

Çakırcalı Mehmet's life completely, and I have retained it.

Indeed, I have to write a book.

For me, it is possible to write a book about Çakırcalı, around one-hundred or two-hundred and fifty pages. I want to do it, but I did not do it because I'm not good at writing. Also, my lifestyle is not good for that.

Anyway, this story which I told you, it is an introduction to the story.

It is clear that being an *eşe* comes from Çakırcalı Mehmet's father to Çakırcalı.

Anyway, right now (in this story), Çakırcalı's taking of a blood revenge, or killing of Hasan Çavuş is taking place.

"Çakıcı lay in wait for Hasan Çavuş in the valley of Kısıklı.

While Çakıcı was killing Hasan Çavuş, he told him that. He had told his friends earlier, "No one else will fire a bullet into him."

He said, "I want to take revenge for my father's blood. Therefore, I will kill him."

Because he was a great marksman, Çakırcalı, of course, shot him right in the head. Hasan Çavuş fell down from a bullet right in the head.

Once Hasan Çavuş was dead, Çakırcalı told the gendarmes (local policemen)-- Çakırcalı had a very loud voice, he always shouted when he was in battle--he shouted to the leader of the gendarmes, "*Mülazim Efendi* (Mr. Lieutenant), I do not have a problem with you.

I took revenge for my father's blood. That was the purpose, for this reason I went up into the mountains.

Leave, then I can return to my motherland, my village. You can find another captain (since Hasan Çavuş, who had been captain of the gendarmes, was now dead) to lead you."

He continued, "I simply took my father's revenge."

The lieutenant of the gendarmes kept coming at Çakırcalı without paying any attention to what Çakırcalı was saying.

Çakırcalı told his friends, "Let's just wound him in order to stop him. Otherwise, if we kill him. The killing will continue' (blood will continue to flow).

But if we don't kill him. We will be able to salvage our futures. If we do, this (being mountain outlaws) will continue (will follow us) all of our lives."

Hacı Mustafa was a bit of an "executionistic"

person (celladımsı).

But Çakırcalı was not like that. Çakırcalı was very intelligent, a smart man.

Çakırcalı ordered Hacı Mustafa to kill only the lieutenant's horse.

Because the lieutenant was getting very close to them now.

Hacı Mustafa shot at the horse.

Some people say that the horse reared up on its hind legs, is it true or not, I do not know.

I mean, I don't want to tell that much detail.

Nonetheless, Hacı Mustafa killed the lieutenant and the lieutenant fell from his horse.

Çakırcalı got angry with Hacı Mustafa and said, "I hope Allah punishes you." (Allah belanı versin).

Then, seeing the hopeless nature of the situation because of the lieutenant's death Çakırcalı ordered, "Now, it's too late, let's kill all of them".

Then, they killed the gendarmes.

When they had cleaned up (killed) all of them, everything started.

I mean, this is the (real) beginning of the life story of Çakırcalı.

Beside this, everything else is just detail.

Çakırcalı was a government within the government, which means, that he established a state within the state.

Of course, at this time, the Ottoman state was not very strong. This was almost at the end of the Ottoman state.

Nonetheless, though the state was not strong and was in its last period (of power), Çakırcalı would not have lasted long as an outlaw like this if he hadn't have had some connections.

He had connections with Kamil Pasha, the Governor of the province of İzmir.

Kamil Pasha helped Çakırcalı a lot.

My great-grandmother used to visit him a lot to maintain connections between Çakırcalı and Kamil Pasha, by wearing *hicab* (islamic women's dress which covered the entire face and body).

Sometimes, even Çakırcalı, himself, visited Kamil Pasha by wearing *hicab*.

He put on *hicab* and went to visit the Pasha.

While Çakırcalı was still alive, Çakırcalı invited him to come visit him. Kamil Pasha replied, "I cannot do it."

But Kamil Pasha's son came and visited Çakırcalı in Ödemiş.

They spent a lot of time together in the mountains.

They had such a close friendship. When I said that he (Çakırcalı) established a state within the state, I meant this.

His adventures were innumerable. No one can tell all of them.

I told you only the beginning."

2. Süleyman Yalçın and one of his stories:

A version of one of the most famous and enduring of Çakıcı's adventures, the rescue of the yörük's daughter was told by the storyteller Süleyman Yalçın, a 56 year perfume salesman from Ödemiş. He is an active member of the locally established Efe And Ödemiş Independence Day Association

"Ödemiş İlk Kurşun Ve Efeleri Anma ve Yaşatma Derneği" . He establishes his relationship to Çakıcı through his maternal great-uncle who was one of Çakıcı's men. He has Murat Sertoğlu's books in his library and has read them. He says that he reads them to his friends sometimes. He remembers that Murat Sertoğlu's fieldwork used his maternal great-uncle as a source. However, without being specific he criticizes the books of Murat Sertoğlu inasmuch as;

"The parts that he took and put in his books from my great-uncle (Kerimoğlu) are true. But Kemal (meaning Murat) Sertoğlu went to Birgi and asked an old man, and took a little of this and a little of that from the old man.

For this reason, a lot of mistakes are in the book. This is wrong.

Someone who wants to write a book must find a knowledgeable person like us (by using plural pronouns, Yalçın refers to his two close friends Salih Çakırcalı, a grandson of Çakıcı's, and Recep Bilgin, who are listening), then collect the entire true life story of Çakıcı.

We don't make any exaggerations about him and we don't humiliate him (*büyültme küçültme*). We know the exact truth about him," (Yalçın:1991).

Being the most articulate of the three men, Süleyman Yalçın is the person who tells the story (which later in analysis in Chapter IV will be known as "the story of the *yörük's* daughter) which is as follows:

...Çakıcı came to the tent of the *yörük*.

"He said, "Hey you, why are so unpleasant like this. Look, my men (*kızanlar*) want *ayran*."

The *yörük* said, "Efe, I'm upset. There is a pimp known as Çakıcı who came and took my daughter," he said.

"Çakıcı said, " Which way did he go?"

"The *yörük* said, "That direction, in the valley of the river."

"There was a watchman (lookout) of the gang, and some of them were forcing her (the *yörük's* daughter) to dance, and some of them were cooking a sheep.

"They (Çakıcı and his men) made an attack upon the watchman; they took him and tied him (up) very well. Then, they tied his mouth (gagged him) with a handkerchief so that he could not shout. Then, they surrounded (the false Çakıcı gang); all of them were alive. They tied them (up) very well. Then they went directly to the *yörük's* tent.

"Çakıcı asked Ekberoğlu, 'Which one of them is Çakıcı?'"

"The *yörük* said, 'This one.'

"Çakıcı said to the *yörük*, 'Let's throw this huge tree on the campfire.'... the huge tree is on the fire now (Yalçın paused, then demonstrated and emphasized the size of the fire with his arms).

"Çakıcı said to Hacı, 'Hacı,' he said, 'Let's take this Çakırcalı by the arms and legs.' One of them took his arms, the other one his legs; they threw him into the fire.. then another one and another one.

Finally, there were two more (left).

"One of them said to Çakıcı 'Efe, let me kill this guy (his friend), because he forced me to force her to dance.' Efe said, 'Okay.'

Then, those two started to fight, then both of them fell into the fire and finally all of these seven guys were burned in the fire.

"Efe said to the yörük, 'I personally, I do not want anything from you. But my men spent time and energy (*emek*) doing this job. Give one golden coin (*sari lira*) to each of them.' Then, Ekberoğlu gave one golden coin to each of them.

"The Çakıcı asked the yörük, 'Do you know Çakırcalı?' and said, 'I am Çakırcalı.'

"The yörük apologized to Çakırcalı; he was scared because he had cursed him (Çakıcı) many times.

"Then, Çakırcalı said, 'I will give your daughter a wedding. Let me know when it will take place.' And he did."

At this point, Yalçın's friend Salih Çakırcalı spoke up, "Actually, it is true (*nitekim*). My grandfather gave her a wedding. That woman [the yörük's daughter] visited my grandmother. I talked with that woman... her name was also Iraz (*Raziye*). It is true. she told me the story like that (Salih Çakırcalı: 1991).

3. Salih Çakırcalı's version of the same story:

"The reason that Çakırcalı and Albanians became enemies.

They are coming to the tent of the yörük they. What they were, Albanians.

They are taking the daughter of the yörük.

Then, they are saying "We are Çakıcı", to the yörük. They are saying "We are Çakıcı!"

A yörük whose name is Şaban. Uhm..an Albanian whose name is Şaban.

They are taking the yörük's flock of sheep. They are going toward the river valley by following the flock.

Then, they starting to force to yörük's daughter to entertain them by dancing.

The sheep were being cooked by some of them.

Meanwhile Çakıcı is coming to the yörük's tent. He is coming to the same tent by chance.

And Çakıcı is saying to the yörük, "Why are you so unpleasant (*kararıyorsun*)". And he is continuing "look my men want some *ayran*.

The yörük is saying (*diyo*), "Efe. I am upset because my daughter is taken by a pimp who is known as Çakıcı. He came and took my daughter and went." yörük is saying "He took my daughter," yörük is saying "He also took my flock of sheep. For this reason I am upset". the yörük is saying.

"Where did he go..(Çakıcı asked).

"He went in that direction,"

Çakıcı is giving a command (*işaret*) to his man, "Let's see all of them". Following the Albanians.

They (Albanians) were forcing the girl to dance. And were preparing dinner by cooking some sheep. One of them were stabbing at the girl with a knife, like this (gesture), to force her to dance.

They (Çakıcı and his men) attacked first the watchman. They tied up him very well and put a hankircief over his mouth. Without letting him shout out to his friend they tied him up very well then lay him down there. They lie down him there.

"They lay him down there" (İbrahim Kamalı, an audience repeats the sentence).

Then, they are attacking suddenly the others.

Finally they captured all of them alive.

They surrounded them while they were alive. Then, they tied all of them very well.

Then tied them together like a chain of camels (*deve katarı gibi*). Putting them in front (of Çakıcı's group). They tied them up and went directly to the yörük's tent.

Çakırcalı says to the yörük, "Which one is Çakıcı among these? "

He says, 'This one is.

Çakırcalı says to the yörük. "Put those huge pieces of wood on the fire. Throw them into the fire."

The huge fire is growing now, in the garden of the yörük's house. (*Yörüğün evinin avlusunda*).

Çakırcalı says, "Hacı tie this Çakıcı's hands. Then one of them grabbed his arms and another his legs moving him back and forth sallayıp. .sallayıp)One. Two. .langirt. (they). Throw him into fire.

Then another one, another one.

Finally, there are two of them (left). One of them says, "Efe..this guy forced to me to force her..let me kill him with my hand.."

Then, they are fighting there..each one trying to kick to other one into the fire.

They lose their balance and fall into the fire together.

Finally all of seven are burned by fire.

Then, Çakırcalı says to the yörük," Give a sari lira (golden coin) to each of my man. They spent their energy and time (emek). I do not want anything".

Çakırcalı did not take anything from him for himself.

The yörük is giving a golden coin to each of Çakırcalı's man (kızan).

Çakırcalı says to the Yörük "Do you know Çakırcalı."

Çakırcalı says "I am the Çakırcalı".

The Yörük apologizing him by saying

"Forgive me, those guys talked like that".

Çakırcalı is saying "Whenever your daughter will get married let me know. I will give her a wedding".

Indeed the wedding was given to her by my grand father (dedem)..

That woman was coming and going to the our house.

(Recep Bilgin, an audience). "When the subject is related with the honor of a woman no one can say a single word about him. He.."

(Salih Çakırcalı)..This is the reason that the Albanian were enemy of him.

Their anger toward him was coming from this story.

Çerkez's situation is different." Çakırcalı:1991).

B- FOLKSONGS AND FOLKDANCES: Folksongs are one of the most influential traditional channels which have carried the fame of Çakırcalı Mehmet Efe from one generation to another.

One characteristic of the folksongs involves the survival of their form and music. This music and form can travel from place to place to serve as vehicles of communication.

One day approximately four years ago, Şeref Kurt, a twenty-four year old university student from Bereketli in the Black Sea region of Niksar was sitting on the front porch of the family home. A group of elderly women of the village were sitting and chatting on the front porch of next house. As Şeref Kurt said, "They were talking about the stories from the old days." Then, one of them started to sing a Çakıcı Mehmet Efe folksong, [Folksong VIII. . He liked the folksong and memorized its melody. One day two years later when he was living in a university dormitory in Ankara, Şeref began whistling the folksong to himself in the cafeteria. A cafeteria worker, Aydemir who is from Edremit, a city in the northeastern Aegean region of western Anatolia, heard the folksong and asked Şeref, "Where are you from, and how do you know this folksong?" Şeref told him

about the song, how and where he had heard it Aydemir Öcal responded by revealing his knowledge of who Çakıcı was.

This was the starting point of an on-going communication which developed into a friendship. They later discovered that they belonged to the same political party and ideological agenda. Two men got along together so fabulously that they later rented a house and became roommates, (Öcal and Kurt: 1991).

This example of the communicating and bonding power of the tradition of Çakıcı folksongs can be supported by another even more fascinating example: Some time ago, a native of Ödemiş, Neyzen Derya Akbaş was driving back to Turkey from Germany with two friends. They stopped for tea in a Greek coffeehouse in Thessalonika, Greece. The Greek waiter began attempting to communicate through gestures and by reciting names of Turkish cities. They understood that he was asking, "Where are you from, what city are you from?" They then replied, "Ödemiş." As soon as they mentioned this Turkish city, the Greek waiter began singing the first part of a Çakıcı folksong (Folksong: I using its traditional melody, according to Neyzen Derya Akbaş who is a musician. They understood that he

knew of Ödemiş. In addition, with gestures and the name of the city, the waiter was able to communicate that his father had immigrated to Theselonika from İzmir and had told his children about Turkey and the Turkish people. The feelings of mutual friendliness between Derya's group and the Greek waiter, became such that he would not take any money for the tea which he had served! (Neyzen Akbaş:1991).

It is not clear if the Greek waiter was actually knowledgeable about Çakıcı. However, it is clear how the folksong was used, and often is used in Turkish culture, as a vehicle for communication

The lyrics of the folksongs are always performed with music, and traditional folkdances are sometimes performed with them. The folkdances have the same name as each corresponding folksong: "Sepetçioğlu Zeybeği", "Harmandalı Zeybeği" "Çakıcı Zeybeği", "Yörük Ali Zeybeği", and so forth. Some of the Çakıcı folksongs have been performed and recorded by many singers, and these recordings are available everywhere in music stores throughout Turkey

There are eleven folksongs about Çakıcı Mehmet Efe. They have been collected and published

by many scholars such as (Yüksel:1934), (Tuğrul: Mifad Yb, 73,002 b, ND: 1390), (Bayrak:1985), and (Öztelli:1983).

The poets and composers of the folksongs are unknown. It can be speculated that some of these poets and composers borrowed their form and music from other folksongs which represented other heroes; indeed, one "efe" folksong was created by borrowing a famous Çakıcı folksong, as follows:

A

The poplars of İzmir,
Which lose their leaves;
We are named as Çakıcı.
Oh, my dear who is tall like a cypress,
We knock down government houses;

B

The poplars of Ödemiş,
Which lose their leaves:
We are named as Demircioğlu.
We knock down government houses

As can be seen from the first part of folksong A, folksong B is a simple case of its composer having borrowed from folksong A, changing only the hero's name and thereby fashioning another folksong celebrating another folkhero-- in this instance, the national hero Demircioğlu Mehmet Efe, The other change involving İzmir and Ödemiş does not necessarily represent a change since another version of the same Çakıcı folksong uses the name Ödemiş as well.

According to Mehmet Tuğrul, "The folksong was created to celebrate Demircioğlu when the War of Independence

began", (Tuğrul: MIFAD Arşivi YB, 730,026, No: 1390)

However, a comparison between these two folksongs reveals not only an active interaction between folksongs of form and general content, but reveals also that the music of one folksong transferred to another.

There is a second example of a Çakıcı folksong where an opposite transaction from the one in the previous example supposedly takes place; part of a folksong about Çakıcı borrows from a folksong about another efe. There is not much information about Sarı Zeybek, celebrated in this folksong, but he is believed to have lived before Çakıcı.

A. The part of the folksong of Sarı Zeybek

"... Sarı Zeybek lies down on Bozdağ
It rains and his gun gets wet;
The day will come, then this crazy mind of mine
will be well-behaved, ..." (Öztelli:1983).

B. The part of the folksong of Çakıcı

"... Çakıcı lies down on Bozdağ,
It rains and his gun gets wet;
The day will come, then this crazy mind of mine
will be well-behaved, ..." (Bayrak:1985)

The Çakıcı folksongs are:

Folksong I:

"The poplars of Ödemiş,
Their leaves have hair;
I am known as Çakıcı,
I set government houses on fire.

— . —
"Don't shoot, Mehmet, you hit it,
After that you will regret it;
I am known as Çakıcı,
Oh, my dear who is tall like a cypress;

I have many bullets.

Çakıcı is coming down from the mountain
 He is entering Kaymakçı [a city];
 I am known as Çakıcı,
 Oh, my dear who is tall like a cypress,
 He is falling in love with Hatçe."

Folksong

"The front line of battle is set on the
 plateau of Bozdağ [a mountain near Ödemiş],
 Only Hasan Çavuş is killed among fifteen horsemen;
 This news is heard by the governor around seven
 o'clock."

Folksong III:

"Come, come from the hillside,
 He/she wears a "camadan";
 I go to the barns,
 Oh, my dear who is tall like a cypress
 ...unable to hug my dear.

"The fig of "kayadibi",
 ... the chain of my watch;
 I am known as Çakıcı,
 All of my body is full of pain."

Folksong

"Çakıcı is coming down from the mountain,
 Çakıcı is wearing his purple fez;
 He is known as Çakıcı,
 Oh, dear, who is tall like cypress,
 Çakıcı is carrying many bullets.

"Çakıcı is coming down from the mountain,
 Çakıcı does not know what is fear.
 He is known as Çakıcı,
 Oh, dear, who is tall like a cypress;
 Çakıcı is carrying many bullets.

"Çakıcı says, 'I do not dismount my horse'
 Çakıcı says, 'I do not wear a purple fez';
 He is known as Çakıcı,

Oh, dear, who is tall like a cypress.

Folksong V:

"Çakıcı is coming down from the mountain,
He says, 'I do not wear a purple fez;
Do not go too close to Çakıcı,
He chops up those who get close to him like an onion;
He is known as Çakıcı,
Oh, dear, who is tall like a cypress;
Çakıcı has many bullets."

Folksong VI:

"The purple fez of Çakıcı...
...his voice is coming from İzmir.
He is known as Çakıcı,
Oh, dear, who is tall like a cypress;
He is hurting many souls.

"The poplars of İzmir,
Their leaves fall...
He is known as Çakıcı,
Oh, dear, who is tall like a cypress;
He is setting fire to government houses

"His tobacco case is red,
He loves the Pasha's daughter;
He does not fear Allah,
Oh, dear, who is tall like a cypress;
He is hurting many souls."

Folksong VII:

"My gravestone is toward Bozdağ,
The earth covering my grave is my tears;
Çakırcalı was killed close to nightfall.

"Wake up, my lord, wake up and see what happened
Çakırcalı, the top of the mountain is covered
with blood.

"Bring my white horse to the mounting stone,
My arms cannot reach the saddle horn;
Death came to me when I was in Karıncalıdağ.
"Cry, my sister, cry until the sun rises,
I don't want to be buried until you come."

Folksong VIII:

"The poplars of İzmir,
 Their leaves fall;
 We are known as Çakıcı,
 Oh, my dear who is tall like a cypress;
 We knock down government houses.

"Oh cypress, there is none taller than you,
 I do not have envious feeling about your leaves;
 Kamalı Zeybek is killed,
 I have nothing to say to Çakıcı.

"They pass over the Bozkaya [a mountain pass],
 They hung their rifles on bushes.
 when they saw Çakıcı;
 Oh, my dear who tall like a cypress,
 The policemen are gone..."

Folksong IX:

"The poplars of İzmir,
 Their leaves are falling;
 We are known as Çakıcı.
 "Oh, my dear who is tall like a cypress
 We knock down government houses.

"Oh poplar, there is none taller than you,
 You have many leaves but no grapes;
 Kamalı Zeybek is killed.
 "Oh, my dear who is tall like a cypress
 Where is his bloody shirt?..."

Folksong X:

"I am known as Mehmet,
 I am sweeter than sugar;
 I have been hit by Kamalı Zeybek,
 I wish he will not have his dreams.

"Gökdeli", let's come down from the mountain,
 Let's wear your purple fez;
 Oh, tall and slim Kamalı Zeybek,
 Let me take your fiance to bed."

Folksong XI

"Çakıcı lies down in the trench,
 He shoots in a very practiced manner;
 Our leader is Emin Agha,
 But our friend's body is staying on the mountain.

"Mourn, mountains, mourn,
Nifat is like Hasan;
How did you confuse them up?
Then, shoot three times, Hasan.

"You go and bring an expert
to see the evidence...
Don't hurt the dead body,
If Çakıcı denies being dead,
Take his horse as a witness.

"Bring flesh to add to flesh,
Find a pair of scales and weigh it;
I think I feel cold, my dear Hasan,
Let's sleep together...

'Why did you kill me, what is my sin,
Tell me, what is my fault, angel Gölizar?
You rejected me, then you left,
That's why the cosmos is my prison.

'No one can be perfect as a human being,
Tell me, what is my fault and sin?
If you definitely want to kill me,
Please kill me without torture.

'Let's not torture me,
The day will come... you will understand my worth;
On the judgement day you will be bloody,
I am ruined by worrying about you, angel.

'It is enough that you feigned reluctance,
My body will not stand that much coyness,'
Çakıcı cried, regretful and looking for forgiveness,
'Tell me what you want, oh my soul, you angel!'

"Çakıcı lies down on Bozdoğan [a mountain],
It rains and his gun gets wet;
One day will come, then this crazy mind of mine will be
well-behaved,
If I take my knife, I can cut your head.

"...Çakıcı's stomach [his temperament] cannot
stand...
... Çakıcı's stomach cannot stand injustice...
... could be bloodied any moment by the knife that is
ready;
Oh, dear stormy mountain, let me go,
There is a lady who is distraught and she cries..."

Here it will be useful to note that broadcasts of of the folksongs by television and radio station have made them more famous and popular than most of the other folksongs in the canon

However, it is clear that their form as shaped by collectors and ethnomusicologists show the influence of mass media.

As has been already pointed out, the shaping influences of the mass media on oral sources needs further investigation

Nonetheless, in the region of western Anatolia there is a popular awareness about the general *zeybek* music styles of local bands in the region. It is possible that these local bands' interaction with the folksongs has created slightly different forms of folksongs because of their own peculiar styles

Different styles are important for the people of the region when they request the services of bands at weddings and other festive occasions

C- TRADITIONAL VILLAGE PLAYS: Before our exploration of traditional village theater as it pertains to the cult of Çakırcalı, let it be noted that two Turkish folklorists have published important works on the genre of traditional village theater in Turkey.

One of these scholars has suggested that traditional theater plays, as a genre, are survivors of old rituals which have lost their ritual meaning, and have, then become village theater, (And: 1962: 115). The other folklorist does not subscribe to this definition and explanation, and explains the source of village theater simply by "traditionality" (Elçin: 1964: 28-29).

However, it would seem that both scholars agree upon one point: the "unchangeability" and "fixed repertoire" of village theater. Nonetheless, as will be analyzed, "fixed" and "unchangeable" characteristics of the plays are arguable--in our case, at least

As I previously noted in this work's preface village of Demircidere, located in the western, Bergama region of Turkey, is occupied by Tahtacı Turkmen, which is one of the last nomadic tribes in Turkey to become sedentary. The villagers were still semi-nomadic until the early 1950's. The Tahtacı Turkmen also adhere to an unusual blend of shamanistic and Islamic beliefs.

In 1950's, Hasan Özdemir, one of Demircidere's best

storytellers and players of traditional village theater, created and then performed a traditional village play, based upon a movie. The play is known in Demircidere as "The Play of Çakıcı", "Çakıcı Efe Oyunu"; (Özdemir: 1987).

As was also noted in the Preface, the creation and performances of Çakıcı Efe Oyunu came about thus: One night Hasan Özdemir as a teenager in the mid-50's, went to a miners' settlement in the next village (Karaayit Koyu) to see a film shown by a travelling movie company. Having seen the movie, Hasan Özdemir returned to his village and, consequently, decided to create and perform his own play on the subject of Çakıcı. Some time later, Hasan and his friends performed the new play at the wedding of his best friend, and over time, Çakıcı Efe Oyunu was performed at other weddings.

Returning to the sources which he used for his village play: Hasan does not remember the name of the movie he that night; as he told me, " It was a movie about Çakıcı "Çakıcı filmi").

Nonetheless, it can be assumed that by virtue of the plot from the movie which he remembered, and used in his play, the movie must have been Faruk Kenç's Çakırcalı Mehmet Efe (Kenç: 1950 . Moreover, as further evidence supporting this assumption, a technical detail was provided by Faruk Kenç concerning Çakırcalı Mehmet Efe: "It was made on 16 millimeter film, which made it possible to show the movie by

battery" (battery operated projectors) (Kenç: 1991 As will be recalled from the Preface of this work, the film which was seen and used as a source by Hasan Özdemir was shown by a travelling movie company since many Turkish villages did not have electricity at the time.

Nonetheless, the plot which Hasan Özdemir took from the movie and shaped in his production was "how Çakırcalı saved the daughter of the yörük agha from nine Albanians who were fraudulently committing crimes under his name, and how Çakıcı ordered the Albanians thrown into a campfire", (Kenç: 1952a).

The same plot, as used and shaped by Hasan Özdemir in Çakıcı Efe Oyunu is as follows: Two gypsy men (with faces painted black with soot from inside a kettle) are fighting over a woman (male actor dressed as a woman) as they stand on either side of her, pulling her to and front and back. Çakıcı comes upon the tumultuous scene, and shouting loudly begins firing his rifle (Hasan Özdemir employed fake bullets *kurusıkı*) in his performances). The two gypsies become frightened and beg for mercy from Çakıcı in a variety of humorous ways. Çakıcı continues firing his gun, meanwhile, ordering the band to play music, and the two gypsies to dance to the music. Frightened, they dance, in a nevertheless funny manner [the female impersonator, in particular, must be a good imitator and dancer], until the people, surrounding the scene, get bored with the dance

When Çakıcı senses that they have become bored, he takes the gypsies from the center of the watching crowd (*Ahenk yeri*), whereupon the play comes to a close.

Using these basic forms of acting to make their audience laugh, the success of the play depended upon spontaneous abilities of the play's performers (Özdemir: 1987-1991).

Over time, during the various nuptial occasions Çakıcı Efe Oyunu was performed in the village of Demircidere's square. The teenagers of the village were gather to go into the forest to cut enough wood, and collect enough pitch-pine to light a campfire as a traditional duty. Meanwhile, other villagers would be circling around the campfire and watching the traditional village theater players (*oyun çıkaranları*) (Özdemir: 1987

Hasan Özdemir's Çakıcı Efe Oyunu demonstrates how by the printed media such as Zeynel Besim Sun's book, next, taken and shaped in the visual media-- Faruk Kenç's movies-- and finally taken back into the oral forms of folklore in Özdemir's traditional village theater play: In the Kenç movie, Çakıcı attacks the false Albanian outlaws and saves the *yörük's* daughter, whereupon she falls in love with Çakıcı, though by accepting her as a sister in this, and the next world, he rejects her, and for this reason, she finally dies (Kenç: 1950a). By contrast, in Hasan Özdemir's village play, it was not possible to use any "sunni-Islamic"

characters such as Albanian Turks or a *yörük*, from a socio-cultural standpoint. It would have been a bit insulting to the people usually invited to such occasions from surrounding villages, since Demircidere is the only shiite Moslem village in a region populated by sunni-*yörük* villages such as Karaayit, Akçapınar and Aşağıbey. As the astute scholar of Islam is aware, the "Sunni" and "Shiite" sects of islam do not always see eye to eye on socio-cultural matters. However, by replacing "sunni" Albanian Turks with gypsies, conflict was avoided

As a further statement regarding the manner in which various socio-cultural currents interact with one another, it is useful to note that the village of Demircidere has had electricity since 1974, and since that time, the traditional village plays have not been performed

THE MATERIAL CULTURAL REMINDERS OF THE ÇAKICI MEHMET EFE CULT: As an overview of the more tangible aspects of the Çakıcı cult which does not exactly fit into other media categories, the material cultural dimensions of the cult be explored as a topic on their own. For the Turkish populace, over the years, has wanted to see their cult hero reflected in concrete forms for the creation some of which Çakırcalı himself was actually responsible.

Formerly, past generations were able to see him reflected in things which were made by the order of Çakırcalı Mehmet Efe throughout the region: primarily bridges, roads, fountains and mosques.

Oral tradition has given Çakıcı's name to these items: "Çakıcı's bridges" "Çakıcı köprüleri", built by the order of Çakıcı over the Menderes River near the town of Adagide, the bridge in the village of Malgiç near Sultanhisar.

However, most of these roads and bridges are currently out of use because of changes in the routes taken by the roads, and by virtue of the bridges' technical characteristics which could prove problematic for modern usage. However, the stories surrounding these structures still exist.

The majority of the mosques which are believed to have been built by the order of Çakıcı, such as "Ekin Pazarı Cami" in Ödemiş, also still exist, and the stories

surrounding them still alive and well

In addition to the material cultural aspects of the cult for which Çakıcı supposedly was responsible, there are new elements or beliefs that are being absorbed, by the cult in general. A very old "konak" [palace] has been restored by the government; it currently carries Çakıcı cult implications, as will be seen. The commercial logo featuring an "efe" is used by a transit company. There is a statue of an "efe" in Nazilli.

The old palace, built by a feudal lord in the 18th century and known as "Çakırağa Konağı", is in the city of Birgi. Its architectural values make it one of the finest Turkish houses from the past, and stimulated the Turkish government's cultural ministry to designate it as a national, historical building, and to restore it for use as a museum during the 1980's. The konak carries its builder's name, "Çakırağa" (Çakır Ağa), though locally it is known as "Çakırcaa" for Çakırcalı Mehmet Efe. Perhaps the similarity between the names "Çakırağa" and "Çakırcaa" is one reason for this.

But, quite likely, it is not the only reason. I encountered young people in Ödemiş who speculated about the konak's "being Çakırcalı's". Undoubtedly, another socio-cultural directive which contributed to this belief was provided when a Çakıcı movie was made in the konak. For in 1989, a reproduction of Metin Erksan's "Dokuz Dağın Efesi"

in color was directed by Tanju Korel, using "Çakırağa Konağı" as Çakıcı Mehmet Efe's house, (Erksan: 1989

In the same vein of cult appropriations, the logo of the transit company, "Aydın Turizm", features the figure of an "efe". As has been suggested throughout the body of this work, "efeler" or "zeybekler" are regional symbols. Other than that he was an "efe" or "zeybek" within the identification of the "efe" in the logo with Çakıcı Mehmet has no basis. However, the common, local speculation is that the logo's figure of an "efe" is Çakıcı's. (Çetin: 1990)

A similar assimilation regarding an "efe" statue in Nazilli is also occurring in our time. Again, the statue symbolizes all regional "efeler". Regardless, local people often believe or imagine that the statue is Çakıcı Mehmet's, or "Çakırcalı

Perhaps such an assimilation is not entirely strange. Çakıcı was killed, and his headless body was hung by its feet for three days and finally buried near the city of Nazilli. Interestingly, another outlaw, Atçalı Kel Mehmet Efe was born, and a statue of him raised in Atçalı, the nearest town to Nazilli. His name and two lines of his most famous words are inscribed in the statue's foundation.

It might be suggested that a parallel cross-assimilation between the two statues provided fuel for local beliefs about the symbolic "efe" statue in Nazilli

In a similar connection, it is interesting to note some

aspects of the cult surrounding Çakıcı's grave. As was just noted, he was killed near Nazilli, his headless body was hung for three days by its feet in front of the government building, then buried near the city. His first wife Raziye put a headstone upon his burial site inscribed with the words:

"Mercy for the famous Çakırcalı Mehmet Efe

According to Zeynel Besim Sun (Sun:1934) and Yaşar Kemal, (Kemal:1972):

"A woman with malaria took some earth from his grave thinking that Çakıcı was a saint ["evliya"]. She put the soil into a bottle of water, and when the soil had settled, drank the water. By chance, she recovered from malaria, thereafter. This situation was heard about by other people, and many of them have used the grave as a shrine" (Sun:1934).

However, a year later the river flooded and Çakıcı's grave was buried and lost. Nonetheless, Çakıcı's second wife Fatma and her relatives went to the area of the burial site, and with the help of an Albanian, dug away the sand and found Çakıcı's remains which they removed to, and interred in Kayaköy. The inscription on his second headstone reads:

"I ruled this region for fifteen years. I was with the poor people. I was killed in Nazilli. My body stayed there for thirty-five years. They brought me here.

They buried me in Kayaköy in Ödemiş. I am happy with my villagers. Mercy for Çakırcalı Ahmet's son Çakırcalı Mehmet", (Çobanoğlu: 1991).

This second grave in Kayaköy is known by people in Ödemiş. Nonetheless, under influence of the printed media upon the subject, many people believe that Çakıcı's remains are still interred near Nazilli

This seems an ironically appropriate place to discuss briefly a final material cultural aspect of the Çakırcalı Mehmet Efe cult: the existence, or not, of Çakıcı's photograph. There are oral stories about the cleverness employed by Çakıcı to prevent his photograph being taken. Despite these stories, there are others which say that they have seen Çakıcı's photographs or postcards. However these are general symbolic efe pictures. But people believe that are Çakıcı's pictures. (Kazaner:1991, Çetin:1990, Akbaş:1991).

Nonetheless, there are drawings of him in the books of Murat Sertoğlu and Kahramanlar Dergisi, but as far as I know there are no photographs of Çakırcalı Mehmet Efe.