

play and Efendi's Çakıcı is not known. It can be speculated that Çakıcı Ölmüs?, at least, dealt with, or was inspired by popular beliefs about, and concerns with the mysterious circumstances surrounding Çakıcı's death. As is noted in the chapter on The Printed Media: Newspapers, in 1913 the popular writer Ahmet Rasim (Rasim: 1913 published an article entitled "Çakıcı Again?" in one of the most widely read newspapers in Turkey. The article is concerned with the folk belief that "Çakıcı did not die, and even if he is dead, he will be resurrected soon" (Sun: 1910: 110 The article criticized the peoples' ignorance on the subject. This article would seem to lend weight to the possibility of widespread, popular concern about Çakıcı's death, and would seem to make a theatrical plot dealing with some of these concerns quite plausible

4- Çakırcalı'nın İntikamı, (The Revenge of Çakıcı Efe): The writer and director of this fourth village theater play, I. Bakir Tarman, was in high school at the time of its creation in 1971 (Tarman: 1971

In Çakırcalı'nın İntikamı, Çakıcı is presented as a national hero who fought against the Greek armies which occupied part of Anatolia (western Turkey) between 1914 and 1922

Çakıcı organizes local volunteer forces to launch guerilla attacks against the Greek army. Naturally, the Greeks wish to capture him; for this reason, they attack his

home and insult Çakıcı's mother and sisters before killing them. When Çakıcı sees his mother's and sisters' dead bodies, he attacks the headquarters of the Greek army.

During the fighting, he is captured and taken before the commander in chief of the Greek forces who insults the Turkish nation. Unable to stand these insults, Çakıcı fights his way through the Greek soldiers surrounding him and escapes, whereupon, he and his followers again attack the Greek military headquarters, kill all the Greek soldiers and capture their commander in chief. Çakıcı orders an execution of the commander, during which a wounded soldier attacks and kills Çakıcı from behind with a knife.

The content of the play includes patriotic poems and a letter which was dictated by Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, (Tarman: 1971). Otherwise, Çakırcalı'nın İntikamı is an entirely fictional since Çakıcı was killed in 1911.

However, it corresponds to the life story of Gökçen Efe, a nephew and friend of Çakırcalı Mehmet Efe almost exactly. Gökçen Efe organized local volunteers to establish a guerilla front which attacked the Greek occupation forces at their army posts. He was killed by the Greeks in battle on November 18, 1919 (Yavuz: 1980: 93).

In addition, the motif of the circumstances of Çakıcı's death bears a resemblance to the circumstances surrounding that of the Ottoman Sultan I. Murat, after the battle of Kosova when the victorious Sultan was killed by a wounded

Serb, and Christoper Marlowe omitted this story about Mehmet's son Beyazit I, the Thunderbolt, from his tragedy Tamerlane.

In short, Çakırcalı'nın İntikamı displays the traditional, heroic motif, and presents Çakıcı entirely in a nationalistic, patriotic light. It also represents the first recorded claim in any medium that Çakıcı fought in the War of Independence

## II- VISUAL MEDIA:

The visual media can be categorized as follows:

A- Movies:

B- Television Programs:

C- Videos:

A- MOVIES: There are four movies about Çakırcalı Mehmet Efe, three of them with Faruk Kenç as screenwriter, director and producer. The fourth is by Metin Erksan as producer and director in 1958. This movie was remade by Tanju Korel in 1989 (Erksan: 1989).

The Kenç movies are:

1- Çakırcalı Mehmet Efe, with the Istanbul and And Cinema Company:

2- Çakırcalı Mehmet Efe Nasıl Vuruldu? (How Was Çakırcalı Killed?), also with the Istanbul and And Cinema Company:

3- Çakırcalı Mehmet Efe'nin Hazineleri (The Treasure of Çakırcalı Mehmet Efe), with the Istanbul And Özen Cinema Company in 1952.

1- Çakırcalı Mehmet Efe/ Çakırcalı Mehmet Efe Nasıl Vuruldu, (Çakırcalı Mehmet Efe/ How Was Çakırcalı Killed):

These first two films originally were planned as one, which, however, proved too lengthy a cinematic presentation. Consequently, the original movie was divided into two parts and placed before the public as a two part series. For this

reason these two films are known as the first Turkish serial movies in the nation's film history (Özön: 1968: 231 Scognimillo: 1987: 75-77

Faruk Kenç, the screenwriter and director of these movies, relied upon Zeynel Besim Sun's book Çakıcı Efe as a resource for the screenplay of these films, feeling that the works of Sun about Çakıcı Efe were factual. He described the work thus:

"There is a book in the Beyazıt National Library entitled Çakıcı Efe. It was written a long time ago. If you read this book, it will give you a truthful picture of Çakıcı Efe's life. Of course, if you listen to people, everyone has something to say (an opinion) about popular heroes of this kind, though most of them are illiterate, with information that has been circulated from mouth to mouth. Also, there is another small booklet (referring to M. Sertoğlu's Çakırcalı Efe), about Çakıcı. I have it, but it is merely a summary (*hulasa*) of Zeynel Besim Sun's book. You don't need to read it if you read the one in the Beyazıt National Library. It is the most complete source about the life of Çakıcı Efe" (Kenç: 1991).

It is clear by Kenç's high regard for the works of Sun that he was most concerned with factuality in regard to Çakıcı Efe's life as the basis for his movies. This is further made clear by the lesser value he placed upon the "summarized" works of Murat Sertoğlu, as well as by the caution he displayed regarding the perceived, potentially greater changeability of oral material which has been passed from "mouth to mouth" "ear to ear". It would seem that he

held Sun's work in high esteem because of the careful research he felt had been done by Sun, and he drew caution about oral sources from Sun's experiences with, awareness of, the frequent textual mobility of oral sources As Sun himself wrote about his research (also noted earlier) :

"My assistants collect many variations about one event; sometimes there are even ten variations of the same event. We are selecting them by evaluating their sources and by other possible clues, until we find the truth" (Sun: 1934: 350).

Within the context of Sun's cinematic influences, it can be definitely stated that Faruk Kenç felt that Zeynel Besim Sun's book was factual, and that the work of Murat Sertoğlu merely summarized Sun's book. For this reason, he came to a realization that a movie about Çakıcı Efe based on Sun's work would be a

- "good business venture because of Çakıcı Mehmet's popularity among the Turkish people, especially among the middle classes and villagers. I personally witnessed the phenomenon of this popularity by observation of the trainload of villagers who flocked from surrounding villages to see the movie when it was shown in the city of Aydin" (Kenç: 1991).

As is apparent, Faruk Kenç valued his first two movies (he discusses the two films as one) as historically "authentic": in his own words, *otantik*, though he did admit

to having made some slight changes in the movies' plot which differed from the material in Sun's book in order to make the film's scheme "more intriguing" (Kenç: 1991)

However, it will be useful to point out that one of these "slight plot changes" resulted in many important continuities and interactions among various genres, as will be analyzed in further chapters

3- Çakırcalı Efe'nin Hazineleri (The Treasure of Çakırcalı Mehmet Efe): Faruk Kenç wrote about his third movie thus:

"The first two movies were a financial success. For this reason I decided to write and direct another one about Çakıcı, and made The Treasure of Çakırcalı Mehmet Efe'nin Hazineleri (Kenç: 1952).

This movie is not authentic like the first one, because I created the screenplay from my imagination - I mean, I fabricated it.

However, I did not mention this fact. Indeed, the intelligentsia do not watch these movies; the middle classes and villagers are those who watch them.

As you know, they (the middle classes and villagers) do not have complete knowledge about the true life story of Çakıcı.

There are many stories in their minds which they learned [by word of mouth]. Moreover Çakırcalı had his own personality and principles which are made clear in the first movie. I used the same character, and fabricated events which were inspired by some events in the real life of Çakırcalı", (Kenç: 1991).

The plot of The Treasure of Çakırcalı Mehmet Efe is as follows: Çakırcalı has a treasure which he buries in a box and turns over to the protection and care of a tree. An

Italian count and his wife, the countess, come to visit Çakırcalı posing as journalists. However, they are actually thieves with their own gang who intend to steal the treasure. They learn the location of the buried treasure, but do not have the key to the treasure box. The count and his men attempt to steal the key which is kept by Çakırcalı followers. Çakırcalı himself prevents theft of the key.

Consequently, the count decides to kill him while he is asleep, and take the key from Çakırcalı's men. However, the countess meanwhile has fallen under the spell of Çakırcalı's manly beauty and has fallen in love with him. She awakens Çakırcalı in time to prevent the theft. The count and his followers become frightened and flee (Kenç: 1952).

In actuality, two events from the real life of Çakırcalı Mehmet Efe were brought together and shaped by Kenç's cinematic genius to form the plot of The Treasure of Çakırcalı Efe:

The first is the robbery of the city of Muğla's mail coach carrying ten-thousand golden coins which were subsequently buried and the second is a visit made, in 1906, to Çakırcalı's home in Kayaköy by the Italian Baron Vanntelli, the Baroness Vanntelli, and a journalist from Temps (Coşar: Milliyet Gazetesi, May 28, 1973).

The second event is told in detail by Sun (1934) as well as by Coşar (Milliyet Gazetesi, May 28, 1973). In view

of the fact that "the location of the ten-thousand buried gold pieces was discovered, and the money recovered by the state", according to Sun regarding the second event, a synopsis of several aspects of these two events and of the movie's plot can be made as an overview of the use of Kenç's "conscious, intra-medial transmissions"

Movie Plot	Real Life Events
.Çakırcalı's treasure.....	10,000 gold pieces
.robbery (attempted by count).....	recovery of gold pieces
.burial of Çakıcı's treasure.....	burial of gold pieces
.visit by Italian count and wife .....	visit from Baron Vanntelli etc.
.journalistic theme.....	visit by journalist from Temps

With such intra-medial transmissions, real life events were used by Faruk Kenç as an inspiration for his film's plot, which has been given in basic form above.

In addition to the above expository overview, let it be noted that The Treasure of Çakırcalı Efe, was also a popular and "financial success" (Kenç: 1991). However, criticism did arise among movie critic circles concerning its plot

"This movie is an artistic (non-historical) film. Its plot is very simple and naive: 'The count and his gang learn the location of the treasure box, and attempt to steal the box's key.'

"Why, instead, did they not simply break the lock on the treasure box?

"Nonetheless, it does contain a great deal of action and many fights; it can be an enjoyable movie for the people to see" (Scognamillo: 1987: 82).

It may be that the critics were correct regarding the "simple and naive" plot of this movie, but despite the

opinions of movie critics, and in addition to Kenç's cinematic acuity in writing and directing it, there are a number of oral stories among the populace about "a visit to Çakırcalı by Italian princes and princesses". It is difficult to know if these oral stories were drawn from The Treasure of Çakırcalı Efe by the populace, or whether the oral stories predated the film, and thus had an affect upon the popular success of the movie.

As stated at the beginning of this chapter, there is a fourth movie about Çakırcalı Mehmet Efe, in addition to the three written and directed by Kenç. It is Dokuz Dağın Efesi (The Efe of Nine Mountains), written, directed and produced by Metin Erksan with the Birsel Film Cinema Company in 1958, (Erksan: 1958; Özön: 1962: 218).

4- Dokuz Dağın Efesi (The Efe of Nine Mountains): Metin Erksan used Zeynel Besim Sun's and Murat Sertoğlu's books, and the work of Yaşar Kemal as resources for the film (Sun: 1934, Sertoğlu: 1942, Kemal: 1956). However, Erksan created a movie about Çakırcalı which was very different from those of Faruk Kenç. Dokuz Dağın Efesi consists of four main plots:

1- Çakıcı's blood revenge against Hasan çavuş, or, his going up into the mountains (*dağa çıkışısı*) to begin his rebellion:

2- The Sultan's forgiveness of Çakıcı,

his return to a lawful life:

3- Çakıcı's defense of his name from another gang who used it wrongly, and his falling in love with, and marriage to, the *yörük* ("nomad") Ekberoğlu's daughter:

4- Çakıcı's 'second rebellion' against the State and his death at the hands of state army units:

Plot 1- This plot details the "why" and "how" of Çakıcı Mehmet's rebellion as a blood revenge for the state's having taken the life of Çakıcı's father. It is told according to Murat Sertoğlu's book, and uses only a variant of the information given in Zeynel Besim Sun's work, (Sertoğlu: 1942: 59)

Though Sun gave a great deal of information about many different *efeler* throughout the history of the Ottoman government who were killed by the state through trickery after being granted amnesty, he did not give any detailed information about the death of Çakıcı's father. He wrote only:

"During one of these kinds of killing events, Çakırcalı Ahmet (Çakıcı Mehmet's father) was killed by a chief of the Ottoman police whose name was Boşnak Hasan" (Sun: 1934: 23).

For purposes of cinematic intra-textual comparison, let

it be said that Faruk Kenç's first film begins with a scene of Çakırcalı Ahmet's funeral, while a voice narrates only, that what happened to him was a fate like that suffered by other named *efeler* (Kenç: 1950: A). Interestingly, the Erksan movie begins with an almost identical, narrated orientation part, but, by contrast, it continues to show how Boşnak Hasan killed Çakırcalı Ahmet during prayer, as previously planned by the state. Whether or not the differences occurring between the printed media and the visual media (e. g., lack of details about Çakırcalı Ahmet's death provided by Sun) continue in the oral tradition, as well, is not clear, (Tekerlekçioğlu: 1991). Also, whether the detailed information about Çakırcalı Ahmet given by Sertoğlu, and used by Erksan, is from a "fictionalized oral source" or entirely a fabrication of Sertoğlu's mind, needs further investigation. Interestingly, in one variation of the events surrounding Çakırcalı Ahmet's death--according to some French sources, Çakırcalı Ahmet was killed in the palace of the Governor of İzmir (French report/Coşar: 1973), while according to British sources a local policeman shot him in cold blood from behind while he was working in his garden (H. B. M: 1907: 1)

Nonetheless, in Dokuz Dağın Efesi, Metin Erksan created an extraordinary funeral ceremony for Çakırcalı Ahmet, during which his relatives and the inhabitants of his village brought social pressure to bear upon Çakırcalı

Mehmet, who was presented as a teenager, at the time. The villagers placed a sword on his father's grave, vowing that they would not remove it until Çakırcalı Mehmet had taken up a blood revenge against his father's killer (Erksan: 1958).

Again, for purposes of intra-medial comparison, it can be said that with the use of a new motif in the Çakıcı Efe tradition emphasizing the social pressure placed upon the young Çakıcı, Erksan meant to show that Çakıcı Mehmet himself was a victim of tradition as clearly as did Yaşar Kemal in his works when he wrote:

"Çakırcalı never liked being a rebel, he was forced into being one. They (relatives and fellow villagers) pushed him into being a rebel" (Yaşar Kemal: 1956: and 1972: 56).

Plot 2- Following his father's death, Çakıcı is incarcerated by the state on accusation of the murder of two people. After staying in prison for one year, he is released for lack of evidence in regard to the accusation. As soon as he regains his freedom and returns to his home, Boşnak Hasan, killer of Çakıcı's father, attempts to capture Çakıcı upon a charge of robbery. Çakıcı escapes. Boşnak Hasan insults Çakıcı's mother. Çakıcı retires to the mountains where he forms a gang of outlaws with his friend Hacı Mustafa (Hacı Mustafa), and by killing Boşnak Hasan and Hasan's sergeant, Hüsnü Efendi, takes blood revenge for his father.

Plot 3- This plot relates Çakıcı's defense of his name his falling in love with, and marriage to, Yörük Ekberoğlu's daughter, and is based on an event similarly related Sun (1934: 5-12), Sertoğlu 1942: 24-38), Yaşar Kemal 1956 and 1972 , and Hayrettin Asarcıklı (1971: 1-7) which summarily stated is: One day Çakıcı and his friends visited a nomad (yörük) family on top of a mountain. When they arrived at the nomad's tent, they saw that the old man and his wife were crying and did not welcome Çakıcı and his friends in the traditional manner. Çakıcı asked what was wrong, and was told that an efe calling himself "Çakıcı" had kidnapped his daughter, Raziye, and taken the old man's flock of sheep away several hours ago. Çakıcı Mehmet became irate when he discovered that such miscreancy had been inflicted under his name, though he did not reveal that he was the real Çakıcı to the elderly couple. He asked which direction the false "Çakıcı" had gone, and took off after the imposter with his friends. They, indeed, found the other efe and his gang, who planned to force Raziye to entertain them with dancing and singing during the dinner which they were preparing to eat while they drank alcohol. Çakıcı and his friends surrounded the imposter and his gang, captured them and tied them up. Raziye was afraid that her trouble would continue with the new gang, but Çakıcı Efe told her not to worry because he accepted her as a *sister in this, and the next, world*. Taking the imposter, his gang and Raziye with them, Çakıcı

and his friends returned to the *yörük's* tent. Raziye's father was ecstatic at his daughter's return, and wished to reward Çakıcı with money. Çakıcı refused, and ordered a huge bonfire to be built. He then commanded his men's to throw the imposter and members of the imposter gang (the nine members of which belonged to an ethnic Albanian tribe), into the bonfire one by one. After compliance with this order by Çakıcı's men, everyone sat down to a feast.

The time had now come for Çakıcı to leave, but before doing so, the *yörük* asked his name and Çakıcı introduced himself - "They call me Çakıcı." Then he asked the *yörük*, "Will you accept me as a son?" The *yörük* accepted him, and Çakıcı and his friends departed.

Years later, someone wanted to marry Raziye, the old *yörük's* daughter. Her father told her suitor that Raziye had a brother. For this reason, the marriage-minded man wished to ask Çakıcı's opinion about the marriage. Once this was done, Çakıcı investigated the character and general situation of Raziye's suitor, coming to the conclusion that he was unsuitable for her. Two more men approached Çakıcı upon the subject, and after investigation, Çakıcı placed his blessing upon Raziye's marriage to the third suitor. He joined the wedding ceremony and festivities and gave his sister one-hundred gold coins (*beşibirlik*) as a dowry.

In the interest of enlightening explorations of intra-medial sources, it can here be noted that, in addition to

written sources, an oral source, the grandson of Çakıcı Mehmet Efe relates that the *yörük's* daughter Raziye as an old lady, visited his grandmother. As a child of five or six years of age he recalls hearing a story which agreed with the one provided by written sources regarding her and Çakıcı (Salih Çakırcalı: 1991).

Returning to intra-medial interactions in film, the three movies of Faruk Kenç, and the fourth by Metin Erksan present the story in a different light. Kenç follows his written sources until the part in the story when Çakıcı has saved Raziye, returned to the old *yörük's* tent, and burned the nine Albanian Turks belonging to the false "Çakıcı's" gang. At this point, Kenç departed from his sources to provide "more intrigue" in the plot of his movie. The *yörük* realizes that his daughter has fallen in love with Çakıcı Mehmet, but Çakıcı Mehmet accepts Raziye as a sister instead. When Çakıcı marries another woman, also named Raziye, the *yörük's* daughter jealously threatens Çakıcı's wife with a gun.

However, she does not kill her out of reluctance to do so, not wishing to hurt Çakıcı. She mounts her horse and flees, filled with shame and in a panic. Not understanding what has been going on, Çakıcı's men follow in pursuit, attempting to capture her. Her horse plunges over a precipice, and Raziye, the "*yörük's* daughter, falls to her death (Kenç: 1952 and 1991).

Metin Erksan's *Dokuz Dağın Efesi* presents yet another version. Çakıcı and his friends make a visit to the tent of Ekberoğlu, the *yörük*, and learn about the kidnapping of Raziye and theft of Ekberoğlu's flock of sheep by the false "Çakıcı" and his gang of followers. They pursue the gang, rescue Raziye and kill the gang's members in a combat when Çakıcı is slightly wounded. They return to Ekberoğlu's tent where Raziye heals Çakıcı's wounds, and the two fall in love. Çakıcı wishes to marry Raziye, but because Çakıcı is an outlaw, her father does not wish a marriage to take place. Ekberoğlu moves to the city, whereupon Çakıcı sends one of his men to threaten Ekberoğlu in regard to his reluctance in giving Çakıcı his daughter in marriage. Ekberoğlu replies with a counter-threat of moving to the city of İzmir.

However, one of his friends advises Ekberoğlu to persuade Raziye to tell Çakıcı that she will marry him if he will come down from the mountains, and is given amnesty by the state. Çakıcı secretly visits Raziye in town; however, the police have discovered his intent to do so, and make a surprise attack upon Ekberoğlu's house in an attempt to capture him. Raziye saves Çakıcı by hiding him in her room and gives him her father's message in accordance with the advice of her friend. Meanwhile, the state is getting tired of countering Çakıcı's rebellion, and makes a gesture of amnesty toward him. He accepts because of his love for

Raziye, and the two are married.

Plot 4- The fourth plot details how Çakıcı is forced into a second rebellion against the state when Kara Said Pasha, commander of the provincial army decides to take away the weapons which have been allowed Çakıcı as a privilege by the state. Çakıcı refuses the Pasha's order to yield weapons and returns to the mountains.

At this point in Erksan's Dokuz Dağın Efesi, a subplot is presented: the killing of Çakıcı's sister and his son by Çamlıcalı Hüseyin, another rebel. Within the main thread of Plot 4, the Ottoman army units and police surround Çakırcalı Mehmet on Karıncalıdağ (mountain). Bayındırıli Mehmet Efendi, a policeman, kills Çakıcı and enters into an agreement with his followers whereby all of them will deny knowledge of Çakıcı's killer. Not wishing his death to be revealed, Çakıcı's followers cut off his head and arms, then flee.

When the army units arrive on the scene and discover the mutilated body, Bayındırıli Mehmet Efendi claims that it is Çakıcı's by exposing a mole upon the remains. The commander of the army unit brings Çakıcı's wife for examination and possible identification of the body. confirms that it is indeed Çakırcalı Mehmet Efe's dead body, and the movies comes to a close, (Erksan: 1958).

Within the context of both domestic and international socio-cultural influences which shape intra-medial transmissions, it is interesting to note that Dokuz Dağın

Efesi, particularly its third plot, was harshly criticized by both the public and the intelligentsia. Intellectuals criticized it from the view-point of film criticism; Nijad Özön, for example, criticized the movie and its director for being influenced by foreign films such as Elia Kazan's Viva Zapata (1952), Fred Zinnemann's High Noon (1952), and Robert Z. Leonard's "The Girl of the Golden West" (1938). According to Özön, Dokuz Dağın Efesi did not present the idea of the efe through stereotypical nationalist characteristics much like the stereotypical "national characteristics of American cowboys, or Japanese sumarais". However, Nijad Özön does not further explain these nationalistic characteristics (Özön: 1962: 172).

B- TELEVISION PROGRAMS: The Turkish television institution is a state monopolized broadcasting company. There are six television channels throughout the nation.

Though there is no systematically collected material researching the mass media as suggested by Tom Burns (Burns:1969) and Denby Priscilla (Priscilla:1971) in this dissertation, a few obvious points regarding the relationship between oral sources and the mass media concerning the cult of Çakıcı will be noted.

Turkish television has shown Metin Erksan's Dokuz Dağın Efesi twice--once in the 1970's and once in the 1990's. These showings helped spread an awareness of the movie throughout the nation.

Unfortunately, other than this information, television programs about Çakırcalı Mehmet Efe have not been investigated.

However, television has helped disseminate an awareness of two Çakıcı folksongs in particular, since the establishment of television stations.

Consequently, it might be speculated that the forms of folksongs known today have been influenced in their oral transmission by television. There might be formal differences between earlier recorded versions, those from before 1987, and versions which were recorded during fieldwork for the present dissertation; folksongs VII and VIII are popularly known mostly by their first and second

parts which were mediated performance presentations on television. Their third parts, which exist in the oral tradition, have not been performed on television.

C-VIDEOS: Only one of the Çakıcı movies, Tanju Korel's 1989 reproduction in color of Metin Erksan's Dokuz Dağın Efesi is available on video. It is available in any video rental store in Turkey.

Finally, it can be said that television presentations of Çakıcı folksongs are important since they stimulate an interest about the stories among the people, and provoke discussions, in particular, among the *meraklılar*. This is especially important because of the function television serves in spreading the cult of Çakırcalı Mehmet Efe to younger generations.

### III- ORAL MEDIA (ORAL FORMS OF FOLKLORE)

Boratav wrote a critical review of Zeynel Besim Sun's Cakıcı Efe when it was published. He criticized Sun because as his work "does not include stories which Zeynel Besim categorizes as "folk exaggerations, superstition" (Sun: 1934: 110)

Boratav did fieldwork with a research team in the southern Anatolian region of Adana in the villages of İmranlı and Pozantı, between February 10 and 25, 1947. Included in the data which he collected were oral stories about Çakıcı Mehmet Efe which he categorized as "legends" (*menkibe*) (Boratav: 1982: 166). However, the collected research of Pertev Naili Boratav was not available for me to use in this present dissertation

The oral data that are used in this thesis (primarily stories) were collected during my fieldwork in the region, that October, November, and December 1991. My field work was limited primarily to two cities: Ödemiş in the province of İzmir and Ayvalık in Balıkesir. In addition to these cities, I did collect data in a few villages around these cities which were Türkönü (Ayasurat), Kayaköy, Gerçeklili in Ödemiş and Küçükköy in Ayvalık

The reason that I chose these cities was because Ödemiş is the hometown of Çakıcı Mehmet and the majority of its population are native Anatolian Turks. As a result of this, the tradition shows relatively homogenous characteristics

By contrast, Ayvalık, nearly 300 kilometers from Ödemiş, is my hometown, and the majority of the population of Ayvalık consists of immigrant Turks (by family origin) from all over the Turkic world (the geographical area of Turkic languages speaking peoples) such as those from Yugoslavia to China, from Tataristan to the island of Crete; the determination of native or immigrant in this case refers to the Turko-Greek Population Exchange Treaty (*mülkadele*) which took place in 1924. The Greek minority in the Aegean region, as a result of the treaty, immigrated to Greece, and the Turkish minorities from Greece immigrated to Turkey. The city of Ayvalık, before the treaty, was almost completely inhabited by Greeks. After the exchange, the city's inhabitants, location, economical and industrial advantages attracted immigrants from all over the Turkic world.

These two socio-structural groups provided me an opportunity for observation of the influences and transmisional relationships between oral forms of folklore and mediated performances. A few example of oral story's texts will be given here:

1. The story is of Çakıcı's father's death at the hands Hasan çavuş and Çakıcı's taking of his father's blood revenge. The storyteller is Sadık Akkaş. Sadık Akkaş is one of Çakıcı Mehmet Efe's grandsons:

"There is no one who knows Çakırcalı Mehmet

Efe's life story better than I do.

I have danced the (folk) dances.

I have entered over fifty folkdance competitions.

I have received the awards.

I danced in front of Celal Bayar and İsmet İnönü because they asked me to.

I have received the competitions' prizes.

I know his life story.

Çakırcalı's father was Çakırcalı Ahmed.

He unfurled the volunteer's flag and entered the Balkan War.<sup>1</sup>

He got an open-air victory there. For this reason, the Sultan gave him the post of Ödemiş Kırserdarlığı<sup>2</sup> such as Senihli in the province of Ödemiş.

Hasan Çavuş was with him.

Hasan Çavuş killed Çakırcalı Ahmed while he was praying. He killed him from behind with a knife. They were in the same house.

The woman was in the village of Ayasurat (Türkönü) in other words (yani), Çakırcalı's wife. Çakırcalı Mehmet was a boy of just six months age, that is (yani), Çakırcalı Mehmet was just a six months old boy.

Hasan Çavuş was saying, "I must kill Çakırcalı's boy so that I will not have anything to worry about anymore".

For this reason, Hasan Çavuş started toward the village of Ayasurat.

But our grandmother learned of Hasan Çavuş's decision and his departure from Bozdağ. Our grandmother was aware by learning it from intelligence (*istihbarat*) that Hasan Çavuş had killed Ahmet Efe and was coming to kill his son. People told her, I mean they gave her information. When she got the information. She was shocked.

Of course, when a knock came on the door, she felt that Hasan Çavuş had come. She hid the boy in the straw (*saman damı*) in the barn, in other words (yani). She buried him under the straw.

"Even though Hasan Çavuş beat her terribly, asking her "where is the boy".

She replied "the boy is definitely not with

<sup>1</sup> Balkan Wars, 1912-1913; to "unfurl the flag" refers to an old Turkish, wartime tradition regarding a leading person who organizes volunteer units and enter the war as their commander.

<sup>2</sup> Commander in cheif of rural areas

me. I don't have the child."

All she would say was that there was no child, nothing else.

Finally, she said, "Even though you kill me the child is not here."

When Hasan Çavuş left, she took the child from under the straw.

He was unconscious. But after a while. He recovered and got better.

And the wife of Çakırcalı, I mean, our great-grandmother, whose name was Hatice Nene, like my mothers.

Our great-grandmother secretly gave the child as an adopted child to Hacı Eşkiya who was a wealthy relative of hers.

I mean, not as an adopted child. But to take care of him. And for Hacı Eşkiya to raise him. Hacı Eşkiya was a wealthy man; for this reason, he sent Çakırcalı Mehmet to the schools. (*medrese*), that is, Çakırcalı was not an illiterate person. He was well-educated.

Çakırcalı started to ask, "Who am I, what are my family roots?", when he graduated from these schools and became a wise person.

Finally, he learned that his mother was Hatice and his father Çakırcalı Ahmed Efe.

He understood, but meanwhile the person who was taking care of him did not have any children and he had a servant (*bedel*) because he was a wealthy man.

His wife (Hacı Eşkiya's) slept with his servant and she had a baby.

Hacı Eşkiya understood that his wife had slept with someone else, because he knew that he could not have had a child that was proved by the medical doctors.

For this reason, he was asking, "How can my wife have a baby?"

And he understood that his wife had slept with the servant and that she had the baby by him.

Then, he told Çakırcalı, "I took care of you. I raised you. Remove this blotch from my honor."

He said to him, "I will give you my two gardens and all that I have if you redeem my honor".

For this reason, Çakırcalı killed all three of them, leaving none of them alive, that is, Eşkiya's wife, his servant and the baby.

He (Çakırcalı) removed the spot upon Hacı Eşkiya's honor.

When the state arrested Çakırcalı, Hacı Eşkiya bribed the judge. Moreover, he (Çakırcalı)

was young.

For this reason, the court sentenced him to only three years, three years in the prison of İzmir.

They sentenced him as a minor, not as an adult. They sentenced him to three years so that he could be a better person in the prison of İzmir.

He stayed three years and completed his sentence in the prison of İzmir.

If he was put in prison when he was fourteen or fifteen years old?. I will say that, when he was eighteen years old. Yes, indeed, he was eighteen years old when he was released.

He became free as a person who had learned all of the arts crafts. As a master of arts crafts.

There were hand workbenches in prison, at the time. He worked at all those hand workbenches there.

Then, he bought costumes for ten people, at that time, with the money which he had earned by working there. Ten sets of zeybek costumes.

Anyway, he finished his sentence there.

Meanwhile Hasan Çavuş learned that Çakırcalı was in prison when he was asking about him.

For this reason, Hasan Çavuş was waiting to kill him the day that Çakırcalı would be free at the train station of İlk Kurşun. He was still the police chief in Ödemiş.

However, people gave information to Çakırcalı, that Hasan Çavuş was waiting to kill him at the station. For this reason, Çakırcalı got off the train one station before Derebaşı.

Then, he went to Kayaköy. The village of Kayaköy is the first place that he went.

He married my grandmother there. Because the village of Kayaköy was the village which he liked the most.

He married someone's daughter who was very well respected honorable man of the village.

Anyway, this marriage of Çakırcalı in that village is another, and very long story.

I will tell it to you later.

Now, he sent the money he earned in prison by working there to Hacı Mustafa who was his very close relative and his lieutenant gang.

Hacı Mustafa ordered ten sets of zeybek costumes from the tailor, then bought them. Hacı Mustafa went to the station in Derebaşı with the ten sets of Zeybek costumes and welcomed Çakırcalı. Then they went to Kayaköy, meanwhile Hasan Çavuş stayed at the station.

Then, they first went up to the mountains from Kayaköy.

"Now, the people who were with him, in this first trip to the mountains were Hacı Mustafa, Kerimoğlu, Çoban Mehmet, Kara Ali, Poslu, Şanlıcalı Efe. I forgot his most valuable man's name.

The reason that Çakırcalı Mehmet went up to the mountains was to take blood revenge for his father. The mission started with that.

"Şanlıcalı Efe this Şanlıcalı Efe was from the village of Kızılcaaavullu anyway forgot the village's name (Boş ver). It is not necessary to tell the names of the villages.

Yörük Mustafa!

How many names have I told you? seven?

Actually, when he first went up to the mountains, there were seven or eight men with him but, I do not remember one of them.

"Anyway, it is not very important, we can ask a *meraklısı*<sup>3</sup> when he passes by.

"And this is his first trip up to the mountains. This is exactly the starting point of his life of eighteen years in the mountains.

He passed away when he was almost thirty-seven years old.

Çakırcalı's life story is eighteen years of struggle in the mountains.

If one started to tell it, it would take many days and nights.

If you had been here last year, you would have been able to listen to the last person who was with him from the first to the last minute of Çakırcalı's life, whose name was Kerimoğlu, who was still alive last year. If he were alive, I would prefer to learn the person whose name I forgot from him.

I had two aunts. They passed away. They knew about Çakırcalı.

But, my mother was one and a half years old when her father passed away. She learned about her father from the elders.

All of them, also Kerimoğlu, told me about Çakırcalı in great detail. For this reason, I have knowledge about him, even though I wasn't alive when he was alive.

But my knowledge does not contain any lies or false things. I memorized (*hafızama aldım*)

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<sup>3</sup>amateur conneisseur, expert, see chapter IV for further explanation.