



ISSN: 1306-3111/1308-7290
NWSA-Fine Arts
NWSA ID: 2013.8.2.D0127

Status : Original Study
Received: September 2012
Accepted: February 2013

E-Journal of New World Sciences Academy

Sevilay Çınar

Gazi University
sevilaycinar@gmail.com Ankara-Turkey

<http://dx.doi.org/10.12739/NWSA.2013.8.2.D0127>

CONTEMPORARY FEMALE ÂŞIKLAR AND ÂŞIK MUSIC TRADITION OF TURKEY

ABSTRACT

The âşık tradition, which spans many hundreds of years in Anatolia, yet has its roots in even older traditions of ancient Turkic peoples, is a multifaceted folk tradition: it has distinctive literary and musical characteristics, as well as proscribed conditions of learning and performance. Representatives of the tradition, known as âşıklar, are folk poets who perform their works accompanied by the Turkish saz (bağlama), a long necked instrument of the lute family. The âşık's role itself is multifarious: âşıklar may perform at times a spiritual function within a community or that of passing on collective values, they may perform as forceful social critics, or as entertainers. This paper is about the âşık tradition of Turkey and specifically examines the role of women within this tradition in the contemporary society. It attempts to more fully understand the existence of female âşıklar, significant primary sources contributing to the formation and continuity of âşık art who have rarely been recognized even as individual artists and have never been considered in a study in a collective manner. In fundamental ways, female âşıklar stand at a telling social and cultural contradiction between their identities as women and their identities as âşıklar.

Keywords: Âşık, Female Âşık, Gender, Performance, Tradition

TÜRKİYE'DE ÂŞIK MÜZİĞİ GELENEĞİ VE ÇAĞDAŞ KADIN ÂŞIKLAR

ÖZET

Halk edebiyatı, halk müziği ürünlerinin hem üreticisi hem taşıyıcısı hem de güncelleyicisi olan âşıklar, halk kültürü içerisinde önemli bir yer tutan ve kendine özgü kuralları olan âşıklık geleneğinin aslı temsilcileridir. Haklarında yeterli çalışma yapılamamış ve büyük ölçüde ihmale uğramış olan kadın âşıklar da bu çok yönlü halk geleneği içerisinde edebî ve müzikal katkılarıyla âşık sanatı içerisinde varolmuşlardır. Bu çalışma içerisinde Türkiye'de âşık sanatının terminolojisine dönük bazı bilgilere yer verilmekle birlikte, özellikle çağdaş toplumda bu gelenek içerisindeki kadının rolü incelenmektedir. Âşık sanatının oluşumu ve sürekliliğine katkıda bulunan kadın âşıkların kimliği, sanatsal verilerinin yanı sıra toplumsal cinsiyet sorunsalı bağlamında yapılan kimi çalışmalarla karşılaştırılarak değerlendirilmiştir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Âşık, Kadın Âşık, Toplumsal Cinsiyet, İcrâ, Gelenek



1. INTRODUCTION (GİRİŞ)

Âşıklar reflect and carry ahead the points of view, artistic tastes, living practices and traditions of the society in which they live, and thus, play an important part in transmitting folk art to future generations. For a long period of time, âşık art has found opportunity to live, be represented, transmitted, learned, and taught, both visually and aurally, in environments such as âşık cafés, semai cafés (where a specific style of folk music is performed), village centers, weddings, and fairs. Âşıklar are the ultimate representatives of the âşık art, which holds an important place within the culture of the people, both male and female.

In order to understand the position of female âşıklar in Turkish society we must look at what the âşık tradition consists of and note how the overall role of the âşık has changed in the second half of the twentieth century.

2. RESEARCH SIGNIFICANCE (ÇALIŞMANIN ÖNEMİ)

This paper is about the âşık tradition of Turkey and specifically examines the role of women within this tradition in the contemporary society. It attempts to more fully understand the existence of female âşıklar, significant primary sources contributing to the formation and continuity of âşık art who have rarely been recognized even as individual artists and have never been considered in a study in a collective manner. In fundamental ways, female âşıklar stand at a telling social and cultural contradiction between their identities as women and their identities as âşıklar. Theoretically situated within discussions of gender and music (Koskoff 1987), and metaphorical claims about the nature of music (Rice 2003), this paper examines the conditions surrounding the lives of female âşıklar in Turkey and investigates how their particular experiences in the social context of the âşık tradition reflect and articulate the nature of gender roles in Turkish society at large, and in turn, how this experience finds unique expression in their work.

On-site research has been carried out in the regions of the various âşıklar involved in the project in order to directly observe their respective social and cultural environments. This paper is based on a study carried out by the author over the course of ten years, 2001 to 2011, the better part of which was incorporated as a doctoral dissertation; however, research continued beyond this point. The study has involved interviews with fifteen female âşıklar from various parts of Turkey, including Ankara, Ayvalık, Bursa, Çankırı, Çorum, Eskişehir, İstanbul and İzmit. The following âşıklar participated in the study: Şahsenem Akkaş (Şahsenem/Şah Senem Bacı), İlkin Manya (Sarıcakız/Sarıca Kız), Şaziye Çelikler (Maralî), Şahturna Ağdaşan (Şahturna/Şah Turna), Durşen Mert (Nurşah Bacı), Filiz Yurdakul (Sinem Bacı), Telli Gölpek (Telli Suna), Sürmelican Kaya (Sürmelican/Sürmeli Can), Ayten Çınar (Gülçınar/Gül Çınar), Arzu Yiğit (Arzu Bacı), Çiçek Ayyıldız (Çiçek), Kevser Ezgili (Ezgili Kevser), Hatice Altuk Keşoğlu (Selvinaz), Gülsüm Kahraman (Sedaî), Özlem Olgaç (Özlemî).

Information regarding the lives of these fifteen living female âşıklar has been gathered from interviews and observation in induced and natural environments. This research has offered original perspectives and valuable opportunities for comparison concerning how they had come in contact with the âşık tradition, the works they perform and opportunities for performance, the conditions of their training within the tradition, as well as those of their private lives.



3. RESEARCH METHOD (ÇALIŞMANIN METODU)

By using comparison, interview and observation -in induced and natural environments- methods, data for fifteen living female âşıklar regarding how they have come in contact with âşık tradition, conditions of their training within the tradition, works they perform and information about their private lives have been recorded.

While making use of, first and foremost, records kept during the site work, previous works such as cassettes, cds, television programmes of fifteen living female âşıklar have also been utilised.

4. ÂŞIK TERMINOLOGY AND ÂŞIK ART (ÂŞIK TERİNOLOJİSİ VE ÂŞIK SANATI)

4.1. Identity of Âşık (Âşık Kimliği)

According to M. Fuad Köprülü's study, the term "âşık" was used instead of "ozan" in Azerbaijan and in areas of Anatolia after the XV century. Besides "âşık", "şair çalgıcılar" (poet instrumentalists) is also used; in other words, "saz¹ şairleri" (saz poets) who performed not only their own poems, but also appellations of various works of âşıklar with their saz/bağlama in many places throughout Anatolia (Köprülü, 2004, p.139; 1962, p.12).

According to İlhan Başgöz, âşıklar are "halk şairleri" (folk poets) and he identifies five distinct types of âşık:

- Poets of religion and mysticism
- Peasant poets
- Poets of country, town, or urban existence
- Poets of Janissary
- Nomadic poets (Başgöz, 1968, p.7-9).

In the research of Hikmet Dizdaroğlu, the terms "âşık" and "saz şairi" (saz poet) are equal in meaning, and both are descendants of ozanlar. However, he also notes that there may be some differences amongst saz şairi. In particular:

- Some are uneducated and illiterate.
- Some know how to play the saz and perform their poems with a saz.
- With some, their distinguishing feature is composing and performing poems spontaneously.
- Some use hece vezni (syllabic meter)² in their poems. Although they may or may not be literate, some of them break this rule and use aruz meter, which is primarily used by classical Ottoman poets.
- Some of them have received training and know how to play the saz, and they use both syllabic meter and aruz meter in their poems (Dizdaroğlu, 1969, p.18-20).

With these distinctions in mind, we can also list some features that are often characteristic of Âşıklar. There are numerous features embodied by Âşıklar in different combinations.

¹Saz: The word "saz" is generally used to mean "instrument" in Turkish. Âşıklar use this word for their instrument as well. "Bağlama" is the other most common term used to refer to this instrument of the Turkish folk saz family. The literal translation of "bağlama" is "tied" and has to do with the fact that the frets of the instrument are tied on its neck. There is a family of bağlama with various sizes, different tuning systems, and numbers of strings.-From largest to smallest they are called: meydan sazı, divan sazı, and cura.

²Hece vezni (Syllabic meter): In syllabic meter each line must have a definite number of syllables (eight, eleven or fifteen, etc.) (Erdener, 1995, p.174). For instance, koşma (quatrain) has mainly 11 syllables, which can take on different forms such as 4+4+3 or 6+5.



There are artists who:

- play saz,
- compose and perform poems spontaneously,
- are able to compete in spontaneous song dueling,
- receive training in a master-apprentice relationship,
- drink bade,
- are travelers,
- play saz and sing in public in âşık cafés³ or festivals⁴, weddings, special gatherings,
- tell folk stories,
- have a tradition of mainly oral literature,
- reflect world views, concepts of art, ways of life and the tradition of his/her native society,
- are sometimes entertainers, and sometimes forceful social critics,
- are craftsmen with a key role of passing on folk literature and music,
- attach more importance to poems than music,
- are not only âşıklar but also make their living as farmers, stockbreeders, etc. Generally, they don't make their living completely from being âşıklar,
- are professional musicians,
- are specialist musicians,
- have well trained memories, by which they tell stories, perform their masters' compositions, etc.

4.2. Âşık Style (Âşık Tarzı)

Âşık style, which started in Anatolia during either the XVI or XVII century and continues in the XXI century, is a poetic style unique to saz poets. This style, which has specific rules associated with a specific worldview, has carried many compositions and literary traditions from the past into present times. It has also been spread from urban and country towns to villages and between tribes; from palaces to dervish lodges, cafés, barracks, etc. and has an assured listener community. In addition, Âşık style is not only both literary and musical, but has combined various artistic elements to develop a new character peculiar to itself (Köprülü, 1962, p.29).

³Âşık cafés: Local âşıklar spend most of their daytime in the coffee house playing cards or backgammon, and hoping to arrange some business for the weekend. People from the surrounding villages and districts, needing a musician for a wedding or circumcision feast, will come to the coffee house to meet and bargain with the âşıklar (Erdener, 1995, p.35). At night, any âşık gatherings organized are mainly attended by the local community. Hereby, the coffee house owner earns money by selling tea or coffee and âşıklar earn money by receiving tips from the audience.

⁴Âşık festivals: These festivals are organized in different places in Turkey such as Sivas (where the first âşıklar festival took place in 1931), Kars, Erzurum, Konya, etc. Âşıklar are invited to the festival to compete in different categories of performance including, "the best seven poems of the year, güzelleme (poetry of praise), composition of poetry without the saz, recitation of poetry, and dudakdeğmez (a tradition in which one's lips cannot meet while reciting spontaneously composed poetry, accomplished by consciously leaving out certain letters of the alphabet), folk songs, folk songs with a hikâye, improvised folk songs, heroic songs and songs of other âşıklar, quatrain (koşma), which is the most commonly used form in âşık poetry, song dueling, etc. For more information, see Erdener's book (Erdener, 1995, p.113, 168-188).



4.3. Technical Explanations Regarding Âşık Tradition (Âşık Geleneğine Dair Teknik Açıklamalar)

4.3.1. Âşık Music (Âşık Müziği)

While often the poetry is of ultimate importance, the music is also central to âşık art. Indeed, some âşıklar feel that they can't create anything without their instrument. When they describe their music they often use the technical terms "makam" (maqam) and "ayak" (the foot!). According to them, the âşık's musical knowledge is related to his/her knowledge of makam/ayak. Although some âşıklar claim to know many makams, some researchers claim that the forms they speak of cannot be defined as makams. For instance, Nida Tüfekçi listened to a makam sample, which is variously called "hava" (air), "ağız" (dialect), and "ayak" by different âşıklar cited in his field-work. The âşıklar performed differing melodic-rhythmic forms from each other, although they used the same name for the makam. Therefore we can't illustrate these melodies with Classical Turkish Music makam definitions (Tüfekçi, 2000, p.232). And again considering his research, while âşıklar perform their own poems, they don't compose new melodic compositions. Holding on to their regional musical legacy, they set their poems to traditional regional compositions. In other words, they lay down their poems over old melodies that have been known for many years in their region. These kinds of melodic forms have different names in different places, such as makam, ayak, hava etc. (Tüfekçi, 2000, p.242).

Saz poets (saz şairleri) who are called "âşıklar", use their masters' compositions (usta malı) in not only their poems but in their music as well. The apprentice learns from his master not only a style of utterance but also to connect word with melody. The master's melody patterns include various scales. The melody patterns of âşık music will also contain different rhythmic features. For example, it may be uzun hava⁵ or kırık hava⁶ or both of them.

The main structure of âşık music is based on poetic forms performed in syllabic meter; the melodic structure compliments and underscores the poetic form. The important genres and forms of âşık music nowadays include: *Ağıt, Baş-Ayak, Destan, Divan, Lebdeğmez, Duvak Kapma, Geraylı, Güzelleme, Hicv, Herbe Zorba, Hurufat, Kalenderi, Kit'a, Koçaklama, Koşma, Muamma, Mühemmes [Muhammes], Satranç, Selis, Semai, Tekellüm [Tekerleme], Taşlama, Tecnis, Üstadnâme, Varsağı, Vezn-i Aher, Vücutnâme, Yanılıma, Yıldız* (Şenel, 1991, p. 553-556).

Âşıklar generally compose their poetry by using rhymes at the end of each line. For instance, according to the koşma (quatrain) rhyme pattern, (a b c b), the second and fourth lines of the first quatrain have to rhyme with each other. The first three lines of the following quatrains must rhyme with each other while the fourth line of each stanza has to rhyme with the fourth line of the first stanza. Thus, the rhyme scheme of a koşma (quatrain) looks like: abcb/xxxxb/yyyyb/zzzb etc. (Erdener, 1995, p.174).

In its melodic form, âşık music is mainly "inici seyir"⁷ (descending melodic contour) with the interlude performed as a

⁵Uzun hava: a Turkish folk music term that denotes a flexible rhythmic form. Although it is a flexible rhythm, it has a specific scale and its melody is dependent on this scale (Sarısözen, 1962, p.4).

⁶Kırık hava: a Turkish folk music term that denotes a rhythmic form. This kind of melody's rhythmic duration is certain. It also refers to many forms; in other words, it has many genres, such as halay, zeybek, deyiş, karşılama, etc.

⁷Form of composition characterized by the stanza beginning in a high register and ending in a low register.



refrain. We can give an example again via *koşma* (quatrain), in which the melodic form is generally: *aaab/refrain/cccb*, or, *abcb/refrain/bb*. In addition, in some parts of the composition they will recite their poetry.

Âşıklar use a variety of different tunings for their instruments, such as *bozuk düzeni*, *bağlama düzeni*, *misket düzeni*, *fidayda düzeni*, *müstezat düzeni*, etc. *Bozuk düzeni*⁸ (broken tuning) is the primary tuning for the long neck *saz*. This tuning is also known as "*kara düzen*"[‡] (black tuning), a name that is also used to refer to the long neck *saz* itself. The long neck *saz* has 24 frets, three string courses and is tuned in A, which is the pitch of the first (bottom) course, D being the second (middle) course, and G as the third (upper) course. "*Bağlama düzeni*" is a primary tuning for the short neck *saz*. Another name for this tuning is "*kısa sap*" a name, which is also used to refer to the short neck *saz*, which has 19 frets and three string courses. It is tuned in D, which is the pitch of the first (bottom) course, G being the second (middle) course, and A as the third (upper) course.

4.3.2. Bâde and Drinking Bâde in Âşık Tradition (Âşık Geleneğinde Bâde ve Bâde İçme)

The literal meaning of *bâde* is "drinking" or "wine". However, in *âşık* tradition it is understood as a liquid, which is drunk in a dream. The person who drinks *bâde* attains an artistic identity, that is to say, she or he becomes an *âşık*. To fall in love with someone in a dream can also be described as *bâde* (Artun, 2005, p.223).

When we examine dream patterns that have an important role in the transition from plain identity to artistic identity in the *âşık* tradition, some common examples, constituting cultural samples, present themselves. A person who has a dream may come across a holy person or his/her beloved or the beloved's picture. She/he may obtain information from spiritual leaders, called "*Pir*" in Turkey, perhaps meeting them in a holy place. These spiritual leaders may also give him/her a *mahlas*⁹ and want to sing and play for the dreamer, or the dreamer may drink *bâde* given to him/her by the *Pir*'s hand (Günay, 1992, p.94-98). In the case of a male *âşık*, the holy person also introduces him to a beautiful maiden, telling him her name, her father's name, and sometimes the town in which they live. The future *âşık* immediately falls in love with the girl. Occasionally they make love. When he awakens he is extremely upset, may cry, and immediately wants to begin searching for the girl of destiny (Erdener, 1995, p.53-54).

4.3.3. Karşılaşma¹⁰ in the Âşık Tradition (Âşık Geleneğinde Karşılaşma)

Karşılaşma is a kind of debate, discussion, dueling, conversation or chatting between *âşıklar*, which is performed spontaneously. The common name for this was "*münazara*" (debate) in generations past, a term with Arabic roots (Bali, 1975, p.7432-7435). This activity, which is also referred to as *karşı-beri*, *deyişme*,

⁸Kurt claims that its name is not "*Bozuk*" (broken), but originally descends from "*Bozok*" which is one of the two population branches in Turkish legendary history (Kurt, 1995; 17-19).

⁹*Mahlas*: All *âşıklar* use nicknames, called "*mahlas*" in Turkey. They usually use either their last name or a new one as a nickname in *âşık* tradition, and they always use this nickname in the last stanza of their poems. This nickname is sometimes given to an apprentice by his/her master or by a holy person in his dream.

¹⁰The literal meaning of *karşılaşma* is "encounter".



atışma, taşlama, tekellüm, and ilişme-takılmaca, can showcase the literary and musical diversity among âşıklar based on their regional styles. Different lyrical styles may present themselves and engage each other, such as *Muamma, Lûgaz, Mâni, Baş Ayak, Dil dönmez, Noktasız, etc.*, as may different musical styles, such as *Divani havalar, Güzelleme, Üstadnâme, etc.* (Şenel, 2007, p.40-41).

These types of musical conversations may be organized during "Âşıklar Bayramı" (Âşıklar Feast), "Âşıklar Gecesi" (Âşıklar Night) or when an âşık visits his/her colleagues in different cities.

Particularly during a dueling assembly with a crowded audience, the audience gets involved, taking sides and creating an atmosphere of excitement. Sometimes there is a referee in these events who has a command of âşık tradition and who tries to prevent partiality (Özer, 1985, p.15-17).

4.3.4. Master-Apprentice Relationship in the Âşık Tradition (Âşık Geleneğinde Usta-Çırak İlişkisi)

There are many steps one must take to become an âşık. In order to obtain an understanding concerning the practice of âşık tradition the âşık candidate must receive training from a master as an apprentice. Having a master as a guide who passes on his or her vast knowledge and experience is irreplaceable in the learning process of an âşık candidate. Becoming an apprentice of a master âşık is not easy. If an âşık candidate wants to receive training, she/he struggles to find favor in the eyes of a master, and if she/he has difficulty finding a master, the candidate may travel from place to place in search of one.

Certain abilities are expected from an âşık candidate to perform this art, such as having a sensitive ear for pitch, rhythmic sense, etc. In short, when a master discovers talent in a person who wants to become an âşık, the master takes him/her as an apprentice in order to give training. In this process they attend various âşık fasıl¹¹ together, and hereby the apprentice starts to learn to tell stories, âşık makamlar (makam-s), to compose poems spontaneously, to play bağlama, to compete in the dueling (karşılaşma), to sing the master's compositions, etc. In the process the apprentice gets to travel from place to place with his/her master, being introduced to new colleagues, etc. This process can take a long time or short time depending on the apprentice's talent and progress. If the master believes the apprentice's education is sufficient, he/she gives him/her a mahlas and dismisses the apprentice to carry on his/her tradition at âşık gatherings without the master. After that, the apprentice performs not only his/her compositions but also his/her master's compositions so that his/her master's name stays alive, carrying on in his/her master's wake (Artun, 2005, p.55-57; Başgöz, 1968, p.8-14).

4.4. Âşık Identity from the Second Half of the Twentieth Century to the Present (Yirminci Yüzyılın İkinci Yarısından Bugüne Âşık Kimliği)

Which âşık features continue in this century? How do contemporary, living âşıklar represent âşık tradition in Turkey, and what do they think about their situation in this century? What kinds of conditions have appeared in the midst of the political-economic problems, technological progress, rapid urbanization, and related

¹¹Fasıl: A program of musical pieces, mainly in the same makam, played traditionally at âşık gatherings and also in the tradition of Ottoman and Anatolia folk music.



social problems, which have developed in the country? That is, how do contemporary âşıklar view their position amid the overall social circumstances which have developed over the last six decades?

If we look back to the nature of the âşık's identity, some new considerations must be made. For instance, when we examine their expectations in this century, we understand that they want to record their work on albums, CDs, they want to be known to a wider population in Turkey, and they want to have other, popular folk singers sing their compositions. They prefer to sing on television instead of traveling from place to place. In terms of audience, we understand that expectations have changed in terms of reciprocity. For example, the audience's sphere of interest has changed; those who might have made up a live audience have started mainly watching TV instead of going to âşık cafés¹². At the same time, not only the audience but also âşıklar have started to form new artistic identities on television. Accordingly, their occupational viewpoint has changed, reflected in the preference to sing on television, the desire to make music videos, etc.

In addition, because of commercial concerns, some âşıklar producing commercial recordings have started to hire professional musicians to play bağlama for their albums. Although playing bağlama virtuosically is not important in âşık tradition, this kind of implementation has changed ideas about bağlama performance among âşıklar.

Some âşıklar are not only âşıklar but also farmers, stockbreeders, etc. In other words they earn money not only by playing but also by farming. However, because of problems in the agricultural economy they have started to move from their villages to cities to work in textile factories, stores, etc. At the same time, their viewpoint regarding their value in relation to an audience has started to change. They want to be famous not only in various villages but also to a wider population in Turkey. Meanwhile, the subjects of their compositions have also changed. For instance, in addition to writing about pastoral subjects, they have also written about city life, and of course they have written about being separated from and missing their villages. Moreover, and related to the last fact, a change in their accents or village dialects can often be noted.

5. FEMALE ÂŞIKLAR (KADIN ÂŞIKLAR)

In Turkey, Âşık art has a gender, and this gender is male. Âşık art is practiced in, and defined by, male dominant surroundings. These are environments for communication, entertainment, and chatting between men only. Hence, women face fundamental social and cultural challenges to merely exist within the male dominant social realm of Âşık tradition. With this context in mind, we ask what kinds of identities these women portray and how they have reflected these identities in their art.

As in many societies, it is prevalent in many Turkish communities for women to be defined as mothers, child bearers, and housewives. Their existence is limited to these accepted roles and there are little or no opportunities for women to develop or show their abilities outside of these definitions. Naturally, it follows from such circumstances that many women who have the ability to play

¹²During my fieldwork I attended an âşıklar night with very low attendance. This was because there was also football match on television that night. Clearly, many people chose to watch the football match on TV rather than come to the âşıklar night.



instruments and to produce their music are ignored in the field of music.

The socially determined role of women in Turkish culture has a huge influence on the position of female âşıklar within the tradition, and the problems female âşıklar face are necessarily reflected in their work. When trying to elaborate upon the reasons for the neglect of female âşıklar, one must examine the specific conflicts that arise due to their social roles as women and how these conflicts influence their art. As such, female âşıklar's identities, their lifestyles, the literary and musical works they have created, and the traditional and modern presentation methods of these works qualify as documents of the problem under consideration.

Before discussing the prevalence of female âşıklar, female gender identities in the âşık sphere, and the expressions of discomfort to be found in the compositions of female âşıklar, we will mention a relevant theoretical framework that is of great use in examining our subject. Timothy Rice (Rice, 2003, p.163-167) writes about ways metaphor can be used to explain what is happening in music and culture. Rice uses four metaphors - first, a metaphor of music as art; second, of music as social behavior; third, of music as symbolic system; and fourth, of music as commodity. Metaphors help us create language; they help us go beyond to look at the whole culture and how the cultural system and musical system are living together. For instance, in response to the contention that âşık music can only be played by men, we must ask: How does the *significance* of playing music differ when women are the players rather than men? It is significant for our investigation to look at what metaphors are at work in this situation. In order for us to understand the dynamics within a culture, and specifically in order for us to understand ethnic music, we must try to understand what metaphors are manifest.

At this point we would do well to try to understand why a woman might want to be an âşık. Of those I interviewed three women wanted to become âşıklar because they received a dream, or we can say that they attained artistic identities by drinking bade. Three other women wanted to become âşıklar because relatives who played bağlama or âşıklar who visited their villages impressed them and they fell in love with âşık music. And then there were three women who wanted to become âşıklar because they grew up within Alevi culture, in which bağlama is performed in ritual and communal gatherings, and so they have often had the chance to listen to the sound of the bağlama.

All of these women, with their various reasons for wanting to become âşıklar, have their own stories. However, here we will encounter one woman's story from each of those categories. Each of their stories illuminate the conflicts faced by female âşıklar in the areas of training, performance, and indeed, simply playing âşık music. Their stories also reveal creative alternate measures taken in pursuit of their art, and in refusal to accept the limits of the socially prescribed roles of their gender identity.

Âşık Gülçınar (Ayten Çınar), who is 49 years old and lives in Ankara, Turkey, was impressed by her father's poems and voice. She wanted to write poems and compose them like Âşık Veysel (Veysel Şatıroğlu). In their village, it is not normal for a woman to play bağlama, and in response to her desire to learn to play her parents and relatives objected, insisting that she should only focus on caring for her children and husband. Looking back at Rice's article we find the story of Maria Stoyanova, who was born in 1950, in Bulgaria. When Maria decided to play her father's bagpipe, it shocked her family and everyone in her village. She wanted to play bagpipe because she loved



the sound of the instrument and the music her father played (Rice, 2003, p.169). Both of these women experienced conflicting metaphors around their musical interests. Both Maria and Âşık Gülçınar saw music as *artistic expression* while their communities viewed their playing of music as improper *behavior*.

Âşık Gülçınar ran into this same conflict of metaphors when she attempted to be accepted by male dominated âşık society. The attitude she encountered was represented in simple and quite clear terms by a male âşık in an interview¹³ in which I asked why we find many male âşıklar in his region (Erzurum), but we can't find any female âşıklar. His answer was that it is unusual for a female âşık to play her instrument by herself, especially in largely male gatherings, and further, it is wrong religiously and by nature for her to do so.

In order to be able to exist in what we call the male dominant professional spheres of the âşık tradition, it is necessary for males and females to play saz and sing, to travel between villages-towns-cities day and night when needed, to get training in the context of a master-apprentice relationship, to participate in certain gatherings, festivals, etc. It is extremely difficult at best for women to participate in these necessities. In these male dominant surroundings, female âşıklar cannot find a place for themselves, and thus, limitations appear in their art. In contrast, male âşık candidates complete their training process freely in these surroundings; they gain certain qualifications by passing through stages under a master's training, and by traveling together with the master when needed. In general, we can say that female âşıklar remain confined to a sort of closed-circuit training process based mainly on experience within the limits of family and/or relatives. Therefore, in many cases female âşıklar have determined to find alternative ways of incorporating âşık art into their lives.

Âşık Ezgili Kevser (Kevser Ezgili), who is 41 years old and lives in Çorum, Turkey was unable to find a master under whom she could study. She decided she needed to learn masters' songs by some other means, feeling that if she wanted to be an âşık she should follow âşık rules. For this purpose she went to various villages to collect ballads to sing in the place of a master's composition. After collecting many ballads, she started to sing not only her compositions but also the masters' compositions in âşık gatherings and âşık festivals.

Again the case of Âşık Gülçınar there was no such immediate source from which to learn. In search of knowledge about âşık art, she initially ventured to âşık cafés as an audience member. At first without telling the âşıklar who spent time there of her interest in becoming an âşık herself, she watched and listened. After learning of her interest, a few male âşıklar actually invited her to play, yet feeling ashamed for her lack of knowledge she would initially decline. Eventually she did take up their offer, and, after performing to a small group of individuals whom she would come to see as her colleagues, she was wholeheartedly applauded. She stated that this was for her the beginning of her self-confidence in performing her art, and what would grow into what can be described as a professional consciousness, that is, an awareness of herself as an âşık¹⁴.

¹³Nuri Çırağı, In 2005, Istanbul.

¹⁴We should note here that the openness displayed by this particular male âşık environment to a woman is uncommon. Similarly and certainly tied to this fact, Âşık Gülçınar's confidence in performing her art is itself uncommon amongst female âşıklar, most of whom had less positive experiences during their development.



In terms of performance environments, most female âşıklar aren't allowed to play in the âşık sphere; therefore, their opportunities for playing their music are usually organized in various female gatherings. Although they play and sing very well in these gatherings, they are not seen as musicians in the professional âşık sphere. Instead, they are viewed as women in the context of female culture, and so still only as mothers, child bearers, wives, etc. One alternative possibility of presenting their art, though not often easily accessed, is the production of recorded works.

Âşık Sürmelican (Sürmelican Kaya), who is 51 years old and lives in Çorum, Turkey, wanted to be an âşık from a very young age, having listened to the bağlama in religious rituals since birth. When she started to perform in âşık style, she tried to meet male âşıklar to learn more about the style. However, most male âşıklar didn't attach importance to her playing and did not regard her as an âşık. In the beginning, once she had started to play on stage in âşık festivals, the male âşıklar did not generally accept her as a professional performer in the âşık sphere because, according to many male âşıklar, female âşıklar inherently do not understand âşık style, and therefore, by definition cannot play as well as male âşıklar. Yet, after she published her first album, some male âşıklar accepted her in their gatherings. These days more male âşıklar have come to regard her as an âşık. And this tells us something of the value which producing an album holds in contemporary âşık culture. For Âşık Sürmelican, the fact that she had produced an album effectively changed her status. This fact superceded the fact of her gender identity. However, the environments in which she currently performs are still male dominated and so she continues to fight against these and similar problems.

In her essay, *Women and Music in Cross-Cultural Perspective*, Koskoff discusses how sexuality, both self- and other-defined, may become a major factor defining the roles and experiences of female musicians. She mentions two instances which are relevant to the experiences of female âşıklar: 1) the actual or perceived loss of sexuality may change women's musical roles and/or status; and 2) cultural beliefs in women's inherent sexuality may motivate the separation of or restriction imposed upon women's musical activities (Koskoff, 1987, p.6).

The first case can be observed in Turkey's âşık sphere. The actual or perceived loss of sexuality may change a female âşık's role and/or status. Âşık Sarıcakız¹⁵ (İlkin Manya), who is 61 years old and lives in İstanbul, Turkey, wanted to become an âşık because she loved âşık music and she loved Karacaoğlan's poems and stories. When she was almost 22 years old, she had just started to enter the âşıklar sphere but was not accepted by her male colleagues because of her gender. Soon she fell in love and married a male âşık living nearby, with the fortunate outcome that she would be able to join the âşık society and would learn many useful things about the âşık tradition. After marrying a male âşık, she became considered by other male âşıklar as a sister (bacı¹⁶) and several things happened that she had predicted before her marriage. Male âşık society saw her marriage to a male âşık as deeming her more respectable; it gave her a higher status. Her

¹⁵"Sarıcakız" is a nickname, or *mahlas*, meaning "blonde girl."

¹⁶In this Turkish region, the female member of an order was called bacı, "sister," for "the believers are brothers" (Sura 49:10) (Schimmel, 1997, p.45). In Turkish society, women are usually called "bacı". In my opinion, this term gives a sense of recognition to female âşıklar in a male dominant society. However, other academic approaches critique these kinds of terms because, according to them, these terms make others view them as "others" (Özbudun, 2007, p.354-356).



marriage to an âşık changed her status not only because he was an âşık but because the marriage itself defined and contained her sexuality in the role of a wife. There was a loss of sexuality as she was no longer her own person; she was the wife of some other male counterpart.

The second case pertains to cultural beliefs. The religion of Islam plays the most important role in Turkish cultural life. Religion directs cultural beliefs and in Turkey Islamic beliefs are bound up with many social rules. "Islam recognizes the need to follow a just social and economic order in the community. Muslims are expected to follow the moral order outlined in the Quran. This moral order defines membership in and responsibilities to the Muslim community" (Bowen and Early, 1993, p.206). Islam considers women to be believers with full religious duties, including the pilgrimage to Mecca. A woman's traditional role is domestic-to bear children and to raise them, to maintain the home, to cook, in the country to work in the fields, and in the city perhaps to run a sewing or vending business (Bowen and Early, 1993, p.77).

Religion holds an important place in âşık culture and, accordingly, âşık culture holds traditional religious views about the role of women: they should be caretakers, should stay at home, shouldn't express their sexuality, and as women they should not be able play an instrument. (Here we may recall the earlier statement of male âşık, Nuri Çırağı, from Erzurum). This kind of life restricts not only a woman's activities; it limits her sense of self. Not only is a woman not physically permitted to play an instrument, she is not even permitted to imagine playing music as being good or even possible for her.

Âşık Nurşah (Durşen Mert) is 55 years old and lives in Eskişehir, Turkey. She was active in the âşık sphere until she went on a pilgrimage in 2004. Her retreat from this sphere after returning from her pilgrimage was directly related to the religiously influenced cultural beliefs of her society. Before going on the pilgrimage she had encountered difficulties as a female âşık based on the cultural expectations of women. Yet, once a person makes a pilgrimage this person becomes hajji, a representative of Islam. This status created new problems for her and after she returned, the local community would not allow her to perform as an âşık. They believed she should only perform chants, but shouldn't sing âşık style songs or play her instrument. We can recognize in this situation a kind of status alteration, and as Koskoff mentioned before, a changing musical role. She can no longer play bağlama as well as she could before going on her pilgrimage.

In analyzing a few additional factors that can be seen to affect the presentation of the work of female âşıklar, we will start with what is a simple result of the male dominance within âşık tradition. In saz performances, tunes that follow each other within a limited voice range manifest similar features (e.g. key signature, rhythm, tuning, tone, etc.). In vocal performances, the songs of female âşıklar do not generally vary in vocal range beyond the outer limits of 3 and 12. The melody formats of these songs generally display, rather than a regional style, the style of individual minstrel/folk singers that the âşıklar have listened to and been influenced by. This limitation of vocal range is due to the traditional dominance of the male vocal range in âşık style, which places most female âşıklar in an unnaturally low register.

Notable in regards to many recorded musical works by female âşık is the fact that, while using traditional formats, they have made use of contemporary music as well. This occurs on the insistence of



producers who deem contemporary commercial pop musical elements as being essential for selling records. Therefore, we find "arrangement approaches" that can be observed within the broader contemporary music market in the works of female âşıklar. Having these works at hand enables one to observe the process of change within the tradition. Moreover, it allows one to produce concrete and specific evidence of the socio-environmental inputs that have influenced them, changes in and influences on the way they create their works, how the female âşıklar' representations of the tradition have changed, as well as how their previous ways of performance have been altered by these factors.

We've already established that âşık art has a gender, and that this gender is male. The masculine emotional model of âşık performance dictates restraint in the expression of emotion. This is in accordance with the social gender norms of masculinity, and is typical of male âşık performance. Female âşıklar too, typically perform their work with a notable lack of emotional expression¹⁷. But this fact is shaped by different gender rules. It is in fact due to the same socio-moral restrictions that deem such expressions of emotion by women in public to be immoral behavior¹⁸. These restrictions also come to bear on their dress and posture as they perform, and in these areas to are cause of some discomfort during performance¹⁹. Even though they perform music that expresses emotions, and they feel strong emotions, they can't show their feelings in their presentation. Incidentally a result of these entirely separate gender rules, the emotional characteristics of female âşık performance cannot be differentiated in an obvious way from those of typical male performance.

The lyrical works of female âşıklar are usually written as ballads, a form quite widespread in âşık art. Along with the ballad, one may come across works with epic and quatrain forms, as well as those wherein the main theme that has inspired the work is voiced in "tahkiye" (story) form.

The number of verses used in the works ranges from two to ten, with each verse containing between three and four lines. In some works, one may encounter refrains connected with verses. These refrains are mostly observed to be in regular quatrain form with regard to the number of lines. On the other hand, one can also find instances of a regular refrain verse being accompanied by another verse with two or four lines. One may also find, in connection with some verses, refrain verses with irregular numbers of lines.

The lyrics of the works generally express themes of love, homesickness, social injustice and religious belief. However, there are also particular works involving themes connected specifically with the âşık's identity as a woman. In these works, one will nearly always recognize a specific expressive quality: that of the extreme sorrow of the forsaken. We may say that this emphasis on these expressions of suffering, in the poetic or musical presentations of female âşıklar, is characteristic, and in turn, can be evaluated as a natural result

¹⁷For instance, Sürmelican - Although she sings about extremely emotional subjects, no emotion is detectable when watching her perform. Instead, her face appears anxious before her audience.

¹⁸Similarly women are restricted in what they can express subject-wise and lyrically. While men may use profanity in their songs and may sing freely about romantic love, women may not explicitly speak of love outside of that felt toward their families, children, and only in limited terms, regarding husbands.

¹⁹When I interviewed Âşık Ezgili Kevser, I asked her why she dresses in men's clothes when she performs, to which she responded that she feels more free and comfortable on stage. And changes her reception by male âşıklar in a positive way. We may relate this last fact also to the notion of a status change due to the loss of sexuality.



of "womanly" presentation.

Returning to Rice's article, we consider that music not only tells us about musical things such as scale, form, rhythm, tune etc., but it also tells us about people's lives, ideas, and maybe even secrets. Many examples of musical works produced by women contain specifically "womanly" expressions in their lyrics that describe the status of women in society, and these expressions tend to come in the form of grievances. When female âşıklar perform at weddings, festivals or on their albums, they use what can be characterized as "womanly" words to explain their problems and generally female audiences have a unique understanding of these. These kinds of phrases show us something of the quality of the female's anxiety or discomfort, and also give us a hint about the position of women in Turkey. Reinhard explains that, "some female song lyrics often speak of desperate, hopeless pleading with the parents. Also many songs sung by girls in Turkey often contain the female protagonist's complaint that she was forcibly given to an unloved man and her request to the one she loves to flee with her" (Reinhard, 2000, p.90). Here we can give some examples of womanly expressions in the work of female âşıklar. Their subjects and lyrics, expressing common and intimate experiences of women, move female audiences more than male, who do not have experiences of female culture *from within*. The womanly words that female âşıklar use allow specifically for women to sense the meaning, to understand and be moved;

Example 1:

Yeter Ana says;
Erkek küsmez derler ben sende gördüm
Sana ne ettim ki kalbini kırdım
Dövdün dövdün yine koynuna girdim
Cilve edip saran kolun var m'ola

*I supposed that men aren't easily offended but I saw you were
What did I do that I broke your heart
Although you beat me I go to bed with you
Do you have an arm which can give a hug*

Sen gittin gurbete gönül eyledin
Beni köye mahkûm ettin bağladın
Ben bir afet idim arzum dağladın
Yanmış yüreğime yelin var m'ola

*When you went to foreign places you amused yourself
You confined me to the village
I was an exquisite woman but you cauterized my desires
Do you have wind for my burnt heart*

*Yeter Ana der ki sevdim de vardım
Baldırı çıplaktan yuvanı kurdum
Birbirinden güzel yavrular verdim
Doğru söze tatlı dilin var m'ola (Kaya, 2001, p.11)*

*Mother Yeter says "I married you - that's why I had loved you
You didn't have a nail to hang your hat, I provided everything
Each child I gave you was more beautiful than the last
Tell me truthfully, do you have any soft words*



Example 2:

Gülhanım says;

Gelin ağ[a]llar gelin bakım halime
Feleğin sillesi bana da vurdu
Kadınım ya gücüm yetmez zalime
Kimi ezdi geçti kimi de sürdü

Look here landlord, my condition

Fate gave my life a slap

*Because I am a woman I am not strong enough to fight with cruelty
They swept me up, they blew me away too*

Bilmem ki kaderin bana kastı ne

Kuma etti beni kuma üstüne

Kul eyledi yâren ile dostuna

Kimi kızdı geçti kimi de kırdı

I don't know what's the intention of fate

Fate made me the lowest concubine

This fate made me a slave to its friends

Who was angry with me who broke my heart too

Gülhanım'ım der ki dersimi aldım

Derdim içe aktı saçımı yoldum

Genç yaşımda yârim öldü dul kaldım

Kimi üzdü geçti kimi de yerdı (Kaya, 2001, p.69-84)

Gulhanım says that I learned a lesson from my misfortune

My sorrow flew inside that's why I tore my hair

When I was young my darling died and I was widowed

Who made me upset who reviled against me too

Example 3:

Ayşe Berk says;

Üç oğlum var bir ihtiyar kişiden

Kara günlü belâ gitmez başımdan

Bana acır hep duyanlar işiden

Böylece malûmun olsun Atatürk (Aslanoğlu, 1985, p.25-29)

I have three sons from an old man

Black trouble plagues me

Everyone who knows my condition feels pity for me

Atatürk should be informed of my condition

Example 4:

Sarıcakız says;

Gün oldu dövüldük yere post olduk

Susturdular heykel olduk büst olduk

Acıyla yaşadık dertle dost olduk

Yutkunup ümükte düğlemedik mi

At kaderi it kaderi

İlle de avrat kaderi

Sometimes we were beaten and we were made into a doormat

Sometimes we were silenced such as statue such as bust

We have lived with hurt and we became friends with sorrow

We gulped down our sorrows, didn't we

Destiny of horse destiny of dog

Necessarily destiny of wife (Çınar, 2010, p.64)



These kinds of expressions are seen only in female compositions and are more vividly perceptible for women as these phrases express many shared understandings for them. This is why we say music is metaphor and why we should pay attention to the metaphors working within a culture.

One must also remember that whatever the conditions under which women live, even as they are bound by their social environments, they never limit themselves absolutely to the realm of household subjects. Accordingly, we see that female poets do not remain aloof from social issues but analyze the conditions of their times, expressing their reproach, criticisms, joys and sensitivity to the socio-political events in their countries.

Şahturna Ağdaşan (Şah Turna / Şahturna) is an example of such a poet. The daughter of Bağdat and Musa Dulumpınar, Âşık Şahturna was born in 1953 in the village of Kaynarca, near Sivas. She lost her sight to measles and smallpox at the age of three, yet during her childhood became interested in music as she listened to the folk songs sung by the *dedes* who came to her village singing and playing. By the time she had begun to write poetry, she had already been able to memorize songs of the great folk poets Pir Sultan and Hatâyî, songs her father sang. At the age of ten, her father gave her a saz as a present, and she began singing the poems she had memorized, in time writing her own as well. In 1963, her name gradually began to become known in the surrounding provinces, and before long she began to receive invitations to sing in concerts.

Making her first record at the age of fourteen, Âşık Şahturna made it a matter of principle to examine social issues in her songs and to talk about these issues. Because of this, she was taken to court several times. Because Âşık Şahturna criticized the political system in her performances and supported a variety of political groups, she was arrested and forced to flee to Germany on April 18, 1978. As a result, she was stripped of her citizenship on August 9, 1984. She regained her citizenship on July 1, 1992, and though she sometimes works in Turkey as well she continues to live in Berlin, where she works at a culture and arts center she founded and which bears her name.

With her work published in many languages and the subject of scholarly research at various universities, Şahturna has been perceived chiefly as a political dissident. Her poems display her political thoughts clearly. According to information she herself supplied, her ideological consciousness took shape when her family moved to Ankara in 1968, and one of her main subjects is social injustice. Also known as "Türkü Ana" and "Barış Anası Şahturna" by her fans, Âşık Şahturna also deals with subjects like nature, exile and passion in her works. Speaking of religious issues and social concerns, she sets forth her world view clearly; with a rebellious and critical narrative, she sings in a fluent style.

Example 5:

Şahturna says;

Yol yordam bilmeyen köylü vatandaş
Seni bu hallere koyan utansın
Kırık ekme, bir tas ayran, yağsız aş
Şükreyle haline diyen utansın

*O villager, at a loss for what to do
Whoever placed you in this plight, should be ashamed
A crust of bread, a single bowl of ayran, food with no oil*



Whoever says "be thankful for your plight" should be ashamed (Çınar, 2010, p.63)

Another female âşık who does not shy from the social realm in her lyrics is Filiz Yurdakul (Sinem Bacı). The daughter of Hatice and İsmail Yurdakul, Filiz was born in 1954 in the village of Körpınar, Zara province, Sivas. She says she first became acquainted with the bağlama in the cems (Alevi worship ceremonies), and her love for poetry and folk music is a product of her upbringing within Alevi-Bektaşî culture.

In 1970, when her father moved the family to Istanbul for work, the most important development for her here was her acquaintance with Davut Sularî. It was he who introduced Sinem to his brothers, Haydar and Müslüm Ağbaba, who owned a bağlama school. This introduction was instrumental for the release of her first record, and thus she entered into an active life as a performer. During this time, she was given the name "Sinem Bacı" by her audience.

In 1974, Sinem Bacı married Âşık İhsani (İhsanî Sırlıoğlu) from Diyarbakır. She says that during their seven years of marriage, the fact he was a colleague brought her much knowledge of the tradition, and that she began learning saz from Âşık İhsanî, who she referred to as her "master."

Serving as the general secretary of "Dev-Oz" (The Revolutionary Âşıklar' Association) in the 1970s, Sinem Bacı took part in a tour of Anatolia with this association. During this period especially, themes of personal problems gave way to social issues in her poetry, and in this way her political identity came to the forefront. Because of the subjects she addressed and the concerts she took part in, she spent much of her life as a performer dealing with court cases.

Writing her poems in verse, especially satirical in nature, Sinem Bacı also addresses social and religious issues, and enlivens her narrative with exclamations of sadness or happiness such as "oy," "ha," "oh," etc.

Example 6:

Sinem Bacı says;

Yıllardır hep atıp tuta

Yalan sözü yuta yuta

Koydunuz beni tabuta

Uyu deme uyuyamam

Yürü deme yürüyemem

Sus deme susamam

For years always blustery

Swallowing Lie lyrics

You put me in the coffin

Do not say sleep cannot sleep

Do not say walk cannot walk

Do not say shut up cannot shut up

6. CONCLUSION (SONUÇ)

Âşıklar reflect and carry ahead the points of view, artistic tastes, living practices and traditions of the society in which they live, and play an important part in transmitting folk art to future generations.

Long a part of this tradition yet markedly neglected both commercially as well as academically, female âşıklar are significant primary sources contributing to the formation and continuity of âşık



art. This is clear to us in spite of the fact that the traditional pathways through which âşık art is learned, taught, performed and otherwise transmitted are observed to exist in environments and within social relationships centered around men. Not only have female âşıklar managed to create for themselves alternative ways of existing and developing their art, they also carry forth and express experiences and perspectives directly and distinctly related to the broader position of women in Turkish society.

We have brought to light and discussed various ways in which the experiences faced by female âşıklar can be seen to reflect the more general social position of women in Turkish society. A cultural view of the inherent nature and role of women - that of the wife, mother and housekeeper - being inherently incompatible with the âşık's role is at the root of the cultural logic from which follow the social limitations faced by female âşıklar. Female âşıklar face these limitations at every stage of their career: from their lack of a full training process within the tradition, resulting in a lesser degree of technical knowledge, to restrictions in the circumstances open to them for performance. The latter offers very limited opportunities to share and propagate their art, and alternately, to be recognized by the community at large. This situation ultimately contributes as well to the near invisibility of female âşıklar in mainstream popular consciousness, and thus maintains the male dominated character of the tradition.

Yet this situation has certainly not prevented the existence of female âşıklar and the participation of women in the tradition. This study has examined a variety of means devised by today's female âşıklar in order to realize their art and existence. These are eclectic efforts first to develop in accordance with the tradition as much as possible by achieving a maximum proximity to traditional sources even while being denied direct access. We can see this in the case of Âşık Ezgili Kevser who, facing the near impossibility of finding a master due to her gender, traveled to neighboring villages collecting pieces by masters, as well as in the case of others who have entered environments such as âşık coffeehouses, âşık evenings, festivals and other activities occasionally as participants, but more often as semi-outsiders, intent on collecting as much knowledge as possible from *this* position. However, the devotion of female âşıklar to âşık art has led them to find additional means as well (including securing alternative performance environments for themselves and utilizing non-traditional sources, such as the broader music education system) to compensate for what they are denied within the professional âşık spheres. All of these alternate paths of development amount to a previously unrecognized area of effort and ingenuity born out of the will to overcome their limitations in pursuit of their art.

Female âşıklar have had different experiences from their male counterparts and we have seen how their work expresses essential aspects of this experience. The combination of an alternate set of social conditions and paths of musical development make female âşıklar significant beyond their role as âşıklar. There are many rich questions that wait to be explored in further studies on female âşıklar that could lead to a greater understanding of the ways their status continues to change within the âşık tradition as well as what this can reveal to us about changes in the overall circumstances of women in the country. Since the traditional, male-dominated performer/audience environments are growing smaller as television and recordings generally become favored routes for âşıklar, are women's experiences different in the newer environments surrounding the media



industry? How does the level of acceptance women âşıklar experience in the music industry at large compare to their experience strictly within the professional spheres of âşık culture? And how do gender roles play out for women âşıklar in these new environments?

Aside from being women and experiencing many common conditions in their lives and in practicing their art, another similarity exists among the works produced by the âşıklar who took part in this study. Despite the fact that they were brought up and now live in different regions, creating works in different styles and forms, the "womanly spirit and sensitivity" in their works impose themselves as common pillars in these expressions of social identity.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS (TEŞEKKÜR)

I would like to thank Professor Timothy Rice for encouraging me to write this article. His valuable questions and advice helped this article to take shape.

Special thanks to Philip Weil, who helped me to translate and edit the English version of this article, and whose perspicacious comments have aided this text immensely.

I would also like to thank my doctoral thesis adviser, Süleyman Şenel, who was an important guide for me during the development of my thesis, on which this article is largely based.

REFERENCES (KAYNAKLAR)

1. Artun, E., (2005). *Âşıklık Geleneği ve Âşık Edebiyatı*. İstanbul: Kitabevi Yayınları.
2. Aslanoğlu, İ., (1985). *Söz Mülkünün Sultanları*. İstanbul: Erman Yayınevi.
3. Bali, M., (1975). "Âşık Karşılaşmaları-Atışmalar ve Bugünkü Durumu-I", *Türk Folklor Araştırmaları*, 314, 7432-7435.
4. Başgöz, İ., (1968). *İzahlı Türk Halk Edebiyatı Antolojisi*. İstanbul: Ararat Yayınevi.
5. Bowen, D.L., Early, E.A., (1993). *Everyday Life in the Muslim Middle East*. America: Indiana University Press.
6. Çınar, S., (2008). *Yirminci Yüzyılın İkinci Yarısında Türkiye'de Kadın Âşıklar (Female Ashiks in Turkey in the Second Half of Twentieth Century)*. Unpublished Doctorate Dissortation. İstanbul: Istanbul Technical University.
7. Çınar, S., (2010). *"Kadın Âşıklar Albümü"*. İstanbul: Kalan Müzik.
8. Dizdaroğlu, H., (1969). *Halk Şiirinde Türler*. Ankara: Türk Dil Kurumu Yayınları.
9. Erdener, Y., (1995). *The Song Contests of Turkish Minstrels*. New York: Garland Publishing.
10. Evin, K.A., (2002). *Uzun Havalılar*. Ankara: T.C. Kültür Bakanlığı Yayınları.
11. Günay, U., (1992). *Türkiye'de Âşık Tarzı Şiir Geleneği ve Rüya Motifi*. Ankara: Akçağ Yayınları.
12. Kaya, D., (2001). "Âşık Şiirinde Karı-Koca Bağlamında Sevgi, Hasret ve Geçimsizlik", *Motif*, S.27, ss.8-11.
13. Kaya, D., (2001). "Bir Âşık Ailesi: Âşık Yüzbaşıoğlu ve Ailesindeki Diğer Âşıklar", *Folklor ve Edebiyat*, S.28, ss.69-84.
14. Koskoff, E., (1987). *Women and Music in Cross-Cultural Perspective*. New York: Greenwood Press.
15. Köprülü, M.F., (1962). *Türk Saz Şairleri I*. Ankara: Güven Basımevi.
16. Köprülü, M.F., (2004). *Edebiyat Araştırmaları 1-2*. Ankara: Akçağ Yayınları.



17. Kurt, İ., (1995). *Başlamada Düzen ve Pozisyonlar*. İstanbul: Pan Yayıncılık.
18. Özbudun, S., Balkı, Ş., Altuntek, S., (2007). *Antropoloji: Kuramlar Kuramcılar*. Ankara: Dipnot Yayınları.
19. Özer, M.A., (1985). *Âşıkların Karşılaşma Töresi, Türk Folkloru*, S.76, ss.15-17.
20. Reinhard, U., (2000). "The Image of Woman in Turkish Ballad Poetry and Music". In E. Moaisala and Diamond (Ed), *Music and Gender*. (pp.80-94). Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press.
21. Rice, T., (2003). "Time, Place, and Metaphor in Musical Experience and Ethnography" pp.151-179. USA: University of Illinois Press. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/3113916>
22. Sarısözen, M., (1962). *Türk Halk Musikîsi Usulleri*. Ankara: Baskı ve Klişeler Resimli Posta Matbaası Ltd. Şirketi.
23. Schimmel, A., (1997). *My Soul is a Woman*. New York: The Continuum Publishing Company.
24. Şenel, S., (1991). "Âşık Musikîsi", *İslam Ansiklopedisi*, İstanbul, c. 3, s.553-556.
25. Şenel, S., (2000). "Türk Halk Musikisinde Uzun Hava Tanımları ve Bu Tanımlar Etrafında Ortaya Çıkan Problemler", *Türk Halk Müziğinde Çeşitli Görüşler*, Ankara: Kültür Bakanlığı Yayınları. ss.55-81.
26. Şenel, S., (2007). *Kastamonu'da Âşık Fasılları Türler / Çeşitler / Çeşitlemeler I-II*. Kastamonu: Kastamonu Valiliği Özel İdare Yayınları.
27. Tüfekçi, N., (2000). "Âşıklarda Müzik", *Türk Halk Müziğinde Çeşitli Görüşler*. Derleyen: Salih Turhan, Ankara: Kültür Bakanlığı Yayınları.