

AN INTERTEXTUAL ANALYSIS OF ADAPTATIONS OF TURKISH FOLK  
NARRATIVES WRITTEN BY LEFT-ORIENTED INTELLECTUALS IN THE  
1960S AND 1970S

A THESIS SUBMITTED TO  
THE GRADUATE SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCES  
OF  
MIDDLE EAST TECHNICAL UNIVERSITY

BY

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IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS  
FOR  
THE DEGREE OF MASTER OF SCIENCE  
IN  
THE DEPARTMENT OF MEDIA AND CULTURAL STUDIES

MARCH 2021



Approval of the thesis:

**AN INTERTEXTUAL ANALYSIS OF ADAPTATIONS OF TURKISH FOLK  
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1960S AND 1970S**

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## ABSTRACT

### AN INTERTEXTUAL ANALYSIS OF ADAPTATIONS OF TURKISH FOLK NARRATIVES WRITTEN BY LEFT-ORIENTED INTELLECTUALS IN THE 1960S AND 1970S

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March 2021, 223 pages

This thesis analyses adaptations of folk narratives written by left-oriented intellectuals in the 1960s and 1970s in an intertextual context. By analyzing 16 adaptations of folk romances and stories, the study tries to reveal ideological and political transformations, changes and additions in literary characteristics of narratives in terms of content and form. Then it discusses how folk materials were reinterpreted from the leftist perspective by examining dominant conflict of narratives, depictions of popular folk characters, their helpers and opponents, conceptualization of love between heroes and heroines and utterances of characters by associating them with contextual factors. Within this frame this thesis tries to reveal what kind of meaning these adaptations created and how it differs from the preceded versions of folk narratives.

**Keywords:** folk narratives, folklore, the left, adaptations, intellectuals

## ÖZ

### 1960’LI VE 1970’Lİ YILLARDA SOL EĞİLİMLİ ENTELEKTÜELLERİN YAZDIĞI HALK ANLATILARININ UYARLAMALARININ METİNLERARASI İNCELEMESİ

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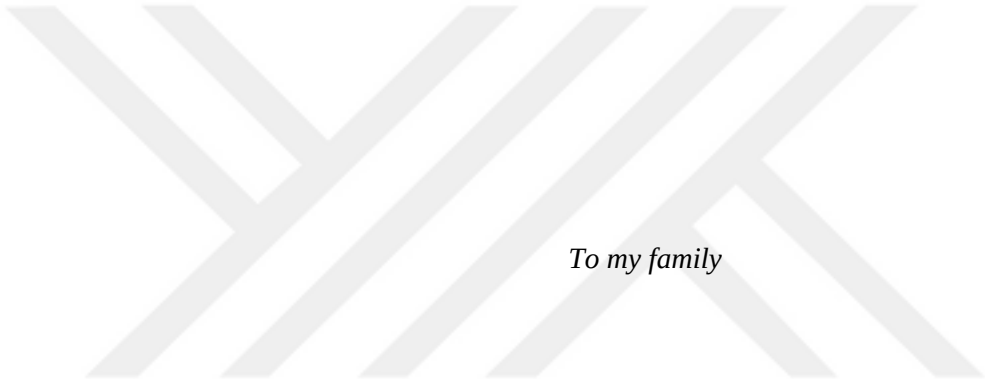
Yüksek Lisans, Medya ve Kültürel Çalışmalar Bölümü

Tez Yöneticisi: Prof. Dr. Necmi Erdoğan

Mart 2021, 223 sayfa

Bu tez, 1960'lı ve 1970'li yıllarda sol eğilimli entelektüellerin yazdığı halk anlatılarının uyarlamalarını metinlerarası bir bağlamda inceliyor. Bu çalışma, folklorik aşk hikayelerinin ve öykülerinin 16 uyarlamasını analiz ederek, anlatıların edebi özelliklerindeki ideolojik ve politik dönüşümleri, değişiklikleri ve eklemeleri içerik ve biçim açısından ortaya çıkarmaya çalışmaktadır. Ardından, anlatıların baskın çatışmalarını, popüler halk karakterlerinin, yardımcıların ve düşmanlarının tasvirlerini, erkek ve kadın kahramanlar arasındaki aşkın kavramsallaştırılmasını ve karakterlerin ifadelerini bağlamsal faktörlerle ilişkilendirerek halk anlatılarının sol perspektiften nasıl yeniden yorumlandığını tartışır. Bu çerçevede bu tez, bu uyarlamaların nasıl bir anlam yarattığını ve halk anlatılarının önceki versiyonlarından nasıl farklılaştığını ortaya çıkarmaya çalışmaktadır.

**Anahtar kelimeler:** halk anlatıları, folklor, sol, uyarlamalar, entelektüeller



*To my family*

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

First and foremost, I would like to express my gratitude to my supervisor Prof. Dr. Necmi Erdoğan, since thanks to his great patience and guidances I learned to look from a different perspective which makes possible this study. From the beginning to the end, even though sometimes I lost my way, thanks to his precious comments I could continue to move on. His unique knowledge inspired me a lot and this inspiration motivates me for future studies.

I would also like to thank Prof. Dr. L. Doğan Tılıç and Assist. Prof. Özgür Avcı for their detailed reading and valuable comments and suggestions. I specifically owe much to Assist. Prof. Özgür Avcı because he always motivated me to keep going and I am grateful for his encouragement.

I also owe a debt of gratitude to my family and my dear friends Çağla Üren and İrem Elbir, without their solidarity and support I would not finish this thesis.

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## **CHAPTER 1**

### **INTRODUCTION**

#### **1.1 Objective of the Study**

This thesis is an attempt to analyze the narrative structure of adaptations of folk romances and stories written by left-oriented intellectuals from an intertextual perspective. As a political and ideological move, left-oriented intellectuals and the left in the 1960s and 1970s tried to articulate folk or the people into their political discourse, and as part of this move they reinterpreted materials of folk culture and such an initiative gave a rise to the creation of a range of adaptations. In other words, political and ideological practices of the left posed some changes and transformations in popular folkloric materials in this particular time period. In this sense, this thesis aims to reveal how left-oriented intellectuals reinterpreted popular folkloric materials, especially folk romances and stories, from their perspective and what kind of literary changes and transformations were constructed as a result of this political and ideological attempt will be trying to be analyzed.

However, because of the fact that there were several political and ideological differences among the left, if the left is conceptualized as a spectrum that contains various perspectives, it is not possible to mention homogenous practices in this regard. In other words, even though there were similarities among perspectives of left-oriented intellectuals, differences are also as important as similarities and while there were some common characteristics among those intellectual practices, there were also apparent diverse political and ideological tendencies among them. Thus, this thesis will try to show not only similar characteristics of leftist adaptations of folk narratives but also their differences.

In this regard, because of the fact that leftist discourse reflected itself not only on written materials but also on folkloric performances of minstrels, it is important to note that leftist reinterpretation practices pervaded different terrains and they showed themselves on different fields of folk culture. In other words, articulation of folk themes into leftist discourse was a comprehensive political and ideological endeavor, and not only intellectuals but also minstrels as folk figures took part in this endeavor and in turn, leftist inclinations could be detected in different folk materials produced in the 1960s and 1970s.

Within this frame, it is important to highlight that the Association of Minstrels<sup>1</sup> (Aşıklar Derneği) was established in 1963 by the left-oriented minstrels such as Sefer Aytekin, Aşık Ali İzzet who were in relation with the Worker's Party of Turkey (TİP), and it was the signal flare that leftist imagination and folk culture were blended with each other and more importantly by such an initiative, materials of folk culture were turned into a way of political expression. This association included also other minstrels such as Aşık İhsani<sup>2</sup> and Mahzuni Şerif, and as a highly important folk figure Mahzuni Şerif explained how and why they established this association as follows:

At that time the Worker's Party of Turkey (TİP) was in the process of establishment. We were getting touch with TİP menagers. Only they were protecting us. We knew nobody and nobody was taking care of our problems. We needed to establish the Association of Minstrels. It was because minstrels in Turkey were constantly living under oppression and in poverty. At least a little bit they had to get rid of such conditions. They had to organize. We did what was necessary. We established the Association of Minstrels. We tried to get heard and give concerts around various places. We were successful on these attempts. With the help of our

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<sup>1</sup> Salahaddin Bekki (2008, 272) mentions that at that time this association could be referred as Association of Revolutionary Minstrels (Devrimci Ozanlar Derneği) or Association of Turkish Folk Minstrels (Türk Halk Ozanları Derneği).

<sup>2</sup> Başgöz (1986:188) mentions that Aşık İhsani was an extremely important figure in this regard at that time that he sang protest folk songs in front of Turkish parliament, government offices and Hilton Otel which were new practices for the minstrel tradition.

friend Fikret Oytam and the Union of Journalists, we organized concerts.<sup>3</sup>  
(quoted in Bekki, 2008:272)

As Mahzuni Şerif indicated, the reason for forming such an association was constructing a political struggle in a way to change minstrels' living conditions in which they were oppressed and poor, and at that time may be the most effective leftist political actor TİP also took part in this initiative (Başgöz, 1986:188). In this sense, it is necessary to mention that TİP could be thought of as a leftist political and cultural hub which contained highly important figures, regarding this study, such as Fakir Baykurt, Talip Apaydın, Afşar Timuçin, and so on. Especially as graduates of village institutes, teachers, and intellectuals Fakir Baykurt and Mahmut Makal took part in propaganda activities of TİP such as radio speeches and they became the voice of TİP when communicating with workers, peasants, teachers, and intellectuals (Nartok, 2014:38). Within this frame, it could be said that at the very beginning of the 1960s TİP brought both intellectuals and minstrels into the same pot and this had an important effect on the articulation of the themes of folk culture into leftist discourse and reinterpretation of folkloric materials. In this regard, it is important to highlight the fact that, as Mahzuni Şerif suggested, folk materials were reformed as tools for expressing political and ideological thoughts and oppositions in this particular time period.

On the other hand, it is also necessary and significant to mention the fact that for creating an alternative for the Association of Minstrels, right-oriented minstrels came together and created another unity in 1966, and name of this initiative was Feast of Minstrels (Aşıklar Bayramı) (Bekki, 2008:273). Alongside this initiative, rightist

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<sup>3</sup> Bu dönem TİP'in kuruluş yıllarına rastlıyordu. TİP yöneticileriyle ilişki kurduk. Bize yalnız onlar sahip çıkıyordu. Başka kimseyi tanıımıyorduk, bizimle ilgilenen yoktu. Bir Aşıklar Derneği kurmamız gerekti. Nedeni şu idi. Türkiye'de halk ozanları sürekli ezilmişlik, yoksulluk içinde yaşamışlardı. Bu durumdan tamamen olmasa da kurtulmaları gerekti. Örgütlenmeleri gerekiyordu. Biz bu gerekeni yaptık. Aşıklar Derneğini kurduk. Sesimizi duyurmaya, çeşitli yerlerde konserler vermeye çalıştık. Bu çabalarımızda başarılı da olduk. Dost Fikret Oytam'ın ve Gazeteciler Sendikası'nın desteği ile konserler verdik.

minstrels such as Ozan Arif, Kemali B  b  l, Kul Mustafa composed folk songs from their political and ideological perspective and in those folk songs on the one hand there was apparent anger against the left and socialists; on the other hand, there was praising for rightist political leaders such as Alparslan T  rke   (Bekki, 2008:285). In this regard, it is possible to argue that folk culture especially in the 1960s and 1970s was highly politicized and it was turned into a political and ideological arena in which different sides conflicted with each other.

Within this context, it is important to note that even though this thesis slightly refers to what kind of themes right-oriented minstrels used in their verses, works of right-oriented intellectuals that reinterpreted folk materials will be put aside. Because addition of these works to the analysis will change political and ideological context, this thesis will not take works of right-oriented intellectuals into account. For example, how intellectuals from different ideological and political poles associate themselves with religion and religious themes may require another layer for analysis and such an addition could change the axle of this thesis.

However, it is necessary to mention that at that time not only minstrels and intellectuals but also common people used folk materials for expressing their resentment about poverty and oppression. In this sense, letters from readers of   etin Altan, who was one of the members of parliament from T  P and journalist, vividly exemplify this phenomenon. For instance, one of Altan's readers stated his political thoughts and resentment against injustices and poverty by using patterns of folk poetry in his letter to Altan as follows:

Rightists got out of control/ İsmet (İn  n  ) began to brood/ He was always against authoritarian ruling/ Now he goes hand in hand with authoritarian ruling/ They were riding a white horse, what a misery/ He totally had their strings/ Price increase comes out of nowhere/ Of both salt and honey/ The people tightened their belts/ Resentments are heard now/ The poor are sick

and tired of poverty/ Look at their living conditions...<sup>4</sup> (quoted in Altan, 1967:126)

This particular example gives a hint that folk materials and folk culture as a whole were important fields in which leftist political and ideological remarks could be seen in this particular time period. And in this regard, it is possible to argue that political language and folk language came closer to each other and their intermingling created an interface so to speak, and because of this interface, it is possible to find both traces of folk materials in leftist political language and marks of leftist political language in folk materials.

Within this frame, it is necessary to state that political and ideological reinterpretation of folk materials from the leftist perspective was nourished by the change in the understanding of folk or the people and in turn, change in populism. In other words, in this particular time period conceptualization of the people and understanding of populism were transformed in comparison with the previous era, and this political and ideological change could be detected in various cultural materials produced at that time. In this sense, analysis of leftist adaptations of folk narratives is necessary to be made in relation to this political and ideological atmosphere, and by revealing reverberations of this shift in political understanding on cultural materials, how leftist imagination was shaped at that time could be understood better.

Before the 1960s it is possible to say Kemalist understanding of populism was dominant in the political arena, however in the 1960s and 1970s by strengthening of the leftist political actors, Kemalist understanding of populism was gradually transformed, and left populism was getting more effective. In this sense, while Kemalist understanding of populism could be summarized by the motto of “for the

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<sup>4</sup> ... Sağcılar için azıttı/ İsmete başın kaşıttı/ O diktaya hep karşıttı/ Girdi koluna koluna/ Bindiler kırata ne gam/ Sahipti o dizgine tam/ Nerden çıktıysa çıktı zam/ Tuzdan balına balına/ Halk gene kemerin sıkıttı/ Şikayet ayyuka çıktı/ Fakirler osandı bıktı/ Bak şu halına halına...

people, despite the people”, left populism could be coined as “for the people, with the people” and as Erdoğan (1998:27) states, different political actors within the leftist political and ideological frame appeared to interiorize such an understanding even though their political agendas could diverge from each other.

In this sense, it is highly important to note that for Bülent Ecevit, who was one of the most important political figures in the 1970s and thought as representative of the ideological stance of “left of the center”, lots of folk songs were composed and he was named as Karaoğlan (Başgöz, 1986:189) and this name resembled phonetically to the names of folk figures such as Karacaoğlan, Dadaloğlu or Koroğlu. That is to say, at that time one of the most influential political figures was reimagined as a folk hero and this example simply shows how folk culture, leftist figures and leftist political and ideological stance were intertwined with each other. In other words, because of the fact that a different sense of populism came into the political arena of Turkey, this understanding of “for the people, with the people” made closer leftist figures and the people. Therefore, it is possible to detect reverberations of such an interaction between the left and folk culture in almost every instance of leftist politics and folk materials at that time.

However, it does not mean such an attempt of articulation of the people and folk culture into political discourse pertains only to the left. On the contrary, historically in every instance in which the folk or the people and their culture were reconfigured, it is possible to mention newer political and ideological relations. Especially in the 19th century, middle-class European intellectuals collected, rewritten, and in turn reinterpreted folk materials as part of modernization practices and as a result of those practices, newer versions of folk materials were deemed as authentic sources of nations and such a phenomenon was one of the main reinforcements which fuelled formation of nationalism in Europe. Within this era, folk materials such as folk songs, folk narratives, proverbs, and so on were handled and refunctionalized for the sake of nationalism in almost all countries of Europe.

Reinterpretation of folk materials as part of modernization practices and formation of nationalism could be seen in Turkey in the process of the formation of the new Republic as well. In this sense, folk materials were reinterpreted and refunctionalized from the nationalist perspective by the intellectuals. Although just like European examples, folk materials were deemed as sources of the nation; in those reinterpreted versions of folk materials in line with the understanding of “for the people, despite the people”, it is possible to find a pedagogical stance which positioned the people as pupils and intellectuals as teachers of the people, which means thinking folk materials as authentic sources does not prevent reinterpretation and recreation of those materials.

From this point of view, it is necessary to highlight the fact that folk materials are not immune from political and ideological struggles and it is possible to find various versions of folk materials as results of such struggles historically. In this sense, analyzing folk materials from such a perspective reveals how folk materials were reinterpreted from a particular perspective and eventually what kind of meaning folk materials expressed. In other words, within this frame folk materials could be thought of as social terrains in which it is possible to find struggles of different political sides and in turn, revealing those struggles from folk materials has social and historical importance. Within the context of this thesis, it is important to uncover literary changes, transformations, and additions by leftist intellectuals because such social and historical importance lies in traces of how the understanding of the folk and folk culture have varied within the spectrum of the left which this analysis provides.

In terms of this study, in the 1960s and 1970s, left-oriented minstrels gave new meaning to folk materials within their performances on the one hand, and left-oriented intellectuals adapted several folk narratives, on the other hand. Regarding both adapted texts of authors and live performances of minstrels, it seems there was an apparent interaction between the left and folk culture, and this interaction reflected itself on several occasions irrespective of whether it was text or performance. In other words, such an interaction constructed between the left and folk culture could be detected in various pieces such as adaptations of left-oriented authors or performances of left-oriented minstrels. Because of the fact that even though there were a few studies on

works of left-oriented minstrels, this is not the case for the works or adaptations of left-oriented intellectuals. And because of this reason, the focus of this study will be directed to the adaptations of left-oriented intellectuals.

In this sense, even though there was a range of different adapted folk materials at that time, this study takes adaptations of folk romances and stories into account, and the reason for this decision is that adaptations of left-oriented intellectuals made those different narratives alike in terms of content and form, and similarities of these narratives make it possible to analyze them together. In other words, even though folk narratives have lots of differences in terms of form, content, literary style, etc., these differences became indistinct in leftist adaptations of folk romances and stories by literary transformations, changes, and additions made by left-oriented intellectuals. Thus this characteristic makes analysis of folk romances and stories together possible.

Within this frame, this study aims to reveal ideological processing in adaptations of folk materials written by left-oriented intellectuals, and by doing so how the left handled folk materials from their perspective politically and ideologically is intended to be shown, and by doing so it aims to give a better understanding for both political and cultural atmosphere of the 1960s and 1970s. In this sense, this particular study revolves around a range of questions such as how folk narratives were reinterpreted from the left, how this particular reinterpretation differentiated from the preceded examples, and what kind of meaning of those reinterpreted narratives constructed. In other words, because characteristics of folk narratives could vary from period to period and from perspective to perspective, this thesis aims to reveal how characteristics and meaning of folk narratives changed by the leftist perspective in the 1960s and 1970s. To this end, narrative structures of adaptations in terms of content and form will be analyzed. In this sense plotline, the dominant conflict between folk characters and their enemies, the depiction of main folk characters, the portrayal of supporting characters or helpers, the conceptualization of love, utterances of folk characters, and direct speeches of authors within adaptations will be taken into account.

Because of the fact that those adaptations could be thought of as bridges between the past and the present, those materials are convenient for analysis of how the left transformed depiction of folk characters and understanding of the folk culture of the past by using the language of the present. In other words, through adapting folk narratives, left-oriented intellectuals communicated not only with the audience but also with the past and preceded depictions of folk characters and conceptualizations of folk narratives. That is to say, by initiating such an intellectual endeavor, leftist authors would not only make contact with the readers but with the meaning of the preceded examples of adapted folk narratives. In this sense, in terms of this particular study both synchronic and diachronic aspects of the interaction between the left and folk culture will be attempted to be understood from a comprehensive perspective.

In this regard, by attempting to compare and contrast variations of folk narratives in time in general, this thesis takes folk narratives as an arena of political and ideological struggle; i.e. endeavor of leftist intellectuals could be conceptualized as an attempt to struggle over the meaning of folk narratives. That is to say, because of the fact that diachronic change and transformation of the meaning of folk narratives is highly important in terms of this study, early attempts at a reinterpretation of folk narratives will be addressed. And within this frame by making an intertextual reading, while characteristics of folk narratives in terms of form and content are analyzed, political and ideological dimensions of those adaptations will be given special importance. In other words, even though literary aspects of those texts are not completely ignored, what differentiates this study from any folklore study, which only stresses different and similar characteristics of variations or adaptations of folk narratives, is taking contextual factors into account.

From this point of view, this thesis will examine adaptations of folk narratives written by left-oriented intellectuals by not staying within the borders of literary analysis and folk studies. In other words, instead of just indicating how those adaptations differ from preceded counterparts, this study aims to reveal why this is the case by taking contextual factors into account. In this sense, one of the main aims of this study is to show how left-oriented intellectuals try to affect the political and ideological

atmosphere of Turkey by using tools of folk culture and by communicating from the very realm of folk culture. For making such an analysis, how political and ideological perspectives of left-oriented intellectuals pervade utterances of folk characters, depictions of their adventures, functions of them in narrations, and portraying of surrounding environments in narrations will be analyzed. Hence, because of the fact that almost all features and instances of folk narratives wrapped themselves up in new appearances, those have to be everted inside out and political and ideological functions of those literary transformations and changes have to be revealed.

Within this frame, this thesis primarily suggests that left-oriented intellectuals' adaptations of folk narratives have to be contemplated in relation to political and ideological struggle over the meaning of folk narratives and the definition and depiction of the people. Because of the fact that those adaptations are not only literary texts but also social terrains in which it could be seen that ideological and political clashes between different sides permeated, only such a perspective could reveal the social importance of those adaptations. In this regard, main questions of this thesis are (1) how left-oriented intellectuals reinterpreted folk materials, (2) what kind of political and ideological meaning of these reinterpreted versions of folk materials created, and minor questions are (1) how and why the meaning of leftist adaptations differentiated from meanings of preceded versions of folk materials, (2) how depictions and utterances of popular folk characters and literary styles and plotlines of folk narratives were transformed, (3) how social functions of folk narratives were changed.

From this point of view, first of all, this study will reveal that dominant conflict in some of these adaptations of folk narratives was transformed into the conflict between the poor and the rich, and in the rest dominant conflict between the oppressed and oppressors was implemented. It is important to note that even though some traditional folk materials have an oppositional character against oppressors and injustices, this characteristic is not apparent in every folk material and especially this characteristic could vary by content and form. For example, while in traditional variations of the epic of Koroğlu it is possible to find this oppositional character more easily, it is not that

possible when it comes to traditional variations of folk romances. In other words, oppositional character against oppressors and injustices or dominant conflict between the oppressed and oppressors could not be detected in every folk material equally and this characteristic of folk materials displays a complicated appearance. However, this study will reveal that even though in traditional folk romances there is no such an apparent oppositional character, leftist adaptations of them added this dominant conflict in narrations.

Secondly, depictions of popular folk characters were changed and they gained different appearances and this study will try to show how left-oriented intellectuals transformed depictions of popular folk characters such as Ferhat, Şirin, Deli Dumrul concerning their political and ideological perspective and how those depictions differ from the preceded examples. Even though historically popular folk characters could show themselves in different profiles, their appearances in leftist adaptations are dramatically diverse from traditional variations of folk narratives.

Thirdly, the depiction of the love of folk characters will be analyzed because in folk romances love factor is the main theme of those narratives and in this sense, the different conceptualization of love will provide important traces for this analysis. Therefore, it will be argued that love between folk characters gained different political and ideological meanings such as struggle or opposition against injustices. While in traditional narratives love of folk characters has an only individual meaning, in adaptations of left-oriented intellectuals it gained a social meaning. It will be shown that throughout the storyline folk characters try to overcome obstacles not only for coming together but also for helping the people.

Finally, the functions of some characters are changed and new actants are involved in narratives such as the people as a social body. In other words, in adaptations of left-oriented intellectuals, traditional opponents in folk narratives could be turned into a helper, or new characters in the role of helper could be proposed. In this sense addition of the people as a social body in narratives has highly important political and ideological meaning, because as it is stated it reverberates the understanding of “for

the people, with the people”. By situating the people as a helper in narratives, the people are turned into an actor and their help has an important effect on the unity of lovers.

Therefore, alongside their literary meanings and functions, through gaining ideological and political function this thesis will argue that “folk characters in themselves” are transformed into “folk characters for themselves”. By making an analogy with Karl Marx’s classification of “class in itself” and “class for itself”, this thesis argues that the addition of oppositional characteristics against injustices, poverty, and oppressors into leftist adaptations of traditional folk narratives turned popular folk characters into conscious strugglers. In other words, this study suggests that by making literary transformations, changes, and additions, left-oriented intellectuals transformed unconscious folk characters into conscious ones who were aware of why they were subjected to oppression and poverty and rebelled against those circumstances.

However, inevitably this thesis will limit itself and put some important discussions aside and in this sense how rightist intellectuals and minstrels reinterpreted folk materials and folk culture at that time will not be analyzed. In terms of synchronic aspects of folk materials, analysis of rightist adaptations written at that time can be highly useful and provide critical points in which how leftists and rightists diverge or converge. Besides, folk materials written by right-oriented intellectuals, which this study put aside, could be analyzed in another study by using necessary and appropriate analytical tools for those materials. Lastly, apart from written materials, by using different materials such as films, pieces of music which were produced in this particular time period, synchronic and diachronic aspects of the discussion could be widened.

## **1.2 Research Method and Theoretical Framework**

In the 1960s and 1970s, there was a range of works of art made by left-oriented intellectuals and all of them could be evaluated in this kind. However, because of factors regarding form and content, all the works produced by left-oriented

intellectuals cannot be analyzed within the same pot. Instead, they have to be classified and analysis has to be made by this classification. In other words, instead of labeling all these materials with the same tags, the aforementioned classification will be made by taking into account similarities and differences in terms of form and content of folk materials, i.e. literary characteristics.

In this sense, those works could be divided into three categories such as collections or compilations of folk materials, adaptations, and novels in which folkloric elements were used. In addition, those works could include various kinds of folk materials such as folk romances, heroic folk narratives, epics, texts of Karagöz, Nasreddin Hodja stories, folktales, proverbs, folk riddles, and so on. In other words, there were lots of materials that could be used in terms of this study, however, this study will only take adaptations of folk romances and stories into account because it is not possible to analyze all at once and adaptations of folk romances and stories form a coherent whole in themselves.

Because of the fact that analysis of all those materials necessitates different types of methodological tools, before making an analysis there needs to be a classification and in turn limitation. In this sense, even though novels by left-oriented intellectuals could contain folkloric elements, because of the fact that novels could not be evaluated as folk materials, they could only be materials for different studies.

On the other hand, humorous folk materials such as texts of shadow theatre, Keloğlan tales, or Nasreddin Hodja stories form a cluster of different types of folk materials and analysis of laughter of the people or adaptations of laughter of the people needs distinct analytical perspective. So, just because of this reason humorous folk materials will not be taken into consideration as well.

In addition, it is possible to encounter collections or compilations of different kinds of folk materials made by left-oriented intellectuals, however, those will not be used as units of analysis because those materials contain either a few ideological and political traces or none. Even though analysis of those materials necessitates directly tools of

folklore studies, only forewords of such collections could be useful for this study because in those forewords authors could reflect their ideological and political thoughts about the related materials. So, works that bear such characteristics will be slightly mentioned.

Even though works on or adaptations of heroic folk narratives seem perfect to fit the structure of this thesis, there were not enough adaptations of this kind. In other words, because of the fact that there is not sufficient material in terms of adaptations of heroic folk narratives, they will not be incorporated in this analysis.

Apart from these materials, this study will scrutinize adaptations of folk romances and adaptations of two Dede Korkut stories. Even though traditional versions of these materials have series of differences in terms of both content and form, since transformations and changes made by left-oriented intellectuals made those narratives' adaptations close to each other, this study will analyze those texts together. In other words, because of the fact that folk romances and Dede Korkut stories were not products of the same historical moments, their traditional literary characteristics are different. However, since left-oriented intellectuals adapted them by using the same literary tools, similar literary characteristics in terms of form and content of adapted versions of traditional narratives allow examining them together.

Therefore, after making an array of classifications this study examines 16 adaptations of folk narratives written by left-oriented intellectuals and published in the 1960s and 1970s<sup>5</sup>, because they have similar literary characteristics in terms of form and content. In other words, after putting other materials aside which were mentioned above, it is possible to say adaptations of folk romances and stories form a consistent whole and in this sense, this study will take all adaptations of folk romances and Dede Korkut stories into account written by left-oriented intellectuals in the 1960s and 1970s.

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<sup>5</sup> Even though the first edition of Aziz Nesin's adaptation of *Mahmut ile Nigar* was published in 1959, because of general characteristics of the text was similar to others it is included in this study.

In this sense, in terms of answering its main and minor questions, this study will employ qualitative research methods. Because of the fact that this thesis takes into consideration not only literary features of adaptations of folk narratives but also the era in which they were written and political and ideological perspectives of intellectuals, especially premises of intertextual analysis will be used as a part of narrative analysis. However, because these texts are rejuvenated versions of folk narratives, it is necessary to utilize the perspective of folklore studies as well. In this study it is important to reveal how those adaptations were written in relation to political and ideological perspectives of left-oriented intellectuals; however, it can not be ignored how folk narratives were differentiated from their previous variations and adaptations. Thus, the theoretical frame of this study will be assisted both by tools of folklore studies and intertextual analysis.

As Lukin et al. (2013:22) puts effectively, in folklore studies instead of attempting to find a Urform (original form), historically attention has been moved to variations. In other words, rather than trying to find a so-called Urform, how variations of folk materials could occur synchronically and diachronically gained importance within the discipline. From this perspective, not only literary characteristics of folk narratives but also contextual factors in which they were formed are taken into account.

In this sense, depending on a range of contextual factors such as time, space, geography, personal characteristics of the narrator, production conditions are heavily effective on how variations of folk narratives differ from each other. Regarding these elements, since folk narratives are prone to be performed as a collective performance within the oral tradition, variables such as content and form of folk narratives and in turn, the meaning of them could change when characteristics of performances vary. In terms of Turkish folklore studies, as Pertev Naili Boratav (2002:68-69) and İlhan Başgöz (1986: 51-52) show that audience, environment, characteristics of an era, and personal characteristics of the narrator are extremely important for the construction of the meaning of the narrative. What is important within this frame is, as Malinowski (quoted in Çobanoğlu, 2019: 292) points out, even though the text itself is important, without context text is nothing but dead. In this sense, because the formation of folk

narratives as performances is deemed as a social event, every factor in this event has an effect on the meaning of the narrative. And because of the fact that both synchronically and diachronically there could be several variables, due to the premise of indicating an original form is problematic, revealing how different variables have an effect on the construction of the meaning of folk materials is essentially viable and much more significant.

However, even though this thesis does not examine performances but adaptations, by instrumentalizing intertextual analysis, contextual aspects and effects of those aspects on folk narratives will be attempted to be shown, and by doing so general tendency within folklore studies will be followed. In this sense, why the intertextual analysis will be used is because it gives an opportunity to step beyond the literary field and take a closer look at the ideological facets of texts.

An intertextual analysis is based upon theories of Mihail Bakhtin and as it is implied it enables one to look at plural characteristics of the language of texts or how languages of different sides which communicate with each other are shaped in texts. As Holquist (1981:xviii) makes it clear, Bakhtin stresses this phenomenon because it reveals what kind of meaning as a result of such communication is formed, and by using this method he shows “fragility and ineluctably historical nature of language, the coming and dying of meaning”.

From this point of view, since literary narratives are no longer deemed as “closed system” (Herman and Vervaeck, 2001:8) passages, the way narration is constructed, utterances of characters and the narrator need to be analyzed within narrative’s “trajectory of both historical and social coordinates” (Kristeva quoted in Boje, 2001:77). As it is implied, because of the fact that formations of folk narratives are also determined directly by temporal, spatial, geographical factors and ideological perspectives of narrators, analysis of those narratives has to go beyond the literary field and take a range of variables into account instead of looking at just textual elements.

In addition, from the perspective of intertextual analysis, since texts are parts of ongoing dialogue (Boje, 2001:79), for understanding properly the meaning of any text, how any particular text communicates with other texts within social and historical contexts is necessary to be revealed. As Gardiner (1992:171) notes this dialogue is not to be thought of literally as direct, face-to-face relation; instead, it is necessary to be deemed as a “wider phenomenon that encompasses much more complex forms of ‘inner dialogism’” such as hybrids, indirect speech and so on. From such a point of view, it is possible to think that this dialogue reflects itself within texts as a “hybridization of different languages” and “two positions of meaning or value to contact one another” (Lachman, 1988:144). In this regard, this thesis will examine textual elements of narratives such as utterances of characters, depictions of them, the way the narration is constructed, and so on, especially because these elements are literary surfaces in which different texts communicate with each other.

However, such a dialogue contains practices of encoding, decoding, and recoding at the same time and the meaning or valuation of a particular text is not immune from social conflicts and as Voloshinov (1973:23) points out “the sign becomes an arena of class struggle”. In this sense, because of the fact that meaning of the text is not randomly constructed within such an arena and it is heavily affected by hegemonic relations (Erdoğan, 1994:43) or power relations within society and in turn reverberations of these relations on narratives are not monolithic (Gardiner, 1992:184), texts could be used as tools for understanding how different sections of society communicate with each other and what kind of political and ideological meaning this particular communication creates. That is to say, from the perspective of intertextual analysis, as different units of narratives are examined successively, at the end the picture created by the analysis turns gradually into an analysis of interaction among different political and ideological sides within society. To be more precise, this dialogic relation between different sides in a text could be summarized by Bakhtin’s words as follow:

There is neither a first nor a last word and there are no limits to the dialogic context (it extends into the boundless past and the boundless future). Even

past meanings, that is, those born in the dialogue of past centuries, can never be stable (finalized, ended once and for all)—they will always change (be renewed) in the process of subsequent, future development of the dialogue. At any moment in the development of the dialogue there are immense, boundless masses of forgotten contextual meanings, but at certain moments of the dialogue's subsequent development along the way they are recalled and invigorated in renewed form (in a new context). Nothing is absolutely dead: every meaning will have its homecoming festival. (Bakhtin quoted in Gardiner, 1992:195).

Within this frame, because of the fact that this study analyzes both adaptations of epics and folk romances, it is necessary to state that although “the organizational principle of epic structure remains monological” (Kristeva, 1986:48) or single-voiced, since “variation freely incorporates material from alien languages into contemporary topics, joins the stylized world with the world of contemporary consciousness, projects the stylized language into new scenarios, testing it in situations that would have been impossible for it on its own” (Bakhtin, 1981:363), the relation between the past and the present within those adaptations brings a dialogical or double-voiced character. In other words, even if traditional characteristics of narratives indicate monological or single-voiced narrative structure; since left-oriented intellectuals reinterpreted folk narratives which essentially belong to the past by using the language of the present, adaptations reflect dialogical or double-voiced character.

For revealing such a dialogical relation within adaptations of folk narratives written by left-oriented intellectuals, the theoretical framework which Propp and Greimas provide will be also highly useful in terms of this particular study. Because structural analysis gives an opportunity to examine narratives in terms of their characters' functions (Propp, 1968:20) or actantial roles (Greimas, 1987:107), how functions or roles of folk characters are fulfilled within folk narratives were changed or transformed will be a useful determinant for this thesis. Even though Propp and Greimas suggest different structures for narratives, both of them read adventures or events that occurred within texts in relation to agents of those events. In other words, from the perspective of structural analysis, plots within texts are not formed randomly and different combinations of functions of *dramatis personae* or actantial roles shape the structure and plotline of a particular narrative. In this sense, making a comparison of different

functions or actantial roles of folk characters of various versions of folk narratives will be a significant element of this thesis.

Therefore, from the perspective of intertextual analysis narratives are social battlefields in which different political and ideological perspectives clash with each other, and in relation with this premise for revealing how folk narratives are turned into battlefields of this kind by analyzing adaptations of folk narratives, both tools of folklore studies and rationale behind intertextual analysis will be used.

### **1.3 Literature on Adaptations of Folk Narratives written by Left-oriented Intellectuals**

Since how the left interacted with folk culture in the 1960s and 1970s could not draw the academic attention it deserves, in terms of literature it is not possible to say there is enough study on this topic. Even though a few significant studies regarding this topic are used in this thesis, analysis of adaptations of folk narratives written by left-oriented intellectuals was not made comprehensively in a similar way this thesis employs. In this sense, it is necessary to state that although there are particular studies that take these adaptations into account, it is possible to argue that those studies are highly limited in terms of scope and materials.

However, the literature on the modernization of folk narratives, especially European examples, is ripe and those studies are highly useful and effective in the formation of this study. Because of the fact that modernization practices of folk materials could go back to the late 18th and early 19th century in Europe, analysis of meanings and contexts of those texts were made comprehensively up until today. In this sense among those studies, especially works of Jack Zipes are highly important for this study because Zipes also gives special importance to leftist interpretations of folk materials and this thesis takes advantage of his studies namely *Fairy Tales and Art of Subversion* in 1991 and *The Irresistible Fairy Tale: The Cultural and Social History of Genre* in 2012. Those studies analyze not only contextual factors which led to the formation and

modernization of European fairy tales but also their political and ideological transformations from the leftist and rightist perspectives through time.

In addition, studies on how Russian folk materials were transformed into Soviet folk materials are also necessary to mention. In this sense, *Politicizing Magic: An Anthology of Russian and Soviet Fairy Tales* which is edited by Marina Balina, Helena Goscilo, and Mark Lipovetsky in 2005, and *Mass Culture in Soviet Russia: Tales, Poems, Songs, Movies, Plays and Folklore 1917-1953* which is edited by James von Geldern and Richard Stites in 1995 are highly important. These studies vividly show how Russian folk materials were turned into political and ideological tools in the Soviet Union and the characteristics of Soviet folk materials.

Apart from these studies, the study of Necmi Erdoğan (2015) on the Kemalist reinterpretation of folk narratives, namely *The Vicissitudes of Folk Narratives in Republican Turkey: the “People,” National Pedagogy, and Grotesque Laughter*, gives highly useful and important traces for employing a similar approach to adaptations of left-oriented intellectuals. Even though this particular study does not direct its focus especially on leftist interpretations of folk narratives, in terms of implementing an intertextual approach within this thesis, traces which study of Erdoğan on Kemalist pedagogy gives are crucial. In terms of making a comparison between reverberations of understanding of Kemalist populism, which could be summarized as “for the people, despite the people”, on practices of modernization of folk materials and reflections of understanding of leftist populism, which could be summarized as “for the people with the people”, on adaptations; Erdoğan’s study provides a fruitful basis.

In this particular study, Erdoğan also analyzes the transformation of the *Keloğlan* from the leftist perspective in the films which were produced in the 1970s and this thesis will look at whether characteristics of *Keloğlan* in those films which Erdoğan reveals are similar with features of folk characters in adaptations or not. Erdoğan (2015:15) states that “the films depict Keloğlan as the advocate of ‘the people’ against unjust and wicked rulers, oppressors and exploiters”. And in line with this depiction Erdoğan (2015:16) notes left-populist discourse of Bülent Ecevit or understanding of “for the people with the people” shows itself in these films. In other words, by examining

different types of materials as units of analysis, this study will scrutinize whether it is possible to reach similar results with the study of Erdoğan or not. It is necessary to state in this sense that this study was inspired by Erdoğan's study, in terms of folk materials, which will be examined, and the theoretical framework.

Moreover, article of Nezir Temur (2011:310) on Suat Taşer's adaptation of *Deli Dumrul*, namely *Folklor-İdeoloji-Edebiyat Üçgeninde Suat Taşer'in Deli Dumrul'u* (Suat Taşer's Deli Dumrul within the triangle of folklore-ideology-literature) examines ideological facets of the text by looking at depictions of characters, literary characteristics of text such as content and form and literary style and it concludes that main character was reconceptualized for making the conflict between oppressors and the oppressed apparent and plotline was changed and made some additions in accordance with the perspective of the author. However, it leaves other adaptations aside and from this perspective, it seems as if Taşer's adaptation was the only text of its kind and in turn, this article falls short. However, from a similar perspective to this study, Temur argues that Taşer transforms the narrative structure of *Deli Dumrul* in line with his political and ideological thoughts.

Furthermore, Özarslan (2006:31) mentions adaptations written by Fakir Baykurt, Ceyhun Atuf Kansu, Talip Apaydın, Afşar Timuçin in his comparative study on variations of *Ferhat ile Şirin*, namely *Ferhat ile Şirin: Mukayeseli Bir Araştırma* (Ferhat and Şirin: A Comparative Analysis); however it does not examine those texts. In this sense, it is possible to come across with the mentioning of adaptations of left-oriented intellectuals in comparative folklore studies which reveal similarities and differences among variations; however, it does not mean those adaptations were turned into units of analysis. In other words, even though within the discipline existence of those adaptations has been known, they were not analyzed from a comprehensive perspective.

Apart from these examples, the study of Mehmet Bayrak (1985) on banditry and folk songs about banditry, namely *Eşkıyalık ve Eşkıya Türküleri* (Banditry and Folk Songs on Banditry) is important for this thesis, even though it does not examine adaptations

by left-oriented intellectuals. This thesis reviews works of left-oriented minstrels in the 1960s and 1970s as well, and because of the fact that Bayrak (1985:78-90) gives highly valuable examples in this kind, his work is very significant. In other words, even though Bayrak does not academically examine folk materials, which he proposes, he provides a range of different examples of folk materials. In this sense, his work is a valuable source as a compilation of protest folk songs.

In addition to Bayrak's work, the study of Sinan Akkuş (2017) on the political discourse of minstrel poetry in the 1970s, namely *1970'li Yıllarda Aşık Şiirinde Politik Söylem* (Political Discourse on Minstrel Poetry in the 1970s) is highly important in terms of examples it gives. Akkuş's study shows the highly politicized character of works of minstrels both in terms of leftist and rightist politics by analyzing examples of minstrel poetry. In this study, Akkuş concludes that political and ideological themes of this particular time period such as the conflict between the left and the right, anti-imperialism, exploitation of workers and peasants, conflict between oppressors and the oppressed pervaded examples of minstrel poetry. In addition, Akkuş demonstrates that there was a range of folk songs which were composed for praising important political figures of the 1970s such as Bülent Ecevit, Alparslan Türkeş, Süleyman Demirel, and Necmettin Erbakan. Therefore, for understanding living folk culture in the 1970s, the study of Akkuş provides important examples.

From a similar perspective with Akkuş, Salahaddin Bekki (2008) also compares and contrast rightist and leftist examples of minstrel poetry in his article, namely *Aşık Şiirinin Siyasallaşması Üzerine Bir Deneme (1960-1980)*. In terms of understanding how leftist and rightist minstrels encounter each other politically and ideologically, this brief article gives important examples. However, because its scope is highly limited, it cannot provide a sufficient panoramic view of the era. Yet again, this study uses information and examples which Bekki proposes.

Lastly, even though it was not directly on folk culture and adaptations of folk narratives, because this thesis analyzes adaptations of two village institutes' graduates namely Fakir Baykurt and Talip Apaydın, the study of Esra Elif Nartok (2014) on

novels by graduates of village institutes, namely *An Intertextual Analysis of the Village Novels by Village Institute Graduates*, is extremely important for this thesis. Although the concern of this thesis does not take novels into account, for revealing similarities between adaptations and novels by graduates of village institutes, Nartok's intertextual analysis provides an appropriate frame both theoretically and practically. In her study, Nartok (2014:4) argues that these novels have a heteroglossic character and in which "effect of the Turkish left is more dominant than that of classical Kemalist doctrines". In a similar way, this study also shows the effects of Kemalism and Turkish left on adaptations by graduates of village institutes and argues leftist perspective is more apparent in adaptations.

Consequently, as it is trying to be shown, even though there are similar studies that direct their attention to different materials, this thesis aims to fill historical gaps in the literature. In other words, this thesis aims to give a comprehensive view of how the left tried to reinterpret folk culture in general and what kind of meaning this attempt creates, which is lacking in the literature.

#### **1.4 Outline of the Study**

This study consists of six chapters. First of all, the introductory chapter of this thesis presented the objective of the study and research questions. In this regard, in accordance with the objective of the study and its research questions, the research method, and theoretical framework were detailed as well. In line with this framework, limited literature on the adaptations of folk narratives by left-oriented intellectuals was briefly mentioned.

In the second chapter, folk tradition and general characteristics of folk narratives will be reviewed. This chapter will analyze the traditional features of folk narratives such as content, form, literary style, and plotlines. Traditional production conditions of folk narratives and the way they are consumed will be mentioned as well. In this sense, characteristics of folk narratives as performances and effects of audience within these performances in terms of formation of meaning will be referred.

In the third chapter, modernization practices implemented on the folk culture of European intellectuals in the 19th century will be reviewed since those practices are historical milestones of reinterpretation of folk culture. In line with these practices, Kemalist modernization and reinterpretation of folk culture will be examined. Soviet modernization practices will be also scrutinized since those practices provide an appropriate basis for the analysis of adaptations of left-oriented intellectuals. In general, this chapter analyzes early modernization practices which were preceded by adaptations of left-oriented intellectuals in the 1960s and 1970s.

In the fourth chapter, on the other hand, how leftist intellectuals communicated with folk culture in other works of arts, apart from adaptations, will be reviewed. In addition to this, narrations of left-oriented minstrels will be also mentioned. Alongside these elements, before delving into adaptations, political and ideological differences among intellectuals which this study concerns and realism as a literary strategy and different literary styles used in adaptations will be analyzed.

In the fifth chapter, how left-oriented intellectuals transformed dominant conflict within folk narratives, the depiction of female characters and conceptualization of love, and how they added different characters which help folk characters for their struggle will be examined in detail. This chapter will try to show transformations and changes of in-text elements within folk narratives in a detailed way.

Eventually, in the sixth chapter, the results of the thesis will be summarized in general and the findings of the study will be sorted.

## **CHAPTER 2**

### **FOLK TRADITION AND GENERAL CHARACTERISTICS OF FOLK NARRATIVES**

This chapter will review the general characteristics of folk narratives, their resources, and what kind of meaning those narratives convey. Because for understanding how folk narratives are changed or transformed in different eras by various intellectuals, first it is necessary to examine the content, form, and literary style of folk narratives. To put it in a different way, before analyzing changes and transformations in a subject, it requires to be shown what the subject is. In addition to these layers of analysis, understanding how folk narratives are produced and consumed traditionally is another important issue. In other words, for explaining how intellectuals made several differences in folk narratives; the contents of different variations of folk narratives, differences and similarities among them, and how those were narrated by their storytellers is necessary to examine in this context. Moreover, it is necessary to state the function of folk narratives fulfilled in communities as well. Whether folk narratives are created orally or written points out the function of those narratives in society. In this respect, the first section of this chapter will analyze the contents and forms of folk narratives that are essential for this study such as folk romances and epics. On the other hand, in the second section some traditional variations of specific folk narratives, whose adaptations are the main focus of this study, will be reviewed. Lastly, in the third section, how those narratives are produced and consumed will be scrutinized. In general, this chapter aims to form a basis for understanding changes and transformations in adaptations of folk narratives properly.

#### **2.1 Contents and Forms of Folk Narratives**

Definition and scope of folklore changed through time and just because of this reason in terms of methods how to examine folk materials could differ and yet in this sense,

it is possible to point out different paths in the history of folklore studies as it is implied in the first section. In other words, even though Dundes (2007:55) states folklore is “autobiographical ethnography” or “people’s own description of themselves”, what kind of materials this description consists of could vary. For example, as Kongas (1963:83) states, the narrowest definition of folklore indicates that it is only composed of oral tradition and the widest one contains whole folk culture which is comprised of everything that shows off traditional and communal characteristics.

However, apart from other folk materials such as folk music, dances, games, even if only folk narratives are taken into account there are different methods. For example, although in folklore studies constructing and reconstructing the Urform (original form) had been the dominant approach in the field, historically focus has been directed more on how and why variations occurred (Lukin et al., 2013:28). Yet, in any case, whether the focus is on the Urform or variations or adaptations, it is necessary to find out similarities and differences among various versions of folk narratives. Thus, for understanding adaptations of left-oriented intellectuals, first of all, it is necessary to briefly examine characteristics of older variations of folk narratives.

In this sense before delving into features of folk narratives in terms of content and form, it is necessary to state that variations could be occurred by various factors such as geographical, ethnic, performative, temporal, and so on. For example, one of the most important narratives in Turkish folklore, namely epic of Köroğlu has lots of different variations which were arised from geographical differences and among primary variations of the epic of Köroğlu, Turkish, Uzbek, Kazakh, Georgian,

Kurdish, Turkmen, Tajik versions could be counted. In addition, as it is stated in the third section of this chapter because folk narratives are traditionally performed as performances, it is inevitable to occur temporal and performative differences among those narratives. In other words, because those narratives are primarily products of oral tradition in general, how narration is constructed depends on several factors such as personal characteristics of the narrator, features of the time period in which narration

is constructed and geographical elements and all those factors are highly important in terms of analysis.

After noting these necessary points, folk narratives could be defined as stories created by the people and in turn, they reflect the wishes, beliefs, and thoughts of the people. In general, those stories echo the loves, oppositions, heroism, humor, and wisdom of the people, and those themes or related contents could be classified under specific forms. In other words, even though all folk narratives are created by the words of the people, there are apparent differences among them, and the content and form of folk narratives are constructed in accordance with each other. For instance, while epics and heroic stories reflect struggles and heroism of morally correct characters, folk romances and *mânis* reverberate the words and adventures of lovers who try to come together. However, such classification does not mean those forms completely exclude others; that is to say for example, on the one hand, heroic stories could have love stories in themselves, on the other hand, folk romances could narrate the heroism of lovers. Thus, although classification is necessary for understanding some folk themes and forms, it does not mean those are all mutually exclusive and in this chapter, while their differences are highlighted, how different forms converge each other also will be noted.

In this sense, because the main focus of this study is adaptations of some folk romances and epics, this section exclusively reviews contents and forms of folk romances and epics. However, it does not mean other forms of folk narratives are not referenced. For example, because those narratives contain examples of *mânis*, the *mâni* form will also be reviewed. In this respect, it is also necessary to state that historical conditions of production of those several forms are different, and for understanding properly how those were adapted later these peculiar conditions are also shortly glanced. Thus, from this point of view, firstly examining the characteristics of epics is more suitable.

As Pertev Naili Boratav (1969:38) states epics were formed in preliterate eras and they were generally about the genesis, gods and goddesses and extraordinary creatures, and all of those's relations with related society. Within this frame, as Boratav classifies,

subjects of epics gather under two topics. In the first instance, subjects of epics could be related to cosmogony and mythology which try to answer how the universe and creatures within the universe were formed. Secondly, epics narrate important instances in the past of related society such as wars of important leaders and endeavors of these leaders for improving conditions for their people.

Apart from what are contents of epics in general it is necessary to state in this respect that as Bakhtin (1981:13) notes epics are about absolute past and there is an apparent temporal distance between this absolute past and contemporary reality. In other words, because epics are about an impenetrable past, the epic world is totally finalized and due to this particular reason, “it is beyond the sphere of all possible contact with the developing, incomplete and therefore re-thinking and re-evaluating present” (Bakhtin, 1981:17). And in conjunction with this finishedness as Kristeva (1986:48) points out “narrator’s absolute point of view coincides with the wholeness of a god or community”. That is to say, in the epic narration perspective of the narrator organizes the whole and it makes clearly felt itself throughout the narration.

Concerning these characteristics of epics, it is highly necessary to remark that epics do not concern internal conflicts of society or class conflicts and individuals. In the epic, related society or community is represented as one and heroes are acting in the name of this unity (Boratav, 1969:38). In other words, epic heroes make war or peace for society and those heroes are depicted as ideal and as Greene (1961:198) points out epic “replaces divine worship with human awe, awe for the act which is prodigious but yet human”. This feature is especially important for this specific study because it suggests that in epics people are represented by some ideal almighty heroes and those narratives express adventures and heroism of characters who were leaders of the community. That is to say, as Bakhtin (1981:13) remarks, epics signify a “national heroic past” and it is the world of “fathers and of founders of families, a world of ‘firsts’ and ‘bests’”.

For Turkish folklore in this sense, the Book of Dede Korkut of Oghuz Turks has special importance. The Book of Dede Korkut, which was estimated to be inscribed by an author in the 15th century (Gökyay, 1973:78), is composed of twelve stories. While

some stories are about wars of Oghuz Turks with their enemies, there are love stories and mythological stories among them as well (Gökyay, 1973:186). As Gökyay states, in stories about warfare and raiding of Book of Dede Korkut enemies of Oghuz Turks were Georgians, Rûms, and Armenians however names of Armenians were not explicitly indicated. In those stories, being captive by enemies, raids of enemies, and taking revenge from them are the main themes. In general even though in these particular stories the main protagonist gets into a scrape, after dealing with several hardships he can overcome all of them and be victorious. And while the main protagonist overcomes hardships, the narrative points out appropriate behaviors or ideal characteristics through using the main protagonist as an ideal representation for society. In other words, while those stories praise the heroism of prominent figures in society, they bear moral values which are important for the way this society lives (Boratav, 1969:39), and because of this particular social function they are narrated and renarrated until conditions which created society collapse.

In this sense, it is necessary to highlight that this heroism does not just stand for itself but signifies an ethical perspective that is compatible with the manner of related society. In other words, as Meeker (1992:399) argues, this heroism and self-sacrifice are made for the sake and security of family and society. Even though these stories put omnipotent individuals forward because they were produced in conditions of pastoral life, in terms of narration the most important entity is family and in turn society. Within this frame, all acts of almighty characters are made for the integrity of the family and society (Meeker, 1992:397-398). That is to say, in pastoral reality because for surviving standing together as a family or society is vital, the heroic tone indicates tacitly these living circumstances.

In addition to this, because of the aforementioned heroic tone of these stories even though *Bamsı Beyrek* and *Kan Turalı* could be classified as love stories, heroes of these stories also made several heroic acts for coming together with their lovers. In other words, even though the main goal of the hero is coming together with his lover, his heroism and prevailing against enemies to this end is boldly highlighted. For example, in the story of *Kan Turalı*, the main protagonist beats and kills three monsters that

could not be defeated before by his enemies (Gökyay, 1973:186). That is to say, in every possible instance, the supremacy of Oghuz Turks over their enemies was indicated.

On the other hand, *Deli Dumrul* has a mythological character and in this story, the main protagonist faces Azrail, the angel of death. Because Dumrul offends God, God sends Azrail for giving him bitter lessons. Even though Azrail wants to take his life, Dumrul offers his complete submission to God, God gives him a second chance and says if Dumrul finds another life for his place, his life will be spared. Then although he wants the lives of his father and mother, they are not willing to give their lives for Dumrul, eventually, his wife wants to give her life. However, God changes the initial decision and appreciates lovers' sacrifices for themselves, and the lives of Dumrul and his wife are spared. In this sense, in addition to the emphasis on loyalty and sacrifice of lovers in the story (Gökyay, 1973:32), in one sequence of this story, Dumrul builds a bridge on a dry waterbed and takes thirty coins from whom crosses the bridge and forty coins from whom does not cross the bridge. And this sequence in the very beginning of the story indicates Dumrul's attempt to be a powerful person who establishes rules in society.

The story of *Tepegöz* also has a mythological character just like the story of *Deli Dumrul* and it highlights the heroism of Basat who rescues the society from disasters (Gökyay, 1973:187). In this story, people and society, in general, are depicted as weak and vulnerable; and the main protagonist, namely Basat who is raised by the milk of a lion, is described as almighty and he rescues all society from disaster with his heroism. Thus, it is possible to state that epics of the Book of Dede Korkut could simultaneously reflect different themes in themselves and in almost all stories of the Book of Dede Korkut, whether it is a story about warfare or raiding or love story, ideal figures who are deemed as appropriate for society are narrated.

Alongside the contents of the Book of Dede Korkut, texts of these stories reflect characteristics of a range of languages. As Gökyay (1973:188-191) notes that in terms of language in those texts of the Book of Dede Korkut, it is possible to find

characteristics of the Azerbaijani language, Chagatai language, and languages of other Turkic ethnic groups such as Kipchaks, Mongolian language, Arabic language and also Persian language. That is to say, because of the fact that those epics were narrated and renarrated around different geographies by the people, it is not a surprise to encounter linguistic traces of those geographies in texts. And because of this reason, in terms of their linguistic features, texts do not have fixed spelling -which means one word could be spelled in different ways- and grammatical structure.

On the other hand, when it comes to those stories' form and literary style, it is necessary to remark that adventures or incidents of these stories are not complex and are narrated in one linear storyline. In other words, in those stories, there are no secondary incidents or themes and in the harmony with this characteristic, those texts do not have ornamental ways of narration. Sentences, which compose stories as a whole, are short and simple however it does not mean those do not have any wise saying. It is possible to say that simplicity of sentences and literary style, in general, is derived from colloquial speech or oral tradition and those sentences bear the wisdom of the nomadic lifestyle of Turkic people (Gökyay, 1973:247-249). For example, as Gökyay points out, those texts have a series of proverbs and idioms.

However, even though those narratives were inscribed in written texts in the 15th century, epic narratives which compose the Book of Dede Korkut did not stay as stable throughout the time in oral performances because conditions -which people face in their everyday life- changed; contents and forms of narrations changed and transformed as well. In other words, those epic narratives left a significant legacy in terms of oral tradition however people changed, transformed, and reprocessed those themes in different contents and forms in accordance with their everyday life experiences. As Boratav (1969:55) states, a narration of epics began to fade away and heroic folk narratives and folk romances replaced their places from the 16th century. That is to say after the gradual beginning of settled lifestyle; even though some characteristics of epics remained in narrations, instead of epic, folk narratives which are generally about everyday life experiences of common people were preferred to narrate. As Boratav (1969:56) states that, unlike epics, heroic folk stories and folk

romances focus on relations within the society and interactions among various individuals. Extraordinary elements in narrations were reduced in those narratives in comparison to epics and the depiction of figures in stories was more appropriate in terms of reality.

Just like as it was implied in this section, folk narratives could be classified under two subjects in terms of their contents. As Boratav (2002:16) notes that on the one hand there are heroic folk narratives, on the other hand, there are folk romances. These two categories could be detailed in themselves as well. Heroic folk narratives are composed of variations of *Köroğlu* stories and other stories which did not deal with love affairs. For example, all variations of *Köroğlu* narratives are in the first category, stories like *Eşref Bey*, *Salman Bey*, *Beyböyrek*, *Yaralı Mahmut*, etc. are in the second category. On the other hand, folk romances are composed of stories about fictional characters and stories of real historical figures (Boratav, 2002:17-18). For instance, heroes of stories like *Mirza-yı Mahmut*, *Ülfetin*, *Derdiyok ile Zülfü Siyah*, *Elif ile Mahmut* are deemed as fictional; on the other hand figures of stories like *Aşık Garip*, *Aşık Kerem*, *Tahir Mirza*, *Ercişli Emrah ile Selvi Han* are thought of as real.

Within this framework, Boratav (2002:17) states that there are at least 21 variations of *Köroğlu* and in general those stories narrate the heroism and adventures of *Köroğlu* against his enemies such as Bey of Bolu. Even though those different variations have particular characteristics in terms of storylines, it could be said as a common feature of *Köroğlu* narratives that *Köroğlu* is a hero who is deemed as a champion of the people who fights against injustices and seeks to take revenge (Boratav, 1984:21-22). In this sense, for indicating a simple similarity, it can be stated that *Köroğlu* could be contemplated as a counterpart of Robin Hood in Turkish folk tradition.

On the other hand in terms of folk romances, even though there are several differences in contents İlhan Başgöz points out a general formula for their storylines. Folk narratives based on love stories generally revolve around the unification (or non-unification) of two lovers after coming through a series of hardships. Although hardships, adventures, or villains which lovers face could be changed plot by plot, it is

possible to find out common features by making comparisons. İlhan Başgöz reveals a genealogy of hikaye (Turkish folk romance) with its shared characteristics.

According to structural analysis which Başgöz makes, first of all at the beginning of the hikaye, the initial narrative unit “begins with a spatial-temporal denomination designed to introduce the hero’s family and, in some cases, the hero himself” (Başgöz, 2008:121) and because of the fact that it is not the essential part of the narrative it could be short or long depending on narrator’s choice, i.e. this introductory part of the narration just prepares setting for audience. However, primary triggering action begins with the crisis in the family and the way of how it happens could be varied among different patterns, such as childlessness and miraculous birth, and death of parents. After the family is disintegrated, the transformation of the hero, which can happen in two different ways, is presented. In the first pattern (childlessness), the transformation begins after the education of the hero ends and he becomes aşık (minstrel) or lover. In the second pattern (death of parents), on the other hand, his transformation into aşık is initiated by a holy figure through dream and love potion (Başgöz, 2008:129).

Once the transformation is fulfilled, the hero attempts to find his lover and tries to solve the initial crisis with substituting. In the process of searching for his lover, the hero encounters a series of obstacles, and reasons for those obstacles could be a family member, rival, forces of nature, supernatural creatures or real animals, or different factors from mentioned ones. Also, when obstacles are resolved, the union of lovers or death follows shortly afterward and the narration is concluded. Nevertheless, it is important to note that not every folk romance could be exactly placed in this frame. For instance, regarding folk romances, which are analyzed in this study, while *Aşık Garip* could be matched with this frame, this is not the case for stories like *Ferhat ile Şirin*, *Kerem ile Aslı*.

However, even though the general schematic structure of folk romances could be found out as Başgöz does, in terms of literary style it is not that possible to suggest schematic order. As Boratav (2002:36-37) notes because those narratives are prone to be carried out as a performance, the way they are narrated could vary by a minstrel. In

other words, because in performances minstrels could add or subtract some elements for bettering narration, it is hard to indicate a strict schema of literary style in terms of folk narratives. Performative characteristics of folk narratives will be detailed in the last section of this chapter however it could be argued here that literary styles of folk narratives could change in accordance with several factors. Factors such as the personal character of the storyteller, characteristics of the audience at a particular performance, and even social events could be effective in how a particular folk narrative is performed. Thus, in general, even though the turning points of storylines of folk romances are more or less stable, the literary style of their productions could change by various factors.

Nevertheless, it could be said that storytellers use literary patterns of folk poems while they are forming content and wording of the narration, which means the process of forming narration is not completely random. In other words, in terms of form, patterns of rhymes would follow apparent characteristics of folk poems in general (Boratav, 2002:32). So, in this respect it is possible to argue that even though some elements are more or less similar in the narration of those narratives in terms of content and form, depending on various factors of performance those could be varied. And because of this reason, for making a proper analysis every narrative has to be evaluated according to its unique characteristics.

In addition, it is also necessary to state that both in heroic folk narratives and folk romances, when it comes to dialogues of lovers in storylines, narratives could contain several *mânis* in which both male and female characters reflect their loves and affections for each other easily and freely. *Mâni* is a literary folkloric form that is one of the two major forms of Turkish folk poetry and it contains a verse of four lines (Başgöz, 1971:128). As Başgöz describes, *mânis* are “means of expressing love interest in a society that restricts contacts between young people of opposite sex” and just because of this reason *mânis* are highly important especially for the folk romances. Lovers or characters of folk romances transfer their love by forming *mânis* for each other. In this sense, it is also important to note that, as Başgöz mentions (1986:230)

mânîs can even be sexually explicit in some examples that lovers talk about their sexual desires in an obscene way.

Lastly, even though heroic folk narratives are not playing a central role in this study, it is significant to state that heroic folk narratives bear an oppositional feature against injustices and cruel figures. While this oppositional feature is highly faint in folk romances, it is possible to find such a characteristic in other narratives different from heroic folk narratives as well. In other words, as Bayrak (1985:58) notes, folklore is full of oppositional expressions. Especially heroic folk narratives and folk songs come to the forefront in terms of this characteristic and it is not surprising to encounter outbursts against injustices in utterances of folk characters.

However, as it was indicated in the very beginning of this section that there are various contents and forms in folk culture and those are all responding to express different feelings, thoughts, wishes, and so on. In other words, even though there are junction points among different forms and contents, their functions could vary and there are different forms for reflecting the laughter, anger, and love of the people. And despite differences of various forms in folk culture, it is possible to point out some kind of essence in terms of the political and ideological stance of those narratives. For example, while heroic narratives such as the epic of Koroğlu frankly reflect the opposition of the people against injustices, Bektashi anecdotes contain strong criticisms against exploitation of religion (Eloğlu & Tansel, 1977:9). However, instead of making those criticisms in an explicit way, forms that reflect the laughter of the people construct this criticism in an ambivalent way (Bakhtin, 1984:11-12).

In other words, even though the way of construction of the meaning of those narratives vary, they take a stand with the poor, vulnerable, powerless, and oppressed. And even though those narratives do not show their opposition against injustices and cruelties in an apparent way in every instance, they faintly imply it. And within this frame, it is necessary to state that despite their traditional characteristics both in adaptations of folk romances and epics, left-oriented intellectuals distinctly add this oppositional character or sharpen it, as it is analyzed in the fourth and fifth chapters. That is to say,

it will be shown that despite traditional characteristics of folk narratives summarized in this section, left-oriented intellectuals add an oppositional characteristic to some narratives or sharpen it in the rest.

## **2.2 General Characteristics of Variations of Folk Narratives in terms of Storyline**

Folk narratives were narrated and renarrated by various storytellers or minstrels in different geographies, and because of the fact that these narrations were performed within the oral tradition, narrations of folk narratives varied and constructed different patterns of narration over time. Because of this particular reason, in terms of revealing storylines of folk narratives rather than pointing out just one stable narrative structure, there needs to be suggested a series of narrative structures in a comparative perspective. From this point of view, generally in folklore studies because of the fact that determining or constructing the Urform (original form) is problematic as it will be stated in the third chapter, it is significant to note that rather than just referencing one version, a cluster of variations will be addressed for understanding narrative patterns of folk materials.

However, it is necessary to state in the very beginning of this section that because the stories in the Book of Dede Korkut were inscribed relatively in earlier times, in terms of epics only variations among texts will be addressed. In other words, even though studies on variations of folk romances, which are addressed in this research, have some records of performances of folk romances; this is not the case for epics. This is because even in the 1960s and 1970s there were performances of folk narratives in coffeehouses, as will be stated in the fourth chapter of this study; however, information about epics is generally based upon written texts. Therefore, it is important to note that whereas more variations of folk romances will be referenced, references of variations of epics will be relatively limited. In this sense, variations of folk materials, whose adaptations are the main concern of this study, will be examined.

Within this framework, first of all, the storylines of *Deli Dumrul* and *Yegenek*, which are parts of the Book of Dede Korkut, will be reviewed. Gökyay (1973:1-5) mentions three manuscripts of the Book of Dede Korkut, and the first one is in the Royal Library

of Dresden, the second one is in the Vatican Library and the third one is in the Berlin Library, which was thought to be a copy of Dresden manuscript. Gökyay states there are several differences between those manuscripts, especially Dresden and Vatican manuscripts. While the Dresden manuscript has twelve stories; the Vatican manuscript has five stories and *Tepegöz*, *Deli Dumrul*, and *Kanturalı* are not among them. In addition, while the Dresden manuscript bears characteristics of the Azerbaijani language in terms of grammar, the language of the Vatican manuscript is close to Ottoman Turkish. Different from those manuscripts, Erdem (1998:72-73) states that the Turkmenistan variant has sixteen stories and it has features of the Turkmen language. However, stories like *Deli Dumrul* and *Yegenek* are not parts of this variant. Lastly, even though in 2018 another manuscript, namely Gonbad manuscript, was found; like the Turkmenistan variant, this manuscript also contains different stories other than *Deli Dumrul* and *Yegenek* (Shahgoli et al., 2019:165).

Although it is important to state such differences among variances of the Book of Dede Korkut, this study will take Gökyay's study as a basis in terms of storylines of *Deli Dumrul* and *Yegenek*. In the story of *Deli Dumrul*, Dumrul is a wild man and he constructs a bridge on a dry waterbed. He takes thirty coins from those who cross the bridge and forty coins from those who do not cross the bridge. This bridge episode is highly short and narrated at the very beginning of the story. However, it is important to note here that this episode has major importance in adaptations of left-oriented intellectuals as will be seen in the fifth chapter. In addition to this, Dumrul is not depicted especially as a cruel man. When Dumrul comes across crying people he asks the reason for this grief and they say a brave man died. After he learns this man died because of Azrail (angel of death), he wants to meet and fight with Azrail. However, this behavior offends God and Azrail comes to take the life of Dumrul. After Dumrul realizes his mistake and tries to find someone willing to die instead of himself. Even though his father and mother refuse to give their lives for Dumrul because his wife sacrifices her life for him, they are forgiven and God granted them 140 years for living. As it is stated in the first section of this chapter that loyalty and love between husband and wife and the attempt of Dumrul for being powerful become prominent in this sense.

On the other hand, in the story of *Yegenek*, Kazılık Koca is captured by his enemies while he is raiding and he is kept under surveillance for 16 years. Son of Kazılık Koca, namely Yegenek is grown up without knowing his father is a captive and when he learns this is the case he advances upon his enemies. Yegenek wins the war against his enemies and rescues his father. After this victory, Yegenek and his companions destroy all castles of their enemies and build small mosques in their places. It is highly necessary to state that in the case of this story that Yegenek has praised to a large extent and at the end of the story, the narrative implies that the enemies of Yegenek are belittled. In other words, while the heroism and bravery of Yegenek are glorified, his enemies are denigrated. In terms of this particular story, it is important to note that the heroic tone and heroism of the characters are apparent. However, this will not be the case when it comes to adaptations of left-oriented intellectuals and the heroic tone of the narrative will be completely changed, as will be stated in the fifth chapter.

On the other side of the coin, in the story of *Ferhat ile Şirin*, which is one of the most popular folk romances, the narrative is generally based upon sacrifices that Ferhat and Şirin made for coming together and living their love. As a folk character, Ferhat is well-known for his effort to drill mountains for gaining to deserve to be married to Şirin. As Şeyda Yeşilyurt (2018:155) points out hikaye of *Ferhat ile Şirin* had been constructed as a very negligible part of the mathnawi of “Hüsrev ü Şirin” (Khosrow and Shirin) at first, this mathnawi had been narrated primarily adventures and victories of Hüsrev the Sassanian Emperor. On the other hand, rather than just being noble or highborn, Ferhat had been depicted as a stonemason and as one of the people who live through pains and hardships. Even though it is prevalent to see Ferhat as a member of common people, as one of the 15th-century poets and representative of Chagatai literature Ali-Shir Nava’i portrayed him as a son of the Chinese emperor and raised his social position, and taking inspiration from Nava’i, as one of the 16th-century Ottoman poets Lamiî Çelebi also depicted story as conflicts between two noblemen who fell in love with the same woman (Özarslan, 2006:36). In addition, Özarslan mentions that Ferhat could be seen as a hero who rose against Iranian rulers and had been killed calamitously which made him a hero in people’s imagination. Although it

is possible to find historically such particular examples, it seems narrations among people preferred to describe him as a member of a lower social stratum. In other words, throughout history, while this mathnawi had been narrated and renarrated, the main character of the plot had been changed and gradually Hüsrev had been put aside while Ferhat had been preferred.

In the case of *Ferhat ile Şirin*, this sharp change in the male protagonist of the story is remarkable and Orhan Kemal Tavukçu (2000: 144-146) argues that there are several reasons for this change. First of all, even though Ferhat lives through a cluster of pains and hardships, he is committed to his love and always struggles for his love in any case, which means in the eyes of the people Ferhat's tragic death surpasses Hüsrev who obtains everything he wants without pain. Moreover, because Hüsrev tears apart the letter sent by Muhammad the prophet of Islam, who invites Hüsrev to the religion of Islam, narrators have preferred to put forward Ferhat rather than Hüsrev. In other words, because Hüsrev offends Islam and prophet of this religion, narrators chose to narrate the adventures of Ferhat.

On the other hand, Şirin has been generally depicted as a daughter or a sister of a powerful and wealthy ruler, namely Mehmene Banu. When Ferhat wants to marry Şirin, Mehmene Banu does not allow them to come together, and she wants Ferhat to drill mountains for reaching water because in her country there is water scarcity. Even though it is not common to depict Şirin as cruel; Özarslan (2006:62) states that in one version (namely compilation of Wilhelm Radloff), after Şirin becomes a ruler she tyrannizes her people for her benefit. In this variation Şirin wants people to drill mountains and reach water, and after that, she wants to build a great palace near this water. However, when Ferhat sees this is the case, for helping people he drills mountains on behalf of them.

In addition, it is also important to note that in another version (narration of Behçet Mahir), as Özarslan (2006:73) mentions, after the sister of Şirin does not let Ferhat and Şirin come together, part of the people object to this decision. Although it is not a common theme to encounter, people are divided into two, and supporters of Ferhat and

supporters of the sister of Şirin begin to clash with each other. These particular examples from different versions of *Ferhat ile Şirin* are significant for noting that different narrations could construct completely different storylines.

In the story of *Tahir ile Zühre*, on the contrary to *Ferhat ile Şirin*, families of both Tahir and Zühre are wealthy. Even though there is a slight difference between them, this difference is not as big as between Ferhat and Şirin. In general, while the father of Zühre is a ruler, the father of Tahir is his vizier. However, Türkmen (2015:31) states that in Tobol and Turkmen variations, for instance, it is possible to see Tahir's father as a ruler by the name of Kül Han as well. Apart from the characteristics of families of Tahir and Zühre, in almost all variations of *Tahir ile Zühre*, folk heroes go to the same school and fall in love with each other there. However, because of a series of obstacles they cannot come together immediately. It is important to note here that when there are several obstacles to the marriage of Tahir and Zühre, in almost all variations one of them is the mother of Zühre (Türkmen, 2015:43). This detail about the mother of Zühre will change in adaptations of left-oriented intellectuals, as it will be analyzed in the fifth chapter. In addition to this, there is not a common end in different variations and while in some of them Tahir and Zühre could come together, it is possible to see the death of these lovers as well.

When it comes to the story of *Aşık Garip*, the economic condition of the main protagonist namely Aşık Garip could change in different variations. As Türkmen (1995:27) states that the triggering point in the storyline is the poverty of Aşık Garip however it could be narrated in different ways in different variations. In some variations, while Aşık Garip is born as rich and becomes poor after his father's death, on the other hand in the very beginning of some variations it is possible to see Aşık Garip as poor as well (Türkmen, 1995:16). However, after this episode, Aşık Garip becomes a minstrel by drinking a love potion from the hands of wise old men in his dream. When Aşık Garip becomes a well-known minstrel, he encounters his love, namely Şah Senem, and wants to marry her. Because of the fact that father of Şah Senem wants bride price from Aşık Garip for marriage, Aşık Garip begins to visit different cities to make money by performing his profession. And at the end of the

story lovers could come together. In terms of Aşık Garip, in traditional variations which Türkmen analyzes, the general depiction of the father of Şah Senem is not sympathetic and tolerant to Aşık Garip. This point is important regarding the story of *Aşık Garip* because the depiction of the father of Şah Senem is different in the adaptation of left-oriented intellectuals in comparison to older variations and in addition to this there are new characters which are apparently added for sharpening ideological and political meaning of the story.

In the case of *Kerem ile Aslı* story, on the other hand, families of both Kerem and Aslı are wealthy and high-ranking. However, there is an ethnic and religious difference between these two families. While Kerem is the son of a Muslim ruler, Aslı is the daughter of Armenian and Christian vizier. Because of this difference father of Aslı does not allow them to come together and brings his daughter and wife away. After this instance, throughout the story, while the father of Aslı hides her family and repeatedly changes places, Kerem tries to find them. However, even though Kerem finds them and marries Aslı, the father of Aslı makes Aslı cloth a magic shirt and because of this shirt lovers cannot make love and Kerem dies by burning. In this story, it is not prevalent to see lovers come together despite religious and ethnic differences. Duymaz (2001:75) states that because of the circumstances of the era in which the story of *Kerem ile Aslı* was formed, it was not possible to ignore these differences and make them come together. But as it will be analyzed in the third section of this chapter, this is not always the case in terms of *Kerem ile Aslı*; and by pressure and request from the audience in some performances, storytellers had to change the end of the story and made lovers happy.

Moreover, the story of *Mahmut ile Nigar* follows the typical structure of folk romances as is stated in the first section of this chapter. Families of both Mahmut and Nigar are wealthy and even though in different variations the way Mahmut and Nigar fall in love with each other is not the same (Kaya, 1993:67); when they want to marry, they face several hardships and obstacles. In almost all variations of *Mahmut ile Nigar*, Mahmut is tested and after a series of challenges, folk characters could come together.

In terms of the story of *Leyla ile Mecnun*, it is possible to find a similar narrative structure. In almost all variations of *Leyla ile Mecnun*, families of both Leyla and Kays are wealthy. After Kays falls in love with Leyla, he turns into Mecnun, and in general, their love begins in school. However, the parents of Leyla do not allow them to come together and because of this reason, Mecnun hits the road to the desert. And at the end of the story Leyla and Mecnun could not come together, however only in one variation, as Şenocak (2000:83) states, they could be happy.

In the story of *Arzu ile Kamber*, Kamber is adopted by the father of Arzu and when they learn they are not siblings, they fall in love with each other. However, just like in other folk romances they face a series of obstacles (Şimşek, 1987:100) and at the end of the story, Arzu is forced to marry another guy who she does not love. And they could not come together and they died. In addition, as İlhan Başgöz (2008:244-247) summarizes, similar incidents happen in stories of *Hurşit ile Mahmihri* and *Gül ile Sitemkar* as well.

As a consequence, in general, it could be argued that while in some cases there are major differences among variations of folk romances, in others similarities are a lot more. However, as they were tried to be summarized generally, they have common themes and various combinations of these themes make differences. Eventually, in this section, it is tried to show that folk romances could have several variations and those variations could differ geographically, ethnically, from performance to performance, and in time. And among them, it is possible to see both similarities and differences. Alongside, for understanding properly in which instances left-oriented intellectuals make changes and transformations, it is necessary and important to examine traditional examples of related folk romances.

### **2.3 Folk Narratives as Performances and Audience**

In the traditional sense, instead of being read folk narratives are suitable to be performed. In other words, as Başgöz (2008:153) suggests, the narration of folk narratives are social events. At those events alongside minstrels, audience and places in which performances are carried are highly important; because, as it is implied in the

first section of this chapter, even though folk narratives have general characteristics, those characteristics are realized eventually in the performance. That is to say, both audience and place have an effect on how folk narratives are narrated. Because of this particular reason, even though folk narratives have common characteristics in terms of both content and form; they could be changed in accordance with different factors. Therefore, traditionally it is not possible to point out stable and unchanged versions of folk narratives.

Besides personal characteristics of minstrels, both audience and place have impacts on performance and this requires analyzing every performance per se. In other words, questions like which words are used in narration and whether lovers come together or not depend heavily on various factors in performance. One of the most dramatic examples in this regard could be found in the narration of *Kerem ile Aslı*. As Boratav (2002:68-69) states, because in some instances the audience wants to hear the union of Kerem and Aslı, by using force the audience could change the way minstrel narrates. In this case, because spectators did not want to hear the death of lovers and if minstrels did not change the end of the story, some spectators could beat, kill or shoot them; minstrels of Kars district came together and by changing storylines of folk narratives they made lovers happy. This exemplifies how audiences could affect the way folk romances are narrated.

On the other side of the coin, places could also affect the performances of narration. As Başgöz (1986:50) states narrations of *Öksüz Vezir* by Sabit Müdami in Teachers' Association and one coffeehouse in the same city vary to a large extent. Başgöz mentions that the first performance in the coffeehouse lasted one hour and fifteen minutes longer and there were 67 people. On the other hand, performance in the Teachers' Association was much shorter and there were 47 people. While in the first instance Müdami was respected by the audience and the audience participated in the way performance was narrated; in the second instance Müdami was underestimated by the audience, who belonged to upper classes in comparison to Müdami, and this makes narration highly barren. As it is stated because of the fact that narrations of folk narratives are social events, when communication was limited between audience and

storyteller, narration could not be rich. For instance, while Müdami used lots of tekerlemes in the performance at the coffeehouse, he dropped them by a large extent at the performance of the Teachers' Association.

In this respect, the last factor, which is necessary to state, is the narrator himself or herself. Whether the narrator is male or female has an important effect on narration and in relation to it the gender of an audience is also significant. For example, Aşık Üzeyir Pünhani's explanation clearly shows that even if the female audience likes obscene depictions, because after the performance they are questioned by their husbands, male aşık has to be very careful about choosing proper language otherwise he puts himself under a risk (Başgöz, 2008:210-211). In other words, even though a male aşık can narrate sexually explicit stories to a male audience, because of social limitations he cannot be that free when it comes to a female audience. So in this context, Başgöz gives three examples of narration which are narrated to female audiences by male minstrels, that they demonstrate clearly that women figures in hikayes are depicted in accordance with demands of patriarchal codes.<sup>6</sup>

Apart from male aşiks, because of the fact that playing saz and singing love poems as performance have not been regarded as convenient for women, numbers of female aşiks are highly limited. And both Başgöz (2008:209) and Köksel (2012:39-41) note that when they try to do so they face several hardships such as violence from their husbands or criticism from family members. However, it is not possible to generalize such examples to the whole society and history, because after the ratification of the 1961 constitution, female aşiks (especially from Alevi communities) began to participate in organizations with their male counterparts (Başgöz, 2008:209) and their verses could be highly political, which is analyzed in-depth with examples in the fourth chapter.

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<sup>6</sup> İlhan Başgöz mentions three hikayes of Aşık Müdami, namely *Aliyar*, *Namuslu Kız* and *Öksüz Vezir* and he states that those hikayes give a message that under any condition women have to preserve her chastity and honor, and be loyal to her father or lover. For further information, see İlhan Başgöz, 2008, *Hikaye: Turkish Folk Romance as Performance Art*, Bloomington: Indiana University.

In addition to this, it is also important to note that aşiks are generally poor people and they grew as poor village children. And even though aşiks are respectable people in their communities, this respect does not necessarily bring money and as Başgöz (2008:95) notes, aşiks have to do another job. In other words, aşiks do not earn money from performances for living and it is possible to see them as “farmer, animal breeder, artisan, small businessman, and dealer, animal trader, and so on” (Başgöz, 2008:96). This particular factor is highly important; because of the fact that aşiks are poor people and living hard lives in terms of making money, it is not possible to see praising of the rich and richness and almost all aşiks state that poverty is bad and they ask help from the God to aid the poor in their narratives (Başgöz, 1986:53). That is to say because how they narrate folk narratives heavily depends on their personal characteristics, their economic conditions have an effect on narration as well. And as it is stated in the fourth chapter that while those poor aşiks met with leftists in the 1960s and 1970s, they began to use leftists terminology such as “bourgeoisie”, “revolution”, “socialism”, “fascism” in their narrations; and at this particular time period, it could be said their ideological and political stance was sharpened.

In fact, how narration is constructed is highly important for this study because traditionally performance of folk narratives has a social function. As Başgöz states (1986:63) by involving the aforementioned factors narration could have protest character or they could be used for consolidation of religious feelings or anything else. For example, even though Aşık Müdami did not use many religious expressions in their narrations, after 1945 because of both gaining importance of religious education in Turkey and getting older, Müdami began to use much more religious expressions (Başgöz, 1986:61). In this sense how the relationship between storyteller and audience is formed and how this relationship affects characteristics of narration has to be concerned case by case.

## **2.4 Concluding Remarks**

This chapter analyzes the traditional characteristics of folk narratives in general. In this frame, in the first section how the contents and forms of folk narratives were shaped and what kind of function they fulfilled are trying to be answered. Because of the fact

that folk narratives are formed with experiences, thoughts, pains, wishes, loves of the people; it is trying to be implied that folk narratives bore values of the related society and via practices of narration and renarration, those values were transmitted generation to generation. In other words, folk narratives have apparent social functions and even though the way narration is performed changed by various factors folk narratives could suggest what is just or unjust, what is right or wrong in existing living conditions of the related society.

Within this frame, it is also stated that variations of folk narratives could be occurred by geographical, ethnic, temporal, and performative factors. In this sense, even though it will be detailed in the fourth and fifth chapter, it is possible to say that adaptations of leftist intellectuals reflect characteristics of the time period in which they were written and they make several changes both in content and form in accordance with political and ideological reasons. And although it is stated folk narratives have an oppositional character against injustices it will be argued that this characteristic will be sharpened by leftists. Thus, it could be noted that leftists tried to change or transform the social function of those narratives and narrated them in accordance with what is just or unjust from their political and ideological perspective.

In addition, in the second and the third sections what are common characteristics of variations of folk narratives and how those are produced and consumed traditionally are trying to be answered. As it is analyzed, in the traditional sense performances of folk narratives are social events and both storytellers and audiences have an effect on content, wording, and form of narration. This particular characteristic is highly important because this study analyzes written adaptations of left-oriented intellectuals and those examples do not communicate with their audience or readers in a traditional sense. That is to say, because the audience is not effective in the process of writing, those adaptations depict thoughts and imaginations of left-oriented intellectuals. Although this one-way relation between author and reader will be noted in the next chapters, it is important to note here that in terms of adaptations because depictions of characters reflect solely thoughts of intellectuals; it implies that those adaptations have some pedagogical feature in a political and ideological sense.

However, it is important to note in this sense that even though it seems the audience does not participate in the production or narration of adaptations of left-oriented intellectuals, the process of writing implies the other way around as it will be stated in the fourth and the fifth chapters. In other words, it will be highlighted that when they were writing their adaptations, leftist intellectuals were affected by the very characteristics of folk tradition, and almost all intellectuals, which this study focuses on, grew in poor conditions that are similar to aşiks which is mentioned in the third section. In this sense, even though communication between the author and the audience is not direct, it is possible to argue that there is an indirect relation between the two.

In addition, it will be noted in the fourth chapter that in the 1960s and 1970s aşiks and leftist intellectuals converged with each other. While intellectuals cared much more to use folk materials in their works, aşiks were affected by the left politically and ideologically, which implies active communication and interaction between folk culture and the left. Thus, even though it is stated that those adaptations have some pedagogical feature, it is completely different from the adaptations of middle-class intellectuals which are analyzed in the third chapter. In this sense, even though in the production process of adaptations of leftist intellectuals there is an indirect relation between the author and audience, this is not the case for works of middle-class intellectuals.

## CHAPTER 3

### FOLKLORE, MODERNIZATION AND ADAPTATION

This chapter will review early examples of modernization practices and, as part of that, adaptations of folk narratives and try to show how and why folk culture, in general, has been subjected to modernization. Because folk narratives have been narrated and renarrated from different mouths, that is to say, storytellers or intellectuals, through various eras, there are significant differences among older and newer versions of folk narratives, and in turn, it is important to find out how and why those differences happened. Since practices of creation and recreation of folk narratives are common both in Turkish folklore and other nations' folklores, it is necessary to understand the dynamics of this motivation. In other words, because change or transformation in characteristics of folk narratives, which have been shaped in accordance with the needs of the time period in which they are written or narrated, is widespread in almost all cultures, it is significant to comprehend the mechanism of these changes and transformations before proceeding. Thus, in this frame first section will scrutinize initiatory examples of modernization of folk narratives in literature, especially in Europe, and how European intellectuals reinterpreted folk materials particularly in the 19th century. On the other hand, the second section will review initial practices of modernization of folk narratives in Turkey and especially Kemalist adaptations of folk narratives. Lastly, the third section will examine examples of leftist adaptations from different cultures, which precede the adaptations originally this study focuses on.

#### **3.1 Initiatory Examples of Modernization of Folk Narratives: Recreation of Folk Narratives for Middle-Class Reading Audiences**

The interest of European intellectuals in folk narratives has begun in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries and the awakening of this interest coincided with the

process of formation of national identity and the burgeoning of the bourgeoisie society in general. In this sense, endeavors and in turn works of European intellectuals were formed under the influences of these two determining processes. Hence, it is not surprising to encounter traces of these processes in the works of European intellectuals.

Because of the fact that folk materials (tales, legends, fables, songs, etc.) reflect words, wishes, thoughts, rages, and everyday experiences of the people, as it is noted in the second chapter, the reinterpretation of those materials essentially reverberates how intellectuals conceptualized the people. In other words, since those materials have been created and recreated primarily by the people, a reinterpretation of those materials brings along a new understanding of the people; and within this frame remaking of folk materials by intellectuals reflect how intellectuals understand the people, rather than how the people depict themselves through their own words.

Before giving examples of understanding of the people by middle-class intellectuals, it is necessary to state that this particular perspective was ambivalent and has both inclusive and exclusive aspects simultaneously. While intellectuals handled folk materials, deemed those materials as sources of the national identity, and reinterpreted the people as a concept; even though they suggested those materials were the main and pure sources of the national identity, they did not abstain from redefining and transforming those materials. In other words, although those materials were thought of as pure, the so-called discovery of folk materials reflected essentially the “mentality of the *docti*” (de Certeau, 1986:126). In other words, as Hobsbawm (1983:1) argues, “invented tradition” regenerates the old in the appearance of the new, and makes this for transmitting particular norms and it suggests it has direct continuity with the past. Thus in this sense, the concept of the invention is important because it implies an intellectual processing rather than a pure and natural process.

From this point of view, it is important to note that by finding a national identity and in turn national culture among the peasant, European intellectuals essentially kept the threat of laboring or dangerous classes away from this identity (de Certeau, 1986:124-125). That is to say, while intellectuals included lower classes in the concept of

national identity in an abstract sense, they excluded their undesired and hazardous characteristics in reality. In this respect, it is possible to argue that by clearing dangerous sides of folk materials in a political and ideological sense, intellectuals turned those materials into a monologue. In other words, it is possible to state that the process of reinterpretation of folk narratives by European intellectuals in the 19th century was actually political and ideological cleansing of those narratives, which were made appropriate for the taste of middle-class reading audiences and purified from all political threats caused by lower classes.

In this sense, it is possible to argue that European intellectuals in the 19th century have created a domesticated image of the people by “eliminating a popular menace” (de Certeau, 1986:128); and this image was formed within the boundaries of political and ideological thoughts of middle-classes. While executing such an intellectual endeavor, European intellectuals simultaneously realized a range of different processes such as taming folk materials, creating a new popular culture for satisfying the demand of middle-class audiences, and forming a national identity. In other words, rather than just being an intellectual curiosity, digging folk culture as deep as possible was a strategic dynamo that gave way to national pride and reformation of popular culture in accordance with bourgeoisie norms. In this respect, practices of researching folk culture and collecting folk materials were prevalent all over Europe; and among the most effective ones works of J.G. Herder and Grimm brothers in Germany and works of Elias Lönnrot or Kaarle Krohn in Finland could be counted as an example.

Although studying and uncovering secret parts of ancient cultures in intellectuals’ own countries could be traced back to the late eighteenth century as Burke (1978:3) does, intellectual passion for discovery of the “primitive” or the “savage” could be found a bit earlier. As Cocchiara (2017:24-25) notes, the discovery of America sharpened the edge of intellectual curiosity for understanding how primitive people think, live or socialize and in turn, eventually, it created a “myth of noble savage”. Even though studying cultural formations of indigenous people in America and researching someone’s own country’s folk culture seems more or less the same, it is necessary to state that the dynamics behind these two intellectual motivations are different. On the

one hand, in the sixteenth-century intellectuals from the victorious world used cultures of the “primitive world” for understanding the roots of civilization, on the other hand, in the late eighteenth century intellectuals studied their own countries’ cultures for reviving lost history in reaction to civilization. In the former, the subject of analysis lies in distant geographies; in the latter, the subject of analysis lies in the distant past. In other words, in the first instance, intellectuals tried to reveal invisible sides of the present by instrumentalizing cultures of distant geographies, in the second one they attempted to reconstruct the past by instrumentalizing present remnants of the past in home countries.

However, as it is implied, those practices of intellectuals were not immune from political appropriation. In fact, even in some cases in which intellectuals do not have an apparent political motivation, as long as intellectuals studied and deepened their works, the way they used or constructed or reconstructed ancient or folk materials, irrespective of whether those materials belonged to “primitive societies” or villagers of Europe, eventually these practices served to develop some political and ideological thoughts anyway. In other words, with respect to political and ideological instrumentalization irrespective of whether the intention of intellectuals was deliberate or not, their class position determined the way they interpret and modernize. Hence, who collects and interprets folk materials and from which perspective s/he does so is highly important for analysis because his or her political and ideological perspective leaks into texts even though s/he claims s/he acts neutral or keeps texts as in their natural form.

In fact, curiosity towards the culture of indigenous people after the discovery of America and the exploration of the East fueled works on different cultures and compilations of materials of those cultures. In this sense, works concerning travels to the East were highly important and especially, *Contes Arabes* of Antoine Galland had special importance. He collected and translated Arabic tales and this woke up curiosity on differences between the European culture and others (Cocchiara, 2017:48-49). Discovery of different cultures around the world, in general, gave rise to comparative studies and also the more European intellectuals learned about others, the more they

wondered about their cultures. In other words, learning more about other cultures triggered interest in learning about the depths of European culture.

As a matter of fact, when *Contes Arabes* was published in Paris in 1704-1717, intellectuals and the French, in general, had already interested in Arabic tales and alongside Galland, intellectuals such as Madame d'Aulnoy, Mademoiselle le Force, Comtesse de Murat, Chevalier de Mailly and Charles Perrault collected, edited and recreated fairy tales and just like *Contes Arabes* those fairy tales had moral lessons for the readers, particularly for the youth (Cocchiara, 2007:46). Zipes (2018:57) argues that especially female writers of fairy tales reinterpreted Italian and Eastern tales in a way that those had strong social criticisms towards royal lifestyle. And in general, Zipes notes that French writers took lessons from Italian writers who preceded them such as Straparola and Basile, however they created their own frame.

Although moral lessons which fairy tales gave readers depended heavily on who the author is, it is important to note that those fairy tales had a social purpose rather than just being fulfilling intellectual curiosity. As Zipes (2018:67) notes, when French female authors wrote their fairy tales, rather than creating narratives in accordance with the perspective of XIV. Louis and the Catholic Church, they primarily attached importance to the needs and feelings of aristocratic women. For example, d'Aulnoy and de Murat supported humiliated women and narrated fairy tales from those women's perspectives and in turn criticized violence and rape (Zipes, 2008:68). In d'Aulnoy's tales of *Finette Cendron* and *La Chatte Blanche* or de Murat's tales of *Le Roi Porch* and *Le Palais de la vengeance*, authors criticized inappropriate behaviors of men through fictionalizing (Zipes, 2008:124). However, yet again the purpose of these authors was shaping social values or *civilité* for upper classes which was the same for Charles Perrault.

Perrault also reinterpreted tales from his perspective and this perspective was in accordance with the social norms of the newly rising society, namely bourgeois society. Fairy tales had specific pedagogical purposes for the formation of social norms of bourgeois society and in the light of this particular purpose, it was not that surprising

to see that those tales were produced primarily for the children and the youth. For example, in the tale of *Puss in Boots*, Perrault praises industriousness (*industri et savoir faire*) and well-dressing or proper grooming for a decent appearance. Also in the tale of *Little Red Riding Hood*, Perrault gave a specific moral lesson that girls have to control their impulses. As Zipes (2018:108) clearly demonstrates that even though in the unedited version little girl is at peace with her sexuality and her body and she is depicted as a brave, smart village girl, in the version of Perrault she is portrayed as naive and sensitive, which seems coherent with bourgeois norms. And in this tale, it is apparently stated that if girls cannot restrain their impulses, they will be raped.

In these examples, it can be seen intellectuals modernized already existing tales from their perspective and this process of modernization went hand in hand with rising bourgeois society and in turn, those redacted tales responded to the demand for appropriate stories for the youth and the middle-class reading audiences in general. In other words, as Zipes (2008:82) properly puts it, those authors do not have evil plans for the youth in their minds and their works responded to specific needs of the market so to speak and while female authors tried to depict a more liberal atmosphere for educated women, intellectuals like Perrault tried to describe more conservative worldview.

As it is seen alongside narratives and stories from other geographies, European folk narratives were instrumentalized for the needs of society and it seems there was considerable intellectual labor on reduction and editing of these tales. However, even though some of these narratives were refunctionalized, it does not mean intellectuals considered folk culture as favorable. In fact, intellectuals shaped folk narratives from scratch because they did not think of folk culture as proper for the new social norms, and both for making it proper and responding to some needs of the society they changed or transformed those narratives in a considerable way. In other words, intellectuals cleaned obscene depictions and improper language of raw folk narratives and represented them within a different package.

Alongside these works of arrangement, it is important to note that in the age of Enlightenment intellectuals stressed primarily on irrational characteristics of folk cultures and traditions, which were seen as obstacles against Enlightenment. As Cocchiara (2017:82) points out, even though intellectuals like Voltaire and Montesquieu studied folk cultures, they did not have any romantic characteristics, and actually, they did not want to let the youth be spoiled with folk tales. At that time because class consciousness of the bourgeoisie had been formed, thoughts of those intellectuals accelerated to the separation of ideals of the people and ideals of the bourgeoisie (Cocchiara, 2017:86). In other words, even though folk narratives had been used for some practical purposes, it does not mean folk culture, in general, was accepted as it is.

In reaction to the Enlightenment movement on the other hand, early European figures like Jean-Jaques Rousseau and Johann Gottfried Herder were highly important because their intellectual contribution to European thinking could be deemed as cornerstones in terms of interest in the primitive and more favorable gaze to the folklore in general. As Cocchiara (2017:108) points out Rousseau was a key figure to find a remedy in nature for healing wounds that were created by civilization. Even though Rousseau did not make studies directly on folklore, his thoughts about finding an uncorrupted morality in nature had a great impact on other European thinkers and one of them was Herder himself. Yet, even though Herder was affected by thoughts of Rousseau, his interest in finding “ur” was limited heavily within the cultural realm, i.e. Herder was not that politically radical like Rousseau (Cocchiara, 2017:151).

Alongside Rousseau, James Macpherson, who presented works of ancient Gaelic bard Ossian to Europe, was another important figure for Herder’s thinking. In the 1760s Macpherson’s translations of works of Ossian were highly effective in Europe and more or less these works had an effect on the frame in which Herder collected folk songs (Burke, 1978:10). Even though Herder himself cleaned, redacted, and polished folk materials to a large extent, his approach was highly different from the thinkers of Enlightenment and he separated himself from the “Enlightenment notion of reason” and embraced emotion (Bendix, 1997:36). Because Enlightenment accelerated social

changes and tried to make analytic everything which was nonanalytic, and this enthusiastic motivation gave rise to the “trope of paradise lost” which was painful for eighteenth-century thinkers, reconstructing the past and trying to make it as real as possible became crucial (Bendix, 1997:28). Given these social dynamics, Herder collected lots of folk materials and reformed them and in this context, the works of Herder were enormously important, and even “he was a key figure in designating folk poetry as a distinct category” (Bendix, 1997:36).

In this respect, oral poetry was significant for Herder’s thinking because his acknowledgment of the notion of *Naturpoesie* (natural poetry) supposed folk materials are the voice of the ideal folk, which is apparently different from “the rabble in the alleys”. In other words, *Naturpoesie* is distinct from *Kunstpoesie* (artistic poetry) and it was the reflection of genuine folk, and in turn, this way of thinking gave rise to Romanticism later. Hence, from a general perspective, it is possible to state that legacies of both Herder and Rousseau played an important role in shaping the Romanticism movement and this movement could be characterized as simply glorification of the past and praising of nature.

As an intellectual endeavor, Herder tried to rescue authentic or original cultural materials from drowning and his urgent call for the collection of folk materials, especially folk songs had a considerable effect and specifically, the Grimm brothers did not leave this call unanswered. Put it differently, from the perspective of Bendix (1997:40) “Herder’s folksong project was both a salvage and cleansing operation, and the promise of authenticity to be gained from participating in this project energized generations of scholars”.

In this sense, Herder’s thinking regarded poetry as divine (Burke, 1978:3) and according to him poetry “was a ‘treasury of life’ (*Schatz des Lebens*); that is, it had practical functions. Herder went on to suggest that true poetry belongs to a particular way of life, which would later be described as the ‘Organic Community’, and wrote with the nostalgia of peoples ‘whom we call savages (*Wilde*), who are often more moral than we are’”. This passion towards poetry was acknowledged by Jacob Grimm

as well and in parallel with Herder's *Naturpoesie*, in an essay on the *Nibelungenlied*, he stated the creator of the poem was the people (Burke, 1978:3). And such an idea played a highly important role in constructing national culture and reconceptualization of the people through folk materials.

In a similar way that French intellectuals took, the Grimm brothers constructed their works in accordance with bourgeoisie norms and wrote them down in general for middle-class reading audiences as well (Zipes, 2014:10). As Burke (1978:6) states, rather than labeling their collection as 'folktale', they preferred to call their volume as 'childrens' and domestic tales' (*Kinder-und Hausmärchen*) and "they did believe that these stories expressed the nature of the 'folk'". Such labeling has a practical purpose because Grimm brothers wanted those stories to be read within a family environment, especially middle-class families (Zipes, 2014:29) and because of this reason, those narratives were purified from obscene scenes and made favorable for this reading environment. In other words, the Grimm brothers processed folk materials to a large extent and replenished those tales with moral lessons for both adults and children.

In addition to this particular feature, it is necessary to state that even though works of both Herder and Grimm brothers shared similar characteristics with works that preceded them there were two important novelties they brought. First, they primarily emphasized the people and second, they thought "manners, customs, observances, superstitions, ballads, proverbs, etc." all belonged to an inclusive whole which expressed "the spirit of a particular nation" (Burke, 1978:8).

As Dorson (1978:12) states, Jacob and Wilhelm Grimm thought they could revive the old Germanic pantheon by collecting folk materials. However, as Cocchiara (2017:198) insightfully points out, the genuineness of these works was in question. Even though Grimm brothers claimed they did not add any detail or motif to the materials they collected, they had been criticized or reminded that folk materials were subjected to changes or transformations every time they were handled by different narrators. Because their perspective of *Naturpoesie* supposed folk poetry has a divine character and it created itself through the people so to speak, the role of collector or

narrator in terms of formation of folk narratives appeared to leave aside. Hence as Cocchiara (2017:200) notes that although the Grimm brothers thought they discovered the essence and language of the people, actually they discovered their own intellectual style of language. In other words, even though they tried to reconstruct the original form of the folk materials which they collected from different narrators and redacted to a large extent, as a matter of fact, they reinterpreted those materials from their perspective.

In harmony with their romantic and nationalistic perspective, the Grimm brothers gave attention not only to folk narratives but also language and law (Cocchiara, 2017:202). In fact, because they tried to find out the essence of the people, they tried to understand how language and law formed themselves, which were both used by the people. It was important because questions of how the people had communicated and how the people constructed social norms were both highly important from their perspective. Thus, from a romantic point of view folk narratives were a significant part of a nationalistic project. And this characteristic did not only pertain to the Grimm brothers.

In this sense, it is possible to argue that Finnish folklorists were intellectually as effective as the Grimm brothers. Elias Lönnrot was a highly important figure for Finnish folklore because he was the one who collected different parts of the epic of *Kalevala* and constructed this epic as a whole, which was extremely important for the formation of Finnish folklore and mythology. Lönnrot traveled to East Karelia in the 1830s and collected folk materials, especially parts of *Kalevala*, from singers of ancient Finnish poetry, and by bringing those together he reconstructed the epic of *Kalevala* and it opened doors of Finnish culture (Dorson, 1978:15). *Kalevala* was translated into all languages of Europe and as Cocchiara (2017:234) points out it conquered Europe by the curiosity which it aroused. For instance, following this impressive example, Estonian folklorist Friedrich Kreutzwald constructed an epic of *Kalewipoeg* (Cocchiara, 2017:235).

In addition to this, by examining *Kalevala* in detail Julius and Kaarle Krohn formed the historical-geographical method which was effective quite a while in folklore

studies. From the perspective of the Finnish method, it is important to find the Urform (original form) of folk narratives and how those spread other areas (Çobanoğlu, 2019:138). However, just like the criticisms which Grimm brothers faced, this method was criticized to a large extent later because finding a Urform was a problematic premise. Preliminary criticism, in this sense, was that constructing a Urform was not immune from intellectual interpretation and authorship. In other words, even though folklorists claim s/he is neutral while collecting materials and bringing them together, it is almost inevitable that the perspective of folklorist or author leaks into texts. Hence, even though they faced a number of analytical criticisms later, the Romantic and nationalistic view of Finnish folklorists could be seen in this frame, which was compatible with its era. Similar to the effect of the Grimm brothers, both in a practical and theoretical sense Finnish folklorists were highly influential on how folklore studies have been shaped throughout history.

Apart from these most influential works, collecting national folksongs and folk narratives in the 19th century had appeared as a common phenomenon all across Europe. As Burke (1978:4) states, some of the most significant and influential works of this kind were “collection of Russian *byliny* or ballads, published in 1804 under the name of a certain Kirsha Danilov; the Arnim-Brentano collection of German songs, *Des Knaben Wunderhorn*, which drew on oral tradition and printed broadsheets and was published in parts between 1806 and 1808; the Afzelius-Geijer collection of Swedish ballads, collected from oral tradition in Västergötland and published in 1814; the Serbian ballads edited by Vuk Stefanović Karadžić, first published in 1814 and enlarged later”. In addition, works like Claude Fauriel’s collection of Greek folksongs, Łukasz Gołębiowski’s collection of *Lud Polski* (The Polish People), collections of Niccolò Tommaseo in Italy, editions of Flemish and Dutch folksongs by Jan-Frans Willems were part of the self-definition movement and important for national liberation at that time.

Such collections, a reconceptualization of the people and the nation in general had an effect on the arts as well. Highly important authors like Alexander Pushkin, Victor Hugo, Sándor Petőfi took lots of motifs from folk materials, especially from ballads,

particularly Pushkin was subjected to oppressions because of his critical tone in his poems against Tsardom (Nabokov, 2014:32-33). In a similar way in which those works of art were shaped, one of the English Romantic intellectuals, William Wordsworth also argued that “poetry should be written in ‘the real language of men’ as opposed to ‘the gaudiness and inane phraseology of many modern writers’”(quoted in Storey, 2003:9). Hence, it can be argued that in this era which gave rise to the construction of the people as a concept and national culture, intellectuals explored folk materials and instrumentalized those materials in various ways and alongside collections of folk materials, works of art were created to a large extent under the effect of folk culture.

Thus, in the light of this information, it is possible to suggest as a result that in the process of formation of a nation-state in Europe, middle-class intellectuals reimagined “lost national and natural identity” by instrumentalizing folk materials (Storey, 2003:14). However, as it is noted reinterpretation of folk materials was not only an ideological necessity but also a demand of rising bourgeois society. As de Certeau (1986:126) states works that were produced within this frame reached a significant number of readers however “they apparently did not pass beyond the boundaries of the well-off middle classes”.

As a matter of fact, in this process from the perspective of middle-class intellectuals, “the ‘savage’ provided the means to understand the ‘peasant’” (Storey, 2003:7), and the peasant was reimagined as a nation however it changed later and the peasant was replaced by the laboring classes by leftist intellectuals after the 1960s (Burke, 1992:299). As it is stated both by Storey (2003:14) and Burke (1992:293) while middle-class intellectuals reinterpreted and reinstrumentalized cultural materials which primarily belonged to the lower classes, they both included and excluded some characteristics of lower classes at the same time. As it is stated in the very beginning of this section, when intellectuals were indicating nation as a concept they did not mean concrete lower classes; in this sense nation was essentially an imagined community (Anderson, 2006:6). Thus, they excluded what really lower classes were and included their reimagined versions of reality.

Consequently, it is important to state that reimagination, reinterpretation, or reinstrumentalization of folk materials are common phenomena in modern times, and rather than being just an intellectual curiosity, this process fulfills some ideological necessities. Folk materials were highly important parts of the definition of a nation or the people and the way they were presented revealed ideological inclinations of their author, collector, or narrator. Thus, it could be argued that even from the very beginning, modernization of folk narratives was not a neutral process and their presentation gave hints about both characteristics of eras in which they were formed and intellectuals who formed them.

### **3.2 Kemalist Modernization of Folk Narratives in the early Republican era of Turkey**

Intellectuals in Turkey began to be curious about folklore at the very beginning of the nation-state formation. In this sense, the second half of the 19th century was a turning point because it was a requirement to construct a national language at that time, and in turn sources of this national language were found in folklore. As İlhan Başgöz (1972:162) puts it briefly, “to create a literature using a language of ‘common people’, which was pure Turkish and unspoiled by foreign influences, made the Tanzimat writers interested in folklore and folk literature”; and in this respect, early initiatives of collection and adaptation of folk materials formed a highly fruitful basis for Kemalist cadres. In other words, before the beginning of the process of Kemalist modernization of folk materials, there had already been a significant intellectual accumulation.

Within this frame, as Başgöz (1972:163) remarks that for constructing a pure Turkish for example Şinasi (1826-71) wrote a play with an easily understandable Turkish in 1859 and he collected four thousand proverbs and in addition, Hüseyin Rahmi (1864-1944) applied the narration techniques of the shadow theatre performers and the traditional storytellers in his works for making them more popular. Moreover, Mehmet Emin (1869-1944) utilized the metric system of folk poetry (Başgöz, 1972:164). And more importantly, the father of Turkish nationalism Ziya Gökalp involved in the collection of folk materials and the instrumentalization of folklore in general as well.

In this sense, it is necessary to state that Ziya Gökalp not only collected folk tales but also used them as his inspiration and for spreading nationalistic views he adapted some of those narratives and created new national epics (Başgöz, 1972:166).

In this regard, especially works of Gökalp were highly important and among his adaptations, there were episodes from the Book of Dede Korkut, namely *Arslan Basat* and *Deli Dumrul* and also some Keloğlan tales. For example, in his adaptation of *Arslan Basat*, Tepegöz was a symbol of social disaster, which Turks faced, and Basat was a hero who rescued Turks from Tepegöz. As Gökyay (1973:24) states it is understood that Gökalp added new lines to the story after the War of Independence. Gökyay notes at the end of the story Gökalp mentioned the Greek invasion and associated the main protagonist or hero, namely Basat directly with Mustafa Kemal. As it will be noted later in this chapter this example clearly suggests that ideological sharpness came into sight much more distinctively after national victory was gained. On the other hand in terms of *Deli Dumrul*, rather than making such additions to the story, as Filizok (1991:136) states, Gökalp seems to want to narrate an old story with a modern language.

In addition to such adaptations, Gökalp's theoretical folklore studies were highly important as well. Gökalp wrote and published his theoretical works in the magazine of *Halka Doğru* (Towards the People) and he argued that intellectuals have to learn and explore folk materials, and by taking benefits from those materials they have to create new literature. Within this frame, he worked on a range of folk materials such as legends, proverbs, epics, tales, myths and he planned to publish all folklore classics by himself such as epigrams of Nasreddin Hodja, the epic of Köroğlu, and poems of folk poets such as Yunus Emre, Dirdli, Karacaoğlu, Cevheri (Filizok, 1991:102-103).

Why Ziya Gökalp inclined primarily to make studies on folklore was essentially political and ideological. When Ottoman Empire was in decline, Gökalp was trying to find a solution in nationalism to this decline. Because of the fact that Gökalp thought the decline of the empire could be remedied by nationalism and sources of nationalism were laid in folk materials, he devoted his intellectual curiosity especially in this field.

It is also necessary to state that from the perspective of Gökâlp, for creating precious works of literature folk materials have to be utilized (Filizok, 1991:105). In this sense, it could be suggested that both theoretically and practically Gökâlp formed some of the most important sources of Turkish folklore and nationalism.

Alongside these initiatives, foreign folklorists such as Ignacz Kunos and George Jacob collected and published some compositions of folk literature materials in 1899. While Kunos focused primarily on folk literature of Thrace and Anatolia, Jacob worked on shadow theatre and Karagöz (Öztürkmen, 1998:24). Although it is possible to increase those examples at that time, it is necessary to remark that there is a continuation between the initial works of Turkism of the late Ottoman Empire and Turkish nationalism of the early Republic. In other words, the institutional character of both nationalism and folklore studies of the early Republic traced its roots back to the second half of the 19th century (Öztürkmen, 1998:41).

Moreover, the foundation of Turkish Historical Association (Türk Tarih Kurumu) and Turkish Language Association (Türk Dil Kurumu) were pioneered by intellectuals such as Ziya Gökâlp, Yusuf Akçura, and Fuad Köprülü who had significant roles in the formation of national consciousness. In this sense, alongside Gökâlp, theoretical and practical works of Fuad Köprülü and Rıza Tevfik were also highly important.

Furthermore, after the Second Constitutional Era of the Ottoman Empire began, organizations and magazines in accordance with Turkism were founded such as Türk Derneği, Genç Kalemler, and Türk Yurdu. These practices before the foundation of Türk Ocakları in 1912 gave a handful of experiences. Türk Ocakları, on the other hand, had focused on social, cultural, economic reforms that could remedy the backwardness of the Empire. And so, according to Füsün Üstel (quoted in Öztürkmen, 1998:48) perspective of *Halka Doğru* (Towards the People) was constructed with the motivation of bringing civilization to the villages in Türk Ocakları. As Arzu Öztürkmen (1998:51) argues very briefly before they were closed in 1931, by motivating compilation of folk tales, proverbs, folk music, and so on, Türk Ocakları accumulated significant material and experience on folklore studies.

Besides, Türk Halk Bilgisi Derneği (Turkish Folklore Association) was found in 1927 to organize compilations of folk materials across the country (İpekkan, 1978:28). However, all those associations were incorporated into Halkevleri (People's Houses) when it was established in 1932 (Öztürkmen, 1998:56). After the foundation of Halkevleri, folklore studies or archiving folk materials began to be made under the roof of this organization. As Öztürkmen puts (1998:80) Halkevleri was effective on the creation of interest for domestic oral literature and on the formation of consciousness for compilation folk material. Both Anıl Çeçen (1990:120) and Arzu Öztürkmen (1998:92) argue that Halkevleri played a significant role in spreading nationalism across the country by finding out and interpreting the sources of the nation.

Alongside these early initiatives, Kemalist cadres instrumentalized Turkish folk narratives for propagandizing Kemalist ideology in the early Republican era, as well. However, it is necessary to state here that while among early initiatives there were considerable theoretical works, in the early Republican era it seems there were more practical works or applications of theoretical works. In addition, the government also actively encouraged these initiatives made by intellectuals and in this respect, it is not surprising to see traces of official state ideology in these works.

In the early Republican era of Turkey, modernizing popular folk narratives and collecting folk materials went hand in hand with motivation for increasing the literacy rate. In other words, while they were trying to create more literate people, Kemalist intellectuals thought they had to respond to such an increase in reading behavior with appropriate narratives. Thus, from this perspective, on the one hand, they thought they had to create more readers and write ideologically proper stories which could help to make those people loyal to the regime.

For fulfilling such political and ideological needs, Kemalist intellectuals or intellectuals who supported the ideals of the early Republican era of Turkey generated an idea in which art and politics are intertwined with each other. From this point of view, for example, while intellectuals like Behçet Kemal Çağlar and Burhan Belge stated very clearly that art has to serve political needs, Yakup Kadri Karaosmanoğlu

took a different path and thought “art of revolution” cannot be developed by force (Çakan, 2006: 56-57). However, it is possible to argue that even though how art and politics relate with each other in principle could change for different intellectuals, art was an important tool for generating political thoughts or criticisms at that time. In other words, although it is possible to find some theoretical differences among intellectuals, in practice art, especially literature, was a highly important tool for the political atmosphere.

In addition, for cultivating Kemalist principles and both creating and discovering the sources of the nation, institutions like Halkevleri (The People’s Houses) and Köy Enstitüleri (Village Institutes) were extremely significant. Those institutions had more than one function for the Kemalist regime and in terms of this context they provided a basis for interaction between the people and intellectuals (Karaömerlioğlu, 2017:61), education of village children in accordance with Kemalist principles, and enhancing of the rate of literacy (Karaömerlioğlu, 2017:88), and collecting folk materials (Boratav, 1982:80). Even though Pertev Naili Boratav (1982: 82-83) criticizes collecting practices because they were not performed in a methodically proper way, important figures of the 1960s and 1970s in terms of folk narratives such as Yaşar Kemal, Ümit Kaftancıoğlu, Fakir Baykurt, Talip Apaydın went those institutions and shaped their thoughts and initial works there. In addition, in this sense, important figures like Pertev Naili Boratav and Sabahattin Eyüboğlu gave lessons at those institutions and had a role in shaping the thoughts and works of left-oriented intellectuals of the 1960s and 1970s. Thus it is important to state that from the perspective of this particular study those institutions were both important for propaganda practices of the Kemalist regime and education of future left-oriented intellectuals.

Alongside the works of these institutions, in 1937 the Ministry of Interior Affairs and the General Directorate of the Press made a request both in the realm of literature and painting from intellectuals for modernizing folk materials appropriate to ideals of the Kemalist ideology (Erdoğan, 1998). While publishers, editors, and authors were asked to modernize folk narratives, demand from painters was modern paintings for public

spaces instead of primitive visuals. Among folk narratives which wanted to be modernized, there were Köroğlu legend, Nasreddin Hoca stories, *Aşık Garip* (Garip the Minstrel), *Ferhad ile Şirin* (Ferhad and Şirin), *Tahir ile Zühre* (Tahir and Zühre), and *Arzu ile Kamber* (Arzu and Kamber) (Erdoğan, 2015:3). In the list of the modernization project of the Ministry, there were nearly 70 books and the Ministry stated clearly its aim that they “want the heroes familiar to the people to survive in adventures that inculcate the new Turkish revolutionary and civilizing aims” (quoted in Erdoğan, 2015:3). Thus, by using different instruments the government intended to mobilize intellectuals for satisfying the needs of the people in ideological and political senses.

However, this call was not received in the same way by all intellectuals. While some thought it was useful practice for the government, according to the others it was a vain initiative. For example, according to intellectuals like Behçet Kemal Çağlar, Vedat Nedim Tör, Hasan Ali Yücel, M. Turhan Tan, Nurettin Artam, Yunus Nadi, this endeavor had to be supported. In this context, Vedat Nedim Tör as a Director of General Directorate of the Press expressed his thoughts as follows:

The people want to read “Köroğlu”. Why don’t Reşat Nuri Güntekin or Aka Gündüz narrate the mentality which our revolution wants by using such materials, without giving sense of propaganda? No need to repeat... Such characters (of folk narratives) do not only make love! Why don’t our advanced writers become writers of not only elites but also of the people and peasants?<sup>7</sup> (quoted in Çakan, 2006:62)

In a similar way to Tör, Behçet Kemal Çağlar also explained his thought very clearly that adapted folk narratives could be useful for depicting government policies. For instance, he stated that by reconceptualizing acts of Kerem, it is possible to explain

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<sup>7</sup> Millet “Köroğlu”nu okumak istiyor. Bir Reşad Nuri, bir Aka Gündüz niçin bu mevzuları, iyi bir üslupla ve zihniyet bozukluklarını meskut (söylenmemiş) geçerek ve mevzuun içinde devrimimizin istediği zihniyeti-propaganda kokusu vermeden- sindire sindire tekrarlamasınlar? hem tekrarlamaya da hacet yok... Bu efsanevi tipler yalnız Ayvazla muaşaka (birbirini sevmeye) etmezler a! Niçin hakiki edipler yalnız güzide bir zümrenin değil aynı zamanda halkın, köylünün muharriri olmasın?

why the protection of forests is important or Ferhat could be a symbol of the transportation policy of the Republic as follows:

For ensuring that the people read books, there needs to repackaging well-known characters which the people are familiar with in new appearances. For example, by talking with treeless mountains using his saz, Kerem reminds them how they were green before in the past from the mouth of the people (because his words and expressions are the same with the people's) and (because he is deemed as one of the people) the people could easily understand the importance of protection of forests. For example, Ferhat who attempts to unite with his lover by drilling mountains could symbolize our transportation policy and could make a propaganda of this policy by using form and style which people know and like.<sup>8</sup> (quoted in Güloğul, 1937:63)

On the other hand, from the perspective of intellectuals like Hüseyin Cahit Yalçın, Peyami Safa, Faruk Rıza Güloğul, initiatives for modernization of folk narratives would not bring effectual outcomes as it was aimed. For example, according to Yalçın, the state should not intervene in the realm of art, and according to both Güloğul and Safa, the people would not embrace repackaged versions of folk narratives (Çakan, 2006:66-67). Those intellectual debates could be examined in detail but in this context mentioning this kind of significant intellectual differences is sufficient. However, such discussions gave rise to another type of modernization practice which was forming new narratives resembling original folk narratives. In other words, creating new heroic stories appropriate to Kemalist ideals was another intellectual practice.

Among those narratives, there were *Yanık Ömer ile Güzel Zeynep* by Selami Münir, *Ateş Olup Sardılar* by Muharrem Zeki Korgunal and *Mehmetçik Çanakkalede* by Selami Münir. For example, in *Yanık Ömer ile Güzel Zeynep*, Ömer and Zeynep were virtuous peasants. At the time of the War of Independence, while Ömer was fighting

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<sup>8</sup> Halkı okutmak için kendi benimsediği ve okur olduğu mevzulardan ve kahramanlardan işe başlamak, yeni fikirleri eski zarflar içinde sunmak gerekir. Mesela sazını eline alıp da dağlara seslenen Kerem, pekala, şimdi niçin kel olduklarını sorar ve eski zümrütlüklerini onlara hatırlatarak, orman korumanın halk ağzından, halkın anlayacağı, seve seve ezberliyeceği şekil ve üslupta bir telkinini yapabilir. Mesela dağları delerek sevdiğine kavuşmayı çabalayan bir Ferhad pekala treni sembolize ederek halka şimendifer siyasetimizin anlıyacağı, seve seve ezberliyeceği şekil ve üslupta bir propagandasını yapabilir.

with enemies at the front, Zeynep was struggling against bandits and later Zeynep also went to the front and served the army as a nurse. And after victory was accomplished they were married on Republic Day (Güloğul, 1937:32-34). Apart from its storyline, especially this story is highly important because it is adapted later by one of the left-oriented intellectuals, namely Tarık Dursun as if it is one of the original folk romances, as it is analyzed in detail in the fourth and fifth chapters of this study.

Alongside these examples, it is important to state that apart from heroic stories and romances, humorous folk narratives were also subjected to modernization practices, and among them, there were texts of shadow theatre, Keloğlan tales, and Nasreddin Hoca stories. In fact, adaptations of those texts, as well, aimed to educate the people. For example, in one of the adaptations of Karagöz, Hacivat was depicted as a remnant of the Ottoman past and Karagöz was described as a hardworking Anatolian man. When they were quarreling with each other Karagöz harshly criticized the language which Hacivat used and gave a lesson to him. Karagöz suggested that Hacivat's usage of "bookish" and "religious-scholarly" language was wrong, talking in a way the people talked was much more desirable. And by doing so as Erdoğan (2015:10) stated "the shadow theatre thus becomes subservient to the didactic concerns of the Kemalist discourse".

Even though it is possible to give more examples in this context, those examples are enough to argue that in the early Republican era, Kemalist intellectuals reinterpreted folk narratives for conveying Kemalist ideals in a way the people were familiar. However, it is important to note that in this context not only literature was functionalized but also the music was utilized. For example, highly important composer and musicologist Ahmet Adnan Saygun composed operas of *Kerem* and *Köroğlu* which were reinterpreted versions of the folk narratives. In addition, Hungarian musicologist and composer Béla Bartók was invited in 1936 for making researches on Turkish folk music (Başgöz, 1986:295). And as Özgür Balkılıç (2005:135) argues, in a similar way which was used for modernization of folk narratives, folk songs were also purified from undesired characteristics by Kemalist intellectuals. In other words, folk songs were also processed and modified and these

initiatives were made because those folk materials were conceptualized as representations of the “noble and pure soul of Turks”; and by the reason of this particular thinking folk materials required to be polished. Therefore, it is possible to say that at that time modernization practices were tried to be handled in a comprehensive way.

However, in the 1940s when the effects of the Second World War began to be felt gradually, the tone of nationalism was getting changed into a more racist tone of Turkism. And this ideological effect reflected inevitably itself in folklore studies. Even though at that time Pertev Naili Boratav was trying to separate nationalism and folklore, and forming more scientific understanding of folklore in the University of Ankara, School of Language and History-Geography, he was subjected to several investigations together with other important academicians such as Niyazi Berkes and Behice Boran because of accusations of communist propaganda. And after several lawsuits, Boratav was dismissed from his job and because he played a pioneering role in establishing the first Department of Folk Literature, folklore studies were interrupted to a large extent (Öztürkmen, 2005:130-140).

Boratav’s trial was highly important in terms of folklore studies because after that his department was closed and Boratav moved to Paris and this was a turning point. In the 1950s rather than deepening academic researches on folklore, the theme of commercialization of folklore and tourism was gaining importance. This was an extremely significant cornerstone because it meant from now on not only the state but also the private sector would have a say on folklore (Öztürkmen, 2005:194:195). In this sense, folk dances and their stylization began to be more important than other folk materials. Additionally, even though folklore studies was trying to be centralized under the National Folklore Institute (Milli Folklor Enstitüsü), Öztürkmen (2005:218-221) highlights that folklore was perceived as something commercially presentable for an audience, and because of this perception, folklore studies was left to the ones who were curious about the folklore. In other words, after the 1950s it is possible to state that folklore was reconceptualized in accordance with the needs of the market.

Hence, as a consequence, it could be argued that beginning with the early Republican era, folk narratives or folk materials, in general, were reinterpreted and reshaped in accordance with different necessities. Whether those necessities were political, ideological, or commercial, folklore has been subjected to transformation and this was maintained after the 1960s as well. As this study concerns, folk narratives were reinterpreted after the 1960s once again by left-oriented intellectuals.

### **3.3 Leftist Approaches to Reinterpretations and Adaptations of Folk Materials**

Initial examples of leftist reinterpretations and adaptations of folk materials could be dated back to the works of Soviet intellectuals. Even though it could be possible to find individual earlier examples, it is possible to state that systematic leftist ideological reinterpretation of folk materials would be found firstly in the Soviet Union. In other words, in terms of leftist reinterpretation of folk materials, works of Soviet intellectuals present a proper base for study both theoretically and practically. Thus, for understanding how socialist or leftist perspective was incorporated into folklore, it is necessary to look at the practices of Soviet intellectuals. In a similar way how early European examples of modernization of folk materials from a nationalistic perspective were important for an understanding of Kemalist examples of modernization, Soviet adaptations are also important for comprehending adaptations of left-oriented intellectuals which this study examines.

Even though until the formation of the Union of Soviet Writers in 1932, folklore studies were constructed relatively freely, after this historical cornerstone not only folklore but also literature, in general, was subjected to tight scrutiny. In other words, although the first decade of the revolution was academically fruitful because academicians were freer to shape their researches both theoretically and practically; after the official approach to works of art, especially of literature, was systematized ideological effects became more apparent in works of intellectuals. Put it another way, after political and ideological control was tightened, characteristics of folklore studies were changed and ideological effects of the state were apparently getting felt.

Thus, before reviewing examples of Soviet adaptations of folk narratives, it is necessary to state in the first decade after the Revolution, historical school, Formalism, and Finnish school produced highly important works in terms of folklore studies. For example, the historical school stressed “finding reflections of concrete historical reality in Russian *byliny* (epic songs)”, Formalists dealt with “certain formal aspects, with complete disregard for ideology and historical conditions” and Finnish school studied on folk tales and legends “to present the complete history of a tale by meticulous analysis of all the available versions and by considering all historical and geographical factors” (Oinas, 1973:45-46). That is to say, before the socialist perspective became dominant in folklore studies, there were serious and academic folklore researches in terms of not only Russian folklore but also the development of folklore studies in general.

However, when Maxim Gorky made a speech at the First Congress of Soviet Writers in 1934, it had a great effect and even “it opened the eyes of the party leaders” in terms of usage of folklore in communist propaganda (Oinas, 1975:158). In his speech, Gorky stressed firstly on “close connection of folklore with the concrete life and working conditions of the people”, secondly on “life optimism of folklore” and thirdly on “high artistic value of folklore” (Oinas, 1975:158). Gorky’s argument in which he suggested folklore belonged basically to working people opened a new door for folklore studies and more importantly for propaganda practices. In other words, since then folklore was subjected to socialist reinterpretation to a large extent, instead of academic examination.

As Felix Oinas (1973:50-51) demonstrates, new folklore or Soviet folklore began to imitate the characteristics of old folk materials, and leaders of the Soviet Union such as Lenin, Stalin, Chapaev, and Voroshilov were conceptualized as heroes of new folkloric works. For example, for Stalin by using the traditional form of *byliny*, there was written heroic verses as follows:

Stalin began walking in the middle of the hall,/Waving his white hands about,/Shaking his black curls,/And he thought a strong thought,/He summoned his friends and companions. (Oinas, 1973:50)

In addition to this example, in similar verses Voroshilov was described as if he was an ancient hero as follows:

And on the horse sits a wondrous knight,/He holds the reins in his left hand,/In his right hand he holds a telescope,/And on the horse sits our bright falcon,/And his name is Klim Voroshilov, our light. (Oinas, 1973:51)

However, not only new folkloric poems but also Leninist fairy tales were written. For example, in one of these tales, Lenin and Tsar divided the country into two. While Lenin and the workers were governing their part, Tsar and the rich were ruling the other part of the country. But because everything was produced by the workers, in time Tsar and the rich began to be weakened. At the end of the tale, these two parts went to war, and eventually, Lenin and the workers won (von Geldern & Stites, 1995:123-128). Thus, as in this example in Soviet folk narratives “the world of magic is easily interchanged with the world of real-life events” (Balina, 2005:118). And fairy tales such as *Tale of the Military Secret*, *Malchish-Kibalchish and His Solemn Word*, *The Golden Key or The Adventures of Buratino*, *The Old Genie Khottabych: A Story of Make-Believe*, *The Malachite Casket*, and *The Flower of Seven Colors* could be given as examples which were written in accordance with socialist realism.

While rewriting the old narratives and the new ones from scratch, socialist intellectuals in the Soviet Union were instilling socialist ideals such as party, the people, and the working-class into folk narratives. Thus by reinterpreting folk materials and constructing new narratives, folklore was trying to be used as a tool of socialist propaganda in the Soviet Union and these examples inspired leftist intellectuals of other countries as well. One of these intellectuals was Nazım Hikmet and he was important for not only leftist interpretation of folk narratives but also Turkish poetry. Works of Nazım Hikmet could be deemed as pioneers of works of leftist intellectuals in the 1960s and 1970s. Alongside poems that were written with the inspiration of folk poetry, Nazım Hikmet adapted *Ferhat ile Şirin* as a play in 1948, and in terms of this study, it was highly significant.

In his adaptation of *Ferhat ile Şirin*, the most important change was Ferhat's sacrifice of his love. In this adaptation, Mahmene Banu, who is the older sister of Şirin, says to Ferhat that if he could drill the mountains for reaching water, she will allow him and Şirin to come together. However, at the end of the story even though Mehmene Banu renounces her decision, Ferhat does not give up because he is determined to drill the mountains not for Şirin, but for the people who desperately need water. Ferhat tells Şirin that he will not cease his work and explain to her why he does so as follows:

I drilled the rock a thousand-feet-long... which means the water moves forward a thousand-feet-long. Now I encounter a bunch of rocks and when I will drill them too, water will go to the valley, to the city... And the people will never cry for the dead just like at that night, the dead who fell just like flies which died because of thirst... Now the whole point is the thickness of these new rocks...<sup>9</sup> (Nazım Hikmet, 1993:133)

For helping the people and saving them from death Ferhat sacrifices his love and dedicates himself to drill the mountains. Nazım Hikmet implies at the end of the adaptation that the people would not forget Ferhat's effort and always remember him. Just like in this example of Nazım Hikmet, left-oriented intellectuals made similar changes in their adaptations and by comparing them with the adaptation of Nazım Hikmet it could be said that Nazım Hikmet's adaptation was the precursor of others, which will be examined in detail in the fourth and the fifth chapters.

Alongside this example, Nazım Hikmet revealed some important folkloric figures such as *Şeyh Bedreddin* and he wrote an epic about him. He described Şeyh Bedreddin as a champion of the people and a rebel who revolted against injustices. Nazım Hikmet's other poems were also highly significant which inspired a number of intellectuals to write leftist narratives, novels, and poems, and his poems were rediscovered, so to speak, in the general democratic atmosphere of the 1960s' Turkey (Bezirci, 2005:72).

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<sup>9</sup> Kayayı bin adım deldim... Yani su bin adım ilerledi. Şimdi bir kalın kaya yığını daha çıktı karşıma, onu da deldim miydi, su, ovaya, ordan şehre akıverecek... Şehir halkı artık bir daha o akşamki gibi... O akşamki gibi ölülerine, susuzluktan sinekler gibi düşen ölülerine ağlamayacak... Bütün mesele bu yeni kayanın kalınlığında...

Besides those examples, in different geographies, there were other attempts to reinterpret folk narratives from a leftist perspective. For example, in the US starting with the 1930s there was a growing tendency to use folk songs as leftist propaganda and alongside folk songs themselves, workers' choruses were also important in this sense (Reuss, 1975:93-94). Even though political folk songs created an important political and ideological tool for American leftists, after it became a part of popular culture beginning with the 1950s, gradually it was losing its radical potential (Reuss, 1975:106). Yet, those attempts were not left ineffective and initial examples inspired 1960s popular culture quite a bit.

In addition, classical folk narratives such as *Red Riding Hood*, *Snow White*, and *Rapunzel* in Europe were subjected to changes or transformations in accordance with the perspective of their narrators as well. Because the main message of those narratives is strictly connected with social norms; when those norms change, it inevitably reflects itself on an interpretation of folk narratives as well. Therefore, in the 1970s conservative middle-class moral values which those narratives transmitted were criticized and changed to a large extent. For example, four women from Merseyside Women's Liberation Movement in 1972 published new versions of *Red Riding Hood*, *Snow White*, and *Rapunzel* (Zipes, 2018:373-374). In this version of *Red Riding Hood*, for instance, the wolf was killed by a little girl and after that, she began to discover depths of the forest, and while discovering she was never afraid. Furthermore, it is necessary to state that alongside his theoretical studies on the history of folk materials, Zipes himself is part of this reinterpretation process and he is editor of important books in this sense such as *Johnny Breadless: A Pacifist Fairy Tale*, *The Giant Ohl and Tiny Tim* and *The Outspoken Princess and The Gentle Knight*. And those books consist of anti-war stories, stories about criticisms to social prejudices, and stories of powerful and resourceful heroines.

Thus, as a consequence, it could be argued that in a similar way that middle-class intellectuals used, leftist intellectuals also reinterpreted folk narratives in different instances and applied those reinterpretations as propaganda materials. Even though examples and methods could be changed from period to period and geography to

geography, it is possible to say that leftist intellectuals were aware of the political and ideological potential of folk culture and its suitability for explaining leftist ideals.

### **3.4 Concluding Remarks**

After reviewing initiatory examples of modernization practices both in Europe and Turkey, it could be argued that from the very beginning, folk narratives bore the stamp of their collectors or narrators. Because characteristics of practices of collecting, narrating, or renarrating are directly intertwined with the perspective of who does so, narratives could not be deemed as politically and ideologically neutral. Therefore, it is possible to state that neither initial examples of collections of folk narratives nor later adaptation initiatives were immune from ideological amalgamation.

Within this frame, when paradigms and social norms change, this change directly reverberates itself to how folk materials are perceived in general. Hence it is also necessary to state there is not a static version of folk narratives. From this point of view, for example, even though initial collections and narratives were constructed by middle-class intellectuals, perception of folklore and folk narratives was transformed later by other intellectuals such as leftists.

In this sense, it is necessary to pay attention especially to change in the understanding of the people as a concept. As it is stated in the first section of this chapter, European intellectuals executed an ideological and political cleansing on folk narratives and eliminated oppositional characters, and made them appropriate for the taste of middle-class reading audiences. From this perspective, it is highly necessary to state that European intellectuals depicted a highly domesticated portrait of the people and it is not possible to see rages of the people in these narratives. This particular characteristic is essentially intertwined with the romantic and nationalistic perspective because rather than describing the nation as a whole of conflicting fractions, they preferred to narrate the nation as a coherent whole in which fractions are not challenging with each other. Thus, in the first section, it is trying to be shown that folklore studies and folk narratives, which were made at that time, bore the class characteristic, romantic and nationalistic perspective of European intellectuals.

In a similar way that European intellectuals took, Kemalist intellectuals or intellectuals who supported ideals of the Kemalist regime reinterpreted folk materials because it was an important part of Turkish nationalism. In other words, for defining a nation and constructing nationalism as a comprehensive ideology; collections, reinterpretations, and making appropriate of popular narratives were inevitable and significant processes. Because from the perspective of those intellectuals essence of the nation was found in folk narratives, in accordance with the nationalistic perspective those materials had to be reorganized. In this sense, in adaptations of Kemalist intellectuals as well, people were depicted as domesticated, and adapted narratives had an apparent pedagogical tone that transmitted the ideological and political perspective of the regime. Thus, in the second section of this chapter, practices of Kemalist modernization were reviewed and stated that examples of these practices bore the very characteristics of the ideology of the Kemalist regime in the early Republican era of Turkey.

Apart from these early examples, in the third section of this chapter, some leftist interpretations of folk materials were reviewed and in comparison with former sections, it is seen that the depiction of the people in these adaptations was extremely different. It was shown that in leftist adaptations of folk narratives society is portrayed as an antagonistic whole and rather than a tamed portrait of the people, their rages and oppositions to the injustices were not silenced and even bolstered. In other words, leftist interpretations of folk narratives were constructed upon a principle that supports the idea to sharpen class differences rather than concealing them. However, as it is implied it does not mean leftist intellectuals had a more neutral approach to folk materials. Instead, leftist intellectuals reinterpreted folk narratives from their ideological and political perspective; and they tried to deconstruct narrative structures which middle-class intellectuals constructed. In this sense, from a broader perspective when these practices are handled together it could be argued that the definition of the people and how the people are depicted are subjects of ideological and political struggle.

## **CHAPTER 4**

### **LEFTIST INTERPRETATION OF FOLK NARRATIVES AND LIVING FOLK CULTURE IN THE 1960S AND 1970S IN TURKEY**

This chapter will analyze how leftist intellectuals and minstrels interpreted folk culture and in turn folk materials in the 1960s and 1970s from a general perspective. Because in this particular time period, not only specific folk romances and epics but also folk culture as a whole has been reconstrued by leftists in different literary and art forms, it is necessary to show how folk culture has been recreated before focusing on specific adaptations. Although there are plenty of examples, this chapter tries to display shared characteristics of works of leftist intellectuals and minstrels, and political and ideological attributes of adaptations, which this thesis stresses, in relation to former versions of related narratives. While on the one hand different works from various literary and artistic forms will be addressed, on the other hand, these examples will be reviewed for a better understanding of differences and similarities of adaptations. In other words, this chapter aims to reveal not only political and ideological features of specific adaptations but also a panoramic view of a special interaction between the left and folk culture in this time period. The first part of the chapter will examine how various leftist intellectuals handled folk culture. The second part of the chapter will analyze characteristics of living folk culture at that time and how leftist minstrels constructed their works. The third part of the chapter will concentrate on political and ideological differences and similarities among leftist intellectuals in terms of adaptations, which this study focuses on. The fourth part of the chapter will focus on realism as a literary strategy and by using such a strategy how intellectuals, who this study emphasizes, communicated respectively audience, folk characters, and language.

#### 4.1 Leftist Intellectuals, Social Problems in Novels and Folk Culture

Leftist intellectuals in this particular time period attached special importance to the realities of villages and living conditions of the oppressed and the poor, and in turn in relation to this tendency, they reinterpreted folk culture and folk narratives from a different perspective. Although it is possible to find similar tendencies before the 1960s, it is necessary to state that due to the Constitution of 1961 political atmosphere has been changed and in turn, leftist thoughts have been spread and affected different parts of the society to a large extent, and such an atmosphere had an effect on the increase of a number of works of art which were arisen from the communication between the left and folk culture.

As Cantek (2001:191) states after the 1940s romantic and elitist approach to villages had been gradually changed and the negative depiction of villages and the living conditions of peasants had become dominant in the literary field. However, it is necessary to mention that even before the 1940s, it is possible to find some signals of this change such as books of Sabahattin Ali, especially *Kuyucaklı Yusuf*, which was published in 1937. In *Kuyucaklı Yusuf*, while Ali criticizes oppressors in rural life (Naci, 2007:230) he depicts Yusuf as a “noble savage” (Moran, 1999: 26) and praises him as a representative of pure and innocent rural people.

In terms of village realities while on the one hand landlords and their wealth had been criticized, on the other hand living circumstances of peasants and poverty of villages were expressed to a large extent. Cantek mentions that both in leftist and rightist periodicals such as *Yurt ve Dünya*, *Markopaşa*, and *Büyük Doğu*, it is also possible to see such criticisms. In terms of this critical approach, it is necessary to note that *Markopaşa* was highly important and leftist intellectuals, who published the magazine such as Sabahattin Ali, Aziz Nesin, and Rıfat Ilgaz, tried to defend “the people” and their interests against the government and dominant class (Cantek, 2001: 185-186).

In addition, a publication of books of village institutes’ graduates had also a considerable effect on the change of romantic depiction of villages to realistic depiction. Especially the book of Mahmut Makal, who was one of the village

institutes' graduates, *Bizim Köy* created a breaking point in this respect in 1950 (Nartok, 2014:1). Because of the fact that encountering with a narration of problems of peasants and hardships of villages directly from the perspective of villagers had not been seen before, it created a great surprise in thinking of all intellectuals, and as a matter of fact, another village institutes' graduate Fakir Baykurt (2002:36) describes the effect of this book as a "bombshell". Instead of depicting the village from a romantic perspective, *Bizim Köy* showed dramatically how villagers actually lived through extremely difficult circumstances. Baykurt mentions that because *Bizim Köy* was highly successful and it was strong criticism of the government by nature, Makal was immediately arrested, though it was short-term.

After Makal launched a signal flare, there were other effective works published in the 1950s, which narrated realities of villages and the poor as well. Other village institutes' graduates such as Fakir Baykurt, Mehmet Başaran, and Talip Apaydın also published their effective books and they crumbled understanding of village and peasants in a highly effective way. And apart from village institutes' graduates, very important authors such as Yaşar Kemal, Orhan Kemal, Kemal Tahir, and Necati Cumalı also released their significant works. Given these examples, just like Moran (1999:7) suggests, it is possible to argue that after 1950 social problems and inequality, which was caused by structural facts, outweighed in novels.

Before moving on, it is important to discuss general characteristics of novels of village institutes' graduates and how they reflected villages because this study examines two particular adaptations of village institutes' graduates, namely Fakir Baykurt and Talip Apaydın. As Nartok (2014:145) argues these intellectuals depict state, domestic-foreign capital, religion, and intellectuals, even generally they did not play a direct role, as "dominant bloc against peasants", while on the other hand, they describe good people in corrupt institutions and the village teacher as friends of the peasants. In other words, they conceptualize themselves as friends of peasants or as one of them because they were born into a peasant family and after their education, they became village teachers, and in turn, this feature reflects itself in their adaptations as well, which will be examined in detail later in this chapter.

This apparent antagonistic relation between two blocs has been constructed by these intellectuals for displaying what are problems of peasants and who and what is responsible for that difficulties. Because powers against peasants such as landowners and men of religion exploit them, peasants cannot live what they deserve and the character of the village teacher tries to awaken them in these novels. As Nartok (2014:147) puts that in these novels while on the one hand peasant is “marked by his passivity, submission, and resignation to the existing order. On the other hand, he notices those who are responsible for his backward, oppressed, and exploited condition and contemplates putting up a fight against his situation”.

Within this context, emphasis on the village teacher is important because finding this attribute in other intellectuals’ works is hard. Even though graduates of village institutes had been influenced by leftist politics and in turn leftist perspective by the 1960s (Nartok, 2014:179) because they were indoctrinated with Kemalist-populist ideology in village institutes, as it is implied in the third chapter, their understanding was sui generis and for this reason different from other intellectuals. In other words, even though there are series of similarities between works of graduates of village institutes and other left-oriented intellectuals, a depiction of village teachers is a unique attribute of these novels and in terms of emancipation of the village, village teachers have a significant role. In this respect, it is necessary to highlight the fact that although intellectuals like Yaşar Kemal, Kemal Tahir, Orhan Kemal followed village themes in their works, a similar emphasis on village teachers could not be found as in novels of graduates of village institutes. However, irrespective of whether differences between these novels are good or bad for the narration, or whether those are huge or small, in this sense it is important to state association of village institutes’ graduates with the village is different than others and this reflects itself in adaptations as well, which will be discussed in detail later in this chapter.

Apart from novels of village institutes’ graduates, intellectuals like Yaşar Kemal, Orhan Kemal, and Kemal Tahir were highly important because their effective narration and success in society were also influential on making the village central in novels (Türkeş, 2001:217). Orhan Kemal’s *Bereketli Topraklar Üzerinde* (1954) and *Vukuat*

*Var* (1958), Yaşar Kemal's *İnce Memed* (1955), and Kemal Tahir's *Sağırdere* (1955) and *Rahmet Yolları Kesti* (1957) played an important role in narrating realities which the oppressed and the poor faced at that time.

In this sense, even though frequently their works have been mentioned as if they were identical, they have significant literary, political, and ideological differences. Because in terms of this particular thesis these differences do not have special importance, they will not be examined in detail. However, different understandings of the banditry of Yaşar Kemal and Kemal Tahir can be briefly discussed for giving an illustrative example because their views for this topic were in total contradiction. While Yaşar Kemal enchanted banditry in *İnce Memed*, Kemal Tahir did the other way around and criticized banditry in *Rahmet Yolları Kesti*. On the one hand, banditry is depicted as a way to secure social justice from the perspective of Yaşar Kemal, on the other hand, it symbolizes weakness of the state and Kemal Tahir argues banditry has a symbiotic relation with landlordship (Özcan, 2018:35-41).

In addition to these early examples, it is needless to say that the tendency to narrate the circumstances of villages and hard living conditions, in which the poor and the oppressed tries to survive, has risen in the 1960s and 1970s. Apart from intellectuals which are mentioned above, intellectuals such as İlhan Tarus, Mehmet Seyda, Samim Kocagöz, Dursun Akçam, Bekir Yıldız, Behzat Ay, Tarık Dursun, Erol Toy, Ümit Kaftancıoğlu, Kemal Bilbaşar, Osman Şahin, Ömer Polat also published their works, and narrating villages and hardships which people experiences increasingly continued to be written (Türkeş, 2001:220).

After stating there had been an increasing tendency to make emphasis on realities of villages in Turkish literature starting with the 1940s, it is necessary to note that this is also the case for folk narratives or folk culture as a whole. In that case, the most influential works of early examples belonged to Nazım Hikmet. His epic poem on Şeyh Bedrettin (he was one of the rebellious folk characters) *Simavne Kadısı Oğlu Şeyh Bedrettin* in 1936 and adaptation of *Ferhad ile Şirin* in 1948 were highly important. As it is stated in the third chapter, in the adaptation of *Ferhad ile Şirin*, Nazım Hikmet

changed the traditional plotline and for example, Ferhat drills mountains not only for uniting with Şirin but also for the people who need water. In other words, the motivation of Ferhat in this adaptation is not only fueled by the individual cause but also social cause.

Therefore, similar to early examples while left-oriented intellectuals reflected conditions in villages in accordance with their perspective, on the other hand, they reinterpreted folk materials and folk culture as a whole as well. As A. Ömer Türkeş (2001:215) states at that particular time period, which this study focuses on, literary works regarding folklore had been increasing and novels of left-oriented intellectuals, like Yaşar Kemal, Kemal Bilbaşar, Ümit Kaftancıoğlu contained folkloric elements, folk tales, and epics. This activity of reinterpretation was based upon three different dynamics which were adaptations of folk narratives, compilations of folk narratives, and using different elements or motifs from the folk culture in novels. Because of the fact that how left-oriented intellectuals used different elements or motifs from the folk culture in their novels is not that central for this study and it necessitates highly elaborate analysis, it will not be examined here. Yet, since compilations and adaptations are relevant and important for this study, they will be briefly reviewed before analyzing leftist minstrels and living folk culture.

Just like his novels, Yaşar Kemal was an important figure for compilations of some folk narratives as well. His first collection of elegies was released in 1943 by People's House of Adana and Yaşar Kemal was attending its activities at that time (Bico, 2006:xii). In addition to this, *Sarı Defterler* reflects the scope of his works on folklore collection starting with his young ages. In this particular book, even though it was published relatively late in 1997, it is possible to see that Yaşar Kemal dealt with almost all forms of folk narratives such as epic, elegy, *türkü*, *mani*, folk romance, folktale, folk riddles, etc. He also wrote three Anatolian legends, namely Köroğlu, Karacaoğlu, and Alageyik, by staying relatively faithful to the tradition in his book of *Üç Anadolu Efsanesi* published in 1967. In these rewritten versions of Anatolian legends, without making ideological or political additions in terms of content and form, Yaşar Kemal adapted narratives that belonged to oral tradition into a written culture,

i.e. those legends were adapted for the readers. And Yaşar Kemal also worked with Sabahattin Eyüboğlu on the anthology of folk literature *Gökyüzü Mavi Kaldı* and it was published for the first time in 1978. In this anthology, there are poems of folk figures such as Yunus Emre, Pir Sultan Abdal, Hatayi, Köroğlu, Karacaoğlu, Dadaloğlu, and it also contains *tekerlemes*, riddles, *manis*, proverbs, folktales, folk romances, some texts of Dede Korkut and Karagöz.

In addition to Yaşar Kemal, Sabahattin Eyüboğlu was also an important intellectual for a reinterpretation of folk figures such as Yunus Emre, Pir Sultan Abdal from a humanist perspective. In his works on Yunus Emre, *Yunus Emre'ye Selam* published in 1966, he describes Yunus Emre as “Anatolian peasant” (Eyüboğlu, 1966:12) and associates poems of Yunus Emre with world literature by stripping religious connotations of these poems off (Eyüboğlu, 1966:10). Moreover, as Murat Belge mentions (2009:284) Eyüboğlu describes exaggeratedly Yunus Emre as “representative of all people living in Anatolia” whether they were Hittites, pagans, Christians, or Muslims. Although Eyüboğlu designed a similar compilation and reinterpretation for Pir Sultan Abdal, as Azra Erhat mentions he could not finish this work because of his death (quoted in Eyüboğlu, 1993:8).

Furthermore, intellectuals like Ümit Kaftancıoğlu, Mehmet Seyda, and Orhan Ural compiled epic of *Köroğlu*. It is necessary to note that in the foreword of his book, Kaftancıoğlu (1974:9) states that “real literature” is folk literature and the ones who write pieces of folk literature are “children of the people”. Kaftancıoğlu was also one of the graduates of village institutes and in this interesting foreword, just like other graduates of village institutes, he gives a special role to village teachers for defending and preserving folk literature and makes reference to Fakir Baykurt as follows:

We have to know that the real literature is buried in the language of the people. Who will write down oral literature of the people and utilize it is children of the people. I want to say without hesitation that the ones who want to be famous, make a gain and imitate others are actually making destruction, instead of help. The real mission is on the hands of children

of the people or on teachers, as Fakir Baykurt said.<sup>10</sup> (Kaftancıoğlu, 1974:9)

It is necessary to state that alongside the epic of Köroğlu, Kaftancıoğlu also compiled some folk romances in this particular book such as *Bey Börek*, *Sail Bey*, *Bedri Sinan ile Mahperi*. Moreover, Ali Püsküllüoğlu was another intellectual who made considerable contributions to compilation activities. He published his book of a compilation of Anatolian legends, *Efsaneler* in 1971, an anthology on Turkish folk poems in 1975, a compilation of folk romances *Türk Halk Öyküleri* in 1982. He published his unique poems and he worked on proverbs as well. Just like Püsküllüoğlu, Adnan Binyazar wrote *Dedem Korkut'tan Öyküler* with modern Turkish in 1972 by staying relatively faithful to their traditional narrative structures. Binyazar also compiled Aşık Veysel's poems (one of the most important minstrels of Turkish folk culture) and wrote his brief biography in 1973.

Apart from his adaptation of “Tahir ile Zühre”, Ceyhun Atuf Kansu prepared a compilation of informative stories about Anatolian culture, namely *Balım Kız*, *Dalım Oğul* by himself in 1971. These stories were made for radio broadcasting and in it, there are stories about Nasreddin Hoca, Karacaoğlu, and Anatolian minstrels as well. However, it is necessary to state that those cannot be evaluated as adaptations because these stories have a general introductory tone. In these stories, Kansu forms a narration of Anadolu and introduces some parts of it by mentioning important folk figures. For example, while illustrating Akşehir in this compilation he describes Nasrettin Hoca as poor but patient and cheerful although he had lots of hardships.

This man looked both at death and life with smiling eyes. He did not live in wealthy conditions. He had a tiny house, he had a low-paid job and he faced financial difficulties. Even though he had a little field outside Akşehir and cultivated it, this field did not give what he wanted. At that

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<sup>10</sup> Gerçek edebiyatın halkın ağzında, dilinde olduğunu bilmeliyiz. Halkın sözlü edebiyatını yazıya geçirerek, değerlendirecek olanlar da halk çocuklarıdır. Ad yapmak, ün yapmak, kazanç sağlamak amaçları arkasında, özenti içinde olanların yardım yerine, yıkım yaptıklarını çekinmeden söylemek isterim. Gerçek görev her konuda halk çocuklarının, Fakir Baykurt'un dediği gibi öğretmenlerindir.

time in which he lived, because in Anatolia there were Mongolian raids, Seljuk beys who did not care about the people, scarcity, cruel rulers; it was not possible to take a tough stand. Right in the middle of these darkness, beauty was in smiling and laughing and Nasreddin Hodja did so as well.<sup>11</sup> (Kansu, 1971:90)

Just like in this example, by these introductory stories, Kansu introduces Anatolian culture from his perspective and while doing this he tries to make different parts of Anatolia and folk figures familiar to the audience. In other words, it seems he wants to make the audience associate themselves with this geography and important figures living there. Kansu also wrote an epic of *Halk Önderi Atatürk* published in 1972 and in this particular epic he depicts Mustafa Kemal sometimes as a folk hero and as one of the beys of Oghuz Turks, which also shows how he conceives Mustafa Kemal in his imagination. While he clearly describes Mustafa Kemal as one of the people and representative of them, he depicts the establishment of the Turkish Republic as if it is the establishment of the chiefdom. That is to say, Kansu uses different branches of folk tradition, for expressing his views on Mustafa Kemal and his life as well.

Mustafa Kemal Atatürk was such a revolutionary and he shot an arrow for the development and emancipating of Turkish society and the name of this arrow was “revolutionism”. This arrow continuously flies by winds of civilization and never falls and arrives somewhere; because there is no end for development and race of life. In a similar way as Oghuz Khan sent arrow for his sons namely Günhan, Ayhan, Yıldızhan, Gökhan, Dağhan, Denizhan; Mustafa Kemal Atatürk took his arrow from Turkish tradition, Turkish people, Turkish society. And he said Turkish nation that “be like the sun, be like the moon, be like stars, be eternal as sky, be free as mountains, flow like a sea”.<sup>12</sup> (Kansu, 1972:45)

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<sup>11</sup> Ölüme de, yaşamaya da gülen gözlerle, gülen sözlerle bakan adam. Öyle, rahat, dört başı bayındır bir yaşaması da yokmuş hani. Bir küçücük evi, bir küçücük işi, ev sıkıntısı, geçim sıkıntısı varmış. Akşehir’in dışında küçük bir tarlası da varmış varmış ama, kendi ekip biçtiği bu tarladan da pek yüzü gülmezmiş. Hele yaşadığı yıllarda, Anadolu’yu kasıp kavuran, Moğol kırımı bir yandan, halktan kopmuş Selçuklu beylerinin durumu bir yandan, kıtlık bir yandan, yöneticilerdeki katılık bir yandan, bel bükür gül sökermiş. Güzel iş o ki, bu karanlık bahçe ortasında, gülesin gülesin ki, yaşamının bir yanı güzel, bir yanı ölmeye bedel, yaşamının gül dalını alıp ölümün karaçalısını örtesin, bizim Nasrettin Hoca da böyle yapmış.

<sup>12</sup> ... Mustafa Kemal Atatürk böyle bir devrimcidir ve Türk toplumunun yücelmesi, kurtulması için sonsuza dek attığı okun adı “devrimcilik” okudur ki, bu ok, çağdaş uygarlığın yeliyle durmadan uçup gider, düşeceği yok, varacağı yok, neden ki, ilerlemenin, yenileşmenin, yaşama yarışının sonu yok, durağı yok, Ne var ki, Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, bu devrimci oku, Oğuz Han atamızın, Günhan oğluna,

In addition, Orhan Ural wrote a brief biography of one of the effective minstrels Erzurumlu Emrah and compiled his poems in 1973. And he also narrated the life of Pir Sultan Abdal by writing a novel on him in 1982. In this novel, while Ural narrates the childhood of Pir Sultan Abdal and how he became a folk hero, it seems he makes some interesting modern additions in which it appears he also expresses problems of modern people.

Prices are getting higher day by day. Price of sheep is seventy or eighty coins now, which was forty before. A kilogram of wheat costs now five coins which was three before, and the price of one yard of canvas goes up to six coins from four coins. Farmers who are subjects are living in dire conditions. Powerful men are raising interest rates, which was fifteen before, as they want. Immigration from villages to cities has begun. The people and small field owners are miserable now. Taxes are on the back of the poor. However, bandits are raiding everywhere and give no chance to recover. Statesmen are bargaining with bandits and this causes people to be desperate. Where will these circumstances go?<sup>13</sup> (Ural, 1982:88)

In a similar way, which Kansu uses, Ural tries to explain why Pir Sultan Abdal protested against Hızır Paşa and makes readers sympathize with him. In this novel, Pir Sultan Abdal is depicted as a defender of the people and representative of poor peasants, and he opposes Hızır Paşa as follows:

Don't expect from me to eat these dishes which were crops of raiding of foods of the people, curses of orphans and unfair taxes. It is hard to talk and come to an agreement. You listen to what the palace says but I listen to the breath of the people. When the palace is destroyed and the Shah comes, you and the likes of you will be annihilated. I and my comrades, on the other hand, will be always remembered by immortal people for

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Ayhan oğluna, Yıldızhan oğluna, Gökhan oğluna, Dağhan oğluna, Denizhan oğluna, attığı oklar gibi, Türk töresinin, Türk halkının, Türk toplumunun içinden çıkarıp atmış ve de, ey Türk ulusu, gün gibi günlen, ay gibi aylan, yıldız gibi yıldızlan demiştir ki ve ey Türk halkı, gök gibi sonsuz, dağ gibi özgür, deniz gibi akıp gider ol, demiştir.

<sup>13</sup> Mal fiyatları her gün biraz daha artıyor. Kırk akça olan koyun, yetmiş-seksene çıktı. Buğdayın kilesi (16 okkası) ise, üç akçadan ancak beşe, bir arşın keten bezi de dört akçadan altıya yükseldi. Çiftçi denilen reaya, darlık ve sıkıntı içinde yaşamını sürdürüyor. Güçlü kişiler, yüzde onbeş olan faizi dilediğince artırdılar. Köyden kentlere göç başladı. Halk ve küçük toprak sahipleri perişan durumda, vergiler hep yoksulun sırtında. Öte yandan devlete başkaldıranlar, talan ve yağma ile tüm çevreyi yıldırıp göz açtırmaz oldular. Devlet adamları isyancılarla pazarlığa oturup halkı bezginliğe ve umutsuzluğa sürüklüyorlar. Bütün bunların sonu nereye varacak?

years. While you want to lead a life of pleasure, we want to flow into the future.<sup>14</sup> (Ural, 1982:125)

It is necessary to state here that the image of Pir Sultan Abdal was highly important at that time for leftist intellectuals and important poets also reinterpreted his struggle from their perspective in their poems. Alpaslan (2012:45) states that left-oriented intellectuals featured Pir Sultan Abdal especially with his struggle, gave some references to his poems, and in turn it was one way to explain and express their struggle as well. In other words, somehow in their poems, they likened Pir Sultan Abdal to themselves. Alpaslan mentions that Hasan Hüseyin Korkmazgil, Ahmed Arif, Gülten Akin, Ahmet Telli were among those intellectuals.

Moreover, one of the important play writers Orhan Asena adapted epics about folk figures such as *Simavnalı Şeyh Bedreddin* in 1969 and *Atçalı Kel Mehmet* in 1979. In the foreword of his play on Şeyh Bedreddin, Asena (1969:8-11) briefly explains that Şeyh Bedreddin tried to bring a new social order in which oppressors and the rich could not reign and he reinterprets the legacy of Şeyh Bedrettin from his perspective. Just like in other examples, before narrating the epic, Asena clarifies how he interprets acts of Şeyh Bedrettin first in the foreword. As it is tried to be shown that while left-oriented intellectuals were narrating the lives of folk figures or compiling their poems, they were expressing their perspective on those figures as well. In other words, the activity of compilation or collection of left-oriented intellectuals was not an ideologically neutral process.

Along with these examples, Behçet Necatigil adapted folktale of *Üç Turunçlar* first as a poem and after that as a play. While he was almost completely transforming the general form of folktale, he stated he was doing this for narrating the realities of society in his interview with Tahir Alangu as follows:

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<sup>14</sup> Fakir köylünün rızkının talanı, yetimlerin ahı, haksız vergilerin ürünü olan böyle bir sofraya oturmamı benden beklemeyin. Konuşup anlamak, bir çözüme varmak zor. Sizin kulağınız sarayda, benimki halkın soluğunda. Sarayın devrildiği, Şah'ın geldiği gün, sen ve benzerlerin yok olacak. Ben ve yandaşlarım ise ölümsüz halkımın yaşamında bir buhurdan gibi yıllarca tüteceğiz. Siz, günü gün etmek sevdasında, biz yarınlara akmak amacındayız.

The poem “Üç Turunçlar” narrates the misery of someone who cannot find proper conditions. In this poem, I frankly revealed transition from the folktale to the reality at the end of the poem. It was a certain end with this transition to reality which was similar to moral messages of storytellers of folktales. I used this folktale not only for revealing the reality of society but also for narration just like storytellers.<sup>15</sup> (Necatigil, 1966: 95-97)

In a similar way, Aziz Nesin also used folktales for narrating social realities from his unique perspective. However, instead of adapting existing forms of folktales, Nesin preferred to transform structures of folk narratives enormously. It is possible to see the effects and motifs of folktales in his books like *Memleketin Birinde* (1958), *Hoptirnam* (1960) and it seems rather than staying loyal to tradition, he transgressed folkloric patterns to a large extent. And he states that he chooses such an attitude for a reason because he thinks the opposite way is imitation in his interview with Tahir Alangu as follows:

My thoughts on relations between the literature and folktales are as follows: authors should write folktales by inspiration from traditional folktales. I think indirect effects of folktales on authors are positive. If we write by handling authors or folktales which we read, that would be imitation.<sup>16</sup> (Nesin, 1966:125)

Apart from folktales, Nesin wrote in other folkloric forms as well, for example, he created some plays by using means of shadow theatre. In an effective way, he wrote three Karagöz texts in 1968, and with these plays, he won Karacan Awards which was organized by Milliyet Newspaper. In these texts, Nesin made a satirical social criticism and he targeted the government's attitude to freedom and democracy, bribery, imitation of Americans and Europeans, football, and behaviors of football players. Just like Nesin, intellectuals like Mehmet Seyda, Erkut Babakol, Erol Aksoy wrote texts of

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<sup>15</sup> Nitekim buradaki “Üç Turunçlar” başlıklı şiirde suyunu bulamayan, yani ortam yoksulu birinin çaresizliği anlatılıyordu... Bu şiirimde, masaldan toplum gerçeğine dönüşen yaşantıya geçişi, şiirin son parçasında açıkça ortaya koymuştum. Tıpkı masalcıların “kıssadan hisse”lerinde yalın gerçeğe şöyle kesin bir bitirişle dönüşlerinde olduğu gibi. Burada masalı yalnız bir toplum gerçeğini ifadede değil, masalcıların kullandıkları gibi kullanıyordum.

<sup>16</sup> Ben “masal-edebiyat” ilişkileri üzerinde şöyle düşünüyorum: masaldan esinlenerek masal yazılmalıdır. Benim için olumlu ve yararlı etki, masalın bir yazarı dolaylı yoldan etkilemesidir. Okuduğumuz yazarı, ya da masalı ele alarak yazarsak bu taklit olur.

Karagöz as well. Seyda's play criticizes politicians, their election campaigns, and the exploitation of religion for getting more votes. Babakol, on the other hand, appears to criticize the coup d'état of May 27, 1960. He seems to target satirically leftists which support the army and its intervention into politics. And Babadoğan (2013:245) describes these works as an attempt to revitalize Karagöz and return of satire.

It is also important to note that Nesin simplified the language of *Leyla ile Mecnun* and rewritten it with contemporary language even though he did not change any traditional characteristic of narrative in 1972. And lastly, Metin Eloğlu and Oğuz Tansel also compiled bektashi epigrams in 1977. And given these examples, it is necessary to state that the tendency to a reinterpretation of realities of villages or rural life and folk culture from a leftist perspective began before the 1960s. However, in this sense, the Turkish Constitution of 1961 changed the political atmosphere and in turn, leftist thoughts reflected themselves a lot more in political, ideological, and cultural bases which allow to widen the scope of this tendency. In other words, even though it is hard to point out qualitative differences among works of left-oriented intellectuals written before 1960 and after 1960, quantitatively there is an apparent difference. Therefore, it seems it is possible to argue that there is some qualitative continuity in literary works of left-oriented intellectuals before and after the 1960s.

#### **4.2 Leftist Minstrels, Living Folk Culture and Interaction between Modern and Traditional**

Interaction between the left and folk culture in this particular time period was highly active and not only left-oriented intellectuals were impressed by folk tradition, folk narratives, and living folk culture, but also minstrels were influenced by the left and left-oriented intellectuals. Both minstrels and intellectuals had been affected by rising leftist politics and ideology, and in turn, this interaction reflected itself on literary works as well.

However, in terms of folk culture, it does not mean that before the effects of the left there was no protest character in folk narratives. There have been always oppositional features in folk culture on the contrary, but different from the past in this particular

time period it is possible to see leftist jargon in works of minstrels. Just like the tendencies of left-oriented intellectuals, minstrels in the early Republican era also raised their voices by using folk tradition before the 1960s, and ahead of analyzing the relation between minstrels and the left after the 1960s, it is necessary to look at early examples first.

In the 1940s Talibi Coşkun and Habip Karaslan were highly significant figures in terms of criticism of important Kemalist figures and Republican People's Party with using means of folk culture (Başgöz, 1986:186). Verses of Talibi Coşkun, for example, vividly shows how he thinks about one of the influential Kemalist figures Behçet Kemal Çağlar, whose thoughts on folk narratives were discussed briefly in the third chapter, and he criticizes Çağlar as follows:

I admired İstanbul/ I lay down to white marbles/ I earned nine coins in six months/ You took those from me İstanbul/ Are you a poet Behçet Kemal?/ You don't have a saz in your arms/ You can't walk in these roads/ You don't have any powerful line of poem/ What is the reason behind your vanity?/ Your guide resembles crows/ You are just like a rice dish of my mother/ Just like it you are very tasteless.<sup>17</sup> (quoted in Başgöz, 1986:186)

In addition, verses of Habip Karaslan expresses extremely sharp criticism against Republican People's Party and he suggests that Kemalist bureaucrats are oppressing the people and by using their influence they are earning a lot of money as follows:

This Republic belongs to Atatürk, it doesn't collapse/ Nobody could present himself to you prime minister Saraçoğlu, son of tribute money/ You care about nothing but earning money/ This parliament eats well, drinks well and sleeps well/ Habip is feeling their tricks/ and he roaming around in foreign lands for seven years/ People's Party is oppressing the people/ It is not a party but nuisance/ They found job for themselves/ and they are filling their pockets by this/ Henchmen are parliamentarians/ The parliament is only entertaining itself.<sup>18</sup> (quoted in Başgöz, 1986:186-187)

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<sup>17</sup> İstanbul İstanbul dedim özendim/ Beyaz mermerlere yattım uzandım/ Altı ayda dokuz akça kazandım/ Onu da elimden aldın İstanbul/ Şair misin Behçet Kemal/ Kolunda bir sazın yoktur/ Bu yolları yürüyemen/ Kuvvetli bir dizin yoktur/ Nedir senin talavuzun/ kargadandır kılavuzun/ Sen ebemin pilavısın/ Hani tadın tuzun yoktur.

<sup>18</sup> Cumhuriyet Atatürk'ün yıkılmaz/ Haracıoğlu huzuruna çıkılmaz Başbakan Saraçoğlu/ Kese dolsun başka işe bakılmaz/ Yeyip içip rahat yatar bu Meclis/ Habip bu hileyi sezen/ Yedi yıldır gurbet gezen/

However, after the Democrat Party won elections these criticisms of minstrels were directed towards cadres of the Democrat Party and Başgöz (1986:187) states that such critical verses could not be published in the 1950s and some of the verses which published after the 1960s must have been written before 1960s. Therefore, while analyzing verses at that time being cautious is highly necessary. As Başgöz mentions, oppositional verses of Habip Karaslan against the Democrat Party reflects the mood of that era very vividly as follows:

Aegean rich embraced us/ They said they are democrats but they are actually party of lords/ I beaten my breast for nothing in this cause/ I supposed Democrats are working for us/ I believed their empty promises/ New politicians are worse than old ones/ Even though they said wages of parliamentarians will be decreased/ The meaning of their words are understood now.<sup>19</sup> (quoted in Başgöz, 1986:187)

Just like Karaslan shows his disappointment about Democrat Party, Ali İzzet also expresses similar feelings with his verses and it is possible to make an inference that minstrels believed Democrat Party at first for improving living conditions of the poor masses, however, what they expected did not occur in a short period of time. Verses of Ali İzzet reflect these thoughts very clearly as follows:

We thought Democrat Party as a beautiful woman/ But it turns into a ugly woman, a prostitute, a widow/ It said “I am honest” and we believed/ But it emerges that he was a bald man and he is not honest/ They want to take important positions under control/ Who does care about the poor like us?/ All of them said they are authentic fabrics but they turn into hessian, linen, gunny.<sup>20</sup> (quoted in Başgöz, 1986:187)

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Halk Partisi halkı ezen/ Parti değil baş belası/ Kendine bir meslek bulmuş/ Cebi para ile dolmuş/ Şakşakçılar mebus olmuş/ Meclis eğlenceye düştü.

<sup>19</sup> Zengin Egeli bastı bağına/ Demokrat dediği lordlar partisi/ Bu davada boşa yandım/ Demokrat iş yapar sandım/ Kuru vaadlere kandım/ Geleni gidenden beter/ Mebus maaşları düşecek derken/ Anlaşıldı sözlerinin vefası.

<sup>20</sup> Demokrat Partiyi taze kız sandık/ Çirkin çıktı, kahpe çıktı, dul çıktı/ Alnım açık, yüzüm ak dedi kandık/ Yüzü kara çıktı, başı kel çıktı/ Bunların mevki kazanmak fikiri/ Düşünen kim bizim gibi fakiri/ Has kumaşık dedi bize her biri/ Kendir çıktı, keten çıktı, çul çıktı.

Alongside these early examples, because the Turkish Constitution of 1961 allowed to be freely expressed any political thought whether it is leftist or rightist, rather than hiding their works and criticisms, just like leftist intellectuals did which is reviewed in the first part of the chapter, minstrels substantially raised their voices. Başgöz (1986:188) states that after minstrels formed the Association of Minstrels (Aşıklar Derneği) in 1963 with the help of Workers' Party of Turkey (TİP), minstrels began to harshly criticize unemployment, landlordship, imperialism, etc. And it seems it is possible to argue that, just like in the case of left-oriented intellectuals, for minstrels after the 1960s there was an apparent quantitative difference. In other words, even though some minstrels produced oppositional verses before the 1960s, its scope and tone increased and toughened after the Turkish Constitution of 1961 came into operation. More importantly, one of the highly influential minstrels Aşık İhsani sang his critical and political verses even in front of parliament at that time (Başgöz, 1986:187).

In addition, as it is implied, leftist terminology leaked into verses of minstrels to a large extent. As Mehmet Bayrak (1985:84-89) gives some examples of these verses, it can be frankly seen that terms like “imperialism”, “feudalism” and “socialism” were used. It is possible to give verses of Aşık Bayram Veli as an example:

It doesn't go like that/ And one day brave people will revolt/ They will eradicate exploitation/ There won't be any boss or landlord/ They will go back to Middle Ages/ Brave people will get rid of darkness and reach enlightenment/ They will beat imperialism/ and dark feudalism/ Brave people will flow into socialism with enthusiasm.<sup>21</sup> (quoted in Bayrak, 1985:86)

Moreover, Aşık Nesimi Çimen references similar political terms in his verses such as “bourgeoisie”, “fascism” and “revolution”:

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<sup>21</sup> Böyle gitmez mutlak bir gün/ Kalkacaktır yiğit halkım/ Sömürüyü temelinden/ Yıkacaktır yiğit halkım/ Kalmayacak patron-ağa/ Gömülecek orta çağa/ Karanlıktan aydınlığa/ Çıkacaktır yiğit halkım/ Vuracak emperyalizme/ Karanlık feodalizme/ Coşa coşa sosyalizme/ Akacaktır yiğit halkım.

Let bourgeoisie be oppressed and beat fascism/ There is no way now but death/ Let cry of the people be ceased by revolution/ Put gradually up a wall of socialism.<sup>22</sup> (quoted in Bayrak, 1985:89)

“Socialism” and “revolution” are also important themes in verses of Aşık İhsani:

Step by step, shoulder to shoulder, side by side/ For enjoying the taste of life/ In the road to capture all the world in the name of socialism, there are us.<sup>23</sup> (quoted in Bayrak, 1985:88)

In addition to these themes inequality, injustice, solidarity for the struggle against oppressors were also common subjects in verses of minstrels. For example, Tanırlı Aşık Yener targets compradors and bosses in his verses because they made masses poor and he believes the oppressed will take their revenge and justice will be secured one day as follows:

Suffering doesn't end, misery doesn't leave off/ And those are diadems on our heads/ Unscrupulous ones break the law and it is a dexterity for them/ Saying the truth is a crime for us/ Anatolia is full of waterless wells/ Number of the unemployed is getting higher day by day/ While compradors are eating caviare/ As a class of the people we are hungry/ There are lots of tricks in Ankara/ There are lots of robbery in İstanbul/ A dog could be bought and sold for ten million liras/ But how much lira our value cost?/ All lands and seas are owned/ All lands are given to the landlords/ Bosses have lots of money in banks/ However, workers and forces of production are us/ Aşık Yener, don't get nervous/ Let robbers to rob butcher/ One day we will make all of them responsible for these acts/ We will eventually take our revenge.<sup>24</sup> (quoted in Akkuş, 2017:50-51)

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<sup>22</sup> Ezilsin burjuva, vurun faşizme/Artık yol gider mi ölümden öte/ Devrim diye dinsin halk feryadı/ Sosyalizm duvarını öre öre gel.

<sup>23</sup> Adım adım omuz omuz yan yana/ Varmak için yaşamının tadına/ Yeryüzünü sosyalizm adına/ Zaptetmeye giden yolda biz varız.

<sup>24</sup> Bitmez çile, tükenmeyen sefalet/ Yıllar yılı başımızda taç bizim/ Vcdansızlar kanun çiğnet, maharet/ Gerçekleri söylememiz suç bizim/ Anadolu susuz susuz kuyular/ Her gün artar işsiz, güçsüz sayılar/ Havyar yerken kompirador dayılar/ Halk sınıfı tüm midemiz aç bizim/ Ankara'da türlü türlü plan var/ İstanbul'da açık açık talan var/ On milyona köpek satıp alan var/ Sorsak hele kıymetimiz kaç bizim?/ Paylaşılmış denizlerle karalar/ Ağalara tapulanmış buralar/ Patronların, bankalarda paralar/ Üretici, tüm çalışan güç bizim/.../ Aşık Yener, bozma yine asabı/ Soyun hele fırsatçılar kasabı/ Elbet bir gün sorulacak hesabı/ En sonunda alınacak öç bizim.

It is interesting to note that at that time one of the influential minstrels Aşık Mahzuni Şerif mentions Bülent Ecevit, he was a highly effective politician with his ideology of “left of the center” and he was called as Karaoğlan by the people which has apparent populist connotations, in his verses and he explains Ecevit that what people want from him:

My dear brother Karaoğlan/ If you smile us, then come to power/ We are sick and tired of fat and grumpy men/ If you can govern properly, then come to power/ You know there is no road in our village/ We cannot explain ourselves to the government/ Our problems are not about being leftist or rightist/ If you solve the problem of hunger, then come to power/ You wanted vote from us and we gave it to you/ We are begging for hundreds of years with blindfolded/ We cultivated fields and gave our labour/ If you solve the problem of poverty, then come to power/ Don't be like preceded politicians/ Because we heard enough of lies/ I don't say anything or criticize the men who love his nation/ If you sacrifice yourself to the people, then come to power.<sup>25</sup> (quoted in Akkuş, 2017:189)

For understanding properly living folk culture at that time it is necessary to state that there were right-oriented minstrels as well. In this sense, as Bekki (2008:273) notes that for creating an alternative to the Association of Minstrels (Aşıklar Derneği), they formed another unity called Feast of Minstrels (Aşıklar Bayramı) in 1966. Because of the fact that it seems minstrel poetry in this particular time period is highly politicized, it is possible to find a range of political and ideological traces in verses of right-oriented minstrels as well. While there was apparent anger against the left and socialists in the works of right-oriented minstrels, as Akkuş (2017:183) states there were verses that praised rightist political figures such as Alparslan Türkeş, Süleyman Demirel, and Necmettin Erbakan as well. Verses of Ozan Arif could be mentioned as an example in this kind and he names Alparslan Türkeş as “başbuğum” (my commander) as follows:

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<sup>25</sup> Sevgili kardeşim canım Karaoğlan/ Bizim yüzümüze güleceksen gel/ Asık surat göbeklerden usandık/ Adamca bakmayı bileceksen gel/ Bilirsin ki bizim köyün yolu yok/ Hükümete ulaşacak kolu yok/ Bizim derdimizin sağı solu yok/ Açlığa bir çare bulacaksan gel/ Rey dediniz oy dediniz al verdik/ Yüz yıllardır gözü bağlı yalvardık/ Tarla tarla diken kırdık bel verdik/ Yoksulluğa çare bulacaksan gel/ Hiç benzeme senden evvel gelene/ Çünkü karnımız tok böyle yalana/ Hiç sözüm yok milleti sevene/ Yani halk'a kurban olacaksan gel.

Today there are lots of things happening/ However, those do not damage us/ Crows were fed because they were thought as if they were nightingales/ Now they are trying to carve your eyes up/ Let God to help, there are such a people/ You are my commander, you are a brave man/ Wherever ignorants go/ Arifs always follow your paths.<sup>26</sup> (quoted in Bekki, 2008:281)

In addition to this example, hate and anger against the left and socialists could be found in verses of Kemali B lb l as follows:

The ones who bring chaos to my country/ The ones who plant seeds of confusion/ The ones who lost their Turkish identity/ I would give you a lesson but/ The ones who miss hammer and sickle/ The ones who expect dark clouds/ And the ones who hide crimes of those/ I would give you a bitter lesson but/ Protestors who are swaggering in their cells/ The ones who support aims of Moscow/ Sovietic robbers and henchmen/ I would give you a bitter lesson but.<sup>27</sup> (quoted in Bekki, 2008:282)

On the other hand, apart from leftist and rightist male minstrels because of the fact that playing saz and singing verses as performance have not been regarded as convenient for women, throughout history numbers of female minstrels are highly limited. And both Bařg z (2008:209) and K ksel (2012:39-41) note that when they try to do so they face several hardships such as violence from their husbands or criticism from family members. However, it is not possible to generalize such examples to the whole society and history, because after the 1960s, female minstrels (especially from Alevi communities) began to participate in organizations with their male counterparts (Bařg z, 2008:209) and their verses could be highly political.

For example, verses of Zeyno Bacı and řah Turna show vividly that they instrumentalize their craft as a political tool. While řah Turna talks about

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<sup>26</sup> Bug n bile neler neler neler var/ Ger i neyi sallar neyi ırgalar/ B lb l diye beslediđin kargalar/ Oymaya kalkıyor g z n  senin/ İnsanlar iřte bu Hakk yardım etsin/ Sen benim Bařbuđum sen bir yiđitsin/ Cahiller ne yana giderse gitsin/ Arifler terk etmez izini senin

<sup>27</sup> Yurduma fesadı getirenlerin/ Fitne tohumu bitirenlerin/ T rk'ken T rkl đ n  yitirenlerin/ Kertesin kerterdim amma velakin/ Orađı  ekici  zleyenlerin/ Bulanık havayı g zleyenlerin/ Bunların su unu gizleyenlerin/ Burnunu s rterdim amma velakin/ H crede kasılan eylemcilerin/ Moskof davasını s ylemcilerin/ Sovyet i soygunlar paylanıcıların/ Soyunu tartardım amma velakin

“enlightenment” and challenges against unfairness, Zeyno Bacı refers to “struggle against injustices” and she calls others for coming together to increase the number of strugglers. Verses of these two female aşiks are respectively as follows:

Summon the one who is angry to us/ I don't forgive the ones who write  
and tell lies/ For bringing enlightened order/ Let's walk friends, walk.<sup>28</sup>  
(quoted in Bayrak, 1985:85)

I declare a war against injustices/ The ones who support this right cause,  
come and join me/ I gave my blood in this road/ The ones who hit their  
fists to the unjust, come and join me.<sup>29</sup> (quoted in Bayrak, 1985:85)

On the other hand, as it is stated that because in this particular time period several minstrels were inclined to leftist thoughts, they followed books of intellectuals and used elements from those scripts in their narratives as well. For example, İlhan Başgöz mentions (2008:233) that “Mevlut İhsani learned the name of a mountain range (Tarıkaçal Mountains) from a book of Ümit Kaftancıoğlu”. As it is mentioned in the first part of the chapter that Kaftancıoğlu published a collection of folk narratives in 1974 which contains hikaye of “Bedri ile Mahperi” that had been read by Mevlut İhsani later. In addition, Aşık Üzeyir Pünhani also states that books or chapbooks were resources in terms of learning folk romances for minstrels (Başgöz, 2008:90) even though it was not that common since traditionally folk romances had been learned through oral performances, as it is stated in the second chapter.

In other words, while modern scripts which are written by leftist intellectuals affected minstrels, on the other hand, left-oriented intellectuals were heavily influenced by minstrels and living folk culture. As it is noted, the relation between modern scripts and traditional narratives is an active one. Although it is more common that scripts have taken their bases from narratives, it is also possible to see some narratives which borrow some characteristics from scripts as well.

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<sup>28</sup> Deyin gelsin hele bize kızanı/Afeylemem yalan dolan yazanı/Getirmeye bir aydınlık düzeni/Yürüyelim arkadaşlar yürüyün

<sup>29</sup> Ben haksıza karşı savaş açmışım/Bu haklı davada olanlar gelsin/Bu yolun uğrunda kanlar saçmışım/Yumruğu haksıza vuranlar gelsin

From this point of view, it is possible to see that this dynamic between traditional narratives and modern scripts could also affect the structure of narration and position of the author when it comes to adaptations of folk narratives which this study focuses on. That is to say, because left-oriented intellectuals took lots of things from tradition as given in their adaptations, at some points their works resemble verses of actual minstrels at that time. In other words, because intellectuals try to transfer their political and ideological perspective by using folk narratives, in some instances of narration it is possible to see a blurring of the position of the author and twisting it with the position of minstrel or storyteller.

For example, while a beginning of a story with tekerleme or poem is common in folk romances, in this sense the beginning of the adaptation by Nesin seems creative since his way of proposing story demonstrates some dynamism which resembles improvisations of minstrels. Nesin seems to narrate the story from the mouth of Mahmut or use and he positions himself as a journalist who appears to record directly what Mahmut says. By using such an indirect invitation, Nesin seems to use both positions of author and storyteller.

Write what I told you mister journalist, and then the world read our situation and take lessons. My name is Mahmut and her name is Nigar... Write "Mahmut and Nigar", and then people read, read and cry, cry and read... In comparison to what we live through, what "Kerem and Aslı", "Yusuf and Zeliha", "Ferhat and Şirin", "Tahir and Zühre" lived is just nothing. The real adventure is ours, how much money are their adventures...<sup>30</sup> (Nesin, 1959:7)

Although ideological and political differences among intellectuals will be addressed in the third part of the chapter, it is necessary to state here that because at the beginning of the story storyteller/author directly communicates with the reader, with using this

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<sup>30</sup> Yaz bu anlattıklarımı gazatacı bey, yaz da dünya-alem bizim ahvalimizi okuyup kıssadan hisse kapsın. Benim adım Mahmut, onun adı Nigar... "Mahmut ile Nigar" diye yaz, millet okuyup okuyup ağlasın, ağlayıp ağlayıp okusun... Bizim başımıza gelenlerin yanında "Kerem ile Aslı", "Yusuf ile Zeliha", "Ferhat ile Şirin", "Tahir ile Zühre"nin başına gelenler hep fıısırtı... Esas macera bizimkisi; onlarınki kaç para eder...

position intellectuals can clearly reflect their views. The beginning of the adaptation by Kansu can be a clear-cut example of this attribute. Just like Nesin does, Kansu appears to narrate the story from the mouth of “mother of a tale” and by doing so he also places himself in both the position of the author and of the storyteller at the same time.

In the Republic Day and in the country of Mustafa Kemal Pasha, let his name be the names of tales; there is a Tahir who came from the mountains and there is a Zühre who came from the older times. Love maintains in time, and love of humankind comes from the ancient times and goes to the future. Let’s listen to what the mother of tales will narrate about the loves of Tahir and Zühre in our times.<sup>31</sup> (Kansu, 1972:7)

Apart from these two distinct examples, other adaptations begin with ordinary poems or *tekerlemes* (a form of an introductory formula in a tale), for example, adaptations by Afşar Timuçin which are “Tahir ile Zühre”, “Ferhat ile Şirin”, “Leyla ile Mecnun” and “Arzu ile Kamber” begin with poems of the author. In those poems, Timuçin either directly introduces the story or narrates his thoughts in general. For example, at the beginning of the adaptation of “Tahir ile Zühre”, he places himself in the position of a storyteller by directly communicating with the reader.

There are people who create beauties out of nothing/ But there are also people who destroy beauties/ My friends let’s narrate what we narrate frankly/ There are men who left dirt behind/ There are men who left legacy behind/ I don’t say anything for the first ones/ Long lives to the second ones.<sup>32</sup> (Timuçin, 1969:15)

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<sup>31</sup> Hem Cumhuriyet gününde, hem de adı masallara ad olası Mustafa Kemal Paşa’nın yurdunda. Tahir bu, yürümüş dağlardan gelmiş, Zühre bu, salınmış çağlardan gelmiş. Sevgi bu yürür, insanoğlu bu gelir. Günümüze de gelir, yarınki günlere de gider. Dinleyelim bakalım, masal anası, günümüzün Tahir ile Zühre’sini nasıl anlatır, ne söyler?

<sup>32</sup> ... Adam vardır yoktan kurar güzeli/Adam vardır güzeli yok eder/Dostlar açık söyleyelim söyleyeceğimizi/Adam vardır ardında is bırakır/Adam vardır ardında iz bırakır/Birincilere söyleyecek sözümüz yok/Varolsun ikinciler

Furthermore, in the adaptation of “Kerem ile Aslı”, Baykurt narrates just an ordinary *tekerleme*, and it represents a preliminary beginning for the story in which Baykurt uses the position of storyteller just like in performances.

Who is this girl, who is Kerem? Where do they come from and who are their families? Let’s ignore Arab who sleeps in Mount Qaf, let’s talk about Kerem. Let’s look at what his problem is, why he sighs and is there any remedy for his wounds?<sup>33</sup> (Baykurt, 1964:3)

On the other hand, the adaptation of “Aşık Garip” by Bilgin Adalı and adaptation of “Ferhat ile Şirin” by Talip Apaydın appear to begin with a direct narration of stories. However, at the end of these stories, they place themselves as storytellers clearly, which will be addressed below. In addition, in the adaptation of “Deli Dumrul” Suat Taşer begins to narrate general depiction of the environment, and in the adaptation of “Kazılık Koca Oğlu Yegenek” because he writes those two as plays he uses the voice of choir both in the beginning and in the storyline as his direct speech. However, he directly communicates with the reader at the end of “Deli Dumrul” and places himself as a storyteller.

Beys and wisemen to whom I said let’s do it/ The ones who say the world is mine/ The death takes and the ground conceals/ The mortal world belongs nobody/ People come and go in this world/ And they die after their adventures/ I hope your dark mountains with cliffs won’t collapse/ I hope your huge tree with its shadow won’t be cut/ I hope your beautiful water which flows like a blood won’t dry out/ I hope your wings won’t be broken/ I hope your white horse won’t fall when galloping.<sup>34</sup> (Taşer, 1962:82)

Besides, Dilmen also writes his adaptation as a play and he uses voices of characters for telling his political and ideological views, rather than placing himself apparently

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<sup>33</sup> ... Kimmiş bu kız, kimmiş bu Kerem? Neyin nesi, kimin fesi imiş? Boş verip Kaf Dağında yatan arabı, biz Kerem’i sökelim: Bakalım ne imiş derdi, neden ah çekermiş, yok mu imiş bir ilacı bir merhemi?

<sup>34</sup> Hadi dediğim bey erenler/Dünya benim diyenler/Ecel aldı yer gizledi/Fani dünya kime kaldı/Gelimli gidimli dünya/Akıbet sonucu ölümlü dünya/Dilerim/Yarlı kara dağların yıkılmasın/Gölgelice kaba ağacın kesilmesin/Kan gibi akan güzel suyun kurumasın/Kanatlarının uçları kırılmasın/Koştururken ak boz atın sürçmesin...

as a storyteller. On the other hand, in adaptations by Tarık Dursun, because he seems he references only folk characters' names, he does not take any folk attribute from tradition and because of this reason, it is hard to find the position of a storyteller in adaptations by Tarık Dursun.

As it is stated, like instrumentalization of the beginning of the story, endings can be used for communicating with readers as well. For example, at the end of his adaptation, Apaydın uses both direct speeches and he gives the name of himself and by doing so he indicates that he places himself in the position of a storyteller.

Those who knew told those who did not know, those who heard told those who did not. This story is written once again by Talip Apaydın. Those who read this story will see that Ferhat and Şirin could not come together because of an evil woman. God save new Ferhats and Şirins.<sup>35</sup> (Apaydın, 1965:87)

Bilgin Adalı also places himself as a storyteller at the end of his adaptation and also he argues that he witnesses all adventures in reality by visiting country by country on foot just like Aşık Garip himself.

I was there yesterday when they were making a wedding ceremony and I left them there and hit the road. I walked a long way in a long time and arrived at a well. I found a bowl and drank water. I read, wrote, travelled and wrote again. If I tell any lie to you, it means I took it from my master. Lovers find each other properly and we wrote it down this story once again as it is...<sup>36</sup> (Adalı, 1972:77)

Just as in the beginning, Kansu reflects his political and ideological views very clearly at the end of the story as well.

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<sup>35</sup> Bilenler bilmiyenlere söylemiştir, duyanlar duymayanlara anlatmıştır. Bu hikayeyi bir de Talip Apaydın yazmıştır. Okuyanlar okuyacaktır ki Ferhat ile Şirin, adı kara bir cazı karı yüzünden birbirlerine kavuşamamışlardır. Yeni Ferhatları Şirinleri tanrı korusun.

<sup>36</sup> Dün oradaydım, düğün yaparken bıraktım onları, çıktım yola. Az yürüdüm, uz yürüdüm, iki ay bir güz yürüdüm, vardım kuyu başına. Bir tas buldum su içtim, okudum, yazdım, gezdim, dolandım gene yazdım. Varsa yalanım, onu da ustam olacaktan çaldım. Sevenler bulmuş uygununu, biz de böylece yeniden yazdık bunu...

In this field there are three boys playing. They are sons of Tahir and Zühre. Their names are respectively Gazi, Mustafa and Kemal. This story ends at this point. There are three apples which dropped out of the sky. First one is for the love of Tahir and Zühre, second one is for the road of Mustafa Kemal, and third one is for the mother of this tale which is Turkish language.<sup>37</sup> (Kansu, 1972:46)

Moreover, at the end of the adaptation of “Kerem ile Aslı” Baykurt places himself very clearly as a storyteller and he makes an important change in the storyline. Both Pertev Naili Boratav (2002:68-69) and İlhan Başgöz (2008:204) refer some performances in which minstrels narrate “Kerem ile Aslı” that audience warn minstrel not to end the story with the deaths of Kerem and Aslı, i.e. they want to hear unification of them, and just because of this reason sometimes minstrels have faced even threat of killing. As this incident shows historically while it has been narrated, hikaye of “Kerem ile Aslı” has been subjected to some changes in accordance with the demands of the audience. Thus, it is understandable that while making changes, Baykurt wants acknowledgment from readers or his targeted audience. Hence, at the end of the hikaye while he is placing himself as a storyteller, he also seems to please the wishes or aspirations of the audience.

Other books and ill-hearted storytellers tell, “This is not the proper end of this story. Father of Aslı makes Aslı to wear a magical shirt and forces Kerem to untie this shirt. When Kerem cannot untie it and run out of his patience, he burns down with crying. And Aslı also burns down. Even if they cannot come together, their ashes unite. What is the consequence of being evil? Have you ever seen people burning like Kerem and Aslı with ejecting fires from their mouths? You would say “This is a tale!”. If yours is a tale, mine is too! True version of this story is what I told and the wrong version makes people asleep. Let’s ignore tales which make people asleep. This tale ends like that.<sup>38</sup> (Baykurt, 1964:62)

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<sup>37</sup> Bu koruda üç oğlan oynar, Tahir ile Zühre’nin üç oğlu olmuş ya: Biri Gazi, biri Mustafa, biri de Kemal. Biter burada bu masal. Gökten üç elma düştü: Biri Tahir ile Zühre’nin gülüne, biri Mustafa Kemal’in yoluna, biri de bu masalın anası Türkçe’nin bal diline.

<sup>38</sup> Başka kitaplar, fesatlar, katipler, derler ki: “Bu masalın sonu böyle değildir. Keşiş kızına bir sihirli gömlek giydirip Kerem’e çöz demiştir bu gömleğin düğmelerini... Kerem çözemeyip, sabrı tükendiğinden, ah diyerek yanmış, Aslı da yanmıştır. Kendileri kavuşamamıştır ama, külleri kavuşmuştur” Fesatlıktan ne çıkar? Siz hiç öyle ağzından ateş çıkıp tutuşan insan gördünüz mü? “Masal bu!” diyeceksiniz. O masalsa bu da masal! Masalın doğrusu budur. Eğrisi dinleyeni uyutur. Uyutan masalı geçelim. Bu masal da burda tamam olur.

Given these examples, it is necessary to state that in this particular time period, left-oriented minstrels and left-oriented intellectuals converge politically and ideologically, and in turn because of the fact that they both use means of folk culture, the interaction between the modern and the traditional reflects itself very vividly on their literary works. That is to say, alongside political and ideological convergence, their works approximate each other in a literary sense as well. Even though left-oriented intellectuals change lots of elements in folk narratives, as it is discussed later in this chapter and fifth chapter, they also take some components for granted and this factor makes works of minstrels and intellectuals closer. Hence, in this sense, it can be argued that it is not surprising to see a blurring of the position of the author and mixing it with the position of minstrel or storyteller in adaptations of left-oriented intellectuals.

#### **4.3 Political and Ideological Differences and Similarities among Leftist Intellectuals in terms of Adaptations**

The mechanism of constructing an adaptation especially appears to be based on knitting old language with new connotations, which merely indicates a dynamic process. While by blending with new additions, old language seems to turn into an amalgamation, both novelties, and remnants of the old gain an appearance of one another. Even though ancient materials seem as if they are motionless at first glance, somehow they could resist being changed or they could force to accept some ancient traditions as given, as it is mentioned in the second part of this chapter by discussing authorship and storytelling. In other words, a mixture of these two eventually represents how they communicate with each other or how they clash with each other, rather than reflecting a smooth image in which different particles are quiet and inactive. Hence, for analyzing or understanding this dynamic process it is necessary to focus on how changes, transformations, and additions are made, in which critical junctures are hidden.

In this context, for revealing how left-oriented intellectuals associate themselves with folk narratives in accordance with their political and ideological views, it requires to be illuminated that how they instrumentalize language or utterances. In other words, usage of direct or indirect speech, choices of particular words, and utterances of

characters show how political and ideological views of left-oriented intellectuals have effects on construction of adaptation, or even how much those are changed can be a variable to show differences among intellectuals. Although those adaptations can be classified under the same category in general, it does not mean that they do not contain differences. That is to say, even if left-oriented intellectuals could be thought within the same political and ideological scope, because of the fact that their perspectives had some differences, these differences could be detected in adaptations as well.

In line with this fact, even though some of these left-oriented intellectuals had been labeled as communists by right-wing actors at that time as if they did not have any ideological or political differences from each other, actually they did so and instead of being completely unrelated with other ideologies, for example, almost all of them were embracing progressive elements of Kemalism. Even though different interpretations of Kemalism are not directly subject of this particular thesis, it is necessary to state here that it is not possible to mention only one Kemalism; and there are different blends of it such as conservative or leftist interpretations, and in turn, ideological positions of some of these intellectuals could be classified as a Kemalist or leftist interpretation of Kemalism. Hence, rather than making clear-cut distinctions, in terms of ideological and political inclinations, it is necessary to show how and in what sense intellectuals converge or diverge.

Although almost all those intellectuals were familiar with rural areas and villages of the country, and at least at some periods of their lives they experienced how everyday life had been structured in those areas, conditions which Fakir Baykurt and Talip Apaydın faced were different from others, which is slightly mentioned in the first part of this chapter. Because the families of Baykurt and Apaydın were peasants and they were living in extremely poor conditions, their association with the reality of the village is highly different from others. For example, even though Dilmen and Kansu were partially aware of those conditions due to their parents' jobs at their early ages, they did not directly live through extreme conditions in villages. Therefore, the perception of the village and folklore of Baykurt and Apaydın was different from others.

For instance, while adaptations by Fakir Baykurt and Talip Apaydın do not reflect dramatic changes or transformations from traditional versions of narratives, in some attributes it can be possible to reveal complete transformations or additions in other adaptations, as it is analyzed in detail in the fifth chapter of this thesis. This could be associated with the fact that even though in this particular time period, effects of Turkish left and the opposition on village institute graduates have been gradually increased (Nartok, 2014:4), among left-oriented intellectuals analyzed in this particular study, village institute graduates namely Apaydın and Baykurt seem to associate themselves with traditional folk narratives more. In other words, in comparison with others, it can be stated that although throughout the era Apaydın and Baykurt have changed both politically and in turn linguistically since they were growing up in villages and they were closer to tradition than others, their adaptations reflect some apparent swerves from others.

Because of the fact that education in village institutes was not similar to other educational institutions as it is slightly mentioned in the third chapter of this thesis, village institutes' graduates' understanding of themselves, villages, and the country were not identical with the others. Because village institutes were designed for educating children living in villages and in turn making them village teachers in line with ideals of the early Republic, their thoughts and ambitions were generally shaped by the realities of villages.

For example, Baykurt (1999:9) mentions in his biography that when he began his education in village institutes he thought he will not sever his connection from the village, try to defeat backwardness in villages, and illuminate them<sup>39</sup>. In addition to this, Talip Apaydın explains the same phenomenon in his biography as well. Apaydın (1990:54) specifies<sup>40</sup> that whatever they learned was always about the village and their

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<sup>39</sup> Ant ier gibi bir daha, bir daha syluyorum: “ğretmen olup aylığa bağlanınca kökenimden kopmayacağım!”... Gideceğim köydeki geriliğı, yoksulluğı yere sereceğim... Halkı aydınlatacağım (Baykurt, 1999:9).

<sup>40</sup> Bütün yolların Roma’ya çıktığı gibi, bizim de bütün öğrendiklerimizin, düşündüklerimizin bir ucu köye değinirdi. Köysüz ders, köylüsüz sorun bize süs etkisi yapardı. Ne öğreniyorsak köye çevrikti.

education was constructed upon principles that aimed to solve problems of villages. Furthermore, in village institutes, they were also learning about folklore and even more importantly they were practicing it. Baykurt (1999:24) mentions that every morning they were performing folk dance and singing pieces of folk music<sup>41</sup>. And Apaydın (1990:227-228) says that his graduation thesis was about folk music of Kütahya region and later he gave this compilation to one of the Turkish folklorists Muzaffer Sarısözen<sup>42</sup>. Hence, it is possible to argue that both their living conditions in villages and education in village institutes made those intellectuals closer to the realities of villages and folklore.

Alongside these mentioned above, interventions of Baykurt and Apaydın in narratives seem fewer, and in terms of plotline, they do not make dramatic changes. While in general, they follow the traditional path of folk narratives more in terms of storyline, when they want to express their thoughts they could use either voice of the characters indirectly or direct speech and these instances will be clearly shown in the fifth chapter. Moreover, it is highly important to note that direct association with the people seems unique for adaptations of these two intellectuals. In other words, although in other adaptations the author/storyteller makes the audience feel that there is a gap between his position and the people, Baykurt and Apaydın appear to fill this gap by using expressions such as “we” or “us”. In other words, while they are adapting folk narratives, to a large extent they try to be loyal to the traditional plotline, and by

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Köyde nasıl çalışacağız, bu iş köyde nasıl uygulanır, köylünün yaşayışını değiştirmek için ne yapmak gerek? Okuduğumuz kitaplarda bunu arar, bunu düşünür, bunu söyledik (Apaydın, 1990:54).

<sup>41</sup> Sabah kalkar kalkmaz halk oyunları oynamamız, yurt türküleri söylememiz hoşuma gidiyor. Tefennili Nuri Yavuz ağabey bize Müziğe gelir. Ayrıca Müzik öğretmenimiz yok. Bir gün tutturdum kendi şiirlerimden birini besteleyip türkü yapacağım. Çekildim güllüklerin içine. Uğraş uğraş! Didin didin! Ama yöntemini bilmiyorum. Öğrencilerden bilen yok. Olacak gibi değil; bıraktım (Baykurt, 1999:24).

<sup>42</sup> Kütahya halk türkülerinin özelliklerini, ritm, melodi, ses hattı, prozedi, tonalite ve anlatım gücü bakımından inceliyordum. Bunun için Ankara’da çeşitli müzisyenlere başvurdum. Onların fikirlerini aldım. Kendi fikir ve görüşlerimi kattım. Notalarla birlikte seksen sahifeye yakın küçük bir kitapçık ortaya çıktı... Türkülerimin bazısını sonradan Muzaffer Sarısözen’e verdim (Apaydın, 1990:227-228).

making additional expressions they directly associate themselves with the people and characters in folk narratives.

Let's ignore Arab who sleeps in Mount Qaf, let's talk about Kerem. Let's look at what his problem is, why he sighs and is there any remedy for his wounds?<sup>43</sup> (Baykurt, 1964:3)

They say Şirin is a daughter of a ruler. It is not true at all. She is a daughter of the people. She is the daughter of one of us.<sup>44</sup> (Apaydın, 1965:4-5)

As it is stated in the second part of this chapter that both Baykurt and Apaydın make themselves closer to traditional storyteller or aşık by using direct speech and usage of “we” and “us” in these statements shows that they try to make the audience feel that authors belong to or are parts of the people, which could be related with their education and living conditions. In apparent contrast with such an approach, it could be stated as an example that Nesin positions himself in the narrative as a journalist, rather than conceptualizing himself as if he is part of who he narrates.

Besides, Tarık Dursun transforms narratives dramatically and he seems to use only names of folk characters and choice of Tarık Dursun appears that as if he wants to narrate the lives of urban poor while making slight references to tradition. It will be explained in detail later in this part of the chapter but here it is important to note that characters, which Tarık Dursun creates, seem they do not have any relation with a rural lifestyle. However, just like Apaydın and Baykurt, he also uses “we” for positioning himself among the urban poor but it is necessary to state that the association of Tarık Dursun is different from Baykurt's and Apaydın's. On the one hand, rather than putting lots of features taken for granted Tarık Dursun completely transforms storylines, and his usage of “we” refers to urban poor, rather than peasants. Thus, in this sense usage of expressions such as “we” or “us” shows the significant difference among intellectuals. It can be seen in the reference below that rather than describing romantic

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<sup>43</sup> Boş verip Kaf Dağında yatan arabı/Biz Keremi sökelim/Bakalım ne imiş derdi/Neden ah çekermiş/Yok mu imiş bir ilacı merhemi?

<sup>44</sup> Derler ki Şirin bir hakanın kızıydı. Hiç de değil. Bir halk kızıydı. İçimizden birinin kızıydı.

“we” in association with the people like Baykurt and Apaydın do, Tarık Dursun only refers to urban poor and does not make any additional romantic connotation. In other words, “we, the people” have power and can make some changes in the storyline in adaptations by Baykurt and Apaydın, as it is stated in the fifth chapter, Tarık Dursun’s “we” do not have any power for making changes or transformations both in their lives and in society.

Hurşit’s behaviour does not resemble ours, his utterances are not like ours. He is different from us... He is overjoyed with his handsomeness, his good manners, his knowledge, richness of his father, being owner of palaces and fields, riding beautiful horses, driving elegant cars, drinking Gordon’s Gin and Black and White whisky, smoking three packages of Benson and Hedges a day. He wants his lover to resemble himself as well.<sup>45</sup> (Tarık Dursun, 1972:33)

In addition to this, it is possible to see the effects of education in village institutes of Baykurt and Apaydın on adaptations very clearly as well. For example, in the adaptation of “Ferhat ile Şirin”, when architects begin to build a palace for Şirin, Apaydın describes their work as collective and process of how to build this palace is decided collectively, which seems an apparent reference to constructing buildings in village institutes. Apaydın (1990:8) says in his biography that students of village institutes were constructing buildings for themselves if they were required and in the adaptation scene of construction of the palace contains similarities with his memories. Also, as it will be seen later in this thesis, in his adaptation Apaydın depicts Ferhat as extremely hardworking while building a palace for Şirin and he depicts himself as hardworking while making buildings in village institutes as well. Therefore, it is possible to argue that in the construction of the palace, Ferhat resembles Apaydın himself with reference to his memories.

Beginning with the second summer of the school, we began to construct houses of teachers, ateliers, building for cooperative, a big stable and

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<sup>45</sup> (Hurşit’in) halleri hallerimize benzemedi, dili dilimize. Bizden başka bir kişiydi... Doğrusu, yakışıklılığından, göğüsünden, bilgisinden, baba zenginliğinden, han hamam, bağ bahçe, tarla sahibi olmaktan, güzel ata binmekten, iyi araba kullanmaktan, bir tadışta bütün cinler arasında Gordon’s cinini, bütün viskiler arasında Black and White’ı öbürlerinden şıpınışı ayırma yeteneğinden, günde üç paket Benson and Hedges içmekten başı göğe ermişti. Alacağı kızın da kendisi gibi olmasını istiyordu.

stores. Environment around school turned into a building site. On the one hand deep wells of lime, on the other hand batches of sand and bricks... And we were working from the beginning of the day till the darkness. We were making lots of things such as preparing soil of mixture, carrying bricks and building walls. Until buildings reach roofs, we were in the position of masters.<sup>46</sup> (Apaydın, 1990:39)

Even though traditionally folk romances do not contain religious elements too much, because they have been based upon generally secular, everyday issues, it does not mean that there are not any. Although there is hardly any religious expression in adaptations of left-oriented intellectuals, it is possible to find some attempts for reversing religious elements into secular ones. For example, apart from its traditional religious dominant conflict in “Kerem ile Aslı”, even though in some traditional versions of this narrative Kerem has to perform religious acts for proving himself as minstrel (Duymaz, 2001:56), in the adaptation by Baykurt it is not possible to come across such occasions. Instead, Baykurt seems to want to peel religious expressions off and change the dominant conflict in the narrative by directing it to another side. In the adaptation of “Kerem ile Aslı”, Baykurt tries to say religious differences are not important for lovers, and just like Kerem does, when characters try to come together and struggle, they can beat those differences and be happy.

Because of the fact that village institutes’ graduates see men of religion (namely Imam or the Hoca) and exploitation of religion as an obstacle for the emancipation of villages in line with their education, it is not surprising to see some motivation for overcoming religious references in adaptations by Baykurt and Apaydın. In his adaptation, for instance, Apaydın states witchcraft and magics are useless and it is nonsense to rely on witches and wizards; although as Özarslan (2006:96) states, witches and witchcraft could be somehow effective in traditional narrations of “Ferhat ile Şirin”.

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<sup>46</sup> İkinci yılın yazından başlayarak, öğretmen evleri, atölyeler, kooperatif binası, büyük ahır ve depolar yapmaya başladık. Okulun çevresi geniş bir şantiye haline geldi. Bir yanda derin kireç kuyuları, öbür yanda büyük kum yığınları, tuğla sergileri... Ve sabahın erken saatlerinden akşamın karanlığına kadar süren bir çalışma. Harç karan, sedyelerle tuğla çeken, duvar ören birbirine karıştırdı. Bina çatıya çıkıncaya kadar , biz yapıcılar çoğu kez usta pozisyonunda olurduk.

There is a woman called Ezraka in that region. She has a big nose, wrinkled face and she is eighty years old. She made spells for soldiers of Banu. But those spells do not have any effect. What can spells do against swords and maces?<sup>47</sup> (Apaydın, 1965:69)

On the other hand, although it seems Ceyhun Atuf Kansu shares similar political and ideological thoughts with Baykurt and Apaydın, those are not identical. As Baykurt<sup>48</sup> (2002:109) and Apaydın<sup>49</sup> (1990:239) mention that they were personally close to Kansu and share several things. However, different from Baykurt and Apaydın, Kansu does not associate himself with the people and keeps a pedagogical distance. While the effects of the Turkish left had gradually increased on graduates of village institutes and they had been turning into intellectuals in Gramscian sense, Kansu had been adhering to a Kemalist understanding of intellectual and Kemalist principles. In this sense, it could be roughly stated that while Kansu thinks emancipation would be realized by enlightening or pedagogical activities of traditional intellectuals to unconscious masses, Baykurt and Apaydın do not think of emancipation only as an epistemological problem, instead, they tried to make it possible by revitalizing or sharpening already an existing oppositional character in masses.

In other words, throughout this time period graduates of village institutes had been converging ideologically to socialism and they established the Teachers' Trade Union of Turkey (TÖS) which was highly effective at that time, however, Kansu kept his ideological position more or less the same. In other words, Kansu embraced Kemalism with its progressive elements, which means he understands Kemalism by interpreting

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<sup>47</sup> O çevrede Ezraka adlı bir cadı vardı. Gaga burunlu, buruşuk yüzlü, sekseninde bir kadındı. Banu'nun pehlivanlarına okudu üfledi, büyü yaptı. Ama boşuna. Kılıcın, gürzün önünde büyü ne yapsındı?

<sup>48</sup> Zaman zaman yükselen heyecan, koşturma ve düşkırıklıklarıyla dolu yıllarımız birlikte geçti Ankara'da. Ceyhun Atuf Kansu hep çalışkan, okuyan, yol gösteren insan oldu. Engin Tonguç'la, Talip Apaydın'la arkadaşlığımız da onu daha iyi tanıyıp sevmeme yardım etti. Benden on yaş büyüktü. "Ceyhun Ağabey" demeye başladım. Talip daha bir içten "Ağbi" derdi. Uzun yılları, yalnızlıkları Turhal'da birlikte geçti (Baykurt, 2002:109).

<sup>49</sup> (İsmail Hakkı Tonguç) iki yıl kadar önce Suluca'daki oğlunu görmek üzere Amasya'ya geldiği zaman Turhal'a da uğradı. Ceyhun Atuf Kansu'yla kucakladık. Zayıflamıştı. O eski Hakkı Bey değildi (Apaydın, 1990:239).

it from a leftist perspective. To be more specific, his understanding of Kemalism could be associated with Bülent Ecevit's approach to Kemalism. That is to say, for putting it in a nutshell Kansu embraces the Kemalist motto of "for the people with the people", which is a transformed version of early Republican understanding of the Kemalist motto of "for the people, despite the people" in the 1960s and 1970s (Erdoğan, 1998). And within such an understanding of Kemalism, there is an antagonism between "the people" and "ones who do not belong to the entity of the people", or between "the oppressed" (workers, peasants, civil servants, etc.) and "oppressors".

As it will be revealed in the fifth chapter, Kansu praises Mustafa Kemal Atatürk both at the beginning and end of the adaptation of "Tahir ile Zühre" with his direct speech, he does so also from the mouths of characters and even from the mouth of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk. But praising Mustafa Kemal and Kemalist principles does not mean that he did not specify any class difference or determination in line with socialist ideology. In other words, he does not put aside a determination of class difference and in accordance with that, he praises village institutes in his adaptation because they teach peasant children that everyone is not equal in society and makes them conscious. In this sense, it is important to note that in Kemalist understanding, class differences in society were not frankly embraced. In other words, even though Kansu shares lots of features of Kemalism, he does not imagine society as classless and does not think there is a smooth coherence among different strata of society. Kansu mentions the benefits of village institutes in his adaptation and frankly narrates how village institutes illuminate peasant children and teach them history. In this regard, Kansu also explicitly states that peasant children learn class differences between landlords and ordinary people in village institutes as follows:

He learns making buildings, planting seeds, flattening mountains in village institutes. And he learns ancient times in which people were all equal and how people had been divided into different religions, and how common lands had been captured by landlords and beys. And he learns why and how his father turned into a shepherd of a landlord. At the same time he

learns how to play a saz and saz masters and important folk figures such as Karacaoğlu, Dadaloğlu, Aşık Veysel.<sup>50</sup> (Kansu, 1972:19)

In addition to this particular episode, Kansu depicts the relationship between landlords and the state in another episode from his perspective. When narrating the landlord's appealing help from the “state”, Kansu actually criticizes the corrupt state and “ones who do not belong to the entity of the people”. In other words, Kansu depicts landlords and state as allies against the people or the poor and this episode reverberates his ideological position in terms of Kemalism as follows:

He goes to one of the powerful figures of Erzurum and tells what happened. He complains like, “I kiss your hands and feet bey, please make Tahir to move away from our village and rescue my daughter. If he won't leave, we cannot live a wealthy life”. He says, “Door of the state is open for the landlord and the state is constructed by the landlords”. Because he is a landlord and powerful man of Erzurum also think as if they are living under Ottoman rules, he agrees with the landlord father of Zühre and says, “How could it be happened? How could the Republic allow the son of a shepherd to be son-in-law of a landlord?”.<sup>51</sup> (Kansu, 1972:22)

As it is stated, Kansu associates himself neither with “the people” or the oppressed nor with “ones who do not belong to the entity of the people” or oppressors, instead he positions himself as intellectual and always keeps his distance. In other words, he makes some criticisms for the people as well. As it is mentioned in the fifth chapter of this thesis, Kansu does not embrace the traditional depiction of folk characters and prefers to describe them with a passion of struggle, which means rather than embracing

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<sup>50</sup> Pulur okulunda tuğla çamur, yapı öğrenmiş, bağ dikmeyi, dağ yıkmayı, buralara kavım kardaş eşit gelinen günleri, sonra sonra bölüm bölüm bölünen dinleri, birlikte ekilip birlikte biçilen toprakları, sonra sonra ağaların beylerin ellerinde kalan toprakları ve de babasının neden ağa kapısında çoban düştüğünü öğrenmiş. Bu arada Karacaoğlu, Dadaloğlu, Aşık Veysel, bir güzel de saz öğrenmiş.

<sup>51</sup> Gitmiş Erzurum'un bir büyüğüne olanı biteni anlatmış. “Elini ayağını öpeyim bey, bu Tahir'i bizim köyden al da kızım kurtulsun, o gitmezse bize ne dirlik, ne varlık var.” diye dert yanmış. “Ağaya açıktır devletin kapısı, devlet dediğin ağa yapısı!” diye de dil dökmüş, söz yuvarlamış. Dedik ya, adam ağa, Erzurum'un büyüğü de Osmanlılardan kalmış, o da, ağaları devlet yapısı görenlerden, kafasını iki yana sallayıp “Olur mu ağa, olur mu, Cumhuriyet dediysek çoban oğlundan ağaya damat olur mu?” diye ağaya hak vermiş.

people and their culture purely as they are in reality, he wants to change the people by teaching them by his pedagogical expressions.

Kansu's book of "Köy Öğretmenine Mektuplar" (Letters to the village teacher) is highly important in this sense. In this particular book, Kansu positions himself as a village teacher and he seems to try to illuminate who he writes. In other words, instead of associating himself with the people and struggling with them side by side against injustice and inequality, he prefers to stand apart and gives lessons about how to be emancipated. So, this particular book reflects obviously that he embraces a Kemalist understanding of intellectual.

Isn't the girl named Seyran in the darkness? She is! Isn't there a need for books in the village of Seyran kız? The books which we called books of the people. Of course there is such a need. If it is, your village needs Erasmuses as well. For writing books which enlighten and wake people up. By giving the name of Erasmus, I don't mean the coming of a sixteenth century Dutch philosopher. I mean we need intellectuals just like Erasmus who want to enlighten people for emancipation of our country.<sup>52</sup> (Kansu, 2007:45)

Moreover, in a similar way like Kansu does, Timuçin also differentiates himself from the people, even though he apparently says he is one of them and he supports their struggle. As it is mentioned before while Kansu (1972:42) depicts ancient aşiks as "tearful" rather than brave strugglers, Timuçin says he was impressed by aşiks when he attended village weddings with his father. Rather than approaching critically, Timuçin mentions when he was a child he read lots of epics, learned folk culture at younger ages, and used themes or language of folk narratives in his literary works later.

When I went to village weddings with my father or one of my father's staff, the most interesting thing in these weddings for me was that minstrels were singing folksongs and saying poems. I listened to their call-

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<sup>52</sup> Seyran kız karanlıkta değil mi? Karanlıkta! Seyran kızın köyünde böyle kitaplara, ihtiyaç var mı yok mu? Halk kitapları dediğimiz kitaplara. Elbette var. Varsa, senin köyüne de Erasmus'lar gerekli. İnsanı uyandıracak halk kitapları yazsınlar, yaysınlar diye. Erasmus'lar derken, tutup onaltıncı yüzyıldan o Hollandalı gelsin demiyorum. Yurdumuzun bir uyanış çağına girmesi için insanı bilmekte, insanı uyandırmakta, insan sevgisini aşılamağa Erasmus'un yolunu tutan insanlar, aydınlar gerekli diyorum bize.

and-response duet with enthusiasm. At that time I learned folk legends from books which were sold in trains by pitchmen.<sup>53</sup> (Timuçin, 1969:7)

Even though it will be detailed in the fifth chapter, it is necessary to state here that he seems as if he criticizes intellectuals including himself. In the very beginning of the adaptation of “Ferhat ile Şirin”, he appears to apologize from Ferhat in the name of the people or workers or the oppressed for not being supportive enough as intellectuals. In this context, it is not surprising to see both deaths of Ferhat and Şirin at the end of the narration. In other words, Timuçin implies that Ferhat and Şirin could not come together and lose struggle just because they could not take enough support, and after forming an apologetic tone Timuçin seems to give main emancipatory power to the poor rather than to the intellectuals.

Creators/ First of all forgive us/ We took all things from you/ But maybe we cannot give you anything back/ Your loneliness is because of us/ Creators/ Don't tolerate us/ But transform us/ Just like carved rocks/ Change us/ Change our inner side day and night/ Creators/ Hands which lead to the enlightenment are divine/ You are gods from top to the bottom/ Make heard of your voice in everywhere.<sup>54</sup> (Timuçin, 1969:94)

Furthermore, for constructing effective literary narration, Timuçin thinks all writers should take advantage of folk narratives. He states that because folk culture proposes examples of vivid and pure narration he uses them in almost all his artworks and also criticizes Turkish intellectuals or writers because from his perspective they do not take advantage of folk culture properly.

Just like in folk poetry, we can find a pure narration of people in those epics as well. From my perspective, every competent author has to use those materials. On my own behalf I used those materials not only in *Destanlar*, but also in my all works. I didn't think to use those materials

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<sup>53</sup> Biz babamla ya da babamın yanında çalışan kimselerle köy düğünlerine gittiğimiz zaman o düğünlerde en çok ilgimi çeken şey aşıkların şiir ve türkü söylemesiydi. Aralarındaki atışmaları da heyecanla dinlerdim. Destanlarsa trenlerde özellikle esansçıların sattığı küçük kitaplarda karşımıza çıkmıştı o zamanlar.

<sup>54</sup> Yaratınlar/Bağışlayın önce bizi/Her şeyi sizden aldık/Hiçbir şey veremedik belki size/Bizim yüzümüzden yalnızlığınız/Yaratınlar/Bizi hoşgörmeyin ama/Alın değiştirin bizi/Taşları yontu yapmaya/Değiştirin/Sabah akşam değiştirin içimizi/Yaratınlar/Aydınlığa çıkaran eller kutsal ellerdir/Siz baştanbaşa birer tanrısınız/Duyurun her duymazlığa sesinizi

as they are. But given names of some of my books are folksong, I tried to provide plain narration of folk narrative in my books. Unfortunately, our intellectuals do not think to use those sources. They even despise those sources.<sup>55</sup> (Timuçin, 1969:10-11)

Even though Timuçin does not give emancipatory power to intellectuals in terms of social emancipation just like Kansu does, he still gives a special position to intellectuals in society. For explaining or narrating reality properly, Timuçin thinks the intellectual has to be positioned himself apart from the rest of the society and in turn, this conceptualization of intellectual makes sense about why he does not associate himself with the people or folk characters in his adaptation.

There is a spot in which people humiliate each other, steal things from each other, adorn themselves up, babbling with each other and entertain themselves. Mission of the author is observing this spot, however he does not belong to this spot. Such separation shows authors as out of society a little.<sup>56</sup> (Timuçin, 1992:18)

From the viewpoint of Aziz Nesin, on the other hand, it is somewhat complicated. As it is mentioned in the second part of this chapter, Nesin positions himself as a journalist or recorder in his adaptation, however, it does not mean he hides himself completely in his adaptation. While he narrates the story directly from the mouth of the main character, he indicates as if he does not intervene in the narration. Hence, this unique character of narration separates this particular adaptation from others. In the case of Nesin's adaptation, the relation between the author/storyteller and the people seems ambiguous. Nesin directly uses the voices of folk characters and stays behind, but this does not mean that he does not transform the storyline and stay loyal to the tradition. Narrating the story from the mouth of the main protagonist may be explained by the

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<sup>55</sup> Tıpkı halk şiirinde olduğu gibi, halkın yarattığı bu destanlarda da insanı en yalın biçimde anlatılmış buluruz. Bana göre kendini bilen bir sanatçının bu kaynaklara sürekli olarak yönelmesi gerekir. Ben kendi payıma sadece *Destanlar*'da değil, bütün kitaplarımda bu kaynağa yöneldim. Bu kaynağı tabii ham bir biçimde, açık açık kullanmayı düşünmedim. Ama bazı kitaplarımda adının 'türkü' olmasında da görüleceği gibi, halk anlatımındaki o yalınlığı özellikle sağlamaya çalıştım. Bizim sanatçımız bu temel kaynaklara yazık ki inmeyi düşünmüyor. Hatta hor görüyor onları.

<sup>56</sup> İnsanların birbirlerini aşağıladığı, birbirlerinden bir şeyler çarptığı, sürünüp takındığı, boş boş konuştuğu, eğlenip kendinden geçtiği bir yer vardır ki sanatçı bu yeri gözlemlemekle yükümlü de olsa bu yerin insanı değildir. Bu ayrılık sanatçıyı belki biraz toplumdışı kılacak ya da gösterecektir.

fact that Nesin could want to raise the value of his expressions and this could lead him to use the voices of characters, rather than directly communicating with the audience. And when he directs his thoughts from the perspective of folk characters, he harshly criticizes the quality of democracy and it is possible to argue by doing so that he transforms ancient artifacts into a political tool.

Write what I told you mister journalist, and then the world read our situation and take lessons. My name is Mahmut and her name is Nigar... Write "Mahmut and Nigar", and then people read, read and cry, cry and read... Others captured the country and made it their own in the name of democracy. I could not even marry a woman with order of God and with the words of our Prophet, and be a family man. Light a cigarette and listen to me...<sup>57</sup> (Nesin, 1959:7)

Although Nesin also seems he differentiates himself from folk characters and the people, the way he is constructing his adaptation is different from the others. First of all, he does not direct his voice in adaptation, rather, as it is mentioned, he uses the voices of folk characters. However, unlike Apaydın and Baykurt, Nesin transforms the voices of folk characters almost completely in accordance with his ideological and political perspective. In other words, Nesin does not prefer to stay loyal to the tradition.

Within this frame, it is necessary to state that Nesin thinks of himself as a writer of the poor but he does not give emancipatory power to the intellectuals unlike Kansu does. Instead, he makes a comparison between intellectuals of the early Republic and intellectuals of the poor, and in turn, he argues that because intellectuals like himself live just like the people, their lives do not contain any special importance. In other words, rather than conceptualizing the position of the intellectual as emancipatory

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<sup>57</sup> Yaz bu anlattıklarımı gazatacı bey, yaz da dünya - alem bizim ahvalimizi okuyup kıssadan hisse kapsın. Benim adım Mahmut, onun adı Nigar... "Mahmut ile Nigar" diye yaz, millet okuyup okuyup ağlasın, ağlayıp ağlayıp okusun... Eloğlu, demokrasinin yüzü suyuna memleketi zaptedip taposu altına geçirdi. Biz bir karıyı Allahın emri, Peygamberin efendimizin kavli ile nikahımız altına alıp ev-bark kuramadık. Hele bir cıgara tellendir de dinle...

power, he prefers to put that aside and imagines that writers of the poor are more or less have the same qualities as the people.

To be honest, I and authors from my generation do not have interesting memoirs or lives which are worth narrating to the public. However authors from the previous generation took important positions in the establishment of the Republic and after that and in turn their values were high. They were turned into authorities by the help of authority of the state and became famous... Our memories do not have any importance for readers. Our lives passed through financial difficulties, prisons, exiles, courts, corridors of courthouse, investigations, prosecutions, dealing with the mentality of the police. Our lives are common lives.<sup>58</sup> (Nesin, 2017:179-181)

Just like Timuçin does, Nesin also gives special importance to folk culture and he argues there is an inner resistance tendency against pressures in folk narratives.

I found a “tendency to resist against oppression” in folktales, folk narratives and folk anecdotes. Taking advantage of this fairy tale habit, I wrote those two books “consciously” against lawful or unlawful oppression. I felt the need to give them in the form of fairy tales known to the public in those days. Actually they were stories. However, there is an “instructive interpretation” in the tale. When you listen or read the folk tale, “what did it mean to say?” people think. People know from their own habits that the word is not used openly. The people make abstractions in play, story and tale under certain conditions, either to get rid of pressure or to tend towards generalization.<sup>59</sup> (Nesin, 1966:127)

From this point of view of Nesin, it is possible to understand why he hides himself and does not direct his voice to the audience. Nesin argues that because folk narratives had

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<sup>58</sup> Doğrusu, benim ve benim kuşağımdan olan sanatçıların, kamuyu ilgilendirecek ilginç anıları, anlatılmaya değer yaşamları yok. Oysa bizden önceki kuşaktan hemen bütün yazarlara bakınız, hepsi de Cumhuriyet’in kuruluşunda da ondan sonra da önemli yerler almışlar, değerlendirilmişlerdir. Onlar devlet otoritesinden otoritelenmişler, ünlenmişlerdir... Bizim anılarımızın okurlar için gerçekten önemi yoktur. Yaşamımız geçim sıkıntıları içinde, cezaevlerinde, sürgünlerde, mahkemelerde, adliye koridorlarında, sorgularda, kovuşturmalarda, polis kafasıyla boğuşmakla geçti... Bizim yaşamımız, herhangi bir yaşam.

<sup>59</sup> Ben halkın masallarında ve hikayelerinde, fıkralarında “baskıya karşı direnme” eğilimi gördüm. Bu masal alışkanlığından yararlanarak kanunlu ya da kanunsuz baskıya karşı “bilinçli” olarak, o iki kitabımı yazdım. Onları o günlerde halkın bildiği masal biçiminde vermek gereğini duydum. Aslında onlar hikayeydi. Halbuki masalda “öğretici bir yorumlama” var. Halk masalı dinleyince, ya da okuyunca, “lafı ne demeye getirmiş?” diye düşünüyor. Sözün açıkça, dobra dobra kullanılmadığını kendi alışkanlığından biliyor... Halk, oyunda, hikaye ve masalda soyutlamayı, belli koşullar altında, ya baskıdan kurtulmak ya da genellemeye yönelmek için yapıyor.

been constructed traditionally for resisting pressures by using abstract fictionalization, rather than directly expressing thoughts or criticisms, it is more effective to state indirectly by using fiction according to his perspective. In other words, Nesin prefers to imply his thoughts because he thinks this is a more convenient form of expressing views to the people. Because of the fact that Nesin thinks the people are more prone to indirect narration traditionally, expressing views or thoughts to the people in the form of tales or folk narration is more effective and it seems that is why Nesin chooses to use voices of folk characters, rather than authorial addressing.

Furthermore, this characteristic can be applied also to the adaptation by Adalı, however, it is necessary to state that it is not that apparent like Nesin's adaptation. Adalı hides himself throughout the narration and, as it is mentioned in the second part of this chapter, at the end of the story he reveals himself and says he witnesses all adventures which he narrates. Just like Nesin does, by making additions and transformations Adalı prefers to direct his thoughts from the mouths of characters. And by doing so, he severely criticizes the rich as follows:

Everyone knows who you were in the past and who you are now and how you become like that. Don't provoke me otherwise I will talk and walls and stones will also learn what you are. Up until today you didn't make any work by yourself and always stole from others.<sup>60</sup> (Adalı, 1972:21)

Just as Apaydın and Baykurt do, Adalı criticizes men of religion and exploitation of religion as well. As it is mentioned before, in his adaptation Adalı criticizes one of the men of religion not only because he is rich, but also because he exploits religion. When this aforementioned man of religion faces the main protagonist in the narration, Adalı turns this episode into a confrontation of the poor and the rich and in turn, this particular episode represents more than just an ordinary dialogue between two common folk characters. In this sense, this character is harshly criticized from the

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<sup>60</sup> ... Bilmeyen var mı şurada senin kim iken ne olduğunu, nasıl olduğunu. Ağzımı açtırma benim, elin günün bildiğini taşlar duvarlar da öğrenmesin. Bugüne değin el eliyle yılan tutup dört bir yandan çaldın çıptın.

mouths of the common people because of stealing from the poor and deceiving them by smearing the religion. This characteristic reflects itself in one important episode as well in which even though men of religion do not confirm playing saz and singing together of main male and female characters, one ruler who is depicted as right and moral does not take these accusations into account seriously and joins the celebration of lovers.

While Aşık Garip and Sanem are playing saz and singing folk songs happily, one of men of religion who is presumptuous goes to bey of Tbilisi and says “If a woman who will be bride plays saz and sings songs before a bunch of men, God throws rocks on us like a rain. Alas, there is no decency, the religion is gone!”. Bey of Tbilisi is both a young and wise man so he does not heed others’ words. But after the first one there are others who come and say “They are bad examples for our daughters and sons, they are committing worst crime”. And then he thinks like “Let’s go and see what happens with our eyes” and then he goes to the wedding. When he arrives he sees lovers are singing and playing saz with enthusiasm and guests are listening to them with admiration. Nobody realizes that he came. Because he never saw a passion and enthusiasm like that before, he became surprised. Like others he begins to listen to what Kerem plays and Sanem sings with enthusiasm.<sup>61</sup> (Adalı, 1972:75)

Moreover, Adalı attaches some contemporary references in his adaptation as well. For example, even though it seems anachronic or not appropriate for traditional narration, in the narrative it is stated that minstrels from different countries meet in Unkapanı. Because the music industry has begun to develop in the 1970s in Turkey and Unkapanı was one of the heartlands of this industry (Özbek, 1991:123), it is not surprising to come across mentioning of Unkapanı in this particular adaptation that has been

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<sup>61</sup> Onlar böyle Garip Garip, Sanem Sanem söyleşe dursunlar, hacıdan hocadan geçinen kendini bilmezini biri, “Gelin olacak kadın kişi bir alan dolusu erin karşısında böyle yüzü gözü açık oturur, oturduktan başka saz çalıp söz söylese, Tanrı üstümüze taş yağdırır. Eyvahlar olsun, ar edep kalmamış, din elden gidiyor!” diyerek soluğu Tiflis Beyi’nin yanında aldı. Tiflis Bey’i hem genç hem de onun bunun sözüne kulak asmayacak denli bilge bir kişiydi. Ne var ki, ilk gelenin ardından “Kızlarımıza kızanlarımıza kötü örnek oluyor bunlar, kaç göçü unutmuş, suçun en büyüğünü işliyorlar...” diye başkaları da gelince, “Hele bir yol gidelim bakalım ne olup bitiyor, kendi gözümüzle görelim.” diyerek vardı düğün evine. Düğün evinde iki tutkun coşkuyla çalıp söyleşmekte, konuklarsa çevrelerini sarmış baygın baygın dinlemekte. Bey’in geldiğini kimse görmedi. Bey dersin tutkunun da, coşkunun da böylesini görmemiş, dikilekaldı olduğu yerde. Kendinden geçip Garip’in sazını, Sanem’in sözünü dinlemeye koyuldu..

produced in this time period. In other words, Adalı makes some additions that the audience or readers at that time feel familiar with the narration a little.

The next morning, he took saz in his hand, came out early on the street, inquired and learned that in the place called Unkapanı, someone called Deli Mahmut has a coffee. All the poets from seven countries gather there, read poems, sing folksongs and test each other.<sup>62</sup> (Adalı, 1972:22)

Besides, those modern references could be found in the adaptation by Dilmen as well. Because of the fact that Dilmen constructs his adaptation as a play, for directing his thoughts he always uses the voices of characters. When he directs his thoughts from the mouths of characters, it is possible to notice an apparent amalgamation of modern and ancient. In the adaptation of Deli Dumrul by Dilmen, it is explicit that elements from leftist terminology are uttered by ancient folk characters. For example, in one instance while the main protagonist is talking he names himself as “citizen”.

Won't citizen Dumrul earn money?<sup>63</sup> (Dilmen, 1979:14)

Also, in the narration when folk characters talk about the impossibility of buying and selling of human life, some of those characters tell that “life is not a commodity” which prevents it from being sold or bought.

The soul is sacred, Dumrul/ Who will give his/her life for you?/ Is life a commodity you could ask for?/ Is life like rug, felt or tent?/ The soul is sacred Dumrul/ Dumrul the wild man.<sup>64</sup> (Dilmen, 1979:38)

In addition, in one instance when the main protagonist talks to his servant about whose life is more valuable and in turn unsacrificable, the servant mentions “division of labor” ironically and mocks the idea of his master.

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<sup>62</sup> Ertesi sabah, aldı sazı eline, erkenden çıktı sokağa, sorup soruşturdu, öğrendi ki, Unkapanı denilen yerde Deli Mahmut derler birinin kahvesi vardır. Yedi ülkeden gelme ozanların tümü orada toplanır, koşma koşar, türkü düzer, birbirlerini sınava çekerler.

<sup>63</sup> Yurttaş Dumrul da geçinmeyecek mi?

<sup>64</sup> Can kutsaldır, behey Dumrul/sana kimler can verir?/Can istenir meta mıdır/kilim, keçe, otağ mıdır?/Can kutsaldır, behey Dumrul/Deli Dumrul...

Dumrul: For my life someone has to die.  
Forty brave men: What a division of labor!  
Dumrul: For a man who is from the people like you, dying is simple.  
Forty brave men: Just like what you said.<sup>65</sup> (Dilmen, 1979:44)

As it will be analyzed in the fifth chapter, when the main character and the angel of death (Azrail) are talking with each other about the death phenomenon, the angel mentions “consciousness” (or class consciousness).

Dumrul: What do you mean by the densest areas?  
Azrail: Those areas are intertwined with districts in which the poorest and unconscious people live.<sup>66</sup> (Dilmen, 1979:64)

In the case of adaptations by Taşer, on the other hand, Taşer prefers to change concepts or main themes in the narration instead of making apparent contemporary references. While he is adapting “Deli Dumrul” and “Kazılık Koca Oğlu Yegenek” he just changes or transforms utterances of characters in general expressions, i.e. additional expressions do not have obvious contemporary connotations. So, as it will be mentioned in the fifth chapter, by doing this Taşer makes the addition of dominant conflict between the poor and the rich to “Deli Dumrul” and of peace and equality to “Kazılık Koca Oğlu Yegenek”. Hence, dramatic changes in these adaptations could be found in storylines. Taşer believes in general that art and literature have to reflect the struggle of humankind (quoted in Bilir, 1992:49). In other words, it can be made as an inference that Taşer tries to reveal common features that the poor or the oppressed had been faced throughout history. Therefore, different from other adaptations, rather than making contemporary references, Taşer does not seem to make changes in accordance with the time period in which adaptation was written. That is to say, if years of publication of adaptations are not known, it is hard to find it by looking at the text itself.

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<sup>65</sup> Dumrul: Benim yaşamam için de birinin benim için ölmesi gerekliydi.  
Kırk Yiğit: Ne iyi iş bölümü!  
Dumrul: Böyle senin gibi halk takımından olunca ölmek kolay.  
Kırk Yiğit: Öyle valla.

<sup>66</sup> Dumrul: En yoğun bölgeler?  
Azrail: En yoksul, bilisiz bilinçsiz halk yığınlarının yaşam alanlarıyla çıkışıyor nedense.

Alongside these examples, in the adaptation of “Tahir ile Zühre” written by Tarık Dursun, Tahir is a worker and wants to go abroad, and by doing such a transformation Tarık Dursun highlights the fact that beginning with the 1960s there has been worker emigration to Germany from Turkey and this reflects a clear-cut change in space and time in accordance with time period in which it was written. And while Tarık Dursun narrates communication between Tahir and Camgöz Ahmet in front of The Institution of Providing Jobs and Employees (İş ve İşçi Bulma Kurumu), he names Cingöz Ahmet as “henchman” (işbirlikçi) for criticizing his wrongdoings and this utterance has been excessively using by the left for criticizing the rich and government because from a leftist perspective they are collaborating with foreign powers against people.

Tahir just got off the train and got on the Haydarpaşa-Köprü ferry and then by asking he went to the Institution of Providing Jobs and Employees in Tophane. There was a man called Camgöz Ahmet who was a henchman and from Çukurova outside the institution. He came close to Tahir and asked Tahir what he was looking for. “Fellow townsman” said Tahir and added “I will go foreign country as a worker”.<sup>67</sup> (Tarık Dursun, 1972:17)

In addition, in the adaptation of “Hurşit ile Mah Mihri”, while Tarık Dursun is mentioning richness or wealth of the main male character, he makes contemporary or modern references for describing it and it also indicates the apparent transformation of space and time.

(Hurşit) was strong and healthy. He was pampered while raising and whatever he wanted was fulfilled. First they bought him a wooden horse, then a bike, then a scooter, then Mercedes 280 S. He studied in private schools and colleges, learned foreign languages, foreign attitudes, and enjoyed freedom. His behaviour did not resemble ours, and his utterances were not similar to us. He was different from us.<sup>68</sup> (Tarık Dursun, 2972:33)

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<sup>67</sup> Tahir öylece indi trenden, Haydarpaşa-Köprü vapuruna bindi; Köprü’den yayan yapıldak sora sora Tophane’ye, Tophane’deki İş ve İşçi Bulma Kurumu’na geldi: Adına Camgöz Ahmet derlerdi, Çukurovalı çapsız bir işbirlikçi, Tahir’in yanına sokuldu, ne aradığını sordu. “Hemşehrim” dedi Tahir; “Gavuristan’a işçi gideceğim.” dedi.

<sup>68</sup> (Hurşit) gürbüzdü, sağlıklıydı. Baylan büyüdü, bir dediği iki edilmedi: Önce tahta at aldılar, sonra bisiklet, sonra Mobilet, en sonra da bir Mercedes 280 S. Özel okullarda, kolejlerde okudu, yabancı diller yabancı tavırlar öğrendi, özgürlüğün tadına erdi. Halleri hallerimize benzemedi, dili dilimize. Bizden başka bir kişiydi.

Furthermore, in the adaptation of “Sürmeli Bey”, Tarık Dursun makes obvious references to modern or contemporary items as well. For instance, when he describes Senem Kız, he depicts her makeup very vividly.

He is looking at Senem Kız: She is a young woman with dyed hair, long nails, a short skirt, smoking Samsun cigarettes all the time, and always thirsty for rakı. She did not spare whatever she could to look that way. Take her to the bathroom, wash her well like scraping her skin off. Get what's with that nasty Max Factor, take it away, wipe it away from her face.<sup>69</sup> (Tarık Dursun, 1972:69)

Given these examples, it is possible to state that even though it seems as if left-oriented intellectuals adapt folk narratives in similar ways, politically and ideologically they could have significant differences. Rather than focusing on just similarities in this sense, for understanding better it is also important to note differences. Therefore, usage of direct or indirect speech, choices of particular words, and utterances of characters could be important variables for explaining political and ideological differences and similarities among left-oriented intellectuals.

#### **4.4 Realism and Different Literary Styles in Adaptations**

While left-oriented intellectuals, which this study focuses on, seem to make similar changes, transformations, or additions in their adaptations, as a ruling principle from which perspective they narrate, what kind of literary style they use, and in turn how they mold language in accordance with their aims are other significant factors which determine characteristics of adaptations. Even though all those intellectuals can be classified as realists, it does not mean they all construct their works from exactly the same perspective. So, it is necessary to analyze different implementations of realism in adaptations.

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<sup>69</sup> Senem Kız’a bakıyordu: Boyalı saçlı, uzun tırnaklı, kısacık etekli, sürekli Samsun sigarası içen, rakıya karşı her zaman susamış bir genç kadındı... Böyle görünmek için elinden ne gelirse esirgememişti de. Al, götür banyoya, bir güzel yıka, derisini sıyrırçasına kesele: O iğrenç Max Factor’lu neyi var, neyi yoksa al yüzünden, sil at...

The literary classification of these intellectuals which this study stresses as realism, rather than socialist realism has unique importance. Although there are some similarities in approaches of intellectuals with socialist realism, it is highly important to state that these are different from the official literary strategy in the Soviet Union. While Soviet socialist realism demands some political, ideological, and literary harmony, as it is stated in the former part of the chapter there are significant ideological and political variations among intellectuals. Hence, because of these critical variations, it is hard to assume harmonious literary strategy among intellectuals as well.

As Vaughan James (1973:85) argues “socialist realism is a world-wide artistic phenomenon that arose under the influences of the great social changes at the end of the nineteenth century and beginning of the twentieth - the sharpening contradictions within capitalist society, the crisis in bourgeois culture and the rise of a socially conscious proletariat”, which in turn has to be evaluated according to its peculiar features. In other words, because socialist realism has some strict rules, it cannot be loosely applied in other contexts before discovering what it actually is and what it is not.

James (1973:1) reminds that socialist realism was constructed upon three fundamental principles and those are compliance with policies of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, specification of class characteristics, and comprehensibility by the masses. And it is important to note although it was announced it is officially supported literary method in the Congress of Writers in 1934 until that time Vladimir Lenin’s article *Party Organization and Party Literature* published in 1905 determined understanding of how socialism and literature have to be associated. However, Lenin’s article stresses not only literature but also the strategy of propaganda, education, and press. In addition, Maxim Gorky’s speech in Congress of Writers in 1934 was also highly influential in understanding and formulation of socialist realism and his focus on folklore and its relation with proletarian culture could be assessed as a turning point and this emphasis had widespread implications, as it is detailed in the third chapter.

Therefore, to put it in a nutshell “socialist realism is based on a direct relationship between the artist and the process of building a new society; it is art colored by the experience of the working class in its struggle to achieve socialism” (James, 1973:88) and in this frame folklore has special importance for the cultural construction of the Soviet Union and political education of the masses (Oinas, 1975:160). From this point of view, it is necessary to state that even though adaptations of left-oriented intellectuals have some similarities with an understanding of socialist realism, instead of being theoretically precise in terms of socialist realism, intellectuals build their works of art from their perspective and those contain both similarities and differences. And just due to this particular reason, rather than labeling them as socialist realists, it seems more appropriate to classify them as realists.

All intellectuals, which this study analyzes, try to narrate realities of the poor people from a critical perspective, which means while they are adapting folk narratives, they are making social criticisms as well. In other words, the motivation behind adapting old traditional narratives from a leftist perspective seems to relate to their tendency to mention difficulties that poor people face in their everyday lives and address social malfunctions. However, how intellectuals narrate them depends on a cluster of variables and one of them is literary strategy. To put it another way, although more or less they tackle similar social problems, the way they narrate is different.

Ahmet Oktay (1986:49) suggests that in socialist realist narration there are three categories that organize the storyline: the victim, the guilty, and the messiah. In general, it is possible to argue that while the victim represents the oppressed, the guilty symbolizes oppressors and the messiah stands for a conscious positive hero who liberates the oppressed from oppressors. Nartok (2014:171) perfectly exemplifies those categories in the context of novels of village institutes’ graduates that “peasants fill the role of the victim, the dominant forces take the part of the guilty, and the village teacher figures as the messiah.” However, Nartok (2014:172) insightfully reminds us that in socialist realist understanding the messiah or positive hero “symbolizes the vanguard of the proletariat”, rather than any other social category. Hence, even though

characters do not fit properly, it seems it is possible to find similarities between the positive character and folk characters in these adaptations as well.

From this point of view, it is possible to see some characteristics of a positive hero in adaptations by Baykurt and Apaydın. However, because these adaptations are not constructed in the form of a novel, it is necessary to be cautious when making comparisons. In adaptations by Talip Apaydın and Fakir Baykurt at first, rather than learning or becoming conscious through a plotline, characters seem stable. In other words, how they are depicted in the beginning and at the end of the narrative correspond with each other. In a sense, in accordance with the frame of folk narratives, they are what they are and features of the characters are fixed right at the beginning of the narration. Hence, different from the messiah or the positive hero, folk characters in these adaptations do not bring consciousness to the masses and liberate them from oppressors. Yet, it does not totally mean that in these adaptations there is not any transformative power.

For example, in the adaptation of “Kerem ile Aslı” written by Baykurt as will be detailed in the fifth chapter people as a social entity help lovers, and in turn Kerem and Aslı could come together thanks to the help of the people. Both people as an entity and folk characters struggle to change or transform hardships they face and they could do so with cooperation. So, even though there is not any emphasis on consciousness, adaptation strongly implies that if people struggle with cooperation for their aim they could change the situation and eliminate social hardships. In addition, it is also the case in the adaptation of “Ferhat ile Şirin” by Apaydın that Ferhat and Şirin struggle for their love and resist hardships together. Even though at the end of the story they could not come together, Apaydın praises their determination and implies the importance of collective opposition against injustices.

In this sense, although masses do not seem to oppose in the adaptation of “Aşık Garip” like in adaptations by Baykurt and Apaydın, Bilgin Adalı also gives special importance to the opposition of ordinary people against a man of religion who exploits the religion and is depicted as rich and selfish. In other words, although Aşık Garip does not face

hardships like Kerem and Ferhat, the narration also implies the significance of solidarity among the poor.

It is also possible to see such aspects in the adaptation by Ceyhun Atuf Kansu. In the adaptation of “Tahir ile Zühre”, even though Tahir is depicted as a village institute graduate and village teacher, it is not possible to see that he enlightens the peasants because of the hardships he faces. In other words, even though the audience witness transformation of Tahir himself, because at first, he has to solve his problems it seems there is no time to give to the enlightenment of the peasants. However, different from former examples in this adaptation, the main character is not depicted as stable, he can change his position and learns, as will be revealed in the fifth chapter. Like in former examples, in this adaptation peasants revolt against the landlord and help Tahir and Zühre to marry, and in turn in this adaptation, solidarity is a significant element as well.

Moreover, in adaptations by Afşar Timuçin as well collective struggle and solidarity among folk characters are highly important. Even though in these adaptations it is not possible to see opposition or anger of masses as apparent as in former examples, Timuçin put excessive importance to a collectivity of lovers and their struggle. In other words, folk characters in adaptations by Timuçin do not take effective help or support from others unlike former examples, however, they can change their situations and leave a struggling legacy behind.

Given these examples, it is necessary to state that although intellectuals try to make some novel additions, changes, or transformations, on the one hand, they keep some older attributes as they are and this allows maintaining relation with the tradition. In other words, when they try to put realities of the poor in the form of folk narratives, they seem they do not sever ties with tradition which allows them to compare the modern and the ancient. Hence, the narration of these adaptations is wandering around borders of the modern and the ancient. For example, even though Tarık Dursun makes really faint references to tradition, he keeps his relationship with it at least by giving

names of folk characters to his characters. So, usage of these different layers with various portions creates divergences among narrations of intellectuals.

Apart from former examples, staying loyal to the tradition as much as possible seems to lean towards another way in the adaptations by Aziz Nesin and Tarık Dursun. While it is stated adaptations by Baykurt, Apaydın, Kansu, Timuçin and Adalı stress more on realities of traditional narratives, adaptations by Nesin and Tarık Dursun focus the other way around. In other words, as it is attempted to be shown in the fifth chapter of this thesis that Nesin and Tarık Dursun highly depart from the realities of the ancient world and try to be loyal to the existing social realities. For example, even in the adaptation by Nesin, lovers come together at the end of the story, Nesin apparently teases about realities of the ancient world in which because they struggle for this end for a long time, eventually, they become old and due to this reason lovers do not want to come together. To put it another way, even though in the adaptation by Aziz Nesin folk characters try to overcome hardships they face throughout the storyline because realities of the existing world outweigh at the end of the story they renounce their motivation.

However, unlike the adaptation by Nesin, in adaptations by Tarık Dursun characters do not even try to struggle with injustices they face. They seem they are just suffering from harsh realities, rather than dealing with them. So, while in the adaptation by Nesin there is an ironic emphasis on collectivity and struggle among folk characters, in adaptations by Tarık Dursun certainly there is not such an emphasis. Hence, it is possible to argue that the perception of reality of Tarık Dursun resembles more of to naturalistic understanding of realism. Instead of focusing on powerful or revolutionary features of reality itself, Tarık Dursun chooses to stress how characters squeezed under unbearable realities.

As Clark (2012:421) argues that romantic revolutionary or forward-looking characters seem to be inherent in socialist realist works of art and in a similar way, as it is stated before it is possible to see this feature in adaptations of left-oriented intellectuals in different levels. On the one hand, it is possible to see struggle and hope for the better

future of folk characters in adaptations bring this attribute to the fore, on the other hand, it is also possible to come across the nonexistence of this attribute. So, rather than narrating realities of the poor or the oppressed from the same perspective in terms of realism, it seems understandings of left-oriented intellectuals vary.

On the other hand, different from former examples, in adaptations by Dilmen and Taşer narration is based upon the transformation of the main character in terms of consciousness. As it will be noted in the fifth chapter these texts are adaptations of epics rather than folk romances, and even though in this particular time period adaptations of epic and folk romance seem to converge each other, in terms of realism there is a unique difference between them. Because of the fact that epics are knitted around epic heroes who are deemed as representatives of society, their adventures and hardships they face seem as if they are problems or quests of society as a whole. Hence, when they change or transform it appears society changes or transforms in turn. So, in adaptations of “Deli Dumrul”, Dilmen and Taşer imply that because the consciousness of Deli Dumrul changes at the end of the story, society and in turn reality transform as well. In other adaptations, such a social change does not exist and even though richness and malfunctions of society are targeted in some cases, at the end of the story it is not possible to see social change as a whole. Hence, by benefiting from advantages of the form of epic, adaptations by Dilmen and Taşer diverge from former examples.

Within this frame, it is necessary to state that in adaptations by both Dilmen and Taşer, the main protagonist is depicted as cruel at the beginning of the story. However, after he takes his lesson from Azrail in several instances in the narration he transforms and cannot stay stable at the end of the story. In other words, throughout the storyline, he becomes conscious of the realities of the existing world. So, because the main protagonist changes he promises to change the world in which they live and he takes an oath that he will enlighten the rest of the society. So, in this respect, it can be understandable why Taşer depicts Azrail as Hızır (the master saint of travelers) or wise old man because even though Azrail is an angel of death, the main character is enlightened with the help of Azrail.

In addition to analysis of how realities of the existing world and the ancient world are juxtaposed and in turn reactions of characters to these realities, it is necessary to mention by making such a transformation how the author/storyteller communicates with the audience. As it is mentioned intellectuals could use direct authorial voice or voices of characters when they express their political and ideological thoughts. However, in either way by associating existing realities with traditional narratives, it appears intellectuals try to make aware the audience in terms of harsh social circumstances and show how to resist or oppose such conditions. In other words, even though it is not possible to see apparently consciousness or class consciousness and social emancipation in almost all adaptations, this does not mean that the author/storyteller does not imply such a change. By putting folk characters into modern realities, left-oriented intellectuals try to change both understandings of the ancient and the modern. Because of the fact that folk narratives inherently have protest character and by adapting them and referencing somehow current problems in the society intellectuals seem to show the audience that how folk characters resist and in turn how they could resist from their political and ideological perspectives. Hence, from this viewpoint, it seems it is possible to argue that in terms of adaptations having relation with both ancient and modern realities to some degree is essential.

Apart from these layers of analysis, because some stylistic elements have an important effect on how intellectuals depict folk characters, it is necessary to mention those differences and similarities. For example, even though from time to time almost all intellectuals could use poetical narration with verses, adaptations by Timuçin have to be examined separately because he does not use any other style different from verses. As Bakhtin (1981:285) notes that “the language of the poet is his language, he is utterly immersed in it, inseparable from it, he makes use of each form, each word, each expression according to its unmediated power to assign meaning, that is, as a pure and direct expression of his own intention” and from this point of view, it is necessary to indicate that among all adaptations authorial voice is mostly heard in adaptations by Timuçin. In other words, although as it is stated all intellectuals keep ties with tradition and allow communication between the modern and the ancient, by using poetical style

Timuçin intervenes directly and to a large extent in his narration the audience could come across with his thoughts in almost every moment.

In relation to this attribute, it is also necessary to state how the form of folk narratives could affect the tone of the narration. Even though Julia Kristeva (1986:48) puts the argument that the epic structure of the narration is limited to “narrator’s absolute point of view”, as Bakhtin (1981:363) suggests “variation freely incorporates material from alien languages into contemporary topics, joins the stylized world with the world of contemporary consciousness, projects the stylized language into new scenarios, testing it in situations that would have been impossible for it on its own”. In other words, although the traditional structure of folk narratives seems it just expresses the narrator's perspective because adaptation incorporates the ancient and the modern to some degree it is possible to detect communication of these two. Hence, although the form of folk narratives brings the perspective of the author/storyteller to the fore, in adaptations it is possible to see there is a dialogue between the older and the newer. As it is stated before, by adapting folk narratives, left-oriented intellectuals are associating themselves with the audience, folk characters, and folk tradition in general.

Within this perspective, it is also highly necessary to state here that because of the fact that traditional folk narratives bore moral values which were important for the way related society lived, as it is mentioned in the second chapter; by making transformations and changes left-oriented intellectuals change those values which say what is right or wrong and what is just and unjust as well. In other words, since traditional folk narratives have social functions and by narrating and renarrating valuable and desirable behaviors, actually they keep and spread those moral values of the society across other generations. In this sense, making a change or transformation in these narratives could be deemed as an attempt to change moral values as well. Hence it could be argued that, by showing realities of the poor in the appearance of the traditional folk characters, left-oriented intellectuals seem to say that for overcoming inequality, poverty, and injustices against oppressors, struggling collectively is morally right.

Taking all these arguments into account, it is possible to note that by implementing different literary styles and interpretations of realism, left-oriented intellectuals instrumentalize folk narratives for communicating with the poor or the oppressed and expressing their political and ideological thoughts. As it is trying to be shown that even though it seems they use similar strategies for narration because in detail there are small differences, the tone and style of narration of intellectuals vary, and for understanding deliberative choices of intellectuals properly, addressing those small differences is important.

#### **4.5 Concluding Remarks**

This chapter has analyzed how the left and folk culture relate with each other in general in this particular time period. It has been pointed out that works of leftist intellectuals and left-oriented minstrels converge and in some instances, those resemble each other. In addition, it has been stated that not only folk narratives but also folk culture as an entity has been reinterpreted by different leftist figures.

In the first part of the chapter, how social problems were addressed in novels at that time and what kind of similarities exist among them, and adaptations of left-oriented intellectuals are examined. And it has been stated that the tendency to reinterpret folk culture, realities of rural life, and social problems began before the 1960s and it is noted that after the 1960s this tendency has increased. In other words, even though it seems there is a qualitative continuity before and after the 1960s in works of left-oriented intellectuals, it has been noted that because the Turkish Constitution of 1961 created a democratic atmosphere for expressing political and ideological thoughts, there is an apparent quantitative difference before and after the 1960s.

In the second part of the chapter, on the other hand, verses of minstrels at that time are analyzed and it is noted that minstrels were inclining towards leftist thoughts and this phenomenon reflects itself on verses. In this chapter, by analyzing positions of author and storyteller in adaptations, it is suggested that in this particular time period it seems juxtaposition of the modern and the ancient from leftist perspective makes similar verses of minstrels and adaptations of left-oriented intellectuals to some degree.

In the third part of the chapter, political and ideological differences and similarities among adaptations of left-oriented intellectuals are examined. It is noted that even though it seems intellectuals adapt folk narratives in similar methods, politically and ideologically there are some differences as well. By analyzing usage of direct or indirect speech and choices of particular words and utterances of characters, political and ideological similarities and differences among intellectuals are trying to be shown.

Finally, in the fourth part of the chapter, how left-oriented intellectuals incorporate realism as a literary strategy in their adaptations is analyzed. In this part why socialist realism is not chosen for the categorization of perspectives of intellectuals is also examined. By studying literary approaches of intellectuals, similarities and differences of tone and style of narrations are tried to be explained. In this context, the communication of the author/storyteller with the audience and folk characters is studied.

## **CHAPTER 5**

### **TRANSFORMATION OF “FOLK CHARACTERS IN THEMSELVES” TO “FOLK CHARACTERS FOR THEMSELVES”**

This chapter will examine transformations of a plotline in folk narratives made by left-oriented intellectuals. Since these adaptations attempt to reorganize and rejuvenate folk narratives, it is important to highlight how fundamental characteristics of a storyline in folk narratives had been transformed in accordance with authors' political and ideological perspectives. Although adaptations have plenty of differences, under some apparent subjects it is possible to indicate organizing principles that determine features of transformations in the storyline. Those are namely dominant conflict, the depiction of female characters and conceptualization of love, and folk characters who fulfill the role of helper in the narrative. This chapter aims to find out how these characteristics of narration are built and in turn with the incorporation of these characteristics into content and form how adaptations differ from older versions of folk narratives. The first part of the chapter will analyze how left-oriented intellectuals change dominant conflict in folk narratives according to their worldview. The second part of the chapter will concentrate on changes in the depiction of female characters and the conceptualization of love. Finally, the third part of the chapter will focus on how additional characters who are positioned as helpers in the narrative are formed in accordance with the political and ideological perspectives of intellectuals.

#### **5.1 Transformation of Dominant Conflict in Folk Narratives**

In adaptations of folk narratives constructed by left-oriented intellectuals, the main characteristic that organizes the whole plot is the dominant conflict between the oppressed and oppressors. Even though traditional folk narratives and folk culture, in general, have some protest character, it can be seen mostly in heroic narratives or epics.

And in folk romances, on the other hand, the conflict between the oppressed and oppressors has been expressed more faintly or tacitly or sometimes it cannot be identified either.

However, since in this study adaptations are mostly based upon folk romances it is important to draw attention in the very beginning that in terms of dominant conflict it is not that possible to distinguish adaptations of folk romances from adaptations of epics. In other words, since one of the common characteristics of these adaptations is dominant conflict, whether narration is romance or epic in terms of its genre does not affect this feature that much. Because for making such transformation leftist intellectuals change some attributes both in content and traditional schematic form of folk narratives, it is necessary to address both of them. Hence, unlike in traditional narrations, in regard to dominant conflict adaptations of epics and folk romances resemble each other. Because the same dominant conflict reflects itself on adaptations, for understanding how leftist intellectuals make such transformation, both content and form will be addressed, and (1) additional parts in storylines, (2) direct interventions of authors, (3) change in social statuses of characters and (4) change in traditional characteristics of narratives in terms of space and time will be analyzed.

From this point of view, while leftist intellectuals make a visible conflict between the poor and the rich or the oppressed and oppressors, they prefer to stand with the poor. As they depict the oppressed as good, they choose to illustrate oppressors as villains. For example, intellectuals who adapted “Ferhat ile Şirin”, namely Talip Apaydın and Afşar Timuçin portray Ferhat as an ideal figure for the people or the oppressed. Even though Ferhat has been always depicted as a stonemason in tradition, leftist intellectuals sharpen his character of a laborer. As a stonemason, Ferhat is depicted as representative of the poor or the oppressed. While Apaydın illustrated him as a hardworking, talented stonemason and praises his characteristics, Timuçin refers to Ferhat as “divine creator of everything” and by doing so these intellectuals put the labor of Ferhat higher position in the narration which indicates clear-cut preference regarding the class difference.

In this sense, it is highly important to note that Apaydın compares Ferhat's labor with machines in the very beginning of narration and states that Ferhat's labor, which is motivated by his love, is much more valuable than anything else. By doing so Apaydın blends his arguments with narration and states that "I believed in the power of humankind. I saw what humans could do with my own eyes" by looking at Ferhat's work.

But what is that? There is a road passing through these rocks. This road is going faraway by digging and breaking rocks. It is inconceivable. Who did this and how was it made? Traces of digging are still noticeable. Machines did not do this, machines cannot do such work. Neither the ancient giants did this. Their strength was not enough for this. It cannot be made by an ordinary person. Then we could say the reason behind this strength is love. With the strength of love humankind could make anything possible. He could dig rocks, pass through impassable roads. He could climb over unclimbable mountains... I understood well the power of love, which had been narrated from mouth to mouth and from generation to generation, when I saw the rocks of Amasya. I believed in the strength of humankind. I saw what he could do with my own eyes. The only thing he needs is love. The only thing he needs is saying 'I will unite (with my lover)'. The only thing he needs is wishing.<sup>70</sup> (Apaydın, 1965:4)

It is important to note that even though Ferhat's work has been always depicted as it is extraordinary and this miraculousness has been motivated by his love, the way it is narrated can change significantly. For instance, in this adaptation, Ferhat makes incredible works, and narration points out not only his love but also his determined labor. In this sense, it is possible to see putting forward prayers alongside Ferhat's love in tradition, rather than his labor (Özarslan, 2006:100). In other words, while in the adaptation by Talip Apaydın Ferhat's labor has major importance, it is different in

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<sup>70</sup> Ama o ne? Bir yerden bir yol girmiş bu taşlara. Oya oya, yara yara delmiş gitmiş. Akıl almaz. Kim yapmış bunu, kim nasıl becermiş? Kazma izleri dış dış hala belli. Makineler yapmamış bunu, makineler böylesini yapamaz. Eski zaman devleri de değil. Onların da gücü yetmez. Bunu herhangi sıradan bir insan da yapamaz. Öyleyse biz söyleyelim, aşk yaptırmış bunu. Aşk olursa insan oğlu her şeyi yapar. Kayaları deler, geçilmez belleri geçer. Aşılmaz dağları aşar... Dillerden dillere, kuşaklardan kuşaklara söylene söylene gelen bu aşkın gücünü ben Amasya kayalarını görünce daha iyi anladım. İnsan oğlunun gücüne inandım. Onun neler yapabileceğini gözlerimle gördüm. Yeter ki aşk düşün kişinin yüreğine. Yeter ki "kavuşacağım" desin. Arzu etsin, istesin.

traditional texts and religious characteristics can be heavily identifiable in older versions. Also, as it is stated in the third chapter of this study, Ferhat was conceptualized as representative of the transportation policy of the Republic in the 1930s, and his labor was canalized to the development of the country rather than his love. Hence, it is necessary to state that in different variations and adaptations of “Ferhat ile Şirin”, although Ferhat’s extraordinary skills are an integral part of the narration, how these skills are conceptualized could change depending on its storyteller or author.

In addition, Apaydın also narrates Ferhat’s work exaggeratedly when he is painting a palace, which was built for Şirin in demand of the ruler of the country, namely Mümine Banu who is depicted as stepsister of Şirin in this adaptation.

He does not know how time passed when he took the brush and started painting. He works for hours without thinking about anything else. He devotes himself to decorations. He draws unprecedented images. He mixes colors with each other and finds different colors out of them. He does not listen to his father who says ‘enough my son, get some rest’. He does not get tired. A person could not get tired when working with pleasure. He works unceasingly. He cannot realize how time passed and day comes to an end. Sometimes he works by candle lights until night. He gives all his talents to the walls. When others see his works, they say “how wonderful”. If the works of the Ferhat would not be liked, what else would be liked in this world?<sup>71</sup> (Apaydın, 1965:11)

As it is mentioned above, Timuçin names Ferhat as “divine creator” and glorifies his labor, which according to Timuçin “passes all malignities over”. It is excessively important to suggest that by doing such characterization, Timuçin rips religious connotations out in the narrative and substitutes it with Ferhat’s labor. In older versions

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<sup>71</sup> Eline fırçayı alıp da işe bir girişti mi zamanın nasıl geçtiğini bilemiyordu. Saatlerce başka hiçbir şey düşünmeden çalışıyordu. Öyle veriyordu kendini nakışlara. Hiç görülmedik şekiller çiziyordu. Renkleri birbirine katıyor, yesyeni renkler buluyordu. Babasının “oğlum in iskeleden aşağı, biraz dinlen” demelerini hiç duymuyordu. Yorulmuyordu ki zaten. Öyle isteyerek, zevk alarak çalışınca insan yorulmazdı ki. Fırçaya yatkın elleriyle çiziyor ha çiziyordu. Akşamların nasıl olduğunu bilemiyordu. Bazan mum ışığında gece yarısına kadar çalışıyordu. Bütün hünerini döküyordu duvarlara. Görenler “hay maşallah” çekiyorlardı. Ferhadın işleri de beğenilmezse bu dünyada başka ne beğenilirdi?

of “Ferhat ile Şirin”, it is possible to see that narration could have been heavily intertwined with religious references. Hence, rather than celebrating religious attributes, Timuçin prefers to direct such admirations to the mundane features of worker Ferhat. It is important to note on the one hand that this quality is highly important for constructing narration in accordance with political and ideological thoughts, on the other hand, it has to be stated that this characteristic is excessively new for the narration of “Ferhat ile Şirin”.

Ferhat started to work with a great creative effort, ignoring all the inconveniences of our world, all the mistakes and evils that came to our hearts from wherever they came from. There was a definite agreement with the colors. He was like he did not care anything. But if he cannot make his works be liked, he will lose his life.

Creators/ First of all forgive us/ We took all things from you/ But maybe we cannot give you anything back/ Your loneliness is because of us/ Creators/ Don't tolerate us/ But transform us/ Just like carved rocks/ Change us/ Change our inner side day and night/ Creators/ Hands which lead to the enlightenment are divine/ You are gods from top to the bottom/ Make heard of your voice in everywhere.<sup>72</sup> (Timuçin,1969:93-94)

On this basis, it is significant to state that authors give lofty credit to not only Ferhat but also his works. In other words, a hardworking stonemason and his work are depicted as the foundation of everything. Therefore, it is possible to argue that left-oriented authors aestheticized labor and this change in aesthetic dimension and character depiction indicates a transformation in content.

Furthermore, Timuçin implies that labor has an emancipatory power and it is a primary factor that triggers enlightening motivation and as it is stated in the fourth chapter of this thesis, this feature of Timuçin's adaptation has some similarities with verses of

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<sup>72</sup> Dünyamızın başına sarmış bütün olmazlıkları, yüreğimize nereden geldiyse gelmiş bütün yanlışları, kötülükleri yoksayan büyük yaratıcı çabayla işe koyuldu Ferhat. Boyalarla arasında kesin bir anlaşma vardı. Hiçbir şeyi umursamaz gibiydi. Oysa yaptıklarını beğendiremezse boynu vurulacaktı. Yaratımlar bağışlayın önce bizi/Her şeyi sizden aldık/Hiçbir şey veremedik belki size/Bizim yüzümüzden yalnızlığınız/Yaratımlar bizi hoşgörmeyin ama/Alın değiştirin bizi/Taşları yontu yapmaya/Değiştirin/Sabah akşam değiştirin içimizi/Yaratımlar aydınlığa çıkaran eller kutsal ellerdir/Siz baştan başa birer tanrısınız/Duyurun her duymazlığa sesinizi

minstrels who construct their unique songs at this particular time period. In other words, just like left-oriented minstrels at that time, Timuçin also gives special importance to labor since he thinks it has an emancipatory power. However, Timuçin makes some criticisms of intellectuals and/or himself indirectly that they are unsuccessful in supporting workers and he wishes to be changed, transformed, or revolutionized, so to speak, with emancipatory power of labor. Also apart from this particular example, after Ferhat and Şirin die in narration, Timuçin repeats this apologetic tone and somehow holds intellectuals responsible for the death of lovers. This is important to note because rather than praising the position of intellectuals for the emancipation of society, celebrating labor and laborers indicates ideological and political preference. As will be detailed in this chapter, for example, this is not the case when it comes to the adaptation by Ceyhun Atuf Kansu.

Creators/ You are endless/ You make unmakables possible/ What will death take from you/ What will death give you/ You are an hope in every impasse/ Our fault is great in your death/ You were suffering in your lives/ This suffering was because of us as well/ Your greatness was endless/ We could not keep up with your greatness/ We cannot stand side by side because of our fear/ We could not keep up with your greatness/ You are gods.<sup>73</sup> (Timuçin, 1969:126)

Alongside these changes in narration, small details in adaptations play an important role in knitting narration around the fundamental conflict between the poor and the rich, as well. For instance, after Ferhat and Şirin fall in love with each other since lovers could not express their love freely because they belong to different social strata, they are forced to live their love secretly. And once Şirin's nanny realizes this situation, she urges Şirin not to do so. However, when Şirin gets angry and opposes her nanny, she reminds Şirin that Ferhat is the son of an ordinary worker. With this particular argument between Şirin and her nanny, Apaydın draws the attention of the reader or

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<sup>73</sup> Yaratanlar/Birer sonsuzluksunuz/Olmazı yoksadınız bir evrende/Ölüm olsa neyi alacak sizden/Ölüm verse ne verecektir size/Siz her açmaza bir umutsunuz/Ölümünüzde suçumuz büyüktür/Yaşarken acı çektiniz/Ondan da biz suçluyuz/Neyleyelim siz sonsuz büyüktünüz/Biz pek ayak uyduramadık size/Bizi size bırakmadı korkumuz/Uyamadık büyüklüğünüze/Siz birer tanrısınız.

audience that there is a huge gap between ordinary people and the noble which prevents them from coming together.

Shortly afterwards, the door is opened. The old nanny heard what she said. “What’s wrong with you my daughter?” nanny said. “Are you sick? Why are you sad?” She nodded his head with great pain. “I shouldn’t be sad but who should be for me?” Şirin said. “You are a kind of mother to me. You are not trying to find a solution for my problem. I will die. I will be devastated. I am desperate now. I feel pain. This pain will kill me”, Şirin said. “Don’t be like that. What will others say when they hear? What will your elder sister do? Control yourself. Try to forget him. Isn’t he a son of a worker?” nanny said. Şirin did not expect such a response. She suddenly screams with anger. “Shut up!” she said. “Shut up! You stone-hearted woman! So I will forget? Shame on you! You came here for saying these? He is a son of a worker. What happens because he is a son of a worker? Does he lose his value? He is superior than commanders or kings for me, do you understand?<sup>74</sup> (Apaydın, 1965:37)

In addition to this point, at the beginning of the narration, Apaydın deliberately states that Şirin is not highborn and she is also, like Ferhat, one of the common people and “daughter of the people”. However, because her father and mother died, when she was a child she was adopted by Mümine Banu. Apaydın narrates that in older versions Şirin was depicted as noble, but this characteristic is wrong, the truth is the contrary. Even though apparently Apaydın gives credit to tradition, with making such a change, he seems to want the reader or audience to sympathize both with Ferhat and Şirin.

They say Şirin is a daughter of a ruler. It is not true at all. She is a daughter of the people. She is the daughter of one of us. She is a niece of one of us, she is a sister of one of us, she is a granddaughter of one of us. She is

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<sup>74</sup> Biraz sonra kapı açıldı. Yaşlı dadı duymuştu söylediklerini. “Neyin var kızım?” dedi. “Hasta mısın? Kendini niye üzüyorsun böyle?” Şirin acı içinde başını salladı. “Ben üzülmeeyim de kim üzülün a dadım?” dedi. “Sen benim anam yerindesin. Derdime sen de bir çare aramıyorsun. Ben öleceğim. Ben kahrolacağım. Çaresiz kaldım. Bir yerlerim yanıyor. Bu dert beni götürecektir.” “Etme kızım. Yapma böyle. Duyulursa el ne der? Ablanın hali nice olur? Kendini tut biraz. Unutmaya çalış. Bir işçi oğlu değil mi bu?” Şirin bu karşılığı beklemiyordu. Birden bağırdı. “Sus!” dedi. “Sus! Taş kalpli kadın! Demek unutacağım öyle mi? Yazıklar olsun! Bunu mu söylemeye geldin bana? İşçi oğluymuş. İşçi oğlu olunca ne olur? Değerinden ne kaybeder? Benim önümde o başbuğlardan, krallardan üstün anladın mı?”

beautiful. Once you look at her you couldn't prevent yourself from looking at her again.<sup>75</sup> (Apaydın, 1965:5)

Furthermore, as an apparent ideological manipulation, Timuçin uses a political sign of color red when narrating Ferhat's work on the palace which is constructed for Şirin. When Ferhat is painting the walls of the palace with different colors and figures, Timuçin mentions that he especially uses red because it signifies "freedom". While attaching red of freedom to the boat figure, Ferhat imagines the boat will bring them love and hope which revives their struggle.

He then draws a boat with a color of red, which symbolizes freedom, next to an image of a leaf. He draws purple winds blowing in the coast. When waves hit the coast he says to boat: Can you sail with passions / Can you sail to the old blue great seas / Do you go after the lights / Where the sun is undoubtedly set / Find hopes not buried there / Can you bring them to our shores / Do you carry great joyful screams / To our dark and silent solitude / Maybe flowers in the fields of the sea / Spreads your gaze over the green distances / Maybe they know better than us / Secret hope and hidden love / Can you bring us the beautiful boat / The one that does not disappear in pain / The one that grows and grows like birds / The one who does not die when the day comes<sup>76</sup> (Timuçin, 1969:96)

Although in "Ferhat ile Şirin" social statuses of characters have been changed throughout history with different motivations as it is stated in the second chapter, it seems left-oriented intellectuals cultivate inner attributes of narration by supplementing different narrational particles in accordance with their ideological and political perspective.

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<sup>75</sup> Derler ki Şirin bir hakanın kızıydı. Hiç de değil. Bir halk kızıydı. İçimizden birinin kızıydı. Birinin yeğeni, birinin bacısı, birinin torunuydu. Güzeldi. Bir bakan bir daha bakmadan geçemezdi.

<sup>76</sup> Daha sonra o yaprağın yanına özgürlük kırmızısı bir sandal çizdi. Kumluğa mor rüzgarlar getirdi. Dalgalar kıyıyı tutunca şunları söyledi: Tutkularla açılır mısın sandal/Eski mavi büyük denizlere/Gider misin ışıkların ardından/Güneşin kuşkusuz battığı yere/Orada gömülmedik umutlar bulur/Alır getirir misin kıyılarına/Büyük sevinç çılgınları taşır mısın/Kara ve sessiz yalnızlığımıza/O deniz tarlalarında belki çiçekler/Yeşil uzaklıklara serer bakışını/Belki onlar bizden iyi bilirler/Umudun gizlisini aşkın saklanmısını/Gider getirir misin güzel sandal/Bize acılarda yok olmayanı/Büyüyüp büyüyüp de kuşlar gibi/Gün gelip alından vurulmayanı

On the other hand, in older versions of “Tahir ile Zühre” even though there is a social gap between Zühre’s and Tahir’s fathers, they still belong to a higher social stratum. Just like traditional examples of “Tahir ile Zühre”, there is also a social gap between them in the adaptation by Ceyhun Atuf Kansu. However, Kansu differentiates his adaptation extremely from other versions by lowering the social statuses of both Tahir and Zühre’s fathers. Even though there is still a clear-cut gap between the two, none of them is described as rulers. Kansu describes Zühre’s father as a landlord, on the other hand, Tahir’s father is depicted as a shepherd in the same village in Erzurum (a city in Eastern Anatolia).

Given the traditional schema of folk romance which is detailed in the second chapter, in this folk narrative because the triggering point is childlessness, characters meet in school and fall in love with each other there and Kansu follows this traditional pattern. However, after the characters graduate from primary school, the teacher of Tahir insists that Tahir needs to continue his education at the village institute and he could be a village teacher as well, rather than just being a shepherd like his father. It is important to note also that this feature of adaptation is congruent with the emancipatory power of education. Because of the fact that according to formal patterns transformation of the main character into a minstrel or aşık takes place after education, in this adaptation transformation of the character gains a different connotation, which is combined with the transformation of consciousness. In other words, while Tahir is transforming, Kansu makes an addition in this part by using a teacher, who convinces Tahir’s parents to send him to the village institute in Erzurum, that Tahir is also transformed into a fighter of enlightenment who will bring social transformation like his teacher. Therefore, in accordance with his political views, Kansu instrumentalizes enlightened agents such as teachers in villages as transformative factors, and in turn, this reflects how he perceives the role of intellectuals or enlightened agents in society.

Teacher went to the father of Tahir and said to him, “Your son has finished school. This boy's eyes are bright, he will read if he finds a way”. “What do I have? How can I send Tahir to the school?” the shepherd replied. “I could send him to the school in village, he could read and that is enough for him. He should take care of herds, I am an old man now, he should” shepherd said. “There is no law that the shepherd's son has to become a

shepherd! I will make Tahir registered in the village institute, just allow it, I will arrange all the things” teacher said. Shepherd took advice from his wife. Mother of Tahir complained like, “Where is school, where is our village? There are mountains and rivers between them. Will a fourteen years old child go to foreign lands? I hardly found him”. But when the shepherd asked his son what he wanted Tahir said, “I will go to school”. After that father and mother of Tahir talked with each other and decided to send him to the school by agreeing with the teacher of Tahir.<sup>77</sup> (Kansu, 1972:11)

After graduating from the village institute, Tahir becomes a village teacher and passionately wants to teach other children living in villages around the country. When he turns back to his village as a teacher, he wants to marry Zühre and establish a family as well. As it is mentioned before, although narration seems it is constructed in accordance with a traditional pattern in terms of form, Kansu entirely changes it according to his political and ideological perspective in respect of the content. Because of the fact that there is a class difference, Zühre’s father does not allow them to be married. For seeking help against the landlord’s injustices, Tahir goes to Ankara, and then he realizes that he cannot find any support from the ruling elite because those are corrupted and they are collaborating with the landlord. And then he visits Anıtkabir (mausoleum of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, founder of the Republic of Turkey) and tells Atatürk what happened while playing saz and singing his verses.

Atatürk whose name I learned from my shepherd father/ Did you come to our village?/ If you came, you would bring your law with you./ For the poor, for the people/ Atatürk whose name I learned from my shepherd father/ Did you come to our village?/ If you came, you would build new roads/ For light, for flowers, for sky/ Atatürk whose name I learned from my shepherd father/ If you came, you would raise the flag/ For soul, for

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<sup>77</sup> Eğitimci, Tahir’in babasına varıp: “Oğlun okulu bitirdi. Bu çocuğun gözleri ışıltılı, bir yol bulsa okuyacak.” demiş. Çoban: “Elde ne var? Ben Tahir’i nasıl okutayım?” demiş. “Köy yeriye okuttum, kara yazıyı söktü, yeter ona. Düşün şimdi davayın ardına, ben yaşlandım, bana destek olsun, yardım etsin! demiş. Eğitimci: “Çobanın oğlu çoban olur diye bir yasa yok!” diye çobana anlatmış. “Ben Tahir’i Pulur okuluna yazdıracağım, tek sen razı ol, her bir işi bana bırak.” diye söylemiş. Çoban, karısına danışmış. Kadın: “Pulur nere, köyümüz nere, arada dağ dere, on dördünde sabi sübyan gurbetlere mi düşecek, kırk yılda bir bulduğum benden uzaklara mı gidecek?” diye yakınmış. Yakınmış ya, Tahir’in ağzını arayınca bakmış ki oğlan başka telden çalıyor, “Okuyacağım!” deyip duruyor. Ana baba konuşmuşlar, danışmışlar eğitimcinin sözüne uyarak oğlanı göndermeye karar vermişler.

bread, for rights/ Atatürk whose name I learned from my shepherd father/  
Did you come to our village?/ If you came, you would not leave these  
people alone/ And you would hold their hands and would not leave them.<sup>78</sup>  
(Kansu, 1972:29-30)

When hearing what Tahir tells, Atatürk comes back from his tomb and telegraphs for him to change the situation, and while doing this in that part of the narration, Kansu excessively transmits his thoughts.

Atatürk sent a telegraph in which he gave order for his country as follows:  
After this day, neither the landlord nor the bey will crush the people, nor  
will my beloved people become servants of the landlord, the bey. If there  
will be any servant, everyone will be a servant of the law. Everyone will  
be brothers to each other, there won't be any landlord, bey or shepherd.  
Everyone will be a part of the people. That is it everyone will be Turkish  
brothers and sisters. Me, Gazi Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, I am the father of  
these people and I wrote these statements.<sup>79</sup> (Kansu,1972:31)

Although Atatürk's telegram has a clear message, the landlord is not convinced because class difference outweighs and this part is highly important for analysis. Kansu's political and ideological perspective seems in line with the leftist interpretation of Kemalism, as it is stated in the fourth chapter. And although the image of Mustafa Kemal and some Kemalist principles are highly important for him, Kansu does not put aside a class determination of actions. In other words, just like in this example, even though Atatürk clearly intervenes, he cannot solve the problem and the landlord father of Zühre thinks and acts in accordance with his class position, which means and indicates that because political power of Mustafa Kemal is limited, Tahir needs other allies such as the people, which is examined in detail under the third part

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<sup>78</sup> Adını çoban babamdan öğrendiğim Atatürk/Yolun gelip bizim köye düştü mü/Düşse idi kurar idin yasani/Yoksul üzre, fakir üzre, halk üzre/Adını çoban babamdan öğrendiğim Atatürk/Yolun varıp bizim yola düştü mü/Düşse idi açar idin yolları/Işık üzre, çiçek üzre, gök üzre/Adını çoban babamdan öğrendiğim Atatürk/Yolun dönüp bizim ile düştü mü/Düşse idi çeker idin bayrağı/Gönül üzre, ekmek üzre, hak üzre/Adını çoban babamdan öğrendiğim Atatürk/Yolun geçip bizim yurda düştü mü/Düşse idi tutar idin bu halkı/Ellerinden artık düşmemek üzre.

<sup>79</sup> Atatürk geçmiş telgraf başına, veriyor buyruğu vatan üzerine: "Bu günden sonra ne ağa, ne bey halkı ezecek, ne de benim aziz halkım ağaya, beye kul olacak. Olacaksa, herkes hakka, yasaya kul olacak. Olacaksa herkes bir, kardeş olacak; ağa, bey, çoban olmayacak, olacaksa herkes halk içinde insan olacak! İşte bu kadar, her birimizin adı kavim kardeş Türk, bunları yazan, ben, halkın babasıyım Gazi Mustafa Kemal Atatürk!"

of this chapter. To put it in a different way, while this adaptation has some similarities with narrations that were adapted in the early Republican period, the era in which it is written is also effective on narration. And this particular characteristic can be seen even through the words of Atatürk in Kansu's adaptation, i.e. Atatürk talks about the principle of equality and he says what he does is to make the daughter of landlord and son of shepherd equal.

Tahir recounted the landlord, Zühre, village institute, his father, his teacher, being a teacher in his village and how the landlord tried to make him expelled from his village once again. And then Atatürk said, "Stand up!" and added: Go to your village and begin to work there. While I am here, neither landlord not bey could do harm to you. I established that village institute, these beautiful laws and other beautiful works for making son of a shepherd and daughter of a landlord equal. Stand up, go to your village, begin your work, you are my son, you are my messenger in the village. Live without any fear and make order of the people to be reigned.<sup>80</sup> (Kansu, 1972:30)

On the other hand, in his adaptation of "Tahir ile Zühre", rather than making radical changes in form and content of folk romance, Timuçin prefers to make separate additions and addresses directly to the audience or readers. And through these additional parts, he uses not only the characters' voice for explaining his own views, but also he communicates with his authorial voice. For example, after the servant of Zühre's father tells about the love of Tahir and Zühre to Zühre's father, for mentioning being at someone's beck and call, and attaching too much weight to the property are bad behaviors, Timuçin brackets the parts in which he is talking.

(O brothers/ I will tell you a truth which you know very well but flinch every time you heard it/ Most of the people living in our world/ They do not like living/ They think life as a time period which has to be consumed/ According to them living is meaningless and lie/ And if life has a taste a

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<sup>80</sup> Tahir, köydeki ağayı, Zühre'yi, Pulur okulunu, babasını, eğitimci, öğretmenliğini ve kızından uzak düşün diye ağanın kendisini nasıl sürdürdüğünü yeniden bir bir anlatmış. Atatürk, "Kalk ayağa!" demiş. Doğru kendi köyüne gideceksin, orada işine başlayacaksın. Ben varken ne bey, ne ağa kılına dokunamaz senin. Ben Pulur okulunu da, o güzelim yasaları da, o güzelim işleri de çoban oğlu ile bey kızı bir olsun diye yaptım. Kalk haydi, köyüne dön, işine başla, sen benim çocuğumsun, köyde benim habercimsin: Korkusuz, ürküsüz yaşa, halk düzenini çıkar başa!

little bit/ This taste is in being a sultan/ and in being oppressed and oppressing/ According to them loving is taking it for themselves and keeping it)<sup>81</sup> (Timuçin,1969:32)

In terms of folk narratives, because whether lovers come together at the end of the story or not depends on who the storyteller/author is and how it is narrated (written or in live performances) as it is discussed in the second chapter, it is not surprising to discover different endings even among diverse versions of same folk romance. In this sense, in different adaptations and variations of “Tahir ile Zühre” it is both possible to see a marriage of folk characters or their deaths. In Timuçin’s adaptation, in this regard, lovers cannot come together and Tahir dies tragically. And the death of Tahir has a particular significance in terms of adapting in accordance with a leftist worldview.

It is significant to note that in Timuçin’s adaptation, Tahir’s death resembles the death of Pir Sultan Abdal who is one of the great poets and champions of the people according to Alevi tradition (Gölpınarlı & Boratav, 2017:23). In the epic about the death of Pir Sultan Abdal, slightly before he was executed, he was ordered to say three poems without mentioning shah (this word had been used for Safavid rulers), but Pir Sultan Abdal says three poems with mentioning shah (Köksel, 2012:66). Just like the death of Pir Sultan Abdal, Tahir is ordered to say three poems without mentioning Zühre before he dies. Because of the fact that Tahir does not follow the order and says three poems mentioning Zühre, he is executed in Timuçin’s adaptation. It is also important to note that like in this example, leftist authors or minstrels widely reinterpret Pir Sultan Abdal in this particular time period, as is stated in the fourth chapter.

Even though in some older versions of “Tahir ile Zühre”, it is also possible to see this characteristic in terms of the death of Tahir (Türkmen, 2015:77), such preference of Timuçin is noteworthy because while left-oriented intellectuals were reinterpreting

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<sup>81</sup> (Ey kardeşler/Size iyi bildiğiniz/Ama her duyuşta bir kere irkildiğiniz/Bir gerçeği söyleyeyim/Dünyamızda yaşayan insanların çoğu /Yaşamayı sevmiyor/Yaşamak onlar için en kolayından yürünüp/Tüketilmesi gereken bir zamandır yalnızca/Onlara göre yaşamak boştur yalandır/Ve eğer şu kadarcık tadı varsa/O da maldadır padişah olmada sultan olmadadır/Boyun eğmede boyun eğdirmededir/Onlar için bir şeyi sevmek/O şeyi kendine alıp saklamaktır)

folk narratives, they were referencing historical and folkloric figures who have been seen ideally as heroes of the people.

Moreover, it is as important as Timuçin's preference that even though in Kansu's adaptation Tahir and Zühre come together at the end of the story, Kansu makes reference to Pir Sultan Abdal by using Tahir's voice as well. When Tahir goes to Ankara by train in adaptation, he plays his saz and sings some verses to other passengers in which he commemorates Pir Sultan Abdal. As it is mentioned in the fourth chapter, Pir Sultan Abdal is a highly important figure for the left at that time and he was embraced in various instances.

Poplars of Sivas appeared now/ The wind is blowing at their tops/ It passes through my heart and goes/ To the among leaves/ Eyes of Zühre are green/ Leaves are in the hidden parts of poplars/ My youth is fall just like a leaf/ I cannot hold it because my hands are handcuffed/ Banaz of my Pir Sultan Abdal/ You are wise father of minstrels/ They take you to the gallows/ You don't complain about wound of the rose/ Wind of poplar write down my story as it is/ Tahir does not sing any folksong without saying name of Zühre/ I say Zühre three times and in turn I say ugh three times through my mouth.<sup>82</sup> (Kansu, 1972:27)

When it comes to "Aşık Garip" (Garip the minstrel), although there are additional parts in Bilgin Adalı's adaptation, unlike Timuçin does, Adalı adds them to narration organically rather than separately. In other words, Adalı makes some changes and transformations both in content and form. While it is possible to detect alterations in traditional parts, additions play an important role in constructing the meaning of narration as well.

For example, after Resul drinks the love potion and falls in love with Şah Senem in his holy dream, and through this development, Resul turns into Aşık Garip and his

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<sup>82</sup> Göründü Sivas'ın kavakları/Başlarında rüzgar eder of! of!/Of gelir garip gönlümden gider/Of yaprakların arasına of!/Zühre'nin gözleridir yeşil of/Kavakların duldasında yaprak/Gibi dökülmüş de gençliğim of/Toplayamam, ellerim bağlı of!/ Pir Sultan Abdal'ımın Banaz'ı/Sensin aşıkların pir babası/Darağacına götürürler de/Of demez of... gül yarasına of!/Kavak yeli halimi böyle yaz/İçinde Zühre adı geçmeyen/Bir türküyü Tahir söylemez/Üç kez Zühre derim üç yüz çıkar/Ağzımın gül ağacından of! of!.

transformation is fulfilled. Because he becomes an aşık (minstrel), he tries to find Şah Senem and hits the road from Tebriz to Tiflis with his mother and sister. When they arrive at Tiflis since they have nowhere to go, they ask help from Molla Kasım (Mullah Kasım) for staying at his palace, and because Molla Kasım is rich and an ungenerous man, he does not want to host them. And when people see how Molla Kasım behaves badly, they furiously oppose and humiliate Molla Kasım for his stingy and selfish behavior.

It was a mansion of a hodja named Mullah Kasım. What a hodja... He asks about milk of the escaped bird, flesh of the flying fly. How does Garip know? He went to him, kissed his hand and said, “We just arrived at the city, we are three poor people. My mother and sister are waiting for me in the yard of the mosque. We wish to be your guests for one night my hodja”; but hodja did not take him seriously. He did not make what was expected from a hodja and probably he was not ashamed of it either. When Garip realized he could not convince hodja, he tried to convince him by using his saz and he explained himself by singing.<sup>83</sup> (Adalı, 1972:20)

It is worthy to consider this brand new addition a bit more because both in terms of tradition and narration it contains plenty of details. As it is stated in the second chapter, Başgöz (2008:95) points out that since aşiks have a special position in traditional society, they are respected and feared simultaneously. Because of the fact that minstrels can criticize and put someone to shame through their live performances in coffeehouses, no one wants to make a bad relationship with minstrels. In addition, even though aşiks cannot convince someone by their words, they can do so with their verses. However, in this particular example neither with using words nor with playing saz Aşık Garip could persuade Molla Kasım. Furthermore, Molla Kasım does not have any respect for Aşık Garip until people strike against him. Therefore, it is necessary to state that conflict between the rich and the poor dominates heavily in this part of the narration, and rather than following the traditional path Adalı transforms it in his own

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<sup>83</sup> Molla Kasım derler bir hocanın konağıydı burası. Hoca ki ne hoca... Kaçan kuşun sütünü, uçan sineğin etini sorar. Ne bilsin Garip? Vardı el öptü, “Az önce indik kente, üç garip kişiyiz. Anamla bacım beni bekler bir cami avlusunda. Bir gecelik konuk olmak dileriz ocağında hocam.” dedi, dedi ya hiç oralı olmadı hoca. Sarığından sakalından da mı utanmadı nedir? Garip baktı olacak gibi değil, sözle anlatamadığını bir de sazla anlatmayı denedi, aldı sazı eline, vurdu teline...

way. Along with this, by using his authorial voice, Adalı takes a stand in this conflict as well. By using adjudicating expressions, Adalı criticizes harshly the rich and gives support to the poor.

Who says that the one with a big mansion will have a wide heart. Hodja replied furiously to Garip by saying “Did you think my house is an inn or house for the poor? I heard enough of your singing, get out of my sight, go wherever you go”. When he heard such words from hodja Garip could not know what to do and he fell apart. He attempted to go but the people from the neighborhood collected around him and they harshly criticized and insulted hodja. One of them, namely Deli Mehmet (wild Mehmet) who was an outspoken person and even could criticize judges said Mullah Kasım that “Aren't you ashamed of anybody and anything? Be ashamed of your beard! Is there anybody who did not know how you became rich? Everyone knows who you were in the past and who you are now and how you become like that. Don't provoke me otherwise I will talk and walls and stones will also learn what you are. Up until today you didn't make any work by yourself and always stole from others. You sucked the blood of everyone without caring that they are also subjects of God. Even though you are a hodja and you pray five times a day, you stole fifty five times which means being a hodja does not make any sense. Garip came to you and wished to be a guest for you sent by God for one night. What would happen if you opened your door without saying a word and did a favor once in your life?”. After these words Deli Mehmet attempted to attack Mullah Kasım with a knife.<sup>84</sup> (Adalı, 1972:21)

This quite long citation is important for showing that, like in other examples mentioned above, Adalı directs his perspective both using his authorial voice and characters' voices. Furthermore, Adalı has some critical views for the exploitation of religion and

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<sup>84</sup> Kim demiş konağı büyük olanın gönlü geniş olur diye. Açtı ağzını yumdu gözünü hoca, “Han mı sandın burayı, yoksullarevi mi, yeter olsun çaldığın söylediğin, yıkıl git kapımdan, kimin kapısına gidersen.” Hoca diye eline vardığının bu sözlerini duyunca neye uğradığını anlayamadı Garip, kolu kanadı kırıldı. Dönüp gidesi oldu ya konu komşu üşüştüler başına hocanın, başladılar söylenmeye, sövüp saymaya. Hele hele içlerinde bir Deli Mehmet vardı ki, özü bir sözü bir, kadı dediğine “Gözünün üstünde kaşın var bre kör kadı.” demekten çekinmeyen; yanaştı Molla Kasım'ın yamacına, “Kimden kimseden utanmıyorsun, ak saçından, sakalından utan be hoca. Bilmeyen var mı şurdan senin kim iken ne olduğunu, nasıl olduğunu. Ağzımı açtırma benim, elin günün bildiğini taşlar duvarlar da öğrenmesin. Bugüne değin el eliyle yılan tutup dört bir yandan çaldın çırtın. Tanrı kuludur demedin, önüne çıkanın kanını emdin, kanmadın. Hacı olmuşsun, hoca olmuşsun, günde beş kez namaza durmuşsun, elli beş kez haram yedikten sonra neye yarar... Garibin biri gelmiş kapına, bir gecelik Tanrı konuğu olmak ister. İki bir demeden açsan kapını da kırk yılın başında bir iyilik yapmış olsan ne çıkar?...” diyerek attı elini bıçağına.

the so-called religious man. As in other examples mentioned above, in this particular adaptation, Aşık Garip praises reading, learning, and being wise or enlightened, so to speak, by using his verses even if it seems it is not that apparent in comparison with other examples.

Hey masters, the answer of this question is/ that a minstrel would be a master with love/ The primary proof of wisdom is/ that reading and learning/ Science is made by experiments/ Wise person would deal with numbers/ There is always a brave man who wipes the tears of the poor/ Epics are written because of bravery/ Aşık Garip says his words to wise persons/ He is singing because of his love/ Brave men gird themselves with swords/ and if they protect the poor with those swords, they would not be forgotten.<sup>85</sup> (Adalı,1972:52)

Verses of Aşık Garip and initiation of this folk narrative are also significant elements for constructing the dominant conflict between the poor and the rich in narration. As it is stated in the second chapter, even though the triggering point is traditionally becoming poor in Aşık Garip, the way it is narrated can be changed case by case. Father of Aşık Garip can be depicted both as poor or rich according to different versions, however as it is pointed out variations in which Aşık Garip's family is depicted as poor at the beginning of the story are highly barren in terms of adventures that are experienced by Aşık Garip. Adalı describes Aşık Garip's family as rich at the beginning of the story and although this is the case, it is narrated differently from older versions. In older versions, after Aşık Garip's prosperous father is dead, narrations do not mention how city's people react to it. However, Adalı narrates that Aşık Garip's father is dead while he is trying to find solutions for the problems of the people and when people hear about death, they mourn for days.

There was not any person who did not like Hoca Ahmet which means he did not die because of an evil eye... While he was living happily with his

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<sup>85</sup> Ey ustalar, bu sorunun yanıtı/Usta ozan sevgi ile olmuştur/Bilgeliğin başta gelen kanıtı/Okumayla öğrenmeyle olmuştur/ Bil(i)min başı denemeyle bulunur/Bilgin olan sayılarla yoğrulur/Yoksul yaşın silen yiğit bulunur/Destanlar hep yigitlikten olmuştur/Aşık Garip söyler sözü bilene/Bir sevdadır, sarar sözü diline/Yiğit olan kılıç takıp beline/Yoksul korur ise ölmez olmuştur.

wife and children and trying to find solutions to problems of peasants, he got a terrible headache... Even though he bore this headache for three or five days, he needed to go to bed and after that he could not wake again. The death would not say “I am coming” and nobody could die with a dead person. However, city of Tabriz was like as if it became devastated because of the death of Hoca Ahmet. There were people in the streets crying for him. Mothers gave his name to their children however fathers could not hold their children by saying “my Ahmet”. Although they cried by drying out their tears, those tears were useless because he already went to the place of God. Who can do what for resurrecting him?<sup>86</sup> (Adalı, 1972:8)

Therefore, it can be argued that in the very beginning of the narration, Adalı implies the importance of protecting the people and he gives a hint that throughout the storyline this principle reverberates itself. Moreover, characteristics such as being just, protecting the poor, being wise are also praised with verses of Aşık Garip.

On the other hand, constructing a dominant conflict between the poor and the rich is not that smooth when it comes to “Kerem ile Aslı”. Traditionally, “Kerem ile Aslı” has a clear-cut conflict which is a religious and ethnic difference between families of Kerem and Aslı. While Kerem’s family is Muslim, on the other hand, Aslı’s family is Christian and Armenian. Also, Kerem’s father is a highly powerful man or sultan and he thinks this religious and ethnic difference is an obstacle to the marriage of his son and Aslı, as is mentioned in the second chapter. Because of the fact that this distinct difficulty since the traditional storyline of this folk romance makes it hard to change the plot, for putting forward conflict between the poor and the rich, at the beginning of the story, Fakir Baykurt narrates his utopic depiction of a country in which justice and equality reign. However, it is necessary to state that in this adaptation, by making some additions Baykurt could only multiply conflicts in narration rather than completely change it due to structural boundaries.

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<sup>86</sup> Hani, koca kentte Hoca Ahmet’i sevmeyen bir tek kişi bile yoktu ki göze geldi diyesin... Karısıyla, çocuklarıyla mutlu yaşayıp kentlisinin, köylüsünün sıkıntılarına çözüm yolu ararken, bir baş ağrısına tutuldu ki adamcağız sormayın... Üç gün, beş gün derken, yataklara düştü, kalkamadı bir daha. Ölüm geliyorum demez, ölenle de ölünmezmiş. Ne var ki, Tebriz kentinin direği çökmüştü sanki. Sokaklarda ağlayan ağlayana. Yeni doğan çocuklarına analar “Ahmet” adını koydu, babalar “Ahmet’im!” diye sarılamadı. Gözlerinin yaşı tükenesiye ağladılar, ağladılar ya neye yarar; Hoca Ahmet, Tanrı katına varmış bir kez. Kimin elinden ne gelir?...

There was a beautiful country in old and beautiful times/ The sultan of this country was benign and honest/ Works of everybody were good/ Bandits were not raiding villages/ Thugs were not robbing people/ Statesmen did not accept bribes/ Problems were solved quickly in courts/ There was not a hostility between villages and cities/ People were not divided into two or three/ Rights of shepherds and apprentices were also protected/ People who tried to protect their rights were not oppressed/ Shopkeepers and traders made their professions honestly without trying to deceive people/ There was no cheating in bazaars/ Prices of fabrics did not suddenly go up/ Weak people were not suppressed because there wasn't any/ Homelesses weren't shivering because there wasn't any/ In short living in this country was beautiful/ Life was passing smoothly/ Villages were prosperous/ Children were wearing shoes and clothes/ When summer came, husbands did not go foreign lands for working/ Everyone had clothes and bread.<sup>87</sup> (Baykurt, 1964:4)

Alongside all of these mentioned above, in his adaptations of “Leyla ile Mecnun” and “Arzu ile Kamber” even though Afşar Timuçin does not highlight the conflict between the poor and the rich like he does in “Ferhat ile Şirin” and “Tahir ile Zühre”, he emphasizes collective struggle against injustices and hope of characters for future beautiful days, which will be discussed in detail under next parts of this chapter.

Furthermore, Aziz Nesin writes his adaptation of “Mahmut ile Nigar” from an entirely different perspective when comparing it with older versions, i.e. Nesin does not follow the traditional path. In older versions of “Mahmut ile Nigar”, lovers are children of the noble and the wealthy. However, in Nesin’s adaptation characters are children of ordinary and poor people. In this version of the plot, Nesin satirically criticizes conditions of democracy in the country and lovers could not come together because of deficiencies of democracy. Because both fathers of Mahmut and Nigar try to make their jobs and lives better, they repeatedly change their political parties in which they

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<sup>87</sup> Evvel zaman içinde/Güzel zaman içinde/Küçük güzel bir ülke vardı./Ülkenin başında ak huylu, pak yüzlü/İyi bir padişah vardı/Milletin işleri iyi gidiyordu/Köyleri eşkiyalar basmıyordu/Haydutlar yol kesmiyordu/Memurlar rüşvet almıyordu/Mahkemede işler uzamıyordu/Köylerle kasabalar arasında düşmanlık yoktu/Millet iki bölük, üç bölük değildi/Çobanın çirağın hakkı yenmiyordu/Hak diyenin ağzına vurulmuyordu/Esnafın özü tok, tüccarın özü doğru/Çarşılar hilesiz, yalansız, kazıksız idi/Basmanın fiyatı üç iken, birden beşe çıkmıyordu/Zayıflar ezilmiyordu/Çünkü zayıf yoktu/Çıblaklar ayakta büzülmüyordu/Çünkü çıblak yoktu/Sözün kısası öyle bir ülke idi ki/Orda yaşamak tatlı/Ömür yelkenli-kanatlı gibi geçiyordu/Köyler bağlı bostanlı/Bebeler pabuçlu fistanlı/Yaz gelince kocalar gurbete gitmiyordu/Milletin giyecek çarığı/Ekmeğine sürecektir katığı vardı.

are members for turning political advantage into an economic one. However, because this process takes too much time and both fathers cannot be in the same political party once throughout the storyline, lovers cannot unite. Whether they are part of the opposition or not is changed perpetually for enriching the story and sharpening the criticism of democracy. And at the beginning of the narration, Nesin states by using Mahmut's voice that democracy works for the benefit of the rich and the wealthy, not for the poor.

Others captured the country and made it their own in the name of democracy. I could not even marry a woman with order of God and with the words of our Prophet, and be a family man.<sup>88</sup> (Nesin, 1959:7)

In addition to that, before analyzing some adaptations of chapters from the Book of Dede Korkut, it is necessary to mention highly interesting narrations of Tarık Dursun, which have a completely different pattern from the rest. Even though in adaptations by Tarık Dursun dominant conflict is constructed between the poor and the rich, the storyline has an almost naturalistic tone rather than a romantic depiction as in other adaptations. Folk characters are transformed in accordance with that as if they are urban poor, and living conditions they face are highly severe, i.e. Tarık Dursun tries to depict them without using any praising exaggeration and show how the poor or urban poor (sometimes newly immigrated from village to city) live through harsh living circumstances.

For example, in his adaptation of "Tahir ile Zühre", Tahir is working in a mill for producing flour from grain in his village and tries to go abroad as a worker. However, because working in a mill affects his lungs very badly, he cannot take an appropriate health certificate for working abroad at the beginning of the story. Also, because of the fact that many people try to do so, there is a queue in front of the official institution and to accelerate his matters Tahir gives money to a man because he thinks that man is an officer.

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<sup>88</sup> Eloğlu, demokrasinin yüzü suyuna memleketi zaptedip taposu altına geçirdi. Biz bir karıyı Allahın emri, Peygamber efendimizin kavli ile nikahımız altına alıp ev-bark kuramadık.

His nails were white because of flour, and his eyelashes, eyebrows and even his pupils were white. Flour turned into a dough with his sweat among his hairs. Tahir just got off the train and got on the Haydarpaşa-Köprü ferry and then by asking he went to the Institution of Providing Jobs and Employees in Tophane. There was a man called Camgöz Ahmet who was a henchman and from Çukurova outside the institution. He came close to Tahir and asked Tahir what he was looking for. “Fellow townsman” said Tahir and added “I will go foreign country as a worker”. Camgöz Ahmet asked “Do you have an invitation or a letter sent by institution?” Tahir gave a letter to Camgöz Ahmet and he read it and said “Okay, it is your turn now. Congratulations!”. He smiled at Tahir. He took fifty lira from Tahir and brought him to the institution and left in front of a room with a white painted door wide open.<sup>89</sup> (Tarık Dursun, 1972:18)

Furthermore, in his adaptation of “Hurşit ile Mah Mihri”, he describes Hurşit as an extremely rich man, and Mah Mihri is described as poor. Even though holy figures tell Hurşit that he requires to be with Mah Mihri, Tarık Dursun states very clearly at the end of the story that because there is a huge class difference between the two they cannot be together. However, rather than a narration of a romantic love story, Hurşit eventually leaves Mah Mihri. The vivid portrait of Hurşit shows the realistic class difference.

Hurşit was a son of real khan. His father had villages, workers of every kind, tractors, harvesters, trucks, jeeps and he had race horses which could go residency of presidency with pride and could overtake horses of Koroğlu easily in mountains of Bolu. He had top model Mustang cars which had huge headlights, he had yachts with capacity of thousand people in the sea, he had cruisers in İznar Lake. He had acres of citrus gardens, he had summer houses and mansions in the city for winter.<sup>90</sup> (Tarık Dursun,1972:30)

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<sup>89</sup> Tırnaklarının içi bembeyaz un doluydu; kirpik uçları, kaşları ve gözbebekleri bile. Un, saçlarının dibinde terle hamurlanmıştı. Tahir öylece indi tirenden, Haydarpaşa-Köprü vapuruna bindi; Köprü’den yayan yapıldak sora sora Tophane’ye, Tophane’deki İş ve İşçi Bulma Kurumu’na geldi: Adına Camgöz Ahmet derlerdi, Çukurovalı çapsız bir işbirlikçi, Tahir’in yanına sokuldu ne aradığını sordu. “Hemşehrim” dedi Tahir; “Gavuristana işçi gideceğim” dedi. Camgöz Ahmet, “Davetiye var mı?” diye sordu, “Kurumdan sana gönderilmiş bir mektup var mı?”. Tahir elini koynuna attı, bir mektup çıkardı. Camgöz Ahmet’e uzattı. Beriki açtı hım hım okudu: “Oldu” dedi, “Sıran gelmiş çağırışlar. İyi gözün aydın!”. Böyle dedi, Tahir’e bakıp güldü. Elli lira karşılığında Tahir’i kurum kapısından içeri soktu, oda oda, koridor koridor dolandırdı; sonunda beyaz boyalı kapısı ardına kadar açık bir başka odanın önünde bıraktı.

<sup>90</sup> Hurşit gerçek bir Hanoğluydu; babasının köyleri vardı, ekicileri, kaldırıcıları, yarıcıları, ortakları, azapları, marabaları, traktörleri, biçerdöğerleri, kamyonetleri, jeepleri, harasından Cumhurbaşkanlığı

Even though Tarık Dursun’s adaptation follows some patterns of traditional narration, which is mentioned in the second chapter, such as childlessness and advice from holy figures, the rest of the story is completely modern. Also, unlike older versions, in this adaptation characters do not come together. Rather than falling in love with each other, their relationship is depicted just as sexual relation and after having sex with Mah Mihri, Hurşit leaves her.

Separation of Hurşit and Mah Mihri was inevitable because Hurşit was son of khan and Mah Mihri was a common person. Mah Mihri knew her place, he could not reach the place of Hurşit.<sup>91</sup> (Tarık Dursun, 1972:40)

Moreover, it is also important to note that Tarık Dursun transforms dramatically Selami Münir’s “Yanık Ömer ile Güzel Zeynep” written in 1937. In Münir’s version, Ömer joins the war of independence as a soldier and Zeynep tries to support the army as a nurse, and at the end of the story, they get married on 29 October which is Republic Day of Turkey (Güloğul, 1937:32-34). They are depicted both as national heroes and in general hikaye is constructed for boosting nationalism at that time, as it is analyzed more in detail under the third chapter. However, in Tarık Dursun’s adaptation, both Ömer and Zeynep are poor and Ömer has been working in Germany as a worker. Because of the fact that Ömer has to go abroad and work, he needs to leave Zeynep and after years when he turns back to the country he kills both Zeynep and her husband.

In addition before analyzing adaptations of Deli Dumrul, as it is mentioned in the very beginning of this part of the chapter, it is necessary to state that even though traditionally there is an evident distinction between folk romances and epics, it is possible to argue that dominant conflict between the poor and the rich makes this distinction vague through adapting. As Boratav (1969:56) frankly suggests that while

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kupasına giren kuğu boyunlu, parpar yeleli, bir fırladı mı Köroğlu’nun atını Bolu dağlarının çam ardlarında yaya bırakan yarış atları, altında stop lambaları adam kafasından büyük son model Mustang arabaları; denizde bin kişilik yatı, İşnar gölü’nde kotraları, tapuların günlerce yaza yaza bitiremedikleri dönümlerce narenciye bahçeleri; yazın yaylağı, kışın şehirde konakları vardı.

<sup>91</sup> Evet, ayrılık kaçınılmazdı; çünkü Hurşit bir Hanoğluydu, Mah Mihri değil. Mah Mihri kendi çizgisini biliyordu, Hurşit’in katına eremezdi.

historically folk romances had been constructed upon events that are similar to events that people had been encountering in their everyday lives, epics had been based upon adventures of heroic characters who had been regarded as representatives of the people. In other words, on the one hand, folk romances concern issues or conflicts within the society, epics focus on struggles between the representatives of the people and external enemies or powers, as is shown in the second chapter. However, adaptations of “Deli Dumrul” (Dumrul the mad man) and “Kazılık Koca Oğlu Yegenek” (Yegenek, the son of Kazılık Koca) written in this particular time period which this study examines, take seriously not only external struggles but also conflicts within the society. And this particular characteristic makes these texts relevant and worthy to take into account.

In his adaptation, Suat Taşer depicts Deli Dumrul as a landlord, which has traditionally not been seen because Deli Dumrul is one of the parts of the Book of Dede Korkut which narrates epics of Oghuz Turks and estimated to be inscribed approximately in the 15th century (Boratav, 1969:50). In other words, giving place to criticism of cruel landlords and landlordship in such texts has to be associated with the time period in which it is written. Also, Orhan Şahin Gökyay (1973:31-32) states that because Taşer depicts Deli Dumrul as so demon and gives too much space for bridge episode, he “paints it with different colors”. Therefore as it is mentioned, in this particular adaptation Deli Dumrul is described not as an epic hero, but a cruel landlord throughout the storyline. According to Gökyay, even though traditionally the theme of the epic of Deli Dumrul is based on loyalty between lovers and the attempt of Dumrul to become powerful, Taşer just gives another importance to these attributes and focuses too much on the cruelty of Deli Dumrul. For example, this important feature is supported in the text that Deli Dumrul’s men hail him by saying “our lord, our master”.

(Dumrul) turns and looks at his servants. This look reminds them of their duty. They need to repay the value of the bread of the landlord. They kiss Dumrul’s feet like cats and dogs and they praise Dumrul by saying “Our landlord, our bey, Deli Dumrul/ Your fame is going far lands with winds/

We are obeying you/ Our landlord, our bey Deli Dumrul”.<sup>92</sup>  
(Taşer,1962:13)

In addition to that, because protecting and paying regard to the poor is also encouraged in this adaptation, at the end of the story when Deli Dumrul learns he has not to be cruel or oppressive, he promises to be a champion of the people.

Wait/ Since its my destiny, here is my last word to you/ Let me build big charities on the roads/ Let me feed hungers/ Let me cloth homelesses/ Let me take revenge of the oppressed from oppressors/ Let me be a water for thirst in the desert/ Let me be a hope for hopeless/ Let me be a sleep for sleepless/ Let me be a light for the ones who are in darkness/ Let me be a road for disoriented/ Let me be a voice for voiceless/ Let me give my hand to the ones who need it/ Let me devote all my belongings to benevolence if I would live in this world.<sup>93</sup> (Taşer, 1962:56-57)

Moreover, the contrast between the poor and the rich is promoted by making those coming face to face with each other. Conversation between a man, who is poor and old, and Deli Dumrul at the beginning of the story highlights conflict between the poor and the rich, and between the oppressor and the oppressed. While in this section, an old man protesting against Deli Dumrul because of his cruelty, Taşer also makes an intervention and says his words apparently that being encountered with a cruel person is a bad experience.

Deli Dumrul: I build a bridge on the dried stream/ I take tolls and do not relent/ I would not bow to my own shadow/ I am sitting on the fur of hungry lion/ I want tolls from all of you.

I hope God would not make anybody be encountered with unlawful people. I hope God does not let the father need the son. While Deli Dumrul was roaring to the people whose hearts were wounded and eyes were in tears, one older man of the people came to the forefront and said by suppressing his sense of crying.

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<sup>92</sup> Dönüp uşaklarına bakar. Bu bakış onlara ödevlerini hatırlatır. Yedikleri ağa lokmasının karşılığını vermek gerek. Kedi köpek yaltaklığı ile başlarlar Deli Dumrul’u koltuklayıp övmiye: “Ağamız, beyimiz Deli Dumrul/Ününü yeller taşır ırağa!/Önünde dize geliriz bir daha/Ağamız, beyimiz Deli Dumrul!”

<sup>93</sup> Dur!/Madem böyle yazılmış işte sana son sözüm/Ulu yollar üzerine imaretler yapayım/Aç görsem doyurayım/Yalıncağ görsem donatayım/Mazlumun ahını zalimden alayım/Çölde yanmışa su/Umutsuza umut/Uykusunu yitirmişe uyku/Karanlıktakine ışık/Yolsuza yol/Dilsiz dil/Elsiz el iletayım/Cümle varımı tutup/İyilik yoluna atayım/Dahi kalırsam dünyada.

Old man: The door of stingy and ungenerous ones is like a wall/ When the time comes, you will also go from this world/ There is a death, you cruel man.

These words made Deli Dumrul angry and he asked the old man with great anger.

Deli Dumrul: What do all these words mean?

At first the old man looks at Deli Dumrul's terrifiedly dislodged bloody eyes, deep into his eyes, then bows his head to the ground and becomes silent. There was a thick, heavy and dark fear in the air... In this fear, they were gnashing their teeth and clenching their fists.<sup>94</sup> (Taşer, 1962:13-14)

As it is mentioned before as Gökyay argues (1973:32), the theme of narrative has been changed dramatically, and rather than just narrating confrontation between external and internal powers in community and strength of love, Taşer puts forward inequality at the same time. It is necessary to state here that, as it is mentioned above, because epics of Oghuz Turks were transcribed at early ages, different from other folk narratives these epics have not been changed that much. However, just in the cases of adaptations by Taşer and Dilmen, there are other adaptations that aim to transmit some political views, such as the adaptation by Ziya Gökalp, as is mentioned in the third chapter. In his adaptation of the epic of “Basat’ın Tepegöz’ü Öldürmesi”, after the War of Independence Gökalp makes additions in which invasion of Greek forces was associated with invasion of Tepegöz of Oghuz territories (Gökyay, 1973:24). And not surprisingly there is an association between Basat who kills Tepegöz and Mustafa Kemal.

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<sup>94</sup> Deli Dumrul: Köprü kurdum kuru çayın üstüne/Baç alırım, haraç alırım, aman bilmem/Ben kendi gölgemin önünde dahi eğilmem/Bağdaş kurup oturmuşum aç aslanın postuna/Baç isterim cümlelizden.

Tanrı kimsenin yolunu yolsuza uğratmasın. Kulu kula, babayı oğula muhtaç etmesin. Deli Dumrul yaralı yürekler, yaşlı gözler karşısında böyle gürleyince, kalabalığın önünde duran ihtiyar boğazında düğümlenen hıçkırıkları bastırarak ileri varır da der ki:

İhtiyar: Muhanedin kapısı duvar!/Günü gelir sen de gidersin, dünya kalır/Behey zalim orta yerde ölüm var.

Bu sözler Deli Dumrul’un bütün cinlerini başına derer. Öfke ile ihtiyarın üstüne yürüyerek sorar:

Deli Dumrul: Ne demeye varır bu sözün?

İhtiyar, ilkin, Deli Dumrul’un dehşetle yerinden uğramış kanlı gözlerine, gözlerinin ta içine uzun uzun bakar, sonra başını yere eğip susar. Havada kalın, ağır, kara bir korku... Korkunun içinde kalabalığın dış gıcırıltıları, sıkılmış yumrukları...

Furthermore, Dilmen sharpens inequality between the poor and the rich in his adaptation as well, however, because Dilmen uses a satirical tone in his text, rather than just depicting Deli Dumrul as cruel, he mocks Deli Dumrul throughout the storyline. As Taşer states in his adaptation, in this version, Deli Dumrul also promises not to be cruel and try to annihilate injustices.

Dede Korkut: Wherever you see an unlawful act, fight with it./ Dumrul: Let me see those acts./ Dede Korkut: Injustices are everywhere./ Dumrul: Little injustices are not enough for me to fight, I want to struggle with bigger injustices./ Dede Korkut (with frowning): You turned crazy again Dumrul. There are no bigger or smaller injustices. Maybe there is. Honestly I cannot imagine a world without injustice, without big injustices. Maybe a world in which small injustices could be remedied.<sup>95</sup> (Dilmen, 1979:31-32)

Also, it is highly necessary to mention that when Deli Dumrul and Azrail (angel of death) talk about injustices and where those mostly occur, Azrail implies that injustices happen generally in poor regions in which masses of people are not illuminated and conscious (or class consciousness). And putting such a conversation on the plot, as it is mentioned in the context of other adaptations, Dilmen frankly places class war and class consciousness in the text as well. After facing and dealing with Azrail, Dumrul learns not only not to be cruel, but also class consciousness which leads him to struggle against all injustices.

Azrail: You can say that by looking at today's circumstances. To be honest they are under my command. Canguzoğulları, calamities, natural disasters... (By showing maps) Here are the maps of Oghuz lands and the entire world. I coloured densest areas in which I took lots of lives. Dumrul: What do you mean by the densest areas? Azrail: Those areas are intertwined with districts in which the poorest and unconscious people live. Dumrul: Will it always continue like this? Azrail (with drinking wine): It is up to your joy. But don't blame God or me, it is because of your clumsiness. Dumrul: But don't you take the lives of innocents?

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<sup>95</sup> Dede Korkut: Nerde bir haksızlık görürsen onunla savaş./Dumrul: Hele haksızlığı göreyim./Dede Korkut: Haksızlıklar adım başına./Dumrul: Bana küçük haksızlıklar yetmiyor. Büyük haksızlıklarla savaşmak isterim./Dede Korkut (kaşlarını çatar): Yine delilendin Dumrul. Haksızlığın büyüğü küçüğü olmaz (dalgın). Kim bilir belki de olur. Haksızlığın tümünden ortadan kalktığı bir dünya düşünemiyorum doğrusu. Büyük haksızlıkların barınamadığı. Küçük haksızlıkların onarılabildiği bir dünya belki.

Azrail: I am not the reason, I am the consequence. Dumrul: These circumstances should change. Azrail: It is up to your joy. Dumrul: You say Canguzoğulları huh? Azrail (by complaining): It is hard to take their lives. That's why they keep reproducing. Dumrul: Dede Korkut was talking about a war that could last a thousand years. Azrail (by nodding): In order to establish his own justice in Oghuz provinces and on earth. Dumrul: What do you mean by his justice? Azrail (at first without caring): Justice of Dede Korkut which means concepts of freedom, equality, peace, which you are ruminating in your mouths, grow like a great tree. A new era in which this great tree takes root in deep soils and goes to the sky by growing with stars (voice of Azrail changes).<sup>96</sup> (Dilmen, 1979:64-65)

Lastly, Suat Taşer's adaptation of the epic of "Kazılık Koca Oğlu Yegenek" gives important marks to analyze in terms of this study. Because through history epics of Dede Korkut have not changed that much (due to its early transcription), it is easier to make a comparison properly between early texts and modern ones.

First of all, the epic of "Kazılık Koca Oğlu Yegenek" is not long and it is primarily based on the heroism of Kazılık Koca and his son Yegenek. In the epic, Kazılık Koca is one of the beys of Bayındır Han, who is the ruler of Oghuz Turks. Kazılık Koca has been taken as a captive when fighting with enemies of Oghuz Turks and for getting rid of being a son of a captive, after he grows up, Yegenek decides to surround the castle to free his father. After defeating his enemy, Yegenek and his men are relentless to their enemies and show no mercy. They loot castles, kill monks and after destroying churches, instead, they build mosques (Gökyay, 1973:103).

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<sup>96</sup> Azrail: Eh bugünkü görünümüne bakarak öyle diyebilirsiniz. Doğrusu onlar benim hizmetimde. Canguzoğulları, kıyımlar, sayrılıklar, doğal yıkımlar... (Koynundan haritalar çıkarır) Oğuz illerinin haritası işte ve bütün dünyanın. En yoğun can devşirdiğim bölgeleri renk renk boyamışım. Dumrul (ilgiyle): En yoğun bölgeler? Azrail: En yoksul, bilisiz, bilinçsiz halk yığınlarının yaşam alanlarıyla çakışıyor nedense. Dumrul: Bu hep böyle mi sürecek? Azrail (şarap içer): Neşeniz bilir. Ancak, kendi becerizsizliğinizi Tanrıya yüklemeyin, ne de bana. Dumrul: Günahsız canları sen topluyorsun ya? Azrail: Ben sonucum, neden değil. Dumrul: Bu gidiş değişmelidir. Azrail: Keyfiniz bilir. Dumrul: Canguzoğulları ha? Azrail (şikayetçi): Onlardan can almak meseledir. Bu yüzden üreyip dururlar. Dumrul: Dede Korkut bin yıl sürebilecek bir savaşımdan söz ediyordu? Azrail (başıyla doğrular): Oğuz illerinde ve yeryüzünde kendi adaletini kurabilmek için. Dumrul: Onun adaleti? Azrail (önce önemsemeden): Dede Korkut adaleti yani, ağzınızda çiğneyip durduğunuz o kavramların... Özgürlük, eşitlik, barış falan... (Birden sesi değişir.) Ulu bir çınar gibi, toprağa kök saldığı, göğe mavi dallarla boy attığı, salkım saçak yıldızlarla açıldığı bir yeni çağ.

However, Taşer's adaptation indicates the contrary. This adaptation is much longer than the first versions and rather than highlighting war and heroism, it puts much more importance on love and peace. At the beginning of the adaptation, Arız Koca brings bad news for Bayındır Han and his beys that tribes of Oghuz Turks have been attacked by Canguz and they need to respond immediately otherwise tribes will be demolished. But Bayındır Han says because they give promise for not making war, he does not want to respond until it seems Canguz tries to destroy everything they have. However, eventually, Kazılık Koca is sent to war by Bayındır Han for counteracting properly. Oghuz Turks are defeated and Kazılık Koca is captured in a castle. And after the son of Kazılık Koca, named Yegenek, grows up, he wants to free his father. Because of the fact that his father is a captive, nobody wants to marry his daughter with Yegenek, so for constructing a family Yegenek has to free his father. At the end of the story, even though Yegenek rescues his father he does not do it with fighting but by talking with his enemy. And after Kazılık Koca is taken from the castle, rather than looting or killing or destroying, both sides agree on building peace. Therefore, although in this adaptation, the conflict between the poor and the rich seems as if it does not exist, with promoting the principle of peace, the narrative indicates every single person deserves a decent life and for having it nobody should fight or kill others. In other words, the narrative highlights equality and for keeping everyone equal, peace can play a significant role.

For narrating an epic from such a perspective, Taşer makes characters talk about love and peace, rather than directly intervening. However, because this adaptation is written as a play, choir, or wise old man, who appear at the beginning or end of different parts of the play, can take the role of transferring the author's direct voice.

Choir: It is not the land that is to blame but the man. The ground at the bottom, the sky at the top is huge... Who cannot fit into this huge world is a human being. Human being who suppresses the good, gives the crown to the bad, gives his life to greed and goes to the grave with regret... Do mountains envy others? The ground and the sky are siblings. The day does not break the rights of the night. Is the farthest star worth less than the nearest star? Have you ever seen the yellow flower drown the red flower? Ants do not lie, snakes do not wear shirts of wolves. A willow tree does not humiliate bushes. Don't be afraid of hungry lions, be afraid of human

being! Lions do not eat lions. Humans eat humans and yet they can't be satisfied. And I say if dried crops need rains, darkened hearts of humans need peace! The only sun that will destroy the darkness of all evil: Peace! The blessing that will shame death: Peace! Mothers must give birth to peace! Peace must enter through the doors! Peace must heal the wounds which are bleeding for a long time! Reign of peace must begin!<sup>97</sup> (Taşer, 1961: 66-67)

All in all, for a preliminary conclusion it is possible to argue that left-oriented intellectuals can instrumentalize both content and form, and transform how all these stories are narrated and then change or add something new to the dominant conflict in folk narratives by using various literary strategies such as, (1) writing additional parts for storylines which have not been seen before, (2) intervening the plotline and talking directly with the reader, (3) changing statutes, positions or features of characters, (4) referencing historical figures which are seen as a champion of the people or attaching their characteristics to folk characters, (5) transforming features of literary genres, (6) changing space and time, and placing folk characters in different eras and different places.

## 5.2 Depiction of Female Characters and Conceptualization of Love

In adaptations by left-oriented intellectuals because of the fact that collectivity is highly important in terms of formation of the narration, for the unification of lovers not only efforts of male characters but also endeavors of female characters have a significant role. Although it is not common to see the struggle of female characters for

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<sup>97</sup> Koro: Suçlu olan toprak değil, insandır. Altta yer, üstte gök kocaman... Kocaman dünyaya sığmayan gene insan oğlu insandır. İyiye kıran, kötüye taht veren, taç giydiren, dört günlük ömrü hırsın ayakları altına seren, mezarına pişmanlıkla giren insan... Hangi dağ hangi dağı kıskanır? Yerle gök iki kardeş. Gün gecenin hakkını yemez. En uzak yıldız en yakın yıldızdan daha mı değersiz? Sarı çiçeğin al çiçeği boğduğunu ne zaman gördünüz? Karınca yalanla doyunmaz, yılan kurdun gömleğini giyinmez. Söğüt dağı kara çalıya bakıp öğünmez. Aç aslandan korkma; korkarsan insandan kork! Aslan aslanı yemez. İnsan insanı yer, gene de doydum demez! Ben de derim ki sararmış ekinlere yağmur gerekse, insan oğlunun kararmış yüreğine de barış gerek! Bütün kötülüklerin karanlığını yok edecek biricik güneş: Barış! Ölümü utandıracak nimet: Barış! Analar barış doğurmalı! Cümle kapılardan içeri barış girmeli! Nicedir kanayan yaraları barış sarmalı! Barışın büyük şafağı gayrı ağarmalı!

coming together with their lovers in traditional versions of folk narratives; in terms of highlighting collectivity of the love in their imagination, it appears the fact that left-oriented intellectuals gave a top priority to the struggle of female characters in their adaptations. And because left-oriented intellectuals attribute such an ideological and political importance to love, in this sense it is very important to examine (1) specific depictions of female characters, (2) their utterances, and (3) conceptualization of love for making proper analysis.

Within this frame in Turkish folk culture, even though voices of women and men have not been heard in equal amounts in some folkloric literary forms, by considering all forms comparably, it is necessary to state that both female and male characters or storytellers find a way to say her/his wishes, thoughts or objections vividly. For example, in terms of folk romances, because a storyteller has been generally male throughout history, it is not surprising to hear the voices of female characters to a lesser degree. However, in other folkloric literary forms such as mani and folktale, it seems female storytellers and characters could transfer apparently their desires or experiences.

For instance, Pertev Naili Boratav (1969:90) mentions that in both realistic and extraordinary folktales, brave and fearless female characters and their struggles are depicted in a very distinct way, and the reason for this attribute can be found in the fact that narration or spreading folktales are generally depended on female storytellers, and in turn, Boratav reminds that folktales can be named also as “kocakarı masalı” (a tale of an old woman). In addition, alongside folktales, it is necessary to state here that manis are another form in which female voice is heard apparently, which is examined in detail before.

However, in terms of folk romances, which are generally narrated by male storytellers, female voices seem relatively faint and as Başgöz states (2008:208) these particular folk narratives are narrated by male aşiks for women or female audience on just particular events such as “marriage ceremony or a gathering of women only in a private house”. In other words, because the way of narration changes, depending on the gender

of the audience, even though the plot or form continues to be the same, performance or content and usage of language could be changed to a large extent, as it is mentioned in the second chapter. Therefore, it is necessary to state that when the storyteller is male, the way women are depicted has to be scrutinized very carefully.

From this point of view, how female characters and voices of women are depicted is based on three substantial elements which are features of the storyteller, characteristics of the audience, and folkloric genre in which narration is constructed. On the other side of the coin, in terms of this study just like male aşiks who are highly cautious about depicting female characters and choosing a language as it is stated, left-oriented intellectuals make deliberative choices in this sense as well. It seems nearly all left-oriented intellectuals describe female characters as brave as male ones and by doing so they are conceptualizing love between two lovers as a struggle. Because of the fact that in almost all adaptations lovers face challenges because of social differences, for overcoming these various hardships and coming together, they struggle collectively and in turn, their love becomes a battle. However, it is necessary to note that this feature is completely different in adaptations by Tarık Dursun because rather than narrating romantic warfare he prefers to show harsh conditions which he assumes women face at that time in which adaptations were written, that will be addressed comparably under this part of the chapter later.

For example, rather than depicting Şirin as the daughter of the noble or the rich, Talip Apaydın especially highlights in his adaptation that Şirin is the daughter of “the people”. Because Şirin is an orphan and highly beautiful, ruler of the country, namely Mümine Banu adopts her and makes Şirin her daughter/sister. Therefore it is important to state that while making such an emphasis Apaydın suggests that love is appropriate not only for the rich but also especially for the poor.

They say Şirin is a daughter of a ruler. It is not true at all. She is a daughter of the people. She is the daughter of one of us. She is a niece of one of us, she is a sister of one of us, she is a granddaughter of one of us. She is beautiful. Once you look at her you couldn't prevent yourself from looking at her again. They want to separate her from us, as if to love and be loved are only for khans and kings. They depict her as if she is a different

creature from us. However we investigate and see that Şirin was born in an ordinary town or village. Because her mother and father died at her young ages, she was orphaned. That's why she is emotional and sad a little.<sup>98</sup> (Apaydın, 1965: 4-5)

In this passage, by associating Şirin with the poor, Apaydın identifies beauty with the people, rather than linking it with the noble or the rich. In addition, Apaydın emphasizes that experiencing love among ordinary people is easier and nobody has to hide herself or himself from the gazes of others. And because Şirin does not feel free to live her love with Ferhat, she thinks about escaping from the castle and meets with Ferhat.

On the other hand, Şirin was in bad condition too. She could not eat or drink anything. She did not have the opportunity to go from the palace and see Ferhat whenever she wanted. There were lots of servants in any kind around her. She got tired of the boring discipline of the palace. Her every act was under scrutiny. But if she was a daughter of common people, it would be better and she would do her work by herself. She would do whatever she wanted. She would meet with Ferhat in hidden places. But she cannot do it now. Wherever she looks there are servants who say “did you order anything, my sultan?”. It is a nuisance for her.<sup>99</sup> (Apaydın, 1965:18)

As it is cited, Apaydın praises the love that ordinary people experience and while doing so the reader could hear what Şirin thinks and how she acts. In this particular adaptation, Şirin is depicted as literate and she is very fond of poems and literature as

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<sup>98</sup> Derler ki Şirin bir hakanın kızıydı. Hiç de değil. Bir halk kızıydı. İçimizden birinin kızıydı. Birinin yeğeni, birinin bacası, birinin torunuydu. Güzeldi. Bir bakan bir daha bakmadan geçemezdi. Sevmek sevilme yalnız hanların hakanların, şahların harcıymış gibi onu bizden ayırmak isterler. Başka bir yaratılmış gibi anlatırlar. Oysa biz inceleyip gördük ki Şirin herhangi bir kasabada, ya da köyde doğmuş bir kızdır. Küçük yaşta anası babası öldüğü için öksüz kalmıştır. Onun için duygulu ve biraz hüznölüdür.

<sup>99</sup> Öbür yandan Şirinin hali de kötü olmuştu. Yemekten içmekten kesilmişti. Sık sık saraydan çıkıp Ferhatı görmeğe gitmek imkanı yoktu . Çevresinde halayıklar, dadılar bekçiler... İlk olarak sarayın sıkıcı disiplininden rahatsız olmağa başlamıştı. Ne yapsa hep göz altındaydı. Oysa halktan birinin kızı olsaydı şimdi ne iyiydi, kendi işini kendi görürdü. İstedigini yapardı. Gizlilerde Ferhat'la buluşurdu. Ama şimdi olmuyordu işte. Başını çevirse “bir şey mi emrettiniz sultanım” diye birkaç kişi dikiliyordu karşısına. Dertti.

well, and this particular feature is similar to others in which being educated or being illuminated is appreciated.

Şirin was with her. Şirin was reading a book of poems. “Shall we go, Şirin?” the sultan asked. Şirin did not hear what the sultan asked. She was so immersed in the book. She was very interested in literature in recent days. She was always reading books. “Look at me my daughter, Şirin” the sultan said. She looked at sultan. Her beautiful eyes were in tears under her slim eyebrows. “What happened, why do you feel so sad?” the sultan asked. “I like poems so much” Şirin replied.<sup>100</sup> (Apaydın, 1965:12)

Moreover, when Şirin’s nanny notices that Ferhat and Şirin fall in love with each other, she warns Şirin that this is not appropriate behavior since she is the daughter/sister of the ruler of the country and Ferhat is the son of a stonemason. However, rather than obeying her nanny’s warnings, Şirin fiercely opposes and it seems she deliberately states that being the son of a worker does not undervalue one’s worth.

Nanny: “Don’t be like that. What will others say when they hear? What will your elder sister do? Control yourself. Try to forget him. Isn’t he a son of a worker?” Şirin did not expect such a response. She suddenly screams with anger. “Shut up!” she said. “Shut up! You stone-hearted woman! So I will forget? Shame on you! You came here for saying these? He is a son of a worker. What happens because he is a son of a worker? Does he lose his value? He is superior than commanders or kings for me, do you understand?”<sup>101</sup> (Apaydın, 1965:37)

As it is mentioned before, because left-oriented intellectuals conceptualize love as a collective struggle in these adaptations, Şirin helps Ferhat when he is drilling mountains. This episode is highly important because it has not been commonly noticed

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<sup>100</sup> Yanında Şirin de vardı. Bir şiir kitabına eğilmiş okuyordu. “Gidelim mi Şirin?” diye sordu. Şirin Ecenin buyruğunu duymamıştı. Öyle dalmıştı kitaba. Son günlerde edebiyata iyice merak sarmıştı. Habire kitap okuyordu. “Şirin bana bak kızım!” Başını kaldırıp baktı. İnce kaşlarının altında ak dut gibi ballı gözleri dolu doluydu. “Ne oldu niye öyle hüzünlendin?” “Şiirler hoşuma gidiyor da” dedi.

<sup>101</sup> - Etme kızım. Yapma böyle. Duyulursa el ne der? Ablanın hali nice olur? Kendini tut biraz. Unutmaya çalış. Bir işçi oğlu değil mi bu?  
Şirin bu karşılığı beklemiyordu. Birden bağırды;  
- Sus! dedi. Sus! Taş kalpli kadın! Demek unutacağım öyle mi? Yazıklar olsun! Bunu mu söylemeye geldin bana? İşçi oğlu olmuş. İşçi oğlu olunca ne olur? Değerinden ne kaybeder? Benim önümde o başbuğlardan, karallardan üstün, anladın mı?

in literature, instead, Özarslan (2006:62) mentions that in one version of “Ferhat ile Şirin”, Şirin becomes a ruler after her father was dead and she wants people to build a palace, garden, and fountain with drilling mountains. However, they cannot fulfill this order and Şirin makes them miserable. When Ferhat comes and notices the situation, he decides to help people and rescues them.

This job lasted nearly a month, twenty-eight days. Şirin came often and refreshed the power of Ferhat. She gave him joy. Ferhat also worked with superhuman effort and inconceivable persistence. By drilling rocky mountains he brought water to the palace.<sup>102</sup> (Apaydın, 1965:33)

Furthermore, this is also the case for the adaptation of “Ferhat ile Şirin” by Afşar Timuçin that when Ferhat encounters with Şirin, he says because Şirin is divinely beautiful he cannot create beautiful crafts because he thinks he cannot and should not exceeds the beauty of Şirin, and he cannot reach her. However, Şirin opposes what Ferhat says and persuades him to struggle together.

You are hope of an eternal/ How can you stand still for reborning/ You are always a song of unlasting/ How could you bow to desperations/ We are all created for having a passion/ We came here from dark and dense loneliness/ We are passengers who do not know how to stop/ How could we say that we cannot move on our roads/ We take creation as a duty/ All the beauties will be result of our works/ We take the good and the truth as a duty/ Our thoughts will always look for eternity/ If you want, delete all your creations/ If you want, begin from the scratch/ If you want, think yourself as nondecreasing passion/ Go to times which wait for us/ I want you to exceed my beauty/ I don't want to be alone in nature/ I want to understand myself by comparing myself with your creations/ Give me more divine beauties.<sup>103</sup> (Timuçin, 1969:101)

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<sup>102</sup> Bu iş bir aya yakın, tam yirmi sekiz gün sürdü. Şirin sık sık gelip Ferhadın gücünü tazeledi. Ona kıvanç verdi. Ferhat da insan üstü bir gayretle, akıl almaz bir ısrarla çalıştı. Kayalık dağı yara yara suyu getirdi, köşkün önüne akıttı.

<sup>103</sup> Sen ki hep bir sonsuzun umudusun/Nasıl durur kalırsın yeniden doğmalara/Sen ki hep bir bitmezin şarkısının/Nasıl boyun eğersin çaresiz kalmalara/Biz hepimiz bir tutkuya yaratıldık/Doğduk koyu ve yoğun yalnızlıktan/Biz ki durak bilmeyen yolcularız/Nasıl eksildik deriz zor yollardan/Artık yüklendik ya yaratmayı/Bütün güzellikler bizden sorulacak/İyiye ve doğruyu yüklendik ya/Düşüncemiz her zaman sonsuzu arayacak/Bütün yarattığını sil istersen/İstersen yeniden koyul yaratmalara/Kendini azalmayacak bir tutku say istersen/Yürü bizi bekleyen zamanlara/Güzelliğimi aşmanı isterim/Yalnız kalmak istemem ben doğada/Kendimi yarattıklarıyla anlayayım/Daha yüce güzellikler ver bana.

In addition, as Apaydın depicts, Timuçin also narrates that Ferhat and Şirin drill mountains together and they are doing it not only for their love but also for helping and rescuing the people from their miseries. In other words, while they are struggling for their love collectively, they are also fighting for the people.

People of the city gave up on water. They were waiting death in silence. Nobody had the strength to go behind the mountain to drink water. Those who tried to go fell unconscious to the slope of the mountain. Now a deep silence was only being torn by Ferhat's drillings. (Şirin's) dry eyes and lips showed that she was wasting her last power... With his pickaxe, Ferhat was breaking huge rocks and Şirin was taking these rocks out of the tunnel opened with an unexpected force. The city was slowly melting away in great silence.<sup>104</sup> (Timuçin, 1969:112)

In this particular adaptation, because folk characters try to save people who are about to die because of thirst, they are depicted as champions of the people. With a changing storyline like that, at the end of the hikaye Timuçin suggests that although Ferhat and Şirin die, they leave behind a tradition of resistance.

Ferhat and Şirin live in fairy tales, folk songs, joys, passions and beliefs as a hope that defies all odds in this distant country where centuries have passed. Whoever you ask, nobody can say that Ferhat and Şirin are dead. They are where death cannot reach, they are immortality itself. They were resilient while living, they became immortal when they were over.<sup>105</sup> (Timuçin, 1969:128)

Moreover, just like Timuçin and Apaydın narrate, Kansu gives voice and transformative power to Zühre in his adaptation as well. When Zühre hears that her father reprimands the teacher, who tries to persuade the landlord to allow the marriage

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<sup>104</sup> Şehir sudan umudunu kesmişti. Sessizce ölümü bekliyordu. Kimsenin dağın ardına gidecek gücü yoktu su içmek için. Gitmeye kalkanlar baygın yığıldılar dağın yamacına. Şimdi koyu bir sessizlik yalnızca Ferhat'ın kazmalarıyla yırtılıyordu... (Şirin'in) susuzluktan kuruyan gözleri, dudakları artık son gücünü harcadığını gösteriyordu... Ferhat kazmasıyla kocaman kayaları koparıyor, Şirin de kendisinden umulmayacak bir güçle bu kayaları açılan tünelin dışına çıkarıyordu. Şehir büyük bir sessizlik içinde yavaş yavaş erimekteydi.

<sup>105</sup> Şimdi yüzyılların basıp geçtiği bu uzak ülkede Ferhat ile Şirin her olmaza baş kaldıran birer umut olarak masallarda, türkülerde, sevinçlerde, tutkulara, inançlarda yaşarlar. Kime sorsanız Ferhat ile Şirin'in öldüğünü söyleyemez. Ölümün el uzatamadığı yeredir onlar, onlar ölümsüzlüğün kendisidir. Yaşarken dirençtiler, yaşarlıkları bitince ölümsüz oldular.

of Tahir and Zühre, she says clearly what she thinks to her father and this reflects clear-cut opposition to her father. Therefore, just like her lover Tahir, Zühre also tries to change the situation by doing her best.

Zühre heard these conversations from the next room. A wire was broken somewhere in his heart. "Ugh!" Zühre said and added: "Dad, dad! You know my problem, you ignore my problem, why you spoil God's writing, you are deemed yourself a landlord and then you oppress a poor shepherd and the teacher who has taught writing to the village children."<sup>106</sup> (Kansu, 1972:21)

Besides, because of the fact that for enriching the plot Kansu takes some elements from "Ferhat ile Şirin", it is also possible to see in this adaptation that Tahir and Zühre drill the mountains both for their love and the people they want to rescue. Thus, just like in adaptations by Apaydın and Timuçin, Kansu also depicts the collective struggle of lovers against injustices. Although her father tries to keep Zühre in some building for preventing their relation, Zühre thinks carefully and decides to escape for helping her lover Tahir.

Because they missed each other, they hugged and kissed each other with passion. "Let's leave the cuddling to our next nights and start work Tahir!" Zühre said and added, "I will come every night and help you". Tahir shot a pickaxe, Zühre took a shovel. Two voices in the night: the sound of digging, the sound of shovel, the voice of Tahir, the voice of Zühre. They worked until daylight in the morning, when they got tired a little, they got into the bosom of the night and made love and talked to each other.<sup>107</sup> (Kansu, 1972:41)

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<sup>106</sup> Bu konuşmaları yan odadan Zühre duymuş dinlemiş. Bir tel kopmuş yüreğinin bir yerinden. "Of!" diye çıkmış sesi derinden... Zühre: "Baba, baba, saydığım baba! derdimi sen de biliyorsun ya, bilmezlikten geliyorsun, Tanrı'nın yazdığını neden bozuyorsun, ağa diye geziyorsun, sonra bir garip çobanla, köy çocuklarına kara yazıyı belletmiş eğitmeni eziyorsun."

<sup>107</sup> Yılların özlemiyle sarılmışlar, öpüşmüşler, koklaşmışlar. Zühre: "Sarılıp koklaşmayı ilerideki gecelerimize bırakalım da işe başlayalım Tahir!" demiş. "Her akşam gün batıp çevre alacalanınca ben senin yanına geleceğim, sana yardım edeceğim." Bir Tahir vurmuş kazmayı, bir Zühre almış küreği. Gecenin içinde iki ses: Kazma sesi, kürek sesi, Tahir'in sesi, Zühre'nin sesi. Sabah gün ışıyınca da değin çalışmışlar, biraz yorulunca, gecenin koinuna girip sevişmişler, dertleşmişler.

Furthermore, it is also not surprising to see such characteristics in Timuçin's adaptation of "Tahir ile Zühre". When Zühre's father learns love between Tahir and Zühre, he keeps his daughter in one room of his palace. And even though she knows her father is more powerful than herself, she expresses that she tries to struggle for her love.

Just like a tree which does not live without roots / Zühre will not live without Tahir/ Love of Zühre for Tahir is huge/ and it does not fit into your narrow rooms/ It will flow like a flood over mountains and valleys/ It will destroy all lovelessnesses and lonelinesses as a duty.<sup>108</sup> (Timuçin, 1969:31)

By giving such a strong voice to Zühre, Timuçin conceptualizes love as a struggle and makes this struggle a collective one, i.e. both Tahir and Zühre do not accept what they are told and try to change the situation by helping each other.

Moreover, even though this characteristic is not that apparent in the adaptation of hikaye of Aşık Garip, since the father of Şah Senem, namely Bilge Sinan is not an evil man and he gets along with Aşık Garip, position or thoughts of Şah Senem are not put into the background. For example, when the mother of Aşık Garip tells Bilge Sinan that her son wants to marry his daughter and then Bilge Sinan says that he cannot decide on his own and he needs to ask his daughter first.

The woman's heart ached as she listened to what her son said. She did not believe that the great Bilge Sinan would let his daughter marry his son who was a poor minstrel. But his son was burning with his love. He could even die because of his love... Bilge Sinan listened and thought much more and eventually said, "God bless your son. It is hard to find a son like yours". "But it is a delicate issue, it would not be possible by my permission. Before me, firstly my daughter has to say yes. After all she will be his wife. Since she lost her mother at her early ages, his heart was wounded. I don't want to wound her heart once again by marrying her with a man she

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<sup>108</sup> Nasıl bir ağaç köksüz yaşamazsa /Zühre de Tahir'siz yaşamayacaktır/Zühre'nin Tahir'i sevdiği sevgi büyüktür/Sizin dar odalarınıza sığmayacaktır/Taşacak görürsünüz dağ bayır dinlemeyecek/Sel olup basacak bütün toprakları/Yıkmayı varlığının tek ödevi bilecek/Bütün sevgisizlikleri ve bütün yalnızlıkları

doesn't want. Now give me three days and I will talk to my daughter whether she wants or not.<sup>109</sup> (Adalı, 1972:35-36)

Because of the fact that in older variations relation between Aşık Garip and the father of Şah Senem is not that smooth and the father of Şah Senem makes some burdens for lovers such as highly excessive bride price, this episode in the adaptation by Adalı represents a distinct deviation from the tradition.

As Türkmen (1995:20) mentions that in five variations he analyzed the father of Şah Senem wants bride price from Aşık Garip and his mother, and only in two variations father of Şah Senem does not want any bride price. However, in one of these two variations father of Aşık Garip is a ruler and in turn, it is possible to state that this episode shows a deliberate choice of Adalı. In the adaptation by Adalı, while Bilge Sinan attaches importance to thoughts of her daughter, he also does not want any bride price from Aşık Garip and his mother. However, because Aşık Garip does not want to let people think that he wants to marry Şah Senem because of her father's properties, he wants to earn money by playing saz and singing songs in different cities and countries, and by doing so he thinks he can deserve to marry with Şah Senem. In other words, he proposes to pay a bride price to Bilge Sinan, even though Bilge Sinan says him not to take others' thoughts into account and in turn, he cannot convince him not to go.

(Garip) said “my bey” and kissed the hands of Bilge Sinan and added that “thank you, you did not say no and did not send us from your house. But the city is full of rumors of evil-minded people. They say Aşık Garip wants to marry the daughter of Bilge Sinan because of their wealth. They say what Bilge Sinan did is not true because he let his daughter marry a poor man. Such rumors are bad for the wedding of a brave man. People who know us know the truth but they could doubt anyway. Now if you permit,

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<sup>109</sup> Oğlunun anlattıklarını dinledikçe yüreği sızladı kadıncağızın. Koskoca Bilge Sinan'ın, oğlu gibi çulsuz çaputsuz bir ozana kız vereceğine usu hiç yatmadı. Ne var ki oğlan yangın. Genç yaşta kara toprağı boylayacak bu gidişle... Bir dinledi, bin düşündü Bilge Sinan, “Tanrı bağışlasın, oğlun gibi oğul kolay kolay bulunmaz.” dedi sonunda, “Ancak, ince bir konu bu, benim olur dememle olmaz. Benden önce kızımın olur demesi gerek. Ne de olsa odur erine eş olacak. Anacığını çok küçük yaşta yitirdi, yüreği anadan yana yanıktır, istemediği biriyle evlendirip bir de ben yakmak istemem. İmdi sen bana üç gün izin ver, kızımın ağzını bir yoklayayım bakalım gönlü nicedir...”

I want to nullify these rumors and make money and give you forty pockets of gold as a bride price.”<sup>110</sup> (Adalı, 1972:37)

In addition, after many years when Garip earns enough money by playing his saz, in the adaptation by Adalı before he turns back for marrying Şah Senem, first, he allocates money for feeding the hungry and clothing the vulnerable. It is important to state that because while Garip is earning money for making real his marriage, he does not forget about the poor. However, because this is not always the case in older versions, for example, Türkmen (1995:22) mentions that in one version while Garip begins to earn money, he does so not for his marriage but for being rich. It is necessary to state that just like in adaptations of “Ferhat ile Şirin” struggling for love and the people could be intertwined with each other in this adaptation as well.

(Garip) went to his room behind the coffeehouse and looked at goldens he accumulated in seven years. He separated three boxes for himself. He spreaded a box of gold to the poor immediately there. He gave two boxes to the Deli Selim for not becoming poor after he went. He left one box of gold under the plane tree outside of the coffeehouse for hungry people and homelesses in order to be fed and clothed by that money.<sup>111</sup> (Adalı, 1972:66)

Moreover, Aziz Nesin’s adaptation of “Mahmut ile Nigar” seems convenient and the voice of the female character is not surpassed even though this folk romance is narrated from the perspective of a male character. Like in manis, as it is mentioned in the second chapter when Mahmut writes mani to Nigar for expressing his love, Nigar responds to him by writing mani as well and these manis show lovers’ passions.

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<sup>110</sup> (Garip) “Ağam,” dedi yanına varıp elini öptükten sonra Bilge Sinan’ın , “Sağolasın. Yok demedin, kapından çevirmedin. Ne var ki, kent, ağzı karaların sözleriyle çalkalanmakta. Aşık Garip malı mülkü için Bilge Sinan’ın kızını almak ister denmekte. İş mi Bilge Sinan’ın da yaptığı, ne idüğü belirsiz adama kız verilir mi, denmekte. Er olanın düğününde böylesi kara sözlerin gölgesi olursa olmaz. Seni de beni de tanıyan bilir, ancak tanıyanın da yüreğine kuşku girebilir. İmdi, izin verirsene, bu söylentileri, kara çalmaları boşa çıkarıp, ağzı karalara dillerini yutturmak için gidip kazanıp kızına kırk kese altın başlık vermek isterim...”

<sup>111</sup> ... kahvenin ardındaki odasına gidip yedi yılda biriktirdiği altının başında durdu. Üç sandığı kendine ayırdı. Bir sandığı yedi buçağın yoksuluna dağıttı hemen oracıkta. İkisini de Deli Selim’e armağan etti kendi gittikten sonra ak sakalıyla yok yoksul kalmasın diye. Sonuncu sandığıysa, kahvenin önündeki çınarın altına bıraktı aç kalan doysun, çıplak kalan giyinsin diye.

I am not fire but Nigar/ This is my decision/ As you burned/ I am burning  
for you/ Let what is written for our destiny be/ You are my hope/ Other  
guys are forbidden to me/ You are my Mahmut.<sup>112</sup> (Nesin, 1959:9)

Also, when coming together becomes complicated, Nigar tells Mahmut that she wants to escape with him. However, because this adaptation contains a satirical tone it is possible to see Nigar as obeying her father's rules and it seems this part made complicating the situation a bit more. In other words, because the author wants to mock the conditions of democracy, he places ambiguities in the narrative as much as possible. So, while Nigar expresses her love passionately to her lover, somehow for making the plot complex she can be seen as acting orderly as well.

Besides, it is possible to argue that, just as in other adaptations, Timuçin's narrations of "Arzu ile Kamber" and "Leyla ile Mecnun" contain similar features in terms of female characters. For example, when Arzu's father and mother do not want to let Arzu and Kamber marry, Arzu fiercely opposes and says that they are exposed to tortures repeatedly.

Are you worse than executioner/ Enough and finish it/ One person would  
be killed once/ Gallows would not be prepared every day/ When it is  
realized that he is dead, it isn't done that resurrecting him and killing him  
again/ Enough and finish it/ Banish Kamber from home/ and let me marry  
another guy/ Do it/ If you don't want to suppress my hate/ If you want to  
make me think you bigger than malignity/ Prepare my gallows, my  
executioners/ And tell others that we don't know how to live and struggle/  
Tell others that we are hang disgustingly/ Write on our tombstone that  
"They didn't die in wars, they gave up and brought their necks for  
hanging"<sup>113</sup> (Timuçin, 1969:149)

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<sup>112</sup> Ateş değil Nigar'ım/Budur benim kararım/Senin yandığın gibi/Ben de sana yanarım/Yazılan neyse  
olsun/Sen benim umudumsun/Başka er haram bana/Biricik Mahmudumsun.

<sup>113</sup> Cellattan da mı kötüsünüz/Yeter artık bitirin/Bir adamı bir kere öldürürler/Aralıksız çekmezler ipe  
her gün/Öldüğünü anlayınca diriltilip/Yeniden öldürmezler/Yeter artık bitirin/Kamber'i atın  
evden/Tutup beni de evlendirin/Yapın bunu/Bir gün bile sönsün istemezseniz kinim/Sizi kötülükten de  
büyük saymam için/Yağlayın ipinizi cellatlarım/Darağaçları kurun gönlünüzce/Yaşamayı direnmeyi  
bilmeyenler deyin/Böyle iğrençe çekilirler ipe/Sonra yazın taşımın üstüne/Savaşlarda ölmedi/Getirdi  
boynunu uzattı ipe deyin

At the end of the narrative, Arzu and Kamber escape with help of a man and come together. And then, Timuçin names their determined love as resistance.

In our world, there is no frustration since them/ They destroyed all the distances/ They made us love the faith/ They showed us the resistance/ Even if time erases long ages/ It does not erase a resisting beauty since them<sup>114</sup> (Timuçin, 1969:167)

In addition, in the adaptation of “Leyla ile Mecnun” when the mother of Leyla learns her daughter and Mecnun fall in love with each other, she tries to change Leyla’s mind and tells Leyla to obey her destiny. However, Leyla does not follow her mother’s advice and opposes her. And just like in the adaptation of “Arzu ile Kamber”, Leyla and Mecnun escape and come together. It is necessary to state that in Fuzuli’s version, lovers cannot come together and they die.

I want to write my destiny by myself/ What I don’t want cannot be my destiny/ If he is a water and I want him/ My seas could only multiply with his waters/ My skies are painted with his blue/ Let my flowers becomes green just like his green<sup>115</sup> (Timuçin, 1969:85)

It is also necessary to note that in the adaptation of “Leyla ile Mecnun”, Timuçin conceptualizes love as a struggle by directly intervening in the narrative.

Sometimes love is a struggle/ and it is killing death by faith<sup>116</sup> (Timuçin, 1969:63)

As it is mentioned in the first section of this chapter, because the traditional structure is generally preserved in Baykurt’s adaptation of “Kerem ile Aslı” if the author’s direct interventions are put aside, the reader cannot hear what Aslı thinks and Aslı does not oppose her father and obeys his rules. Uçar (2009:82) mentions that traditionally in hikaye of “Kerem ile Aslı”, Aslı’s acts do not have any effect on the storyline and

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<sup>114</sup> Dünyamızda yılgınlık onlardan beri yok/Onlar yoketti bütün uzaklıkları/İnancı bize onlar sevdirdi/Direnışı onlar gösterdi bize/Zaman silse bile uzun çağları/Direnen bir güzelliği silmez onlardan beri

<sup>115</sup> Ben alınyazımı kendim yazmak isterim/İstemediğim şey yazgım olamaz benim/O bir suysa ben onu istemişsem/Ancak onun sularıyla çoğalır denizlerim/Göklerim artık onun mavisine boyansın/Artık onun yeşiliyle yeşersin çiçeklerim

<sup>116</sup> Bir bakarsın sevgi bir kavgadır/Bir inançta ölümü vurmazdır

exceptionally seems that she is a highly passive character. Therefore, apart from the apparent direct speeches of Baykurt, the author does not change Aslı's position in the plot.

In terms of adaptations by Tarık Dursun on the other hand, there is a completely different depiction of women. As it is mentioned above, by just reserving names of folk characters, Tarık Dursun appears to describe harsh conditions that are experienced by women of urban poor. For example, in the adaptation of "Gül ile Sitemkar", when Gül was a kid, she was being raped by her aunt's husband and she has to be with different men who she does not love. And later in her life, Gül became a casino singer. Because in adaptation, the narrative just mentions talks between Gül and Sitemkar, when they are sitting on green grasses, Gül tells Sitemkar that she has to leave him since she needs to work and there is a possibility to go on tour to Anatolia as a singer and it is noteworthy to state that because Gül leaves him, she asks whether he hits her or not.

(Gül said) "I decided yesterday. I went to Bayram Street to see one of my acquaintances who is an organizer. "Now" he said and added, "work is ready for you. What if you go to Anatolia for a tour... grab your bag tomorrow, come to the office, go out with the guys". I said "Yes" yesterday and we agreed." Sitemkar stood up and wore his coat with her help. They are standing now. "Won't you say anything to me?" asked Gül and added, "One slap... Won't you hit even a single slap?". Sitemkar said, "No, I won't hit you".<sup>117</sup> (Tarık Dursun, 1972:15-16)

In addition in his adaptation of "Tahir ile Zühre", Zühre is the daughter of Tahir's uncle and when he comes to İstanbul to apply to go abroad as a worker, he stays at his uncle's home for the night. But his uncle deceives him and makes sure Tahir and Zühre sleep together that night. Because Tahir is not healthy for working abroad, he needs to go back to his village in the morning, however, before turning back he pays a

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<sup>117</sup> Dündü kararımı verdim, Bayram Sokağı'na indim, eski tanışım bir organizatörü gördüm, anlattım: "Hemen" dedi; "İş hemen hazır sana. Hele Anadolu'da bir turneye varsan, yarın al çantanı, gel yazıhaneye, çık berikilerle yola.." "Evet" dedim ona dün, anlaştık." Sitemkar ayağa kalktı, ceketini giydi kız yardım etti. Ayaktaydılar. "Bir şey demiycek misin bana?" diye sordu Gül... "Bir tokat... Bir tek tokat bile de mi vurmuyacaksın?" "Hayır vurmuyacağım."

substantial amount of money to his uncle as bride price and goes to his village with Zühre. But he realizes in the road that Zühre cannot speak and before he cuts his tongue, he rapes Zühre.

Besides, as it is mentioned in the first part, in the adaptation of “Hurşit ile Mah Mihri”, Tarık Dursun depicts clearly there is a huge class difference between the two, and because of this difference, they cannot come together. Also, rather than narrating a romantic love story, at the end of the adaptation, after Hurşit and Mah Mihri sleep together, Hurşit leaves Mah Mihri and Tarık Dursun states that such an end is inevitable for them.

Separation of Hurşit and Mah Mihri was inevitable because Hurşit was son of khan and Mah Mihri was a common person. Mah Mihri knew her place, he could not reach the place of Hurşit.<sup>118</sup> (Tarık Dursun, 1972:40)

Furthermore in his adaptation of “Sürmeli Bey”, rather than following the traditional path Tarık Dursun depicts Senem Kız as a prostitute and Sürmeli Bey as a married man and he has one child. Just like in the adaptation of “Gül ile Sitemkar”, narrative mentions talks between Senem Kız and Sürmeli Bey, and after a couple of conversations, Sürmeli Bey leaves Senem Kız. In addition, it is highly significant to note that rather than conceptualizing love as a struggle, Tarık Dursun vividly mocks the idea that “love is more important than anything” and he forces the reader to make a comparison between love and house rent, taxes, payments and so on.

Oh yes the important thing is love! Because love is bread, because love is house rent, because love is wage which is given first day of a month, because love is instalment, agency news, escape, to be televised, hiding, surrounding, a gun, a bullet, arresting, a declaration, turning back, confessing, accusing, to be estranged, taxes, removing saving bonds... At the feet of the Bosphorus Bridge on the Rumelia side, a pimp sells the girl Hayriye to a foreigner with a BMW for a thousand lira and the whole world

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<sup>118</sup> Evet ayrılık kaçınılmazdı; çünkü Hurşit bir Hanoğluydu, Mah Mihri değil. Mah Mihri kendi çizgisini biliyordu, Hurşit’in katına eremezdi.

shouts: "The important thing is our love - The important thing is our love."<sup>119</sup> (Tarık Dursun, 1972:68)

Moreover, as Orhan Şahin Gökyay (1973:31-32) states that originally one of the fundamental elements of "Deli Dumrul" is love between two lovers. In other words, because of the fact that at the end of the storyline, Dumrul's wife accepts to sacrifice her life for saving Dumrul, and for this reason God shows mercy for lovers and allows them to live a happy and long life, i.e. there is an inner reference to the collectivity of love traditionally in the plotline of Deli Dumrul. And because the epic of Deli Dumrul contains features of pre-Islamic Turkish culture, the role of women in the community and epics is more active. Therefore, it is not that difficult to sharpen organic elements of the storyline for left-oriented intellectuals. In this direction, both Suat Taşer and Güngör Dilmen highlight the importance of love.

Passenger (or Azrail): Listen to me, near me Dumrul/ Soul is not a possession for the body/ Your doors of hope were closed successively/ Only a person could help himself/ Come on let's go/ Even if a person lived long, he would die anyway.

Deli Dumrul complains as if his soul is taken from his body:

Dumrul: The bitter thing is dying without living...

Passenger: Knowing you live while living is an ability, a mind work/ Come on/ World is revolving by love/ Life without love is a lie

Dumrul: Right... Miseries of the world could not be tolerated without love.

Let's go.<sup>120</sup> (Taşer, 1962:71)

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<sup>119</sup> Ah evet, mühim olan, aşktır! Çünkü aşk ekmektir, çünkü aşk ev kirasıdır, çünkü aşk aybaşıdır, çünkü aşk taksittir, ajans haberleridir; kaçıştır, izlenmektir, saklanmaktır, kuşatmadır, tabancadır, kurşundur, tutuklamadır, gözaltıdır, bildiridir, geriye dönüştür, günah çıkartmadır, suçlamadır, yabancılaşmadır, mali denge vergisidir, tasarruf bonosunun kalkmasıdır... Boğaz Köprüsü'nün Rumeli yakasındaki ayakları dibinde pezevengin biri kızıoğlan kız Hayriye'yi bin liraya BMW'li bir 'ecnebi'ye satar ve bütün dünya haykırır: "Mühim olan aşkımız - Mühim olan aşkımız."

<sup>120</sup> Yolcu: Duy beni, işit beni Dumrul/Can gövdeye mülk değil/Kapandı umut kapıların bir bir/Kişiyse ancak kendinden fayda gelir/Davran gidelim/İnsan yaşar yaşar da gene ölür.

Deli Dumrul canı gövdesinden çekilmiş gibi söylenir:

D.Dumrul: Acı olan, yaşamadan ölmek...

Yolcu: Hüner işidir, akıl işidir/Yaşarken yaşamayı bilmek/Davran!/Aşk içre döner devran!/Aşksız geçen ömür/ Uzunlu kısalı bir yalan.

D. Dumrul: Doğru... Aşksız çekilmez bu dünyanın kahrı. Gidelim.

And even in the adaptation by Dilmen, Dumrul names his wife as “head of household” which is a clear-cut deviation from the tradition.

Elif (comes to the forefront): Oh Azrail, don’t leave me without Dumrul./ Dumrul (pushes her aside and they began quarrelling): Who will take care of our son?/ Elif: You./ Dumrul: You. Sit the hell down./ Elif: I cannot live without you./ Dumrul: Me neither./ Elif: Azrail please help/ Dumrul: Take my life Azrail./ Elif: No, not his life, take mine./ Dumrul (hits): My woman, you are head of household.<sup>121</sup> (Dilmen, 1979:69)

In his adaptation, Dilmen depicts Elif as a granddaughter of Dede Korkut and when Dede Korkut learns love between Elif and Dumrul, at first he does not want to allow them to be married. However, since Elif opposes his grandfather and criticizes him, Dede Korkut has to be convinced.

Dede Korkut: Isn’t there no man in this country other than Canguzoğlu or Deli Dumrul?/ Elif: I saw the mirror of my heart, like a still and clear water. Even though he has errors, he does not lie. I love him./ Dede Korkut: Think your virtue (Elif gives ayran to Dede Korkut. Dede Korkut drinks and makes a grimace) You rested this ayran longer than needed, this ayran soured./ Elif: I took virtue as granted under your shadow. But what will happen to virtue which is waiting without movement? What will happen to passive virtue? Beware my grandfather Korkut, your wisdom could also sour (she pours ayran to the ground)<sup>122</sup>. (Dilmen, 1979:31)

Lastly, in Taşer’s adaptation of “Kazılık Koca Oğlu Yegenek”, because Yegenek is a son of a captive, father of Kınalı Kız does not want to let his daughter be with Yegenek. However, like in almost all adaptations, Kınalı Kız strongly opposes her father.

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<sup>121</sup> Elif (atılır): Aman Azrail, beni Dumrul’suz koma./Dumrul (onu iter kavgaya tutuşurlar): Oğlumuza kim bakacak./Elif: Sen./Dumrul: Sen. Otur oturduğun yerde./Elif: Sensiz yapamam./Dumrul: Ne de ben sensiz./Elif: Azrail yetiş./Dumrul: Koma al canımı./Elif: Benim canımı./Dumrul (vurur): Kadınım evimin direği.

<sup>122</sup> Dede Korkut: Canguzoğlu’ndan Deli Dumrul’dan başka adam mı yok bu ülkede?/Elif: Yüreğinin aynasını gördüm, dupduru bir su gibi, yanılgısı var yalanı yok, gönlümü ona düşürdüm./Dede Korkut: Erdemini düşün. (Elif, Dede Korkut’a ayran sunar. Dede Korkut içince yüzünü buruşturur.) Çokça bekletmişsin, bu ayran ekşimiş!/Elif: Çokça bekletilen erdem de ekşir. Ben senin gölgede hazırda kondum erdeme. Ama durup duran erdem ne ola? Eylemsiz erdem ne ola? Beri gel, Dedem Korkut, senin bilgeliğin de ekşimesin (Ayrarı döker).

Kıvalı Kız: I cannot say yes to what my heart says no. There is no place for a lie in my love and even in the shadow of my love. Here I am telling the truth: If living is my right, loving is too. Yüğnek is my world... Whoever separates me from my world kills me./ Father: There is not a calamity worse than that. Tell me what will I do with this girl?<sup>123</sup> (Taşer, 1961:50)

Because of the fact that depiction of women and how love is conceptualized are highly important for this study in terms of showing changes in accordance with the political and ideological perspective of left-oriented intellectuals, utterances and positions of women characters in the plot require to be analyzed carefully. Thus, for a preliminary conclusion for this part of the chapter, there are three apparent strategies which are used by left-oriented intellectuals such as (1) changing utterances of female characters or giving voice to them, (2) transforming or changing the position of female characters, (3) changing space and time, and placing folk characters in different eras and different places.

### **5.3 Additional Folk Characters in the role of Helper and Changes of Traditional Helpers**

In folk romances and epics, even though the focus of the narration is generally constructed upon adventures of the main protagonist or protagonists, for making possible these adventures there are also villains or opponents, and helpers. While main folk characters, in this case, lovers, are trying to beat their enemies for coming together, on the one hand, in this struggle or battle they are not alone and taking some support from various helpers on the other hand. Although this characteristic is also the case for adaptations, the way left-oriented intellectuals depict characters who fulfill the role of helper and additional characters for this role could differ from traditional examples.

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<sup>123</sup> Kıvalı Kız: Gönlümün hayır dediğine dilim evet diyemez. Sevgimde değil yalana, yalanın gölgesine bile yer yok! İşte gerçeği söylüyorum: Yaşamak hakkımsa sevmek de hakkımdır. Yüğnek benim dünyam... Beni dünyamdan ayıran canımdan ayırmış olur./Baba:... Bir baba için felaketin bundan beteri olamaz. Söyle ne yapayım ben bu kızı?

From the perspective which Propp (1968:20) and Greimas (1987:107) provide, characters in the narrative have specific functions or actantial roles. In this sense, adventures or events which characters experience occurred in accordance with a combination of different functions of characters or actantial roles. Although Propp and Greimas propose distinct structures for narratives, both of them analyze critical events in the narrative in relation to the characters of those events. And in line with this understanding by changing or transforming the function of characters or adding new ones who fulfill the role of helper in the narrative, left-oriented intellectuals actually change characteristics of the plotline totally.

Apart from folk characters who are in the role of helper, it is necessary to state that consciousness or belief in better futures of folk characters has significant importance in these adaptations as well. In other words, while they are taking help from others in some cases, when there is no help from others they are basically relying on their own strength which is motivated by consciousness and confidence for a better future, which helps them to move on. From this point of view, in almost all adaptations by left-oriented intellectuals, while folk characters are resisting, they are depending on themselves and the people, who help them to overcome hardships they face.

However, it is necessary to note that in adaptations by Tarık Dursun because he prefers to depict characters from a pessimistic point of view, he does not specify any variable, which gives folk characters a favor. So, the characteristic of taking help from the people or collective struggle of lovers who take no help from outside can be applied to adaptations with the exception of Tarık Dursun's texts.

Therefore, when folk characters face difficulties and seek to obviate them, they could find strength and hope in themselves and the people or a person who is depicted as representative of the people, as a helper for resisting injustices. Without taking advantage of any of them or both, folk characters cannot cope with challenges. Although help from outside is a common feature of folk narratives, such as from ordinary fellows, Hızır (the master saint of travelers), powerful or wealthy rulers and so on, can help folk characters (Başgöz, 2008:139-140), it is possible to argue variables

such as the people as a social body, collectivity and sharpened belief or hope for better futures of folk characters are new phenomena in terms of folk narratives. Apart from Tarık Dursun's adaptations, in narratives which this study focuses on, either one or another can be instrumentalized by left-oriented intellectuals in accordance with the storyline.

For example, in the adaptation of "Ferhat ile Şirin" by Talip Apaydın, when Mümine Banu decides to build a palace for Şirin, she does not determine who makes the construction, instead, she takes advice from talented architects of her country and delegates decision-making process to them. Shortly thereafter architects come together and decide collectively how the palace will be constructed and who will take responsibility for this assignment. Although, traditionally in older versions of "Ferhat ile Şirin" there had been mentioned only Ferhat's father and Ferhat (Özarslan, 2006:77) in terms of construction of the palace, in the adaptation by Apaydın architects take all decisions and make building collectively. Therefore Ferhat's father and Ferhat are just parts of this collectivity, i.e. they are not isolated.

Architects discussed for hours. Everyone wants to build a palace which will be made for Şirin. Because it is an honorable job. This is a job by which an architect could be proud of for lifetime. The wage as a value of this job will be of course higher. One of the architects said, "Let's not make this discussion long" and added, "While Rüstem Usta is still living, none of us could do this job. He is the master of all of us. Although he is old, he could overcome this job. He taught profession to lots of apprentices. We will help him. Therefore this palace will become a result of our collective work". Other architects agree with him and say "right". They agree that the palace should be built together under the responsibility of Rüstem Usta.<sup>124</sup> (Apaydın, 1965:7-8)

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<sup>124</sup> Mimarlar saatlerce tartışır. Herkes Şirin için yapılacak sarayı kendisi yapsın ister. Çünkü bu şerefli bir iş. Bu bir mimarın ömrünce öğüneceği bir iş. Alacağı ücret de elbet o oranda yüksek olacaktır. İçlerinden birisi; Arkadaşlar uzun etmiyelim, der. Rüstem usta sağken bu iş hiçbirimize düşmez. O hepimizin ustasıdır. Yaşlıdır ama gene de o kalkar bu yapının altından. Bunca yetiştirdiği kalfaları, çırakları var. Bizler de yardım ederiz. Böylece bu saray hepimizin eseri olur. Mimarlar "doğru" derler. Sarayın Rüstem ustanın sorumluluğu altında birlikte yapılmasını kabul ederler.

Moreover, shortly after Ferhat and Şirin collectively drill mountains, instead of directly mentioning how they feel, what they do, or how Mümine Banu will react, Apaydın narrates how people feel and react to this development. As it is mentioned in the first part of this chapter drilling mountains in adaptations of “Ferhat ile Şirin”, which this study analyzes, is made not only for love but also for solving problems or miseries of people. So, in this sense even though it seems it is one of the insignificant parts of the narration, describing acts of the people is highly important for constructing meaning in narrative and by doing so folk characters can be conceptualized as champions of the people.

This was a big event in the country. Drums and zurnas were played and festivals were organized. Young people danced and played halay. The pouring of the water into the marble pool was greeted with enthusiastic applause. Sacrificial animals were slaughtered. Meals and drinks were distributed to all the townspeople. The people feasted sincerely. The hero of the day was of course Ferhat. He was carried on the shoulders. “Ya ya ya! şa şa şa! Long live Ferhat!” they shouted.<sup>125</sup> (Apaydın, 1965:34)

In this adaptation, Ferhat and Şirin could not come together and at the end of the story when they die, grievances and anger of the people are narrated that they want revenge for the death of Ferhat and Şirin. This feature is significant to notice because Özarslan (2006:83) mentions one older version of “Ferhat ile Şirin” in which sister of Şirin does not want to allow them to come together and rejects the idea of a marriage of Ferhat and Şirin, and then one part of the people acknowledge sister of Şirin as right, and the other part thinks Ferhat and his father as right. Thus, rather than showing solidarity for expressing the thought of the people as a whole, these two different parts of the people start fighting with each other. So, because cooperation of the people is not that common in tradition, it is possible to argue that this solidarity among people is a deliberative choice of Apaydın which reflects his political and ideological perspective.

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<sup>125</sup> Ülkede büyük bir olay oldu bu. Davul zurnalar dövüldü, eylenceler yapıldı. Gençler halay çekip oynadılar. Suyun mermer havuza dökülüşi coşkun alkışlarla karşılandı. Kurbanlar kesildi. Bütün şehir halkına yemekler içkiler dağıtıldı. Halk tam bir içtenlikle bayram yaptı. Günün kahramanı elbette Ferhat’tı. Omuzlara alınıp taşındı. “Ya ya ya! şa şa şa! Ferhat Ferhat çok yaşa!” diye bağırıldı.

The cries were replaced by anger, instead of sorrow. Everyone started looking for the malicious nanny. Especially young people say, “Where is that witch, where is that enemy of humans, where is that damn woman!” they started shouting.<sup>126</sup> (Apaydın, 1965:86)

Apart from these examples, folk characters take help from ordinary fellows and a wealthy person such as Safinaz who assists them to live their love, a merchant who rescues Ferhat from prison, Hürmüz Bey who makes war with Mümine Banu because she does not allow Ferhat and Şirin come together and both for ensuring Mumine Banu takes a lesson and helping lovers, Hürmüz Bey launches a war against Mümine Banu. However, it is necessary to state that although hope or belief in a better future, in line with romantic revolutionary character as it is stated in the fourth chapter, is not stated distinctively in this adaptation, the struggle for the love of characters could inherently indicate the principle of hope. In other words, because lovers believe in a better future or they have faith in a change in the future, they can continue to challenge by nature, i.e. it is possible to suggest that without hope for a better future motivation for transformation may not be fuelled. Therefore, in this sense struggle or resistance of folk characters against hardships could be evaluated as one of the immanent features of folk narratives.

Furthermore, although in older versions of “Kerem ile Aslı” when Kerem hits the road for finding Aslı, elites of different countries which Kerem visits make help for Kerem or random fellows from ordinary people can do little favors for Kerem (Duymaz, 2001:57-73), in the adaptation by Fakir Baykurt, people as a social body make help for Kerem. When they see Kerem as he is searching for Aslı, they show their resentment against the father of Aslı, give help for searching Aslı and her father collectively, i.e. the voice of the people could be heard clearly. By using the voice of the people, Baykurt clearly expresses his political and ideological views from the mouths of the people.

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<sup>126</sup> Ağlamalar üzülmeler yerini öfkeye bıraktı. Herkes kötü niyetli dadıyı aramağa başladı. Hele gençler “nerede o cazı, nerede o insan düşmanı, nerede o adı batasica!” diye bağırmaya başladılar.

Kerem was encircled by the people there. One said, “We are Muslims, there is no such disgrace, what this monk (father of Aslı) did is shameful!”. Another said, “We are Christians, there is no such disgrace, what this monk did is cruel!”. Educated people, wise ones and poets said, “Although their religions are different, they love each other. What this monk did is shameful!”. One man from the crowd with white beard said, “Let’s move friends” and added, “Let’s bring these two lovers together. It would become a beautiful legacy for the world”. The people liked the idea of this man and said, “Let’s find them”.<sup>127</sup> (Baykurt, 1964:55-56)

In addition, when Kerem feels exhausted and thinks he may not be successful in finding Aslı, Baykurt notes in narration that Kerem can continue to search for Aslı with his hope for a better future.

There was such a hope in Kerem, such a hope that after passing a few towns and villages, he thinks he will find Aslı. As if he puts Aslı there by his hands... There was such a hope in Kerem...<sup>128</sup> (Baykurt, 1964:28-29)

Also, at the beginning of the story, after mentioning both the sultan and his vizier cannot have a child in narration, a wise old man gives them some seeds and tells them that when they grow those seeds in a garden, they will have children. And then the sultan and his vizier build a beautiful garden and sow seeds, shortly afterward they have children. However, after Baykurt narrates this episode, he directly intervenes and tells his thoughts about hope and the power of hope.

Then they ran to their wives. They explained with hope what happened from the scratch. Hope, hope, hope! Is there anything like hope? They hugged their wives with that hope. They lifted the heavy, held the high.<sup>129</sup> (Baykurt, 1964:10)

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<sup>127</sup> Halk orada da Keremin çevresini aldı. Kimi diyordu: “Biz müslümanız, böyle rezalet olmaz. Bu keşişin yaptığı ayıp!” Kimi diyordu: “Biz hristiyanız, böyle rezalet olmaz. Bu keşişin yaptığı zulüm!” Okumuş kimseler, bilginler, şairler: “Dinleri ayrı imiş ne çıkar, gönülleri bir! Keşişin yaptığı çok ayıp!” diyorlardı... Kalabalıktan ak sakallı bir adam: “Durmalıyım dostlar,” dedi... “Bu iki sevdalıyı kavuşturalım. Dünyaya bir güzel gelenek olur.” Halk bu sakallı adamın fikrini beğendi: “Bulalım, bulalım” diyerek dağıldılar.

<sup>128</sup> Keremin içinde öyle bir umut, öyle bir umut vardı ki, birkaç kasaba, birkaç köy geçtikten sonra Aslıyı buluverecek. Sanki eliyle koymuş gibi... İçinde öyle bir umut vardı ki...

<sup>129</sup> Sonra karılarına koştular. Olanı biteni, umutla, baştan sona anlattılar. Umut, umut, umut! Umut gibisi var mı? O umutla karılarına sarıldılar. Ağırları kaldırdılar, yüksekleri tuttular.

Besides, Kerem and his friend Sofu search for Aslı by visiting different cities and countries, since their horses die because of cold weather, and in turn, they need to continue their journey on foot. And then while trying to find someplace for staying and taking a rest for a while, they encounter wolves and Baykurt clearly states the inner voices that they fear for losing their hope.

They were afraid of losing their hope<sup>130</sup> (Baykurt, 1964:37)

Furthermore, in the adaptation of “Tahir ile Zühre” by Ceyhun Atuf Kansu when injustices against Tahir and Zühre are heard by the people, they are revolting against the landlord and this characteristic had been never seen in older variations of this folk narrative. Thus, it seems apparent that Kansu frankly directs his political and ideological thoughts by using the voice of the people, i.e. Kansu instrumentalizes the voice of the people as a political tool.

Hypocrisy of the landlord was heard in the village. The people gathered and went to the mansion of the landlord and raised their voices against him who made cruelties to Tahir who educated peasant children, brought water to the village and minstrel. They said, “Enough! We are peasant not henchmen of the cruel!”. One by one, they united and spoke with one mind and raised their voices: “Enough this cruelty! How dare you to untie what God tied? Village teacher brought water to this village, what did you bring? What a cruelty for a teacher who brought water to our dry soils and taught writing to children”.<sup>131</sup> (Kansu, 1972:44-45)

As in other adaptations mentioned above, when Tahir and Zühre try to drill mountains and bring water for the people because this assignment is not easy to accomplish

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<sup>130</sup> Umutlarını yitirmekten korkuyorlardı.

<sup>131</sup> Ağanın döneği de bu sırada köyde duyulmuş. Çocuklarını okutan, köye su çeşme getiren, aşıklar aşığı, sevgi öğretmeni Tahir’e ağanın ettiği bu zulme: “Yeter artık be!” demişler, “köylüysek, zulmün yardakçısı, bekçisi de değiliz ya” deyip çeşme başından, kalabalık halde varmışlar ağa konağının kapısına... Tek tek, her kafadan; birlik olup bir kafadan söylemişler, seslerini yükseltmişler: “Zulüm yeter artık!”, “Tanrının bağladığını sen nasıl çözersin?”, “Köy öğretmeni Tahir su getirdi bu köye, sen ne getirdin söyle?”, “Susuz topraklarımıza su getiren, bebelerimize kara yazı öğretene bu ne zulüm?”

somehow Tahir gets desperate and Zühre refreshes his hope by telling him courageous expressions.

Tahir thinks, “We could not find water yet. We need to put water pipes on and bring water to tap” and with these thoughts sometimes he gets desperate. Zühre gives him strength, hope, support and help by saying “this water will be poured out, these water pipes will be put on, this water will go to the village, it will pour like a flood Tahir”.<sup>132</sup> (Kansu, 1972:41)

In addition, it is also highly important to note that while Kansu mentioning in his depiction Tahir and Zühre are in collaboration with each other for overcoming hardships, he vividly criticizes older variations in which folk characters had been described as soppy and impotent by directly intervening in the narration.

The old tearful lovers remained in the old times, the new lovers give each other strength and hope. Instead of crying and complaining, they are working, laying pipes on the soil of their love all together.<sup>133</sup> (Kansu, 1972:42)

Besides, Türkmen (2015:43) states clearly that in older variations of “Tahir ile Zühre”, obstacles for the marriage of Tahir and Zühre have been created almost always by Zühre’s mother. In other words, traditionally Zühre’s mother is one of the villains or opponents in the folk narrative. However, in the adaptation by Kansu, Zühre’s mother is one of the helpers who want folk characters to get married against the landlord. After Zühre’s mother hears the tricks of her landlord husband, she raises her voice and shows her opposition against injustices.

Wife of the landlord listened to what he told. She ran out of her patience and said: “Landlord, landlord! Enough of your cruelty. You are repeatedly deceiving Tahir. Fathers let their daughter marry their lovers without

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<sup>132</sup> Daha suyu bulamadık, bunu künk döşemesi var, suyu çeşmeye bağlaması var diye bazı bazı Tahir’i bir umutsuzluktur alıyormuş. Zühre dayanıyor: “Bu su çıkacak Tahir, bu künk döşenecek Tahir, bu su köye inecek, çeşmeden gürül gürül akacak Tahir!” diye ona güç, umut veriyor, dayanak destek oluyor, yardım ediyormuş.

<sup>133</sup> Eski gözü yaşlı aşıklar, eski zamanlarda kaldı, yeni aşıklar birbirlerine güç veriyorlar, umut aşıyorlarmış. Ağlayıp dökmek yerine, iş yapıyorlar, aşklarının toprağına hep birlikte künk döşüyorlarmış.

causing troubles... If you don't permit, I do. Isn't Zühre my daughter?"<sup>134</sup>  
(Kansu, 1972:44)

Moreover, in the adaptation of "Aşık Garip" by Bilgin Adalı, it is also possible to see the collective anger of the people against injustices that folk characters live through. As it is mentioned in the first part of this chapter, when Aşık Garip comes across Molla Kasım after Molla Kasım refuses to host Aşık Garip in his house and Aşık Garip feels offended and gets angry, a group of people tries to convince aşık to stay in the house of Molla Kasım and one of them as representative harshly criticizes the rich man. Like it is stated before this part is completely new in the storyline of Aşık Garip.

After realizing what a bad man he encountered in the big city, would Garip stand there? Garip said, "My friends, I am grateful to all of you. However, it is better to go to the mountains and fall prey to birds and wolfs" and he attempted to go. However, people from the neighborhood did not allow him to go. Deli Mehmet said the best word again: "Where are you going, Aşık? They don't eat or drink what they have but hide it even from themselves. Because of this reason it is a good deed in the name of God to stay at such people's houses for a time of drinking a cup of coffee, not to mention staying one night. Once you get an opportunity, you should take whatever you can from them. Go and bring your mother and sister and stay in the house of this sinister how much time you want."<sup>135</sup> (Adalı, 1972:22)

As is the case in other adaptations, it seems in this episode Adalı uses the voices of the people as a medium of directing his political and ideological views. In other words, while Deli Memet criticizes the behavior of Molla Kasım, he actually states Adalı's views of the rich. In addition, Türkmen (1995:18) remarks that in older variations of "Aşık Garip", the saz master of the Garip encourages him to leave Tebriz and go to

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<sup>134</sup> Ağanın bu sözlerini karısı dinlermiş. Artık sabrı, dayancı kalmamış, çıkmış orta yere: "Ağa! Ağa! Koca ağa! Bu zulüm de yetti artık. Tahir'i aldatıp duruyorsun. Kızını veren sevdiğine naz etmeden verir... Sen vermiyorsan kızını, ben veriyorum kızımı. Zühre benim kızım değil mi?" demiş.

<sup>135</sup> Koca kentte bula bula kimi bulduğunu anladıktan sonra daha durur mu orada Garip? "Kardeşler, var olasınız. Ne var ki, böyle bir adamın evinde kalacağıma giderim dağlara, kuşa kurda yem olurum daha iyi." diyerek dönüp gitmek istediye de, bırakmadı konu komşu. En doğru sözü gene Deli Memet söyledi: "Nereye be Aşık? Yemeyip içmeyip üstüne yattıkları, yedirip içirmeyip kendileri bile dışından kokladıkları için, böylelerinin evinde değil bir gece bir kahve içmekliğine konuk olmak bile Tanrı katında sevaptır. Buldun mu sırtından bir kıl olsun koparacaksın domuz dediğinin. Git getir ananı bacını da kal evinde dilediğin şu uğursuzun."

Tiflis just because he is jealous of Garip. However, in the adaptation by Adalı, the saz master does so because he has respect for Garip, gives him a saz, and tells him that for making his saz happy he needs to find Şah Senem with visiting country by country.

“You came to me and called me master but you are better than me. I have never heard in my life such a playing a saz and such a singing. Now you don’t need a master but you need a beautiful saz... This is a tradition of minstrels, this saz is yours from now on, make it cry or laugh it is your choice. But I have advice for you, if you want to make your saz laugh, you need to find your lover.”<sup>136</sup> (Adalı, 1972:17-18)

Apart from these examples, in almost all adaptations of Afşar Timuçin, there is a special emphasis on the hope of lovers for better futures. Both male and female characters remind themselves repeatedly that the only power they have is their own hope. In four adaptations, namely “Ferhat ile Şirin”, “Tahir ile Zühre”, “Leyla ile Mecnun” and “Arzu ile Kamber”, when folk characters face hardships and challenges, they can resist by relying on their hope for uniting. Instead of giving up the struggle, characters usually talk about their hope and faith for a better future. For example, verses of Şirin to Ferhat, which are mentioned in the second part of this chapter, are highly relevant in this sense. When Ferhat says to Şirin that he feels somehow he cannot create beautiful artifacts anymore, Şirin opposes him and convinces him to continue by saying “you are a hope”.

You are hope of an eternal/ How can you stand still for reborning/ You are always a song of unlasting/ How could you bow to desperations<sup>137</sup>  
(Timuçin, 1969:101)

Also, after Ferhat and Şirin drill mountains and bring water to the city, Şirin conceptualizes this water as hope.

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<sup>136</sup> “Usta dedin yanıma vardın, benden usta çıktın. Bu yaşıma geldim böyle saz, böyle söz duymadım ben. Bundan geri sana usta değil, teline vuracak saz gerek... Töresi böyledir ozanlığın, elindeki saz senindir bundan böyle, ister güldür ister ağlat. Ne var ki diyeceğim şudur sana, sazını güldürebilmek için sevdiğinin yamacına varman gerek.”

<sup>137</sup> Sen ki hep bir sonsuzun umudusun/Nasıl durur kalırsın yeniden doğmalara/Sen ki hep bir bitmezsin şarkısısın/Nasıl boyun eğersin çaresiz kalmalara.

Days are passing by waiting/ They don't bring fear if you believe/ Even though whole country grudged what you want/ You brought hope from insurmountable mountains/ Time is song for you to be sang/ It says if you are tired of screams/ Before ships of hope drowning/ Sail to the other seas<sup>138</sup> (Timuçin, 1969:119)

When Şirin tries to escape from the palace for meeting with Ferhat, she names the watchman of the palace as “my companion” and says to him that his eyes are hope, and then watchmen allow her to go and help folk characters for being together.

Anyway, my path is drawn / I either said Ferhat or death / O my comrade, your eyes are hope/ Let me go.<sup>139</sup> (Timuçin, 1969:122)

Moreover, at the beginning of the adaptation of “Tahir ile Zühre”, when introducing folk characters, Timuçin describes Tahir's gazes as “hope in the sky”.

The vizier had a son, and his gaze is a time full of hope floating in the sky<sup>140</sup> (Timuçin, 1969:18)

In addition, just like Şirin, Zühre names what Tahir does or makes as hope, as well.

Days are passing and time is stretching like a hope... You should carry hope from nights to days... Do I bow to fears, anger or laws?<sup>141</sup> (Timuçin, 1969:21)

In the adaptation of “Leyla ile Mecnun”, Timuçin describes Leyla as hope, too.

Leyla is a bundle of hope of our world<sup>142</sup> (Timuçin, 1969:55)

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<sup>138</sup> Günler birer bekleyiştir geçilir/İnancında getirmez bir korkuyu/Koca şehir sana çok görse de/Aşılmaz dağlardan taşıdığın umudu/Sana zaman bir şarkıdır söylenir/Der ki çılgınlardan yorgunsan eğer/Umut gemileri batmadan daha/Kendini başka bir maviliğe ver.

<sup>139</sup> Nasıl olsa yolum çizili benim/Ben ya Ferhat demişim ya da ölüm/Ey benim yoldaşım umut gözlüm/Bırak beni gideyim.

<sup>140</sup> Vezirin bir oğlu olmuş, bakışı gökte yüzen umut dolu bir zaman

<sup>141</sup> Günler geçer uzar zaman umut gibi... Bir umut taşımalsın gecelerden gündüzlere... Korkuları öfkeleri yasaları dinler miyim

<sup>142</sup> Leyla umut demeti dünyamızın

In the adaptation of “Arzu ile Kamber”, on the other hand, Timuçin states that lovers are struggling for their love with their hope or hope, which they have, is motivated by their love.

They created their struggle out of fears/Fear has not been known since them/ Their hope was made of absolute love<sup>143</sup> (Timuçin, 1969:166)

Besides, in the adaptation of “Mahmut ile Nigar” by Aziz Nesin, when Nigar responds to Mahmut’s manis with hers, as it is mentioned in the second part of this chapter, Nigar names Mahmut as “her hope”.

Let what is written for our destiny be/ You are my hope/ Other guys are forbidden to me/ You are my Mahmut<sup>144</sup> (Nesin, 1959:9)

On the other hand, when it comes to adaptations of parts of the Book of Dede Korkut, even though the hope of lovers for better futures in a romantic revolutionary sense does not seem that apparent, it could be argued that because lovers believe in a better future and with this motivation they continue to struggle, the hope of achieving and coming together may be assessed as one of the innate characteristics of folk narratives by nature. Therefore, although in adaptations of “Deli Dumrul” and “Kazılık Koca Oğlu Yegenek” there is not a special emphasis on the hope of lovers, it does not mean traces of hope of characters cannot be found in these texts.

For example, in the adaptation of “Deli Dumrul” by Suat Taşer, despite the fact that after Dumrul takes his lesson and swears to be “hope of hopeless” (Taşer, 1962:57) or at the end of the story when the author is telling his last words as if he is Dede Korkut, he wishes for the reader that “I hope your hope will not be broken” (Taşer, 1962:82), those do not seem to have special importance in narration or they seem as if they are narrated ordinarily.

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<sup>143</sup> Direnci korkulardan yarattılar/Korku onlardan beri tanınmadı/Umutları eksiksiz sevgidendi

<sup>144</sup> Yazılan neyse olsun/Sen benim umudumsun/Başka er haram bana/Biricik Mahmudumsun

Furthermore, in the adaptation of “Kazılık Koca Oğlu Yegenek” by Suat Taşer, when Bayındır Han thinks he can fail to win the war, one of his beys (men) says him “do not lose your hope, my lord” (Taşer, 1961:32) and when Kınalı Kız and her lover Yegenek are talking with each other because there are obstacles for marrying Kınalı Kız says “they killed our hope, our dream, our imagination” (Taşer, 1961:45), and also Yegenek tells Kınalı Kız that “the hope of coming together does not completely vanish” (Taşer, 1961:46). Hence, in the light of these examples, although finding traces of hope is possible in adaptations by Taşer, they seem they are not significant for the storyline, unlike other examples.

Besides, in this adaptation of “Deli Dumrul”, it is possible to encounter the anger of the people as it is in other adaptations. When Deli Dumrul and the old man, who is one of the ordinary people, are talking with each other, Taşer clearly states that the anger of the old man represents the anger of the people.

There was a thick, heavy and dark fear in the air... In this fear, they were gnashing their teeth and clenching their fists.<sup>145</sup> (Taşer, 1962:14)

In addition, in the adaptation of “Deli Dumrul” by Güngör Dilmen special emphasis is on the collectivity of lovers, as it is mentioned in the second part of this chapter, instead of apparently stating the hope of lovers. So, it is possible to note that the hope or belief of lovers for better futures in the adaptation by Dilmen is one of the insignificant elements of narration. Lastly, as it is stated in the very beginning of this section of the chapter, adaptations by Tarık Dursun specify neither hope of lovers nor collectivity between the people and characters. Because of the fact that he narrates his adaptations from a very pessimistic perspective rather than struggling for a better future, his folk characters are depicted in harsh conditions they are dealing with.

Within this frame, it is especially important to note that situating the people as a helper for lovers has a distinct ideological and political significance. As it is stated before

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<sup>145</sup> Havada kalın, ağır, kara bir korku... Korkunun içinde kalabalığın dış gıcırtiları, sıkılmış yumrukları...

that for example in Kemalist versions of folk narratives the people are depicted as pupils and they do not have any emancipatory power. However, in adaptations by left-oriented intellectuals, they have transformative power, and even in some cases, lovers could not come together without their help. In this sense, such a transformation is highly important.

On the other hand, even though the characteristic of hope or belief of lovers for better seems negligible in narratives, because this characteristic consolidates the collectivity between lovers and their love as a struggle, it cannot be put aside in this sense. Therefore, on the one hand, collectivity between the people and folk characters is reinforced by situating the people as a helper, and collectivity between lovers is strengthened by highlighting their confidence in themselves and for a better future.

All in all, as a preliminary conclusion for this part of the chapter, it is possible to argue that apart from Tarık Dursun, left-oriented intellectuals change traditional helpers or add new characters in the role of the helper in folk narratives and instrumentalize (1) hope or belief of lovers for better future and (2) voice of people, and by doing so it seems they emphasize the importance of collectivity for the struggle against injustices.

#### **5.4 Concluding Remarks**

This chapter has examined major and minor changes and transformations in storylines of folk narratives adapted by left-oriented intellectuals. It has been pointed out that by using different literary strategies leftist intellectuals instrumentalized folk narratives for expressing their political and ideological thoughts. However, it is shown that rather than suggesting just one approach, there are different approaches among intellectuals which mean rather than being identical, adaptations have some differences as well.

In the first part of the chapter, the dominant conflict between the oppressed and oppressors in adaptations is analyzed. It was seen that even though how intellectuals construct this conflict in the storyline could change, in general, the sharpened conflict between these two reflects itself on narration very vividly. Because folk narratives represent wishes, desires, and thoughts of the people and take a stand in favor of them,

in this particular time period left-oriented intellectuals appear to use this unique characteristic in an organized way. In other words, while folk narratives have intrinsically protest character against oppressors and on the side of the oppressed, left-oriented intellectuals sharpen this conflict by imposing apparent class differences. From this perspective, it is possible to see Ferhat as a worker, Deli Dumrul as a landlord, Tahir as a graduate of a village institute, and village teacher, Şirin as the daughter of the people. Thus, in general, it seems it is possible to argue that left-oriented intellectuals have transformed “folk characters in themselves” into “folk character for themselves”. In other words, folk characters struggle with the oppressors on the basis of class struggle by consciousness and collectivity. In this sense, it is trying to be shown that while folk characters struggle for overcoming difficulties arising from this conflict, left-oriented intellectuals express their political and ideological thoughts.

In the second part of the chapter, on the other hand, the depiction of female characters and conceptualization of love between characters are examined. Even though these two elements can differ depending on characteristics of the author or storyteller, features of audience or readers, and folkloric genre in which narration is constructed, this chapter is trying to show that in terms of almost all adaptations there are common attributes which are a depiction of strong female characters and conceptualization of love as a collective struggle. Although in this sense, it is stated that adaptations by Tarık Dursun are exceptional because of his pessimistic stance, in other adaptations both male and female characters struggle for his/her love. Thus, by depicting female characters as strong, it is possible to conceptualize love as a collective struggle as well, which means these two elements are highly intertwined with each other.

Finally, in the third part of the chapter, characters who fulfill the role of helper and support folk characters for achieving their goal are studied. It is trying to be shown that even though some traditional helpers can be seen in adaptations such as Hızır (the master saint of travelers), powerful and wealthy rulers, ordinary fellows, it appears that left-oriented intellectuals add new ones to them. This is mainly the people as a social body. In addition to this, it is stated that the hope of lovers for a better future and the people are important elements that make possible the struggle of folk characters. In

other words, without these elements folk characters cannot move on. Interestingly, this argument can be crosschecked by examining adaptations by Tarık Dursun. It is shown that because these two elements do not exist in adaptations by Tarık Dursun, characters do not struggle for anything at all. Thus, in general, by supplementing new elements, left-oriented intellectuals make it possible to express collective features of the struggle of folk characters. And as it is trying to be revealed that conceptualization of the people as a helper has an important ideological and political meaning because it reflects the leftist understanding of populism which could be summarized as “for the people with the people”.



## **CHAPTER 6**

### **CONCLUSION**

In this study, by analyzing sixteen adaptations of folk narratives written by left-oriented intellectuals in the 1960s and 1970s, I have attempted to show how left-oriented intellectuals reinterpreted folk materials and transformed literary characteristics of those materials in accordance with their political and ideological perspectives. To this end, I have tried to answer how the dominant conflict between folk characters and their enemies was constructed, how the love of folk characters was reconceptualized, and what kind of new actants were added in narratives. What I would argue at the end of this analysis is that by turning folk materials into political and ideological tools, left-oriented intellectuals tried to articulate themes of folk culture into their discourse and by transforming, changing traditional features of narratives and adding new elements to them, they depicted conscious folk characters which rebel against injustices and oppressions and made them champions of the people.

Within this frame, this study suggests that leftist imagination handled and processed materials of folk culture in the 1960s and 1970s and in this sense, the reinterpretation of folk culture from the left brought a new understanding of the folk materials and a different depiction of folk characters. Therefore, for expressing their political and ideological thoughts from the mouths of popular folk characters, left-oriented intellectuals conceptualized Ferhat as a worker, depicted Deli Dumrul as a landlord, reimagined Şirin as a daughter of the people, and described Tahir as a village teacher.

To arrive at such a conclusion about adaptations of folk romances and stories, I have analyzed literary characteristics of both adaptations and traditional versions of folk narratives. In this regard it is important to state that for revealing how left-oriented

intellectuals transformed the meaning of folk narratives, showing what traditional characteristics of those narratives were and comparing them is necessary for the analysis. Within this frame, first of all, while what kind of dominant conflict was encoded in leftist adaptations has been trying to be revealed, what kind of dominant conflict was in traditional versions of folk narratives has been reviewed. In this sense, it has been shown that while leftist adaptations have an apparent dominant conflict which is between the oppressed and oppressors and/or the poor and the rich, in traditional versions it is not possible to suggest clear-cut pictures, and characteristics of different folk materials in any kind were highly complicated and even it is possible to encounter contradictory examples in older versions. While in heroic folk narratives such as *Köroğlu* epics it could be seen resentment against the rich and oppressors, it is not possible to see such a characteristic in folk romances, or in humorous folk narratives oppositional character is not expressed in an explicit way, instead, it is put ambivalently. Therefore, this thesis argues that leftist adaptations of folk romances, in which there was not an apparent dominant conflict between the oppressed and oppressors or the poor and the rich, transformed the traditional characteristics of those narratives and encoded dominant conflict between the oppressed and oppressors frankly.

For example, it has been shown that while Tahir and Zühre were children of powerful and rich rulers in traditional versions, in the adaptation by Ceyhun Atuf Kansu, Tahir is depicted as a village teacher and Zühre was depicted as a daughter of a landlord. While in traditional versions love of Tahir and Zühre was hampered by individual reasons, their love is trying to be restrained because of class differences in the adaptation by Kansu. In this sense, in traditional versions, the father of Zühre wants her to marry another guy because he is a cruel ruler or the mother of Zühre tries to prevent this marriage because she loves Tahir, etc. However, in the adaptation by Kansu, the father of Zühre does not want her to marry Tahir because he is a landlord and thinks Tahir as a village teacher is not worthy for the daughter of a landlord. In this sense, it is possible to argue that dominant conflict is functionalized as a main organizational principle in leftist adaptations and it determines the way folk characters and plotlines are depicted.

In terms of transforming dominant conflict, it has been revealed that because folk materials are social terrains in which different political and ideological sides struggle with each other over the meaning of those materials, left-oriented intellectuals tried to transform not only the meaning of traditional versions but also the meaning of preceded adaptations. In this sense, for example, it has been shown that while Behçet Kemal Çağlar as a Kemalist intellectual conceptualized Ferhat as a symbol of transportation policy of the Republic, Talip Apaydın depicted Ferhat as a worker and one of the people. This dramatic example shows that drilling mountains as a main traditional characteristic of Ferhat has been subjected to changes and transformations by different ideological and political reinterpretations. In other words, while Ferhat drills mountains for propagandizing transportation policy of the Republic from Kemalist perspective, from the leftist perspective he drills mountains for the people and brings them water for preventing their deaths.

Within this frame, it is possible to argue in general that by encoding dominant conflict between the oppressed and oppressors to folk romances and stories, left-oriented intellectuals transformed “folk characters in themselves” to “folk characters for themselves”. In other words, for overcoming obstacles that arose from the aforementioned dominant conflict, left-oriented intellectuals gave consciousness to popular folk characters and they act throughout plotlines in accordance with this consciousness. This classification is made by referencing Karl Marx’s conceptualization of “class in itself” and “class for itself” and in a similar way to that Marx implied, in this thesis folk characters with unorganized and individual grievances against injustices and oppressors are conceptualized as “folk characters in themselves”, and folk characters with conscious and collective struggle conceptualized as “folk characters for themselves”.

In line with this argument, secondly, this thesis has analyzed how the love between folk characters was depicted and shown that left-oriented intellectuals conceptualized love between male and female folk characters as a struggle, and for strengthening the collective aspect of this struggle they changed the depiction of traditional female characters as well. In other words, unlike their traditional depictions, female characters

in these adaptations gain appearances of active strugglers just like their male counterparts. For example, while in traditional examples it is not possible to see helping of Şirin to Ferhat when drilling mountains, in leftist adaptations Ferhat and Şirin drill mountains collectively, and in almost all adaptations heroines and heroes help each other. In this sense, even though traditionally it is not possible to see powerful heroines both in folk romances and stories, left-oriented intellectuals seem to make the positions of heroines and heroes in narratives equal as much as possible.

In addition, thirdly, this thesis analyzed the additional characters or actants in the role of helper and revealed that left-oriented intellectuals situate the people as a helper in the narratives and this characteristic is a clear-cut representation of their understanding of left populism which could be summarized as “for the people, with the people”. In this sense, for the love and marriage of folk characters, while both heroines and heroes struggle against injustices and obstacles, the people as a social body help them in adaptations of left-oriented intellectuals. For example, while it is not possible to see the people as a social body in traditional versions of *Aşık Garip*, *Tahir ile Zühre*, *Kerem ile Ashi*, for bringing lovers together in leftist adaptations the people revolt against injustices and become highly important element of narration. Thus, by making such an addition left-oriented intellectuals sharpened the collective feature of love between heroes and heroines, and transmitted their political and ideological perspective in terms of populism.

Moreover, by analyzing living folk culture in the 1960s and 1970s this thesis indicated that leftist reinterpretation of folk materials was made not only by intellectuals but also by minstrels. In this sense, it is necessary to state that on the one hand left-oriented intellectuals adapted several folk narratives, left-oriented minstrels gave new meaning to folk materials within their performances as well. In terms of both adapted texts of authors and live performances of minstrels, it seems the left reconstructed folk materials in line with the leftist understanding of populism in a comprehensive way and this phenomenon reflected itself on several occasions irrespective of whether it was text or performance. In other words, an intermingling of folk culture and leftist

imagination could be detected in various pieces such as adaptations of left-oriented authors or performances of left-oriented minstrels.

In line with this phenomenon, by examining works of leftist intellectuals and minstrels in relation to each other, this thesis indicated that in some instances intellectuals positioned themselves as minstrels within the texts. In other words, in leftist adaptations, it seems left-oriented intellectuals could communicate with their audience or readers as minstrels or they could play a role resembling the role of the minstrel. In this sense, this thesis suggests that even though adaptations of folk narratives are written texts, by using expressions similar to minstrels', in some instances narratives of left-oriented intellectuals resemble the performances of minstrels. The entrance of the adaptation of Fakir Baykurt could be given as an example in this sense. At the beginning of his adaptation Baykurt seems to talk to readers by saying "Let's talk about Kerem. Let's look at what his problem is, why he sighs and is there any remedy for his wounds?", and in this regard, such expressions directly addressing the audience are actually appropriate for performances however it has been shown that left-oriented intellectuals could use them as well. That is to say, by using utterances of minstrels used in performances, left-oriented intellectuals intertwined the position of author and minstrel with each other.

However, even though there are several common characteristics among adaptations of left-oriented intellectuals, it is significant to remark that political and ideological differences are also as important as similarities. In other words, although intellectuals which this study focuses on could be classified under the same roof, it does not mean those are all identical politically and ideologically. For example, graduates of village institutes, namely Fakir Baykurt and Talip Apaydın, are apparently different from others and this difference reflects itself on narratives as well. Because of their distinct living conditions when growing as a child and education, Baykurt and Apaydın were closer to the realities of villages and they could more easily relate themselves with folk culture and folk materials as they are. In other words, there are fewer changes and transformations in adaptations by Baykurt and Apaydın and this fact could be associated with their relationship with villages and folk culture.

In addition, in terms of political and ideological stance, this thesis has revealed that the relation of intellectuals with Kemalism and socialism at different levels could show itself within texts. In other words, an ideological oscillation of intellectuals between Kemalism or leftist interpretation of Kemalism and socialism apparently created different characteristics in adaptations. In this sense, for example, even though education of Baykurt and Apaydın was shaped strictly by Kemalist principles in village institutes, in the 1960s and 1970s they were under the effect of socialist ideology and the left, and their ideological perspective has both traces of these different stances and in turn effects of these different ideological stances on intellectuals reflect themselves on adaptations.

Within this frame, for example as an effect of Kemalism depiction of men of religion as a force of oppression or as an obstacle could be seen in their adaptations. In Baykurt's adaptation, the father of Aslı is a man of religion and because of religious differences, he does not allow Aslı to marry Kerem and throughout the plotline Baykurt highlights the fact that religious difference is not important and folk characters try to overcome this obstacle with the help of the people. In other words, by reformulating the adventures of folk characters Baykurt was expressing his thoughts that religion and men of religion should not be obstacles on the way to free and equal living of the people. Such a characteristic could be seen in the adaptation by Bilgin Adalı as well. From a similar perspective in the adaptation of *Aşık Garip*, a man of religion is depicted as an obstacle against the marriage of folk characters and force of oppression.

Regarding oscillation between Kemalism and the left, the adaptation by Ceyhun Atuf Kansu is an important example as well. As an effect of Kemalism, Tahir is depicted as a village teacher and it is implied that village teachers have emancipatory power in the adaptation by Kansu; and even Mustafa Kemal Atatürk himself is imagined as a helper of folk characters alongside the people. These aforementioned examples are important factors in terms of apparent ideological differences among adaptations. In this sense, although it is not possible to draw ideologically sharp boundaries, it seems association with Kemalism and the left creates different ideological positions among intellectuals.

Understanding realism as a literary strategy is another factor that creates differences among intellectuals. Because of the fact that those adaptations are juxtapositions of the past and the present in a sense, the effects of these two on narrations could be varied in terms of different understandings of realism. For instance, because Baykurt and Apaydın associate themselves more with folk culture and villages, in their adaptations the effect of the past is more, and in turn, there could be detected less literary changes and transformations in their texts. On the other hand, for example, because Aziz Nesin and Tarık Dursun prefer to narrate realities of the present more in their adaptations, there could be noticed more changes and transformations. In this sense, adaptations by Tarık Dursun are dramatically different from others and only the names of characters of narratives relate themselves with the tradition.

In this sense, in line with the understanding of realism, because Tarık Dursun chooses to narrate a more pessimistic depiction of realities, it is not possible to find forward-looking characters in the romantic revolutionary sense in his adaptations. In other words, in almost all adaptations intellectuals created folk characters who do not abstain from struggle, fight, and even from death, characters of Tarık Dursun do not bear such characteristics on the contrary. Although Tarık Dursun highlights the conflict between the poor and the rich, rather than attempting to change the reality his characters seem to accept these realities. That is to say, while it is possible to come across some kind of romantic revolutionary characters in other adaptations, it is not possible to see them in adaptations by Tarık Dursun, and this fact could be deemed as a result of different understandings of realism.

In addition, it is necessary to state that traditional folk narratives have social importance because they narrate what is just and unjust or what is right or wrong morally by fictionalizing and in turn narration of those narratives as performances could be seen as social events. In this sense, by changing the traditional plotline, dominant conflict, the depiction of characters and their utterances, left-oriented intellectuals transform the moral values which traditional narratives give. In other words, because this study thinks of folk narratives as social terrains in which politically and ideologically different sides could confront each other, attempts of left-oriented

intellectuals could be evaluated as a move in this confrontation. In this regard, it is possible to argue that adaptations change and transform the meaning of traditional folk narratives not only in the political and ideological sense but also in a moral sense. From this perspective, it seems viable to suggest that according to adaptations by left-oriented intellectuals, struggling against injustices and oppressors is morally just, and exploiting the poor and making oppressions is unjust.

Therefore, by analyzing ideological and political transformations, changes, and additions made by left-oriented intellectuals in terms of literary characteristics both in content and form, this thesis indicated that in the 1960s and 1970s by reinterpreting folk materials the left created an important historical juncture. By creating this historical juncture, while the left tried to articulate the people as a political theme in their discourse, as a part of this attempt they tried to transform and change the political, ideological, and moral meanings of folk materials. Because of the fact that depictions of folk characters are not fixed which means the conceptualization of folk narratives and folk characters changed in different times for fulfilling different ideological and political needs, this thesis has tried to reveal leftists' understanding in relation to preceded examples.

However, even though general characteristics of older versions of folk romances and stories have been indicated, i.e. although diachronic changes over the meaning tried to be revealed; by analyzing different materials such as films, pieces of music synchronic aspect of the discussion could be enhanced. In other words, for revealing similar or contradictory narrational characteristics, different materials which were produced in the 1960s and 1970s from a leftist perspective could be analyzed, and making comparisons could make important contributions for this discussion.

Moreover, because of the fact that this thesis did not examine rightist adaptations of folk narratives, analysis of how rightist intellectuals and minstrels reinterpreted folk materials and folk culture in general in this particular time period would highly enhance the synchronic aspect of the discussion. In other words, testing the arguments of this thesis in terms of left by analyzing different materials and comparing them with

reinterpretations of folk materials from different ideological and political perspectives could enrich the discussion and give distinct hints about whether this initiative was successful or not.

In this sense, for determining whether this attempt of left-oriented intellectuals was successful, not only analysis of cultural materials but also analysis of political and ideological discourses of leftist actors and analysis of their effects on society or audience are necessary. In other words, even though left-oriented intellectuals made a move for reinterpreting folk materials, revealing the success of effects of this move necessitates cross-checking in other areas.

Therefore, this thesis could be evaluated as a contribution for understanding political and ideological characteristics of the left in the 1960s and 1970s however it is necessary to note in terms of understanding and explaining conflict over the meaning of folk culture in general it is essential to make new studies which will deal with different materials in different areas.

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## APPENDICES

### A. TURKISH SUMMARY/ TRKE ZET

Bu alıřma 1960'lı ve 1970'li yıllarda sol eęilimli entelektellerin yazdıęı halk anlatılarının uyarlamalarını metinlerarası bir baęlamda ele alarak geleneksel halk anlatılarının biim ve ierik aısından uęradıęı politik ve ideolojik dnřmleri, deęiřiklikleri ve eklemeleri ortaya ıkarmayı amalamaktadır. Anlatılardaki baskın atıřma, popler halk kahramanlarının, yardımcılarının ve dřmanlarının tasvirleri, erkek ve kadın kahramanlar arasındaki ařkın kavramsallařtırılması ve karakterlerin ifadeleri baęlamsal faktrlerle iliřkilendirilerek halk anlatılarının sol perspektiften nasıl yeniden yorumlandıęı tartıřılmaktadır. Bu erevede bu tez, uyarlamaların nasıl bir anlam yarattıęını ve halk anlatılarının nceki versiyonlarından hangi noktalarda farklılařtıęını ortaya ıkarmaya alıřmaktadır.

Sol eęilimli entelekteller ve en genel anlamıyla sol 1960'lı ve 1970'li yıllarda politik ve ideolojik bir hamle olarak halkı ve popler halk anlatılarının temalarını sylemlerine eklemeye alıřmıř ve bu hamle doęrultusunda eřitli folklorik rnler yeniden yorumlamaya tabi tutulmuřtur. Bařka bir deyiřle sol eęilimli aktrlerin politik ve ideolojik faaliyetleri doęrultusunda folklorun ve popler halk anlatılarının farklı bir bakıř aısıyla yeniden yorumlanması, halk anlatılarının geleneksel yapısında bir dizi deęiřimi ve dnřm beraberinde getirmiřtir. Bu aıdan, solun halk anlatılarını politik ve ideolojik mcadelenin yzeylerinden biri haline getirmesi, sol sylemin belirgin temalarının halk anlatılarının uyarlamalarında da tespit edilmesini mmkn kılmıřtır.

Ancak solun homojen bir btn teřkil etmek yerine farklı politik ve ideolojik eęilimleri barındıran bir spektrum olduęu gz nne alınırsa, halk anlatının uyarlamalarında da

homojen bir dönüştürme faaliyetinden ziyade birbiriyle benzeşebilen ya da birbirinden farklılaşabilen pozisyonlar söz konusudur. Bu açıdan uyarlamalarda gerçekleştirilen dönüşümler, değişimler ve eklemelere dair belirgin ortak noktalara işaret etmekle birlikte uyarlamalarda tespit edilen farklı eğilimlerin de politik ve ideolojik açıdan önemli olduğu ve solun kendi içindeki farklılıkların yansımaları olarak düşünülebileceği not edilmelidir. Dolayısıyla bu tez açısından halk anlatılarının uyarlamalarının ortak noktaları kadar farklılıkları da önem taşımaktadır.

Öte yandan solun politik söyleminin farklı yüzlerini yazılı metinlerde bulmak mümkün olduğu gibi sol eğilimli âşıkların türkülerinde de görmek olanaklıdır. Sol açısından yeniden yorumlama pratiklerinin farklı alanlara yayıldığını ve bu pratiklerin kendini halk kültürünün çeşitli dallarında gösterdiğini söylemek önemlidir. Başka bir deyişle halkın ve popüler halk anlatılarının temalarının solun politik söylemine eklenmesi kapsamlı bir uğraşıya işaret etmektedir ve bu uğraşı içinde entelektüeller kadar âşıklar ya da halk ozanları da önemli bir pay sahibidir.

Bu bağlamda 1963'te Sefer Aytekin, Aşık Ali İzzet gibi âşıkların kurduğu Âşıklar Derneği'nin faaliyetleri hem sol hem de halk kültürü açısından kayda değer dönüşümlere dair işaret fişegi olarak düşünülebilir. Dönemin en etkili sol aktörlerinden biri olan Türkiye İşçi Partisi'yle (TİP) ilişki içinde olan solcu âşıklar sol fikirlerin ve halk kültürünün harmanlanmasında, halk anlatılarının politik bir söylem aracı haline getirilmesinde ciddi bir rol oynamıştır. Örneğin Âşık İhsani'nin TBMM'nin ve Hilton Oteli'nin önünde protesto türkeleri söylemesi hem âşık geleneği hem de sol söylem açısından yeni bir eklenme biçimine işaret etmektedir (Başgöz:1986:188). Etkili sol eğilimli âşıklardan bir diğeri olan Âşık Mahzuni Şerif, âşıkların yoksulluk içindeki yaşam koşullarının değişmesi amacıyla birçok konser verildiğini ve TİP'in kuruluş yıllarına rastlayan bu dönemde yoksul âşıkların sorunlarıyla bir tek TİP yöneticilerinin ilgilendiğini belirtir (Bekki, 2008:272).

Ancak TİP yalnızca âşıklar için değil sol eğilimli entelektüeller için de önemli bir uğrak noktası olmuştur. Bu çalışmada uyarlamaları incelenen Fakir Baykurt, Talip Apaydın, Afşar Timuçin gibi yazarların yollarının TİP'ten geçmesine atıfla TİP'in o

dönem sol açısından politik ve kültürel bir merkez işlevi gördüğü düşünülebilir. Özellikle Fakir Baykurt, Mahmut Makal gibi Köy Enstitüleri mezunu yazarların TİP'in işçilere, köylülere, öğretmenlere, entelektüellere seslendiği radyo konuşmalarını yaparak propaganda faaliyetlerine katıldığı göz önüne alındığında bu isimlerin TİP'in sesi haline geldiği söylenebilir (Nartok:2014:38). Dolayısıyla 1960'lı yılların hemen başında TİP'in hem sol eğilimli halk ozanlarını hem de sol eğilimli entelektüelleri bir araya getirmesi halk kültürünün çeşitli temalarının sol söyleme eklemlenmesinde ve halk anlatılarının yeniden yorumlanmasında etkili olmuştur.

Bununla birlikte bu türden faaliyetlerin sola has olmadığını belirtmek gerekir. Âşıklar Derneği'ne alternatif olması amacıyla sağ eğilimli âşıklar 1966'da bir araya gelerek Âşıklar Bayramı ismiyle başka bir oluşumu meydana getirir (Bekki, 2008:273). Bunun yanı sıra Ozan Arif, Kemali Bülbül, Kul Mustafa gibi âşıklar da kendi politik ve ideolojik bakış açılarından türküler besteleyerek düşüncelerini dillendirir. Pek çok farklı temanın bulunabileceğini not etmekle birlikte politik olarak sağ eğilimli âşıkların türkülerinde sola ve sosyalistlere yöneltilen öfke, Alparslan Türkeş gibi sağcı siyasi figürlere yapılan övgüler gibi temaların öne çıktığı söylenebilir (Bekki, 2008:285). Bu bağlamda özellikle 1960'lı ve 1970'li yıllarda halk kültürünün önemli ölçüde politize olduğu, farklı siyasi eğilimlerin birbiriyle karşı karşıya geldiği siyasi bir arenaya dönüştüğü öne sürülebilir.

Öte yandan âşıklar ve entelektüeller kadar halk anlatılarının halkın bizzat kendisi tarafından da sol söylemle ilişkili bir biçimde baskıya ve yoksulluğa karşı çıkmanın bir yolu olarak kullanıldığı not edilmelidir. Özellikle o dönem TİP milletvekilliği yapan gazeteci Çetin Altan'ın okurlarından aldığı mektuplarda halk şiiri kalıplarının ve sol söylemin temalarının kullanıldığı görülebilir. Buradan hareketle halk anlatılarının ve bir bütün olarak halk kültürünün sol söylemle yakınlaştığı ve ikisi arasında kurulan bağın tabiri caizse bir ara yüzey oluşturduğu söylenebilir. Dolayısıyla bu ilişkini oluşturduğu ara yüz sayesinde hem halk kültürünün izlerini sol söylemde görmek hem de o dönem üretilen halk anlatılarında sol söyleme rastlamak mümkündür.

Öte yandan halk anlatılarının 1960'lı ve 1970'li yıllarda sol perspektiften yeniden yorumlanmasının o dönem baskın popülizm anlayışındaki dönüşümden beslendiği ve onu beslediği not edilmelidir. Başka bir deyişle 1960 öncesi Kemalist popülizm anlayışının etkisini bir düzeyde kaybederek yerini sol popülizme bırakmasının izleri kültürel materyaller üzerinde de tespit edilebilir. Tam da bu gerekçeyle halk anlatılarının sol adaptasyonları dönemin politik ve ideolojik atmosferiyle ilişkili biçimde incelenmelidir. Bu bağlamda 1960 öncesi “halk için halka rağmen” mottosuyla özetlenebilecek Kemalist popülizm anlayışının dönüşmesi ve “halk için halkla beraber” mottosuyla özetlenebilecek sol popülizmin güç kazanmaya başlamasının halk anlatılarının yeniden yorumlanmasına önyak olan temel dayanaklardan biri olduğu öne sürülebilir. Erdoğan'ın (1998:27) da belirttiği gibi bu dönemde bir dizi sol aktörün siyasal açıdan eylemleri birbirinden farklılaşsa da bu türden sol popülist bir anlayışın benimsenmesi konusunda belirgin ortaklıklar taşıdıklarını tespit etmek mümkündür.

Örneğin, 1970'lerin en önemli politik figürlerinden biri olan ve “ortanın solu” diye nitelenebilecek ideolojik pozisyonun temsilcisi olarak düşünülen Bülent Ecevit için o dönem halk türküleri bestelenmiş ve kendisine Karacaoğlu, Dadaloğlu ya da Köroğlu gibi halk kahramanlarının isimlerine benzer biçimde Karaoğlu ismi takılmıştır (Başgöz, 1986:189). Buradan hareketle politik figürlerin bir tür halk kahramanı olarak tahayyül edilmesi, solun ve folklorun söylem açısından nasıl iç içe geçtiğinin önemli bir göstergesi olarak düşünülebilir. Başka bir deyişle farklı bir popülizm anlayışı sol eğilimli figürlerle halkı ve onun kültürünü birbirine yakınlaştırmış ve bu yakınlaşmanın izleri sol söylemin pek çok farklı noktasına nüfuz etmiştir.

Ancak halk kültürünü yeniden yorumlama pratiğinin yalnızca sola özgü olmadığını ve tarihsel açıdan halkın ve halk kültürünün yeniden inşa edildiği her uğrakta farklı siyasi ve ideolojik ilişkilere işaret etmenin mümkün olduğunu belirtmek son derece önemlidir. Özellikle 19. yüzyılda orta-sınıf Avrupalı entelektüeller modernleşme pratikleri kapsamında halk anlatılarını toplamış, yeniden yorumlayarak yazmış ve yeniden yorumlanarak hazırlanan anlatılar ulusların hakiki kaynakları olarak düşünülmüştür. Avrupalı entelektüellerin ortaya koyduğu bu pratiklerin Avrupa'da

milliyetçiliğin oluşmasının önemli sacayaklarından biri olduğu söylenebilir. Bu dönemde neredeyse tüm Avrupa ülkelerinde halk şarkıları, masalları, atasözleri gibi folklorik materyaller elden geçirilerek milliyetçilik bağlamında yeniden işlevlendirilmiştir.

Modernleşme pratikleri ve milliyetçiliğin şekillenmesinin bir parçası olarak halk anlatılarının yeniden yorumlanması Türkiye’de de erken Cumhuriyet döneminde görülebilir. Avrupa’daki örneklerine benzer biçimde halk anlatıları bu dönemde milliyetçi bir perspektiften yorumlanmış ve anlatılara yeni bir politik ve ideolojik fonksiyon yüklenmiştir. Ulusun hakiki kaynakları olarak düşünülen bu malzemeler, “halk için halka rağmen” anlayışıyla paralel olarak yeniden yorumlanmıştır. Bu açıdan halk anlatılarının Kemalist uyarlamalarında halkı öğrenci, entelektüelleri de öğretmen olarak konumlandıran pedagojik bir bakış açısı bulmak mümkündür.

Bu bağlamda halk anlatılarının tarihsel olarak politik ve ideolojik mücadelelerden bağışık olmadığının altını çizmek gereklidir ve bu mücadelelerin izlerinin kendisini gösterdiği halk anlatılarının farklı versiyonlarını bulmak olanaklıdır. Dolayısıyla bu çalışmanın da uyguladığı metinlerarası bir bakışla halk anlatılarını incelemek, onların nasıl yorumlandığının ve nihayetinde nasıl bir anlam oluşturduğunun ortaya çıkarılmasına olanak tanır. Başka bir deyişle bu çerçevede halk anlatılarının, farklı politik tarafların mücadelelerinin nüfuz ettiği toplumsal mücadele alanları olduğu söylenebilir.

Tarihsel olarak kendisinden önceki örneklere benzer biçimde 1960’lı ve 1970’li yıllarda folklor malzemeleri sol eğilimli entelektüeller tarafından da ideolojik ve politik mücadelenin bir yüzeyi haline getirilmiştir. Bu çerçeveye uyacak bir dizi uyarlama örneği bulmak mümkün olsa da bu çalışma kendisini yalnızca aşk hikayelerinin ve Dede Korkut öykülerinin adaptasyonlarıyla sınırlandırmaktadır. Bunun gerekçesi biçim ve içerik açısından farklı anlatı türlerinin incelenmesi için farklı analiz araçları gerekse de sol eğilimli entelektüellerin yaptığı değişim, dönüşüm ve eklemelerin geleneksel olarak farklılıklar barındıran aşk hikayeleri ve Dede Korkut öykülerini birbirine benzer hale getirmesidir. Başka bir deyişle aşk hikayeleri ve Dede

Korkut öyküleri biçimsel ve içerik açısından ciddi düzeyde farklılık barındırsa da sol eğilimli entelektüellerin adaptasyonlarında bu farklılıkların azalması metinleri bir arada analiz etmeyi olanaklı kılmıştır. Bu açıdan benzer bir anlatı yapısına sahip olduğu tespit edilen, Fakir Baykurt, Talip Apaydın, Ceyhun Atuf Kansu, Aziz Nesin, Bilgin Adalı, Suat Taşer, Afşar Timuçin, Tarık Dursun, Güngör Dilmen tarafından yazılmış 16 halk anlatısı adaptasyonu incelemeye tabi tutulmuştur.

Söz konusu metinler esasen geçmişe ait metinlerin 1960'ların diliyle yeniden yorumlanması olarak da nitelenebileceği için adaptasyonlar sol eğilimli entelektüellerin geçmişi ve şimdisi arasında bir köprü olarak da düşünülebilir. Böyle bir düşünce yazarların yalnızca okurlarıyla değil aynı zamanda yeniden yorumladıkları anlatıların önceki versiyonlarıyla da iletişim kurduğuna işaret eder. Bu açıdan sol eğilimli entelektüellerin metinlere işlediği anlamı, halk anlatılarının geleneksel versiyonlarıyla ilişkili biçimde okumayı hedefleyen bu çalışma bu ilişkinin artzamanlı ve eşzamanlı yönlerini de ortaya çıkarmaya çalışmaktadır. Böylesi bir gerekçeyle bu çalışma halk anlatılarının farklı versiyonlarını karşılaştırarak, sol eğilimli entelektüellerin girişiminin halk anlatılarının anlamının dönüşümüne dair yapılmış politik ve ideolojik bir hamle olarak ele alınabileceğini öne sürmektedir. Bu çerçevede bu çalışmanın metinlerarası bir okuma yaparak metinlerin edebi özelliklerinin dışında siyasi ve ideolojik özelliklerine özel bir önem vermesi nedeniyle folklor çalışmalarından bir düzeyde ayrıldığını söylemek mümkündür. Başka bir deyişle bu çalışma halk anlatılarının eski ve yeni versiyonlarının birbirine benzeyen ve birbirinden farklılaşan özelliklerini belirtmenin yanı sıra bu benzerlik ve farklılıklarının hangi bağlamlarda neden oluştuğunu da ortaya çıkarmayı hedeflemektedir.

Bu açıdan sol eğilimli entelektüellerin 1960'larda ve 1970'lerde Türkiye'nin siyasi atmosferini halk kültürünün araçlarını kullanarak etkilemeye çalıştığını ortaya koymaya çalışan bu çalışmanın ana araştırma soruları (1) sol eğilimli entelektüellerin halk anlatılarını nasıl yeniden yorumladığı ve (2) halk anlatılarının yeniden yorumlanan bu versiyonlarının ne tür bir politik ve ideolojik anlam ürettiğidir. Çalışmanın alt araştırma sorularıysa (1) halk anlatılarının sol adaptasyonlarının önceki

versiyonlardan neden ve nasıl farklılaştığı, (2) popüler folklorik karakterlerin tasvirlerinin ve ifadelerinin, metinlerin edebi üsluplarının ve hikaye örgülerinin nasıl dönüştürüldüğü ve (3) halk anlatılarının sahip olduğu toplumsal işlevin nasıl değiştirildiğidir.

Buradan hareketle bu çalışma ilk olarak halk anlatılarının adaptasyonlarının bir kısmında baskın çatışmanın zengin ve yoksul arasındaki çatışma olarak tasvir edildiğini, bir kısmındaysa bunun ezen ve ezilen arasındaki çatışma olarak resmedildiğini öne sürmektedir. Her ne kadar geleneksel bazı halk anlatılarının ezenlere ve adaletsizliklere karşı muhalif bir karakter taşıdığını söylemek mümkün olsa da bu karakter her halk anlatısında açık bir biçimde yer almaz ve biçim ve içeriğe göre farklılık gösterebilir. Örneğin, Köroğlu destanının geleneksel versiyonlarında bu muhalif karakteri bulmak daha kolayken, aşk hikayelerinin geleneksel örneklerinde bu mümkün değildir. Başka bir deyişle her ne kadar geleneksel halk anlatılarının her örneğinde eşit düzeyde muhalif bir karakter bulmak mümkün olmasa da, aşk anlatılarının adaptasyonları olan sol eğilimli entelektüellerin metinlerinde ezen ve ezilen arasındaki çatışma belirgindir.

Örneğin, “Tahir ile Zühre” hikayesinin geleneksel versiyonlarında Tahir ve Zühre güçlü ve zengin hükümdarların çocuklarıyken Ceyhun Atuf Kansu’nun adaptasyonunda Tahir bir köy öğretmeni olarak Zühre de toprak ağasının kızı olarak resmedilir. Tahir ve Zühre’nin bir araya gelmesi geleneksel versiyonlarda kişisel nedenlerle engellense de Kansu’nun adaptasyonunda birbirini seven iki halk karakterin bir araya gelememesinin gerekçesi sınıfsaldır. Anlatının geleneksel versiyonlarında örneğin Zühre’nin babası kötü kalpli bir hükümdar olduğundan onu başka bir adamla evlendirmek ister ya da Zühre’nin annesi Tahir’e aşık olduğundan ikisinin bir araya gelmesini istemez ve bu türden örnekleri çoğaltmak mümkündür. Ancak Kansu’nun adaptasyonunda Zühre’nin babası toprak ağası olduğu için kızını bir köy öğretmenine layık görmez ve onların evlenmesini istemez, dolayısıyla anlatıdaki baskın çatışma belirgin biçimde yoksul ve zengin arasındaki çatışmaya işaret eder. Bu açıdan sol eğilimli entelektüellerin bahsi geçen baskın çatışmayı anlatıyı düzenleyen ana ilke

olarak işlevlendirdiğini ve bu ana ilkenin de karakterlerin betimlenmesini ve hikaye örgüsünün yapısını belirlediğini öne sürmek mümkündür.

İkinci olarak bu tez halk anlatılarının sol adaptasyonlarında popüler halk karakterlerinin tasvirlerinin değiştiğini ve farklı görünümler kazandıklarını savunmaktadır. Tarihsel olarak popüler halk karakterlerinin farklı biçimlerde resmedildiğini görmek şaşırtıcı olmasa da sol eğilimli entelektüellerin tasvirleri anlatıların geleneksel versiyonlarındakilerden dramatik biçimde farklılaştığını söylemek olanaklıdır. Örneğin, Ferhat işçi, Şirin halkın kızı, Deli Dumrul toprak ağası ve Tahir köy öğretmeni olarak resmedilmektedir.

Popüler halk karakterlerin resmedilmesinin tarihsel olarak farklı bakış açılarına göre değişmesi halk anlatılarının Kemalist uyarlamalarıyla sol uyarlamalarının karşılaştırılmasıyla örneklenebilir. Bu açıdan Kemalist bir entelektüel olan Behçet Kemal Çağlar, sevdiğine kavuşmak için dağları delen Ferhat'ın hükümetin tren yolu siyasetinin sembolü olarak anlatılabileceğini belirtir (Güloğul, 1937:63). Aynı perspektiften Kerem'in saziyla ve sözüyle "halk ağzından, halkın anlayacağı, seve seve ezberleyeceği şekil ve üslupta" ormanları korumanın önemini aktarmanın bir aracı olarak düşünülebileceğini söyler. Öte yandan Talip Apaydın, Ferhat'ı bir işçi ve halktan biri olarak betimler ve Ferhat dağları sevdiğine kavuşmanın yanı sıra halkın susuzluktan ölmesini engelleyebilmek için deler.

Üçüncü olarak aşk hikayelerinin ana teması aşk olduğu için sol eğilimli entelektüellerin kadın ve erkek karakterlerin aşklarını nasıl tasvir ettiği incelenmiştir ve bu adaptasyonlarda aşkın halk anlatılarının geleneksel versiyonlarından farklı biçimde kavramsallaştırıldığı öne sürülmektedir. Sol eğilimli entelektüellerin adaptasyonlarında aşkın politik ve ideolojik bir anlam kazandığı ve karakterlerin birbirlerine kavuşmak için verdiği bir mücadeleye dönüştüğü belirtilmiştir. Karakterlerin önlerine çıkan engelleri veya adaletsizlikleri aşmaya çalışmaları bu açıdan anlatıların geleneksel versiyonlarından farklı olarak yalnızca kişisel değil toplumsal bir özelliğe sahiptir. Örneğin, karakterlerin tasviri bağlamında belirtildiği gibi Ferhat'ın dağları delme motivasyonunu yalnızca Şirin'e kavuşma isteğinden değil

halka su getirme isteğinden de kaynaklanır ve bu açıdan karakterin bu eylemi hem kişisel hem de toplumsal olmak üzere iki yönlü bir anlam kazanmış olur. Dolayısıyla sol eğilimli entelektüellerin adaptasyonlarında karakterler yalnızca bir araya gelmek için değil halka yardım etmek için de engelleri aşmayı amaçlar.

Bu açıdan bir mücadele olarak resmedilen karakterlerin aşkının kolektif bir yapıya sahip olduğunun altını çizmek önemlidir. Geleneksel halk anlatılarının neredeyse bütününde aşkı için yalnızca erkek karakterlerin aktif biçimde çabaladığı görülürken, sol eğilimli entelektüellerin adaptasyonlarında kadın karakterler de bu mücadelede aktif biçimde yer alırlar. Örneğin, “Ferhat ile Şirin” hikayesinin geleneksel örneklerinde Şirin yalnızca uğruna mücadele verilecek biriyken sol eğilimli entelektüellerin adaptasyonlarında mücadeleye bizzat dahil olur ve dağları delen Ferhat’a yardım eder ve karakterler dağları birlikte deler. Dolayısıyla geleneksel aşk hikayelerinde güçlü kadın karakterler görmek pek mümkün değilken, hikayelerin sol uyarlamalarında sol eğilimli entelektüellerin kadın ve erkek karakterleri mümkün olduğunca birbirleriyle eşit biçimde resmetmeye çalıştıkları söylenebilir.

Dördüncü olarak bu çalışma adaptasyonlarda geleneksel anlatılardaki bazı yan karakterlerin işlevlerinin değiştirildiğini ve halkın anlatılara yardımcı rolünde yeni bir karakter olarak eklendiğini öne sürmektedir. Yardımcı rolündeki bir karakterin düşmana dönüşmesi ya da düşman rolündeki bir karakterin yardımcıya dönüşmesi geleneksel anlatılarda da görülen bir özellik olsa da halkın bir karakter olarak anlatıya dahil edilmesi politik ve ideolojik olarak önemli bir işleve sahiptir. Adaptasyonların “halk için halkla beraber” anlayışını yansıtmayla paralel biçimde halkın, karakterlerin bir araya gelmesi için anlatıya yardımcı olarak eklenmesi bu açıdan son derece önemlidir.

Örneğin, anlatılardaki baskın çatışma bağlamında bahsedildiği gibi Kansu’nun adaptasyonunda geleneksel anlatılardan farklı olarak Zühre’nin annesi engelleyici bir unsur olmak yerine karakterlerin bir araya gelmesini sağlamaya çalışan yardımcılarından biridir. Bununla birlikte anlatıda yardımcı rolünde konumlandırılan halk Bilgin Adalı’nın “Aşık Garip” adaptasyonunda, Kansu’nun “Tahir ile Zühre” adaptasyonunda ve Fakir Baykurt’un “Kerem ile Aslı” adaptasyonunda belirgin

biçimde tespit edilebilir. Bu anlatılarda halk bir araya gelmek için mücadele veren karakterlerin önüne çıkan engellere ya da adaletsizliklere baş kaldırır. Bu başkaldırı haksız biçimde karakterlerin acı çekmesine neden olan bir toprak ağasına, bir mollaya ya da bir keşişe yönelmiştir. Sol eğilimli entelektüeller böyle bir ekleme yaparak erkek ve kadın karakterler arasındaki aşkın kolektif niteliğini kuvvetlendirmiş olur.

Öte yandan anlatıların birbirinden ayrıştığı noktaların belirtilmesi de analizin zenginleştirilmesi açısından önemlidir. Örneğin, Köy Enstitüleri mezunları olan Fakir Baykurt ve Talip Apaydın'ın adaptasyonlarının diğerlerinden fark edilir biçimde ayrıldığı söylenebilir. Yazarların, köy çocukları olarak köylerde büyümesinin ve eğitimlerini köylerde almasının halk kültürüne ve köy gerçeklerine diğer entelektüellerden daha fazla aşina olmalarını sağladığını söylemek mümkündür. Bu açıdan Baykurt ve Apaydın'ın adaptasyonlarında, halk anlatılarının geleneksel anlatı yapısına daha az müdahale olduğunu belirtmek önemlidir.

Bununla birlikte solcu entelektüellerin adaptasyonlarında politik ve ideolojik olarak solun çeşitli eğilimlerine işaret eden farklılıklar da bulmak mümkündür. Bu açıdan entelektüellerin ideolojik olarak Kemalizmin sol yorumu ve sosyalizm arasında farklı düzeylerde salındığı ve bu salınımın belirgin farklılıklar yarattığı söylenebilir. Örneğin, Baykurt ve Apaydın'ın Köy Enstitüleri'ndeki eğitimi sıkı Kemalist ilkeler doğrultusunda şekillense de yazarların adaptasyonlarının doğrudan Kemalist uyarlamalarla örtüştüğü söylenemez. Aksine 1960'lı ve 1970'li yıllarda yükselen soldan ve sosyalist ideolojiden etkilendikleri ölçüde Kemalizmden uzaklaşmışlardır. Halkın bir öğrenci olarak konumlandırılması yerine onu yardımcı bir karakter olarak anlatıya yerleştirmek bunun en belirgin göstergesi olarak düşünülebilir.

Kemalizm ve sosyalizm arasındaki salınım açısından Kansu'nun da adaptasyonundaki duruşunun vurgulanması önemlidir. Bu açıdan diğer yazarlardan ayrılarak Kemalizmle daha yakından ilişkilenen Kansu, Tahir'i bir köy öğretmeni olarak resmeder ve onun köyde Kemalist ideallerin temsilcisi olduğunu vurgular. Ancak Kansu halkı bir öğrenci olarak betimlemek yerine hem Mustafa Kemal'in kendisini hem de halkı, birbirine kavuşmaya çalışan karakterlerin yardımcısı olarak

konumlandırarak Kemalist uyarlamalardan da ayrışır. Bu örnekler doğrultusunda Kemalizmle ve sosyalizmle politik ve ideolojik açıdan farklı düzeylerde ilişkilenen entelektüellerin bu salınımlarının adaptasyonlarda da tespit edilebileceğinin altının çizilmesi gerekir.

Yazarların farklı realizm anlayışları da birbirleri arasında farklılaşmalarına neden olan unsurlardan biridir. Adaptasyonlar geçmişin ve şimdinin farklı düzeylerde bir araya getirilmesi olarak düşünülebileceğinden bu ikisinin anlatı üstündeki etkilerinin farklılaşması anlatı biçimini de farklılaştırmaktadır. Örneğin, yukarıda da değinildiği gibi Baykurt ve Apaydın geleneksel anlatı yapısına daha çok sadık kalarak kendilerini köy gerçekliğiyle ilişkilendirirken, Aziz Nesin ve Tarık Dursun dönemin gerçekliğini daha fazla vurgulamak için karakterlerin isimleri dışında geleneksel anlatılara sadık kalmazlar. Bununla bağlantılı olarak Tarık Dursun daha kötümser bir tablo çizerek karakterlerin maruz kaldığı yoksulluğu, ezilmişliği betimlerken onlara dönüştürücü bir güç atfetmez. Başka bir ifadeyle Tarık Dursun adaptasyonlarında romantik devrimci karakterler çizmek yerine, karakterlerini gerçekliğin altında ezilir biçimde gösterir. Diğer tüm adaptasyonlarda karakterlerin dönüştürücü bir güce sahip olduğunu görmek mümkünken Tarık Dursun bu açıdan diğerlerinden bariz biçimde ayrılır.

Böylece her ne kadar birbirlerinden çeşitli düzeylerde farklılaşsalar da bu tez halk anlatılarının adaptasyonlarının, sol eğilimli entelektüellerin yaptığı değişim, dönüşüm ve eklemelerle edebi anlam ve işlevlerin yanı sıra politik ve ideolojik bir anlam ve işlev de kazanarak “kendinde halk karakterlerinin” “kendisi için halk karakterlerine” dönüştürüldüğünü öne sürmektedir. Karl Marx’ın “kendinde sınıf” ve “kendisi için sınıf” kavramlaştırmasına benzer biçimde adaletsizliklere ve yoksulluğa karşı muhalif bir karakterin anlatılara eklenmesi popüler halk karakterlerini bilinçli biçimde mücadele eden karakterlere dönüştürmüştür. Başka bir deyişle bu çalışma sol eğilimli entelektüellerin edebi değişikliklerle bilinçsiz halk karakterlerini neden ve nasıl yoksul olduğunun ve ezildiğinin bilincinde olan karakterlere dönüştürdüğünü öne sürmektedir.

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**TEZİN ADI / TITLE OF THE THESIS (İngilizce / English): AN INTERTEXTUAL ANALYSIS OF ADAPTATIONS OF TURKISH FOLK NARRATIVES WRITTEN BY LEFT-ORIENTED INTELLECTUALS IN THE 1960S AND 1970S**

### TEZİN TÜRÜ / DEGREE:

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