

THE RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN ORAL FORMS OF FOLKLORE AND
MEDIATED PERFORMANCES IN THE CULT OF ÇAKICI MEHMET EFE

by

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PREFACE

In the summer of 1987, I was doing fieldwork about customs and traditions in a mountain village for a monograph as my M. A. thesis. The village, Demircidere, located in the region of Bergama in western Turkey, is occupied by a characteristic folk group, the Tahtacı Turkmen, who are one of the last of the nomadic Turkish tribes to become sedentary. The Tahtacı Turkmen also adhere to an unusual blend of shamanistic and Islamic beliefs.

This field trip to Demircidere was my first professional venture in fieldwork, and I felt a bit uneasy (as any folklore student who goes into the field for the first time might though I had almost memorized the Turkish translation of Kenneth S. Goldstein's A Guide For Field workers In Folklore, by taking a course based upon the book, and by reading it many times much like one might a favorite novel

One night, I was collecting material from a villager of Demircidere, Hasan Özdemir, and a friend of his who were detailing the theater plays which they had performed in the old days. In the midst of sharing this information, Hasan and two friends then began telling me about "the play of Çakıcı Efe" (Çakıcı Efe Oyunu), about how as a teenager, Hasan Özdemir went, one night, to the coal miner's settlement in the next village to see a film shown by a traveling movie company

in that village's coffeehouse. During those years, most villages did not have electricity, and there were traveling movie companies which went from town to town showing movies in each village's coffeehouse.

On this night, the film in question was about legendary Çakıcı Mehmet Efe, a villager who maintained a fifteen year rebellion against the state, took money from the wealthy and gave it to the poor, and in company with members of his gang, killed more than one thousand people

Hasan Özdemir watched the movie, and having returned to Demircidere, decided to create a village theater play based on the movie he had just seen, and on the life of Çakıcı Mehmet Efe.

Some time later, Hasan's best friend was about to get married. Consequently, to honor the couple, Hasan Özdemir and his friends performed, not only the old traditional plays, but their new creation, on the second night of the nuptial festivities. His fellow villagers liked the new play. Over time, Çakıcı Efe Oyunu was performed at other weddings. After telling me this when I was collecting folkloristic material, Hasan and his friends then detailed the play for me, and teased one another about those former times which they had shared.

However, as they were telling me about the play "how it was created and performed" I felt disturbed by such a "fakeloric" and "non-traditional" village play as Çakıcı Efe

Oyunu seemed to be. I knew that two or three well-known Turkish folklore scholars who had worked on traditional village plays, and explored the genre's traditionality, structure and repertoire. None of them had mentioned a play such as Çakıcı Efe Oyunu, and it seemed impossible for it to belong to the same genre, because it was based on a movie, a type of mediated performance

"It is false, fake, 'fakeloric', I thought to myself, "Why am I wasting my time listening to, and recording this story? It is useless." It did not fit my genre-oriented expectations concerning folklore

However, I was fortunate to remember Kenneth S. Goldstein's suggestions about fieldwork, and told myself to be patient, and to keep listening and recording. I was in hopeful of either encountering something important about the village, or perhaps that the atmosphere which had been created would stimulate my informants to talk about matters falling within the genre of "real folklore". I kept my recorder turned on.

This event represented one of my first struggles in fieldwork; yet, while I was troubled by the seeming "fakeloric" nature of the material I had collected, I was also troubled by the question: Why is this not "real" folklore?

Three years later in the fall of 1990, I took F 516 with Dr. Bauman. The entire course, and particularly, one of Dr. Bauman's articles (Bauman: 1989 contained in the course's reading material, led me to rethink my ideas about the village

play which I had unwillingly collected: "Çakıcı Efe Oyunu" was a product of an intra-medial transmissional process between oral sources and mediated performances

The process can be outlined thus:

1- (ORAL MEDIA): Çakıcı Mehmet Efe lived between 1870-1911. As an outlaw and a rebel against the state, he became a famous hero, and a living legend. Many stories arose about his life while he was still living.

2- (PRINTED MEDIA): These stories were collected from oral sources and published by Zeynel Besim Sun in 1934

3- (VISUAL MEDIA): Zeynel Besim Sun's book was used by Faruk Kenç for the screenplay of a movie in 1950.

4- (ORAL MEDIA): VILLAGE THEATER PLAY
The Kenç movie was used by Hasan Özdemir to create his village theater play in 1958.

I became interested in such transmissions inasmuch as they occur between all media, and wrote a term paper about Çakıcı Mehmet Efe exploring this subject with my limited resources. Drs Bauman, Başgöz and Glassie suggested further work on the case

And thus the following thesis came to be

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CHAPTER I - INTRODUCTION

A careful perusal of "American Folklore Studies and Social Transformation: A Performance-centered Perspective, (Bauman: 1989) reveals interesting and useful insights into the relationship between "mediated performances and canonical oral forms of folklore," in particular, those parts of that work which are involved in the present thesis:

"When it comes to the mediated performances, insofar as folklorists have attended at all this sphere, it has been in terms of generic or functional continuities or discontinuities between the canonical oral forms of folklore and their use in print or electronic media. This is still a small literature, and much of it -as we might expect- focuses on how items of folklore taken up by the media can be taken back out into oral performance, with the broadcast or radio or sound recording viewed as a parallel and perhaps temporary channel of dissemination. As yet, there has been next to no attention to the recorded performances themselves", (Bauman: 1989: 180)

This thesis will deal with a description and limited analysis of transmissions and interactions and their formal, functional and semantic continuities and discontinuities between oral forms of folklore (oral stories) and mediated performances (printed and visual media surrounding the Cult of Çakıcı Mehmet Efe in the Turkish socio-cultural context.

In view of the fact that there is no comprehensive theoretical framework for analysis of transmissional interactions and their formal, functional and semantic explanations of continuities and discontinuities between oral forms of folklore and mediated performances, it is the intent of this exploration to develop a framework for that purpose a set of questions:

1. Who is Çakıcı and why did he become a folkhero?
2. What are the representative elements of the cult of Çakıcı and are there any transmissional relationships among them?
3. If there are transmissional relationships what are they?
4. How we can explain these transmissional interactions?
5. What are their general characteristics?
6. What kinds of formal, contextual, functional and semantic factors make these transmissions possible?
7. By considering these formal, functional, contextual and semantic factors how transmissional relationships take place around one story of Çakıcı Mehmet?

In the first chapter, Çakıcı's status as a folkhero will be examined according to Richard M. Dorson's definition of folkhero (Dorson: 1959) and the sociological explanation of this status will be explained according to Eric

Hobsbawm's theoretical pattern concerning "social bandits" (Hobsbawm: 1981). The cultural and socio-psychological aspects of Çakıcı's status as a folkhero will be explained according to the theoretical framework which was developed by Paul Kooistra (Kooistra: 1989).

In the second chapter, the huge body of the cult will be drawn as a map for understanding and outlining the cult with selected, representative material. This material will be categorized according to these basic characteristics:

- . Printed Media:

- Visual Media and

- . Oral media (Oral Forms of Folklore

The relationships which occur in the complex transmissional process in the cult will be emphasized in each selected, representative examples

In the final part of the thesis, in Chapter IV, the general interactions will be outlined, and the intertextual character of relationships between oral forms of folklore and mediated performances will be explained. The storytelling tradition in the Western Anatolian region of Turkey and Çakıcı Mehmet Efe stories as a genuine part of the tradition will be outlined according to their formal functional, contextual and semantic aspects. As an example of the explanation, construction of the transmissional relationships will be examined around one story of Çakıcı Mehmet Efe and continuities and discontinuities will be

analyzed around one motif of the story.

CHAPTER: II - The Rise of Çakırcalı Mehmet to the Status of Folkhero:

Çakırcalı Mehmet, also known in the Turkish vernacular as Çakıcı, was born in the village of Ayasurat (Türkönü) in 1871, and he was killed in the countryside near Nazilli, September 17, 1911. He was celebrated as a folkhero while he was still alive, and these celebrations have produced the cult of Çakırcalı Mehmet Efe. Though it is not the purpose of this thesis to explore this facet of the general subject, the cult which rose around him makes it almost impossible to distinguish his real life from his legendary life

In this chapter, two questions will be dealt with: Is Çakıcı Mehmet a folkhero, and how did he rise to that status? What are the sociological, cultural and socio-psychoanalytical explanations of Çakıcı Mehmet's status as a folkhero?

A - Is Çakıcı Mehmet a Folkhero?

"When a close-knit group of people spins tales and folksongs about a character celebrated in their locality or occupation, a true hero of the folk comes to existence" (Dorson: 1959: 200).

Çakıcı Mehmet can easily be accepted as a folkhero, according to Dorson's definition of such, by virtue of the huge body of tales, or legends, and folksongs that were told about him while he was alive, as well as since his death

Çakıcı has been celebrated not only locally (in the Aegean province of Turkey) and at a national level throughout the Ottoman State, and to certain extent modern-day Turkey), but also at an international level; as noted in the following chapter, Paul Blanc, the French Consul in İzmir refers to Çakıcı Mehmet in a telegram that he sent to the French Foreign Affairs Office on July 24, 1903 as follows

"Çakırçalı is not an ordinary outlaw; his actions and adventures certainly make Alexander Dumas' legendary "Three Musketeers" admirable, second class adventurers", (Coşar: 1973: May 25, 1973).

Also, a British source wrote about him in "The World Wide Magazine" as

- "a sort of Dick Turpin - a scoundrel, no doubt, but an uncommonly picturesque one, of a courage literally lion-hearted, and chivalrous to women, (Whitehouse: 1907:56).

The same foreign source, like Turkish sources, gives information about a tradition of telling "legends, tales" and "folksongs" about Çakıcı while he was still alive. After recounting one of Çakıcı's early adventures, one H. B. M. wrote, giving a general account of the nature of the tales:

"From that time [the author having told one of Çakıcı's early adventures], Tchakidji has been a power in the land. He gathered together nearly thirty adherents, being careful to choose young, unmarried men, every one of whom had to prove that he was a good shot before being enrolled. To this day the brigand and his men sedulously practice their shooting. The marksmanship all round is

extraordinarily good, the favorite mark being a china coffee cup set up on the pinnacle of a rock.

Tchakidji rules his men with a cold, even justice which they evidently appreciate. He realizes wherein his power lies and has made himself popular among the villagers of the province.

Many tales are told of the benefits he has confirmed on the districts he has frequented. He has built roads and restored ruined bridges; he has given handsome gifts to individuals overtaken by misfortune, and he has been the means of putting down the cattle-rifting for many miles around his particular sphere of operations.

Above all, he has never been known to ill-treat a woman, and this, . . . , is a great recommendation", (H. B. M: 1907: 57).

The same author also referred to the stories as "tales" that were told by the populace at the time:

"The people love to tell such tales as the following about their hero... Dozens of other tales are told of Tchakidji Mehmet - some of them false or exaggerated, some of them perfectly true", (H. B. M: 1907: 58).

It is clear, by examination of such facts, that Çakıcı Mehmet did indeed become a living legend as a folkhero through the tradition of telling stories, reciting folksongs and other oral forms of folklore about him which have continued to the present time

B - What Are the Sociological, Cultural and Socio-psychoanalytic Explanations of Çakıcı Mehmet's Status as a Folkhero?

Having determined that Çakıcı was indeed a folkhero by the foregoing examination in accordance with Dorson's

definition, we can attempt to reply to the second question asked about Çakıcı: What kind of socio-cultural patterns influenced Çakıcı to become an outlaw who has been celebrated as a folkhero?

The theoretical aspects of this question regarding "folk-heroic" outlaws have been argued by Paul Kooistra:

"The existence of heroic criminals could be explained by three aspects: psychological, cultural and sociological explanations", (Kooistra: 1989: 7-43).

1- The Sociological Explanation of Çakıcı's Status as a Folkhero:

Çakıcı's status as a folkhero, someone who was more than an ordinary murderer who killed over a thousand people can be examined in accordance with Eric Hobsbawm's framework. (Hobsbawm: 1959 and 1981). Hobsbawm describes "heroic criminals" as "social bandits." He sees "social bandits" as those "who rob from the rich as a form of "pre-political social protest. Hobsbawm analyzed cases of such "social bandits" in Europe and Asia, and concluded that they are products of certain social conditions. These social conditions are identified as:

a-famine

b-wars or

c-periods of modernization which threaten to destroy or transform rural societies which are based on traditional authority (Hobsbawm:1981

Let us consider the social conditions which Çakıcı

encountered. Çakıcı Mehmet Efe lived between 1871 and 1911. He was a rebel against the Ottoman state for fifteen years, his activities having taken place between 1896 and 1911. As one result of the Ottoman state's devastating 1878 defeat in the Turko-Russian War of 1877, enormous waves of immigrants from Europe came to the western Anatolian region of Turkey. Further, though the Turko-Greek War of 1897 was military victory for the Ottoman state, it was a political defeat insofar as the state lost control of the island of Crete to Greece under pressure from powerful Western countries.

In addition to the waves of immigrants who came to Turkey in response to the Turko-Russian War, the uprising of social bandits in the European parts of the Ottoman State, particularly Macedonia, was transformed into a national guerilla warfare which drove even more immigrants into Anatolia. Also, nationalistic movements among multi-ethnic Ottoman peoples were threatening the weak state order in provincial areas of Bulgaria, Macedonia, Kosovo, and Albania, as well as those areas involved with Arab, Greek and Armenian minorities.

Sultan Abdülhamit Han [1875-1908] disbanded the first Ottoman Parliament in 1878, blaming defeat in the Turko-Russian War for the nation's many problems. Meanwhile he attempted to preserve the unity of the Ottoman state by emphasizing Islamic state policies. Such policies were at odds with the ideologies of the radical Ottoman modernist

political elites, the "Young Turks", who were banned as a political group, whereupon they formed underground organizations. In response to their politico-ideological elitism, the Sultan established a network of intelligentsia to control the state; and hence, in addition to the elites, anyone who held government posts in particular, lived in horror of being lied about by personal enemies

In addition to these chaotic social conditions, the state was also in the process of modernization.

The Aegean province where Çakıcı Mehmet's rebellion took place was influenced by all of these chaotic conditions of the larger scale; specifically, this was an economically wealthy province which--among other influential socio-cultural factors, as will be seen--was inhabited by a large Greek minority in addition to smaller minorities of Armenians and Jews

Above and beyond the changes in cultural currents presented by waves of immigrants who were trying to settle in the region, powerful financial concerns from Western countries had very important holdings in the region, such as railroads, factories, and farms.

One of the most important productions of the area was tobacco. This crop was under the control of international monopolies. As a result, the tobacco prices were not set in accordance with the principles of free enterprise. Therefore, smuggling tobacco was a reasonable way to make

money.

Additionally, many of the local landlords were corrupt, and took advantage of the chaotic socio-economic conditions of the region by applying various types of unethical pressure upon the poor people in the area. Crime, as in other parts of the country, was a very important social issue in the Aegean province at the time.

There are different explanations for this chaotic situation; nonetheless, it was within this economic-socio-cultural context that the region's chief of police, Hasan Çavuş, killed "murdered" Çakıcı's father, Çakırcalı Ahmet, purportedly while trying to arrest him, probably for tobacco smuggling.

One common version of the story says that Çakırcalı Ahmet was stabbed from behind during prayer. It also is commonly said that this occurred while Ahmet was at the government palace in İzmir.

Çakıcı replied by killing Çavuş in a "blood revenge" for his father's death. Such a revenge was a crime according to the state; yet taking a blood revenge was not criminal in the local tradition.

Thus, following a regionally-oriented tradition within these socio-cultural conditions (as will also be explored later in accordance with cultural-psychological explanations) Çakıcı Mehmet rose as a "noble robber" with a legendary character that fits the model described by

Hobsbawm:

- (a) "The noble robber begins his career of outlawry not by crime but as the victim of injustice, or through being persecuted by the authorities for some act which they, but not the custom of his people, consider as criminal," (Hobsbawm: 1981: 42).

Çakıcı Mehmet Efe wanted to take blood revenge for his father, whom, in some versions of the story, was also accused of stealing a flock of sheep (Kemal: 1991, Kılıç: 1991). Taking a blood revenge was a violation of the law, but was a traditional part of the culture.

- (b. "He rights wrongs," (Hobsbawm: 1981: 42).

Çakıcı always thought that he was doing right as a justification of his actions (Sun: 1934).

He was solving conflicts among the people (Sun: 1934).

He regretted only one of his actions (Kılıç: 1991)

- (c.) "He takes from the rich and gives to the poor," (Hobsbawm: 1981: 42).

Çakıcı took from the wealthy and gave to the poor (see quotation in "1d."

- (d.) "He never kills: (1d.) but in self-defense or (2d.) for revenge," (Hobsbawm: 1981:42).

1d. -In Self-defense: Çakıcı personally killed only one person which was not a matter of self-defense or revenge, (Since being a gendarme was mandatory by the state, and since gendarmes only followed orders, Çakıcı and his friends did not

kill them except when it was absolutely necessary for survival; however, they did kill policemen because policemen were professionals doing a job for money). Nonetheless, since Posluoğlu Efe, who had joined Çakıcı's gang conditionally, violated the traditional hierarchy of the gangs by sitting with his gun pointed at his leader--such behavior was viewed as distrustful and aggressive--and though Posluoğlu apologized for this, Çakıcı killed Posluoğlu in his sleep. Çakıcı regretted this and cried over it, ordering that a large funeral be held, and a well-decorated grave provided for Posluoğlu (Sun: 1934; Kılıç: 1991).

(2d. -For Revenge: As already stated, Çakıcı took his father's blood revenge by killing Hasan Çavuş

(e. "If he survives, he returns to his people as an honorable citizen and member of the community. Indeed, he never actually leaves the community," (Hobsbawm: 1981: 42).

Çakıcı never left the community. According to the stories, even the French, Italian and British governments wished to accept him as an honored guest and pay him, though he refused, (Yalçın: 1991). The Ottoman state suggested giving him amnesty on the condition that he settle in another province. He refused this offer also. He was married

to two women, and had children. During the peaceful interludes between him and the state, he was an official state mountain policeman. He was respected by officials and the people

(f.) "He is admired, helped and supported by the people," (Hobsbawm: 1981: 43).

There are many stories which attest to his excellent relationship with the populace

(g. "He dies invariably, and only through treachery since no decent member of the community would help the authorities against him," (Hobsbawm: 1981: 43).

There were many decent members of the community who provided aid to the authorities against Çakıcı; notably, the local citizens Çamlıcalı Hüseyin, İbaklı İbrahim, and Yanık Halil, who, however, were either members of rival gangs or belonged to the "corrupt rich

The death of Çakıcı is mysterious, and there are many versions about who killed him; e g., Rüştü Kobaş, a colonel of the gendarmes; Bayındırlı Mehmet Çavuş, a gendarme sergeant; accidentally, by Sinan, a friend of Çakıcı's; also accidentally, by Hacı Mustafa, Çakıcı's closest friend In each version Çakıcı's body was found headless and without arms, and Bayındırlı Mehmet Çavuş and Raziye, Çakıcı's wife identified the dead body as belonging to Çakıcı by virtue of

a mole on the body's left leg

(h.) "He is--at least in theory--invisible and invulnerable," (Hobsbawm: 1981: 43).

When Çakıcı was still alive there were people who believed that he was immortal (Sun: 1934: 110). Because of the mysterious circumstances surrounding his death, many people did not believe that the dead body belonged to Çakıcı. Today, some stories still end by saying that the of Çakıcı's life is unknown, mysterious--sometimes "that just disappeared"

(i.) "He is not the enemy of the king or emperor who is the fount of justice, but only of the local gentry, clergy or other oppressor," (Hobsbawm: 1981: 43).

Çakıcı's loyalties did not lie in opposition to the Ottoman Sultan--on the contrary, he was very loyal to him. When the provincial leader of the "Young Turks" organization suggested that Çakıcı become a member of the organization he refused, accusing the "Young Turks" of being disloyal to the Sultan (Sun: 1934).

In conclusion, it can be stated with certainty that both the social conditions surrounding Çakıcı and his legendary behavior and personality completely fit the criteria of Eric Hobsbawm's theory regarding the "noble robber."

2 - The Cultural Explanation of Çakıcı's Status as a Folkhero:

The cultural explanation of Çakıcı's status as a folkhero finds its roots in the idea of cultural reflection. The folkhero is accepted as such because he reflects the socio-cultural values of a culture much like a socio-cultural mirror; as Paul Kooistra pointed out:

"Rather than emphasizing the appeal the lawbreaker is presumed to have to the individual, cultural accounts suggest that the popularity of criminals results from the fact that they are symbolic expressions of cherished cultural values. The hero is a concrete example of how social ideals of a rather abstract nature might be manifested in a more concrete, but pure and noble form. Criminals who are fashioned into heroes, then, are promoted for such a role because they embody traits that have wide social appeal" (Kooistra: 1989: 21).

Çakıcı Mehmet was, and is, accepted by the Turkish people in the Aegean region because he is the best representation of the tradition of *efer* or *zeybek*.

It will here be useful to give a brief description of the tradition of the *zeybek* as it relates to the life of Çakıcı

The tradition of *zeybek* or *efer* has long been known in the western Anatolian region that lies between the cities of Bursa and Muğla. The tradition is a folk institution, and collectively, *zeybekler* were much like today's fraternal orders. The leaders of groups of *zeybekler* were called *efeler*, the seconds in command *başkızan*, and members were

called *kızan*. Among other traditions, they had their own special costumes (Galip: 1980: 63-69). Each *zeybek* group elected its *efe*, the *efe* chose his *başkızan*. A person who wished to join a group of *zeybekler* was required to find a sponsor in the group, whereupon the sponsor (*yatak*) informed the rest of the group, and once the person wishing to join had been accepted, he had to undergo an initiation ceremony. Next, the initiate went through training with the other members. Once training was completed with another ceremony "associate membership" became "full membership" (Kabağaçlı: 1977: 180).

The origin of the tradition is not clear, though there are two theories in this regard. One theory holds that the tradition was taken and assimilated from the Greek association of *Obekos* or *Iobakkoi* by the Turks

The other theory holds that the tradition was an old Turkish tradition brought from Central Asia as an institution established in the outlying areas inhabited by the Selçuklu Turks (13th century) to protect their borders and to launch raids against the Byzantine Empire (Karadağ:1975)

Beginning in 1829, one memorable *zeybek*, Atçalı Kel Mehmet Efe maintained a rebellion against the state because of its unbearable taxation, and the people of the region of Kütahya, Denizli, Manisa and Aydın accepted him as a governor. He ruled the area while maintaining loyalty to the

Sultan. However, his revolution and system offended state in 1830 (Uluçay: 1968), and thereafter the state attempting to control the *zeybekler*, forbade even the wearing of their costumes in 1838. Nonetheless, they continued their tradition under the new circumstances as outlaws; the ban against wearing their costume was renewed in 1894 and 1905, (Yavuz: 1980 and Bayrak: 1985)

Çakırcalı Mehmet's father, Çakırcalı Ahmet, and his grandfather, Çakırcalı Mahmut were also practitioners of the tradition, (Gövsä: 1933: 269). In this connection, it is useful to note that the *zeybek* status of Çakıcı's father might have been motivation enough for the police chief, Hasan Çavuş's attempted arrest and killing of Çakırcalı Ahmet, irrespective of possible criminality upon the part of the older man.

Nonetheless, in both oral and written sources, Çakıcı Mehmet himself is credited with having become an *efe* without first having been a *kızan*. This is, of course, extraordinary within the tradition. As well Çakıcı is also accepted as the best representative of the *zeybek* tradition; moreover, there is a reflection in the cult of his being a "refounder" of the tradition as a "real, true *zeybek*", inasmuch as the tradition was ruined during the tradition's outlaw period by many *zeybek* who became ordinary thieving criminals. This is another topic which needs investigation

Nonetheless, the *zeybek* tradition and its situation

provided him with the best guide and reference for his behavior as an efe while he was establishing his fame during the years of his uprising

Within this status as the best representative of the tradition, Çakıcı was accepted by the people as such by virtue of the following characteristics:

- a- As a revolutionary efe, Çakıcı maintained the longest of efe uprisings, that is of 15 years between 1894 and 1911:
- b- He was not guilty of any sexual harassment or violation of women, and would not allow the same from anyone else:
- c- Çakıcı took from the corrupt wealthy and gave to the poor; he was not "looking out for himself", but for the people.
- d- Çakıcı was an educated and religious man who prayed five times a day under all circumstances. He was not an imbiber of alcoholic beverages
- e- He was brave, clever and consistently victorious in his struggles, and engaged in more than 80 combats with policemen and soldiers
- f- Çakıcı killed over a thousand people, more precisely 1,081, (Kemal:1972 or 1200 Yalçın:1991) moreover, the popular belief was that the "victims" deserved death at his hands
- g- He was given amnesty by the state three times.
- h- Çakıcı was an incredible marksman.
- k- Çakıcı is the most famous of Turkish efe, and is known

throughout the world. In his time, he was even visited by members of the Italian and French nobility. Summarily, within this last connection, the cult that has developed around him is such that there are many books written and films made about him. It is impossible to know all the stories about Çakıcı; his adventures are endless

3- The Socio-psychoanalytic Explanation of Çakıcı's Status as a Folkhero:

To understand why the people have glorified Çakıcı Mehmet as a folkhero rather than considering him to be an ordinary criminal, we must consider a socio-psychoanalytic examination of the socio-cultural context as outlined earlier according to its sociological and cultural aspects (Kooistra:1989 As Paul Kooistra wrote:

"A somewhat different psychoanalytic explanation of the heroic criminal holds that he is the product of wish fulfillment. The figure of the dashing outlaw, for instance, is seen as someone..."in whose person all might find recklessly displayed their own hidden defiance, their private longings to be something both worse and better than they had it in them to be", (Jackson: 1955: ixx., cited by Kooistra: 1989).

In a similar vein in a discussion about American outlaws, William Settle (1966: 2-3) cited by Kooistra 1989) wrote:

"How did these cold-eyed bandits who gunned down unarmed men and terrorized the countryside become the stuff of legends? The

answer may lie in the motives and attitudes of Americans who, according to one theory, find Jesse James fascinating because through reliving his exploits, they release vicariously something of their own rebellion against the restrictions of modern society.

"It is because the criminal is a lawbreaker that we make a hero out of him. He is a man who refuses to bow down to the tyranny of law over the criminal--who almost always suffers a violent and lonely death--is a reminder that desires to rebel, when transferred into action, are neither tolerated nor admired. Tales of heroic criminals, in a sense, serve as 'safety valves'..."where aggressive impulses are channeled and cleansed", (Kooistra: 1989: 20).

The socio-cultural context that was previously outlined shows the situation of Turkey's western Anatolian region in complete anarchy in Çakıcı's period. The waves of war, crime, immigration, ethnic conflicts and battles nationalistic movements, economic corruption, the state's consistent loss of control over the region, the corrupt, tyrannical, often cruel behavior of the state's representative such as policemen and tax collectors--all of these factors and people combined to make Çakıcı Mehmet a hero while he was alive.

It can be speculated that no person or movement can be found that was more successful than his political agenda until the "Young Turks'" revolution in 1908

Moreover, in such a socio-cultural context, a wide range of people, especially villagers, supported, celebrated and adored Çakıcı. Why? He brought them what they needed immediately: justice, protection and economic assistance,