaria] (Öngel 1997: 27-28). And the ocaks in Aydın which are believed to conduct practices based on religion and magic are as follows: "Aydas Ocağı" ["Ectomorphy Ocak"], "Benek (Göz) Ocağı", ["Macula (Eye) Ocak"], "Çalma Ocağı" ["Rendition Ocak"], "Dalak Ocağı" ["Spleen Ocak"], "İt Dirseği Ocağı" ["Sty Ocak"], "Kabakulak Ocağı" ["Epidemic Parotitis Ocak"], "Eş Göbeğe Bakma Ocağı" ["Drop in core Ocak"?], "Kırık Çıkık Ocağı" ["Fracture/Dislocation Ocak"], "Kısırlık Ocağı" ["Sterility Ocak"], "Kızılyörük Ocak" ["Erysipelas Ocak"], "Kurşun Dökme Ocağı" ["Lead Pouring Ocak"], "Sarılık Ocağı" ["Icterus Ocak"], "Siğil Ocağı" ["Verruca Ocak"], "Temre Ocak", "Yarım Baş Ağrısı Ocağı" ["Quasi Headache Ocak"], "Yılancık Ocağı" ["Erysipelas Ocak"], "Akrep Ocağı" ["Scorpion Ocak"], "Guatr Ocağı" ["Goiter Ocak"] (Ülger 2012: 152). The ocaks established in Harput carry the same specifics, such as: "Karıncalık ve Kumru Ocağı" [ "Karıncalık and Kumru Ocak" (skin diseases)], "Dağlama ve Alazlama Ocağı" ["Branding and Erythema Ocak"], "Uçuk Ocağı" ["Herpes Ocak"], "Sarılık Ocağı" ["Icterus Ocak"], "Efsun Ocağı" ["Spell Ocak"], "Sihir, Büyü ve Tılsım Ocağı" ["Magic, Sorcery and Talisman Ocak"], "Nazar Değmesi ve Kurşun Dökme Ocağı" ["Evil Eye and Lead Pouring Ocak"], "Sıtma Ocağı" ["Malaria Ocak"], "Dalak Ocağı" ["Spleen Ocak"], "Inme / Felç / Yel Ocağı" ["Seizure / Stroke Ocak"], "Dolama Ocağı" ["Tying Ocak"], "Mide Ocağı" ["Stomach Ocak"], "Göbek Düşmesi Ocağı" ["Navel Fall Ocak"], "Sedef Ocağı" ["Psora Ocak"], "Boğaz Ağrısı Ocağı" ["Throat Ache Ocak"], "Yılancık Ocağı" ["Erysipelas Ocak"], "Kekeme Ocağı" ["Stutter Ocak"] (Araz 1995: 158-180).

When the healing methods used in Ocaks are examined, the similarities between the cams/shamans become more apparent. Almost in all the examined Ocaks, the existence of imitation, contact, directing the disease to the inanimate objects or, though it's rare, directing the power in inanimate objects to people, the practices conducted with the numbers their magic accepts as auspicious can be seen. To wit, when the diseases are mentioned, one knocks on wood three times. One jumps over the fire seven times. One reads a seven-layered thread. In doing something called as "Kırklama", one hits the sty forty times. One says "maşallah" forty-one times." (Öngel 1997: 18). Looking at water, looking at mirror, and cinder, incense, presage types also are the interest areas of some ocak healers (Boratav 1984: 101-102). Aside from these, it's known that folks go to some ocaks to have their dreams explained and to have their inner hand signs read (Boratav 1984: 99-100).

The main factor that distinguishes the Ocak healers from other folk healers is that they are believed to possess supernatural abilities and senses. Ocak healers use plants, animals and other mine-based remedies like other folk healers, though they also benefit from their secret powers and healing energy as different from others. Possessing these secret powers and healing energy comes hereditary. Here, the active parapsychology brings the ocak healers a mystical power. Thereby "the dominance of mind on the matter" becomes effective on the patients who are treated by the ocak healers. The patients believing that the ocak healers possess some secret powers start to heal with the effect this belief brings along and the positive infusions of the ocak healers. Here, the principal of "if the matter can control the mind, then the mind can control the matter as well" is accepted (Sarıkaya 1985: 21).

As is with the cams/shamans, the ocak healers are believed to be the bridge between the souls and humans. According to this belief, imminence towards the god, the subsidiary and protective possessors, the sky and earth possessors, the souls of ancestors and arvaks comes into prominence. Since the ocak healers are believed to exterminate the diseases, which pester on their patients, with this imminence, they are regarded as cam/shaman. In that "The cam who possesses supernatural powers, who is a bridge between the souls and the gods, protects the people from diseases, treats them (Healer), is also the spiritual leader of this religion." (Öngel 1997: 4). The ones, who believe that all the good and bad come from the possessors and arvaks, try to please them, not to agitate them. Thus rituals would be held and an animal would be sacrificed in certain periods of a year for Tengri, possessors and arvaks (Öngel 1997: 4).

In some of the processes the ocak healers conduct and respect, cam/shaman- and mythology-based factors can be seen apparently. Talking about some of these will be beneficial. For instance, there are traces of the old Turkish beliefs in an ocak healer possessing a mystical power which destroys the throat aches, in Harput. This healer gained the power to destroy the throat aches after suffocating seven different moles (field mice). According to the twelve animal Turkish calendar, one of the names of the twelve years constituting every single era is "mouse". In the Diwan Lughat-at Turk, one of the names of the twelve years of Turks also is "sıçgan yılı" /"ratyear" (Araz 1995: 85).

Magical processes that the ocak healers use in treating a patient are; "tying, threading, cutting, smelting, burning, shaking, applying an inanimate object to the aching part, nailing, directing the disease to the ground by laying on top of it." (Öngel 1997: 10). 72% of the practices of the ocak healers in the Denizli region is magical, 25% of them is natural. Both practice types shows religious aspects. Also the usage of plants is also apparent (Öngel 1997: II). "Various magical practices such as ruling the natural effects, taking protection against various dangers of nature, preventing these dangers and healing the diseases, to which people have resorted in times of need against the nature, compose the basis of shamanism." (Öngel 1997: 5). It can be seen that in the religion/belief- and magic-based treatments conducted by the ocak healers, irons and materials made from it are used. For instance, tools like axe, knife, hasp, nail, needle, razor, brand, lead mine, lead scoop, coinage, metallic bowl, scissors, sublime one's dagger used by the ocak healers of the region Aydın in treating varying diseases are either iron or made from it (Ülger 2012: 179-186). Using iron materials during treatments originates from the Turkish mythology and cam/shaman beliefs. For instance, using needles (iron) in treating the skin diseases also originates from the same belief. In treating such diseases, the sick/wounded portion of the body is scratched out with a non-used needle. This needle is then given to the patient to bury it underground. Thereby the disease becomes a part of the needle (iron) and afterwards is buried beneath the ground. For iron and earth is accepted protective, according to this belief, when the needle buried beneath the ground rusts away, the diseases becomes treated. One of the other practices where iron is accepted protective is when the patient suffers from tooth ache. A thin brand or an inflamed packing needle is pressed up against the aching tooth by the ocak healer. In this application, aside from the iron, the holiness of the fire with its protective/ cleansing/ redemptive aspects comes to forth. Also in the Harput region, the "tinderbox" used for treating the patients with sore faces is accepted as the continuation of the cam/shaman beliefs. Two tinderboxes are nailed against the wounds thrice by the ocak healer, the forming fire sparks are believed to scare the wounds and treat them. Yakuts accept the tinderbox named as the "holy fire" and the fire acquired from it as blessed

(Tanyu 1976: 291). The number three in this practice also is one of the blessed numbers in cam/shamanism. In treating the herpes, iron and water (Araz 1995: 160), in treating the hepatitis, water, iron (knife) and a rock (Araz 1995: 161) are used.

The "water" and "blessed spring" seen in the treatment of the disease icterus can also be seen in the magic, sorcery and charm treatment. Along with the religious-sorcery treatment methods in the treatment of icterus; protective, redemptive and cleansing matters like iron, earth-water and fire carry the traces of cam/shamanism. The ocak healers conducting these treatments are given names such as "abysmal hodja", "spiritualist hodja". Because the treatment method of using the water gathered from seven springs, seven mills can also be seen in Cams, there's a continuation link between ocaks and cams/shamans (Araz 1995: 164-166).

Using an evil eye talisman for protection against the evil eye in Anatolia is also based on the cam/shamanism beliefs. For protection against the evil eye, five blue colored beads are knit to a rope with a shape of braids. This knitting gets coupled up with the hair by being knit again (Ülger 2012: 121). To protect oneself from the evil eye, fumigation is done with harmal seed, onionskin, salt and fire. Salt and fire are the vital factors as they cleanse and protect. These are believed to keep the evil souls at bay (Araz 1995: 172). And with the "lead pouring" method used by the ocak healers in treating the evil eye, fire's contact with the lead (iron) and the lead's contact with water are thought to bring healing. In this application, the belief of the acceptance of the iron, fire and water as blessed can be seen along with the belief of "protective soul" (Araz 1995: 178).

Some other factors which are the causes of the seizure/stroke also carry the traces of cam/shaman beliefs related with fire, ocak, weir and water possessors. Among these, especially the ones related with fire are intriguing. "An important part of the processes the ocak healers execute as their treatment method is directly related with fire or its smut, smoke, ash, color." (Duvarcı 1990: 35). Because "the fire being evil-resistant, healing or preventing, cleansing and along with the belief in its aspects of bring healing, health, power, strenght and wealth, luck to animate being, it bearing a killer, destructive, thus punishing power caused the fire to be honoured, making it so that fire would be regarded as bearing a supernaturally sublime property and characteristic." (Tanyu 1976: 287-288).

Among the magical practices of the ocak healers which are consistent with the cam/shaman beliefs, sacrificing for the road owners and surprising them are also existent (Ülger 2012: 41). Some slogans are also uttered reflecting the cam/shaman beliefs during the magical practices. To wit, against the ague cake, wood is place atop the belly of person whose spleen will be cut off. After generally placing three fig branches atop wood, the patient asks "Nereden geliyorsun?" ["Where are you coming from?"] The ocak healer answers "Dalak dağından geliyorum" ["I come from the spleen mountain."] The patient asks again "Sen dalak kesebilir misin?" ["Can you cut off a spleen?"] And the ocak healer utters "Kesmem mi? Anasını bile bellerim" ["Can't I?! Even with my two eyes shut"] (Ülger 2012: 86).

Factors subsequent to Islam penetrated the beliefs and applications of the Ocak healers. For instance, in treating verruca, "Amentü billah ayı gördüm Allah" /"Amentü billah [Accepting the existence of Allah SWT / I've seen the moon"] is said. That said, when the moon is visible, utterance of these words while rubbing a piece of earth on the face is a cam/shaman-based practice (Ülger 2012: 42). Also reading three surahs el-fatihah and one surah el-Ikhlas upon Temre is another Islam-based application. Other conducted practices

whilst reading these surahs are based on cams/shamans as well. In this practice, cigarette ash and saliva are mixed up into each other and is then rub on Temre. After saying "Dağlara taşlara ulu ulu ağaçlara" ["To mountains, to stone, to many grand trees"] three times, the ocak spits saying "tu tu" (Ülger 2012: 44). It can be seen that three Ikhlas and one Fatihah surah are read in the treatment processes of the diseases icterus and ectomorphy. The "Icterus killer" ocak healer compresses the meat between the two eyebrows. During this, he reads these surahs and scratches thrice with razor (Ülger 2012: 93). Against ectomorphy, three stones are placed at the three road junctions. After placing the child within the caldron located atop these stones, three woods are place beneath it. Before the woods are lit with fire, these surahs are read and the caldron is relocated thrice (Ülger 2012: 140). Giving more examples is possible. Aside from the Islam-based applications, there are some people basing the roots of being an Ocak on Islam. To wit, according to an ocak, being an "ocak" came to be since Hz. Muhammad. "Back then our prophet turned the furnace on, hearing a hue by the furnace" a permit was given by saying "With this ash and water, go seek the ones with trouble and give them healing". The prophet took the ash of this furnace and rubbed it on someone sick, only to see that the sick one would recover and heal. Sometime afterwards, the prophet said to his daughter "Fatma, I have lots to do, I get exhausted, let me give you the permission and from here on out, you will bring healing to those who are sick!" Thus his daughter received hand. She then began the healing. With time she also became exhausted, the prophet said to her "Take the son of our neighbor Lokman with you, so that he can come with you and assist you!" Thus Lokman was given permission. "This kid wandered through mountain tops and valleys till he grew up, gathered different herbs so much that the herbs themselves told him, which diseases they heal. Since that day forth, the ocak came to be." (Öngel 1997: 26). The female ocak healers saying that "This hand is not mine, it is Mother Fatma's" in the practices conducted with hand is based on this acceptance. Another interesting source regarding this matter is the book of the cams named as "Bakşılık Risalesi" [The booklet of healership]; those cams were called as "bakşı" [healer] by the Tarancı (New Uyghur) Turks. According to this booklet, the founder of healership/therapautics is Hz. Fatma. The information existing in this booklet is as follows: "One day Hz. Fatma was sitting in the shadow of a tree. A bird coming from above sat upon a branch of this tree, the branch dried up immediatialy. The shadow of this inauspicious bird fell upon Fatma. Fatma became ill. The treatment of the healers did not work. Forty saints sent by the god came forth. These saints planted aigrette and surrounded it. Fatma recovered. Thus the healership was given to the healers from Fatma." (İnan 1995: 86 from Pantusov 1907: 56-62).

### Conclusion

Cams/shamans used to get in touch with the spirits believed to be existent in the layers of earth and sky. The cams, who sacrificed for these spirits due to different causes, who brought presents to their presence, carried the duty of preventing all sorts of diseases and calamities which may come from the evil ones and healing the ill people. Among the folk healers living in Anatolia, the ocaks regarded with respect and fear carry supernatural properties like cams/shamans. As in cam/shamanism, the ocak is also transferred hereditary. That said both of them are relayed genetically. In ocaks, the mentor-protégé relationship exists as in cam/shamanism. As the candidate cam is brought up by the old one, the candidate ocak is also brought up by the old one. The cam regarded to be matured becomes specialized through rites in the supervision of the old cam and receives the role of cam. Likewise, the candidate ocak healer learns the treatment methods practically and

receives the role of ocak after applying the treatment methods within the old ocak healer's supervision.

Regarding every folk healer as ocak healers and associating them with cam/shamanism is not a very smart approach. The main property distinguishing the ocaks from other healers is the ongoing cam/shaman beliefs and applications and the mystical power generally gained hereditary. Thus, among the treatment methods conducted by the ocak healers, the ones showing cam/shaman properties come into prominence. Among these are fire, iron, water and earth which are used in the treatments and the source of these beliefs are the cam/shaman beliefs.

Some numbers in cam/shamanism are believed to be blessed and the mystery of these numbers is used in some practices. In the light of the examined practices, it's understood that the ocak healers believe the mystery of the numbers in the treatment practices and they carry out their practices pursuant to the blessed number. In the belief/magic-based healings, the ocaks singing some rhyming tongue twisters is another fact allowing us to connect them with cams/shamans.

Aside from the pre-Islam beliefs and practices in Ocaks, Islam-based beliefs and practices also take place. To survive among the Muslim Turks, Ocak healers added Islam-based factors to some of their practices, so much that the tradition of ocak was actually based on Hz. Muhammad's daughter Hz. Fatma. Calling these ocaks, who carry the pre-Islam beliefs alongside with the Islam-based beliefs, as "Muslim Shaman" would rather be a good fit.

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