

ABSTRACT

Horon is a rural-originated collective movement practice, particular to the Eastern Black Sea Region in Turkey. This dissertation is concerned with the habitual practice of the *Horon* and concentrates on the special form of communication generated among its practitioners during performance. The discussion is based on a six-week fieldwork period conducted in the summer of 2013. Considering the fact that the Turkish verb used by *Horon* practitioners to denote their activity is “to play” and aiming to constitute a research approach that takes the emic viewpoint into consideration, the dissertation looks at the *Horon* as play and asks what kind of a communication it generates.

The first part of the dissertation discusses the fieldwork as a process. It does not only aim to present what has been found during the research, but also to display how the findings have been attained by putting emphasis on the in-between insider/outsider position of the researcher in the field. The second chapter concentrates on the movement and the specific characteristics of playing the *Horon*. It demonstrates that a *Horon* performance follows a specific structure that is governed by certain rules, which prioritise a haptic and kinaesthetic form of communication and aim the emergence of a special kind of experience that is distinct from ordinary life. This experience, which is characterised by a strong sense of collective enthusiasm and joy, is interpreted as a special form of *communitas*.

Keywords: *Horon*, play, communication, kinaesthesia, *communitas*

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Thank you very much! Tusen takk! Merci beaucoup! Köszönöm szépen! Sağ olun var olun!

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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

1.1. Aim and Scope

This dissertation focuses on the habitual practice of the *Horon* which is a rural-originated movement practice particular to the Eastern Black Sea Region in Turkey. Its aims at understanding and identifying the particular form of communication that occurs among the practitioners of *Horon*. The discussion in the dissertation is based mainly on the material collected during a six-week period fieldwork conducted at the countryside of the region in the summer of 2013.

Being a collective movement practice inherited from the past and executed in a chain by holding hands, the practice of *Horon* might easily be classified within the category of “traditional chain dances” in folk dance studies. However, this study refrains from delimiting its discussion within the boundaries of such a classification because of three reasons. Firstly, it aims at doing an anthropological analysis of this practice that goes much further than the scope of folk dance studies. Secondly, the actual practitioners do not use the term “dance” to denote their activity. The emic verb to denote the act of practicing *Horon* (as well as all other rural-originated movement practices in the country similar to it) in Turkish is not “*dans et-mek*”, but “*oyn-a-mak*” which simultaneously means “to play”. The term “*dans*” (dance) is imported to Turkish in the twentieth century from European languages and is used to denote Western-originated dance forms such as ballroom dances (waltz, tango, etc.), popular dances (rap, hip-hop, etc.) and contemporary theatre dance, whereas the rural originated movement practices have always been called “*oyun*” (play) (And, 2012 [1974]; Karadeniz, 2012; Öztürkmen, 2001: 139). In this respect, looking at the *Horon* within the boundaries of the term dance might lead to cross-cultural misunderstandings. Thirdly, although the actual practitioners know and appreciate that the *Horon* is a practice inherited from a distant past, they consider it as an important and vigorous part of the contemporary regional culture rather than an “antique” that needs to be preserved.

The research presented is largely inspired by the emic viewpoint described above. In analysing the communication particular to the *Horon*, the dissertation proposes to look at it in terms of “playing” rather than dancing. This inevitably brings about employing an interdisciplinary approach, which refers to studies on play and playing from various fields

besides anthropology and dance. The idea is that the act of playing generates a specific form of communication among the players outside the “ordinary” life.

The main questions asked within the dissertation are: What are the characteristic features of the act of playing in relation to the communication it generates? What kind of a play is *Horon*? What are the peculiarities of the communication experienced by its practitioners during its practice? What features of the movements in *Horon* leads to the emergence of this specific form of communication?

Looking at the habitual practice of *Horon* through the lens of an anthropological approach, which prioritises the emic viewpoint and focuses on the details of the movement, appears to be quite significant, as until today, this movement practice has not been studied from such a perspective. The previous studies are mainly descriptive, as they are usually motivated by documenting purposes, although they sometimes include a general analysis of the practice in relation to its cultural context. Metin And (2012 [1974]), one of the prominent performing arts scholars of Turkey, who conducted an extensive research with his students on rural-originated practices all over the country, is somehow an exception, as he puts emphasis on the fact that these practices are labelled in Turkish as “play” and suggests to look at it by taking into consideration the concept of play. However, he ends up with making a general structural analysis, motivated by considerations that are not quite anthropological, but rather interested in the improvement of artistic qualities in contemporary performing arts.

1.2. Background of the Researcher

My interest in doing a research on *Horon* comes from my background in theatre. I have especially been influenced by the works of artists, who are interested in creating new ways of performing that may be an alternative to the “conventional theatre”, which has, according to them, lost most of its vigour and communicative abilities.¹ In pursuit of their aim, some of these artists conducted theoretical and practical research on performing art forms of the past, which might include theatre, music, singing, dancing, storytelling, as well as ritualistic practices in various combinations. As a result of this influence, my master’s work in acting included a project in storytelling (Sözer Özdemir, 2010). During this project, one of my main inspirations was Walter Benjamin, who spoke of the traditional art of storytelling as ‘an artisan form of communication’ (2007 [1936]: 91), which, according to him, reminds of

¹ Among these artists, I can mention Antonin Artaud (1958; 1995), Jerzy Grotowski (1987; 1995), Peter Brook (1996 [1968]) and Eugenio Barba (Barba and Savarese, 1991).

something that is being taken from us in modern times; ‘the ability to exchange experiences’ (2007 [1936]: 83). He relates the decline of storytelling with the rise of the novel, which generated a new type of communication - an isolated writer perceived by the solitary reader -, whereas in the traditional art of storytelling the storyteller and the listeners share a collective experience, where each time the story is re-created together in a face-to-face relationship (Benjamin, 2007 [1936]).

In my master’s dissertation, I discussed this disparateness between the perceptions of storytelling and novels through theories on oral and literate cultures. In their works on the differences between oral and literate cultures, cultural and religious historian and philosopher Walter Ong (2005 [1982]), as well as anthropologist Jack Goody and literary historian Ian Watt (1963) put emphasis on the situational - belonging to a certain place, time and situation - character of oral culture and how this is lost with the introduction of literacy. According to them, the oral culture is characterised by a highly embodied form of communication. Ong states that

[t]he oral word...never exists in a simply verbal context, as a written word does. Spoken words are always modifications of a total, existential situation, which always engages the body. Bodily activity beyond mere vocalization is not adventitious or contrived in oral communication, but is natural and even inevitable. In oral verbalization, particularly public verbalization, absolute motionlessness itself is a powerful gesture (2005 [1982]: 66).

As a result of limited practical experience in rural-originated movement practices of Turkey in recent years², I found myself thinking that it is also important to do research on the specific form of communication generated during these practices, especially considering the fact that they are an important part of the oral culture in Turkey, inherited from the past. Moreover, they might even be considered as pure bodily manifestations of this culture.

1.3. Structure of Dissertation

Chapter two presents a comprehensive description and a detailed analysis of the fieldwork conducted, which forms the basis of this study. It starts with a description of the research context and continues with a reflexive recounting of the fieldwork as a process. This

² I worked with a Paris-based French-Turkish theatre group (*Centre de Recherches Théâtrales Saint Blaise*) for a short period of time, which did research on traditional singing and movement practices of Turkey as a part of a project called *Türk Geleneksel Sahne Sanatları Merkezi Projesi* (Turkish Traditional Performing Arts Centre Project). This project was conducted in collaboration with *Kapadokya Kültür ve Turizm Derneği* (Cappadocia Culture and Tourism Association) in Ortahisar, Nevşehir, Turkey. Whereas the project period was between 02.05.2011 - 01.05.2012, my participation was from October 2011 to the end of April, 2012. The aim of the project was to do research on traditional performing arts in the region in order to make contribution to the preservation, survival and promotion of these arts. See also *Türk Geleneksel Sahne Sanatları Merkezi*, 2011.

recounting aims at rendering the conditions of the research explicit to the readers as much as possible. In this sense, it not only discusses the relationship of the researcher with the field, but also gives information about the chosen methodology. The chapter ends with the description and evaluation of the material collected during the fieldwork, as well as explaining how the dissertation makes a selection among them for its discussion.

Chapter three focuses on the movement itself; the first part tries to put forward basic structural patterns that exist in a *Horon* performance, as well as offering preliminary analyses about the patterns and quality of the movements. The second part analyses the *Horon* in terms of playing and attempt to identify the specificities of the communication particular to the *Horon* play by merging different discussions on playing, dancing, kinaesthesia and flow experience with a number of movement analyses that are based on the selected material from the fieldwork.

The concluding chapter aims to sum up all these discussions by looking at the practice of Horon as a potential form of “*communitas*”, as conceptualised by anthropologist Victor Turner (1982).

CHAPTER 2: FIELDWORK

2.1. Description of the Field

2.1.1. The Broader Context

Turkey is a country that is quite rich in terms of the variety of rural-originated movement practices and there has been a comprehensive research on them by folklore and folk dance specialists, starting from the mid-1920s with the foundation of the Republic of Turkey with an aim of inventorying the traditional performing arts heritage of the country as a way to build a national identity. Metin And distinguishes these practices in three categories - dramatic plays, dances, and games - , however putting emphasis on the fact that they are all denoted by their practitioners by the Turkish term “*oyun*” which means “play”. He mentions the names of more than one thousand different rural-originated dances that are known and documented. Although it entails a generalisation, he tries to organize this vast number under certain regional categories. According to this categorisation, the Eastern Black Sea Region is considered the land of the *Horon* (And, 2012 [1974]: 158-172).

This research process mentioned above has gone hand in hand with the efforts of creating spectacular stage performances out of the traditional performing arts, which resulted in the creation of an urban folk dance culture out of rural heritage (And, 2012 [1974]; Öztürkmen, 2001; 2003). In contemporary Turkey, the *Horon* together with many other movement practices of the past is practiced and taught at both public and private, professional and amateur folk dance groups and schools. However, most of these practices have sustained their habitual mode of existence within the daily lives of people in various informal contexts such as weddings, henna nights³, seeing off parties for young men who do their military service, traditional and modern feasts and festivals. Although for the public there is no formal distinction between the two, the habitual and “folkloric” existences of rural-originated dances are different from each other in terms of practice. Although the habitual practice of these dances depends on the improvisation of individuals and/or groups, who choose from a range of already-known repertoire of figures by following certain traditional norms, the dance scholars’ and choreographers’ wish to create stage performances out of them led to their

³ Henna night is a traditional gathering for a bride-to-be during which she, the groom and the other guests henna their fingers a day or a few days before the wedding night. Although traditionally only females were attending the henna night which was held at the house of bride’s family, today it turned out into a public party for both genders (Santur, 2014).

fixation within choreographies, after “necessary” refinements of traditional figures according to the norms of staging (Öztürkmen, 2001; 2003). Another important alteration is related with the transmission of the practice. As historian Arzu Öztürkmen (2001) states, in contrast to the habitual mode of transmission, which occurs on a daily, informal and organic basis, urban folk dance performers learn these dances as if they would learn aerobic figures.

As my study on *Horon* focuses on its practice in daily, habitual contexts, I chose to conduct my research in the countryside of the Eastern Black Sea Region, trying to refrain deliberately from any contact with its folkloric practice.

2.1.2. The Field

The Eastern Black Sea Region in Turkey is located at the North-Eastern part of the country by the Black Sea. It houses a couple of high mountain chains that are close and parallel to the coast. These specific geographical characteristics, which used to limit the relations of the region with inner Anatolia and made access to the countryside difficult in the past, are thought to have been effective in shaping the regional culture, which is regarded as somehow unique in the country. Whereas in the past the rural economy was based on agriculture (mostly the cultivation of corn, hazelnuts and tea), animal husbandry, as well as musket craftsmanship, today these activities have either disappeared or are not bringing in enough to make a living. As a result, the population in the countryside is on the decrease and the people who still live in the villages are either elders or people having jobs in nearby towns. However, the hazelnut and tea gardens are still a part of the rural life, as they are regarded as a source of extra income. Most villages in the region are connected with a specific area at the high plateaus in the mountains, which is called “*oba*” by the locals. In the past, the people of each village used to ascend on foot to their particular *oba* in the summer after the harvest and spend a certain amount of time there in small mountain huts or tents as part of their animal husbandry activities. The walk to the high plateau, which might last a day or more, used to be livened up by *Horon* music, singing and dance and end up with a common feast with other villages, who share the same or neighbouring *obas*. Today although the villagers sustain their connections with their *obas* (most of them by building modern houses), the harvest feasts have mostly turned into daily recreational activities free of the burden of the tough walk, thanks to the construction of roads (Karadeniz, 2012; Özdemir, 2013; Yanık, 2008).

My main connection in the field was my parents-in-law, who originate from a village in the Eastern Black Sea Region - Anbarlı Village, which is within the boundaries of the town of Beşikdüzü, Trabzon province. They owned one house in their village, one in Beşikdüzü and another one in their *oba* called Sisdağı. Although I stayed in all three houses during my fieldwork, Anbarlı had been the centre of my research, which is at a distance of fifteen minutes by car from Beşikdüzü towards the mountains. Although the permanent population of the village is around 350 people, it increases in the summer with the seasonal migration of city dwellers who originate from the village, as well as the visits of children and grandchildren (*Anbarlı Köyü*, 2013). At the beginning I planned to limit my research in Anbarlı and few neighbouring villages, as well as their *obas*. In the field I realised, however, that the *Horon* practice scope of the villagers covers a larger geographical area that includes not only the neighbouring villages, but also neighbouring towns and high plateaus. People were certainly more mobile than I thought. Besides, I also realised that their mobility was not only an outcome of modern conditions, but came partly from the tradition of harvest feasts that is based on the idea of changing place and meeting with people from other villages. As I tried to follow the activities I have been advised and notified by the Anbarlı villagers, my research area was therefore determined by their actual *Horon* scope.

2.1.3. The *Horon*

As mentioned above, the *Horon* is a collective movement practice, performed in a chain that is formed by holding hands. The chain, which should be composed of at least two people, might sometimes include hundreds of people. It can take the form of a line, an arc or a circle at different moments of the performance (Figure 1). Live musical accompaniment is an indispensable part of the *Horon* practice in its habitual context; some *Horon* performances might also include collective singing of the practitioners. The most common instruments that accompany the *Horon* are *kemençe* (a small, three-stringed instrument played with a bow) (Figure 2), *tulum* (a special kind of wind instrument that is highly similar to a bagpipe), and *davul* (the most common traditional drum in Turkey) always together with *zurna* (shrill pipe) (Figure 3).



Figure 1: *Horon* chain (still photograph from EV13-V4⁴)



Figure 2: *Kemançe* player (still photograph from EV4-V3)

⁴ The material collected during the fieldwork period was organised in an extensive database. In this database, EV refers to events, INT refers to interviews, AD refers to additional secondary sources, V refers to videos, P refers to photographs, FN refers to fieldnotes, and SR refers to sound recordings. Excerpts from this database, which are referred in the dissertation, are in the appendices.



Figure 3: *Davul* and *zurna* players (still photograph from EV6-V10)

The *Horon* can be practiced anytime, anywhere when there are enough people willing to perform; outdoors, indoors, in a social gathering, at a wedding or henna night. Although in the past there was gender segregation, today the *Horon* chain is usually mixed-gender. The movement is based on the repetition of certain step patterns executed simultaneously by each practitioner. Cheering and clapping hands altogether at certain moments of the practice is quite common. Gradually growing enthusiasm shared by the practitioners and strong bodily vibration are two important characteristics of this movement practice (And, 2012 [1974]; Cihanoğlu, 1997; Erdem and Pulur, 2002; Güçlü, 2004; Karadeniz, 2012).

2.2. Fieldwork Process

2.2.1. Relationship of the Researcher with the Field

Before starting the actual fieldwork, I knew that my position as a researcher in the field would oscillate between being an insider and an outsider and both positions had certain advantages and disadvantages. However, in the field, I realised that I had not thoroughly anticipated the actual effects of this double position in my research.

As I was from Turkey, in general terms I was an insider. Speaking the language and having a general idea about the social norms and values of the people being researched were certainly two important advantages. However, being from neither Anbarlı Village nor the

Eastern Black Sea Region definitely rendered me an outsider. Although the village was not completely unfamiliar for me, as I have visited it every summer for at least one week for the last six years, until the summer of 2013 I had never attended a social or cultural event in or around the village, which included the practice of *Horon*. Unavoidably, many aspects of not only the local culture, but also the *Horon* practice were completely new to me. Although today most people in the field are strongly connected with the city life, being not “from a village” neither from the region nor from any other province in the country, but a university graduate from the “big city”⁵ was another aspect, which intensified my outsidership in the field, as well as putting a further distance between me and the people being researched. Nevertheless, I was not a “pure” outsider, as I was married to the son of a couple from Anbarlı Village. Although I saw it at the beginning as an advantage, in time I realised that being the “bride” of the village put me in a more complicated position than I expected. Although I was experiencing the disadvantages of being an outsider, I did not have the freedom of a full outsider; I was extensively subject to the social norms in the field, which were not only sometimes contradictory to my personal habits as a town-bred, independent woman, but also obstructive in my research. Besides, not being a dancer or folk dancer, and having only little previous practical knowledge of *Horon* rendered me again as an outsider.

In her paper ‘ ‘Outsider’ in an ‘Inside’ World, or Dance Ethnography at Home’, dance scholar Maria Koutsouba (1999) discusses a similar in-between insider-outsider position, which she herself experienced during her fieldwork at a village in Lefkada Island in Greece. As she explains, although the field was not quite familiar to her as she was not from Lefkada, but a town-bred dancer, she somehow felt confident in the beginning, as she had a friend from the island and her parents originated from another countryside region of Greece. However her feelings changed after she began the actual fieldwork:

Given, as I thought, two great advantages - knowledge, as a Greek, of the various levels of my country’s social life and a point of reference through my friend - I felt quite confident starting my research... In the field, however, I became conscious of the austerity with which ...[villagers] defined their being and of their insistence in maintaining the borders between these definitions. ...my former confidence turned to a feeling of being a stranger in my own country...

...in time, I realized that my acquaintance with rural communities through my parents’ birthplaces had placed me in a peculiar situation. Apart from local particularities, I was familiar with the general rules that structured the community under investigation. Yet, I was alien to the people who practiced these rules (Koutsouba, 1999: 187-188).

⁵ I graduated from a university from Ankara, the capital of Turkey.

Contemplating her fieldwork experience, Koutsuba suggests that, for overcoming the difficulties of such a position, using the “self as informant” can be used as a methodological tool, not only in the field, but also for preparing the ethnological text afterwards (Koutsouba, 1999: 193). If the researcher is aware of his/her relationship with the field and pay attention to his/her own experience and transformation during the fieldwork besides observing others, s/he would be able to get crucial insights. This is partly what I have done in the field.

2.2.2. Methodology: “Self as Informant”

It is June 24th, 2013. Today the court set the murderer of Ethem Sarısülük free. Ethem was shot in the head by a police officer in the centre of Ankara during the first days of Gezi Park protests, which have been going on for the last four weeks in different cities of Turkey (Amnesty International, 2013).⁶ I heard this news in my house in Ankara, just after I completed and submitted the plan of the fieldwork that I was supposed to conduct this summer for my master’s dissertation.

Seeing the images of Gezi Park demonstrators hand in hand, arm in arm, shoulder to shoulder (Figure 4) and hearing the interesting stories of how they do not let anyone among them fall down or be left behind when they are brutally attacked by police usually with tear gas and/or water cannons, I cannot help not relating the *Horon* practice with the extraordinary solidarity that they exhibit in the streets. Nowadays ‘Shoulder to shoulder against fascism’ is one of the most popular slogans on the streets (Kural, 2013).

In Ankara, the residents prepare a big demonstration to take place in the evening at the boulevard where Ethem was killed, in order to protest the unacceptable injustice. I am in the doldrums and very tense. My mind was occupied with the demonstration and the possibility that new people might easily be arrested/beaten/injured/killed again in an unjust manner. I decide to take the very first bus to my fieldwork town as if I am escaping from Ankara. After a ten hours journey on the bus, my husband and I arrive to my parents-in-law’s house in the village. The village is not crowded, green and very calm. After resting for a few days, my tension lessens a little bit and am ready to start (Figure 5).

⁶ The decision was carrying out a pending trial. See also *Yaşarken Yazılan Tarih*, 2013 for the details of Gezi Park protests.



Figure 4: Men and women standing arm in arm during Gezi Park protests (*Halkız Biz*, 2013)



Figure 5: Anbarlı Village (*Anbarlı Köyü*, 2013)

My main contacts in the field are my-parents-in-law, but unfortunately they are not actual practitioners of *Horon*. Although my husband (Soner Özdemir) was also with me throughout the whole fieldwork period, he was a stranger to the village as much as I was, as he spent all his life in the big cities. I knew that not only him, but also his father (Umut Özdemir), who left the village in his early youth to attend a boarding school, visiting only in summers until retirement, did not like rural style socialisation, in which everybody knows, monitors and judges each other. Nevertheless, my mother-in-law (Kadriye Özdemir), who left the village after getting married in her 20s, was comfortable with this kind of socialisation and was usually eager to accompany me at any type of social event, as much as her health, age and time would allow. All three accompanied me in different parts of my fieldwork, as I was extensively in need of their companion, due to the dominant social norms in the countryside.

Although I had an idea about these norms from my past visits, I saw that they were stricter than I expected. The first rule was that I could not go everywhere by myself. I was the “guest” of my-parents-in-law and following the rural hosting norms in the region (that also exist almost everywhere in the country in varying degrees), according to which one has to take care of her/his guest as much as s/he could, they might or would feel responsible if left me alone. According to these norms, I also had responsibilities as a guest. I did not have much chance to refuse any help offered by them. Besides, according to the rural norms, which entail keeping a certain distance between male and female, it was not very usual to leave a woman all alone in the public domain.⁷ It was also not very proper for me to have direct contact with the men in the village and/or enter a place that is reserved only for men.

This situation, which was somehow new to me, was creating certain obstacles in my research. In the first days of my fieldwork, I thought that it might be helpful to visit the coffeehouse of the village, considering that the coffeehouse is the centre of public life in all Turkish villages. However, after a while I realised that going there would not only be improper, but also probably not useful. The coffeehouse was a place reserved only for men, and it would be very strange, even disturbing if I went there as a bride of the village, even if I were accompanied by my husband and/or my father-in-law.

⁷ I remember last year my wish to walk alone in the streets of the village created a small crisis. My father-in-law wanted to go to the town and I accompanied him to the minibus stop. On the short way back home, the son of my-parents-in-law’s neighbour saw me walking alone and he insisted to take me home with his car. I took it as an act of politeness and refused his offer, as I wanted to walk. But he strangely stopped his car at a certain distance on my way and kept an eye on me until I turned a corner. When I passed by his house five minutes later, he explained the reason of his unrest. On that deserted road, there was a man who was not from the village and he wanted to protect me, as he might be dangerous. Starting from that moment, I realised that my independent acts might be strange for the villagers and might even cause harm to my father-in-law’s status in the village.

Although I was not aware of it before I started the actual fieldwork, my scope of research was certainly restricted. I was almost never alone throughout the fieldwork, not only in the events in which I participated, but also during interviewing. The usual routine was being introduced to someone from the village by my parents-in-law, with whom I speak in front of their presence. After a while, I began to wonder whether my relationship with the local people would be different if I were fully a stranger. I got this answer towards the end of my fieldwork period in a visit to a neighbouring village in the mountains - İskenderli Village, Beşikdüzü, Trabzon (EV13). When my husband and I arrived at the village early in the morning for attending their annual harvest feast, we were immediately offered to have a tea in the coffeehouse. My presence in the coffeehouse as a “female” researcher from the city - I was the only female in the coffeehouse - was far from being a disturbance, and the local men did not withhold their friendly talk and help from us. In the coffeehouse and throughout the feast, they emphasised that they considered my husband, whose parents were from a neighbouring village, as one of them and me as their sister, and I knew that sisters and brothers might have direct contact. However, the circumstances were not always the best. One day, I wanted to attend a *Horon* event, which would take place in the evening at Sisdağı (EV5). But it was not possible for my husband to accompany me as he was ill and the weather was really cold.⁸ I insisted on going alone. However, my husband warned me that I did not know the way and it would be impossible for my parents-in-law to let me go alone. Consequently, my-father-in-law and I went together to the event by walking on a dark and bumpy road and although I wanted to stay longer to observe and record the full event, I had to leave earlier, as it would be very improper to ask my companion to stay longer. However, his accompaniment gave me the chance to speak with his friends, with whom we met in the feast area.

All in all, although the “compulsory” presence of either of my husband and/or my-father-in-law and/or my-mother-in-law during the fieldwork had probably led to critical effects on the results of my research, I had to accept it as inevitable. I should not ignore the fact that it was also very helpful for overcoming the distance between me and my interlocutors in the field, as it created a certain level of trust and comfort for both sides. In my fieldwork plan, I had mentioned participant observation, interviewing, video recording and

⁸ The same day, he accompanied me and my-mother-in-law to the Harvest Feast of Kadirga plateau (EV4). The plan was going from Kadirga Plateau to Sisdağı Plateau and spending the night in my-parents-in-law’s plateau house, as the day after there was the Sisdağı Harvest Feast. On the way, we learned that the feast starts with a *Horon* event in the previous evening and I wanted to see it.

actual participation to the practice as my research methods. These methods took specific forms in relation to my particular position as well as the general conditions in the field.

Before I started the fieldwork, I planned to conduct two kinds of interviews; informal interview not only on the *Horon*, but on different aspects of the cultural context and “explicitation interview”, which are designed for making the details of the practical knowledge of a physical activity be verbalised by its practitioners (Gore et al., 2012). However in the field I realised that in a non-professional context, doing explicitation interviews is very difficult, if not impossible. Even conducting an orderly structured interview was not easy. I had only three chances for having somehow structured interviews with the locals (INT1, INT2 and INT3). In other cases, either I could not convince people or the context was not available. Unfortunately, none of the people with whom I had structured interviews were regular and/or self-assured practitioners of *Horon*. Moreover, whereas in the first two (INT1 and INT2) the interlocutors did not allow me to do sound recordings, in the third one I refrained from asking for that (INT3). As a result, most of the information I got about the actual practice of *Horon* depended on casual talks I had with people here and there. I had to trust my memory and took regular fieldnotes on the content of these talks. Although this situation made me feel anxious about the future of my dissertation, I had to admit that I got a subtle pleasure from the resistance of my interlocutors against the ways of literate culture. Although I knew that interviewing with the musicians was also important for me, as they are usually the leaders of the dance, I could not speak with any of the musicians who played in the events I attended, except for one short talk before a wedding (EV11). However, two of the three interviews that I managed to do in a more structured way were with two amateur *kemençe* players from Anbarlı Village, although they do not usually play for *Horon* (INT1 and INT3).

In the field, I took care of putting forward my researcher identity clearly from the beginning. I told almost anyone I met during the fieldwork period that I conducted research on *Horon* (the taxi drivers, the neighbours, relatives and friends of my parents-in-law) and started asking questions about this practice wherever we were (in the minibus, in the car, while watching the *Horon* chain together, while walking towards the feast area, during a break in the wedding hall). However I realised in time that I was getting useful information only from those who seemed really to like to practice *Horon* and all these people were male. In some sense, I had the feeling that the “owners” of *Horon* were the men. Although I did not anticipate it in advance, I somehow found myself again as an outsider, this time because of

being a female. I learned from my parents-in-law and some elders in the village that, although today it is very common, until the 1960s-1970s it was impossible to find a mixed-gender *Horon* chain, as in the past, it was not proper for the women to dance in public.⁹ As I wanted to understand also the female perspective, I arranged an interview with a friend of my-mother-in-law, whom I got acquainted in a harvest feast (EV6). Şükriye was a married woman in her 40s from Anbarlı village, who sometimes practice *Horon*, but according to her not at an expert level. However when my-mother-in-law and I went to her house in the village for interviewing, we found another woman and a man accompanying her; they were her sister-in-law and brother-in-law. Although I came to speak with Şükriye, the event turned into an interview with her brother-in-law, who was not a practitioner of *Horon*, but a fan of traditional singing of the region. Although I tried my best for making Şükriye and her sister-in-law speak, they mostly stayed silent or made only additional remarks (INT2). Consequently, the female view of *Horon* stayed as a half-secret for me, although in the harvest feast of İskenderli Village (EV13) I was able to talk a little with two young girls, who were regular practitioners of *Horon*.

Fortunately, one of the three drivers, whose cars my-parents-in-law hired to travel around was a passionate practitioner of *Horon*. Sabri was a single man in his 30s and the taxi driver of Anbarlı Village. When we hired his car, I was pestering him with many questions and trying to persuade him to speak with me one day in more detail. He was somehow abstaining from doing that, although he looked eager to talk about this practice that he apparently liked. I realised after a while that for him this was a practice which he does for having fun with close male friends, and which involves drinking alcohol. Considering the fact that drinking alcohol is reserved only for men in this part of the country, I understood and respected his reservation. It was strange for him to speak with me about the *Horon* practice and its social connotations. However, in time I managed to win his confidence to some extent and we talked directly and somehow openly during two events (EV8 and EV12). I guess that this happened as a result of another level of my double insider-outsider position in the field. I was quite aware of the fact that being a university graduate from the big city rendered me a respected person in the eyes of the villagers, as in almost all rural areas in Turkey people give great value to education. After all, I also realised in the field that not everyone gave the same value to the habitual practice of *Horon*, as it is a “rural” practice inherited from the “past”,

⁹ In the interview with Ali Osman Kırıcı from Anbarlı Village, he told me that he once saw a *Horon* circle composed of women in a harvest feast almost forty years ago. As he tells, this group was from a village from Maçka, a county of the city of Trabzon in the mountains (INT2).

which is somehow considered in contradiction with the dominant norms in today's Turkey, which prioritises Western-style urban life (Öztürkmen, 2001; 2003). Spending almost all of his life in an in-between position, as a city dweller who originated from a village, my-father-in-law sometimes spoke about the *Horon* as a simple, unreasonable practice to the extent of implying that it is the practice of "uncultivated villagers".

Throughout my fieldwork, I saw that seeing me giving value to the habitual practice of *Horon* was not only new, but also somehow source of pride for some people being researched. This situation helped me in overcoming the distance between me and my interlocutors even by challenging the insurmountable gap between the male and the female. Towards the end of my fieldwork, I was even able to ask Sabri about the relationship of the *Horon* practice with drinking alcohol.¹⁰

My eagerness to learn about the habitual practice of *Horon* and the value I gave to it also helped me in İskenderli Village. Although we were basically strangers, my husband and I were treated in the annual harvest feast of the village as a part of the organising group who led the event, to the extent that even I had to drink whiskey with them (drinking together was somehow a ritual for the group before starting the feast), although it was uncommon for a woman to drink in public (EV13). Fortunately one man in the group, who was also the *zurna* player of the feast was a graduate of folk dance and an MA holder of traditional music who prepared a dissertation on *zurna*. I later realised that the villagers tried to match us together while going up and down the feast area so that I could be more comfortable with speaking with a colleague (EV13).¹¹

Besides interviewing, another big challenge in the field was related with participating in the *Horon* practice itself. It was not common for the locals to learn or teach *Horon* through structured training and/or dance classes. If someone wants to learn *Horon*, s/he directly has to

¹⁰ However, although he knew that I wanted to speak with a musician, who plays for *Horon*, and he was eager to help me about it, he did not find proper to introduce me to the *kemençe* player of a wedding, in which he also danced (EV12), saying that the *kemençe* player drank alcohol in the break.

¹¹ Oğuz was a young man in his 30s from the village and was working as a professional *zurna* player in the region. However he was also teaching folk dance in Istanbul, as well as giving lectures at the traditional music department of a university. Having an informal talk with him about his relationship with the traditional music and movement practices of the region, I realised that his in-between position was an advantage. He has learned to play the *zurna* of the region, which was not very well-known in the conservatories, through the habitual mode of transmission. However today, he was able to notate the tunes he knew as a result of having had formal education in music. According to him, whatever formal musical knowledge one can have, it is impossible to notate the tunes of this *zurna* without knowing how to play. Considering the fact that no *zurna* players in the region have any knowledge of musical notation, his existence seems as a great chance for the documentation of the traditional music. However, there is also the other side of the coin. He told me that playing *zurna* was not a very prestigious occupation for the villagers and they thought that it was inappropriate for him to continue playing *zurna* as a university graduate (EV13-FN1).

join the chain. However, in time I learned that joining the chain necessitated the existence of an acquaintance, and also a sufficient knowledge of the practice so that the chain is not spoiled. As I had no relatives and/or close friends in the field, who could invite me in the *Horon* chain, I was in trouble. Nobody would be happy to be next to a novice stranger. However, I had enough courage to participate by myself in the *Horon* chain in two different harvest feasts for short periods of time (EV4 and EV6). Besides, at the feast of İskenderli village, the villagers were happy to accompany me within the *Horon* chain for the purpose of teaching (EV13).

Recording the *Horon* was important for my research, but it was a further challenge. Because of the crowd and the organic evolution of the dance events, it was usually very hard to do quality recording and I refrained from organising a *Horon* chain just for the sake of recording, as it might be contradictory to my research question. The *Horon* chain was never stable and it was huge in some harvest feasts. Sometimes it was expanding so rapidly with the addition of new people so that I repeatedly had to change my place. The audience was also very mobile; usually I was not able to avoid people passing between my camera and the chain. As a result, I usually had to move during recording or cut the recording into many pieces. In the events usually more than one interesting thing was happening at the same moment. So throughout the fieldwork I needed to be very quick, athletic and awake. However I never had any problems in terms of privacy like in interviewing. The *Horon* was considered a public activity open to anyone who wants to watch and/or record. Moreover, I was not the only recorder; there were many people recording with video cameras, cameras, phones or pads in their hands.¹² Sometimes I even had to compete with them for having the best viewpoint.

Although all these challenges seemed as obstacles for my research, today my struggle to cope with these challenges seems as having given crucial insights not only about the field, but also the *Horon* practice itself.

2.2.3. Scope of the Fieldwork

If one wants to do research on *Horon* in its habitual context, one has to pursue traditional feasts, local festivals, weddings and/or henna nights and this is what I did throughout my fieldwork. The summer appears to be the best time for such a research, as it is the peak season for all these events. Before my actual presence in the field, I made my-

¹² The weddings were recorded by professional cameramen.

parents-in-law know that I would be doing a research on *Horon* and I needed to know the dates and places of these kinds of events. I downloaded from the internet a pdf copy of a local magazine, in which there was a list of harvest feasts in Trabzon province (*Trabzon Yayla Şenlikleri Takvimi*, 2008). However, the schedule of the region was more flexible than I imagined. The flexibility was partly due to the climate, which is not very reliable, as it rains a lot even in the summer. The realisation of the harvest feasts are always at stake, as when the rain comes to the plateaus, it is often accompanied with mist, which does not only make any outdoor activity almost impossible, but also hinder the transportation.¹³ Fortunately this year only one harvest feast that I wanted to see was cancelled due to heavy rain.¹⁴ More important than the weather conditions, this year Ramadan, the sacred month of Islam (the dominant belief system in Turkey), was in the middle of summer.¹⁵ Before arriving at the field, I anticipated that all social events would take a break for one month, as I knew that fasting was very long and hard in summer and it was not proper to have activities like *Horon* in a time period like Ramadan, which is reserved for religious devotion. My anticipation proved correct. Before I started the actual fieldwork, I learned from my-parents-in-law that two harvest feasts (Sisdağı and Kadirga Feasts, EV4, EV5 and EV6) were postponed to a later date after Ramadan.¹⁶ Besides, they did not get the information about any weddings that would take place during Ramadan. Considering these facts, I decided to conduct my fieldwork before and after Ramadan. Eventually, I spent two weeks before and four weeks after Ramadan in the field.¹⁷ However my fieldwork was not affected by this one month break; I only had to follow a condensed schedule. All in all, throughout my fieldwork I was able to observe/participate in five events in four different harvest feasts, one town festival, six weddings and a henna night at ten different locations (Appendix I), all within the borders of the cities of Trabzon and Giresun, none in Anbarlı Village and the furthest two hours car ride away from it. Below there is a map that might give an idea about the geographical distribution of these locations (Figure 6).

¹³ I also learned that people usually refrain from organising a wedding or henna night in the village, but prefer to rent a hall in the town, as there is no suitable indoor space in the village and they are afraid of being obstructed by the rain.

¹⁴ It was Ağa Konağı Feast at Üzümlü Village, Şalpazarı, Trabzon. Although the normal schedule is the first Sunday of August, this year it was planned at August 18th due to Ramadan (*Trabzon Yayla Şenlikleri Takvimi*, 2008).

¹⁵ It was between July 9th-August 7th.

¹⁶ Although there is an eight days' time between these two feasts according to the normal schedule - Kadirga Feast at the 3rd Friday and Sisdağı Feast at the 4th Saturday of July (*Trabzon Yayla Şenlikleri Takvimi*, 2008) - this summer they were at the second and third days of the Ramadan Feast (August 9th-10th), and in order to participate both of them, I had to make a three hours long car journey on a bad road within the mountains, as the driver we hired lost his way in the complicated route.

¹⁷ I stayed in the field first from June 25th to July 7th and later from August 7th to August 30th.



Figure 6: Locations of the events in which I participated

Although this geographical organisation in my fieldwork might look scattered and confusing, as mentioned earlier, it followed the *Horon* scope of Anbarlı villagers. When I went to a wedding at a neighbouring village or in the town, I usually found someone from Anbarlı and all harvest feasts, in which I participated, was known and previously visited by Sabri, although this summer he could not attend all.

At the end of the fieldwork, I ended up with having many video recordings (around six hours in total), more than hundred photographs and around thirty pages of fieldnotes.

2.3. Collected Material

2.3.1. General Description and Evaluation of the Collected Material

The first event, in which I participated, was a harvest feast in a high plateau in the mountains (EV1). It was my first time in such a feast. At that time, I had only a little and confusing information about the past and current forms of this tradition, which is quite widespread in the region. Consequently surprises were inevitable. The feast area, in which people also picnic, play games and shop in the open market, was very crowded. The first surprise was finding a stage with an advanced sound system in an empty grass plain in the middle of the mountains. The feast was to be broadcast on a local television channel, which

was among the organisers. There was also a VIP area next to the stage, which was reserved for the important officials and politicians of the region, all of whom would give a speech during the day. This arrangement was the same in two of the other three harvest feasts, in which I participated during my fieldwork period (EV4 and EV6). When, later during the fieldwork, I had the chance to speak with the locals about this awkward situation, of which nobody seemed happy, I learned that it was a new phenomenon, which appeared in the last five-ten years due to populist tendencies in politics. Before, these annual feasts used to involve only the picnic, the open market and the *Horon*, accompanied usually by the bare sound of musicians/singers, who used to perform in the *Horon* area in close relation with the people instead of the stage. Fortunately, the organisers of the last harvest feast, in which I participated – İzmiş Harvest Feast (EV13) - were against this kind of festivalising tendencies, which according to them spoil the tradition and towards the end of my fieldwork period I was somehow able to experience the original atmosphere of a harvest feast.



Figure 7: Great *Horon* circle and TV broadcast team shooting from inside the circle (EV1-P25)

A second surprise was the greatness of the *Horon* chain, which was composed of hundreds of people. It was in the form of a complete circle and was not only constantly turning around itself in the counter clockwise direction, but also growing and shrinking at

regular intervals as if it was breathing in and out, as a result of the harmonious execution of the repetitive *Horon* figures by the individual practitioners within the circle (Figure 7). Although I knew in advance that harvest feasts attracted a lot of people, what I expected was a number of simultaneous *Horon* chains, which were composed of a “reasonable” number of people. I understood that the reasonable number in my mind (ten to fifty) was, in fact, based on the folk dance performances of *Horon*; the reality in the habitual context was different. Later during the fieldwork, I learned from Sabri that according to the habitual norms of the *Horon* practice, it was very important to have only one single circle not only in the feasts, but in any event, which involves *Horon*. Although nowadays this basic rule was sometimes violated especially in town hall weddings, in which a second circle might be formed inside the main circle due to the lack of space, he interpreted this as unfavourable as it might lead to factions in the community (EV8-FN1).

Throughout my fieldwork, I observed that the rule of having a single circle, which puts emphasis to the unity of the *Horon* and therefore the unity of the community, was usually respected by the practitioners except some moments in three events (EV2, EV3 and EV9). Later I understood that this norm was also closely related with the tradition of the harvest feast. As briefly mentioned earlier, in the past, when the people in a village finished the harvesting in early summer, they used to ascend all together (elders, adults, children) to their land in the high plateaus, that is the *obas*. In this rather tough journey up to the mountains, which was made on foot and with the animals and might sometimes take more than one day, each village group used to be accompanied by a *kemençe* player and/or *davul* and *zurna* players, who could be from the village or would be hired from neighbouring villages. These groups of people who used to walk by listening the tunes and songs of musicians, also used to practice *Horon* together at the stopovers. Due to this contextual background, today the tunes from Black Sea Region are called as *yol havaları*, which means the “tunes of the way” in Turkish (Karadeniz, 2012). As an *oba* usually belongs to more than one village, when the groups from different villages arrived, they used to have a common feast, in which the *Horon* is practiced altogether in one, single circle. Today, as a result of the radical changes that has occurred in the rural life together with the decrease of population in the countryside, in which only few people make money out of agriculture and animal breeding, these long walks are not practiced anymore. However, the harvest feasts are still popular and the *Horon* practice in them is still very vigorous. In the field, I observed that, at the start of the feast, the practice in the past was illustrated by short walks of different village groups coming down or up from

different directions towards the main feast area. They walk by practicing the *Horon* steps in an arc shaped chain in accompaniment with musician(s) playing and walking in front of them. Staying somehow loyal to the tradition, these groups end their walk by constituting a common *Horon* circle, in which everybody is welcome to join. Fortunately, in the İzmiş Harvest Feast (EV13), İskenderli Village people preferred to walk the last few kilometres of the pedestrian route from their village to the feast area, in order to revitalise the traditional form (Figure 8) so that I was able to get an idea about this journey.



Figure 8: Walk of İskenderli Village towards the feast area (still photograph from EV13-V20)

Although I thought that the first event in which I participated was a traditional feast, as it was called as “harvest feast”, later during the fieldwork I began to question this. Learning that it was the second year of this feast, first I thought that it might be the revival of a suspended or forgotten traditional feast. However, today considering the facts that there were no village groups walking towards the main feast area at the start of the feast and I did not find anything about the past of this feast, I now think that it might be a new festival, which copies traditional harvest feasts in the region (EV1).¹⁸ Although at that moment I was almost completely lost in terms of the structure of *Horon* and its figures and had no idea how people knew what to do at what point and how, I can say that this harvest feast was not different in

¹⁸ In Turkish, there is only one word to denote both feast and festival - “*şenlik*”. The word *şenlik* comes from the adjective “*şen*”, which means joyful, playful.

terms of the quality of *Horon* practice from the “true” traditional harvest feasts I saw later (EV4, EV5, EV6 and EV13). It seems like the safe keepers of *Horon* practice are not the harvest feasts, which have already lost their traditional *raison d'être*, but the local people, who enthusiastically keep on practicing this traditional movement system in any occasion possible.

The second event in which I participated was a wedding at the town of Beşikdüzü, in which the *Horon* is practiced on stone pavement inside a school hall (EV2). There I was able to focus more on the structure and the details of the movement itself. Although I was still partly lost, I began to realise that there were two different types of *Horon*, which were practiced alternately. Later I learned that locals call them *Dik Horon* (*dik* means straight) and *Sallama Horon* (*sallama* means swinging).¹⁹ Although at that time I was not able to understand how people decided to practice one but not the other, in time during my fieldwork, I began to understand that they were practiced with different tunes. Towards the end of my fieldwork period, my ears were “enculturated” enough to differentiate not only the tunes for *Dik Horon* and *Sallama Horon*, but also the indications in the *Dik Horon* tune for notifying the changes to different sections in it.

The first surprise of the second event was the strong vibration, which pervades the whole body of each practitioner in *Dik Horon*. This vibration caught my eyes more than the steps; it was continuous and contagious; the individuals in the chain were not only creating this vibration, but also receiving it from and transmitting it to others (EV2-V10²⁰). The second surprise was the strange improvisation of one of the male practitioners, who brought into his *Horon* practice a bodily sign, which is not only non-traditional, but also non-Turkish. When the singer said ‘now the hands’ for notifying a collective clapping, he clapped his hands for a while and then kept his hands up by doing vendetta sign with his right hand (EV2-V4). Knowing that this sign, which is quite foreign to the *Horon* and also to the ordinary Turkish people, has become popular quite recently due to Gezi Park protests, I began to think that the habitual practice of *Horon* was more free and open than I first thought.

The third event, in which I participated, was the opening of an annual town festival, which is dedicated to *Horon* and *kemençe* music (EV3). As I was very disappointed by the time reserved for *Horon* in that evening (half an hour after three hours of speeches and a pop music concert), as well as the quality of the *Horon* practice in it, I decided not to attend the following days and not to spend a lot of time in any other town festival.

¹⁹ *Dik Horon* was called also as *Sıksera* (*sık* means in Turkish both dense and frequent), whereas *Sallama Horon* was also called as *Üç Ayak* (three feet/steps in Turkish).

²⁰ See after 4:30.

Then came Ramadan and I took a compulsory break. After Ramadan, I had the chance to participate in ten other events and they were very helpful in terms of understanding further not only the context, but also the *Horon* practice itself.

Although *Dik Horon* and *Sallama Horon*, which have different tunes and different step patterns, came forward as they were two different types of *Horon*, they were inseparable parts of each *Horon* performance. It was customary to start the *Horon* chain at the beginning of the event or after a break with *Dik Horon* and after a while shifting to *Sallama Horon*. The locals explained that the practice of *Sallama Horon* is a kind of rest for them, as a *Horon* performance usually goes on for hours and *Dik Horon* is very demanding with its quick rhythm. Although today both genders from all ages practice both *Horons* in mixed chains, my observations in the field made me think that the *Dik Horon* belonged more to men, whereas the *Sallama Horon* belonged more to women. Usually the number of the male practitioners in a *Dik Horon* chain was two-three times more than the female practitioners, and the number of women in *Sallama Horon* chains was more than the number of men. In the field, I had confusing remarks from the locals about this fact. A couple of times, I was told by Anbarlı villagers that, in the past, *Dik Horon* was practiced by men only, whereas the *Sallama Horon* was practiced by women only. However, an old man from İskenderli village, who was the leader of the first folk dance group of his village in the 1950s (with whom I did not meet in person, but was able to get and listen to an interview with him) asserts that, in the past, women used to practice a very simple type of *Horon* in private places, to which men did not enter, and they began to practice both *Dik* and *Sallama Horons* by joining little by little to the chains of men in public (Altunbaş, 2012; AD-SR1). According to one of my male interlocutors from İskenderli village (Ali Fuat), *Dik Horon* was not suitable for women, as it does not fit the female body (EV13-FN1). I even saw him chasing women away from a *Dik Horon* chain, which he wanted to practice only with male friends/relatives; however the women tolerated his act with a smile (EV11-V20). In the events, in which I participated in the field, the initiator of the first chain was always a group of men and the women were joining the chain later.

The formation of the chain was another story. *Horon* was not starting in the form of a full circle. First the musician(s) were playing their tunes, somehow inviting people to the *Horon* (EV8-V6); then a small pioneer group formed a line, which would first turn into an arc, then a semi-circle and finally a full circle with the addition of new people to the chain. There was never an individual initiator, reflecting the words of Ali Fuat from İskenderli

Village: ‘*Horon* cannot be practiced alone’ (EV13-FN1). I observed that the completeness of the *Horon* circle during the practice was given special importance; the practitioners were always paying attention to mend the chain as soon as possible, when it broke off due to varying reasons.

The chain was led by the musician(s), who gave hints by their tunes and sometimes with verbal/gestural commands and/or exclamations. I learned that traditionally the musicians are supposed to play their instruments by walking inside the circle so that the practitioners can have a close contact with the music. This custom was followed in more than half of the events that I participated. I observed that this kind of close physical contact between the musicians and the practitioners was highly appreciated by the locals. It was upsetting to see that the traditional custom was in a process of being lost, especially with the spreading usage of a stage and speakers. Unfortunately, today this loss is “compensated” by the use of keyboard together with the *kemençe* so that the rhythm is transmitted more easily. Besides the leadership of the musician(s), keeping the harmony of the *Horon* chain seemed as the common responsibility of all, although sometimes some practitioners within the chain might become dominant and somehow steer the others. In some events (EV4, EV6, EV11 and EV13), I also saw some men called by the locals as *değnekçi* (which means ‘who holds the stick’ in Turkish), who put the shape of chain in order by giving commands to the practitioners using a stick and a whistle.

Although the features mentioned above were common in the locations I visited throughout my fieldwork, there also existed some variations. Anbarlı villagers often verbalised a difference between the practice of the villages in the mountains and the villages closer to the coast like their own. One of my interlocutors said that the *Horon* practice was taken more seriously at the villages in the mountains to the extent that they would not easily allow the people from the villages closer to the coast to join their chain (INT2). Not only him, but also Sabri were thinking that their practice in the villages closer to the coast, was more mixed, less pure and less subject to rules compared to the villages in the mountains (EV8-FN1). Based on my material collected in both contexts, I can say that their thoughts are partly true. However, the borders were not that clear and strict due to the high level of mobility in the region, especially taking into consideration the harvest feasts. These feasts, where people from not only different villages, but also different cities of the region and the big cities of Turkey such as Ankara and Istanbul, as well as Turkish immigrants who live in Europe meet, can be said as perfect mediums for exchange, which probably lead to many innovations.

Besides, as mentioned earlier, the practice of *Horon* in Turkey is not restricted only to its habitual context, but also has a folkloric existence. Before I started my fieldwork, I had no idea whether the folk dance existence of *Horon* has had an effect on the habitual practice. I asked to almost all practitioners of *Horon*, with whom I had the chance to talk in the field, how they learned this practice. All of them declared that they learned it without any help of formal or semi-formal folk dance training, but through their participation to the social events like harvest feasts and/or weddings. In this mode of transmission, starting from a young age, one first watches the more experienced practitioners, and then join directly to the *Horon* chain whenever it is possible. At almost all the events, in which I participated in the field, I saw teenagers and children of all ages performing within the *Horon* chain (Figure 9).



Figure 9: A family practicing *Horon* together in a harvest feast (still photograph from EV1-V15)

This habitual mode of transmission also applies to the local musicians. I learned that there was no formal education for the *Horon* music in the conservatories and although today some local musicians were able to read notation, they usually learned to play their instruments at a very young age before they got that education (INT1). This was true even for the folk dance graduate and traditional music MA holder *zurna* player, with whom I got acquainted at the İskenderli Village (EV13-FN1). The folk dance existence of *Horon* was known and appreciated by the locals, however not really causing any change in the habitual practice and the mode of transmission. In one of the events (EV8), in which I participated, I came across a

small *Horon* line composed of four men, who were dancing neither *Dik Horon* nor *Sallama Horon* of my field, but executing some complicated *Horon* figures that I know from folk dance context. While the first two men in the line were more comfortable in performing, the other two seemed as if they were learning at that moment (EV8-V16 and EV8-V17). When I asked Sabri, whose car we hired for coming to this event, he told me that it was *Ekip Horonu* (team *Horon*), a term used by the locals to denote the folk dance practice of *Horon*. This showed me that the locals in my field clearly distinguished urban folk dance from their habitual practice by naming it as *Ekip Horonu*.

In terms of musical accompaniment to *Horon*, I observed that *kemençe* was the dominant instrument in my field. It existed in every event in which I participated, although in half of these events, there were also *davul* and *zurna*.²¹ This was not very surprising, considering the fact that many people in my field indicated the town of Görele (a county of Giresun, which is twenty minutes car ride away from Beşikdüzü) as the homeland of *kemençe*. In the first days of my fieldwork, I was a little bit confused as the villagers in Anbarlı were sometimes talking about the *Horon* practice as *kemençe*. I needed to correct them, when they spoke about me as ‘She is doing a research on *kemençe*’, until I realised that they were actually meaning the *Horon*. For the locals, the *kemençe* music and singing, and the *Horon* practice were somehow inseparable from each other. The fact that the name of the musical instrument stands for all these activities indicates that *kemençe* is very important in their consciousness. The expressions of my interviewees, who spoke of *kemençe* as a significant speciality of the region, also support this outcome (INT1, INT2 and INT3).

If I make an overall evaluation of my fieldwork experience and the material I collected in relation to my research focus and question, I can say that despite some problems, I was able to collect enough material, which would allow me to make a satisfactory analysis in relation to my questions. However, it might have been better if I could have the chance to speak on my visual recordings with some of my interlocutors so that we could discuss more on the details of the movements and if I was able to participate more to the actual practice. However, I was lucky for having the chance to discuss with one of my interlocutors on the actual practice of *Horon* together with the role of *kemençe* player in it through watching some videos on the internet (INT3).

²¹ The *davul* and *zurna* were more dominant than *kemençe* only in the feast of İskenderli Village (EV13).

2.3.2. Description and Evaluation of the Selected Material

Within my fieldwork experience, there are four events that are especially important for the discussion in the dissertation. Whereas two of these events are from harvest feasts, the other two are weddings.

The first event is the meeting at the previous evening of Sisdağı Harvest Feast (EV5). During this event, in which I could not participate the whole but the first half, I had the chance to record the practice of *Dik Horon* in relatively good quality due to the reasonable size of the chain (around 100-150 people). The *Horon*, which takes place outdoors on grass plateau in the night under artificial lighting, was accompanied first by *davul* and *zurna* players, who were walking constantly inside the *Horon* circle, and then by a *kemençe* player, who played on a stage, sometimes accompanied by a keyboard. Although one might think the material collected in this event is less reliable, as the researcher did not participate in the whole event and the *kemençe* player was not in close contact with the practitioners, some other factors render it important for the dissertation. The *Horon* circle, which was composed of mixed gender and age common people from the region, was extremely tight and ordered (There were no children, as it was in the night). In order to open a gate in the chain so that I could enter inside for recording the *Horon* by facing the people, I had to take the help of a friend of my father-in-law, who strongly pushed two men within the chain aside. The vibration in the bodies of the practitioners was very strong and in great harmony. It seemed as if most of the practitioners were experienced, regular practitioners of *Horon*. Nevertheless, despite this uniformity of the chain, the practice of individuals included many variations, as well as improvisations with varying figures. In the following chapter, I make a detailed analysis of a video shot in this event.

The second event is a village wedding that I came across on the way back from Sisdağı Harvest Feast (EV7). Although I did not know anything about the village and I again could not participate in the whole event, but only in the first half an hour, the material I collected in this wedding is quite valuable. Again the *Horon* chain was very tight and ordered. I was able to observe clearly how a *Horon* chain starts as a short line and then turns gradually into a full circle. The size of the chain was again very reasonable (around 100-200 people) so that I could make quality recordings. It was the only wedding I attended in the mountains throughout my fieldwork. Compared to the *Horon* practice in the harvest feasts, which include people from many different places, the people who practiced *Horon* in this wedding was probably more homogenous, mostly originating from the mountains. The technique of

some female practitioners in *Sallama Horon* chain particularly caught my eyes, as it was certainly different from the movements of the men (EV7-V15). Later I learned that in this part of the mountains (Ağasar Valley), women use a *bel kırma* (breaking the waist) technique while practicing *Sallama Horon* (EV13-FN1). Unfortunately the *Horon* chain in the wedding was accompanied by a *kemençe* player who played sitting on the stage instead of being in close contact with the practitioners.

The third event is another wedding, which took place in a school hall at the town of Beşikdüzü (EV12). It is special, because it was the wedding of the Anbarlı coffeehouse owner's son and many people from the village were there. More importantly, it was the only time that I could see and record Sabri practicing *Horon*. He knew the owners of the wedding well and was very eager to dance; when there was a *Horon* chain, he was a part of it, and I did not miss any of these moments. He told me at the end of the event that it was a good *Horon* experience for him, which could not happen every day, but once in a while. This was because his close friends were present and altogether they enjoyed a lot. The musician was a local *kemençe* player and he almost always played in a close physical contact with the practitioners. One disadvantage was the place; the limited (and ugly) space of the school hall was sometimes spoiling the movement of the chain and the bad acoustic quality in the hall probably spoiled the relationship of the *kemençe* player with the practitioners. I also had some problems in recording, as I refrained from recording from inside the circle, in order not to be very visible in a context, in which many people know me.

The fourth event is the İzmiş Harvest Feast (EV13). It is important especially because it was the only harvest feast I attended, which was sensitive for being loyal to the tradition, as mentioned above. It was also special, as in this event I got a close connection with the people being researched, as I was somehow out of the restrictive rural social norms in this village, in which I was a stranger. I had the chance to speak with the local people more freely and in detail, and also did not feel shy to perform with them, although I was at a novice level. I was at the feast area throughout the whole event, and almost always accompanied and taken care of by the organising group. The musical instruments were *davul* with *zurna* and *kemençe*, which were played most of the time simultaneously and always in very close contact with the practitioners. This gave me the chance to observe in detail the relationship of the musicians with the practitioners. The feast area was not extremely crowded like in other three feasts I attended so that I was able to make quality recordings more easily. Besides these, I also witnessed an interesting phenomenon of the region. In the feast, there were a small number of

visitors from Greece, whose parents or grandparents used to live in the area until they had to migrate to Greece as a result of a mutual treaty between two countries after the First World War. I knew that *Horon* existed also in Greece, as it was transported from the region through this forced migration (Karadeniz, 2012). Although these visitors came with their own *kemençe* player, who plays the Greek variation of the instrument, they also heartily joined the chains in the feast.

Besides the primary sources that I collected in the field, some secondary sources are also important for me. One of these sources is a video of six women practicing *Dik Horon* in a line probably in a harvest feast. This video was uploaded to youtube four years ago and I came across with it while I was preparing my presentation for the dissertation plan (Asi Trabzon, 2009; AD-V1). The specificity of the video comes from the strong bodily communication between two women dancing in the middle of the line. The other secondary sources are videos that were shown to me during the interview mentioned above with an amateur *kemençe* player in Anbarlı Village (INT3). All of them are youtube videos and in them, there is a famous local *kemençe* player (Katip Şadi) playing/singing and also leading *Dik Horon*. The first two are valuable, as they display the ideal way of how a *kemençe* player commands a *Horon* chain in close contact with the practitioners (Gökmenim, 2008; Akmaz28, 2007; 3; AD-V2 and AD-V3). The third video is an excerpt from a television program, in which Katip Şadi practice the *Dik Horon* of his hometown (Görele, Trabzon) together with the announcer of the program, who is from the town of Maçka in Trabzon province (BlackseaAGASAR, 2008; AD-V4). In the video Katip Şadi tries to teach the *Horon* style of his hometown to the announcer and the difference between the styles of two men are especially interesting. At the end of the video, the announcer makes a comparative analysis of the difference between their styles.

Besides the visual material mentioned above, the dissertation refers also to literature that focuses on the *Horon*, as well as literature about playing, kinaesthesia and movement analysis. The sources on the *Horon* are from Turkish scholars and provide information about the general characteristics of the practice and the context rather than the details of the movement; neither of them has an anthropological perspective. The discussion on playing depend on the conceptualisations of play and playing by cultural historian Johan Huizinga (1980 [1949]), performing arts scholar Richard Schechner (2003 [1988]; 2006 [2002]) and anthropologist Victor Turner (1982), as well as psychologist Mihalyi Csikszentmihalyi's (1990) concept of flow, which is referred by Schechner and Turner in their discussions. The

sources on kinaesthesia include dance anthropologist Deidre Sklar's (1994) discussion on "kinaesthetic empathy" as a research technique and dance scholar Susan Leigh Foster's (2010) historical analysis on the changing conceptualisation of kinaesthesia in Western dance. In terms of movement analysis, the dissertation partly takes the help of dance ethnographer Lisbet Torp's (2007) structural analysis technique and refers extensively to certain concept of Laban Movement Analysis (Davies: 2006).

CHAPTER 3: THE *HORON* AS PLAY

3.1. The Movement

The material collected in the field indicates the existence of a strict movement structure in the *Horon*, which is implicitly known and safeguarded by the practitioners. As described earlier, the most apparent feature of this traditional practice is the strong sense of unity and cooperation, which is generated by the collective repetition of certain movement patterns taken from the traditional repertoire. I often heard in the field that the beauty of a *Horon* performance depends on the harmony achieved between the movements of individual practitioners, who are expected to do the same figures at the same timing. In this sense, the *Horon* circle acts as one big body, instead of a composition of individual bodies. Nevertheless looking at the *Horon* chain in detail, one notices many variations among the individuals, although they do the same movements on the surface. Besides, from time to time, the participants also do not refrain from improvisations by introducing varying figures. As indicated by Sabri, while practicing the *Horon* each individual is free to do things s/he likes, if s/he does not spoil the harmony of the chain (EV8-FN1).

The form of the chain, which is most of the time a circle, further stresses the sense of unity. The chain is formed and preserved by the physical contact of the participants at the upper part of the body, which continue almost all the time. Each participant holds the hands of others next to her/him and ideally stand shoulder to shoulder as much as the movement patterns allow. Although some practitioners might sometimes break off the chain in order to perform solo or in a pair, this is tolerated only for a short period of time and is not very common. Although today this rule is more flexible, traditionally and ideally, nobody is allowed to stand inside the *Horon* circle except the musician(s) so that each individual within the chain can face and get in visual contact with the whole group during the practice. In the field, I saw many times that the people who want to stand inside the circle for watching or recording the practice were told to go out or sit down.

Another important feature that characterises the movement in *Horon* can be explained by the Turkish verb used by the practitioners as an alternative to “*oyun-a-mak*” (to play) for denoting the actual practice; that is “*tep-mek*”, which means in Turkish ‘to hit something with the foot/feet’, but also ‘to stamp’, ‘to walk a lot’ and ‘to resurge’ (*Türk Dil Kurumu*, 2013). The use of such a verb is not surprising, considering that the *Horon* includes various stampings in a repetitive structure, besides being related with long seasonal walks to high

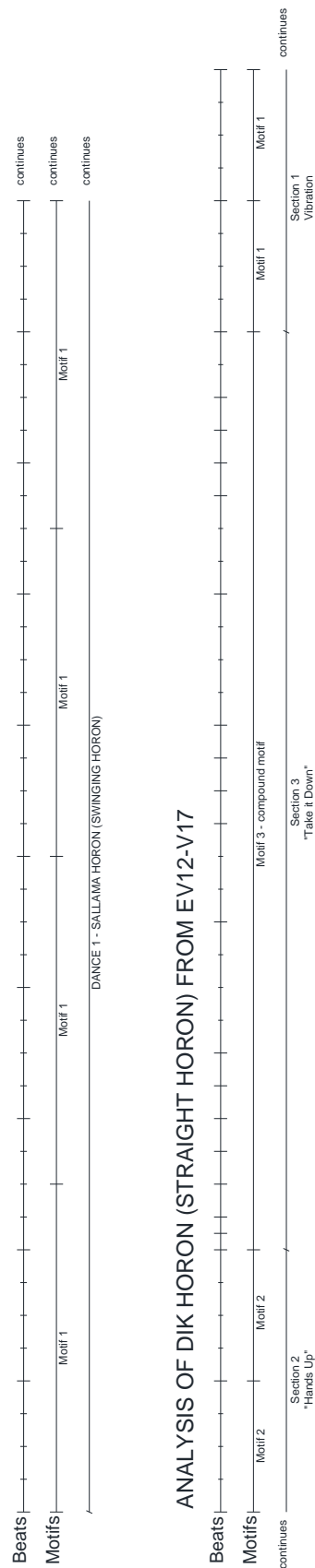
plateaus. This is mostly considered by some as a reflection of the local people's strong relation with the regional landscape (Karadeniz, 2012). In a harvest feast, one of the interlocutors mentioned the joy and satisfaction generated through stamping the earth collectively for an entire day (EV13-FN1). Nevertheless, "*Horon tep-mek*" (to stamp *Horon*) or "*Horon oyn-a-mak*" (to play *Horon*) is subject to certain rules.

As mentioned above, all *Horon* performances include *Dik* and *Sallama Horons* practiced alternately and it is always a *Dik Horon* which gives the start. In the field I came across with two variations of *Dik Horon* and *Sallama Horon*, although the locals do not clearly distinguish these variations. The first variation of *Dik Horon*, which was more common in my fieldwork area, is composed of three sections. It starts with participants standing straight and shoulder to shoulder and moving together in counter clockwise direction by simple steps while their bodies vibrate quite strongly. This section is followed by an intermediary section, in which they separate their bodies from each other by walking back (outwards of the circle) and raise their arms up while still holding hands. This section usually includes clapping hands. After that comes the final section, in which the practitioners execute very quick stampings while their bodies are bended to the front. I label these three sections respectively as "vibration", "hands-up" and "take-it-down". Whereas the first label depends only to my observation, the other two come from the commands used to signal the transition to these sections; "*eller yukarı*" (hands up) and "*al aşağı*" (take it down). The second variation of *Dik Horon* does not include hands-up and take-it-down sections. Some of my interlocutors said that this variation is more common in the villages at the high mountains rather than the villages closer to the coast.

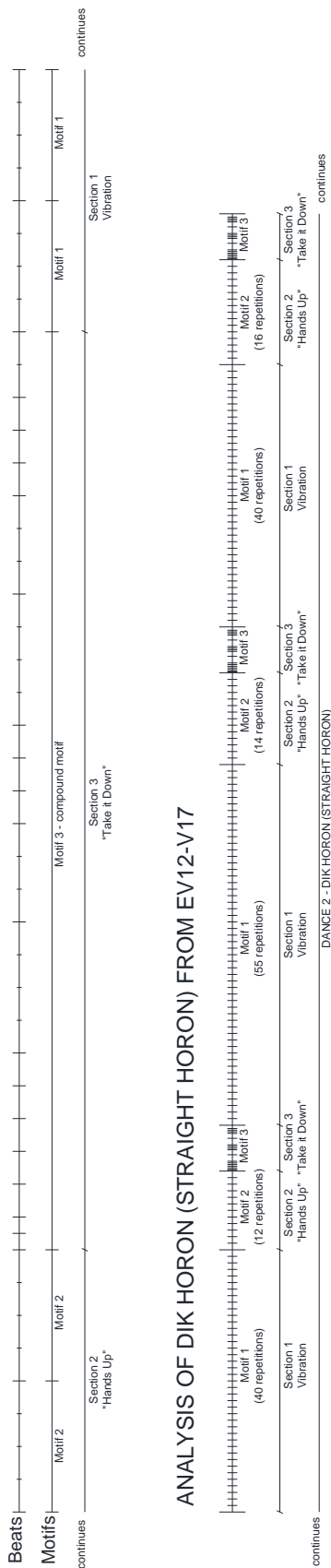
Sallama Horon does not include sections like the first variation of *Dik Horon*, as it is based on numerous repetitions of a ten-beat step pattern. However, as also mentioned above, the Ağasar Valley women practice *Sallama Horon* with special technique called *bel kırma* (breaking the waist). In this respect, the differentiation in two variations of *Sallama Horon* is based on the quality of the movement rather than a structural difference.

Table 1 includes analyses of some *Dik* and *Sallama Horon* performances chosen from the fieldwork material and aims to demonstrate the structural details of them by distinguishing the motif patterns and sections.

ANALYSIS OF SALLAMA HORON (SWINGING HORON) FROM EV7-V15



ANALYSIS OF DIK HORON (STRAIGHT HORON) FROM EV12-V17



ANALYSIS OF DIK HORON (STRAIGHT HORON) FROM EV12-V17

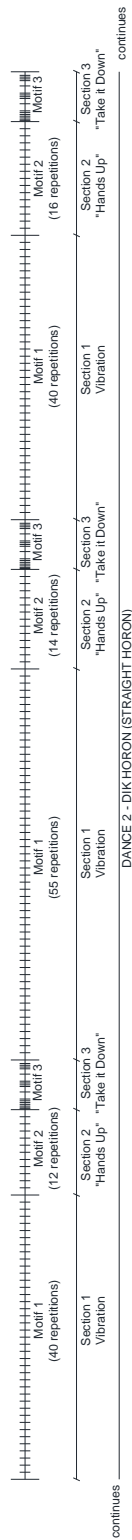


Table 1: Analysis of the structures of *Dik* and *Sallama Horons*

Table 2 and 3 includes two different analyses, focused on the differences in the movements of *Dik* and *Sallama Horon*. Whereas Table 2 depends on the method suggested by Lisbet Torp (2007) for doing research on the structure of different European chain dances and aims to give an idea about the general quantitative characteristics of *Dik* and *Sallama Horons*, Table 3 offers qualitative analyses of the variations of *Dik* and *Sallama Horons* by referring to some key concepts in Laban Movement Analysis (Davies, 2006).

		<i>DİK HORON</i>	<i>SALLAMA HORON</i>
Participants	Gender	mixed	mixed
	Age	mixed	mixed
	Number	min. 2 - max. not limited	min. 2 - max. not limited
Grouping		grouped	grouped
Geometrical Formation		introverted circle (closed); sometimes a line, an arc or a semi-circle	introverted circle (closed)
Connection (between dancers)		hand hold, usually standing shoulder to shoulder, sometimes leaving hands for clapping	hand hold, sometimes leaving hands for clapping
Type of Movements		step, stamp, spring, swing, vibrate	step, stamp, swing, vibrate, sometimes spring
Direction of Movement (related to the dancer)		forward, backward, lateral	forward, backward, lateral
Direction of Pathway (orientation in space)		turning counter-clockwise	turning counter-clockwise
Tempo		very fast	moderate
Relationship between Dance and Music		congruent	congruent

Table 2: General quantitative characteristics of *Dik* and *Sallama Horons*

	<i>DĪK HORON</i> with hands-up and take-it-down	<i>DĪK HORON</i> without hands-up and take-it-down	<i>SALLAMA HORON</i>	<i>SALLAMA HORON</i> with “breaking-the- waist” technique
Body	frontal orientation; straight posture at vibration and hands- up sections, bended torso at take-it-down section; strong vibrations in the whole body at vibration section; swinging towards the sides at take-it-down section	frontal orientation; straight posture; strong vibrations in the whole body	frontal orientation; straight posture, sometimes the upper torso is bended when the steps tend to be springs; repetitive turns to the sides; strong swinging in the whole body	frontal orientation; straight posture; repetitive turns to the sides; strong swinging in the whole body
Space	direct; towards the ground	direct; towards the ground	indirect, flexible; swinging towards the sides	indirect, flexible; swinging towards the sides
Time	quick	quick	sustained	sustained
Weight	strong active weight; an increasing assertive pressure at take-it-down section	strong active weight	light weight with a diminishing pressure	light weight with a diminishing pressure
Flow of Effort	relatively binding	relatively binding	relatively freeing	relatively freeing
Flow of Shape	repetitive rising and descending in the vertical plane; spreading at hands-up section and enclosing at take-it-down section in the horizontal plane; rising at hands-up section and descending at take-it- down section in the vertical plane; some sagittal movements at take-it-down section	repetitive rising and descending in the vertical plane; no change in horizontal and sagittal planes	repetitive spreading and enclosing in the horizontal plane; repetitive rising and descending in the vertical plane; repetitive advancing and retiring in the sagittal plane	almost no spreading and enclosing in the horizontal plane; repetitive rising and descending in the vertical plane; repetitive advancing and retiring on the sagittal plane

Table 3: Qualitative analyses of the variations of *Dik* and *Sallama Horons*

3.2. Playing the *Horon*

As mentioned earlier, the habitual practitioners of *Horon* (as well as the practitioners of all other rural-originated traditional dances in Turkey) use the verb *oyun-a-mak* (to play) to denote their activity, instead of *dans et-mek* (to dance) (And, 2012 [1974]; Karadeniz, 2012; Öztürkmen, 2001). My fieldwork supported that this utterance is still valid, as my interlocutors use phrases such as ‘*Horon oynarım*’ (I play *Horon*) and ‘*Horon oynamaya giderim*’ (I go to play *Horon*). This chapter aims to understand the reason of this verb choice and identify what “playing the *Horon*” means for its practitioners.

3.2.1. Playing

What is play? What is playing? What is “playing the *Horon*”?

In his well-known book *Homo Ludens*, Johan Huizinga (1980 [1949]) described play as

...a free activity standing quite consciously outside “ordinary” life as being “not serious”, but at the same time absorbing the player intensely and utterly. It is an activity connected with no material interest, and no profit can be gained by it. It proceeds within its own proper boundaries of time and space according to fixed rules and in an orderly manner. It promotes the formation of social groupings which tend to surround themselves with secrecy and to stress their difference from the common world by disguise or other means.

The function of play...can largely be derived from the two basic aspects under which we meet it: as a contest for something or a representation of something. These two functions can unite in such a way that the game “represents” a contest, or else becomes a contest for the best representation of something (Huizinga, 1980 [1949]: 13).

These basic characteristics of play as summarized by Huizinga, which include conflicting features as well as compatible ones, come up in almost all definitions of, and discussions on play; freedom or voluntariness besides being rule-bound or ordered, non-seriousness and disinterestedness besides being absorbing and pleasurable, having its own time and space outside ordinary life, however usually containing representation or make-believe of the reality, and a tendency to create a closeness or solidarity among the players (Schultz and Lavenda, 1990 [1987]: 152-182; Schechner 2003 [1988]; Schechner, 2006 [2002]; Turner, 1982).

Although this list of definitive features is given to create some boundaries that would render play distinct from, and in certain cases opposite to other human activities, the traces of play can be found in everything the human does. In their book *Cultural Anthropology: A Perspective on the Human Condition*, Emily A. Schultz and Robert H. Lavenda (1990 [1987])

argue that the enjoyment of life, and thereupon play is an inextricable part of the human condition. Mentioning how ‘[m]any anthropologists have suggested that play, art and ritual may be, and often are, experienced together’ (Schultz and Lavenda, 1990 [1987]: 179), they choose to discuss play, ritual, art and myth in a common chapter. According to them, these four ‘have a great deal in common. All are part of the elemental human capacity to create and see the world from a variety of perspectives’ (Schultz and Lavenda, 1990 [1987]: 180). For the discussion in this dissertation, it is particularly important to understand how the play world of *Horon* is created.

It is a remarkable fact that play is often discussed in relation to and/or in comparison with ritual. Schultz and Lavenda argue that ritual deals with “what should be”, whereas play proposes a world of “what can be” (1990 [1987]: 179). The coexistence of play and ritual in various human activities complicate this discussion further. Victor Turner and Richard Schechner are among the theorists, who have made elaborate analyses on the relationship of play and ritual. As Turner asserts, the modern definition of play is based on a supposed opposition to work; whereas work is defined as serious, purposeful and productive, play is regarded as non-serious, unproductive, something done only for its own sake. For him, this opposition is not valid in pre-industrial communities, which do not have such a conception of work, but in which life is somehow only composed of “work”. In order to support his point, Turner mentions the rituals of these communities, which he classifies as “sacred work” distinct from ordinary work, emphasising the fact that they are ‘at once serious and playful’ (Turner, 1982: 35-36). Schechner, who benefited from Turner’s ideas for building his performance theory, takes this discussion further and argues that every performance, ranging from arts to rituals, from public ceremonies to sports matches, is ‘ritualized behaviour conditioned/permeated by play’ (Schechner, 2003 [1988]: 99). These discussions on the existence of play in ritual and ritual in play indicate a contesting, but also complementary cooccurrence of the worlds of “what should be” and “what can be”. Play might permeate also to its so-called ultimate opposite, namely work. Mihalyi Csikszentmihalyi (1990), whose theory of “flow” as optimal human experience that stems from the act of playing will be discussed in detail in the next section, mentions how this experience might emerge even when one is working.

If playfulness is a quality that can be found throughout all human experience, then it is wiser to focus on “playing” as a human capacity that might manifest itself in different activities rather than “play” as a fixed entity with certain features. However not all kinds of

playing are the same; there exists many different kinds of play and ways of playing in the world. Schultz and Lavenda point out that '[h]uman play...is culturally molded. The ways people play, when they play, what they play, with whom they play and what particular kinds of play mean all vary from culture to culture' (Schultz and Lavenda, 1990 [1987]: 155). What is the relationship of *Horon* with the cultural context from which it is generated? What makes the *Horon* a play and what makes the *Horon* the play of the Eastern Black Sea Region people?

Whilst it is not regarded as dance, during my fieldwork I observed that the habitual practice of *Horon* was neither considered art nor ritual, although an outsider might claim it to be so. Although the practitioners usually labelled the musicians and singers accompanying *Horon* as artists, they introduced themselves as ordinary people who aim to enjoy themselves, as well as retain a traditional practice. Similarly, it was awkward to mention the term ritual while speaking with the practitioners, as their conception of ritual was associated only with Islamic activities, whose realm were clearly demarcated from the *Horon* practice. It was only Oğuz from İzmiş Feast, who mentioned a possible connection of the *Horon* with ritual activities of the forgotten past. For its practitioners, the *Horon* was “the *Horon*” and they were playing it. The answers to my questions about the reasons of playing or not playing *Horon* were usually straightforward: ‘*Hoşuma gidiyor*’ (I like it), ‘*Arkadaşlarla eğlenmek için oynuyoruz*’ (It is something I enjoy with my friends), ‘*Bu bizim geleneğimiz, ben de çocukken öğrenmişim*’ (It is our tradition, I learned it when I was a child), ‘*Oynamam, çünkü sevmiyorum*’ (I do not like it, so I do not play), ‘*Oynamam, çünkü iyi bilmiyorum*’ (I do not play, because I am not good at it), ‘*Oynamıyorum, çünkü gençken öğrenmemişim*’ (I do not play, because I did not learn it when I was young). Regardless of what they do or say, the *Horon* was quite familiar for all local people, as it is regarded as an important element of the regional culture and a significant component of the Eastern Black Sea Region identity.

Although it is true that plays are culturally moulded, setting up a simple parallelism between the Eastern Black Sea culture and the *Horon* practice would not be very meaningful, if the play creates a world of “what can be”. As Schultz and Lavenda point out, ‘[p]lay need not reflect the basic values of the cultural setting. It also comments on those values and is a way of transcending them, of opening up a window to novelty and change’ (Schultz and Lavenda, 1990 [1987]: 160). Turner also puts emphasis on the creative capacity of playing. According to him, what invites play into the rituals of pre-industrial communities is their “liminal” phase, which takes part in the middle of the tripartite processual structure of a rite of

passage, put forward by Arnold van Gennep as separation, transition and incorporation (Turner, 1982). In this phase, the participants experience an experimental moment full of freedom, in which the normative social structure is questioned and subverted, possibly leading to the creation of the first sketches of a new social order (Turner, 1982). But how is this world of “what can be” constructed and how does one pass from the ordinary world to the play world? In order to explain these, Schultz and Lavenda (1990 [1987]), as well as Schechner (2006 [2002]) refer to anthropologist Gregory Bateson, who relates the passage to the play world with a change in the level of communication. Giving the combat play of animals as an example, Bateson asserts that ‘play, could only occur if the participant organisms were capable of some degree of meta-communication, i.e., of exchanging signals which would carry the message “this is play” ’ (Bateson, 1987 [1972]: 185). Although at one level the players exchange messages that denote combat such as biting gestures, at a more abstract level they also communicate about how they communicate during the play (Bateson, 1987 [1972]: 185). In other words, they put the rules of the communication particular to the world of combat play. The “meta-communicative” message among the players of the combat play can be translated as such: ‘I pretend to bite you, but I do not bite you. You can also pretend to bite me, but you should not bite me. Because this is play’. Following Bateson, it might be argued that what sets the rules of a play is the “meta-communicative” signals that are exchanged among the players. Understanding the signals that carry the message ‘this is *Horon* play’ among the practitioners (players) of *Horon* would be quite helpful in identifying its characteristics.

3.2.2. Kinaesthetic Communication

For days I was observing the *Horon* from outside without participating. I was afraid to join, as I learned that a novice could easily spoil the chain. A couple of times, I tried to learn the steps by myself, standing next to the circle and imitating people. Each time I did that, other spectators around me tried to encourage and even forced me to join the chain by telling that I could not learn *Horon* without joining. Today, for the first time, I joined a habitual *Horon* chain; I liked it a lot! There was a small girl at my right hand side and a middle-aged man at my left hand side. They were holding my hands much more tightly than I expected. This strong physical contact was letting me feel clearly the inherent vibration and swinging generated by the figures. The practice was more powerful and tiring than it seemed from outside (EV6-FN1).

In contemporary dance anthropology the bodily participation of the researchers into the actual dance practice as a part of their research is widely used and encouraged (Buckland, 1999). In her paper ‘Can Bodylore Be Brought to Its Senses?’, dance anthropologist Deidre

Sklar (1994) refers to the participatory technique of “kinaesthetic empathy” and recounts how such an approach provided important insights in her own research. Explaining that the term *kinaesthesia*, coming from Greek words “*kinein*” (to move) and “*aisthesis*” (perception), simply means perception of movement, she defines “kinaesthetic empathy” as ‘the capacity to participate with another’s movement or another’s sensory experience of movement. ...a translation capacity that we all inherently possess’ (Sklar, 1994: 15). What Sklar suggests is combining this technique with qualitative movement analysis that focuses the attention not just to the “what”, but rather to the “how” of an action (1994: 15): ‘Moving from distanced visual observation to close corporeal imitation can provide clues to experiences that are usually considered to be inaccessible. It can open avenues toward understanding the way cultural knowledge is corporeally constituted’ (1994: 14). This research method is essentially based on the researcher’s insistent effort for creating an empathy with the movement of the researched people and usually involves the engagement of the researcher into the movement practice without thinking a lot. Sklar recounts how her physical presence among the women watching the Jewish religious performance called *Purimspiel* from an overcrowded balcony, which prevents them from being seen by the men in the saloon in accordance with the traditional norms, made her understand the specificity of the communication occurring during this bodily practice:

[T]he women were not communicating visually, but tactilely. They were not “mirroring” each other but yielding, pressuring, shaping themselves to each other via touch. ...the primary mode of communicating kinaesthetic information...was tactile, as well as auditory. ...it was through touch that they were able to detect and respond to the most minute changes of direction, speed, and intensity of movement (Sklar, 1994: 19).

Similar to Sklar, my physical participation in the *Horon* chain recounted above provided an insight about this practice that I could not get from observing and/or speaking with the practitioners. As mentioned earlier, my observations showed that the unity of the *Horon* chain was mainly provided by the signals sent by the musician(s) through the changing of the tunes, and additional verbal/gestural commands and/or exclamations, although they might sometimes be assisted by some practitioners within the chain and/or *değnekçis*, who are basically responsible for keeping the shape of the chain in order by using a stick and a whistle, but might also use commands and/or exclamations. Besides, from time to time, both musician(s) and *değnekçi(s)* might execute *Horon* figures, while they get on with their job, so that the people in the chain get the correct rhythm by watching them. In this respect, hearing emerges as a very active sense in the practice of *Horon*, however the role of sight cannot be ignored. All participants give attention to the auditory and visual signals mentioned above for

creating a harmonious collective movement. In the interview with the amateur *kemençe* player, in which I discussed some youtube videos, I learned that although it was not very common today, in the past some *kemençe* players used to touch the belly and/or the shoulders of the practitioners with the bow of their instrument during the dancing in order to indicate the ideal posture for that moment of the *Horon* (INT3). The interviewee also called my attention to the gestures of famous *kemençe* player Katip Şadi in one of the videos, while playing for the *Horon*. At some moments, he was clearly keeping his instruments down, aimed at the lower part of the practitioners' body (Akmaz28, 2007; AD-V3). In the events, in which I participated during my fieldwork, I observed many times the musicians coming very close to some of the practitioners (the parents of the groom, a close friend, a talented or elder practitioner, etc.) and playing their instruments as if they were about to touch. This act, which is very playful, could be done as a joke, or for honouring or rousing the chosen person(s) into action, but it always inevitably led to the enhancement of the relationship of the practitioners with the tune and vitalised their dance. When a *davul* or *kemençe* player did that, they usually kept their instruments down like Katip Şadi, as if they were speaking to the legs of the practitioners (Figure 10). Sometimes I saw *zurnas* or *davuls* played over the heads of the practitioners, as well as the spectators (Figure 11).



Figure 10: Relation of the *kemençe* player with *Horon* practitioners (still photograph from EV13-V4)



Figure 11: A *davul* player joking with a spectator (still photograph from EV6-V10)

Although all these depict a multi-sensory communicative pattern in the *Horon* practice, my participatory experience renders clear that what provides the practitioners to communicate kinaesthetically among each other more than anything else is the almost never ceasing physical contact at the upper body of the practitioners. In this sense, the primary mode of exchanging kinaesthetic information in the *Horon* practice seems as the haptic communication. At the moment I joined the chain, the participants were practicing the *Sallama Horon*. I immediately realised that, in order to practice it truly, executing the prescribed steps that I almost memorised through watching was not enough; the hands I held were pushing and pulling me to move up and down, left and right and in order to get along with the other participants, I continuously had to change the centre of weight in my body in accordance with these signals. When I failed to follow these demands about the changes in the centre of weight, I was not able to execute the steps in harmony with the chain. Moreover, executing the figures as they had to be necessitated the physical help of the others in the chain; the hands I held were not only demanding, but also helping me to fulfil these demands by supporting my body. As mentioned before, it was true that the *Horon* could not be practiced alone. This experience explains somehow the jesting remark made by my-father-in-law about the existence of novices in the past, who used to rehearse alone by holding the branch of a hazelnut tree (it is a short tree that has very flexible branches) or the tail of a cow, somehow rendering the tree and the cow as their *Horon* partners. Although at that time his

words sounded to me like a “rural legend”, in time I was convinced that it might be factual. *Horon* novices were probably in need of something, which would simulate the pulling/pushing tension that exists between the bodies of the practitioners in the chain. As this tension emerges as the most effective medium through which the kinaesthetic information is communicated among the practitioners of the *Horon*, it would not be wrong to assert that it is what makes the *Horon* the *Horon*, and through what the know-how of playing the *Horon* is transmitted and executed. It is even possible to say that playing the *Horon* depends on how one reacts to this tension.

In order to make a more detailed analysis of this point, the dissertation will refer to the concept of “Flow” in Laban Movement Analysis. In his book *Beyond Dance: Laban’s Legacy of Movement Analysis*, Eden Davies (2006) mentions that one of the important qualities of movement as identified by Rudolph Laban and given further definition by Warren Lamb is the “Flow” element:

The concept of Flow in movement is most easily explained by imagining the movements of an infant before any social interaction has required it to discipline its movements. Gradually as a person grows up the movement becomes controlled and the element of Flow diminishes. For a person brought up in a highly sophisticated and ritualised society the element of Flow left in their movement at adulthood may be small. Where the perception of perfection is obeying a series of rules and every gesture has significance, Flow is ironed out of behaviour. At the other extreme, where there are few social pressures - where children are allowed to grow up ‘wild’ - there is likely to be much more Flow in the adult behaviour (Davies, 2006: 48).

The Flow in movement is not a stable quality. In fact, what give its character to a particular movement are the changes in the Flow element:

Flow is a dynamic of movement, giving it flexibility and grace, and allowing for originality. It easily links whole body movements and gestures, and gives balance. Effort, whether Space, Weight or Time, flows in the sense of being more free or more controlled. If you allow yourself to be blown along by the wind so that your legs go faster and faster, then you resist the wind and control your running, you have gone from Freeing to Binding Flow. Some people vary the Flow of Effort a lot, going almost from one extreme to the other, whilst others use very little variation at all, giving all their movements a sameness, a lack of variety. ...

Similarly Flow of Shape operates on a continuum, this time between Growing and Shrinking. This has to do with our use of the “space bubble” or Kinesphere which we carry around ourselves. Some people like to vary its size between big, even beyond their physical reach, down to a small shrunk Kinesphere. Others will operate more in one than the other with very little variation. (Davies, 2006: 48-49).

Examining the relationship of the individual practitioner with the chain that constantly executes a tension over his/her body in terms of Flow might provide clues about the characteristics of playing the *Horon*. For the individuals performing *Horon*, the chain is definitely a controlling instrument, which extensively binds their movements with its

demands; they are not only bound by the strong physical connection at the upper bodies, but also by the step patterns that should be followed by all. Following the metaphor of the wind, used by Davies, one might say that in the global scale the *Horon* chain is a strong wind that drags the individual practitioners with it. As briefly explained before, parallel to the emic aesthetic norms, the *Horon* circle moves as if it is one great body, instead of being a composition of individual bodies. This is especially apparent when the full circle is observed from the top (EV1-V17, EV7-V11, EV11-V9 and EV13-V12). Nonetheless, whereas the participants of the chain has to allow their bodies “be blown by the wind of the chain” (borrowing Davies’ metaphor), they also resist this draft in variant ways so that their movements demonstrate different kinds of transitions between Freeing and Binding Flows.

Video EV5-V20 demonstrates such transitions. It was shot the night before the Sisdağı Harvest Feast and depicts a brief part of a *Dik Horon* performance that does not include hands-up and take-it-down sections. Compared to other *Dik Horon* performances that I saw in the field, I can say that this chain was one of the tightest and most ordered among them, as most of the practitioners paid attention to standing shoulder to shoulder and moving in harmony. The basic step pattern in the *Dik Horon* is going right with the right foot, holding with both feet, going right with the left foot besides the right foot, and holding again, while bending and straightening the knees four times during the execution of these steps. However, although it seemed very ordered, scrutinising the details in the video, one notices that there were many variations in the practices of different individuals. One man dancing within the chain omits the holdings and executes four steps instead of two during the same time interval. Another man looks as if he omits the steps all together, and slides on the ground by benefiting from the perpetual bending/straightening of the knees. Others tend to turn their feet rightwards and leftwards in varying degrees, while executing the basic steps. Among these variations, what is kept uniform is the frequent bending/straightening of the knees, which allows the whole body of each individual to strongly vibrate by working together with the fast, eye-catching shakes in the upper body (especially the shoulders). This makes one think that what is important is not the steps, but the vibration itself, which might even lead to sliding on the ground; it is like a wind (to use Davies’ expression) along by which each individual can blow in her/his own way. A younger novice dancing within the chain renders this characteristic much more visible. Although he seemingly executes the basic steps with holds, there is evidently a problem in the way he dances. His body does not vibrate like the other bodies do; his upper body does not shake enough with the same amount of force and his

steps look more like bouncing steps. At the point he dances the chain gets weaker, as he does not pay attention to standing shoulder to shoulder with the others. He is almost completely moving inharmoniously to the wind created by the chain, and unsurprisingly not long after, the chain is broken at the point he dances, although other variations mentioned above do not lead to such a result.

The video also depicts some improvisations; at two different moments, the man, who executes four steps instead of two, walks forward and backward in his faster pace. During these two short secessions from the chain, he does not lose the physical contact and the harmony with the others, although he releases his left hand for a second. The man, who proceeds with sliding steps, does more exaggerated improvisations. A few times, he bends his head and turns it left and right; then walks forward without losing physical contact with the chain, but to the extent that his body is bent at the waist. This movement gives the impression that he tries to make his body free from the chain. He is apparently in a Binding Flow, which resist the wind of the chain. While still bent, he executes some springs, which include kicking the air with his left foot; then he walks back to his previous place within the chain by leaping on his right foot whereas he holds his left foot up at the knee level shaking it to left and right. What is interesting in this improvisation is that he never loses harmony with the others dancing next to him, as well as continuing to proceed in a counter-clockwise direction.

These improvisatory moments can be interpreted as the most playful moments in a *Horon* performance. It is as if the individual practitioners play with the wind of the chain, by resisting at one moment, then leaving themselves to it at the following moment. Such transitions enliven the *Horon*, which can at first sight be misjudged by an outsider as a repetitive, possibly boring dance. However this happens in such a way that the harmony of the chain is not spoiled. Because what the individual improvisations do is not completely breaking off the wind of the chain, but reacting to the tension imposed by it in a freer or more controlled fashion, yet keeping the unity.

Sabri's *Horon* practice includes many of these playful moments, in which the individual practitioner somehow frees himself partly from the control of the chain. In video EV12-V17, he practices *Dik Horon* in a wedding with close friends. At one moment in the dance, an older friend turns his body towards him while still practicing within the chain. After eye contact is established between the two, they leave the chain by releasing their hands and walking towards each other inside the circle. They move face-to-face for a short period of time by improvising with an exaggerated execution of the basic steps, and then they turn back

to their previous places within the chain. Later in the video, Sabri repeats the same improvisation with the groom; he leaves the chain, walks towards the groom and practices in front of him in order to invite him to leave the chain for a while. The groom accepts the invitation and practices for a while face-to-face with Sabri inside the circle; then they both turn back to the chain, however Sabri changes his place. These improvisations are watched with interest and in joy by the others dancing in the chain.

Besides these individual improvisations, the video also includes the improvisations of Sabri and his friends as a group, which render them more visible in the wedding. In the middle of the hands-up section, after clapping hands, and just before take-it-down, they execute a special series of movements distinct from the others. They start with jumps and continue with leaping on the left foot forward and backward, while the right foot is shaken and touched gently to the ground. This pattern that belongs to Sabri's group seems to be their "signature" in the *Horon*. Although before I started the fieldwork I had the assumption that the *Horon* is based on prescribed movement patterns inherited through the tradition, Sabri told me that he and his friends created new figures and enjoyed a lot to execute them when they found the chance to practice *Horon* together in an event. Depending on this example, it is possible to assert that while the individuals are freed from the chain to some extent, they are also being controlled by their own smaller community.

Sabri also practices *Sallama Horon* with a special style. In video EV12-V19, he is clearly distinguished from other practitioners within the chain, to the extent that some youngsters dancing within the chain begin to imitate his style. Although he follows the basic step pattern of *Sallama Horon*, which is repeated again and again, and the necessary changes in the centre of weight for practicing in harmony with the chain, he does not refrain from exaggerating and ornamenting the steps by bending his body forward and making gentle touches to the ground sometimes with different parts of the feet through spring-like steps. His style somehow finds a balance between control and freedom, Freeing and Binding Flows.

In all the cases discussed above, there is an unavoidable action-reaction relationship between the individual practitioners and the chain. Each individual is under the pressure of a never-ending tension, to which they can react with varying degrees of Freeing and Binding Flows. All practitioners are pulled and pushed, whereas at the same time they pull and push others. There is a continuous exchange of signals, mainly achieved through the strong physical connection at the upper body. This special kind of communication generated by the

collective *Horon* experience is certainly very different from the communication in the everyday life.

In his book *Keeping Together in Time: Dance and Drill in Human History*, historian William H. McNeill (1995) discusses how participation in a prolonged collective movement in unison - whether it is a military drill or village dancing - universally provides social cohesion, as well as generating a special kind of emotional state, which can be defined as ‘a sense of pervasive well-being...a strong sense of personal enlargement; a sort of swelling out, becoming bigger than life’ (McNeill, 1995: 2). What is interesting for him about this phenomenon, which he labels “muscular bonding”, is that the arisen emotion does not stem from external stimulus like in ordinary life. He analyses his own experience in military drill as such: ‘Moving briskly and keeping in time was enough to make us feel good about ourselves, satisfied to be moving together, and vaguely pleased with the world at large’ (McNeill, 1995: 2). Although he says that he is convinced by the explanations about the importance of “muscular bonding” in human evolution, he thinks that they are unduly analytical and there is a need to conduct further experiments to measure physiological changes in the body during such moments, which are characterised by such features: an excitement that cannot be expressed verbally, but generates pleasure at the conscious level; joy, happiness or a sense of elation; a state of having no distinction between self and surroundings, which can be defined by the term of “boundary loss” at the individual level and the term of “feeling one” at the collective level; an ecstatic or trancelike state in which the awareness of others fade away and the self submerges in the flow (McNeill, 1995). Considering the demands of the *Horon* practice, it seems like it is one of the realisations of the experience of “muscular bonding”.

In one of the harvest feasts, in which I participated (EV6), I had the chance to observe a man teaching *Horon* to a 12-15 years old girl (probably his daughter) while they were practicing *Horon* next to each other within a big circle. They were not speaking at all, but in the hands-up section, when the practitioners might give a short break to holding hands, they were facing each other with their arms up to the sides, and executing the shoulder vibrations that are typical for the *Horon*. This gesture did not only let me understand their private relationship, but also pushed me to think on how the practice of *Horon* was transmitted to a novice. Although she was learning, the girl was looking at neither her own body nor her father’s. She was looking ahead, towards the centre of the circle, and in the hands-up section, she was looking directly into the eyes of her father (EV6-FN1). When I participated in the *Horon* chain towards the end of my fieldwork period in İzmiş Harvest Feast, I was also told to

look ahead instead of looking my feet, although it was clear that I was a novice (EV13-FN1). It was obvious that the transmission was occurring at a level that put not only verbal communication, but also the visual observation of the movement aside. The father and daughter were somehow repeating what attracted my attention before I started the actual fieldwork in a youtube clip, which displays a strong bodily communication occurring between two female *Horon* practitioners (Asi Trabzon, 2009; AD-V1). In this clip, there are six women practicing *Dik Horon* probably in a harvest feast by repeating small, but strong wobbles in a line. Among them there is no recognizable leader and nobody gives any vocal commands including the *kemençe* player. At a certain moment, two women in the middle unclasp their hands and start a ninety degrees turn, while continuing the wobbles in the same rhythm with the group. They execute this turn, which make them look face-to-face in the middle, in perfect timing and complete harmony. Then they return back to the initial position with a reverse turn. At that time, it was not easy for me to understand how such a movement was initiated and realised in such a perfect collaboration just by bodily communication. Another interesting fact is that although the other four women, who are at two sides of these two women, do not attend this turn but continue the initial wobbles, the harmony of the group is not lost, as the four at the sides act as supporting the two in the middle. Although they execute only minimal movements, it was pleasurable to watch the practice of this six-women group.

The father-daughter scene, which was not meant to be watched, as it was led by other motivations, was also quite pleasurable to watch, as it displayed not only a lot of emotions, but also a special kind of communication outside of ordinary life. The expressions of both father and daughter were quite serious and attentive. However, they seemed as they were highly enjoying each other's company. Especially when they faced each other, it was as if they were dancing in a world of two only, in which not only the know-how of playing the *Horon*, but also the reciprocal feelings were exchanged. In her book *Choreographing Empathy: Kinaesthesia in Performance*, Susan Leigh Foster (2010) mentions how perceptual psychologist James J. Gibson identified kinaesthesia as 'the orientor of our senses' (Foster, 2010: 117), which integrates 'information about position, motion, and orientation with other visual, aural, and tactile information so as to construct a sense of one's location in the world' (Foster, 2010: 74). She also discusses the modernist conceptualisation of kinaesthesia which 'integrated emotion with motion' and defined the term as 'the muscular connection to our deepest feelings' (Foster, 2010: 117). She adds that both Gibson and modernist

conceptualisations ‘imbued dance with a unique capacity for communication’ (Foster, 2010: 118). In relation to the father-daughter case described above, one might say that through experiencing the extra-daily communication particular to *Horon*, the girl was learning to sense her location in the chain, or better to say, to sense her place in the world of the *Horon* play, as well as communicating with her deepest feelings. This pleasurable world was apparently a world that was “bigger than life”; it was not a representation of “what is”, but a world of “what can be”.

The next part of the dissertation suggests discussing this unique experience created by the *Horon* practice in connection to the experience of “flow”, as conceptualised by Csikszentmihalyi.

3.2.3. Flow

In their discussion on play, both Turner and Schechner refer to Csikszentmihalyi’s conceptualisation of “flow” as an optimal human experience outside of ordinary life, which is generated by the act of playing. Csikszentmihalyi defines “flow” as ‘the state in which people are so involved in an activity that nothing else seems to matter; the experience itself is so enjoyable that people will do it even at great cost, for the sheer sake of doing it’ (Csikszentmihalyi, 1990: 4). He suggests that any human activity can lead to the emergence of flow, if an individual is able to control his/her consciousness, body and senses in such a way that s/he is able to concentrate deeply and give his/her attention fully to what s/he does. Turner summarises the distinctive features of Csikszentmihalyi’s conceptualisation of flow experience in six components:

(1) *The experience of merging action and awareness* ... (2) *...a centering of attention...only now matters.* ... (3) *Loss of ego...* All men, even all things, are felt to be one... (4) A person in “flow” finds himself “*in control of his actions and the environment*”. ... (5) ...usually contains *coherent, non-contradictory demands for action*, and provide *clear, unambiguous feedback to a person’s actions*. ... (6) ...“autotelic,” i.e., *it seems to need no goals or rewards outside itself* (Turner, 1982: 56-58) [italics in the original].

Schechner points to a seeming paradox in this conceptualisation, while he discusses this sui generis human experience:

Players in flow maybe aware of their actions, but not of the awareness itself. What they feel is close to being in trance and the “oceanic” experience of rituals. Flow occurs when the player becomes one with the playing. “The dance danced me.” At the same time, flow can be an extreme self-awareness where the player has total control over the play act. These two aspects of flow, apparently contrasting, are essentially the same. In each case, the boundary between the interior psychological self and the performed activity dissolves (2006 [2002]: 97).

In other words, the dance and the dancers become one. As Turner explains, however, this does not indicate losing self-control: 'Self-forgetfulness here does not mean loss of self-awareness. Kinaesthetic and mental awareness is indeed heightened, not reduced' (1982: 57). The individuals on one hand leave themselves to the flow of an activity, on the other hand keep hold of total control over that activity, but in both cases they become one with the activity itself. For Csikszentmihalyi (1990), this can only be attained through a balance that is constructed between the challenges of an activity and the skills needed to cope with these challenges. When the challenges are greater than the skills, the actor worries and when the skills are not enough to cope with the challenges, the actor gets bored; in both cases, the flow and the joy it promises cannot be attained.

One of the primary challenges, with which a *Horon* practitioner has to cope, is performing in harmony with many others. This challenge entails all practitioners having a certain level of skill in moving collectively, which necessitates a special form of kinaesthetic awareness; a *Horon* practitioner has to have an improved sense of his/her location in the chain. In his discussion about the traditional dances in Venda initiation rites at South Africa, John Blacking points out the difference between communal dancing and more individualistic dancing, which reflects, according to him, the changing female roles in the community. Whereas the dances performed at the first part of the initiation process are more individualistic and physically more complex, the dances at the second part are more communal and physically straightforward. Blacking thinks that this contrast aims 'a transition from scatter in space and time to increasing co-ordination and unity' (Blacking, 1977: 46), the skills a Venda female needs after puberty. In this sense, different kinds of dancing require different skills. As explained by Blacking, although the more communal dances seem easier than the individualistic dances that are composed of physically more challenging figures, the communal dances, which are practiced in a chain by holding each other's body, are 'more difficult to perform as a *social body*' (Blacking, 1977: 46).

The *Horon* practice certainly demonstrates certain characteristics of communal dancing, as conceptualised by Blacking, however it would be inappropriate to read it through the one-dimensional opposition of individualistic and more complex versus communal and straightforward. The individual improvisations within the chain discussed above have already challenged such a reading. Whereas a certain level of communality remains permanent throughout the practice, a *Horon* performance embodies variant transitions from individualistic to communal, physically less complex to more complex sections. The necessity

to perform these transitions brings about further challenges for the practitioners. In order to identify the specificities of these transitions, it is necessary to look into the details of the *Horon* performance as a process. To make this analysis, the dissertation will once again refer to the concept of Flow in Laban Movement Analysis.

As described earlier, a *Horon* performance consists of *Dik* and *Sallama Horons* practiced alternately without a break. Whereas it always begins with the very dynamic *Dik Horon*, after a while it gives its place to *Sallama Horon* so that the dancers can have a resting break by *Sallama Horon*'s relatively calmer rhythm before they find themselves again in another *Dik Horon*. An event is usually composed of two or three *Horon* performances and it is common to end the day with a final *Dik Horon*. Whereas the *Sallama Horon* is based on the numerous repetition of the same ten-beat step motif, the dominant variation of *Dik Horon* is composed of three consecutive sections. When one looks at the sequential structure of a *Horon* performance through the lens of Flow of Effort, s/he would notice an interesting bodily process led by transitions from Binding to Freeing Flow and vice versa. The longest part in *Dik Horon* is the vibration section, which lasts at least two times longer than the total time spent for the hands-up and take-it-down sections (see Table 1). During this initiatory section, the chain goes through its tightest moments, as the physical connection between the bodies of the practitioners is at its highest level. Principally standing straight (it is important to remember that *dik* means straight in Turkish) and physically very close to each other, the individual bodies act as if they are bricks in a wall. The arms are kept down adhered to the torso, while the hands hold the next persons' hands. The legs are also kept close to each other as much as possible. Although straight, the bodies are shrunken in terms of the horizontal plane. This somewhat extreme bodily stance is very effective in transferring the vibration between the practitioners, however it also brings about a strong sense of containment. In video AD-V4 mentioned above, the famous *kemençe* player Katip Şadi practices *Dik Horon* with the television announcer for demonstrating the style of his region. The television announcer interprets his experience with bated breath as such:

Announcer: Wow wow wow wow wow! Alas! ...

Katip Şadi: Two minutes are already enough.

Announcer: ...What an interesting homeland we have. We are the people of the same region. Pay attention to the feet. ...In this style, the feet do not circle a lot, they are at the same spot. ...There are differences directly in our feet. Movements at the spot. For example at Akçaabat and Maçka [two different towns in Trabzon province], the legs are opened, they draw a distance. ...In their style, the feet are at the same spot, nailed. Well of course, we say that Mevlana [the Turkish Sufi thinker known in English as Rumi; his order is famous of their movement practice known in English as whirling dervishes] turns around by standing at the

spot, but the people of Görele [a town in Giresun, hometown of Katip Şadi] are as such, at the same spot, as if they are shocked by electricity (BlackseaAGASAR, 2008).²²

However, the tune of *Dik Horon* is in complete contrast with such a confined bodily stance; its very fast rhythm suggests much more free and complex movements. Instead of leaving themselves to this rhythm and flow freely with it, the *Dik Horon* practitioners hold themselves and resist the rhythm. What they do is moving together in counter-clockwise with a basic step pattern; going right with the right foot, holding with both feet, going right with the left foot besides the right foot, and holding again, while bending and straightening the knees four times during the execution of these steps. In this sense, they experience an extreme kind of Binding Flow. Nonetheless the containment of the body together with the holding of the steps against the musical rhythm generates an interesting outcome. The dynamic rhythm of *Dik Horon* music manifests itself in the torso; it shakes in such a way that an extra-ordinary vibration is created in the whole body. This vibration is quite contagious so that it easily turns into a collective vibration. The shrunken bodies in the chain move together in counter-clockwise direction by executing repetitively the basic pattern. The overall feeling of the vibration section is a kind of warming up or saving energy for something that will come up soon. The sense of expectation reaches its peak with the hands-up section, in which the level of bodily containment relatively decreases. Still standing straight, the practitioners are slowly separated from each other by walking back (outwards of the circle) and raising their arms up to the sides, while continuing to hold the hands of the practitioners on each side. In this section, which might sometimes include releasing the hands for a short time for clapping, there is a preparation for take-it-down. With an acute transition in the music from a repetitive to an irregular and even more vigorous rhythm starts the take-it-down section, which is composed of quite complicated movements characterised by strong stampings of the ground executed in a bending position to the front, as well as sharp turns and springs. The contained and sustained energy is released for a short period of time, and the practitioners enjoy a relatively Freeing Flow, before their bodies shrink back again for starting another vibration section. This section is considered by my interlocutors in the field as the most difficult part of the whole *Horon* performance, as it is composed of physically challenging, complicated

²² ‘Programcı: Vay, vay, vay, vay, vay. ...

Katip Şadi: İki dakika yeter zaten.

Programcı: ...O kadar enteresan bir memleketimiz var ki. Aynı bölgenin iki insanıyız. Ayaklar dikkat edin. ...Burada ayaklar fazla etraf çizmiyor, yerinde. ...Ayaklarımızda hemen fark oluyor. Yerinde hareketler. Mesela Akçaabat, Maçka taraflarında ayaklar açılır, belli bir mesafe çizer. ...Bunlarda aynı yerde, çakılı. Ama tabii Mevlana olduğu yerde döner durur deriz, ama Göreleli de öyle, olduğu yerde, cereyana çarpılmış gibi’. The translation from Turkish is done by the author.

movements that are not easy to perform collectively. Nonetheless it has been described by Sabri as the most joyful moment of a *Horon* performance. It is as if everything else in a *Horon* performance is done in anticipation of arriving at that climactic moment, characterised by an acute transition to Freeing Flow after a long-lasting practice in Binding Flow.

In a *Dik Horon*, these three consecutive sections might be repeated several times, but the transition to the *Sallama Horon* always comes after the take-it-down. *Sallama Horon*, which is based on physically less challenging figures, does not include acute transitions in terms of Flow. During its practice, in which the strong physical connection at the upper body continues, there is still a sense of containment. However the kinesphere of the individual practitioners is not that much shrunk; the distance between the participants is greater although the limbs do not get too much far away from the torso. It is characterised by a moderate Shrinking in terms of Flow of Shape and a moderate Binding in terms of the Flow of Effort, and both of these qualities are consistent. The bodies swing together right and left, up and down over and over again in accordance with a relatively slower rhythm, which acts as a break between physically more challenging *Dik Horons* that demand acute transitions in terms of Flow. It is important to specify that the sense of containment is more when *Sallama Horon* is executed with the technique of “breaking-the-waist”, in which the swinging is initiated by moving the waist rather than the limbs (EV7-V15).

The question at this point is that how these movement specificities in a *Horon* performance are connected with the concept of playing and Csikszentmihalyi’s conceptualisation of “flow”. In fact, the primary sense, with which the *Horon* practice is associated by the common people of Turkey, is an intense enthusiasm (And, 2012 [1974]; Karadeniz, 2012). Many of my interlocutors in the field mentioned how the *Horon* practice leads to the emergence of a collective joy shared by all participants, and I witnessed such moments (Figure 12). It seems as if all these variations in Flow, which characterise the processual structure of *Horon*, aim at attaining such a collective enthusiasm and joy. If a graphic showing the ideal relationship between the level of enthusiasm and the passage of time in a *Horon* performance is drawn, it would be directly proportional.



Figure 12: A *değnekçi* sharing joy with *Horon* practitioners (still photograph from EV13-V44)

But how does this happen? Believing that ‘enjoyment...does not depend on what you do, but rather how you do it’, Csikszentmihalyi asserts that

[e]ven the simplest physical act becomes enjoyable when it is transformed so as to produce flow. The essential steps in this process are: (a) to set an overall goal, and as many subgoals as are realistically feasible; (b) to find ways of measuring progress in terms of the goals chosen; (c) to keep concentrating on what one is doing, and to keep making finer and finer distinctions in the challenges involved in the activity; (d) to develop the skills necessary to interact with the opportunities available; and (e) to keep raising the stakes if the activity becomes boring (Csikszentmihalyi, 1990: 97).

The extensive analysis of the *Horon* practice made above demonstrates that it is capable of fulfilling the criteria put by Csikszentmihalyi for generating the experience of flow. Each *Horon* practitioner is aware of the overall goal and subgoals of this collective activity, as they are set clearly. They know the processual structure and its challenges. They know that they are expected to always move in harmony with the chain, but are also free to enliven the collective performance by pushing its boundaries through their skills and/or improvisations. A *Horon* performance demands its practitioners keep a level of strong concentration and attention to the finer details. Kinaesthetic awareness should be at a high level. It also encourages its practitioners to develop the necessary skills; there is always a better way of playing the *Horon*. Finally, as clearly seen in the case of Sabri, it is always

possible to raise the stakes and create further challenges both collectively and individually. Eventually, when the *Horon* practice reaches a balance between the challenges and the skills, there emerges the flow. Besides all these, the processual structure of *Horon* seems to have been designed by the tradition to lead to a level of acceleration of enthusiasm. It is as if the practitioners are repetitively charged and discharged with physical and psychic energy through dialectics of holding/releasing achieved by vibration and take-it-down sections in *Dik Horon*, which are characterised respectively by Binding and Freeing Flows. When the *Dik Horon* does not include take-it-down, it seems as the discharging task is undertaken by the improvisatory moments. My observations during fieldwork indicate that with every new cycle of charging/discharging, the level of enthusiasm shared by the practitioners gets higher. With their repetitiousness, the intermediary *Sallama Horons* also seem as working for charging the energy, although this happens in a less alerted fashion if compared with the vibration section of *Dik Horon*. This inherent design in *Horon* practice provides its practitioners with a great opportunity to experience flow. As Csikszentmihalyi (1990) explains, the primary enemy of flow is “physic entropy”, which is fed by lack of concentration and inability to control one’s body, senses and consciousness. However the physic entropy can be reduced by channelling the energy to an activity with full attention so that the way for the emergence of the flow experience is paved. The processual structure of *Horon* clearly channels the energy of its practitioners to certain paths that demand certain challenging tasks, however the reward of coping with these challenges is experiencing flow. This is especially obvious when the practitioners complete a take-it-down section with success. After such a quick, but effective discharging following a long period of charging, they usually smile with joy. They look as if they put a full stop to a long sentence. All the energy saved for the climactic moment of the take-it-down is channelled and spent to the very challenging task demanded in this section.

Turner is interested in the experience of flow, as he relates it with his conceptualisation of “*communitas*”. In the conclusion, the dissertation will discuss the *Horon* as a potential form of *communitas*.

CHAPTER 4: CONCLUSION - *HORON AS COMMUNITAS*

This dissertation started with a specific question on the contemporary habitual practice of *Horon* in Turkey. It aimed at identifying the particular form of communication that was generated among the people during the practice. The assumption that motivated this research was that this particular form of communication bore the characteristics of oral culture, which is based on an immediate, context-based and embodied communication that leads to the emergence of a special form of collective experience. As the *Horon* is considered “play” by its owners, the research preferred to employ an emic perspective and was grounded largely on the theories of play and playing. The theoretical discussion was merged with detailed movement analyses, which were based on the material collected during fieldwork conducted in the habitual context of the practice. These analyses exhibited that the *Horon* had specific structural characteristics, which prioritised a haptic and kinaesthetic form of communication rather than a visual or verbal one, which culminated in generating an experience outside of ordinary life. This experience is characterised by a sense of oneness and the gradual creation of collective joy shared by all participants. Although the *Horon* is a practice inherited from the past, the broader and vigorous participation of the locals, which was clearly observed throughout the fieldwork, demonstrates that this special experience is still very attractive for the people.

Today was such a nice day. I am quite close to reach the end of my fieldwork period, and today I felt like I found at last what I was supposed to see from the beginning. We went with my husband to a foreign village in order to participate in their harvest feast. Different from the other feasts, in which I participated since today, it revitalised partly the long walk from the village to the feast area. The walk was led by the musicians (a *kemençe*, a *davul* and a *zurna* player) and the participants followed them by *Horon* steps. The look of the people walking behind the musicians reminded me the tale of *The Pied Piper of Hamelin*, in which the piper bewitches the children of a village with the sound of his pipe and take them away from the village in order to punish the adults. The participants of the feast acted as if they were charmed by the sound of *zurna*; we walked for more than an hour towards the feast area, practice/watch *Horon* for hours, then walked all the way back. Despite the toughness of this challenging activity, everybody was quite joyful. The locals were so open to the outsiders so that I partly put the researcher responsibility aside and also enjoyed myself a lot. Especially when the battery of my video camera was completely dead and I was invited to join one of the last *Horon* chains towards the sunset, I felt a powerful satisfaction that was not shadowed, but supported by my fatigue. We were in the middle of the mountains under the sky. One of the villagers, with whom I talked a lot during the day, expressed his feelings as such: ‘I was expecting this day since a year. Thank God I was able to come this year and enjoy it. Think, what if I will not be alive next year?’²³ (EV13-FN1)

²³ ‘Ben bugünü bir senedir bekliyorum. Çok şükür bu sene geldim, yaşadım. Ya seneye çıkmazsam?’ The translation to English is made by the author.

This extract from my fieldnotes partly expresses the importance given by the locals to the harvest feasts, which is virtually equal to practicing *Horon*. It is certainly a special period of time in the year, in which people live through a satisfactory experience so that they come again and again every summer. This is partly related with the fact that the *Horon* practice is extensively associated with the regional identity and as the rural community is largely dispersed today, it provides a tool for recreating the roots and solidifying the sense of belonging. Nevertheless although I am an outsider and it was my first time in the harvest feast referred above, I share the same feeling. Just after the feast ended, I was informed of the arranged date for the next year and insistently invited (EV13-FN1). I am looking forward to go again next year, if I can. Because I interestingly feel that I also belong to this feast. This indicates that there is another layer in the *Horon* practice that might attract even the outsiders.

Csikszentmihalyi (1990) asserts that one of the qualities of flow experience is that it reduces the psychic entropy that blocks the way to happiness. Similarly Turner thinks that flow might be one of the ways to pave the way for the emergence of a special human experience, which he conceptualises as “*communitas*”; ‘an unmediated relationship between historical, idiosyncratic, concrete individuals’ (Turner, 1982: 45), which involves a temporary abrogation of the normative social structure, in which the relations between the individuals are mediated and conditioned by an obligation to play certain social roles. He explains that flow is for him ‘already in the domain of...[normative] “structure”, *communitas* is always prestructural... But “flow”...seems...one of the way in which “structure” may be transformed or “liquefied”...into *communitas* again’ (Turner, 1982: 58).

According to Turner, the “spontaneous *communitas*” is the original and ideal form of *communitas*, which is

a “direct, immediate and total confrontation of human identities,” a deep rather than intense style of personal interaction. “It has something ‘magical’ about it. Subjectively there is in it a feeling of endless power.” Is there any of us who has not known this moment when compatible people - friends, congeners - obtain a flash of lucid mutual understanding on the existential level, when they feel that all problems, not just their problems, could be resolved...if only the group which is felt...as “essentially us” could sustain its intersubjective illumination. ...we place a high value on personal honesty, openness, and lack of pretensions or pretentiousness. We feel that it is important to relate directly to another person as he presents himself in the here-and-now, to understand him in a sympathetic...way, free from the culturally defined encumbrances of his role, status, reputation, class, caste, sex or other structural niche (Turner, 1982: 47-48).

The play world of *Horon* practice, which is a world of “what-can-be”, which generates a special form of extra-daily communication among its practitioners who are rendered as

equal and a part of one big body and share a moment when other than what is happening within the chain is no more important, seems as a potential form of spontaneous *communitas*. In this sense, the experience in the *Horon* practice cannot be restricted to the community from which it has emerged. The *Horon* chain is open to all; it includes people who come from different ages, genders, different economical and cultural backgrounds or statuses. It is also open to outsiders as well as insiders; even the researcher is rendered equal within the *Horon* chain. The participation of Greek visitors to the practice in İzmiş Harvest Feast (EV13) and the gradual initiation of women to the public chain, starting from forty to fifty years ago (Altunbaş, 2012; AD-SR1), are good examples that demonstrate the inclusive characteristic of the *Horon*, as well as its somehow “liminal” quality that might abrogate the normative social structure. In fact, although the locals might be quite conservative about activities such as drinking alcohol in the public and excessive behaviours like shouting out or singing aloud, when it is time for *Horon*, the usual social restrictions are loosened. Today although gender segregation is still quite a strong social norm in the countryside of the Black Sea Region, the men and women practice *Horon* together next to each other without facing any problems.

If you go to the countryside of the Black Sea Region in Turkey and if you get the courage to hold someone’s hand in the chain, you can directly enter to the play world of *Horon*. In this world, you will react, submit, resist, learn, communicate, and play. You will probably share the joy of the locals. Maybe you will even start to create. Whatever happens, at the moment you join the chain, you will immediately feel that you belong to the world of *Horon*. Because the “what-can-be” world of *Horon* is a world, in which *All is One*.

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APPENDIX I: LIST OF EVENTS / INTERVIEWS

Index Name	Event	Date	Place	How did the researcher learn the event or the interviewee?	Who organizes the event?	Specificities of the event	Duration (Participation of the researcher)
EV1	Sisdağı Erkeksu Harvest Feast	29/06 /2013	Erkeksu Plateau - Giresun Province	Sabri (taxi driver of Anbarlı Village)	Sisdağı Platform (composed of local municipalities and NGOs)	a festival copying the harvest feasts - outdoors - professional musicians and singers performing on the stage - broadcast on local TV	09:00-18:00 (09:00-16:00)
EV2	wedding in the Town	30/06 /2013	school hall - Beşikdüzü - Trabzon Province	Kadriye Özdemir (mother-in-law of the researcher)	parents of bride and groom	wedding - indoors - professional musicians and singers	20:00-22:00 (20:30-22:00)
INT1	interview with amateur <i>kemençe</i> player and professional <i>kemençe</i> artisan and teacher İsmail Kırıcı	05/07 /2013	Anbarlı Village - Beşikdüzü - Trabzon Province	Umut Özdemir (father-in-law of the researcher)	researcher	free talk on <i>kemençe</i> instrument and its relationship with <i>Horon</i>	around two hours in the afternoon (all)
EV3	Görele <i>Kemençe</i> and <i>Horan</i> Festival	05/07 /2013	Görele - Giresun Province	Sabri (taxi driver of Anbarlı Village)	Görele Municipality	an annual town festival	20:00-23:00 (20:00-23:00)
EV4	Kadırga Harvest Feast	09/08 /2013	Kadırga Plateau - Trabzon Province	Umut Özdemir, Kadriye Özdemir (parents-in-law of the researcher)	local government offices and municipalities	an annual harvest feast - outdoors - professional musicians and singers performing on the stage	09:00-18:00 (09:00-15:00)

EV5	night meeting at Hanyanı in Sisdağı Harvest Feast	09/08 /2013	Hanyanı - Sisdağı Plateau-Trabzon Province	from a local man whom the researcher met at Kadirga Plateau	local government offices and municipalities	the previous evening meeting of an annual harvest feast - outdoors - professional musicians and singers performing on the stage	19:00-23:00 (19:00-21:00)
EV6	Sisdağı Harvest Feast	10/08 /2013	Sisdağı Plateau - Trabzon Province	Umut Özdemir, Kadriye Özdemir (parents-in-law of the researcher)	local government offices and municipalities	an annual harvest feast - outdoors - professional musicians and singers performing on the stage	09:00-11:30 & 14:30-16:00 (all)
EV7	wedding in the Village	11/08 /2013	village square - Acısu Village-Şalpazarı - Trabzon Province	nobody, on the way back from Sisdağı Plateau to Anbarlı Village	parents of bride and groom	wedding - outdoors - professional musicians	not known (13:30-14:00)
EV8	henna night in the village	16/08 /2013	schoolyard - Türkelli Village - Beşikdüzü - Trabzon Province	nobody, heard the music from Anbarlı village	parents of bride and groom	henna night - outdoors - professional musicians	20:00-23:00 (21:00-22:30)
EV9	wedding in the village	18/08 /2013	schoolyard - Türkelli Village – Beşikdüzü - Trabzon Province	nobody, heard the music from Anbarlı village	parents of bride and groom	wedding - outdoors - professional musicians	12:30-15:00 (14:00-15:00)
INT2	interview with Ali Osman Kırıcı, his sister and his sister-in law Şükriye	19/08 /2013	Anbarlı Village – Beşikdüzü - Trabzon Province	Kadriye Özdemir (mother-in-law of the researcher)	researcher	free talk on <i>Horon</i> , <i>kemençe</i> and the traditional culture in the region	around two hours in the afternoon (all)
INT3	interview with amateur <i>kemençe</i> player Mustafa Çete	21/08 /2013	Anbarlı Village – Beşikdüzü - Trabzon Province	Ali Osman Kırıcı	researcher	free talk on <i>kemençe</i> and <i>Horon</i>	around three hours in the afternoon (all)

EV10	wedding in the town	23/08 /2013	school hall - Beşikdüzü - Trabzon Province	nobody, heard the music in Beşikdüzü	parents of bride and groom	wedding - indoors - professional musicians	19:00-21:15 (20:00-21:10)
EV11	wedding in the village	24/08 /2013	schoolyard - İskenderli Village - Beşikdüzü - Trabzon Province	İskenderli villager Ali Fuat, whom the researcher met at Kadirga Plateau	parents of bride and groom	wedding - outdoors - professional musicians	12:00-15:30 (13:00-15:30)
EV12	wedding in the town	24/08 /2013	school hall - Beşikdüzü - Trabzon Province	Sabri (taxi driver of Anbarlı Village)	parents of bride and groom	wedding - indoors - professional musicians	19:00-21:30 (all)
EV13	İzmiş (İzmiş) Harvest Feast	25/08 /2013	İskenderli - Beşikdüzü - Trabzon Province	İskenderli villager Ali Fuat, whom the researcher met at Kadirga Plateau	people from İskenderli village	an annual harvest feast - outdoors - professional musicians	11:30-18:00 (all)

Index Name	Other Activities	Other Movement Practices	Who is present?	Who is practicing?	Instruments for Horon	Singing	Interlocutor(s)
EV1	picnic, gambling, bazaar, speeches by local officials and politicians, speech by a politician from Istanbul	none	common people from the region, professional musicians/singers from the region, local officials and politicians, an invited politician from İstanbul, press	common people from the region, both genders, all age groups	<i>davul</i> and <i>zurna</i> ; only <i>kemençe</i> ; <i>kemençe</i> and keyboard	yes	None
EV2	ceremony of gifts	<i>Halay</i> (a rural-originated chain dance that is popular all over Turkey), <i>Oyun Havası</i> (free style belly dance)	common people from the region, professional musicians/singer from the region	common people from the region, both genders, all age groups	only <i>kemençe</i> ; <i>kemençe</i> and keyboard	yes	Kadriye Özdemir (mother-in-law of the researcher) ; some women from the region

INT1	drinking tea, chatting, listening to <i>kemençe</i>	NA	İsmail Kırıcı, Soner Özdemir (husband of the researcher), Umut Özdemir (father-in-law of the researcher), Kadriye Özdemir (mother-in-law of the researcher); after a while İsmail Kırıcı's wife and son	NA	<i>kemençe</i>	yes	İsmail Kırıcı (male)
EV3	pop music concert, speeches by local officials and politicians, broadcast on TV	none	common people from the region, professional musicians/singers from the region, local officials and politicians	common people from the region, both genders, all age groups	only <i>kemençe</i> ; <i>kemençe</i> and keyboard	yes	none
EV4	picnic, gambling, bazaar, speeches by local officials and politicians	none	common people from the region, professional musicians/singers from the region, local officials and politicians	common people from the region, both genders, all age groups	<i>davul</i> and <i>zurna</i> ; only <i>kemençe</i> ; <i>kemençe</i> and keyboard	yes	none
EV5	none	none	common people from the region, professional musicians and singer from the region	common people from the region, both genders, all age groups excluding children	<i>davul</i> and <i>zurna</i> ; only <i>kemençe</i> ; <i>kemençe</i> and keyboard	yes	Umut Özdemir (father-in-law of the researcher) and his male friends
EV6	picnic, gambling, bazaar, speeches by local officials and politicians, speech by the minister of environment and urban planning	none	common people from the region, professional musicians and singers from the region, tourists, local officials and politicians, a minister	common people from the region, both genders, all age groups	<i>davul</i> and <i>zurna</i> ; only <i>kemençe</i> ; <i>kemençe</i> and keyboard	yes	Kadriye Özdemir (mother-in-law of the researcher) and her female friends

EV7	not known	not known	common people from the region, professional musicians from the region	common people from the region, both genders, all age groups	only <i>kemençe</i> ; <i>kemençe</i> and keyboard	no	None
EV8	ceremony of gifts, henna application	<i>Halay, Oyun Havası, Faroz Kesmesi</i> (<i>kolbastı</i> or <i>hoptek</i> ; a traditional solo-pair practice from Trabzon)	common people from the region, professional musicians/singer from the region	common people from the region, both genders, all age groups	only <i>kemençe</i> ; <i>kemençe</i> and keyboard	yes	three male teenagers from Anbarlı Village, Sabri (the taxi driver of Anbarlı Village)
EV9	not known	none	common people from the region, professional musicians from the region	common people from the region, both genders, all age groups	<i>davul</i> and <i>zurna</i> ; only <i>kemençe</i>	no	a woman from the city
INT2	drinking tea, chatting	NA	Ali Osman Kırıcı, his sister, his sister-in-law Şükriye, Kadriye Özdemir (mother-in-law of the researcher); after a while his brother	NA	NA	NA	Ali Osman Kırıcı (male), Şükriye (female)
INT3	drinking tea, chatting	NA	Kadriye Özdemir (mother-in-law of the researcher), Mustafa Çete, his wife, his daughter	common people from the region, both genders, all age groups	<i>kemençe</i>	yes	Mustafa Çete (male), his wife, his daughter
EV10	ceremony of gifts	<i>Halay, Oyun Havası, Faroz Kesmesi</i>	common people from the region, professional musicians/singer from the region	common people from the region, both genders, all age groups	only <i>kemençe</i> ; <i>kemençe</i> and keyboard	yes	None
EV11	ceremony of gifts	none	common people from the region, professional musicians from the region	common people from the region, both genders, all age groups	<i>davul</i> and <i>zurna</i> ; only <i>kemençe</i> ; <i>kemençe</i> and keyboard	no	<i>kemençe</i> player; İskenderli village feast organizing group

EV12	ceremony of gifts	<i>Halay, Oyun Havası, Farož Kesmesi</i>	common people from the region, professional musicians and singer from the region	common people from the region, both genders, all age groups	only <i>kemençe</i> ; <i>kemençe</i> and keyboard	yes	Sabri (the taxi driver of Anbarlı Village) and his friends
EV13	picnic, bazaar	none	common people from the region, professional musicians from the region	common people from the region, both genders, all age groups	<i>davul</i> and <i>zurna</i> ; only <i>kemençe</i> ; <i>davul</i> , <i>zurna</i> and <i>kemençe</i>	no	İskenderli village feast organising group

APPENDIX II: LIST OF VIDEOS REFERRED IN THE TEXT

Index Name	Time	Duration	Content	Practice(s)	Who is in the video?
EV1-V15	12:42	00:00:59	recording from the inside of <i>Horon</i> circle, full body, full circle	<i>Dik Horon</i>	common people (a family practicing); Soner Özdemir
EV1-V17	13:58	00:00:43	recording from a hilltop outside of <i>Horon</i> circle, full circle	<i>Sallama Horon</i>	common people; TV announcer, TV team; male singer
EV2-V4	20:38	00:01:50	recording from outside of <i>Horon</i> circle	<i>Sallama Horon</i>	common people, a cameraman, <i>kemençe</i> player, a male singer
EV2-V10	20:55	00:05:13	recording from outside of <i>Horon</i> circle on top of a chair	<i>Sallama Horon</i> and <i>Dik Horon</i>	common people, <i>kemençe</i> player, a male singer
EV4-V3	11:07	00:00:37	people coming down the hill to the festival area while dancing <i>Horon</i>	<i>Dik Horon</i>	common people, a <i>kemençe</i> player
EV5-V20	19:53	00:01:02	recording from inside the <i>Horon</i> circle, full body	<i>Dik Horon</i>	common people
EV6-V10	10:27	00:01:04	recording the group coming down the hill to the <i>Horon</i> area in an arc shape practicing	<i>Dik Horon</i>	common people; <i>davul</i> and <i>zurna</i> players
EV7-V11	13:52	00:00:36	recording from outside the <i>Horon</i> circle on top of a hill, full body	<i>Dik Horon</i>	<i>kemençe</i> and keyboard players, bride and groom, common people
EV7-V15	13:58	00:01:30	recording from inside the <i>Horon</i> circle, full body	<i>Sallama Horon</i>	<i>kemençe</i> player, common people
EV8-V6	21:39	00:00:09	<i>kemençe</i> player calling people to practice	NA	<i>kemençe</i> player, common people
EV8-V16	22:21	00:00:33	recording in the face of <i>Horon</i> line	<i>Ekip Horonu</i> (Team <i>Horon</i>)	the groom, common people
EV8-V17	22:22	00:01:24	recording in the face of <i>Horon</i> line	<i>Ekip Horonu</i> (Team <i>Horon</i>)	the groom, common people
EV11-V9	14:37	00:00:19	recording from outside of the <i>Horon</i> circle, full circle	<i>Sallama Horon</i>	<i>davul</i> and <i>zurna</i> players, common people

EV11 -V20	15:12	00:00:41	recording from outside of the <i>Horon</i> line from the top, full body	<i>Dik Horon</i>	common people, Ali Fuat and some of his family members
EV12 -V17	20:43	00:05:36	recording from outside of the <i>Horon</i> circle; sometimes facing people, full body	<i>Dik Horon</i>	<i>kemençe</i> player, a cameraman, common people, Sabri
EV12 -V19	20:55	00:02:36	recording from outside of the <i>Horon</i> circle; sometimes facing people, full body	<i>Sallama Horon</i>	<i>kemençe</i> player, a cameraman, groom, common people, Sabri, one of the teenagers from Anbarlı village
EV13 -V4	11:35	00:00:38	recording the <i>Horon</i> line of İskenderli village organizing group from the front, full body	<i>Dik Horon</i>	<i>kemençe</i> player, İskenderli village organising group (including Ali Fuat and <i>zurna</i> player Oğuz)
EV13 -V12	12:56	00:00:35	recording the <i>Horon</i> circle on top of a hill	<i>Sallama Horon</i>	<i>davul</i> and <i>zurna</i> players, <i>kemençe</i> player, organising group, two nieces of Ali Fuat, Greek tourists, common people
EV13 -V20	13:10	00:01:13	recording from the side, then the back the walking İskenderli village group from a hill	<i>Dik Horon</i>	<i>davul</i> and <i>zurna</i> players, <i>kemençe</i> player, İskenderli village people, Greek tourists
EV13 -V44	15:27	00:07:05	recording from inside of <i>Horon</i> circle, full body	<i>Dik Horon</i> , then <i>Sallama Horon</i>	<i>davul</i> , <i>zurna</i> and <i>kemençe</i> players of İskenderli, singer Kamil Şekerci, common people

Index Name	Who is performing?	Who commands the practice?	Instruments	Singing	Where are the musicians and singers?	Additional notes and remarks
EV1-V15	common people	not known	<i>kemençe</i> & keyboard	yes, a female singer	on the stage	It shows how one enters the circle.
EV1-V17	common people	The singer saying 'Let's clap hands again, the broadcast is starting'	<i>kemençe</i> & keyboard	yes, a male singer	on the stage	

EV2-V4	common people	the singer with verbal commands	<i>kemençe</i>	yes, a male singer	both <i>kemençe</i> player and singer are inside the <i>Horon</i> circle	Two circles; one small circle inside the big circle. When the singer says 'let me see you hands' and people begin clapping hands, a man in the small circle hold his hands up and does vendetta sign, implying Gezi Park protests is Turkey. People, who see this, smile.
EV2-V10	common people	a man with traditional costumes with dancing within the circle, with gestures while walking inside the circle; singer with verbal commands	<i>kemençe</i> (assistant of the main player)	yes, a male singer	both <i>kemençe</i> player and singer are inside the <i>Horon</i> circle	Young boys capability to vibrate surprised me.
EV4-V3	common people	<i>kemençe</i> player is leading the people who come down the hill by practicing by facing them; some people within the crowd try to organise the line and the crowd	<i>kemençe</i>	no	in front of the dance line	People are able to dance now.
EV5-V20	common people	nobody	<i>kemençe</i>	no	on the stage	Strong vibrations by elder men contrasting with a younger novice. Some individual figures.
EV6-V10	common people, <i>davul</i> player	some men in front of the line	<i>davul</i> and <i>zurna</i>	no	in front of the <i>Horon</i> line	The <i>davul</i> player plays his instrument on top of the head of a man who sits down while recording.
EV7-V11	common people	not known	<i>kemençe</i> and keyboard	no	on the stage	
EV7-V15	common people	not known	<i>kemençe</i> and keyboard	no	on the stage	The <i>Horon</i> has become a full circle. The figure of “bel kırma” (breaking-the-waist).
EV8-V6	NA	NA	<i>kemençe</i>	no	walking within the middle at the practicing area	The <i>kemençe</i> player starts his tunes and waits people to start the <i>Horon</i> chain.

EV8-V16	the groom with three common men	the man practicing at the right edge of the line	<i>kemençe</i>	no	inside the <i>Horon</i> circle	<i>Ekip Horonu</i> is a name given by locals to the practice of folk dance.
EV8-V17	the groom with three common men	the man practicing at the right edge of the line	<i>kemençe</i>	no	inside the <i>Horon</i> circle	The fourth man at the left edge leaves the group, when the rhythm speeds up. Close to the end, the third man also leaves.
EV11-V9	<i>davul</i> player and common people	a man inside the <i>Horon</i> circle with a whistle	<i>davul</i> and <i>zurna</i>	no	walking inside the <i>Horon</i> circle	
EV11-V20	common people, Ali Fuat and some of his family members	Ali Fuat	<i>davul</i> and <i>zurna</i>	no	in front of the <i>Horon</i> line	Ali Fuat pushes women out of <i>Horon</i> , as he wants to do a good <i>Dik Horon</i> with men. Women leave the circle without any complaint and new men join. At that moment of recording, I speak with an old woman who praises the style of Ali Fuat's family.
EV12-V17	common people, Sabri	some men practicing in the circle	<i>kemençe</i>	no	inside the circle	Sabri leaves the circle and improvises with a man inside the circle. After a while, he does it again with the groom. Individual and group improvisations. Strong contact and joy within Sabri's group, which includes the father of the groom. This group executes special figures just before take-it-down. A line composed of five people (a mentally and physically disabled man, a child, three women) inside the main circle.
EV12-V19	groom, common people, Sabri, a teenager from Anbarlı	one of the teenagers organise his group with gestures	<i>kemençe</i> and keyboard	no	<i>kemençe</i> player inside the circle, keyboard player on the stage	Cheers from the keyboard. The teenager practices just next to Sabri and tries to learn his style by imitating him.

EV13-V4	kemençe player, organising group (with Ali Fuat and <i>zurna</i> player Oğuz)	one of the man from the group by watching and giving verbal commands, not in the video	<i>kemençe</i>	no	in front of the <i>Horon</i> line	When the practitioners go back by holding hands up just before take-it-down, the commander warns them for paying attention to the arc shape of the line.
EV13-V12	<i>davul</i> player, organising group, two nieces of Ali Fuat, Greek tourists, common people	nobody	<i>davul</i> and <i>zurna</i> , and <i>kemençe</i>	no	inside the circle	Full circle can be seen.
EV13-V20	<i>davul</i> player, İskenderli village people, Greek tourists	the same with EV13-V15	<i>davul</i> and <i>zurna</i> , and <i>kemençe</i>	no	in front of the walking group	Clapping hands.
EV13-V44	<i>davul</i> player, <i>kemençe</i> player, Ali Fuat, the other commanding man with the stick, common people	the same with EV13-V15	<i>davul</i> and <i>zurna</i> , and <i>kemençe</i>	no	inside the circle	The two commanding men and <i>kemençe</i> player practice in a line inside the circle for a while. Ali Fuat practices solo for a while for transmitting the rhythm to the chain. He jokes with a group of friends by practicing in front of them. He tries to persuade some kids for joining the practice. The İskerderli females practice next to two Ağasar females and do “bel kırma” (breaking-the-waist) figure. Cheers.

APPENDIX III: LIST OF PHOTOGRAHS REFERRED IN THE TEXT

Index Name	Time	Content	Who is in the photo?	Who is practicing?	Who commands the practice?	Instruments	Singing	Where are the musicians and singers?
EV1-P25	13:57	whole <i>Horon</i> circle seen from a hill	common people-TV broadcast team	common people	not known	not known	not known	on the stage

APPENDIX IV: LIST OF FIELDNOTES

Index Name	Content	Length
EV1-FN1	information and observations about the feast	2 pages
EV2-FN1	observations about the wedding	half page
INT1-FN1	notes of the interview with İsmail Kırıcı	4 pages
EV3-FN1	observations about the festival	half page
EV4-FN1	observations about the feast, notes of free talks with interlocutors	half page
EV5-FN1	observations about the feast, notes of free talks with interlocutors	1 page
EV6-FN1	observations about the feast, notes of free talks with interlocutors	1 page
EV7-FN1	observations about the wedding	1 page
EV8-FN1	observations about the henna night, notes of free talks with interlocutors	1.5 pages
EV9-FN1	observations about the wedding, notes of free talks with interlocutors	half page
INT2-FN1	notes of the interview with Ali Osman Kırıcı and others	3 pages
INT3-FN1	notes of the interview with Mustafa Çete and others	4 pages
EV10-FN1	observations about the wedding	half page
EV11-FN1	observations about the wedding, notes of free talks with interlocutors	2.5 pages
EV12-FN1	observations about the wedding, notes of free talks with interlocutors	1.5 pages
EV13-FN1	observations about the feast, notes of free talks with interlocutors	3.5 pages

APPENDIX V: LIST OF ADDITIONAL MATERIAL

Index Name	Type	Date	Place	Event	Duration	Source	How did the researcher know it?	Content
AD-VI	video	2009 (the date the video was put on internet)	probably in Sisdağı Plateau	a plateau feast in Ağasar valley, probably in Sisdağı Harvest Feast	00:07:17	YOUTUBE (http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=U89V7MMzGI)	Found on the internet	Common people practice <i>Horon</i> in two lines on a slope; a women's group is in the front.
AD-V2	video	2008	Sisdağı Plateau	Sisdağı Harvest Feast	00:09:14	YOUTUBE (http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=D5Uv3qJyDqA)	Mustafa Çete showed me during my interview with him (INT 3).	Common people practice in a circle accompanied by three famous <i>kemençe</i> players from the region.
AD-V3	video	2007 (the date the video was put on internet)	the remarks in the video indicate that it belongs to Dedeli Village - Görele - Giresun province)	two different <i>muhabbets</i> (a private meeting, which includes singing, drinking and sometimes <i>Horon</i>); one outdoors in the day, other indoors in the night	00:08:14	YOUTUBE (http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=9_Rjf9bFZAI)	Mustafa Çete showed me during my interview with him (INT 3).	Katip Şadi sings by playing <i>kemençe</i> in a sitting position for people who listen to him outdoors in the day; then he plays for a <i>Horon</i> line; then he plays indoors at the drinking table; then he plays and sings for <i>Horon</i> outdoors in the night.

AD-V4	video	2008 (the date the video was put on internet)	NA	a TV program in Channel 7 in Turkey	00:04:33	YOUTUBE (http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=yoJEGPkasqo)	Mustafa Çete showed me during my interview with him (INT 3).	Katip Şadi talks, plays <i>kemençe</i> , sings in the TV program of Erkan Ocaklı (a musician from the region) by two assistant <i>kemençe</i> players; then Katip Şadi teaches Erkan Ocaklı <i>Tuzcuoğlu Horonu</i> , as they try to practice it together.
AD-SR1	sound recording	05/10/2012	Trabzon	an interview made with Arif Altunbaş from İskenderli Village (Beşikdüzü – Trabzon Province) by Mustafa Aydın	01:51:40	Mustafa Aydın sent through e-mail	Mustafa Aydın	Arif Altunbaş is an old man, who was a leader of folk dance group from İskenderli village. They talk on his life, how he founded this group, the national and international festivals and competitions they attended.

Index Name	Practice(s)	Who is in the recording?	Who is performing?	Who commands the practice?	Instrument(s)	Singing	Where are the musicians and singers?	Additional Notes and Remarks
<i>AD-V1</i>	<i>Dik Horon</i>	common people	common people	not clear	<i>kemençe</i>	no	not known, probably in front of the <i>Horon</i> line	The harmony and communication between the women during the practice is striking.
<i>AD-V2</i>	<i>Dik Horon</i>	<i>kemençe</i> players; common people	<i>kemençe</i> players, common people	<i>kemençe</i> players	<i>kemençe</i>	yes, Katip Şadi	inside the <i>Horon</i> circle	The three <i>kemençe</i> players constantly walk inside the <i>Horon</i> circle. Katip Şadi sometimes plays <i>kemençe</i> by bending his needs and holding the instrument at a lower level. One of the other players and Katip Şadi sometimes hit their <i>kemençe</i> with the <i>kemençe</i> stick (probably a way of giving commands to the practitioners). Only men. Some individual improvisations. Cheers.
<i>AD-V3</i>	<i>Dik Horon</i>	Katip Şadi, an assistant <i>kemençe</i> player, common people	common people	Katip Şadi	<i>kemençe</i>	yes, Katip Şadi	in front of the <i>Horon</i> line	Katip Şadi directs the <i>Horon</i> in a very strong way. He sometimes bends his needs to keep the <i>kemençe</i> at a lower level close to the feet of the practitioners; he also stamps the earth at certain moments. Two men at one end of <i>Horon</i> line shoot in the air during the practice. Only men.

AD-V4	<i>Dik Horon</i>	Katip Şadi, two assistant <i>kemençe</i> players, Erkan Ocaklı	Katip Şadi and Erkan Ocaklı	Katip Şadi	<i>kemençe</i>	no	sitting next to the <i>Horon</i> line	Katip Şadi is from Görele in Giresun Province and Erkan Ocaklı is from Maçka in Trabzon Prvince. It is not easy for Erkan Ocaklı to follow Katip Şadi. After the <i>Horon</i> , Erkan Ocaklı says that they know two different styles of <i>Horon</i> .
AD-SR1	NA	Arif Altunbaş, Mustafa Aydın, another man from the village	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	