knowledge of the region’s and country’s history with Çakıcı stories which he has read (in Sertoğlu’s and Kemal’s books, for instance and learned from oral sources (though he is not native of the region), he makes them a part of his historical “performance.” He is listened to without argument because of his superiory as a historian, and by virtue of the style or form of his “performances” Yavuz’ fellow townspeople also know the same stories, but his professional style--citing books and authors, making connections with the region’s history all the way back to the Hellenistic period--makes for an unarguable impact on the people. They listen to reinterpretations of stories which perhaps they taught him themselves. Moreover, interactions between the people and the local elite--represented by Yavuz in this case--are such that the reinterpretative manner in which these stories--as a part of local history--are "performed" makes them more believable. Not surprisingly, additionally, these reinterpretations are often quoted as proof by meraklılar in their storytelling duels as having been told by “such and such” knowledgeable persons, thus, because of the accepted superiorly that comes from education, publication, professionalism, historical connectedness of narrational presentation, and, of course, the inherent contextualization of stories within a given situation

Çakıcı stories, as well as the other folktales, fables and parables are told as a part of informal family education
to teach moral values to children. Such storytelling within this context has both referential meaning and function as well as creating an intimacy between the elders and youngsters.

As was mentioned earlier meraklılar of Çakıcı, as well as other thematic stories, frequently congregate in coffeehouses to establish groups by telling and listening to stories on a topic in a context which functions as a glue of group interaction. Here, again the stories function as intimacy-creators. However, when it comes to arguments about Çakıcı stories, it is rare that the meraklılar agree concerning anything related to a given story or any of its parts; it can be an another version or episode of a storytellers narrative, even a place’s or person’s name, a word used in a given, contested manner which can bring about heated debate. During the discussion, both sides constantly resort to whatever possible verbal resources in order to win. These arguments can be solved by either the rest of the group having agreed with one side, or through continuation by referring the debate to a third party consisting of a respected meraklı. Regardless of a debate’s temporary conclusion, both sides rarely change their opinion on the topic. The entirety of the debative scenario is a bit reminiscent of Americans at local sports bars telling and comparing baseball stories and statistics. These arguments even cause fights upon occasion.
In the argumentative context, stories and storytelling, other than their functions of intimacy-creation and of bringing people together, are also used as "hierarchy-enforcers" among the group's members which is related to gaining power through use of the stories.

Having thus explored these formal, structural, functional, contextual factors, the transmissional relationships which have thereby been manipulated can be formulated.

Oral stories that are based on at least one action with the actions functioning as formulae for the storytellers.

In general, place and time dimensions of Çakıcı Mehmet Efe's actions are broken down or displaced: these two basic characteristics of the oral forms of the storytelling tradition provide the storyteller with unlimited opportunities for creation of different versions of all the stories with mediated performances often, again, as a receptor of such creations.

Person-oriented break-downs of the frame of the mediated performances takes person-based parts from mediated performances and uses them as genuine folklore. However, as discussed in the section on the Visual Media regarding Metin Erksan's Dokuz Dağın Efesi, this person-based break-down of mediated performances and the retaking, assimilation and use of selected parts of mediated performances as parts
of the genuine folklore is based on socio-cultural, semantically-oriented or manipulated "negative" "positive" elements in the cult.

"Positive elements" are easily accepted by populace, and "negative elements" are either rejected or accepted in softer or compromised forms.

This formulation of the general characteristics of transmissional relationships will next be examined and analyzed as they occur around one story in the Çakıcı Mehmet Efe cult.
II. Transmissional Relationships Between Oral Forms of Folklore and Mediated Performances Around One Story of the Çakıcı Mehmet Efe

Usually, in human creation, the creator chooses one piece of that which has been produced to the exclusion of all others. That part is accepted as the best or representative part which symbolizes all the others. In reference to folkheroes, one story or one event usually becomes more completely representative of the hero’s character than all the others; e.g., the ballad (corrido) "El corrido de Gregorio Cortez" which celebrates Gregorio Cortez (Paredes: 1958), or the tale about Jesse James’ "giving money to an old lady to pay her debts to her landlord, then robbing the landlord" (Kooistra: 1989), or the story about Billy the Kid’s mysterious death (Adams: 1960).

In regard to Çakıcı Mehmet Efe, other than the ballad which is presented as Ballad II in the previous section on folksongs, "the story of the yörük’s daughter" is widely accepted as the most representative story delineating Çakıcı’s character.

The "Story of the ‘Yörük’s’ Daughter", or the "Burning of the Nine Ethnic Albanians" is one of the most famous and most often repeated stories (actions of Çakıcı Mehmet Efe. For this reason, this story provides the best opportunity to
show the interrelationships and between mediated performances and oral forms of folklore in their formal functional and semantic aspects.

For this analysis, three printed, and two visual versions of the story will represent mediated performances. Two oral stories, one chosen from the region of Ayvalık, and one from Ödemiş will represent oral forms, with the traditional village theater providing a special focus on its generic continuities and discontinuities

1- The story in the earliest printed media, and its process of losing place and time dimensions: According to some sources, this event took place in the earlier years of Çakıcı’s first rebellion against the Ottoman state. Moreover, it is possible to say that this event either established Çakıcı’s fame, or spread it to a national and international level. The event was reflected by foreign sources; Paul Blanc, the French Consul in İzmir, talked about this action of Çakıcı’s:

"There are many Albanians in the region, many of whom work as guards or shepherds on farms. These Albanians became victims of Çakıcı. According to the people, one of the Albanians raped a female relative of Çakıcı. For this reason, Çakıcı selected some of his close friends and killed over forty Albanians, six of whom had established a gang which horribly terrorized the people. For this reason, it is not surprising that the people in the region accept Çakıcı as a Savior rather than a rebel...", (Foreign Consul, Paul Blanc’s telegram to the French Foreign Affairs
Office from Istanbul to Paris, December 3, 1903, translated to Turkish and published by Ömer Sami Coşar: Milliyet: May 27, 1973).

It is clear that the story according to the French version, based on oral sources "according to the people"), consists of two motifs: A gang of six Albanians raped a female relative of Çakıcı's; and Çakıcı avenged her and punished the Albanians by killing the six, and many other Albanians.

Nonetheless, other than the "burning" and the increase in the number of Albanians to nine and a lack of clarity as to whether a rape of a female relative of Çakıcı's was involved, the story as reported by the newspapers was not detailed.

In addition to the telegram sent by Paul Blanc, another foreign source, "The Wide World Magazine", gives a detailed version of the story.

"The headman of Caimakdji lives in a comfortable dwelling on the outskirts of the village. He possesses a good deal of land, and passes as a wealthy man among the country folk. He has a beautiful daughter, of whom he is extremely proud. One day the girl mysteriously disappeared, and the distracted father had no clue to tell him what had happened to her. Had she fallen into the hands of the wandering Cziganis [gypsies]? Was she dead or alive? Revolving such thoughts in his distracted brain, the unhappy father was about roaming his property when he was accosted by a man who suddenly confronted him.

'I am Tchakidji Mehmet,' announced the man. 'I am Tchakidji. I have carried off your daughter, and I hold her to a ransom of sixteen thousand liras.'
'Sixteen hundred liras!' echoed the headman. 'And where am I to find sixteen hundred liras?'

'Do I know where you are to find it?' responded the stranger. 'This only I know - bring me sixteen hundred liras within a fortnight, or never hope to see your daughter again.'

The heart-broken father begged and implored the brigand to have mercy on him, but his entreaties were in vain.

'Bring me the money in a fortnight,' repeated the brigand, 'or - I swear it on my father's beard - your daughter is lost to you forever.' He proceeded to give the father instructions where to take the money - to a hill some distance away, where he was to light a fire at sunset and await Tchakidji and his band. This done, the brigand turned on his heel and departed, unheeding the cries for mercy from the unfortunate headman.

Several days passed, and the headman, by selling his property, succeeded in getting together about a thousand liras, but he had no hope of making up the remaining sum. Once again, sick at heart, he was roaming about his land, and again he was accosted by a stranger.

'Are you the headman of Caimakdji?' inquired the new-comer.

'I am.'

'Is it true that your daughter has been carried off by Tchakidji Mehmet?'

'Allah, Allah!' replied the poor fellow, 'it is indeed true.'

'And what are you doing in the matter?'

'What can I do? I have to take sixteen hundred liras to redeem her, and I can, alas, only raise about a thousand. I have sold my house and gathered in all the money I could, but I can raise no more, and my daughter will be lost to me. Tchakidji swore on his father's beard that I should not receive her back unless I paid the full amount. Aman, aman! ("Alas, alas!"). What shall I do?'

'You need six hundred liras to redeem your daughter?' said the stranger. 'Listen, now! I am sorry for you, and on one condition I will myself give you, and give you freely, the necessary amount.'

The eyes of the headman gleamed with fresh hope, and he eagerly asked what the condition was.
'It is this,' said the stranger, 'it is this - that you should describe to me the exact spot where you are to meet Tchakidji Mehmet to regain your daughter.'

The astonished father readily complied with the request, and the men parted on the understanding that they were to meet at the same spot the next day. It can be imagined with what joy the father found his unknown benefactor waiting for him. He received the promised six hundred liras, and joyfully acceded to the stranger's request that, when he went to pay the ransom, he would light the fire as near as he possibly could to a wood at the foot of the hill.

The father started off on the fourteenth day to pay the ransom and to receive his beloved daughter once more in his arms. Most carefully he obeyed the instructions he had received. He had two unarmed companions with him, and together they lighted the fire close to the wood at the foot of the hill. Then they sat down and awaited the brigand. Shortly after sunset seven men, headed by the brigand who had carried off the girl, appeared. To his intense joy the headman saw his daughter in their midst. The sixteen hundred liras were paid and the captive handed over in return. At this moment a startling interruption occurred. A body of men dashed out of the gloomy wood into the glare of the fire, and in a moment the brigands who had carried off the girl were surrounded and covered by a score of rifles.

A minute later and the brigands were lying on the ground, securely bound with ropes. The leader of the new arrivals proved to be the man who had given the headman the six hundred liras. He stepped forward and bade the headman retire with his daughter and his two companions. Then he turned to the bound men and taunted them with their cowardice in carrying off a defenseless girl. He asked them why they had not carried off a man instead, but the brigands were too confounded to make a reply. The father and daughter, hurrying joyfully homeward, heard the report of several rifle-shots, and knew that summary judgement had been dealt out to the evildoers. Later on the bodies of the seven men were found lying on the ground. The executors of this terrible punishment took back the ransom from the bodies of their victims, followed in the track
of the headman and his party, and soon they overtook him. The chief of the band addressed himself to the headman.

'Here,' said he, 'are the sixteen hundred liras you have paid for the ransoming of your daughter. Take your thousand and buy back your house and property. I take back the six hundred I lent you. Learn that those men lying dead behind us have paid the just penalty for taking the name of Tchakidji Mehmet in vain. Tchakidji does not war with women or take them captive. I know, for I, even I myself, am Tchakidji Mehmet. Take your money, take your daughter and go home, and forget not to returns thanks to Allah' (H.B.T.:1907)

This version of the story's main motifs can be outlined thus: By falsely using Çakıçığ's name a gang kidnapped an old man's daughter; Çakıçığ gives money to be able to learn where the gang will come; Çakıçığ finds out and surrounds the gang and kills all of them; the old man's daughter is saved; Çakıçığ's honor and fame is saved from those who have wrongly used his name.

These two examples provide evidence that the story of the yörük's daughter lost its time and place dimensions when they were created. H.B.T., who lived in Istanbul and worked for the British Embassy, most probably heard or recorded the story from someone who was outsider in the region of Ödemiş. This is evidenced by the place given where the event took place. "Kaymakçı" is the village next to Çakıçığ's village of Ayasurat (Türkönü), and the two are less than two miles apart. Socio-culturally they are connected and it is almost impossible that Çakıçığ's was not known to the headman of
"Kaymakçı". Moreover, Çakıcı's sister married in the village of Kaymakçı and Çakıcı Mehmet often visited his sister and stayed there, according to written sources (Sun: 1934).

However it can be assumed that Çakıcı killed Hasan Çavuş and Hüsnu Efendi as his first action against the state and took his father's blood revenge for this reason. The village of Kaymakçı was cited in the oral sources, and the creator or narrator of the story located the event in the village of Kaimakji. This shows that the process of the loosening of the time and place dimensions of Çakıcı's actions started when Çakıcı was still alive.

Moreover there is another important claim by Zeynel Besim Sun; he says that Çakıcı himself created some of his stories and circulated them among the people as propaganda. (Sun: 1934: 110). However, there is no evidence as to the proof of this claim.

B. Zeynel Besim Sun's Version of the Story and its Contextual Characteristics:

As noted in the chapter on Visual Media, a detailed version of the burning of the nine Albanians was presented by Zeynel Besim (Sun:1934) which summarily stated below.

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 whether told that an efe calling himself "Çakıcı" had kidnapped daughter, Raziye, and had taken the old man's flock away several hours ago.

Çakıcı Mehmet became irate when he discovered 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 intended to force Raziye to entertain them with dancing and singing during the dinner they were preparing to eat, while they drink alcohol. Çakıcı and his friends surrounded the imposter and his gang, captured them and tied them up.

Raziye was afraid that trouble would continue from 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. Çakıcı ordered a huge bonfire to be built. He then commanded his men's to throw the imposter and members of the imposter's gang (the nine members of which belonged to an ethnic Albanian tribe), into the bonfire one by one.

After compliance with this order, everyone sat down to a feast.

The time had now come for Çakıcı to leave, but before
doing so, he introduced himself as the real Çakıcı. The old man was astonished. He then asked the yörik, 'Will you accept me as a son?' The yörik accepted him, and Çakıcı and his friends departed

Years later, someone wanted to marry Raziye, the old yörik's daughter. Her father told her suitor that Raziye had a brother. For this reason, the marriage-minded man wished to ask for Çakıcı's blessing of 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. Çakıcı joined the wedding ceremony and festivities and gave his sister one-hundred gold coins (beşibirlik) as a dowry (Sun: 1934:1-12,

Zeynel Besim used the story of the yörik's daughter as an introduction to his book. The story was followed by a rhetorical question "Who was this Çakıcı Mehmet," then the author told the story of Çakıcı's father, his death, and why Çakıcı had become an outlaw. This selection of Zeynel Besim Sun shows that he accepted the story as one of the best representative elements of the Çakıcı cult. Furthermore, it will be seen that this emphasis functioned to enhance the commercial success of the story in the mediated performances market: Hayrettin Asarcıklı followed exactly this same
organization in that he also published the story first as representative of Çakıcı Mehmet Efe

Zeynel Besim published the story as an independent adventure of Çakıcı’s, remarking only that it was one of Çakıcı’s earlier ones. The content of the story stresses that an Albanian gang was involved and that a yörük’s daughter was kidnapped and his sheep were stolen by someone falsely using Çakıcı’s name.

Sun further emphasized in this story that Çakıcı was the kind of man who never sexually harassed anyone. When he rescued the yörük’s daughter, she was afraid that "this new gang of men" would continue to force her to dance for their entertainment, and would sexually abuse her. However Sun put Çakıcı in a situation of a brother to her, as he wrote:

"The two rebels tied up the nine Albanians very tightly. The poor yörük’s daughter still was distraught thinking that she had been captured by another gang. After the Albanians had been tied, Çakıcı Efe walked up to her and said, 'Don’t be afraid, my daughter. You are my sister in this world and the next. We will take you to your mother and father.'

"The yörük’s daughter knew the meaning of "being accepted as a sister in this world and the next". So she stood and stretched. Then she approached Çakıcı Efe and said, 'Brother (agha), I feel sick.'

"Çakıcı felt in his heart an awareness of being a good human being upon hearing the yörük’s daughter calling him "brother" with immediate trust" (Sun: 1934: 8-9).

The "brother/sister" motif represents how the Turkish people feel and act according to this ritualistic formula.
Traditionally, if a man wishes to make it clear that he has no sexual feelings toward a woman he accepts her as a "sister" in this world and the next (dunya ve ahret kardesi olmak). This is an important tradition which makes it easy for a woman to trust a man. Both parties believe that God is a witness of the situation. This formula still is commonly used by the Turkish people especially in rural areas.

Zeynel Besim Sun later emphasized this formula twice more in "the story of the yoruk's daughter":

"When everything was over, Çakıcı asked the old yörük, 'Father, what is your daughter's name?'
'Zeliye.'
'Zeliye is my sister in this world and the next world. Will you accept me as a son?'
'Oh, my dear son, of course. What I have is yours. Of course I accept you.'
'I'm Çakıcı Mehmet.'
'You are Çakıcı Mehmet? Are you Çakıcı Mehmet Efe who became very famous in a short time? Oh, if you are Çakıcı Mehmet, who were those men who robbed me?'
'They were horrible men who were (falsely) using my name in that manner.'
And Çakıcı kissed the hands of the old man and his wife. Çakıcı made that old man and his wife his mother and father" (Sun: 1934: 12).

The main motifs in Sun's version are that Çakıcı and his men visit an old "yoruk" and his wife on a mountain-top and finding the two weeping, discover that a gang falsely operating under Çakıcı's name have kidnapped the old man's daughter; Çakıcı and his men take off after the imposter gang of Albanians and soon find them forcing the yörük's
daughter to entertain them with dancing; Çakıcı successfully attacks the imposter gang and ties them up; the daughter is saved; she fears sexual molestation from this new gang; Çakıcı puts her at ease by using the traditional Turkish "brother/sister" formula by accepting her as a sister in this and the next life; Çakıcı, taking the Albanians with him, returns the daughter, Raziye, to her ecstatic elderly parents; he orders the members of the false gang to be thrown into a fire; he asks to be, and is, accepted as the yörük’s son; some years later Çakıcı investigates the character and life-situation of three suitors wishing Raziye’s hand in marriage, finally giving his blessing to the third; he joins Raziye’s wedding ceremony and gives his sister a dowry of a hundred gold coins; and Çakıcı’s honor is restored from ill-usage of his name by the other gang

C. Murat Sertoğlu’s Version of the Story and its Contextual Characteristics:

The same story, of fifteen pages in length, is the longest one in the book of only eighty-five pages written by Murat Sertoğlu (Sertoğlu: 1942-24-38). Sertoğlu organized his work in a fashion exactly opposite to that of Sun. He told the story of Çakıcı’s father and Çakıcı’s trip to the mountains first, followed by the ‘story of the yörük’s daughter’, emphasizing that particular event was the reason for Çakıcı’s animosity for Albanian Turks.
Nonetheless, he tells the same story mentioning it as "the story of the nine Albanians who were burned by Çakıcı" keeping the same motif but presenting the story in a slightly different way:

"... Let's tie them up very well."

The yörük's daughter, Raziye, was evaluating Efe's behavior. She got an impression that he was not a bad man; for this reason, she threw herself at Çakıcı Efe's feet and started to beg him, 'Oh Efe, please save me from these horrible men... please... have mercy upon me for my youth and my being a girl... I am not a bad girl... Raziye was crying and begging...

Efe (Çakıcı) looked at the young woman who was crying at his feet. Moreover, he was confessing that he had never seen such a beautiful daughter of a yörük.

Efe gently pulled her to her feet and looked into her shining, black eyes for a long time. Then he said softly, 'Don't be frightened. there are no bad feelings toward you from our side' (Sertoğlu: 1942: 30)."

Murat Sertoğlu also used the formula of platonic relationship between men and women in his story:

"Then, Efe called the old yörük and his daughter to come close to him. He said to the old man, 'Your daughter is my sister in this world and the next world. If someone looks at her with any evil purpose - to make blind those eyes is my life's debt...' (Sertoğlu: 1942: 31).

As is obvious, Sertoğlu maintains virtually the same the motific thrust as previously outlined in regard to the foregoing sources. However, as will be further explored later, by injecting Çakıcı's noticing of the physical
attributes of the yörük’s daughter, it can be suggested that Sertoğlu insinuated a new, hidden motif of veiled sexuality in the story for the first time. His motivations for possibly having done so can be a matter of pure speculation only, but he perhaps did so to invoke more intrigue, and therefore, more interest in his story.

Further, he delineates his protagonist’s noble character by pitting his resistance to impure behavior against her physical charms. As will be noted, this new motific direction greatly influenced the plots of the Kenç and Erksan movies.

Yaşar Kemal’s version of the story in the second part of his book (which functions as a supplement was recorded from Rüstü Kobaş, and it is basically the same as Sun’s version (Kemal: 1972: 152-155)

D Hayrettin Asarcıklı’s Version of the Story and its Contextual Characteristics:

Hayrettin Asarcıklı’s version replaces the Albanian gang with an Armenian one, and Çakıcı simply kills them rather than burning them. When Çakıcı takes the yörük’s daughter back to her father, her father gives Çakıcı a box full of golden coins. Çakıcı gives one coin to each of his men, and he gives the rest of the coins and the box to the yörük’s daughter saying:

"Sister, you are my sister in this world and the next world. I give you this money now
as a gift for dowry. It may be that I will not be able to join your wedding ceremony' (Asarcıklı: 1973: 15).

Here, the dowry motif presented by Sun is transformed. In Asarcıklı’s version, Çakıcı shares the money with his men, presenting the rest of the yörük’s reward to the yörük’s daughter as a prenuptial dowry. This change is based on Hayrettin Asarcıklı’s imagination and it was influenced by his political agenda. He wanted to show “how good a nationalist and moslem Çakıcı Mehmet Efe was” (Asarcıklı: 1991).

E. Faruk Kenç’s Version of the Story and its Contextual Characteristics:

In terms of the visual media, Faruk Kenç also presented the same story in Çakıcı Efe as was told by Sun in his book except that Kenç added the motif of the yörük’s daughter Raziye’s, falling in love with Çakıcı to provide the movie’s plot with “more intrigue” as follows:

The yörük’s 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 (Kence: 1952 and 1991

The "brother/sister" motif as it pertains to Çakıcı is retained by Kenç in Çakıcı Efe inasmuch as Çakıcı accepts Raziye according to the "brother/sister" formula rather than getting romantically involved with her. However, the romantically rejected Raziye becomes jealous of the woman who Çakıcı does indeed marry, she considers killing her, then falls over a precipice on her horse and dies while fleeing from Çakıcı’s men.

It is useful here to note that, hitherto, transmissional variations of the main motifs, when they have occurred, have pivoted around the culturally powerful "brother/sister" formula of plutonism. This very fact would seem to point up the influence that the socio-cultural context can exert upon the transmissional process.

F. Hasan Özdemir Version of the Story and its Contextual Characteristics:

The same story’s performance in Kenç’s movie influenced Hasan Özdemir in his creation of Çakıcı Efe Oyunu 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 toward and back. Çakıcı comes upon the tumultuous scene, and shouting loudly, begins firing his rifle (Hasan Özdemir employed fake bullets (kuruslık) 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 as his imitation of feminine mannerisms is also the funniest part of the play 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 yerı), whereupon the play comes to a close (Özdemir: 1987).

When Hasan Özdemir went to see the Kenç’s movie, he already knew Çakıcı’s personality from traditional sources. He went specifically to see a "Çakıcı movie", and the movie helped Hasan imagine the plot of his play. However Hasan Özdemir created it according to the tradition of village theater and the general socio-cultural context of the village.

It is clear that Hasan Özdemir’s traditional village theater is not a Çakıcı Efe story (narration in the traditional sense). It has new generic features. The
generic imagination of the performance is borrowed from the movie, but its performance features, as a genre, are borrowed from the tradition of village theater. The play’s spontaneous performance—the facial make-up of the actors, their costumes, the place where performances took place with their accompanying decorations and organization—all belong to the Anatolian village drama tradition.

These generic aspects also influenced the content of the story. Sophisticated actions or motifs are eliminated; only Çakıcı’s protection of women, his courage, and his characteristics of leadership continue. They serve to let the person acting Çakıcı’s role (Hasan Özdemir) perform according to his spontaneous acting abilities. He is thereby allowed to organize the larger scale interactions between the play and its audiences. When he feels that his audiences are becoming bored he can bring the play to a close.

His use of a gun also has two functions. Using a gun in the play is related to another tradition, for guns are used during wedding ceremonies and similar occasions for fun, in rural areas of Turkey. The Çakıcı in the play follow this tradition. Moreover the use of the fake bullets eliminates the danger since using real bullets had accidently caused injury or death on many other similar occasions.

Second, the gun is used to capture the attention of sleepy audiences and to denote the beginning and end of the
"game" as a framework or "symbol" of the "game." It is clear that the gun also represents Çakıcı’s power and it could be speculated that these unconsciously combined functions of the gun were beneficial for the success of the theater play in Özdemir’s village.

G. Metin Erksan’s Version of the Story and its Contextual Characteristics:

The strength of the socio-cultural context will be further demonstrated in Metin Erksan’s Dokuz Dağın Efesi which presents yet another version of the same story as follows.

Çakıcı and his friends make a visit to the tent of Ekberoğlu, the yörük, and learn about the kidnapping of Raziye and the 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 where 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 Çakıcı. Raziye saves Çakıcı by hiding him in her room, and gives him her father’s message in accordance with the advice of her father’s friend.

Meanwhile, the state is getting tired of countering Çakıcı’s rebellion, and make a gesture of amnesty toward him. He accepts because of his love for Raziye, and the two are married (Erksan: 1958 and 1989)

It is interesting to note the interaction that arose between the Erksan movie and the public, as will presently explored; for all of the printed and visual media were accepted as resources of Çakıcı stories; in other words except for Erksan’s presentation of Çakıcı’s relationship with Raziye, and the public’s criticism of the oral sources Yalçın:1991 for Murat Sertoğlu’s second book, there have been no complaints about the cited mediated performances

And, except for the Erksan movie, though the individuals responsible for the different mediated performances reflected Çakıcı according to their interpretations, the character of Çakıcı and all the well-
known motifs were maintained: his learning of Raziye's kidnapping by someone falsely using his name, Çakıcı's killing of them, his taking of Raziye as a "sister in this and the next world, his gifts of gold to her, and so on.

The targets of these mediated performances, as oral sources themselves, accepted the entire canon of written and visual versions; even the changes in Kenç's movie were possible since Kenç did not violate the platonic "brother/sister" formula which has been such an important aspect of Turkish culture. Çakıcı keeps his word and continues to act toward Raziye as a brother in Kenç's cinematic version of the story.

However, Metin Erksan's Dokuz Dağın Efesi represents Çakıcı as a person who falls in love with and finally marries the woman whom he has saved from a gang. Not surprisingly, such a representation of Çakıcı's relationship with Raziye has not, and still does not fit the people's expectations of heroic behavior upon Çakıcı's part. As has already been hinted, the story with the "brother/sister formula is well-known, and the motif is quite firmly fixed in the popular mind.

Dokuz Dağın Efesi did get the Turkish Journalists' Association Movie Festival award Türk Gazeteciler Cemiyeti Film Festivali, May 20-29: 1959; Özön: 1968:141). This honor for Erksan did not stop public criticism of the violation of the "brother/sister" formula presented in the movie. The
movie was also criticized and banned by the movie consul of the State (censorship), though the censored status of the movie changed a year later when an army coup occurred in Turkish political history on May 27, 1960. With the establishment of a new regime came a new constitution which provided greater scope for freedom of speech, of the press and of expression of opinion (Scognamillo: 1987: 146-147).

As a possible measure of public dissatisfaction with *Dokuz Dağın Efesi*, it is interesting to note that a grandson of Çakırcağlı, Sadık Akkaş, tried to sue Metin Erksan in court "for misrepresenting and lying about Çakırcağlı", though he was unable to do so (Akkaş: 1991).

Moreover, this criticism continued when the movie was remade in color for video: Another grandson of Çakırcağlı's Salih Çakırcağlı, refused to act in the part of the movie which portrays Çakırcağlı and Raziye falling in love and showing their passion for one another, though he did appear in the movie's wedding scene so that he could demonstrate his dancing ability (Çakırcağlı: 1991).

Nonetheless, his protest against the movie's violation of the "brother/sister" formula can perhaps be counted as somewhat different from the criticism of the movie by the public at large. He is the only known person still alive who claims to have known the real-life Raziye. Salih Çakırcağlı asserts that he listened to stories told by Raziye...
(Çakırcaalı: 1991 when he was a five or six year old, as earlier noted in the chapter on the Visual Media. Criticisms of the Metin Erksan movie, even among the most militant critics which have been mentioned, has been limited to Erksan’s presentation of the marriage which took place between the yöruk’s daughter and Çakıcı Mehmet, and their public display of affection with its overtones of sexuality. This behavior is not easily accepted by a public which idealizes Çakıcı Mehmet as a pure and completely heroic character who never makes mistakes or engages in culturally taboo behavior.

In addition to Erksan’s presentation of the Çakıcı/Raziye marriage motif, there are the other new elements brought into the cult by Erksan’s movie. But these were not criticized by the people. Moreover, they were accepted by oral sources who criticized the one taboo element in the movie.

These other new elements and the possibilities which make these new elements acceptable by the populace are that Metin Erksan named the yöruk "Ekberoğlu" (Erksan: 1958, 1989), and Çakıcı’s death at the hand of Bayındırlı Mehmet Çavuş. (Erksan: 1958: 1989)

Both H. B. T 1907 and Asarcıklı (1973 described the yöruk as a wealthy man though they did not give his name Metin Erksan described the yöruk as a wealthy yöruk agha tribal leader, "yöruk": tribe) and gave him a typical