

UNDERSTANDING THE TRANSFORMATIONS OF KARAGÖZ

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ABSTRACT

UNDERSTANDING THE TRANSFORMATIONS OF KARAGÖZ

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This thesis analyzes the transformations of Karagöz that has emerged as *technē* in the 16th century, and had vital connections with the very organization and the daily practices of the social life of the Ottoman society. The first visible modernization efforts in the Ottoman society begin with the Tanzimat period, which also effected Karagöz's being. The debates among the intellectuals were the first sign of the division of *technē* in the case of Karagöz into art and craft in favor of art. By the 20th century, already defined as the age of the world picture that the modern technology establishes its essence as *Enframing* as a destining of revealing as Heidegger defines, the popularity of Karagöz as a performance decreased but its most important peculiarities, such as political and social satire, were transmitted to the printed media that has flourished by Tanzimat. In addition, its absurdity and grotesque were abandoned after the proclamation of the Republic, which had irreversible effects on Karagöz for decades. After a several transformations related to the changes in the Turkish society, in the 21st century, the contemporary performers claimed that Karagöz belongs to the domain of fine arts; with the safeguarding project of the UNESCO, this claim has strengthened especially after the spread of the free market economy, which created "fake-performers" in interviewees' words. Therefore, the journey of Karagöz that started as *technē* and ended up as fine art is the main concern of this thesis.

Keywords: Karagöz, Heidegger, *Technē*, Art, Modernization

ÖZ

KARAGÖZ'ÜN DÖNÜŞÜMLERİNİ ANLAMAK

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Doktora, Sosyoloji Bölümü

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Bu tez, Osmanlı toplumunun örgütlenme biçimi ve sosyal yaşamının gündeliği ile hayati bağlantılar kurmuş, *technē* olarak ortaya çıkmış Karagöz'ün dönüşümlerini incelemektedir. Osmanlı toplumunda Tanzimat dönemi ile başlayan ilk görünür modernleşme çabaları Karagöz'ün varoluş koşullarını da etkilemiştir. Karagöz bağlamında aydınlar arasındaki tartışmalar, *technē'nin* sanat ve zanaat olarak bölünmesinin, sanat lehine sonuçlanacak ilk işaretlerini de vermektedir. Heidegger'in "çerçevelenmiş dünya" olarak tanımladığı, modern teknolojinin özünü de "çerçeveleme" olarak kurduğu ve varolanların ortaya çıkışının modern özne tarafından sınırlanan ve hükmedilen bir şekilde belirlenimlendiği XX. Yüzyılda, Karagöz'ün seyirlik oyun olarak popülerliği de azalmış ve en önemli özellikleri olan siyasi ve sosyal hicvi Tanzimat'la ortaya çıkıp gelişmiş basılı medyaya bırakmıştır. Bunun yanı sıra, grotesk ve absürt özelliklerini de, derine nüfus eden etkileri yıllarca sürecek olan Cumhuriyet ile birlikte etkin müdahaleler sonucu bir kenara bırakmak zorunda kalmıştır. Türk toplumundaki değişikliklere paralel olarak bir dizi dönüşüm geçiren Karagöz'ün, XXI. Yüzyılda, çağdaş Hayaliler tarafından güzel sanatlar alanına ait olduğu iddia edilir; Karagöz'ün UNESCO-SÖKÜM kapsamına alınması, serbest piyasa ekonomisinin yayılmasıyla, görüşmecilerin tabiri ile "sahte-sanatçılar"ın ortaya çıkması bu iddiayı daha da güçlendirmiştir. Dolayısıyla, Karagöz'ün, XVI. yüzyılda *technē* olarak başlayıp XXI. Yüzyılda güzel sanat nesnesi olarak biten yolculuğu bu tezin ana konusudur.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Karagöz, Heidegger, *Technē*, Sanat, Modernleşme

To my Mom & Dad

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ABBREVIATIONS

CUP	Committee of Union and Progress
DP	Democrat Party
DGM	The State Security Court
ICH	Intangible Cultural Heritage
IMF	International Monetary Fund
JDP	Justice and Development Party
JP	Justice Party
LHT	Living Human Treasure
MP	Motherland Party
NAP	Nationalist Action Party
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organization
NOP	National Order Party
NSC	National Security Council
NSP	National Salvation Party
NUC	National Unity Committee
PKK	Workers' Party of Kurdistan
RPP	Republican People's Party
RTP	Republican Trust Party
SHP	Social Democratic Populist Party
SPO	State Planning Organization
TDK	Turkish Language Institution
TPP	True Path Party
TRT	Turkish Radio and Television Corporation
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
UNIMA	Union Internationale de la Marionnette
VNTM	Yapı Kredi Vedat Nedim Tör Museum

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

... amma teneffüs için haymesinden taşra çıkup çar fincan kahve nüş idüp keyfi geldükden sonra etek der-meyan idüp ayak taklidine başladukda müstemi yaranların gülmeden genrekleri düşüp enseleri enderdi ve her kelamının neticesini tasarruf iderdi. Anı dinleyen cihandan 'ibret alurdu. Kırk yedi yıl bu hakir nice bin pehlevan gördüm amma böyle nüktedan ve zarif herif-i mukallid görmedüm.¹

The quotation given above belongs to Evliya Çelebi telling about Kör Hasanzade Mehmet Çelebi who was a famous Karagöz performer in the 17th century. The enthusiasm and the popularity of Karagöz in the 16th, 17th, 18th and even in the 19th centuries were deeply related to the social and political organization of the Ottoman society. In other words, Karagöz that has emerged as *technē* had vital connections with the very organization of and the daily practices in the Ottoman society. By the 20th century, already defined as the *age of the world picture* where the modern technology establishes its essence as “*Enframing*” as a *destining of revealing* as Heidegger defines, the popularity of Karagöz has decreased through several transformations related to the changes in the Turkish society. As an approximately seven-hundred-year performance throughout the different periods, Karagöz has finally been offered to UNESCO’s Intangible Cultural Heritage (ICH) program in 2006 by the Ministry of Culture and Tourism of Turkey to be *safeguarded* in the 21st century, and then, the debates about Karagöz are revitalized in the context of a claim that Karagöz belongs to the domain of *fine arts*.

¹ A rough translation of Evliya Çelebi’s words are,

When he came out behind the curtain to take a break, he used to drink four cups of coffee to refresh himself. After re-catching his humorous mood, he used to begin to play scenes; all the spectators used to crack up and fall about laughing and he still used to mind his every word. Anyone who spectated him could learn a lesson from life. I have encountered thousands of entertainers throughout my worthless forty-seven-year life but I have never seen such a humorist and polite man of mimicry.

Çelebi, Evliya. *Evliya Çelebi Seyahatnamesi, 1. Kitap: İstanbul*. Edited by Orhan Şaik Gökyay. (İstanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 1996), 311.

Today, according to the contemporary living masters, it is to the detriment of Karagöz that it tends to be forgotten during the whole year but only remembered in the month of fasting (Ramadan) in contrast to its being as a part of the social life in the Ottoman period. The living masters continually assert that Karagöz is an “art” that reaches far beyond the mere entertainment purposes specific to Ramadan². Such a claim requires Karagöz to be accepted as a respected art, which means that the contemporary Karagöz performers no longer want to be treated as folk artists or entertainers of the society.

Moreover, there is an ongoing debate among the Karagöz performers concerning their status as artists. This debate develops around the topics, such as prominence, having collections or figures both in national and international museums, production of the original figures and instruments, writing new plays or adapting the old ones within the tradition, ability to perform a Karagöz play for hours, ability of improvisation, ability to vocalize *Zennes* (women characters), having knowledge of music, ability to play a musical instrument, having performed Karagöz for years and patiently enduring the difficulties for Karagöz throughout one’s life. For instance, Hayali Küçük Ali says, “mostly, I could only eat musty bread for the sake of advancing in Karagöz performance.”³ “Patiently enduring the difficulties,” means acquiring an expertise that would admit a certain field of power among the Karagöz performers as fine artists.

The Aim and Scope of the Thesis

Therefore, this thesis aims to tracing and understanding the transformations of Karagöz, whose journey started as a field of activity (*technē*) in the 16th century of the Ottoman society and ended up as being declared as a fine art in the 21st century Turkey.

Moreover, for the reason that the thesis does not approach Karagöz as a fine art from the beginning of its early history, it aims to draw attention to a different approach in elucidating Karagöz. Thus, the analysis will focus on the changes in the social meaning and the structure of Karagöz performance in parallel with

² Şaban, interview by the author, 6 September 2009, Ankara, phone call.

³ Sevengül Sönmez, ed., *Karagöz Kitabı* (İstanbul: Kitabevi, 2005), 164.

changes in the society giving with a different meaning the world view⁴. For this purpose,

1. The changes in the position and the function of Karagöz performance in the Turkish society since the 16th century, when it has first mentioned will be analyzed;
2. The effects of these changes to the very structure of the contemporary Karagöz performance in connection with
 - a. The possibility of the survival of Karagöz as a popular performance in the contemporary Turkish society;
 - b. The possibility of transformation of Karagöz from *technē* into a kind *fine art* within the modernization process of Turkey will be discussed.

In this context, the term *technē* borrowed from Heidegger and his explanations on the philosophy and the history of art in an effort of tracing the development of the modern metaphysics are used as the theoretical background for the thesis. Besides, Heidegger's views on art are also important as they warn the reader not to attribute aesthetics an essential category, so it helps the author to trace the transformations of Karagöz from being a non-art in the Ottoman society to being a[n] (fine) art in the Turkish Republic.

Nevertheless, this thesis does not establish a parallelism between the Greek art and the Ottoman art, and examine Karagöz in this sense. Although Heidegger uses the term *technē* to define the comprehension of art in pre-Socratic Greece, it is possible to apply the term to describe Karagöz in the Ottoman society regarding the emerging conditions, peculiarities and functions of Karagöz. Since the term *technē* bears a meaning of any kind of "ability to bring forth", without designation a separation between art that is defined as the product of mind, and craft that is

⁴ The term "world view" is consciously used to indicate the transition the Turkish society underwent from the Ottoman society to modern one, roots of which originate in the 19th century. In this context, Heidegger states,

World view belongs to the domain of modernity. As soon as the world becomes picture, the position of man is conceived as a world view. To be sure, the phrase "world view" is open to misunderstanding, as though it were merely a matter here of a passive contemplation of the world. For this reason, already in the nineteenth century it was emphasized with justification that "world view" also meant and even meant primarily "view of life." The fact that, despite this, the phrase "world view" asserts itself as the name for the position of man in the midst of all that is, is proof of how decisively the world became picture as soon as man brought his life as subjectum into precedence over other centers of relationship.

Heidegger, "The Age of the World Picture," in *Question Concerning the Technology*, 133.

defined as the product of hand in the modern sense, Karagöz performance, as a field of activity, can be best described by the term *technē* in the Ottoman society, rather than being induced to the fine arts or repressed by the term craft.

It is known that every Karagöz performer during the Ottoman period had been already doing other jobs, and there were seemingly no rules to perform Karagöz. They were countless as popular performers but only a few of them were known by their names, and their names were reached to the present times. Besides, a Karagöz performance in the Ottoman society required a modest set of equipment enabling performers to perform anywhere and anytime as the occasion allowed.

Apparently, as much as the earlier sources tell, Karagöz performance was not considered as fine arts, but rather a kind of *ability to bring forth* (to be detailed below) in the flux of daily life of the people in the Ottoman society. In that sense, it had a character approaching to the carnival⁵ through disrupting the hierarchal realities of the socio-political and juridical life in the Ottoman society.

Especially by the 16th century, the shadow play emerged as “Karagöz,” and became very popular in the 17th, 18th centuries and in the 19th century in different forms. That means, Karagöz had vital connections with the Ottoman society as a part of the life, and the shadow play was accordingly reshaped. Indeed, a new form of a shadow play, namely Karagöz, disseminated over the world from İstanbul. The functions assumed by Karagöz during its early history can be summarized as follows:

1. There were many communities meeting everyday on the streets of İstanbul without speaking each other’s language and being unfamiliar with each other’s customs. Karagöz was getting them to meet in Karagöz plays in a way that they seemed to understand each other. That was the informal way of lowering the tension on the streets.
2. It was hindering the anti-ethnic/religious attitudes through caricaturizing the people from the different communities in the plays.

⁵ Bakhtin defined the functions of carnival in the Middle Ages in a similar way, he says,

Carnival does not know footlights, in the sense that it does not acknowledge any distinction between actors and spectators. ... The suspension of all hierarchical precedence during carnival time was of particular significance. ... This temporary suspension, both ideal and real, of hierarchical rank created during carnival time a special type of communication impossible in everyday life.

See: Mikhail Bakhtin, *Rabelais and His World* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1984), 10.

3. Karagöz was also acting as a mediator in the society. It was continually informing the palace about what was happening among the ordinary people, who are the sultan's subjects, and vice versa.
4. Most importantly, Karagöz was a protestor; he was speaking about and satirizing everything and everyone in the society so that nothing and no one could escape except the sultan.
5. Karagöz was also active in forming the public opinion as a main element of the so-called inexistent public spaces.

As a part of the oral tradition and in close connections with the social life, Karagöz was a field of activity within the master-apprentice relations that proposed no pre-conditions or expertise regarding the Karagöz's early history, which enabled the author to apply the term *technē* to Karagöz's being in the Ottoman context. Therefore, the main changes in Karagöz in general were in parallel with the main changes in the society it had emerged.

These conditions for Karagöz began to change during the Tanzimat period, when the Ottoman society encountered with the Western metaphysics through several modernization efforts considered as a necessity. Having played the major roles defined above and had a more or less settled character shaped within the Ottoman society, beginning with the *Tanzimat period*, the most important features of Karagöz performance, that is, political and social satire as well as absurdity and grotesque had been lost. After the direct censor of Sultan Abdülaziz (1861-1876), those peculiarities, especially the political satire had transmitted to the printed media that has flourished in the late 19th century. In the same period, Karagöz plays, which were a part of the oral culture, were also published. This has resulted in easy control of the Karagöz performances by the rulers and the fixation of the content. In modern terms, the plays were transferred into the fields of calculation and prediction, which were the very characteristics of the modernity.⁶ Moreover, printing and publishing of the Karagöz plays have opened up a debate concerning the authenticity and dirtiness of Karagöz so that, researchers and performers were and are able to discuss about *whatness* of Karagöz that became a main subject during the first quarter of the Republic. As a result, rather than the performances and plays, the names of the performers started to be pronounced and became

⁶ For the impact of printing in the modern era, see: Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London, New York: Verso, 1991).

visible, which was the first departure of Karagöz from the realm of *technē* towards fine arts.

In the 20th century, after the proclamation of the Republic, initiatives about the Karagöz performing and writing of the new plays were guided by the Republican People's Party (RPP) and People's Houses for fifty years, which penetrated deep inside Karagöz, and caused major transformations in Karagöz plays. Meanwhile, until the mid-1930s some Karagöz performers were still performing Karagöz with political satire and dirtiness in the coffeehouses of the countryside, which caused the government to take precautions. The initiatives of RPP in the first quarter of the Republic caused Karagöz to be articulated with the government and to take sides in accordance with the political agenda throughout the years. After 1950s, in close relations with the socioeconomic conditions of Turkey, Karagöz took different shapes; political satire is even revitalized to some extent. Principally, the satiric character of Karagöz has been regained in times when RPP was the opposing party. Later in 1980s, the successful attempt of depolitization of the public resulted in that Karagöz has almost lost its features of social and political satire. In 1990s, rapid technological developments also affected Karagöz, and created new forms, such as video animations and projections that started to be employed in Karagöz plays. In addition, in interviewees' words, *fake-performers* increased in number with the establishment and dissemination of the free market economy, and started "sabotaging" Karagöz by misusing technologies, which "degraded" Karagöz as a respected art and decreased its artistic-economic value by the 2000s. Besides, by the dissemination of the free market economy, the contemporary performers are also forced to perform mainly to children due to the financial reasons. Thus, from then on, Karagöz mainly turned into an entertainment limited to children. UNIMA (Union Internationale de la Marionnette) and UNESCO are helping it to be revitalized as a respected *fine art* after the 2000s.

UNESCO has officially accepted Karagöz as Intangible Cultural Heritage (ICH)⁷ in 2009, under the titles of performing "art" and traditional "handicraft," which is very different from its being in the Ottoman society, and inscribed it into the *Representative List* to be safeguarded in the 21st century. Accordingly, in the same period, three surviving masters of Karagöz, who were among the interviewees in

⁷ UNESCO, "Text of the Convention for the Safeguarding of Intangible Cultural Heritage," (*Convention*. October 17-29, 2003, accessed November 3, 2009). Available from <http://www.unesco.org/culture/ich/index.php?lg=en&pg=00006>

this thesis, were also awarded with the status of Living Human Treasures (LHT) of Turkey.

Based on the remarks in the Nomination Form of Karagöz, the Turkish State promised to open Karagöz institutions and student clubs in various universities, establish more saloons for shadow theatre, promote writing new plays, organize Karagöz seminars in cooperation with UNIMA all over Turkey, give financial aid to the masters or new apprentices and organize festivals, to create awareness.⁸

Actually, the indications of being *traditional* and *living* at the same time but not exactly *authentic* that UNESCO sets up as conditions to be an ICH became the issues for Karagöz because, Karagöz was being considered as an ancient practice that has lost its importance in the society, with which statement the contemporary enlisted Karagöz performers (interviewees) totally disagree. Therefore, “what Karagöz was and is” became important in the process of its being accepted as ICH by UNESCO, and the debates about Karagöz are revitalized in the context of a claim that Karagöz belongs to the domain of fine arts.

Art as a History (Theoretical Ground)

Though a short story of Karagöz’s transformations given above is the major concern of this thesis, locating this story within the context of a history of art as Heidegger interprets will provide a useful perspective to understand the significance of these transformations. What Hegel once said for the Greek art that is “the magnificent days of Greek art, like the golden era of the later Middle Ages, are gone”⁹ might also be valid for Karagöz.

Heidegger presents the journey of art beginning in pre-Socratic Greece as *technē* and ends in the “age of the world picture,” which is modernity, as *fine arts*. Heidegger’s discussions on art can be used to explain the *essencing* Karagöz in the Ottoman society, and to present its transformations in parallel with the shift in the ontological ground that was taking place as the Ottoman society is replaced by the contemporary modern society. The ground has shifted from an existence where *being* reveals itself as the creation of God with his representative on earth, the

⁸ UNESCO, "Karagöz" (UNESCO - Inscribed elements, web site, 2009, accessed 31 May, 2010), available from <http://www.unesco.org/culture/ich/index.php?RL=00180>

⁹ Martin Heidegger, *Nietzsche, Volume I: The Will to Power as Art (1936–1940)*, Edited & Translated by David Farrell Krell. (U.S.A: Harper and Row Publications, 1979), 84.

Sultan, to that in which becomes representation, and revealing is being destined by the modern subject.

It is possible to inquire the socioeconomic and the socio-historical conditions of a society through examining the conditions and description of art. Heidegger supports the statement above by referring to Nietzsche who says, “The being of an artist is the most perspicuous mode of life” and “Life is, for us, the most familiar form of being.”¹⁰ According to him, Nietzsche also says, “The phenomenon of an artist is still the most perspicuous from that position to scan the basic instincts of power, of nature, etc.! Also of religion and morals.”¹¹ Therefore, any inquiry on the concept of art actually gives the conditions of *Being* for the reason that art as any kind of bringing-forth shows its manifestation. For the Ottoman society, as mentioned above, all beings were exclusively the creations of god. However, later, with the spread of the modern metaphysics, the understanding of *Being* as such also underwent a change by the modern subject who claimed its mastery on beings.

Therefore, with a view towards the essence of an artist, the other configurations of will to power that is Being (nature, religion, morals, etc.) should also be observed.¹² This means that art has a crucial role to understand the grounding conditions of a society as Karagöz can for the Ottomans. In reference to the thoughts of Nietzsche on art, Heidegger states,

- Art is obviously extended to *every kind of ability to bring forth* [every kind of production] and *to everything that is essentially brought forth* [every kind of product] [which to be elaborated with the term of *technē*]
- “This kind of extension makes craftsmen, statesman and educators, as men who bring something forth, artists. Nature, too, was seen as artists, it was a female artist.”¹³
- “At that time, art did not mean the current, narrow concept as applied to fine art, which brings forth something *beautiful* in its work.”¹⁴

Hence, he expands the concept of artist and accepts that “art is the basic occurrence of all beings; to the extent that they are, beings are self-creating,

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 70.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 71.

¹² *Ibid.*, 71.

¹³ *Ibid.*, 71.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 71.

created.”¹⁵ Therefore, as Evliya Çelebi testifies below, in the Ottoman context, producers were named as “artisans” who were the knowledgeable people within their activity fields, which were defined as neither art nor craft. Besides, the statement that “to the extent that they are created, actually all beings are self-creating” might be exemplified with Karagöz or Hacivat to be more concrete. Karagöz and Hacivat are self-creating in terms of their own characteristics and the interaction with each other in the plays, despite Hayali, in relation to the ground he holds, created them.

In the context of elucidating art as every kind of ability to bring forth, art is drawn from its isolated field as modernity pushed it, and re-located in the real world as a constitutive element of the human being. Therefore, the meaning of art should be searched in the context of *here* and *now* rather than in the realm of ideas as Plato suggested. Such kind of understanding, which accepts this world as an error, mirror of the real world that lies in the world of ideas, penetrates into the philosophy with Platonism.

On the other hand, as Heidegger underlines, for Nietzsche, “True world of morality is a world of lies. That true, the supersensuous, is an error. The sensuous world, which Platonism means the world of semblance and errancy, the realm of error, is the true world.”¹⁶ Thus, Nietzsche affirms the world with beings existing in *nows*, and negates the *other* world that beings are supposed to transmit. In this sense, “sensuous, sense-semblant is the very element of art.”¹⁷ Relatedly, according to one perspective, even if Karagöz was originated in the philosophical teachings of Sheik Küşteri/Tüsteri, and the final form of Karagöz created a world of copies as Plato would highly criticize; the world Karagöz presented was as real as Nietzsche indicates for any kind of artistic activity. Besides, Karagöz was mirroring life as it was actualizing, not the other world of ideas. As Evliya Çelebi says for Kôr Hasanzade Mehmet Çelebi, “although his mimicking was highly realistic, he ends the play with teaching a moral; still, spectators were used to fall about laughing.”¹⁸

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 72.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 73.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 73.

¹⁸ Evliya Çelebi, *Evliya Çelebi Seyahatnamesi, 1. Kitap: İstanbul*, Edited by Orhan Şaik Gökyay (İstanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 1996), 311. Also see: Evliya Çelebi, *Evliya Çelebi Seyahatnamesi'nden Seçmeler*, Edited & Translated by Seyit Ali Kahraman (İstanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 2010), 164.

Therefore, Art becomes “the greatest stimulant of life”¹⁹ for Nietzsche in Heidegger’s interpretation. Stimulant means here, “What propels and advances...”²⁰ Such an extended definition even enables that a moral teaching could be presented in laughter through art in the original sense. In other words, life and art are treated together as equally owing to each other in the sensuous world rather than being a copy of a world of ideas that the beings are expected to transmit.

Thereby, on the tracks of Nietzsche’s thoughts on art, Heidegger establishes the grounds of *technē* as every kind of art and bringing forth as Karagöz will be examined accordingly, in contrast to the modern sense of *aesthetics* that only concerns with the question of beauty. Heidegger defines aesthetics in the modern sense as the combination of Logic, Ethics and Episteme (science for today).²¹ Therefore, with the modernity, Heidegger states that desire for knowledge and inquire on art gave birth to aesthetics “that kind of meditation on art in which man’s affinity to the beautiful represented in art, sets the standards for all definitions and explanations.”²² Therefore, Aesthetic defined by Heidegger as observation and investigation “with regard to a relation of feeling.”²³

This means that the meditation on art became aesthetic to reveal its beauty. “The work is represented as the bearer and the provoker of the beautiful with relation to our state of feeling.”²⁴ Consequently, mediation on art is limited to pleasure. The artwork is posited as the object for a subject, which is defined by the state of feeling that is the domain of aesthetics. Thus, *sensing*, which disregards the differentiation

¹⁹ Heidegger, *Nietzsche, Volume I*, 75.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, 76.

²¹ Heidegger states,

Logic is the knowledge of logos that is the doctrine of assertion or judgment as the basic form of thought. It is a kind of knowledge of thinking, of the forms and rules of thought. The object of logic is truth. Actually logic is the measurement as an extent of thought.

Ethic is the knowledge of ethos, of inner character of man and of way it determines his behavior. The object of the ethic is goodness.

So, *Aesthetic* is the knowledge of human behavior with regard to sense, sensation and feeling, and knowledge of how these are determined. The object of the aesthetics is beautiful.

Therefore, “beautiful is what determines man’s feeling, hence aesthetics, and what feeling comports itself toward.” *Ibid.*, 78.

²² *Ibid.*, 78

²³ *Ibid.*, 78.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, 78.

of the soul from the body in *arts* (as *techné*, bringing-forth), was transformed into *feeling*, which only covers the soul in *aesthetics*.

The question of aesthetics as the basic sort of meditation on art and knowledge of it can be treated only with respect to the fundamentals as Heidegger states. These fundamentals will reveal the Western metaphysics that results in the emerging of aesthetics, and its history. Heidegger expresses six basic developments of aesthetics in the transformation from *technē* to *fine arts*, only the first three of which are considered in this thesis. The author of the thesis expects to enlighten the demand of the (recognized) Karagöz performers to be accepted as fine artists, and that the performance is a fine art in the modernized Turkey. Heidegger follows the process in six stages,²⁵ the first three of which are:

1. The magnificent art of Greece remains without a corresponding cognitive-conceptual meditation on it, such meditation not having to be identical with aesthetics.
2. Aesthetics with the Greeks only at that moment when their great art and also the great philosophy that flourished, and along with it comes to an end.
3. The beginning of the Modern Age.

According to the first development, “The magnificent art of Greece remains without a corresponding cognitive-conceptual meditation on it, such meditation not having to be identical with aesthetics.”²⁶ It is defined that the “Greeks have such originally mature and luminous knowledge, such a passion for knowledge, that in their luminous state of knowing they had no need of *aesthetics*”²⁷ Greeks had no necessity to show great efforts to be an artist; they had no such thing of talking or thinking about art. They had such a form of living directly related with art, but that was not equal to the *experience of art*. In world of Karagöz, first, with the introduction of modern arts, such as Western style of theaters developed during the *Tanzimat* Period, and later, through the initiative taken by the German researcher Hellmut Ritter arrived in İstanbul (1914) conducting a research on folk art and

²⁵ The other three developments of the aesthetics are:

4. At the historical moment when aesthetics achieves its greatest possible height, breadth and rigor of form, great art comes to an end.
5. Catching a glimpse of a decline of art from its essence, the nineteenth century once more dares to attempt “collective art”
6. This last development was allocated to the differences between Hegel and Nietzsche by Heidegger

²⁶ Heidegger, *Nietzsche, Volume I*, 80.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, 80.

transcribing Karagöz plays dictated by *Hayali Nazif*, Karagöz performers were not aware that they were becoming the (modern/fine) artists.

The second development in relation with the gradual withdrawal of Karagöz from the daily life is that, “Aesthetics with the Greeks only at that moment when their great art and also the great philosophy that flourished along with it comes to an end.”²⁸ This is also the starting point of the development of the aesthetics and the roots of the modern way of thinking, actually, the moment of deliberate meditation of Karagöz as art. According to Heidegger, with Plato and Aristotle, “the demarcation and the arrangements of beings in terms of outer and inner limits entered on the scene;”²⁹ “*Hylé – Morphé, Materia – Forma and Matter – Form*” became the rules of the fine arts in philosophical terms.”³⁰ In this sense, as the interviews in this thesis show, the *Form* (the scene, performance techniques, figures, etc.) became the limit and the *Matter* (content, plot) became the limited one, for Karagöz.

This process of transformation from *Technē*,³¹ as any ability to “bring forth”, to produce in and for life as the concept finds its meaning in the Ancient Greek society according to Heidegger, to (fine) art, as a separated field of activity throughout modernization, can also be exemplified by the whatness of Karagöz from its use in the 16th century to UNESCO’s declaration of Karagöz as fine art worth to be safeguarded in the 21st century. Initially, in Greece, what is known both as *Art* and *Handicraft* indistinctively was later collectively termed just as handicraft. Therefore, *technē* is induced to the way of production that is hand manufacture. Consequently, for Heidegger, “*technē* either implies a glorification of handicrafts or else that the exercise of art is degraded to the level of a handicraft.”³² He adds that, for a better understanding, one should look up to the basics of *technē*.

Heidegger defines *technē* with respect to the term “*Physis*.”³³ *Physis* means “the first and essential names for beings themselves and as a whole.”³⁴ Then, *technē* means in Heidegger’s words,

²⁸ *Ibid.*, 80.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, 80.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, 80.

³¹ *Ibid.*, 81.

³² *Ibid.*, 81.

³³ *Ibid.*, 81.

If a man tries to win a foothold and establish himself among the beings (*Physis*) to which he is exposed, if he proceeds to master beings in this or that way then his advance against beings is borne and guided by knowledge of them. Such knowledge is called *Technē*. From the very outset of the world is not, and never is, the designation of a “making” and a producing; rather it designates that knowledge which supports and conducts every human irruption into the midst of beings, and without a qualification.³⁵

Thus, *technē* has never meant, “making or manufacturing as such; it always means knowledge...”³⁶ He also defines *technē* as “the name not only for the activities and skills of the craftsman, but also for the arts of the mind and the fine arts. *Technē* belongs to bringing-forth...”³⁷

Then, *technē* is the unqualified knowledge that arises in the mist of *Physis*. *Technē* is in all beings designating a mode of production, an artist is *technitēs* actually, “If art is every sort of human capacity to bring forth; and if capacity and ability is originally as a knowing, then art is *technē*.”³⁸

In the same content, Evliya Çelebi, while he was mentioning about an artist namely K r Hasanzade Mehmet  lebi in the mid-17th century, uses the term of “skillful” for praising him (rather than using terms, such as “great artist”). According to Metin And’s translation³⁹, Evliya  lebi says,⁴⁰

He was a skillful gentleman, who knew Arabic, Persian, and Music. In this latter art, he ranks as a second Farabi. He played the Chinese shades; he wrote beautifully Ta’lik and was a good Pyro-technician [good at fireworks]. In short, like Cem id, he was versed in a thousand sciences and arts, and was generous like Hatem-i Tay, Ca’fer-i Bermeki. After  eyh  azeli, he was the man who gave most renown to the shadow theatre.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, 81.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, 81.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, 80-81.

³⁷ Martin Heidegger, “Question Concerning Technology,” in *Question Concerning Technology and Other Essays*, by Martin Heidegger, translated by William Lovitt, 3-35 (New York & London: Garland Publishing, 1977), 13.

³⁸ Heidegger, *Nietzsche, Volume I*, 81.

³⁹ Metin And, *Karagoz: Turkish Shadow Theatre* (Ankara: Dost Kitabevi, 1979), 41.

⁴⁰ The Original Text of Evliya  lebi:

Farisi-han ve Arabi-han ve m siki- inas idi kim ‘ilm-i edvarın Farabi’si idi ve  eb-baz ve kitabet-i ta’likda hattat ve sahib-i sitte ve nice serg zest sahibi ve levend-i h n-har ve fi ek-baz ve’l-hasıl Cem id missal hezarfenn bir zat-ı m kerrem ve Hatem-i Tayy ve Ca’fer-i Bermeki haslet idi.  eyh  azeli’den sonra hayal-i zilla  ohret viren oldur.

Evliya  lebi, *Evliya  lebi Seyahatnamesi, 1. Kitap: İstanbul*, 310.

As a contribution, Metin And's comprehensive translation needs a bit of modification. That "in this latter *art*, he ranks as a second *Farabi*" should rather be rendered as "he is as *knowledgeable* as *Farabi* in his own time." Evliya neither uses the term "knowledgeable" only to indicate music, nor uses a word directly corresponding to the term "art." In considering the original text, that is, "*Farisi-han ve Arabi-han ve msiki-şinas idi kim 'ilm-i edvarın Farabi'si idi ve şeb-baz...*", Evliya Çelebi, means "knowledge" or "knowing" by the word "*ilm-i*", and "era", "age" by the word "*edvar*" but "*edvar*" also means the "origins of music." He also means "*hayali*"; the "Karagöz performer" by the word "*şeb-baz*" in the Ottoman Language. Besides, instead of "science and art," which are the products of the modern age, "*Hezarfenn*" should mean "having a good command of countless activities at the same time"; in other words, being *knowledgeable* about different kinds of issues. In this sense, art is actually defined as knowledge, which is in parallel with the understanding of art as *technē* considering that "if capacity and ability is originally as a knowing, then art is *Technē*."⁴¹ On the other hand, in the Turkish version of his article, published in 1969, And uses the term "wise"⁴² to correspond Evliya Çelebi's "*ilm-i*" instead of "art" in the English version of his article published in 1979.

Furthermore, even today, in referring to the "arts" of the Ottoman period, the most commonly used term is "Ottoman Handicrafts." This also supports the idea that the artists were understood as *technitēs* in the ottoman society. Besides, in the Ottoman social life, Karagöz was being considered neither art nor craft; those people performing Karagöz were not different from any other kind of people who were "bringing forth in another." As it will be discussed in the following chapters, the social organization of the Ottoman society that became upside down with the modernization efforts beginning with the Tanzimat era had also been providing a ground for such an understanding.

According to Heidegger, the beginning of the Modern Age is first shaped by Plato and Aristotle, who demarcated and arranged the beings in terms of outer and inner limits that brought the end of the understanding of *technē* and the beginning of the *aesthetics*. The same argument can also be followed in other writings of Heidegger, such as "The Age of the World Picture"⁴³, "The Origin of Art"⁴⁴, and "Question

⁴¹ Heidegger, *Nietzsche, Volume I*, 81.

⁴² Metin And, *Geleneksel Türk Tiyatrosu (Kukla - Karagöz - Ortaoyunu)*, 1st. (Ankara: Bilgi Yayınevi, 1969), 121.

⁴³ Martin Heidegger, "The Age of the World Picture," in *Off the Beaten Track*, by Martin Heidegger, edited & translated by Julian Young & Kenneth Hynes, 57-85 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1938).

Concerning Technology.”⁴⁵ In the context of the question of the beginning of the Modern Age where the world is represented as picture, Heidegger says,

“World” is a name for beings in their entirety including nature, history, human... everything. “Picture” here does not mean a mere imitation but rather, what sounds forth in the colloquial expression “to be in the picture” about something. ... That we are “in the picture” about something means not just that the being is placed before, represented by us. It means, rather, that it stands before us together with what belongs to and stands together with it as a system. ... “To be in the picture” resonates with being well informed, being equipped and prepared.⁴⁶

The term “*Enframing*,” (*Ge-stell*), is used to correspond to the concept of the “world picture,” and Heidegger defines the essence of the modern technology as *Enframing*. Comprehensively, he explains *Enframing*, “As a destining of revealing, is indeed the essence of technology.”⁴⁷

In “The Age of the World Picture,” He states that neither medieval *doctrina* nor Greek *epistēme* could be considered as *science* because experiment was not a question for Greeks. Therefore, “Process of art’s moving into purview of aesthetics, which means that the artwork becomes as “object” of experience and consequently is considered to be an expression of human life.”⁴⁸

Similarly, the admission that Karagöz is a “performing art,”⁴⁹ announce that Karagöz becomes *as object of experience* (of art) and *consequently is considered to be an expression* of the contemporary Turkish social life. Considering the UNESCO’s definition of “safeguarding,”⁵⁰ which were qualified by the terms

⁴⁴ Walter Biemel, "Elucidations of Heidegger's Lecture 'The Origin of Art and the Destination of Thinking,'" in *In Reading Heidegger: Commemorations*, by Walter Biemel, 370-382 (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1993).

⁴⁵ Heidegger, "Question Concerning Technology."

⁴⁶ Heidegger, "The Age of the World Picture," 67.

⁴⁷ Heidegger, "Question Concerning Technology," 30.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 61.

⁴⁹ Municipality of Culture and Tourism Turkish Government, *Karagöz the Shadow Play*. Nomination Form.

⁵⁰ UNESCO defines “safeguarding” in its 32nd convention as,

Measures aimed at ensuring the viability of the intangible cultural heritage, including the identification, documentation, research, preservation, protection, promotion, enhancement, transmission, particularly through formal and non-formal education, as well as the revitalization of the various aspects of such heritage.

Consequently, the main motive behind this program is the idea that the spread of mass media, the worldwide web, standardization and uniformation facilities of the global world, which Heidegger defined as modern technology, and loss of communication between the

identification, documentation, research and preservation, ICH program itself becomes an instrument of *Enframing* by positing Karagöz with all its knowledge in the world picture.

Therefore, in the age of the world picture, human action is understood and practiced as culture.⁵¹ As an intangible “*cultural*” heritage, Karagöz fits well into this definition in modern Turkey, in contrast to being an activity expressing the usage of *technē* within the *physis*; an activity within life in the Ottoman society without a qualifying label such as culture, art or craft.

In “Question Concerning Technology,” Heidegger says that the revealing that governs the modern technology,

Does not unfold into a bringing-forth in the sense of *poiesis*⁵². The revealing that rules in modern technology is a challenging [Herausfordern], which puts to nature the unreasonable demand that it supply energy that can be extracted and stored as such.⁵³

Therefore, man became the measure of everything; “man’s ‘taste’ becomes the court of judicature over beings.”⁵⁴ Man becomes the midst of everything, nothing is allowed to represent itself but they are created according to the perception of the subject of the modern age as far as they are representable; truth becomes the certainty of representation. In the same context, being enlisted in the “Representative List” of UNESCO summarizes the essence of the age of the world picture that objects, as far as they are representatives, are let to reveal themselves by the destining of the modern subject. The beings are objectified for the subjects. Hence the state of feeling becomes the field of aesthetics. In Heidegger’s words,

Thus when man, investigating, observing, ensnares nature as an area of his own conceiving, he has already been claimed by a way of revealing that challenges him to approach nature as an object of research, until even the object disappears into the objectlessness of standing-reserve.⁵⁵

generations are all challenging such varieties of local cultures and dissolving them, so that it results in a loss of identity, human creativity and cultural diversity. UNESCO, “Text of the Convention for the Safeguarding of Intangible Cultural Heritage.”

⁵¹ Heidegger, “The Age of the World Picture,” 61.

⁵² Every kinds of “bringing-forth” (H.B. 2013).

⁵³ Heidegger, “Question Concerning Technology,” 14.

⁵⁴ Heidegger, *Nietzsche, Volume I*, 83.

⁵⁵ Heidegger, “Question Concerning Technology,” 19.

Biemel elucidates Heidegger, who says people's "stay in the world is determined by scientific technology,"⁵⁶ that the scientific method is much more important than science itself. Biemel says that *scalability* began to determine the essence of the real⁵⁷; "World is available and can be dominated by man. ... The sciences are characterized as taking over the task of philosophy in the essence of regional ontologies (nature, history, art)."⁵⁸ Therefore, for Heidegger, scientific world means cybernetic world, which is not only gaining control of the world but also of man. He says, "Rather industrial society is the most extreme form of egoity, i.e., subjectivity. Man stands exclusively on his own and on the institutionalized areas of his world"⁵⁹

Heidegger stresses that, "future is actually the prolonged present," and supposes that man is imprisoned himself "into the scope of possibilities calculated only by and for him." Beings are beings as far as they are accessible through calculating, and dominated.⁶⁰ The history has already become a transformation of the relation of man to beings. In the modern age, this relation is "decisive as something represented."⁶¹ So, according to Biemel,⁶² in the modern age, art is no arbitrary production or creation. World civilization is different from the national folk world. Art, formerly defined as every kind of production within *technē* is transmitted to the domain of modern aesthetics.

As a result, the more art (in the sense of fine art) occupies the realm of existence, the more art (as *technē*) loses its ground. Art is no longer an absolute need that exists in all beings. Producing/bringing forth now is categorized into the field of aesthetics defined by feeling, and art is transformed into something that is stolen from all beings that is life actually. Now, art is a kind of area like philosophy, history, science and religion, etc. Production/bringing-forth is taken apart from being. Apparently, the modern artist is only the one who acquires expertise in the production of fine arts whose meaning can no longer be related to the original sense of art as *technē*.

⁵⁶ Biemel, "Elucidations of Heidegger's Lecture," 374.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 375.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, 375.

⁵⁹ Heidegger, Martin. "Die Herkunft der Kunst und die Bestimmung des Denkens" (Lecture in the Academy of Sciences in Athens. April 4, 1967). Quoted in Biemel, "Elucidations of Heidegger's Lecture," 376.

⁶⁰ Biemel, "Elucidations of Heidegger's Lecture," 377.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 378.

⁶² *Ibid.*, 374.

In the example of modernize Turkey, Karagöz, which could be qualified by the term *techné* within the Ottoman context, is in expectation of being recognized of a legitimate field of artistic activity in terms of modern aesthetics that apparently began to develop in the Tanzimat period but advanced with the promulgation of the Turkish Republic. This means that the emerging characteristics of Karagöz, for instance, the satirical presentation of the social and political issues, the absurdity and the grotesque features, must have been left aside. Today, the complaints about Karagöz that it has lost its main peculiarities and communication with the contemporary society are directly related to the development of aesthetics as a separate field within the modern world; in other words, the metaphysical meaning of art that was every kind of ability to bring forth has totally changed. Once, Karagöz was not a representative art but a part of the life in the Ottoman society when there were no such categories as “artist” or “art” in modern terms; rather, art corresponded to the terms of mastery, craft, ability, skill, talent and knowledge,

As the interviewees also said, with the promulgation of the Republic, the “fashion” of the times has changed, which corresponded to the modernization process of Turkey. Thereafter, Karagöz has been in search of new ways to survive, a (respectable) way to be recognized as a legitimate branch of the fine arts. Such a debate is also closely related to the question of “whatness of Karagöz” discussed in the Chapter VI, where the possibility of an essencing Karagöz or an already given essence are elaborated. Rather than just being “brought forth” within the Ottoman society, Karagöz was expected to be valued in terms of aesthetics of the modernized Turkey, which might divide the paths of future Karagöz into two. One is the way of being a children’s theater that also includes the fake-performers (in the recognized performers’ words), and the other path is being accepted as a respected art, of which figures (*tasvir*) and performances have high artistic-economic values.

Relatedly, according to Eagleton,⁶³ art gained such autonomy by means of becoming uniquely integrated with the capitalist mode of production that never happened before. That also explains why Karagöz mainly became a children’s theater for the financial reasons today. Moreover, the statement of Eagleton also helpful to understand the increasing desire of the contemporary recognized Karagöz

⁶³ Eagleton also says that these three realms of knowledge (what can we know?), morality (what we ought to do?) and art (what is attractive to us?) heavily overlapped with each other. In other words, knowledge, politics and desire were highly dependent on each other. Those three distinct activity fields have disintegrated and specialized in themselves. Today, art gained autonomy from the cognitive, moral and political fields as Heidegger noted in a different way. Terry Eagleton, “From the Polis to Postmodernism,” in *The Ideology of the Aesthetic*, by Terry Eagleton (Basil: Blackwell, 1990), 460.

performers for Karagöz to be accepted as an art after the 2000s when the Turkish society has totally integrated with the free market economy. When art becomes an object of consumption, and a commodity through eluding the social and the traditional functions for the church (religious entities), state and jurisdiction, it gains individuality in an anonymous market.⁶⁴

As it will be seen, the majority of the interviewees are talking about the “trade of Karagöz,” which has to be prevented because those who are doing this display lack of quality and are misrepresenting the Karagöz “art.” This, actually, constitutes a ground of the legitimation for the claim of contemporary Karagöz performers that Karagöz is a respected art to be valued through deep inquiry, understanding and research.

However, it seems that Karagöz have lost its communication with the contemporary Turkish society. In this case, if it wants to survive, it has to speak the language of the society on the one hand, and force society to have an interest in it on the other. As Gadamer, says,

Every work of art only begins to speak when we have already learned to decipher and read it. Tradition means transmission (translation also), rather than conservation. The ossified language of literature only becomes art when it becomes part of our own language.⁶⁵

This means that Karagöz, as a representative art at the service of the modern subject, has to establish a steady audience; in other words, has to create its market to survive in the age of world picture.

Methodology

In the light of the theoretical explanations, Karagöz’s transformations from *technē* to *fine art* will be traced through examining both the products regarding Karagöz and the plays produced in Ottoman, Tanzimat and Republican, in times. Regarding the different periods corresponding to the transformations of Karagöz, 39 classical plays and 19 dialogs from the Ottoman period; one written play, namely *Karagöz Evleniyor* (Karagöz is Getting married), products related to Karagöz, and indications referring to the social life in the 19th century in the classical plays within the context of Tanzimat; 53 Karagöz plays to show the transformations of Karagöz from

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, 459.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, 48-49.

the early Republican era to the present day are all examined in this thesis. Besides, to understand the contemporary situation of Karagöz and the debates among the contemporary performers, deep interviews with 21 Karagöz performers are conducted and statement of the interviewees are elaborated in the context of their claim that Karagöz should be fine art.

Today, Karagöz is described under the heading of The Popular Theater Tradition⁶⁶ that was the pastime of the urban middle class, developed first in İstanbul and in the other cities. One of the four types of popular theaters is *Ortaoyunu*, which is defined as Turkish *Commedia Dell'Arte*⁶⁷. Those plays are based on mimics and costumes but can be performed in any public place. They are regarded as an open-form of theater. The other popular form of theater is *Meddah*. He is a solo performer who plays alone and tells stories. He does every necessary customizing or impersonation by himself. Today, *Meddah* is being corresponded to the Stand-up Comedian. The third form of popular theater is the puppetry, which also includes the shadow play and Karagöz.⁶⁸ Later, in his book, *Turkish Theater from the beginning to 1983*,⁶⁹ Metin And places Karagöz, *Meddah* and *Ortaoyunu* under the title of Folk Theater Tradition. In his work, he divides the Turkish theater mainly into two groups: the Traditional and the Western. The traditional theater is also divided into two: the Peasant and the Folk Theater that is mainly shaped in urbanized İstanbul. Karagöz belonged to that second type. He might have decided that there were no popular theater tradition in Turkey.

Ünver Oral⁷⁰ also places shadow theater under the title of the Folk Tradition Theater, and analyzes it together with *Ortaoyunu*, *Meddah*, puppetry, improvisational theatre (*Tulûat*), village theatre and jugglery because he thinks that Karagöz is the sole *representation* of the ordinary people living in the society it had emerged. By this way, on the one hand, Karagöz is categorized and took its position in the “world picture,” and on the other, methodologically categorizing and naming it as a folk theater instead of the popular theater conceals its unpopularity in the

⁶⁶ And, *Karagoz: Turkish Shadow Theatre*, 9.

⁶⁷ For further information: Martha Fletcher Bellinger, "National Drama: Italy to 1700," in *A Short History of the Drama*, by Martha Fletcher Bellinger (New York: Henry Holt, 1927).

⁶⁸ And, *Karagoz: Turkish Shadow Theatre*, 14.

⁶⁹ Metin And, *Başlangıcından 1983'e Türk Tiyatro Tarihi* (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2006).

⁷⁰ Ünver Oral, *Turkish Shadow Theater: Karagöz*, Translated by Cumhur Orancı (Ankara: Ministry of Culture and Tourism, 2009), 13-14.

modernized Turkish society. Hence, Karagöz is described in a way that it has always attracted attention as a folk theater tradition.

On the contrary, giving the name “traditional” in front of Karagöz would mean that everything belongs to the Ottoman period is traditional. That might be a limited outlook for Karagöz. Faroqhi also points out the same issue in her work of “Subjects of the Sultan.”⁷¹ She says that the conventional approach divides culture into two: high and folk culture. In the European context, early historians used the expression folk culture “to denote the culture of those people, who did not participate in the culture of the upper class, which was based on a classical education.”⁷² However, people cannot be considered as homogeneous; among them, there were “craftsmen, country squires, and women of all levels of society who were literate only in their native languages. These were readers of almanacs, prayer books and broadsheets.”⁷³ That was the same for the Ottoman society in terms of Karagöz; a high-ranked pasha could attend both taverns and coffeehouses. She also adds that today, many cultural historians consider this division as very crude because “both people and works of literature can easily pertain to more than one culture.”⁷⁴ There are two alternatives on the other hand, those are either using the term “popular culture” or avoiding such definitions as far as possible.

As Faroqhi, in trying to understand what Karagöz stands for, this thesis adopts Faroqhi’s position and avoids any categorization of Karagöz with such definitions. Karagöz belonged to both the royal palace and the coffeehouses at the same time. Therefore, because the diversity is best presented in İstanbul, and the political and social transformations were felt and applied first in İstanbul rather than any other place; the life, culture and the entertainment in İstanbul will be the issue here. It is also known that Karagöz did mainly emerged in İstanbul, and held a mirror to the İstanbul life regardless of any division between high or folk culture.

Therefore, for the early history of Karagöz and its situation in the Ottoman society where it had emerged as techné, the Kar-i Kadim, in other words, classic plays and dialogs are examined in the context of the Ottoman society, daily practices and the organization of the Empire. The background for determining the Kar-i Kadim plays

⁷¹ Suraiya Faroqhi, *Subjects of the Sultan: Culture and Daily Life in the Ottoman Empire* (London & New York: I.B. Tauris, 2010).

⁷² *Ibid.*, 6

⁷³ *Ibid.*, 6

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, 7

that are subjected to analysis in the context of the Ottoman society, and the limitations of this methodology is discussed in detailed below. The full list of the examined classic plays can be found in APPENDIX D: THE PLAYS EXAMINED IN THIS THESIS.

For being a part of the oral tradition, regarding its early period, Different performers have always performed Karagöz plays differently over time. The main plots; the main curriculums of the play stand still but the content can vary depending on time and the agenda in the Ottoman society, and the ability of the performer. Cevdet Kudret⁷⁵ had compiled a book containing published classic plays of Karagöz in three volumes based on Hellmut Ritter's work. Those plays were collected in accordance with the plots that were mostly performed between the 17th and the late 19th centuries. Those plays are called *Kar-i Kadim*, which means old-fashion, ancient, classic plays. The newly written plays, which were mostly written by the late 19th century, were called *Nev-i İcad*. He gathered those 39 plays mostly from Helmut Ritter, who published a Compilation of Karagöz Plays in three volumes based on *Hayali Nazif's* narration between 1924 and 1954. However, Kudret also included the plays from Ignacz Kunos, Hayali Memduh, Sefer Mehmet, Hayali Küçük Ali, Selim Nüzhet Gerçek, Sabri Esad Siyavuşgil, Metin And and Metin Özlen, and 19 dialog sections of Karagöz plays. Yet, based on the interviews conducted with the Karagöz performers in May and June 2012, those plays that Ritter collected and Kudret translated by adding foot and endnotes, said to be deceptive. Both Ramazan and Şaban (interviewees) say that the books are very useful but have to be treated very carefully because when Ritter came back to Turkey to collect the remainder plays, Hayali Nazif had already gone. Şaban says,

When Ritter came back to Turkey in 1923, he could not find Hayali Nazif the Hayali of the Palace because he had passed away. He searched the second-hand bookstores and he met with Hayali İrfan alias İrfan the Glassman [Camcı İrfan (Açıkgöz)]. He was the assistant of Memduh Bey [Hayali Memduh]. İrfan personally told me that "they" dictated the plays to Ritter. They had padded and exaggerated the stories of the Karagöz plays. Then, Ritter had collected them and written as they were told. This was a mistake!

The collecting dates of Ritter's works are different according to Metin And, Şaban and Sabri Koz. However, Sabri Koz (as the editor of the book) in the prolog to Cevdet Kudret's work, and Ahmed Ateş⁷⁶ say that Ritter had made *Hayali Nazif*

⁷⁵ Cevdet Kudret, Karagöz. Vol. I. III vols. (İstanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 2004).

⁷⁶ Ahmed Ateş, "Hellmut Ritter," *Şarkiyat Mecmuası* (İstanbul Üniversitesi, Edebiyat Fakültesi Şarkiyat Enstitüsü), no. 5 (1964): 5-6.

transcribe those plays in 1918 in three volumes including 30 Karagöz plays. Nevertheless, those volumes could only be published in 1924, 1941 and 1953, and the missing plays were collected from the performers and the researchers mentioned above. Whatever the case, these plays were performed since the 16th century; furthermore, Evliya Çelebi even says that they were performed as early as the 15th century. If it were true that rather than *Hayali Nazif*, *Hayali İrfan* (the apprentice of *Hayali Memduh*, a famous *Hayali* of the 19th century) and the others told the stories, it was an advantage because, the presentation of the daily life of İstanbul would be more accurate.

Although Karagöz plays cannot be dated exactly, it is possible to say that *Kanlı Nigar* (The Bloody Nigar), *Yalova Safası* (Pleasure Trip to Yalova) and *Hamam* (The Bathhouse) were definitely being performed before and during the 17th century because, Evliya Çelebi⁷⁷ (1611-1683) mentions about a Kör Hasanzade Mehmet Çelebi who was performing Karagöz Plays before Murad IV (1612-1940). *Mehmet Çelebi* was good at imitating *Nigar*, *Çelebi* (Gentleman), Beggar Arab, Albanian, *Bekri Mustafa* and Blind Arab. Thus, the plots of *Abdal Bekçi* (The Stupid Watchman), *Bahçe* (The Garden), *Balık* (The Fishmongers), *Canbazlar* (The Acrobats), *Cazular* (The Witches), *Çeşme* (The Fountain), *Kayık* (The Rowboat), *Kırgınlar* (The Resentful Ones), *Mandıra* (The Dairy), *Tahmis* (The Coffee Grinders), *Orman* (The Forest), *Şairlik* (The Poesy), *Tahir & Zühre* and *Yazıcı* (The Scribe) can be dated back to the 17th century or before.

According to Metin And's translation⁷⁸, Evliya Çelebi says⁷⁹,

⁷⁷ Evliya Çelebi, *Evliya Çelebi Seyahatnamesi'nden Seçmeler*, 162-165.

⁷⁸ And, *Karagoz: Turkish Shadow Theatre*, 41.

⁷⁹ The Original Text of Evliya Çelebi:

... ve haftada iki gice Murad Han huzurunda mukallidlik idüp evvel özür dileyüp bu beyti terennüm iderdi...

Farisi-han ve Arabi-han ve müsiki-şinas idi kim 'ilm-i edvarın Farabi'si idi ve şeb-baz ve kitabet-i talikda hattat ve sahib-i sitte ve nice sergüzezt sahibi ve levend-i hönhar ve fişek-baz ve'l-hasıl Cemşid missal hezarfen bir zat-ı mükerrem ve Hatem-i Tayy ve Ca'fer-i Bermeki haslet idi. Şeyh Şazeli'den sonra hayal-i zilla şöret viren oldur. Hayal-i zil perdesi içinde bir küçük perde dahı kurup gayet hürde tasvirler ile hayal-i zil oynatmak anun te'lifi idi ve gayet zen-dost olmağıla hayal-i zilde Civan Nekkar taklidi ve hoppa taklidi ve dilsizler taklidi ve Dilenci 'Arab ve Arnavüd taklidi ve Bekri Mustafa ile Dilenci Kör 'Arab taklidi, Mirasyedi Çelebi ve Devrani çelebiler ve üç 'eşkiya çelebiler ve Civan Nigar ve Civan ile Nigar hammama girüp Gazi Boşnak hammamda Civan Nigar'ı başup Karagöz'i kirinden 'uryan bağlayup hammamdan çıkarmasın ve Hacı Ayvaz Babası Şerbetçizade taklidin ve'l-hasıl hayal-i zilde üç yüz pare taklidleri vardur kim bir mukallid ana nazire bir taklid itmek mümkün degıldür. Bir kerre dinleyen muhabbet idüp elbette irşad olmasi mukarrer

In Sultan Murad IV's time (1623-1640) the chief of all these mimics was Hasanzade, the player of shadow theatre. He performed twice a week in the Sultan's presence, asking the Emperor's pardon every time before commencing...

He was a skillful gentleman, who knew Arabic, Persian, and Music. In this latter art, he ranks as a second Farabi. He played the Chinese shades; he wrote beautifully Ta'lik and was a good pyro-technician. In short, like Cemşid, he was versed in a thousand sciences and arts, and was generous like Hatem-i Tay, Ca'fer-i Bermeki. After Şeyh Şazeli, he was the man who gave most renown to the shadow theatre. He contrived to represent in the shadow theatre a second screen, where the figures of the smallest size were represented. Being extremely fond of women, he invented all the famous scenes of the Karagöz, which are known by the name of the **'Young Man and Nigar Play', 'Huveyya Play', 'The Dumb Men's Play', 'Arab Beggar's and Albanian Play', 'Bekri Mustafa, the drunkard and Blind Beggar Play', 'Spendthrift Gentleman Play', 'Strolling Gentlemen Play', 'Three Brigand Play', 'The Public Bath Play', and 'Şerbetçizade Play, being the father of Hacivad'**⁸⁰. In short, he contrived no less than three hundred different plays for the shadow theatre, in which feat he was out rivaled by nobody, and though all his farces and plays were intended in a mystical sense, yet the spectators received them with hearty laughter.

Based on the information given by Evliya Çelebi, the plays of *Civan Nigar* (*Kanlı Nigar* - The Bloody Nigar), who was also mentioned by *Poet Nef'i* in his work of "*Siham-i Kaza*" (death: 1635)⁸¹ as Dirty Nigar, *Hoppa* (*Yalova Sefası* - A Pleasure Trip to Yalova, where was a famous resort of the 16th and the 17th centuries), *Üç Eşkiya Çelebiler* (*Orman* - The Forest), *Mandıra* (The Dairy), *Kanlı Kavak* (The Bloody Poplar), and *Mirasyedi Çelebi* (probably *Ödüllü* - The Wrestlers); besides, the characters of the Albanians, *Bekri Mustafa* (famous drunkard of the time of Murat IV), *Gazi Boşnak* (*Hamam* - The Bathhouse), and the Bagger Arabs were known and performed in the 16th and the 17th centuries.

In addition, Refik Ahmet Sevengil⁸² says that in the reign of Murat III (1546-1595), some of the non-Muslims were dwelling among the Muslim community. The central authority was weak at that time. Those Muslims were getting drunk with the non-

idi. Zira cem-î taklidi tahkik-i hakiki olmak üzre netice-i kelimaları cümle tasavvuf idi yine böyle iken adem gülmeden bayılırdı.

Amma mezkür kör Hasan oğlu Hacivad'ı Karagöz'ü ahşamdan tül-i leyl ta sabaha dek on beş sa'at iki tasviri oynadup gūna-gūn muhaşşa taklidler idüp bir itdüğü şakayı ol gice bir dahı itmek ihtimali yok idi.

Evliya Çelebi, *Evliya Çelebi Seyahatnamesi*, 1. Kitap: İstanbul, 310-311.

⁸⁰ Bolds belongs to the author (H.B. 2013)

⁸¹ Sabri Esad Siyavuşgil, *Karagöz: Psiko-Sosyolojik Bir Deneme* (İstanbul: Maarif Matbaası, 1941), 77

⁸² Refik Ahmet Sevengil, *İstanbul Nasıl Eğleniyordu?* (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, (1927)1998), 32-34.

Muslims and sexually abusing women who were on their way to the bathhouse. Even, some of the drunken ones attacked women's bathhouse; people stampeded and run for help. Due to that, women run out naked. This incident was presented in Karagöz plays as *Hamam Oyunu* (The Play of the Bathhouse). This information also supports the probability that *Hamam* (The Bathhouse) play might even be performed before the 16th century. Besides, some young sailors and women had been meeting at rowboats and causing profligate situations.⁸³ These events were presented in Karagöz plays as *Kayık Oyunu* (The Rowboat Play). That was also in the 16th century. Although there is no concrete evidence, if *Tuzsuz Deli Bekir* was a reflection of the Janissaries, then all the plays including *Tuzsuz Deli Bekir* can be dated back to a time; even before the 17th century. The rest of the old plays can be dated back to the 18th century and new plays (Nev-i İcad) were produced starting with the late 19th century.

Siyavuşgil also gives detailed information about the plays and the performers. Accordingly, he classifies *Mahalle Baskını* (*Mandıra* - The Dairy), *Terzi* (Tailor, maybe referring to *Abdal Bekçi* - The Stupid Watchman), *Yazıcı* (The Scribe), *Çeşme* (*Kütahya Çeşmesi* - The Fountain of Kütahya), *Tımarhane* (The Madhouse) as the plays estimated to be known in the 14th century based on the information given by *Lebib*.⁸⁴ Yet, Siyavuşgil⁸⁵ says that although those plays were actually mentioned as *Ortaoyunu* they could also be the plays of Karagöz due to that *Ortaoyunu* originated out of Karagöz according to him. Therefore, he claims that *Hamam* (The Bathhouse), *Bahçe* (The Garden), *Büyük Evlenme* (The Great Wedding), *Mandıra* (The Dairy), *Yazıcı* (The Scribe), *Kütahya Çeşmesi* (The Fountain), *Kayık* (The Rowboat) and *Tımarhane* (The Madhouse) belong to the 16th century.⁸⁶ He rests his claim on the notes of foreign travelers visiting İstanbul, records of *Ortaoyunu* and the notes of Evliya Çelebi.

On the other hand, Şaban (an interviewee) says, “our greatest mistake is to accept and account the information those foreign researchers give as totally reliable. So, we are misrepresenting the reality.” But, Siyavuşgil⁸⁷ was definitely aware of it

⁸³ *Ibid.*, 33.

⁸⁴ Mehmet Arslan, *Osmanlı saray düğünleri ve şenlikleri: Lebib sümâmesi; Hâfız Mehmed Efendi (Hazine) sümâmesi; Abdi sümâmesi; Telhîsü'l-Beyân'ın sümâme kısmı*. (İstanbul: Sarayburnu Kitaplığı, 2008), cited in Siyavuşgil, *Karagöz: Psiko-Sosyolojik Bir Deneme*, 83.

⁸⁵ Siyavuşgil, *Karagöz: Psiko-Sosyolojik Bir Deneme*, 83

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, 83-84

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, 60

when he stated that these plays should be analyzed very carefully for the reason that the travelers had chosen guides among Levantines and seen generally grotesque plays, which were translated by these Levantines. Still, one cannot be sure of the popularity of the grotesque plays. No matter how the stories were told, the subjects of the plays are enough to locate them within the 16th century or more accurately before the 17th century.

In the 18th century, *Yazıcı* (The Scribe) play was mentioned in a work called “History” of Raşid⁸⁸ besides the character of *Ayvaz Serkiz* (Butler Armenian). The type of *Tiryaki* (the Addict) was mentioned in *Kani’s* (1711-1791) “*Hezeliyat*” (can be translated as manuscript or scratch book). Nerval, Rolland and Guiter mention *Bahçe* (The Garden), *Büyük Evlenme* (The Great Wedding) and *Kayık* (The Rowboat) among the classic plays. In his book dated to 1886, Jacob⁸⁹ mentions the plays *Hamam* (The Bathhouse), *Vuruşma* (The Poesy) and *Yazıcı* (The Scribe) the classic plays.⁹⁰

Radloff⁹¹ mentions *Yalova Sefası* (A Pleasure Trip to Yalova), *Ağalık* (The Agha), *Ferhat & Şirin*, *Kanlı Kavak* (The Bloody Poplar), *Ters Evlenme* (The Awry Marriage), *Kayık* (The Rowboat), *Abdal Bekçi* (The Stupid Watchman) and *Tımarhane* (The Madhouse) in 1899.

*Hayali Memduh*⁹² collected the classic plays in his book in 1922. Those are *Karagöz’ün Gelin Olması* (*Ters Evlenme* - The Awry Marriage), *Karagöz’ün Mirasyediliği* (*Ağalık* - The Agha), *Çifte Sihirbazlar* (*Cazular* - The Witches), *Karagöz’ün Yalova Sefası* (A Pleasure Trip to Yalova), *Karagöz’ün Aşçılığı* (Cookery), *Karagöz’ün Evlenmesi yahut Üç Sevdalılar* (*Mandıra* -The Dairy), *Karagöz’ün Divaneliği* (*Tımarhane* - The Madhouse), *Karagöz’ün Sünnet Olması yahut, Hayal içinde Hayal* (*Sünnet* - The Circumcision), *Karagöz’ün Yazıcılığı*, (The Scribe) *Karagöz’ün Salıncak Sefası* (The Swing), *Karagöz’ün Başına gelenler yahut Bahçe Sefası* (The Garden).

⁸⁸ Mehmet Raşid Efendi, *Tarih-i Raşit*. Vol. III. (İstanbul: Matbaa-yi Âmire, (1660-1722) 1865), cited in Siyavuşgil, *Karagöz: Psiko-Sosyolojik Bir Deneme*, 81

⁸⁹ Georg Jacob, *Karagöz-Komödien* (Berlin: Mayer & Müller, 1899), cited in Siyavuşgil, *Karagöz: Psiko-Sosyolojik Bir Deneme*, 82

⁹⁰ Siyavuşgil, *Karagöz: Psiko-Sosyolojik Bir Deneme*, 83.

⁹¹ Wilhelm Radloff, *Türk Kavimleri Halk Edebiyatlarından Nümuneler*. Vol. VII (Petersburg, 1899), cited in Siyavuşgil, *Karagöz: Psiko-Sosyolojik Bir Deneme*, 86.

⁹² Hayali Memduh, *Çifte Sihirbazlar* (İstanbul: Gayret Kütüphanesi, 1338 [1922]) cited in Siyavuşgil *Karagöz: Psiko-Sosyolojik Bir Deneme*, 86-87.

Ritter also counts the names of the classic plays in his entry on “Karagöz” in the Encyclopedia of Islam.⁹³ Those are *Ferhat & Şirin*, *Tahir & Zühre*, *Leyla & Mecnun*, *Yalova Sefası* (A Pleasure Trip to Yalova), *Kanlı Nigar* (The Bloody Nigar), *Mandıra* (The Dairy), *Şairlik* (The Poesy), *Yazıcı* (The Scribe), *Kayık* (The Rowboat), *Salıncak* (The Swing), *Ağalık* (The Agha), *Bahçe* (The Garden), *Hamam* (The Bathhouse), *Baskın* (*Mandıra* - The Dairy), *Çeşme* (The Fountain), *Kanlı Kavak* (The Bloody Poplar), *Sünnet* (The Circumcision), *Cazular* (The Witches), *Tımarhane* (The Madhouse), *Ters Evlenme* (The Awry Marriage), *Meyhane* (The Tap House), *Kırgınlar* (The Resentful Ones), *Tahmişçiler* (The Coffee Grinders), *Balık* (The Fishmongers), *Canbazlar* (The Acrobats), *Eczane* (The Pharmacy), *Ortaklar* (The Partners) and *Orman* (The Forest).

According to Selim Nüzhet Gerçek,⁹⁴ the classic Karagöz plays are *Ağalık* (The Agha), *Bahçe* (The Garden), *Balıkçılar* (The Fishmongers), *Çivi Baskını* (Abdal Bekçi-The Stupid Watchman), *Bursalı Leyla* (Leyla of Bursa), *Büyük Evlenme* (The Great Wedding), *Cazular* (The Witches), *Canbazlar* (The Acrobats), *Eczane* (The Pharmacy), *Sahte Esirci* (The Fake Slave Trader), *Ferhat & Şirin*, *Hain Kâhya* (The Traitor Butler), *Hamam* (The Bathhouse), *Kağıthane Sefası* (Kağıthane Episode), *Kanlı Kavak* (The Bloody Poplar), *Kanlı Nigar* (The Bloody Nigar), *Kayık* (The Rowboat), *Kırgınlar* (The Resentful Ones), *Ortaklar* (The Partners), *Pehlivanlar/Ödüllü* (The Wrestlers), *Salıncak* (The Swing), *Sünnet* (The Circumcision), *Şairler* (The Poesy), *Tahir & Zühre*, *Tahmis* (The Coffee Grinders), *Ters Evlenme* (The Awry Marriage), *Tımarhane* (The Madhouse), *Yalova Sefası* (A Pleasure Trip to Yalova), *Yangın - Bakkal* (The Grocery) and *Yazıcı* (The Scribe).

Therefore, the common categorization of the classic plays follows as, *Abdal Bekçi*, *Ağalık*, *Bahçe*, *Balık*, *Büyük Evlenme*, *Canbazlar*, *Cazular*, *Çeşme*, *Cincilik*, *Ferhat ile Şirin*, *Hamam*, *Kanlı Kavak*, *Kanlı Nigar*, *Kayık*, *Kırgınlar*, *Mandıra*, *Meyhane*, *Ödüllü/Pehlivanlar*, *Orman*, *Şairlik*, *Salıncak*, *Sünnet*, *Tahir ile Zühre*, *Tahmis*, *Ters Evlenme*, *Tımarhane*, *Yalova Sefası* and *Yazıcı*.

Nev-i İcad (new-fashioned) plays in the late 19th century were also taken into consideration within those classic plays; however, the indications of the late 19th century in the dialog sections were also mentioned in the chapter related to

⁹³ Hellmut Ritter, *Entry: Karagös, Türkische Schattenspiele*. Vol. 13, in *Bibliotheca Islamica*, 339 (Beirut: Orient Institut, 1941).

⁹⁴ Selim Nüzhet Gerçek, "Karagöz," in *Türk Temaşası: Meddah, Karagöz ve Ortaoyunu*, by Selim Nüzhet Gerçek (İstanbul: Kanaat Kitabevi, 1942), 83.

Karagöz's situation in *Tanzimat period*. The organization and the language of these plays were not different from those labeled as *Kar-i Kadim* (old-fashioned); thus, examining them within the context of the Ottoman daily life until the *Tanzimat* period is preferred here. The Nevi-i İcad plays were defined as follows: *Aşçılık*, *Bakkallık*, *Bursa Leylası*, *Cincilik*, *Eczahane: Karagöz'ün Doktorluğu*, *Hain Kahya/Enver Ağa*, *Karagöz'ün Esrar içip Deli Olması*, *Leyla ile Mecnun*, *Ortaklar*, *Sahte Esirci*, *Mal Çıkarma*. The full list of the examined plays belonging to Ottoman period can be found in Appendix D on page 494.

By the late 19th century, Karagöz plays were fixed and its four-part structure started to take shape within the printed media. Since then, there are slight differences in the plots of the same plays. Only the dialogs and the degree of the purity of language and slang differ. That also gave opportunity to researchers and performers to debate about the authenticity of Karagöz and the originality of the plays. The first published Karagöz plays were collected in the book of *Letaif-i Hayal* in 1899, after that, Katip Cemil Bey had published a book of Karagöz plays, which included *Kanlı Kavak* (The Bloody Poplar) and *Baskın* (can be translated as *Raid* but probably referring to the play of The Bathhouse: *Hamam*).

Siyavuşgil⁹⁵ also says that with the revolution of 1908 (The Second Constitutional Era, re-proclamation of *Kanûn-ı Esâsî* under the reign of Abdülhamit II), some books and novels began to be published under the name of Karagöz. By the side of 20 plays that İhsan Rahim personally published in 1909, short stories like *Karagöz Beyoğlun'da* (Karagöz in Beyoğlu), *Karagöz Meyhanede* (Karagöz in The Tap House), *Karagöz Yatakta* (Karagöz in Bed), *Karagöz'ün Zıfraf Odası* (The Bridal Chamber of Karagöz), *Karagöz'ün Koynunda* (At Karagöz's Bosom) were also published. However, Siyavuşgil asserts that these stories were not related to the shadow theater at all. Therefore, they might have been only used the popularity of the name of Karagöz. In addition, some articles like *Karagöz Mutfakta* (Karagöz in the Kitchen) or *Karagöz Evleniyor* (Karagöz is Getting Married) had been published to provide the public with helpful information in *Karagöz Journal*.

It is possible to find the traces of the first indications of the transformations of Karagöz from *technē* to fine arts in this period as the ensuing debate among the intellectuals about the future of the Turkish theater and Karagöz witnesses. Therefore a sample play, *Karagöz Evleniyor* (Karagöz is Getting Married) belonging

⁹⁵ Siyavuşgil, *Karagöz: Psiko-Sosyolojik Bir Deneme*, 52-53.

to the period of the Second Constitutional Era is selected to Karagöz's situation in this period.

By this way, a total of 40 plays and additional 19 dialogue sections of the old plays in relation with the Ottoman society are elaborated in this thesis.

To trace the transformations of Karagöz during the Republican era, new 53 plays, full list of which can also be found in Appendix D on page 494, are also selected and analyzed. The classic plays, re-performed by *Hayali* Küçük Ali, are presented to show the differences of the same plays performed in the Ottoman period and during the Turkish Republican period. The main motivation of the selection of these plays is either their being published or being written for performance. Besides, the plays that were in line with the classical structure of Karagöz were preferred here because there began to emerge other forms of Karagöz plays like radio podcasts, YouTube videos and animations. Besides, the financial reasons also forced the analysis to be limited with those plays that were rather accessible. There are major differences especially between the plays performed in the 17th, 18th and the 19th centuries and the plays performed in the 20th century.

Besides, as mentioned before, a case study was conducted, which included 21 Karagöz performers mainly living in İstanbul. UNESCO awarded the three elder masters among the interviewees with the Living Human Treasure (LHT) status. Author preferred to use nicknames due to the ethical considerations. All of the interviewees are members of UNIMA and the majority of them are the recognized performers by the Ministry of Culture. The analysis of the interviews gave the opportunity to support the main claim of this thesis that Karagöz, once was understandable with the term *technē*, is now accepted as a legitimate activity within the fine arts in modern terms by the contemporary Karagöz performers, who also claim Karagöz figures as valuable as the artworks of the contemporary artists both in economic and artistic terms. Furthermore, this chapter also includes data showing how a modern artist defines and perceives himself with a focus on Karagöz. One of the most important issues in this Chapter is related with the question of the "whatness of Karagöz." The performers were divided among themselves as those who are in search of the *essence* of Karagöz and those who are in search of an *essencing* of Karagöz. The first position is clearly referring to Plato and his theory of Forms while the second seems to be related with Heidegger's

conceptualization.⁹⁶ Another important issue was related with the question of technique, which provided the performers a ground to claim their mastery in the context of *Enframing*.

The diaries, speeches, letters, film footage, autobiographies, official records, dramas, novels, music, films, virtual museums, textbooks, journal articles, histories, reviews, commentaries, and encyclopedias are benefited as well in this thesis.

Organization of the Thesis

The first chapter is an introduction containing a short discussion of the theoretical perspective. Heidegger's explanations on the philosophy and history of art, which has transformed from *technē* to fine arts, consists the ground of the thesis trying to understand the transformations of Karagöz starting its journey as *technē* in the context of the Ottoman society and ending as a fine art in the Turkish Republic in the 21st century. The methodology adopted in the thesis as well as a short presentation of its general organization is also included in this chapter.

The second chapter is dedicated to Karagöz only. The origins of the shadow theater in the world, the origin of the shadow theater in the Ottoman territory, and emerging of the shadow play as Karagöz are discussed. Moreover, Karagöz's main peculiarities, its development, structure, music and philosophy, and social and political satire besides Karagöz performers are the main issues of the chapter. Although such effort can be labeled as positing Karagöz in "the world picture" with all its knowledge, the variety of the definitions and the different perceptions of intellectuals show that Karagöz is the product of the society without an owner, and the author tried to avoid fixations as far as possible. This chapter also analyzes Karagöz to provide a ground for the understanding of *art* in the Ottoman society.

The third chapter is dedicated to a discussion of the place of Karagöz in the Ottoman society. The Ottoman Empire's social structures, its organization in economic, juridical, administrative and social fields are examined for a better understanding as the universe of Karagöz as *technē*. The main characters/figures and types besides the plots in 28 *Kar-i Kadim* 11 *Nev-i İcad* plays and 19 dialogs, and their peculiarities are discussed in the context of daily life of the Ottoman society until the *Tanzimat period*. The author has benefited the memories and

⁹⁶ Heidegger, "The Question Concerning Technology," 30

diaries of foreign travelers visited the Ottoman Empire in 16th, 17th and 18th centuries and of a few Ottoman writers, such as Evliya Çelebi, besides known contemporary researchers on the Ottoman Empire and society.

The fourth chapter deals with the changing role and characters of Karagöz during the *Tanzimat period*, when the modernization efforts of the Ottoman Empire became visible. In this section, a short history of the *Tanzimat period* is given to shed some light on the transformation that Karagöz underwent; changes in the economic, juridical, administrative and social fields are mentioned in relation to enlighten the changes in Karagöz plays. It is also important to note that Karagöz plays started to be published in this period, and the social changes were reflected in the published plays with the introduction of the printed media to the Ottoman society. The first indications of the transformations of Karagöz from *technē* to fine arts can be followed in this period through debates among the intellectuals about the future of the Turkish theater and Karagöz. The play of *Karagöz Evleniyor* (Karagöz is getting Married) that is estimated to be written in 1912, and the indications referring to the Constitutional eras in the classic plays are discussed. In addition, the newborn journals imitating the style of Karagöz are also noted as the indicators of Karagöz's transformation.

The fifth chapter is allocated to the adventures of Karagöz in the Republican era. The significance of the changes taking place at the background is discussed in relation to Karagöz plays of the period. By the Republic, the question of "what kind of art Karagöz is" was raised by the intellectuals again, and the destining project of Karagöz became visible. The changes in Karagöz plays and the reflections of the Republican propaganda in the plays are also discussed. This chapter is organized into five parts. The first part covers the problem of reinterpreting the *Kar-i Kadim* plays re-performed by *Hayali* Küçük Ali. The second part is further divided into four subtitles covering the plays written between 1923-1950, the plays written between 1950-1980, the plays written between 1980-1990, and the plays written from 1990 to present consecutively. These divisions are titled according to the political and social dynamics of Turkey; besides, 1990s are crucial because the coming of technology acquired a new pace in those years. Most importantly, the plays themselves demanded such a classification.

The sixth chapter contains an analysis of the interviews conducted with 21 Karagöz performers for this thesis during May and June of 2012 in relation to the theoretical debate presented in the introduction chapter. During the interviews, the viewpoints of the interviewees on issues like self-perception of the modern artist,

understanding of art, whatness of Karagöz, master-apprentice relations are tried to be understood. In addition, the opinion of the interviewees on the problematic relation of art and craft, which is still given a special emphasis for its importance on the question of the transformation of Karagöz from *technē* to fine arts is reflected and discussed. Besides, the technique they prefer has also a word in their claim to mastery and economic value of the figures. In addition, performing statuses, job opportunities, the economic and artistic values of Karagöz performances and figures in modern Turkey, UNIMA and UNESCO, the advantages and the disadvantages of the proposed policies adopted are among the issues that are dealt with in this chapter. Moreover, whether Karagöz needs modernization to survive and the possible futures of Karagöz are also discussed.

The last chapter is reserved to the concluding remarks. In addition, two plays, *Ters Evlenme* (The Awry Marriage) from the Ottoman Period and *Köy Evlenmesi* (The Village Marriage) pertaining to the first years of the Republic are translated into English, and can be found in the APPENDIX A and APPENDIX B. Besides the statistical tables showing the demographic changes of the Ottoman society, the tables of the selected plays for the Ottoman, Tanzimat and Republican periods, the list of some written plays after the proclamation of the Republic and the table showing leisure time activities in 2006, when “*Karagöz Hacivat Neden Öldürüldü?*” movie was being presented, can be found in APPENDIX C: TABLES, APPENDIX D: THE PLAYS EXAMINED IN THIS THESIS and APPENDIX E: SOME WRITTEN PLAYS AFTER THE PROCLAMATION OF REPUBLIC.

CHAPTER II

AN ATTEMPT TO UNDERSTAND ESSENCING OF KARAGÖZ

The Shadow Theatre and its Origins

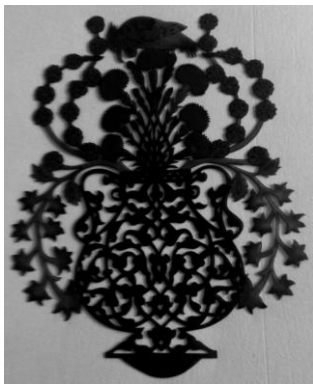


Figure 1 Ornament shown at the beginning of a Karagöz play, made by Emin Şenyar, 2012

Currently, the shadow theatre is being performed in India, Indonesia, Southeast Asia, Egypt, Turkey, China and Europe, mainly in Greece. It is estimated that the shadow theater is dated back to the 10th century in China; however, this is much later than the first mention of the words *Shadow Theatre* in Indian culture. The strongest argument about the origin of the shadow theatre is that it is coming from India, and has spread from India to the other countries. Chen⁹⁷ says,

Indeed, if the interpretation of certain words in *Mahabarata* (400 BCE – 400 CE; Miller 1993, 123) and Patanjali's *Mahabhasya* (2nd Century BCE; Wolpert 1982, 87) are correct, then the earliest mention of shadow plays in literature are found in India.

In these sagas, "*jalamandapika*" is interpreted as the display of the reflection of leather figures cast on a thin cloth⁹⁸ "*Saubhikas*" is interpreted as shadow players⁹⁹. When the Indian Kings conquered Indonesian Java, they brought the shadow theater to Java in the 6th century. Therefore, it is argued that the shadow plays have actually been performed in India since the 1st century and were

⁹⁷ Fan Pen Chen, "Shadow Theaters of the World," *Asian Folklore Studies*, no. 62 (2003): 30.

⁹⁸ Valentina Stache-Rosen, "On the Shadow Theater in India," Edited by The Cultural Department of the Embassy of the Federal Republic of Germany New Delhi. *German Scholars on India* (Nachiketa Publications), 1976: 276, cited in Chen, "Shadow Theaters of the World," 31.

⁹⁹ Stache-Rosen, "On the Shadow Theater in India," 277, cited in Chen, "Shadow Theaters of the World," 31.

definitely known in the 6th (Java) and 10th (China) centuries in contrast to the idea that the shadow theater originated in China.

However, there is also a strong argument that the Indonesian shadow theater is autochthonous because it is more complicated than that of India, and some of the characters like servant-clowns have no counterpart in Indian plays. Yet, it is obvious that in South Asia, especially in Indonesia, the Indian sagas namely *Mahabharata* and *Ramayana* have been adapted in performances since the first appearance of the shadow theater.¹⁰⁰ The placement of the characters on screen is also the same in both Indian and Indonesian plays. The right side is allocated to noble figures and the left side is allocated to the evil characters just as same as in Karagöz plays, in which Hacivat comes from the right side, Karagöz comes from the left side of the screen according to the performer.

It is also maintained that the Cambodian and the Thailand's shadow theaters originated in India. For the Egyptian and the Iranian shadow theatres, it is contended that they originated in Indonesia.¹⁰¹

Those statements are merely based on the written sources. This implies that either an evidence of the shadow performance or a narration about shadow plays performed in rituals is searched in the ancient transcripts. However, there is another strong argument that the nomads, namely the Turkish tribes in central Asia, approximately in the 3rd and the 4th centuries, had been performing shadow plays out of transcripts for shamanistic rituals, which is supported by Chen¹⁰² as,

A Song dynasty Chinese source quotes from a Tang source that Central Asian Turks (tujue 突厥) worshipped felt figures representing gods that they kept in leather bags (Li 1990; reprint, 1046-513). This practice has been traced among Turkish and Mongolian peoples of Central Asia until recent times. Such figures apparently represented sacred figures ancestors and deceased relatives (Beazley 1903; quoted in Bombacı 1903, 97).

Besides, Chen also finds this argument acceptable due to the archeological researches in the Altai Mountains near the Outer Mongolia. Consequently, she quotes Bill Baird who says,

¹⁰⁰ Chen, "Shadow Theaters of the World," 33.

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.*, 36.

¹⁰² *Ibid.*, 29.

For nomads have animals, and therefore, leather. They have tents and fire, and therefore, a lighted screen. A shadow show of fifty actors packs into a small saddlebag. It is known that the Scythians of the third and fourth centuries BCE made handsome silhouettes of leather. And in burial grounds among the Altai Mountains near Outer Mongolia, along the old trade route between China and Russia, there have been found cutout leather animals, one a moose that could well have been a shadow figure.¹⁰³

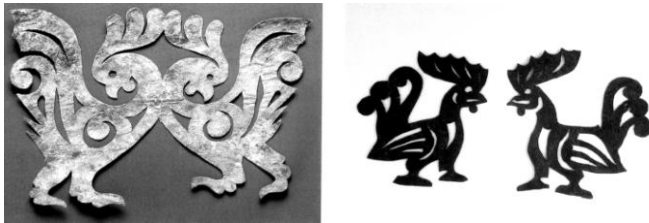


Figure 2 Cockerels carved from leather, 4th century BC found in the excavations in Altai region Pazyryk boundary (Russian State Museum 1934), from the book of "Colors of Shadow"

In spite of the ongoing research and related arguments, unfortunately, there is no concrete evidence about where, when and how the shadow theater appeared in the world but, the strongest thesis says that it spread from India to other regions according to the

written sources. The archaeological researches might only give an idea that the history of the shadow theater among the Turks can be dated back to the 3rd or 4th centuries BCE, which is much earlier than the Turkish researchers' estimations. Yet, again, it cannot be considered as an concrete evidence of the shadow theater.

Origins of Turkish Shadow Theater and Karagöz

In the Islamic World, the shadow play was called "*zill-i hayâl*" (shadow of imagination/reflection), "*hayâl-el sitare*" (theatre of imagination/reflection) to separate it from the puppet theatre, which was called "*Hayal*" (imagination/reflection).¹⁰⁴ Accordingly, "*Hayâl*" means "Image, Fiction and imagination/Reflection"; "*Zill*" means "Shadow"; "*-i*", "*-el*" means "of"; and "*Sitare*" means "Screen".

There are many opinions about the first appearance of Karagöz in Turkey. For example, Ünver Oral says that the Chinese performers must have influenced the Turkish Shadow Theater. He says,

The Turks lived in Central Asia, in the regions of shadow theatres. They lived in areas neighboring China during the times of peace and war. Thus, how could the Turks have been unaware of shadow theatre (?)¹⁰⁵

¹⁰³ *Ibid.*, 29.

¹⁰⁴ Kudret, Karagöz. Vol. I, 11.

¹⁰⁵ Oral, *Turkish Shadow Theater: Karagöz*, 11

As the Turks made progress in the leather trade, weaving, and creating dye from plants, these materials formed the basis of shadow theatre – its figures, curtains and figure painting. Besides, many books state that the Turks were invited by some Chinese elites to play shadow theatre. It should be noted that Chinese sources are readily available for shadow theatre research.¹⁰⁶

The other claim is based on the notes of Evliya Çelebi who states that Karagöz and Hacivat were the real people; they had actually lived in Bursa district in the 13th century when *Sultan Orhan* (1326–1362) was ruling the Ottoman dynasty.¹⁰⁷ Metin And and Cevdet Kudret says that because Evliya Çelebi made this prediction for the time of 300 years earlier from his time, it cannot be accounted as reliable information.¹⁰⁸ On the other hand, Sevin¹⁰⁹ says that it was just a *fallibility* of Evliya Çelebi that he was confused about the locations and the names of the sultans. Sevin says that at least, there is no evidence against the information of Evliya who says that Karagöz was the feudal property owner carrying messages between the Seljukians and the Byzantines in the reign of Alaeddin I (1192-1237). In the light of these explanations, Sevin admits that Evliya Çelebi, who dates Karagöz to the 13th century, gives the first reliable information about Karagöz.

Likewise, Siyavuşgil¹¹⁰ also states that the shadow play must have been known in Anatolia since the 13th century, and supports his arguments mainly with the two written documents. One belongs to *Atâ-Malek Jovayni* (1226-1283), Persian historian who wrote an account of the Mongol Empire entitled *Ta' rikh-i jahân-gushâ*¹¹¹ (The History of the World Conqueror). In this book, it was mentioned that the shadow play was performed before Ögedei Khan (1186-1241), the son of Genghis Khan. Therefore, it is estimated that the shadow play was known in Anatolia since the 13th century. Nevertheless, Metin And¹¹² says that the word “*kavurcak*”, used to define the performance, does not necessarily mean the “shadow play”; rather it refers to the puppetry. The other book, Siyavuşgil refers to support

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, 12.

¹⁰⁷ Evliya Çelebi, *Evliya Çelebi Seyahatnamesi*, 1. Kitap: İstanbul. 311. Evliya Çelebi, *Evliya Çelebi Seyahatnamesi'nden Seçmeler*, 164-165.

¹⁰⁸ Kudret, Karagöz. Vol. I, 11-15.

¹⁰⁹ Nurettin Sevin, *Türk Gölge Oyunu*. (İstanbul: Büyük Türk Yazarları ve Şairleri Komisyonu Yayınları MEB Basımevi, 1968), 30-38.

¹¹⁰ Siyavuşgil, Karagöz: *Psiko-Sosyolojik Bir Deneme*, 39-51.

¹¹¹ Cüveynî, Alaaddin Ata Melik. *Tarih-i Cihan Güşa*. Translated by M. Öztürk. (Ankara: Kültür ve Turizm Bakanlığı Yayınları, 1999), cited in Siyavuşgil, Karagöz: *Psiko-Sosyolojik Bir Deneme*, 39-51.

¹¹² Metin And, *Geleneksel Türk Tiyatrosu (Kukla - Karagöz - Ortaoyunu)*, 1st. (Ankara: Bilgi Yayınevi, 1969), 23-25.

his idea is *Eştur-nâme* by *Farīd ud-Dīn* known as *Attar of Nishapur* (1145-1221). In this book, Attar mentions about the two Turkish shadow play performers as “*hayalabaz*” in Turkish.

Yet, Metin And¹¹³, again, disagrees with Siyavuşgil due to the certainty problem. According to him, the shadow play first appeared in the Ottoman territory (indeed, the first mention of Karagöz in the written sources) after the conquest of Egypt by *Yavuz Sultan Selim* (1512-1520) in the 16th century. Yavuz Sultan Selim was pleased with the play presenting the war between the Mamluks and the Ottomans issuing the *Sultan Selim’s* defeating of *Tuman Bay II* (1516–1517, the Sultan of the Mamluks Empire). Metin And regards this case as the first appearance of the shadow play in the Ottoman territory.¹¹⁴

Furthermore, Alpay Ekler¹¹⁵ totally disagrees with Metin And, and thinks that Metin And’s thesis is no longer valid. He supports his thesis by the personal inquiry of the reference source that Metin And used as an evidence to support that the shadow theatre came from Egypt. According to Ekler, first, And uses the second-hand source, which means that he did not personally scan the original source, which is mentioned in Jacob’s book of *Türkische Volkslitteratur*.¹¹⁶ Metin And uses this book as the reference. Second, though Jacob partly translates the script that is *Badai’u Zuhur* of *Ibn Iyas*, he mastered the book but he even did not counted the information given in this book as the evidence for the claim that the shadow theatre came from Egypt to Turkey. Ekler also says that even if *Yavuz Sultan Selim* desired a performer to come with them to İstanbul and perform the same play before his son *Kanuni Sultan Süleyman* (1520-1566), it is only because that he liked the plot. In addition, Jacob drew attention to that *Kanuni* was 21 years old at that time in his book. Ekler claims that it is improper for a sultan’s son at that age to be in İstanbul when his father was still the rule. [Kanuni Sultan Süleyman had been the ruler of *Saruhan* (*Manisa* in modern usage) until 1520 when his father Sultan Selim had died] Moreover, this incident in *Ibn Iyas’s* book was distinguished as a rumor, which means that *Ibn Iyas* was not the eyewitness so; Jacob did not arrive at a conclusion that the shadow theatre has been brought to Turkey from Egypt in the reign of Yavuz Sultan Selim in the 16th century. Therefore, Ekler says that the shadow theater must have reached Anatolia through the Silk Road from Khorasan.

¹¹³ *Ibid.*, 23-25.

¹¹⁴ And, *Karagoz: Turkish Shadow Theatre*, 25-26.

¹¹⁵ Alpay Ekler, "Karagöz Mısır'dan mı Geldi?" *Yeni Tiyatro*, no. 55 (December 2011): 17-20.

¹¹⁶ Jacob, *Türkische volkslitteratur: Ein erweiterter vortrag* (Berlin: Mayer & Müller, 1901).

On the other hand, Kudret argues that the Egyptians and the Turks have been in touch since the ancient years so; such a kind of interaction must have also affected their cultures and artistries. Kudret says that, perhaps, not in the palace but in the public sphere, Karagöz might have been being performed since the 13th century. According to the author of the thesis, the problem could be worked out by the idea that, perchance, the political issues started to be included in Karagöz plays of the palace in the 16th century. It is also debatable whether the shadow play was named directly as Karagöz or not since its first appearance in Anatolia.

In any case, although Metin And says, "It is a pure fantasy to try down the origins of Karagöz, and up to present time, we have no conclusive proof as to where he originated"¹¹⁷, it is possible to agree that the shadow play has been being performed at least since the 13th century in Anatolia. It acquired a unique identity and became very popular (maybe, was named as Karagöz) in the 16th, 17th and the 18th and even in different forms in the 19th centuries. Karagöz has formed vital connections with the ethnic, cultural, social formations of the Ottoman Empire. Indeed, a new form of a shadow play, namely Karagöz disseminated all over the world from İstanbul. Accordingly, Metin And¹¹⁸ says,

Regardless of whether the introduction of the shadow theatre is credited to the Egyptians or not, Karagöz has developed in its maturity into a purely Turkish phenomenon, and under Turkish rule, the Karagöz became popular throughout the Near East Arab countries passing over into Northern Africa and the Balkan countries. Syria, Egypt, Tunisia, Algeria and Greece copied the Turkish Karagöz and modeled book plays and characters on the Turkish patterns, which they duly assimilated into their own culture. Not only that, but they also used Karagöz a vehicle for political comment, even as an agitprop [propaganda]. For instance, in Aleppo in the 18th century, Karagöz lampooned the Janissaries who had been discredited since the war of 1786 with Russia.

Regarding the debate about the origin of Karagöz, Öncü¹¹⁹ had the last word on the arguments about Evliya Çelebi whether he should be regarded as a reliable source or not. He says that the fallacy is not resulting from Evliya Çelebi, but from those who only uses the mistranslated and censored editions of his books as a source. He says that if the original manuscripts were inquired, it would be seen that the information Evliya Çelebi gave about *Sheikh Küşteri* (Tüsteri/Şüşteri) and "Hayali

¹¹⁷ And, *Karagoz: Turkish Shadow Theatre*, 34.

¹¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 70.

¹¹⁹ Aydın Öncü, "Karagözle İlgili Araştırmalarda Bir Kaynak Olarak Evliya Çelebi Seyahatnâmesi," *A.Ü. Türkiyat Araştırmaları Enstitüsü Dergisi [TAED]*, no. 46 (2011): 111-126.

Kör Hasanzade Mehmed Çelebi” (Mehmet Çelebi who had lived in the 17th century was the son of Kör Hasan) were highly reliable. Nevertheless, the origins of the Karagöz plays and its first appearance in the Ottoman territory still need elucidations through examining more sources. For now, it stays just as a legend attributed to Karagöz and Hacivat that they had really lived in Bursa, but Karagöz was definitely being performed before the 16th century according to the notes of Evliya Çelebi. Yet, The Notes of Evliya Çelebi, who was the son of the head of the imperial jewelers, and traveled the territories under the Ottoman hegemony for fifty years, is the oldest source in hand to be referred as a reliable source about Karagöz and Sheik Küşteri. In this sense, he says that Sheik Küşteri had definitely written the script of “*Hayal-i Zul*,” which compounds sufistic and comic elements together for instructional use. Öncü also says that although it is not known which one is true but there are two alternative interpretations of the data given by Evliya about Sheikh Küşteri. Either Karagöz originated from his book, or he was inspired by Karagöz and wrote “*Hayal-i Zul*.” In either case, Sheik Küşteri is related to Karagöz plays. Besides, Karagöz was definitely known and performed in the 17th century because, Evliya mentions about Hayali Kör Hasanzade Mehmed Çelebi, who lived in the reign of Murat IV (1623-1640), and whose *grandfathers*, not the exact *grandfather or father*, was performing Karagöz before Bayezid I (1389-1403) in the 14th century. This information gives that the plays, mentioned under the title of the “classic plays,” were mostly known in the 17th century. Today, Sheik Küşteri, mentioned by Evliya Çelebi, was accepted as the Sheik of Karagöz performers, and Karagöz curtain was named as “*Küşteri Meydanı*” (Küşteri Square).

Karagöz

Karagöz can simply be described as a performance that two-dimensional figures, generally made up of camel hide/leather with the horizontally attached wooden rods, are casting their colorful reflections on a fabric/cloth screen with the aid of a light source. The main character, Karagöz, gives his name to the performance. Hacivat is the other main character of the Karagöz plays. All the plays are set around those two characters and their adventures in which they face with other diversified figures of the plays. *Hayali* (performer) budes all the figures behind the screen. Mainly he is the one to perform the plays; however, there are also apprentices to help him in organizing the figures, music, and light.

In the early centuries of Karagöz, the oil lamp was used behind the screen. That shimmer gives a mystical character to Karagöz. According to Duyuran¹²⁰, there is no sense of physical space/place in the plays; in addition, the rules of the anatomy and perspective are not valid for the figures. However, this is not related to lack of knowledge; rather, it is compulsory. To obtain the best appearance on the screen, figures are deliberately designed as side-faces.

As far as the characters diversified in parallel with the expansion of the Empire, so did the languages they speak. The **absurdity** based on the misunderstandings rose as well. Such kind of absurdity in language is stressed with the homonyms. The protagonists and the antagonists can always switch sides from one plot to another.

Moreover, Siyavuşgil¹²¹ says that after the reign of Fatih Sultan Mehmet (1451-1481), classes began to take shape in the Muslim-Turkish society. On the one side, the “palace–madrasah–hearts (Janissary)” and on the other side, the “clergy–tradesmen–craftsmen (Artisans)” constituted the classes. Karagöz was mainly performed by the second class that is “clergy–tradesman–artisan.” Yet, Karagöz crosscuts the classes for being performed in coffeehouses and the palace as well as the private houses.

Karagöz Performers

When Karagöz emerged as *technē* in the Ottoman society, it was being performed with a modest set of equipment, which is defined by Akşit¹²² as a light-colored fabric stretched in a square or a rectangular wooden frame –sometimes there is even no wooden frame, the fabric was being attached to the ropes. Cut and colored figures made up of camel leather, (it is also possible to cut the figures out of a cardboard, then fry in oil before coloring, which is more economical), the rods to move the figures, oil lamp/candle/lamp, tambourine and *nareke*. Therefore, even the poor ones with a little effort could acquire the equipment in every age.

He also says that a Karagöz performer had to memorize the plays, because it is considered that only a few of the performers could read and write. There was no prior formal education to be a Karagöz performer required; it was sufficient for a

¹²⁰ Dürrüşehvar Duyuran, *Topkapı Sarayındaki Tasvirleriyle Karagöz* (İstanbul: Arkeoloji ve Sanat, 2000), 25.

¹²¹ Siyavuşgil, *Karagöz: Psiko-Sosyolojik Bir Deneme*, 85.

¹²² Ahmet Akşit, "Modernleşme sürecinde Karagöz." *Toplumsal Tarih Dergisi*, no. 228 (December 2012): 65.

talented child to have enthusiasm in Karagöz and attract attention of one of the masters to be a Karagöz performer. These identifications are directly related to that any kind of ability to bring forth in another, which is defined as *technē*, is valued as the same, as an art.

The status of the performers in the Ottoman society cannot be described concretely. Any definition either would be an attribution or grounded in the information of the early 20th century. In this context, according to Şapolyo,¹²³ who was an intellectual of the early Republican era, only after an apprenticeship one can be a Karagöz performer who has to be ironic and master of (social) morals, which probably means a talent. Karagöz performers are divided into two: “*Üstad*” (Masters) and “*Köşebaşı*” performers (performers who can perform in the outskirts). Şapolyo does not forget to emphasize the mastery in (social) morals.

Although he differentiates the *craft* from the *art* in modern terminology, Acar (interviewee)¹²⁴ says that such an organization (Master–Apprentice of the guild system) is an old school type today, which ended with the beginning of the 19th century. After that, the system of *Kahyalık* (System of Chamberlain) was founded, and Karagöz performers had involved in this system. Granting a difference between the *artist* and the *artisan* in the Ottoman society, he says,

That system is very different from *Lonca* (artisan guild)¹²⁵. Because, those people were not the artisans, they were artists. Do you think that the calligraphers or miniaturists have a guild? No... Coppersmiths only dealt with copper but Karagöz performers definitely had other occupations besides of Karagöz. Yet in the 19th century, especially after the 1860s, such kinds of organizations started to dissolve. On the other hand, they could survive in the palace. If you think that there is the state theater today, there was the palace theater among the Janissaries on that day as well. When the Janissary corps disbanded, those performers were employed under the *Mızıka-ı Hümayün* (Imperial Band) together with the *Ortaoyunu* performers. We know this, because *Nazif Bey* was a commander in the Ottoman army at that time¹²⁶.

Therefore, in general, it can be said that the guild system based on master-apprentice hierarchical relations that dissolved in the 19th century, was followed by the system of a chamberlain according to Acar. Karagöz performers were definitely members of a guild but due to the other occupational statuses, they had. However,

¹²³ Enver Behnan Şapolyo, *Karagöz'ün Tekniği* (Ankara: Türkiye Yayınevi, 1947), 47.

¹²⁴ Acar, interview author, 11 May 2012, İstanbul, tape recording.

¹²⁵ Brackets belongs to the author (H.B. 2012)

¹²⁶ Translation belongs to the author (H.B. 2012)

the calligraphers were even not mentioned as artists but as talented people. From the same quotation (vide footnote 79), Evliya Çelebi¹²⁷ defines K r Hasanzade as “*kitabət-i ta’likda hattat,*” which means having good command of/skillful in *Italic* way of inscribing in the 17th century. “*Kitabet*” means “scribe”, “*ta’lik*” means “italic” and “*hattat*” means “talented/knowledgeable in inscribing”.

Having been told about entire branches of the guild system, Evliya Çelebi mentions about K r Hasanzade Mehmet Çelebi as the headmaster of the mimickers/imitators under the title of “*eşnaf-ı hoş-sohbet.*”¹²⁸ “*Eşnaf*” is plural and means “the classes, orders, sorts, kinds, and roots” in the Ottoman Language; “*hoş-sohbet*” means the person “pleasant and easy to talk with.” Under the heading, Evliya states that the total number of the mimickers/imitators (“*mukallid*” in the Ottoman Language) was 500, and originates mimicking in the legendary story of Cain and Abel. Thus, he places Karag z performers under the artisans of mimicry. All these show that there was no sign indicating an existing distinction between the artist and the artisan as craftsman as this differentiation is claimed to be a modern development. By its own era, all were accounted as artisans indiscriminately.

The Ottoman arts in the older sense of the term were learned through the apprentice-journeyman-master training; the rules of “*f t vvet*” fulfill the basic regulations for the organization of the socio-economic functioning of the society.¹²⁹ The moral-social occupational disciplines of the artisans were maintained through the “*f t vvetname(s)*” and “*Ahi*” organizations whereas; the production conditions were maintained by the cooperation of artisans with the state. Every kind of production was defined and the production quotas were calculated according to the population of the cities. At the times of high demands, there emerged illegal artisans called “*koltuk*” (flattery) in the outer skirts of the city. However, the state was in support of those who had a license; by this way, the relationship between the state and the artisans grew stronger. Each branch of the artisans used to elect their own headman, who got a license from the sultan, and called as *Keth da*.¹³⁰ By this way, the writings of Şapolyo on the organization of the Karag z performers, mentioned below, are supported. Besides, probably, some of today’s performers would be relieved if the activities of dirty Karag z or today’s “fake” Karag z

¹²⁷ Evliya Çelebi, *Evliya Çelebi Seyahatnamesi, 1. Kitap: İstanbul*, 311.

¹²⁸ *Ibid.*, 310.

¹²⁹ Halil İnalçık, *Devlet-i Aliye, Klasik D nem (1302-1606)*, (İstanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 2009), 41.

¹³⁰ *Ibid.*, 41.

performers were defined as “*koltuk*” (flattery) in terms of the *fütüvvet* system in the Ottoman Empire.

The guild system rules establishing every branch of the organization with their own *Kahya* (chamberlain) and *Yiğitbaşı* (head of valiant), and the *fütüvvet* outlook were also valid for the Karagöz performers, at least, morally. Categorizing them as artists out of the guild system is directly related to the modern understanding of art because Evliya Çelebi neither uses the word artist for the performers nor mentions about them out of the guild organization while he was counting the artisans of İstanbul in the 17th century. These details support the idea that Karagöz has also emerged as *technē* by the side of other types of art in the Ottoman society.

Again, Şapolyo claims that the staff employed in Karagöz performance was consist of *Hayali* (Master), *Çırak* (Apprentice), *Sandıkkar*, (person to carry the Karagöz chest) *Yardak* (person to sing), *Dayrezen* (person to play tambourine) and *Hamal* (a porter)., Şapolyo¹³¹ claims that Karagöz artists were included in the *Ahi*-Community (Turkish-Islamic Guild) under the reign of the Sultanate of Seljuk. Although Şaban, an elder performer as one the interviewees¹³² gave supportive information for Şapolyo’s claims on the organization of the Karagöz performers during the Ottoman period, he stresses that Karagöz did not take place in the tradition of *Ahi*-Community. The debate whether Karagöz performers had established a guild or not, or they were the members of the *Ahi*-Community or not, cannot be conclusive. Nevertheless, it is obvious that there is no organization specific to the Karagöz performers but for mimickers.

Although it sounds like the late 19th century, Şapolyo¹³³ says that in the Ottoman Empire, only a master could decide if an apprentice is mature enough to perform Karagöz by himself alone. Apprentice used to perform Karagöz before the chamberlain and the other respectful Karagöz artists in *Han* coffeehouse. If he succeeded (decided by masters) he could perform Karagöz for the next Ramadan in the outskirts. Yet, he could not perform Karagöz in popular quarters like *Divanyolu*, *Beşiktaş*, *Kadıköy*, etc. for one year. He could be allowed to perform in circumcision or wedding festivals one year after the first Ramadan when he was accepted as a master. Until that day, the apprentice was not formally accepted as a master. When the apprentice left, the *Sandıkkar*, (person to carry the Karagöz chest) used to take

¹³¹ Şapolyo, *Karagöz’ün Tekniği*, 46.

¹³² Şaban, interview author, 8 May 2012, İstanbul, tape recording.

¹³³ Şapolyo, *Karagöz’ün Tekniği*, 44.

the place of him. Şapolyo also states that no one outside the guild could be an apprentice because all of them have already main occupations beside Karagöz, and they were already members of some guilds.¹³⁴

Şapolyo continues that the Karagöz performers were gathering in *Kadıhan* in *Tahtakale*, İstanbul in the late 19th century. Every Performer had a room there. When *Kadıhan* burned down, they started to gather across the street, in another coffeehouse called *Baltacıhan*. Afterwards, the performers used to gather in *Bahçeli* Coffeehouse followed that they started to gather some time in *Ketenciler* Gate. In *Bahçeli* coffeehouse, performers had a *Kahya* (Chamberlain), a *Yiğitbaşı* (Man of the brave), and a *Vekil* (Commissary). Later, the chamberlain is required to receive a certification from “*Şehremanet*” (municipality of İstanbul, established in 1854). A *Hayali* (Karagöz Performers) also had to take an artisan license.¹³⁵

Hayali had to be a member of the Karagöz Coffeehouse. In the late-19th century, to perform in the circumcision or wedding feasts he used to pay 42 piasters; to perform in Ramadan, which required a permit from the main authority, he used to pay 450 piasters; to take artisan license he used to pay 12 piasters.¹³⁶

By the 16th century, the information about Karagöz has increased. Besides the foreign travelers citing Karagöz plays, it was also known by the “*Surname*”(s) those were kinds of a court literature telling about the wedding and the circumcision ceremonies and festivities in the Ottoman Empire. But the main reason is that Karagöz performers were also performing in the palace.

According to Siyavuşgil¹³⁷, some of the performers according the years are:

- Yıldırım Bayezid (1389-1402) - Hayali Kör Hasan
- Murat IV (1623-1640) – Kör Hasanzade Mehmet Çelebi
- Sultan İbrahim (1640-1648) Coptic Ahmet, Kör Muslu Oğlu
- Sultan Selim III (1764-1808) - Hafız Efendi, Sarı Ahmet, Bekçi Mehmet
- Sultan Mahmud II (1785-1839) - Müsahib Sait Efendi, Şerbetçi Emin
- Sultan Abdülaziz (1830-1976) - Rıza Efendi
- Sultan Abdülhamit II (1842-1918)

¹³⁴ *Ibid.*, 46.

¹³⁵ *Ibid.*, 50.

¹³⁶ *Ibid.*, 52.

¹³⁷ Sönmez, ed., *Karagöz Kitabı*, 116 -188.

- Mehmet Efendi (member of the Hadame-i Şahane)
- Hayaliler Kahyası Tahir Efendi
- Hayal K p  Emin Aĝa
- Hayali Nazif Efendi
- Hayali Memduh
- Katip Salih

To be mentioned later, *as a performance*, popularity of Karag z started to decline, and Karag z has changed form in the late 19th century. Hayali Nazif Bey is the author of the plays collected by Helmut Ritter, who is the primary source of the Kudret's book. It was known that Hayali Nazif had written some of the plays in the early 1900s. Moreover, many Karag z performers today are still practicing Hayali Nazif's Karag z's molds. Katip Salih is another important figure, who is the first to try modernizing Karag z. The figures of Hayali Nazif Efendi, Hayali Memduh and Katip Salih were assorted, and given date by Şaban and Acar for the compilation book that was published by the Turkish Ministry of Culture in 2008, in the context of UNESCO's Intangible Cultural Heritage Program.¹³⁸

In the 20th century, the Karag z performers were still getting together under the different organizations. In 1934, "Karag z *Sevenler ve Karag z Sanatkarları Himaye Cemiyeti*" (Society of Karag z Enthusiasts and Safeguarding Karag z Artisans) was promoted. The founders were Rami Bařaran, Cevdet Fahri, Ali Şevket, Besim Şerif, Sami and Hazım (K rm k ). The society dissolved naturally after 1937 with the death of Rami Bařaran.¹³⁹ In 1940, "Yeni Adam *Dergisi*" (the Journal of the New Man) was established by İsmail Hakkı Baltacıoĝlu. This Journal had published several articles about modernizing the Karag z plays. In 1957 "İstanbul *Umum Karag z, Kukla ve Hokkabaz Sanatkarları Derneĝi*" (Popular Karag z, Puppetry and Illusion Artists of İstanbul) was promoted. It had 76 members and the main aim was to establish an economic network. Hayali K   k Ali and Camcı İrfan A ıkg z were among the founders. The performers regularly played Karag z in Ramadan and in the spring festivals. Mazhar (Baba) Gen kurt, Nevzat A ıkg z, Nedim Sarg r, H samettin Tekmen, Celal G rkař, Musa İřiaktır, Şinasi Okur,  ĝretmen Şefik, Mustafa H rcan, Rahmi Kebeci, Aram  er i and Zenne Sait were among the

¹³⁸ Nil fer Zeynep  z rek i G l, ed., *G lgenin Renkleri: Halk K lt r  Bilgi ve Belge Merkezi Karag z Tasvirleri Koleksiyonu Kataloĝu* (Ankara: K lt r ve Turizm Bakanlıĝı, 2008).

¹³⁹ Hasan H seyin Karabaĝ, "UNIMA Nedir?" (Karag z Evi web site, 2006, accessed March 28, 2013) available from <http://www.karagozevi.com/?d=dernekler.html>

members.¹⁴⁰ In 1966, it was started to give rewards about the writing and the performing of Karagöz plays. In 1970, “*Türkiye Karagöz’ü Yaşatma ve Tanıtma Derneği*” (Organization for Perpetuating and Promotion of Karagöz) was promoted.¹⁴¹

Today, Karagöz Performers are united under the organization of UNIMA, which is first established in Prague, Czechoslovakia, on May 20, 1929; however, could not work efficiently until the 1960s. UNIMA defines itself as,

The UNIMA (**UN**ion **I**nternationale de la **MA**rionnette) is a Non-Governmental Organization affiliated to UNESCO bringing together people from around the world who contribute to the development of the art of puppetry with the objective of using this art in the pursuit of human values such as peace and mutual understanding between peoples regardless of race, political or religious convictions and differences in culture, in accordance with the respect for fundamental human rights as defined in the United Nations Universal Declaration of Human Rights of December 10th 1948.¹⁴²

For the Turkish Branch, the first attempt of establishment was made in 1982; however, for the several reasons only after 1988, with the initiatives of the Ministry of Culture Research Department of National Folklore, UNIMA could be launched on 27 September 1990. The main aim was to perpetuate the traditional art of Karagöz and puppetry.

Lastly, Karagöz has been offered as an Intangible Cultural Heritage to the UNESCO’s ICH Program in 2006, officially accepted in 2009, and was inscribed into the Representative List to be safeguarded. Accordingly, in the same period, the three elder surviving Masters of Karagöz, were also awarded with the Living Human Treasures (**LHT**) of Turkey in the context of UNESCO’s subprogram of the ICH, which was first launched in 1994. In accordance with the program, those three masters are supposed to be supported financially and to be given status. In return, they have to train at least two apprentices.

Although UNESCO defines LHT status in context of specialized knowledge and skill, required for performing or re-creating specific elements of the intangible cultural heritage, it keeps them as *representations* in the world picture as practices, arts and cultures. According to the Living Human Treasures (LHT) program,

¹⁴⁰ *Ibid.*

¹⁴¹ Sönmez, ed., *Karagöz Kitabı*, 15.

¹⁴² *What is UNIMA*, (UNIMA web page, 2008, accessed March 28, 2013) available from <http://www.unima.org/uniE.htm>

Aims at encouraging Member States to grant official recognition to talented tradition bearers and practitioners, thus contributing to the transmission of their knowledge and skills to the younger generations. States select such persons on the basis of their accomplishments and of their willingness to convey their knowledge and skills to others. The selection is also based on the value of the traditions and expressions concerned as a testimony of the human creative genius, their roots in cultural and social traditions, and their representative character for a given community, as well as their risk of disappearance.¹⁴³

Philosophy of Karagöz

Karagöz highly utilizes Islamic Sufism; the first performed plays were even solely for religious purpose as it was said. Besides, Sheik *Küşteri*, accepted as the father of the Karagöz performance, was using Karagöz plays to teach his students about the metaphysics of Islam. However, it should be kept in mind that there is no evidence for the first performance of the shadow plays were named as Karagöz, which took its shape mainly in İstanbul after the 15th and 16th centuries. Yet, Ünver Oral, having defined philosophy in general as a science, says that it studies matter and life, and their indications in the universe, society and spirit. He says “The Greek word philo-sofia means ‘seeking the essence and origins of everything’.”¹⁴⁴ He also adds that the only life source and the creator of the universe in Islamic philosophy that is Sufism is ‘Allah’ who is eternal and perpetual.¹⁴⁵ Therefore, in relation to Karagöz, Oral says,

If it is dark everywhere, then the Karagöz screen cannot be seen. With the light of the show, the curtain is illuminated, even if it looks empty. The figures and the puppeteer wait backstage for the show but the spectators cannot see them.¹⁴⁶

Afterwards, articulated and skin-made pictures appear on the screen because the manipulator wants it thus [so].¹⁴⁷

In other words, the universe in its darkness is empty and dead but with the light source that is “Allah” in Sufism it gets alive. However, all the alive beings become dead at the end when the light is over with the will of Allah. Therefore, everything

¹⁴³ UNESCO, "Living Human Treasures - Guidelines for the Establishment of National 'Living Human Treasures' Systems." (UNESCO-ICH, 2003, accessed November 9, 2009) available from <http://www.unesco.org/culture/ich/doc/src/00031-EN.pdf>

¹⁴⁴ Oral, *Turkish Shadow Theater: Karagöz*, 102.

¹⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 103.

¹⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 103.

¹⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 104.

presented on the screen are tiny particulars of life embodied by Allah in the bottomless universe.

According to Kudret¹⁴⁸, the shadow screen/theatre resembles to the universe, and the bods and all the other figures in stage resemble to provisional images. An invisible unique creator moves all the beings in the universe as same as those shadow players/performers, who are invisible for being behind the screen, brisk up the images. One can learn much from Karagöz owing to that it is full of exemplary cases. Moreover, the screen Ghazal¹⁴⁹ sung by Hacivat at the beginning of the play highly contains Islamic mysticism and *Sufistic* elements.

Alpay Ekler also gives comprehensive information about the mystic part of the Karagöz Plays and *Tasvir*(s). According to him¹⁵⁰,

The screen where the play is performed and made of light projecting cloth is called *Ayna* (mirror) because of its mystical meaning. Karagöz *Tasvirs* are moved on the *Ayna*, and reflects the audience. ... Karagöz screen is *İbret Sahnesi* (Screen of Learning). Those who should learn a lesson are those who are mirrored. ... There are four corners of the mirror representing stages of mysticism, namely sharia, sect, virtue and truth. ... God is represented by the light source providing images on the screen. Just as he created the universe he gives spirit to Şem'a as well as to the images.

In the context of the basis of Turkish-Islamic Sufism, İnalçık¹⁵¹ states that in the foundation of the Ottoman Empire, the dervishes had important roles. The founder of the Turkish *Ahi-Community* was *Evren* (Universe), a man of letters, who had come from Bagdad at the beginning of the 13th century. This information should be

¹⁴⁸ Kudret, Karagöz. *Vol. I*, 10.

¹⁴⁹ Ghazal also spelled Ghazal, Gasal, or Gazel, in Islamic literature, genre of lyric poem, generally short and graceful in form and typically dealing with themes of love. As a genre the ghazal developed in Arabia in the late 7th century from the *nasib*, which itself was the often-amorous prelude to the *qasida* (ode). Two main types of ghazal can be identified, one native to Hejaz, the other to Iraq. The ghazals by 'Umar ibn Abi Rabi'ah (died c. 712/19) of the Quraysh tribe of Mecca are some of the oldest. Umar's poems, based largely on his own life and experiences, are realistic, lively, and urbane in character. They continue to be popular with modern readers. What became a classic theme of the ghazal was introduced by Jamil (died 701), a member of the 'Udhrah tribe from Hejaz. Jamil's lyrics tell of hopeless, idealistic lovers pining for each other unto death. These enormously popular works were imitated not only in Arabic but also in Persian, Turkish, and Urdu poetry until the 18th century. Of additional note is the work of Hafez (also spelled Hafiz; died c. 1389/90), considered among the finest lyric poets of Persia, whose depth of imagery and multilayered metaphors revitalized the ghazal and perfected it as a poetic form.

Britannica, Encyclopædia. "Ghazal." *Encyclopædia Britannica Online*. 2009. <http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/232525/ghazal> (accessed May 7, 2012).

¹⁵⁰ Özçörekçi Göl, ed., *Gölgenin Renkleri*, 63.

¹⁵¹ İnalçık, *Devlet-i Aliye, Klasik Dönem (1302-1606)*, 36-40.

considered with Kudret's claim that Karagöz has first appeared in the 13th century. *Ahi-Evren* was accepted as the sage of 32 types of artistry, the most developed one of which was tannery. That was also mentioned by the contemporary Karagöz performer Alpay Ekler¹⁵² in the context of the technique of Karagöz. *Ahi* was the one who was accepted as a leader of the followers trying to advance in his field of artistry, bachelor youths, and those, who chose to be a bachelor. This way of living and organization was called "*fütüvvet*." If there is no higher-ranking ruler in a place, *Ahi*, as a dervish, acted as a ruler of that place. They were hosting the guests passing by, and Ahi-Community was being an insurance of any kind of needs of its members. The morals of "*fütüvvet*" were taught through the apprentice-journeyman-master relations. Such comparatively tolerant era paved the way these dervishes to form their own teachings until the establishment of the Sunnite Islam.

Fütüvvet, which was a pragmatic and an ethic social system ordered the entire social life of the Ottoman society, guided the general social structure of those early times and later. The moral qualities, such as bravery, gallantry, cooperation, altruism and modesty were shaping the general triple model composed of Sheik/*Ahi*, Dervish and *Talib* that means the "enthusiast pupil" inspired by the artistry of the master the *fütüvvet* universe. The organization of the *Ahi-Evren* was the first form of the artisan guild in the Ottoman Empire. As the different art branches accepted one as a master, founder, guide or a sheik and followed his teachings, Karagöz performers chose Sheik Küşteri in the same manner as their guide, master, and follow mainly his teachings.

On the base of the explanations of Metin And about Sheik Küşteri¹⁵³, Acar (interviewee) states that Sheik Küşteri was actually Sehl bin Abdullah Tüsteri who was born (b. 200) in Tüster (probably Tus) of Khorasan. He was accepted as one of the first mystics, and was attracted attention by his ideas that dancing and music should be considered as the parts of the invocation ceremonies despite the fact that mainstream Sunni Islam was in conflict with them. Mansur Al-Hallaj (*Hallacı-Mansur* in Turkish) who was influenced deeply by Sheik Küşteri was known with the words of "En-el Hak!" that means, "I am God" implying that "one is one with God." Therefore, Acar believes that the shadow play had travelled to Anatolia from

¹⁵² Alpay Ekler, "Karagöz Tasvir Sanatı," in *Gölgenin Renkleri: Halk Kültürü Bilgi ve Belge Merkezi Karagöz Tasvirleri Koleksiyonu Kataloğu*, ed. Nilüfer Zeynep Özçörekçi Göl (Ankara: Kültür ve Turizm Bakanlığı, 2008).

¹⁵³ And, *Geleneksel Türk Tiyatrosu (Kukla - Karagöz - Ortaoyunu)*, 138

Khorasan, if Sheik Tüsteri who had aimed to use Karagöz for the Sufi education was the founder of Karagöz performance.

However, Dinç (interviewee)¹⁵⁴ is highly critical against the philosophical meaning of Karagöz. He says,

We (,) attributed those kinds of reflections/peculiarities to Karagöz later. If we approach the shadow (theatre) with the Asian logic, it is possible to hold such kind of reflections. (The reverse is also possible) It may also be valid for Sufism. A Sufi may have written something mystic by referring to Karagöz. Alas, a Karagöz performer did not behave like this; he did not think like this. That was different. A Karagöz Performer prepares a normal play and then we argue about that play. It is the same case if you think of Goethe, for example, who wrote Faust then thousands of people commented on Faust. I doubt about that he wrote Faust in parallel to those interpretations people made on it after him.¹⁵⁵

Yet, there are screen Ghazal(s) written since the 16th century and each one has sung by Hacivat in the introductory section of the Karagöz plays. This means that the performer might be aware of the meaning of the Karagöz screen at least since the 16th century. It is actually hard to say that the performers, having named the screen as *Ayna* (Mirror), are fully unaware of what the screen presents or what they have been performing on the base of the admission that Sheik *Küşteri/Tüsteri* as the father of Karagöz.

On the other hand, most of the modules of Ghazal(s), which were used in the court literature, are incorrect in the plays that Kudret compiled from Ritter. It means, either Ritter had wrongly transcribed the texts of Hayali Nazif, or there is a deliberate intention to criticize the courtly literature by means of Karagöz although it is known that Hayali Nazif was employed in the palace. Under the light of the available information it may be assumed that the screen Ghazal has gradually lost its importance when Karagöz became highly popular as it was performed almost everywhere mostly in dirty forms. In time, the Sufi elements of the shadow plays were begun to be disregarded but the social and the political satire acquired a new importance in Karagöz plays.

The satiric character of the shadow plays emerged as Karagöz and took shape in İstanbul culture with the beginning of the 16th century when differences in the social lives, entertainment, etc. became the motivated force for satire.

¹⁵⁴ Dinç, interview by the author, İstanbul, 15 May 2012, tape recording.

¹⁵⁵ Translation belongs to the author (H.B. 2012)

Siyavuşgil¹⁵⁶ gives a rough translation of a ghazal, which belongs to *Birri* (b. the second half of the 17th century – d. the first half of the 18th century), used commonly in the Karagöz plays as,

*Look, oh Wise One, with your ever truth-seeking eyes,
And behold skies where the pavilion of the shadow-theater has already been pitched.
Gaze upon the spectacle, which the Master-Showman of the Universe has displayed
to your view
From His screen, through the men and women He has created.
It is He who, casting all the figures in their proper roles,
Causes each to speak in the words and manner appropriate thereto
See – all those figures are but passing shadows,
And it is God's wrath or beauty, which manifests itself through them.
Gaze upon this spectral screen and fail not to remember
That He who created it can likewise destroy it,
And what remains is forever Himself alone.
By His very nature, the initiate to pantheism must grasp these concepts,
And those who cannot detach themselves from the plurality
Will never appreciate the meaning of my words.
Şeyh Küşteri has shown us the meaning of unity and of plurality.
Oh Birri, gaze in your wisdom on the shadow-theater, and benefit thereby!*

Music in/of Karagöz

Music is very important in Karagöz plays. As the figures diversified, the genres of the music also diversified in accordance with the liveliness and variety of the Ottoman society. However, there is an endless discussion among today's Karagöz performers. Some like Şaban (interviewee) says that there is music *of* Karagöz, but the others like Ramazan and Celal argue that there is music *in* Karagöz. Şaban¹⁵⁷ says that there are specially created songs and music genre used in the Karagöz plays; however, Ramazan,¹⁵⁸ having been aware of the importance of music in Karagöz plays, said that Hayali Küçük Ali attended even the singing lessons to improve his Karagöz performance, and added that Karagöz only uses music in plays rather than creating it. Celal¹⁵⁹ also said that he was preparing an article on Karagöz and music. Such a debate is a sign of positing Karagöz into the world picture through concretely revealing its relation with music by the modern subject. As a characteristic of *Enframing*, modern subject would relieve if s/he could define Karagöz in detail with all its possible knowledge available, the possession and expression of which bring a kind prestige among the performers.

¹⁵⁶ Sabri Esat Sivayuşgil, *Karagöz, Its History, Its Character Its Mystical and Satirical Spirit*. (İstanbul: Milli Eğitim Basımevi, 1961), 30-31.

¹⁵⁷ Şaban, interview by the author, 8 May 2012, İstanbul, tape recording.

¹⁵⁸ Ramazan, interview by the author, 11 May 2012, İstanbul, tape recording.

¹⁵⁹ Celal, interview by the author, 12 May 2012, İstanbul, tape recording.

Apart from this debate, music is used in the Karagöz plays as an announcement of the coming figure into the screen. Every type/figure comes to screen with its unique song. For example, *Sirto* (Greek-origin music) is used for the Emigrant/Rumelian, *Horon* (high-speed and exhausting dance music) for *Laz*, *Kaşık* for the people coming from *Kayseri*, Polka or Opera for the Frank and *Balat Köprüsünden girdim içeri* (Ande vamos el de aki: from Balat Bridge I enter) is used for the Jew.¹⁶⁰

Karagöz music can be divided into three parts: Semai, Ghazal and the Songs of *Hayal* according to Metin And. He says,

Apart from the composition forms of classical Turkish music like the *kâr*, *kârçe*, *murabba*, *beste*, *semai*, *sarki* and *vocal* and instrumental improvisations [which are] known as the *gazel* and *taksim*; [the] other genres like the *köçekçes*, *taşancas*, dance music pieces of the urban light Turkish music, Thracian (Rumelia) Anatolian folk songs, songs, whose texts are based on Arabic and Judeo-Spanish, [which is] the language of the Ottoman Jews, Gipsy songs, Greek and Armenian songs, waltz, polka and opera arias, were also given performance in the Ottoman shadow plays.¹⁶¹

Metin And also adds that the repertoire of Karagöz's music was shaped mostly in the 19th and 20th centuries. Hacivat, at the outset of the play, always sings short versions of a *Semai*. (For the ghazal, vide footnote 149).

Hayali is said to have a good musical ability. Although, it is a one-man performance, he has aides to perform some songs or play instruments during the plays. And¹⁶² divides instruments in the plays into two. They are the instruments on screen like the Black Sea fiddle ("Kemençe" in Turkish), the instrument with three double strings ("Bağlama" in Turkish), the drums and the horn; and the instruments behind the screen like the zither ("Kanun" in Turkish) and the cittern (dated back to Renaissance, resembling to mandolin and bouzouki).

The Characteristics and the Social Function of Karagöz Plays

Having been a field of activity (*technē*), Karagöz is the product of the Eastern theater tradition. The Western style of realist theater tradition was absent in the Eastern tradition. Karagöz uses the forms of abstraction, repetition, grotesque, irony, satire, fantasy, and absurd based on the speech defects and slapsticks,

¹⁶⁰ And, *Geleneksel Türk Tiyatrosu (Kukla - Karagöz - Ortaoyunu)*, 147.

¹⁶¹ And, *Karagoz: Turkish Shadow Theatre*, 278

¹⁶² *Ibid.*, 278.

which are the principal distinguishing characteristics of the Eastern Tradition. It originated first in search of the true meaning of life (Sufism¹⁶³); protesting the classified, manipulated and imposed society (despotism); the attempt of exceeding the limitations given by the so-called rulers (class-society); and it is an escape from the imposed reality. In other words, it uses everything that could distract the given-reality and pushes the audience to think further. It continuously questions what is given as taken-for granted. Siyavuşgil¹⁶⁴ states that as if the performer lacks energy and bravery to replace that given reality with a new one; in Karagöz plays, reality is presented like a dream. When the play finishes, everything is same as it was before for everyone, as though, the audience is diffident and afraid of change. That is what Nietzsche indicates as the capacity of art to change the sensuous world, where beings reside. In such a comparatively close society, Karagöz was used to show the possibilities of beings as they were.

In other words, Karagöz, which has close connections with the epic theater within the Eastern theater tradition that could only spread into the Western theater with influences of Brecht, is a mutual production of the performer and the audience.

Küçük-Arat has prepared a thesis, which claims postmodernist narrations and the traditional Turkish theaters, such as *Meddah*, *Ortaoyunu* and Karagöz have very common peculiarities. She says that the method of **abstraction** has been a kind of narrative tool that existed in the heart of the Eastern thought for ages. In contrary, Western thought recently assimilated and theorized it. Accordingly, she says¹⁶⁵ that the Turkish traditional genres with “sincere, straight and theatrical elements”¹⁶⁶ can be defined as “open-style expressive theaters” which “liberate the audience and the stage from every kind of alluring and illusive actions. And, prevents the audience to be hypnotized with the spot presented on the stage”;¹⁶⁷ in addition, the “abstraction” is the very base of the Eastern culture and theater.

¹⁶³ Sufism, especially that kind originated in Mansur Al-Hallaj, is a deep issue only to be a subject of a separate research, however, especially the early kinds were not based on the concrete separation of this world and the *other*. Author’s note (H.B. 2013).

¹⁶⁴ Siyavuşgil, *Karagöz: Psiko-Sosyolojik Bir Deneme*, 196.

¹⁶⁵ Gülden Gözlem Küçük Arat, “‘Soyutlama’ Açısından Postmodern Edebiyat ile ‘Meddah’, ‘Karagöz’ ve ‘Ortaoyunu’nun Değerlendirilmesi,” (M.S. Thesis, University of Süleyman Demirel, 2007), 12. Also see: Nurhan Tekerek, “Halk Tiyatrosu Geleneğimizde ‘Soyutlama-Abstraction’ ve Yapısal Yansımaları.” *Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü Dergisi* VII, no. 7 (2001): 205

¹⁶⁶ And, *Geleneksel Türk Tiyatrosu*, cited in Küçük Arat, “‘Soyutlama,’” 12.

¹⁶⁷ Özdemir Nutku, *Yaşayan Tiyatro* (İstanbul: Çağdaş Yayınlar, 1976), cited in Küçük Arat, “‘Soyutlama,’” 12.

In this context, Tekerek¹⁶⁸ says that *abstraction* is a method of presenting all the aspects of an already existing spot or a situation, which includes boldly underlined types or characters. For performing this, it either abstracts the spot from the historicity of time and space dimensions, or presents it in a moment that is either frozen or captured, or in a circular time that is jumping in between the time and space, or by breaking the spot into the parts (episodes). It forces the audience to use their own imaginations as a tool for the reflection and interpretation of the spot presented through the benefits of the theatrical elements like providing a remote angle rather than a concern of creating an illusion. In addition, it blends the tragic and comic phenomena together by benefiting from all the rich and infinite capabilities of irony, grotesque, fantasy, and symbols as a way of a narration.

Küçük-Arat¹⁶⁹ also adds that in traditional genres the **inter-textuality** method is commonly used. Each play is actually interrelated with each other. Messages regarding the social and the economic situations are intermixed through pastiche, parody, and irony. The performer always reminds the audience that they are in a theater, and makes them interrogate what happens. The principle of the diversity and pluralism is the main supportive element. Moreover, the reality and fiction are handled together.

For example, *Leyla & Mecnun* and *Ferhat & Şirin* plays are interconnected in a way that when *Mecnun* asks Karagöz to make him a knife to kill the lion, Karagöz says



Figure 3
Karagöz with
long skirt by
Cengiz Özek

that his donkey has died in *Ferhat & Şirin* play so he cannot go to *Samokov* (a district of Bulgaria) to buy some iron. It is understood that the best iron comes from *Samokov* in the real world, and the performer makes audience to remember that they are in a fictitious story by stating that donkey had died in the previous play. Indeed, fiction and reality were mixed with each other and two different plays are presented in interconnection.

Moreover, Metin And¹⁷⁰ states some specific peculiarities of Karagöz. He tells about **repetitions** (of a gesture, a movement or an episode; Hacivat is always beaten by Karagöz), **disguise** -Hacivat disguises

¹⁶⁸ Nurhan Tekerek, "Tuncer Cücenöglü'nün Oyunlarında Durumlar ve Soyutlamannın Getirdiği Evrensel Açılımlar: Helikopter, Çığ, Şapka ve Matruşka," *Tiyatro Araştırmaları Dergisi*, no. 18 (2004): 79-80.

¹⁶⁹ Küçük Arat, "Soyutlama," 20.

¹⁷⁰ And, *Karagoz: Turkish Shadow Theatre*, 47-48.

as a woman to check Karagöz whether he properly works or not in *Salıncak* (The Swing) play. Else, Karagöz disguises as an Albanian and later a *Çengi* to enter the garden in *Bahçe* (The Garden) play, and he disguises as a bride in *Ters Evlenme* (The Awry Marriage) play-, **concealment** -Karagöz conceals to watch his wife after he heard a rumor that his wife became a prostitute in *Kütahya Çeşmesi* (The Fountain play). Or, up to five men conceal into a jar to go secretly to Yalova in *Yalova Sefası* (A Pleasure Trip to Yalova) play-, and **supernatural**, illogical and surrealistic happenings to be examined in the following sections.

Karagöz as an Epic Theater

Karagöz plays are said to be epic in character rather than dramatic.¹⁷¹ Dramatic plays have at least three stages of development; those are *introduction*, *nodal* and *solution*. These stages are interrelated with each other. Also, in dramatic plays, the audience is active viewer and put him/herself in one of the characters' situation. S/he focuses onto the solution part, and feels as the same way as the character s/he follows feels. However, in epic plays, there are no interrelated stages and each stage is consisted in itself. The audience is only the gazer. S/he focuses on the process of the play rather than the solution part. They know that it is a play. The performer, even characters in plays, state many times that it is a play, a fiction. For example, in *Kanlı Kavak* (The Bloody Poplar) play, Karagöz criticizes the curriculum of the play that follows the same actions, which are that Hacivat always shouts him in front of his window, then Karagöz jumps out of that window, they start quarreling and fighting, and then Hacivat runs. Karagöz asks Hacivat why they do not meet more properly. Or else, Karagöz always asks Hacivat questions about the scenery like "who put this Poplar there in front of his house?"

When the story finishes in the dramatic plays, audience think in such a way that the character s/he followed is the same as her/him; however, in the epic¹⁷² plays, a gazer thinks as how someone (play figure) can act like that. In the dramatic plays, the gazer leaves the theatre as relieved, s/he stops thinking when the play ends (in

¹⁷¹ Müjdat Gezen, *Türk Tiyatrosu Kitabı* (İstanbul: MSM Yayınları, 1999), 40.

¹⁷² For further information: Tucker Orbison, "Brecht, Bertolt." *Dictionary of Cultural and Critical Theory*. Edited by Michael Payne. (Blackwell Reference Online, 1997, accessed September 3, 2013) available from http://www.blackwellreference.com/public/tocnode?query=brecht&widen=1&result_number=1&from=search&id=g9780631207535_chunk_g9780631207535_ss1-28&type=std&fuzzy=0&slop=1

Aristotelian terms, it provides catharsis¹⁷³). On the contrary, the gazers of the epic play continue to think about the story and judge some of the actions in the play for the sake of their own lives. They leave with an impression that the story could be ended in another way. This means the imagination of the audience keeps working. The main aim of the epic theater is to show the complicated structure of the society and the social relations, and to make the audience have consciousness about these issues. It presents the problematic situations in a society within the historical context, reminds and pushes the audience to think that these conditions can be changed or improved.¹⁷⁴

In addition, According to Boratav¹⁷⁵ the most important peculiarity of Karagöz screen is that it has a nominal par ("*itibari değer*" in Turkish), that is, being represented in Karagöz (as Jew, Arab, Frank, etc.) means something. In general but not limited to, the screen can be considered as a public square or a street alley in a moderate quarter of İstanbul. Although there is no stage décor on the right side of the screen, it is assumed that Karagöz's house is there, and Hacivat's house thought to be located along the left side of the screen. The power of the imagination is again left to the audience.

Grotesque Karagöz

As it will be discussed within the context of the classical plays in the upcoming sections, besides distorting language and using slang and metaphors, Karagöz highly utilizes fantastic elements in the plays. The grotesque is another basic peculiarity of Karagöz, especially in the old plays, daily bodily natural occasions of the human being, such as sex, evacuation, death and birth, are occasionally emphasized.

¹⁷³ Aristotle, *Poietika (şir sanatı üzerine)*, Translated by Nazile Kalaycı (Ankara: Pharmakon, 2012), 25.

¹⁷⁴ Encyclopædia Britannica, "epic theatre," (Encyclopædia Britannica Online, 2010, accessed May 30, 2010) available from <http://search.eb.com/eb/article-9032777>

Encyclopædia Britannica, "Western Theatre," (Encyclopædia Britannica Online, 2010, accessed May 30, 2010) available from <http://search.eb.com/eb/article-274669>

Tolga Talu, "Epik Tiyatroda Sahne Tasarımı." (Tiyatronline, 1995, accessed May 30, 2010) <http://www.tiyatronline.com/ykulis178.htm>

¹⁷⁵ Pertev Naili Boratav, *100 Soruda Türk Halk Edebiyatı* (İstanbul: Gerçek Yayınevi, 1997), 205.

Some interviewees deny that Karagöz cannot be dirty or pornographic; even if there were some dirty plays, they were not performed by the Muslim-performers. In the same context, according to Oral,

Admittedly, in the Turkish Shadow Play Karagöz, some shows involved obscenity and some even showed pornography. This cannot be the concern of the art but its performer. Then what is the source of defamation of Karagöz in society's opinion (?)¹⁷⁶

Who can use improper images and stories in the shows performed for families and the sultan? How can an experienced and esteemed puppeteer bring himself to perform such a thing? Even if he wants to, he cannot do so.¹⁷⁷

A general belief among the interviewees, who are the recognized Karagöz performers today, delivers that if there was dirty Karagöz, it should have been performed by the non-Muslim performers. Such attributions results from the opinion that a Muslim performer never performs dirty Karagöz. However, there is no evidence that only the Armenian and the Greek Hayali(s) performed dirty Karagöz. Conversely, if Karagöz was a main kind of entertainment especially of the coffeehouses and the majority of the performers were the Muslims, it could be easily seen that such an attribution was in line with the new modern ideology that rejects ethically the grotesque peculiarities of Karagöz that was mainly shaped by the Ottoman social fabric.

Nevertheless, it does not alter the reality that grotesque comprehension of the world is one of the basic characteristics of Karagöz plays. If it is considered that it was also the male night entertainment especially after the 16th century in the coffeehouses, it should not be hard to accept that Karagöz included and entertained with grotesque elements.

Siyavuşgil¹⁷⁸ says that humor in Karagöz is based on the reflections and assessments of İstanbul's community, and is about the events and the people of the daily life. Karagöz is not merely an old public entertainment but also a tradition with significant affairs. He also adds that Karagöz is as an artistic genius as Rabelais is.

While Bakhtin explores the uniqueness of Rabelais's novels, he especially mentions about the *grotesque realism* in medieval folk culture, in which "the bodily elements

¹⁷⁶ Oral, *Turkish Shadow Theater: Karagöz*, 120.

¹⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, 121.

¹⁷⁸ Siyavuşgil, *Karagöz: Psiko-Sosyolojik Bir Deneme*, 199.

are deeply positive. It is presented not in a private, egoistic form, severed from the other spheres of life, but as something universal, representing all the people”.¹⁷⁹ He continues as,

The exaggeration has a positive, assertive character. ... The leading themes of these images of bodily life are fertility, growth, and a brimming-over abundance. ... The essential principle of the grotesque realism is degradation, that is, the lowering of all that is high, spiritual, ideal, abstract; it is a transfer to the material level, to the sphere of earth and body in their indissoluble unity. ... Parody in its narrow sense but also all the other forms of grotesque realism degrade, bring down to earth, and turn their subject into flesh.¹⁸⁰

Accordingly, he meets the upward to the heaven and the downward to the earth, which is the master of the birth. He says, “The upper part is the face or the head and the lower part is the genital organs, the belly, and the buttocks”.¹⁸¹ That is the medieval folk humor. On the contrary, modern satirist, whose laugh is negative, places himself/herself somewhere superior to the subject of the laughing; s/he is right against it. The emerging laugh, then, turns into a sole personal reaction.¹⁸² All the characters in the Karagöz plays were extracted from the daily life of the Ottoman society, and depicted boldly by slang, sexual metaphors, or direct insults, which were known as a part of the show for centuries.

In Nutku’s words, grotesque means a “deliberate exaggeration and regeneration of nature as well as harmonizing objects that are dissonant with nature or with the customs of the daily life in a unique way.”¹⁸³ He continues with that the grotesque reverses apparently consistent rules, traditions and habits of life or nature by exaggerating and caricaturizing various bods and situations. By this way, it provides the audience a different outlook through alienating method for the events presented in the play field. Therefore, grotesque creates a counter-stance towards the given-reality. This is another very basic element of the epic theater, which shows to the audience the reality through alienating, and caused them to think of a different angle.

A Karagöz performer follows the daily life. Comic as such appears from the daily events, and exists to stand against prevailing oppressive powers. In such a society

¹⁷⁹ Bakhtin, *Rabelais and His World*, 19.

¹⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, 19, 20.

¹⁸¹ *Ibid.*, 21.

¹⁸² *Ibid.*, 38.

¹⁸³ Özdemir Nutku, *Uzatmalı Gerçekler* (İstanbul: Remzi Kitabevi, 1985): 84.

ruled and owned by a Sultan who is the sole provider and the grantor of the life and property, it is understandable to rely on the grotesque elements until the censor, by which Karagöz was gradually tamed and fixed in terms of the performance.

For a better understanding the peculiarities of the grotesque realism in relation with Karagöz, Bakhtin's explanations are essential. By those accounts, it would be understood that especially such peculiarities was making Karagöz comic and popular in the Ottoman society. Bakhtin's explanations also help to comprehend the philosophical bases of the obscene Karagöz that many interviewees and the authors are against it.

Grotesque Realism (is composed of)

Material Bodily Element

It refers eating, drinking and evacuation. The main point is degradation through benefiting from the conflicts between downwards and upwards, or body and soul. Grotesque image reflects a phenomenon that is always in transformation. It is an uncompleted metamorphosis in a process of becoming from birth to death.

For instance, the phallus is a significant component of the rural rituals and skits. It was often exhibited in the public festivals. And states¹⁸⁴ that the circumcision ceremony for the son of Mehmet IV, Mustafa lasted fifteen days and celebrated in a festival. He cites a foreign traveler who tells about "a jester, attired in a costume made of straw and paper, rode on a donkey, carrying a giant size phallus." With this, he was saluting the onlookers, among which there were women with veils still watching that jester.¹⁸⁵

It is also known from the foreign travelers, again, who were cited by Mizrahi¹⁸⁶, the plays with phallic Karagöz commonly performed in both public places and private homes. The women also used to watch these plays with the men at the same time but a curtain wall separated each. Mizrahi mentions these travelers: Sevin (1802), Amicis (1877), Thévenot (1665), Olivier (1801), White (1845), Ali Bey (1807) Ubcini (1855), Thalasso (1888), Dwight (1915), Davey (1907), Ritter (transcribed Hayali

¹⁸⁴ And, *Karagoz: Turkish Shadow Theatre*, 70.

¹⁸⁵ Sieur De la Croix, *Memoires*, (Paris: Veuve Callier, 1684). 119-120, in And, *Karagoz: Turkish Shadow Theatre*, 70.

¹⁸⁶ Mizrahi, Daryo. "Osmanlı'da Karagöz Oyunları." *Toplumsal Tarih*, no. 181 (January 2009): 48-56; 52-54.

Nazif's plays) and Nerval (1927).¹⁸⁷ The General impression of these travelers was that these plays were extremely embarrassing and disquieting. Mizrahi adds that in such a close-society, the travelers were highly surprised when they encountered with such plays.



Figure 4 Karagöz with Phallus

The male organ of generation, the phallus, was an accepted part of the Karagöz show. There are several Karagöz figures bearing a phallus exist. Metin And¹⁸⁸ gives the reproduction of the two figures of Karagöz with the large-sized phallus in his work. First one is from the Viennese Collection he writes; the other to be shown here is not specified. It was also a common example that Evliya Çelebi told about a scenery while he was counting the plays that Kör Hasanzade Mehmet Çelebi were

performing in the 17th century. Accordingly, "*Civan Nigar*, a young girl, on entering a bath, was violated by *Gazi Boşnak*. Karagöz, tied by his phallus, is dragged out of the bath naked."¹⁸⁹

Şaban, one of the elder interviewees awarded with the LHT status tells a story about *Hayali Küçük Ali*. It was told by Tuncay Tanboğa, the grandson of *Hayali Küçük Ali*. One day, Hayali Küçük Ali had refused to take his grandson with them to perform Karagöz because Hayali Küçük Ali said Tanboğa that they would perform dirty Karagöz. Probably, such kinds of Karagöz plays were buried with Hayali Küçük Ali. This section will also be elaborated in Chapter VI by referring to the statements of the contemporary known Karagöz performers.

Time

Time is another feature of the grotesque realism. It is based on the changing seasons according to the impregnation, birth, growing, and death. It is cyclic. Grotesque body is not severed from the rest of the world. It is open-ended, incomplete unit. It exceeds itself and the borders of its physicality. The main point is on the parts of the body that opens up to the earth or the parts that earth enters

¹⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, 53-55.

¹⁸⁸ And, *Karagoz: Turkish Shadow Theatre*, 68-69.

¹⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, 70.

in, then emanates. In other words, the emphasis is on the parts that directly communicate with the earth.¹⁹⁰

In *Büyük Evlenme* (The Great Wedding) play, Karagöz gets convinced that the woman he has just married can give birth to his child in the same night. The time perception is completely different from the common, rational one. Furthermore, at the same night he could chat with his newborn son.

Birth and death are considered as a whole in a cyclic manner. All the slang and imprecations are resulted from such different comprehension of the world. Therefore, it is understandable that the classical canons found the body as formless and ugly in the grotesque realism.¹⁹¹ Karagöz, Hacıvat, Jewish die many times and comes back at the end of the plays. Moreover, in the dialog sections, Karagöz tells about his dream as if it is real, and he indicates that it was dream only at the end of the play, otherwise no one could think that it is ridiculous, since everything is possible in the Karagöz plays.

Insanity

Insanity means in grotesque realism that seeing the world from a different point of view. In medieval times, insanity in folk grotesque was a joyful parody of the formal reason, formal truth, and narrow-minded seriousness.¹⁹² As to be seen later, for the Ottoman people, insanity was also considered as sacred due to the belief that mad people have an ability to see the other worlds. Besides, madness was treated not in isolated terms as it is in the modern world; the mad ones were as social as the other people were. “Mental illness” in contrast to “insanity” was the discovery of the modernity, which treats madness in isolated “hospitals.”

Timarhane (The Madhouse) play is totally allocated to the madness. In the play, the madman speaks in a manner that whatever he tells can be real, can happen in so-called reality. For example, a madman asks Karagöz to plant him, thereafter says that he grew/matured, and then asks Karagöz to harvest him. Karagöz pretends to do what he asked for. The madman, then, asks Karagöz to blend him. Afterwards, he asks Karagöz to mill him as if he was wheat. Indeed, he was talking about an ordinary cycle of a grain. It is neither fantastic nor realistic. After a while, Karagöz,

¹⁹⁰ Bakhtin, *Rabelais and His World*, 53.

¹⁹¹ *Ibid.*, 53.

¹⁹² *Ibid.*, 67.

having been highly exposed to the conversations of the madmen, becomes mad. He says, "The *Akbüyük* that could not stand the constant run of *Akıntıburnu* asked *Kabasakal* to have *Akıntıburnu* run into *Boğaziçi*"¹⁹³ *Akbüyük* and *Kabasakal* are the neighborhoods near *Sultanahmet*; *Akıntıburnu* is a point of a land located in the European part of İstanbul; and *Boğaziçi* is the Bosphorus. Besides, *Beberuhi* the shorty is depicted as the crackpot of the *Karagöz* plays, generally, *Karagöz* quickly sends him away when they encounter in plays. *Karagöz* can also be considered as a semi-mad of the plays.

Therefore, it is obvious that *Karagöz* was an alternative reality on the one hand; and amusingly mirroring the present reality in many different ways, none of which were in line with the rulers', on the other.

Knocker Karagöz

Especially after the 16th century, *Karagöz* became the main entertainment during the fasting months, in weddings and circumcision festivals; besides, important people and leading figures of the Ottoman Empire regarded *Karagöz* as worthy.

One of them, Ebussuud Efendi (1490-1574), who was the Sheik-al Islam in the 16th century under the reign of Kanuni Sultan Süleyman, said once in his fatwa¹⁹⁴ in response to the question of whether spectating *Karagöz* as an exemplar was punitive or not as, "I saw major exemplary aspects in *Karagöz* for whom to advance in the art of truth. The bods and the forms are provisional as shadows, and disappear quickly but, the master who performs the shadow play is everlasting."¹⁹⁵

¹⁹³ Kudret, *Karagöz Vol. I*, 1101. Translation belongs to the author (H.B. 2012)

¹⁹⁴ A fatwa,

usually requires knowledge of the Qur'an and Hadith (narratives concerning the Prophet's life and sayings), as well as knowledge of exegesis and collected precedents, and might be a pronouncement on some problematic legal matter. Under the Ottoman Empire, the mufti of İstanbul, the Sheikh al-Islam (Turkish: Şeyhülislâm), ranked as Islam's foremost legal authority, theoretically presiding over the whole judicial and theological hierarchy. The development of civil codes in most Islamic countries, however, has tended to restrict the authority of mufti to cases involving personal status, such as inheritance, marriage, and divorce; and even in this area, the prerogatives of the mufti are in some cases circumscribed by modern legislation.

Encyclopædia Britannica, "mufti." (Encyclopædia Britannica Online, 2010, accessed August 12, 2013) available from <http://global.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/396091/mufti>

¹⁹⁵ Mehmet Ertuğrul Düzdağ, ed., *Şeyhülislam Ebussuud Efendi Fetvaları Işığında 16. Asır Türk Hayatı*. (İstanbul: Enderun Kitabevi, 1972), 200-201. Also see Metin And, "İslam Din

Karagöz and the Coffeehouses

It was known that Karagöz was highly popular in the coffeehouses of the Ottoman society. It would be a limited outlook to accept that until the 19th century, when the printed media emerged, the Ottoman society had no public spaces. Actually, Karagöz was widespread and very famous starting from the 16th century. The Ottoman society had managed to create public spaces based on the coffeehouses and mosques (excluding women of course). Öztürk¹⁹⁶ says that in the second half of the 16th century when the coffeehouses were opened in İstanbul, there emerged a new socialization field for the people, which were very different from the mosques and barracks that were under the strict control of the authority, and houses that were in total privacy. The coffeehouses gathered many different people to communicate freely. In contrast to public spaces in Western comprehension, Öztürk says that coffeehouses could manage to create public spaces, of which dynamics were shaped by rumor and popular theaters, such as Karagöz and *Meddah* (storyteller).

Another characteristic of the coffeehouses is that they could easily become a real political threat to the Ottoman social structure, which was defined as patrimonial or a Sultan-state. The real danger started with the Janissaries owning coffeehouses and getting together in these places.¹⁹⁷

The types of the expressions in the public spaces; in other words, in the coffeehouses were divided into two: theatrical performance; mainly Karagöz and storytelling (*Meddah*), and rumor. As for Karagöz, Öztürk says that Karagöz continued its use of the political satire until Abdülaziz (1861-1876) banned satire in the Karagöz plays. In the context of the Ottoman dynamics, Karagöz was not much limited in terms of the political satire, which, today, is re-claimed by the interviewees those are the contemporary Karagöz performers. According to a foreign voyager, Karagöz was a daily newspaper, which bears no stamp and editorial position. Nevertheless, it was more dangerous than a daily newspaper because, rather than writing; he sings and talks in front of the countless subscribers. If a

Adamları ve Tiyatro”, *Türk Dili Dergisi* no: 189 (1967) available from www.karagöz.net/islam_dinadamlari_tiyatro Translation belongs to the author (H.B. 2012).

¹⁹⁶ Serdar Öztürk, "Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda Kamusal Alanın Dinamikleri." *İletişim*, no. 21 (2005): 95-124.

¹⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, 103.

European journalist wrote any of those Karagöz conveyed in the plays, he would be arrested and relegated.¹⁹⁸

Thus, Karagöz was a performance of the public spaces that enabled the ordinary people to criticize the authority in terms of comedy, satire, burlesque and sexuality, and formed a public opinion. Satire in these plays mostly relied on the emotional expressions based on comedy rather instead of rational critics. Another type of expression of public spaces was rumor.

On the other hand, According to Allport and Postman,¹⁹⁹ for the official authority, rumor is defined in the context of whether the news or the information is in accordance with the official discourse or not. Therefore, the official authority accepted the unconfirmed news and information spreading among the public as rumors. Thus, rumor was highly disquieting phenomenon for the power since it was an unmanageable kind of media. Transmission of the news and information through rumor was more dangerous than the printed media.²⁰⁰

The Ottoman authority had tried to close the coffeehouses many times; the real reason was that coffeehouses were producing rumor against the ruling power.²⁰¹ Coffeehouses were a very common medium of communication and they were functioning an important role in forming the public opinion about the rulers and the state until the development of the printed media in the 19th century. To be mentioned later, it was also the same function caused Karagöz to be censored by Abdülaziz. Therefore, coffeehouses were the places, where Karagöz experienced its utmost freedom.

Irony

The question about whether Karagöz plays are satiric or ironic can be resolved by observing that they utilize both elements. *Irony* is a

Language device, either in spoken or written form in which the real meaning is concealed or contradicted by the literal meanings of the words (verbal

¹⁹⁸ İbid., 113.

¹⁹⁹ G. W. Allport & L. Postman "An Analysis of Rumor." *Public Opinion Quarterly* 10 (winter 1946-1947): 501, cited in Öztürk, "Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda Kamusal Alanın Dinamikleri," 108.

²⁰⁰ Henri Lefebvre, *The Great Fear* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1973), 73, cited in Öztürk, "Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda Kamusal Alanın Dinamikleri," 109.

²⁰¹ Öztürk, "Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda Kamusal Alanın Dinamikleri," 109.

irony) or in a situation in which there is an incongruity between what is expected and what occurs.²⁰²

For example, *Hacı Fıç Fıç* (Pilgrim the Fizz), *Hacı Kandil* (Pilgrim the Lampion) are the names for the White Arabs in the plays. Such names were put for humiliating the Arabs living in the Ottoman Empire, and giving an idea that being a pilgrim for them does not provide respect. Another example can be that Karagöz says “amen” at the end of the some of the repeating dialogs when he does not understand the character he talks with. When a character talks continually in a melodic way (for example the Black Arab), Karagöz probably thinks that he is listening to a prayer; and this means that actually the prayers are not understandable or traceable at all for him. He feels like he is in a religious ceremony. Alternatively, in *Hamam* (The Bathhouse) play, the wife of Karagöz goes to the bathhouse with her son. The woman at the door asks to the son “why didn’t you bring your father?” Woman implies here that son is too old to enter women’s section with his mother. Rather, he should go to the men’s side.

Satire (is)

An artistic form, chiefly literary and dramatic, in which human or individual vices, follies, abuses, or shortcomings are held up to censure by means of ridicule, derision, burlesque, irony, parody, caricature, or other methods, sometimes with an intent to inspire social reform.²⁰³

In the Karagöz case; for example, in the plot called *Büyük Evlenme* (The Great Wedding), prospective Mother-in-law of Karagöz demands hundred trays of the Turkish cream that is called “*kaymak*” in Turkish. Karagöz responds Hacıvat the negotiator as, “assure them not to worry about it; I can slip day and night.”²⁰⁴ “To slip” that is “*kaymak*” here is a homonym of “cream” that is *kaymak* too in Turkish. They are both written and read the same in Turkish. However, the latter (slipping) is a verb meaning, “to fuck” in slang. Besides, despite that Hacıvat speaks the Ottoman Language (that was the popular language of the Ottomans at that time), sometimes he says, “In Turkish, you mean...” to Karagöz when Karagöz insists on pretending not to understand.

²⁰² Encyclopædia Britannica, "Irony," (Encyclopædia Britannica Online, 2010, accessed May 7, 2012) available from <http://search.eb.com/eb/article-9042812>

²⁰³ Encyclopædia Britannica, "Satire," (Encyclopædia Britannica Online, 2010, accessed May 7, 2012) available from <http://search.eb.com/eb/article-9110458>

²⁰⁴ Karagöz: “onun için de sıkıntı çekmesinler, gece gündüz kayarım”

Metin And searches for evidence that Karagöz plays issued daily political topics in a satiric way. Although he says, “we have not sufficient evidence of this (political satire, jokes and imitation of high officials, even the prime ministers) as early Karagöz texts are not available,”²⁰⁵ he can manage to find some evidence of direct political satire in the diaries of the foreign travelers.

Political Satire

And presents the examples of dissemination of Karagöz as a vehicle of political satire in other countries. These are Maghreb (*Karakuz* is against the corruption of the sultan’s ministers and viziers), Algiers (Against French colonialism, for satirizing the starvation in Paris, a mouse is sold for a piece of gold in a Karagöz play), Tunisia (*Aragoz*), Syria, some of the Balkan countries like Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, Rumania (*Caraghios*), and Greece (*Karaghiozis* and *Hatziavatis*). Subsequently, he cites the foreign travelers visited İstanbul and mentioned Karagöz in their notes.²⁰⁶ First evidence is from a French voyager, Enault. He says,

In Turkey, a country ruled by an absolute monarchy and a totalitarian regime, Karagöz is a character who never deludes himself or is lulled into a sense of security by shutting his eyes to the evils that surround him. On the contrary, a Karagöz show is a risqué-revue, as fearless as a militant newspaper. No one is spared, except maybe the Sultan; Karagöz heaps judgment on the Grand Vizier and sentences him to the prisons of Yedikule. His barbs prove disquieting to foreign ambassadors; he lashes out at the Allied Admirals of the Black Sea fleet, and the generals of the Crimea armies at the time of the Turkish-Russian war of 1854-6. His public is delighted and the government indulgently allows his brash outspokenness.²⁰⁷

And remarks about another eyewitness, Mery. Again, he was a French voyager and had come to Turkey in 1854. And cites Mery as follows,

Even the press in Europe is not so aggressive. Countries like America, England and France are much more restricted in political criticism than Turkey, which is a country ruled by an absolute monarch. Karagöz acts like some sort of unfettered press. Actually, Karagöz dialogue is much more fearsome as it is improvised and not tied down to a written text. Apart from the person of Sultan Abdülmecit, who is considered sacred, Karagöz makes no exception in his attacks. He lashed out at the British and French Admirals in August 1854 for the way in which they slowed down their work. He criticized their maneuvers and their lack of efficiency in manning their warships. Even the Grand Vizier appeared on the screen. He was seen to be

²⁰⁵ And, *Karagoz: Turkish Shadow Theatre*, 67.

²⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, 71-75.

²⁰⁷ Louis Enault, *Constantinople et la Turquie*. (Paris: L. Hachette, 1855), 367, cited in And, *Karagoz: Turkish Shadow Theatre*, 67.

tried in mock trial as if he were an infidel. The court, not finding his defense acceptable, sentenced him to a term in prison at Yedikule. If this should have happened in a different country, even a single showing of such seditious material would have been sufficient to promote the author's arrest and exile, whereas nothing happened to Karagöz.²⁰⁸

There are some other examples Metin And gives in his book; however, with the example also given below, it is sufficient to say that Karagöz had a political character especially in the 18th century. He issued viziers, ministers and every kind of deviation in his unique style. Yet, the presentation of the General *Kıbrıslı* (Cypriot) Mehmet in a satiric way in a play was the last political issue in Karagöz performances in the Ottoman Empire according to And. The last example was from Wanda who lived in Turkey between the years 1820 and 1870. Due to his father's position, he was in touch with the high ranked political figures in the Ottoman Empire. Metin And says that Wanda had personally seen the performances he mentions. Accordingly, And gives the examples mentioned in Wanda's book below,

In one play, the political ideas of the vizier, Georgian Mehmet Reşit Pasha, and his deeds as military man were shown in a humorous tone. In another performance, Karagöz poked fun at the Sultan's son-in-law, who was the chief admiral and a thoroughly worthless man. Commenting on this, Karagöz advised a young man, who seeks to begin his career, by saying, "As you do not know anything, advise you to become a chief admiral." In another performance, it was Topal Hüsrev Pasha and his homosexual preferences, which provided a target for Karagöz. However, when Karagöz, during the reign of Sultan Abdülaziz brought an important pasha, Kıbrıslı Mehmet Paşa, to the screen, showing how his family was corrupted and stole money from the state that proved too much for the official censor. As a result, political satire was banned strictly and forever. The author goes on to say that since that time, Karagöz has fallen into childish vacuity and meaningless farce.²⁰⁹

Social Satire

According to Siyavuşgil, *Kanlı Nigar* (The Bloody Nigar) is the satire of corrupted women of their time. The character of *Çelebi* refers to the educated but uncultivated, indulgent, prodigal sons of the rich families of the time. *Hacı Kandil* is represented the beggar Arabs who disturb people on the streets. *Hacivat* represents the *Enderun* (Noble education); *Bekri* represents the Janissary Corps. Besides, the play *Yazıcı* (The Scribe) is the satire of those novice scribes who caused unexpected incidents by inscribing misleading letters in the 18th century. In *Kanlı Kavak* (The

²⁰⁸ Mery, (Joseph Pierre Agnes), *Constantinople let a Mer Noire*. (Paris: Leprieur et Morizot, 1855), 358, cited in And, *Karagoz: Turkish Shadow Theatre*, 71-75.

²⁰⁹ Wanda, *Souvenirs Anecdotiques la Turquie (1820 – 1870)*, (Paris: Hachette Livre - Bnf, (1884) 2012), 271-278, cited in And, *Karagoz: Turkish Shadow Theatre*, 68-69.

Bloody Poplar) play, the Albanian woodsmen symbolize the ancient officers and the forest guards of the 17th century. He also claims that neither a Janissary nor a religious figure comes up to Karagöz screen [but in *Ortaklar* (The Partners) play, which is classified among the relatively new plays, an Imam comes to marry Karagöz but, Siyavuşgil would regard this also a satire of the fake-believers, such as beggar Arabs]. There are no *tasvir* representing either the palace or the mosque or the police station but those three are embodied in *Tuzsuz Deli Bekir*, whose judgments at the end of the plays, do not follow any logic. He never eliminates crimes; rather, he searches for a proper criminal who is generally corresponding to Karagöz for already existing crimes. That exemplifies the satire of the late corruptions in the jurisprudence of the Ottoman society.²¹⁰

Structure of Karagöz

As it was mentioned under the heading of epic theater, Karagöz has a fragmented story line, which is resulting from the improvisatory character of the traditional theater.²¹¹ Those stories can change even during the performance according to the audience's reaction and the ability of the performers. The sections are hypotonic in themselves. However, one thing that is assumed a permanent element of the Karagöz plays is the structure being composed of four sections. It is held that what makes Karagöz unique among the other types of shadow plays is this structural characteristic. All the interviewees agree that it is the major distinguishing character of Karagöz.

In addition, Şapolyo states that Karagöz performance was divided into two types, those are the Palace/Presence (“*huzur*” in Turkish) Karagöz and the Public Karagöz. Such kind of division was also mentioned by Evliya Çelebi. Şapolyo also says that Karagöz was performed to four types of audience: children, women, public and religious people in earlier times.²¹² However, such kinds of division were not used to bring a privilege or a strict hierarchy; rather, they should have been related to *fütüvvet* system that was morally and practically organizing every kind of production in the society.

²¹⁰ Siyavuşgil, *Karagöz: Psiko-Sosyolojik Bir Deneme*, 127.

²¹¹ Tekerek, "Halk Tiyatrosu Geleneğimizde 'Soyutlama-Abstraction'," 205.

²¹² Şapolyo, *Karagöz'ün Tekniği*, 54.

An elder LHT performer, Şaban²¹³ claims that his division is the best fitted and the most accepted one today (Ramazan, another elder interviewee, also mentions such kind of division invented by him). He divides Karagöz into six, those are:

1. Sufi Karagöz, performed in dervish convents
2. Anonym Karagöz, performed to men; public
3. Noble Karagöz, performed to the sultans
4. Karagöz, which shows love stories, performed to women
5. *Toramanlı/Zekerli* (Phallic) Karagöz, performed by Armenians and Greeks in underground secret sessions
6. Pedagogic Karagöz, performed to children

***Mukaddime* (Introduction, Prologue)**

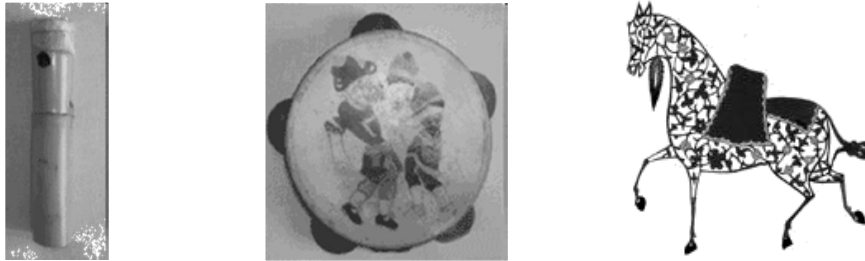


Figure 5 Nareke, Tef and Göstermelik by Emin Şenyer

Before the play begins, some ornaments called “*göstermelik*” (screen ornament/showpieces: a house, a plant, a horse or a cat, etc.) are put on the screen, and slowly removed to the music of *Nareke* (a kind of whistle with shrill sound) and *Tef*.²¹⁴ This section is said to have two purposes. On the one hand, performers get ready for the main plot; on the other, the audience is initiated into the play.

Then, from the left side of the screen according to the audience comes Hacivat. He enters singing a traditional song (*Perde Gazeli*: Ghazal, *vide* footnote 149, for the Screen) about the philosophical meaning of the screen. “Following this, he announces that he is looking for a pleasant companion who can speak Arabic or Persian, and has knowledge of science and arts and a sense of humor.”²¹⁵ Karagöz’s

²¹³ Şaban, interview author, 8 May 2012, İstanbul, tape recording.

²¹⁴ And, *Karagoz: Turkish Shadow Theatre*, 44.

²¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 45.

head appears from the window of his house on the right side of the screen according to the audience. He makes several remarks in his own particular style. “However, becoming bored with Hacivat’s speeches and fine phrases which he persistently confutes, Karagöz eventually comes down onto the stage and the two have a fight. Karagöz ends up lying on the floor” and “each time Hacivat appears after this, he receives a blow from Karagöz and promptly disappears from the screen.”²¹⁶

***Muhavere* (Conversation, Dialogue)**

This section is composed of exchanging riddles, or word games between Hacivat and Karagöz. Else, Karagöz or Hacivat may tell about their dream as if it really happened. The dialogue is concluded with the teaching of a moral²¹⁷. The dialogue is not always associated with the *Fasıl* (The Main Play). Sometimes just the *Muhavere* section might have been lasted for hours according to the ability of the performer. For example, Evliya Çelebi says that Kör Hasanzade used to perform Karagöz from night until the morning. Alternatively, sometimes another *Muhavere* section is added in between the *Muhavere* and the Plot that is *Ara Muhavere* (Additional Dialogue). This dialogue can include other up to four or five characters besides Karagöz and Hacivat. And sometimes, only Karagöz is included in short adventure by meeting with other figures.

***Fasıl* (Episode, the Main Play)**

The plot/story is presented in this section, and all the various figures play their roles. A translation of an old play, *Ters Evlenme* (Awry Marriage) can be found in full text in the Appendix A, on page 457.

There are two different classifications of the plays: one is prepared by Jacob²¹⁸ and the other one belonged to Siyavuşgil²¹⁹; however, the author assumes that the classification of Siyavuşgil is more overarching than Jacob’s in terms of including all the plays performed before the proclamation of the Turkish Republic. According to Siyavuşgil (some words, such as “national” are his deliberate usages, shown below), Karagöz Plays can be categorized into three:

²¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 45.

²¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 46.

²¹⁸ Jacob, *Türkische volksliteratur: Ein erweiterter vortrag*, 46-54, cited in Kudret, Karagöz Vol. I, 19.

²¹⁹ Siyavuşgil, Karagöz: *Psiko-Sosyolojik Bir Deneme*, 101

1. Parodies of general usages, customs and artistries (*Tahmis* - The Coffee Grinders, *Balık* - The Fishmongers, *Canbazlar* - The Acrobats, *Büyük Evlenme* - The Great Wedding). There is no complexity in the spots, but some amusing sides of artistries and customs are told. Burlesques are barely included.
2. Social Satires of Cause-Shady (labyrinth-like plays) plays. Burlesques are highly included in these plays.
 - 2.1. *Sünnet*-like plays: (*Sünnet* - The Circumcision, *Ödüllü* - The Wrestlers, *Şairlik* - The Poesy, *Timarhane* - The Madhouse). “National” and religious elements are shown as a part of the society.
 - 2.2. *Kayık*-like plays: (*Kayık* - The Rowboat, *Salıncak* - The Swing, *Yazıcı* - The Scribe, *Eczahane* - Pharmacy, *Orman* - The Forest, *Aşçılık* - The Cookery, *Ağalık* - The Agha). These are based on stories, which Karagöz and Hacivat try to get a job or work for a living. Since they travel a lot, they encounter various types of the Empire.
 - 2.3. *Mandır*a-like plays: (*Mandır*a - The Dairy, *Çeşme* - The Fountain, *Kanlı Nigar* - The Bloody Nigar, *Meyhane* - The Tap House). The scenario is very important in these plays; scenes representing daily social life and satire are highly included.
 - 2.4. *Bahçe*-like plays: (*Bahçe* - The Garden, *Abdal Bekçi* - The Stupid Watchman, *Hamam* - The Bathhouse, *Yalova Safası* - A Pleasure Trip to Yalova). Generally, Karagöz attempts to forbidden acts, or tries to enter places that are forbidden for him. These plays are based onto social conscience and diatribe (“*yergi*” in Turkish).
 - 2.5. *Ters-Evlenme*-like plays: (*Ters Evlenme* - The Awry Marriage, *Cazular* - The Witches, *Kanlı Kavak* - The Bloody Poplar). In these plays, the spots gradually get complicated at the end. The audience becomes very enthusiastic about how the play will end as the performer improvises.
3. Autocephalous (“*müstakil*” in Turkish) Plays: these are the equivocal spots or adaptations of folk stories (*Ferhat & Şirin*, *Tahir & Zühre*, *Leyla & Mecnun*, *Arzu & Kanber*, *Hançerli Hanım* - Lady with a Dagger, *Hain Kâhya* - The Traitor Butler).

Bitiş (Conclusion, Epilogue)

In this part, if Karagöz and Hacivat dressed differently during the play, they change into their original dresses. This part is very short; Hacivat addresses Karagöz with a poem (first sentence) and Karagöz answers (second sentence) as,

*Yıktın perdeyi eyledin viran; Varayım sahibine haber vereyim heman
Her ne kadar sürç-i lisan ettiyse affola!
The screen you have completely torn down, I shall tell the owner with a frown²²⁰
“Forgive us for albeit lapsus linguae!”²²¹*

Then, Karagöz announces where and when the next play is going to be performed along with the performer’s name. A recent common approach is that a *Çengi* (dancing girl) appears and dances to the music once all the figures are removed from the screen.

This chapter was allocated to describe what kind of activity Karagöz was and is, and what kind of other fields, such as philosophy, music, theater, etc. it overlaps with. As it was seen, Karagöz performance has shaped in cumulative contribution of the society in its entirety as a part of it within the oral convention. In Heideggerian words, the performer establishes himself among the other beings which he is exposed to, and this advancement is borne and guided by knowledge of the beings gets together in the physis that could possibly be described as the Ottoman society. Such knowledge is called *technē*, and if every kind of ability to bring forth is art, then art is *technē*. Regarding the peculiarities and functions Karagöz has especially in its early history, to be discussed in the next chapter, It can be described as *technē*. The organization of the Ottoman Empire, to be discussed in the next chapter, also supports this idea.

This chapter was also an attempt to describe *whatness* of essencing Karagöz and the grounds of conceptualizing Karagöz within the context of *technē* for its being in the Ottoman Empire to establish a background for the next chapters. However, the author is well aware that Karagöz is an essencing field of activity. Yet, the researchers most of whom have a modern approach towards Karagöz are in constant effort to find out the *essence* of Karagöz. Actually, the transformation of the black and white Egyptian figures into the colored Karagöz figures applied in the Ottoman society was a part of the *essencing* of Karagöz. However, it is considered as if it is the original Karagöz.

Therefore, the information given in this chapter can always change concerning the *essencing* of Karagöz. According to Heidegger, essence is the ways in which beings

²²⁰ (having been not aware of each other’s translations), Translation by the author (H.B. 2008). Translation by Mustafa Mutlu, "Turkish Shadow Theatre: Karagöz" (Turkish American Association for Cultural Exchange web site, 1999-2001, accessed November 13, 2009) available from http://www.taace.org/activities/2000/karagoz/turkish_shadow_theater.htm

²²¹ Translation belongs to the Author (H.B. 2008)

“hold sway, administer themselves, develop and decay -the way in which they ‘essence’,”²²² in contrast to Platonic definition of essence that is “what endures as what remains permanently,”²²³ which is the *idea* itself. Consequently, the author of the thesis need to indicate that she is not in search of the essence of Karagöz. Rather, the information given in this chapter should be taken as a guide to trace the transformations of Karagöz.

²²² Heidegger, "The Question Concerning Technology," 30

²²³ *Ibid.*, 30

CHAPTER III

CLASSIC KARAGÖZ REVEALING ITSELF AS THE REFLECTION OF THE OTTOMAN SOCIETY



Figure 6 A Caricature by Bahadır Baruter, Penguen 2010

Channel Karagöz: - It is seven o'clock pm, now the news, by by by! Ottoman man - Let's see what happened... I wonder if Murat IV abolishes the ban of tobacco.

Karagöz and the figures used in Karagöz plays were all chosen from the Ottoman people. Their characteristics, typical behaviors and their discourses were all reflected the Ottoman society. The Ottoman Empire was a patrimonial state organized along the religious lines. However, working as a carnival and a gateway from established social rules Karagöz has also functioned differently. Sexually separated life style, hierarchical positions is left outside of the screen. More importantly, people seem like speaking the same language however rather in an odd manner. Besides, women can meet with men freely; even the lesbian relations are presented as very normal on the screen (albeit the commonness, homosexuality was a crime until 1858). However, one should keep in mind that those characters

on the screen are filtered through the centuries, and are caricaturized forms of the deep-seated peculiarities of the communities living in the Ottoman Empire. Figures on the screen act as expected; they have repetitive manners and sayings. According to And²²⁴, they are abstracted personalities with all the powerful and the weak sides. Actually, the personalities of those types of the plays were defaced, and do not belong to a certain time lag. They have no lived past, or present to be lived.

In this chapter, the Ottoman society at where Karagöz had been originated will be elaborated, which would contribute to understand Karagöz better because Karagöz was mainly reflected the daily life of the Ottoman Empire in a satiric way.

The Ottoman Empire as the Universe of Karagöz

İnalcık²²⁵ says that the basic characteristics of the Ottoman-Turkish society could be best described by the ruling period of Süleyman I (*Kanuni/Magnificent*) between 1520 and 1566. The regulations especially those re-examined by Sheikh al-Islam Ebussuud Efendi had determined the general administrative and political structure of the Ottoman society until the second half of the 19th century.

As it was observed in the previous chapter, Karagöz, probably in the 13th but certainly in the 15th century, took shape in the Ottoman-Turkish territory; however, It had reached its pick point; its ultimate popularity in the 16th century, when was named as magnificent century due to Süleyman I, and continued to be popular in the 17th century. The classic age of the Ottoman Empire, in terms of Halil İnalcık²²⁶, has been closed with the death of Sultan Süleyman in 1566.

Ahmad also says,

After Süleyman, it is rare to find able sultans with the qualities of their great predecessors sitting on the throne. This was an important factor in the declining fortunes of the Ottoman Empire but it was partially offset by the high calibre of some of the grand viziers. Mehmed Sokullu, who was grand vizier from 1565 to 1579, and the Köprülü dynasty, which virtually ruled the empire from 1656 to 1683, are notable examples, and there were others.²²⁷

²²⁴ And, *Geleneksel Türk Tiyatrosu (Kukla - Karagöz - Ortaoyunu)*, 276.

²²⁵ Halil İnalcık, "Osmanlı Toplum Yapısı." *Türkiye Günlüğü*, no. 11 (1990): 30.

²²⁶ İnalcık, *Devlet-i Aliye, Klasik Dönem (1302-1606)*.

²²⁷ Feroz Ahmad, *The Making of Modern Turkey*. Digitalized. (London and New York: Routledge, 2002), 23.

Until the *Tanzimat period* (1839-1876), the Ottoman Empire did not need to undertake any reform in modern sense despite the apparent diminution of authority, especially in Europe. The *Tanzimat period*, which to be detailed later, was accepted as the first steps of modernization of the Ottoman Empire. It can be understood from the foreign travelers' agendas, Fatwas of Ebussuud and the writings of Evliya Çelebi that Karagöz plays were highly popular in the 16th and the 17th centuries. For this reason, the information representing the daily life of the Ottoman Empire was collected regarding the 16th, 17th and the beginning of the 18th centuries. The information supplied by the foreign travellers also gives the perception of the Ottomans in the eyes of Europeans, which would be upside down with the beginning of the 19th century.

Classic Age

When the Ottomans emerged in the 14th century, the cultural life they belonged to was that of *Uç* (Frontier) culture. *Uç* culture was a mystic and an eclectic public culture, which is not fixed; the mystic and the epic literature besides the composition of the customs and the national laws stand against the cultural forms of the conservative high cultures, such as theology, the palace literature and the law of sharia. In centuries, the Ottomans gradually got rich in terms of the trade and culture, and adopted the higher forms of the Islamic culture.²²⁸

At the beginning of the 15th century, the Anatolian population was mainly composed of the settled villagers. Unlike the educated urbanities, those villagers had no efficient religious knowledge. The leading figures of the villagers' religious knowledge were the Tariqa sheiks called "*abdal*" or "*dervish*." Later, their religious life was labeled as perverted by the Sunnite Islam; however, such kinds of beliefs lasted and played a major role in the Ottoman culture for centuries.²²⁹ Such Dervishes united the old shamanic beliefs and the conventional Islam. They were shaving their heads and were wearing simple clothes, such as animal pests, and making a kind of noisy music.²³⁰ Those practices were tolerated until the Ottoman sultans became the militant warriors of the Sunnite Islam in the 16th century, when Yavuz Sultan Selim conquered the holy places and acquired the title of the Caliph.

²²⁸ İnalçık, *Devlet-i Aliye, Klasik Dönem (1302-1606)*, 18.

²²⁹ Faroqhi, "*Osmanlı Kültürü ve Gündelik Yaşam*," 6-7.

²³⁰ *Ibid.*, 28.

These social differences in the Ottoman cultural life were reflected in Karagöz as well. For example, Karagöz's hat (turban) is dynamic whereas Hacivat's hat (turban) is fixed. When Karagöz's hat falls his bold and shaved head could be seen, on the other hand, because Hacivat's head is fixed, it is not certain whether his head is bold or not. As a character, Karagöz tend to reflect those "perverted" *abdal*'s beliefs whereas Hacivat fits into the high culture as Faroqhi defined it. Besides, the melodic speech of Karagöz also reminds the noisy music of those dervishes. As it will be discussed later, Karagöz was closer to the culture of the dervishes and accepted as a kind of lunatic. For example, in the play of *Ödüllü* (The Wrestlers), Karagöz interrupts and makes comments on the conversation of Hacivat and *Çelebi* from his window. When *Çelebi* asks Hacivat about Karagöz who is talking out of his turn, Hacivat answers that he is a few bricks short of a load, and *Çelebi* approves Hacivat by saying, "yes, he is obviously lunatic (*Meczup*" in Turkish).

The basic social structure of the Ottoman Empire was shaped by the early years of the foundation. Aşıkpaşazade²³¹ (1392-1480) states that there were four different outsider ("*müsafir*" in the Ottoman language) communities, those were *Gaziyan*, *Ahiyyan*, *Abdalan* and *Baciyan*. *Baciyan*, which was exclusively composed of women and founded by the wife of *Ahi Evren* the head of the first *Ahiyyan* (artisans' guilds), was equal to *Ahiyyan*. *Gaziyan* was composed of the *ghazis*.²³² Those Turcoman tribes, acquired *raiding as a profession*, joined the *Ghaziyan* organization out of from their tribal ties; besides, they had differentiated socially, and detached from their tribal groups for a new kind of life²³³ (which prevented the potential rebellions).

Starting with the 15th century, The *Kul* system, the aim of which to enforce the central authority in districts, was mostly developed in the time of Bayezid I. Military rulers were selected from the palace pages, and the fiefs in the districts were given to those coming from the *Kul* system.²³⁴ The *Kul*²³⁵ system was applied at every

²³¹ Aşıkpaşazade Ali Bey. *Tevarih-i Ali Osman'dan Aşıkpaşazade Tarihi*. (İstanbul: Matbaa-yi Âmire, 1914), cited in İnalçık, *Devlet-i Aliye, Klasik Dönem (1302-1606)*, 29.

²³² İnalçık says that a man who wanted to be a ghazi had to be brave, strong, hardworking, and have a good horse. Having a good horse was important because, later, these would compose the cavalymen in the Ottoman Empire. The Ottomans regarded Cavalryman as nobles. They regarded those Christian cavalymen in the Balkans also noble and gave them fiefs. On the other hand, they had considered the infantryman as rayah. That is why the non-Muslim rayah was banned to ride a horse. İnalçık, *Devlet-i Aliye, Klasik Dönem (1302-1606)*, 29-31.

²³³ *Ibid.*, 32.

²³⁴ İnalçık also says that those developments had disturbed the old local aristocratic families (Turcoman). Such excessive centrality was the cause of the fall of Bayezid I. On the contrary,

level to the members of the military-administration. Those people could not manage to establish an aristocracy descending from father to son because the fiefs were not hereditary, and the system was strictly controlled by the central authority.²³⁶ However, in the late 16th century the *Kul* system was deteriorated; they had gained absolute dominance on their fiefs and in the palace politics.

It was important to mention here about the “*devshirmeh*” system, about which Ahmad²³⁷ gives significant information, and which determined the future of the Ottoman Empire. Accordingly, after the conquest of the Balkans, Ottoman rulers wanted to lessen their ties with Turcoman notables, who were formerly the main supporters of the Ottoman rulers. In the context of slavery, Ottoman rulers started to bring the brightest and most talented male youths to the capital and educated them accordingly in the reign of Murad I (1362–1389), and created a new force among those Christians. This system was later called Devshirmeh, which literally meant collection. Recruited children were converted to Islam, educated and trained in the palace in accordance with their talents. Later they became administrators, privileged soldiers including *Serasker(s)* and grand viziers. By this way, the sultans had a chance “to balance the power of the Turcoman chiefs and, in time, to create an autocracy more absolute than anything existing in Europe.”²³⁸

General Organization of the Ottoman Empire

The coming parts are worth to mention to understand the universe Karagöz, emerged and flourished as a non-art in the Ottoman society, was reflecting. The organization structure of the Ottoman Empire provides the author to describe

later, those coming from the *Kul* system would play a crucial role in the reformation of the central empire. *Ibid.*, 69.

²³⁵ Ahmad says,

Technically, the recruits became ‘slaves’ or, more accurately, ‘clients’ (*kul*) of the sultan though not in the sense of chattel slaves and owed absolute loyalty to him. Having severed all family bonds and connections with their past, they were able to create new ties and an esprit de corps with other recruits. But their positions of power and their wealth could not be inherited by their children who were born Muslims. Therefore it was not possible for them to create a class with its own vested interests. They could find satisfaction only in serving their master who in turn placed great trust in them. They were members of the sultan’s household, members of his family, so to speak. Ahmad, *The Making of Modern Turkey*, 19.

²³⁶ İnalçık, *Devlet-i Aliye, Klasik Dönem (1302-1606)*, 214.

²³⁷ Ahmad, *The Making of Modern Turkey*, 19.

²³⁸ *Ibid.*, 19.

Karagöz as a field of activity (*technē*), and to show its vital connections with the Ottoman society as a part of life.

In the Ottoman Empire, the classes should be considered on the base of the differentiation between the military that is the privileges, and the *rayah*, which is primarily composed of the male taxpayers. All the other arrangements refer first to this division.

Economic Structure: Artisans as *Technités* and *Bezirgan(s)* as Merchants

İnalçık²³⁹ considers the Ottoman Empire in the context of the Middle-East State tradition. The peasant family, which is typified by the married male peasant with children, is the nub of the labor source of the traditional agriculture.²⁴⁰ Because the Ottoman family is a patrimonial and a patriarchal type, the Empire addresses husband as a taxpayer, which caricaturized by the Anatolian types, especially the Turkish type in Karagöz plays.

As the Ottoman state was a type of the Middle Eastern state tradition, every subject of the state served to support and sustain the power of the sultans, who were the source of the wealth. There were two main classes in the Ottoman Empire: *Rayah* and *Martial* (Rulers/Privileges). *Martial* class did not only cover the military but also the households, the civil members and the public servants of the ruling class. They were directly paid by the Sultan and free from the tax charges. Rulers were strictly differentiated from the ruled ones.²⁴¹

The *ruling class* (rulers/*Kul(s)*, military class and the religious figures) represented the authority of the sultan whereas *Rayah* simply meant the subjected ones.²⁴² The *Rayah*, which hierarchically included peasants, merchants and artisans, dealt only with production, and paid taxes. The peasants, in contrast to the notables of the Ottoman Empire, were considered to be weak and poor, and therefore being in need

²³⁹ İnalçık, *Devlet-i Aliye, Klasik Dönem (1302-1606)*, 246.

²⁴⁰ As a patrimonial state, the Ottoman rule accepted every agricultural field producing cereals as the state's "*Miri*" territory. The perusing the interests of the whole subjects and avoiding failure in the production resulted in a special agricultural production style that was called "*çift-hane*" (yoke-household/peasant household), which was strictly controlled in the Ottoman Empire. The agricultural fields were divided into the small family units that were called "*raiyyet*," which were controlled by the registers of the peasants and the territories. *Ibid.*, 218.

²⁴¹ Halil İnalçık, "Osmanlı Fetih Yöntemleri," Edited by Vedat Çorlu, *Cogito, Osmanlılar Özel Sayısı*, no. 19 (1999): 121.

²⁴² İnalçık, *Devlet-i Aliye, Klasik Dönem (1302-1606)*, 256.

of protection. For this reason, it is suitable to recognize such kind of empires as the empires of the peasantry.²⁴³ The first essential duty of the state was to keep everyone in its own class and to avoid the inter-class changes, which supported the idea that Karagöz plays were a gateway from such a strictly defined socioeconomic canon. Social movement was not desirable and considered as destructive. Therefore, that was the reason why Karagöz was also assumed for some researchers (e.g., Siyavuşgil²⁴⁴) to be immutable for centuries until the *Tanzimat period*.

In contrast to the merchants, the peasants and the artisans were regarded as a separate category and their productive activities were under strict control of the Empire. Production and the distribution in cities were based on the “artisan/guild system.” The majority of the cities were dependent on a certain production type, which meant that they were functioning for the limited market. It was ideal for the Ottoman Empire (as an Islamic Middle Eastern state) because, it eliminated competition on the one hand, and guaranteed the surviving and the consistency of the society on the other. Competition and the persistent gain were considered as a crime to pull down the management and the order of the society from the roots.²⁴⁵ One has to keep in mind that this kind of a world perception and the social-economic establishment mainly originated sociologically in the *Fütüvvet* and *Ahi-Even* structure.

On the other hand, there was no possibility for an artisan to extend his economic activities as it is in liberal economy. The production more than need would cause a decrease in the prices whereas the production less than need would cause an increase in the prices so; the number of the producers has to be limited in the cities. For this reason, in the towns and the cities, the number and the branches of the producers had been determined according to the size of those settlements.²⁴⁶ It was valid for every kind of activity, for example, Evliya Çelebi counts 500 people under the heading of the mimickers, those also includes the Karagöz performers. The traditional guild system had lasted until the 19th century, when the free market economy has replaced it.

²⁴³ *Ibid.*, 249.

²⁴⁴ Siyavuşgil, *Karagöz: Psiko-Sosyolojik Bir Deneme*, 85.

²⁴⁵ İnalçık, *Devlet-i Aliye, Klasik Dönem (1302-1606)*, 256.

²⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 297.

If any artisan began to be considered as getting richer like a merchant, he could be dismissed from the organization. The profits of the merchants were taken as the product of a fraud and speculation, and were not found socially desirable. Therefore, the official names of *Matrabaz* and *Bezirgan* meaning merchants had associated with different meanings, such as deceitfulness, black marketer, etc. among the public. The other basic reason of the public's reaction against the merchants and the large money savers was the shortage of the silver in the market. In addition, the tendency of the traders that was stocking products and selling them in high prices in times of need was the cause of the social reactions in society.²⁴⁷ In the upper level, the negative attitude towards large money savers and speculators was resulting that they were not bringing something forth in another. There seems nothing had been produced but that nothing had an exchange value.

Only the merchants had the opportunity for any capital accumulation. The Merchants' wealth was based on cash money. However, they could invest in precious cloth, slaves, farms and animals. The method of burying was also used on a large scale, which was issued in *Gömü/Mal Çıkarma* (Treasure Hunt) play of Karagöz. Later, merchants earned privileged status because they were assisting the state and the ruling class in different ways; they even involved in the agency, and functioned as ambassadors.²⁴⁸ Since the merchants' searching for a limitless earning was regarded as a religious and a moral deficiency by the artisans, it would be wrong to accept that emotional reaction against "*Bezirgan(s)*", who dealt with the overseas trade and money exchange regarding luxury consumption, were the result of the religious thoughts and prejudices. Indeed, artisanship was a middle way between the capitalism and the full commitment to the religion. In the 16th century, the population of İstanbul was over a half million where wealth was mainly held by the *Bezirgans*.²⁴⁹ As it was seen in the Karagöz plays, *Bezirgan* is commonly used for the Jews²⁵⁰ who were depicted as clamorous and chary, and always in conflict with Karagöz who was depicted as Coptic. Such large money savers and the merchants in the society embodied in the Jew type, in Karagöz.

²⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 256-267.

²⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 257-263.

²⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 280.

²⁵⁰ İnalçık also states that, the activities of the Marranos of the 16th century have to be mentioned in the examination of the capital accumulation of the Ottoman Empire. Attracting the rich traders was used as an effective tool by the Ottoman sultans to increase the wealth of the palace. After the Marranos expelled from Spain in 1492, the Ottoman sultans intentionally accepted the Jews and settled them in Avalon, İstanbul and Salonika. *Ibid.*, 282.

That there were two groups involved in the sea trade; the one is the captains of the Black Sea Rums and the other was the armatures also explains why the Black Sea people were always depicted as captains in the Karagöz plays; however, they are depicted as an Anatolian type.

Jurisprudence: A Legal Base for the Comedy

The Jurisprudence was forming a base for Karagöz for joking about especially the non-Muslims resulting from the belief that the Muslims were superior to the non-Muslims. However, the main aim of the Jurisprudence was defining and categorizing the taxpayers.

Neither a Muslim sultan nor a caliph could define himself as the lawmaker; rather, he could only be the custodian and the guardian of the Islamic law that is the *sharia*. However, due to the special conditions, the Ottoman Empire had developed a jurisprudence exceeding the *sharia*.²⁵¹ The principle giving birth to such jurisprudence was the need for the sultans to issue their own rules according to the political need of the times (*siyaset*) on the one hand and on the other hand to maintain law and order in newly occupied territories (*örf*). Such a kind of mixed jurisprudence that is composed of the edicts of the sultans, customary laws and the *sharia* was the tradition of the Turkish-Islamic state before the Ottomans. The legitimacy of the customary law, which would not exist besides the *sharia* in ordinary conditions, was coming from the idea that it was necessary for the principle of goodness and the safety of the subjects.²⁵² Those customary laws were declared in the form of decrees. None of the decrees of the previous sultan was binding the following sultan. Every sultan, if he wished to, needed to sign and accept the decree of the previous sultan to validate it.²⁵³ Ebussuud Efendi (1490-1571) the sheik al-Islam in the reign of Kanuni Sultan Süleyman initiated to unite the law of the sultans, the customary laws and the *sharia* through adopting the first two to the *sharia*.²⁵⁴

²⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 227.

²⁵² *Ibid.*, 228.

²⁵³ *Ibid.*, 232.

²⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 147.

Albeit there is an ongoing debate on the issue, the Islamic denominations were (officially) divided into three: Sunnite, Shi'a and Khawarji ("*Harici*" in Turkish). The first denomination was represented by the Ottoman Empire, second by the Safavids (Iran) and the third, having been lesser today, by Oman and some parts of Algeria. Wikimedia Contributors, "Islamic

According to İnalçık, fed first by the Ghazi ideology, the Ottomans assumed themselves as the sword of God.²⁵⁵ Ghazi ideology had a close connection with the Islamic idea of Jihad that is only declared if the country of Islam is in a life-threatening condition.²⁵⁶

In the Ottoman Empire, the ideal social law was arranged in accordance with the Islamic law. Hence, the Muslims in the society were divided into *Kul* and the free people; those were also divided into the men and women. On the other hand, the non-Muslims were divided into four. One of them was *Dhimmi* (“*Zimmî*” in Turkish) which, as a general category signified the non-Muslims, who were paying taxes and subjected to the reign of the sultan. The second one was *Müstemin*, who were the non-Muslim traders and ambassadors; they needed the guarantee of a male Muslim and could not stay in the Ottoman territory for more than one year. The third category is the non-Muslims, with whom the Ottomans were in constant warfare. Moreover, the fourth one is the category of slavery. By this way, every person had been given a legal status in the Ottoman Empire. At the top of the hierarchy, there was a Muslim free man (male subject) whereas at the bottom, there was a non-Muslim slave woman.²⁵⁷

schools and branches," (Wikipedia, last updated November 27, 2012, accessed October 28, 2012) available from http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islamic_denominations

The Sunnite denomination is divided into subcategories; those are *Hanafî*, *Shafî'i*, *Maliki* and *Hanbali*. They refer to the schools of thought or religious jurisprudence that were called “*Fiqh*” Imber defined the function of the *Fatwa* as helping the legal practitioners who try to solve the daily problems of the Muslims whereas sharia is defined as the law of the Islamic lawyers. Since it is believed that the law of God cannot be known, sharia is formed on the base of the interpretations (*Fiqh*: principles of jurisprudence; “*Fıkıh*” in Turkish). Imber, "Part I: Historical and Legal Background," 32, 55.

After the 1300s, the Ottomans had chosen the way of *Hanafî* in the religious applications of the sharia. *Ibid.*, 55.

²⁵⁵ İnalçık, *Devlet-i Aliye, Klasik Dönem (1302-1606)*, 18.

²⁵⁶ Jihad is defined by Imber as a legalized way of obtaining assets by the Islamic law. Jihad is a theoretical base for the explanations of the individual's legal status, territorial issues and the tax payments in the Ottoman Empire. According to Jihad, a Muslim always has to be at war. War is one of the constant duties of a Muslim man to be fulfilled for the sake of God; therefore, it is hard to make a peace with the non-Muslims. Peace is only possible if it serves to Islam. Imber, "Part I: Historical and Legal Background," 76-77.

The world is also divided into two, which are *Darü'l İslam* (world of Muslims) and *Darü'l Harb* (world of the non-Muslim whom the Muslims are in constant war) according to Jihad. A Non-Muslim could only change the world s/he belonged to by converting to Islam; otherwise, they had to be placed in *Darü'l Harb*. The other way to change the world was being *Dhimmi* who acted free in terms of their beliefs by paying taxes to the Muslim sultan. Tax can be considered as a protection guarantee. A convert male from Islam was given three-days-time limitation to convert back to Islam; if they did not, they were executed to death. Whereas a convert female was sentenced to jail until she gave up. *Ibid.*, 77.

²⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 39.

Metin And is first to use the term *Dhimmi* while categorizing the non-Muslim characters in the Karagöz plays, those are the Armenian, the Jew, the Frank and the Greek. Therefore, the *Dhimmis* embodied in Karagöz plays through those three types.

The women were considered to be half of a man in terms of the rights, e.g., there should be two woman eyewitnesses in contrast to one man before the law. There was no different procedure in the protection of the goods and life; however, a taxpayer non-Muslim that was *Dhimmi* could not testify against a Muslim. On the other hand, the equality principle tried to be applied in all cases.²⁵⁸ Among the Islamic jurists (Kadis), solving the assumptive problems became an issue; it even became a sign of wisdom. During the wedding ceremony of *Hatice Sultan* (the sister of Süleyman I) and the grand vizier *İbrahim Pasha*, a contest was organized among the Islamic law interpreters about the assumptive issues, such as application of the tax obligations for a hermaphrodite, as a part of the wedding ceremony.²⁵⁹



Figure 7
hermaphrodite
from
Metin
And
(1979)

Legally defined subjects of the sultan had to pay taxes, in contrast to the soldiers. There were six kinds of taxes²⁶⁰, those are:

1. *Cizye* (poll tax/*Jizya*): poll tax paid once a year by the mature non-Muslim males
2. *Öşür* (Islamic tithe): poll tax that is equal to the 1/10 of the annual income of a matured Muslim male peasant.
3. *Humus*: State takes 1/5 of every kind of plunder obtained during the war.
4. *Haraç* (Exaction/Tribute): poll tax paid by the mature non-Muslim male peasants from the agriculture.
5. *Zekat* (Zakat/obligatory alms): 1/40 of the annual earnings, paid by the mature Muslims.

The fundamental de jure segregation was not based on the difference between the Muslim and the non-Muslim but between those who paid taxes and those who did

²⁵⁸ For example, if a thief stole a white dress but brought it back as colored; the owner of the dress had to give the price of the color back to the thief. Imber, "Part I: Historical and Legal Background," 39-41.

²⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 41.

²⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, 77.

not have to.²⁶¹ Accordingly, the soldiers were judged in the military courts whereas rayah that was composed of the Muslim and the non-Muslim taxpayers were judged by their own courts according to their own community laws. Besides, the power of all the religious leaders of those separate communities arose only from the sultan's will.²⁶²

However, except for the some communal issues, the non-Muslims could also apply to the Muslim courts for the issues regarding their daily social life. Cemal Kafadar together with Halil İnalçık has been preparing a complete social map of İstanbul for the 19th and 17th centuries through examining the Kadis' registers, since 1990. The first evidence that belongs to the 19th century shows that neighborhoods were never completely apart from each other as Jewish, Christian or Muslim. Kafadar²⁶³ also says that people were living more intimately than it is assumed so far. More interestingly, the Jews and the Christians had been more often going to the Kadi courts for their own issues in the İstanbul city. For example, An Armenian could prefer to apply Kadi courts for his private troubles concerned with a case like inheritance. They have found that the Ottoman society was not as segregated as it was assumed.

It is also worth to mention Sheik al-Islam Ebussuud Efendi, who was the prominent figure of the 16th century since he revised and reformed the *Örfi Hukuk* (customary laws) during the reign of Kanuni Sultan Süleyman. He played a significant role in transforming the Ottoman Empire into a state of a complete sharia through the efforts of adapting the customary originated from sultan's will to the sharia. The issues regarded in the field of the customary laws gradually became the issues of the sharia, which resulted in the empowerment of a influential class called *Ulema* (men of knowledge in religious affairs).²⁶⁴

For example, it was impossible to adjudge about *Zina* (Adultery) since a successful judgment required four eyewitnesses, whose honesty to be interrogated overtly and covertly by the Kadi. Besides, calumny, theft, highway robbery, and alcohol drinking were also not dully judged because of the rule of four eyewitnesses; they

²⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 87.

²⁶² *Ibid.*, 89.

²⁶³ Cemal Kafadar, "Osmanlı, modernleşme serüvenini kendi dinamikleriyle 16. yüzyılda yaşadı: Interview with Cemal Kafadar," interview by Nuriye Akman, Zaman Roportaj Online, (April 14, 2004).

²⁶⁴ İnalçık, *Devlet-i Aliye, Klasik Dönem (1302-1606)*, 147.

were hard to be supplied. So that, those claims were directly held under the jurisdiction of the sultan.²⁶⁵

Zındık (unbeliever), who was defined as the one who acted against the sharia laws, was another category of the problems to be solved, and was, to some extent, represented by the drunkards in the Karagöz plays. For example, if any unbeliever had publicly claimed that drinking alcohol was canonically lawful (Halal) then this claim was considered as a criminal action for being public detention concerning Islamic rules; otherwise, it was considered as a decision totally belonged to the individual who was only responsible to God.²⁶⁶ Ebussuud revised those three issues and categorized the crimes of drinking alcohol and adultery as the crimes committed against God. As a result, he created a new investigation area that the authority would judge those who were suspected of their loyalty to the sultan.²⁶⁷

For example, the play of *Kütahya Çeşmesi* (The Fountain) deals with issues of adultery and calumny. Karagöz tries to find evidence and witnesses to prove that his wife is cheating him on his own house. He hears the rumor first from Hacivat and investigates it by asking the other characters, such as *Tiryaki*, *Tuzsuz*, the *Turkish* and *Beberuhi*. Later, he has personally witnesses that his wife is really cheating him but he also witnesses that Hacivat's daughter is secretly meeting with *Çelebi*. In case of getting caught, both *Çelebi*(s) hid into the jars but Karagöz reveals them. Hacivat is embarrassed by the situation of his daughter. Then Karagöz says; "there is a famous saying: 'spotting the scrup in my eyes instead of the pale in your ass is a delusion of an eye.'"²⁶⁸ Karagöz proves that, on the one hand, such issues should only regard him and God, on the other; if one is going to make such a claim, he should also think it for himself. In other words, those issues became private in between the god and the subject but can be judged by the court, and are opened to rumor and accusation to test the loyalties.

Administrative Structure: A Base for the Imperial Types

The administrative structure of the Ottoman Empire is exactly reflected in the Karagöz plays. Accordingly, the Muslims were represented both by İstanbulites and

²⁶⁵ Imber, "Part I: Historical and Legal Background," 89.

²⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, 103.

²⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, 104.

²⁶⁸ Karagöz: "meşhur meseldir: kendi götündeki kazığı görmeyip, benim gözümdeki çöpü görmek ayn-i hatadır." (Translation belongs to author. H.B. 2012).

the Anatolian types, and the non-Muslims in other words, *Dhimmi*, were represented by the Armenian, Jewish and the Franks.

The Ottoman Empire can be defined as a federation of communities. The 2/3 of the population was composed of the Turkish-Muslims; the 1/3 was composed of the Romans, Slavic, Armenians, Jews, Albanians, Franks and the Arabs. In other words, almost 2/3 of the federation was composed of the Muslims and almost 1/3 of it was composed of the non-Muslims.²⁶⁹

The Ottoman Empire governed its subjects according to the “Ottoman Empire *Millet* System” (The Ottoman Empire *Community* System), which was based on the Islamic Laws. The term of *Millet* here, meant various people constituting the religious groups or denominations living under the sultan’s authority, and subjected to the Spiritual Leader of the community.²⁷⁰ As the economic system divided society into two, which were the rulers and the taxpayers, the Community system also divided people living under the Ottoman rule into two basic categories: the Muslims and the non-Muslims, who were called “*Dhimmi*”. However, all had been described as “*Tebaa*” (Subjects). According to Rehman²⁷¹,

The term ‘Millet’ is derived from the Arabic word Millah and connotes ‘nation’ or ‘community’. Millet System refers to a scheme deployed by the Ottoman rulers for granting autonomy to certain religious communities within the Ottoman Empire (1301–1922).

Each Millet represented an autonomous and self-governing community and was led by its religious leaders and governed by its own religious laws. The leader of each religious community (for example Patriarch, Chief Rabbi, Ethnarch) was obliged to undertake responsibility for the actions of his community and was directly answerable to the government. Autonomy was granted on the basis of religious affiliation and not on regional or territorial basis.

This understanding was maintained until 1876 when the “*Kanun-i Esasi*” (the first Constitution of the Ottoman Empire at the time of Abdülhamid II) defined those communities as “*Cemaat-i Muhtelif*e” (Various Communities)²⁷². Eryılmaz²⁷³ rejects

²⁶⁹ Bilal Eryılmaz, *Osmanlı Devletinde Gayrimüslim Tebanın Yönetimi*. (İstanbul: Risale, 1990), 12.

²⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, 17.

²⁷¹ Javaid Rehman, "Millet System." *The New Oxford Companion to Law*. Edited by Joanne Conaghan Peter Cane (Oxford Reference Online, 2008-2012, accessed November 17, 2009) available from <http://www.oxfordreference.com/views/ENTRY.html?subview=Main&entry=t287.e1451>

²⁷² Şeref Gözübüyük & Suna Kili, *Türk Anayasa Metinleri 1839-1980, Kanun-i Esasi*. 2nd. (Ankara: Ankara Üniversitesi Siyasal Bilgiler Fakültesi Yayınları, 1982), Article 11: 3.

to use the term “nation” as *Millet*’s English translation as the nation implies a modern community having a language, living in the same territory and sharing the same origin defined as in modern English usage of the term. The word *Millet* is singular whereas *Ümmet* is plural, for example; the Muslim Arabs and the Muslim Turks together with the Muslim Kurds belong to the “*Ümmet*” of Islam whereas the Muslim Turks are considered as “*Millet*” under the “*Ümmet*” of Islam.

Likewise, Ortaylı²⁷⁴ says that the Community System cannot be a base for the Western European type of nationalism because this type of nationalism was possible only by the defeat of the Community System.

According to Karpat²⁷⁵, Millet is grouped as the Orthodox denomination (Rums), the Bulgarians (early Orthodox community), the Jews, the Armenians and the Muslims. According to Eryılmaz²⁷⁶, communities are composed of the Orthodox denomination (the Rums and the Bulgarians), the Armenians, the Catholics, (the Galata Community and the Latin Rayah), the Jews, the Protestants and the Muslims. He also mentions the Copts/Gypsies. The differences in the categorizations of those two authors show that the Millet System was actually a dynamic system; reshaped several times in accordance with the changes in the communities’ status in time. Eryılmaz²⁷⁷ also says that the Non-Muslims had some advantages compared to the Muslims in some social fields.

According to İnalçık²⁷⁸, the national state is the anti-thesis of the imperial regime. The Ottomans did not claim a shared religion, language or culture of the countries they dominated; rather, only claimed lordship over them. The language, religion and the shared culture became a matter of life and death with the emerging of the national state; the ethnic cleansing or the minority cleansing became the dominant politics, which resulted in much more dramatic incidents later. Nevertheless, he also accepts that the Ottoman Empire had abolished the institutions of the high-

²⁷³ Eryılmaz, *Osmanlı Devletinde Gayrimüslim Tebanın Yönetimi*, 17.

²⁷⁴ İlber Ortaylı, "Osmanlı" Kimliği." Edited by Vedat Çorlu. *Cogito: Osmanlılar Özel Sayısı*, no. 19 (1999): 84.

²⁷⁵ Kemal Karpat, "Osmanlı Nüfusu (1830-1914): Demografik ve Sosyal Özellikler," in *Osmanlı Nüfusu (1830-1914)*, by Kemal Karpat (İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 2003), 86-99.

²⁷⁶ Eryılmaz, *Osmanlı Devletinde Gayrimüslim Tebanın Yönetimi*, 51.

²⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, 18.

²⁷⁸ Vedat Çorlu, ed. "Halil İnalçık İle Söyleşi: "Osmanlı Tarihi En Çok Saptırılmış, Tek Yanlı Yorumlanmış Tarihtir," *Cogito: Osmanlılar Özel Sayısı* (Yapı Kredi Yayınları), no. 19 (1999): 39.

culture protected and represented by the previous dynasties of those conquered regions, and prevented the cultural development of those communities.²⁷⁹

As the diversity developed in İstanbul, it was directly reflected in Karagöz. The communities, those will be mentioned below, were represented in the plays in parallel with their visibility and power in the society. Therefore, the priority was given to those communities directly reflected in Karagöz.

Fatih (the Conqueror Mehmet II) was an important figure in changing the face of İstanbul; he continued to use the resettlement policies to configure the population of İstanbul until his death. He brought the Rums and the Jews from Italy, Izmir, Amasra, Trabzon, and the islands. He also encouraged the Jews in Germany and Italy to settle down in İstanbul. He also brought the Turkish Muslims from Konya, Aksaray, Larende and Ereğli.²⁸⁰ At the time of Yavuz Sultan Selim, the Ottomans organized the crowded Turcoman and the Kurdish tribes in the east as two separate nations; the Turcoman tribes were united under the name of the Gray Nation (*Boz Ulus*) whereas the Kurdish tribes were united under the name of the Black Nation (*Kara Ulus*). The Ottomans combined the tribal administrative rules with the central state rules in those areas. Eight Kurdish tribal leaders were appointed as the congenital flag officers of their own territory and own community.²⁸¹

Until 1840, all the members of the Orthodox denomination of the Christians in the Empire were called Rums. They gained a community status at the time of Mehmet II (1451-1481) who wanted to expand his authority in all fields, such as social, political, administrative and economical.²⁸² Mehmet II declared a rescript, which was guaranteeing the protection of the Jesus Church's rights after the conquest of İstanbul. In addition, he gave the Rum Patriarch a title of the "Community Leader" that declared him to be the leader of all the Orthodoxies. As a result, the Rum Patriarch, who had been accepted as an Ottoman pasha and a civil servant of the Sultan, dealt all the material and the spiritual issues of the Orthodoxies. By this way, Mehmet II revitalized the Eastern Church (Orthodox) against to the Roman Church (Catholic).²⁸³ Therefore, the Orthodox denomination lived without much

²⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, 39.

²⁸⁰ İnalçık, *Devlet-i Aliye, Klasik Dönem (1302-1606)*, 125.

²⁸¹ *Ibid.*, 140.

²⁸² Eryılmaz, *Osmanlı Devletinde Gayrimüslim Tebanın Yönetimi*, 27.

²⁸³ *Ibid.*, 27-28.

interference to their identity, and worked mostly as translators or provincial administrators in the Ottoman bureaucracy. "They were first to answer to the capitalist call coming from Europe".²⁸⁴ Due to the economical facilities and privileges for the non-Muslim communities, they could be able to effectively deal with trade.

According to Ortaylı²⁸⁵, the Bulgarians²⁸⁶, Serbians²⁸⁷, Orthodox Albanians and the Rum-Orthodox Arabs with the Greeks were subjected to the management and the control of the *Fener* Rum-Orthodox Patriarchate for spiritual, financial, administrative, legal and the censoring (education and publishing) issues. This was the reason for why those communities were more in conflict with the Rum-Orthodox Patriarchate than *Babiali* (Ottoman Porte). The Orthodox Church, also known as ecumenical, had reached its utmost prestige and power under the rule of the Ottoman Empire until the autocephalous departures of the Serbian, Wallachia, Bulgarian, and Greek churches.

All of the Armenians, not as being a separate nation, were divided into three groups: the Gregorian Armenians, the Catholic-Armenians, and in the 19th century, the Protestant Armenians.²⁸⁸ According to Eryılmaz²⁸⁹ Mehmet II had given them the community status in 1461, and let them have their own patriarchate. Besides, the Armenian Patriarchate was to be responsible also for the non-Muslims neither belonging to the Orthodox Church nor to the Judaic denomination; those were, the

²⁸⁴ Karpaz, "Osmanlı Nüfusu, (1830-1914)," 86.

²⁸⁵ Ortaylı, "Osmanlı" Kimliği," 83-84.

²⁸⁶ **Bulgarians**, who mainly involved in agriculture, were another community called by their own names.²⁸⁶ Karpaz, "Osmanlı Nüfusu, (1830-1914)," 89.

At first, the Bulgarians were connected to the Orthodox Church, however, in the early 19th century; the Orthodox Church began to follow a tacit policy to assimilate the Bulgarians into Rums. In 1848, the sultan permitted them to have a Bulgarian Presbytery. This decision covertly limited the authority of the Rum Patriarchate on the one hand, and vaguely supported the future independent Bulgarian nation on the other. Some of the Bulgarians converted to the Catholic denomination, and the rest, in 1870, established a separate Bulgarian Exarchate, which was authorized by the Ottoman Empire. However, eight years later it was proclaimed that an autonomous Republic of Bulgaria was established. Eryılmaz, *Osmanlı Devletinde Gayrimüslim Tebanın Yönetimi*, 55.

²⁸⁷ Once, Peć Patriarchate was founded in the 16th century but later it was abolished, therefore, Serbians had no separate church until the 19th century.

²⁸⁸ Ortaylı, "Osmanlı" Kimliği," 83

²⁸⁹ Eryılmaz, *Osmanlı Devletinde Gayrimüslim Tebanın Yönetimi*, 55-56.

Copts, the Assyrians, the Monophysites²⁹⁰ of Egypt and Syria, and the Bosnian Bogomils²⁹¹. The main aim of Mehmet II by giving them a separate patriarchate was to increase the population of İstanbul city, and to import the Armenians living outside of the Ottoman territory to that city. The fact that İstanbul was the place where the Armenians had the largest population all over the world in the 19th century suffices to say that Mehmet II had achieved his aim.²⁹² There were also the *Ahtamar/Akhtamar* (Van), the *Echmiadzin/Vagharshapat* (Erivan) and the Sis (Kozan, Maraş and Aleppo) Churches in the Eastern side of Anatolia but the Armenian patriarch of İstanbul was addressed as the leader of those ethnic/religious communities.²⁹³ In the 17th and the 18th centuries due to the missionary organizations and propagandas of the Catholic Jesuits, and in the 19th century due to the American missionary and propagandist efforts, the Armenian community had been divided and was tumbled even into the internal conflict. Those cases resulted in the development of nationalist discourses among the Armenians during the collapse of the Ottoman Empire.²⁹⁴

Actually, Armenians were regarded as the most reliable Christian community²⁹⁵ in the Ottoman Empire; they had been called “*millet-i sadıka*”, which means the loyal community. Besides the considerable population living in İstanbul, they mostly lived in *Erzurum, Sivas, Van, Elazığ, Diyarbakır* and *Bitlis*, which were called “*Vilayet-i Sitte*” meaning “Six Provinces.”²⁹⁶

The Catholics were recognized as a community in the Empire after the conquest of İstanbul same as the Orthodox Community and the Armenians were, however, Mehmet II did not give them a separate community status. There were three

²⁹⁰ For more information see: Encyclopædia Britannica, "monophysite." (Encyclopædia Britannica Online, 2013, accessed July 22, 2013) available from <http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/389961/monophysite>

²⁹¹ For more information see: Encyclopædia Britannica, "Bogomil," (Encyclopædia Britannica Online 2013, accessed July 22, 2013) available from <http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/71461/Bogomil>

²⁹² Eryılmaz, *Osmanlı Devletinde Gayrimüslim Tebanın Yönetimi*, 30-31.

²⁹³ *Ibid.*, 56.

²⁹⁴ Ortaylı, "Osmanlı" Kimliği," 81.

²⁹⁵ With the 1600s, some Armenians converted to Catholicism because of those missionary activities. At those times, the Ottoman Empire took a dim view of the converts, because it did not want its subjects to be in relation to another country even if the religion was the reason. The Ottomans regarded it as a threat for the territorial integrity. After 1630, the Catholic belief widely spread among the Armenians. In 1834, conversion between the denominations inside the Christianity was banned, which was applied until the *Tanzimat period*. Eryılmaz, *Osmanlı Devletinde Gayrimüslim Tebanın Yönetimi*, 70.

²⁹⁶ Karpata, "Osmanlı Nüfusu, (1830-1914," 91-92.

reasons for that: firstly, the Catholics were low in population; secondly, they were religiously connected to the Papacy in Rome, and thirdly, the Ottoman Empire had supported and was already in an effort of revitalizing the Orthodox Church against the Roman Church. The Empire aimed at preventing the Christian alliance against itself.²⁹⁷

According to Eryılmaz, the Jews were accepted as refugees by the Ottoman Empire due to the oppressions regarding the religious assimilations of the Catholic Kings of Hungary in 1376, of France in 1394, of Spain in 1492, and Czars of Russia in 1882.²⁹⁸ Until Theodore Herzl wrote a book named *Judenstaat* in 1895, they were not interested in the political issues. According to that book, the Jews had to compose a united nation because the Western countries constantly oppressed and tried to assimilate them. They had to reject it and find an “empty territory” to establish the Jewish State. This empty territory was pointing to today’s Palestine. They mostly occupied with the financial jobs and commerce in the Ottoman Empire. Eryılmaz²⁹⁹ states that the best protection hitherto the Jews ever had was given by the Ottoman Empire. Ortaylı³⁰⁰ also adds that the Jewish community was traditionally against the Western ideas. They increased their influence on the Ottoman bureaucracy and administration, and preferred to be loyal to the Empire. The Jewish Community perceived the Western type of national tendencies as a Western ideology and never appreciated.

As for the Protestants, Eryılmaz³⁰¹ says that they were few in numbers but generally caused problems between England and the Ottoman Empire. France protected the Catholics, Russia protected the Orthodox community and England undertook the protection of the Protestants of the Ottoman territory. Officially, the Protestants gained a community status in 1850; however, England and the Ottoman Empire were in contact about the claim of building a Protestant Temple in Jerusalem since 1840. This claim was rejected at first by the Ottoman Empire. The rulers concerned about the increasing influence of England on the Ottoman territory. However, France and England oppressively reminded the “Noble Edict of

²⁹⁷ Eryılmaz, *Osmanlı Devletinde Gayrimüslim Tebarın Yönetimi*, 64.

²⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, 68.

²⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, 69.

³⁰⁰ Ortaylı, "Osmanlı" Kimliği," 83.

³⁰¹ Eryılmaz, *Osmanlı Devletinde Gayrimüslim Tebarın Yönetimi*, 70-71.

the Rose Chamber” (*Gülhane-i Hatt-ı Hümayün*” of 1839), one of the issues of which was not to involve in intra-religious issues of “*Cemaat-i Muhtelif*”.

As for the Muslims, they were grouped according to where they had settled, however, they were considered exclusively Muslims in the statistical data. In 1878, the Muslim population had reached to 80% of the total Ottoman population in Anatolia. According to Karpat³⁰², in some sources, especially those belonged to the Ottomans; the Muslims were all considered as Turk. But according to the other sources, especially those belonged to the Western nations, the Muslims were divided into the sub-communities, such as the Turks, Bosnians, Chechens, Circassian, Arabs, Kurds, Georgians, Laz People (people from the Black Sea Region) and the Muslims speaking Bulgarian (Pomaks) to be able to imply that the Turkish population was not as high as estimated³⁰³

Social Structure as Mirrored in Karagöz Plays

The main division in the social life was based on, again, being a Muslim and a non-Muslim as it was the rulers (religious figures and soldiers) and the rayah at the upper level.

It was forbidden for a non-Muslim to ride a horse except for some special cases. They were only allowed to carry self-defensive weapons in some “dangerous” places. Moreover, they could not walk on pavements/sidewalks with the Muslims.³⁰⁴ They could not build houses higher than those of the Muslims could. According to the regulation of 1725, the height of a Muslim house would be 9 meters whereas a non-Muslims’ house would be 6.75 meters.³⁰⁵ Moreover, they had to paint their houses in different colors.³⁰⁶

They had also to be different in terms of the appearance. Murad IV (1623-1640) needed to evoke the rules, and commanded that the non-Muslims must have been different from the Muslims in appearance. It was forbidden for a non-Muslim to

³⁰² Karpat, "Osmanlı Nüfusu, (1830-1914)." 91-92.

³⁰³ *Ibid.*, 96.

³⁰⁴ Eryılmaz, *Osmanlı Devletinde Gayrimüslim Tebanın Yönetimi*, 48.

³⁰⁵ Robert Mantran, *16. ve 17. Yüzyılda İstanbul'da Gündelik Hayat*, Translated by Mehmet Ali Kılıçbay (İstanbul: Eren Matbacılık, 1965-1991), 32.

³⁰⁶ Suraiya Faroqhi, *Osmanlı Kültürü ve Gündelik Yaşam (Ortaçağdan Yirminci Yüzyıla)*, Translated by Elif Kılıç (İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 2011), 76.

resemble to a Muslim in terms of dressing, fashion or clothes.³⁰⁷ A non-Muslim man had to wear a blue or purple *Çuha* (broadcloth) or short *Kalpak* (fur-cap). *Samur* (Sable) furs, atlas or some other spectacular luxury clothes were forbidden to them. However, those luxury clothes can be observed through the *Tiryaki* Type as an İstanbulity. At the time of Selim III (1789-1807), the issue that the Muslims had to wear yellow hats (turbans) and shoes was officially regulated. Besides, the regulation also included that the Armenians' hats and shoes had to be red, the Rums' black and the Jews' blue or purple. The houses of the non-Muslims also had to be painted in different colors.³⁰⁸ Those rules were not so strict actually; the main aim was to differentiate the non-Muslims in the society. The basic rule for a non-Muslim was not to resemble to a Muslim.

Islamic Law³⁰⁹ allowed them to serve in the Ottoman bureaucracy; however, they could not engage in the higher positions, such as being a grand vizier, a commander in the military or being a judge.³¹⁰ They had to be loyal to the sultan. They had to be loyal to the sultan, and the mature non-Muslim males had to pay *Jizya*; it was considered as remuneration for the military obligation. Yet, women, slaves, and elders and sick were held exempt from that tax. They had also to pay 5% of their total income from the commerce to the sultan. They had to pay a tribute for the land they owned.³¹¹ A special tax called *Haraç* (exaction) paid annually again by the non-Muslim mature males as a poll tax for the croplands they dealt with. With the beginning of the new era, namely, *Tanzimat*, when the political reforms were made in the Ottoman Empire by 1839, those rules were mostly abandoned.

On the other side, the non-Muslims were exempted from the military service, and the Muslim alms namely *Zakat*, which was 1/40 of the annual earnings of a mature Muslim male, was not valid for the non-Muslims.

They were subjected to their own laws in terms of the Law of Inheritance and the Family. They had the right of living in accordance with their religious beliefs, divine service and education. As long as the sultan gave permission, they could build a new temple or restore the old one. They could not be forced to convert but they could change religion if the new one would be Islam [Abandoned in 1856 with the

³⁰⁷ Eryılmaz, *Osmanlı Devletinde Gayrimüslim Tebanın Yönetimi*, 48-49.

³⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, 49.

³⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, 49.

³¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 49.

³¹¹ *Ibid.*, 22

“Imperial Edict”: “Islahat Fermanı”³¹²]. The individuals lived in accordance with the spiritual, financial and the administrative authority of the community s/he was born.³¹³ The person belonging to certain communitarian segregation has to act accordingly. This identity provides subjects with security and acting freely in their own families, relations and communities.³¹⁴

Their life and property were protected directly by the sultan. Except for Mecca, they had the freedom of movement and settlement. They had the right of being educated within their own community.³¹⁵ If it was permitted by their community custom, they did not have to act in accordance with the Islamic rules to some extent; for example, eating pork meat is forbidden by the Islamic rules but very common among the non-Muslims. Besides, they could not act against the public order and the common morals; they could not engage in political movements. The criminal acts against the state was heavily punished, which means the death penalty. Both the community leaders and their subjects had to obey strictly those rules. The state addressed to the community leaders for any disorder originated from the non-Muslim community so, they had to be fully responsible for their communities in social and political life.³¹⁶

Regarding their social life, it seems as if they had lived “as they were” under the control of the Ottoman sultan. For the reasons that the non-Muslims had a monotheistic belief (being *Dhimmi*; having a religious book) and they were still living under the Islamic Law, there was no need on the part of the Ottoman public to enact racist acts. The more powerful the authority was, the more rights those non-Muslims gained.³¹⁷

Eryılmaz³¹⁸ also states that in the light of those explanations, the non-Muslims were not subjected to any assimilation or ethnic cleansing (As Halil İnalçık

³¹² *Ibid.*, 64-66.

³¹³ Only s/he can change community by converting to Islam. The Ottoman Empire was not so tolerant for those who change their sects or religion in the non-Muslim community but only respects for those who converts from Christianity in general to Islam. *Ibid.*, 65.

³¹⁴ Ortaylı, "Osmanlı" Kimliği," 82.

³¹⁵ Eryılmaz, *Osmanlı Devletinde Gayrimüslim Tebanın Yönetimi*, 18-19.

³¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 18-19.

³¹⁷ Benjamin Braude, "Osmanlı Millet Düzeninin Kuruluş Efsaneleri I-II," *Tarih ve Toplum* VII (1987): 40-41.

³¹⁸ Eryılmaz, *Osmanlı Devletinde Gayrimüslim Tebanın Yönetimi*, 43.

agrees³¹⁹). The Ottoman state had limited its authority to administration, finance and the military issues in the society. Apart from these, the basic social functions of the contemporary states such as education, communication, social security, justice, population control and the religious issues were left to the *rayah* or foundations organized according to the community system.³²⁰

Mantran³²¹ points out the uneasy coexistence of folk literature and the other one is the high literature, which was mainly adopted by the royal palace and the ruling class within the Ottoman cultural life. The first one was not always Sunnite; even, it was mixed with the shamanic elements as stated above. On the other hand, theaters were accepted as folk culture according to Mantran. The most important ones were *Ortaoyunu* and *Karagöz*. With the beginning of the 17th century, artistic creation had been slowed down, because it required protection from the nobles in politically insecure time of the late 17th century and the early 18th centuries. The late 17th and the 18th centuries were politically and socially instable periods according to Faroqhi.

The population statistics of the ethnic and religious compositions will be useful to show the ethnic variety of the population.³²² Nevertheless, Behar also says that it is impossible to generate reliable demographics for the exact dates because the administration of the Ottoman Empire was different from that of the Turkish Republic; the borders of the cities and the towns of the 15th and the 16th centuries were relatively indeterminate. It is estimated that in 1477, the total of İstanbul and Galata population based on the household numbers was 16.331, which was composed of Muslims, Orthodoxies, Jews, Crimean Tatars, Karamanids, Armenians, Franks (European) and Copts. Franks were exclusively living in Galata area. Orthodox and Jewish *rayah* was composing the second larger population following the Muslims, who had 9.484. Between the years of 1520 and 1530, İstanbul was mainly composed of 9.517 Muslim, 5.162 Christian and 1.647 Jewish households.³²³

³¹⁹ Çorlu, ed., "Halil İnalçık İle Söyleşi," 25-41.

³²⁰ Eryılmaz, *Osmanlı Devletinde Gayrimüslim Tebanın Yönetimi*, 34.

³²¹ Mantran, *16. ve 17. Yüzyılda İstanbul'da Gündelik Hayat*, 189.

³²² Cem Behar, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğunun ve Türkiye'nin Nüfusu 1500-1927* (Ankara: TUIK, 1996).

³²³ For further information, please see the appendices.

The Karagöz Figures Embedded into the Ottoman Social Life

The author aware of that there is a rich literature on the entertainment and the festival culture of the Ottoman Empire, also aware of that the different cultural religious and the economic groups had diverse traditions in the context of the everyday life. The below information was given in relevance to the issues in the classic Karagöz plays, and only aimed to give clues about the Ottoman daily life to the reader for a better understanding the emerging conditions of Karagöz.

Payitaht, Where the Main Figures were Supposed to Live

The capital city was İstanbul and called “*Payitaht*,” and composed of three important locations; those are *İstanbul*, *Galata* and *Üsküdar*. The *Galata* rayah was composed of the Rums mainly occupied with inn keeping and trade. Franks and the European Christians were mostly living in *Galata* too. Armenians and the Jews were also concentrated in this area. Whereas, *Üsküdar* population was composed of Turks, Persians and Armenians who lived in small villas with gardens. The ruling class and the sultan mainly inhabited the İstanbul location. The villas and the mansions of notables; in other words, polite neighborhoods were located at *At Meydanı* (Hippodrome) nearby *Aya Sofya* (Hagia Sophia), *Süleymaniye Mosque*, Prince Mosque, *Vefa Square* and *Ahırkapı*. In addition, the servant slaves of the notables also lived in these regions. The populated neighborhoods of rayah were located between *Edirne Kapı* and *Bayezid*, and *Aksaray*, *YeniKapı* and around the *At Meydanı*.³²⁴

Galata, as a trading center hosted foreigners having storehouses in the area. Mostly the Turkish rulers appointed their own representatives in *Galata* Port; especially the Jews in that area levied custom operations, residential fees and the protection fees. And they gradually became the intermediate between the Ottomans and the Europeans. This situation let the Jews to specialize in enabling the traffic, unloading and loading issues of the Western traders and obtaining required permissions.³²⁵

In the 16th and the 17th centuries, since the houses were small, only a single family could live in. The İstanbul houses were made up of wood; therefore, the fires were very common, especially if the weather is windy. The men called “*baltacı*”

³²⁴ *Ibid.*, 28.

³²⁵ *Ibid.*, 29.

(halberdier) used to deal with the fires in İstanbul.³²⁶ Between the years of 1633 and 1698, there were 21 fire incidents, which sometimes had ruined a whole neighborhood. The streets were in general small, narrow, dark and dirty,

The inside of the city was a rugged terrain and was not suitable for trucking, so the Turks were generally riding horses but only using cabbies to send their wives to the bathhouses. They had no carts; they made the Armenians to carry their belongings.³²⁷

When it rained, the streets used to turn into a mud and garbage sea; the local rulers commanded people to throw their garbage into the sea.³²⁸ Later, in the 21st century, the play of “Garbage Monster” criticizes this old habit.

In the 17th century, according to Faroqhi, neighborhoods were relatively segregated in terms of ethnicity or religion. Those families, living in the same neighborhood, were relatives indeed, and tried to control their quarters, so the streets were designed deliberately narrow. Such segregation was maintained by the fact that the artisans’ houses and the workplaces were located in different places.³²⁹ Faroqhi says, “These town quarters were able to demarcate themselves so clearly from the outside world because many artisans and merchants did not work where they lived.”³³⁰ Therefore, Karagöz had a two-story relatively small house located on the left side of the screen according to the audience, which will be replaced by an apartment flat in Özakman’s plays in 21st century.

Types (actor/actress) in *Kar-i Kadim* (Old) Plays

There are two kinds of classification of the types in Karagöz plays, one belongs to Jacob the other belongs to Metin And. Yet, And’s classification is more convenient in terms of covering all the types in Karagöz plays. From a rather theatrical

³²⁶ Mantran also adds that Moreover, the Turks used to smoke too much tobacco; even they used to smoke in bed, so the risk of fire got bigger.³²⁶ Mantran also adds that in 1572, a decree stated that everyone should have to keep a water barrel in front of his house besides a long ladder, and when there was a fire, instead of escaping and shouting, one should have to extinguish the fire. The regulation of 1626 said that instead of wood, the sun-dried bricks and stone had to be used in the constructions. Mantran, *16. ve 17. Yüzyılda İstanbul'da Gündelik Hayat*, 33.

³²⁷ Pietro Della Valle, *Voyages de Pietro della Valle, gentilhomme romain, dans la Turquie, l'Égypte, la Palestine, la Perse, les Indes orientales, & autres lieux, Volume 6*, Translated by François Le Comte Etienne Carneau. (Paris: chez Robert Machuel, 1745), 23, cited in Mantran, *16. ve 17. Yüzyılda İstanbul'da Gündelik Hayat*, 30.

³²⁸ Mantran, *16. ve 17. Yüzyılda İstanbul'da Gündelik Hayat*, 31.

³²⁹ Faroqhi, *Osmanlı Kültürü ve Gündelik Yaşam*, 183-185.

³³⁰ Faroqhi, *Subjects of the Sultan: Culture and Daily Life in the Ottoman Empire*, 147.

modernist perspective, Metin And³³¹ classified the types according the parts or roles they have on the screen, sex, intonations, hometowns, religions and the health situations that is a little bit problematic because the “normality” is treated according to And’s time. Also, some figures were categorized according to being belonged to the human’s (subject’s) world or not, which also bears a similar problem. The types/figures in Karagöz plays mainly reflect the differences and relations in the Ottoman society, which might be spelled backward by a rigid modernist perspective. Therefore, the author preferred to modify And’s classification in accordance to the organization of the Ottoman society.³³²

1. [The Muslims]

1.1. Main Characters: Karagöz, Hacivat

1.1.1. Sons of Karagöz and Hacivat) and Hacivat’s brothers

1.2. Istanbulites

1.2.1. *Zenne(s)*: all Women (formerly means man who plays a woman’s part in the *Ortaoyunu*)

1.2.2. Types Speaking İstanbul Accent: *Çelebi* (Gentleman), *Tiryaki* (the Addict), *Beberuhi* (Shorty)

1.3. Anatolian People: *Laz* (Character from the Black Sea region), Character from *Kastamonu*, Character from *Kayseri*, Character from *Eğir*, Character from *Harput* (and *Kurd*) and *Himmat Baba the Turk*

³³¹ And, *Geleneksel Türk Tiyatrosu (Kukla - Karagöz - Ortaoyunu)*, 281.

³³² And’s classification:

1. *Pivots*: Karagöz, Hacivat
2. *Zenne*: All Women
3. Characters speaking İstanbul Accent: *Çelebi* (Gentleman), *Tiryaki* (Opium Addict), *Beberuhi/Altıkolaç* (Shorty)
4. Muslims, coming from Anatolia: *Laz*, *Kastamonulu*, *Kayserili*, *Eğirli*, *Harputlu* (Turkish and Kurdish)
5. Muslims, coming out of Anatolia: *Muhacir*, *Amavut* (Albanian), *Arap* (Arab) and *Acem* (Persian)
6. *Dhimmi*; non-Muslims: *Rum* (Greek), *Frenk* (Frankish/European), *Ermeni* (Armenian) and *Yahudi* (Jew)
7. Deprived or psychopathic characters: *Kekeme* (Stammered), *Kambur* (Hunchbacked), *Hınhum* (one who speaks through his nose), *Kötürüm* (Paralyzed), *Deli* (Mad), *Esrarkeş* (Cannabis Addict), *Sağır* (Deaf) and *Aptal* (Fool)
8. Drunkard and Braggart: *Efe*, *Zeybek*, *Matiz*, *Tuzsuz Deli Bekir*, *Sarhoş* and *Külhanbeyi*
9. Entertaining characters: *Köçek* (dancer boy), *Çengi* (dancer girl), *Kantocu*, *Hokkabaz*, *Canbaz* and *Curcunabaz*
10. Supernatural characters: *Yaratıklar*: *Büyücü*, *Cazular*, *Cinler*, *Canavarlar*, *Yılanlar*; *Şahmaran* (Creatures/Aliens: Wizards, Bogies, Jinn, Monsters, Snakes; *Şahmaran*)
11. Temporary; secondary characters and children: (Sons of Karagöz and Hacivat)

And, *Karagoz: Turkish Shadow Theatre*, 51-59.

1.4. People coming out of Anatolia: *Muhacır* (Refugee, mostly Greek speaking Turkish), the *Albanian*, the *Arab*, the *Persian*

2. [The Non-Muslims]

2.1. *Dhimmis*: the *Greek-Rum*, the *Frank*, the *Armenian* and the *Jew*

3. [Corrupted Janissaries, Jalali(s) and Unbelievers (Zındık)]

3.1. Drunkards and Braggarts: *Efe*, *Zeybek*, *Matiz*, *Tuzsuz Deli Bekir* (Swashbuckler) *Sarhoş* (Drunk), *Külhanbeyi* (Rowdy)

4. [Artisans as Mimickers]

4.1. Entertaining ones: *Köçek* (formerly youth who performed erotic dances in woman's garb), *Çengi* (Dancer), *Kantocu* (Songstress/Female canto singer), *Hokkabaz* (Illusionist), *Canbaz* (Acrobat), *Curcunbaz*, *Hayali*

5. [Other Types as a part of the life]

5.1. Fools or Handicapped: Stutterer, Hunchbacked, *Humhum* (one who speaks through his nose), Paralyzed, Mad, Deaf, Dump

5.2. Supernatural ones: Creatures as magicians, *cazu* (witches), jinni, monsters, snakes; *Şahmeran* (Legendary creature believed that having human head and snake body)

The Ottoman society divided first into the military and *rayah* classes, which functioned on political and economic differences in addition to the religious. Muslim and non-Muslim distinction was regulating the juridical matters in the society. In addition, the existence of the ethnic and community differences form the basis of the administrative system technically. In the context of *Karagöz*, all the differences were reflected in a complex way, for example, the category of Muslims also includes an occupation, such as the Arab coffee grinder; the non-Muslims as well might be related to a category of artisans, such as the Frankish Doctor. The category of *Zenne* might include the non-Muslims too. The category of the insane can also include people speaking İstanbul accent, such as *Karagöz* and *Beberuhi*. Consequently, it is impossible to make exclusive categories. However, as it was mentioned, the daily life was totally left to the communities and the foundations, and *Karagöz* was mainly the product of these daily relations as a part of the social life. Therefore, the author of the thesis decided to use Metin And's categorization with some modifications to make it better represent the divergence of the Ottoman society.

The characters below were the personal examination of the author³³³ of the *Kar-i Kadim* (old) plays in the Kudret's work with supportive explanations of several authors like And, Kudret and Siyavuşgil and travelers like Bassano and Thévenot regarding the daily life of the Ottoman society to be clearer.

The Muslims

Istanbulites

Karagöz and Hacivat are the main characters of the plays, According to Siyavuşgil³³⁴ the main difference between them defined as,

Table 1 “Psycho-sociological” difference between Karagöz and Hacivat

Hacivat	Karagöz
Is reflexive, hypocritical, and considers his every step; is "rational", and can control his emotions, which makes him appear indifferent	Is impulsive, acts emotionally, has his heart on his sleeve, is in a pure spiritual realism that refuses any kind of societal oppression, open to all sorts of new experiences. Society does not read his logic; he behaves like an "egocentric", so that he has remained like a child
Accepts the already existed order and accords himself to that order	Sets up his own order and acts accordingly
Is physically static type	Is a dynamic type
Adjusts himself to noble's ethics, sometimes becomes a mean for the enjoyment of the nobles (<i>Çelebi</i> asks him to organize an entertainment in his Garden), tries to cover up Karagöz's facetiousness in complicated situations	Spoils and reveals all the plots in a childish stubborn manner. Actually, that was the reflection of the public conscious towards the events of the times.
Is opportunist, employed by the rich people but, he employs Karagöz and shares the earnings with him. He handles everybody tactfully	Has even no slightest reputation so cannot find a job. No one takes him seriously, and then he takes it out on Hacivat.

Karagöz

In general, Karagöz is called Gypsy or Copt; he also admits that he is a Copt. The Gypsies whose primary profession was blacksmith were in the entertainment sector, and performing bear shows in the Ottoman society. They were residing in *Sulukule*.³³⁵ Even, in a play called *Canbazlar* (The Acrobats), Karagöz dies by falling from high; Hacivat lets other Gypsies know about the death of Karagöz. They come and hold a funeral for Karagöz. The only community that has a right of holding

³³³ All the translations belong to the author (H.B. 2012)

³³⁴ Siyavuşgil, Karagöz: *Psiko-Sosyolojik Bir Deneme*, 151-165.

³³⁵ Mantran, *16. ve 17. Yüzyılda İstanbul'da Gündelik Hayat*, 53.

funeral for Karagöz is the Gypsy community. Şapolyo³³⁶ says that Karagöz is actually *Bektashi*, not a Gypsy. Sevin³³⁷ is against that. He makes connections between *Dalem*, who represent the evil and the darkness in the Balinese Shadow Theater, and Karagöz. He also accepts that Karagöz is a Gypsy but no other Gypsy appears on stage because Karagöz does not want to face someone else from his own community.³³⁸



Figure 8
Karagöz by
Hayali Nazif

On the contrary, in *Yazıcı* (The Scribe) play, a gypsy comes to have something inscribed. The scribe is Karagöz but he cannot understand the Gypsy. Then, Hacivat translates the words of gypsy to Karagöz who seemingly has never met with a Gypsy before. This indicates that there is at least one play, in which the alleged Gypsy Karagöz comes face to face with another Gypsy. Metin And³³⁹ also says that Karagöz defines himself a Gypsy almost in every play.

Gerçek³⁴⁰ and Siyavuşgil³⁴¹ disagree with the claim that Karagöz is a Gypsy. Siyavuşgil states that Karagöz only uses his Gypsyishness to escape from complicated situations in which he is expected to be found guilty. Also, Karagöz claims himself to be a Gypsy whenever he wants more than he deserves; for example, in a play called *Yalova Sefası* (A Pleasure Trip to Yalova), despite he gets his money from *Çelebi* (Gentleman) for carrying some stuff to *Zenne* (Woman), he asks *Zenne* for money. In return, *Zenne* asks Karagöz whether *Çelebi* gave him money or not, he gives shady answers but adds that eventually he is a Gypsy. Moreover, Siyavuşgil says that people like Hacivat (connected with Madrasah) and *Tuzsuz Deli Bekir* (connected with the Janissary Heart) cannot lower themselves to spend time with such a Gypsy³⁴², so Karagöz cannot be a Gypsy. As it will be seen in the Analysis Chapter, today's performers are still debating the issue.

Mother of Karagöz is also seen in the plays of *Ferhad & Şirin*, and *Hamam* (The Bathhouse). Her name is given as *Bok-Ana*, which means Mother the Crap.

³³⁶ Şapolyo, *Karagöz'ün Tekniği*, 14.

³³⁷ Sevin, *Türk Gölge Oyunu*, 15-18.

³³⁸ Ibid: 47.

³³⁹ And, *Geleneksel Türk Tiyatrosu (Kukla - Karagöz - Ortaoyunu)*, 288.

³⁴⁰ Gerçek, *Türk Temaşaı*, 107.

³⁴¹ Siyavuşgil, *Karagöz: Psiko-Sosyolojik Bir Deneme*, 144-150.

³⁴² Ibid., 163



Figure 9
Bok-Ana
with clay
full of dies,
by Hayali
Nazif

However, Hacivat calls her *Naile*. Kudret³⁴³ says that *Naile* is also one of the common female Gypsy names. The Father of Karagöz is only mentioned in a play called *Canbazlar* (The Acrobats). His name is *Ayiboku* (Crap of Bear); however, in *Büyük Evlenme* (The Great Wedding) play, Karagöz is introduced as the son of *Zobuoğlu*, the maker of the pair of tongs. In a play called *Şairlik* (The Poesy), Karagöz mentions about his father's advice given when he was young. His father had told him, "May God protect you from failure! Hope you take after me in terms of the thievery and the effrontery." In the Ottoman Empire, those who left their house doors open were also punished because they were inviting the thieves³⁴⁴; therefore, the theft was very common in the society. Besides, Bassano says that if one had not have a servant with him to guard his belongings, it was common that he was robbed in the bathhouses.³⁴⁵

Karagöz is a talented thief; even, he says, "I am good at picking and stealing" (*Büyük Evlenme* - The Great Wedding), but he is always caught by Hacivat. In *Aşçılık* (The Cookery) play, the cook wants him to get rid of the demanders aptly. Karagöz responds: "If you talk about trick (cheating), I am the best". He always thinks to trick Hacivat when they become partners in a business, sometimes he succeeds. His wife always complains of Karagöz about his unemployment, poverty; she also complains about that he never buys food for home. Karagöz responds as "Okay, maybe I do not buy, but I steal and still can bring food home." By the way, Drunkard offers Karagöz a solution for their poverty suggesting Karagöz to behead him (*Çeşme* - The Fountain).

Yet, his wife is also depicted as a gossiper; the one easily goes astray and shameless. Sometimes Hacivat says Karagöz, "you are much more gypsy than your wife" (*Abdal Bekçi* - The Stupid Watchman). Karagöz always calls his wife as *Abla* (Sister). Maybe, they are either relative or really do not live like husband and wife; there is no attraction between them. Again, in *Abdal Bekçi* (The Stupid Watchman) play, Hacivat calls Karagöz's wife as "hussy, snotty, miserable gypsy, and badly-

³⁴³ Kudret, Karagöz. Vol. I, 485.

³⁴⁴ Luigi Bassano, *Kanuni Dönemi Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda Gündelik Hayat*. Edited by Erhan Afyoncu, Translated by Selma Cangı (İstanbul: Yeditepe Yayınevi, 2011), 47.

³⁴⁵ Ibid, 13-15.

dressed, gauche, cruel and loose woman”³⁴⁶ but he calls his own wife as “my coquettish, mollycoddled.”³⁴⁷ Hacivat’s wife is also treated according to Hacivat’s reputation; Karagöz adds, “I shit on your reputation.”

Seemingly he has two children of them one is very young. It is assumed so because when Karagöz calls his wife, she generally answers as she is trying to lull the boy or diaper him. The other son of Karagöz is relatively matured but as illiterate as Karagöz. His name is *Yaşar*.

Karagöz’s single craft is forging pairs of tongs and braziers, and making brooms. Besides, he plays shrill pipe well. Hacivat always says Karagöz that it is his parents fault that they were not able to raise Karagöz properly or as an educated person. Nevertheless, he can learn much from Hacivat. Hacivat finds Karagöz jobs but at the end, they always fail. Albeit Karagöz and Hacivat seems antipodes for each other, they cannot do without seeing each other. Every night, Hacivat comes in front of the Karagöz’s house and sings in Karagöz’s praise, eventually Karagöz comes down, and Hacivat says, “I cannot stand without seeing you.” It can be interpreted in such a way that Hacivat comes there for self-fulfillment. Karagöz is the only one who listens his boasting. On the other side, Hacivat can only boast at Karagöz. Karagöz is relatively illiterate, ignorant but not more than anyone else in the plays is. The reason why others think that he is illiterate is his insistence on his deliberate misunderstanding of others, his deliberate lack in the basic ceremonies and politeness besides his curiosity and eagerness of revealing the improper situations. It can be said that Karagöz has no strategic tactics to hide his human fallibilities for a character that appears in every play as a leading actor. The others appear for a short time, thus, either their fallibilities are seen less than those of Karagöz or, Hacivat needs not to prove himself against them so that they do not need to involve in the dialogs like those between Hacivat and Karagöz.³⁴⁸

Karagöz is outlandishly brave. He is careless even if someone threatens him with shooting. He also drinks every kind of alcohol. If the drinks are free, he drinks much, gets drunk, and becomes a troublemaker (*Abdal Bekçi* – The Stupid Watchman). Thévenot says that except the Janissaries and those who were afraid of no one, people generally avoid drinking wine in the public places. Yet, once they

³⁴⁶ “şırfıntı yelloz sümüklü, mendebur, çingene, kötü giyimli, yol yöntem bilmez, merhametsiz”

³⁴⁷ “işvebazım, nazeninim”

³⁴⁸ And, *Karagoz: Turkish Shadow Theatre*, 290-291.

start drinking, they never stop; if the drink is free then they drink to death.³⁴⁹ Among the drinks, there is *absinth* also. Absinth was first produced as a medicine in the 18th century; however, Henry Louis Pernod introduced it into the market as liquor in 1805. Absinth was banned with the beginning of the 20th century.³⁵⁰ It seems that they can easily access to absinth, yet this detail should have been added into the plays after the 18th century or by the late 19th century. Besides, in the section of the Dialogue, many times Karagöz tells his dreams to Hacivat after he had smoked cannabis. However, he says that he did not know that the tobacco was mixed with cannabis because he took it from someone else he saw in the cemetery for example. Cemeteries were the places of the *Tiryaki(s)* (Opium Addicts); he should have obtained it from them. Further, there is a play, taken from the book of *Letaif-i Hayal*³⁵¹, namely *Karagöz'ün Esrar İçip Deli Olması* (Karagöz Gets Mad by Smoking Joint). Therefore, Karagöz is definitely a smoker, at least a tobacco smoker, because in many plays he also says that he is used to smoke.

Smoking was very common in the Ottoman society, many travellers and the researchers tell about it. For example, Mantran³⁵² mentions that after having bathed and being massaged, they pass to the *Halvet* (Seclusion) Room for a coffee drink and smoking. After the second half of the 16th century, smoking was also common among women. The tobacco pouches were placed into the pantalets and sometimes people only gathered for smoking tobacco. Ralamb³⁵³ says that despite the fact that drinking coffee and smoking were punished with a death penalty, many women and men used to do them secretly. Drinking coffee was an important kind of enjoyment and a treat among the Turks. Sevengil³⁵⁴ also adds that in 1623, Murad IV, having been worried about his “pleasure-seeking indolent subjects,” declared that the coffeeshouses were going to be closed. He used to stroll around incognito and personally punish those who violated his rules. The tobacco addicts found a way to consume tobacco without being caught; they were smashing the tobacco and sniffing from their nose. Nevertheless, that was different from the snuff (“*Enfiye*” in Turkish), which became popular by the time of the Sultan Ibrahim

³⁴⁹ Thévenot, *Thévenot Seyahatnamesi (1655-1656)*, 69.

³⁵⁰ Derya Tulga, "Yeşil perinin kucağına düşenler," *NTV Tarih* (Doğan Yayıncılık), no. 11 (December 2009): 63-66.

³⁵¹ Behiç & Salih Beyler. *Letaif-i Hayal, Karagöz'ün Esrar içip Deli Olması* (İstanbul: BDK - MİL - ÖZEGE, 1898-99)

³⁵² Mantran, *16. ve 17. Yüzyılda İstanbul'da Gündelik Hayat*, 119.

³⁵³ Claes Ralamb, *İstanbul'a Bir Yolculuk 1657-1658*. Translated by Ayda Arel (İstanbul: Kitap Yayınevi, 2008), 53.

³⁵⁴ Sevengil, *İstanbul Nasıl Eğleniyordu?* 131.

(1640-1648) after Murad IV. A Jew, who was managing a shop in his cellars, brought the Snuff to İstanbul in 1640. People of İstanbul got quickly used to this stuff called “nose grass.” This matter is also mentioned by Karagöz and Hacivat in the plays. The tobacco monopoly had been accepted in 1871. Before that, tobacco could be easily sold in kilos at bazaars and smoked with long pipes. It was given a special care to the service of the tobacco in mansions.

Besides, it can be said that Karagöz is not a loyal partner for his wife who is also cheating on Karagöz. For example, Karagöz marries with another woman after his wife goes his aunt for a visit. Karagöz flirts with every *Zenne* who talks with him. Even in a play called *Timarhane* (The Madhouse), only a *Zenne* (women) brings Karagöz to reason by flirting. In addition, many dialogs between Karagöz and *Zenne* intrinsically imply sexual intercourse. In some plays, he can be surprisingly vicious; he has also been depicted as erotic or phallic as it was mentioned before. Bassano³⁵⁵ states in his diary that women in the Ottoman Empire were prurient and libidinous. They can also ride a horse like a man (he must have been surprised by that). Not only to the foreigners, but also they can be prurient to their close male relatives.

Generally, Karagöz wears distinctive red clothes in accordance with the ordinary Ottoman man’s clothes. In sum, he always uses slang words, talks without thinking, does not mince his words, quickly answers; actually, he is clever but an illiterate person. He also says that he is 65 years old.

Hacivat

Hacivat seems an educated, a cultivated, polite, and a respected man in the society. Every character comes first to him and talks first with him. However, he sometimes exaggerates his politeness to the extent of adulation. Karagöz either intrudes into dialogs or shouts from his window. Hacivat is either a mediator or a real estate agent. He rents either his own property or someone else’s. If he needs assistance, calls Karagöz to work. Only in a play called *Ağalık* (The Agha), Karagöz hires Hacivat as a chamberlain. Hacivat always talks about his addiction of opium, and his senility. In a play called *Balık* (The Fishmongers), he says that he is 70 years old. If he does not understand something in a dialog, says that it is because of the opium. The consumption of the opium dope was tolerated in the Ottoman Empire

³⁵⁵ Bassano, *Kanuni Dönemi Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda Gündelik Hayat*, 25.

in the 17th century. Not only men, but also women were known using opium.³⁵⁶ Not only Karagöz, but also Hacivat sometimes insists on incomprehension, this happens only when he talks with Karagöz at the beginning part of the play. Maybe, this is a kind of revenge Hacivat takes on Karagöz.



Figure 10
Hacivat
by Hayali
Nazif

Hacivat never asks questions like why you need a new rental house or whom these people are getting into your house. Hacivat is only interested in doing the job and the money he is going to earn. Curiosity is Karagöz's job. Hacivat sometimes rescues Karagöz from complicated situations; for example, in *Hamam* (The Bathhouse) play, *Tuzsuz* is planning to kill Karagöz. However, Hacivat talks with him and makes him believe that Karagöz is innocent. Hacivat's wife and his friends from his community [Siyavuşgil says that Hacivat represent the Ottoman Court School community³⁵⁷] do not want him to meet with Karagöz. He tries to solve this problem through trying to educate Karagöz or finding him jobs. According to Şapolyo³⁵⁸, Karagöz is a Turk and represents *Bektashi*, whereas Hacivat belongs to the *Nakshi* order.

In contrast to Karagöz's circular beard, Hacivat is the hypocrite Ottoman type with a sharp pointed beard and a conical hat. However, Sevin³⁵⁹ disagrees with him and says that it is irrelevant because, such a controversy between Hacivat and Karagöz is nothing else than creating a contrast between those two characters. On the other hand, Acar (interviewee) says that the conical shape and the serrations around Hacivat's hat are the invention of Hayali Nazif. He says that all the Muslims were wearing turban in the Ottoman society and it is technically impossible to bind the turban as Hacivat does. Dinç³⁶⁰ makes the issue simpler, he says,

I believe there is no such contemplation behind those characters. Karagöz performers do not think like this. ... How does the comedy emerge? There should be two types. If you have to vocalize both by yourself, speak continuously and require them to be completely different from each other, then what you do? Once you vocalize one with a deep sound and the other with a shrill sound. ... You make one of them talk billingsgate, the other talk polite. Then, you immediately create two characters differentiated at the first glance. That brings us the comedy.

³⁵⁶ Faroqhi, *Osmanlı Kültürü ve Gündelik Yaşam*, 260-265.

³⁵⁷ Siyavuşgil, *Karagöz: Psiko-Sosyolojik Bir Deneme*, 78-79.

³⁵⁸ Şapolyo, *Karagöz'ün Tekniği*, 14.

³⁵⁹ Sevin, *Türk Gölge Oyunu*, 47-57.

³⁶⁰ Dinç, interview by author, 15 May 2012, İstanbul, tape recording.

It should be reminded that Şapolyo belongs to the generation of intellectuals from the period of the early Turkish Republic so that he accepts Karagöz as a Turk without hesitation. Coşar³⁶¹ says that many researchers forget that a humorist reshapes the data s/he collects from the reality s/he lives in, and reflects them into a created reality, such as a stage in a form of the social and political satire. Therefore, they take the side of either Hacivat or Karagöz, and try to elevate one against the other. It is true that if one considers the old plays, one can never decide about the settled characteristics of Hacivat or Karagöz. Both of them use slang but Karagöz uses more; both of them might find themselves in indecent situations for money. However, Hacivat is more tolerant to the imperial types than Karagöz.

Hacivat's mother and father were not mentioned in the plays. However, in one play, Hacivat mentions about his father who died in the great fire of *Hocapaşa*, which took place in 1865 (seemingly, *Hayali Nazif* added such a detail). Besides, in *Kırgınlar* (The Resentful Ones) play, Hacivat's brother, namely "Demel" ("must say" in English), nephews namely "Dediği Gibi" ("as he said" in English) and "Tavtatikütüpat" (no meaning in Turkish so no meaning in English) appear to inquire after Hacivat. In the story, Karagöz does not want to share the earnings and he kills Hacivat. Those relatives were sent by the wife of Hacivat to find him.

Though, it is possible to anticipate that he is coming from a wealthy family because he mentions about his real estate properties, yards, garden wares, stud farms, and fields. He hires Karagöz to deal with them but he never gets any money from Karagöz in return.

Hacivat also tells about the Halvah talks in the dialog section of *Tahmis* (The Coffee Grinders) play to indicate how a respectful person he is in the society. Bassano says that the prestige is defined according to with whom one shares his meal rather than the food one eat in the Ottoman culture.³⁶² Faroqhi adds that in the 15th and the 16th centuries, the gatherings of Halvah talks were common among the guild members.³⁶³ Sevensil³⁶⁴ also adds that in the meetings people were amused with poems, music and eating *halvah* brought in the silver trays. The poets such as, Osanzade Taib, who was the head of the poets, Seyyid Vehbi, Raşit the Historian,

³⁶¹ A. M. Coşar & Ç. Usta, "Geleneksel Türk Gölge Oyununda Ana Tipler ve Dil Yergisi." *Bilgi*, no. 51 (2009): 14-15.

³⁶² Bassano, *Kanuni Dönemi Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda Gündelik Hayat*, 269.

³⁶³ Faroqhi, *Osmanlı Kültürü ve Gündelik Yaşam*, 257.

³⁶⁴ Sevensil, *İstanbul Nasıl Eğleniyordu?*, 92.

Çelebizade Asım, Poet Şakir and Ahmet Nedim used to entertain attenders with their stories and poems. He also states that sometimes the ambassadors and the foreign guests were invited to these meetings, which turned into a show off; the sultan used to wear jewelries, and some precious swords and the daggers ornamented with rubies and emeralds used to hang on the walls. The famous Halvah Talks were in the reign of Ahmet III (1703-1730).

The wife of Hacivat is called *Dimyat Pirinci Hanım* (Mrs. Rice of *Dimyat*) in a play called *Kayık* (The Rowboat). She is portrayed as a noble, polite but harridan person. She never approves the engagement of Hacivat with Karagöz. In the same play, she complains about Hacivat and his aimless life, which only includes conversations with a Gypsy and wasting time in the coffeehouses. She demands expensive gifts from Hacivat, and tells him to find a proper job. Thévenot says that the Turkish women love being florid/garish; even if their husbands hardly buy a loaf of bread, they insist on wearing brocades. Besides, they are lazy, and can spend the whole day by sitting on a couch; the only thing they do is cross-stitching.³⁶⁵ Hacivat has a daughter and a son. His daughter can be very sly; she offers *Çelebi* (Gentleman) Hacivat's golden watch and a jar of gold as gifts.³⁶⁶

Hacivat was depicted as a person less involved in pleasure than Karagöz due to his respectful position in the society. He is the one who gets invited to important gatherings, and whom important people first meet when they come to the neighborhood. He was also known as a Madrasah-educated person. Yavuz³⁶⁷ states that there were two separate institutions representing the two separate mentalities in the Ottoman Empire: Madrasah and Tariqa, which represent the sharia and the religious order. In the context of Madrasah, wealth/possession/good are not suitable for the illiterate but for the literate ones. Yavuz also adds that the Ottoman culture was a culture of pleasure. That well explains the positions of Hacivat and Karagöz. The first one belongs to the Madrasah culture and the latter belongs to Tariqa seemingly.

³⁶⁵ Thévenot, *Thévenot Seyahatnamesi (1655-1656)*, 106.

³⁶⁶ However, Mantran depicts the relations of the fathers and the daughters in a family in a way that fathers had not emotionally invested in daughters because they knew that the daughters would eventually leave the home by marriage. Mantran, *16. ve 17. Yüzyılda İstanbul'da Gündelik Hayat*, 157.

³⁶⁷ Açıkturum, "İdeal 'Osmanlı' Yok," Edited by Vedat Çorlu, *Cogito, Osmanlılar Özel Sayısı*, no. 19 (1999): 246.

Again, according to Mantran³⁶⁸, Madrasahs constituted the intellectual elite who were recruited from narrow circle of those respectful urban mullahs, religious elites and Kadis, as a closed circuit. Fathers' social status was highly influential on that of the sons. In this respect, Hacivat's son is very respectful to his father whereas Karagöz's son always mocks of him. Mantran continues to say that there was a hierarchy among those madrasahs as the madrasah where the religious leader, namely sheikh al-Islam, instructed was more influential in managing the graduates for the administrative positions. Some graduates could only be scribes and preachers. Among the courses, there were math, logic and geometry. Those madrasahs also helped to train the cultivated people.³⁶⁹ Besides, exaggerated use of the Persian and the Arabic by those madrasah-educated people caused culture to be limed on the one hand, and to diverge from the Turkish basis on the other. Mantran's explanations were given for understanding the position of Hacivat from the perspective of Karagöz.

In the dialog section of *Kanlı Kavak* (The Bloody Poplar) play, Hacivat asks Karagöz whether he had read the books he mentions (listed as Hacivat says). Because some of the books were written in the beginning of the 19th century, *Hayali Nazif* the palace performer and the others should have added them at that later date. The books are,

- Risale-i Ahlak (written by Mehmed Sadık Pasha, 1807-1856)
- Medhal-i Kavaid (written by Ahmet Cevdet Pasha, 1822-1895)
- Hikaye-i Müntahabe (written by Manastırlı Mehmet Rifat 1851-1907)
- Maksüd (Arabian Grammar Book)
- Izzi (Arabian Grammar Book)
- Merah (written by Ibn Mes'ud, lived in the time of Prophet Mohammed)
- Avamil (written by Birgivi Mehmet Efendi 1523-1573, Arabian Grammar Book)
- Kafiye (written by Ibnül' Hacib 1174-1249, Arabian Grammar Book, date unknown)
- İzhar (written by Birgivi Mehmet Efendi 1523-1573, Arabian Grammar Book)
- Talim-i Farsi (written by Ahmet Kemal Pasha 1808-1888)

³⁶⁸ Mantran, *16. ve 17. Yüzyılda İstanbul'da Gündelik Hayat*, 81.

³⁶⁹ However, it educated those people in such a traditional way that it was far away from the real Turkish culture. By this way, it had prevented the spiritual and the intellectual developments. Mantran also says that conformism, very rooted in the religious education for the centuries, stood against the social and applied sciences. *Ibid.*, 81

- Tuhfe-i Vehbi (by Sünbül-zade Vehbi 1719-1809, Dictionary from Persian to Turkish)
- Sühba-i Sıbyan (Arabic for Children)
- Pend-i Attar (by Farīd ud-Dīn Attar, the 17th and the 18th centuries)
- Gülistan (by Sadi ?-1292)
- Diwan of Hafız (by Hafız ?-1388)

It is important to discuss the clothes and the colors that Hacivat and Karagöz wear. Thévenot defines Turks as strong and the men of the solid build. They carry two daggers with either silver or golden scabbards, two handkerchiefs and a tobacco sack in their sashes (as both Hacivat and Karagöz carry). Besides, they carry their money in their chest. They wear yellow or red shoes. Turks shave their heads and finds the Frank's long hair absurd because, they think that the devil nests in a long hair. They respect the man with a beautiful beard, and it is an insult to pull the beard of a man. Sometimes they swear upon their beards to be convincing. The most respected side is the left side because they hang their swords on the left side. If a Turk wants to show a respect for another, he stands on his right side, therefore, the sword is kept in between them.³⁷⁰ If it would not be an over analysis, Karagöz respects Hacivat more than Hacivat respects him because, according to the audience, Hacivat stands on the left side; whereas, Karagöz stands on the right side of the screen, therefore Karagöz stands the right side of Hacivat. Besides, both of them have long beards.

It is also worthy to note the colors. Bassano says that since the Persians and the Sufis were wearing a red pointed hat, Turks called the Persians as redhead/qizilbash. Those people used to wear red for respect, and did allow those who were titled immoral to wear red. They also did not wear red below the belly. On the contrary, Muslims did not allow the "disrespected" ones in the society to wear green; they did not also wear green under the level of a belly. They had believed that Prophet Mohammed used to wear green so they accepted the color green as sacred.³⁷¹ In this respect, Karagöz represents the sufistic (mixed with shamanic) beliefs and the *Uc* culture, adopted by the dervishes settled in Anatolia for centuries; whereas, Hacivat represents the court culture characterized by Sunnite Islam dominature the Ottoman Empire after the 14th century. Karagöz wears green pantalets whereas Hacivat wears red pantalets; however, they wear counter colors

³⁷⁰ Thévenot, *Thévenot Seyahatnamesi (1655-1656)*, 61-65.

³⁷¹ Bassano, Luigi. *Kanuni Dönemi Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda Gündelik Hayat*. Edited by Erhan Afyoncu. Translated by Selma Cangi. İstanbul: Yeditepe Yayınevi, 2011, pp.: 55-56.

for the tops. Besides, between the 16th and the 18th centuries, the Ottomans and the Safavids were in constant warfare. Maybe, such associations in terms colors were for degrading the Safavids on the stage by Hacivat who symbolizes the rulers.



Figure 11 Hacivat and Karagöz's sons by Tuncay Tanboğa

Karagöz's son is generally on the side of Karagöz against her mother. In *Cazular* (The Witches) play, witches turn Karagöz's son into a frog and Hacivat's son into a turtle because they have talked too much. In *Hamam* (The Bathhouse) play, Karagöz's wife takes her son to the bathhouse, but the bathhouse owner does not take him in. Besides, he causes Karagöz to fall from the top window of the bathhouse by pulling the ladder under Karagöz. The name of Hacivat's son is *Sivrikoz*, mentioned in *Kırgınlar* (The Resentful Ones) play.

Zennes (Women)

Those, who mimicking women characters in the folk theater were actually called *Zenne* because it was forbidden for women to take role on the stage, therefore every woman character in the Karagöz plays is also called *Zenne*, but all of them is the reflection of the women encountered in the public spaces. They are generally indecent/disgraceful; however, there are also exceptions like those that appear in the plots of *Ferhad & Şirin*, *Cincilik* (Incantation), and *Hain Kahya* (The Traitor Butler), which were estimated to be created in the 19th century. In the play of *Abdal Bekçi* (The Stupid Watchman), two *Zennes* come to the neighborhood, and say Hacivat that they need to rent a house. Hacivat never asks for what, but definitely finds one. Thereafter, *Zennes* turn that house into a brothel. Besides the fact that the house rates were cheaper than a horse or the fabric bolts, it was also known that a single woman could own a house;³⁷² and the prostitutes were known to be popular in the 16th and the 17th centuries. Sevengil³⁷³ says that in the late period of the reign of Kanuni Sultan Süleyman (1520-1566) and in the period of Selim II, when the drunkenness was widely common, having a pleasure time with prostitutes was a major leisure for the men, especially for the janissaries. In 1565, the neighbors of *Sultançir* complained to the Kadi about the five women residing in their neighborhood. Those, actually from *Balat* and *Kamer*, were known as *Arab Fati*, *Narin* (Delicate), *Giritli Nefise* (*Nefise* from Crete) and *Atlı Ases* (*Ases* the Rider).

³⁷² Faroqhi, *Osmanlı Kültürü ve Gündelik Yaşam*, 185.

³⁷³ Sevengil, *İstanbul Nasıl Eğleniyordu?*, 22-24

The Kadi called those women to the court for defense; however, *Arab Fati* had rejected to come by cursing the people, Kadi and religion. As it was a common practice, prostitution was taking place under broad day light on the streets; then in 1567, street prostitution was banned and the prostitutes were sent to the jail.

Mantran³⁷⁴ also says that in the reign of Selim II (1566-74), some prostitute women were as famous as the poets of the time were. The Greek, Armenian, Circassian, even the European and the Muslim women were working in the brothels. Some of them were waiting at the taverns; some of them were meeting with their customers in the creameries. The most famous neighborhoods with their prostitutes were *Galata*, *Tophane* and *Eyüp*. Also, in 1573, again, Selim II enacted that the creameries and the bakeries managed by the non-Muslims in *Eyüp* would be closed. The entertainments organized in the gardens and the orchards were also banned, and women were forbidden to go to the creameries under the pretext of of eating cream for inappropriate meetings with men.³⁷⁵

Moreover, due to the wide spread prostitution, Murad IV (1623-1640), commanded that prostitutes would be arrested; as a result, the minorities were dispelled from *Eyüp* and those creameries were closed. However there were men who were really in love with some of those women, and provided that they would get marry with them and leave İstanbul city, those women were to be released.³⁷⁶



Figure 12 Zenne(s) from Siyavuşgil, the first and the third ones from the Topkapı Palace Museum. The second one's is Kanlı Nigar

In one occasion, Hacivat says Karagöz, "All *Zennes* have long hair but short on intelligence. Never trust them; they always lie" in *Bahçe* play (The Garden, where Hacivat organizes an entertainment at the Albanians' will, and dancing women comes to entertain them). In another plot, Karagöz's wife leaves him, and he decides to get re-married.

Of course, Hacivat finds him one to marry. When Karagöz asks *Zenne* about her art, *Zenne* answers, "I steal the packages of the women in the bathhouses (*Bohça*

³⁷⁴ Mantran, 16. ve 17. Yüzyılda İstanbul'da Gündelik Hayat, 220

³⁷⁵ Sevensil, İstanbul Nasıl Eğleniyordu?, 24.

³⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, 30

Kaldırıcı), my mother waits in front of the barrelhouses for the drunken ones (*Küp Dibi Bekleyici*) and my aunt nets rookies (*Çapak Silici*)". That refers to the prostitutes waiting by near at taverns and creameries. In another play called *Canbazlar* (The Acrobats), a *Zenne* tells a *Çelebi* (Gentleman) that she can make him the master womanizer. Later, it is understood that this *Zenne* is the daughter of Hacivat.

Rather than *Çelebi* (Gentlemen) buying them presents, in the plays it is *Zennes* who buy precious presents to *Çelebi* (Gentlemen) like golden watch, solitaire, and overcoat. The *Zennes* in the Karagöz plays are so insolent. It is possible to say that gender roles function in a quite different way in the Karagöz plays. Another example about the indecent depiction of the *Zennes* is in *Çeşme* (The Fountain) play. It is rumored that Karagöz's wife was a prostitute, and he was a pimp. Karagöz investigates that issue. At the end, he catches his wife with another man; the rumor becomes a truth.

Furthermore, in *Ağalık* (The Agha) play, the idiom of *kaşık düşmanı*, which literally means spoon enemy in English, is used for someone's wife; one's better half. *Spoon enemy*, maybe, means that food is to be divided into two after the marriage. However, that can also mean that one will eat less than as he used to because marriage is twosome life. To give another example about the depiction of *Zennes* as indecent characters in the plays, *Büyük Evlenme* (The Great Wedding) play can be considered. In that play, Karagöz just gets married to a woman who gets sick in the first night. Karagöz calls Hacivat for help, and Hacivat says that she is pregnant and about to give a birth. Karagöz says that he even did not open her bride's veil. Hacivat makes him believe that he has been married to that woman for 9 months and the coming baby is his baby actually. Karagöz accepts that. Here, it can be said that Hacivat is also cheating on Karagöz. Roughly, Hacivat helps *Zenne* to be virtuous again by sacrificing Karagöz. In the legendary story of *Tahir & Zühre*, the mother of *Zühre*, who thinks that she is more beautiful than *Zühre*, falls in love with *Tahir* who is in love with *Zühre* indeed. Despite the tricks of the mother and the spells she casts on her husband for not letting *Tahir* and *Zühre* get married are revealed, she still wants *Tahir*, and calls him her darling. Besides it appears that this was not a moral abnormality, it is rather presented as a love problematic, and the methods of the mother for seducing *Tahir* are criticized according to the author because, even in her last breath, mother says that she loves *Tahir*, and the father does not take this as something unacceptable. However, *Tahir* calls her as "whore" and finally kills her. Bassano depicts women in a way that if they do some favor, it is not because of love but because of their greed for sure. They were good at

practicing magic, sorcery and evil eye; in addition, all of them were also good at stitching, knitting and crocheting.³⁷⁷ Also in *Eczaخانه* (Pharmacy) play, Karagöz diagnose *Zenne* “a sickness of the pleasure of carnal lust.”

In *Kayık* (The Rowboat) play, Karagöz and Hacivat decided to be boatmen to carry travelers. Thereafter they carried many types of the Karagöz screen there comes a *Zenne*. Hacivat does not want to take her on the boat but Karagöz says that they carried everyone so they should also carry this woman. When she got on the boat, *Tuzsuz Deli Bekir* comes and says, “Bring my woman (“*karı*” in Turkish) back right now!” Hacivat tells Karagöz that he told him. When they see *Tuzsuz Deli Bekir* as a lover running behind the woman, they leave her at the port.

In the 17th century, the most popular leisure activity was boating with *Pereme(s)*. The *Bostancıbaşı* used to sink the boats of those who were deemed as acting inappropriate and journeying men and women together as a punishment.³⁷⁸ Later, those *Pereme(s)*,³⁷⁹ which were narrow, thin boats, and by which women and men traveled together were mangled and the chamberlains of boating were punished by the enforced labor.³⁸⁰ The play named *Kayık* (The Rowboat) was the satire of such activities and incidents passing in the 17th century of the Ottoman Empire.

As for the clothes they wear, although Amicis says that he could not decide whether a Turkish woman he saw was a clown, a mad or a nun for her colorful clothes,³⁸¹ Bassano says that every woman, no matter a Jew, Muslim or Christian, wears patterned rich silk fabric and shoes with metal rumbled on its circular that are relatively high heel. They wear loose pants and shirts inside and use white, red, yellow or turquoise yashmak/veils. They like black hair, and those who does not have, dye their hair in black. They also paint their eyebrow in black as thick.³⁸²

³⁷⁷ Bassano, *Kanuni Dönemi Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda Gündelik Hayat*, 25.

³⁷⁸ Mantran, *16. ve 17. Yüzyılda İstanbul'da Gündelik Hayat*, 192.

³⁷⁹ Bassano also mentions about these boats. “Pereme” had edge hawse, and poop parts were made as pointed. They were extremely narrow boats. There were two or three people paddling, but they were mostly the non-Muslim convicts. Bassano, *Kanuni Dönemi Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda Gündelik Hayat*, 22.

³⁸⁰ Sevengil, *İstanbul Nasıl Eğleniyordu?*, 34.

³⁸¹ Edmondo de Amicis, *İstanbul*, 171

³⁸² Bassano, *Kanuni Dönemi Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda Gündelik Hayat*, 22-24.

Faroqhi adds that Décolleté is not rare among the Christian women as it was assumed to be.³⁸³

Sevengil³⁸⁴ also gives detail anecdotes about the change in the women's clothes. He says that with women partaking to the recreation facilities, their clothes changed to a great extent. The clothes got thinner and luxurious³⁸⁵. After, *Damat* (Groom) İbrahim Pasha carried that issue to the Sharia Bureau; first, those thin and tight clothes were banned and women were forced to wear loose clothes, which were not to show their bodylines. It was also banned to use kerchief longer than three *değirmi* (round unit used for clothes) and large ribbons. Besides, their yashmaks had to be thick. Sultan Osman III (1699-1757) brought new rules about the clothes of the women that they had to wear thick black veils. Women who wore thin yashmak and brocaded yoke would be thrown into the sea at *Boğaziçi* (Bosporus).³⁸⁶

Çelebi (The Gentleman)

The word *Çelebi* is coming from the Greek word *Krytsez*, meaning a *young master*.³⁸⁷ He is represented as a modern-fashioned young man in European style. He is a good looking, rich and an educated person who is very attractive to women. He talks about women as the concubines (*Cariye*). Faroqhi says that *cariye* means woman domestic servant taken from abroad as a slave; in time, they were protected economically and socially by the family until the time they were sold. Those slaves were regarded as the members of the family. If that woman slave only serves the lady of the house, the husband cannot even touch them; however, in the other cases, it was possible for the headman to marry with his woman slave.³⁸⁸ Therefore, *Çelebi* assumes every woman as his *cariye*.

Çelebi has many sexual partners apparently at the same time and he always lies to women when he misses his appointments. He is rich but avoids spending money; on the contrary, he receives presents from women. He is respected not because of

³⁸³ Faroqhi, *Osmanlı Kültürü ve Gündelik Yaşam* 140.

³⁸⁴ Sevengil, *İstanbul Nasıl Eğleniyordu?*, 104.

³⁸⁵ See also: Selman Başaran, "Karagöz Oyununda Çengi Kıyafeti," *Online Thematic Journal of Turkic Studies* 2, no. 2 (2009).

³⁸⁶ Sevengil, Refik Ahmet. *İstanbul Nasıl Eğleniyordu?*, 112.

³⁸⁷ İnalçık, *Devlet-i Aliye, Klasik Dönem (1302-1606)*, 83

³⁸⁸ Faroqhi, *Osmanlı Kültürü ve Gündelik Yaşam*, 126.

the way he is but because of his family or his father's standing. Evliya Çelebi³⁸⁹ says that a *Çelebi* is actually an elegant, a knowledgeable, literate, kind, dignified and a clement gentleman. However, *Evliya* also complains about those who are appearing as *Çelebi* but not acting like them. He says that they used to go to *Üsküdar* to watch the battle show. Besides, Evliya Çelebi describes them as hypocrite and so-called members of the *Kadıze Tariqa* wearing forty-dirham gentle shoes, perfume, the stipites salvadorae (Misvak/Miswak) to their head, covering with the clothes made up of atlas, baldachin or brocade, and carrying a coral rosary in their hand. They used to come to *Üsküdar* as they were going around *Okmeydanı* or *Kağıthane*. He defines those *Çelebi(s)* as pulp, dandy, screwy, and frivolous. Those, who have never been out of their homes once in their life, go around *Karaca Ahmet Sultan* and Sluggard's Dervish Lodges to set off fireworks, play ball, sing songs, play tambourine for utmost entertainment. *Çelebi* type is presented on Karagöz stage as exactly as Evliya Çelebi defines.



Figure 13 Çelebi(s). The first by Tuncay Tanboğa, second one from Siyavuşgil, third one belongs to the 19th century

Generally, in the plays, *Çelebi's* father is a friend of Hacivat. Karagöz cannot understand *Çelebi*, and always make fun of him, his clothes and his gentleman style. He calls *Çelebi* as fop ("*hoppa/züppe*" in Turkish). In *Ağalık* (The Agha) play, *Çelebi* is hired as a coffee maker by Karagöz [That is the only play that Karagöz is an employer owing to the money he pickpocketed from the *Acem* (Persian)], even in that position, he

carries four mattresses, eight pillows, five or six sets of underwear and a bedstead with him.

Çelebi speaks in the same way as Hacivat; Hacivat treats him as a gentleman. Among his names, there are *Kasım Bey*, *Razakızade*, *Kınabzade*, *Hoppa*, *Hercai*, *Daniş* and *Hercai Menekşe* (wild pansy).

Çelebi regards Karagöz as a lunatic. He seems sensitive but very foxy. In *Tımarhane* (The Madhouse) play, he comes to visit Karagöz and says, "May it bring a good luck! I heard you have gone mad." He has actually no definite jobs in the plays, generally,

³⁸⁹ Çelebi, Evliya. *Evliya Çelebi Seyahatnamesi'nden Seçmeler*, 149.

as a prodigal son, asks Hacivat to rent his properties, such as Bathhouse, Tap House, Mansion House, etc. He dresses up in colors. Sometimes he carries an umbrella, sometimes a stick or a flower (rose).³⁹⁰

Tiryaki (The Addict)

Işın defines “*Tiryaki*”(s) as the first universal citizens of the earth. The meaning of life for a *Tiryaki* (addicted) is all the pleasures, presented by the habits of the universe.³⁹¹ Evliya Çelebi mentions about the shopkeepers of the opium as the “*Eşnaf-ı Ehl-i Keyf Afyonciyan*” who were 104 in number in İstanbul.³⁹²

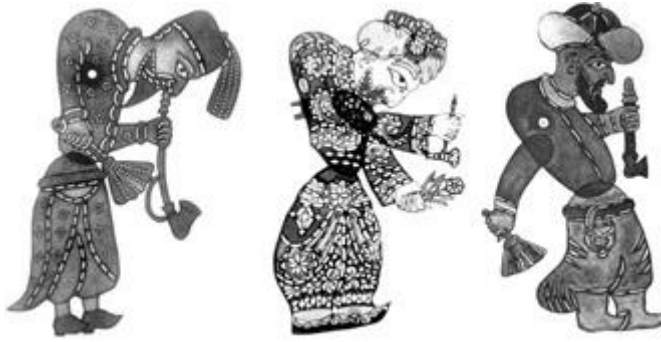


Figure 14 *Tiryaki*(s). The first one belongs to the 18th century, the second by Metin Özlen, the third one from Siyavuşgil.

Tiryaki is the opium addict (much more than Hacivat); besides, he smokes hookah, cannabis and tobacco. He spends all his time smoking opium and sleeping in the quarter’s coffeehouse. His pipe, his fan, and a huge humped shoulder can easily identify him. He is a flippant type but always tries to look

serious. He speaks like Hacivat but has a habit of frequently falling asleep in the middle of a conversation and snoring loudly. He always dresses fancy and colorful clothes. Apparently, in the Karagöz plays, he is wealthy, and always says, “It is a proverb that a man ages but the heart of him does not.”

Thévenot defines coffeehouses in the Ottoman Empire as the places open to all. The owner of the coffeehouses hires violinists, reed flute players and other musicians to sing and play during the daytime to attract and entertain the customers. The acquaintances buy each other free coffee.³⁹³ He also says that the Turks are used to drink too much coffee.

³⁹⁰ For further information about the clothing of Çelebi see: Erhan Taşbaşı, "Gölge Oyunundaki Çelebi Tipinin Kıyafeti," *Acta Turcica* 2, no. 2 (July 2009): 92-106.

³⁹¹ Ekrem Işın, *İstanbul'da Gündelik Hayat*. (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 1995), 237.

³⁹² Evliya Çelebi, *Evliya Çelebi Seyahatnamesi, 1. Kitap: İstanbul*, 288.

³⁹³ Thévenot, *Thévenot Seyahatnamesi (1655-1656)*, 70.

Karagöz always calls *Tiryaki* as *gaga* ("bunak" in Turkish) and tries to send him to the gravedigger because he thinks that *Tiryaki* is already dead. *Tiryaki* mentions that his age is the sum of three thirty that is 90. *Tiryaki's* main attitude towards Karagöz is that he resembles him many things except human being until Karagöz baldly introduces himself. His name is *Nokra Çelebi*. Only in *Yalova Sefası* (A Pleasure Trip to *Yalova*) play, he mentions about his occupation, which is making of armchairs. Maybe it is satirizing the "*koltuk esnafı*" which can also mean the flattery artisans (see page 96). The terms of the "flattery" and the "armchair" correspond to the same word in Turkish that is "*koltuk*," they are homonym, and hence it explains the *Tiryaki's* wealth despite of spending all his time in the coffeehouses.

According to *Evliya Çelebi*, *Tiryaki* (opium addict) is a factious, seditious, injurious and a troublemaker man. He describes opium addict as a frail and a thin person, helpless with the legs like a grasshopper's, a blunt knife in his hand, snot in his nose, and sagged spit from his mouth to chest. Moreover, he has a curved neck, a skewed mouth, and camel-like lips with a sagged tongue. Some of them used to carry a fan in one hand and a shisha in the other, and a tobacco sack on the belly.³⁹⁴ They were smoking hand-rolled cigarettes that also explain how Karagöz could unwittingly smoke joint. Some of them used to wear a sable skin coat and have a male slave.³⁹⁵ This means that some of them were rich.

Sevengil gives an anecdote about another kind of a rather brutal entertainment, which was popular in the Ottoman Empire. During the *Sadabad (Kağıthane)* Festivals, the *Tiryaki(s)* were brought in front of the sultan and seated in the shape of an arc. An amount of money was thrown to them, and while they were trying to collect the money in haste, they were awakened by popping firecrackers.³⁹⁶

Beberuhi (The Shorty)

The other name of him is *Altıkulaç* (six-crawls). As a dwarf of the Karagöz plays, he is known as a childish, immature and somehow a dummy type. An elder performer Şaban³⁹⁷ says that there are two types of *Beberuhi*; the beardless one called

³⁹⁴ Çelebi, *Evliya Çelebi Seyahatnamesi'nden Seçmeler*, 152.

³⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, 152.

³⁹⁶ Sevengil, *İstanbul Nasıl Eğleniyordu?*, 61.

³⁹⁷ Şaban, interview author, 8 May 2012, İstanbul, tape recording.

Beberuhi (Bebe: Baby); the other one with the beard called *Babaruhi* (Baba: Father). He has an impediment in his speech and pronounces “r,” and “s” as “y.”³⁹⁸



Figure 15 *Beberuhi* by Hayali Memduh and *Babaruhi* from Siyavuşgil

He asks the same questions repeatedly until the people become tired of listening to him. He is presented sometimes with a hunchback. He arrogantly answers to Karagöz; when Karagöz becomes angry, he prefers to run. In a play called *Abdal Bekçi* (The Stupid Watchman) Karagöz asks for help from the *Beberuhi*(s) to punish the drunkard; however, they escape despite that they have given promise to help. Karagöz always jokes about his height. In one of the plays called *Pehlivanlık* (Wrestler), his name was given as *Kel Hasan* (Bold *Hasan*) from Albania. He is depicted as the neighborhood’s (half-) fool, the neighbors generally tolerate him.

The Anatolian Types

Anatolian types were actually the satire of people living outside of İstanbul from the perspective of İstanbulites.

Laz (The Black Sea People)

Laz is a character coming from the Black Sea coast; he is generally a boatman, a wool beater, or a tinsmith. “He has a strong accent of the Black Sea coast. He is very talkative and speaks quickly. He takes approximately fifteen minutes just to say “hello” and is always very jittery.”³⁹⁹

As he usually so busy with talking about himself, he cannot listen to what the other people say. He has a habit of becoming angry in a very short time. Karagöz forcibly closes *Laz*’s mouth in order to get a word in himself.⁴⁰⁰



Figure 16 *Laz(es)*. The first one by Ragıp Tuğtekin, the second one by Metin Özlen

³⁹⁸ And, *Karagoz: Turkish Shadow Theatre*, 55.

³⁹⁹ Siyavuşgil, *Karagöz, Its History, Its Character Its Mystical and Satirical Spirit*, 168.

⁴⁰⁰ And, *Karagoz: Turkish Shadow Theatre*, 57.

He dances *Horon*. Some of his names are *Hayreddin* and *Hamsi* but Hacivat calls him as *Trabzon Gülü* (The Rose of Trabzon) to calm him down. In *Yazıcı* (The Scribe) play, he signs his letter as, “Pock-marked Memiş, the loudmouthed father-head of Trabzon with a large hankie on his head.” In *Meyhane* (The Tap House) play, he is also depicted as a slave provider. Evliya says that some people in Trabzon were seafarers. They used to travel inside the Black Sea only, and make profit by trade and Jihad⁴⁰¹

The Anatolian Turk

It is estimated that the Anatolian Turk has been in Karagöz plays since the 17th century. And says,

Baba Himmet [father *Himmet*] is the invincible woodcutter from Anatolia, he is a tall man (the tallest of the shadow figures) carrying a large ax on his shoulder. Karagöz sometimes tries to get him to hear by speaking the words into his cupped hands and throwing them up to his ear. [When] this method fails, a ladder is brought and Karagöz climbs up it to shout in *Baba Himmet's* ear. *Baba Himmet* speaks in a rough way and fails to understand many of the things he sees in the town [because he is an outsider]. He often uses blasphemy to answer Karagöz but does not become angry when Karagöz teases him about his rough language or calls him a bear.⁴⁰²

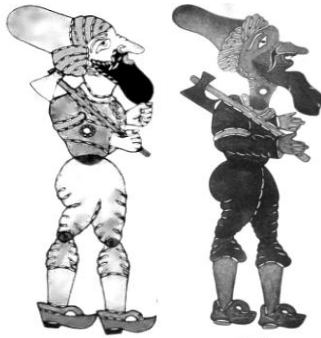


Figure 17 *Himmet* Dayı(s). The first one the from VNTM, the second one from Siyavuşgil

Karagöz likens *Baba Himmet* to the *Galata* Tower. Also in *Kayık* (The Rowboat) play, Karagöz does not want to carry the Turk because he thinks that the Turk can sink the boat with his large frame. In return, the Turk answers him, “you cannot do boating with a washtub!” Sometimes this character is presented as a guard. One of the other names of the Turk is *Hırbo*. In *Pehlivanlık* (wrestling) play, *Hırbo* calls Karagöz the half-folk to implicate that Karagöz is a Gypsy. The Turk has a broken kind of Turkish accent, which Hacivat generally translates to Karagöz. In *Yazıcı* (The Scribe) play, he signs his letter as “the son of the donkey-fucker from *Kastamonu*.” In *Kırgınlar* (The Resentful Ones) play, *Himmet* the Turk is depicted as a garden guard. He drinks too much alcohol so that he cannot stand still. Karagöz calls him the big bear, and hits him by saying that the Turk comes into his senses only when he was beaten.

⁴⁰¹ Evliya Çelebi, *Evliya Çelebi Seyahatnamesi'nden Seçmeler*, 131-132.

⁴⁰² And, Metin. *Karagoz: Turkish Shadow Theatre*, 57.

Amicis⁴⁰³, who was a traveller coming to İstanbul in the 18th century, defines Turk in his notes, as a person, who

...remains stationary with such calmness in his face, as if he has nothing to worry. He is alike an animal just stuffed by [enormous amount of food]. He never looks at anyone, and never realizes if anyone looks at him. He is indifferent to everything and everyone. He has either a sad face of a slave meeting his fate calmly or a face of a vain and calm tyrant. Anyone who tries to change his mind easily despairs with the Turk's strong stubbornness.

Amicis also says that the Turks are the masters of idleness.⁴⁰⁴ The Karagöz types were cumulatively diversified by the mutual contribution of the performers from all the ethnic, religious and racial segments of the society. That is important because, those types were filtered, and added by the perception of the different groups of the society, and it seems that the performers did not omit or exclude any of the types from the screen in accordance with their own identity. For example, if the performer is a Turk, he played the Turk as he was; he did not try to change, or depict him cleverer. Yet, it should be kept in mind that Karagöz plays originate in İstanbul and reflect the life outlook of the İstanbuluties. İstanbul was highly different from any other part of the Ottoman Empire at that time. First of all, it was the capital city. Everything came first to İstanbul and then went to the other parts of the Empire. The performers were the habitants of such a city, which might have caused them to act superciliously. Actually, all the Muslims of the Ottoman Empire, as mentioned earlier, were called "Turk" and had a high reputation in the world agenda of the time in the outlook of the Europeans⁴⁰⁵, which was to be turn upside down by the *Tanzimat period*. However, this type in the Karagöz plays was referring to the Anatolian Turkish type of peasants.

Accordingly, based on the contributions of Necdet Sakaoglu⁴⁰⁶, an article stated that the Conqueror Sultan Mehmet (Mehmet II) had *Çandarlı Halil Pasha* hanged, and replaced him with the Croatian Mahmud Pasha. That was the turning point for the Turcoman people who beginning to be dispelled from the administrative posts in the Ottoman Empire. Those educated in the *devshirmeh* system began to replace them, and occupied the important posts including the grand vizierate. After the reign of Fatih, the negative attitudes of the Ottoman Empire towards the

⁴⁰³ Amicis, *İstanbul*, 131.

⁴⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, 116.

⁴⁰⁵ Bozidar Jezernik, ed., *Hayallerdeki Türk*, Translated by Ali Özdamar (İstanbul: Kitap Yayınevi, 2012).

⁴⁰⁶ "Tarih Boyunca Türk Kimliği," *NTV Tarih*, no. 51 (April 2013): 34-36.

Turcomans⁴⁰⁷ had intensified. The Turks were defined as “*etrak taifesi*.” The name of the Turk used mainly for those Jalali groups and robbers; besides, the Turks were also referred as “*etrak-ı bi-idrak*”, which meant *feeble-minded* or *slow-witted*. The late 19th century had changed the outlook with the national movements; the Turks became the issue for the new intellectuals.⁴⁰⁸

On the other hand, Afyoncu⁴⁰⁹ says that these terms were only used for those who had rebelled against the Ottoman dynasty. Besides, he also says that the nomads who did not get used to urban life were also either Turcoman or the village Turks. Moreover, he is against the idea that after Çandarlı Halil Pasha’s death, Turcomans could not occupy grand vizier posts anymore; he gives the examples of Öküz Pasha, Kemankeş Ali Pasha and Boynueğri Mehmed Pasha.



Figure 18
Kayserili
by Hayali
Memduh

In Karagöz plays, those from *Kayseri* and *Bolu* are similar to the Turk but are better acquainted with the İstanbul life. The man from *Kayseri* is a seller of salted meat called *pastırma*, a grocer, a painter, or a shoemaker. In addition, another Anatolian from *Bolu* is invariably a cook. In *Ağalık* (The Agha) play, *Bolulu Himmet* Agha says, “I foist a fried rag if you give me enough supplies.” Evliya gives the examples of the accent of a *Bolulu*, such that “*kızan*” means “*uşak*” (boy), “*ün*” means “*avaz*” (shout), “*cılız*” means “*küçük*” (small), “*zıbar*” means “*yat*” (go to bed), “*mezgit*” means “*mescid*” (mosque), “*kekremsi*” means “*şarap*” (wine). Evliya⁴¹⁰ defines those words as empty words and says that there are much of them, which even a man of letter could not understand.

Kürt (The Kurd)

He was only mentioned as a name in the old plays but not presented by body. Metin And defines the Kurd as,

The neighborhood night watchman and often uses Kurdish words. He has a vacant expression but tries to act in a haughty manner. He wears a conical

⁴⁰⁷ Until the time of Bayezid I, Turcoman tribes had good relations with the Ottomans, however, they also wanted to keep the Ottoman dynasty in control by calling Tamerlane who defeated Bayezid I in Ankara warfare. Thereafter, those Turcoman tribes were dominated by the Ottoman Empire. Therefore, the Turk might also be representing them.

⁴⁰⁸ "Tarih Boyunca Türk Kimliği," *NTV Tarih*, 34-36.

⁴⁰⁹ Erhan Afyoncu, *Osmanlı'nın Hayaleti* (İstanbul: Yeditepe, 2005), 17.

⁴¹⁰ Evliya Çelebi, *Evliya Çelebi Seyahatnamesi'nden Seçmeler*, 181-183.

felt cap, and carries a long staff. He wears sandals of rawhide, blue şalvar, a half coat without sleeves and a woolen, motley west.⁴¹¹

Bassano⁴¹² tells that it was a rule for every registered man of the neighborhood that they had to be a watchman for one night. Every evening, four people from the different registered houses were selected to be the security guards. One who did not want to be, could hire some other man to be a security guard on behalf of him. Probably, *Tuzsuz* hires Karagöz in that way in *Abdal Bekçi* (The Stupid Watchman) play. That group of guards could arbitrarily be composed of people from different religions or sects, so that a Jewish, Christian and a Muslim could be in the same group.



Figure 19
Kurd by
Hayali
Hafız
Bahattin

A watchman used to go around with a bat and a candlelight, and send to the jail those who were decided to be suspicious, or those who were misbehaving. Mantran also says that a decree belonged to the late 17th century said that those night watches were too old and incapable of maintaining the security. Thus, the artisan guild would have to determine two night guards to stroll around the streets for every night. *Bursa Leylası* (Leyla of Bursa), *Abdal Bekçi* (The Stupid Watchman), *Bahçe* (The Garden), *Kırgınlar* (The Resentful Ones) and *Ters Evlenme* (The Awry Marriage) plays involves *Bekçi* (Guard). In the first two plays, Karagöz is the guard who gets drunk with the *Zennes* instead of keeping the order. The other two plays involve Turk as a watchman who accepts bribe where he is expected to intervene the situation in both plays. However, none of those guards is depicted as Kurd. That could be related to the fact that the Kurdish population was living mainly in the Eastern part of Anatolia.”

The Types coming from out of Anatolia

Acem (The Persian)

“*Acem* is a trader of shawls, carpets and women’s dresses, and depicted as a cultivated figure. He sometimes enters by riding a horse, and continually recites poetry, which he delivers with a different enunciation.”⁴¹³ In the Ottoman culture, the Persian was mainly used as a literature language; so depicting him as an unsuccessful poem reciter belonging to the high culture; that is, the court

⁴¹¹ And, *Karagoz: Turkish shadow theatre*, 57.

⁴¹² Bassano, *Kanuni Dönemi Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda Gündelik Hayat*, 47-48

⁴¹³ And, *Karagoz: Turkish Shadow Theatre*, 58.

literature, which mainly used Persian as the language of the literature must have been related to the intention of satirizing this situation.

“*Acem* often exaggerates and talks of large sums of money but his actual business transactions usually concern very small sums.”⁴¹⁴ He easily gets bored; calls for the people to entertain him. Generally he mentions about his father’s death and searches for an entertainment for his consolation. Moreover, he says that the money is not important for such an entertainment. For example in *Ağalık* (The Agha) play, Karagöz is employed by *Acem* to entertain him, Karagöz earns so much money that he decides to be an Agha for a day. Hacivat calls *Acem* as The Rose of Iran or Nightingale of Azerbaijan. Among his names, *Nöker*, *Nuküd* and *Puser* can be mentioned



Figure 20 Acem(s). The first one from the VNTM, the second one belongs to Ragıp Tuğtekin

As an example of his exaggerations, in *Pehlivanlık* (Wrestling) play, he tells a story that a wrestler called the Lion of God from Tehran defeated two wrestlers coming from America, and sent off one to Hamadan and the other to Tabriz just by beating. Between the years of 1846 and 1848, during the war against Mexico, United States Department of War decided to use camels for transportation in the deserts of Mexico. In this respect, the first ambassador of the U.S.A. reached İstanbul and asked for 35 camels from the Ottomans; Sultan Abdülmecit II confirmed to give those camels to America. David Dixon Porter the captain of the ship sailed to U.S.A. after he took the camels.⁴¹⁵ This part should have been added to the Karagöz play after that incident in the 19th century.

Faroqhi says that in the second half of the 16th century, when the Ottoman Empire conquered Caucasia and some of the Western parts of Iran, the Persian-speaking migrants increased in number.⁴¹⁶ Besides, Evliya also mentions about the Persian travelers mostly attracted by *Kağıthane* festivals.⁴¹⁷ Accordingly, he gives some examples of the Persian style Turkish, “*Heze tanımamışam*” means “*henüz*

⁴¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 58.

⁴¹⁵ Wikipedia Contributors, *U.S. Camel Corps*. (Wikipedia, March 13, 2013, accessed March 21, 2013) available from http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/U.S._Camel_Corps

⁴¹⁶ Faroqhi, *Osmanlı Kültürü ve Gündelik Yaşam*, 113.

⁴¹⁷ Evliya Çelebi, *Evliya Çelebi Seyahatnamesi'nden Seçmeler*, 70.

görmemişim” (I did not see yet); “*darılmışam*” means “*darıldım*” (I took it as an offense); “*Apar gülen çakırı*” means “*getir şarabı*” (bring the wine).

Arnavut (The Albanian)

“Either the Albanian sells a drink made up of fermented millet called *Boza* or he is a gardener, a gamekeeper or a cattle trader.”⁴¹⁸ Thévenot noted that *Boza* was mainly the drink of the ordinary or poor people because; it was cheap and could fuddle them.⁴¹⁹ In *Kanlı Kavak* (The Bloody Poplar) play, the two Albanians punish Karagöz for trying to cut that (possessed) poplar, they decide to punish him with bastinado but they cannot be successful, because they do not know counting. “He tries to speak politely but, because of his accent, always creates humorous impressions.”⁴²⁰ He is honest, clement and brave but illiterate. He uses the phrase “*Mori*” very often. He stresses the latter “*r*” very strongly. Among his names are *Ramazan*, *Bayram* and *Şaban*. When he understands that he cannot compete with Karagöz by speaking, he menaces him with his gun. He relies much on his gun; on the contrary, he could easily be frightened with a light sound. Evliya also mentions about the Albanians, some of whom were producers of a weapon resembling to bow and arrow. Those producers were exclusively Albanians.⁴²¹



Figure 21 Arnavut(s). The First one belongs to the 18th century, the second one by Hayali Memduh

Actually using a fire gun in downtown was forbidden in the Ottoman Empire, Bassano says that in the city center, no one bears and uses swords, even the police do not carry swords; rather, they use bats for punishing. If the people argue, they do not treat with guns, or fight with each other in the middle of a crowd. To use a gun in the city was a serious crime, anyone who used a gun in the city was punished by that he was made walk through the city with tied hands, and was brought to the place where the crime had happened and he

was stabbed there.⁴²² Therefore, they use a nightstick to punish Karagöz.

⁴¹⁸ And, *Karagoz: Turkish Shadow Theatre*, 58.

⁴¹⁹ Thévenot, *Thévenot Seyahatnamesi (1655-1656)*, 69.

⁴²⁰ And, *Karagoz: Turkish Shadow Theatre*, 58

⁴²¹ Evliya Çelebi, *Evliya Çelebi Seyahatnamesi, 1. Kitap: İstanbul*, 284.

⁴²² Bassano, *Kanuni Dönemi Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda Gündelik Hayat*, 137.

Mantran⁴²³ says that, in the 17th century, Albanians who could not form a Muslim community, rather assimilated among Turks. They had mainly worked as a pavement builder (the term “*Arnavut Kaldırımı*” well explains the situation in Turkish), well opener and a street vendor. Very few of those were directly brought from Albania and worked in the royal palace for the military services. Bassano says that the Cavalrymen (*Sipahi*) were generally selected among the Serbian-Croatian, Greeks and the Albanians, but many of them were Hungarian.⁴²⁴

Arap (The Arab)

There are two kinds of Arab; one is black the other is white. White Arab is rich and generally a merchant, traveler, camel trader or a sweet seller in the plays. For example, in *Tahmis* (The Coffee Grinders) play, he is depicted as a coffee grinder. He is rich but avoids spending money; he tries to pay the prices by praying. The black one is the caricature of the “*kızlarağası*” who was responsible for the woman slaves (*cariye*) in the palace.



Figure 22 the coffee Grinders from the Metin And Collection

Ralamb⁴²⁵, in the 17th century, defines coffee as a bean grown in Egypt. He says that the Turks used to grind it and then boil it with hot water. They were used to drink it very hot and believe that it was good for the flue, stomachache and the headache. Thévenot⁴²⁶ who visited İstanbul in the 17th century, having encountered with coffee first in İstanbul, also says that for the three bowls of water, the Turks used to add one spoon of coffee and make it come to 12 times

boil, and then serve it with porcelain cups as hot as possible. This coffee was black and smelling like burnt. The coffee was being consumed to heal hangover, it was also driving sleep away (that aspect was not working for *Tiryaki* seemingly). Thévenot also adds that no matter one is poor or rich; the Turks used to drink two or three cups of coffee in a day. It was even accepted as one of the necessities that a

⁴²³ Mantran, *16. ve 17. Yüzyılda İstanbul'da Gündelik Hayat*, 53

⁴²⁴ Bassano, *Kanuni Dönemi Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda Gündelik Hayat*, 139.

⁴²⁵ Ralamb, *İstanbul'a Bir Yolculuk 1657-1658*, 53.

⁴²⁶ Thévenot, *Thévenot Seyahatnamesi (1655-1656)*, 69.

husband had to provide for his wife. While mentioning about Hayali K r Hasanzade, Evliya says that he used to drink too much coffee during the breaks.⁴²⁷

In 1554, two people (from Aleppo), namely *Hakem* and *Şems*, had opened the first coffeehouse in İstanbul in *Tahtakale*, where generally the White Arab resides in Karag z plays. The first occasional customers were among the ruling class and the aristocracy.⁴²⁸ However, in 1554, *Ebussuud Efendi* (the Sheik Al-Islam) had caused the coffeehouses to be closed by the side of tap houses. The reason was that no one should drink such a beverage that the idle people were consuming while lost in entertainments and games in the coffeehouses. Besides, he states that the coffeehouses and tap houses were the places for the opium and the hashish.⁴²⁹ Despite there had been many attempts to close the coffeehouses, they had been opened again. As said before, the coffeehouses were the public places (for men) indeed. As another observer, Amicis⁴³⁰ described the coffeehouses in the 18th century as rooms covered by the man-size wooden planks, on which sofas were placed at the edges of the walls. Every coffeehouse was a barbershop at the same time. He describes the people inside as frozen; they used to sit in a fixed position and in full silence. The only sound came from the shishas they were smoking.

The white Arab in the plays comes from Beirut or Syria; he often has funny names such as *Hacı Kandil* (Pilgrim the Lampion), *Hacı Fış Fış* (Pilgrim the Fizz), *Hacı Şamandıra* (Pilgrim the Buoy) and *Hacı Fıtıl* (Pilgrim the Wick). Hacivat also translates the speech of this character to Karag z. The white Arabs are speaking either the Egyptian or the Damascus dialect. The most common word he uses is “*ulak*,” which corresponds with the word “*ulan*” (buddy!); actually, a slang word in Turkish. Thévenot states that the Arabic language was very rich and was spoken in many countries but it had too much jawbreakers because it had to be gutturalized. For this reason, when the Turks in İstanbul wanted to have fun, they looked for an Arab to make him talk despite the fact that Quran had been written in that language.⁴³¹ Arabs have also been depicted with no sense of humor in the plays.

⁴²⁷ Evliya  elebi, *Evliya  elebi Seyahatnamesi*, 1. Kitap: İstanbul, 310.

⁴²⁸ Işın, *İstanbul'da G ndelik Hayat*, 239.

⁴²⁹ Imber, "Part I: Historical and Legal Background," 115.

⁴³⁰ Amicis, *İstanbul*, 67-68.

⁴³¹ Thévenot, *Thévenot Seyahatnamesi (1655-1656)*, 236.



Figure 23 The Black Beggar Arab belongs to the 18th century, the White Arab from the Metin And Collection

The Black one is generally a beggar or a slave. The beggar one actually damns in a way that he manages to have Karagöz say amen. When Karagöz understands what the beggar actually says, he generally beats and sends him away. S/he is very stupid and cannot grasp things easily. On the other hand, Thévenot⁴³² also says that because the Turks were very charitable and humanitarian, they used to help every poor or needy no matter s/he was a Jewish, Christian or a Muslim. Therefore, the beggars were rare in İstanbul in the 17th century. In addition, Mantran⁴³³ says that the Arabs, especially those from Egypt, worked mainly in the constructions or in the fields of the stone cutting and carving. Besides, they were also specialized in ceramic and pottery⁴³⁴ (Because the kebabs were prepared and cooked in pots). Yet, no Arab in Karagöz plays involved in such kinds of jobs. They are either rich or slave.

In the context of the black female and male Arabs who were slaves, it should be mentioned that slave trade was a very profitable business in the Ottoman Empire until the *Tanzimat period* and was under control of the Jewish Community. In the 15th and the 16th centuries, Kadi records show that the most profitable business for the wealthy families was the slave trade. In the second half of the 15th century, the average price of a slave was 40-50 Venetian gold.⁴³⁵ In terms of the law, either owned by the state or a private person, slaves were not thought to be inferior. Even in some conditions, the title of *Kul*, who was treated differently from an ordinary slave, was accepted as a sign of a respect.⁴³⁶ Bassano noted that the slaves were generally sold in the bazaar; one who gave the highest price owned the slave. The slave bazaar, which was called “*bedestan*” were set in the city center. The young boys were more expensive than the young girls. There were many slave traders in the Ottoman Empire; they could easily understand the status and the origin of a slave. Those traders used to follow the armed forces during the wars, and exchange their horses with slaves because of an Ottoman rule restricting them to engage in

⁴³² *Ibid.*, 97

⁴³³ Mantran, 16. ve 17. Yüzyılda İstanbul'da Gündelik Hayat, 53.

⁴³⁴ *Ibid.*, 53.

⁴³⁵ İnalçık, *Devlet-i Aliye, Klasik Dönem (1302-1606)*,215.

⁴³⁶ *Ibid.*, 215.

slave trade outside the Empire. The black ones were probably being brought from the North Africa.⁴³⁷

In addition, Faroqhi states that in general the Ottoman authority were trying to prevent the potential Muslim or to-be-Muslim labor force to go abroad or leave the Ottoman territory, so the slaves tried to take up with the situation and prepare themselves to live in the Ottoman territory. However, either by converting to Islam or by the free consent of the owner, their slavery was ended and they were set free. The children of the slaves rarely became slaves.⁴³⁸ Thévenot⁴³⁹ writes in his memories of İstanbul that he was invited to the house of an *ex-slave*; after the meal, they offered him to watch a Karagöz play at home.

In Karagöz plays, the Black Arab wears red and loves red. For example in *Balık* (The Fishmongers) play, if the Arab (Mercan Agha) helps *Çelebi* (Gentleman) to catch a fish, he is told to be rewarded with red shoes and a red fez. The speech of the Black Arab merely consists of repetitious questions, such as who, whom, when, where or what. Among his names are *Mercan Ağa* (Agha the Coral) and *Hoşkadem Hatun* (the woman who brings good luck). Karagöz cannot get along well with female Black Arab slave. In the prolog of *Kırgınlar* (The Resentful Ones) play, the Arab knockouts both Hacivat and Karagöz because he pretends not to understand the answers Karagöz gives in return to his question, which is “how much did you die?” Moreover, at the end, Arab shits and pees on both Hacivat and Karagöz. In the dialog of *Meyhane* (The Tap House) play, *Laz* (Character from the Black Sea region) had sold a slave to Hacivat. Since the slave is acting improperly, Hacivat asks *Laz* to discipline him. The name of the slave was also *Mercan*.

Muhacır (The Rumelian)

Since the 17th century, he has been on screen. He speaks very slowly, and is either a wrestler or a carter. He is well known by being unpredictable. He uses the phrase “*a be*” very often. He calls people of İstanbul as namby-pamby or pantywaist.

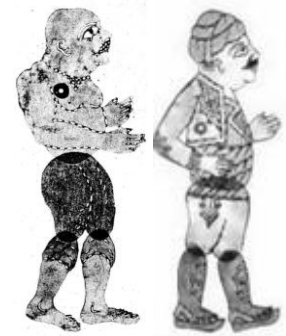


Figure 24 Muhacır(s). The first one from Topkapı Palace Museum, the second one from VNTM

⁴³⁷ Bassano, *Kanuni Dönemi Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda Gündelik Hayat*, 111-113.

⁴³⁸ Faroqhi, *Osmanlı Kültürü ve Gündelik Yaşam*, 114-115.

⁴³⁹ Thévenot, *Thévenot Seyahatnamesi (1655-1656)*, 73.

Among his names, there are *Mestan Agha* and *Hüsmen Agha*. He wears mostly in green and violet.⁴⁴⁰ In the play of *Ödüllü* (The Wrestlers), he was depicted as a wrestler but he says that he is a beekeeper. He calls himself as “*Mestan* the blockbuster and the chain breaker wrestler” but Karagöz calls him “ox.”

The Non-Muslims (*Dhimmis*)

In general, the non-Muslims involved in the crafts that Turks either could not do due to the technical reasons or lack of expertise, or did not want to do for the religious reasons. On the other hand, the non-Muslims were not involved in the artistry that the Turks were in the majority. They could officially be hired as translators; besides, if they were doctors or a surgeons, they were exempted from *Jizya*. Except for the Rums/Franks dwelling in *Galata*, the Non-Muslims were generally in touch with the Muslims. The Rums and Catholics in *Galata* preferred to be together with the other Rums, and gathered around the ambassadors residing in *Pera*. At first, they were being dressed like Turks but later they gave up and dressed as Europeans, which is attained by the *Tanzimat*. The Franks had only resided in *Galata* and *Pera*, there were no Frank resided in the other parts of İstanbul.⁴⁴¹ Owing to the capitulations (the mid-16th century), after the period of Kanuni Sultan Süleyman, the diplomats, missionaries and the travelers began to come to İstanbul.

With the help of the capitulations they had sent envoys, residents; they had conducted maritime trade with their own flags, and they had sent consuls to İstanbul. Through those consuls, they could be exempted from *Jizya* and tribute. Moreover, they obtained the right of reversion after death, had the right of not to be judged in front of the Kadi without the presence of an official agent from their own community. In addition, they were not to be disturbed by a visit when a murder happened in their neighborhood.⁴⁴²

In sum, minorities could only work with the private sector. In addition, the rights given to them were determined by the limitations of the tolerance of the sultan in the 16th and the 17th centuries.

⁴⁴⁰ Sönmez, ed. *Karagöz Kitabı*, 79.

⁴⁴¹ Mantran, *16. ve 17. Yüzyılda İstanbul'da Gündelik Hayat*, 55.

⁴⁴² *Ibid.*, 56

Yahudi (The Jew)

He is depicted with a bifurcated beard, which highly differentiates him from the other characters. Among his names, there are *Zaharya*, *Samuel Efendi*, *Buhuracı* and *Bezirgan*. In *Sünnet* (The Circumcision) play, he shows up as an illusionist: the son of Yasef. In general, he is depicted with a sack or a tambourine in his hand, and he wears a blue fez⁴⁴³ as the Jews were dictated to wear besides purple. The main settlement area for them is mentioned as *Balat* in İstanbul.

He is a moneylender, a second hand dealer, a wholesaler, or a goldsmith. He is also depicted as rich, and called *Bezirgan* meaning the rich people in the Ottoman Empire but later, the meaning has changed among the public, as mentioned before. The haggling Jew is a familiar character. For example in *Salıncak* (The Swing) play, the Jew always offers the same amount for the price of the swing, such as one unit of 10 piasters (*kuruş*), two units of 5 piasters, four units of 2.5 piasters or ten units of 1 piasters. Because Karagöz cannot count, he chooses to take ten units of 1 piaster by thinking that there is much more money in that offer with respect to others.



Figure 25 Yahudi(s). The first one is from Siyavuşgil; the second one is from the VNTM

He is stubborn and clamorous; for example in *Eczahane* (Pharmacy) play, he starts to yell even before Karagöz touches him. Another example can be found in *Pehlivanlık* (Wrestling) play, Karagöz and Jewish face for wrestling, Jewish says Karagöz, “you can wrestle with me any way you like unless you wrestle in the area that an inch above my head and an inch below my feet”.⁴⁴⁴ Karagöz answers as, “Will I wrestle with the air?” Besides, the Jew continuously squalls to Karagöz by saying, “do not hold my hand, back,” or any part of his body, and runs out at the end. The main characteristic of him is his cowardice. When Karagöz asks help for beating *Tuzsuz* in *Mandıra* (The Dairy) play, he comes but runs out quickly.

He tries out many obscene puns on Karagöz, and uses his ungrammatical, broken Turkish as an excuse. He maliciously changes Karagöz’s name to give it a bad

⁴⁴³ Uğur Göktaş, “Türk Gölge Oyunu Tasvirleri ve Kişileri I: Asıl Kişiler ve Kadınlar,” in *Karagöz Kitabı*, edited by Sevgül Sönmez (İstanbul: Kitabevi, 2005), 80.

⁴⁴⁴ The Jew: “ayaklarımdan bir karış aşağıda, kafamdan bir karış yukarıda, nereyle güreşirsen güreş”. Karagöz: “havayla mı güreşeceğiz?”

meaning, such as *Karayüz* (Blackface), *Kargayüz* (Crow-face), and *Karauyuz* (Black-mangy). Jew is the one with whom Karagöz particularly cannot get along.

Karagöz kills the Jew twice: one is in *Salıncak* (The Swing⁴⁴⁵) play and the other is in *Kayık* (The Rowboat) play. The Jew uses his broken Turkish to confuse and annoy Karagöz. In *Salıncak* (The Swing)⁴⁴⁶ play, the Jew sets up a condition before swinging, that is, if he says “swing”, Karagöz would not swing, if he says “do not swing”, Karagöz would swing. After a while, Karagöz totally confuses and continuously swings the Jew even if he truly tells him to stop. The Jew falls and



Figure 26
Rabi from
Metin And
(1979)

dies, and then Hacıvat comes and says that they should call the Jewish community to hold the funeral. Then, a rabbi and the other Jews come and hold the funeral but Karagöz has never believed that the Jew is death and busts up the funeral. The Jew’s coffin falls down. Karagöz says that the Jews and the Gypsies are said to be totally unlike, and he literally lies down diametrically opposite of the Jew. Then the Jew stands up surreptitiously and runs. It can be said that the Jew can pretend to be dead and even concocts a funeral not to make any payment. Besides, while Evliya Çelebi mentions about the entertainers and the comedians; he counts 12 branches, the last one of which is the *Samurkaş* branch that was exclusively composed of 200 Jewish people.

They were skillful acrobats, and could perform a whole night. The Jewish branches were hostile towards the Gypsies' branches; generally, they used to challenge each other. The Jewish branch used to perform mimics making fun of the Gypsies and present stories teasing the Gypsies. The Gypsies were also doing the same on the shows.⁴⁴⁷

The other play the Jew dies is *Kayık* (The Rowboat), which was also mentioned under the subtitle of *Zenne*. The Jew always offers the same amount for the price of boating but again calculates it differently. Every time he gets on the boat, he says that he forgot some of his belongings at the quay. This case is repeated for several times. At the end, Karagöz bobs the boat, and the Jew falls and dies.

⁴⁴⁵ Faroqhi says that the swings were generally set up during the festivities after the Ramadan. Faroqhi, *Osmanlı Kültürü ve Gündelik Yaşam*, 256

⁴⁴⁶ Thévenot states in his diary that after the Ramadan month, the Ramadan festive starts. The streets are full of the swings decorated with flowers. If one wants to fly s/he sits on a wooden seat, and two men, located in front and at the back of the swing, wag it with long ropes. The price of the swing was one silver coin. That kind of entertainment used to last at the end of the festivities. Thévenot, *Thévenot Seyahatnamesi (1655-1656)*, 89.

⁴⁴⁷ Evliya Çelebi, *Evliya Çelebi Seyahatnamesi, 1. Kitap: İstanbul*, 308.

The trader Jews were mentioned in the section of the Ottoman Empire and the economy in detail.

Ermeni (The Armenian)

He is depicted as person with no sense of humor, a limited intelligence, and very serious about his work. He is called as *Vartan*, *Ayvaz* or *Sergiz*. In the Ottoman society *Ayvaz* was also one of the names used to refer the one who carries the meal trays at houses. Those were generally recruited from the Armenian people⁴⁴⁸. In *Karagöz* plays, there is no scene passing inside a house. However, as Mantran said before, since the streets are narrow and the carts cannot fit in, the Armenians used to carry the belongings of the people in the 17th century.



Figure 27 Ermeni(s). The first one is from the VNTM, the second one is named as *Serkiz*, from *Siyavuşgil*

Probably the word “*Serkis*” (“*Sarkis*” in origin) originated from them. “*Sarkis*” means a servant, server. There are two kinds of Armenian: one is coming from the East Side of Anatolia namely from Van district, the other one is coming from the other parts. Therefore, the Eastern Armenian is richer and depicted as a jeweler or a doctor, and more cultivated with respect to the others, who are depicted as waiters/butlers of a large house or a sapper (*Yalova Sefası* – A Pleasure Trip to Yalova). For example, in *Orman* (The Forest) play, the Armenian says that he is a jeweler living in İstanbul and planning to go to *Sivas*. Evliya Çelebi also mentions about the Armenians in the section of the sappers (“*Lağımçı*” in Turkish). He says that the sappers of İstanbul are generally composed of the Armenians from *Kayseri*, who were called as *Vartan* or *Sergiz*. He also adds that they were usually stinking.⁴⁴⁹

However, he loves poetry and is interested in history. He uses expressions like “*zol*” and “*foşgeya*” too much. The settlement area for them is told to be *Samatya* in İstanbul. Mantran,⁴⁵⁰ also says that the Armenians were mainly active in two fields of work. One was related to the transit or oversea trade covering wholesale trade, banking and foreign exchange operations. This kind of activity enabled them to be among the members of urban bourgeoisie, who were to be important business

⁴⁴⁸ Mantran, *16. ve 17. Yüzyılda İstanbul'da Gündelik Hayat*, 166

⁴⁴⁹ Evliya Çelebi, *Evliya Çelebi Seyahatnamesi*, 1. Kitap: İstanbul, 222.

⁴⁵⁰ Mantran, *16. ve 17. Yüzyılda İstanbul'da Gündelik Hayat*, 53

actors of the Ottoman society during the 18th and the 19th centuries. The second field of work was covering minor professions such as, chamberlain, *Merkepçilik* (donkey dealer), *Pastırmacılık* (person who sells spicy dried meat) and Grocery. However, in *Eczane* (The Pharmacy) play, he is presented as a doctor named *Şahboyan*. It is also known that the non-Muslims mainly worked in medicine services as well.

Frenk (The Frank/European)

The Frank is portrayed as a European or a Levantine⁴⁵¹ and is usually a physician by profession. He interpolates Greek, Italian or French words in his speech. “He speaks the worst Turkish accent of all the empire types. He can also be a tailor, a merchant, a doctor, or a tavern keeper.”⁴⁵² Levantine means “sweet water Frank,” referring to the Franks, who were dealing with trade and residing in the East Mediterranean Region. Mantran⁴⁵³ says that the Rum community, who created a bourgeoisie in the Ottoman Empire, accessed to high positions (as translators) in the Ottoman administration, got rich by trade and artisanship, and were living on the *Galata* shores of İstanbul. They were mainly dealing with jewelry besides medical science. The first alliance between the European powers and the Ottoman Empire was established in the mid-16th century. France was searching an alliance to open a second front against the Habsburg dynasty, therefore King Francis I and Sultan Süleyman had made an agreement. Accordingly, France got privileges in trade with the Ottomans, which was called capitulations. By the agreement, the French Embassy in İstanbul was accepted as the official countenancer of the other European representatives, who had no diplomatic representability. Since then, the Ottomans had named all the Europeans as “*Frenk*” in Turkish, Frank/European in English.⁴⁵⁴

He is depicted as a coward and an unlikable character. He wears a European costume, and carries a hat and a cane. In addition, he is depicted with a large tummy. Among his names are *Oturaki*, *Apastol* and *Karolin*.

In *Meyhane* (The Tap House) play, he is the owner of the tavern/tap house. The Frankish *Oturaki* says his apprentice *Apistol*, “Whoever comes into tavern you

⁴⁵¹ And, *Karagoz: Turkish Shadow Theatre*. Ankara, 58.

⁴⁵² *Ibid.*, 58.

⁴⁵³ Mantran, *16. ve 17. Yüzyılda İstanbul'da Gündelik Hayat*, 52.

⁴⁵⁴ Alexandrine N. St.Claire, *Hayallerdeki Türk*, 23-24

should treat them as the same; no one will be treated differently from any other costumer.” Evliya Çelebi also mentions about the taverns, which were mainly located in Galata; he even says that Tavern means Galata and says sarcastically, “God forgive me but, reputedly, Malta and Livorno were the locations of the unbelievers.”⁴⁵⁵



Figure 28 Frenk(s). The first one belongs to the 17th century, the second one is from Siyavuşgil, the third one by Hayali Memduh, the fourth one by Katip Salih

In the play of *Ters Evlenme* (The Awry Marriage), Karagöz introduces himself as a robber of the drunkards. He also says that if asked to *Apistol*, he would prove that he was at the tavern every night, and no one could escape him getting robbed. Also in the play of *Meyhane* (The Tap House), *Tuzsuz Deli Bekir* is forced to leave the tap house at the will of his

wife; *Apistol* the Frank and his apprentice run this tavern. He is also depicted as a doctor in *Timarhane* (The Madhouse) play. He offers bizarre methods, such as cutting open and cutting the feet to heal the madness of Karagöz. He also says that he is a professional because he has killed 999 patients so far. That means Karagöz would be killed professionally without any doubt.

In the same play, he comes to screen accompanied with the opera and speaks in Italian. He indicates that he does not know Turkish. In reply, Karagöz says that he speaks no language but Turkish. Karagöz does not understand him at all. Generally, Hacivat translates Frank to Karagöz. When the Frank says Karagöz that he does not know Turkish; in reply, Karagöz says the Frank, “Turkish gets lost between us”. Karagöz does not like him and calls the Frank as the “Seigneur Annoyance!”

As an observer, according to Bassano⁴⁵⁶, the Ottomans called the Christians “infidel” (“*kafir*” in the Ottoman language) and the enemy of God. They also defined them as “*sokak köpeği*” (cur/impure dogs) because the pet dogs were called “*it*”. The Muslims also used to mock with Christians and call them lunatic.

⁴⁵⁵ “...ve Galata dimek meyhane dimekdür kim *Allahümme* afına güya Malta ve Alakorna kafiristandır.” Evliya Çelebi, *Evliya Çelebi Seyahatnamesi*, 1. Kitap: İstanbul, 314.

⁴⁵⁶ Bassano, *Kanuni Dönemi Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda Gündelik Hayat*, 38.

Bassano also says that if a non-Muslim was blamed for insulting a Turk or a Muslim, or he was caught with a Muslim woman, he was used to be either castrated or forced to convert to Islam. Otherwise, he was killed. For such a claim to be accepted true, it was enough to find two Muslim witnesses. Therefore, the non-Muslims used to travel with a warrant of safe conduct or a clearance directly signed by the sultan. According to this paper, a non-Muslim could not be judged or punished by anyone except for the four pashas, who were the members of the imperial council/port for the above mentioned crimes. Else, in the case of the problems regarding religion, no one would be accepted as a witness except for the churchmen who had not drunk wine for 12 years.⁴⁵⁷ In addition, Bassano gives a detail that those Greeks living in İstanbul preferred their daughters to get married to a Turk than a Roman Christian bound to the Roman Church. They accepted the Roman Christians as the enemy number one, and called them as “*schillo franco*”, which means the Frankish dog. The Roman Christians were also called as Frank.

Moreover, Thévenot⁴⁵⁸ also gives information on the same issues and says that the Turks used to call the Christians as *dog*; even, if a radical Muslim saw a Jew or a Christian first in the morning, he used to act as if he had seen a face of the devil and immediately started praying. Further, he adds that it was so natural to make fun of the Christians, especially if he was a Frank. The Turks were astonished by the dressing style of the Franks, and likened them to monkeys without tails. However, in İstanbul, such kinds of cases were taken relatively under control (1655-1656). Yet, sometimes the drunken Turks hit a Christian with a stick. They call all the Europeans as Frank and not only those Roman Christians.⁴⁵⁹

Therefore, according to the travelers, the Christians were out of favor, unwanted people in the Ottoman society. They were the targets of mockery and insolence. In such a world system, where Turks were perceived as superiors, and as the blade of God while the sultans were titled as “*Cihan Padişahı*” (the sultan of the world) such attitudes towards Christians could only be expected. Yet, these situations did not last long and the balance power changed by *Tanzimat period*.

Before discussing the other types of the Karagöz plays, it is better to convey a final anecdote. At the end of *Yalova Sefası* (A Pleasure Trip to Yalova) play, Karagöz is finally accepted to enter the Jar (of *Zenne*) besides the *Tiryaki* (the Addict), the

⁴⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 106.

⁴⁵⁸ Thévenot, *Thévenot Seyahatnamesi (1655-1656)*, 111.

⁴⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 113.

White the Arab, the Albanian, the Armenian, the Jew, and Hacivat. However, before jumping in, he says that he will also bring his friend, which is his dog. Karagöz commands his dog to bite the nose of *Tiryaki* (the Addict), the ears of the *White Arab*, the shoulders of the Albanian, the back of the Armenian, and bite all parts of the *Jew*. Perhaps, by a dog bite, he thinks that he can get rid of the main features of those people he does not like. To be more concrete, *Tiryaki* sleeps in the middle of a conversation and starts snoring, so for him the nose is important. The White Arab never understands Karagöz; he even misunderstands him; indeed, he pretends as if he does not hear. Therefore, his ears are crucial for Karagöz. The Albanian is always haughty and always squares his shoulders. Therefore, his shoulders are crucial for Karagöz. The Armenian is known as having no sense of humor and only thinks his job then, maybe Karagöz may have felt that he is talking to a brick wall so; the back of the Armenian is a kind of instrument of revenge for Karagöz. For the *Jew* Karagöz commands his dog to bite all of his parts. It is better to remember *Salıncak* (The Swing) play, where Karagöz says that the Jews and the Gypsies are said to be totally opposites. In this way, Karagöz re-highlights the characteristics of those communities subjected to caricature.

Corrupted Janissaries, Jalali(s) and Unbelievers: Drunkard and Braggarts

In the Ottoman society, the most of the taverns had bad reputations. Those places were being managed primarily by the non-Muslims; there were no taverns in the Muslim neighborhoods as a policy and a requirement of sharia. Since it was officially forbidden, only a few were located near the mosques. According to Evliya Çelebi, *Galata* had meant taverns. Despite the ban, the Janissaries were going to the taverns, having a ball with women and smoking hashish, reported by Mantran⁴⁶⁰

Sevengil⁴⁶¹ also mentions about the taverns. At the time of Selim II (1566-1574), the ban of alcohol was forgotten, the taverns were re-opened and increased in number day by day. Some of the religious figures brought the subject to the authority, as a result, the Sultan issued a decree. Accordingly, it was forbidden for the Non-Muslims carry their wine and *rakı* barrels and tubs during the daytime besides sell wine and *rakı* carried over secretly in the night to Muslims in addition it was also banned to turn their houses into taverns, overtly drink alcohol, and play music in their ceremonies (especially for the Armenian houses). The Jews and the Christians

⁴⁶⁰ Mantran, *16. ve 17. Yüzyılda İstanbul'da Gündelik Hayat*, 219.

⁴⁶¹ Sevengil, *İstanbul Nasıl Eğleniyordu?*, 22.

were also commanded to act in accordance with the laws of the sultan and sharia. The violators would be sent to jail and the names of them would be brought to the sultan.

However, Faroqhi⁴⁶² indicates that during the sultan's festivals, the Muslims were stretching the rules and going to the tap houses in *Galata*. Bassano's notes are much more explanatory about the use of alcohol among the Ottomans if they are not to be exaggerations. He says that *rakı* (a Turkish alcoholic drink, when mixed with water, turns into smoky white color) is a special alcoholic drink among the Turks, who drink it during or after the meal. The wine was commonly sold in taverns belong to the non-Muslims, but the Turks also used to go there in the morning and stay up to the evening, and drink much.⁴⁶³ It was possible to see many drunken Turks on the streets.⁴⁶⁴ When the Ramadan ended, the Turks used to surrender to eating and drinking. They used to drink wine until they became drunk, those who could not get drunk, used to continue with *rakı* and even with the opium seeds.⁴⁶⁵

It is certain that there were many different types of the drunkards throughout the ages in Karagöz plays. About the origin of such a character, İnalçık's explanations could also be useful. He says that by the 1600s, many of *Jalalis* (*Celali* in Turkish: formerly paid soldiers; in Faroqhi, was mentioned as *Levent*) declared themselves as janissaries and claimed the privileges of the janissaries. On the other hand, the janissaries on duty in towns and cities used their authorities to rob people and became a privileged social class. This incident caused anarchy in Anatolia, and the rich ones among the public to flee to Rumelia and the other parts of Anatolia.⁴⁶⁶ These incidents in the Karagöz plays regarding bathhouses, prostitutions and taverns were mainly related to drunkards who were descending from these janissaries.

⁴⁶² Faroqhi, *Osmanlı Kültürü ve Gündelik Yaşam*, 215.

⁴⁶³ In addition, Sevengil tells another incident about the taverns. In 1577, Murat III enacted that taverns in the Muslim neighborhoods would be closed but those in the non-Muslim neighborhoods would not. While he was riding a horse on the streets of İstanbul, the drunken janissaries saw him and wanted to salute with their beer glass. After this incident, although Murat III strictly commended that all the taverns would be closed, he could not put it in force because of the revolts and the aggressive attitudes of the janissaries. Sevengil, *İstanbul Nasıl Eğleniyordu?*, 31.

⁴⁶⁴ Bassano, *Kanuni Dönemi Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda Gündelik Hayat*, 99

⁴⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, 131.

⁴⁶⁶ İnalçık, *Devlet-i Aliye, Klasik Dönem (1302-1606)*, 325.



Figure 29 Tuzsuz Deli Bekir. The first one is from the VNTM, the second one is from Siyavuşgil

Tuzsuz Deli Bekir (the late-16th century) has been estimated to be on screen since the 16th century because Evliya Çelebi mentions about a drunkard called *Gazi Boşnak* while he is telling about the play of *Hamam* (The Bathhouse), of which the head figure is *Tuzsuz Deli Bekir*. It is useful to mention about the bathhouses in the Ottoman context because, *Hamam* (The Bathhouse) play is a sole satire of those bathhouses. Mantran⁴⁶⁷ says that some of the bathhouses had a suspicious reputation that they were pleasing their customers in different ways, such as providing with female companions despite of the strict supervision of *Muhtesib* (the Ottoman constabulary-official for the public order). It was also known that some bullies or drunkards had forced the door of the bathhouses in times when the bathhouses were allocated to women only.⁴⁶⁸ Although it was noted that such incidents happened rarely only in those ill-reputed bathhouses, when it happened, women run out screaming. Sevensgil⁴⁶⁹ also says that in the late 17th century, the habitants of *Ayanbeği*, *Bedii*, *Katip Kasım* and *Şeyh Ferhat* neighborhoods complained to the sultan that the virtue of their wives was under threat. Some of the Muslims were attending to the entertainments organized by the non-Muslim's houses, and after drinking much, they used to harass the women on their way to the bathhouses. They used to wait in front of the bathhouses and sexually harass these women. They even dared to enter a bathhouse and rape a woman. Evliya Çelebi also told this incident while he was counting the titles of the plays of Hasanzade Mehmet Çelebi in the 17th century. One of the plays depicted that "Civan Nigar, a young girl, on entering a bath, was violated by *Gazi Boşnak*. Karagöz, tied by his phallus, is dragged out of the bath naked."⁴⁷⁰ Karagöz was a proper criminal even if he has nothing to do with entering the bathhouse.

Bassano⁴⁷¹ states that he personally saw some Turks who had drunk in the bathhouses, and started yelling and misbehaving in the streets after they came out

⁴⁶⁷ Mantran, *16. ve 17. Yüzyılda İstanbul'da Gündelik Hayat*, 218.

⁴⁶⁸ Thévenot also conveys that in the women's bathhouses, only the women could work. No matter his religion, a man was punished with a death penalty in case of entering the women's bathhouses. Thévenot, *Thévenot Seyahatnamesi (1655-1656)*, 66-68.

⁴⁶⁹ Sevensgil, *İstanbul Nasıl Eğleniyordu?*, 33.

⁴⁷⁰ And, *Karagoz: Turkish Shadow Theatre*, 70.

⁴⁷¹ Bassano, *Kanuni Dönemi Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda Gündelik Hayat*, 19-21.

of the bathhouses. The story of *Hamam* (The Bathhouse) play is exactly what Mantran and Evliya Çelebi tells about the indecent bathhouses of the Ottoman society. In the play, Hacivat manages the bathhouse at the will of Çelebi, thereafter, the figures of the Karagöz plays enter into the bathhouse from the women's side. Karagöz tries many times to enter the bathhouse but he cannot succeed to do, so that finally he brings a ladder to look through the top window, but he falls into the bathhouse. It was said that Karagöz takes it as offense because he is the only one, who is not accepted to enter the bathhouse. At the end of the play, *Tuzsuz Deli Bekir* intervenes the situation but only punishes Karagöz.

In the Karagöz plays, the most famous braggart is *Tuzsuz Deli Bekir* (*Unsalted Mad Bekir* or *Very Tasteless Lunatic Bekir*). *Tuzsuz* always speaks slang and Karagöz cannot understand him as usual. He occasionally threatens Karagöz but sometimes when the latter becomes angry, he shows his cowardice and runs away. His threats are by words rather than by actions. *Tuzsuz*, as being a drunkard, generally cannot recognize Karagöz at first sight, Karagöz always has to introduce himself. However, he generally enjoys Karagöz's stories. Karagöz also knows how to entertain him; for example, in *Salıncak* (The Swing) play, when Karagöz says that there is a discount in the price of *rakı*, *Tuzsuz* starts to laugh; in reverse case, he gets mad.

He always interferes when there is any kind of "immoral" or complicated situation. This character represents the authority. And says,

He is extremely proud of having murdered several people by his own, including his own children and family. He has unique methods of killing. He is fond of telling the details of these murders. The locals are so frightened by him so that, they obey all his orders without a question. One of his jokes is to pretend to cut off Karagöz's head [to rescue him from poverty]. Karagöz tries to avoid having his head cut off, *Tuzsuz* reproaches him by saying, "Would you begrudge such a rotten and worthless head from me?" Swaggering *Tuzsuz Deli Bekir*, who blusters and threatens, carries a wicked-looking sword and spreads terror in his wake.⁴⁷²

He generally shows up towards the end of the plays; however, there are also plays he is presented from the beginning, especially in the heart of the immoral situations. Although he is expected to punish the guilty at the end of the plays, he always forgives them. He says, "It is easy to get even with the one who acts in a bad manner; however, it is the maturity of one who can forgive" (*Abdal Bekçi* – The Stupid Watchman).⁴⁷³ He wears red and blue. In the classic plays, *Tuzsuz Deli Bekir*

⁴⁷² And, *Karagoz: Turkish Shadow Theatre*, 56.

⁴⁷³ *Tuzsuz*: "eden etmek her kişinin karidir; edene etmemek er kişinin karıdır"

is resembled to a Janissary. *Tuzsuz Deli Bekir* later represented the disturbance created by the Janissaries in İstanbul during the 18th and the first quarter of the 19th centuries.⁴⁷⁴

Despite he is depicted as the representation of the soldiers as the ruling class, and as the one who is expected to be on the proper side, he actively partakes in indecent or immoral situations. *Zenne(s)* are his partners or lovers indeed. In *Abdal Bekçi* (The Stupid Watchman), *Tuzsuz* employs Karagöz to watch his *Zenne* (women) called *Cemalifer* to avoid her meeting with other men. As it was indicated, *Tuzsuz* gets on well with *Zennes*. In the play of *Mandıra* (The Dairy), when Karagöz decides to get married with another woman after his wife left him, it is understood that his new wife is a prostitute actually, and meets *Tuzsuz* in Karagöz's house and then they go together to the dairy. Evliya Çelebi also mentions about the “*Eşnaf-ı mandıracıyan-ı yeniçeriyân*” (Janissary artisans of the dairy farms), and some of the dairy farms were being managed by the Janissaries. He also adds that they were like walking munitions and used to frighten the public.⁴⁷⁵ In *Meyhane* (The Tap House) play, *Tuzsuz Deli Bekir* is presented as the brother of *Bekri Mustafa* who drinks too much. *Bekri Mustafa*'s wife tells on him to his brother *Tuzsuz*, and *Tuzsuz* lead *Bekri* by the nose. Faroqhi⁴⁷⁶ gives some information of *Bekri Mustafa*. She says that under the reign of Murat IV (1623-1640), some storytellers were mentioning about a man highly addicted to wine, called *Bekri Mustafa*. Murat IV was known by his strict prohibition of alcohol and death executions of those who drink in İstanbul. *Bekri Mustafa*, being unaware that it was the sultan, met Murat IV during one of the sultan's regular incognito controls and invited him to drink wine. It was also known that Murat IV had tolerated him because of *Bekri Mustafa*'s frankly sweet talks. Then they started to meet regularly at nights.

Else, in *Ters Evlenme* (The Awry Marriage), Hacivat convince Karagöz that he is a marriageable girl actually, and plans to wed him to *Tuzsuz* to make him give up drinking too much by showing that when he is drunk he can even get married to Karagöz. Besides, in *Ortaklar* (The Partners) play, Karagöz's wife asks *Tuzsuz* to help by calling him as her brother-in-law, which means her sister is married with *Tuzsuz Deli Bekir*. However, it is only valid for that play. Besides, Sivayuşgil⁴⁷⁷

⁴⁷⁴ Kudret, Karagöz. Vol. I, 23.

⁴⁷⁵ Evliya Çelebi, *Evliya Çelebi Seyahatnamesi, 1. Kitap: İstanbul*, 244.

⁴⁷⁶ Faroqhi, *Osmanlı Kültürü ve Gündelik Yaşam*, 266.

⁴⁷⁷ Sivayuşgil, Karagöz, *Its History, Its Character Its Mystical and Satirical Spirit*, 188.

acquaints *Tuzsuz Deli Bekir* as a Janissary amongst the children. He also says that *Tuzsuz* seems strong but keeps down when Karagöz gets mad at him. If he represents the authority on the screen, this should be what the public had their minds about the authority at that time.

Another kind of bully is ***Külhanbeyi*** (Rowdy). According to Kudret⁴⁷⁸, it is presumed that he has shown up since the time of Abdülhamid II (1842-1918). He is a caricature of the *Tulumbacı(s)*⁴⁷⁹ or *Onikiler*⁴⁸⁰ (Twelve's). *Onikiler* was a gang headed by *Fehmi Pasha* who was actually a public officer. This group was highly influential in the late 19th century İstanbul and in the beginning of the 20th century.⁴⁸¹ However, Mantran⁴⁸² says that *Asesbaşı(s)*, who were subjected to the Janissary Agha, were responsible for the security of the cities. Cities were left in darkness to prevent the disorder on the streets at night. It was forbidden to go out at night but if it was necessary, a beacon at hand had to be carried. The violators were punished with enforced labor. They were handed to bathhouse owners, who forced these violators to carry woods to the furnace ("*Külhan*" in Turkish) until the morning. When they were freed, because their dresses smudged with ashes ("*kül*" in Turkish), anyone could understand that they were punished last night. Therefore, these people were named as *Külhanbeyi*, which pejoratively meant the master of the furnace.



Figure 30
Külhanbeyi
by Katip
Salih

On the other hand, Tanilli⁴⁸³ mentions about *Külhanbeyi* as parentless and deprived person, who had been raised with the other parentless children in the furnace of the bathhouses. These people could be the members of different groups, and used to make a verbal agreement for joining those groups. They used to speak

⁴⁷⁸ Kudret, *Karagöz*. Vol. I, 23. Also see: And, *Karagöz: Turkish Shadow Theatre*.

⁴⁷⁹ (formerly) member of a fire brigade between the years of 1720 and 1826

⁴⁸⁰ Ahmet Dinç, "Ata Mirası Mafya," (*Aksiyon Online*. April 8, 2000, accessed August 7, 2012) available from <http://www.aksiyon.com.tr/aksiyon/haber-6054-34-ata-mirasi-mafya.html> For further information: Sermet Muhtar Alus, *Onikiler* (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 1999).

⁴⁸¹ Ahmet Rasim, *Muharrir bu ya! (1865-1932)* (Ankara: Milli Eğitim Basımevi, 1969), 69

⁴⁸² Mantran, *16. ve 17. Yüzyılda İstanbul'da Gündelik Hayat*, 91.

⁴⁸³ Server Tanilli, "Geçen Yüzyılda İstanbul'da Külhanbeyleri ve Kabadayılar." In *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda Yaşamak: Toplumsallık Biçimleri ve Cemaatlerarası İlişkiler (18. ve 20. Yüzyıllar)*, by François Geogon, & Paul Dumont, ed. Can Belge, translated by Maide Selen (İstanbul: İletişim, 2011).

a kind of slang; for example, “Çamur” (Mud) used to mean “Ziyafet” (Feast)⁴⁸⁴, “Sucuk” (Soujouk) used to mean “Zengin” (Rich person). Kùlhanbeyi(s) used to eat together and share whatever they had got during the daytime; besides, they used to have a leader, who was called “Baba” (Father). Tanilli also says that at first they were differentiated from the bullies because they had rules, were helping people, protecting the neighborhoods of their bathhouses and not bearing weapons but punishing people, whom they thought to be faulty, only by beating. However, later on, when they started to carry weapons and attack people for any reason, the system of Kùlhanbeyi(s) was distorted. In the early 20th century, the state authority took extensive measures against Kùlhanbeyi(s),⁴⁸⁵ and then the term came to mean vagabonds. *Kùlhanbeyi*, which is translated into English as Rowdy, seen often in the Karagöz plays. Rather after the reign of Abdùlhamit II, they should have been added to Karagöz plays just before the abolishment of the Janissary Hearths.



Figure 31 Zeybek(s).
The first one is from
the VNTM, the
second one is from
Siyavuşgil

Efe/Zeybek (Hector) is another braggart who is the headliner of the banditry legends. He does not act as drunkard but his appearance makes people obey him; he is in a large frame. He tries to restore discipline in the neighborhood all by himself, and is usually a man of good intentions. For example, he is the one who can deal with *Kanlı Nigar* (The Bloody Nigar). Bloody Nigar invites Hacivat, Karagöz, *Çelebi* (*Hercai Menekşe* - Viola), *Sarhoş* - Drunk (*Dayı Manca* - Uncle Manca), Arab (*Mercan Ağa* - Agha the Coral) and *Beberuhi* home for entertainment but she robs them and throws them naked. When they are naked outside and hoping for a help, *Zeybek* comes but cannot recognize them; even, cannot decide whether they are human beings or not until only Hacivat speaks and tells what Bloody *Nigar* did to them.

However, he can also be found in some indecent situations. *Bursa Leylası* (*Leyla of Bursa*) is a short version of *Abdal Bekçi* (The Stupid Watchman) play. *Zeybek in Bursa Leylası* (*Leyla of Bursa*) replaces *Tuzsuz in Abdal Bekçi*. A prostitute *Zenne* is,

⁴⁸⁴ Tanilli says that, at that time in İstanbul, when it rained, the streets used to get muddy, the Kùlhani(s), used to sweep the mud and get them together in the middle of the streets. Only the people from military class and the state officials used to own horse cart wagons. While they were passing on the streets, those Kùlhani(s) used to ask them money; in case that they did not give, they used to sweep the mud towards the wagon, so the rich person took a mud bath. Therefore, the mud meant a feast for the Kùlhanbeyi(s). *Ibid.*, 143.

⁴⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, 145

this time, the partner of *Zeybek*. Alternatively, in *Orman* (The Forest) play, all the *Zeybek(s)* are depicted as bandits who rob *Tiryaki* (Opium Addict), the Turk, the Armenian, the White Arab and the Jew by kidnapping them to forest. However, Karagöz, who was told by *Zeybek(s)* to call them when a rich person happen to come to the coffeehouse he was working, primarily got it enough and calls *Tuzsuz* to come to deal with *Zeybek(s)*. *Tuzsuz* and his other roughneck friends namely *Deki Tuzsuz* (Say Tuzsuz), *Bekri Veli* (Early Veli), *Sakallı Deli* (Bearded Lunatic), *Humhum Ali* (Ali who speaks through his nose), *Hovarda Çakır* (Rascal the Colored-Eyes), *Kırmızı Suratlı Bakır* (Copper the Red Face), *Burunsuz Mehmet* (Noseless Mehmet), *Çopur Hasan* (Hasan the Pockmark), *Cingöz Mustafa* (Wily Mustafa) show up. For the first time, *Zeybek(s)* and the Roughnecks come up against each other but *Tuzsuz* and his friends defeat *Zeybek(s)*.

As a piece of information, Faroqhi⁴⁸⁶ states that when the governors of the distant districts were left to protect their lands on their own especially due to the central budget cuts, they hired paid and armed soldiers. Those young Muslim soldiers, generally called as “*Levent*,” were temporarily hired. When the mission was completed, they were unwilling to return to their villages and work for the cavalryman. Those who were temporary and who were permanent soldiers were in conflict during the 17th century. As those fearless handsome young boys, namely, *Levent’s* gangs acted mercilessly, they had more chance to be hired by a governor due to that fame they had developed. They were high in number in the 17th century. These members, who cannot find a proper military job after the temporary employment, earned their life through looting and robbery. The name for “*Hayduk*” to indicate these people, later on turned into “*Haydu*” in Turkish. The confrontation of *Tuzsuz* and his friends with *Zeybek(s)* could be based on to this conflict, if *Tuzsuz Deli Bekir* is to be taken as the symbol of the Janissaries.

Related with the story of *Orman* (The Forest) play, which is about the robbery of *Zeybek(s)*, Ralamb notes that (1657-1658) between İstanbul and Bulgaria there were two main forests; one was called “*Fakih*,” the other one was called “*Dableti Koak*”. The latter one was at two-day distance from İstanbul. In these forests, bandits used to waylay people on horseback or foot, and rob them. Ten days before Ralamb’s arrival to the area, the bandits had waylaid 30 Turkish people and killed 12 of them.⁴⁸⁷

⁴⁸⁶ Faroqhi, *Osmanlı Kültürü ve Gündelik Yaşam*, 71-72.

⁴⁸⁷ Ralamb, *İstanbul'a Bir Yolculuk 1657-1658*, 37.

Artisans: The Entertaining Ones

Like all performers, *Çengi*(s) and *Köçek*(s) had their own *kol*(s) (Branches) according to the *Fütüvvetname* written in the beginning of the 16th century. *Kol* means a team or a company. Those branches included up to 200 performers consisted of the illusionists, acrobats, fire-performers and dancers.⁴⁸⁸



Figure 32 An Acrobat and the Musicians are from the Metin And Collection, Çengi by Metin Özlen

Evliya Çelebi⁴⁸⁹ mentioned about twelve branches in the 17th century, under the category of the entertainers and comedians. The “*Parpul*” Branch was composed of 300 people who were singers, instrument players, dancing girls and gypsies from *Balat*. The *Ahmed* Branch is also composed of 300 people who were dancing boys from *Balat* too. The *Şehiroğlanı Kapıcıoğlu Osman* Branch was composed of 400 people who were dancing boys but none of them as Gypsy. The *Servi* Branch was composed of the Gypsies, Greeks, Armenians and the Jews. The *Baba Nazlı* Branch was composed of dancing boys and the Gypsies; they were very famous in mimicking and dancing. The boys were performing a Persian kind of dance and even the sultan knew them. The *Zümrüd* Branch was composed of 300 people who were the Greeks and the Armenians from *Yedikule*, *Narlıkapı* and *Sulu* Monastery, and the urbanite boys; they were good at imitating the bagel seller, racketeer and the silver seeker Greeks. Besides, the dancing boys had many followers, who were stripped of their possessions for their love of them. The *Çelebi* Branch was composed of 200 people who were dancing boys and girls, and known by Murad IV too. The *Akide* Branch was composed of poets, scribes, gentle singers and travelers, however, they were performing mimic and playing instruments, which were appreciated much. They were known by the play of Garden, and Georgian Gardener mimics. The *Cevahir* Branch was composed of 200 people who were goldsmith and

⁴⁸⁸ Ersoy, *Osmanlı'da Toplumsal Cinsiyet Bağlamında Köçekler, Çengiler*, 51-52.

⁴⁸⁹ Evliya Çelebi, *Evliya Çelebi Seyahatnamesi'nden Seçmeler*, 209-213.

jeweler Greeks, and Armenians; they were good at mimicking and dancing; especially, the young Jewish boys were famous for dancing. The *Patakoğlu* Branch was composed of 300 people who were only the Jews; they were skilled in music. *Haşota* Branch was composed of 105 people who were also exclusively Jews; they were known by their young dancing boys. The last Branch, the *Samurkaş* Branch, was composed of 200 people who were also exclusively Jews too. They were very skillful in acrobatics. Only the Jewish Branches were highly hostile towards the Gypsies.

The most common entertainers in Karagöz plays are the dancers namely the *Köçek*(s) and the *Çengi*(s). **Köçek** (Dancing Boy) was seen in *Ağalık* (The Agha), *Meyhane* (The Tap House), *Sünnet* (The Circumcision) and *Ters Evlenme* (The Awry Marriage) plays. **Çengi** (Dancing Girl) is thought to be an indecent woman. In *Bahçe* (The Garden), Karagöz disguises himself as *Çengi* to enter the garden that he was not accepted; however, being unsuccessful in this, he insults the head women of the *Çengi*(s) as “hackneyed fidgety broad.” In *Hamam* (The Bathhouse) play, *Salkım İnci* and *Şallı Natır*, having a lesbian affair, are two well-known *Çengi*(s) of the Karagöz Plays. They generally show up at weddings. They were in love actually but for a reason they had broken up and Hacivat tries to reconcile them (to have them work peacefully in the bathhouse he is going to manage). *Kız Pempe* (Girly Pink) is another one presented in *Leyla & Mecnun* play. Accordingly, *Çengi* means a woman whose profession is dancing with the music. On the other hand, *Köçek* means the careless one who acts flippantly, and a man dressed in women's clothes dancing like a *Çengi*.⁴⁹⁰

In the Ottoman Empire, homosexual relationship was common. Bardakçı gives an example of an advice, which was probably from the *Bahname* of *Kâtibzade Mehmed Refi*, on the sexuality and the medicine in the 16th or the 17th century. Refi states, “Since male body is hot and the female body is cold, in summers with women whereas in winters with men one has to sleep if he wants to be healthy”.⁴⁹¹ Therefore, homosexual relationships were common and culturally accepted as “normal” but officially decriminalized only in 1857. The relations between women and men had always been under strict control in the Ottoman society. The man is identified with the “outside”, the public space whereas, the woman with the

⁴⁹⁰ Şeyma Ersoy, "Osmanlı'da Toplumsal Cinsiyet Bağlamında Köçekler, Çengiler" (M.S. Thesis, İstanbul: İstanbul Technical University, 2007), 63.

⁴⁹¹ Murat Bardakçı, *Osmanlı'da Seks, Sarayda Gece Dersleri*, Edited by H. Öztoprak (İstanbul: İnkılap Kitapevi, 2009), 6, translation belongs to author (H.B. 2013)

“inside”, the private and domestic space at the households. Even the separation of the locations in the houses as *Haremlik* and *Selamlık* supported this division.⁴⁹² Besides, men had more rights than women, and had the right of marrying more than one woman, the occurrences which were indicated as very rare by the travelers, Faroqhi⁴⁹³ and Mantran.⁴⁹⁴

Sevengil⁴⁹⁵ also divides male dancers into two: *Köçek(s)*, who were dancing boys, and *Tavşan Oğlanları* (Rabbit Boys). He states that the dancing boys of that time were as famous as the movie stars of own times. They had many lovers dying for them. Among them, there were Rums, Jews, Copts and Muslims, but the Jews were in the majority. They were generally working in taverns and coffeehouses.⁴⁹⁶ Because bathhouses were the only public places women could have access, they used to organize special meetings at homes for socializing. It was in those meetings, *Çengi(s)* were dancing in contrast to the *Köçek(s)* dancing at coffeehouses and taverns. A *Çengi Kol* (Branch of women dancers) was composed of twelve women two of whom were the head and her assistant.⁴⁹⁷

Sevengil⁴⁹⁸ informs that the houses of the heads were the solid centers of entertainment. Beautiful wanton girls used to gather in these houses. Smart young boys and rich old men were trying to get into those houses, and sometimes they could manage. Men rarely could enter into those places because most of the dancing girls were also lesbians as the dancing boys were gays. Some of them served for the rich madams and were covertly in love with these madams. Generally, they had been known but not mentioned. However, some of the *Çengi(s)* did not need to hide themselves and do their jobs overtly.

The play of *Kanlı Nigar* (The Bloody Nigar) has been performed since the 16th century and was re-interpreted for the several times. Probably this Bloody *Nigar* was representing the head of a *Çengi Kol* because there were several women living in the same house with *Nigar*. They invite men to the home but treat them badly and rob them before throwing them out; even, *Tuzsuz Deli Bekir* cannot avoid of

⁴⁹² Ersoy, Osmanlı'da Toplumsal Cinsiyet Bağlamında Köçekler, Çengiler, 80.

⁴⁹³ Faroqhi, *Osmanlı Kültürü ve Gündelik Yaşam*, 130.

⁴⁹⁴ Mantran, *16. ve 17. Yüzyılda İstanbul'da Gündelik Hayat*, 155-175.

⁴⁹⁵ Sevengil, *İstanbul Nasıl Eğleniyordu?*, 71-74.

⁴⁹⁶ And, *Başlangıcından 1983'e Türk Tiyatro Tarihi*, 30.

⁴⁹⁷ Sevengil, *İstanbul Nasıl Eğleniyordu?*, 71-74.

⁴⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, 71-74.

being robbed and beaten. The girls and *Nigar* were also depicted as careless and cheerful but very attractive to the men of the Karagöz plays.

Hokkabaz (Illusionist) takes role only in *Sünnet* (The Circumcision) play to entertain Karagöz who is circumcised. He is Jewish and his name is given as *Son of Yasef*.

Canbaz (Acrobat): They are only seen in *Canbazlar* (The Acrobats) play, Karagöz is employed in a fair belonging to *Çelebi* (Gentleman). Karagöz employed as a clown but he decided to do acrobatics. Then he falls from high. That is the only play that Karagöz dies and the Gypsy community comes to hold his funeral. Many acrobats were performing many different shows in the Ottoman entertainment life. Some of them used to swallow swords or jump in through the small circles by running.⁴⁹⁹ Furthermore, Evliya Çelebi⁵⁰⁰ mentions about Acrobats in detail; he says that every fortieth year, the wire walkers used to meet in *Kalecik*, the Creek of *Istanoz*, and on the rocks of the Castle of *Gediz* in Anatolia to test and challenge each other. They were generally binding strong Frankish tightropes between the high rocks, and pelts were being bedded around the ropes on the side of the rocks; besides, there were armed men near each rock for protecting the wire/tightrope from any sabotage.

Curcunbaz, who were the dancing and clowning performers, were wearing masks and a point-hat.⁵⁰¹ He is another character seen in the plays like *Ağalık* (The Agha) and *Sünnet* (The Circumcision).

Kavuklu and Pişekâr: they are the main characters of *Ortaoyunu*⁵⁰², which means the eulogy show in the Ottoman culture and the entertainment life. In *Sünnet* (The Circumcision) play, they come to entertain Karagöz; *Pişekâr* tells a story that he tried to be polite in manners in one of a well-known person's house; however, he was rather ridiculed. After a while, Karagöz says Hacivat, "come Hacivat, shut their mouths, I got bored".

⁴⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, 69

⁵⁰⁰ Evliya Çelebi, *Evliya Çelebi Seyahatnamesi'nden Seçmeler*, 115-118.

⁵⁰¹ Özdemir, Nutku. "Curcunbaz" (*Tiyatro Terimleri*, 1998, accessed August 9, 2012) available from <http://tiyatro.terimleri.com/Curcunabaz.html>

⁵⁰² For detailed information, see: And, *Geleneksel Türk Tiyatrosu (Kukla - Karagöz - Ortaoyunu)*

Hayali (Karagöz Performers): the only play he shows up is *Sünnet* (The Circumcision) again. *Hayali* earns 500 piasters for his performing in the play. For that performance, it is understood that smaller Karagöz and Hacivat were prepared and played in front of Karagöz. Karagöz always interferes from bed to that smaller Karagöz and encourages him to riposte, not to be outdone, and reply quick to smaller Hacivat. Hayali Kör Hasanzade Mehmet Çelebi was first to try such kind of performance as Evliya Çelebi⁵⁰³ mentions; later, Katip Salih had also tried performing a Karagöz play within the Karagöz play in the 19th century.

Other Types as a Part of Life

Fools and Handicapped

Those are Stuttering, *Humhum* (one who speaks through his nose), Fool, and Hashish-addict. They were rarely seen in the plays.

The fools or the madmen are only seen in *Tımarhane* (The Madhouse) play. Those three mad ones talk about the inanimate beings as if they are alive. At the end, having listened to them too much, Karagöz also gets mad. Bassano⁵⁰⁴ says that, insanity is sacred for the Turkish people. If one gets mad, s/he is accepted as a saint because the Turks believe that those people can contact with the other realm, see hallucinations, and become capable of telling the truth. This is issued in the play of *Tımarhane* (The Madhouse), the details of which to be mentioned later. Besides, he says that if a Christian gets mad, they accept him/her as a Turk (Muslim) and thinks that God deliberately made him mad because he was Christian (believing in wrong religion).⁵⁰⁵

It is better to mention about the perception of the madness in the Ottoman Empire. "The old and traditional name in Turkish is "*deli*," and the new and scientific name is "*akıl hastası*." The meaning of *deli* is 'mad' and the meaning of *akıl hastası* is *mentally ill*." ⁵⁰⁶ Such a kind of understanding by defining, researching, categorizing, ordering insanity and transforming it to the borders of pre-defined concepts, such as "normal" was originated in modernity, essence of which is

⁵⁰³ Evliya Çelebi, *Evliya Çelebi Seyahatnamesi'nden Seçmeler*, 162-165.

⁵⁰⁴ Bassano, *Kanuni Dönemi Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda Gündelik Hayat*, 83-84.

⁵⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, 83-84.

⁵⁰⁶ Meltem Narter, "The Change in the Daily Knowledge of Madness in Turkey," *Journal for the Theory of Social Behaviour* IV, no. 36 (2006): 410. Italics belongs to the author (H.B. 2012).

Enframing. In the same context, Foucault who was known by his comprehensive work on madness and civilization in the age of reason analyzes the transformations of “madness” that was “an undifferentiated experience”⁵⁰⁷ before the late 18th century Europe into the “mental illness” that differentiated from and defined in reference to reason by the modernity. He says,

The constitution of madness as a mental illness, at the end of the eighteenth century, affords the evidence of a broken dialogue, posits the separation as already effected, and thrusts into oblivion all those stammered, imperfect words without fixed syntax in which the exchange between madness and reason was made.⁵⁰⁸

Besides, Foucault says that insanity should be considered in periodicity and in relativity. Before it came to mean a weakness to be treated differently in different periods by isolating from the society, the madman was understood as the one possessing a kind of forbidden knowledge and having an ability to speak truth.

In the same manner, Narter⁵⁰⁹ says that madness was not understood as an illness to be isolated in the Ottoman society. The madhouses, or more officially treatment centers, were placed in the center of the settlements where the economic and social interactions were high; this explains why Karagöz tolerates *Beberuhi* for his nonsense speeches because he is accepted as a half-lunatic. The mentally ill people in the modern sense were not treated badly. She also says that besides hospitals, there were also the dervish lodges (“*tekke*” in Turkish), trying to solve mental problems by suggestions. She adds,

In these traditional structures, mad people have never been externalized or considered aliens. On the contrary, it has always been of interest to all civilizations in Anatolia that mad people took part in daily practices although they differed from others in some ways. Conceived in this way, madness was understood to be a quality of psyche that could only be healed by doctors.⁵¹⁰

Likewise, Hacivat always introduces Karagöz to others as mad, lunatic or deranged in the conversations with the others. Such an attitude towards the mad ones is also in close relation with the grotesque comprehension of the world as it was in middle age comic culture, in referring to Bakhtin. Madness was a part of life.

⁵⁰⁷ Preface to Michel Foucault by Michel Foucault, *Madness and Civilization on a History of Insanity in the Age of Reason*, Translated by Richard Howard (New York: Vintage Books, 1988), IX.

⁵⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, X.

⁵⁰⁹ Narter, "The Change in the Daily Knowledge of Madness in Turkey," 410.

⁵¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 417-420.



Figure 33 *Deliler* (the Mads) from the Metin And Collection

The information Evliya Çelebi⁵¹¹ gives about the madhouses is more compatible with the play of *Tımarhane* (The Madhouse). Evliya states that throughout the spring, those who fell in hopeless love are brought by the court decision to *Edirne Madhouses*. They are clamped with shiny silver or golden chains on their necks, and are kept in beds until they get well. Some of them talk nonsense while looking at the fountains and the ponds. If a visitor brings flowers, the mad ones either eat them, or throw them; some of them look at the trees in the garden and say, “*ah ha ha hil hop pih poha pih poh*” (no meaning in either Turkish or any other language). While those hopeless lovers are kept in madhouses, the informed women for whom the young men got mad come and visit the madhouses, which is the way of healing for them. It was thought that if an insane look at a beauty, he comes to his senses. This also explains that the doctor makes patients listen to good music, look at beautiful faces, listen to the sound of a river and beautiful voices for healing. Since the reign of Bayezid I, a group of musicians used to come and play at *Bayezid Han Madhouse* three times a week to heal hopeless lovers and the other mad. Evliya also says that the music is the nutrition of the soul (Music heals the soul). In this play called *Tımarhane* (The Madhouse), A *Zenne* comes and covertly flirts with mad Karagöz, which gets him to his senses; on the other hand, this *Zenne* is also representing those women coming to visit their hopeless lovers. Moreover in a play called *Karagöz'ün Esrar İçip Deli Olması* (Karagöz Gets Mad by Smoking Joint) Karagöz says nonsense words and bring irrelevant issues together as if they are related (for the statements of Karagöz *vide* page: 61).

Supernatural Ones

Magicians: they show up in two plays: *Canbazlar* (The Acrobats) and *Ortaklar* (The Partners). In the first play, Karagöz tells the magician that he is a poor man belonging to the Gypsy community, and wants her to teach him some skills. The magician spits in Karagöz's mouth, which means passing her skills to him. Then Karagöz finds himself speaking with the jinni.

⁵¹¹ Evliya Çelebi, *Evliya Çelebi Seyahatnamesi'nden Seçmeler*, 237-238.



Figure 35 Cazu(s). The first one is from Metin And Collection, the second one by Ragıp Tuğtekin. In the second figure, the one above is *Azraka Banu*, the one below is *Nekkare Cazu*

Cazu (Witch): One of the plays is directly related to them, which is *Cazular* (The Witches). The other play they show up is *Leyla & Mecnun*. In *Cazular* (The Witches), *Çelebi* and *Zenne*, having formerly been in love, engage in a fight. They call their grandmas who are the witches indeed (the names are *Azraka Banu* and *Nakayı*). Then, the witches turn one of them into an awkward creature and the other into a donkey. Karagöz watches everything from the window. After the witches left, he comes and makes fun of *Çelebi* and *Zenne*; rides one of them and beats the other. Hacivat warns Karagöz and tells him to stop saying that there is no kind of donkey with two legs.

However, Karagöz keeps going and says Hacivat that he also has two legs. (Meaning that Hacivat is also a two-legged donkey) When *Çelebi* and *Zenne* reconcile and regret for what they have done, they recall their grandmas and ask them to turn them into their original forms. They also complain about Karagöz, and then the witches transform Karagöz into a donkey. Hacivat comes and tries to help Karagöz but the witches also transform him into a goat. Hacivat prays with absurd words and console himself by saying that at least he became a holy animal such as a goat.

While writing about women of the Ottomans, Bassano⁵¹² says that they were good at magic, sorcery and the evil eye. He also says that there were people having a snake on their neck, which were believed to protect against curses. The Turks believed

in the curse of the evil eye. They hanged head bones of a dead horse or a donkey to the roof of their houses, or to the closer trees to protect themselves.⁵¹³ The mother of Karagöz; Bok-Ana (Mother-Crap) is also depicted as a witch. When she is called in *Ferhat & Şirin* play, she says, “Bring my snake rod (*Yılan Asa*) my snake crest/topknot (*Yılan Hotozu*) and die chaser (*Lokma Çanağı*)!”



Figure 34 Karagöz the donkey, Hacivat the goat, from Metin And

⁵¹² Bassano, *Kanuni Dönemi Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda Gündelik Hayat*, 25.

⁵¹³ *Ibid.*, 159.

Jinni: *Cazular* (The Witches), *Kanlı Kavak* (The Bloody Poplar), *Mal Çıkarma* (Treasure Hunt), *Yazıcı* (The Scribe) are the plays the jinni is seen. The most known one is seen in *Kanlı Kavak* (The Bloody Poplar). Karagöz is possessed by the elf of the Poplar because he tries to cut the tree down. Of course, Hacivat comes to rescue Karagöz but he is also possessed by the elf.

Animals as Characters

Donkey: It is treated like a friend. It has seen in *Bahçe* (The Garden), *Büyük Evlenme* (The Great Wedding), *Ferhat & Şirin* and *Tahmis* (The Coffee Grinders) plays. For example, in *Ferhat & Şirin* play, the wife of Karagöz answers the question where the donkey is as it is making vegetable stuff (“*dolma dolduruyor*” in Turkish) in the kitchen. In another play called *Tahmis* (The Coffee Grinders), Karagöz calls the donkey as “my brother.” In

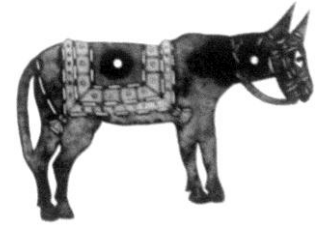


Figure 36 Karagöz's donkey by Hayali Nazif

Büyük Evlenme (The Great Wedding) play, a donkey is included in the dowry besides other animals, such as sheep, camel, cow, pig, horse, monkey and bear.

At the time of Murat IV, the strength games were popular; it was said that Murad IV was able to cut a donkey into two pieces with a one-sword blow.⁵¹⁴ In the play of *Tahmis* (The Coffee Grinders), when Karagöz's donkey cannot carry both Hacivat and Karagöz, it cracks into two pieces. Immediately, Karagöz takes it to stapler by the advice of Hacivat; however, stapler staples it inversely, then Karagöz decides to use the donkey as binoculars. Maybe, it was satirizing the strict regulations of Murat IV. Whatever he does, the public finds another way to escape from his regulations; if he closes the coffeehouses and the taverns, and bans the tobacco, which corresponds to cutting their donkey in two with his excessive power; they would find another way to divert them covertly, which corresponds to using the donkey as binoculars. Wrong-stapled donkey might also be meant to criticize severe punishments.

Snakes: Generally, they do not speak, they are used as ornaments; however, in *Ferhat & Şirin* play, Karagöz confronts a snake while he is on the road to *Samakol*⁵¹⁵ He plans to find good quality iron to forge a knife for *Ferhat* to defeat

⁵¹⁴ Sevengil, *İstanbul Nasıl Eğleniyordu?*, 40.

⁵¹⁵ As mentioned before, Samokov – Самоков: is a town in Sofia Province in the southwest of Bulgaria, well known by iron forging at those times.

the Lion. The snake says that Karagöz's donkey owes him money; afterwards, the snake takes the head of his donkey, and the donkey dies. Besides, as it was stated above, witches are very fond of snakes.

Thévenot⁵¹⁶ notes that Turks consider some animals as sacred in accord with the Islamic beliefs. Those are the camel (of Prophet Saleh), the sheep (of Prophet Ibrahim), the cow (of Prophet Moses), the ant (of Prophet Suleiman), the Parrot (of Queen of Sheba), the donkey (of Prophet Ezra), the whale (of Prophet Jonah), and the dog named “*kitmir*” (the dog of the Seven Sleepers). In *Yalova Sefası* (A Pleasure Trip to Yalova), Karagöz introduces his dog as his friend. Besides, people were feeding the street cats and dogs; even, some of the people used to leave a part of their money for the street animals.⁵¹⁷ He also mentions about the animals the Turks avoid, those are pork meat, bristle in shoe making, frog, turtle and snail products. Dogs were accepted as revolting (*Mekruh*), on the contrary, the Turks loved the cats and keep them close.⁵¹⁸



31. A Camel
(a composite figure)

Figure 37
Composite Camel
from Metin And

Basic Features of the Plays Reflecting the Ottoman Culture

Good vs. Bad: Shifty Sides

It can be said that the good and the bad sides are not strictly defined. Both Hacivat and Karagöz switch sides in the plays. For example in *Ferhad & Şirin* play, both are at the same side that can be named the “good side” against *Şirin*'s cruel mother. Furthermore, in *Cincilik* (Incantation) and *Hain Kahya* (The Traitor Butler) plays, Karagöz tries to unite the lovers against the will of their parents. He succeeds at the end. As it is seen in *Büyük Evlenme* (The Great Wedding) play, Hacivat can switch to “bad side” and cheat on Karagöz. He makes Karagöz believe that Karagöz is married to his new wife for 9.5 months and the boy just born belongs to him. However, Sevin⁵¹⁹ makes the connection between the Turkish and the Balinese Shadow Theaters. He resembles Hacivat to *Twalen* and Karagöz to *Dalem*. *Twalen* is dignified, serious, cultivated and smart, and always levels; tells the truth. Hacivat

⁵¹⁶ Thévenot, *Thévenot Seyahatnamesi (1655-1656)*, 81.

⁵¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 97.

⁵¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 99.

⁵¹⁹ Sevin, *Türk Gölge Oyunu*, 20.

is a pilgrim at first; he is also dignified and serious, besides, he does not like annoying jokes and slang. He always gives good advice to Karagöz but Karagöz tricks him. Karagöz represents artifice and deceit in contrast to Hacivat.⁵²⁰ Though, one cannot say that it is entirely true. Hacivat also socks away the money, even if they have worked together. For example, in the dialog section of *Yazıcı* (The Scribe) play, Karagöz plays a shrill pipe and Hacivat sings songs to entertain people; nevertheless, Hacivat takes all the money and runs. In another dialog section (*Yalova Sefası – A Pleasure Trip to Yalova*), when he understands that Karagöz's wife made stuff with meat, he continuously lead Karagöz into temptation that only the two would eat the stuff, but Karagöz does not pay heed to Hacivat. In addition, Hacivat also enters secretly to the Jar of *Zenne* to go with her to *Yalova*. Whenever Karagöz also wants to get in, *Zenne* says, “not yet!”

As well, *Zennes* are generally placed into the “bad side”. However, *Tuzsuz Deli Bekir* has no side seemingly despite that he is the one people are most scared. He, having relationships with those so called indecent *Zennes*, is a drunkard. Moreover, he talks about himself that he has killed 999 people including his own family, which is odd if one thinks that murder is not acceptable in the *real life*. *Zeybek*, on the other hand, can be a bandit and rob people in *Orman* (The Forest) play. Conversely, he is the one who deals with *Kanlı Nigar* (The Bloody Nigar).

Thus, there are no obvious sides or people as good and bad. It is probably related to the fact that the characteristics of Karagöz are epic rather than dramatic. The plays do not allow the gazers to identify themselves with any of the characters.

Language as Boloney

To differentiate tragedy from comedy, Aristotle explains the importance of the language in the tragedies, which have to be shaped in opposition the language of the comedy, he says,

... The Diction becomes distinguished and non-prosaic by the use of unfamiliar terms, i. e. strange words, metaphors, lengthened forms, and everything that deviates from the ordinary modes of speech. -But a whole statement in such terms will be either a riddle or a barbarism⁵²¹, a riddle, if made up of metaphors, a barbarism, if made up of strange words. The very nature indeed of a riddle is this, to describe a fact in an impossible

⁵²⁰ *Ibid.*, 20.

⁵²¹ By “barbarism,” “strangeness” and “oddness” was meant. Aristoteles, *Poietika (şir sanatı üzerine)*, 124.

combination of words (which cannot be done with the real names for things, but can be with their metaphorical substitutes); e.g., 'I saw a man glue brass on another with fire' and the like. The corresponding use of strange words results in a barbarism. -A certain admixture, accordingly, of unfamiliar terms is necessary. These, the strange word, the metaphor, the ornamental equivalent, etc., will save the language from seeming mean and prosaic, while the ordinary words in it will secure the requisite clearness.⁵²²

Metin And⁵²³ also sufficiently explains the role of language in Karagöz plays. He says, "As it is in the plays of leading contemporary writers like Becket, Ionesco, Adamov, Schéhade, Vauthier, Tardieu, Punget, Pinter, Gheldrode, and Arrabal..." Rather than being a means of communication, language becomes a barrier, a wall between the actors. Hence, language turns into an instrument of torture, a rack. Rather than being subjected to serve people, people become subjected to serve the language. The essence of language defined as a meaningful system by Metin And is corrupted and spoiled. Boloney of the language becomes a subject matter itself. This is how language functions in Karagöz and *Ortaoyunu* plays.⁵²⁴

Characters are victimized, sometimes even insulted because of their dialects and speech defects. Rather than being a medium of communication or a medium to tell a story, language is treated as the source of laughter in itself. "Karagöz coins words and names out of quasi-meaningless sounds, based on free association, verbal anarchy, a confusion of non-words, and empty phrases."⁵²⁵

Metin And also indicates that rational language is almost absent. Hacivat speaks the Ottoman-Turkish language, which is a kind of a Turkish language mixed with Persian and Arabic words that Karagöz never understands. However, in the beginning of the plays, Karagöz speaks as almost same as Hacivat does. Sevin⁵²⁶ states that the authors, who argue that Hacivat speaks the Ottoman Turkish in contrast to Karagöz speaking pure Turkish, miss a point. For him, the most eligible and favorite style of speaking was that of Hacivat in the golden ages of Karagöz in the Ottoman Empire. He probably thinks that denying such a fact means analyzing yesterday with today's glasses. In addition, at the beginning of *Büyük Evlenme* (The Great Wedding) play, Hacivat inquires after Karagöz with a language that is full of

⁵²² Aristotle, *On The Art of Poetry*, Translated by Ingram Bywater (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1920), 75-76.

⁵²³ And, *Geleneksel Türk Tiyatrosu (Kukla - Karagöz - Ortaoyunu)*, 338.

⁵²⁴ *Ibid.*, 339.

⁵²⁵ And, *Karagoz: Turkish Shadow Theatre*, 50.

⁵²⁶ Sevin, *Türk Gölge Oyunu*, 46.

Persian words. Karagöz does not understand. When Hacivat asks the same questions in a clear style, Karagöz understands and asks Hacivat why he does not speak in this way before. On the other hand, Hacivat says Karagöz in *Kanlı Kavak* (The Bloody Poplar) play, “you even cannot speak your mother tongue: Turkish!” Yet, Karagöz answers as “thank God for my Sultan! I have never famished.” It is known that the sultan of the Ottoman Empire had to protect anyone whatever the language s/he speaks in terms of sharia. In another play called *Cazular* (The Witches), again at the beginning of the play, when Karagöz does not comprehend what Hacivat tells, Hacivat asks “don’t you know Turkish?” Probably Hacivat thinks that he is really speaking Turkish and it is odd to him that Karagöz does not understand Turkish at all. It can be said that what Turkish means for Hacivat is different from how Karagöz understands it. All the same, when Karagöz does not understand what White Arab is talking about, he asks “don’t you know Turkish?” Arab answers: “I know, but you don’t” (*Çeşme – The Fountain*). Nevertheless, it is known that Arab’s Turkish accent is such a broken version and hard to understand. He swallows some letters and adds extra syllables into words like in difference between “Türkçe and Türkşe” (“Türkçe” means “Turkish” in English and is pronounced as Turk•che but he spells it as Turk•sha). As it was mentioned before, when the Turks wanted to have some fun, they used to find an Arab and make him speak.

According to Imber⁵²⁷, in the 17th century, İstanbul is one of the most crowded cities of Europe. The state’s language was Turkish; besides, Slavic, Kurdish and Arabic were also dominant languages. Literal Arabic was respected alike Latin in Europe. Faroqhi⁵²⁸ also adds that converting to Islam and learning Turkish were crucial for those who want to have a position in the central bureaucracy. Persian was mainly used as a literature language; however, the language of the Islamic law was Arabic.⁵²⁹ The Anatolian people were speaking Turkish from the very beginning. After the 19th century, the documents of the Islamic law were also copied in Turkish. The Ottoman culture was considered as high culture among the Balkan countries in the 16th and 17th centuries.⁵³⁰

⁵²⁷ Imber, "Part I: Historical and Legal Background," 8.

⁵²⁸ Faroqhi, *Osmanlı Kültürü ve Gündelik Yaşam*, 26-27.

⁵²⁹ Faroqhi, *Osmanlı Kültürü ve Gündelik Yaşam*, 33

⁵³⁰ *Ibid.*, 31-35

Besides, seemingly Hacivat is the best speaker among all the characters because he can understand every character from Turk to Frank, from Jew to Arab. In *Kanlı Nigar* (The Bloody Nigar) play, only if Hacivat speaks then *Zeybek* understands that they are all human. Before that, he cannot decide whether they are stone or animal even if one of them speaks.

Only Karagöz, Hacivat, *Zenne*, *Çelebi* (Gentleman), *Tiryaki* (the Addict), and *Beberuhi* (Shorty) speak in İstanbul accent, the other characters have their unique accents. Some examples are given below showing the contemporary Turkish sayings of those characters' accents.⁵³¹ English translations were not given because the main point is to show the difference in the pronunciation rather than the meaning.

Table 2 Differences in pronunciation

Laz	“Nasulsun? Eyu musun? Hoş musun? Akşamdan peru sarhoş musun? Dolu musun? Poş musun?” (The Poesy - Şairlik)	“Nasılın? İyi misin? Hoş musun? Akşamdan beri sarhoş musun? Dolu musun? Boş musun?”
Kayserili	“Odun gapusunda işim ne? Biz Bamahgapu ile Tavuhpazarında eyleşiriz.” (The Poesy -Şairlik)	“Odun kapısında ne işim var? Biz Parmakkapı ile Tavukpazarın'da eğleniriz.”
Turk	“Ne va gozum? ..gah durucuk durucuk geldi gondu bir serçecuk, civucuk civucuk halıma haldaş yoluma yoldaş, bir baba dostu olsa da izzucuk mezelleşek” (The Fountain - Çeşme)	“Ne oldu gözüm? Ürkek ürkek yaklaşip konu minik bir serçe civil civil, halime haldeş, yoluma yoldaş, bir baba dostu olsa da azıcık söyleşsek”
Albanian	“Ha mori, beni götürmez misiniz?” (Pleasure Trip to Yalova - Yalova safası)	
Emigrant	“A be sepet kafalı! Şimdicek sana hamam, külhan süval iden oldu mu? 'bu kasabalı mısın' demek istecedim” (The Cookery - Aşçılık)	“Sepet kafalı! Sana şimdi hamamı veya külhanı soran oldu mu? 'buralı mısın' demek istiyordum”
Persian	“Her ne kadar ziyaret için geldimse de, benim babamın ortağı, ölede benim pederimin vefatından, sonra galan malların paraların vermeyüp nakd yerine mene mal verdi; haliylen biz de mecbur olduh o malları satmağa.” (The Agha - Ağalık)	“Her ne kadar ziyaret için geldiysem de, benim babamın ortağı, bana, babamın vefatından sonra kalan malların nakit karşılığı yerine bana mal verdi, haliyle biz de malları satmaya mecbur kaldık”
White Arab	“Siz buyle hanumeföndi, kuplerle hararlarla ne tarafa teşrif?” (Pleasure Trip to Yalova - Yalova safası)	“Hanımefendi, siz böyle küplerle hararlarla ne tarafa gidiyorsunuz?”
Jew	“Sen ne bağıyorsun be? Yoksa ağrı sana mi yeçti? Ey, madem sana yeçirdiler, bağıyorsun, bu ağrı neye benden çıkmadı?” (The Pharmacy - Eczahane)	“Sen niye bağıyorsun? Yoksa ağrı sana mı geçti? Madem sana geçti de bağıyorsun, benim niye hala ağrım var?”

⁵³¹ Also see: And, *Geleneksel Türk Tiyatrosu (Kukla - Karagöz - Ortaoyunu)*, 282-286.

Table 3 Differences in pronunciation (Cont.)

Armenian	“Nasıl-sın? Eğü müsün? ... Çuhurçeşme hanında oturdum, Balıhpazarında oturdum” (Poetry – Şairlik)	“Nasıl-sın? İyi misin? ...Çukurçeşme hanında oturdum, Balıkpazarında oturdum”
Frank	“Ey ben var çok zaman hasta. Ey çok doddor yapar bana vizita, olmaz.” (The Pharmacy - Eczahane)	“Uzun zamandır hastayım. Doktor beni bir muayene eder misiniz?”

Slang, Metaphors and Hidden Meanings as a Part of the Life

As it was seen in the part of the grotesque Karagöz, the blasphemy, metaphors that are referring to the downward that represents the earth are often used.

Siyavuşgil⁵³² has rather a counter opinion about the issue. He says that the immoral issues are intervened immediately before they become bushy in the plays. It is avoided to talk about someone’s indecency or impurity. There are no intrigues based on lying and aspersion. The purity of Karagöz hinders such actions. Nevertheless, the structure of the old plays does not support Siyavuşgil’s claims. In addition, Şaban⁵³³ says that even if there are such kinds of plays including immorality, violence, or religious satire, they have been presented for lessons. They are the satiric expressions of what is deviated from the social norms.

If one regards the parallelism between the elements of the grotesque realism of the Middle Age culture and Karagöz, the plays would be more understandable without attributing a moral character that Karagöz has to take the side of the socially agreed norms and truth. Rather, it has a satirical character with a twisted joyful presentation of the reality different from what is expected in the streets and the public sphere.

For example, in *Ters Evlenme* (The Awry Marriage) play, the alleged aim of the marriage of Karagöz and *Tuzsuz Deli Bekir* is to make him stop drinking. The idea is that if he sees that he can even get married to Karagöz when he is drunk, then he is expected to stop drinking alcohol. But, for this plan, Hacivat is actually distorting Karagöz’s self-perception by persuading him that he is a woman. He says Karagöz that his beard is actually his hair, the woman at home is his sister, and the children are hers. Eventually, Karagöz gets convinced that he is a woman and

⁵³² Siyavuşgil, *Karagöz: Psiko-Sosyolojik Bir Deneme*, 135.

⁵³³ Şaban, interview author, 8 May 2012, İstanbul, tape recording.

needs to get married urgently. If one looks at this case from a more normative point of view, this play is giving a lesson about drinking alcohol. Alternatively, maybe, it is satirizing the degenerate janissaries, or maybe it is satirizing the ban on alcohol, which can cause more demand for it. Because, at the end of the play *Tuzsuz* says, “I will not drink anymore after the last one”, that is, the last one is equal to the first one actually.

Besides, as the examples below show, the slang or metaphoric expressions are heavily included in the plays. Some of the metaphors are hard to be translated into English because the meaning can be lost in translation howsoever the author tried.

Abdal Bekçi (The Stupid Watchman)

At the beginning of the play when the two new *Zenne*(s) move to the neighborhood, they start to speak with Karagöz to mock him. Karagöz says *Zenne*, “*Aybaşında seni göremem*” – “I cannot see you on the first days of a month”

In Turkish “first days of a month” publicly used to mean *menstruation*. Karagöz means here that he cannot see her while he is having his period. We know that Karagöz is male.

Another example of slang:

White Arab: “*Şama gideceğim*”

Karagöz: “*Hanım, Sen de Arap’ın arkasından ta Şam’a [taşağıma] kadar git*”.

White Arab: “I will go to Damascus”

Karagöz: “Miss, go to (my) Damascus from the bottom of the Arab.”

When one reads fast the Turkish words of “ta” (until) and “Şam’a” (to Damascus), s/he hear them as they are one word which corresponds *taşağıma* in Turkish meaning *balls* in English. Karagöz actually says *Zenne* to go to his testicle after the Arab’s bottom.

Ağalık (The Agha)

In a scene, Hacivat wonders if Karagöz has a wife or not. He asks in many different ways but Karagöz does not understand. At the end, Hacivat calls wives as *kaşık düşmanı* in Turkish. It was mentioned earlier in the *Zenne* section that the idiom of *kaşık düşmanı*, which literally means a spoon enemy in English, is used for

someone's wife; one's better half. The term *spoon enemy* may mean that the food is to be divided into two after the marriage.

Bezirgan is a pejoratively used term for Jews and Rums (Turkish Greeks) in the plays but used for rich people in the Ottoman Empire.

When Karagöz gets rich because he entertained and made *Acem* -Persian laugh, he employs *Çelebi* as a coffee maker in the play. Whenever asked for a coffee, *Çelebi* answers, "Soon I will make/pour." *Make/Pour* correspond to *put* in Turkish that is "*koymak*." Moreover, the verb "to put" here figuratively means having sexual relation in slang. After the *Çelebi*'s answer, Karagöz asks, "when will my turn come?"

Also in that play, Karagöz wants *Zenne* to massage his knees. He continuously says *Zenne* to massage slightly higher; however, *Zenne* never touches the phallic area that Karagöz points her to move. Anyhow, Karagöz's mind wanders. They have such a conversation:

Cariye: "Ben Çerkez Piçiyim"

Karagöz: "Ben de orospu çocuğuyum"

Zenne: "I am a bastard of a Circassian"

Karagöz: "Do not worry, I am a motherfucker."

Snake also means Phallus and the Snake Bite means sexual intercourse, mentioned in that play.

Bahçe (The Garden)

The Garden play is about the gathering of the Albanians for entertainment in a secret Garden. The organizer is for sure Hacivat. Karagöz tries to join many times in different fashions, one of which is by disguising himself as a *Çengi*. In the dialog section, when Hacivat says Karagöz that he helped him about an issue Karagöz says, "If the devil has the best tunes that is the sound of you"

"*Midesiz*", which means "tasteless" in English, corresponds to having a relationship with an old woman.

Büyük Evlenme (The Great Wedding)

Karagöz decides to get married to another woman after his wife left him taking all the money and the valuable things at home. When Karagöz asks *Zenne* about her craft, *Zenne* answers, “I steal the packages of women in bathhouses (*Bohça Kaldırıcı*)”. Her mother waits in front of the barrelhouses for the drunken ones (*Küp Dibi Bekleyici*) and her aunt nets the rookies (*Çapak Silici*).

Bohça Kaldırıcı literally means *carrying packages* but figuratively, it means *stealing packages* in English. *Küp Dibi Bekleyici* denotes *seducing the drunken ones*, meaning a prostitute indeed. Lastly, *Çapak Silici* literally means *caring young ones*; however, it figuratively means *netting the rookies* for the intercourse in Turkish.

In the same play, Karagöz says *Zenne(s)* that he is a pederast. *Zenne* replies, “no matter, I am a lesbian in reality.”

At the end of the play, the bride gives birth on the first day of the marriage (with Karagöz). Karagöz gets convinced that the father of this child is he. There is a strange conversation between him and his newborn son, that is,

Child: “Dad, shall I queer your pitch?”

Karagöz: “if so then I do the same to you

Child: “Dad, what are the contents of tripe?”

Karagöz: “shit (Crap)!”

Child: “when have you had it?”

Karagöz: “exactly when I got married to your mom!”

Canbazlar (The Acrobats)

In the dialogue section, Karagöz tells his wife that he is going abroad to find a job. He meets three women on his road. The names of the *Zennes* are *Suluca Yayla Çadırı* (the Tent of the Juicy Plateau), *Dillice Çeşme* (the Fountain of Tongues), and *Garı Bit Ahır* (Louse-Stable Station/Woman). Those names figuratively mean to be ready for the sexual intercourse besides doing this as a job.

Karagöz defines himself as a colt without ears and a tail. Then he continues as “first of all, I shall pasture this colt on the Juicy Plateau, and then I shall quench him at the Fountain of Tongues, lastly I shall make him rest in Louse-Stable Station/Woman, shall I?” Women do not accept him and say, “We have cookies but not for you!” Shortly, Karagöz offers them to make love, but they reject him.

Çeşme (The Fountain)

In that play, Karagöz's wife has been rumored that she became a prostitute. Hacıvat directly says Karagöz that his wife became a prostitute so that they will no longer meet again. Karagöz inquires the rumor and asks *Sarhoş* (Drunk) if it is true or not. *Sarhoş* (Drunk) answers as, "Your wife is a prostitute again, eh? She was always a prostitute, she is a whore, she went with 10 people, and she is my mistress!"

Eczaخانه (The Pharmacy)

In the dialog section, a conversation passes between Hacıvat and Karagöz. Before coming to that, it is better to remind that the word "*Peder*" originates in Persian and can be translated as *Father* in English, and "*Baba*" can be translated as *Dad*. In the Ottoman society, considering that Persian was the language of literature, the cultivated people were using the term *Peder* more often when they were politely speaking about their fathers.

In the dialog section of the play, Karagöz tries to tell Hacıvat that his father (*Peder*) is dead. Hacıvat pretends not to understand. Karagöz rephrases his sentence and says, "I mean my dad (*Baba*) is dead." Hacıvat says Karagöz, "So your father (*Peder*) is alive?" Karagöz replies as "no, both my father (*Peder*) and dad (*Baba*) are dead." Afterwards, Hacıvat concludes that Karagöz has more than one father. He means actually that Karagöz's father is indefinite so Karagöz is a "son of a bitch."

In another scene, the Jew comes for a toothache and asks Karagöz to check the front. Karagöz answers as, "you regret, if I do that!" Karagöz takes the verb *front* as the phallic area, so he would make the Jew regret if he has such a wish.

Hamam (The Bathhouse)

As mentioned before, *Şallı Natır* and *Salkım İnci* are two famous *Çengi*(s) having a affair and Hacıvat wants to hire them to work in the bathhouse he is going to manage, however, they have broken up because *Salkım İnci* is sure that *Şallı Natır* is cheating on her since the last dance show. *Salkım İnci* has seen *Şallı Natır* taking an orange from another woman, who has kept the orange in his breasts. It is said that if one gives another an orange, it means "*portakal, sevdiğinden arda kal*" in Turkish, "take this orange and break up with your lover for me" in English. *Şallı Natır* had not refused the orange as far as *Salkım İnci* saw.

Tahir & Zühre

Again, in the dialog section, Hacivat tries to tell Karagöz something, but Karagöz insists on missing the point. The conversation develops as,

Hacivat (to Karagöz): “where is your mind?”

Karagöz: “in my ass! Because it is a gypsy mind, it cannot stand cold, so I put it there. When I go to the toilet, I remove it; after I finish, I put it again. Such a continuous process turned it into a shitty mind.”

Religion is a part of the Game in Karagöz Plays

It is better to remember that Bakhtin matches above with the heaven and below with the earth, which is the master of the birth. He says, “The upper part is the face or the head and the lower part is the genital organs, the belly, and the buttocks.”⁵³⁴ This is also valid for the Karagöz plays. Notwithstanding the philosophical part of Karagöz has been heavily fed by the Sufism, the heavenly part constituted by strict religious understanding is not a serious topic for the Karagöz plays, even if it were, it is presented in a satirical way. This should not be considered as an internal contradiction in Karagöz plays; rather should be seen as a reflection of a segregated and diversified social life in the Ottoman Empire formed throughout the centuries. Every kind of change has been added cumulatively to Karagöz plays.

All the lyrics of the prayers in the plays are composed of series of meaningless and repetitive words. It may be said that people also have the same feeling when they really pray with the words they do not understand but believe. Perhaps, Karagöz is satirizing that. Alternatively, if the emerging conditions of Karagöz are considered, it was a product of a mixture of Islam and shamanic, which that were still powerful in the early years of the Ottoman Empire and represented by the dervishes and *abdals* who formed the basis of Sufism later. On the other hand, Karagöz might be satirizing the oppressive Islam adopted by the Ottoman sultans after the 16th century.

In *Ağalık* (The Agha) play, a beggar Arab confronts with Karagöz. He actually damns rather than praying but, with the help of his broken Turkish accent, he manages to have Karagöz say amen. When Karagöz understands the situation, he sends off the beggar by saying, “I fuck your mother, too”

⁵³⁴ Bakhtin, *Rabelais and His World*, 21

He also does not believe in witches or jinni. When he is beset by a problem, he even does not have necessary knowledge to get rid of it. Generally, he calls Hacivat for help; Hacivat says meaningless words as if he is praying, and tries to rescue Karagöz from a problematic situation. Possibly, the only character with a madrasah education is Hacivat, because he is actually called as Hacı Eyvad, which means that he is a pilgrim. As it was mentioned already, in *Cazular* (The Witches) play, the witches punish Karagöz. He tells his wife, “I feel bored, there is something up to me,” then his wife offers to take him to a religious man to cast lead for Karagöz. However, she adds that he is an illiterate man and very indifferent to those kinds of issues, he has no faith, and thus it would not be helpful for him. Besides, in *Ödüllü* (The Wrestlers) play, Karagöz swear with the words “*hini mini hünnet olsun ki*” (I swear... “*hini mini hünnet*”, which has no at all).

It is said that the outlandish bravery of Karagöz causes him to fall into such situations.⁵³⁵ He dares to confront with the witches or a jinni but he has no idea of how to deal with them. This job belongs to Hacivat who is educated, and knows praying.

In *Canbazlar* (The Acrobats) play, a magician teaches Karagöz a prayer to tell when he is frightened by a jinni. The lyrics of the prayer is as such, “*Hop budur hop bu, ayakkabı gugu, vokka espali sagalti pangili guk, meçinde meçinde boğa*”. Not only the translation to English is impossible but also it has no meaning in Turkish at all. That is another example of how religion is considered in the plays despite the fact that the Ottoman Empire is subjected to sharia.

Imam appears only in *Ortaklar* (The Partners) among the old plays. In the plot, Karagöz gets re-married. Here, Imam says a kind of an awkward prayer, that is, “*Eskiden bir karı aldı sekiz memeli, damat beyin soyu sopusu Sulukuleli*” – “He had a wife with eight breasts once; from *Sulukule*, groom’s all ancestors come”. After the Imam’s words, the inhabitants of the neighborhood, who have come to the wedding, confirms the prayer in other meaningless words.

Kudret⁵³⁶ states that a candle, a mirror and a Qur’an are very important elements to be in one’s dowry. The candle represents the light, the mirror represents the brightness and Qur’an represents the fate in marriage; however, in *Büyük Evlenme* (The Great Wedding) play, Karagöz’s dowry includes none of them. Rather it

⁵³⁵ Kudret, Karagöz. Vol. I, 21.

⁵³⁶ *Ibid.*, 256.

includes sheep, goats, camels, caws, pigs, donkeys, horses, monkeys, bears, flowers, fruits, dinner sets, miscellaneous things and bride's carts.

Besides, as it was said earlier, Metin And⁵³⁷ attempted to reveal the relation of Karagöz with religion, he reached a fatwa of Ebussuud Efendi, who was the Sheik-al Islam in the 17th century. Ebussuud Efendi answers to the question of whether spectating Karagöz for a lesson was punishable or not. He said,

I have seen many exemplary cases in Karagöz for those willing to advance in knowledge of truth. The bods and the forms provisional as shadows disappear quickly but the master performing the shadow play is everlasting.⁵³⁸

And argues that the Islamic religion is actually reactive, even prohibitive, against the arts like painting, sculpting, etc. which copy directly the living creatures, especially the humans. However, the Islamic leaders showed tolerance towards Karagöz due to the fact that it had a sufi character. On the other hand, Metin And also adds that the Islamic philosophers believed that no living creature can survive with a big hole and a wooden stick installed in her/his body. Therefore, they have convinced that Karagöz is not copying the existing living creatures. However, it could also be said that no living creature made up of stone or metal or thinner mixed with color, cannot survive.

Violence as the Source of Comic

The deaths and resurrections are the characteristics of both the grotesque realism Bakhtin⁵³⁹ elaborates and the rural theater tradition as And⁵⁴⁰ mentions. The idea of death is excluded from the grotesque realism due to the comprehension that the world is not two-folded; rather; inclusive one single world. Bakhtin⁵⁴¹ says that there is no contrast between the death and the birth; the grave is the womb indeed.

⁵³⁷ Translation of Metin And,

Gerçek biliminde yükselmek isteyenler için gölge oyununda büyük öğrenekler olduğunu gördüm. Kişiler, kalıplar gölge gibi gelip geçiyor ve çabucak yok oluyor onları oynatan ise durucu kalıyor.

And, *Geleneksel Türk Tiyatrosu (Kukla - Karagöz - Ortaoyunu)*, 23

⁵³⁸ Mehmet Ertuğrul Düzdağ ed., *Şeyhülislam Ebussuud Efendi Fetvaları Işığında 16. Asır Türk Hayatı* (İstanbul: Enderun Kitabevi, 1972), 200-201.

⁵³⁹ Bakhtin, *Rabelais and His World*.

⁵⁴⁰ And, *Karagoz: Turkish Shadow Theatre*.

⁵⁴¹ Bakhtin, *Rabelais and His World*, 78.

On the other hand, Siyavuşgil⁵⁴² says that Karagöz hates death or the dead ones. He also adds that in a society where unreasonable murders and hangings are the ordinary events, it is expected that the spirit of the public, represented in the shadow theatre, abolish the phenomenon of death in the plays. However, it can be said that a kind of violence is still persistent in the form of irony; this is probably for the reason that Karagöz, rather than excluding, does not give a particular importance to death. There are many examples of violence in the old Karagöz Plays.

First, the main characteristic of the relationship between Hacivat and Karagöz in the dialog sections is beating. Every play starts with an intro followed by a dialog section. In *Bahçe* (The Garden) play, Hacivat says Karagöz, “You know nothing but beating.” The main coping skill of Karagöz in relations with other characters is always beating.

Other characters also solve their problems by beating. In *Kanlı Nigar* (The Bloody Nigar) play, *Zenne(s)* call Hacivat, Karagöz, *Çelebi* (*Hercai Menekşe/Viola*), *Sarhoş /Drunkard* (*Dayı Manca/Uncle Manca*), *Arab* (*Mercan Ağa/Agha the Coral*) and *Beberuhi* for entertainment, and they beat them after they rob them. Moreover, in *Kırgınlar* (The Resentful Ones) play, *Himmat Agha the Turk*, although he is the guard, drinks too much. Karagöz sobers him up by beating, and says, “The Turk comes to his senses only by being beaten.” Besides, *Tuzsuz Deli Bekir* or *Zeybek* comes at the end of the plays, and are the pacificators by threat or beating.

Although they resurrect at the end of the plays, Jewish dies twice; Karagöz dies once; the donkey dies twice; Bok-Ana (Crab Mother) dies once; and Hacivat dies once in total in the old plays.

As mentioned before, in *Canbazlar* (The Acrobats) play, Karagöz dies by falling from high, Hacivat lets the other Gypsies know about Karagöz’s death. They come and hold a funeral for Karagöz.

All the search of the Persian is to console himself after his father’s death.

In *Ferhad & Şirin* play, when *Şirin*’s mother asks *Bok-Ana* (Crap Mother) help for separating the lovers, *Bok-Ana* says *Ferhad* that *Şirin* is death. In response, *Ferhad* kills *Bok-Ana*, and her spirit leaves her body from out of her bottom. Tahir also kills

⁵⁴² Siyavuşgil, Karagöz: *Psiko-Sosyolojik Bir Deneme*, 114-115.

the mother of *Zühre* who has fallen in love with him without his consent. At the end, the two lovers rejoin.

In *Hain Kahya* (The Traitor Butler) play, *Enver* the Butler decides to kill the landlord and *Haydar*, who is the lover of the landlord's daughter *Nazife*. *Karagöz* exposes his plans, and at the end of the play, he kills *Enver* by poisonous water. That is the most obvious and succeeded commitment of murder by *Karagöz* among the all plays.

For the Jew, in *Kayık* (The Rowboat) play, after several annoying manners of the Jew, *Karagöz* bobs the boat, the Jew falls, and dies. In another play (*Salıncak* – The Swing), mentioned in the earlier sections, the Jew asks *Karagöz* to do what he says not to do indeed, and vice-versa. After a while, *Karagöz* totally confuses and continuously swings the Jew even when he truly tells him to stop. The Jew falls from the swing, and dies.

In *Kırgınlar* (The Resentful Ones) play, *Hacivat* wants *Karagöz* to sell his slave *Mercan* (Black Arab) because he is not obeying. However, *Mercan* beats *Karagöz* after several repetitive questions like “did you die? How much *oka*(s) did you die?” After *Karagöz*'s answer, he continues as, “It is too much, and then, die more! Now, how much *oka*(s) did you die?” He beats *Karagöz* too much so that *Karagöz* pretends to be dead. *Mercan* says that dead ones shit and pee too much, and he does the same on *Karagöz*. Again, in the same play, *Hacivat* wants to share the profit earned from the show they have performed but *Karagöz* wants it all. They fight that resulted in the *Hacivat*'s death. *Karagöz* puts *Hacivat* in a jar and sits on it. *Sivrikoz*, the son of *Hacivat*, inquires his father after the unsuccessful attempts of his uncles *Demeli* (Must say) and *Dediği Gibi* (As He Said) and says, “*Karagöz* the Gypsy has killed my father.”

In the dialog section of *Tahmis* (The Coffee Grinders) play, the donkey of *Karagöz* is divided in two parts because it cannot carry both *Hacivat* and *Karagöz* at the same time. Then *Karagöz* takes it to a stapler to resurrect, as mentioned before.

The most violent play is probably *Eczahane* (The Pharmacy). *Karagöz* works in *Hacivat*'s *Eczahane*. *Matiz* (Drunk) comes with his brother *Denyo* (Insane) and asks *Karagöz* to examine him. As a treatment, *Karagöz* detaches *Denyo*'s nose. Other than that, the Frank comes for a treatment. He complains about the abdominal dropsy. *Karagöz* intends to heal him with an ax and a hammer. The Frank beats *Karagöz* first and then runs out. After a while, the Jew comes with a toothache.

Karagöz tries extraction. Somehow, he extracts the whole chin of the Jew. Maybe Karagöz radically wanted to solve the problems of misunderstanding between them. At last, an old man comes. For healing, firstly, Karagöz detaches his arm, and then he detaches his head. Thereafter, he reattaches his head inversely.

Fantasy and Absurd as a Getaway

As Siyavuşgil said in his work⁵⁴³ it is sometimes reminded by Hacivat or Karagöz that everything in the plays is a fiction. Besides, there are plays solely composed of the fantastic elements. These plays are *Kanlı Kavak* (The Bloody Poplar), *Cazular* (The Witches), and *Cincilik* (Incantation).

In *Ağalık* (The Agha) play, Karagöz decides to be an Agha for one day and he employs others; however, no one questions how he became an Agha. In the dialog section of *Aşçılık* (The Cookery) play, Karagöz tells Hacivat that he gave birth to all of his family. Each one in his family has a name of a vegetable, such as cabbage, cauliflower, etc. In the dialog section of *Bahçe* (The Garden) play, there comes two Karagöz and each one claiming that he is the real Karagöz. They engage in a fight and the one who came later leaves the screen. In *Ters Evlenme* (The Awry Marriage) play, a magician teaches her healing skills to Karagöz. Besides, so-called Karagöz's son starts talking as soon as he was born.

The main characters, such as Hacivat, Karagöz, and the Jew never really die actually, they resurrect at the end of the plays.

Karagöz's wife also never questions him and she does whatever he wants. For example, Karagöz tells her to disguise him as a woman, and she does without questioning. When it is rumored that his wife became a prostitute he only wonders why she did not ask him permission.

In *Çeşme* (The Fountain) play, Karagöz brings ladder to reach the ears of *Baba Himmet* the Turk.

In terms of illnesses, beardlessness is accepted as an epidemic (if one considers how the Ottomans value their beards) and sight impairment is treated by cognac. It is so normal to remove the chin, nose, arm or the head for the treatment of an illness by Karagöz.

⁵⁴³ *Ibid.*, 122

In *Ferhat & Şirin* play, a pile of rubble, which is actually the mountain that *Ferhat* would drill, is put in front of the Karagöz's house. Karagöz asks Hacivat about that rubble at the beginning of the play. Therefore, they all know that a new play is about to start.

In *Kanlı Kavak* (The Bloody Poplar) play, Hacivat and Karagöz are also self-critical about their communication, which is based on beating. Besides, when Karagöz sees the Poplar in the middle of the screen he asks Hacivat why there is a poplar there. They distort the perception of the audience who might emotionally connect with the play as in the epic forms.

In *Pehlivanlık* (wrestling) play, Karagöz, again, tries to tell Hacivat that his father is dead. He says that they had buried his father then spilled some water, and then they had prayed. Hacivat replies as, "do not worry my Karagöz, there will grow many dads next year."

In *Salıncak* (The Swing) play, Hacivat reminds Karagöz that the half of the screen belongs to him and the other half belongs to Karagöz, which means they know that they are fictional characters playing on a fabric screen.

In *Kayık* (The Rowboat) play, Karagöz and Hacivat, without asking where they want to go, take every customer to the *Laz's* (character from the Black Sea region) ship. Moreover, no one asks why he or she was brought to that ship. At the end of the play, *Laz* with everyone on his ship leaves the port.

Moreover, in *Yalova Sefası* (A Pleasure Trip to Yalova) play, at least five people can enter into the Jar of *Zenne* but no one asks the other why he is there. Even, they manage to hide in such a small jar together. Every newcomer asks the other to budge up.

As a last word, Karagöz, which was deeply connected with and a part of the Ottoman life as an undistinguished field of activity similar to the other kinds of activities, was a product of such a society elaborated in detail in this chapter. Karagöz has reflected the society he was born in, and took up several roles despite the classes, Muslim-non-Muslim distinctions and the economic differentiations. It was mainly performed by the artisan members of the guild system, and was not treated differently as a separate kind of field, such as fine arts. Rather, it was just a production created by the cumulative knowledge of the society. Therefore, Karagöz could be characterized as *technē*, which is described by Heidegger as every kind of

activity without any distinction between art and craft. Even though it cannot be said that the Ottoman society was a society where (fine) arts were not yet born, at least in the case of Karagöz, it can be said that at that time (16th -17th centuries) it was not yet departed from *technē* to be subjected to the art and craft diversification. Therefore, Karagöz should be considered as an activity among many similar activities expressing any ability to bring forth like coffee grinding, shoe making, etc. as they are entitled by Evliya Çelebi when he was mentioning about the producers in İstanbul.

This section was dedicated to the deep examination of the classic plays within the context of the classic Ottoman times. The next section will be related to the newly written plays, *Nev-i İcad*, which had first published in the period of the *Tanzimat*, when the Western metaphysics, in Heidegger's words, would start to spread into the Ottoman society, and which would introduce *respected arts*, such as modern theater, beside printing technology. In parallel, the organization of the Empire and the social life would change, which were all reflected in the Karagöz plays. In the case of Karagöz, the resolution of the (delayed) separation between craft and art in favor of the fine arts would be the major sign of the Western metaphysics. Thus, it would open a long lasting debate about the whatness of Karagöz around the issues like what kind of art it was, whether it needed a renewal, possibility of modernizing it, or in which terms it should be bowdlerized.

CHAPTER IV

KARAGÖZ ENTERING INTO “THE AGE OF THE WORLD PICTURE”

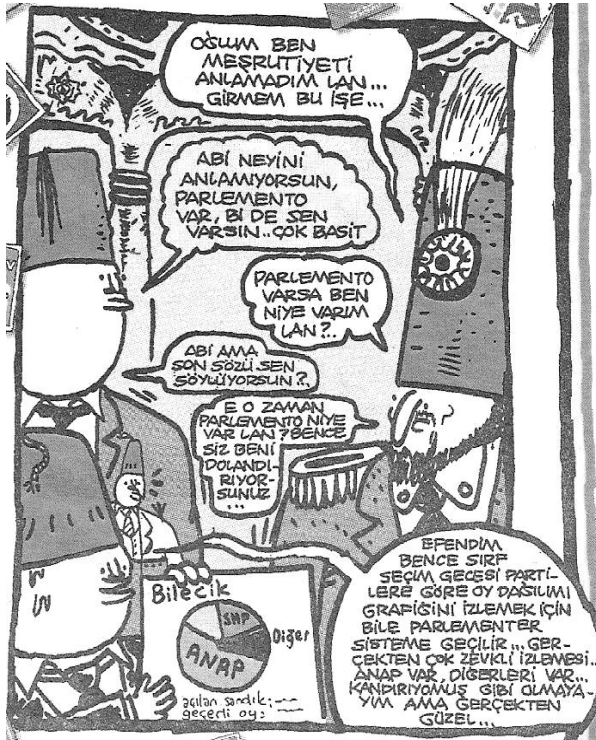


Figure 38 A Caricature by Umut Sarıkaya, Uykusuz Comic Journal 2009

In the *Tanzimat period*⁵⁴⁴, the Ottoman society had experienced drastic changes. Juridical, economic, political changes in the very structure of the Ottoman Empire and society had also affected its mirror, that is, Karagöz. To be compatible with the times, both the subjects and form of Karagöz had to be changed. Side by side with the reformations in the technique of the Karagöz performance, Karagöz also gave his name and character to the newspapers and journals. Under the name of Karagöz, political criticism could be possible in printed media. The Printed media were the first competitor of the

Karagöz plays, which transferred its informing and criticizing peculiarities to this

⁵⁴⁴ Translation (H.B. 2013) of the conversation in the caricature:

- Man, I did not get the constitutional monarchy. I am off...
- Bro, which part you did not get? It is simple; there is a “parliament” and there is “you”!
- If there is a parliament, what is the use of me?
- Bro, You have the final word.
- So, what is the use of the parliament then? I think you are deceiving me...
- Sir, we should accept the constitutional monarchy, at least we could watch the distribution of votes according to the parties on the election night, and it is fun! I do not want to look like as a deceiver but it is nice.

newly developing media. Especially, after the *Tanzimat period* and the introduction of printing, Karagöz had never recovered its popularity again it had in the 16th and the 17th centuries.

Reasons for the “Need” of Re-Organization on the Way of “Modernization”

In the context of both the external and the internal dynamics, the visible modernization efforts in the Ottoman Empire were started with the abolishment of the Janissary Corps (Army)⁵⁴⁵ and organization of a new western style army called *Asakir-i Mansure-i Muhammediye* (Victorious Soldiers of Muhammad) in 1826.

To be sure, the Janissary Army was not the only problem for the Ottoman sultans desiring to make reforms in the late 17th century and during the 18th century. The Era, starting from the late 16th century reaching to the late 17th century was called the period of *Great Recession*. The reasons behind this were the rapid increase in the population, the deformation of the classic military⁵⁴⁶ and economic systems of the Ottoman Empire confronting a new military technology and the flood of silver from Europe, and the lingering wars with the Safavids and Habsburgs.⁵⁴⁷ Therefore, it is not a surprise that Karagöz had reached its pick point in terms of its popularity in the 17th century. Because Karagöz’s main function was political and social satire acting as a public informer, a function which soon to be fulfilled in a much more efficient manner by printed media.

⁵⁴⁵ The Janissary Army had been founded thereafter the conquest of Edirne in 1361. Following the conquests towards Salonika, the number of war prisoners had suddenly increased. The sultanate started to take *pencik* which meant taking 1 of the 5 prisoners or if it is less than 5 then taking 1/5 value of the prisoner. Although it was a tradition that soldiers were awarded with taking whatever they got in the wars for themselves hitherto, this new application was confirmed by the *Ulema* in the time of Murat I (1362–1389). Çandarlı (Kara Halil Hayreddin Pasha, who gained first the title of “grand vizier” and was in duty between 1364 and 1387), developed the idea of establishing a new army recruited from the increasing *Pencik Oğlanları* (Pencik Boys). These boys were sent to the villages of Bursa to learn Turkish and to convert to Islam. After a long-term education, they gathered in the barracks to form the Janissary Army under the rule of the sultan. This application later called as Devshirmeh. İnalçık, *Devlet-i Aliye, Klasik Dönem (1302-1606)*, 59.

⁵⁴⁶ After the death of Kanuni Sultan Süleyman (1520-1566), which İnalçık ascribes as the end of the Classic Era of the Ottoman Empire, the rivalry and the antagonism between the princes (the sultans’ son) toughened. Unemployed young peasants who were namely *Levends* (fearless) were expecting to be involved in the army; on the other side, thousands of young ones who formerly involved in rapine and banditry were gathering in the madrasahs or establishing their own madrasahs under the name of *Softa* (fanatic adherent) for avoiding taxes. Therefore they supported different princesses of the Ottoman dynasty. *Ibid.*, 191.

⁵⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 191.

In the second half of the 16th century, the expansion of the Ottoman Empire in Europe came to a halt, so the more wealth created by annexation of more land became an impossibility; therefore, the institution of *Uc Akıncı* (Raider of the edges) collapsed. Formerly, the Balkans was used to decrease the excessive population in Anatolia. Besides, the war with Iran forced the rulers to recruit thousands of Anatolian youngsters from *rayah* to the military posts, which was also distorted the principle that the soldiers were strictly separated from the *rayah*.⁵⁴⁸ Therefore, the bureaucratic centrality was damaged. Moreover, the process of codification that started with Ebussuud Efendi, who managed to reconcile the customary laws and sharia laws, backlashed in a way that the bureaucrats were not able to work on the new issues freely because of the growing Sunnite conservatism. Furthermore, the Austrian war (1593-1606) caused the sultan to recruit foot soldiers with rifles instead of the cavalymen with swords. That was resulted in a radical increase in number of the janissaries. In time of peace, because those recruits were no more needed, the unemployed rifled soldiers started to prey on Anatolian people, who began to escape in large numbers. The Jalali revolts emerged in this way.⁵⁴⁹ Those people were represented in Karagöz plays; *Tuzsuz Deli Bekir* represented satirically the bullies, drunkards and corrupted Janissaries of the Ottoman society; besides, new characters like *Külhanbeyi* (departed from its original character as a protector of neighborhoods), and *Zeybek* was added to the plays to represent those preying on the public.

By the way, the members of the ruling class started to travel to Europe, especially to France for education. They came back with the western ideas about the much-needed renovations. They understood the growing “superior power of Europe,” and thought that the Ottoman Empire needed changes. “The Janissaries, in alliance with the men of religion, the *ulema*, became a formidable obstacle to reform.”⁵⁵⁰

In the late 17th century, the janissaries effectively involved in palace politics, “and became a greater threat for the ruling sultan than his enemies.”⁵⁵¹ This point was also discussed under the title of “Karagöz and the Coffeehouses”; where the main danger was said to be started with the janissaries owning some of the coffeehouses and engaging in manipulating the public opinion against sultanate.

⁵⁴⁸ Ahmet Kuyaş, "Osmanlı-Türk Modernleşmesi ve Ordunun Siyasetteki Yeri Üzerine," *Cogito: Osmanlılar Özel Sayısı* (Yapı Kredi Yayınları), no. 19 (1999): 262.

⁵⁴⁹ İnalçık, *Devlet-i Aliye, Klasik Dönem (1302-1606)*, 192-194

⁵⁵⁰ Ahmad, *The Making of Modern Turkey*, 2

⁵⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 2

During the reign of Mehmet IV (1648-1687), the janissaries with the cavalrymen rioted due to the payment of the salaries in low ratio silvers. The sultan and the army came face to face, the rebels gave a list of thirty statesmen demanding their heads. They were, having been accused of being responsible for the economic recession, killed. After the execution, the bodies were handed over to the rebels. The rebels broke the bodies into pieces, and hung the heads on the platanus tree in the *Sultanahmet* Square. This incident was called as “*Vaka-i Vakvakiye*”; according to the legend, when the heads touched each other in the wind, they sounded like “quack quack,” which reminded the mythological tree of “*Vak Vak Ağacı*” (Tree of quack-quack). This incident was represented in Karagöz plays, as Şaban⁵⁵² states, with the ornament called “*vak vak ağacı*” (the tree of quack-quack). Metin And also requested Şaban to figure out a mythological tree, whose fruits were actually human beings.

Accordingly, at the time of Selim III (1789–1807), there was a palace performer named Hafız (one who has memorized the Quran) from *Kasımpaşa*. Şaban tells that, one day, Hafız was performing Karagöz before Selim III, he put on the screen an ornament called “*Vakvak Ağacı*” (Vakvak Tree), on which corpses were hanging before the play begins. When Selim III asked what it was, *Hayali* Hafız answered as it was representing an unfortunate incident (*Vakay-i Vakvakiye*). At those times, as Şaban informs, the janissaries often revolted against the sultans and forced them even to execute the grand viziers. Şaban says that Selim III replied Hafız by saying that better he does what was necessary and Hafız minds his own business. By the tree of *Vakvak*, on the one hand, the performer was criticizing the janissary incidents on the screen; and on the other, warning the sultan. Şaban also says that Hafız was a brilliant performer, who knew music, satire, daily issues, and politics. However, it was the same performer who called an Arab slave as “Selim!” in the play, which was replied by Sultan Selim III as “yes!” (“lebbeyk!” in the Ottoman-Turkish). Although Selim III said that he did not take the offensive, it was said that because of a feeling of deep embarrassment after this incident, the performer permanently quitted performing Karagöz and went to Mecca to be a pilgrim and purification.

⁵⁵² Şaban, interview author, 8 May 2012, İstanbul, tape recording.

When Selim III inherited the throne⁵⁵³, the first thing he did was to set up a new army called *Nizam-ı Cedid*, which caused another riot among the janissaries who killed Selim III. Ahmad⁵⁵⁴ says,

The dismal performance of the Janissaries against the Greeks, in marked contrast to the fighting skills of Muhammad Ali's troops, lost the Janissaries any prestige and popular support they may have enjoyed among the people. Mahmud II (1808–1839), who succeeded Selim, the reforming sultan who had been overthrown and executed by the Janissaries, seized the opportunity to crush them, replacing them with his new-style army. This incident was called as *Vaka-i Hayriye*, also known as The Auspicious Incident or Fortunate Incident in English.

Besides, in the mid-19th century, the servitude system was still in force. The Community System (*Millet Sistemi*) could not prevent the humiliations. The security of life was still dependent on the sultan's will, and no one had the security of life and property in the Empire, which resulted in deterrent effects on the productive forces and classes. Tax collecting was also being applied arbitrarily,⁵⁵⁵ Besides, the development of the modern classes through the capital accumulation, which was bound to production, was limited. Capitalism and the bourgeoisie⁵⁵⁶; the engines of the development of the liberalism and freedom in the Western rational political system, could not flourish as it was in the Western countries⁵⁵⁷. In addition, in military obligations, there were also arbitrary recruitments; the cavalymen were acting oppressively to the sub-solders and public under their control. Corruption

⁵⁵³ At that time, the French Revolution had just started. He and the last king of France, Louis XVI, were exchanging letters while Selim III was not the sultan yet, before the revolution started.

⁵⁵⁴ Ahmad, *The Making of Modern Turkey*, 25.

⁵⁵⁵ For example, İnalçık says that, in the *Adaletname* (written laws) of 1569, it was stated that instead of the 150, up to 600 *akça* (small silver coin) was collected in the name of *Jizya* İnalçık, *Devlet-i Aliye, Klasik Dönem (1302-1606)*, 195

⁵⁵⁶ Ahmad also mentions about the conditions prepared the reforms in the Ottoman Empire that,

The Ottoman Empire needed classes based on secure property rights, which could prosper without fear of having their wealth confiscated by the state. That would mean abandoning the sultan's absolutism for a system in which he was responsible and accountable. But before such ideas could be put into practice, the complacency of the ruling classes had to be shattered and the power of the conservatives broken. The French Revolution and its impact on the Ottoman Empire did precisely that.

Ahmad, *The Making of Modern Turkey* 25.

⁵⁵⁷ Bülent Tanör, "II. Tanzimat Fermanı; III. Islahat Fermanı," in *Osmanlı-Türk Anayasal Gelişmeleri*, by Bülent Tanör, 75-120 (İstanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 1998), 77.

had spread to the administration and among the ruling class, who (commissioned officers, pashas, civil servants and Kadis) increased their wealth by illegal means.⁵⁵⁸

In addition, the Western societies were experiencing the American and the French Revolutions, which had their reflections in the Ottoman Empire. Faroqhi⁵⁵⁹ says that the Ottoman rulers regarded the revolution as an exotic case indigenous to the infidels and especially to the French people at the beginning. After a short while, the conflict between the revolutionists and the anti-revolutionists in İstanbul became visible. The incident that the revolutionists carried blue-white-red cockades and the monarchists had carried only white cockades regarded as a comic issue among the Ottomans. The Ottoman rulers considered the issue as an interior affair of French society at first. This idea had changed with the conquest of Egypt by Napoleon (1798-1801).

Mahmud II (1808-1839) thought that the only way to reform the Ottoman society was to follow the Western path; he hired the English Ambassador Conning and Mustafa Reşit Pasha as his advisors. The industrial, commercial and the financial sectors as well as the domestic industry were ruined because of being freely exposed to the foreign competition, abolishing of the monopoly and continuous enlargement of the capitulations. Finally, the foreign debt was resulted in the establishment of *Düyun-u Umumiye* (The Ottoman Public Debt Administration). Moreover, the Western countries forced the Ottoman Empire to accept equality of the Muslims and non-Muslims for the development of the commerce as a gateway from the crises.⁵⁶⁰

No More Joking about the Non-Muslims: The *Tanzimat* period

The period, not strictly, had covered the years between 1839 and 1878. In October 3, 1839, *Gülhane-i Hatt-ı Hümayun* (Noble Edict of the Rose Chamber) was declared. It has the characteristics of a decree by which the sultan put limits to his own authority at his own will. It included the issues, such as security of life, honor, purity and the property of the subjects, reorganization of the taxing and military recruitment, abolishment of death penalty without trial and other topics that would require reformation according to the *collective decisions*. By this way, the sultanate limited itself, which meant that the supremacy of the law would also be valid for the

⁵⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, 77.

⁵⁵⁹ Faroqhi, *Osmanlı Kültürü ve Gündelik Yaşam*, 291.

⁵⁶⁰ Tanör, "II. Tanzimat Fermanı; III. Islahat Fermanı," 80.

law giver. Laws were to be prepared by the *commissions in collective methods*.⁵⁶¹ Those changes were only regarding the administrative issues but the supremacy of the law and the commissions were the first steps leading towards the constitution of a legal state with a parliamentary system.

The state would treat all the communities equally. Regardless of his or her religion, everyone would be treated equal before the law. In this context, equality meant alienation from the earlier theocratic state on the one hand; and was the precursor of the secular regime on the other.⁵⁶² Sultan renounced his absolute rights as well as the right of criminal jurisdiction in the context of the martial laws. He passed his right to the courts. With *Tanzimat*, the civil servants, who were formerly obliged to be loyal to the sultan started to take an oath on the principles of the *Tanzimat*.⁵⁶³

Following these developments, in 1856, the *Islahat Fermanı* (Royal Edict of Reform) had been declared to provide equality between the Muslims⁵⁶⁴ and the non-Muslims. It is important to remember that, according to Kuyaş, the modernization initiatives, which started in the 19th (exactly with 1826) century and ended up in secularism, focused only on the inequalities between the Muslims and the non-Muslims. However, the secular code is not effective in differences within the Muslim community, such as Alawite and Sunnite divisions. The Ottoman Empire was definitely an Empire of the Sunnite Muslims.

With *Islahat Fermanı*, the non-Muslims could be hired as civil servants of the state, were represented in Provincial Assemblies and *Meclis-i Vala*, which would prepare the new code of rules for the reformation and supervise the civil servants. Moreover, the foreigners also gained the right of having real estate in the towns and cities. By *Islahat Fermanı*, the decision-making process included different commissions and institutes.⁵⁶⁵ Those commissions were specialized in health, communication,

⁵⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 86.

⁵⁶² *Ibid.*, 86.

⁵⁶³ *Ibid.*, 89-91.

⁵⁶⁴ Vedat Çorlu, ed., "Cemal Kafadar İle Söyleşi: Ortaçağ Anadolu'su ve Osmanlı Devleti'nin Kuruluşu Üzerine," *Cogito: Osmanlı Özel Sayısı*, no. 19 (1999): 70.

⁵⁶⁵ Then, The Agha of the Janissaries was replaced by *Serasker* "who performed the duties of the commander in chief and the war minister." The *ulema* (men of religion) lost their financial independence because of cuts in their religious benefactions, and they became the paid officials of the state. The Sheikh-ül Islam became a clerk bound to Porte (*Babiali*), and "henceforth exercised only advisory and consultative functions." The ministries of the interior, the foreign affairs and the finance were established. Moreover, in 1838, "the grand vizier was given the title of *Başvekil* or prime minister." Quotations from the same page. Ahmad, *The Making of Modern Turkey*, 25

transport, etc. The territorial laws, criminal laws, law of the land and the sea trade and the civil laws were rearranged. Formerly the religious life of the non-Muslims had been protected in the context of tolerance, with *Islahat Fermanı*; they were regarded in the context of the legal rights and freedom.⁵⁶⁶

In addition, related to the social context, under the reign of Mahmud II (1808-1839), the fez had been accepted as a common headgear; it spread among both the Christians and the Muslims, which hid the differences between the Muslims and the non-Muslims in terms of appearance.⁵⁶⁷ Therefore, the first limitation came to Karagöz, the ethnic differentiations exposed by different dressing styles were on the way of disappearance. In 1844, the death penalty for (formerly) the non-Muslims who wanted to convert from Islam back to their original religion was abolished. In 1846, the slave bazaars were abolished in İstanbul; in 1857, the slavery was totally illegalized.⁵⁶⁸

Furthermore, with *Gülhane Hatt-ı Hümayün* and then with *Islahat Fermanı*, the subjects were endowed with the modern equal rights in the social life through abolishing the differences based on the religion and ethnicity according to the “*Millet System*.” The subjects changed their status from being a member of a religious community to being a citizen.⁵⁶⁹ By this way, the Ottoman Empire had entered into the new era by which the Ottoman nation-building process was grounded on the notion of the citizenship and the judicial equality. The Ottoman rule based on the “*Millet System*” (Community System) was abandoned.

Moreover, the reforms started in 1839 were highly effective among the communities living under the rule of the sultan. The nationalist movements in Europe, already started with the ideas spreading from the American (1774) and the French (1789) Revolutions, influenced the perception of those communities.

On the other side, The “Imperial Edict” (“*Islahat Fermanı*”) also resulted in raising an awareness of a national identity among the communities living in the Ottoman territory. After the Crimean War (1853-1856), The Treaty of Paris⁵⁷⁰ in 1856 was

⁵⁶⁶ Tanör, "II. Tanzimat Fermanı; III. Islahat Fermanı," 100.

⁵⁶⁷ Bilal Eryılmaz, *Osmanlı Devletinde Gayrimüslim Tebanın Yönetimi* (İstanbul: Risale, 1990), 50.

⁵⁶⁸ Tanör, "II. Tanzimat Fermanı; III. Islahat Fermanı," 110-111.

⁵⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, 86-111

⁵⁷⁰ The last article, oppressively added by the Kingdom of Sardinia, France, and the United Kingdom, said that the Ottoman Empire was responsible to execute the “Imperial Edicts”,

signed. By this way, the Western states gained the guardianship of the non-Muslims, and a right to interfere the internal affairs of the Ottoman Empire indirectly. Therefore, the non-Muslim communities were able to develop an awareness of creating autonomous nations.⁵⁷¹ The first nation separating from the Empire was Greeks with the *Edirne* Agreement in 1829. Later, in 1912, The Balkan Alliance, composed of Greece, Bulgaria, Serbia and Montenegro, was formed against the Empire.⁵⁷²

Despite the consequences, which irreversibly changed the Ottoman Empire, those edicts, did not bring the expected results because of the lack of a central political power to enforce them and the socio-political supports from the people. Besides, the Muslims did not support the Edict for the reason that they considered it as a Christian invention. After 1871⁵⁷³, Abdülhamit II had abandoned the constitutional regime for 30 years until the Committee of Union and Progress was founded.

However, Ahmad⁵⁷⁴ sees the most significant outcome of the *Tanzimat period* as the creation of a new bureaucratic class. Although this class defined itself as loyal to the Ottoman dynasty, they managed to create a self-understanding that they were no longer “being manifested only in the person of the sultan.” These new officials, who prepared the reformist edict, chose Europe as their model. This new class thought, “The success of modern Europe was based on the dual principles of the sanctity of private property and constitutional restraints on the authority of the sultan, hitherto absolute.”⁵⁷⁵ Hence, the delayed entrance of the Western metaphysics has finally penetrated into Ottoman world, whose values became upside down.

which was actually prepared with the consent of the Ottoman sultan, in return of a support against Russia. Eryılmaz, *Osmanlı Devletinde Gayrimüslim Tebanın Yönetimi*, 61

⁵⁷¹ *Ibid.*, 61.

⁵⁷² *Ibid.*, 44.

⁵⁷³ That was the date when the *Tanzimat* Reformist Ali Pasha died. Following the deaths of the *Tanzimat* Bureaucrats, the balance of power had changed once again in the advantage of the sultan and the grand vizier. Tanör, "II. Tanzimat Fermanı; III. Islahat Fermanı," 105.

⁵⁷⁴ Ahmad, *The Making of Modern Turkey*, 25

⁵⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, 25.

The *Tanzimat*'s Ideology: Ottomanism

Those developments caused an ideological shift⁵⁷⁶ in the Empire. With the early 20th century, center has shifted from the sultan's subjects composed of "*Millet-i Muhtelife*" to "*Ottomanism*."⁵⁷⁷

During and after the *Tanzimat* period, the concept of Ottomanism was developed to keep the Empire united especially by the emerging new elite, and Ortaylı says that, in the 19th century, the Ottomanism had been transformed into a kind of citizenship, an identity. That was a sign of the modernization.⁵⁷⁸ İnalçık says that *Tanzimat* brought a new bunch of concepts: instead of the traditional Ottoman reality, ideology of loyalty to the Ottoman dynasty and territorial integrity would present a kind of Ottoman patriotism, a proto-nationalism to the communities.⁵⁷⁹

According to Eryılmaz⁵⁸⁰, the basic doctrine of "*Kanun-i Esasî*" ("The First Constitution of the Ottoman Empire" in 1876) was the Ottomanism. It aimed to enforce public participation regardless of the religious, denominative and racial differences, an accountable governing, and to cast those separatist communities' lot with the Empire through attaching them into a common interest.

⁵⁷⁶ Karpat, Kemal. "Osmanlı Nüfusu, (1830-1914), 20-22.

For further explanations: Yusuf Akçura, *Üç Tarzı Siyaset*. 3rd. Translated by Ü. Arsan (İstanbul: Lotus Yayınevi, 2008); Yusuf Akçura, *Türkçülüğün Tarih*. (İstanbul: Kaynak Yayınları, 2001); Ziya Gökalp, *The principles of Turkism*, Translated by R. Devereux (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1968).

⁵⁷⁷ However, Abdülhamit II (1876-1909) thought that the Ottomanism was not as effective as he expected; he later preferred to use only the Islam as a uniting element of the Empire. Eryılmaz, *Osmanlı Devletinde Gayrimüslim Tebanın Yönetimi*, 90.

⁵⁷⁸ According to Ortaylı, "the Ottoman identity" is a two-sided issue. It has to be decided whether this is a definition covering different ethnic groups but addressing only one religious group (the Muslim communities), or an identity covering all the religions and races. For the Ottoman subjects of the early centuries, the "*Osmanlılık*" was an unknown concept. In the classic era of the Ottoman Empire, the word *Ottoman* was used for the ruling class (military) only. According to Ortaylı, Ottomanism was not a kind of nationalism based on the distinctive historical consciousness; rather, it was an ideology of a pragmatic patriotism based on the certain traditions. Formerly, the Ottoman was the name of the state as it was in many Islamic states, which were called by the name of the dynasty. Therefore, there was no such thing as "Ottoman identity" covering the totality of the population. The Ottoman elites had shaped this new identity as it emerged in the 19th century. Yet, these efforts of Ottomanism had been interrupted by the rising strands of nationalism at that time. Ortaylı, "Osmanlı" Kimliği," 79-86.

⁵⁷⁹ Çorlu, ed. "Halil İnalçık İle Söyleşi," 39.

⁵⁸⁰ Eryılmaz, *Osmanlı Devletinde Gayrimüslim Tebanın Yönetimi*, 90.

The *Ottoman* is defined by the *Devlet-i Osmaniye* (the State of the Ottomans) first in the eighth article of *Kanun-i Esasi*⁵⁸¹ in 1876 as follows,

Without any exception, all the individuals under the rule of the Ottoman State are considered as *Ottoman* regardless of their religions and sects. And the title *Ottoman* is earned and lost according to the special legal circumstances.⁵⁸²

After the period of Mahmut II, it is accepted that as long as being loyal to the state, everyone is free in his thoughts and beliefs. As Göyünç cites, Karpat⁵⁸³ considers this statement as a declaration of a secular attitude, if not expressed in philosophical terms, applied in practice.

With the emerging bureaucracy and the concept of the Ottomanism after *Tanzimat*, a new wealthy class regardless of the language and the religion has emerged as well as the basis of the future Turkish nationalism has been seeded. Rums and Jews increased in number in the Ottoman bureaucracy after *Tanzimat*. When the parliament was opened in 1876, the 1/3 of the members consisted of the non-Muslims. This ratio was related to the influence of the non-Muslims on the bureaucracy. Actually, the Ottoman bureaucracy was including different ethnic groups. The reforms, being made since the reign of Mahmut II, had created such kind of multi-national composition in the Ottoman Bureaucracy.⁵⁸⁴

Accordingly, population composition of İstanbul started to change especially at the beginning of the 20th century.⁵⁸⁵ According to the 1844 Ottoman census, Muslims were composing 47.91%, Rums were 21.39%, Armenians were 22.43%, Catholics were 2.4% Jews 5.87% of the total population. In 1885, a new category was introduced that is "foreign nationality," which was consisting 14.79% of the total population. According to the same population census, because the Muslims were in the majority in the Ottoman Empire, and some activity fields were excluding the non-Muslims, it seemed that they have the highest population in occupations, such as craftsmen, artisans, traders and clergy. However, Karagöz was mainly the product of the artisans, and thus the Rums and Armenians should have been active in Karagöz performing regarding their population percentages, which were

⁵⁸¹ Gözübüyük and Kili, *Türk Anayasa Metinleri 1839-1980, Kanun-i Esasi*, 28.

⁵⁸² Nejat Göyünç, "Osmanlı Devleti Hakkında," edited by Vedat Çorlu, *Cogito: Osmanlılar Özel Sayısı*, no. 19 (1999): 88. Translation belongs to the author (H.B. 2013).

⁵⁸³ *Ibid.*, 19.

⁵⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, 82

⁵⁸⁵ Behar, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğunun ve Türkiye'nin Nüfusu 1500-1927*.

25.4% for the Rums and 27% for the Armenians in 1885. In the 15th century, the Muslim-Turks were dominant in the fields of industry and trade, and composing an influential segment in the big cities against the government. The Non-Muslim, *dhimmi*s, such as Armenians, Rums and Jews became dominant in trade only after the 16th century.⁵⁸⁶

Social and Cultural Effects of *Tanzimat*

In time of Abdülmecit I (1861-1876) also known as the Sultan of the Firsts⁵⁸⁷, following *Gülhane-i Hatt-ı Hümayun* (Noble Edict of the Rose Chamber), the newly accepted regulations can be listed as follows:

In Economy;

- The first Ottoman paper banknote, namely “*Kaime-i Nakdiye*” was put in to circulation in 1840,
- The first modern budget plan was accepted in 1846-1847,
- The Collection of taxes were reorganized,
- The first loan was borrowed from England following the Crimean War
- The guild system started to be dissolved, and later replaced by the factories,
- The Ottoman Central Bank, namely The “*Bank-ı Osmanî*”, in 1856, and the Ottoman Stock Exchange, namely “*Dersaadet Tahvilat Borsası*”, in 1866 were established.

In Education;

- The institution of the Council of Public Instruction in 1845, and the Ministry of Education, which was “*Mekatib-i Umumiye Nezareti*” in Turkish in 1847 were established,
- The Ministry of Healthcare, “*Tıbbiye Nezareti*” was established in 1850,
- The first modern universities (“*Dar-ül Fünun*” in 1848 and “*Galatasaray Sultanisi*” in 1869), teacher schools (“*Dar-ül Muallimin*” in 1848), and the School of Economic and Political Sciences (“*Mekteb-i Mülkiye*” in 1859) were established,
- The Academy of Sciences, “*Encümen-i Daniş*” was established 1851.

In Law;

- “*Meclis-i Maarif-i Umumiye*”, which was the prototype of the First Ottoman Parliament in 1876, was established in 1841,
- The Decree of Commercial and Business Law based on the French one was declared in 1840,

⁵⁸⁶ İnalçık, *Devlet-i Aliye, Klasik Dönem (1302-1606)*, 124

⁵⁸⁷ Emile Tarin, *İlklerin Padişahı Sultan Abdülmecit*, translated by Kemal Ergezen [İstanbul: Parşömen Yayınevi, (1857) 2011].

- The Civil and Criminal Code, again according to the French model, was reorganized in 1840. First European style courts were opened in 1843 and the non-Muslims were also accepted as witnesses in murder cases,
- The compulsory military service was accepted in 1843; recruitment was reorganized; the duration military obligation was fixed to 4 years. The Non-Muslims gained the right of being promoted colonelcy in the military service in 1847,
- The Ministry of Marine; “*Bahriye Nezaret*”, was established,
- The modern Municipality of İstanbul, which was called as “*Şehremaneti*”, in 1854 and the City Planning Council that is “*İntizam-ı Şehir Komisyonu*” in 1855 were established,
- The Land Code was accepted in 1857 so, the non-Muslims had the right of buying a real property in the Ottoman territory.

In Socio-Economy;

- The first Ottoman national anthem and the Ottoman national flag were adopted in 1844,
- The first post offices of the Empire were opened in 1840,
- The first national identity cards, officially named as “*Mecidiye Identity Papers*”, or informally “*Kafa Kağıdı*”, were introduced in 1844
- Slavery and slave trade was abolished,
- “*Şirket-i Hayriye*”, which operated the first steam-powered commuter ferries, was founded in 1851,
- First telegraph networks and railway networks were built between 1847–1855
- “*Serbesti-i Kürşad Nizamnamesi*” was accepted, which allowed the private sector publishers and printing, in 1857
- Homosexuality was decriminalized in 1858.

Like Abdülmecit I, Abdülhamit II (1876-1909) was also interested in technology and modernization except for the electricity. According to Refik Halit Karay cited by Faroqhi⁵⁸⁸, Abdülhamit II was afraid of electricity, which he resembled to poisonous scorpion. However, he was influential in the development of the railroads, telegraph lines and photography.⁵⁸⁹ Besides, it is mentioned by Faroqhi that he presented the photographs of the candidate grooms to his daughter to choose.⁵⁹⁰

In the late 19th century, the streets were also in consideration of renewal. The streets were planned to be enlarged so the carriers and the new cars could pass. It

⁵⁸⁸ Faroqhi, *Osmanlı Kültürü ve Gündelik Yaşam*, 300.

⁵⁸⁹ He had used the photography to control the building projects, and he was first to enforce his authority by hanging his own headshots rather than paintings on the walls of the government agencies. Gökhan Akçura, *Ivr Zıvr Tarihi III: Uzun Metin Sevenlerden Misiniz?* (İstanbul: Om Yayınevi, 2002), 127.

⁵⁹⁰ Faroqhi, *Osmanlı Kültürü ve Gündelik Yaşam*, 307.

became an issue of a prestige for women to go to bathhouses by cars in those years. Enlarging the streets was also important for the fires. In the fire of *Hocapaşa*, mentioned earlier, the whole quarter was destroyed in 1845.⁵⁹¹ In the play of *Hain Kahya* (Traitor Butler), Hacivat says that his father had died in *Hocapaşa* fire.

Faroqhi⁵⁹² also says that despite the fact that the late 17th and the early 18th centuries were the years of the political and economic distress, the “artistic creation,” in her words, and the intellectual quests gained importance. Else, she says that Karagöz and Ortaoyunu were highly popular in the 19th century, but it should be related to the increase in printed materials mentioning about either Karagöz or Karagöz plays in general in the Ottoman Culture.

The Emerging of the Turkish Press

There was a boom in the printed media. The history of the Turkish press has started with the *Vakayi-i Mısriyye* published in Egypt in 1828. Then came *Takvim-i Vekâyi* in 1831, which was the official gazette of the Ottoman state. Not only official but also private newspapers like *Ceride-i Havadis* in 1841, *Tercüman-ı Ahval* in 1860 and others were published as well. While *Ceride-i Havadis* became a semi-official newspaper with the financial support of the government, *Tercüman-ı Ahval* survived without government support. Agah Efendi was publishing this newspaper. After a while, *Şinasi* who had posted articles on *Agah Efendi's* newspaper, began to publish his own paper called *Tasvir-i Efkar* in 1862. Thereafter, Turkish press diversified, and the number of the papers and journals increased rapidly.⁵⁹³

In 1864, the press issues were bound to some regulations by the assent of the sultan. Especially after the First Constitutional Period, the journals and the newspapers were countless. Then, the grand vizier *Ali Paşa* (1860-1932) had prepared *Kararname-i Ali*⁵⁹⁴ to exercise supervisory control on the press, which meant that the state officials could close down a newspaper if they decided that it posed a threat to the regime. That was actually the start of the censor for the Turkish press.

⁵⁹¹ Faroqhi, *Subjects of the Sultan: Culture and Daily Life in Ottoman Empire*, 255.

⁵⁹² Faroqhi, *Osmanlı Kültürü ve Gündelik Yaşam*, 293.

⁵⁹³ M. Önal, and Z. Güner, *Eski Harfli Türkçe Yayınlar Toplu Kataloğu* (Ankara: Kültür ve Turizm Bakanlığı Milli Kütüphane Başkanlığı Yayınları, 1987), V.

⁵⁹⁴ Cevdet Kudret, *Abdülhamit Döneminde Sansür* (İstanbul: Cumhuriyet Gazetesi, 2000), 7.



Figure 39 The caricature that sent Teodor Kasap to jail

Besides, in 1870, *Teodor Kasap* (1835-1905) had published *Diyojen* a Comic Paper/Journal in the Ottoman Language. This journal benefited from Karagöz and Hacivat to deal with the current social events in satiric ways. His journal was censored and banned many times so that, he published the same journal with different names like *Çıngıraklı Tatar* and *Hayal*, which Karagöz refers in the introductory section of *Karagöz'ün Esrar içip Deli Olması* (Karagöz Gets Mad by Smoking Hashish) play. He was the first

publicist in the Ottoman Empire, who was sentenced to jail under the charge of publishing a caricature.⁵⁹⁵ After that, he had fled abroad. In that caricature Hacivat asks Karagöz what happened to him. Karagöz answers, "This is what the freedom is within the limits set by the law, Hacivat!"⁵⁹⁶ Karagöz's reply, "*Kanun dairesinde serbesti* Hacivat!" was referring to the twelfth article of *Kanun-i Esasi*⁵⁹⁷, the constitution of the Ottoman Empire. The article says that the press is free within the limits set by the law (Article 12: "*Matbuat kanun dairesinde serbesttir*").

Individuality in the Literature, the Rise of the Modern Subject

Besides the journals, there was also a boom in Turkish novels and literature works examining the conditions of *Tanzimat*. Additionally, according to Faroqhi⁵⁹⁸, since the Ottoman Empire was labeled as the "sick man" of Europe, the insolence in the European media was disturbing the Turkish intellectuals of the 19th century; they were thinking that they surrendered easily to a foreign culture with the politics of the *Tanzimat period*. Those intellectuals felt themselves isolated from the public as a regret of a moral mistake. Therefore, they tried to reconcile the present traditions with the dominant tastes to address the larger part of both the upper and the middle classes.

⁵⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, 27

⁵⁹⁶ Eli ve ayağı zincirlenmiş Karagöz'e Hacivat sorar: "Nedir Bu hal?" Karagöz şöyle yanıt verir: "Kanun dairesinde serbesti Hacivat!" *Ibid.*, 27.

⁵⁹⁷ Gözübüyük and Kili, *Türk Anayasa Metinleri 1839-1980, Kanun-i Esasi*, 28.

⁵⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, 300

Mardin⁵⁹⁹ says that it was a difficult period; therefore, most of the first Ottoman novels were in the form of theses examining the problems of the rapid social and political changes. The major issues were either the social status of women or the Westernization of the upper-class men. The changing perception of time and space with the *Tanzimat period*, which makes it hard to adapt for the Ottomans at that time was also crucial. The Western notion of time according to which the day is divided into 24 hours was different from the Eastern notion of time. One is defined as mystical that flows as it is; the other is defined as modern arranged by the man,⁶⁰⁰ according to the demands of production and efficiency. Besides, the ancient places of socialization, such as coffeehouses, saint's tombs and gardens of mosques were replaced by the modern places, such as the theaters, restaurants, hotel lobbies, etc. Işın also adds that the insensitivity among people, especially in İstanbul, started to develop with modernization.⁶⁰¹

In 1859, Şinasi had written a play titled “Şair Evlenmesi” (Poet’s Wedding), which criticized and caricatured the arranged marriages.⁶⁰² This play should have inspired the Karagöz play named “Karagöz Evleniyor” (Karagöz is getting married), also to be examined below. Besides, *Samipaşazade Sezai’s* novel *Sergüzeşt* (1889) and *Namık Kemal’s* novel *İntibah* (1876) were criticizing female slavery, and *İntibah* was telling about a piteous story of a woman slave (*Cariye*).⁶⁰³ As a reminding, when slavery was banned by the decree of 1857, Abdülaziz declared that he would not set up a *Harem* (the potential wives of the Sultan, composed of slaves) when he ascended the throne after Abdülmecit.⁶⁰⁴ On the other hand, *Ahmet Mithat’s* novel *Felatun Bey ve Rakım Efendi* and *Recaizade Ekrem’s* novel *Araba Sevdası* (Car Desire) were dealing with the exaggerated Westernization of men in the society. According to Mardin⁶⁰⁵ the “Jon Turks,” who thought that Europeanization means impersonating the social behaviors stimulated such novels.

⁵⁹⁹ Şerif Mardin, "Tanzimat'tan Sonra Aşırı Batılılaşma," in *Türk Modernleşmesi Makaleler 4*, by Şerif Mardin (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınevi, 1992), 31

⁶⁰⁰ Işın, *İstanbul'da Gündelik Hayat*, 126-131.

⁶⁰¹ *Ibid.*, 126-131

⁶⁰² Mardin, "Tanzimat'tan Sonra Aşırı Batılılaşma," 31

⁶⁰³ *Ibid.*, 33

⁶⁰⁴ Tanör, "II. Chapter: Tanzimat Fermanı; III. Chapter: Islahat Fermanı," 110.

⁶⁰⁵ Mardin, "Tanzimat'tan Sonra Aşırı Batılılaşma," 41-42

The New Ottomans, among whom also there were *Ali Suvai* and *Ahmet Mithat*, were highly critical about the new conspicuous consumption attitudes⁶⁰⁶ came with the *Tanzimat* period and Westernization. Yet, with *Tanzimat*, the “*fütüvvet*” morals were also dissolved by the Westernization efforts. The values have seriously changed and the universal values have strongly entered into the system with the *Tanzimat period*, also leading to structural changes. The city life gained importance but the difference between the high culture and the low culture became more visible.⁶⁰⁷

In relation with the printed media and the new kind of literature, there was also a transformation in the field of production, as it is seen above. The writers as observers telling about the stories of “individuals” increased in number. Individuality entered into scene, although, Kafadar claims in his book, “*Kim Var İmiş Biz Burada Yoğ İken, Dört Osmanlı: Yeniçeri, Tüccar, Derviş ve Hatun*,”⁶⁰⁸ that the first-person narrations already existed in the literature of the Ottoman culture. His book is telling about the auto-narrations of a janissary, a Merchant, a Dervish and a Woman. However, he also says that those narrations hardly include the private thoughts of the narrator; rather they were talking about their daily social lives. Thus, the first person narrations (autobiographies) based on the self-observation was new for the Ottoman literature, which was enforcing the individuality in parallel with the new regulations and the first constitution.

Right after the declaration of *Gülhane-i Hatt-ı Hümayün* Abdülmecit I (1839-1861) demanded European architects and artists to build a monumental and unique theater building inside the *Dolmabahçe* Palace. The artists employed in this theater were the French, Italian and the Turkish musicians, actors and sopranos. They were continually taking part in ballets and operas. Zeki Bey, who was a foreign ambassador, became famous as a tenor. In the period of Abdülhamit II this theater had burnt. Then, Abdülhamit II had made the theater rebuilt in the place of the royal stables.⁶⁰⁹ Nevertheless, the palace artisans were employed under the organization of “*Hademe-i Hassa-i Şahane*” (private servants of the Sultan). Later,

⁶⁰⁶ However, Mardin points that the Ottomans were very generous to their slaves, customers, soldiers and the servants working for them, which was already a kind of conspicuous consumption. Besides, buying jewelry, house, and giving and taking presents were the other forms of investments. *Ibid.*, 49-50

⁶⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, 30.

⁶⁰⁸ Cemal Kafadar, *Kim Var İmiş Biz Burada Yoğ İken, Dört Osmanlı: Yeniçeri, Tüccar, Derviş ve Hatun* (İstanbul: Metis Yayınları, 2012).

⁶⁰⁹ Sevengil, *İstanbul Nasıl Eğleniyordu?*, 150.

this organization was divided into two⁶¹⁰: “*Mızıka-i Hümayun*” (Imperial Band) and “*Hademe-i Hassa-i Şahane Ferikî*” (not exactly but means “Private Servants of the Sultan’s Pashas”). The actors and the Karagöz performers were employed under the “*Mızıka-i Hümayun*.” Ahmet Mithat Efendi was responsible for the organization of the plays to be performed in the palace theater, and Savfet Bey had prepared a ballet called “*Zeybek*” (Zaibek).⁶¹¹

In the same years, the old forms of public spectacles like Karagöz and *Ortaoyunu*, living for centuries, were put into competition with the newly introduced Western theaters, and were desired to find a modern identity.

At that time, some of the intellectuals were debating about the traditional arts, especially Karagöz, by comparing them with the newly opened Western types of theaters. For example, Namık Kemal argues that Karagöz is a total disgrace due to the dirtiness, and suggests people to go to the Western types of theaters. On the contrary, Teodor Kasap argues that if a unique Turkish theater was to develop, it should only be grounded on these traditional forms, and states that he would rather prefer Karagöz’s Turkish than the broken Turkish accent of the Armenian and the Greek originated actors in modern theaters. However, Namık Kemal replies as the theater could keep going thanks to those Armenians who Teodor Kasap would not prefer.⁶¹² Furthermore, Teodor Kasap was writing Karagöz and Hacivat dialogues in *Hayal Journal*, one of them, written in 1876, was directly related with the newly opened western style theaters. At that time, Güllü Agop was a player and the director of *Gedikpaşa Theater*. According to the dialogue, Karagöz and Hacivat was sitting in the lodge of *Gedikpaşa Theater*, and Hacivat was talking about the theater and beginning play in rather didactic manner with Karagöz. Kasap was trying to put the difference between the traditional Ottoman theaters and the new western style theaters. At that time, as And⁶¹³ states, there were many theater communities had been established and presenting plays. Even it was known that Güllü Agop was making his players to sign an agreement with they would work in his theaters. Therefore, on the one hand, convention practice of spontaneous enacting as the occasion requires was being ended, and spectating practice of the

⁶¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 151

⁶¹¹ *Ibid.*, 151

⁶¹² And, *Geleneksel Türk Tiyatrosu (Kukla - Karagöz - Ortaoyunu)*, 140. Also see: Peri Efe, “Teodor Kasap, Namık Kemal Haşmet’in Geleneksel Seyirlikler-Batı Tiyatrosu Tartışmaları,” *Toplumsal Tarih*, no. 181 (January 2009): 80-85.

⁶¹³ And, *Başlangıcından 1983’e Türk Tiyatro Tarihi*. 81.

audience were being shaped through teaching manners about how to behave in theaters saloons.

New Forms of Karagöz in Tanzimat Period

Again, under the reign of Abdülhamit II, a Karagöz performer named Mehmet Efendi was employed in the palace as a member of *Hadame-i Şahane*.⁶¹⁴ Ahmet Rasim also mentions about *Hayal Küpü Emin Ağa*, who performs each play only for once, that is, each performance was different from the previous one. *Cerrah Salih Efendi* was also famous with his mimicking of Circassian Woman, and *Katip Salih* was famous for setting up a theater within the theater.⁶¹⁵

The values of the *Tanzimat Period* were reflected in the Karagöz plays. Since Muslims and non-Muslims were equal in the social life, the differences in accents, behaviors, clothes, etc. of “*Millet-i Muhtelif*” became no longer comic; Teodor Kasap was even finding those accents distasteful. In addition, the social conditions that enabled caricaturizing the non-Muslim communities and exaggerating the characteristics of those people in contradistinction to the Muslims, and the conditions supported the belief in Muslims’ superiority were collapsed.



Figure 40 A
Sanger Woman
and a Ballet by
Hayali Nazif

With the introduction of new forms of “arts,” new techniques were employed in Karagöz plays to catch up with modernization. It was known that Ahmet Mithat Efendi (1844-1892)⁶¹⁶ used to invite the Karagöz performers to his home. While they were performing, he used to take notes and suggest them to change this or that part according to the new values compatible with the new kinds of theaters. Among them, he was in favor of Katip Salih also known as Hayal-i Sehir Katip Salih Efendi, who was the stage manager at a Company mainly performing *Tuluat* plays. It was stated by Metin And via Ritter that Katip Salih was 70 years old in 1918.⁶¹⁷ Later, he leaves the company and starts to perform Karagöz plays in new styles in *Şehzadebaşı*.⁶¹⁸ He was also a well-known Karagöz performer of

⁶¹⁴ Rasim, *Muharrir bu ya! (1865-1932)*, 68.

⁶¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 69-70.

⁶¹⁶ He is the publisher of the Second Constitutional Era. He became a popular writer with the newspaper called *Tercüman-ı Hakikat*. *Tercüman-ı Hakikat* was published between the years of 1878 and 1921 as the first long-lived paper of the Ottoman Empire (H.B. 2012).

⁶¹⁷ And, *Geleneksel Türk Tiyatrosu (Kukla - Karagöz - Ortaoyunu)*, 142

Abdülhamit II. The *Nev-i İcad* Plays, in other words, newly written plays started to be performed under his initiatives. With the encouragement of Ahmet Mithat Efendi, He also made some changes in the technique of performance and the content of the Karagöz plays. He tried a frosted glass instead of a fabric screen; however, the figures were badly affected, and they were damaged, then he left using frosted glass. Besides, he was the first to use wood or a gas light instead of a candle light. He also adapted the elements of the traditional improvisational theatre, *Tuluat* to Karagöz. He started to use decorative curtains, roller blind screen; for example, he was replacing the white fabric screen with seascape as a décor related to the scene before the play began.⁶¹⁹ He performed Karagöz as though Karagöz was *İbiş*, who was the main character of the *Tuluat* Theater. In addition, he tried to perform live music behind the screen; he added Western style cantons and duets to the end of the plays.⁶²⁰ Hayali Küçük Ali stated that Katip Salih was a palace performer.⁶²¹

These efforts all were pointing out a shift in the understanding of art with the introduction of the *new arts* into the Ottoman society. The older arts, once was understood in the context of *technē*, started to differentiate, the division of art from the craft became visible in favor of art. The term manufacturer suppressed the artisans and the productions of the mind were induced to the field of the fine-arts-to-be. At that time The Ottoman society has been literally introduced with the term of fine arts after the establishment of *Sanayi-i Nefise Mektebi* that is the first the Academy of Fine Arts under the leadership of Osman Hamdi Bey in 1882.

Besides, Karagöz plays were started to be published, first of which belong to Katip Cemil and Katip Salih in 1899. Actually, the printing and publishing did not make a big difference for the Hayali(s), who were countless in number. They were already performing Karagöz from memory, which was providing them flexibility and improvisation in the duration of the performance. Unlike the musicians, Karagöz performers did not need the apprentices to make their performers popular. Behar says that, in the Ottoman Empire, before the notation was widely used, a person knowledgeable in music had to teach his works to his pupils to register and make

⁶¹⁸ Peri Efe, "M. Raif Organ'ın Yeni Sabah'taki Yazılarından Seçme: Karagöz ve Nev İcat Dönemindeki Değişikler," *Toplumsal Tarih*, no. 228 (December 2012): 84-87.

⁶¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 84-87.

⁶²⁰ And, *Geleneksel Türk Tiyatrosu (Kukla - Karagöz - Ortaoyunu)*, 142

⁶²¹ Muhittin Sevilen, *Karagöz* (İstanbul: Milli Eğitim Basım Evi, 1969), 16.

them memorable; in other words, to make his works, music popular and familiar.⁶²² Even after the notation became widespread, Behar says that some of the musicians still rejected the notation under the pretext that it was against the traditional master-apprentice relations; besides, notation that was used in the western style music was insufficient to signify some tones, sounds in addition to pauses they had produced. Therefore, a kind of reaction had developed against the notation system. For Karagöz those were and still are the issues of technique. For a Karagöz performer, the plays were already anonymous, and have been played for centuries. Mastery was not in the work itself but in the live performance. Countless performers were performing the same plays for centuries but the names reached out to present times were related to their performance instead of the created works. Therefore, apart from archiving the plays for the future performers and researchers, the published plays did not make much difference for the performance. Rather, the new plays were written in the same structure of the classic plays, and the performances were still including improvisational elements even until the 1930s. However, publishing has fixed the structure of the plays and provided the contemporary performers to define Karagöz as a four-structured shadow play, and gave them an arrogance to reject any other type of shadow theater that is not fitting into that structure, which is apparently “*Enframing*” itself, according to the author.

In this context, *Cincilik* (Incantation), *Ağalık* (The Agha) and *Karagöz’ün Esrar İçip Deli Olması* (Karagöz Gets Mad by Smoking Joint) were estimated to be printed in 1889/1890 by Katip Cemil and Katip Salih, which requires them to be treated in the period following *Tanzimat*. However, those plays maintained the classic structure and the daily life codes in their plots. For example, the women were depicted and treated as same as they were in the old plays, slavery was maintained too; slang and sexual metaphors were commonly used in these plays. Only *Cincilik* (Incantation) play presents a love story passing between the Hacivat’s daughter and *Çelebi*, named *Tosun*. Nevertheless, this story was also included in the dialog section of classic *Canbazlar* (The Acrobats) play, in which the daughter of Hacivat was presented as an indecent woman seducing *Çelebi*. Later, they want to get married but could not because *Tosun* could not afford money for the bride price. Karagöz helps them. He deceives Hacivat, and persuades him that he had an ability to communicate with a jinni. He threatens Hacivat by saying that if he does not allow the children to get married; his jar of gold would be lost. The play ends with a

⁶²² Cem Behar, *Musikiden Müziğe: Osmanlı/Türk Müziği Gelenek ve Modernlik* (İstanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 2008), 113.

happy marriage. Perhaps, the play was criticizing the arranged marriages, but the habit of burying the wealth continues. As mentioned in the earlier chapter, *Ağalık* (The Agha) play had the same characteristics of the old plays even if it is estimated to be published in the late 19th century. Karagöz earns much by entertaining the sad Persian, who lost his father, and decided to be one-day Agha; he hires *Zenne* as slave, *Çelebi* as coffee maker, *Hacivat* as Ayvaz, and *Bolulu* as a Cook. The slang and the sexual metaphors were highly used.

In the dialog section of *Karagöz'ün Esrar İçip Deli Olması* (Karagöz Gets Mad by Smoking Joint) play, Karagöz is reading a newspaper to *Hacivat*, who never astonishes by any news Karagöz reads. Karagöz says that their figures and pictures were published with the name of "*Hayal*" in a poster announcing that the day after, a play telling a story about the Wedding of Karagöz would be performed in *Aksaray*.

The other three plays: *Bursa Leylası* (Leyla of Bursa), *Ortaklar* (The Partners) and *Sünnet* (The Circumcision) were also structured in the same manner of those old-fashioned plays in terms of language, such as slang and sexual metaphors, and the main peculiarities of the characters. However, in the dialog section of *Ortaklar* play, *Hacivat* follows two *Zennes*, who invite him to their home. They first get in a cart and then reach to the ferry stop, the women get on board but *Hacivat* cannot dare and goes back home. Karagöz says *Hacivat* that he is coward, but it is understood that *Hacivat* is actually telling about his dream. In the plot section of *Ortaklar* (The Partners) play, the drunkard, who was informed by Karagöz's wife, criticizes Karagöz for having two wives, but it was also known that polygamy was not common in the Ottoman Society as *Faroqhi*⁶²³ says. It was not much tolerated by women even in the 17th century. *Sünnet* (The Circumcision) play was probably re-interpreted later by *Katip Salih* who was known by performing a Karagöz play within the Karagöz play as the performer *Kör Hasanzade* did in the 16th century. In the plot section, a Karagöz performer is invited to entertain Karagöz in his circumcision ceremony. Karagöz continually interpolates to that small Karagöz to give quick reply to small *Hacivat*.

Hayali Nazif and the other performers who *Ritter* had contacted, as indicated in the previous section, should have also added some details to the plays. For example, in the dialog section of *Bahçe* (The Garden) play, Karagöz goes to see a cinematograph in *Tepebaşı*. The Ottomans first met with cinematography in 1896, one year after

⁶²³ *Faroqhi, Osmanlı Kültürü ve Gündelik Yaşam*, 130.

its premiere in France. The Lumiere Brothers had invented the cinematography⁶²⁴, and Bertrand, the illusionist of Abdülhamit II, contacted a representative of the Lumiere Brothers, who was Alexandre Promio. He had brought the first film named "*L'Arrivée du Train en Gare de la Ciotat*" (in Turkish of that time; "*Şümendüferle Seyehat*" - Travel by Train). The film that was composed of animated snapshots, which were called moving pictures presented to Abdülhamit II and his family in the *Yıldız Palace*.⁶²⁵ However, Weinberg had opened the first public cinema in Sponeck Tavern in Pera in 1897. He showed five movies, one of which was the "Travel by Train." The first movie theater Karagöz refers in one of the plays was opened in *Tepebaşı* with the name of the *Cinema Pathe*.⁶²⁶

The Constitutional Era: Towards the Turkish Republic

For thirty years, the Empire was ruled by a regime where power shared between the sultanate and westernizing bureaucracy, which the Committee of Union and Progress (CUP) was going to end, and rule the state for 10 years, under the constitutional monarchy.

In addition to the debate of the emerging elite in the Ottoman Empire starting with the *Tanzimat period*, Ahmad⁶²⁷ also adds that Abdülhamid II created a division within the army. One part was composed of professionals "trained in the modern military schools and imbued with the spirit of patriotism" and the others were the "officers who secured high rank principally because of their devotion to the sultan."⁶²⁸ Junior officers and the civil servants involved in anti-Hamidian movement, which was led secretly by the CUP aiming at overthrowing the autocracy of Abdülhamid II, and restoring the constitution abolished in 1878.⁶²⁹

⁶²⁴ Catherine Bertho, Lavenir and Frederic Barbier. *Diderot'dan İnternete Medya Tarihi*. Translated by Kerem Eksen (İstanbul: Okuyan Us, 2001), 184

⁶²⁵ Ayşegül Bilsin, "Kültür Endüstrisi Olgusunun Özel Bir Görünümü Olarak Günümüz Türk Toplumunda Eğlencenin İdeolojik Temellendirilmesi," (M.S. Thesis, Ankara: Gazi University, 2007), 233.

⁶²⁶ H. Berkay, "Tarih Notları: "Saray'da Sinema," *Hürriyet*, January 29, 2001. "Türk sinemasının serüveni," *Hürriyet*, November 12, 2001.

⁶²⁷ Ahmad, *The Making of Modern Turkey*, 24.

⁶²⁸ *Ibid.*, 24.

⁶²⁹ Ahmad continues as,

They set up a secret society, known as the Committee of Union and Progress (CUP) in 1889, and officers like Enver Pasha, Jemal Pasha, and Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, who all played critical political roles in modern Turkish history, were its members. The CUP-led rebellion in the army took place in June-July 1908, and as a result,

Those high bureaucrats namely the pashas of the Ottoman Porte (Babiali), who had increased power during the *Tanzimat* period (1839–1876), fell into silence until 1908. However, they understood “that they alone were capable of making the constitutional regime work.”⁶³⁰ In addition, they already believed that the “Western education, knowledge of Europe and her languages”⁶³¹ they got before and during the *Tanzimat period* gave them “the tools necessary to take Turkey into the modern world.”⁶³²

The Committee of Union and Progress’ movement gained importance in 1895 when the Armenian diplomatic crisis became the main issue. In 1902, the non-Muslim and the Muslim deputies besides the members of the other opposition movements held a conference in Paris.⁶³³ It was a direct initiative of the army but the civilians involved later. From the growing military class, a group of soldiers organized a rebellion in Macedonia in 1908, which resulted in the re-announcement of the *Kanun-i Esasi*. After the riot against the Sultan Abdülhamid II, the elections resulted in favor the CUP. The re-opened parliament was composed of 147 Turkish, 60 Arab, 27 Albanian, 26 Rum, 14 Armenian, 10 Slavic and 4 Jewish deputies. Although the CUP tried to suppress any counter movement, anti-unionist campaign grew bigger by the liberals with the help of the grand vizier Kamil Pasha, and the religious functionaries. This anti-unionist campaign ended up with the 31st March Incident (13 April 1909) which broke out by the support of “religious functionaries, known as softa(s), who had infiltrated the ranks of the garrison”⁶³⁴ in İstanbul. The “*Incident of March 31*” was suppressed by Mahmud Şevket Pasha, who later became the next grand vizier.⁶³⁵ In 1909, Abdülhamit II was deposed and Mehmet V. Reşat

Abdülhamid was forced to restore the constitution he had shelved 30 years earlier. This was the beginning of the Young Turk revolution, which continued for the next ten years, ending with the defeat of the Ottoman Empire in the First World War. *Ibid.*, 2.

⁶³⁰ *Ibid.*, 32.

⁶³¹ *Ibid.*, 32.

⁶³² *Ibid.*, 32.

⁶³³ Fuat Dündar, *İttihat ve Terakki'nin Müslümanları İskan Politikası (1913-1918)* (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2001), 19.

⁶³⁴ Ahmad, *The Making of Modern Turkey*, 36.

⁶³⁵ By this way, Mahmud Şevket Pasha had dominated the Committee for three years.

was made the new Sultan. The leaders of the CUP, Talat Bey became the Minister of the Interior Affairs whereas Cavit Bey became the Minister of Finance.⁶³⁶

In 1912, the Ottoman Empire was defeated by a coalition of Greece, Serbia, and Bulgaria in a very short time. During the peace negotiations held in London, The Great Powers were forcing the Porte to leave Edirne to the control of Bulgaria. By the Balkan War II, the Ottoman Empire lost 83% of her territory, 69% of her population and the significant income flooding from the Balkans.⁶³⁷ Under the measure of the events, while the Arabic, Bulgarian, Albanian and Armenian rebellions against the Ottoman Empire were shaking the Empire in its roots, the Union and Progress Party was divided into sub-parties.⁶³⁸

After the incident of *Babiali Baskını* (Porte Raid) in 1913,⁶³⁹ the CUP once again started a cleansing of its opponents, which would be the basic characteristics of those in power in Turkey for long years. Besides, the ideology of CUP did also change. Since the Ottoman Empire rapidly receding from Europe and the Rumelian Territory, the ideology shifted from Islamism to Turkism. That was not so successful for the CUP; however, Anatolia gained importance for the policies of the CUP because 1/3 of the Ottoman territory, which was mainly composed of Thrace was already lost. At the core of the circle, there was Turkism, Islamism construed the periphery, and the outskirts were composed of the Christian elements.⁶⁴⁰ CUP found the salvation in the ideology of Turkism, meaning that the new patria would be Anatolia.⁶⁴¹ Therefore, the Turk/Turkish type in Karagöz plays, once called as “*etrak-ı bi-idrak*” (Ignorant Turk) and depicted as a slowwitted, uncultivated and an inconsiderate person, was posited at the center of this new ideology and as a main actor of the new patria.

⁶³⁶ For the following five years, CUP tried to enforce its power. Those were the years of struggle for power between the pashas of Porte, which was supported especially by England and the Sultan, and CUP. Ahmad, *The Making of Modern Turkey*, 36.

⁶³⁷ *Ibid.*, 24.

⁶³⁸ In 1911, the opposing groups established *Hürriyet ve İtilaf Fırkası* (Freedom and Mutual Agreement Committee) and declared that the Union and Progress Party was becoming despotic. Dündar, *İttihat ve Terakki'nin Müslümanları İskan Politikası (1913-1918)*, 20.

⁶³⁹ It was assumed by the CUP that (Cypriot) Kamil Pasha would consign Edirne. “Then again with the help of Şevket Mahmud Pasha the *coup d'état* of 23 January was launched to prevent that, and Kâmil was forced to resign” The Unionists were finally and certainly in power. Ahmad, *The Making of Modern Turkey*, 38.

⁶⁴⁰ Dündar, *İttihat ve Terakki'nin Müslümanları İskan Politikası (1913-1918)*, 32.

⁶⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 36.

According to Ortaylı⁶⁴², the Turkishness was an identity that was delayed wisely and intentionally as long as the Empire survived. During the time of collapse, Turkism made its boom. There was already a cosmopolitan Ottoman Elite, who became Turk in accordance with the conditions of the new world. Ortaylı⁶⁴³ also says that the Community (Millet) System has transformed into the concept of the modern nation, which was made by the Ottomans not by the Arabs in the 19th century. In the nationalist era, the communities had addressed their national identities in accordance with the classification of the former *Millet System*. As a result, the “*Ottoman*” left to be a Muslim identity dominated by the Turkishness.

By the World War I (1913), although the Sultan declared a Jihad, it had no significant reception from the Muslims. Enver Pasha had taken over the command from German General Bronsart⁶⁴⁴, and forced this third legion to attack Russia, which dramatically resulted in the loss of twelve thousand soldiers in *Sarkamış* (a town in the Northern east of Anatolia).⁶⁴⁵ The Ottoman Empire was defeated as Germany was too, and the Rumelia were totally lost. In 1918, in the CUP congress, Talat Pasha acknowledged that the CUP was declared to be closed down, and *Teceddüt Fırkası* (Renewal Party) was the holder of a right of the property.⁶⁴⁶

Despite fatal military errors of the CUP, they managed to realize some reforms⁶⁴⁷, such as connecting all the sharia courts to the Ministry of Justice in 1917, accepting a Family Law, changing the calendar system and declaring a decree about the madrasahs so the madrasahs would be the contemporary scientific institutions.⁶⁴⁸ Taking the war as an opportunity, Said Halim Pasha announced the unilateral abolition of the capitulations in October 1, 1914. For creating a national

⁶⁴² Ortaylı, "Osmanlı" Kimliği," 79-80.

⁶⁴³ *Ibid.* 79-80.

⁶⁴⁴ It is useful to mention that the reform efforts in the Ottoman Empire, started from 1856, originated in various influences on the organization of the army. Between 1776 and 1856, Germany was influential; between 1856 and 1908, England was influential. By the 1912, Germany became influential again with the financial aid to the Ottoman Empire in return of joining the war allied with Germany.

⁶⁴⁵ Ahmad, *The Making of Modern Turkey*, 27.

⁶⁴⁶ Enver, Cemal and Talat Pashas with Dr. Nizam, Bahettin Şakir, Bedri and Azmi Bey fled to Germany with U-17 submarine. Thereafter, twenty-five-pieces of the American, English, French, Italian and Greek warships appeared in İstanbul for the military occupation. Dündar, *İttihat ve Terakki'nin Müslümanları İskan Politikası (1913-1918)*, 27.

⁶⁴⁷ However, they could not dare to reform about the croplands and farms because the government was still benefiting from *Öşür* (tithe) tax for her debt payments. The peasantry was suffering; 1% of the society, composed of the head of the tribes, was holding 39% of the agricultural territory. Ahmad, *The Making of Modern Turkey*, 45.

⁶⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 32.

economy, which had already begun in 1908, CUP conducted the boycott of Austrian and Greek goods in 1908–1909 and encouraged to consume the products of local manufactures. Besides, they accelerated the construction of networks of roads and railways to extend the borders of the national market and ease the transportation of the rural products.⁶⁴⁹ Moreover, to facilitate the business, they began to give names to streets and numbers to houses so postal addresses were reorganized. Telephone and telegraph lines were constructed and tramway system was electrified. Besides, the document like passport required for the internal travels was abolished. Although they had passed a law in 1913 to encourage the industry, it was not much effective until the abolishment of the capitulations.⁶⁵⁰

New Forms of Karagöz after the Constitutional Era

Despite the hard times, the Second Constitutional Era and the rule of the CUP had provided some sort of freedom besides the development of communication facilities by which, the public became more aware about the events of the times. In addition, with the development of the printed media, the interest in Karagöz seems to be increased from the beginning of the 20th century because the printed media appropriated the main peculiarities of Karagöz, and used the political satire during the years of war. Although, it is known that some traditional performers were still performing familiar Karagöz, which was still attractive for the public in coffeehouses, Karagöz as a performance started to search new ways to compete with the printed media, and performers and authors rather than the plays became prominent so it was their names to reach out the present time.

The dominating values of the constitutional era were mostly adopted from the western societies, so it was hard for the society to adapt. The traditional performers had also adopted the new clothing styles coming from the European Theater Tradition. Ahmet Rasim (1865-1932), says,

The reforms that changed the clothing of *Kavuklu* who became a contradictory [to the traditional theater] and was left belong to neither side [of Europe or Ottoman] also changed his manner of speaking.⁶⁵¹

Accordingly, he also says this new comic could not make the audience laugh unless he railed his lord and the other characters, such as ladies, neighbors, bandits, etc.

⁶⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 44.

⁶⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 44.

⁶⁵¹ Rasim, *Muharrir bu ya! (1865-1932)*, 52

with the low-level language of the public. *Kavuklu* used to call his lord as the “son of a donkey” or an “oak” but at that time, he were acting like a mannered servant. Actually, this means that *Kavuklu* who was previously a sharp-tongued and a blunt person changed with the modernization, and was tamed by the new values. *Kavuklu* and Karagöz shares the same characteristics, therefore, Karagöz had lived through the same transformations.

Ahmet Rasim, and Kunoş, who was conducting a research on Ortaoyunu and Karagöz at that time, knew each other. *Kavuklu Hamdi* (1841-1911) was also a friend of Ahmet Rasim, who asked Kunoş about him. Kunoş said that he did not hear of *Hamdi* for a long time, and Rasim decided to reach him; he found him in *Eyüp*. *Kavuklu Hamdi* was running a coffeehouse because Ortaoyunu was already replaced by the Western style theaters, and lost its popularity.⁶⁵² Abdülhamit II even became bored with these forms; *Kavuklu Hamdi* had been asked to leave the palace since the “traditional forms” were under pressure of the rigid rules of censorship and of the flourishing Western theaters.⁶⁵³

Ahmet Rasim⁶⁵⁴ also mentions about Kel Hasan (1874-1929), who was a famous comedian in the second constitutional era. Ahmet Rasim knew him since he was a child. At the time he mentioned him, Kel Hasan was sick, and about to die. For that occasion, he writes about the “ex-popular theater tradition of the Ottomans” in his article in about 1913 (first published in 1924). Kel Hasan was resisting to newly opened theaters of European style. Ahmet Rasim writes about Kel Hasan and the traditions he represents as if they were about to vanish. He mentions about the *Tuluat* (improvisatory) theater, and counts its characters, which were very similar to those of Karagöz plays. He also says that with its transformation towards Western-style stage, such a unique national theater was distorted and he adds, “All the [ex-] communities in the former borders of the Ottoman Territory were included.”⁶⁵⁵

At the same time, the productions in the field of new arts were continuing. In the *Tercüman-ı Hakikat* Newspaper, in 1907, it was announced that Behiç Bey was founding a new theater called “*Nev-i İcad Hayal Tiyatrosu*” (New Style Karagöz Theater).⁶⁵⁶ Besides, there were some efforts of “live” Karagöz in theatres with “*Canlı*

⁶⁵² *Ibid.*, 61.

⁶⁵³ Akşit, "Modernleşme sürecinde Karagöz," 69.

⁶⁵⁴ Rasim, *Muharrir bu ya! (1865-1932)*, 38-43

⁶⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 47

⁶⁵⁶ And, *Geleneksel Türk Tiyatrosu (Kukla - Karagöz - Ortaoyunu)*, 169.

Karagöz *Sahnesi Operet Kumpanyası*” (The Company of Live Karagöz Stage Operetta) in 1910.⁶⁵⁷ These initiatives would later be highly criticized by the contemporary performers who would claim that it is meaningless and unacceptable to play Karagöz live in a theater as well as it is totally against the technique of Karagöz; it was like killing of its spirit. On the way of defining Karagöz’s essence, İ.Hakkı Baltacıoğlu (1939)⁶⁵⁸ says, “Live Karagöz is degeneration; Live Karagöz is an absolute nonsense because Karagöz is a miracle of light and shadow. One who does this must be either mad or disrespectful.” This resistance against the “live” Karagöz also announces the limitations imposed by the modern “artists” on Karagöz, which would be placed in the “world picture” as a representative art by the 2000s.

With the revolution of 1908, some novels and other forms of modern literature had also been published under the name of Karagöz. Besides the 20 plays that İhsan Rahim personally published in 1909, short stories like *Karagöz Beyoğlu’nda* (Karagöz in Beyoğlu), *Karagöz Meyhanede* (Karagöz in the Tap House), *Karagöz Yatakta* (Karagöz in Bed), *Karagöz’ün Zifaf Odası* (Bridal Chamber of Karagöz) and *Karagöz’ün Koynunda* (Karagöz’s Bosom) were published.⁶⁵⁹



Figure 41 Journal of Karagöz

Besides these initiatives to modify Karagöz in accordance with the Western style of theaters at that time, which would later open up a serious debate about the whatness of Karagöz among the intellectuals of the early Republic, Sevinçli⁶⁶⁰ states that Karagöz and Hacivat became very popular because of the “Karagöz *Journal*” (1908-1955), which began to

be published right after the 17 days of the re-proclamation of the *Kanun-i Esasi*. The creator of the Karagöz Journal, which was posted two times a week, was Ali Fuad (?-1919) known as being closer to the public opinion. Ali Fuad is accepted as

⁶⁵⁷ And, *Geleneksel Türk Tiyatrosu (Kukla - Karagöz - Ortaoyunu)*, 142.

⁶⁵⁸ Sönmez ed., *Karagöz Kitabı*, 230-231.

⁶⁵⁹ Siyavuşgil, *Karagöz: Psiko-Sosyolojik Bir Deneme*, 52-53.

⁶⁶⁰ Efdal Sevinçli, "Cinsel Bilgileri Öğrenirken Sadıcımız Karagöz: Karagöz Evleniyor (1913) Oyunu," *Tiyatro Araştırmaları Dergisi* (Ankara University) 1, no. 27 (2009): 33.

the first Turkish caricaturist. This Journal of Karagöz⁶⁶¹ included in its pages some articles like Karagöz *Mutfakta* (Karagöz in Kitchen) and Karagöz *Evlениyor* (Karagöz is Getting Married) to provide public with helpful information.

“Cinsel Bilgileri Öğrenirken Sağdıçımız Karagöz: Karagöz Evleniyor” (1913) Play (Our Best Man Karagöz while Learning Sexual Information: The Play of Karagöz is Getting Married)

Karagöz *Evlениyor* was published in Karagöz Journal. This play was about the process of marriage and the facts of sexual life, which were taboo in the society and not allowed to be spoken openly. The author of the book is unknown. Sevinçli⁶⁶² says that this play was not performed on stage. According to Sevinçli, this was the reinvention of Karagöz at that time by the intellectuals.⁶⁶³ With the Karagöz Journal, Karagöz and Hacivat became the new heroes for issuing the social reality in satirical ways in the hands of a newly rising modern intelligentsia. Only the *Muhavere*(s) (Dialog sections) were posted in the Journal, in which Karagöz and Hacivat talks about the daily issues in simplistic and understandable ways.

In Karagöz *Evlениyor* play, Karagöz is depicted as a young Ottoman man who wants to get married. Hacivat is the headman of the neighborhood, and the one who will teach him the process of marriage, that is, what to do, to think before and after the marriage. The play is mainly didactic, and composed of several parts. The first two parts correspond to *Giriş* (Introductory Section) and *Muhavere* (Dialog Section) in the older plays; the other sections correspond to *Fasıl* (Main Plot section). In the introductory section, it was written as, “Karagöz is getting married’ is practically an advice book for the parents who want their daughters or sons to get married, and for those who want to get married.”⁶⁶⁴

In the first section, Hacivat refers to some social issues like posting a new journal, being elected as a deputy or a municipal governor whenever Karagöz asks him to guess what Karagöz is planning to do. At the end, Karagöz declares that he is

⁶⁶¹ Figure 41 from Ali Şükrü Çoruk, *Mizah Penceresinden Milli Mücadele (Ya İstiklal Ya Ölüm)* (İstanbul: Kitabevi Yayınları, 2008), cited in Besim Bal, "Bir zamanların Karagöz Gazetesi, Photographs 2 and 21." (Dünya Bizim. May 21, 2010, accessed October 04, 2012) available from <http://www.dunyabizim.com/index.php?aType=fotohaber&FotoID=204>

⁶⁶² *Ibid.*, 33.

⁶⁶³ *Ibid.*, 36.

⁶⁶⁴ Karagöz *Evlениyor*, 3-4 cited in Sevinçli, "Cinsel Bilgileri Öğrenirken Sadıçımız Karagöz," 36.

getting married. Karagöz was 30 years old, and defined to be exactly at the age of marriage. However, Hacivat says that this is an important decision so one has to think twice before getting married.⁶⁶⁵

In the second section, which is named as the *things to be thought before a marriage*, Hacivat asks Karagöz why he wants to get married. Karagöz answers as, “My dear, I said before. One cannot be comfortable when one is single, one cannot take care of oneself. One needs someone, a friend, to be taken care of. But a loyal friend... this one can only be a wife.”⁶⁶⁶ Karagöz tells Hacivat that he has seen a woman and liked her. However, Hacivat says no one should get married to another without knowing that person first, which is the reason of discord. Sevinçli⁶⁶⁷ says that the dialog between them goes by referring to the issues like lustful violence, the marriage of the expected son of Karagöz, adverse consequences of the marriages of the young man/woman with the older man/woman for the sake of money, etc.

The third section, which is named as the *social issues to be thought before a marriage*, is allocated to the question of selecting a wife. The bride-to-be has to have good communication skills but her appearance can be delusive. The bride-to-be should be inquired through the people who know her. In addition, she has to have more or less the same educational standards with the groom. Briefly, one has to know his bride-to-be and her family, and has to close his ears to rumors if he believes that he will be happy with that woman.⁶⁶⁸

In the fourth section, which is called as *works to be done before a marriage*, Karagöz introduces Hacivat as his best man and introduces his bride-to-be as clever person but not more clever than him. She is decent, intellectual and skillful, and speaking almost the same Turkish as Karagöz does. Hacivat tells about the works to be done before the marriage. There should be a woman sent to see the prospective bride, if she likes her, the bride is to be shown to Karagöz, to choose person to be sent to prospective bride’s house is another issue, consideration of the price for seeing the bride’s face at the first night. In addition, flirting, gifts and presents given and taken, beauty vs. ugliness are the other issues to be dealt with before marriage. When they finish talking, they decide that the customs are

⁶⁶⁵ Sevinçli, "Cinsel Bilgileri Öğrenirken Sadıcımız Karagöz," 40.

⁶⁶⁶ Karagöz *Evleniyor*, 10-15 cited in Sevinçli, "Cinsel Bilgileri Öğrenirken Sadıcımız Karagöz," 41.

⁶⁶⁷ Sevinçli, "Cinsel Bilgileri Öğrenirken Sadıcımız Karagöz," 41.

⁶⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, 42

ridiculous, and can only be abolished by education. Karagöz asks Hacivat how he can know all these and whether he got married before. Hacivat answers as, “God forbid! I would never get married until those customs were abandoned.”⁶⁶⁹

In the sixth section, there was a sub-section called *after the first night*, Karagöz tells Hacivat how happy he is. On the other hand, Hacivat says that those are the candy-bouquet period; when this period ends he will see the real marriage. In the last section, Karagöz tells that he was happy at the beginning of the marriage; however, although Hacivat warned him before, he began to quarrel with his wife. In two weeks, they had fought nine times. After several arguments, Karagöz had beaten his wife and left home.⁶⁷⁰

After this section, there comes a part, which is called as *learning the facts of the sexual life*. This section is composed of the information mainly for men on sexual life. It was written openly considering the social dynamics of the Ottoman society at that time. Some pieces of advice:

Man can have sex two to four times a week between the ages of 20-30. It is harmful to have sex four or five times a week. If a man has no spouse then it is no more called a “life.” A family composed of a plump and cheerful wife with children is mandatory for the happy life of a man. ⁶⁷¹

In the last part, it is understood that Karagöz had divorced his wife through “*talak-ı selase*” (irrevocable divorce) because, he had witnessed his wife having sex with her music teacher. Karagöz had beaten both deathly and divorced his wife. However, Hacivat asks about the children. Then, for the sake of children, Karagöz decides to continue his marriage on one condition that Hacivat will engage in a mock marriage with Karagöz’s ex-wife, which is called “*hülle*” in the Ottoman society, to break the irrevocable divorce rule for Karagöz. That is the end of the main plot.

It was seen that Karagöz has been transformed into another character responsible to inform the public about the social practices and those need a change in the society. In addition, in parallel with the rapid transformation the Ottoman Empire was undergoing, Karagöz tries to adapt public to this transformation. The critiques were directed to the traditions and customs of marriages and marital life, especially

⁶⁶⁹ Karagöz *Evleniyor*, 25-33 cited in Sevinçli, “Cinsel Bilgileri Öğrenirken Sadıcımız Karagöz,” 42.

⁶⁷⁰ Sevinçli, “Cinsel Bilgileri Öğrenirken Sadıcımız Karagöz,” 43-44.

⁶⁷¹ Karagöz *Evleniyor*, 46-58 cited in Sevinçli, “Cinsel Bilgileri Öğrenirken Sadıcımız Karagöz,” 46.

to those arranged ones. In accordance with the changing values of the society, Karagöz was also used as a medium to educate public besides other published books in literature. Rather than showing the improper situations via Karagöz's curiosity, Karagöz becomes a man, who directly criticizes the customs and the traditions labeled as old-fashioned during and after the Constitutional eras. Such an attitude towards Karagöz, that is, making him a didactic figure, will be the main peculiarity of him especially after the foundation of the Republic for years to come. In *Tanzimat period*, the roles of Karagöz and Hacivat in complete plays were still in the form of the Ottoman style. However, after the Republic, he will even get smarter to teach Hacivat manners, and to criticize his illiteracy, which would mean the critique of the Ottomans in defense of the Republic. That was the sample play from the Second Constitutional Era when Karagöz plays were begun to be published. After the Second Constitutional Era, the world perception deeply changed, and the transformation a World Empire towards becoming a Nation-State started.

Loss of Diversity: A Destining in the Ottoman Territory

Besides the juridical, economic and technological developments mainly initiated in İstanbul, the CUP also involved in migration policies which resulted in dramatic cases for the habitants of the non-Turks and non-Muslims living in Anatolia hitherto. It also caused the loss of diversity, which was one of the main bases of Karagöz. Especially, the ally Germany actively supported the deportation policies covering the Rums and the Armenians.⁶⁷²

The world agenda, mentioned in previous paragraphs, that CUP was responsible to handle resulted in large scale internal and external migration movements, most of which were directly enforced. According to Dündar⁶⁷³, during the World War I, the CUP was searching solutions for the shipment and the settlement problems resulted from the migration movements after the Balkan Wars. On the 15th and 30th of May in 1915, CUP adopted the "Resolution of Resettlement" ("*Techir Kanunu*").

According to the "Resolution of Resettlement," first, about 100 thousand of Rums were forced to migrate to Greece. Then, the Jews were forced to migrate from

⁶⁷² Mihail Rodas had analyzed the issue detailed in his work named "*Almanya Türkiye'deki Rumları Nasıl Mahvetti*" (How Germany ruined the Rums of Turkey). Accordingly, the German commanders had active roles in cleansing policies of CUP against the Rums and the Armenians for its own interest regarding the Berlin-Bagdad Railway security and avoiding Russia to rise. Mihail Rodas, *Almanya Türkiye'deki Rumları Nasıl Mahvetti*, (İstanbul: Belge Uluslararası Yayıncılık, 2011).

⁶⁷³ Dündar, *İttihat ve Terakki'nin Müslümanlar İskan Politikası (1913-1918)*, 60-65.

Palestine to Damascus and Beirut; likewise, the Nassurians, Chaldeans and the Assyrians. Within the Muslim society, the Arabs, Kurds, Albanians, Circassian and the Turks were re-settled within the Ottoman territory. The Albanians were first to declare their independence among the other Muslim communities. With the regulation set in 1917, they were banned to settle in Çanakkale, Izmir and İstanbul. The main aim was to make them lose their group identity.⁶⁷⁴ The Bosnians were the groups that the Ottoman Empire mostly claimed. They had no regulations about where to settle; however, they were also forced to settle on the east side of Anatolia, mainly Konya, Kastamonu, Edirne, Adana, Diyarbakır and Elazığ.⁶⁷⁵ Among the Coptic community, only the Muslims were accepted and settled in Tosya, later, the Gypsies were not accepted in any condition.⁶⁷⁶ The Circassians who had to flee from Russia due to the Russian-Turkish War of 1877-78, by which Russia aimed to recover its territorial losses after the Crimean War, were settled on Maraş, Elazığ and Antep. The Georgians, fled from Russia for the same reason, were settled in Artvin and Batum during the Resettlement Policies.⁶⁷⁷ Kurds had fought on the Turkish side against Russia during the World War I. Despite they had an agreement with the local governments against revolt; they were also settled in the east side of Ankara.⁶⁷⁸ The Laz(es) were re-settled en masse to the Black Sea Region.⁶⁷⁹ The Turks, who were living in the Balkans before, and fled from the oppressions due to the nation-building process of the Balkan societies, were resettled to the strategically important military zones, around the railways and the fronts.⁶⁸⁰ Lastly, due to the mutually involved politics of the Armenians that was to build an autonomous state and of the Ottomans that was to suppress and hinder the civil insurrections, the number of the Armenians fell to 600 thousand out of 2.1 million according to the Armenian Church, 1.3 million according to the Turkish authorship after 1914.⁶⁸¹

Thereafter the Turkish war of independence, the Turkish Government and the Greek Government had a settlement agreement about the Rums and Turks in

⁶⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, 113-122.

⁶⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, 123-126.

⁶⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, 127-129.

⁶⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, 134-136.

⁶⁷⁸ *Ibid.* 137-154.

⁶⁷⁹ *Ibid.* 155-158.

⁶⁸⁰ *Ibid.* 165-172.

⁶⁸¹ Taner Akçam, *Türk Ulusal Kimliği ve Ermeni Sorunu* (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2001), 146.

1924. Accordingly, the Turks in Thrace -called “Muhacır” (Rumelian) in Karagöz- and all the Rums in Turkey, except some in İstanbul, were unquestioningly exchanged by forced migrations.⁶⁸²

By 1914, statistics showed that the Muslim population was increased from 12.585.950 in 1885 to 15.044.846 in 1914. For the changes in the populations of other communities see the appendices. Behar says that the population changes between 1885 and 1914 should be rather related to the political developments, shrink of borders, and the change in the communitarian divisions in the Ottoman Empire.⁶⁸³

Meanwhile the feudal lords in Anatolia had already understood that the division of Anatolia was against their will and interest. Therefore, they had founded associations, such as *The Association for the Defense of the Rights of Anatolia and Rumelia*, which were involved in congresses held in Erzurum and Sivas in 1920 under the leadership of Mustafa Kemal to co-ordinate the national struggle. They had managed to establish the last Ottoman Parliament, which accepted the *National Pact (Misak-ı Milli)* and charged sultan being in collaboration with the Great Powers. In 1920, “Grand National Assembly” was opened in Ankara, the president of which was Mustafa Kemal. Therefore, the nationalists had formed a separate government. However the “Sultan denounced them as the enemies of the Islam.”⁶⁸⁴ The allies at Mudanya maintained the Turkish sovereignty in İstanbul and its hinterland on 11 October 1922, and the negotiations for a peace treaty were opened in Lausanne in November 20.⁶⁸⁵

In Lausanne, Turkish State was virtually recognized and “the same border as those of the National Pact was signed on the 23rd July of 1923.”⁶⁸⁶ After that, the RPP ruled the country for 50 years.

⁶⁸² Onur Yıldırım, *Diplomasi ve Göç. Türk Yunan Mübadelesinin Öteki Yüzü* (İstanbul: Bilgi Üniversitesi Yayınları, 2006), 6-7.

⁶⁸³ Behar, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğunun ve Türkiye'nin Nüfusu 1500-1927*.

⁶⁸⁴ Ahmad, *The Making of Modern Turkey*, 49-50.

⁶⁸⁵ Since the British government invited the sultan to send his own delegations besides the new Turkish Government of Ankara to Lausanne, Ahmad says,

Parliament voted to abolish this ancient institution, which had governed the Ottoman Empire for seven centuries on 1 November. The last sultan, Mehmed VI Vahdettin, fled aboard a British destroyer on 17 November and died in exile in San Remo in 1929. *Ibid.* 51.

⁶⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, 49-50.

The period started with *Tanzimat* continued with a constitutional monarchy and finally resulted with the 10-year-period of the Committee of Union and Progress was important in terms of the inception of the republican cadres. Former CUP members were considered as competitors in the early years of the Republic. After the commitment of an assassination of Mustafa Kemal, the Republican People's Party (RPP) sued the final-stage politics of the Ottoman Empire in the presence of Cevad Bey.⁶⁸⁷

What Heidegger called as the essence of the modern technology had rapidly spread into the Ottoman Empire and caused the collapse of it for the birth of the new modern nation that is "*Enframing*." Not the modern technology but the interpretation of it is the danger for Heidegger, he says,

Enframing does not simply endanger man in his relationship to himself and to everything that is. As a destining, it banishes man into that kind of revealing which is an ordering. Where this ordering holds sway, it drives out every other possibility of revealing. Above all, Enframing conceals that revealing which, in the sense of *poiesis*, lets what presences come forth into appearance.⁶⁸⁸

Thus, those activity fields, such as Karagöz, and folk stories, which had stuck yet in between the old and the new, to be re-ordered and destined by the new Turkish government, and to be used a vehicle for decades as if by-products of the newborn nation. Not only the fate of Karagöz would be destined but also the other kinds of production of the society would be ordered in respect of being art and craft. The introduction of the new "arts" or the "high arts," spread from the West, resulted in the division of *technē* into the arts and crafts in the presence of Karagöz. For decades, Karagöz performance would be the bearer of the dominant ideologies, which would be rejected by the interviewees in 2000s, after the last brunt of the technology, and Karagöz would be claimed as a "respected art" that could compete with the alleged contemporary artists. UNESCO would also support that claim.

Heidegger also says, "History is neither simply the object of written chronicle nor simply the fulfillment of human activity. That activity first becomes history as something destined." The newborn Republic would also destined the six-century Ottoman Empire as the anti-thesis of itself, and would order and teach the history

⁶⁸⁷ Açıkoturum, "İdeal 'Osmanlı' Yok," 253.

⁶⁸⁸ Heidegger, "Question Concerning Technology", 27

accordingly. The Republic would suppress any possibility out of its world view⁶⁸⁹ for decades to establish the modern, civilized and westernized subjects of the new world.

⁶⁸⁹ See for the explanations in footnote 5. Heidegger, "The Age of the World Picture," in *Question Concerning Technology*, 133.

CHAPTER V

KARAGÖZ'S PATH TOWARDS FINE ART



Figure 42 Karagöz Journal (15.5.1923)

The newborn Turkish nation-state that was characterized by the modernity and thus rationality, which were introduced by the *Tanzimat* period, would inevitably follow a methodology that impose a sphere of objects coming into representation.⁶⁹⁰

As presented in the caricature on the left that was published in *Karagöz Journal*⁶⁹¹, Karagöz has

been transformed into the printed media during the *Tanzimat* and the Second Constitutional periods. Although there were performers perpetuating Karagöz performance in classical forms, Karagöz's popularity and the tendency to exclude both the imperial and other Muslim types from Karagöz continued in its incarnating in the journals and comic books. With the proclamation of the

⁶⁹⁰ Heidegger, "The Age of the World Picture," 120.

⁶⁹¹ Under the caricature, it reads, "Cumhuriyet' Fidanını yaşatalım!" Karagöz: "Haydi efendiler, haydi ağalar, haydi paşalar bu meyvesiz, bu hayırsız, bu kart kütüğü devirelim ki körpecik fidanımız büyüyüp çiçeğini açsın, meyvesini versin!" in Turkish

Under the caricature, it reads, "Let us perpetuate the young tree of 'Republic!'" Karagöz: "Come on masters, come on aghas, come on pashas, let's chop this unfruitful, drippy wood block down therefore our young and fresh sapling can grow, blossom and fruit." In English

On the tree trunk, it reads, "irtica" (reaction), "taasup" (fanaticism), "eski kafa" (out of it). On the leaves of sapling: "teraki" (progress), "teceddüt" (renewal), "refah" (welfare), "servet" (wealth).

İsmail Şen, ed. "Asi'den Gazi'ye Karikatürlerde Atatürk 1919-1938," (Karikatürlerde Atatürk, November 2003, accessed March 15, 2013) available from <http://www.karikaturlerdeataturk.com/>

Republic, everything changed, a new system with its new culture was begun to develop, and Karagöz became the first victim of this development.

The *Karagöz Journal*, founded by Ali Fuad Bey, was critical against the period of Abdülhamid II and later against CUP, after the proclamation of the Republic, the Republican People's Party (RPP) had acquired the publication rights of the Journal, and the *Karagöz Journal* took a stance in support of the RPP.

On the other hand, it is known that there were dirty and satirical Karagöz performances, which were still part of the oral tradition and improvisation, were performed in coffeehouses of the countryside.⁶⁹² The new government needed to take precautions, that is, the places, such as the coffeehouses, theater saloons and the village houses known by those Karagöz performances, were to be closed at 11 pm rather than at 12 pm, and the local governments were given authority to control such places. As a part of the process of establishing itself, the new Republic incorporated the Turkish Hearts, which were established in 1912 and which had played a crucial role in the years of national struggle as a nongovernmental organization, with the RPP in 1931 so that, the activities of the Turkish Hearts were to be taken under control. Then, one year after, the People's Houses (*Halkevleri*) were established to reach out the population, and Karagöz performances and other types of traditional theaters continued their activities under the full control of the state under People's Houses' roof.

Karagöz Plays Written After the Proclamation of the Republic

The first written Karagöz plays after the proclamation of the Republic belong to Hayali Küçük Ali. It is important to differentiate him from the other performers because he had watched Karagöz plays from well-known Ottoman performers and he was closer to the Ottoman performance style. Therefore, the classical characteristics of Karagöz and Hacıvat were saved in his performances to a great extent. However, he distinguishes himself from the Ottoman Karagöz performers, especially those who perform dirty/bawdy Karagöz. He says,

There were Hayali(s) [Karagöz performers] who were not careful about what they say during the performance just like the people who are not mindful of their words and actions in [social] life. Such scrappy/loose performers were

⁶⁹² Akşit, "Modernleşme sürecinde Karagöz," 70.

absolutely dismissed [from the field]. How can such a *Turkish* product, enriched by Ghazal(s) and beautiful words be dirty (?)⁶⁹³

Thus, the difference between the Ottoman Karagöz and Republican Karagöz was emphasized by his words. Today's performers (interviewees), who consider the late Ottoman performers as (respected) artists, considered him as a great artist.

Political satire was already handed over to the printed media, and the dirtiness and grotesque elements would be left aside by the interventions of the state. Just as a performance eluding its previous social functions, Karagöz would declare itself as an art in modern terms to be valued according to the standards of the modern aesthetics of the 2000s.

Classical Plays Performed and Rewritten by Hayali Küçük Ali

The classical plays performed by Hayali Küçük Ali (his real name is Muhittin Sevilen, born in 1886, died in 1974) are selected to see the differences between their performances before (the Ottoman period) and after the Republic. Those plays were published in 1969 but had been performed by Hayali Küçük Ali long before their publication. They were visibly modified so that the slang expressions and the most of the sexual metaphors were omitted. In some plays, like *Hamam* (The Bathhouse) or *Kütahya Çeşmesi* (The Fountain of *Kütahya*), which were about corruption or degeneration in society through detracting Hacivat's daughter or Karagöz's wife, Hayali Küçük Ali preferred to make changes in the plots. Moreover, he added small paragraphs at the end of the plays as if Karagöz was saying them, which Çıkla would name as "Dirigisme."⁶⁹⁴ Those paragraphs remark that neither Karagöz nor Hacivat nor their wives are bad actually, they have just taken a part in a plot taking place in the early centuries, as seen in the play of *Kütahya Çeşmesi* (The Fountain of *Kütahya*). After exposing the *Çelebi*(s) hidden in the jars of Hacivat's daughter and Karagöz's wife, Karagöz says,

This is what is called 'do not sneer at your friend, it may also come true for you'⁶⁹⁵, Hacivat, neither your daughter nor my wife is evil, we just presented an incident that took place near the Fountain of *Kütahya*.⁶⁹⁶

⁶⁹³ Sevilen, Karagöz, 18

⁶⁹⁴ Çıkla, Selçuk. "Türk Edebiyatında Dirijizmin Karagöz Piyeslerindeki Boyutu." *Millî Folklor* 19, no. 73 (2007): 61-67.

⁶⁹⁵ This was formerly stated as, "spotting the burr in my eyes instead of the stake in your ass is a delusion of an eye" in Turkish, Karagöz says, "Kendi götündeki kazığı görmeyip, benim gözümdeki çöpü görmek ayn-i hatadır." Translation belongs to author. (H.B. 2012).

In *Hamam* (The Bathhouse) play, Hayali Küçük Ali also makes a note about Karagöz's several attempts to enter the women's bathhouse. He says,

The bathhouse is crowded. There is actually a corridor between men's and women's side. By this way, men have been taken into the women's side. It was a lie that an entertainment for a woman on maternity was to be organized. Karagöz attempts to enter women's side for several times, because he wants to expose this lie/depravity. Such kinds of scandals had been happening two or three hundred years ago.⁶⁹⁷

In another play called *Karagöz'ün Gelin Oluşu* (Karagöz the Bride) which was previously named as *Ters Evlenme* (The Awry Marriage) in the Classic Plays, when Tuzsuz notices that the bride is Karagöz, Karagöz says Tuzsuz Deli Bekir,

Look, Bekir Agha, you drink every night, yelling on the streets, harassing everyone; even, you attempt to beat your mother and sister. They intentionally disguised me as a bride to give you an admonition and audience a lesson, because *rakı* undoes people's lives in various ways.⁶⁹⁸

The Differences of Classic Types in Karagöz Plays of Hayali Küçük Ali

Karagöz

According to him, Karagöz never knows deception and never debauches anyone. He is such a kind of a *Turkish* type who always keeps to the straight and narrow.⁶⁹⁹ In the preface section of the book of *Hayali Küçük Ali*, Banarlı⁷⁰⁰ defines Karagöz as somebody with a pure heart. He represents the Turkish folk so that he can easily comprehend the humorous side of the stories. He is clever but not educated; in other words, he is wise but not a man of letters. He is well mannered, decent and simple in speech. He mocks at any affectation that does not fit into this. However, Hacivat still characterizes Karagöz as illiterate in the plays, and says, "You lived like a donkey and will die like a donkey" meaning that Karagöz is as illiterate as a

⁶⁹⁶ Karagöz says, "Buna gülme komşuna gelir başına derler. Ne senin kızında bir fenalık, ne de benim karıda bir kötülük var. Bir zamanlar Kütahya Çeşmesi başında geçmiş bir vak'ayı temsil ettik". Sevilen, Karagöz, 59.

⁶⁹⁷ "Hamam kalabalıktır. Erkekler tarafından kadınlar tarafına yol vardır. Oradan içeri erkekler alınmıştır, lohusa eğlencesi uydurmazdır. Karagöz'ün kadınlar tarafına musallat olması, buradaki fenalığı meydana çıkarmak içindir. Bundan iki üç yüzyıl önceleri bu gibi rezaletler olurmuş" *Ibid.*, 110

⁶⁹⁸ "Bak, Bekir Ağa sen her akşam içer içer sokaklarda naralar atar, herkesi taciz edersin, üstelik evde ananı kardeşlerini dövmeye kalkışmışsın, beni mahsus bu hale koydular, gelin diye sana öğüt bizi seyredenlere de ibret olsun, zira bu rakı insanları türlü türlü felaketlere sürükler." *Ibid.*, 69

⁶⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, 18

⁷⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, 6

donkey. As for the Gypsy identity of Karagöz, Hacivat asks Karagöz about his family for several times. At the end, Karagöz answers, “Gypsy! He plagued to expose my Gypsy identity.” Karagöz acts as if he does not want to talk about his Gypsy identity. Hacivat says, “Oh my Karagöz, you are not a Gypsy, anyone who calls you Gypsy calumniates you. Just your morals are Gypsy.”⁷⁰¹

In *Hayali Küçük Ali*’s plays, Karagöz is no longer a character indifferent to social rules and morality. The New Karagöz minds about the social order. In *Hamam* (The Bathhouse) play, when *Tuzsuz* asks about what happened in the bathhouse, Karagöz answers as “I could not abide such an ignominy anymore, I broke the top-window with rage, and I fell down into the bathhouse. When you let out a yell, I run out naked.” Karagöz does not content with that, he even sets the bathhouse on fire because he believes that it is a place of ignominy. Now, Karagöz is more active and takes the law into his own hands. Immoral Karagöz becomes a vice squad.

However, in the introductory section of *Abdal Bekçi* (The Stupid Watchman) play, the story of joint smoking Karagöz is kept. The story starts in a coffehouse rather than a cemetery. It is maintained that Karagöz did not know the cigarette he was smoking contained cannabis, and it is doubtful that this part could even be performed on TRT (Turkish Radio and TV) radio.

He is also depicted as loyal to his wife. For example in *Ağalık* (The Agha) play, after getting rich, Karagöz does not banish his wife; rather, he says that after all she was old and faithful. Rather, he employs a woman to do his housework, cooking and cleaning. As compared to the classical version, Karagöz only asks *Zenne* whether she gets cold if she sleeps in a separate room in Küçük Ali’s version. He means to sleep together with *Zenne* indeed.

In spite of the usual arguments about the unemployment of Karagöz, new Karagöz and his wife get on well with each other. In the dialog section of *Mandır* (The Dairy) play, Karagöz even calls his wife as “my dear wife, open the door, it’s me, the owner of the house, the headman knocking the door”. However, his wife still complains a bit about his unemployment, and can turn Karagöz out of the house.

Karagöz no longer calls his wife as “*Abla*” (sister). Hacivat calls Karagöz’s wife as “*kızım*” (my daughter). Karagöz’s son appears in *Hamam* (The Bathhouse) and his

⁷⁰¹ Hacivat: Aman Karagöz’üm sen çingene değilsin, sana çingene diyenler bühtan ederler. Senin ahlakın çingenedir.

name is still “Yaşar.” However, in this new version, rather than being ridiculed by the women as in the classical version he refuses to enter to the bathhouse by saying that his mother (Karagöz’s wife) washes him with very hot water.

In addition, Karagöz is no longer depicted as a thief. He rightfully deserves whatever he gets. Generally, he works in the jobs Hacivat finds for him. Only in *Salıncak* (The Swing) play, Karagöz lies to Hacivat that he did not earn anything by swinging. When Hacivat expose that he earned, he gives the half of the money to him. Karagöz does not mention about his family, Bok-Ana (Crap-Mother) is only seen in *Ferhat & Şirin* play. Karagöz asks her where she is going, she answers that she is going to separate the two lovers from each other. Karagöz answers back by saying “may God separate your soul from your body.” Moreover, the soul of Bok-Ana does not leave her body from out of her bottom and it is no longer clear whether Bok-Ana (Crap- Mother) is Karagöz’s mother.

Hacivat

Banarlı⁷⁰² defines Hacivat as more or less educated, and acting in accordance with the manners of madrasah. He is fond of using “foreign” words and literary language. He is a materialist and a self-seeker in every aspect. That is the reason why he cannot get on well with Karagöz. Hacivat introduces himself to Karagöz in *Kütahya Çeşmesi* (The Fountain of Kütahya) play by saying “I am not like you, wherever I go, everyone respects me.” In *Hamam* (The Bathhouse) play, Hacivat uses Armenian, Greek, Jewish, French, Italian and English words to test Karagöz whether he knows any foreign language. Karagöz only answers when Hacivat says something in the Gypsy language. It seems that Hacivat can more or less speak these languages. Then again, Hacivat says Karagöz that he is not a Gypsy but only his morals are Gypsy.

Hacivat is still addicted to opium, even in *Karagöz’ün Gelin Oluşu* (Karagöz the Bride) play, Hacivat says Karagöz not to take offense if he fails to understand him, because he ate too much opium.

The general rule that *Çelebi* (Gentleman), *Acem* (Persian) or any other wealthy person offers Hacivat jobs, or asks him to sell or rent his property did not change. In every case, Hacivat hires Karagöz. Only again, in *Ağalık* (The Agha) play, Karagöz hires Hacivat, but not as a chamberlain, rather as a consultant.

⁷⁰² Sevilen, Karagöz, 6.

Hacivat is also depicted as a right-minded and a reliable person in Hayali Küçük Ali's plays. Generally, people call him as "uncle." In *Karagöz'ün Gelin Oluşu* (Karagöz the Bride) play, Karagöz's wife even trusts in Hacivat and asks no question when he says that he is going to marry Karagöz with *Tuzsuz*. Hacivat tells her that he is doing this for goodness.

It is better to note here that Sevin⁷⁰³ makes a very harsh remark on the characteristics of Hacivat and Karagöz. He definitely disagrees with Banarlı and Hayali Küçük Ali. He says that Hacivat is, of course, superior to lazy and ignorant Karagöz in terms of knowledge and good manners. He is a decent and a humble person, knows his limits in the face of the other characters. He is known by keeping his words and considered by everyone as a respectable person. It would be wrong to see and interpret this as flattery. It cannot be true that he speaks the language of Arabic and Persian since he does not like Turkish because, TDK (Turkish Language Institution) has been founded exactly the seven centuries after the Hacivat's period. As for his duplicity, this is an entirely false accusation. Hacivat is pushing Karagöz to make decent money and giving counsel of his best. On the contrary, Karagöz ignores Hacivat and stores money from the jobs that Hacivat finds for him. Karagöz extends his insincerity up to fraud. Karagöz is ignorant, uncouth, deprived of decency, very narrow-minded, believes in nothing and falters in self-interest in many examples. He is a lazy person and jabberer that even though he knows nothing at all, he pretends as if he knows everything and says, "I can do." He makes a hash of the job Hacivat finds for him since he knows nothing about it; he is beaten a lot in every play and thrown out of the curtain. Nevertheless, in spite of all, he is sympathetic and this sympathy makes his characteristics mentioned above hidden and his bad sides forgotten.

As mentioned before Nureddin Sevin is educated in a family employed in the palace, so it is understandable for him to defend Hacivat against Karagöz. However, the main tendency of the researchers, especially after the *Tanzimat* period, is to elevate Karagöz in comparison to Hacivat.

The Characters of İstanbul

Banarlı⁷⁰⁴ also states in the preface to Hayali Küçük Ali's Book that women in plays are presented by their femininity and beauty only. Even the mothers and the

⁷⁰³ Sevin, *Türk Gölge Oyunu*, 47.

⁷⁰⁴ Sevilen, *Karagöz*, 7.

daughters cannot take their minds off men and marriage, and are very realistic types indeed.

Although, the idea that all the women of Karagöz plays are indecent is still kept, sexual metaphors or affections are also excluded from the plays. Similarly, monogamy is emphasized. For example, in *Mandıra* (The Dairy) play, Karagöz takes *Zenne* home to live together because he says that his wife has left him. *Zenne* also says that his husband has sent her away, but at the end, it was understood that *Zenne* has lied to Karagöz; she was still with *Tuzsuz Deli Bekir*. Albeit *Zenne* was depicted as indecent, she was not presented as being together with two different men at the same time. In *Ağalık* (The Agha) play, when Karagöz means to sleep together with *Zenne*, *Zenne* asks him if he has a wife. Karagöz answers that once he had but he has sold her now.

The lesbian relationship of *Salkım Hanım* and *Şallı Natır* in the classical *Hamam* (The Bathhouse) play was also modified, it was mentioned that they resented each other, but the audience was not informed of the reason. Hacivat acts like as an uncle to make peace among them. They easily make peace for Hacivat's sake. In *Salıncak* (The Swing) play, the covert sexual affection between *Zenne* and Karagöz during swinging was also omitted. As it was mentioned above, in *Kütahya Çeşmesi* (The Fountain of Kütahya) play, although, Hacivat's daughter secretly tried to take *Çelebi* home in a jar and Karagöz's wife has been rumored as a prostitute, Karagöz says at the end of the play that neither Hacivat's daughter nor his wife is evil. They enacted an incident that happened centuries ago near the Fountain of Kütahya.

The most significant insult for a *Zenne* is “*kaltak*” (slut) by *Çelebi* after the exposal of *Tiryaki* (The Addict), *Kayserili* (Character from Kayseri), Hacivat, Karagöz, *Yahudi* (The Jew) and *Beberuhi* (Shorty) from the jars in the play of *Yalova Sefası* (A Pleasure Trip to Yalova).

Çelebi (Gentleman) has no important role in the plays; he acts as if he is an auxiliary. Generally, at the beginning of the play (he is used as a starter) he comes and offers jobs to Hacivat. He has an important part only in *Yalova Sefası* (A Pleasure Trip to Yalova). However, his dangler/flirtatious character has been maintained in *Hamam* (The Bathhouse), *Kanlı Nigar* (The Bloody Nigar), *Mandıra Sefası* (The Dairy) and *Kütahya Çeşmesi* (The Fountain of Kütahya) plays that he involves in ignominy at first place.

Tiryaki (the Addict) appears in *Kütahya Çeşmesi* (The Fountain of Kütahya), *Yalova Sefası* (A Pleasure Trip to Yalova), *Mandıra Sefası* (The Dairy), *Salıncak* (The Swing) and *Kağıthane Sefası* (Pleasure at Kağıthane) plays. He is depicted as an elder of the quarter who falls asleep in the middle of a conversation. There is nothing more left for *Tiryaki* (the Addict) in the plays.

Beberuhi (Shorty) is rather depicted as an unconcerned childish type. He is mainly confusing about the titles of the relatives so that he uses “Uncle” for a woman or uses “Aunt” for a man. Besides, he uses the phrase “*ha ha! Çok hoşuma gitti!*” (He he! I just liked it!) in irrelevant situations. Bayram⁷⁰⁵ says that he was astonished by that *Beberuhi* is not included in *Salıncak* (The Swing) play because, according to him, *Beberuhi* is a principal actor in that play.

The Anatolian Types

The *Turkish* type is not presented as it was in the classic plays. Father *Himmet* (the Classic Turkish type) only shows up in *Kütahya Çeşmesi* (The Fountain of Kütahya) play, and still does not understand the things in the city. The Anatolian types began to replace the Turkish type and thus the Turkish type was purged from the plays. *Kayserili* (People from Kayseri), for example, acts like Father *Himmet*. We cannot meet with any other Anatolian type except *Karadenizli* (Character from the Black Sea Region) who is seen in *Kağıthane Sefası* (pleasure at Kağıthane) as an angry sailor with a big ship to which Karagöz and Hacivat continuously crash by their boat.

The Non-Turkish Muslims

Acem (Persian) is only seen in *Ağalık* (The Agha) play, he comes from Iran to meet with Hacivat and Karagöz, whose reputation reaches everywhere in the world, he says. He has brought gemstones, gold and food on camels to give Karagöz (because he deserves them for being a worldwide famous person). Karagöz, again, entertains him much and gets rich. As a result, Karagöz decides to be an Agha. *Arnavut* (the Albanian) generally performs the guardian role, and either work for *Şirin*'s father or protect *Kanlı Kavak* (The Bloody Poplar). The two Albanians in *Kanlı Kavak* (The Bloody Poplar) do not speak much; only speak to decide how to punish Karagöz.

⁷⁰⁵ Bayram, interview by the author, 20 May 2012, İstanbul, tape recording.

The Arab shows up as a beggar in *Ağalık* (The Agha) play, and as a seller of herbs and spices who cannot understand Karagöz and asks repetitive questions in *Kütahya Çeşmesi* (The Fountain of Kütahya) play. He also shows up as *Mercan* Agha coming to take a bath with his wife *Şetartet* in *Hamam* (The Bathhouse) play, and as a woman servant who fell in love with Karagöz in *Bakkalık* (The Grocery) play. Besides, she takes a small part in *Tahir & Zühre* play.

The Non-Muslims:

The Audience cannot meet *Ermeni* (the Armenian) either by name or as a type. Only in *Ağalık* (The Agha) play, a person from Van (eastern city of Turkey, where Armenians used to live⁷⁰⁶) who is hired by Karagöz should probably be the Armenian. *Yahudi* (The Jew) is seen in, again, *Ağalık* (The Agha) play as a moneylender and *Salıncak* (The Swing) play as a customer. In *Salıncak* (The Swing) play, he has only fainted (does not die) because Karagöz misunderstands and swings him too much. Karagöz takes him and leaves in front of Hacivat's house; when Hacivat sees him, he says, "My God, Salomon has fainted." He takes the Jew back and leaves in front of Karagöz's house. Karagöz says, "Is he alive? They say that if a Gypsy literally lie down diametrically opposite of a Jew's foot, the Jew resurrects." Then, the Jew stands up and Karagöz beats him for deceiving him. The Jew is not depicted as clamorous as it was in the classical plays. In addition, he is no longer depicted as a real haggler. He just says Karagöz that he would pay after swinging. The rabbi was also omitted, and the funeral part is too.

The *Frenk* (Frank) is only seen in *Timarhane* (The Madhouse) play as a doctor who *really* examines Karagöz and gives advice about what to do. He does not threaten Karagöz.

Drunkards/Roughnecks/Bullies

Tuzsuz Deli Bekir is seen with the name of *Matiz* (stinking drunk); he comes at the end of the each play by yelling. He is having an affair with every indecent *Zenne* (Woman). On the other hand, he exposes the immoral social situations at the end of the plays. He drinks too much so that he is not able to stand. When he comes at the end of the play of *Hamam* (The Bathhouse) to end the ignominy at the bathhouse, he asks Karagöz whether any alcohol remained inside. He goes inside to

⁷⁰⁶ The Armenians had mainly lived in Erzurum, Sivas, Van, Elazığ, Diyarbakır ve Bitlis (it is called as *Vilayet-i Sitte* / Six Districts) districts of Turkey; however, İstanbul population was greater than that of the other six districts. Karpata, "Osmanlı Nüfusu, (1830-1914), 92-92.

finish what is left. He is still scary and threatening people with death. Only in *Kütahya Çeşmesi* (The Fountain of Kütahya), when Karagöz asks him whether he knows the rumor about his wife that she became a prostitute, *Tuzsuz* says Karagöz, “Do not believe anything, if you do not see and hear with your own eyes and ears.”⁷⁰⁷ It is better to note that *Tuzsuz* is depicted as a moderate type. For example, at the end of *Hamam* (The Bathhouse) play again, *Tuzsuz* says Karagöz, “I can cut you in pieces tonight here, but I forgive you for the sake of those benefactors (audience). What will you perform tomorrow?” Karagöz answers as “hope we will perform *Tımarhane* (The Madhouse) play.” Then *Tuzsuz* says that he would come to watch.

Abolishment of Slang and Sexual Metaphors

The slang and sexual metaphors were totally omitted from the plays as well as violence. For example, in *Tahir & Zühre* play, *Tahir* does not kill *Zühre*'s mother; rather, he forgives her and tells *Zühre*'s father not to let her out of the house. *Tahir* says that she is a mother after all. Another example can be given from *Kanlı Kavak* (The Bloody Poplar) play, the two Albanians argue about how to punish Karagöz. If one says, “let's burn him,” the other says, “shame!”, and the dialog goes in the same structure with other offers, such as cutting, hanging, applying honey to Karagöz's face to make bees bite him. At the end, they decide on bastinado. During the bastinado, they cannot count properly by the way; and then they decide to make Karagöz walk with a leash. Therefore, it would be a lesson for whomever dares to cut a tree.

In *Hamam* (The Bathhouse) play, when Karagöz enters to women's side, women beat him with twisted wet loinclothes. “*Teneşir tozu*” (Dust of the bench on which the corpses are washed) “*Allah belanı versin*” (damn!), “*piç oğlu piç*” (bastard of a bastard) and “*altı aylık bebek kakası*” (six-month baby doo-doo) are the most shameful insults. Besides, the only grotesque element is “*altına yapmak*” (soiling one's underclothes).

Hayali Küçük Ali's *Bakkallık* (Grocery) play was also included in Kudret's work without any written date. This version is closer to the classical plays as Kudret also agrees.⁷⁰⁸ In that version, *Kayserili* (Anatolian Type) is the owner of the grocery and Karagöz is the helper, *Kayserili* mixes the olive oil and the cotton oil together

⁷⁰⁷ “gözünle görmediğine, kulağınla işitmediğine inanma”

⁷⁰⁸ Kudret, Karagöz. Vol. I, 190

because the olive oil is expensive, and adds water and salt to the scales to earn much. Those parts were omitted from the play in Küçük Ali's book published in 1969. Acar⁷⁰⁹ says that, actually, "*Karamanlı Ortodoks Bakkal Bodos*" (Orthodox Grocer Bodos of Karaman) who was cheating his customers inspired *Bakkallık* (Grocery) play. Later, Hayali Küçük Ali has modified the play, and replaced *Bodos* with *Kayserili*. Acar also says that because they have no written document, the version of Hayali Küçük Ali was accepted as if it was the original. As an exception, this play was satiric instead of didactic for it displays the cheating of the grocers of the time.

It can be seen that Hayali Küçük Ali preferred not to perform some parts of the plays especially those that could possibly cause bad reactions (but from whom?). Besides, he clears off the slang usages as possible as he can. The misunderstandings between Hacivat and Karagöz are maintained to a certain degree. However, Karagöz either does not confront those characters formerly defined as the imperial types or begins to understand every character in the plays because; he no longer needs Hacivat's translations. Hacivat only translates the Frankish doctor seen in *Timarhane* (The Madhouse) play, who comes to examine Karagöz. Moreover, some plays, such as *Cazular* (the Witches), including supernatural creatures were not included in the book at all. Also, *Canbazlar* (The Acrobats), in which Karagöz dies and a group of Gypsies come to hold the funeral, and *Büyük Evlenme* (The Great Wedding), which includes highly grotesque elements such as Karagöz's conversation with his newborn son in a very perverse manner, were also omitted from the book. However, it has to be accepted that after the proclamation of the Republic he was the one who can still perform the classical plays in a way closer to those performed before the proclamation of the Republic.

Despite these facts, Şaban⁷¹⁰ says that Hayali Küçük Ali had also performed dirty/bawdy Karagöz. Hayali Küçük Ali's grandson Tuncay Tanboğa told Şaban that his grandfather Hayali Küçük Ali once had not taken him and his brother to his performance, which was held in the American Cultural Center. Because Hayali Küçük Ali was performing plays on TRT (Turkish National Channel) at that time, he might have wanted this incident to be secret. Besides, Şaban adds that the reason that Hayali Küçük Ali speaks so fast while performing on the radio is the duration that TRT gives him. He says that it is impossible to perform even a simple play in a

⁷⁰⁹ Acar, interview by the author, 11 May 2012, İstanbul, tape recording.

⁷¹⁰ Şaban, interview by the author, 8 May 2012, İstanbul, tape recording.

half an hour. Therefore, he says that Hayali Küçük Ali omitted some parts of the plays (if he was not forced to do so). Kadir⁷¹¹ also confirms Şaban's claim that TRT allocated a short time for Hayali Küçük Ali to perform his plays.

Celal⁷¹² and Acar⁷¹³ add that being in Ankara caused some limitations on Hayali Küçük Ali besides its certain advantages. Celal says that Hayali Küçük Ali had to speak in accordance with the agenda of the government. The conditions of Ankara had also affected his discourse on the presentation of the characters of the Karagöz plays. Acar says that the influence of Ankara can also be seen on the clothes of Karagöz and Hacivat. In Hayali Küçük Ali's figures, not only Karagöz but also Hacivat wears red and not green. The red was [is] the color of the new Turkish Republic, whose flag was [is] red too. Therefore, not only the content but also the form was reshaped under the influence of the nationalist ideology of the modern state.

Karagöz Needs a *Destining*...

Thus, the questions whether Karagöz can be modernized and/or whether it needs to be modernized became crucial in those years and later in accordance with the changing conditions of the Turkish society because, Karagöz was a product of the Ottoman society, which was represented a counter-identity in the face of the modern identification of the Republic.

In the similar context, İnalçık⁷¹⁴ points out that the history of the Ottoman Empire is generally considered within the context of the question whether it was compatible with the national ideology or not. He says that while writing a history of a nation or a state, the particular images, which once dominated the world opinion, friendships, hatreds and the political ideologies, are either exaggerated or painted in black by the new cultural tendencies distorting the truth. This is an unavoidable fate. In this respect, the Ottoman history can be counted among the most distorted ones. He stresses that, first of all, the Ottoman history is a history of an empire. That is, as a result of the certain conditions, the Ottoman Empire, which had gotten different people from different religions and cultures together under its own sovereignty, emerged as an organizing superior power administering and applying

⁷¹¹ Kadir, interview by the author, 18 May 2012, İstanbul, tape recording.

⁷¹² Celal, interview by the author, 12 May 2012, İstanbul, tape recording.

⁷¹³ Acar, interview by the author, 11 May 2012, İstanbul, tape recording.

⁷¹⁴ İnalçık, "Osmanlı Fetih Yöntemleri," 115-136.

its sovereign will on those communities. Later, when this sovereignty weakened, every community gained their independence one by one. After that, everything that belonged to the imperial era was considered negative; such a perception grounded the basis of the national ideologies. İnalçık⁷¹⁵ adds that in the early years of the Republic, according to the newborn Turkish State, the Ottoman Empire, which did not recognize the people's rights, was considered as a tyranny. Moreover, the Ottoman sultans, who ruled the Turks out from the state, were considered as the obstacles before the national development preventing the civilization with their conservative and brutal actions. In other words, the newborn state's ideology was in total conflict with that of the Ottoman Empire. It was also natural for all the Balkan States do the same.

Therefore, İnalçık also asserts that, today, some of the Turkish analysts are in an effort to reconcile and connect the Ottoman culture to that of the Republican Turkey. He says that, today, in the Turkish society, people witness a kind of continuity in religious life, value systems and traditions for sure. Although this fact fits into a rigid contrast to the state ideology that is even safeguarded by the laws in some fields, not only in art, music, perception of the beauty and cuisine but also in lifestyles, actions and even in religious perceptions, the Ottomans are still alive. This is a sociological fact.⁷¹⁶

Nevertheless, modern Republic, whose essence is also *Enframing* by definition, tried to posit everything in its proper place in the world, and Karagöz was one of these things inherited from the Ottoman society. In an effort to break the connections of Karagöz with the Ottoman society, some early researchers and performers tried to reinterpret Karagöz in a modern context.⁷¹⁷ In this connection, *Hayali* Küçük Ali has personally stated that Karagöz has to die. He said, "Is Karagöz alive or is it kept alive? Although some elder want it to be kept alive, I think, it is enough..."⁷¹⁸

Nurullah Ataç (1934)⁷¹⁹ admits that he does not laugh at Karagöz anymore. He claims that when a performer simulates an outfit and an accent, naturally, he also imitates the moral features of the character to some extent, and he makes a caricature of that character. He says, "Today, the imitation of the accents is no

⁷¹⁵ Çorlu, ed. "Halil İnalçık İle Söyleşi," 37.

⁷¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 40.

⁷¹⁷ All coming translations belong to the author (H.B. 2012).

⁷¹⁸ Sevengül, ed., *Karagöz Kitabı*, 163.

⁷¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 225-226.

longer comic; in addition, imitating the personal defects became shameful.”⁷²⁰ He foresees the solution in adapting oneself into the way of *contemporary arts* defined by examining and *representing* the psychology of the individuals and society. By this way, on the one hand, Karagöz is posited in the field of fine arts as a representation, and on the other, its revealing as representation is expected to be rooted in the modern individual subject. He also adds that Karagöz is technically not suitable to be modernized; Karagöz is death in the face of the theater and cinema.

İsmail Hakkı Baltacıoğlu (1939)⁷²¹ divides the elements of Karagöz into two: the permanent and the temporary ones. The permanent elements are the curtain and the candlelight, which should not be modified. The temporary elements are the episodes and the types/characters. As for the plots, they should present today’s society. A type that is deprived of the live emotions and lost in the books can replace Hacivat, and a cheerful public man honestly earning his life can replace Karagöz. He also adds that other fields such as TV or theater did not bereave Karagöz by stealing from it. Karagöz only needs a new spirit (in accordance with the spirit of the time); therefore, it has to be modernized. He thinks that the Turkish parliament should establish a commission about Karagöz, and work on it. Therefore, he directly calls the government on duty to deal with Karagöz.

Burhan Felek (1944)⁷²² also agrees with the idea that Karagöz should be modernized. He says that at least four people should perform Karagöz; therefore, the figures can be enlarged. Besides, it is necessary to use an electric light. He also adds that if the dialogs catch the topics of the present time, there is no need to change the main plots.

Nail Boratav (1954)⁷²³, having said that Karagöz cannot be modernized, presents his analysis: he totally disagrees with the idea suggesting that Karagöz as such can be modernized. He says,

Enlarging the size of the figures and the screen means a modification of the technique. Albeit one tries to maintain the principal characteristics, such a modification causes a loss of agility and an increase in coarseness. The society and the technology are closely bound to each other. One cannot

⁷²⁰ *Ibid.*, 225.

⁷²¹ *Ibid.*, 239.

⁷²² *Ibid.*, 248.

⁷²³ *Ibid.*, 240-241.

insist on the candlelight if s/he wants to perform in big halls with enlarged screens and *tasvir(s)* (figures). These plays were original as long as they drew their plots from the life of the feudal-structured Ottoman Empire; moreover, Karagöz and Hacivat were only meaningful in that society. This does not mean that Karagöz is deprived of the social and universal values. If one makes the contemporary life the subjects of the plays with the contemporary technology, one is able to create an *original art*; Walt Disney has already made it.⁷²⁴

Consequently, Walt Disney, who used the contemporary *technology* of his time, had made an *original art* according to Boratav. Therefore, the term “art,” in the modern sense, started to be used by the researchers after the proclamation of the Republic in relation to Karagöz. They accepted Karagöz as an art but it needed to be modernized in accordance with the technology and the proposed perception of the new society.

In the following years, Hayali Küçük Mustafa (1974)⁷²⁵ says that the state should support perpetuating Karagöz and open schools specific to Karagöz, and the plays should be adapted to the present time.

Ragıp Tuğtekin (1974)⁷²⁶ delivers that neither the *figures* nor the plays need a change. This idea is later supported by the interviewees of this thesis in different ways, especially in the context that the natural socio-historical course of Karagöz, if it had not been intervened, would already let it change in accordance with the changes in the society.

While Nevzat Açıkgöz⁷²⁷ sees the solution in purer language, Kamil Toygar (1975)⁷²⁸ says that Karagöz should remain as a *popular folk art* but should be fed by the historical cultural background of the society. He also adds that child education can utilize Karagöz. Besides, Karagöz can be adapted for TV or cinema, and must be advertised outside the country. As a final comment, Tuncay Tanboğa (1976)⁷²⁹ states that the new plays can be written on one condition that the very *essence* of Karagöz be maintained. He gives an example: one can make a table, if the play has a home setting, which had never been existed in the Karagöz plays. However, he left the concept of “the very *essence* of Karagöz” unexplained. Generally, this “very

⁷²⁴ Translation belongs to the author (H.B. 2013).

⁷²⁵ *Ibid.*, 168

⁷²⁶ *Ibid.*, 172

⁷²⁷ *Ibid.*, 174

⁷²⁸ *Ibid.*, 254

⁷²⁹ *Ibid.*, 176-177

essence” corresponds to the technique of producing the figures and the permanent elements of Karagöz as Baltacıoğlu defined them. The majority of the contemporary Karagöz performers today, as the interviews show, also are in search for the essence of Karagöz in a rather Platonic way.

Hayali Küçük Ali was a performer of the newly founded Republic, and dedicated himself to perpetuate Karagöz in accordance with the changes the Republic had brought. He wrote and performed Karagöz plays in a modern socioeconomic atmosphere, which also defined the new features of the plays of the first quarter of the Republic. The very existence of such arguments as they are discussed above do already prove that Karagöz could not adapt itself to the newborn society’s daily life because the satire was already excluded by the mid-19th century from Karagöz performances. Besides, the fate of Karagöz had been a concern starting with the *Tanzimat* period. The following period would become a period of another fateful turn (a destining towards the modern subject) for Karagöz, which would be totally tamed under the Republican values.

Therefore, the plays are classified into the four groups those between 1923 and 1950, those between 1950 and 1980, those between 1980 and 1990, and those between 1990 and present.

The Guidance of the RPP and the Intellectuals: Didactic Karagöz (1928-1950)

According İnsel⁷³⁰, it is now a common fact that the first years of the Turkish Republic were authoritarian; however, regarding the internal dynamics of the country and the world’s economic and political conditions, the regime that Republican People’s Party (RPP) had tried to establish was not only ideological but also a necessity. Turkish authoritarianism had been legalized through the “religious state tradition” (Ottoman Legacy), a “cult individual” (Atatürk) and the “dogma of the sacred character of the state” (for the sake of Nationalism). In this respect, political power hold by the RPP had the opportunity to suppress and stigmatize any anti-socio-political thought and movement by declaring them to be against either modernization or sacred character of the state.⁷³¹

⁷³⁰ Ahmet İnsel, "Cumhuriyet Döneminde Otoritarizm," In *Bilanço 1923 – 1998 C. 1: Siyaset, Kültür, Uluslararası İlişkiler*, edited by Zeynep Rona (İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yayınları, 1999), 35-37.

⁷³¹ *Ibid.*, 37.

With the foundation of the Republic, the collaboration between the Islamic religion and the state had been replaced by the collaboration of the nation and the state. In 1935, the RPP had totally seized the state and established its indisputable one-party rule. After the unsuccessful experience of the foundation of the Free Party (FP, expected to be the opposition party), the RPP decided to close down last standing independent cultural and social organizations, such as Tariqa, and took the social and intellectual life of the society totally under state control; it even closed the Turkish Hearts.⁷³²

Karpat says for the RPP that, "It was the dominant ruling party organization of Turkey between 1923 and 1945. The main aim was to create political and civic institutions those would perpetually generate a change within society."⁷³³ The basic goal was an establishment of a national-territorial Turkish state.⁷³⁴ Karpat also says that the party "did not emerge from a collective consensus or from any political evolutionary process or from a popular movement with deep roots in the social body and its culture."⁷³⁵ The party's way was to modernize national-territorial Turkish state on the bases of the model of the West.

Karpat also states that, in 1923, after defeating of the Greek forces, Mustafa Kemal declared that a new Turkish state, whose government was populist, was established totally having a different being from the old one. Consequently, "The destiny of the people was eternally in its own hands' and the government's two chief purposes were the 'preservation of national existence and the securing of national welfare'"⁷³⁶

In the same year, Mustafa Kemal became the official leader of the party and Recep Peker became the secretary general. According to the guidelines shaped by Mustafa Kemal for the ideology and action of the party, "the Ottoman state was the personal patrimony of a man that was the Sultan, while Republican Turkey was a populist state or the state of the people."⁷³⁷ The party and Mustafa Kemal thought that they are the intermediary, even, the guides of the society; Mustafa Kemal says,

⁷³² *Ibid.*, 39-41.

⁷³³ Kemal Karpat, "The Republican People's Party, 1923-1945," In *Political Parties and Democracy in Turkey*, edited by Metin Heper, & Jacob M. Landau, 42-63. London: I.B.Tauris & Co Ltd, 1991), 42

⁷³⁴ *Ibid.*, 43.

⁷³⁵ *Ibid.*, 43.

⁷³⁶ *Ibid.*, 47.

⁷³⁷ *Ibid.*, 50.

If we leave the people on their own, we shall not advance... we should awaken interest (in progress) among the people through a positive work program... one which should serve and aim at the welfare of the nation as a whole.⁷³⁸

It was obvious that the ideas of Enlightenment, which paved the way to modernization, had finally reached to the ex-Ottoman territory, where the new Turkish Nation State was standing now. It sounds like Kant, who sees enlightenment as the ability to use “one’s own understanding.” This idea of using one’s “own understanding” would be adopted by the RPP for 50 years and tried to be applied in the name of the society. The Turkish society was immature yet, and needed guidance. In this context, Kant says,

Enlightenment is man's *emergence from his self-incurred immaturity*. Immaturity is the inability to use one's own understanding without a guidance of another. This Immaturity *is self-incurred* if its cause is not the lack of understanding, but the lack of resolution and courage to use it without the guidance of another.... Have courage to use your own understanding.⁷³⁹ For an enlightenment of this kind, all that is needed is freedom.⁷⁴⁰

The new Turkish power was mature enough to gain its sovereignty (freedom in Kantian words) against the other alternatives, such as mandate government; however, the public was still immature and needed to be guided by the ruling RPP. Enlightenment had not reached the grassroots in the minds’ of already enlightened leaders of the RPP, who would “have courage” to intervene directly to Karagöz’s world perception and the plays, to be seen below.

Hence, what was required was to popularize the reforms, which, according to Karpat, meant, “to safeguard the citizen from the ill effects of old traditions.”⁷⁴¹ Later, UNESCO would intervene to safeguard those defined traditions in the presence of Karagöz. The Turkish Hearts, which were once the main supporters of the new government, were disbanded to prevent any possible clash of ideas, and

⁷³⁸ Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, *Söylev ve Demeçler Cilt 2* (Ankara: Türk İnkılap Tarihi Enstitüsü, 1959), 6, quoted in Karpat, "The Republican People's Party, 1923-1945," 50.

⁷³⁹ Immanuel Kant, "An Answer to the Question: 'What is Enlightenment,'" in *Kant: Political Writings*, by Immanuel Kant, edited by H. S. Reiss, translated by H. B. Nisbet [Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, (1784) 1991], 54.

⁷⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 55.

⁷⁴¹ Karpat, "The Republican People's Party, 1923-1945," 51

“their property had been turned over to the RPP.”⁷⁴² The People’s Houses (Halkevleri)⁷⁴³ were established instead a year later in 1931.

The main objective of the RPP’s leadership was defined as breeding strong citizens to support the sovereignty of the state, which was based on certain eternal principles, namely the Republicanism, Nationalism, Populism, Secularism, Etatism and Revolutionism. The People’s Houses would be the meeting places for such idealist citizens to endeavor for aim.⁷⁴⁴

By this way, the party took the role of a guide, vanguard to lead the social and cultural life of the people. The newly founded People’s Houses were to contribute to the economic development of the society on the one hand, and on the other, to devote the Turkish society to the level of contemporary (Western) civilization by contributing to its political and cultural development. In other words, the People’s Houses were expected to overcome the contradiction between the new and the old through strengthening the first and annihilating the latter. In addition, the People’s Houses would eliminate the reactions as religious-based *Menemen* Uprising.⁷⁴⁵ Şimşek also says that the new society would not be the one public chose but the one the party imposed.⁷⁴⁶

In general, the People’s Houses put the identity of “*Türk*” at the very center as the modern subject was posited as the ground and measure of all. In accordance with the “*Turkish History Thesis*,” the Turks were presented as the main element found in the origins of every civilization known. By this way, the Turkish People would be relieved from the feeling of inferiority against Europe who began to describe the Ottoman society as the “sick man of Europe.” Therefore, the “*Turkish History Thesis*” aimed at justifying the domination of the Turkish presence in Anatolia through stressing the pre-Islamic civilizations of the Turks. Thus, the Islamic religion was to be excluded from the center of the state to give way to the

⁷⁴² *Ibid.*, 51.

⁷⁴³ Vildan Aşır Savaşır, who was inspired by the Czechoslovakian “škola”s, developed the model of the People’s Houses. In 1932, fourteen People’s Houses were opened in different cities at the same time. The party individually dealt with the issue. The number of the People’s Houses had reached to 103 in 1935; to 379 in 1940; to 438 in 1945; and to 477 in Turkey and 1 in London in 1950. See: Sefa Şimşek, “Bölüm V: Halkevleri Kuruluş ve Amaçları,” in *Halkevleri 1932-1951 (Bir İdeolojik Seferberlik Denejimi)* (İstanbul: Boğaziçi Üniversitesi Yaynevi, 2002), 59-61.

⁷⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 62.

⁷⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 62-63.

⁷⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 64.

development of the secular idea of nation. In addition, the thesis was also tried to be disseminated worldwide by emphasizing the Central Asian Turkish identity with a long and dignified character.⁷⁴⁷ A new Turkish society, in the Republican denial of the Ottoman heritage, was tried to be connected with the earlier Central Asian history. In this connection, Baltacıođlu says for the nations tired of the civilization wars, "There is no alternative than to relay back on history"⁷⁴⁸

In this case, the role of the People's Houses would be to reshape the demands and the tastes of the society by producing critical symbols in accordance with the party's ideology. Hence, the myths, heroic songs, historical plays/presentations, poems and sports games would be the raw material for the production of these critical symbols.⁷⁴⁹

According to ŐimŐek⁷⁵⁰, the People's Houses had nine kinds of workshop center⁷⁵¹, those are:

1. Language and the Literature: it aimed at purifying the Turkish Language, an increase in the works praising the Turkish history and revolution,
2. Fine Arts: including painting, music, sculpting and architecture,
3. Drama: this branch was responsible for the changes in Karagöz and the other folkloric elements inherited from the Ottomans. Teaching youth proper speaking, making propaganda, and making Karagöz serve in the education of the public were among the aims,
4. Sports: it aimed at developing the consciousness of a physical health, and organizing unitary sport games,
5. Social Assistance (for the disadvantaged people),
6. Classes and Courses (later connected to the Ministry of Education, which continue to give free courses of music, foreign language, handcrafts, etc.)
7. Libraries and the publications,
8. Village Development,
9. History and Museum: after opening the "*Turkish History Association*" (*Türk Tarih Kurumu*), the functions of this branch were transferred to this new foundation.

⁷⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 64-65.

⁷⁴⁸ "Medeniyet yarışında yorulan milletler için sırtına tarihe vermekten başka çare yoktur." Baltacıođlu, 1950, 52, quoted in ŐimŐek, "Bölüm VI: Halkevleri Kurumsal Yapısı," 65.

⁷⁴⁹ ŐimŐek, "Bölüm VI: Halkevleri Kurumsal Yapısı," 65.

⁷⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 75.

⁷⁵¹ Kemal Karpat, "The People's Houses in Turkey: Establishment and Growth," *The Middle East Journal* 17 (winter-spring 1963): 60.

Therefore, with the concept of “fine arts” that had been introduced to the society starting with *Tanzimat*, new Karagöz and other “traditional Ottoman folk theaters” were conceptualized under the category of “drama” for pedagogical aims. At first, the section of “fine arts” (“Güzel Sanatlar Şubesi”) was named as “Pudicity” (“Ar Şubesi”); later, in 1940, the name was changed. The drama section was also named at first as “Spectacles” (“Gösteri Şubesi”) then it was re-named as “performance displays” that is “drama” (Temsil Şubesi)⁷⁵².

Except for the rakı and cognac, it was allowed to drink local alcohol in reasonable limits only during the entertainments and balls organized at nights.⁷⁵³ In general, the People’s Houses were the places where the party could disseminate its ideology, and the cultural, social, even the private fields were left to the guidance of the political field.⁷⁵⁴

In this connection, İsmail Hakkı Tonguç,⁷⁵⁵ who was the prime mover behind the Village Institutes, in 1939, stated that the villagers were often spending their leisure time in the village rooms and coffeehouses at the winter nights by gossiping and reading (and listening to) the various folk stories. However, the subjects of those folk books were to an ancient system and a civilization. It was necessary to provide the peasants with more useful books, such as the stories of the heroes and the protagonists originating in the self-perception of the people to replace those of the ancient system, which had led them to “wretchedness and misery” in both material and spiritual terms.

In this respect, Öztürk states that some journalists and writers, such as Süleyman Tevfik, Muharrem Zeki, Selami Münir and Ahmet Rasim, free from political control but supported by it, had already started modernizing the conventional public books just before 1930.⁷⁵⁶ In negative terms, they added notes to warn public not to believe in supernatural elements, which do not overlap with the aspects of the modern life; besides, they even omitted those parts of the texts. Hayali Küçük Ali’s additions to the plays were in this fashion. In affirmative terms, they wrote new

⁷⁵² Şimşek, "Bölüm VI: Halkevleri Kurumsal Yapısı," 75.

⁷⁵³ *Ibid.*, 77.

⁷⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 88.

⁷⁵⁵ İsmail Hakkı Tonguç, *Canlandırılacak Köy* (İstanbul: Remzi Kitabevi, 1939), 134-135, cited in Serdar Öztürk, "Cumhuriyetin İlk Yıllarında Halk Kitaplarını Modernleştirme Çabaları," *Kebikeç İnsan Bilimleri için Kaynak Araştırmaları Dergisi*, no. 21 (2006): 55.

⁷⁵⁶ Öztürk, "Cumhuriyetin İlk Yıllarında Halk Kitaplarını Modernleştirme Çabaları," 56.

public books, and replaced those backward elements with the new ones representing the modern life. Those authors, with an aim of modernizing the folk books to abolish their negative effects on the public, placed comments like “these are supernatural beliefs, representations,” or “do not believe in this” in the margins.⁷⁵⁷

Alternatively, Nail Boratav considered such interventions as a censor, and was truly against the idea of modernizing the public stories and folk books. According to him, such interventions would destroy the originality of those books.⁷⁵⁸ According to Boratav, rather than interventionism, the popular culture should have been let drift in accordance with the changes in the social life. However, the communication tools, such as the radio, the newspapers, the gramophone records, (as "the modern competitors" against the traditional elements and the storytellers) and the modern institutions, (such as schools) had already started to spread into the remote corners of Anatolia.⁷⁵⁹ This means that some folk elements were fading and their time was up in the face of the new products circulating in modern Turkey.

Therefore, to analyze Karagöz’s situation and transformations in this periods, the following plays were selected:

1. Karagöz *Dans Salonunda* (Karagöz is in the Ballroom) (Hayali Küçük Ali - Muhittin Sevilen 1928)
2. Karagöz *Milyoner* (Karagöz the Millionaire) (Karagözcü Kazım 1934)
3. Karagöz *Ankara'da* (Karagöz in Ankara) (İ. Hakkı Baltacıoğlu, 1941)
4. *İyilik Eden İyilik Bulur* (Good Gets Good) (Hayali Küçük Ali/Muhittin Sevilen 1941)
5. Karagöz *Stepte* (Karagöz is in steppe) (Behzat Lav 1940)
6. Karagöz Hacivat *Keloğlan* (Rahmi Balaban 1941)
7. *Köy Evlenmesi* (The Village Marriage) (İ. Hakkı Baltacıoğlu 1941)
8. Karagöz *Ankara'da* (Karagöz in Ankara) (İ. Hakkı Baltacıoğlu 1941)
9. *Delî Dumrul* (Mad Dumrul) (Rahmi Balaban 1941, adapted from Dede Korkut)

⁷⁵⁷ Faruk Rıza Güloğul, *Halk Kitaplarına Dair* (İstanbul: Bozkurt Matbaası, 1938), 4-5, cited in Öztürk, "Cumhuriyetin İlk Yıllarında Halk Kitaplarını Modernleştirme Çabaları," 56.

⁷⁵⁸ Pertev Naili Boratav, *Halk Hikayeleri ve Halk Hikayeciliği* (Ankara: Milli Eğitim Basımevi, 1946), 214, cited in Öztürk, "Cumhuriyetin İlk Yıllarında Halk Kitaplarını Modernleştirme Çabaları," 57.

⁷⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 96-97, cited in Öztürk, "Cumhuriyetin İlk Yıllarında Halk Kitaplarını Modernleştirme Çabaları," 57.

10. *Karagöz'ün Köy Muhtarlığı* (Karagöz the Headman) (İ. Hakkı Baltacıoğlu 1941)

11. *Karagöz'ün Teyyare Sefası* (Pleasure Trip by Plane) (Hayali Küçük Ali 1941)

In the context of updating the folk books and legends, a debate on modernizing the Karagöz plays was initiated by the RPP. In 1937, as the Minister of the Internal Affairs, Şükrü Kaya sent a letter to the authors of the time to call them to reform those public books in accordance with the modern requirements of the new regime.⁷⁶⁰ Because the people highly interiorized those public heroes, such as Karagöz, Nasreddin Hodja and Keloğlan, they would remain unchanged but, the plays/main plots that they had been taking part were to be re-arranged in accordance with the Kemalist Ideology⁷⁶¹. According to the letter,

People love those heroic stories of the folk books. These heroes, having been kept as they are, are to be shown in the new stories appropriate with the spirit and the high values of the new regime. Thus, the public is to be inspired by their favorite folk books. Just as Miki Mouse, having always been the same type, is presented as a hero in different stories in each film; we shall use those familiar heroes mentioned above in totally new stories to get public appropriate the aims of the Turkish revolution and civilization.⁷⁶²

Erdoğan⁷⁶³ also pointed the same issue that those figures were used as a tool for the Kemalist Pedagogy. Thus, most of the figures referring to the Ottoman values, as well as the topics denoting to religion, supernatural beliefs that represented a chanted world were omitted and replaced by those that referred to a rational and technological world to allow the state to disseminate her ideas through folk culture to the masses. Hacivat's speeches were either Turkified or Karagöz made to criticize him for not speaking proper Turkish. Karagöz and Hacivat mainly exchanged their roles. Karagöz became an educated, cultivated, hard-working figure representing cultivated peasants, who were formerly embedded in the type of *Türk* in the classical plays; whereas, Hacivat became an urban person not to be modeled, and was presented as he had lost his identity.

In response to the call of the RPP, İ. Hakkı Baltacıoğlu (*Karagöz'ün Köy Muhtarlığı*/Karagöz is the Headman, *Köy Evlenmesi*/ The Village Marriage), Rahmi

⁷⁶⁰ Öztürk, "Cumhuriyetin İlk Yıllarında Halk Kitaplarını Modernleştirme Çabaları," 57.

⁷⁶¹ For further information, see: Sefa Şimşek, "Bölüm V: Halkevleri Kuruluş ve Amaçları," in *Halkevleri 1932-1951 (Bir İdeolojik Seferberlik Deneyimi)*, by Sefa Şimşek (İstanbul: Boğaziçi Üniversitesi Yayınevi, 2002).

⁷⁶² Translation by the author (H.B. 2013)

⁷⁶³ Necmi Erdoğan, "Popüler Anlatılar ve Kemalist Pedagoji," *Birikim*, no. 105-106 (1998): 117-125.



Figure 43 Book Cover of Karagöz Dans Salonunda (Karagöz in the Ballroom)

Balaban (*Keloğlan, Dağdeviren, Deli Dumrul/Mad Dumru*), Hayali Küçük Ali (*İyilik Eden İyilik Bulur/Good Gets Good, Tayyare Safâsı/Pleasure Trip by Plane*) together published a book titled “Karagöz Plays” in 1941. Therefore, Karagöz became the head teacher of the changing social manners and the modern life. He would introduce the new ideology of the Republic to the public.⁷⁶⁴

The first two plays are closer to the classic versions in terms of their structure. The rest is structured according to the modern theatrical form in a way that rather than the *introductory* and *dialog* sections of the classic versions, the *episodes* are numbered. However, the plays seemingly were not designed for performance.

In the play of Karagöz ***Dans Salonunda***⁷⁶⁵ (Karagöz is in the Ballroom), Karagöz is still illiterate but eager to learn, and Hacivat is cultivated but not arrogant. A social novelty, dancing in a ballroom, is introduced to the public. Hacivat, as usual, offers Karagöz to work in a ballroom and says that “ladies” and “gentlemen” will come there soon to dance; Karagöz can watch them and might learn how to dance. *Çelebi* (gent) is depicted as a cultivated tolerant rich gentleman frequenting the place for dancing. Then *Zenne* comes by singing that attracts Karagöz much. However, Karagöz contends just by saying that she has a beautiful voice. Karagöz does not understand when people speak politely at first, however, people do not get angry with him, and they only laugh. Nevertheless, at the end, they all got angry with Karagöz due to his out of place words. The Jew comes with baggy trousers, which is criticized by Karagöz because one should not come to a ballroom with such trousers. This would be the new code of dressing that some clothes were not suitable for certain places. It was also known that certain types of dress were banned in Ankara streets in the 1930s. Karagöz calls the Jew as the “Senior Annoyance” (which was formerly used for Frank); while they are in a battle of words, *Tuzsuz* intervenes and says that everyone has to drink *raki*. However, Karagöz surprisingly shouts at *Tuzsuz* and says, “This is not a place of *Tulumacı's*



Figure 44 Dancing couples of Hayali Küçük Ali

⁷⁶⁴ Oğuz Güven, "Politik İdeolojinin İcad Ettiği Gelenek: Karagöz," *Millî Folklor* 20, no. 79 (2008): 80.

⁷⁶⁵ Figure 43 from Oral Ünver, ed. *Karagöz Oyunları -2- Nev-i İcad*. (İstanbul: Kitabevi, 2007), 131.

(hell-raiser) coffeehouse! Now, I will throw you out, ha!” At first, *Tuzsuz* says sorry to Karagöz because he just made a joke but later, he yells at Karagöz back and embowels him; then, Karagöz withdraws back. When the music plays, everyone starts dancing until *Tuzsuz* yells again, whose voice enough to alienate everyone.

Duman⁷⁶⁶ states that after the proclamation of the Republic, the first ball was organized in September 1925 in Izmir. Such new forms of entertainment were in fact very meaningful for the revolution because they were the first occasions where Muslim men and women were invited together at will of Atatürk.

On 29 October 1925, the first official Ball of the Republic, with the assistance of *Türk Ocağı* (Turkish Hearth)⁷⁶⁷, was organized in Ankara with the participation of President Atatürk. The Prime Minister, the Council of Ministers, ambassadors, the military commanders and high-ranking bureaucrats, and a few members of the media were also invited. Akçura tells that Süreyya Ağaoğlu was one of the few Turkish women participating to those balls. He quotes Ağaoğlu,

I had prepared in great excitement and powdered my face. When I looked at the mirror, placed at the entry of the ball, I did not like my face and I cleaned it up. In those days, such a tiny building was a palace to us.⁷⁶⁸

There were many balls organized for the benefit of the various institutions, especially for *Türk Ocağı* (Turkish Heart), *Hilal-i Ahmer* (Red Crescent), *Himaye-i Etfal* (Society for the Protection of the Abandoned Children), and they attracted much attention.⁷⁶⁹

The second play, which was named as Karagöz ***Milyoner***⁷⁷⁰ (Karagöz the Millionaire), is also closer to the classical ones in terms of the presentation of the major characteristics of Karagöz and Hacivat. A new type in the plays was *Hasso*; he was defined as an “Easterner” (A person from Eastern Anatolia, a Kurd) in the play. He says that his father’s name was *Miro* and grandfather’s name was *Hirbo*.

⁷⁶⁶ Doğan Duman, "Cumhuriyet Baloları," *Toplumsal Tarih*, no. 7 (Ocak 1997): 44-48.

⁷⁶⁷ For more information: Ertan Aydın, "Peculiarities of Turkish Revolutionary Ideology in the 1930s: The Ülkü Version of Kemalism, 1933–1936," *Middle Eastern Studies* 5, no. 40 (2004): 59.

⁷⁶⁸ Süreyya Ağaoğlu, *Bir Ömür Böyle Geçti*, (İstanbul: İstanbul Barosu Yayınları, 1984), 43, quoted by Gökhan Akçura, *Unutma Beni İvir Zıvr Tarihi - 1*. (İstanbul: Om Yayınevi, 2001), 205. Translation by the author (H.B. 2013).

⁷⁶⁹ Akçura, *Unutma Beni İvir Zıvr Tarihi - 1*, 205.

⁷⁷⁰ Karagözcü Kazım. *Karagöz Milyoner: bir perdelik oyun* (Ankara: Kâinat Kitaphanesi, 1934) cited in Oral Ünver, ed., *Karagöz Oyunları -2- Nev-i İcad*.

Probably he is representing the Kurdish type. According to the plot, *Hacı Fıtil* (Pilgrim the Fuse – the Arab) from Egypt has one million English liras (actually written as “English liras”), and he wants to give it to someone reliable who can look after him for the coming years. Hacivat, again, offers this job to Karagöz promising that he will be a millionaire after the Arab dies. Then the types Persian, *Hasso* (Kurdish), *Salih* (Person from the Black Sea Region), *İskete Hakkı*, *Bayram Agha* (Albanian) and *Bekri Mustafa* (Roughneck) come one by one and ask Karagöz about *Hacı Fıtil* because; they had been robbed by him. Each time, *Hacı Fıtil* tells Karagöz to get rid of them. At the end, *Hacı Fıtil* robs Karagöz too although Karagöz does not give up the Arab. *Hakkı* was a thief too, and had worked with the Arab but the Arab had taken all his money and run. Karagöz says that he also knew theft; this was also (once) his regular job. The play is short; however, the types have their own accents and sometimes Karagöz does not understand them. Hacivat does not show up during the play because he says that he had bumped into a friend. Seemingly, Karagöz is no longer a thief and wants to turn an honest penny by the help of Hacivat.

Baltacıoğlu’s play⁷⁷¹ called ***Karagöz Ankara’da*** (Karagöz in Ankara) can be examined in the light of Dinçel’s comments,⁷⁷² who reads the play in the context of social translation, which enabled the individuals speak through the Karagöz types. He also says that Baltacıoğlu’s play was rather a challenge representing an attempt to show Karagöz “as an essential art” that can live side by side with the Western theater in contrast to Ataç’s claim that Karagöz is already dead in the face of the modern theater. Dinçel summarizes the play as,

Karagöz comes to Ankara from İstanbul on foot in order to sell his mere trade, that is, to amuse people. Hacivat, on the other hand, works as a doorman in the “Degenerated Film Company.”⁷⁷³ In accordance with the traditional Karagöz plays, Hacivat works for the sake of the status quo and he is quite pleased with his situation. He sincerely offers a job to Karagöz in a film to be produced by the company. All Karagöz has to do is to compete with the “stars” of the cinema age in order to play the leading role of the film. Yet, neither negotiation nor communication is possible for him in the cinema age with the “world stars.” Even though by way of his agility Karagöz

⁷⁷¹ İsmail Hakkı Baltacıoğlu, *Karagöz Ankara’da* (İstanbul: Sebat Basımevi, 1940).

⁷⁷² Burç İdem Dinçel, “Translation as a Form of Social Representation and the Case of Re-introducing Karagöz to Turkish Readers: Karagöz Adaptations of İsmail Hakkı Baltacıoğlu and Aziz Nesin,” *Tiyatro Eleştirme ve Dramaturji Bölüm Dergisi*, no. 16 (2011): 99-128.

⁷⁷³ Baltacıoğlu, *Karagöz Ankara’da*, 14, quoted in Dinçel, “Translation as a Form of Social Representation,” 112.

manages to beat Charlot, Tarzan and Greta Garbo⁷⁷⁴, Karagöz fails to compete with Mikimavs. Eventually, Karagöz spoils everything and becomes unemployed once again.



Figure 45
Greta
Garbo

Baltacıoğlu was trying to place Karagöz “as an essential art” in the category of dramatic arts. However, the roles of Karagöz and Hacivat were still in the classic fashion. Hacivat is the educated one, managed to get himself a place in the modern society and Karagöz is the illiterate still needing Hacivat to find him a job. But Karagöz is also presented as the potential of the Turkish society to create its unique art. Baltacıoğlu says that the shadow theater is neither a naturalistic nor a realistic genre of art; rather, it is surrealistic. It is possible to call it as the essence of art because, Karagöz is not a kind of art claiming that it is in conformity with nature and originated in nature in terms of the development of its form, image, display, color, décor and subjects. Also, Karagöz is not a totally subjective, sick and disrespectful caprice of art that deals only with deformation and fallacy rather than the reality of nature. Instead, relativity and the reality of nature are merged with the intimacy of the absolute ideals in a harmonious image. Karagöz is a new nature that exceeds nature, and gets its strength from the essence, not from the symptoms as every metaphysical art does.⁷⁷⁵

Although he was one of the authors who tried to modernize Karagöz and used it for pedagogical purposes as exemplified by the play of *Köy Evlenmesi* (The Village Marriage, *vide* 472), *Karagöz Ankara’da* play is important because it had another purpose, that is, to re-introduce Karagöz to public as a respected, even as “an essential art”. Therefore, it can be said that the claim that Karagöz is a respected art is rooted in his thoughts.

In the play of *İyilik Eden İyilik Bulur*⁷⁷⁶ (Good Gets Good), the roles of Karagöz and Hacivat start shifting that announces the changes in the following plays. Karagöz is more responsible, moderate, and rational than Hacivat. According to the plot, Hacivat is down on his uppers. He is in difficulty because he went to the seaside with his friends in the summer, and lived a riotous life. He has spent all his money for the music players and dancers who entertained him. He says Karagöz

⁷⁷⁴ Figure 45 from İsmail Engin, “Gölge Oyunu Karagöz’de 'Greta Garbo'...” (Kanalkültür Blogspot, July 18, 2013, accessed July 29, 2013) available from <http://kanalkultur.blogspot.com/2013/07/golge-oyunu-karagozde-greta-garbo.html>

⁷⁷⁵ Sönmez, ed., *Karagöz Kitabı*, 228. Translation belongs to the author (H.B. 2012).

⁷⁷⁶ Ünver, ed. *Karagöz Oyunları -2- Nev-i İcad*.

that he was not able to think that the winter was on the way. He wants to borrow money from Karagöz who defines himself as poor. At first, Karagöz answers that if he spent the summertime in such a way then it could be better for him to sing songs during the wintertime, too. This story was adapted from the fable “The Ant and the Grasshopper,” attributed to Aesop (620-560 BCE); the story is about the virtues of hard working and planning. Not surprisingly, the Grasshopper, who sings songs during the summer and almost dies of starvation when the winter comes, is Hacivat. The Ant, who has worked during the summer to store food to eat in winter, is Karagöz. Hacivat begs Karagöz to give him some food and money. Karagöz shares Hacivat what he has, not because of his sake but for the sake of Hacivat’s children. *Çelebi* and *Zenne* also agree with Karagöz but *Zenne* finishes the play with the words, “one who earnestly seeks good finds good.”

Those are the years when any possible saving was encouraged because the country had just been recovering, and the newborn Republic had lack of economic means. According to Duru⁷⁷⁷, there were articles, caricatures and comments encouraging a simple life, economizing/saving, reducing the expenditures and consuming local goods in the newspapers, especially those in favor of the government. For example, in the *Cumhuriyet* Newspaper, M. Necmi writes, “Turk is the most diligent one, and loves saving at the very most among all the other people on the earth” on November 13, 1931.⁷⁷⁸

Especially after the world economic depression in 1929, it was decided to organize a “domestic goods week” and a “saving week” during the 1930s up until the 1980s. Besides, the “National Economy and Savings Association” was established in the same year.⁷⁷⁹ The main aims of the Association were fighting against wasting, introducing public to use domestic products and goods, and encouraging the production of domestic goods. The Association also published brochures in which

⁷⁷⁷ Bülent Duru, “1931 Tasarruf Yılı: Tek Partili Dönemin Başlangıcı,” in *Açıklamalı Yönetim Zamandizimi 1929-1939*, edited by Birgül Ayman Güler (Ankara: Ankara Üniversitesi Basımevi, 2007), 238

⁷⁷⁸ “Türk yeryüzündeki insanların en çalışkanı, tasarrufu en çok sevenidir” M. Necmi, *Cumhuriyet*, November 13, 1931, cited in Nurhan Kavaklı, “Tasarruf ve Yerli Mallar Haftası’nın Basındaki Temsili: Küreselleşme ve Ulusal Kimlik Bağlamında Bir İnceleme,” *Culture & Communication* 1, no. 13 (Winter 2013): 86.

⁷⁷⁹ Kavaklı, “Tasarruf ve Yerli Mallar Haftası’nın Basındaki Temsili,” 73.

saving defined as the symbol of civilization while wasting was defined as savage/barbaric.⁷⁸⁰

Deli Dumrul Play tells a legendary story adapted from Dede Qorqut. When Hacivat talks about the illiteracy of Karagöz in the play, Karagöz says that he went to school but he could not learn even how to write his own name. Each time he could not write his name, he was punished by bastinado. However, he found a trick that he filled his shoes with ashes therefore he got no pain. Then, Karagöz puts the difference between him and Hacivat by saying that Karagöz is fond of work but Hacivat is mainly fond of words. He continues that Hacivat was lucky because he lived in a world that words spoke louder than actions, but it has changed. There would come a day not only the words but also the actions would not be enough to make this world better. He suggests Hacivat that he should not let his son be a scribe/clerk as he is. He should raise him up as a well-educated person, and according to Karagöz, Hacivat's son should wrest a living from the soil. Seemingly, Karagöz comes to his senses and feels regret about his past. Therefore, initiative, hardworking, working for one's state and without expecting everything from it and peasant life are praised in the play. The plot section included a supernatural character, which is the Angel of Death.

A totally shifted characterization of Hacivat and Karagöz is visible in "***Köy Evlenmesi***" (The Village Marriage) play. The dialog section is very remarkable for presenting Hacivat a total illiterate type considering the time they live when compared to Karagöz who is the headman of the village. Hacivat has a problem and says Karagöz that he is dying. He says, "Your kindred spirit is dying."⁷⁸¹ He has a stomachache, and he defines it as "*veca*" ("ache" in Ottoman Turkish). Karagöz does not understand him, also asks why he did not use the word "*ağrı*" ("pain" in Turkish). He criticizes the language Hacivat speaks. Hacivat says that he was using the book-style words. Then Karagöz answers, "hope your tongue became as flat as a book. You are dying Hacivat! For once, speak Turkish at your last gasp at least man!"⁷⁸² Hacivat replies as, "Old habits die hard."⁷⁸³ Then, Karagöz advise him to

⁷⁸⁰ Gökhan Akçura, *İvr Zıvır Tarihi III: Uzun Metin Sevenlerden Misiniz?* (İstanbul: Om Yayınevi, 2002), 69-72.

⁷⁸¹ "Yarı kafadarın Hacivat'ın ölüyor"

⁷⁸² "senin o dilin kitap gibi yamyassı olur inşallah! Ya hu, ölüyorsun artık, son nefesinde olsun Türkçe konuş be!"

⁷⁸³ "can çıkmayınca huy çıkmaz"

make Turkish speaking his habit.⁷⁸⁴ Speaking Turkish becomes so important that it is the major difference between the past and the future.⁷⁸⁵ Karagöz seemingly want to break up with the past and set a new future (as indicated by the new regime).

Karagöz and Hacivat are talking about Hacivat's stomach problem. When he counts what he ate last night (he ate bonito in pan, eggplant stuffed and sweet pastry), Karagöz tells Hacivat how heavy dishes he ate. However, Hacivat replies saying that even the doctors recommend eating fish. Then the formerly illiterate Karagöz gives Hacivat a lesson about the foods. He says, "Listen to me carefully, not cooked in the pan but the grilled fish is recommended. If one wants to develop the smell of a fish, one should add bay leaves in it." The ignorant one here is Hacivat who says that he has heard of it for the first time. Karagöz adds that a stuffed eggplant is also a heavy dish; one should not eat it at Hacivat's age, and the sweet pastry must be avoided too. Yet, stuffed eggplant is one of the famous dishes of the Ottoman Cuisine.



Figure 46 A Poster of the National Economy and Saving Association by Hulusi İhap Görey

İstanbul was a fish-rich city; however, the Turkish people were not much used to eat fishmeal. The fish bazaars were mainly occupied by the non-Muslims sellers. In the first years of the Republic, there were campaigns⁷⁸⁶ conducted to bring cheap and affluent fish into the Turkish cuisine. Besides, The National Economy and Saving Association had İhap Hulusi (Görey)⁷⁸⁷ prepare a poster stating, "Fish is cheap and full complement food"⁷⁸⁸

⁷⁸⁴ "Öyleyse Türkçe söylemeyi kendine huy edin Hacivat!"

⁷⁸⁵ Disseminating the use of Turkish and Latin alphabet among the public was one of the most important tasks of the Republic. The campaign for Turkish and new latin alphabets conducted at the same time with the campaign of savings and national economy. While Turkish language was cleaned from the "foreign" words, some street names were changed. Moreover, several decrees were published about taking notes in classrooms and schools. One of the decrees was telling teachers and students to take notes in Latin alphabet rather than Arabic. Similarly, in 1931, some of the newspapers were closed, and the owners were brought to the courts and fined; some of the foreign periodicals and newspapers were banned to be imported for the reasons of pro-Communist, pro-sharia, pro-Kurdish propaganda. See: Duru, "1931 Tasarruf Yılı: Tek Partili Dönemin Başlangıcı," 239

⁷⁸⁶ Figure 46 from "Sanal Sergi." (İhap Hulusi Website. 1931, accessed March 6, 2013) available from <http://www.ihaphulusi.gen.tr/sanalsergi.html>

⁷⁸⁷ For more information see: "İhap Hulusi Görey (1898-1986)" (Espas İletişim, 2009, accessed March 3, 2013) available from <http://www.ihaphulusi.gen.tr/>

⁷⁸⁸ Gökhan Akçura, *Şen Gönüller Diyanı* (İstanbul: Om Yayinevi, 2003), 134-135.

The crucial point comes after a detailed conversation on food. Karagöz suggests Hacivat to have “*Tarhana*” Soup (a traditional Turkish soup made up of sun-dried curd, tomato and flour), and a new conversation continues with Hacivat’s statements that it was a peasant dish; he states that *Tarhana* soup is a rustic/brutal dish. Karagöz replies Hacivat that *Tarhana* soup is a perfect dish although it was rustic. Besides, he recommends Hacivat to eat beans and peas, which are mostly used in Turkish meals. In addition, he says that the rice pudding, chicken breast (pudding with a caramel base), jelly, stewed fruit compote as desserts should be eaten. Moreover, he suggests Hacivat to cook eggplant in ashes, and for a general habit, to eat often but in small quantities. As it was seen, the roles are totally changed. Hacivat is the one who needs to be taught. When Karagöz says Hacivat to eat often but in small quantities, Hacivat replies that it has been the peasant style and it does not fit into urban life. Then the conversation continues as,

Karagöz: the peasants and the urbanities have the same stomach; tell me Hacivat, peasants or urbanities, who live longer?

Hacivat: The urbanities for sure, Karagöz!

Karagöz: of course not! The peasants live longer than urbanities, it was calculated that while the urbanites lived 40 years on the average, the peasants lived 70 years.

Hacivat: “*gayn kabil*” [“*olmaz*” in modern Turkish, “impossible” in English]⁷⁸⁹

Karagöz: Ha? I did not understand

Hacivat: I would not say so, sir. The town has physicians, pharmaceuticals, hospitals, nurses...

Karagöz: maybe they do not exist in the village, but there is the clean air and fresh water there. With milk, yogurt and the concise bread we have an abundance of fruits in the village. There is always movement beyond the joy. Peasants do not bellyache continuously or become ill. You are... a whistle of the civilization, a man of the urban decay!

Hacivat considers that Karagöz is very helpful indeed; though, he wants Karagöz to pray for taking away his pain. Karagöz gets angry again and tells a story about a man who sought remedy from a so-called healer. Karagöz has tried to read this man’s amulet with a written prayer inside, and seen that there was written nonsense actually. This so-called healer has cheated the man and he has died at the end because of madness. Yet, Hacivat reminds Karagöz the play of *Cincilik* (Incantation), in which Karagöz was such a healer. Karagöz gets angry and says Hacivat that it was 40 years ago; he has changed. Karagöz states that the solution

⁷⁸⁹Author’s note (H.B. 2013)

is not there; if one has no family then he becomes powerless, bored and fragile. However, family gives one a sense of connectedness. If one has no family, then one should attach himself to the nation or work. At the end of the dialog section, Karagöz says he was tired of this old-fashioned Hacivat.

Thereby, the audience has been prepared for the following plot taking place in a village. Memiş and Ayşe are two lovers and want to get married; Memiş is poor but an honest man. Karagöz tries to marry them. Yet, Hacivat works for the 70 years-old Agha who wanted to marry with Ayşe, too. Hacivat tries to marry them for the money he would take from Agha if he were successful. Karagöz defines Ayşe as an honest, hard-working, good-hearted *Turkish* girl. It is known that a headman is thought to be wise and Karagöz is presented as a wise man of the time. *Hasan*, Ayşe's father, says Karagöz that how changed the village after Karagöz became the headman. Karagöz tries to be humble and says that he was not alone, the headman truly acted as a headman, the teacher was teaching, the peasant worked hard, the state did what was required (everyone did their own work and nothing else). Karagöz tries to prepare *Hasan* to the idea of the marriage of *Ayşe* and *Memiş*; he emphasizes the importance of the population growth. He says that to be able to develop, the village needs to increase its population. When population grows, much more work will be done, more shops will be opened, more machines will be bought, even the electric power will be available. Crowded places are full of joy. When the number of teachers increases, the village becomes richer and more enlightened. That was how population growth will affect a village, and develop it. In addition, because epidemics have already been treated, Karagöz recommends that parents should have five to ten children.⁷⁹⁰ He believes that God has enough food for everyone. Karagöz is also against the abduction and bride price, and gives messages about how wrong they are.

In case *Hasan* does not let him get married to his daughter, Agha threatens *Hasan* by confiscating his cropland for his debt. Karagöz also solves this problem by advising *Hasan* to apply for a credit from *Bank Ziraat* (Bank of Agriculture) by putting his land in mortgage. By this way, *Hasan* would get money to pay his debt to Agha and Agha, and thereby Hacivat, would be defeated. The two lovers get married at the end. Hacivat is represented as a barrier together with Agha before

⁷⁹⁰ In 1930s, the public was encouraged to get more children; under population was regarded as a problem, and the population growth was considered as a requirement for strengthening the defense and economic system of the country. Families with children were supported by the state. See: Duru, "1931 Tasarruf Yılı: Tek Partili Dönemin Başlangıcı," 238.

progress and improvement. He is illiterate, old-fashioned, a narrow-minded flatterer and a materialist who will even separate lovers for the sake of money.



Figure 47
Advertisement
Poster of Bank
Ziraat by Hulusi
İhap Görey

At that time, *İş Bank* (Work Bank, established by Celal Bayar) was conducting a comprehensive campaign to increase savings. It was encouraging people to open savings accounts in the bank, or acquire a moneybox for their children. Bank *Ziraat* had also joined this campaign later and its customer profile was mainly composed of peasants, as stressed in the play.

Except the first two plays (*Karagöz in Ballroom* and *Karagöz the Millionaire*), the other plays totally excluded the imperial types from the plots as it fits with the modern nation-building process.

Besides those plays, Çıkla⁷⁹¹ refers to some more plays such as *Karagöz'ün Köy Muhtarlığı* (*Karagöz is the Headman*), *Tayyare Sefası* (*Pleasure Trip by Plane*) and *Karagöz Stepte* (*Karagöz in the Step*). In ***Karagöz'ün Köy Muhtarlığı*** (*Karagöz is the Headman*), *Karagöz*, was elected as a headman of a ruined Anatolian village. The issues regarding the language policy, populism and agricultural projects of the new state as well as the benefits of the project of the Village Institutes are emphasized. *Karagöz*, the peasants and the village teacher are protagonists of the play, whereas *Hacivat*, *Deli* (Nut), *Ezberci* (person who does not learn but memorize things), and *Geveze* (Jabberer) are presented as antagonist characters of the play. *Karagöz* is highly critical about the language of *Hacivat*. He says, “the language has changed nonetheless you could not correct your damned language for all these years.” In response, *Hacivat* says that he speaks the madrasah language. On the contrary, *Karagöz* says that he speaks the Turkish language emphasizing that his language originates in his national identity, which *Hacivat* has seemingly lost and perhaps could never acquire. *Karagöz* also criticizes *Hacivat* for being detached from public. He defines *Hacivat* as a narrow-minded person who cannot even speak his mother tongue (these were once *Hacivat*'s words), and a person who always lowers his own people. When *Hacivat* says that the peasants know nothing, *Karagöz* corrects him and replies that the peasants know how to plow, how to raise up a child; they know sending their children for the military duty, they know how to

⁷⁹¹ Selçuk Çıkla, “Türk Edebiyatında Dirijizmin *Karagöz* Piyeslerindeki Boyutu,” *Millî Folklor* 19, no. 73 (2007): 62.

protect their country, how to get over difficulties, and they know they are Turks, which is a great nation. The play also praises the Village Institutes.⁷⁹²

Tayyare Sefası (Pleasure Trip by Plane) play emphasizes the idea of working hard. Hacivat says, “Today, from every age girls and boys must fly by plane and have a parachute ride. Those who do not do must be doomed.”⁷⁹³ In **Karagöz Stepte** (Karagöz on Step) play, this time, Karagöz is highly criticized by Hacivat for his beliefs. Even, Hacivat says that those so-called healers have been long outlawed. In addition, Hacivat advices Karagöz to throw away his cassock, turban, amulets and rosary, which were the symbols of superstitions inherited from the old Ottoman society.⁷⁹⁴

The plays written after the proclamation of the Republic until the 1950s had an aim to introduce the public with the new ideas. Those are mainly formed around the principles of the RPP, emphasizing the people, peasantry, and advocating the purity of the Turkish language and Turkish nationality. In 1937, the new constitution of the Turkish Republic was accepted. This constitution was formed around the RPP’s manifesto declaring the principles of *Cumhuriyetçilik* (Republicanism), *Milliyetçilik* (Nationalism), *Halkçılık* (Populism), *Laiklik* (Secularism), *Devletçilik* (Etatism), and *Devrimcilik* (Revolutionism) as the main tenets of *Kemalist Ideology*. Since the RPP was the single party at that time and one-party rule lasted until 1946 except a short period of experimentation with the multi-party system with the introduction of *Serbest Fırka* (Free Party), the RPP’s manifesto was transported to the constitution without a single change. Consequently, those plays, mentioned above, aimed at disseminating those ideas of *Kemalist Ideology* to the public.⁷⁹⁵ Those written plays are far different from the early characteristics of Karagöz and the plots. Moreover, satire as the most important characteristic of Karagöz was totally forgotten during these years.

⁷⁹² “Bugün kız erkek büyük küçük tayyareye binmek ve paraşütle atlamak mecburiyetindedir. Bunu yapmayan her zaman zevale mahkumdur Hacivat.” Cited in Çıkla, “Türk Edebiyatında Dirijizm,” 2007, 64.

⁷⁹³ *Ibid.*, 64.

⁷⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, 65.

⁷⁹⁵ Hakan Yılmaz, *The Kemalist Revolution and the Foundation of the One Party Regime in Turkey: A Political Analysis*. Vol. 1: Political Science, in *Essays in Honor of Ergun Özbudun.*, edited by Serap Yazıcı, Fuat Keyman, & Kemal Gözler (Ankara: Yetkin Yayınevi, 2008), 12-13.

Additionally, Güven⁷⁹⁶ defines those consciously created plays, written after the official notice of 1937 by the Ministry of Internal Affairs as “*fakelore*.” He states that William Thoms is the inventor of the term “*folklore*” in 1846. Since then, Folklore Studies have continued as a separate discipline. On the other hand, Richard Mercer Dorson is the first to use the term “*fakelore*” in 1950. Accordingly, *fakelore* means the presentation of the falsified and fabricated works that are alleged to be actual/real. Dorson, who is opposed to the presentation of the works that are not originated in living oral traditions and not resulting from pristine field studies, states that such works damage the development of the *real* folkloric studies.⁷⁹⁷ Thus, Güven considers those plays, written during the first quarter of the Republic, in the context of “invented traditions,” which are forcibly written in accordance with an ideology and not created in the natural course of a living oral tradition. This debate also reveals that Karagöz was attempted to be described under the category of “folklore” against “fakelore” corresponding to the new Karagöz plays covering the period until the 1950s.

On the other hand, again, in these years, intellectuals first asked the question of “what kind of art Karagöz is.” This question opened up a bottomless debate about the modernization of Karagöz but enabled the intellectuals to have a word on the fate of Karagöz, which has already started by the *Tanzimat* period. As one of them, İ. Hakkı Baltacıoğlu claimed that Karagöz was an “essential art,” by this way, Karagöz’s path towards fine arts could be opened.

Attempt to Revitalize Karagöz: Private Initiatives (1950-1980)

In the following plays, written between 1950 and 1980, the effects of the new regime gradually began to fade away. The expected cultural transformation through modernizing the folk books and stories, led by the RPP, did not bring the expected results; rather, it lessened the interest in the folk stories and folk books.

According to Öztürk⁷⁹⁸, the project of modernizing the folk books failed for two reasons. First, the public avoided messages containing open “propaganda,” which did not overlap with its own real-life conditions. Second, the changes in the social and economic life lagged behind compared to the top down modernization efforts of

⁷⁹⁶ Oğuz Güven, “Politik İdeolojinin İcad Ettiği Gelenek: Karagöz,” *Millî Folklor* 20, no. 79 (2008): 79.

⁷⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, 79.

⁷⁹⁸ Öztürk, “Cumhuriyetin İlk Yıllarında Halk Kitaplarını Modernleştirme Çabaları,” 69.

the folk books. The public's objective conditions were incompatible with the intellectuals' subjective efforts.

The coming years those between 1950 and 1970 were mainly dominated by the American aids in exchange of the military cooperation. After the 1970s, the instability in the state politics was also reflected in Karagöz plays but Karagöz continued to fall from grace. However, there were also plays satirizing the political parties in power, but those plays were hardly performed on stage. Yet, the RPP's interference onto Karagöz had irreversible effects by connecting Karagöz deeply to the party in a way that when the RPP was the opposing party, Karagöz became braver in terms of satirizing the society and those in power against whom the RPP was the opposition. This can be explained in two ways: either Karagöz was becoming free from the governmental politics because the RPP had fallen from power and was the opposing party so he became braver, or Karagöz was only criticizing the parties that were against the RPP policies because the ideas of the RPP have deeply seated in Karagöz. Therefore, the following plays are selected to examine Karagöz's situation between the years of 1950 and 1980, these plays are:

12. *Bakallık* (Grocery) (Hayali Küçük Ali 1953 in Ritter)
13. *Totocu Karagöz* (Karagöz works in football pools outlet) (1967)
14. *Karagöz'ün Berberliği* (Karagöz the Barber) (Aziz Nesin 1967)
15. *Karagöz'ün Kaptanlığı* (Karagöz the Captain) (Aziz Nesin 1967)
16. *Karagöz'ün Antrenörlüğü* (Karagöz the Coach) (Aziz Nesin 1967)
17. *Karagöz'ün Kahyalığı* (Karagöz the Chamberlain) (Metin Özlen 1967/1976)
18. *Karagöz'ün Minibüs Fıslı* (Karagöz's Minibus Adventure) (Metin Özlen 1967/1976)
19. *Karagöz'ün Sinema Fıslı* (Karagöz's Cinema Adventure) (Metin Özlen 1967/1976)
20. *Balıkçılar* (The Fishermen) (Metin Özlen 1976)
21. *Karagöz'ün Bankerliği* (Karagöz the Banker) (Mukadder Özakman 1976)
22. *Mahçup* (Shamefaced) (Talat Dumanlı 1976)

Keyder⁷⁹⁹ presents the social and economic circumstances in Turkey at the beginning of the 1950s. He says that the great majority of the population constituting 80% of the total was living in the countryside as small producers. Urban population was composed of generally self-employed retailers, majority of which was petty producers who were expected to adjust "to the ideals of simple

⁷⁹⁹ Çağlar Keyder, "Chapter VI: Populism and Democracy," In *State and Class in Turkey: A Study in Capitalist Development*, by Çağlar Keyder (London: Verso Books, 1987), 118.

market society.” At that time, as a world power, America had devised a Recovery Program for Europe covering scheme of dollar grants for economic reconstruction, which was also extended to Turkey in 1947 in “exchange of military dependence and economic liberalization”⁸⁰⁰

The American experts foresaw Turkey as an agricultural-based industry, therefore in 1955, the US government provided aid for the mechanization of agriculture in Turkey. The number of tractors reached to 43.000 “without any decline in the number of draught animals. This additional source of energy was initially used to expand the area under cultivation.”⁸⁰¹ Moreover, all the tractors were actually purchased on credit, and the patronage system took a role in purchasing. Therefore, the middle peasants who could establish political connections or who were bearing entrepreneurial characteristics managed to obtain bank credits to purchase of a tractor.⁸⁰² Ahmad also adds,

Most commonly two or more peasant households joined together to make the investment, and then agitated at the village government level to reclaim land from the state-owned commons. The proportion of village families who did not own their land had declined from 16 percent in 1950 to 10 percent in 1960.⁸⁰³



Figure 48 DP Election Campaign Poster, 1954

Besides, the Truman Doctrine and the Marshall Plan were in process to integrate Turkey to the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), which was concluded with Turkey’s membership to the organization in 1952.⁸⁰⁴ DP (Democrat Party)⁸⁰⁵ that acquired the state power in 1950 “promised to make Turkey a ‘little America’ within a generation, with a millionaire in every district.”⁸⁰⁶

The rapid mechanization process in rural areas resulted in a wave of migration from rural to urban areas. Many families who owned small land and tractor sent their younger members to work in the

⁸⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, 119

⁸⁰¹ *Ibid.*, 214

⁸⁰² *Ibid.*, 130

⁸⁰³ *Ibid.*, 131

⁸⁰⁴ Ahmad, *The Making of Modern Turkey*, 108.

⁸⁰⁵ Figure 48 reads, “For the Great Turkey, I want your support” from Akçura, Gökhan. *İvr Zvir Tarihi III: Uzun Metin Sevenlerden Misiniz?*, 30.

⁸⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, 109.

cities. Between 1950 and 1960, "one out of every ten villagers migrated to an urban area."⁸⁰⁷

DP was the first opposition party coming to power by a democratic election in 1950, giving an end to the single-party regime. The population basis of DP was indeed the earlier supporters of Free Party of Fethi Okyar.⁸⁰⁸ DP set its political frame in a populist way.⁸⁰⁹ Moreover, because the macro institutions providing political, social, economic and cultural integration were insufficient, the institutional gap was filled by a wide-range application of clientelism or patronage developing due to the social instability as a result of the co-existence of the semi-traditional and semi-contemporary settings.



Figure 49 Election Campaign Posters of DP and RPP in order in 1957

Between 1950 and 1954, DP gave priority to infra-structural developments by building public works, communication and transportation networks, importing modern agricultural technology, such as tractors and other agricultural machinery. Agricultural export caused a rapid economic

development at a time until the export demands got low. Thereafter, the Turkish Government applied an inward-oriented ("*içe dönük/ithal ikameci*" in

Turkish), a protectionist model for development. However, the difficulties in the payments of the credits, irregular investment policies, inflationary pressures and the high rates of state subsidies, which encouraged production but could not meet the tendencies of high demands⁸¹⁰, forced DP to take protectionist cautions to stabilize the economy in 1958.⁸¹¹

⁸⁰⁷ Keyder, "Chapter VI: Populism and Democracy," 137.

⁸⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, 123.

⁸⁰⁹ Sunar defines populism as the ideologies and currents that dispute the dominant ideology and alliances, and mobilize the powerless masses against them. He also states that the populist ideologies generally gain wide currency in underdeveloped countries because, those countries lack civil society organizations to take place the old structures and embody the individuals and groups, who are broken with the tradition, to the new systems. İlkey Sunar, *Demokrat Parti ve Popülizm*, Vol. 8, in *Cumhuriyet Dönemi Türkiye Ansiklopedisi* (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 1985), 2076-77.

⁸¹⁰ Figure 49, the first poster reads, "Once an underdeveloped country, today a world state"; the second poster reads, "Unfortunately, tractors are running with ox (not with oil)" "Dünden bugüne Türkiye'de seçim afişleri." *Hürriyet*. September 24, 2002.

⁸¹¹ Sunar, *Demokrat Parti ve Popülizm*, 2082.

Besides, the patronage networks had been already established in democracy since 1950. The allocation of the state subsidies and incentives were determined according to those networks. A parliament deputy was even booking a room/bed in hospitals for a person of the region he was elected.⁸¹² As the patronage system, manipulated by the party and surrounded the bureaucracy, gained importance, the public increasingly turned to the party representatives for favors instead of seeking for the solution of their problems in bureaucratic ways.⁸¹³

The protectionist policies in economy, adopted by DP in 1958 to overcome the economic crisis, resulted in devaluation; 1 dollar equaled to 905 piaster (1 Dollar was equal to 9.05 Turkish Liras).

Later, due to the political instability and increasing oppositional ideas, DP began to adopt several anti-democratic measures, such as limiting the constitutional rights and freedoms, oppressing the opposition party (RPP), press, universities and bureaucracy claiming that it was the demand of the majority who brought DP to power. The populist policies began to be authoritarian once again. The period of DP has ended with a military intervention on 27 May 1960,⁸¹⁴ and the National Unity Committee⁸¹⁵ was founded to govern the state for a short time.⁸¹⁶ After the military coup, the DP leaders were accused of being acted against the constitution, and banned from the politic life irreversibly; when the *Yassıada* trials concluded, three prominent leaders of DP including the Prime Minister Adnan Menders were executed.

When DP came to power, it closed down the People's Houses, which were the direct initiatives of the RPP. However, it is known that Karagöz was being performed in the People's Houses, and as the most renowned Karagöz performer of the time, Hayali Küçük Ali was touring the People Houses of different provinces to perform Karagöz. Besides, the People Houses were also the places where other traditional types of the Turkish theaters were being kept alive although the People's Houses

⁸¹² *Ibid.*, 2083

⁸¹³ *Ibid.*, 2084

⁸¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 2085

⁸¹⁵ NUC that is "National Unity Committee" was established after the Coup by the army.

⁸¹⁶ Ahmad also says in his book, *The Making of Modern Turkey*, on page 127 as,

The NUC unable to propose its own solutions invited a group of academics to form a commission and prepare a new constitution. This decision to involve intellectuals totally altered the character of the 27 May movement, transforming it from a mere coup to an institutional revolution.

were established to disseminate the ideology of the newborn Turkish state. Therefore, the cultural “development” was also ceased in parallel with the DP’s new politics heavily concerning the economic development. And also supports this idea by stating that DP had not had a cultural policy at all.⁸¹⁷ Except for the play of Hayali Küçük Ali that is *Bakkallık* (Grocery) estimated to be written in 1954, and even if Karagöz were being performed in the coffeehouses, the author did not encounter a written play belonging to the period between 1950 and 1960 reached out the present time. Nevertheless, as also Akşit⁸¹⁸ indicated, in the first years of the Republic it was known that in some public spaces, the classic forms of Karagöz were still being performed.



Figure 50 JP's Election Campaign Poster, 1965

After the Coup, in 1964, Süleyman Demirel became the leader of Justice Party (JP); he was close to the business circles, and known as loyal to US President Johnson. At that time, many newspapers praised those peculiarities of Demirel.⁸¹⁹ In 1965, after the fall of İnönü’s government during the budget meetings, JP⁸²⁰ solely won the elections.

In the context of changing socio-economic conditions, Çavdar delivers that assembly production resulted in development of the economy; durable goods, such as refrigerators, washing machines, electric vacuums once known as a luxury, became the necessity for many Turkish families.⁸²¹ Meanwhile, the silent guardianship of the army and the opposition of RPP were still strongly felt but the people were expressing themselves in “democratic” ways such as boycotts, protests and invasions. The State Planning Organization had already been established, and Turgut Özal had been appointed as its head.⁸²²

⁸¹⁷ And, *Başlangıcından 1983'e Türk Tiyatro Tarihi*, 160.

⁸¹⁸ Akşit, "Modernleşme sürecinde Karagöz," 64-71.

⁸¹⁹ Ahmad also says that Demirel, having been the favorite of the business circles, had stayed in America for one year by the Eisenhower Fellowship, and had worked in a US multinational corporation operating in Turkey so, he “became the symbol of modern capitalism and the link with the United States.” Ahmad, *The Making of Modern Turkey*, 142.

⁸²⁰ Figure 50 reads, “Water and road are the main issues for us” from “Dünden bugüne Türkiye’de seçim afişleri” *Hürriyet*.

⁸²¹ Çavdar, *Adalet Partisi*, 2091

⁸²² *Ibid.*

However, social planning became a secondary political issue once again, and priority was given to economic development. JP had its motto, “*Büyük Türkiye*” (“Great Turkey”) adopted from ex-DP. It was not signaling a radical economic change based either on the development of the infrastructures or industry; rather, it was related to consumption instead of production. Besides, the emigrant Turkish labor force in European countries was contributing to homeland economy creating a delusion of economic development.⁸²³

In 1969, JP was re-elected, and the left and the center groups were almost excluded from the parliament. The disappointment about the state of prevailing democracy led some part of the society to involve in radical movements, which turned into the armed propaganda under police pressure.⁸²⁴ Ahmad says that in the late 1960s, two new groups began to be influential in politics. One was the working class led by an increasingly class-conscious leadership.⁸²⁵ The other one “was an increasingly self-conscious industrial bourgeoisie,”⁸²⁶ which set up TUSİAD later. The industrialists were known to have a considerable influence on the JP government. The JP government gradually became representative of the business interests putting the laborers in a disadvantageous position. The laborers had marched on 15-16 June 1970 to protest the legislation regarding the labor agreement, strike and lockout, and the changes in the trade union act that was approved in 1970.⁸²⁷

Return of Satire

These conditions, as well as the weakening power of the RPP on society, which enabled Karagöz to be able to elude being an ideological apparatus of the state, caused Karagöz plays to regain its satirical character, especially with the plays of Aziz Nesin after the 1960s. It was also related to the fact that the relatively liberal

⁸²³ In 1961, some of the countries of the European Community, especially Germany, decided to accept guest laborers from Turkey during their recovery period tending to enormous emigration. *Ibid.*, 2089, 2091-2092.

For a cinematic narration: *Almanya, Acı Vatan*. Directed by Şerif Gören, & Zeki Ökten. Performed by Orhan Alkan, & Hülya Koçyiğit. 1979; *Dönüş*. Directed by Türkan Şoray. Performed by Türkan Şoray, & Kadir İnanır. 1972.

⁸²⁴ Çavdar, *Adalet Partisi*, 2093.

⁸²⁵ Ahmad, *The Making of Modern Turkey*, 134.

⁸²⁶ *Ibid.*, 134

⁸²⁷ In the election of 1973, RPP won again but with not enough support to establish a one-party government. Thus, it had to form a coalition with NSP. Çavdar, *Adalet Partisi*, 2094.

For more information in artistic narration, see, Ongören, Vasif (play). *Zengin Mutfağı*. Directed by Başar Sabuncu. Performed by Şener Şen, & Nilüfer Açıkalın. 1988.

constitution of Turkey adopted in 1960 had extended the freedoms, which also created a revival in literature and the field of art.

Karagöz's problem with his wife and Hacivat's calling him illiterate show that there was another turnover in the character of the Karagöz plays once again. However, although they were written in 1967, *Karagöz Totocu* (Karagöz works in a football pools outlet) and *Mahçup* (Shamefaced) plays were still in the course of the former period to some extent. Indeed, *Karagöz Totocu* (Karagöz works in football pools outlet) play as a dividing line between the two periods.

Karagöz Totocu play generally refers to previously performed classical plays in such a way that during the play, Karagöz is presented as if he was confronting himself, with his own past. Not harshly as it was in the former period but the play also aims to discharge him; however, this time, Karagöz is discharging himself as if he was in a psychoanalytic therapy. Karagöz does not break with his past radically as it was in the previous period. The play does not create totally a new Karagöz; rather, Karagöz is aware of his past and communicating with his history.

The classic structure, which is composed of an introduction, a dialog, a main plot and a conclusion sections, was re-formed. Hacivat customarily comes into scene and calls Karagöz as "*Külhanî*" (rogue) in the introductory section. In the dialog section, Karagöz plays football pools, Hacivat tells him that if he finds the three then he can buy an automobile and an apartment flat. Those are the new necessities created under DP's "Little America" and JP's "Great Turkey" slogans and their economic programs.

In the play, Hacivat says Karagöz to get a new wife; however, Karagöz gets angry and replays that he does not need to. Yet, when Karagöz knocks the door of his own home, his wife cannot recognize him, and confuses him with a donkey. Karagöz says, "Your husband ("*Bey*" in Turkish) came! Do you know who I am? I am the one who brings butter, rice and beans home!" Nevertheless, they fight with each other because of Karagöz's unemployment and then Karagöz asks Hacivat for a job. As usual, Hacivat tells him that he is an illiterate and unskilled person living like a caveman and will die like a chump. Nevertheless, He finds him a job; Karagöz would work at a football pools outlet. Those parts of the play are compatible with the character of classical Karagöz.

In the main plot, Hacivat shows a place and says, "Because most of the people were once as illiterate as you are, this was used as a place for the typewriters (referring

to “Scribe” of the classic plays). Now it has changed, everyone became literate.” Then he adds that since there was no need for the typewriters, they had to close it down. Now, Karagöz is going to be a football pool seller at that place. Karagöz is illiterate once again and Hacivat is educated as it was in the classical versions.

Referring to classic foxy Hacivat in plays, Hacivat says that the half of the earnings are to be held by him and the other by Hacivat’s own self (Hacivat’s a pun implies that both halves were going to be held by Hacivat). But, because the audience has been prepared for years for the idea that Hacivat has also changed in time, Hacivat says that it was a joke before he leaves to take the customers to Karagöz. He also stresses that one had to catch up with the times, thus, he tells Karagöz to find nice slacks, a white shirt, and a tie. Those parts remind the earlier period for stressing the importance of coming to terms with the times and hard-working.

By singing a Canto, a “lady” (it was written as “*bayan*” in Turkish) with mini skirt enters the scene, after saying, “good morning dear,” adds that Karagöz is so kind even without knowing him. She tells that she usually begins to fill the pool paper from the bottom to the top contrary to what everyone does. This is the only part that includes a sexual metaphor implying that the lady likes to start from bottom to top. After her, *Muhacir* (the Emigrant) comes, and Karagöz misunderstands him for his accent and supposes that he is searching for a WC.

Then *Beatnik* comes (old Frank) by saying “hello beybi, hello may darling! Gudbay beybi, gud nayt beybi!.. beybi beybi oohhh ayyyy!..”⁸²⁸ Karagöz says, “Who is this smelling like carrion! The guy has no money I think, he has not shaved for ten



Figure 51
Mustache and
Sir Douglas
Fairbanks

years” indicating a change of attitude towards Westernization. The beard is currently equal to being uncivilized but one has to keep in mind that Karagöz and Hacivat has had beards for up to eight centuries. In the 1930s, shaving was considered as a sign of civilization; in a weekly periodical named *Yedigün*, it was written, “A modern man shaves every day!” After the 1950s, having a mustache, especially the style of Douglas Fairbanks⁸²⁹ (an American film star), became a fashion. However, with the widespread usage of electricity, shaving machines also became

⁸²⁸ That was actually in English but written as exactly as how it is pronounced in Turkish. The correct one should be “hello my darling! Goodbye baby, good night baby... baby baby oohhh yeaaa!..”

⁸²⁹ Figure 51 from “Douglas Fairbanks Sir Biography” (Bio, 1996, accessed March 8, 2013) available from <http://www.biography.com/people/douglas-fairbanks-sr-9290911>

widespread, and in public commercials, shaving was told to be attractive to women.⁸³⁰

Karagöz treats the *Beatnik* as if he was insane; by the way, *Beatnik* (Frank) wants to talk in French. Then, he removes a corn from his pocket and eats it. Karagöz thinks, “What a nasty person he is” and beats him. He shows *Beatnik* to Hacıvat and says, “Do you see that carrion smelling dirty guy?” The Hacıvat’s reply is, “I know... Not only from the shop but also from the entire country they ought to be banished.” Frank is no longer welcome in the country, and the message of the dialog is clear: foreigners are not wanted in the country. One should consider that the play was written 12 years after the events of September 6-7 (1955)⁸³¹ and 6 years before the Cyprus “Peace” Operation (1974)⁸³². More importantly, the American soldiers were everywhere on the streets due to the military and economic agreements between the USA and Turkey.⁸³³

Then, the Persian comes and starts to tell Karagöz about a dialog section of a classic play as his grandfather told him. Karagöz remembers the case and sighs. The Persian tells how Karagöz have pocketed his grandfather's money. *Tuzsuz Deli Bekir*, who took the money from Karagöz and gave it back to the grandfather of the Persian at that time, had solved this incident. By this way, they also commemorate him. When the Persian asks what he would do with the money if he won the pool,

⁸³⁰ Akçura, *İvr Zıvr Tarihi III: Uzun Metin Sevenlerden Misiniz?*, 198-203.

⁸³¹ Please *vide* footnote: 837

⁸³² According to Güler, after the British invasion of Cyprus in 1914, the Ottoman Empire practically lost its control on the island. In 1947, Greece Parliament decided to mediatize Cyprus with the support of the Greek inhabitants of the island. In 1954, the United Nations held the issue. The meeting of Greek and Turkish delegates in London could not reach a conclusion. Until 1960, when the Cyprus Republic whose sovereignty was guaranteed by Turkey, Greece and England was found with a joint constitution, the tension between Greece and Turkey continued. Although there was an agreement, the Cypriot Greeks on the island continued their anti-Turkish propaganda, which ended up with the death of 24 Turkish people in 1963, and resulted in the unilateral cancellation of the constitution by the Greeks in 1964. The final blow came in 1967, when Greek-Cypriot army attacked Turkish villages *Geçitkale* and *Boğaziçi*, which resulted in 28 Turkish-Cypriots’ death. The Turkish Parliament had confirmed the decision of war against Greece. The tide of the events did not create a peaceful environment until the Turkish military intervention on the northern side of the island based on her guarantor status. Yılmaz Güler, "Kuzey Kıbrıs Türk Cumhuriyeti'nin Kuruluşuna kadar Kıbrıs Meselesi," *G.Ü. Kırşehir Eğitim Fakültesi Dergisi* 1, no. 5 (2004): 103-108

⁸³³ Ahmad states that during the Cuban Missile Crises of October 1962, Turkey promised to support USA even if the result was a possible nuclear attack. However, later, “public opinion became convinced that Turkey’s interests were negotiable and that she was no longer a ‘strategic asset’ for Washington.” When America supported the Greece in the Cyprus crisis of 1963/4, anti-American demonstrations were climbed and continued until the military takeover in 1971. Ahmad, *The Making of Modern Turkey*, on pages 139.

Karagöz replies as, “well Father Persian, those are all nostalgia, the banks are everywhere now! You can invest your money to the bank” (“not to me” he actually wants to say, as his grandfather have done once, he is still confronting with the past). If the Persian wins, Karagöz only wants him to buy a suit dress for him. Karagöz is no more a thief; he has given up tricky jobs as if he regretted for what he has done in earlier plays. He is not greedy also, only wants a single suit if the Persian wins, he acts as if he came to his senses.

When Hacivat drops in and asks Karagöz who came in, Karagöz answers as “*hamhumşaralop*.”⁸³⁴ Hacivat gets surprised and says “Wow, what a history it was...”

Then the Arab comes, and Karagöz calls him crazy too. Even though he could not hit the three numbers in the pool, the Arab asks whether he would receive the price or not. Then he starts to beat Karagöz by saying, “will or not?” repeatedly as it was in another dialog section of one of the classic plays. Then Hacivat comes again and asks “what is that smell?” Karagöz replies, “Your customer... the Arab’s fragrance...” This time, Hacivat recalls a play called *Kırgınlar* (The Resentful Ones, in which the Arab beats Karagöz by repeatedly asking “did you die?” “How much *okka* did you die?”).⁸³⁵ However, it is remarkable to select this part among all the old plays because, it includes much violence, and the Arab was openly presented as a slave in that play. Besides, they really do not like the smell of the Arab and Frank. Not the idea or an action, just the smell makes Karagöz and Hacivat disturbed by those two types, one is representing the East and the other the West.

Although, the play was written in 1967, Turkey’s stance in support of the company in the struggle between the Iranian government and the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company in 1950s⁸³⁶ explains the frosty attitude towards the Persian. When the evening comes, Karagöz wants to close the shop before *Tuzsuz* come in. Meanwhile, as a

⁸³⁴ In the dialog section of one of the old plays, Karagöz says this expression repeatedly to persuade the Persian that he was got mad, thus, the Persian has to forget about money he has given to Karagöz.

⁸³⁵ It was mentioned before, in that play, Hacivat wants Karagöz to sell his slave Mercan (Black Arab). However, Mercan beats Karagöz after several repetitive questions like “did you die? How much oka(s) did you die?” No matter the answer Karagöz’s gives, he continuous by saying, “it is too much, so die more! Now, how much oka(s) did you die?” He beats Karagöz too much then Karagöz pretends to be dead. Mercan says that the dead shit and pee too much, and he does the same on Karagöz.

⁸³⁶ Ahmad also says, “Once Turkey was allowed into NATO in February 1952, she began ‘to champion the cause of the West wherever she could’”⁸³⁶. He adds that while the Arab world engaged a national struggle against Western society, Turkey took side with these Western societies. Ahmad, *The Making of Modern Turkey*, 119

last customer *Kayserili* comes, and says that he has filled the pool paper. Karagöz understand the verb of “fill” (“*doldurmak*” in Turkish) as “soil” (“*doldurmak*” in Turkish) one’s underclothes.

At last, Hacivat comes again and asks Karagöz whether he is satisfied with his income, Karagöz says, “may God bless you Hacivat, I can look after my family and pay my bills. How good working is...” One can see the emphasis on the values of working, earning money, looking after the family and responsibility. Moreover, it is Hacivat, who teaches such values to Karagöz.

Those imperial types are included as nostalgia; however, it is obvious that the Arab and Beatnik (Frank) are exposed to racist discourse. Just the smell of the two and the beard of Beatnik could be a reason for banishing them from Turkey. At that time, since the late 1940s, the Greece-Turkey relations were tense. Turkey also started to enforce “*Varlık Vergisi*” (Wealth Tax) between 1942 and 1945 to raise her funds for the country's defense in case of a war. It had to be paid by the non-Muslims, such as Jews, Greeks, Armenians, and Levantines in Turkey.⁸³⁷ Many non-Muslims, who could not pay such a big amount within thirty days, were arrested and many of them had migrated from Turkey. Almost 15.000 Greeks were

⁸³⁷ Political decisions regarding the economy was effecting the daily social life and the relations of the Muslims with the non-Muslim community in Turkey. Just before the events of September 6-7, 1955, the public opinion was shaped against the Greek Communities living in Turkey. On 27 August in the *Hürriyet* Newspaper, a news report was allegedly writing that Fener Patriarchate had been aiding Cyprus by sending donations secretly. On 6-7 September 1955, violent racist movements against the non-Muslim minorities, such as Greeks (Rum), Armenians and Jews had occurred particularly in İstanbul specially after a rumor that Atatürk’s house in Salonika was bombed. See: Gültekin Genç, "53. Yılında 6-7 Eylül Olayları," (Birikim, August 14, 2008, accessed October 21, 2012) available from <http://www.birikimdergisi.com/birikim/makale.aspx?mid=458>

One of the looters, Mikdat Remzi Sancak says that after hearing that Atatürk’s house was bombed, people were worked up, and started to breaking into the shops and taking whatever they found. There were police officers but they were shouting as “break down! Loot!” too. He had also broken in the shops and the houses of Greeks, Armenians, Assyrians, and Jews. There was such a mess that the tram could not work for two days in İstiklal street. He adds that the goods, curtains and clothes had been spread all around. See: Funda Tosun, "Bir 6-7 Eylül yağmacısının portresi," *Agos Newspaper*, September 06, 2012. Translation by the author (H.B. 2013).

According to US Consulate, % 59 of the attacked shops and work places belonged to the Greeks, % 17 to the Armenians, % 12 to the Jews and % 10 belonged to the Muslims. On the other hand, % 80 of the attacked houses belonged to the Greeks, % 9 to the Armenians, % 5 to the Muslims and % 3 to the Jews. The official sources recorded that 11 people were dead, 30 people were injured and 60 women had been treated due to rape incidents in *Balıklı Hospital*. However, unofficial sources recorded that over 200 women had been raped, 300 people had been injured. See: Ayşe Hür, "6-7 Eylül’de devletin ‘muhteşem örgütlenmesi,'" *Taraf Online*, September 07, 2008.

migrated to Greece in those years. The covert aim was to nationalize the economy.⁸³⁸

The Cyprus crisis of 1963-1964, was also a turning point in the relations between Turkey and the Arab Middle East. Because, in December 1965, while the UN General Assembly were discussing the Cyprus question, the decision, which specifies not to intervene the Republic of Cyprus on any condition and therefore against Turkey, was only counter voted by six states whereas 14 Arab states have supported the decision.⁸³⁹

Therefore, it is understandable that the play tended to legitimize the hostile attitudes towards foreigners. It is apparent that rather than making the public speak, Karagöz still speaks on behalf of the government. Thus, the conditions should have affected the standpoint of the intellectuals and the public towards the Frank (mainly Greeks and other Western people) and the Arab community as exemplified in the Karagöz play. Hence, only the smell of the Frank and the Arab was enough to disturb Karagöz and Hacivat in the main plot of *Karagöz Totocu*. This was the last example of didactic plots, until the 1980s.



Figure 52
Book
cover by
Turhan
Selçuk
(1968)

By the way, modernizing Karagöz was still a problem but, this time, it was not the state but private initiatives, such as *Milliyet* (Nationality) Newspaper who assumed the task. *Milliyet*, founded in 1950, organized a contest⁸⁴⁰ for newly written Karagöz plays in accordance with the contemporary social life in 1967. The chief editor was Abdi İpekçi who was assassinated in 1979. The jury was composed of Sabri Esat Siyavuşgil, Metin And and Turhan Selçuk who aimed Karagöz to get its popularity as it enjoyed during the *Karagöz Newspaper* in the late 19th century, and be performed on stages again. The intellectuals were on duty again. Metin Özlen competed in the contest with the plays *Karagöz'ün Kahyalığı* (Karagöz the Chamberlain), *Karagöz'ün Minibüs Fıslı* (Karagöz's Minibus Venture) and *Karagöz'ün Sinema Fıslı* (Karagöz's Cinema Venture). Aziz Nesin, too, was participated the contest with the

⁸³⁸ Gültekin Genç, "53. Yılında 6-7 Eylül Olayları," (Birikim, August 14, 2008, accessed October 21, 2012) available from <http://www.birikimdergisi.com/birikim/makale.aspx?mid=458>

⁸³⁹ For Further Information: UN General Assembly, *1402 Plenary Meeting: Question of Cyprus*. Resolutions adopted by The General Assembly (Cairo: UN, 1965).

⁸⁴⁰ Figure 52 is the cover of the book that includes the awarded plays of 1967 Milliyet Newspaper Contest. Various, *Günümüzün Diline ve Hayatına Uygun 5 Karagöz Oyunu* (Ankara: Milliyet Kültür Kulübü Yayınları, 1968).

plays *Karagöz'ün Berberliği* (Karagöz the Barber), *Karagöz'ün Kaptanlığı* (Karagöz the Captain) and *Karagöz'ün Antrenörlüğü* (Karagöz the Coach). It was said that although the jury had much appreciated Özlen's works, they were looking for someone who was popular at that time; thus, Karagöz would be more popular with such a familiar name. Therefore, they had decided to give the award to Aziz Nesin.

Both in Nesin's and Özlen's plays, the traditional form is brought back again; the plays were composed of introductory, dialog, main plot and conclusion sections. In Nesin's plays⁸⁴¹, the satire harshly came back into Karagöz plays once again. In the play of ***Karagöz'ün Kaptanlığı*** (Karagöz the Captain), Karagöz and Hacivat engage in a conversation regardless of the main plot in accordance with the traditional form of the dialog section. During that conversation, Karagöz constantly misunderstands Hacivat; as a result, he makes political references to the time. The government's attitude towards freedom and democracy, and sports reporters' bad usage of Turkish in the newspapers became the focus of satire. For example, Hacivat mentions a street called "*Hürriyet*" (*Freedom* in English). When Karagöz asks how he could understand that it was Hürriyet Street, Hacivat answers by saying that the walls including the top are surrounding the street.

In the main plot of *Karagöz'ün Kaptanlığı* (Karagöz the Captain), a civil servant visits Hacivat and asks him to find an experienced and knowledgeable captain who turns to be Karagöz. He was introduced as the grandson of *Barbaros Hayrettin*.⁸⁴² As an appointed captain, Karagöz has to decide on the crew to bring a ship donated by the Robert Funds to Turkey. Karagöz, appointing unqualified staff to important tasks, refuses a well-trained and experienced sailor called the Wonder Boy. The civil servant shows Karagöz the lists of bribery rates and the privileged people to be considered during the interviews. Besides, he says that a commission, composed of 60 people, has been established only to decide the name of the ship, which is "democracy."

This ship metaphorically refers to the government and its policy of the appointments of the officers and the civil servants. Moreover, bribery, differential treatment, nepotism⁸⁴³ and even the immorality of the state officials⁸⁴⁴ were

⁸⁴¹ Aziz Nesin, *Üç Karagöz Oyunu* (İstanbul: İstanbul Matbaası, 1968).

⁸⁴² He was the famous admiral of the Ottoman navy between the 1500 and 1545, and he was known as undefeatable.

⁸⁴³ In the context of satire of nepotism and differential treatment, Ahmad says that Demirel's crew took control of the Anatolia Agency and Turkish Radio and Television to establish their monopoly over the media. The other parties had to fight for the ministries to provide

satirized. When the crew reaches to the point to take the donated ship, they realize that it is very old and useless. Thus, this was also a criticism against the government, which was dependent on foreign aid. At the end of the play, the crew is faced with the danger of losing the ship, Finally, Karagöz fails, and cannot avoid the ship run ashore.

In ***Karagöz'ün Berberliği*** (Karagöz the Barber), Nesin places the citizens and the private enterprise to the focus of satire. The desire of the Turkish citizens to imitate Europeans and Americans is criticized.⁸⁴⁵ With the guidance and the insistence of Hacıvat, Karagöz opens a Barbershop pretending as if he is a foreigner. He opens the barbershop on a credit with high interest rates.

Having no idea about hairdressing, just because he said that he came from a foreign country and gave a foreign name to his barbershop, Karagöz becomes women's favorite. This situation lasts until he goes bankruptcy and his wife catches him red-handed with a stripper woman by the shop. When the police officers arrive at the end of the play, they arrest Karagöz for irrational charges because; it was a period when people could be easily arrested without any real reason. As Dinçel indicated, "according to the Policeman, 'there cannot be an innocent citizen'; therefore Karagöz has to confess his crimes. The closing words of this scene read as

patronage to their supporters. The Ministry of Education functioned as a governmental instrument that allowed the right to control schools and universities so that the grounds for the youth movements were established. Besides, the control over the Ministry of Customs to facilitate the import also resulted in import of arms for the terrorist groups. Ahmad also stresses that Turkey "became more politicized resulting in increasing anti-Americanism especially after the US intervened in Vietnam and the 1967 war in the Middle East"(Six-Day War). Ahmad, *The Making of Modern Turkey*, 166.

⁸⁴⁴ For further information: Veysi Oğuz, "Türkiye'de Siyasal Partiler Çerçevesinde Politik Yozlaşma ve Etik Sorunu" (M.S. Thesis. Karaman: University of Karamanoğlu Mehmetbey, 2011).

⁸⁴⁵ In the context of social and economic changes in the 1960s, Ahmad says that most of the goods, such as cars, radios, refrigerators, irons, etc., were being assembled in Turkish factories with the help of foreign companies, which were also supplying the majority of the components to be assembled. In one of those factories, Koç Holding built the first car, *Anadol*, in Turkey in collaboration with Ford Motors. Besides, people started to be conscious about the way they dressed because the off-the peg industry had already developed and was presenting people a greater variety of options. The production of beer was also privatized, and these private companies somehow managed beer be classified as a non-alcoholic beverage, therefore, beer could be sold everywhere without any restrictions. Besides, Coke and Fanta had changed the consumer taste and replaced the most commonly consumed beverages, *Ayran* and *Gazoz*. Ahmad also says that radios has increased in number so that even small communities outside the cities could obtain. Ahmad, *The Making of Modern Turkey*, 135.

'Long Live the Police Department!'"⁸⁴⁶ referring to the close relations of the police department and the government.

In ***Karagöz'ün Antrenörlüğü*** (Karagöz the Coach) play, Nesin aims at a political critique of football, the morals of football players and their spectators.

In the 1950s, the Turkish football started to rise in popularity; the National Team defeated the Swedish and the Spanish teams in 1954, and acquired the right to join the World Cup Finals in Sweden. The Turkish League matches started in 1959 under the name of the National League. *Fenerbahçe* became the first champion among the sixteen participating teams. Thereafter, almost every town and city established their professional clubs naming their teams with the names of their homelands, such as "*Karabük Sport*," and applied to join the Turkish League. Besides, in those years Turkish teams began to transfer foreign coaches, especially from Yugoslavian teams.⁸⁴⁷

In this context, with the every type seen during the play, Nesin satirizes different problems he sees in football and its audience. Players' over interest in sexuality, the audience's frenzy, or the attitudes of the police officers are presented in satirical ways. In addition, the payment Karagöz demands for the offered coach position of a team becomes a matter of a debate. The astronomic numbers in transfer fees were also an issue of satire. In the last section, Karagöz gives his players violent tactics, which does not comply with honesty or the rules of fair play. Despite all, Karagöz's team loses in the end. In addition, a *Zenne* type called "*Moral Ayten*" is included in the play. Dinçel says, "Moral Ayten is there to support the players' morale in a fashion that somehow evokes 'the celebrated cinema stars that bolster the morale of the American soldiers.'"⁸⁴⁸

Nesin's plays were actually about the political conditions of the country at that time. Karagöz was representing the government(s) in the form of a captain and a coach, and the plays were also alluding to the public in the form of the customers of the barbershop and football fans. He was satirizing and criticizing the rising violence and fragmentation in the society on the one hand, and impotency of the

⁸⁴⁶ Dinçel, "Translation as a Form of Social Representation," 119.

⁸⁴⁷ *Türkiye Futbol Federasyonu Resmi İnternet Sitesi - Tarihçe* (TFF, 21 May 1923, accessed March 11, 2013) available from <http://www.tff.org/default.aspx?pageID=296>

⁸⁴⁸ Nesin, *Üç Karagöz Oyunu*, 86, cited in Dinçel, "Translation as a Form of Social Representation," 120.

governments, which did not consider anything except their own ambition for power on the other.

By the 1970s, following the Milliyet Newspaper's Contest, the conditions in Turkey changed again. In 1968, Necmettin Erbakan had found the National Order Party (NOP) and started to criticize the JP government for making Turkey an open market for Europe and America.⁸⁴⁹ In 1970, the government had to take another crucial decision to devalue the currency; 1 dollar became equal to 15 Turkish Liras.⁸⁵⁰

The uncontrolled economic development besides the effects of the worldwide oil crises resulted in an increase in the prices. On 12 March 1971, the military intervened, and Demirel's government had to resign. After that, again, a temporary two-year government was established. In the same year, Bülent Ecevit had become the leader of the RPP.⁸⁵¹

Meanwhile the Cyprus Crisis had strengthened the RPP with the decisive movement (Cyprus Peace Operation, 1974) of Ecevit; however, the economic program of the coalition created a disappointment for the masses, and RPP had resigned from the government. A new coalition, which was composed of JP, NSP, RRP and NAP against RPP and called "*Milliyetçi Cephe*" (Nationalist Front), was established in 1975.⁸⁵²



Figure 53 JP's Campaign Poster, 1973

On 29 October 1973, "*Boğaziçi Köprüsü*"⁸⁵³ (Bosporus Bridge), of which the construction started in February 1970 with a ceremony President Cevdet Sunay and Prime Minister Süleyman Demirel attended, was finished and opened by President Fahri Korutürk and Prime Minister Naim Talu; however, JP appropriated the project to itself.

The Oil Crisis got worse finding its reflection on cultural products as well. In the Eurovision Song Contest in 1973, Turkey's representation was Ajda Pekkan with a song entitled "*Petrol*"

⁸⁴⁹ Ahmad, *The Making of Modern Turkey*, 144

⁸⁵⁰ Çavdar, *Adalet Partisi*, 2093.

⁸⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 2095.

⁸⁵² *Ibid.*, 2096.

⁸⁵³ Figure 53 reads, "We have linked Asia to Europe," "Dünden bugüne Türkiye'de seçim afişleri," *Hürriyet*.

(Oil)⁸⁵⁴. The prospects of economic development were limited; the Turkish industrialists could not compete in the world market. Side by side the student movements, there were also labor movements in the country. The strikes and protest marches became very common. The government was seemingly impotent.⁸⁵⁵ Nevertheless, Demirel was confident and said, “Marching does not abrade the streets.”⁸⁵⁶

In the 1977 elections, the Nationalist Pact had resurrected but fallen at the end of the same year following the one-month office of the RPP. Western countries were laying an economic and a military embargo on Turkey blaming Bülent Ecevit for acting irresponsible in the Cyprus Crisis. Terrorism sharply increased and the Nationalist Pack was considered as responsible for it. The *Maraş* Incidents, (during which 150 Alewi citizens had been killed and over 200 houses had been set on fire) had the last word.⁸⁵⁷

In 1979 and 1980, JP came to power again. In those years, the oil crisis was still persistent, and the world was in deep economic distress; the unemployment and inflation rates were rising, and the emigrant Turkish laborers were coming back to Turkey. In the meantime, Turgut Özal was appointed as the head of the State Planning Organization (SPO), and he made an agreement with the International Monetary Fund (IMF). He declared a legal decision containing some stabilization measures known as “*24 Ocak Kararları*” (The Decisions of January 24).⁸⁵⁸

The Turkish Lira devalued approximately by 51 % (1 dollar equaled to 24 Turkish liras) and the prices reached to astronomic heights. In addition, production was directed to foreign markets, the free market economy became dominant and the interest rates were left to free fluctuation. This situation became increasingly unmanageable, and on 12 September 1980, army took over once again under the leadership of Kenan Evren the chief staff, and Demirel and his government were forced to resign and arrested.

⁸⁵⁴ “Youtube, Ajda Pekkan - Aman Petrol” (Eurovision 1980) (Youtube, 13 July 2011, accesses September 5, 2013) available from <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=XFV4QtNhNDA>

⁸⁵⁵ Çavdar, *Adalet Partisi*, 2093-2094.

⁸⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 2092.

⁸⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 2098.

⁸⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, 2100

In the Meantime... Perpetuated Tradition

Four years before the military coup, in 1976, Özlen succeeded to win the award in the “1st Karagöz Contest” of the *Ministry of Tourism*, which is later be named *Ministry of Cultural Affairs*. In Özlen’s plays⁸⁵⁹, the imperial types such as the Jew, Armenian, Albanian, and the Frank returned to the plots. Since he was also a Karagöz performer, his plays were practically more performable and technically more suitable than Nesin’s plays. However, Nesin’s plays were richer in terms of content. At the same time, Mukadder Özakman⁸⁶⁰ was publishing Karagöz and Hacivat dialogs in *Yeni Asır* Newspaper. In these dialogs, he was politically criticizing Erbakan, and asking whether he was an enemy or a friend. Özakman was supporting Ecevit’s position in the Cyprus Crisis. After the “peace operation” in Cyprus, the tense relations of Turkey and Greece and the international embargo on Turkey caused her to search for new ways to develop the country’s economy, and raise her defenses in the Aegean Sea. An old ship was renewed and named as “*Sismik 1*” with the aim of searching oil and making researches in both the Marmara and the Aegean Sea. *Sismik 1* had underlined the problem of sea borders defined on the basis of the continental shelf between Greece and Turkey. Özakman pointed out the issue and made Karagöz say that Greece demands to take revenge Cyprus. Generally, Özakman intended to draw attention to daily life and politics through Karagöz and Hacivat dialogs in the *Yeni Asır* Newspaper, while Metin Özlen was busy with writing new Karagöz plays and making new figures. His attitude was to emphasize Karagöz as an important art deserving to be safeguarded. He was trying to revitalize Karagöz, most of the peculiarities of which were transferred to printed media, as a performance.

Metin Özlen’s play ***Balıkçılar*** (The Fishermen) is written to revive a classical play, whose original text was said lost. Therefore, *Balıkçılar* play was an attempt to revive the lost classical tradition. ***Karagöz’ün Kahyalığı*** (Karagöz is the Chamberlain) and the other two plays did also keep the traditional imperial types, such as the Frank and Armenian; and included new types, such as a girl in a miniskirt and a young peasant woman. The introductory part has also been changed. After Hacivat departs, Karagöz talks about the contemporary events in a simplistic way; for example, he says for Hacivat,

⁸⁵⁹ Metin Özlen & Hayrettin İvgin, *Eski ve Yeni Karagöz Oyun Metinleri* (Ankara: Kültür Bakanlığı Yayınları, 1996).

⁸⁶⁰ Mukadder Özakman, *Karagöz (Oyunlar ve Çevreci Ortaoyunu)* (Ankara: UNIMA, 2012).

You are shameless, barefaced! Every part of my body spread all over as junks in a flea market! Wish you were raided in a discotheque and were headlined in the papers, been caught in the Sultan Ahmet Park while smoking hashish! You are such a lousy person, expelled from all parts of Europe. [You are a] dressed-like-a-dog! I crashed to the floor as a plane as if it run out of fuel.⁸⁶¹

When Hacivat comes back, he supposes Karagöz as an ox but later he decides that he is a Copt searching for cigarette butts in the garbage. In the dialog section, Hacivat decides to do a favor for Karagöz by building a house for him. Karagöz wants the kitchen and bedroom to be built next to each other. Then Hacivat says Karagöz that he is such an ignorant that he does not know people generally do not eat in the kitchen. One prepares a meal in the kitchen but eats in the dining room. Karagöz has to know this. The didactic aspects become apparent in the play from time to time. Hacivat teaches him manners of eating, the lesson of which he took from Karagöz in *Köy Evlenmesi* (The Village Marriage) in 1941.

In the plot section, Rüstem Agha from Muğla (a city in the Western part of Anatolia), a rich person, buys a farm from Hacivat and asks a person to work in there, Hacivat offers Karagöz by saying, “Just for you, available for every kind of job, pure, rude, ignorant, man of many talents... I know a poor man full of madness.” Karagöz starts to work there. He beats Hacivat when he tries to take the half of his earnings. As it was in Baltacıoğlu’s play, *Ali*, who will graduate from the Faculty of Medicine, wants to get married with *Ayşe*; however, *Rüstem* Agha also wants the same. Karagöz is on *Ali*’s side, Hacivat is on *Rüstem*’s side. *Ali* has no money but *Rüstem* has, then *Ayşe*’s parents accept *Rüstem*’s offer for the bride price, and marry *Ayşe* with *Rüstem*. Hilton Hotel, which was very famous for the weddings at that time, was the place of the wedding. At the end, Karagöz solves the problem and makes two lovers reunited by a plan that he becomes the bride of *Rüstem* instead of *Ayşe*. He takes a signed paper from *Rüstem*, on which “*Rüstem* gave most of his goods and the money to *Ayşe*” was written. At the end, Karagöz gives them a lesson, and *Ayşe*’s parents, *Rüstem* and Hacivat regret. It becomes clear that *Rüstem* is already married to someone else, and Karagöz gets angry with him for his desire of polygamy. Since Karagöz helps *Ali*, *Ali* promises Karagöz to take care of him and his family for a lifetime. With small differences, the play highly resembles to that of Baltacıoğlu. However, as mentioned earlier, Özlen’s plays can technically be performed but Baltacıoğlu has adopted the written form.

⁸⁶¹ Translation by the author (H.B. 2013)

In ***Karagöz'ün Minibüs Fıslı*** (Karagöz's Minibus Adventure) play, the main characters are Hacivat's son, Karagöz's son, the Armenian (Doctor Abonokyan), a Young Peasant (*Zenne*), *Vanlı Memo* (Easterner – Kurdish), Three young men, the Jew (Trader), a *Karadenizli* (Constructor from Black Sea Region), a *Zenne* with children, a Police and a *Zenne* in miniskirt.

At the end of the dialog section, Özlen, again, updated the words of Karagöz. Karagöz says for Hacivat “wish you became a subject to be painted by the cubic painters, you are such an ominous man!” In the plot section, a neighbor's son İbrahim brings a car from Germany. The first laborers went to Germany in 1961 by train departing from İstanbul, *Sirkeci* Station to Munich. When the time the play had written and revised, the Turkish laborers were continually visiting Turkey and bringing European goods and cars, which were not common in Turkey. İbrahim was to serve his military obligation and, thus, Hacivat was offered to replace him in his job. The job is minibus driving. Özlen satirizes a very common experience of the times by drawing attention to the attitude of minibus drivers that they take on more passengers than the carrying capacity. Especially in the summertime, as the minibuses are crowded, the people had difficulty even in breathing.



Figure 54, Dressing example of Minibus Drivers from the movie "Çiçek Abbas"

As usual, Karagöz fights with his wife, and his wife asks him to find a job. His son “*Yumurcak*” calls his father Karagöz “goofy,” whereas Hacivat's son *Sivriköz* tells his father that after he finishes his school he will work with him. Therefore, Hacivat is still respected but Karagöz is not, as it was in the classic plays. Karagöz and Hacivat change their outfit according to the play; they wear leather jackets, tight pants and tasseled caps. A similar way of dressing was also represented in the film “*Çiçek Abbas*.”⁸⁶²

Then the first passenger, the Armenian Doctor using the phrase “*ka yavrum*” (love/my little one), comes. After him, a peasant girl with two alive chickens comes; the Doctor says that it is a disgrace for a man to travel with the chickens on the same bus. *Memo* from the City of Van arrives and sits beside the peasant girl. The Armenian Doctor says that he has a patient waiting, and whenever they asked, Karagöz and Hacivat tell everyone that they are just moving. Right after the girl in a miniskirt, the three young men come. They disturb the girl in the miniskirt then

⁸⁶² For the Figure 54, see: Turgul, Yavuz. *Çiçek Abbas*. Directed by Sinan Çetin. Performed by İlyas Salman, & Ayşen Gruda Şener Şen. 1988.

Karagöz intervenes by saying, “look at me you kids of the day, do not make me mad!” Karagöz is protecting the woman boldly dressed (mini skirt) but he does not treat the peasant woman as a woman. At last, the Jew, *Karadenizli* and a *Zenne* with children arrive. The three young boys act like *Tuzsuz Deli Bekir*, and the Jew is much more moderate rather than being clamorous as in the classical plays. Therefore, 12 people get on the minibus. Before they leave, the police officer comes and asks for the driving license. Karagöz points Hacivat as a driver; however, Hacivat tells the officer that Karagöz let those people get on the minibus. Then the officer takes both to the police station.

The play was first written in the 1960s but revised and published in 1976. According to a report in *Milliyet*⁸⁶³ on 2 July 1964, minibus drivers would no longer work without permission and would have to pay tax to the municipalities. Besides, the peasant woman and the Eastern boy were representing the rural migrants, which were acting out of the code of the urbanities.

Karagöz'ün Sinema Faslı (Karagöz's Cinema Venture) includes more profligacy. Aziz Nesin's effect on newly written plays is visible. Not as harsh as Nesin but, Özlen's plays, too, include satire. This play is a satire of so-called public heroes created by the cinema sector. Again, in *Milliyet*⁸⁶⁴ on 19 July 1964, there was another report on the new generation film stars. Tunca Aksoy was writing articles about the cinema in these days. This article was about the film star contests that the cinema journals were conducting. The well-known artists of the day, such as Ediz Hun, Filiz Akin, Sevda Ferdağ, Cüneyt Arkin, etc., were all contest winners. Aksoy also says that the producers were supporting such kind of contests because the new comers used to demand less money in comparison to the famous film stars. For example, Tanju Gürsü started his cinema career after he won a contest. He applied with a portrait photograph and a headshot to the contest in 1962, and then he left his career in journalism as Cüneyt Arkin has given up his medical science career. In the same newspaper⁸⁶⁵ dated on 8 August 1965, there was an article about the nudity (in movies). The reporter collected the ideas of various artists and producers about the issue and was critical about the excessive nudity in cinema, and arguing that the representation of nudity in Turkish movies was not for any artistic purpose. The headline says, “Nudity became a tradition” for the Turkish cinema industry.

⁸⁶³ "Ruhsatsız ve vergi ödemeyen minibüsler şehirde çalışmayacak," *Milliyet*, July 2, 1964, 2.

⁸⁶⁴ Aksoy, Tunca. "Acaba Neden Artist Oldular?" *Milliyet*. July 19, 1964, 6.

⁸⁶⁵ "Soyunmak Gelenek Oldu." *Milliyet Hafta Sonu İlavesi*. July 8, 1965, 1.

At the beginning of the play, Hacivat admits that with the popularity of cinema they are now forgotten. He says, "Look at me Karagöz, our hundred-year plays are no longer the source of laughter, we are almost forgotten. No one remembers us. Have you ever thought why this happened?" Karagöz answers that he had not thought about it because, he thinks that fidelity is not a thing to be reminded; it is the responsibility of the kids of the day to remember them. However, Hacivat disagrees with him and says that they have to find a way to survive; he thinks that founding an agency to find actors and actresses would help them to shoot their own movie. Özlen also commemorates Aziz Nesin in this play by inserting dialog where Karagöz suggests going to *Marko Paşa* for the problem of being forgotten. The name "*Marko Paşa*," an Ottoman physician of Greek origin in the 19th century, was given as a name to a comic paper published between 1946 and 1947 by Sabahattin Ali, Aziz Nesin, Rıfat Ilgaz and Mustafa Mim Uykusuz. It was one of the most widely circulated papers of the Turkish Press. It was criticizing the events of the time in satirical ways.⁸⁶⁶

Karagöz does not want to get involved in movie making for the reason that his neighbor's daughter has left home to be an actress but in the end, she has been cheated by an agency. The agents have lied her by promising to make her famous, but instead, they have violated her. While listening to the story, Hacivat gets excited and Karagöz reproaches him. Yet, Hacivat defends himself by saying that he may be old but his heart was young. *Tiryaki* (the Addict) used to say the same in the classic plays.

At the end, they found an agency; Karagöz is responsible for registering the people Hacivat forwards to him. A woman comes and introduces herself as "Hatice's virago daughter with a beauty spot." Hacivat tells her to take her dress off to measure her body size, Karagöz, of course, misunderstands whatever Hacivat says about the sizes and registers woman accordingly. She would sign the registration document and give 50 liras to them; however, when she reads the paper Karagöz took note her size, she gets mad at him and leaves. Second, an indiscreet frivolous woman comes. She says that she wants to be an actress. They get into a conversation full of sexual metaphors, Karagöz asks if she is married or not, she answers yes to both. Besides, she says Karagöz that she seduced many men by now, and asks Karagöz whether he wanted to be seduced by her. When Karagöz tries to get her body sizes in a

⁸⁶⁶ Demirci, Cihan. *Markopaşa'danmim Uykusuz'a Muhalif Mizahın Sesi...* (Mizah Haber Blogspot, July 1, 2007, accessed October 2012, 22). Available from <http://mizahhaber.blogspot.com/2011/01/olumunun-104.html>

rather indiscreet way with the participation of the woman, Hacivat comes and shouts at Karagöz, the woman runs without giving the registration money. Then a man, who happens to be a substitute for the former *Çelebi* type, arrives. He speaks English even if he is not a foreigner. He signs up but refuses to pay the fee, so Karagöz gets angry. He threatens Karagöz by piping him off, and then Karagöz sends him away. Fourthly, a braggart comes to be an extra rather than an actor; he says, “No film can be shot without us. They call us as the bad guys. When we are pissed off we shoot to kill.” He was there for exaction, but Karagöz also gets angry with him and says, “The time of the roughnecks has passed.” He beats and sends him away. This last character seems to be incarnate of the bad guys in Turkish cinema as they are presented in *Milliyet*.⁸⁶⁷ Those were, Erol Taş the most famous, Kenan Pars the rich dangler, Turgut Özatay the sadist bad guy, M. Ali Akpınar the pawn of the bosses, Hüseyin Baradan the right hand of the bosses, and *Senih Orkan* the armed bad guy.

At the end of the play, Hacivat comes and admits that they could not manage this job. He says that they should better call a belly dancer for fun and forget what happened. When they are dancing together, the dancer says Karagöz, “My dear uncle Hacivat is waiting for his dear friend Karagöz in newly established shadow theater at the nightclub that I am currently working in. Let's go quickly Karagöz!” Moreover, she adds that, together, they would perpetuate the Traditional Turkish Culture (belly dancing, shadow play, etc.) there. The play ends with the hope that the contemporary popular places like nightclubs can give an opportunity for Karagöz performances, which is also mentioned by one of the interviewees of the in the thesis. The belly dancer is a faithful *Turkish girl*, who is respectful of the traditions and the ancient culture of the Turks. The importance of the Turkish traditional “arts” is also emphasized at the end of the play. Actually, the whole play was grounded on a dichotomy between the traditional and ethically “good” kind of art that is Karagöz, and immoral, degenerated and ethically “bad” kind of art that is cinema. In other words, the battle of the traditional and the new is finalized in favor of the traditional, in other words, Karagöz.

Mahcup (Shamefaced) is another play written in the same years. The play also emphasizes the need to keep up with the times as the contest of *Milliyet* Newspaper intended for Karagöz plays in 1967. However, the major peculiarities of Karagöz,

⁸⁶⁷ "Beyaz Perdenin Kötü Şöhretleri," *Milliyet*, October 31, 1965, 1.

such as the richness of the context and boldness of the characters, revitalized for a short time in the late-1960s with the plays of Özlen, start to fade away again.

Hacivat offers Karagöz being a chamberlain in the house of rich *Kınabizade Halis Bey*. Starting from the second period, the main role of Hacivat has been finding jobs for Karagöz. He is rarely seen in the main plots. The stories rather develop around Karagöz's actions.

Halis Bey's daughter gives a small ad in a newspaper that she was looking for a husband. Nevertheless, she accidentally includes her home address in the ad. Albeit Karagöz does not understand how someone searches for a husband by a newspaper ad, he accepts to help her; he would deal with candidates expected to come home. First, *Memo* from Diyarbakır (the Easterner), who is depicted as slow in the uptake, comes. After him, a cook from *Bolu* at the age of 45, the Jew as a secondhand dealer who squalls as if Karagöz beats him, the Albanian named *Ramazan* from Shkoder, and *Tuzsuz* who has drunk fifteen bottles of rakı and twenty-five bottles of wine come to meet her. However, she refuses all of them with the help of Karagöz, who is responsible for getting rid of them. By this play, the *Easterner* becomes a settled type in Karagöz plays. Formerly, the rude one who has difficulty in comprehension was the *Türk* in the classical plays but as he is disappeared, this new character in the new plays takes his role. Except for the play called *Karagöz Milyoner* (Karagöz the Millionaire) written in 1934, in which the Easterner refers to the Kurdish type, the gap of the Turkish type is filled with the type of the *Easterner* who has shown up in plays with the beginning of the late 1960s. The peculiarities once attributed to the Turkish type were ascribed to the *Easterner*.

At the end of the play, a *Çelebi* (Gent), who is depicted as a polite lawyer (representing the ideal Turkish) comes. Karagöz suggests *Zenne* to meet him, and get married with him because he is a godsend. *Zenne* accepts *Çelebi* and they get married. This play has no satirical element; rather, gives women who are not allowed to go out freely to find a spouse an idea that they can find a husband through newspaper ads. On the other hand, this play might covertly stress the battle between the traditional and the modern again because; the woman is choosing his husband freely and finding him with an uncommon way via newspaper ads rather than by sending secret messages with the mediators or dropping her napkin as it was in the late Ottoman period. Besides, the young lawyer was defined as a godsend for any woman at the age of marriage.

Political Satire Resisting against Speaking for the New Right (1980-1990)

Those were the plays presenting the transformations of Karagöz in relation to the changes in the Turkish society between the years of 1950 and 1980. The social and the political satire, which were revitalized in Karagöz plays in the late 1960s in conjunction with the social and political atmosphere of Turkey, could never get a place in plays as strong as in these times during the Republican era.

Just before the military intervention of 1980, Özkazanç states that Turkey was passing through a hegemony crisis. This intervention, which was the largest in scale by the army, and which resulted in irreversible consequences in the Turkish history, was highly functional indeed for the hegemonic classes and capitalism.⁸⁶⁸

The new authoritarian regime delivered a severe blow on the Turkish political life by cutting the relations of the parties with their social support and destroying their ability of political representation; the old leaders and the parties were banned from the politics until 1987. The main tendency was putting the old regime into oblivion while taking over the liberal tendencies in economic policies.⁸⁶⁹

In the process of establishing an authoritarian-populist and class-based hegemonic discourse, some sections of the society were excluded and suppressed; those were the wage earners, such as blue and white-collar workers, the ethnic minorities, such as Alewi and Kurdish people, and the left wing as a whole. This suppression had gradually turned into oppression and the Western countries harshly criticized Turkey for the abuse of human rights.⁸⁷⁰

The concept of *Nationalism*, which included racist, chauvinist and anti-communist elements before the 1980s, was re-defined as progressivism by serving for the public in the race of modernization and Westernization. The concept of *Conservatism* was re-defined as a protection or reinterpretation of the customs and the traditions, which are seen as compatible with the contemporary times in parallel with the economic developments in the Islamist segments. During these years, the economic policies were encouraging speculative business and supporting

⁸⁶⁸ Alev Özkazanç, *Türkiye'de Yeni Sağ*, Vol. 15, in *Cumhuriyet Dönemi Türkiye Ansiklopedisi*, (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 1995), 1219.

⁸⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, 1221.

⁸⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, 1222.

for-the-day opportunist movements besides hitting the gold mine rather than long-term stable economic developments, of which bourgeoisie was in favor.⁸⁷¹

According to Tünay⁸⁷², this new right tried to establish a new hegemony after the Coup of 1980. It has not only acquired the governmental power but also extended it to the “crucial hegemonic fields such as, religious behavior, individuality, media, and above all, the restoration of the necessary exploitation relation between capital and power.”⁸⁷³

Özal’s discourse was grounded on promoting Turkey as a country full of future prospects and defining a new elitism by appealing to the real owners of the city based on the rising values, such as individualism and consumption promoted by the media, on the other.⁸⁷⁴ Ahmad also adds, “No other politician in Turkey has exploited patronage with quite the same skill as Turgut Özal.”⁸⁷⁵ Government’s funds became the Özal and his family’s private budget.⁸⁷⁶ In the elections of 1983, the Motherland Party (MP) under the leadership of Turgut Özal came into power with a strong majority in the parliament. The success of the MP was,

...based upon its inclusive structure, which encompassed four different political orientations. Those were the liberals, pan-Turkist extreme right wing elements, Islamic fundamentalist and social democrats.⁸⁷⁷ ... “*Ortadirek*”⁸⁷⁸ was one of the terms MP had introduced; it referred small agricultural producers, workers, government employees, craftsmen and artisans.⁸⁷⁹

⁸⁷¹ *Ibid.*, 1222.

⁸⁷² Muharrem Tünay, “The Turkish New Right’s Attempt at Hegemony,” in *The Political and Socioeconomic Transformation of Turkey*, edited by Attila Eralp, Muharrem Tünay, & Birol Yeşilada (Westport: Praeger, 1993), 12.

⁸⁷³ *Ibid.*, 12.

⁸⁷⁴ Özkazanç, *Türkiye’de Yeni Sağ*, 1223

⁸⁷⁵ He also briefly summarized the covert corruption in the state affairs during the time of Özal, who used funds as “a source of governmental expenditure which was outside the budget and therefore outside the control of the Assembly or the bureaucracy.” *Ahmad, The Making of Modern Turkey*, 190, 191

⁸⁷⁶ Ahmad also says that as if Özal was rich and making favors for his country, “He might reward Naim Süleymanoğlu, the weight lifter who defected from Bulgaria, for winning medals.” *Ibid.*, 191.

⁸⁷⁷ Tünay, “The Turkish New Right’s Attempt at Hegemony” 21

⁸⁷⁸ Ortadirek literally means main mast in English but metaphorically means the middle class, produced by Turgut Özal. Author’s note (H.B. 2013).

⁸⁷⁹ Tünay, “The Turkish New Right’s Attempt at Hegemony,” 22

Therefore, the written plays produced during this time were either reflecting or satirizing the values produced by the MP and Turgut Özal. The plays for the analysis, in parallel with the changes in the society, were,

23. Karagöz'ün Bankerliği (Karagöz the Banker) (Mukadder Özakman 1980)
24. Karagöz Köfteci (Karagöz the meatball cook) (Mukadder Özakman 1984)
25. Karagöz'ün Çobanlığı (Karagöz the Shepherd) (Metin Özlen 1986)
26. İş İştir (The work is work) (M. Mazhar Anacan 1986)
27. Sedefçi Karagöz (Karagöz the Antique Dealer) (Ercümen Melih Özbay 1989)



Figure 55
Advertisement
of Banker
Kastelli on the
Cumhuriyet
Newspaper

Karagöz'ün Bankerliği (Banker Karagöz) was the satire and critique of such an opportunist economy shaped at the beginning of the 1980s, which created the short-lived bankers and swindlers. The play was written in 1980, and it was the time that the Banker Crisis was about to boom in Turkey. According to a report on 4 February 1982 in *Milliyet*, the bankers who cannot account for the lost money of the clients would be heavily punished.⁸⁸⁰ Banker Bako and Banker Kastelli⁸⁸¹ were among the famous ones. Baki Aygün, also known as Banker Bako, was charged with fraud of bonds in 1987.

The play was written in episodes; that is, it was not written according to the classical structure of Karagöz. In the first episode, story starts with a scene showing a sign reading “*Banker Karagöz*” on the top of a building Karagöz and Hacivat have become Bankers. Then, Hacivat comes with a song,⁸⁸²

*You are respected if you have money,
I would like to hit the jackpot in a hurry!
Only we are marking the time*

⁸⁸⁰ "41 Banker için Tasviye Kararı Alındı," *Milliyet*, February 4, 1982.

⁸⁸¹ Figure 55 reads, “why the aware savers choose Banker Kastelli” from “Bilinçli Tasarruflu Neden Banker Kastelli'yi Seçer,” *Cumhuriyet*. July 16, 1981, 5.

⁸⁸² Translation belongs to the author (H.B. 2012). Original text:

*Saygınlık görürsün var ise paran,
Acele köşeyi dönmek isterim!
Bir bizler kalmışız yerinde duran,
Çabucak köşeyi dönmek isterim
Dopdolu olmalı kasamda param,
Her güne ayrı renk uyan arabam,
Yüzlerce işyerim, beş on fabrikam,
Çok seri köşeyi dönmek isterim!*

*I would like to hit the jackpot in a hurry!
I should have a safe chock-full of money
A different colored car every day,
Hundreds of offices, five to ten factories I should have,
I would like to hit the jackpot, in a hurry!*

Hacivat says Karagöz that they have lived an honorable life so far but have nothing in return. He says that they should also swerve like everyone if they want to reside in villas and drive a Mercedes. He offers Karagöz to be a Banker in accordance with the discourse of MP that Turkey is a country full of future prospects.

The play opens with a scene of TV advertisement⁸⁸³ telling people to bring their savings to Karagöz and Hacivat. As a first customer, who is a retired clerk, served 30 years and had 620.000 TL retirement pension comes. They take the money by saying him to come next year today, and send him with a promise that he would receive twice as much. Then, a retired worker, who served for 25 years and had 1.5-million TL retirement pension, comes. They take his pension and send him by promising the same. A businessman comes; Hacivat offers him giving a certain percentage of his monthly income, which is 800.000 TL. Therefore, the businessman also gives his monthly income to them. Then a peasant comes by singing with the same hope of earning a lot, and he gives them 300.000 TL that he got by selling the crops of his field. Thereafter, a German guest worker comes. He accumulated 100.000 TL over 10 years, and gives it to Karagöz. Hacivat and Karagöz give everyone the interests on principals but hold the principal capitals. They make 100.000.000 TL turnover out of nothing on the first day in the office.

In the second episode, Hacivat and Karagöz are depicted as driving a Mercedes with two women as their secretaries. They have perverted relationship with them, whose names are *Mualla* and *Melahat*. *Mualla* and *Melahat* demands Karagöz and Hacivat to buy a villa in *Boğaziçi* and *Şişli*, luxury furniture, a mink fur, another Mercedes, golden bracelets and diamond necklaces.

In the next episode, depositors are seen waiting in front of Karagöz's office and demanding their money back. Hacivat says, "We gave you the interests of the principals; if anyone asks where the principal capitals are, we will say that they are with the interests." If anyone asks how they bought all the houses, cars and jewels,

⁸⁸³ The advertisements of Banker Kastelli, "Banker Kastelli Advertisements on TV." (İzlesene Video Database web site. 2 June 2008, accessed October 17, 2012) available from <http://search.izlesene.com/?vse=kastelli>

Hacivat would say by mortgage.⁸⁸⁴. At the end, when Hacivat requests Karagöz a loan, Karagöz beats him by saying that he is the one responsible for all, and the play ends.

Özal's policy of free interest rates triggered the banker crisis, and exploited by those so-called bankers, which publicly boomed in 1983. And Özal had been discredited by the 'Bankers' scandal'.⁸⁸⁵ Abidin Cevher Özden, also known as Banker *Kastelli*, who later committed suicide in 2008, made money through the opportunist banker system, created by the MP, as satirized in the play. According to a report in Today's Zaman⁸⁸⁶,

In the early 1980s when Turkey was just starting its transition to the market economy, Özden collected hundred thousand of liras from people who hoped to make more money by the high interest rates. Later, he set up his own bank; however, the bank eventually declared bankruptcy taking people's deposits with it. In the mid-1980s, he caused many people to lose money in a similar scheme. According to estimates, he defrauded money from over 500.000 people. He did considerable jail time at various times for different charges.

Those circumstances were supplying a suitable ground for satire and in the plays of the period. However, the tendency of excluding the imperial types is maintained. Rather, new characters without any potential to be the new generations' traditional types were created in the 1980s, as it will also be seen in the following plays. Karagöz and Hacivat are gradually detached from their major characteristics as they had in the classical plays; their families, wives, general tendencies, habits, even their neighborhood were excluded from the plays since the 1960s except for those belonged to Metin Özlen.

Karagöz Köfteci (Karagöz the Meatball Cook) also belongs to the same author. In the introduction section, he touches upon issues like Greek claiming that Karagöz belongs to Greece, and the Yeni Asır Newspaper reporting only the truth. In the

⁸⁸⁴ About the banker crises, Günel cites Akgüç that with the Decisions of 24 January 1980, the liberalization in economy as well as expanding foreign trade have affected the banking sector. Following the release of the loans and deposit interest rates on 1 July 1980, rapidly growing "banker system" led to the Banker Crisis in 1982. See: Mehmet Günel, *Türk Bankacılık Sektörünün Sorunları ve Geleceği* (Ankara: Ankara Ticaret Odası, 2001), 13, cites Öztin Akgüç, *75. Yılında Paranın Serüveni 1980 Sonrası Türk Bankacılığının Özellikleri* (İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yayınları, 1998), 131.

For further information: Sakarya, Betül. "Türkiye'de Bankacılık Krizleri, Nedenleri ve Regülasyon Uygulamaları." (M.S. Thesis. Sakarya: Sakarya University, 2006).

⁸⁸⁵ Ahmad, *The Making of Modern Turkey*, 189.

⁸⁸⁶ "Banker Kastelli commits suicide." *Today's Zaman Online*. June 3, 2008.

dialog section, Karagöz and Hacivat engage in self-critical and say that they should abandon beating each other because children take them as their role models. In the same section, Karagöz tells that his son had cried the whole night and he was about to beat him. Hacivat condemns Karagöz by saying that, according to the *pedagogical teachings*; he should never beat his child because children follow their parents' examples. Karagöz finds Hacivat right before saying that he raises his children according to *Karagöz-logical teachings*. Right after, the bear (The name is Fozzie) in the Muppet Show⁸⁸⁷ shows up and complains about that people degrade him because he is a bear. Then the two grays of the Muppet Show come and say that if there were people like Hacivat and Karagöz instead of the animals in the Muppet Show, it would be more entertaining. By this way, the play claims that Karagöz is much more valuable than the Muppet Show is, and while at the same time, trying to establish a connection with children among whom Muppet Show was quite popular at that time.

Hacivat also says the TV is the killer of Karagöz, but they still have to work. Then, they decide to open a restaurant, which is to be famous for its meatballs in Berlin, where many Turkish citizens live. A German football coach, an Arab woman, an elder woman with a child and other customers come to the restaurant. Because the Arab woman eats all the meatballs of the child, Hacivat says that the meatballs were actually made up of donkey meat and all the customers get angry. Karagöz says them that he has a mirror, whoever looks at it sees the true self. Then, the customers look at the mirror one by one, and each one sees himself/herself with donkey ears except the elder woman and the child, then Karagöz says, "as long as I live, I will purge all the donkeys in the world." In the meantime, Hacivat has taken money from the German football coach, who thinks to transfer Karagöz to his team, but Karagöz refuses the offer and wants Hacivat to give the money back. The German coach also wants to know the secret of the tasteful meatballs but Karagöz says, "Perhaps you have learned our ancestor's sport, wrestling, but I won't let you to learn the recipe of our meatballs." Besides, the Turkish nation is praised for being pure in heart, brave and reliable (in comparison to the Germans), and the play ends.

Meanwhile, the promises of Özal for the economic development were not realized efficiently. In 1987, a referendum was held to give the banned politicians their political rights back, and it resulted in favor. Süleyman Demirel, Bülent Ecevit,

⁸⁸⁷ *The Muppet Show*. Directed by Peter Harris, & Philip Casson. Performed by Frank Oz as Fozzie Bear, & Jim Henson as Kermit the Frog. 1976–1981.

Necmettin Erbakan and Alparslan Türkeş returned to the political arena. In 1989, Özal used the opportunity to elevate himself to the Presidency, and Yıldırım Akbulut, who was a popular subject in the comic stories⁸⁸⁸ of papers, filled the Prime Ministry position. Later, Mesut Yılmaz, who became the new leader of the MP, replaced Akbulut.

In short, the last military intervention resulted in the rise of the new-right policies in Turkey. ideas connected with the moderate Islam and the liberal economy climbed in population. This can also be followed in the Karagöz play, *İş İştir* (The work is work) by *Anacan* (1987).

The play is centered upon the issue the conservative tendencies in the society, and entrepreneurs within the discourse of the liberal economy, as it was also seen in the previous play. The political satire is almost omitted. Rather, a weak social satire comes into play. Karagöz is depicted as a resentful character with an athazagoraphobia (fear of being forgotten), the symptoms of which were first seen in the 1960s. The social bases supporting Karagöz are slowly crashing. Still it can be didactic about supernatural beliefs. Karagöz is seemingly no longer a source of laughter but he is trying to teach again. The language is simplified in the Ghazal part. Hacivat tells,

*Oh, Sir, I wish I had a friend, whose essence was truth, who was reliable,
hardworking and lover-loved.
Who knew trade and business management, and would say, "The customer is
always right."
I wish I'd taught him a job he could do and we'd earned a lot of money
Oh how nice! Oh my, how nice it would be...*

The excessive emphasis on money continues to show the ongoing effects of the economic liberalization. Hacivat's introductory song is even full of messages about getting quick money and doing "business."

As usual, Hacivat finds a job for Karagöz. They would run his neighbor's tavern, inherited from his father, on the account of his neighbor because he got sick. Hacivat says, "No matter what the job is,"⁸⁸⁹ and adds, "Our age is the age of money; it is money we eat, drink, and wear."⁸⁹⁰ Karagöz thinks that Hacivat got

⁸⁸⁸ According to a joke, Akbulut falls asleep in a ballet show and when he awakes, he realizes that all the dancers were tiptoeing. He thinks that because the dancers do not want to wake him up, they try to be silent by tiptoeing.

⁸⁸⁹ "ne demişler: işin kötüsü olmaz"

⁸⁹⁰ "devrimiz malum para devri, bu devirde para içilir, para yenir, para giyilir"

mad because he drank and ate money. Then Hacivat reminds him Napoleons remark: “money, money, money!”

Especially the dialog section involves didactic elements, for example, Hacivat says that keeping money under the pillow is useless; it must be invested, must enter into circulation so that devaluation⁸⁹¹ would not happen. Karagöz misunderstands the word “investment,” which is “*yatırım*” in Turkish. He supposes that they are talking about “entombed saint” (“*yatır*” in Turkish). There comes another didactic part about religion when Karagöz says “*benim zaten yatırım var*” (I have already an “entombed saint”). For the correction of superstitious beliefs, Hacivat says,

It is “*yatır*” (entombed saint) you mean, in other words, saints. Those people spend their lives for the happiness of the people; whatever they do they do it for the God’s sake. They are the holy ones. ...When they passed away, we, the people, enviably visit their tombs to pay our debt of gratitude... We do not wish anything *from* them; we just pray *for* them in our visits.⁸⁹²

A reconciliation of religion with the time is made in a way that it is not a superstition to pray in tombs, however, people have to know that the saints cannot realize the wishes, only God can do that; therefore, one only prays *for* saints not *to* the saints.

Karagöz says Hacivat that one should not run a tavern in their age, but Hacivat immediately answers, “I know such kind of job puts a moral pressure on you, but the man is in a difficult situation...”⁸⁹³ That actually reminds the situation in the Ottoman society that undesirable jobs, such as tavern keeping, were mostly held by the non-Muslims. Hacivat legitimizes the tavern keeping by saying that it is on the

⁸⁹¹ The years of Devaluation and the dollar rates:

1946	from 1.30 to 2.80 TL
1958	from 2.80 to 9 TL
1970	from 9 to 15 TL
1978	from 19.25 to 25 TL
1979	from 26.50 to 47.10 TL
1980	from 47.10 to 70 TL
1994	from 23,031 to 31,988 TL
2001	from 685,391 to 957.879 TL

Serdar Altınok, and Çetinkaya Murat, “Devalüasyon ve Türkiye’de Devalüasyon Uygulamaları ve Sonuçları,” Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü Dergisi (Selçuk Üniversitesi), no. 9 (2003): 61.

⁸⁹² Hacivat: “Yatır, yani evliya dediğimiz kimseler, ömürlerini insanların yükselmesi, mutluluğu için harcamış, yaptığı her işte Allah’ın rızasını aramış kutsal kişilerdir. Biz insanlar da bu saygın kişiler ahirete intikal ettiklerinde, onlara şükran borcumuzu ödemek için, kabirlerini özenerek yaparız. Ziyaretlerimizde onlardan bir şey istemeyiz. Onlara dua okumak için gideriz. Translation belongs to the author (H.B. 2013).

⁸⁹³ Hacivat: “bu işin insana manevi bir baskı yapacağını biliyorum. Ama adamcağız zor durumda” Translation belongs to the author (H.B. 2013)

account of his neighbor, otherwise, running a tavern is not acceptable in the play. They even exaggerate the malice of managing a tavern; Karagöz says, "When I pass by the taverns, even the smell makes my stomach ill, let us open a fragrance shop here." However, Hacivat still talks about money, and tells Karagöz that he can do whatever he want after making money by running the tavern. There goes an obvious propaganda against drinking. Hacivat also says,

Yes, I know, they say, 'even a madman is afraid of the drunkards, but think why people drink? Sometimes for fun, sometimes for grief... Look at me Karagöz! It is an already established order; if you do not do this job then someone else will do even without any consideration.'⁸⁹⁴

Finally, Hacivat persuades Karagöz by saying that Karagöz is honorable, warm-hearted and a fair person. Hacivat even says, "Alcohol is such a thing that once one begins to drink, no one can stop him/her. He drinks until s/he is broke." He adds, "You know what they say, 'one takes the first glass of drink, but as for the rest one feels as if they are for free'"⁸⁹⁵ Of course, Karagöz misunderstands the phrase; he sells the first glasses but he gives the rest for free. Karagöz is presented in the play as if he knows nothing about drinking; he hates drinking as if he was not the one who drunk much and caused many complications in the classical plays.

Then, a teenager arrives in a blue jean; he is the substitute of *Çelebi* (Gent) in the classical plays. He wants Karagöz to give him Argentina. Karagöz misunderstands him and says that he should better go to a travel agency. The teenager corrects Karagöz and says that Argentina is the size of the beer glass. After drinking too much, the teenager asks Karagöz to guess who killed him, Karagöz answers that he killed himself (by drinking). The propaganda against drinking continues. The teenager is a real car fan, and complains about his father who did not buy him a zero-kilometer car so that his girlfriend has left him; therefore, he takes refuge in drinking. He is presented as a boy living off his father's money. over-consumptive attitudes of the new generation are subjected to criticism.

After a while, *Hans* and *Helga* enter the tavern as tourists. Karagöz says them that he does not know "*turistçe*" (The language of Tourists; the foreign language). When they say "*Guten Morgan*" (a German phrase meaning good morning in English),

⁸⁹⁴ Hacivat: "Dediğin doğru, 'sarhoştan deli bile korkar' derler. Ama insanlar niye içer? Kimi kederden, kimi neşeden... Bak Karagözüm! Burası kurulu bir düzen, bu işi sen yapmazsan bir başkası yapar. Hem de acımasızca..." Translation belongs to the author (H.B. 2013)

⁸⁹⁵ Hacivat: "İçki öyle bir şeydir ki Karagöz'üm, insan bir defa içmeğe başladı mı, onu kimse durduramaz. Cebindeki para tükenene kadar içer. Şöyle bir söz vardır. 'içkinin ilk kadehi parayla, ondan sonrakiler bedava gibi gelir' derler"

Karagöz understands it as “*keten yorgan*” (linen quilt). Helga says Karagöz that even though she does not know him, she finds him very funny, so that amusing power of Karagöz exceeding the national borders is emphasized.

She understands Karagöz’s name as “*karada yüz*”⁸⁹⁶ (swim on the land) and says that all the belly dancers chant his name. She reminds the phrase of “80, 90, 100, *karada yüz, havada yüz*” (“80, 90, a hundred, swim/hundred on the land, swim/hundred on the air”. The song is sung by belly dancers), and suddenly starts to belly dance. Hans also joins her. It is not a surprise that they are German. The common idea about Germans originates in an urban legend suggesting that the Germans love and drink beer too much. Turkish guest workers who have worked in Germany might have spread such urban legend. The tourists acclaim Turkey, Turks and their hospitality, and the play continues with a cliché phrase that is supposed to be said by the tourists, “*İstanbul, rakı, şiş kebab güzel, yine gelecek ben*” (İstanbul, rakı and shish kebab are beautiful so I will come back again).⁸⁹⁷

Then, *Bolulu* (person from *Bolu*) the Cook comes and asks for Hacivat, Karagöz thinks that he is a tax auditor, and asks Hacivat to bring all the books. The importance of VAT is highlighted here.⁸⁹⁸ *Bolulu* asks Karagöz when Hacivat will come. Karagöz answers, “When the job finishes” then *Bolulu* insists on asking when. Karagöz answers as “the job finishes when the flag runs up; the flag runs up when the TV broadcasting ends.” In 1986, until TV-2 started a limited broadcast, there was only the state’s channel TRT (1), whose broadcasting used to end at an exact time with running of the Turkish flag up accompanied with the national anthem.⁸⁹⁹ That also used to mean “the end of the day” for the most of the people. Moreover, *Bolulu* uses a kind of accent that he pronounces “*kıymalı yumurta*” (eggs

⁸⁹⁶ Once the Jew was changing Karagöz’s name to give it a bad meaning, now its Helga’s turn.

⁸⁹⁷ Although the play was written in 1987, according to the news in the *Hürriyet* Newspaper on 10 January 1975, the Germans constituted the majority of the tourists visiting Turkey (90.033 tourists). The reporter did not given the source but gave the tourist statistics of the last seven months of 1974. The heading reads, “We are sending workers, they are sending tourists.” “Biz İşçi, Onlar Turist Göndeririyor.” See: *Hürriyet*. January 10, 1975.

⁸⁹⁸ Getting bill was not compulsory at that time but customers were encouraged to take them through public spots on the TV. The shop owners and the traders could avoid tax, when they did not give a slip, preferring not to register the sale, could avoid tax, therefore earn more. For the campaign of having bill in shopping, see the official “Public Spot: TRT. 1 Dakika - Önce Alışveriş Sonra Fiş,” (Alkislarlayasiyorum, 2004, accessed March 13, 2013) available from <http://alkislarlayasiyorum.com/icerik/55213/1-dakika-once-alisveris-sonra-fis>

⁸⁹⁹ “Kilometre Taşları – 1987,” (TRT, April 12, 1999, accessed March 13, 2013) <http://www.trt.net.tr/Kurumsal/KilometreTaslari.aspx?yil=1987>. Also, it was stated that, in 1987, the broadcasting duration of TRT had been elevated for 129.5 hours a week. Then TRT started broadcasting 18.5 hours in a day. *Ibid*.

with minced meat) as “*kımyalı yumburta*” and “*kapama*” (stewed meat) as “*gapama*.” Besides, he calls Hacivat as “Civata” (bolt/screw), and stresses that he has *never tried* alcohol.

Then, *Tuzsuz Deli Bekir* comes by saying, “If I see any tiny kind of unrest in this neighborhood, I immediately end it.” Therefore, the neighborhood culture is still maintained and its protector is *Tuzsuz*. He asks Karagöz what he does here and adds, “Women, arms or drugs... Which one do you sell?” The trade of those tree items is definitely a shame, and taverns are assumed to be probable locations for these trade. He says for the trade of drug sellers, “you are the enemy of the society and morality; the enemy of the people! You should be ashamed of poisoning people.” He says for the trade of pimps, “With such a broken sample-face, you could only do this job; shame on you! Shame on your beard and age! Are not you ashamed of propagating immorality among the young girls and holy families?” When Karagöz explains his situation, *Tuzsuz* calms down. Nevertheless, they do not talk about arms. It would be interesting to hear the opinions of such a violent character about arms. When Karagöz says *Tuzsuz* that *Tuzsuz* could crumble an immoral man into dust, he answers that he does not burn his hand; rather, he uses tongs.⁹⁰⁰ He says, “I would deliver him to the hands of the state. The state’s judges and courts surely do the necessary.”

He emphasizes here that only the courts are responsible for punishment, and highlights that no one should enforce his own law, which is the very sign of the modern state. It is interesting to hear such ideas from *Tuzsuz*, who used to end any complicated situation in his unique style in classical plays. *Tuzsuz* feels pity for the teenager drinking at the tavern, and promises to marry him to his lover. To celebrate this, he puts pressure on Karagöz to drink and Karagöz starts to drink without liking. When Hacivat comes, everyone had already gone but Karagöz is still dancing on his own, and he is drunk.

It is visible in every part of the play that drinking alcohol is not appreciable. As noted before, in the Ottoman Empire, the non-Muslim community was keeping the taverns because, it was considered as a low-down job for alcohol is forbidden by the

⁹⁰⁰ *Tuzsuz*: “Maşa duruken elimi yakmam, devlete teslim ederim. Onun mahkemeleri, hakimleri gerekeni yapar.” Karagöz is a gypsy knoen by making tongs as a job in the old plays, then metaphorically, Hacivat uses Karagöz as tongs not to make his hands burn, in other words, he uses Karagöz to run the tavern, which is an unfavorable job (H.B. 2012)

Islamic Law.⁹⁰¹ However, alcohol drinking was allowed by the law 1926 in Turkey; until the 1950s, it was still the non-Muslims who mostly kept taverns in Turkey.⁹⁰² This might be the reason that Karagöz does not want to do the job because he considers it wrong in terms of religion, and thinks, therefore, that it is a low-down job on the other.

The beer, which was the only alcoholic drink Hacivat and Karagöz sold in their tavern in the play, was not a serious problem in Turkey until the 1940s. *Bomonti Beer* was the first beer produced in the Ottoman Empire, the production rights of which were later handed over to the Turkish state in 1928 when the Turkish Corporation was granted privileges for ten years.⁹⁰³ An advertisement, published in the *Yedigün Journal* in 1933, was promoting *Bomonti Beer*, reads

People whose main meal is bread should prefer beer because, the beer and the bread are made up of the same ingredients indeed. Beer is the oldest, the most familiar and the healthiest drink ever for humanity. ... Indeed, beer is a “juicy bread” that feeds and relaxes you.⁹⁰⁴

In the 1980s, advertisements of the new brands of beer started to be broadcasted on TV with the slogan that “the beer is under this cap.”⁹⁰⁵

Moreover, the play also gives clues about the perception about the tourists visiting Turkey. Accordingly, foreigners were welcomed as long as they were tourists and brought money. Those two characters, Hans and Helga, are familiar types because of the Turkish guest workers stayed in Germany, and were inserted into plays replace the non-Muslim characters of the classical plays. The weakness of the plot and open lampoon against alcohol drinking is also incompatible with the conventional Karagöz. This time Karagöz is speaking for another government from

⁹⁰¹ Zat, Vefa, “Yaşam özgürlüktür!": Interview with Vefa Zat,” interview by Özler Aykan (1 August 2011, accessed July, 22 2013) available from <http://www.postakutusu.co.uk/yazarlar/prof-ozler-aykan/112-yasam-ozgurluktur->

⁹⁰² Fatih Öncü and others, "Alkol kültürü-1: Tarihsel süreç ve meyhane," *Bağımlılık Dergisi* 2, no. 3 (2001): 6.

⁹⁰³ Ahmad also says, by the end of the 1960s, “The production of beer which had been a state monopoly was thrown open to private enterprise and was again brewed in collaboration with large European companies.” Ahmad, *The Making of Modern Turkey*, 135.

⁹⁰⁴ “Gıdasının esası ekmek olan insanlar, bizde ekseriyetle olduğu gibi birayı sevmelidir. Hakikaten bira ile ekmek aynı esasları muhtevindir. Bira beşeriyetin tanıdığı en eski ve sıhhi ve en iyi içkidir. ...Bira hakikaten vücudu besleyen ve aynı zamanda ferahlık veren sulu ekmektir” Akçura, *İvr Zıvr Tarihi III: Uzun Metin Sevenlerden Misiniz?*, 57-58. Translation belongs to the author (H.B. 2013)

⁹⁰⁵ "Advertisements of Efes Pilsen Beer," *YouTube* (accessed September 1, 2013) available from <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=JfkAiO4Uw0Q>

the new-right wing; the alliance of Karagöz and the government (this time, right-wing) is re-established.

The other play, ***Karagöz'ün Çobanlığı*** (Karagöz the Shepherd, 1992), belongs to Metin Özlen, whose plays are closer to the style of classical plays. The play tells a legendary story that Özlen heard from his grandmother. Özlen adds a supernatural character called *Şahmeran* (Basilisk) into play. As it was in the classical plays, it starts with an introductory section and followed by a dialog section, where Karagöz and Hacivat talk about the neighborhoods of İstanbul. In the plot section, *Çelebi* (Gentleman) comes and asks Hacivat for someone to shepherd his cattle, then, Hacivat hires Karagöz. At the beginning, his wife and Karagöz get in a quarrel but later, when Karagöz says that he has found a job; his wife treats him better and finds him a shepherd's dress. While on duty, Karagöz falls asleep, thereupon, a wolf eats all the animals. When he tells the story to Hacivat, he does not believe and accuses him for stealing the animals. Hereupon, Karagöz goes to the forest to find bushes to make brooms; he is planning to sell brooms to pay the animals' price to *Çelebi*. When he is in the forest, he meets with *Şahmeran*⁹⁰⁶, who tells him the location of a chest full of gold and jewels. Karagöz does not take the chest because he believes that God sends him in one way or another if he deserves. Having heard of that, *Çelebi* and his Arab slave goes to the same location and realize that the chest is actually full of snakes. Then *Çelebi* takes the chest to Karagöz and calls him a liar. However, when Karagöz holds the chest it becomes full of gold and jewels again. This time, Karagöz blames Hacivat for flattering *Çelebi* because, Hacivat did not believe him at first, and suggested Karagöz to apologize from *Çelebi*.

At the end of the play, Karagöz wants to give a large sum of money to poor people. Nevertheless, *Çelebi* says that the chest is historical artifact, if Karagöz keeps it, he will be charged with smuggling. He suggests Karagöz giving it to the state officials. Karagöz acts upon *Çelebi*'s advice, and states that he has already a profession, which is ironworking, to look after his family. In these conditions, *Çelebi* regrets for blaming Karagöz and offers him to give money to open his workshop. They give the chest to the officials, and the canto dancers come to the stage. The message of this play would be that "[you] always tell the truth even if no one believes in you. At the end, the truth reveals itself in one way or another." Besides, the play also raises

⁹⁰⁶ The story was also issued in cinema: Avcı, Zeynep, and Zülfü Livaneli. *Şahmaran*. Directed by Zülfü Livaneli. Performed by Türkan Şoray, Mehmet Balkız, & Rana Cabbar. 1993.

awareness about historical artifacts of the country, which is to be deepened in following play *Sedefçi Karagöz* (Karagöz the Antique Dealer).

Sedefçi Karagöz (Karagöz the Antique Dealer, 1989) is the last play from the 1980s. It has also didactic elements. Hacivat comes with a poem as follows,

*I wish God heal the sick.
I wish you [the audience] a pleasure and joy whole-heartily.
standing our screen as crystal clear with the light behind, our colored figures
wrestlers and artists are in conversation as well as the aides play the tambourine; a
story is presented to you.
Yet, who would say that one day the screens would enlarge so much that with its
crowded halls the CINEMA would replace us.
All of a sudden, Magic Boxes [TVs] surround all around us. Did not we, all together,
become the prisoners of the frosted glass? Now, TRT is everywhere T, R, Teeeeeeeee!
I wish a friend, whose essence was truth, loyal, polite, soft-spoken; knew a little bit
English as well as Arabic; knew carpentry, ornamental inlaying, polishing.
I wish he were prone to salesmanship for trade; we would do everything....
God, give me joy!⁹⁰⁷*

The main plot is about selling nacre (mother-of-pearl) in an antique shop. However, Karagöz confuses the verb “*sedef*” (nacre/mother-of-pearl) with its homonym (sedef Syndrome) meaning psoriasis in English. Hacivat makes the necessary explanation. When they are talking about the shop, Karagöz’s son listens to them secretly and tells his mother that Uncle Hacivat will bring “psoriasis” back. However, mother gets angry with him because he eavesdropped on them, too (the mother teaches a manners to her son). In contrast, Karagöz also hears them and decides to frighten his son with a joke. He acts like a ghost with a white cloth on his face, and shows himself for a short time and then gets lost. As his son says he has seen a boogeyman, the mother (Karagöz’s wife) gets angry with him and says, “Shut up! There is no such thing as a boogeyman. The man that you called father burdens your memory with such things.” Karagöz hearing that, decides to frighten them truly, because he thinks that his wife is trying to set his son against him. Karagöz’s wife begs Karagöz (without recognizing) not to possess her or her son so she will light a candle, sacrifice a sheep and distribute halvah for the ghost’s sake. Karagöz makes the sound of a cow then his wife recognizes him. Then everyone relaxes. Karagöz says that he tries to show his son that there are no such things as boogeymen. They criticize the superstitions and give messages to children. Then,

⁹⁰⁷ Translation belongs to the author (H.B. 2012)

Karagöz pretends to be a horse and his son pretends to ride him by saying that he is riding the boogeyman. The wife says, “This child will soon be a Superman.”⁹⁰⁸

In the main plot, as a customer, a widow woman comes and says Karagöz that she is looking for someone to fix her antique furniture. Instead of fixing, Karagöz suggests her to sell it. But the woman says that they were the tokens from his decedent husband. Her husband would never sell these valuable things; rather, he was fond of collecting them. Then, Karagöz says, “no one is permanent in this world, one can perish among these antiques.” The woman gets angry and says Karagöz that they are the last illustrations of the *Turkish Handicrafts*. Karagöz hopelessly says that what she calls as the “Turkish Handicrafts” are trashery. The underestimation of the value of the Turkish traditional handicrafts is criticized here.



Figure 56 An example of a table made up of wood and mother-of-pearl

Then an Arab from Kuwait⁹⁰⁹ comes, he says that he does not know Turkish. The classic conversation style of the Arab that is composed of repetitive questions, such as who, what and when, is presented. The Arab shows a table⁹¹⁰ noting that it was a Damascus style. Karagöz corrects him and says that it was an İstanbul style. The Arab repeats the words by replacing İstanbul with *Constantine*. Then, Karagöz gets angry and complains about Arabs for naming “*Türkiye*” as “*Turkiya*” and “*İstanbul*” as “*Constantine*.” The insistence of the difference between the names of the city is implying that İstanbul is now a Turkish city, and should be pronounced in Turkish not in Greek. The Arab says that since he plans to put them in his harem, he wants to buy three tables paying in dollars in cash, and adds that he has plenty of dollars. Karagöz wonders how many wives he has and reprimands him, then thinks that the widow was right; the valuable Turkish antiques are slowly vanishing. However, one should keep in mind that,

⁹⁰⁸ In 1983, third episode of the film series of “Superman” had been made, and the reception was great. Superman series became one of the cult movies of the Hollywood film industry (H.B. 2013).

⁹⁰⁹ In the background of the play, Kuwait and Iraq relations got tense after 1988 because of the Iraq’s charge against Kuwait for stealing Iraq’s oil as well as producing and exporting too much oil, which led to a decline of the oil prices. The tension had resulted in the invasion of Kuwait by Iraq in 1991, which took place only three years after the date of writing the play; however, the Saudis and the people of Kuwait, having almost a half of the oil reserves of the earth, were known as rich. Wikimedia Contributors, “Gulf War.” (Wikipedia, March 13, 2013, accessed March 13, 2013) available from http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Gulf_War

⁹¹⁰ Figure 56 from “Sergilenen Eserler - Ahşap Eserler,” (Mevlana Müzesi, 2008, accessed March 7, 2013) <http://muze.semazen.net/content.php?id=00106>

only some 90 years ago; Turkish men had also the right of getting married to more than one woman according to the sharia. Apparently, Karagöz has quickly forgotten those days, or wants to forget his past.

Then, a retired ambassador comes. Karagöz welcomes him by saying “Bonjour.” The ambassador tells about his “hobby” of collecting antique furniture. Karagöz gets it as “Bobby,” which is the name of his dog. The ambassador translates “hobby” into Turkish as “interest” for Karagöz. He continues that the antique collection is a source of relief for the people in his profession in foreign countries. He praises the handicrafts made up of nacre in store, and then he leaves.

At last, an American Tourist arrives by singing a song, the words of which are, “*Hi iz e coli gut felo*”⁹¹¹ Karagöz tells him, “No Turkish lira for tourists, only dollars! You will pay in US dollars or Deutsche mark for the Turkish souvenirs! It should be the satire of the tourists using their own currencies instead of the Turkish Lira in their visits to Turkey. The American tourist decides to buy two boxes but Karagöz says, “No, no, no! You cannot take them out of the country! It is forbidden now! They are all what we have left.” The American answers back that he knows some ambassadors who can take them out for him, and adds that the US dollar opens every door. The conversation goes as,

Karagöz: mate, it was a long time ago! Now the doors are tightly closed! The looting is over!

American Tourist: you became a conservator preserving the historical heritages, Bravo, Bravo! But I am very good at import and export business.

Karagöz sends the tourist and Hacivat comes and asks Karagöz, “how do you do” exactly in English, which makes Karagöz angry and he asks Hacivat “were you done in Turkish?” The play is making an atrocious propaganda against America on the one hand, and openly satirizing the smuggling of historical artifacts on the other.

Actually, the new constitution, accepted in 1982, also included executive provisions and legal sanctions on the protection of historical heritages. In 1983, the protection law was re-shaped; the term cultural “artifacts” replaced the term historical “monuments.” In addition, the intangible cultural and the natural heritages were listed⁹¹². However, a report on 25 August 1988 in *Milliyet* states that, every year,

⁹¹¹ It is written exactly how it is pronounced in Turkish; the correct sentence should be that “*he is a jolly good fellow.*”

⁹¹² Türkan Kejanlı, and others, “Türkiye’de Koruma Yasalarının Tarihsel Gelişimi Üzerine Bir İnceleme,” *Elektronik Sosyal Bilimler Dergisi* VI, no. 19 (2007): 191-192.

50-million-dollar worth of historical heritage was smuggled especially through *İpsala* and *Kapıkule* borders. The anchored yachts introduced to be there for sports and tourism were used for smuggling.⁹¹³

The following period announces the continuing decline in the popularity of Karagöz plays for the masses on the one hand, and shrinking of the down to the children. Karagöz becomes an entertainment merely for children and the adult audience is almost disregarded. However, *Mukadder Özakman's* plays of “Karagöz’ün Gizli Telefonculuğu” (Karagöz the Secret Operator 2008) and “Karagöz’ün Gazeteciliği” (Karagöz the Journalist 2009), still include topics regarding the daily agenda. Besides, they also include some sort of social satire. Özakman was a supporter of Kemalism and seemingly stressing the values shaped in the first quarter of the Republic (1923-1950) through the People’s Houses. Moreover, except the plays of Metin Özlen, almost all the plays between the 1950s and 1990s do not appear to be intended for stage performance. In contrast to this, most of the plays, presented below, were composed to be performed on the stage because the audience is totally shifted from adults to children.

Karagöz versus Technology: Children are the New Audience (1990-Present)

The number of the plays also increases by the 1990s because the market forces led the performers to perform for children. The 1990s are also important because the new technologies pertaining to the so-called “information age” began to make their impact felt in the society. In this context, the Turkish society gradually becomes more integrated with the world through rapidly developing communication and transportation networks. The power of what Heidegger calls as the modern technology that governs the age of the world picture started to be deeply felt after the 1990s for the Turkish society. Therefore, to show the transformations of Karagöz, leading it mainly into the domain of fine arts, especially after the 2000s, the following plays are selected,

28. Şifreli Köpek (Cryptic Dog) (Ali Meriç 1991)
29. Karagöz Yazıcı (Karagöz the Typewriter) (Ünver Oral 1994)
30. Karagöz Park Bekçisi (Karagöz the Garden Guard) (Ünver Oral 1999)
31. Kibar Mahalle (Polite Neighborhood) (Ahmet Önel 2000s)
32. Karagöz Çevre Canavarı (Karagöz the Environment Monster) (H. Mahmut Kısakürek 2001)

⁹¹³ Soner Gürel, "Tarihimizi yatlar kaçırıyor," *Milliyet* September 25, 1988, 3.

33. *Uludağ'ın Tatlı Suyu* (The Sweet Water of *Uludağ*) (Nevzat Çiftçi 2001)
34. *Karagöz Turist Rehberi* (Karagöz the Tourist Guide) (İpek Yücel 2000s)
35. *Zaman Makinası* (Time Machine) (Tayfun Özeren 2000s)
36. *Karagöz'ün Televizyon Sefası* (Karagöz on the TV)
37. *Karagöz'ün Gizli Telefonculuğu* (Karagöz is a Secret Operator) (Mukadder Özakman 2008)
38. *Karagöz'ün Gazeteciliği* (Karagöz is a Journalist) (Mukadder Özakman 2009)

Turkey had already started to be a part of the global economy starting with the 1950s. Just before the 1990s, everything became available in stores, the commercial sector has developed so much that commercials were aiming at specific audiences. For example, male audience were being encouraged to purchase cars, motor oil, beer and clothes by the advertisements on television during the football matches. The demand for cars, also covering imported cars, such as Mercedes, BMWs and Jaguars, increased and became a status symbol.⁹¹⁴ “Art galleries flourished as the new money was attracted to paintings, as well as to antiques, Islamic calligraphy, and rare books,”⁹¹⁵ which establishes a ground for the last two plays mentioned above.

In 1991, the TPP (True Path Party) won the elections and founded a coalition cabinet with the support of SDPP (Social Democratic People's Party), and Süleyman Demirel became the Prime Minister for the last time in his career and Erdal İnönü, head of the SDPP, became the Deputy Prime Minister. One year later, the RPP was re-opened and Deniz Baykal became its leader.



Figure 57 The President George H. W. Bush and the President Turgut Özal take a cruise on the Bosphorus (July 21, 1991)

In 1991-1992, resulting from the close relations between *Çankaya* and *White House*, Turkey took sides with the UN Front, composed of 34 countries led by the USA, against Iraq; the war was called “The Gulf War.” Ahmad says, Özal “bypassed the government and the Assembly and engaged in telephone diplomacy directly with the White House; his personal, secret diplomacy⁹¹⁶ became the object of opposition

⁹¹⁴ Ahmad, *The Making of Modern Turkey*, 209-210.

⁹¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 210.

⁹¹⁶ Figure 57 from “Between Friends: Turkish-American Diplomatic Relations,” (Embassy of United States Photo Exhibit, July 21, 1991, accessed March 15, 2013) available from http://photos.state.gov/galleries/ankara/9104/between_friends_photo_exhibit/10.html

criticism.”⁹¹⁷

In 1993, Turgut Özal had passed away while on duty. Süleyman Demirel had been elected as the new President. After one year, Tansu Çiller, the ex-Minister of Economy, became the first female Prime Minister of Turkey. In the period of Çiller’s government, the “Decisions of April 5” were declared in 1994 to adopt measures against declining economy; devaluation of the Turkish Lira resulted in 38.9% loss in value in comparison to one US dollar. Therefore, 1 dollar was worth of 32.000 TL.⁹¹⁸ In the same year, the government made a stand-by agreement with the IMF.

In addition, in 1994, during the oath-taking ceremony of the deputies, Orhan Doğan, Leyla Zana, Ahmet Türk, Sırrı Sakık, and Hatip Dicle took their oaths in Kurdish but the Assembly President immediately intervened in the action. The following year, their legislative immunity was abolished, and they underwent on a trail by The State Security Court (DGM).

Meanwhile, due to the ongoing battle between the armed forces of the Turkish Republic and the Kurdistan Workers' Party, also known as PKK, many people were dying in clash. The leader of the PKK was Abdullah Öcalan, who was captured in Kenya with a military operation in 1994, when Bülent Ecevit was the Prime Minister. Later, the Justice and Development Party (JDP) started negotiations with Abdullah Öcalan and his PKK to end the internal war by the late 2000s, which was protested by the nationalists.

In 1996, the Welfare Party (WP) and the True Path Party (TPP) set up a coalition government, which was called as “The Welfare Path.” The radical Islamist discourse was already disturbing the “vigilant forces” (“*zinde kuvvetler*” in Turkish), which was mainly composed of some groups in the Turkish Army and the radical supporters of the RPP.⁹¹⁹ On 28 February 1997, a new style military coup ensued⁹²⁰; it was called as “post-modern military coup.” After the incident, the

⁹¹⁷ Ahmad, *The Making of Modern Turkey*, 200.

⁹¹⁸ Serdar Altınok and Murat Çetinkaya, "Devalüasyon ve Türkiye’de Devalüasyon Uygulamaları ve Sonuçları," *Selçuk Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü Dergisi*, no. 9 (2003): 59.

⁹¹⁹ With the leading of *Bekir Yıldız*, the Mayor of *Sincan* (A district of Ankara), with the participation of the Iranian ambassador, the “Al-Quds (Jerusalem) Night” had been organized to protest human rights violations by Israel. As a part of a show, a play issuing the Jihad was presented, and later the TV channels broadcasted this Night. In the following morning, approximately 50 tanks and military machines had been moved on the streets of *Sincan*. They was called as “post modern coup” (H.B. 2012).

⁹²⁰ Berkan, İsmet. "Postmodern darbe mi?" *Radikal*. April 4, 2003.

higher-ranking officials of the army demanded in the assembly of the National Security Council (NSC) the ban of turban/headscarf in universities, a compulsory eight-year primary school education to close down the religious secondary schools, and establishing stricter control on the Quran courses, and enforcing the law of prohibition of the Tariqa(s) and religious orders. After the meeting, Necmettin Erbakan, Islamist leader of the coalition parties doing his terms of Prime Ministry, refused to sign the “advisory” paper of NSC; and, which he later signed and resigned from the office.

Indeed, those developments were the products of the September 12 (1980) military coup. The military rulers had intentionally supported the Islamic tendencies in the society to unite the fragmented parties under the name of Islam, break the power of the left wing, and inject the Islamic capital into the national economy.⁹²¹



Figure 58 The Journal of Time's Cover (November 28, 2011)

In 1994, *Recep Tayyip Erdoğan* became the Mayor of İstanbul from the Welfare Party replacing old National Salvation Party. In 2002, the JDP won the elections with 38% of the votes and established a strong one-party government with 66% of the 550 seats in the parliament. The JDP won two consecutive elections in 2007 and 2011 increasing its votes. Recep Tayyip Erdoğan is still the Prime Minister of Turkey.

1990s and 2000s were the years of privatization to overcome ongoing economic crisis. Besides, indirect taxes on the products defined as “luxury,” such as cigarette, alcohol, oil, and services like mobile operating and electricity increased.

Moreover, the establishment of the liberal economy and integration with the world market also resulted in a technological boom in Turkey. In 1993, the law against the establishment of private TV channels was repealed.⁹²² Then, the first private TV channel *Teleon*, later named as *Star TV*, which was established by *Cem Uzan* and

⁹²¹ It was also known that one of the architects of the March 12 military coup; *Muhsin Batur*, the commander of the air force in 1971, had personally gone to Switzerland to bring back *Necmettin Erbakan* to divide the votes of *Süleyman Demirel*, and therefore prevent JP to win the election as a sole party. "12 Mart'ın Mimarı." *Hürriyet*. September 26, 1999; "Devlet destekli siyasal İslam'ın darbelerle imtihanı," (Sol Portal. April 2012, accessed March 14, 2013) available from <http://haber.sol.org.tr/devlet-ve-siyaset/devlet-destekli-siyasal-islam-in-darbelerle-imtihan-haberi-54137>

⁹²² Özgen, Murat, "1980 Sonrası Türk Medyasında Gelişmeler ve Magazinleşme Olgusu," *A Dialog Between Turkish and American Scholars* (İstanbul: İstanbul Üniversitesi İletişim Fakültesi Yayınları, 2004), 473

Ahmet Özal (the son of *Turgut Özal*) in 1989 as Magic Box, started broadcasting. Thereafter, *HBB*, *Kanal 6*, *Show TV* and the other three TV channels of *TRT* were founded. Following these developments, electronic home entertainment facilities also became widespread. Introduction of the computers, such as Commodore 64 and Amiga, had totally changed the entertainment culture. The computer-based games connected to TVs, Gameboy, Walkman and game centers, such as Fame City of İstanbul, started to isolate youth especially children more from collective actions; besides, the public was more directed to consumption by the uncontrolled advertisement sector. In other words, the culture industry⁹²³ was spread by a contagion in Turkey. The project of depoliticizing the society for a long-term economic stability by the 1980's military coup has been succeeded with the help of the integration with the liberal global economy.



Figure 59 the first mobile phone call, made between Çiller and Demirel.

In 1994, the cell phone was introduced by a mobile phone call between *Demirel* and *Çiller*.⁹²⁴ During the 2000s, the touch-pads entered into the market as a kind of developed cell phones, and the smart phones became available in Turkey. Today (2013), almost 67 million people in Turkey have cell phones.⁹²⁵ The private TV channels resulted in enormous circulation of uncontrolled information. In addition, many new periodicals and popular journals have been published to cope with the development of visual media. In 1997, the internet has started to be widely used in Turkey; private PCs also spread rapidly among the people. Printed news media has also been transferred in the internet; they tried to cope with the visual media through the opening of "last minute" web pages.⁹²⁶

⁹²³ Theodor Adorno and Max Horkheimer. "The Culture Industry: Enlightenment as Mass Deception" (Stanford University DLCL files in pdf. 1944. accessed June 12, 2012) available from http://www.stanford.edu/dept/DLCL/files/pdf/adorno_culture_industry.pdf

Theodor Adorno, "Culture Industry Reconsidered," *New German Critique* (translated by Anson G. Rabinbach) 6 (Fall 1975): 12-19.

⁹²⁴ Figure 59 from İsmail Şen, "Tarihte Bu hafta (17-23 Şubat)," (İsmail Şen kişisel web sitesi, 2004, accessed March 16, 2013) available from <http://ismailsen.com/?p=1207>

⁹²⁵ "Sabit telefon, cep telefonu ve internet abone sayısı." (TUIK, Turkish Statistical Institute, March 2013, accessed July 14, 2013) available from www.tuik.gov.tr/PreIstatistikTablo.do?istab_id=1580

⁹²⁶ İbrahim Toruk, "Kültürel Hayatın Reklamlar Üzerinden Temsili", 504.

Karagöz Plays Addressing to Children in the Electronic Age



Figure 60 Karagöz Software

The main reason behind the visible change in Karagöz plays is the information revolution that diffused the industrial revolution. The transition from the print-age to the electronic age was completed by the 1990s. Therefore, Karagöz has also taken its share. Although there were performers strictly loyal to the classical structure of Karagöz, through the new media, such as TV channels, animations, internet, educational books and iPhone applications, began to be diversified; the exhibitions and

international fairs also helped Karagöz to be transferred from curtain to other communication fields. For example, Uğur Gündükbay, Fatih Erol and Nezhir Erdoğan has developed software related to Karagöz figure making at Bilkent University in 1999.⁹²⁷

Besides, in the late 2000s, a company producing durable home appliances, *Profilo*⁹²⁸, have prepared a web site, in which the customers are able to prepare their own Karagöz plays by the given choices, such as the characters, the story and the decor. It says on the website, “now every customer is a *Hayali*,” and also says “just by sitting in front of a computer and using a mouse, everyone can create his/her own plays and send them as gifts to their families and friends.” That



Figure 61 screenshots of the iPhone Karagöz Application: iKaragoz by Anakule studios

⁹²⁷ It was said in the article of Uğur Gündükbay and others, "Beyond Tradition and Modernity: Digital Shadow Theater," *Leonardo* 33, no. 4 (2000): 264-265, that,

The software, Karagöz, uses hierarchical modeling to animate two-dimensional articulated characters containing body parts and joints between these parts. Once the parts are defined, they are aggregated into objects that are more complex. The different characters of Karagöz have different body parts and joints, and therefore have different hierarchical structures. While drawing the characters during animation, the system applies the required transformations using the model parameters. For example, when a transformation is applied to the hip, the two legs connected to it are also affected; these may have other transformations applied to them as well.

⁹²⁸ "Profilo Hayal Perdesi." (Profilo, 2013, accessed August 12, 2013) available from <http://www.profilohayalperdesi.com/anasayfa.aspx>

was in the same period when respected Karagöz performers have claimed that they were respected artists and actually Karagöz was an art, that is, not everyone could be a Karagöz performer.

During the 1990s, the selected Karagöz plays showed that the age of the depoliticized Karagöz is beginning. Karagöz was once again discharged of shamelessness, impudence, theft insincerity, Gypsyism and stinginess from his character as depicted in the classical plays. He was presented in a more childish style in the following plays.

In the same period, one Karagöz performer could even manage to perform a “Sufi Karagöz” presented in Cemal Reşit Rey Concert Hall in December 2010. It did not get much media coverage; the performer intentionally did not let the play to be published. The play was named as “*Tedbirini terkeyle; takdir Hüda'nındır*” (Leave Aside Your Precaution, For the Judgment is of God). The introductory and the concluding sections included two different stories from the Islamic culture symphonically presenting the legend of Prophet Yunus (Jonah) and one of the miracles of Prophet Muhammad, that is, the ascension of him into heaven. By this way, he was able to claim that Karagöz was a *respected art*. Therefore, either there would be a division in Karagöz plays, such that the artistic plays for the adults and the didactic plays for the children, or such efforts would not prevent Karagöz being stigmatized as an entertainment merely for children. Nonetheless, the plays written after the 2000s are more loyal to the structure of the classical versions, that is, the plays are composed of the introduction, dialog, main plot and the concluding sections, and they are more suitable for performing.

Şifreli Köpek (The Cryptic Dog) by Ali Meriç and is performed since 1991. He also wrote Karagöz plays to be performed on Flash TV; this play was probably one of them.

The Dialog section is composed of the fighting scenes of Karagöz and Hacivat. It gets more visible that the play is definitely written for children. The dialog between Hacivat and Karagöz proves it,

Hacivat: Dear Sir, please do not beat me like this all of a sudden, we are a bad example for friends.

Karagöz: do not worry. They know us. We beat each other as a joke, as a part of the play... and I do not hurt you... do I Hacivat (hits)?⁹²⁹

⁹²⁹ Translation belongs to the author (H.B. 2012)

This part is probably a response to the critics that Karagöz and Hacivat are teaching violence to children.

The plot section follows as, *Kasım Bey* (NOT Albanian) and his wife has an Apple Garden. Because the thieves have been stealing the apples, they have decided to buy a dog. They went to *Sivas* and bought a *Sivas* Shepherd dog. However, the dog is not guarding the garden, let alone barking to anyone. With the help of Hacivat, Karagöz is hired as a dog trainer. He introduces himself as, “I’m coming from the Centre of the Dog Culture and going to teach your dog barking,” and answers every question with barking; therefore, *Kasım Bey* says, “now I really envy you Karagöz Çelebi, what a beautiful barking it is! I wish, instead of the dog we should have put you in hut”. *Kasım Bey* covertly treats Karagöz as a dog. Then, of course, Karagöz beats *Kasım Bey*.

Whatever Karagöz does, he cannot teach the dog barking. He decides to approach to the issue psychologically; he wants the dog to tell him his story since he was a puppy. He suddenly realizes that the dog growls when the word “broomstick” pronounced, and barks when the word “*zırtapazullah*” is spelled. Karagöz tells *Tuzsuz*, the Arab and *Beberuhi*, who are the thieves but pretending not, the reverse. Karagöz succeeds; the dog bites them all, and then *Kasım Bey* pays him. However, *Tuzsuz* comes back for revenge. Karagöz pretends as if the dog bit him and says that he has not had the rabies vaccine yet, which makes *Tuzsuz* frightened. Karagöz does the same for the Arab and *Beberuhi*, too. At the end of the play, the importance of the rabies vaccine is highlighted.

The next two plays belong to Ünver Oral. ***Karagöz Yazıcı*** (Karagöz the Typewriter) was among the *Kar-i Kadim* plays; in other words, one of the classic plays of Karagöz. Oral reinterpreted the play and made the necessary changes as he saw it. Accordingly, there is no imperial type in contrast to the classical version; only *Zenne*, *Beberuhi*, *Karadenizli* (people from Black Sea Region), *Tuzsuz* and a Dancer are included. The plot is as same as that of the classical version. Karagöz again complains Hacivat that he is starving, and his wife fled to her mother because of his unemployment.

In the main plot, Karagöz decides to be a typewriter and puts a writing desk in front of his house, and then *Beberuhi* comes with his traditional style. He tells that he has been attending the first class of the elementary school for 10 years. He calls Karagöz “aunt” and asks him to do his *Turkish homework*. Karagöz says yes if he has money. Then *Beberuhi* goes home to find money. Thereafter, a *Zenne* comes,

and asks Karagöz what kind of a scribe he is because; Karagöz has no typewriter, computer or the internet. Pencil does not help at all. Before she leaves, she tells Karagöz to inform her if he buys a computer because, her primary job is mailing and she would be a promising customer for him. Likewise, *Karadenizli* comes. He wants Karagöz write a letter to his uncle. Because Karagöz is illiterate, he puts an empty paper into an envelope and gives back him. Then the Braggart *Tuzsuz* comes, he sees Karagöz as double and asks him whether his twin is next to him or not. He asks Karagöz to write a reply to a letter that Karagöz had not even seen. Karagöz is so frightened that he soils his underclothes. When *Tuzsuz* leaves to bring the letter to be replied, Karagöz calms down. Meantime, Hacivat comes and tells him that although Karagöz set to work as a typewriter, he cannot read and write. He asks, “What would happen if the police had come and realized that you took money without writing even a single letter?” Karagöz easily give rights to Hacivat and quit the job. They call a belly dancer at the end of the play for fun. The play ends with the phrase: “the main aim was to give you a lesson besides laughter.” If the thesis forces itself to interpret, it could be that the posts should be filled according to the merit principle, especially in the field of civil service.

In Karagöz ***Park Bekçisi*** (Karagöz the Garden Guard) play, a folk hero, *Keloğlan*, is included. At the begging of the play he comes with a smiling face and wakes Karagöz up in the park, then they start chatting. Karagöz tells him about his dream, in which Hacivat became a bear. *Keloğlan* introduces himself as a hero of the Turkish fairy tales, but now he is unemployed and collecting garbage for trade. *Keloğlan* says, “We have neither tellers nor listeners of tales today. My movies and animations, they cannot take the place of listening to a story with one’s own ears.” Karagöz sadly answers him, “Everyone loves me but no one bothers himself/herself about making our theater come alive. Soon, the curtains of the last shadow play will be closed as well...” They recognize each other as the forgotten heroes of the past and they are pleased to meet again. But, Karagöz infects *Keloğlan* with *Athazagoraphobia* (fear of being forgotten).

As usual, Karagöz had just found a job, which is guarding a park. However, because of falling asleep on duty (again), he cannot properly do his job. The park is full of garbage and several different types come and complain about both the garbage and the smell. The most significant one is a Tourist “Lady.” Karagöz cannot understand his broken Turkish; therefore, Hacivat translates her to Karagöz. While she is trying to take a picture of Karagöz, she stumbles on garbage and falls. She condemns Karagöz and Hacivat, and says that it is a usual situation of the parks in Turkey. Meanwhile Karagöz spit out in front of the woman who detests more.

Because she could not stand the smell, Hacivat offers her to go to his house and rest in his beautiful garden with the service of his family. On the other hand, the Tourist Lady also recognizes Karagöz and Hacivat as the traditional figures of Turkey and takes their picture to show such beloved and famous characters to her friends when she goes back to her country. So that the international amusing power of Karagöz is emphasized again. Hacivat tells Karagöz to warn those who threw garbage in the park, if they do not listen to, says Karagöz to punish them with fines. However, Karagöz is rather prone to beating. The tourist woman from Europe have a right to complain about the garbage in contrast to those other types who are seemingly not much bothered with it. The moral of the story for children is “keep the parks clean.” Besides, civilization is still defined by the terms of Europe, and the public still needs to be taught manners in the way of modernization.

The last three plays, examined above, are definitely not for adults. Karagöz has been confined to children’s entertainment since the 1990s. ***Kibar Mahalle*** (The Polite Neighborhood) was also written for children, yet, the social satire of excessive politeness and so-called bohemian life helps it to differ from others to some extent. *Kibar Mahalle* (The Polite Neighborhood) belongs to Ahmet Önel, written after 2000. Apparently, it reminds the gentrification process in some of the neighborhoods, such as *Cihangir*, and some of the mid-high class neighborhoods, such as *Etiler* and *Bebek*, of İstanbul. It would be appropriate to elaborate the play in connection with *Cihangir*⁹³⁰ example. In 1993, *Cihangir* became very attractive for the marginal groups of the middle class, led by a painter couple. Uysal cites Uzun that there are two groups preferring *Cihangir*. The first group prefers *Cihangir* for the architectural styles of the houses, the centrality of the location and the environmental peculiarities. This group is composed of expats, writers, architects, artists and academicians. The second group is composed of investors who sell or rent houses in higher prices after the restorations.⁹³¹ The gentrification process in *Cihangir* especially accelerated after the mid-1990s, which caused a rise in the house rents, and transformed the neighborhood into a high-middle class quarter.⁹³² After the

⁹³⁰ The neighborhood takes its name from the Mosque of *Cihangir*, which was built by *Mimar Sinan* in memoriam of *Kanuni Sultan Süleyman*’s son, *Cihangir*.

⁹³¹ Nil Uzun, “İstanbul’da Seçkinleştirme (Gentrification): Örnekler ve Seçkinleştirme (Gentrification) Kuramları Çerçevesinde Bir Değerlendirme,” in *İstanbul’da Soylulaştırma Eski Kentin Yeni Sahipleri*, edited by David Behar, & Tolga İslam (İstanbul: İstanbul Bilgi Üniversitesi Yayınları, 2006), 40, quoted in Ülke Evrim Uysal, “Soylulaştırma Kuramlarının İstanbul’da Uygulanabilirliği: Cihangir Örneği,” *Planlama* (2006): 88

⁹³² Tolga İslam, “Tartışmalar,” in *İstanbul’da Soylulaştırma: Eski Kentin Yeni Sahipleri*, edited by David Behar, & Tolga İslam (İstanbul: Bilgi Üniversitesi Yayınları, 2006) cited in Uysal, “Soylulaştırma”, 88.

foundation of the “Association of Beautification of *Cihangir*,” voluntary improvements have created a “spirit of the neighborhood,” which attracted more people. Consequently, *Cihangir* became a symbol of the bohemian lifestyle and called as the “Republic of *Cihangir*” due to the elitist attitudes of the habitants.⁹³³

In the introductory section of *Kibar Mahalle* (Polite Neighborhood), Hacivat calls Karagöz as usual but Karagöz says that he cannot come because he is watching a video. He describes the device as, “you put a movie inside it and start to watch. Since you can watch the films one after another, you cannot have a time to do other things, so that you became a prison of it.” When Hacivat asks what it is, Karagöz tells him that he does not know any better anymore; he is not knowledgeable anymore, which makes Hacivat angry. Hacivat asks Karagöz whether they have shifted the roles because; the literate one has always been Hacivat, not Karagöz ever since the first Karagöz play performed in the history. Karagöz tells him about the device, which makes children prisoners to itself. He also states that when the children sit in front of it, they do not do anything else or they do not go out to play with their friends.

While Hacivat talks in the first (“*biz*” in Turkish) or second persons (“*siz*” in Turkish) in plural as a definition of politeness, Karagöz confuses about how many people there are on the screen. Therefore, Hacivat lists the peculiarities of polite people to Karagöz as follows,

- They talk in first and second person in plural,
- When they bump into each other, greet each other,
- They eat at regular times holding the knife in the right hand and fork on the left. They take small bites without much opening their mouths, and after every bite, they slightly wipe their mouths with a tissue,
- They switch to another lounge for a coffee drink and chat after the dinner,
- They regularly go to hairdressers, tailors and dentists,
- They regularly go to aerobic sessions, beauty salons, gymnasiums for weight loss,
- They are always in a hurry to get to Cancun meetings, parties and invitations in time,
- They have a never-ending interest in fashion, and run from one fashion show to another, and
- They listen, and never interrupt someone when talking

⁹³³ *Ibid.*, 88

Before the last point, Karagöz interrupts Hacivat, and says that he should complain about his unemployment and Hacivat should find him a job at that moment according to the usual scenery. Thus, as it was in the classical plays, they remind the audience that it is just a play, a fiction. Hacivat offers Karagöz to look after *Narçın Çelebi*'s special royal dog that came from a foreign country. Hacivat also suggests Karagöz to say "cheers!" while talking with *Narçın Çelebi* as a sign of politeness. Karagöz goes to *Narçın*'s place, and he realizes that *Narçın* also speaks in the first and the second person in plural. *Narçın* takes Karagöz as a seller for his appearance, and wonders how such a person could have come over to such a polite neighborhood. *Narçın*'s attitude towards Karagöz is rather shaped by his so-called middle-class identity.⁹³⁴

Karagöz introduces himself as a candidate for the job of looking after the dog. They meet and agree on the job. Although *Narçın* tries to get rid of Karagöz, his girlfriend *Meloş* comes and likes Karagöz because he makes her laugh. Karagöz really tries to speak politely but he supposes polite speaking as making every word in plural literally; for example, he asks, "Hows do yous dos?" as a rule of misunderstanding usually presented in the classical plays. Karagöz confuses the word "*Narçın*" with "*Tarçın*" that means cinnamon in English, and says *Narçın Çelebi* that he could not recognize him by his smell. Without understanding, *Çelebi* immediately answers that it is because he bought his fragrance, which was called "Alain Deleon," from Europe. After the couple leaves, *Tuzsuz* comes and asks Karagöz to give him wine. Karagöz sends him to the dog's hut by saying that he can find wine there. Then *Beberuhi* comes, he has fled from home to be an artist (in this neighborhood) but he was told that he is too short. He has no place to stay, and then Karagöz sends him to the hut to stay there. Later, *Karadenizli*, who lost both his ship and the dockyard, comes. Karagöz also sends him to the hut to search for his ship. A Braggart also arrives and suggests Karagöz to go to a barber for it would be easier to cut off his head. Karagöz sends him to sharpen his knife to the hut.

When *Çelebi* turns back, he tells Hacivat how they spent their time with *Meloş*; they drunk "Nescafé," watched a fashion show and bought many clothes for *Meloş*. By the way, *Tuzsuz* had made the dog drink wine. *Beberuhi* played with the dog, which

⁹³⁴ In her article of "İstanbulites and Others," which examines the cartoons relating the new comers to İstanbul after the 1980s, Öncü states that the stereotypes about the definitions of the culture of the immigrants must be considered together with the culture of a valid middle-class, who is responsible for such definitions. See: Ayşe Öncü, "İstanbulular ve Ötekiler: Küreselcilik Çağında Orta Sınıf Olmanın Kültürel Kozmolojisi," in *İstanbul Küresel ile Yerel Arasında*, by Çağlar Keyder, translated by Sungur Savran (İstanbul: Metis Yayınevi, 2000), 120.

makes *Çelebi* worry because *Beberuhi* might have transmitted a disease to his dog. *Karadenizli* has taught the dog “*Horon*,” which also makes *Çelebi* worry because his dog would be a belly dancer (which is unacceptable for *Çelebi*). Lastly, the Braggart shaved the dog’s hair. After having heard of them, Hacıvat asks Karagöz “what have you done? You messed up everything in such a polite neighborhood, you are a disgrace!” Karagöz replies, “Stop there! Do not cross the line. One would not necessarily be disgraced because one was not polite. No matter where, I am always the same.” Hacıvat asks once again if it was acceptable to treat such a polite dog like this, Karagöz replies that his own neighborhood is irreplaceable; people’s intimacy and friendship are priceless. He means that such a polite neighborhood is only a show off, and lacks humanity. The play was also criticizing conspicuous consumption and misunderstanding of Westernization.

The next play called ***Karagöz Çevre Canavarı***⁹³⁵ (Karagöz the Environment Monster). The play teaches children to be conscious and protective of their environment.



Figure 62 the Garbage Monster by Hayali Hazım Kısakürek

The play starts with a scene that Karagöz throws garbage onto Hacıvat; thereafter, they skip into the dialog section. In the 16th and 17th centuries, Mantran says that when it rained, the streets used to cover with mud and garbage so; the rulers commanded people to throw their garbage into the sea.⁹³⁶ The play announces that the time had changed and the sea has to be protected as homes. In the main plot, while Karagöz is sleeping under a tree, a garbage mountain comes into being. A garbage monster arises out of the mountain by saying that he was very thankful to one who threw this garbage there. Hacıvat says Karagöz that it happened because he threw garbage onto him at the beginning of the play.

Although the garbage monster could give sympathy for Karagöz, neighbors would definitely get angry with him; thus, Hacıvat hides him into a sack and tells everyone that Karagöz has left for military service.

Karagöz’s son, Karagöz’s wife, the Arab (*Mercan*), *Tuzsuz*, *Pehlivan* (Wrestler/Emigrant), and Hacıvat’s son come one by one to find the one who is responsible for this mass and the monster. Hacıvat tells everyone that the

⁹³⁵ Figure 62 from Ünver, ed. *Karagöz Oyunları -3- Nev-i İcad*, 73

⁹³⁶ Mantran, *16. ve 17. Yüzyılda İstanbul’da Gündelik Hayat*, 30.

irresponsible, graceless, dirty and the filthy scum enemy of the environment was in the sack, without giving a name. Everyone, including Karagöz's wife and son, hits the sack. Hacivat also encourages them to hit. Whenever Karagöz tries to say that he is in the sack, people say nice words for his name, and imply that Karagöz cannot be such a kind of man acting unmannered. Even, the Arab uses the word "angel" for Karagöz. Meanwhile, if *Tuzsuz* finds the guilty he will flay him like an animal and then give the hides to THK (The Institution of Turkish Aviation)⁹³⁷. Hacivat prevents *Tuzsuz* to stub Karagöz. As Karagöz gets angry, Hacivat does not let him go out of the sack. At last, the Emigrant suggests hitting the sack from wall to wall but Hacivat also prevents him. At the end, Karagöz wakes up and the audience understands that the play was a dream of Karagöz. Karagöz promises to collect his garbage, not to pick up flowers and spit on the streets, but beats Hacivat for letting everyone hit Karagöz in his dream. Albeit Hacivat tried to give a lesson to Karagöz, he did not let excessive violence. Besides, it is also significant that all the neighbors, having been in solidarity and environment-conscious, know Karagöz as a decent, good mannered and a fair person. No one wants to believe that one in the sack is actually Karagöz. It is another didactic play for children.

The next two plays were probably written especially after the opening of the Bursa branch of UNIMA in 1995 under the presidency of Şinasi Çelikkol, and the foundation of the Museum of Karagöz across the Tombs of Karagöz and Hacivat in 1997. Whether these tombs are really belong to Karagöz and Hacivat is doubtful but they are restored to legitimize the legend that Karagöz and Hacivat originated and really lived in Bursa.

On the web side of the Bursa Metropolitan Municipality, it was written as the interest in the Turkish Traditional Shadow Theater and Karagöz has declined for the last 50 years; even, almost lost. However, the biggest support came from the Bursa Metropolitan Municipality besides a few Karagöz performers who try to

⁹³⁷ THK has been collecting the sacrifice pelts, which was also supported by directorate of religious affairs since the foundation of Republic. According to the regulations stated in Official Gazette on 27.12.1999, THK is the main authority in collecting the Sacrifice pelts and intestine. "Yardım Toplama Esas ve Usulleri Hakkında Yönetmelik." (Mevzuatı Geliştirme ve Yayın Genel Müdürlüğü, December 27, 1999, accessed March 3, 2013) available from <http://mevzuat.basbakanlik.gov.tr/Metin.Aspx?MevzuatKod=7.5.12088&sourceXmlSearch=&MevzuatIliski=0>

perpetuate Karagöz. It was also added that, indeed, Karagöz was re-discovered with the events organized in Bursa.⁹³⁸

Since then, the plays claiming Karagöz and Hacivat belonging to Bursa have increased in number. Thus, another transformation for Karagöz occurs when he speaks for supporting the legend that Karagöz and Hacivat had really lived in Bursa, for the sake of financial gain by marketing a “cultural” product of modernity, at the dawn of being accepted as a respected art. The following plays are intended to support this claim. As a piece of information, *Uludağ* is the famous mountain in Bursa known as the center of skiing.

In *Uludağ’ın Tatlı Suyu* (The Sweat Water of *Uludağ*) play, once again, they argue about Karagöz’s unemployment. Hacivat thinks of possibilities of jobs for Karagöz and says that he should be doing stand-up comedy. When Karagöz asks for the meaning of “stand-up,” Hacivat replies that it is something like “*Meddah*” (a claim which one of the interviewees strongly disagrees with this definition). Hacivat remembers that Karagöz was an illiterate man; there is no storm in his brain, so he gives up discussing and asks, “what about being a ‘fashion designer’?” As if, Karagöz could do it. As usual, Karagöz misunderstands the term “*moda*” meaning “fashion” in English as “*oda*” meaning “room,” and he hits Hacivat thinking that he is offering him to be an “*Odacı*” (room keeper). Then he explains the reasons of hitting Hacivat. He says that he was hitting, in the person of Hacivat, those out of fashion and messing around with him. Therefore, he defines Hacivat as old-fashioned and legitimizes his beating as if he was right. Then, they talk about beating.

Hacivat: You are being a bad influence on kids, as it is told in public.

Karagöz: Yeah, right... Violence in most of the cartoons, violence in TV broadcasting...

Hacivat: if you continue to talk like this, before too long you will find your theater closed by them.

Karagöz: Only a child can close this theater!

The highlight here against the critiques that Karagöz is being a bad example for the children. Actually, the idea that children can learn much more violence from TV programs than Karagöz plays is emphasized.

⁹³⁸ Bursa Metropolitan Municipality, Karagöz Müzesi. 2007, accessed January 4, 2010) available from <http://www.karagozmuzesi.com/index.php?page=main>

In the main plot *Efe* (Hector) and his mom comes down to the fountain, which was built to commemorate his father. His father was a very brave man and everyone was afraid of him including *Efe* (Hector). Karagöz comes near them and gets scared by seeing *Efe*'s mom suddenly, and asks her "You, woman! Where the heck did you come? Are you a spirit or a jinni?" Mom replies back as, "Those things are out of date now my black-bearded son." The criticism towards the old traditional era by modernist view point becomes visible once again in warning the children that there are no such things as boogeymen or jinni.

She decides that Karagöz is a good man and offers him to give 50 piasters for every week if he guards the fountain. Later, when Hacivat sees *Efe*'s mom she tells him that she left the fountain after finding a very brave and honest man to guard it. Hacivat goes to the fountain and they talk about the taste of the fountain's water, praising it by describing how sweet the taste is. By doing so, they are actually praising the nature of their place of origin, Bursa.

Then, the Jew as a second-hand dealer comes across the fountain with Karagöz. He calls Karagöz as "Donkey" and Karagöz menaces him with beating. But the Jew makes a big fuss about it by shouting "they are beating me!" (It reminds the classical Jew). Karagöz calms him down. The Jew likes the water's taste a lot and he learns that the water is for free; then he asks Karagöz why he is not selling it for a fee (that is also a reminder of the trader Jew). Karagöz says "Ok, then give me the money for drinking". When the Jew reminds him that he was telling that the water is free, Karagöz replies, "You are saying how sweet it is, the water is free but the sweet inside is having a price." The Jew decides to buy the fountain and Karagöz asks 10 gold pieces. The Jew complains by saying "do you think gold is like sand? I do not have 10 gold pieces. How much is to rent it or how much will it be when it gets old?" Karagöz takes 10 piasters from him and tells him to come later when it gets old. Because the Jew is a second hand dealer, he asks when it gets old. Besides only the Jew could produce such an idea that the natural water could be sold, according to the play. After the Jew leaves, *Laz*, *Çelebi* and the Chief Cook (*Bolulu*) come to the fountain, Karagöz engages into similar conversations with them about the price of the water. The characterization of the types resembles to those in the classical plays. For example, the Cook says Karagöz that he wants water for cooking so it should be from the non-sweet part. Karagöz only agrees after receiving food along with a dessert. After watching Karagöz from away, *Efe* (Hector) gets angry with Karagöz and as a punishment, he forces Karagöz to lay down by the watering hole of the fountain, where the water is very cold. Hacivat helps Karagöz to

survive after taking *Efe*'s permission and escorts Karagöz to his home and the play ends with this scene.

Although it is written for children, the play includes traditional elements, such as the Jew of the imperial types. The main aim is to praise *Uludağ* and its sources on the one hand, and to teach children that Karagöz took what he did not deserve. As it is seen, only imperial type is the Jew, the others are the Anatolian types. The author preferred to tell this play in detail to show that some plays written in the 2000s could include the elements of the classical plays.

The next play is Karagöz ***Turist Rehberi*** (Karagöz the Tourist Guide), which is also a covertly claiming that Karagöz and Hacivat originated in Bursa. In the dialog section, Hacivat complains about Karagöz's unemployment, and asks him what he would do in the summer for work. Hacivat suggests Karagöz to learn a foreign language⁹³⁹, which helps him to find a job easily. However, Karagöz says that he cannot learn another language at his age, and he does not need another job because his retirement pension is sufficient. Yet, Hacivat persuades Karagöz to work in an extra job to pay his children's education fees. They have to be well educated if he does not want them to resemble him. Then they decide Karagöz to be a Tour Guide. Since he does not know any foreign language, he would only guide the local tourists to show beautiful Bursa. He immediately goes to his wife and tells that he has found a job. His wife says "good for you!" to Karagöz as if he is a child. It is mentioned in the play that Bursa is famous for its silk, towel, knives, thermal springs, Uludağ, preach, Green Tomb, and Karagöz and Hacivat. The sightseeing includes Tombs, Mosques, cable-car, Uludağ, Closed Bazaar and Art House of Karagöz. Hacivat also suggests Karagöz to have tourists buy something, so that they would bring wealth to Bursa.

Among the local Tourists, there is an Arab. Either it is a logical error in the play or Arabs are also accepted as locals for the people of Bursa. Karagöz guides *Trakyalı* (Rumealian/Emigrant), the Arab, *Karadenizli (Laz)* and *Azeri* (Azerbaijani). *Doğulu* (Easterner), included in the play, is not a tourist; he had brought Hacivat honey

⁹³⁹ While summarizing the social conditions in the late 1990s, which are seemingly still valid for the 2000s, Ahmad says,

Advertisements for such positions began to appear in English even in the Turkish-language newspapers; the message was clear: those who cannot read this advertisement need not apply! English had become the sine qua non for a successful career in virtually any field and parents struggled hard to have their children acquire a working knowledge of the language.

Ahmad, *The Making of Modern Turkey*, 120.

and butter from his village last year but could not get his payment yet. Karagöz finds Hacivat, and Hacivat immediately pays his debt to *Doğulu*, and says that he never forgets his debts. Both Karagöz and Hacivat are helpful and depicted as honest, hardworking and respectful people. The *Azeri*, on the other hand, comes to meet with Karagöz and Hacivat to tell in his homeland. The main point is to introduce and legitimize the international popularity of Karagöz in a way that as if it were spreading throughout the world from Bursa.

In the introductory section of ***Zaman Makinesi*** (Time Machine) play, when Hacivat calls Karagöz, he says that he cannot come because they organized an Islamic memorial ceremony at home and he is helping to make halvah. Hacivat tells the women at home that Karagöz is actually putting his own teeth instead of peanuts into the halvah. Then the women turn Karagöz out. In the dialog section, Hacivat finds Karagöz a job to collect chestnuts for a man who makes chestnut sweets, which is one of the popular trades in Bursa.

In the main plot, Karagöz finds a metal box in front of his house then he takes it to Hacivat supposing that Hacivat has put it there. Hacivat tells that *Hayali* (Performer) *Tayfun* (the writer of the play) had put this box there and he intends to show this electronic box to his students. Karagöz and Hacivat are treated as if they were two puppets Pinocchios and Hayali Tayfun was Geppetto. Formerly, Hayali was only the mediator through whom Karagöz and Hacivat come to life in their own world. Although the classical plays were epic in character, there are no relationship with the scene types and the *Hayali*. While they are arguing about the box, Karagöz hits the box and it works. It is understood that the box is a time machine. They go back in time when the *Ulu Cami* (Grand Mosque) was being built. It was alleged that they had worked in the construction, and Sultan Orhan executed them because they were talking too much while working. Then the legend is presented exactly as it is in the play. At the end of the play a Caucasian folkloric team, an *Efe* (Hector) and a *Çengi* are made dance to the music. The play is also praising Bursa and trying to legitimize the story as if it was substantiated truth.

The other play is called ***Karagöz'ün Televizyon Sefası*** (Karagöz's TV Adventure). This play is also centered on the concept of time travelling. The dialog section is full of Karagöz's misunderstandings of Hacivat, and at the end, Hacivat says, "enough joking!" then Karagöz replies, "If so then let's go back to the 80s!" They find themselves in TRT's quiz show on TV, the competitors, and the winner would take

the money. The announcer is *Halit Kıvanç*;⁹⁴⁰ the aim of the quiz show is guessing the right answer. *Halit Kıvanç* wants them to introduce themselves to the audience. Hacivat says, “I was born in Bursa and I lived in the reign of Sultan Orhan. I was known as a stone expert and the hero of the shadow theater in the past but today, my reputation has declined.” Halit Kıvanç replies as, “No, it did not Hacivat Çelebi. All the Turks at all ages know you well. Do not forget that you are also well-known in foreign countries.” After, Karagöz introduces himself as, “I am the friend of Hacivat, I lived in Bursa too and I did not go to school. I am not an expert on stone but fond of engraving. Hacivat keeps silent whereas, I bombs into words.” The important point here is that the name “Karagöz Performance,” which was based on the leading character’s name (Karagöz), is seemingly changed into “Hacivat and Karagöz Performance,” implying Hacivat the Pilgrim as the new leading character.

The questions to be answered in the contest are related with the most dangerous weapon in the world, the most important problem of the world, the energy crises, the dirty air of Ankara and the plans after winning the grand prize in the national lottery. To the first question, Hacivat replies as the atom bomb whereas Karagöz replies as the cigarette. To the second question, Hacivat answers as energy shortage whereas Karagöz answers as the population increase and starvation. For the third question about the things to be done if the world falls into an energy crisis, Hacivat proposes to use the nuclear energy of the atom but Karagöz offers to utilize solar energy. To the fourth question, Hacivat replies that electric power is expensive and natural gas is in shortage so that chimney filters or thermal energy can be used whereas Karagöz says again that solar energy is the solution. To the fifth question, Hacivat answers that he would establish factories to create jobs whereas Karagöz says that he would establish a farm. *Halit Kıvanç* does not announce the winner; rather, a *Çengi* (Dancing girl) comes to the scene, and the play ends.

The play is mainly didactic and showing children the main problems of the world, today the humanity faces. The natural sources have to be used carefully, and the humanity can only advance by defeating starvation and population increase through promoting eco-production facilities.

⁹⁴⁰ Halit Kıvanç is known as the first TV speaker in Turkey and as an on-stage presenter in musical events and contests. He started his career as a sport speaker, however, mainly known with the TRT programs as “Bizden Size,” Sarmaşık”, “Bugün Pazar” in the 1980s. The play is probably referring to his program named “Talih Kuşu,” which was a quiz show in 1970s.

Mukadder Özakman was always an exception in terms of the subjects of his plays, which are marked by a heavy dose of political satire while the peculiarities of the characteristics of Karagöz and Hacivat are interchangeable. However, he is loyal to the modern Republic and the advisory decisions of the RPP in the late 1930s that Hacivat is an old-fashioned, a self-interested person and likes flattery, whereas, Karagöz is a truthful, informed and an honest person. Both of them are cultivated but Karagöz seemingly better informed about the daily issues. The imperial types as well as the other local types were excluded from the plays examined below. Only Karagöz and Hacivat are included, and the plays were designed as a dialog between them. It is doubtful whether they had been performed or not.

In both plays, it was indicated at the beginning that Karagöz has moved to an apartment flat; the familiar duplex house with a bay window was replaced by a tall apartment, on the second floor of which Karagöz is now residing. Besides, there is a permanent ornament on the screen reading “Long Live the Republic!” and there are also a Turkish flag and a photograph of Atatürk. After the 2000s, there is a tendency to idealize Atatürk among the radical supporters of the RPP against the rising Islamic tendencies supported by the JDP.

In ***Karagöz’ün Gizli Telefonculuğu*** (Karagöz the Secret Operator 2007) play, in the Ghazal part, there are many political references, for example, Özakman says, “those who say we will be the member of the EU are making a big mistake.” Moreover, he also mentions the problems of rising taxes, cost of living, credit card debts, and privatization of the state institutions. He also sarcastically says that the turban/headscarf came with welfare (party); besides, he mentions about the municipalities distributing coal for votes and radical Islamists wearing *hasema* in seaside on separated beeches. In the Ghazal part, it is also said that the TV cannot kill the shadow theater that comes alive in every Ramadan, and Sheik Küşteri and Sultan *Orhan* would never divide the society according to those wearing turban/headscarf and those who do not. Then, Hacivat declares that the only truth is Atatürk; the rest is nonsense. Hacivat also mentions *Bodrum*, as a popular seashore holiday resort full of prostitutes.

Then comes the dialog section, in which Karagöz and Hacivat talks about the mobile phones. Hacivat calls Karagöz by phone on the stage and Karagöz answers the phone by asking, “Who is it?” Hacivat says that if Karagöz could not recognize him then he should clean the windows of his house, which he recently coated with PVC. Karagöz gets angry with him and says that he is wasting his credits; then Hacivat replies, “With the last penny in my pocket, I would never buy a loaf of

bread but would buy credits.” According to Karagöz, Hacivat was infected with a mobile phone addiction. They start to talk about the rules of talking on mobile phone in public spaces. They complain about those who shout, talk about private issues in public areas, argue with his/her wife/husband in metros, drive at the same time while talking on the phone, and never switch off their phones in public transportations. Moreover, they say that 60% of the society is composed of *Maganda(s)* (Rednecks)⁹⁴¹. Furthermore, Karagöz says Hacivat, “Hope you are excessively exposed to Arabesque music!” to curse him.

In her article about the Arabesque Culture, Özbek say that the Arabesque Culture was seen as the urban culture of the migrated peasant generation that reflects their experiences during the rapid modernization of Turkish society since 1950s⁹⁴²

Sexual references are also commonly used in Özakman’s play; for example, they talk about tourist girls lying topless on the beach. Hacivat even reads a poem named “the Legend of the Tourist Girls.” He says that watching them is not a sin, they should come without their tops and exhibiting their tits. Lastly, he adds that the foreign currency would flow from their breasts.

In the dialog section, they also refer to forest fires in Muğla, İzmir, İstanbul and Marmaris. They mention the collapse of a Quran teaching school, which resulted in the deaths of children.⁹⁴³ Besides, they also talk about the terrorists killing thousands of people for years and the brave army defeating these terrorist; the fire starters must have been these terrorists as well. Hacivat curses them and those who support them, and says, “Martyrs are immortal, our land is indivisible!” (“*Şehitler ölmez vatan bölünmez*” in Turkish). In reply, Karagöz says, “the ‘external powers’ supporting the terrorists because, they wish to take the revenge for Çanakkale and their being thrown out of the country.” These external powers are England, Italia, France and Greece, as told in the play.

⁹⁴¹ Öncü mentions about the term *Maganda* (Redneck) as a jackboot with a hairy body and an unsaturated sexual appetite; he is the one who poisons and messes the cultured circles of the society, referring to anti-İstanbulites in the cartoons of the 1980s. Öncü, “İstanbulular ve Ötekiler,” 135. In addition, Özbek says, *Maganda/Zonta* (Redneck) was “originally created by the cartoonists, entered the popular vocabulary to describe and denigrate arabesque aficionados as vulgar, sexist and uneducated.” See: Meral Özbek, “Arabesk Culture: A Case of Modernization and Popular Identity,” in *Rethinking Modernity and National Identity in Turkey*, edited by Sibel Bozdoğan, & Reşat Kasaba (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1997), 211.

⁹⁴² Özbek, “Arabesk Culture,” 121.

⁹⁴³ For more information: “Yatılı kız Kuran kursu binası çöktü,” (NTVMSNBC, August 1, 2008, accessed March 15 2013) available from <http://arsiv.ntvmsnbc.com/news/454923.asp?cp1=1>

Hacivat, on the other hand, refers to some deputies complaining Turkey to the EU courts because of the Turban issue,⁹⁴⁴ Karagöz replies, “as if all we wore turban they would not accept us as a member of the EU.” Then, Hacivat says that he is begging to be accepted as an EU member. Therefore, Karagöz answers, “Only those like you are begging to be a member of the EU!”⁹⁴⁵ Karagöz explains that the EU will not accept Turkey because it is a Christian community.

Later, Karagöz hypnotizes Hacivat and convinces him that he is the sultan of today’s Turkey, Hacivat demands silence in his hypnotic state, then Karagöz says that not only the rooms but also all the walls of the palace (Hacivat’s imaginary palace) are covered with noise insulation materials so that he will not hear the citizen’s voice. When Karagöz says that workers are dying in the docks,⁹⁴⁶ Sultan Hacivat says, “Someday all we die, do not exaggerate such news.” When Karagöz says purse-snatchers are killing people on the streets, Sultan Hacivat says, “Then, prohibit carrying a purse.” When Karagöz says the questions of the university entry exam are taught in private teaching institutions (instead of the state schools), then Hacivat says, “Close all the state schools.” When Karagöz asks about nepotism and bribery, Hacivat says, “every time such rumors spread, suppress it!” The other issues are increasing taxes and situations of the workers and farmers. Besides, Hacivat demands an increase in his salary and wants a silk turban, two yachts, two helicopters and two planes. At the end, Karagöz says Hacivat that the Foreign Minister of USA (Condoleezza Rice) and the Prime Minister of Iran (Mahmud Ahmadinejad) came; Hacivat says welcome. When Karagöz declares that “*Sheik-ül Arabi, Bus Eyle Pay-ill Turabi*” (the name is fake, it is probably referring to an imaginary Arab sheik) came, Hacivat quickly gets up and runs in a hurry to meet him.

⁹⁴⁴ Hayrünnisa Gül, The wife of the present President Abdullah Gül, had passed the university exam and acquired the right of attending the Arabic Literature and Language Department at Ankara University; however, she had been prohibited to attend classes because she was wearing Turban. She sued the Turkish Republic in European Human Right’s Court, however, she withdrew the case when Abdullah Gül became the Minister of the Foreign Affairs in 2002. Author’s note (H.B. 2013).

⁹⁴⁵ At that time, the EU had released the progress report for Turkey’s candidacy in 2008, for more information, see: Commission of the European Communities, “Turkey 2008 Progress Report,” (Brussels: EU Commission, November 5, 2008) (accessed March 12, 2013) available from http://ec.europa.eu/enlargement/pdf/press_corner/key-documents/reports_nov_2008/turkey_progress_report_en.pdf

⁹⁴⁶ In 2008, 21 workers had died in Tuzla Docks due to the unsafe working conditions. For more information: BİA. “2009’da 15 İşçi Tersanelerde Öldü,” (Bianet Haber Merkezi, December 22, 2009 accessed March 16, 2013) available from <http://kadin.bianet.org/bianet/insan-haklari/119030-2009-da-15-isci-tersanelerde-oldu>

In the plot section, when Hacivat fully awakens from the hypnosis, Karagöz asks him whether he kissed the hands of the Sheik and received presents, Hacivat says “yes.” Yet, Karagöz is more interested in what Hacivat gave the Sheik in return; however, Hacivat says nothing. By this way, the center-right wing government, accused of being self-seeker and ignorant to national interests, is satirized and accused of being a supporter of Arabs.

Hacivat finds a job for Karagöz, which is secretly listening to the lines. He gives Karagöz a phone, with the capability to make video calls. Then, Karagöz asks Hacivat whether he can connect and listen to the President Bush secretly, Hacivat commands the phone as, “*Yu Es EY, Yu Es Ey! Hvayt Haus, Hvayt Haus! Prez’idnt Mis’tır Bush, Prez’idnt Mis’tır Bush!*”⁹⁴⁷ Karagöz gets surprised and says, “Rascal Hacivat knows English.” Hacivat translates everything to Turkish (as in the classical plays). The point is to satirize the claim that President Bush and the USA are working for the democratization of the world and permanent peace in the Middle East. As they did in Iraq, they also want to bring democracy and peace to Iran, alleged as producing nuclear weapons. Bush continues as, “It is true that America is the guarantor of democracy but, we need to use *İncirlik Air Base* to intervene Iran.” After the translation, Hacivat says Karagöz that it happened before; Turkey had refused to give permission to use her air bases then they had put hoods over the Turkish soldiers' heads.⁹⁴⁸ Hacivat also adds that when Turkey asked for an apology, America refused. The next location they are going to connect is the Turkish-African Cooperation Summit. Karagöz and Hacivat talk about how Europe has colonized and exploited Africa for centuries, and they left nothing as a source Africa can use for its own development. Besides, they point out that there is no observer from Europe. Karagöz says, “The cacao belongs to Africa but the chocolate belongs to Europe!” Then, they connect to the Beijing World Olympics, and realize that Turkey has no success at all. At the end, they also watch a circumcision ceremony of a boy whose father would be a deputy in the coming elections.

⁹⁴⁷ That was actually in English but Özakman preferred to write it as exactly as how it is pronounced in Turkish. The correct one should be USA, USA! White House, White House! President Bush, President Bush!

⁹⁴⁸ This incident called as “hood event” in international media. For more information: “Çuval olayı'nın perde arkası WikiLeaks'te,” (T24 Bağımsız İnternet Gazetesi, April 4, 2011, accessed March 12, 2013) available from <http://t24.com.tr/haber/cuval-olayinin-perde-arkasi-wikileaks/136878>

Also see: “US releases Turkish troops.” (Story from BBC NEWS. July 6, 2003, accessed August 19, 2013) available from http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/middle_east/3050122.stm

The play ends with an indication that Hacivat and Karagöz visit the Tomb of Atatürk in every kinds of festivities no matter it is religious or national festive. Furthermore, they define their duties as elevating the society. The “10th-Year March” (“*Onuncu Yıl Marşı*”) is noted as played in the final section of the play. Over emphasis on Atatürk and highlighted values of the RPP shaped by the 1930s are the main characteristics of Özakman’s plays.

The next play, ***Karagöz’ün Gazeteciliği*** (Karagöz the Journalist), was written in 2009. The introductory section is the same; however, the writer refers to those who go to Mecca to be a pilgrim but stay in luxury hotels. He also criticizes the fee the Saudi government demands for visa requirements from the Turkish Hajis. Then, Hacivat comes and introduces himself as the one who finds jobs to Karagöz and his best friend of him.

In the ghazal part, Özakman refers to some contemporary events, such as the economic crisis in 2009 bypassing Turkey, *Hadise* participating in the Eurovision Song Contest with a song named “*Düm Tek Tek*,” the “Association of Light House” defrauding Turkish citizens in Germany⁹⁴⁹, and Obama advising Turkey to face her history without talking about the massacre of the Indians for centuries in the USA. Besides, Hacivat also refers to the “privileged partnership” offered by the EU instead of a full membership. He defines Merkel and Sarkozy as the rotten crusaders by referring to Merkel’s remark that the height of a mosque would be lower than that of a church in Germany, by forgetting that once the Ottoman rulers prohibited non-Muslims to build houses higher than the houses of the Muslims. Moreover, they also talk about the Uighurs were assassinated in China right after President Gül’s visit there, the silence of the UN while too much assassinations and massacres happening in different parts of the world, and the worthlessness of the Kurdish initiative (“*Kürt Açılımı*” in Turkish) if it means to divide Turkey. Hacivat also commemorates the martyrs and Atatürk at the end of the Ghazal.

In the dialog section, they talk about the third generation mobile phones, which are able to make video calls. Hacivat says that the Prime Minister made the first video call from a mobile phone on 29 July 2009. Since then, the communication network of Turkey had transformed from 2G to 3G. Hacivat also says that in the first week, ten million of 3G mobile phones have been sold. According to them, the problem is that the 2G mobile phones will be garbage. Hacivat also complains about the

⁹⁴⁹ A Turkish charity foundation, namely Deniz Feneri e.V., frauds people denoting and helping the organization in Germany, case was also known as “Lighthouse Fraud”.

reluctance of Turks about making an invention; according to him, The Turks always copy the technology of the others.

Yet, Hacivat says that it is dangerous to use 3G phones for people like Karagöz. He adds, "Suppose that you went to a shadow theater festival in Russia or Ukraine, while you were flirting with a woman met at the festival, your wife calls." Hacivat tells the possible events between the woman and Karagöz in detail, such as kissing, etc. The name of the woman was given as *Olga* and she was from Russia. However, Karagöz says that Olga fictionally gets her hands too much on him and asks Hacivat what if she was a spy. Then Hacivat replies, "Nothing happens if she was a spy! What? Do you think she would steal the plans of 'Yergenekon' (referring to the *Ergenekon* trials) from you?" In the meantime, Karagöz's phone really rings, and the caller is his wife who says that *Yaşar* (their son) could not succeed in the university exam, although he attended private classes. Hacivat tells Karagöz that high schools are not teaching the topics related to the questions in the university entrance exam. Then he offers to close all the state schools and continue education with the private classes, and adds that the Ministry (of Education) is responsible for these private classes spreading all around the country. Hacivat states that despite the fact that about 30.000 students scored zero on the exam, the Minister of Education acknowledged that the education in Turkey is better than that of the USA. They also talk about democracy, which they defined as giving voice to every tiny different idea. Nevertheless, Karagöz is against to resemble to the Arabs in the name of democracy. He adds that his mother, grandmother and sister are also believers but they wear a scarf rather than a turban in İzmir (That was a classic discourse of the nationalist at that time).



Figure 63 "One Minute" Crises in Davos

At that point, Hacivat is depicted as the one who is in favor of resembling to Arabs, Karagöz is the one who against it and so, Karagöz hits Hacivat. Hacivat says Karagöz that with such a striking action, he should have participated in Davos⁹⁵⁰ on 29 January 2009. Karagöz

⁹⁵⁰ Figure 66 from "Davos'ta kriz," (CNN Türk – Dünya, January 30, 2009, accessed March 2, 2013) available from <http://www.cnnturk.com/2009/dunya/01/29/davosta.kriz/511241.0/index.html>

Also see: Benhold, Katrin. "Leaders of Turkey and Israel Clash at Davos Panel." (NY Times Europe. January 29, 2009, accessed September 3, 2013) available from http://www.nytimes.com/2009/01/30/world/europe/30clash.html?_r=0 "Turkish PM storms off in Gaza row." *BBC News*. January 29, 2009, accessed September 3, 2013) available from <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/business/davos/7859417.stm>

replies, “If I were there I would not say “one minute”; I would say “*dan* (bang) minute” and knock out the moderator in a second.” Hacivat says for the Davos Crisis that it was just a show-off; Turkey (actually the JDP government) has always been on the Arab’s side, and kept even silent when the US soldiers put hoods over the Turkish soldiers' heads. They criticize that most of the state establishments, such as TCK (Turkish Republic Roads), PTT (Postage-Telephone-Telex), MTA (General Directorate of Mineral Research and Exploration), TRT (Turkish Radio and Television Association), TDK (Turkish Language Association) and DPT (State Planning Organization) were privatized.

In the plot section, Hacivat finds a job for Karagöz; he will be the editorial writer in a newly opening newspaper named “Karagöz.” He is required to wear a bow tie.⁹⁵¹

After a while, the daily circulation of the newspaper starts to decline although it was high at the beginning, and they decide to ask the opinion of the most experienced and the oldest journalist, who was the first to have a yellow press card⁹⁵² in Turkey. Before they call him, Hacivat says that he has consulted a professor in the Faculty of Communication, the professor told him that people could not afford to buy a newspaper, and nevertheless, there was no newspaper worth to be purchased. By the way, they also mention the covert censor on journalism and eavesdropping incidents so, they have to be wittier. Then, they call that old man. As a voice on the phone, he says, “flies are attracted to the fresh crap/shit.” Then he advises them “Never let your paper be closed down, always try to get news no matter how, claim your rights in your own courts in democratic ways not in the EU courts, never limit your writers about the issues they would write.” The play ends with the decision Karagöz to continue journalism under the guidance of the light of this old journalist’s advices.

Those last two plays are in the form of political criticism rather than a satire actually, and they are only composed of Karagöz, Hacivat and their dialogs, as well

⁹⁵¹ He says that he wore it much in his youth, and his father even; his ancestor had also worn a bow tie. He also adds that today there are people wearing a bow tie but it never fits well on them. He was probably referring to Abdullah Gül the present president who has seldom worn a bow tie and Atatürk who had always worn a bow tie (as an ancestor) on duty during his presidency.

⁹⁵² Yellow Press Card is being given to those who are journalists for more than 20 years without a break. Even if they are retired, they are awarded to carry this card until they die. "Basın Kartı Yönetmeliği." (T.C. Başbakanlık Basın - Yayın ve Enformasyon Genel Müdürlüğü, March 23, 2001, accessed March 17, 2013) available from <http://basinkartlari.byegm.gov.tr/basinkartlari/sayfalar.asp?link=sayfalar/bk-yonetmelik.htm>

as their structural narration are different than those of the classical Karagöz plays. However, they are directly referring to the daily political agenda; rather than satire and irony, the writer uses Karagöz and Hacivat as vehicles to criticize the government.

Through the plays written right after the proclamation of the Republic and in present time, the thesis tried to give the transformations of Karagöz in parallel with the changes in the society. Besides, following the Ottoman state, the Republic established itself as the anti-thesis of the old Empire. Therefore, the structure, subjects and the types of the Karagöz plays did undergo considerable changes. Moreover, Karagöz takes up a didactic role for a long time during the modernization process of Turkey. But, by the 1990s, it became an entertainment addressing to children as a result of a rapid transformations in the field of technology and under the pressure coming from the market, it was gradually forced to shrink down to be entertainment addressing only to the children. After the UNESCO process started, the known Karagöz performers, who are also the interviewees of the this thesis, claimed that Karagöz is actually for adults but more importantly, it is an art to be respected, and proper Karagöz performers are as valuable as the contemporary modern artists. Thus, the journey of Karagöz starting as *technē* in the 16th century of the Ottoman Empire was desired to end as a *fine art* of the 21st century Turkey. The next section is allocated to an analysis of the claims and demands expressed during the interviews conducted with the well-known contemporary Karagöz performers based on this claim and the interviews with the contemporary Karagöz performers to examine today's situation of Karagöz.

CHAPTER VI

PERFORMERS' DEMAND: "KARAGÖZ IS A RESPECTED ART"

In short, the world's pace of change is so much accelerated that a new language of art is needed.⁹⁵³

The primary objective of this chapter is to find out what Karagöz is for the contemporary performers by analyzing their answers obtained through semi-structured interviews in relation to the claim that Karagöz is a respected art. The basic themes to be dealt with here are:

1. General Information about the Interviewees
2. Self-Perception
 - a. *Humbleness*
 - b. *Introducing himself/herself as the wisest/the most knowledgeable*
 - c. *Resentfulness and the feeling of being degraded*
3. Master – Apprentice relationship
 - a. *Having a master and/or apprentice*
 - b. *The noticeable transmittable techniques*
 - c. *The perception about the apprentices and the masters*
 - d. *The ideas about that system*
4. Historical Knowledge on Karagöz
 - a. *Belief in the mythical origin*
 - b. *Defining the characters*
5. Whatness of Karagöz
 - a. *Karagöz is...*
 - b. *Being a Hayali is...*
 - c. *Dirty Karagöz*
 - d. *Karagöz as Entertainment for children*

⁹⁵³ Mülâyim, interview by H.B.

6. Status of Performing
 - a. *Financial factor affecting Karagöz performance*
 - b. *Performing in schools and shopping malls*
 - c. *Ramadan*
 - d. *Fake-performers*
7. Perception of Art
 - a. *Meaning of art*
 - b. *Traditional vs. Modern*
 - c. *Art vs. Craft*
 - d. *Importance of technique*
 - e. *Authenticity of the figures and their economic values*
 - f. *Plagiarism in the Context of Karagöz*
 - g. *Economic value of Karagöz today as an art*
8. UNESCO
9. UNIMA
10. Is Karagöz still alive? Alternatively, is this question right or wrong?
 - a. *Historical background of decline in Karagöz's popularity*
 - b. *What has changed socially, politically and technologically today*
 - c. *Satiric peculiarity of today's Karagöz*
 - d. *Role of the state and the related ministries*
 - e. *Contributions to Karagöz art and the performers' suggestions*

Within the context of this thesis, it is preferred to use only the rather than the performers'/interviewees' real names for ethical reasons. The interviews were conducted in May 2012, when Dinç was holding the "International Karagöz and Puppetry Festival" in İstanbul. Nevertheless, he was complaining that many of the interviewees as the Karagöz performers did not attend. The primary motivation behind the choice of the interviewees is the UNESCO's and UNIMA's lists and the snowball technique, which those performers personally suggested. The interviewees were composed of 15 people, whose assistants were also present and sometimes intervened during the interviewees. Thus, 6 more people were also included. The interviews were conducted by using the deep interview technique. Besides, the web sites giving information about interviewees were also used to complete the missing data. The familiarity and the popularity also effected the selection of the interviewees.

However, other types of performers should not be forgotten, such as those who perform a shadow play but not Karagöz, two of whom are included among the interviewees. Furthermore, geographical and financial limits have also their impact

on the selection of the interviewees. Based on the commonly shaped assumption that Karagöz had emerged and flourished in İstanbul, the interviewees are mainly from İstanbul with the exception, the director of the UNIMA National Center in Ankara, due to the controversial claims about him. The size of the sample is limited to 21 people because, on the one hand, everyone was giving the same names, and on the other, interviewees started to repeat the same data and discourses, which meant the sample had saturated the available information. It should also be mentioned that during the interviews, the Karagöz performers' infighting started to shade the main aims of the thesis, and analysis should have to be careful not to let it to affect the analysis.

It is useful to remember that all the interviews were grounded on the acceptance of the performers "Karagöz as a respected art."

General Information about the Interviews

It should be said that, the sample does not equally represent the sexes, only the five of the interviewees, four of whom were introduced as the assistants, being women. This is directly related to the tradition that in the Ottoman culture, women had limited access to the public area except for the bathhouses and the private house-meetings. Besides, taking part in theaters, at the upper level, is forbidden for women to effect that, all the Ottoman performers were male. Today, Acar claimed that he was training new female performers.

UNESCO's *Intangible Cultural Heritage* (ICH) Program awarded the three of the performers with *Living Human Treasure* (LHT). Thus, one of them was 73 years old, one of them was 83 years old and the other one was 90 years old at the time the research was conducted. The youngest performer was 23 years old who was working with his father and who had first performed Karagöz at the age of six. The rest of the performers' ages are between 35 and 59.

As for the educational standing of the interviewees, it can be said that, except for the three elder masters, most of the interviewees have mainly attended to the theater or drama trainings/schools. 12 of them are the graduates of a primary or a high school, 4 graduated from a university, and only 4 had attended to a theater and drama department at a university. 1 of them is a professor in English History and Literature Department. However, all of them have attended to several seminars and courses given by the Ministry of Education, the Ministry of Culture and the UNIMA besides improving themselves in the amateur and/or the professional

theater groups since very young ages. Two of the interviewees teach “Traditional Turkish Theater” courses at different universities; four of them are giving the same courses in the form of certificate programs in different institutions, such as İstanbul Municipality Art Centers, several NGOs and UNIMA. One of the interviewees is the director of UNIMA-İstanbul, the other one is the director of UNIMA-Ankara.

As it was known, in the Ottoman culture, every Karagöz performer had a main occupation and registered to the guilds, performing Karagöz was a side job. This is no longer valid today. Hayali Küçük Ali had also worked in PTT (State Postal Agency) for years and he professionally dealt with Karagöz after his retirement. However, today, Karagöz became the primary occupation for the contemporary performers. Except for those graduated from or attending the theater schools, the contemporary Karagöz performers had other jobs and when they retired, bankrupted, or realized that they could earn money by Karagöz performing; they *professionally* started to take over Karagöz performing as their main occupation. Especially today, despite the statement of Ramazan saying that no one can earn one’s living by Karagöz, the performers’ main occupation is Karagöz.

The three elder masters had previously other jobs, actually, Şaban worked in a newspaper as a caricaturist, Bayram retired from a bank, and Ramazan is a retired civil-engineer; they have always dealt with Karagöz during their work life.

Another elder researcher and performer, Kadir retired from a shoe factory. Kadir decided to get involved with Karagöz when he was young but had to wait for thirty years to perform Karagöz. He says that he had no rush to deal with Karagöz, but during the time he was working, he read everything about Karagöz to prepare himself for the “true” performance after his retirement. He had also written a book containing Karagöz plays, but this unsuccessful trial had ended with burning of the majority of the copies in SEKA because, they could not be sold. Now, he was giving seminars on Karagöz in art centers, sometimes going for shows with his wife, and publishing books about Karagöz, whose number exceeds 20 today. He has turned a part of his home into a Karagöz Workshop; he is also making puppets like “İbiş.”

Two of the interviewees, Mülayim and Zafer were actively employed by the universities as academicians. One of them is a professor and had taken Karagöz training from Nureddin Sevin with some other performers known today. However, he preferred to be more active as an academician. The other academician, Zafer is the director of UNIMA-Ankara. He had worked on the subjects of the traditional

theater and the traditional forms in the Turkish entertainment during his academic life.

One of the interviewees; Celâl was a shoemaker, and went into bankruptcy in 1998-1999 economic crisis. He accidentally met with Karagöz while he was looking for an entertainment for his newborn son. He attended a seminar of the Ministry of Education led by the four elder masters then he started earning his life from Karagöz. The other one, Cafer was a grapher before dealing with Karagöz. He met with Bayram, one of the elder masters, and then started to perform Karagöz, and going to schools for earning money. He said that he was earning his life by Karagöz for 15 years, and he quitted shoe making.

Acar has resigned from the military school where he met with theater. Later, he attended to a foreign language department at a university, after graduation, he established an amateur theater. Later he had met his Karagöz master and started to earn money by Karagöz, now he is a registered Karagöz performer recognized by the Ministry of Culture. Today, he is mainly dealing with Karagöz performance and writing theater plots.

Another performer, Cafer says that he was a grapher before he started Karagöz performing, but now, he is making his life only by Karagöz performance. Harun is also earning his living only by performing Karagöz and acting in amateur and professional theater groups; besides, he had an experience in acting in TV series and films; he also gives Karagöz seminars in various municipalities' arts centers.

Cenk also says that he earns his living only by theater and Karagöz performing. He has been performing Karagöz in Halis Kurtça Art Center for three years but he says that his main aim is not to earn money from Karagöz. He says that if one does his job with love and enthusiasm, then he already makes money. Earning money is the natural consequence for success and devotion.

Sezgin and his wife Zeynep are earning their lives mainly from the puppet shows. Before that, they were working with Nevzat Açıkgöz and going to tour to play *Ortaoyunu*. Now, they are performing puppet shows at the Toy Museum every Saturday. Their main job is puppetry, Sezgin seldom performs Karagöz but not for money, he indicates.

Aslan is another performer who earns money from Karagöz but he mainly earns his living by theater. Recently, he was working on a project called Documentary-

Theater, which is telling the real story of the real garbage paper collectors, who are also the actors on the stage. In addition, he was acting himself as the Karagöz performer and telling the story of these three garbage collectors in relation to the environmental issues on Karagöz curtain. Everyone is playing his real identity.

Sevim is performing a shadow theater which is not Karagöz and which is highly criticized by the elder performers today. The rest of all are only dealing with Karagöz, the puppetry and the theater without having another job and working as apprentices with others.

The elder masters stated that the ancient Karagöz performers were not only performing Karagöz but also acting in *Ortaoyunu* or were *Meddah* at the same time. Today, the idea that the artist had to deal with all the segments of the traditional theater has evolved in such a way that many Karagöz performers are either acting in modern theaters, or in TV programs or series in addition; a few are interested only in the theoretical part of Karagöz. It seems that Karagöz is articulating partially to contemporary theater forms and visual media as discussed in the previous chapter. Besides, specialization in Karagöz is sign of modernization and well fits into the field of fine arts, in which every artist is expected to specialize generally only in one branch of an art. In general, Karagöz is presented as a distinct art to be dealt with care. As it will be seen, devoting his life to Karagöz is the most commonly accepted discourse among the performers.

Self-Perception

The most difficult part, for the composition of this thesis, was that all the interviewees except the females were eager to talk about themselves as sole the ones really contributing the “art of Karagöz.” Especially the elder performers not only praise themselves too much, but also continually degrade the others. The rumors or claims performers made about the others are not eliminated for the purpose of objective reflecting the attitudes of the interviewees and avoid manipulation. However, those discourses became more important as the thesis developed because; actually, they give significant information about how they, especially the elder ones who were much exposed to the politics of the RPP and the modernization discourses, put themselves in the middle of everything, as it was discussed in Heidegger’s elaboration of the subjectivity as the essence of modernity. The information given in this part is directly related to the inevitable egoity of the modern subject, and the construction of the man that puts a distance between

himself and the rest one hand, art, which becomes an object by the modern aesthetics, on the other.

As Biemel⁹⁵⁴ indicated, art is not an arbitrary production for the contemporary performers. The world civilization they live in is different from the national folk world. As Heidegger noted, "Rather industrial society is the most extreme form of egoity, i.e., subjectivity. Man stands exclusively on his own and on the institutionalized areas of his world."⁹⁵⁵ The term "egoity" was chosen deliberately to refer to Descartes, whose philosophy was grounded on the "ego." "Egoity," which corresponds to positing the ego, the (modern) subject to the center of everything, is not equal to egotism, which is self-worshipping.

The elder masters, overtly and covertly, indicated that only they could give valid information. Therefore, the information becomes important. Rather than the performance, the performer gains importance too. They introduced themselves as the sole representatives of Karagöz. The most striking statement belongs to Ramazan, the elder performer who believes that Karagöz will die and fall into oblivion if he dies. He also says that there is indeed no need to go and talk with the others because only he can give the true information; whatever there is to be heard from the others were actually taught by him. Even Metin And was doing nothing but repeating him and the information he has given. Another elder Master Şaban says that the other two masters have accidentally but compulsorily been nominated for the program of the Living Human Treasure (LHT). He says, "I obtained my experience and information from the very original sources. When they nominated me for the LHT, I was not surprised because I have deserved it, if they had not awarded me, I would be upset." The general tendency of the interviewees was inquiring who the other people to be interviewed were. When the names are told, the elder masters degrade many of them; even, suggested to ignore. Seeing in different interviews, it became necessary to add questions about the in-fight among the Karagöz performers in the later interviews. For example, Harun says, "Everyone thinks that he knows the best, or if he is out, this art will extinguish." He also thinks that such an understating is the main problem. As if proving, Şaban says, "do not go to meet with those useless people, I will give you encyclopedic information. Not just I but also the Germans and the professors say the same." This statement, however, seems to emphasize the superiority of science and titles,

⁹⁵⁴ Biemel, "Elucidations of Heidegger's Lecture," 374

⁹⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 376.

neither giving the specialties of those professors nor their names, it was enough for Şaban that they are the professors, and therefore, being important people, should be taken seriously.

The problem is not only how they see themselves but at the same time how they see the others, Şaban tells another incident,

I reached Oya Eczacıbaşı to tell about my collection and the conditions of giving it to Eczacıbaşı group. The first girl I talked told me “you are welcome but please talk first with our art consultants, and then they will decide.” I asked whether the art consultants are Bayram and Dinç, she said me yes, it is them who would decide. I told her that I am Şaban, and asked her whether she knew me; she told me “no, I do not know you.” What would I say more? I stood on and said “unbelievable! All right, if you think that they are higher authorities than me, thanks!” she answered me that I would join them also and they would recognize me too.

He explicitly says that he is superior to any kind of Karagöz performer today, and expects people to know him by name and show respect. Another interviewee, Sezgin sees the reason for such attitudes as jealousy. He says,

When you ask, for example, ‘how are you my friend?’ he replies as ‘I was in Germany’, really? Could one go to Germany every day? Or he replies, ‘I made 100 İbiş puppets and sold them to Germany’. Who buys those 100 İbiş puppets? What are they doing with them?

Sezgin stresses the exaggerations of the performers, but it is strange that Germany is a special place for them. Sevim explains the reason in her terms; she says that the reason behind such attitudes is the “ego.” Moreover, Harun adds that this is because that the artists have a kind of inflated egos, which is in total contrast to what Nietzsche attributes to artists. Therefore, they partly defined the modern artist with a kind of ego.

Other than that, while the elder masters say that they cannot point any other capable performer today, the other (younger) masters complain about the masters for limiting them. Harun says that especially those three elder masters had an agreement before among themselves about teaching nothing to the followers. They had promised each other that no one would teach any kind of technique to the next generation. By this way, they might think that they could control both the market and the distribution of prestige as artists. No one could have acted without those elder master’s assents. Even Celal says that, in the seminar given by the Children Foundation in 1998, they, the students had only listened to the memories of those elder masters in Germany (again) or in other countries. He says,

They taught us nothing, the course started with 50 students but ended with 15 students. In the last two weeks, they taught us the figure making a little, and let us perform a play for 15 minutes as if they had taught it because the Ministry [of Culture] had warned them. They had stolen our times.

In addition, for the same course, Cafer says,

They had agreed on teaching nothing to us, they had decided that this art would die with them. They were always saying that they had learnt it through watching so we had to do the same. For example, those knives [Nevregan knives] were said to be required in the seminar. Ramazan [one of the teachers] - I do not want to gossip by the way - said that those knives were special and only one blacksmith in Bursa was forging them; he also said that he had never forged those knives for anyone except for him. Nevertheless, later, one of the students in the course, Celal went to *Kapalıçarşı* and found someone who could forge anything we wanted. Then we understood that those masters were jerking around us despite that we all were suspending our works, jobs to attend the course...

While explaining the principles of bringing something forth, Heidegger says, "For centuries, philosophy has taught that there are four causes."⁹⁵⁶ Those are the *causa materialis* that is the *leather*, *causa formalis* that is the Karagöz *figure*, *causa finalis* that is the Karagöz *performance*, and *causa efficiens*, "which brings about the effect that is the finished, actual [performance], in this instance, [*the Karagöz performer*]"⁹⁵⁷. Those four were equally responsible in bringing something forth. However, in the modern world, "the *causa efficiens*, but one among the four causes, sets the standard for all causality."⁹⁵⁸ Accordingly, Ramazan acts as if he is the *causa efficiens* of the Karagöz "art." He is the most important element in Karagöz performing.

It is also important that they even did not want to share their sources but signified some sort of equipment specially produced for them. Not only the art but also the tools for producing the artwork gained importance. Later it is required for those masters to face what they had done to the new generation of the performers because, independently, new masters continued to grow and made their names known. They performed their own plays, accessed the necessary information by their own means. Then this agreement was broken, the elder masters had changed their discourse by blaming each other. For example, an elder master Şaban says,

⁹⁵⁶ Heidegger, "The Question Concerning Technology," 6

⁹⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 6

⁹⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, 7

Last year, there was a seminar held by UNIMA led by Acar. The teachers were, Bayram, Ramazan and me. Despite the course was named as “Training on Karagöz”, they (the other masters) were teaching nothing to the students. Whenever I attempted to teach something, they were limiting, and warning me not to teach such and such things because they considered them as (potential) rivals.

The younger ones, having been obstructed by the elder masters for years, lost their faith in them and now are feeling no real respect for them. The new generation is researching Karagöz from the written sources rather than oral traditions, which is also another sign of modernization through that the written sources became more important than the oral sources like elder masters. Harun says, “They get upset for not being informed. ... Despite the agreement that they would not teach anything to the followers, a new generation has grown up by excluding them.” The new generation, now, is perfunctorily respecting them but no longer sees them as the knowledge trees. The master-apprentice chain, the importance of which was stressed in the nomination form of Karagöz, had been broken as well as the perception of the *fütüvvet* system inherited from the Ottomans.

The resentfulness of the elder masters was the result of this process. They feel like they have devoted their lives to Karagöz (and ruled the field actually) but gotten nothing in return. During the interviews, they continually stressed the things they have done for for Karagöz, how they contributed to that art, their collections in foreign museums, the money offered for those collections (they rejected because they thought that those collections should have been owned by their own country), etc., but got nothing in return. For example, Şaban says,

I share whatever I know but they only show me ingratitude. I tell someone something, three days later, it [information] turns against me, and he starts to say that he invented this or he did that... I have never heard from anyone saying that he took it from Şaban or his master is Şaban. Therefore, I am offended by them. The values become garbage in a very short time; they are immediately devalued. ... The oldies [our generation] are the goodies.

The memories of the two elder masters were overlapping. It was difficult to decide who was the real owner of these memories (about Germany of course) because, both of them were telling the same stories as they have lived through. However, the eldest master Bayram could have managed to have better relations with the new generation; he is talking about the new generation in a hopeful way. Even, he thinks in modesty that his time is up and the new generation will praise Karagöz. The other two masters talk about the younger masters in hesitation. From a different point, what they had lived through in dealing with Karagöz for years made them rigid, and they were puerilely protecting Karagöz indeed, as if they could

make Karagöz survive by keeping it secret. Therefore, only the deserved ones would be a performer if s/he dares to challenge them. Actually, that is totally in contrast to the emerging conditions and the character of Karagöz. Then it happened, the new generation had challenged both their knowledge and the performance in different ways. Later to be mentioned in UNIMA and UNESCO sections, such an in-fight among the Karagöz performers resulted in different attitudes towards the UNESCO process and the UNIMA's functions. It should be noted that some of the performers might have an obsession of being respected as *the* artists by the others.

Master – Apprentice Relationship

Although it is indicated as "...Master-Apprentice training has a vital role in safeguarding and developing this art"⁹⁵⁹ in the nomination form of Karagöz, the master-apprentice chain, as noted above, have broken; however, traditionally, it is preferred to have a name for a master and if possible an apprentice. Thus, every performer gave a name but as Acar said, this system is no longer meaningful. The LHT masters said that they had learned Karagöz by their own with the help of some noticeable Karagöz performers. For example, one of them, Şaban said that his grandfather was a Hayali too and a close friend of Katip Salih, Hayali Memduh, Kavuklu Hamdi and the antique dealer Cemalettin Saracoğlu. By this way, he said that his grandfather transmitted what he had learnt from those people to him. He also added that the technique he uses in making figures was his invention, which involves using electric soldering iron instead of *nevregan* knives for the holes on the figures. Şaban also said that he preferred to use the patterns of Hayali Nazif to make his figures in the classic tradition. On the other hand, Ramazan also said that he learned Karagöz by himself; his first figures were made up of cartoon based on the patterns of Ragıp Tuğtekin, given in a magazine. However, he said that he has officially no master/teacher. His style has emerged on the basis of the patterns of Ragıp Tuğtekin. The other LHT Bayram has said that Nureddin Sevin had accredited him in the seminar in 1973. In this seminar, Nureddin Sevin was teaching the theoretical part, Ragıp Tuğtekin was teaching the practical part consisting making patterns and cutting figures. Ragıp Tuğtekin had taken courses from Şevket Dağ the painter so he had learnt to draw his original patterns. Neşet Bey was teaching about painting and obtaining the madders (*kök boya*). Those three people had led this course for two years. Mülayim had also attended to this course. Nureddin Sevin had been accredited Bayram, and believed that he was

⁹⁵⁹ UNESCO, "Karagöz (Nomination Form)"

capable of performing Karagöz. However, Nureddin Sevin was not a Karagöz performer in the traditional sense. He was a professor at a university, indeed, graduated from a theater department in London. In this respect, Acar made it clear that many of the masters learnt Karagöz through courses and seminars. He says,

I have no mercy, I do not want to mention about the names but today, the masters over the age of 80 had never carried a chest of any master, and they had never been an apprentice to a specific master.

Despite the fact, UNESCO'S LHT program conditioned that those three LHT masters had to train apprentices in two years if they were going to keep their LHT status. Led by the UNIMA, in 2011, Karagöz performing and figure making seminar was held, at the end of which 23 students had their certificates. In this program, those three LHT masters were the main teachers. As a member of the UNIMA-İstanbul, Acar said that those three masters were recommended to select one or two students among the attendants, and train them as their apprentices; however, it was not managed, seemingly, the LHT conditions could not be applied.

In contrast to this claim, during the interviews, the LHT Şaban said that he have educated Celal as his apprentice since they met in 1998 in the Karagöz Performing Seminar by the Children Foundation. Celal also confirms that.

The LHT Ramazan personally told that he educated Acar, which is not validated by Acar. Acar, on the other hand, said that his grandfather introduced Karagöz to him. Later, *İhsan Dizdar* (1925-2000) had personally trained Acar, and Acar accepts him as his master instead of Ramazan. Besides, *İhsan Dizdar* was also the apprentice of *Minur Efendi* (Minur Kestiren) who was a Karagöz and puppetry performer and an illusionist, and the grand grandfather of Acar. *İhsan Dizdar* was also one of the teachers of the seminar held by the Children Foundation in 1998. *Dinç* said that he had learnt Karagöz figure making from his painting teacher, who was Ali Kiyak.

The other LHT master Bayram said that he had trained a person who is living in the Netherlands now; he did not give his name or did not give any other name belong to any of the interviewees. However, Harun had accepted him as an honorary master and Bayram validates it. Besides, Cafer and Berk also accepted their master as Bayram and declared that they had worked together for years but they had a conflict with him, which is not to be discussed here. Thus, Bayram rejects or at least did not say that Cafer and Berk were his apprentices by referring to the conflict they had.

As for the other interviewees, one of them is the grandson of *Hayali (Camcı) İrfan Açıkgöz* (1893-1963) and the nephew of *Nevzat Açıkgöz* (1942-1989). Nevzat Açıkgöz was an actor and a puppetry performer. Therefore, Sezgin said that he learnt Karagöz and puppetry from them; he puts his lineage of master-apprentice in that way. He said that despite the fact that he knew Karagöz performing very well, he rarely dared to perform because of his respect to that art. That is, not everyone should perform Karagöz.

The other performer Cenk said that he accepted Acar as his master. He says, “I met Karagöz through his help and guidance.” Moreover, the other performer, Aslan accepted Bayram as his master but they also had a conflict, and do not talk with each other at the time the conduct was held. Aslan added,

The internalized sickness of the Turkish people, which resembles to the combined vessels, has disseminated all over the other fields. They continuously level down each other. For that reason I am not interested in what the others are doing; besides, fidelity, love, respect were not the issues of those fields; it is disturbing to me, so I am doing my job without asking anything to the others.

He shortly says that he does not need any other name except for his own to perform Karagöz.

These master-apprentice relations are complicated, and resembles to having a true blood for Karagöz performing. Indeed, because Karagöz emerged as *technē*, as the thesis claims, the codes and the rules should be indefinite. Although Karagöz has taken its position in the “world picture” of modernity, the performers could not establish the codes yet; on the contrary, they are feeling that it is obligatory to have a master to introduce themselves as the true Karagöz performers. The performance itself is not enough to be recognized as a Karagöz performer; they also need to show



Figure 64
Figures
made by
Ramazan

their lineages of master-apprentice. So, rather than the performance, the names of the masters decide who is the real performer and who is not.

An interviewee, wanted to be anonymous for his words below, said that Cafer, Aslan and Celal were coming from the Tuğtekin School in terms of making figures and opening the holes on the leather. The most credited master representing this school today is Ramazan but all of the names above declare that their master is not Ramazan. Therefore, he said that, in this respect, Ramazan had technically trained more apprentices in number than any other masters did; but

this still does not explain the master-apprentice relation because they did not work with Ramazan at all. In other words, it was only a technical preference. This technique, used by both Ramazan and the others, was invented by Ragıp Tuğtekin and shortens the time of making figures, which is more practical but less traditional.

Anonymous interviewee explains the situation,

It does not matter who trained whom... Neither a master becomes a master for his apprentice, nor is an apprentice accredited for his master. The master-apprentice relation is a moral relationship. Neither a master nor an apprentice should see each other as rivals, if so then there had been no moral relation My first prestigious job was offered by my master, but I did not get such favors from those [three] “masters” because they had not had [real] masters! They are not representing any kind of tradition [they were not coming down from such a moral tradition].

Before the UNESCO [ICH program] process, many people used to see their antecedents as rivals. Whomever you ask, they were saying that they had no master; and masters were saying that they had no such apprentices. However, when the UNESCO process started, the masters are required apprentices and the apprentices are required masters. That is the matter.

Anonymous interviewee starts his statement as if he was closer to the idea that Karagöz is an art that had no rules, but finishes with saying having a real master, being descended through a moral master-apprentice relation is important.

Therefore, as it is seen, the master-apprentice relationship is a formality for now, but some of the interviewees said that they were able to date their masters three generations back in their lineages. After Following the UNESCO program and the Ministry of Culture in cooperation with UNIMA and the Turkish Directory of the ICH program of UNESCO subjected people dealing with “traditional arts,” such as Karagöz, puppetry, tannery, calligraphy, etc. to a test. These who are successful were given a certificate and recognized by the Ministry. Therefore, the problematic master-apprentice relation was solved in that way even before it was –re-established. Besides, Acar said that the only true list was that of the succeeded ones in the examination of the Ministry of Culture. By this way, they acquire a legal status as Karagöz performers. Actually, the close rulers-artisan relations to exclude “*koltuk*” artisans in the Ottoman context have been transformed into the state-artist relations in the Republic as in the same way to exclude “fake-performers” of today.

Another issue among the Karagöz performers was “*şed kuşanma*”, a ceremony of putting on a belt symbolizing mastery at the craft in *Ahi-Community* according to the *fütüvvet* rules. Some of the interviewees are giving an extra importance to this

because they believe that the mastery of a Karagöz performer could only be accredited by this ceremony.

Şaban says that it is a lie that some of today's Karagöz performers had done it. He says that he asked his grandfather and Cemalettin Saracoğlu if such a ceremony existed or not, they answered him as no. The matter is, if an apprentice was decided [by his master] to be devoted to the position of mastery, he had to perform a play before the five elder masters, and if he succeeded he was given permission to perform on his own but not in populated places for the first year in the Ottoman Empire. He says, "Is it possible to be an artist with a piece of rug [belt] on a waist? Of course not!" Şaban says that *Hayali* Küçük Ali had accredited his grandson Tuncay Tanboğa with "*şed kuşanma*" ceremony but Şaban does not accept that such a ceremony could qualify a Karagöz performer. On the other hand, Bayram accepts that, in the Ottoman Era, there have been such ceremonies, and this tradition should be kept at least in a theatrical way. Cafer said that the elder master Bayram had prepared a ceremony for him and Aslan, and they had put on a belt, which Bayram did not validate or even mention. Probably it was done for a theatrical symbolic purpose.

The issues on Karagöz, such as the mastery, the definition of it, the definition of "*Hayal*" and the apprentice are debatable because of the lack of evidence and written sources; therefore, those issues are easily manipulated and re-formed according to the self-interests. Nevertheless, the oldest written source mentioning about Karagöz performers belongs to Evliya Çelebi and he does not mention about any ceremony, as far as author examined, but claims that there are two types of performers: the noble and the ordinary ones. By the noble, he probably means those performing in the presence of the sultan. The information, that Karagöz performers had an organization administered by a *Kahya*, *Yiğitbaşı* and *Sandıkkar*, belongs to the early 20th century, and explains the effort of categorization and giving meaning to everything in terms of making it visible and predictable. Heidegger says, "The will to mastery becomes all the more urgent the more technology threatens to slip from human control."⁹⁶⁰ Not a special but an ordinary master-apprentice relation should have been existed in the Ottoman society because every kind of art that is not defined as fine art including tannery, ironworking or tailoring have the same kind of relations, and masters were ordinarily transmitting their skills to their apprentices.

⁹⁶⁰ Heidegger, "The Question Concerning Technology" 5.

Historical Knowledge on Karagöz

As it was mentioned before in the previous chapters, the debate about the origin of Karagöz is bottomless because of the lack of written sources and evidence. Based on the written sources and some of the other literary sources of neighboring cultures overtly mentioning about Karagöz in the Ottoman Empire, the most common idea has estimated that Karagöz was well known in the 16th century but should have been known since the 13th century. The main tendency among the Karagöz performers is that Karagöz and Hacivat were not real people living in Bursa and worked in the construction of *Ulucami*. They believed that Karagöz somehow came to the Ottoman territory as a shadow theater but was re-formed and re-shaped especially in İstanbul, and disseminated as Karagöz and Hacivat from İstanbul all over the world. The elder master Şaban says that the origin based on *Orhan Gazi* and the construction of *Ulucami* is a legend, there is no concrete evidence about it but it was a public make believe. In other words, public wished to believe that these characters had really lived. He says,

We researched it with Metin And, the oldest *tasvir* (figure) could be dated back to the 16th century, we saw two figures in the *Gazanferâğa Madrasah*... If there had been other figures, they must have reached to our time. Maybe they were not named as Karagöz, maybe they had been named as puppetry or something else, but not Karagöz. Metin And says that Yavuz Sultan Selim brought Karagöz [to İstanbul], we have to respect [to this statement]. I saw Egyptian Mamluks' figures in Oberhausen, Germany. They were black & white with one-meter length. They were made up of dark black leather and dressed up with papyrus papers to make them colorful. ... Karagöz had reached us from Egypt but returned to Egypt from us too. It was called *Karauz* [in Egypt], *Keçel Pehlivan* in Iran, and *Tayf-ı Hayal* in Iraq.



Figure 65 Egyptian Figures from Selim Nüzhet Gerçek

However, Acar claims that Metin And was mistaken. He says that the statement that Yavuz Sultan Selim had watched a Karagöz performer in Egypt and made him come to İstanbul was told as a rumor in that source. Acar believes that Karagöz had reached the Ottomans through the Silk and the Spice Roads from Khorasan. This claim is probably grounded on the writings of Farid ad-Din Attar, who mentioned a Turkish *Hayali* coming from Khorasan. Different kinds of shadow theaters had already been known among the societies gathered around these roads, which were ended in İstanbul and controlled by the Ottoman Empire for centuries. However, he also says that he takes kindly to those legends telling different stories about Karagöz and Hacivat, especially those claiming that they had really lived. Yet, he adds that those are not the issues of the

academic debates, those are the daily issues but when he is asked, he also tells the same stories in daily talks. He thinks that those stories are also part of the culture. He also says that for the sake of the positivistic approaches, denying such legendary stories of Karagöz would mean denying the public consensus despite his conviction that such issues are not the topics for academic study.

Besides, Celal argues that Karagöz could be dated even back to the time of the Hittites because, the two-dimensional figures they had carved on the gravures resemble to Karagöz and Hacivat, and they could be the proto-types of the shadow figures. However, there is also no concrete evidence (in positivistic sense) for his thesis.

According to Mülayim, art overcomes the barriers separating the cultures; it is inevitable. Maybe not Yavuz Sultan Selim himself but some of the janissaries had seen such an art and performed it in İstanbul because; it is a very strict statement to say that Yavuz Sultan Selim, himself, had brought Karagöz performers to İstanbul. Such kind of allegations could always be made, he added. Another interviewee Kadir says that there are six or seven legends about the origin of Karagöz but none of them can be proven. He thinks that the most ridiculous one is that based on the legend of *Orhan Gazi* and the *Ulucami* construction. The critical stance to these legends explaining the origins of Karagöz can also be considered as a reaction to the Municipality of Bursa, which claims Karagöz as a cultural element of Bursa for economic purposes.

According to another interviewee Aslan, the most realistic estimation is that of Metin And but he also adds that Farīd ud-Dīn Attār, who was a Persian poet lived between the years of 1136 and 1221, openly referred to the shadow theater. Therefore, the incident happened in the reign of Yavuz Sultan Selim proves only the stepping of Karagöz into the palace (as also the author of the thesis supports). Then, it was named as Karagöz rather than a simple shadow theater. He has also a thesis about this, which he could not have time to develop. He says,

He [Yavuz Sultan Selim] brought a Karagöz performer **to the palace**. I had a thesis, and I was about to write an essay named “the emergence of the name of Karagöz.” The name of Karagöz has emerged in the wedding ceremony of the Grand Vizier *Kara Öküz Mehmet Pasha*; I think it was in 1612. In addition, by the 17th century, Karagöz was begun to be mentioning in the written sources. Because the performance at that wedding was named as the play of *Kara-Öküz*, after that, this name turned into *Kara-göz*, and named as Karagöz Play. There is no such name as Karagöz before.

Mehmed Pasha the Black Ox was the grand vizier between the years of 1616 and 1619 in the Ottoman Empire. This claim dates Karagöz to the 17th century. However, during the reign of Kanuni Sultan Süleyman, it was known by the replies of Sheik-al Islam Ebussuud Efendi that Karagöz plays were performed with the name Karagöz.

Another elder performer Bayram says that he does not know much about the origin but every piece of information is suspicious because there is no written source. He says,

It is simple; whichever information [legend] you choose would be the correct origin of Karagöz [for you]. My teacher told me that it originated in Central Asia, I was convinced, and for me, it originates in Central Asia; that is it. What do the English people say for Shakespeare? They call it English. They rejected to open the grave and analyze him [They chose to continue with their existing information]. Today, Shakespeare has a house, a grave and a theater [in England]. Karagöz has a house, but damn! They had ruined it. He has a grave, but now every city tries to invent a grave for Karagöz, no matter as it does not harm. There are plays... So, what do you need more [to call it a unique theater of the Turks?]

Therefore, he prefers to rely on the information his teacher gave him, and does not mind where Karagöz is really originated. Cafer is also against the idea that Karagöz had come from Egypt to Turkey. He says that the Egyptian figures are black & white but the Turkish figures are in color. From the same family Berk interrupts and says that both Metin And and Cevdet Kudret are saying the same thing; even, Cevdet Kudret says that the contribution of the Turks in such a kind of *theater* is coloring the figures⁹⁶¹. However, Cafer says, he believes that Karagöz has reached İstanbul from East Turkestan. He reasons it in a way that if the colored figures were better, the Egyptians should be expected to use the colored figures instead of the black & white ones after that Karagöz has re-turned in Egypt from İstanbul. Having mentioned different legends about the origins of Karagöz, the youngest Karagöz performer Berk says that Karagöz does not need to have a legendary story behind, and he adds, “OK, knowledge is good but what is the logic of those claims [about the origins of Karagöz] if all were grounded on legends and hearsay?” He and Cenk point that the researchers can research as much as they want, but the performer does not need to. A performer should work for performing better. And Cenk adds, “Even though if I were an expert in Karagöz history, I would define it only by my performance on stage, *I am the performance* actually, no more or no

⁹⁶¹ It is better to remember the words of Şaban, “I saw Egyptian Mamluks’ figures in Oberhausen, Germany. They were black & white with one-meter length. They were made up of dark-black leather and dressed up with papyrus papers, which make them colorful.”

less.” By this way, according to Cenk, what makes Karagöz *the* Karagöz is the performer that is *causa efficiens* on the one hand, and what makes the performer the *artist* is the performance that is the *causa finalis* on the other. But *causa efficiens* still has the superiority. As if replying to both Berk and Cenk, Kadir says,

It is all included; there is no answer to the question of what Karagöz is today without arguing what it was before. Although Karagöz seems to be differentiated from the other branches [Meddah, Ortaoyunu and Puppetry] for its specific peculiarities, in the final analysis, it is a part of the Traditional Theater, a part of a **totality**. If you do not consider it within this totality, you may reach wrong inferences. Thus, they [the other Karagöz performers] are not capable of debating about Karagöz.

If he had stopped by the word “**totality**,” he would have had the most comprehensive explanation about the origins of Karagöz. However, in the final analysis, he defined himself as the authority in knowledge of Karagöz. It might be noticed throughout this chapter that Kadir is the one, who approaches Karagöz in a way closer to the concept of *technē*. He does not give a special importance to any of the causes; besides, he is the one who is in favor of change in every aspect of Karagöz. However, he sees himself as the most knowledgeable.

On the other hand, no matter how much expertise they have in the history of Karagöz, Metin And’s thesis claiming that Karagöz has come from Egypt by the force of Yavuz Sultan Selim is no longer popular among the performers. The performers have different views about the origins of Karagöz but also state that it is no use to discuss about the origins because there is no concrete evidence or written source to prove them. Even, the youngest performer goes further and say that Karagöz does not need to have an origin if it is being performed well without explaining the meaning of the term, “well.” The majority of them have been convinced that Metin And’s thesis is not grounded on concrete data as he presented once.

As mentioned above, Kadir also states that maybe not the debate on the origin but the history is important. His ideas can be formed in a way that if one does not know in which society such a performance was shaped, what it was presenting, which socio-historical conditions made it popular and what function it had, one cannot comprehend today’s conditions of Karagöz. In addition, the predictions for the future or the desire to modernize it are deeply related to the emerging condition of Karagöz. Rather than denying, at least having an idea in mind about the history probably makes the artist more comprehensible, according to him.

As for the characters of Karagöz and Hacivat, the interviewees have also different ideas. Some of them are pro-Karagöz and some of them are pro-Hacivat, which is highly related to the *fakelore* of the writers who re-defined the characters of Karagöz and Hacivat in the early years of the Republic. However, some who were graduated from a Theater and Drama Department at a university approach those characters more objectively and consider them in the context of the (modern) theatrical frame, such that those characters are compulsorily antagonistic; it does not matter one is called Karagöz and the other one is Hacivat. For example, Dinç, as quoted before, says,

I think there is no such contemplation behind those characters. Karagöz performers did not think like this. ... How does the comedy emerge? There should be two characters. If you have to vocalize both by yourself, speak continuously and want them to be totally different from each other, then what you do? Once you vocalize one with a deep sound and the other with a shrill sound. ... You make one of them talk billingsgate, the other talk politely. Then, you immediately create two characters differentiated at first glance. That brings us the comedy. I consider the issue like an actor not a sociologist; it makes the issue simpler. I mean there is no need to think much about writing a Karagöz play, the main issue is how to I get the comedy. ... In the Simpsons, is not Homer Simpson Karagöz? ... Or, in the Flintstones, Fred Flintstone is Karagöz and Barney Rubble is Hacivat.

Dinç graduated from the theater and drama department of İstanbul University. Having accepted Karagöz as a part of the dramaturgical art, his simple rules of the drama for Karagöz reminds Aristotle's views. Although Heidegger presents him as the very basis of the foundation of the modern philosophy and the fine arts, according to Aristotle, an artwork, for example a tragedy, which owes its being solely to man, is an imitation.⁹⁶² He says,

The objects the imitator represents are actions, with agents who are necessarily either good men or bad –the diversities of human character being nearly always derivative from this primary distinction, since the line between virtue and vice is one dividing the whole of mankind.⁹⁶³

Similarly, Dinç tells that those characters are representing the universal rules of the theater. Then he puts the difference of those two characters in a practical way for the comedy in Karagöz. The performers generally define and accept the characteristics of Karagöz and Hacivat in accordance with the perspectives of their masters or the people they had worked with. One of the main arguments about the characteristics of Karagöz and Hacivat is whether Karagöz is an illiterate person

⁹⁶² Aristotle, *Poietika (şiiir sanatı üzerine)*, 13.

⁹⁶³ Aristotle, *On The Art of Poetry*, 25-26.

and a gypsy and Hacivat is a man of letters. Especially the elder ones tend to purify the characters of Karagöz and Hacivat, and discharging Hacivat from being sneaky and Karagöz from being Gypsy. Alternatively, the younger ones are rather in a tendency to interpret Karagöz not as a person who is expected to act morally right but well-meaning in principle. However, to explain the difference in a more objective sense, Acar sociologically approaches the issue, he says,

First of all, all the historical changes have been reflected in Karagöz plays. As for the Gypsyishness of Karagöz, what would you do if you want to say something [critical on the stage] in the public space? You would create a character capable of saying it. You would create someone like Don Quixote, whom people does not mind and accept as a lunatic; therefore, [the performer] ascribes Gypsyishness to Karagöz in the same way that [he] ascribes madness to Don Quixote. People assume Karagöz talking in nonsense; they easily underrate him. All the Karagöz figures of the 17th century have the same symbol on their turban/hat that was a pair of tongs.

Having accepted Karagöz as a part of the culture, He says that actually the gypsy Karagöz is an attribution and a misleading interpretation of some of the *academicians*. He gives an example of a play performed in *Fethiye, Antalya* in the 19th century. According to the text, he says that it is obvious that the performer was speaking in the Kipchak language but he also knew Greek. In that play Karagöz says something (“Somboros Keros” that the author could not find the meaning, even the proper dictation of the words of Acar) that Hacivat cannot understand and asks what he means. Karagöz replies that it means “hello” in the gypsy language. Later, Acar says that all the researchers, even without seeing the original text, repeated the same mistake that Karagöz was a gypsy. The symbol that was placed on his hat in the 17th century were actually not referring to making pairs of tongs as the gypsies used to do for a living but to Karagöz’s job, who was a blacksmith. This is a more realistic attitude towards Karagöz. In general, Acar avoids attributing Karagöz a meaning with today outlook.

However, this should not be seen as the fault of the academicians. The texts of Hayali Nazif by the transcription of Hellmut Ritter and the others reached out to the contemporary times show that Karagöz, himself, is talking many times about his Gypsyishness in the plays as noted in the previous chapters. Acar is very enthusiast and fond of researching as a Karagöz performer and a lecturer at a university; the second-generation Karagöz performers also respect him; however, it has to be said that he has a chilly attitude against the researchers who are not a performer at the same time. He claims that many researchers had created not only a *fake-lore* in the first years of the Republic but also created fake-researches.

Despite that his ex-assistants Cafer and Filiz say that he is used to become angry if anyone calls Karagöz a gypsy, Bayram, an elder master, says that he does not mind if Karagöz is gypsy or not. However, those ex-assistants say that Bayram acts as if he is Karagöz himself; once someone called Karagöz as Gypsy, he acted as if s/he called him Gypsy or called his son Gypsy. They added that he truly engaged in a quarrel. Filiz said that Bayram was against the idea that Karagöz was a Gypsy and insisted on that Karagöz have never tried wine once in his life. On the contrary, in the thesis interview with him, Bayram says,

Gypsy? My God... If my family/lineage was searched, God knows to what it would reside. Or yours? Who knows from where it originates? Do you watch *Kanuni*⁹⁶⁴? ... The Great Pasha Ibrahim is a Devshirmeh! Look where he was coming from. Come off it for God sake! I accepted Karagöz as Karagöz. Karagöz is Karagöz; that is all. It does not matter if he is a Gypsy, or a Jew. He is Karagöz, no ifs, ands or buts about it! Does calling him Gypsy degrade him? [No]

Having performed Karagöz for 60 years, he probably gave up talking about the origin of Karagöz. Bayram and Mülayim had attended the same course, which was given by Nureddin Sevin in 1973; therefore, both have the same idea about the characteristics of Hacivat that was implanted by Sevin. Bayram rejects the idea that Hacivat is sneaky and sets traps to deceive Karagöz. According to him, Hacivat is like today's intellectual university-graduate; he has never performed Hacivat acting devilishly. On the contrary, Karagöz is an illiterate but a good-hearted person for him. However, Dinç challenges the idea by asking whether Hacivat had a good command of the palace literature ("*Divan Edebiyatı*" in Turkish). He says that, at that time, no printed source was available and those performers were ordinary people, some of them were glassmakers, some of them were shoemakers, etc. So, he asks, "how do we expect those performers to have a good command of a palace literature?" Indeed, it is impossible to know it for certain, but it is obvious that a kind of a customary practice, which the performers have been following the Karagöz plays, was established; besides, those characters were the satirical reflections of those encountered in the society. Therefore, it can be considered that many customs have lost their original meaning and even the practitioners have forgotten why they follow those customs but they are still in use. Also, the coffeehouse functioned as places where people communicate publicly ; before the coffeehouses, the mosques and the bathhouses did the same. Thus, it is possible for the Karagöz

⁹⁶⁴ TV series telling about the story of Hürrem Sultan the wife of Kanuni and the time of 16th century, named as "Muhteşem Yüzyıl" (Magnificent Century). Okay, Meral. *Muhteşem Yüzyıl*. Directed by Yağmur & Durul Taylan. Produced by Timur Savcı. Performed by Halit Ergenç, Meryem Üzerli, Nebahat Çehre, & Okan Yalabık. 2011.

performers be aware of the court literature. On the other hand, there were also palace performers. Essentially, Dinç tries to explain Karagöz as a part of a theater, which was founded on the conflicts between the characters.

The difference of the performers in their interpretation of the features to Karagöz and Hacivat is highly related to their background. As mentioned before, those elder masters have been exposed to the policies of RPP on the folk culture, and seemingly adopted the changes in the characters of Hacivat and Karagöz as RPP imposed. On the other hand, Sevin⁹⁶⁵ probably could not objectively approach to the issue about Hacivat's sneaky attitude because he and Sevin were indeed the products of the same high culture.

Another elder interviewee, Şaban is also sensitive about the other types presented in the Karagöz plays, he especially emphasizes the Jew. He says that the Jew is unfairly depicted in Karagöz plays, who was always a poor, a clamorous or a coward person, but in the Ottoman Empire, there were really respected Jewish people, really "rich ones" (seems as if money would bring respect). Having referred to the past, he says, "If I were [the Premier Erdoğan], I would not come into conflict with the Jewish community." (The Davos Crisis happened between Turkish Premier R. Tayyip Erdoğan and Israel President Shimon Peres two years before the interview was conducted, and the relations were still tense). Besides, Şaban is also critical about the presentation of the Turkish type in the old plays. He argues that *Himmet* the Turk is presented as a rude and uncomprehending person but he was not so in reality. He says, "In *Ödüllü* (The Wrestlers) play for example, Hacivat calls him 'Oh! Big Himmet, as long as you maintain your imposing look, no one could defeat you.'" This time, Şaban tries to discharge both the Jewish and the Turk from their established peculiarities for centuries.

The general tendency of the performers shows that Karagöz is a pure-hearted but an illiterate person; in addition, he has to show the defective points of the society

⁹⁶⁵ Ministry of Culture has given the short biography of Nureddin Sevin as,

Writer and translator (b. 1900, İstanbul – d. 1975). After he graduated from İstanbul Robert College (1917) and the Teacher Training School for Men (1923), he studied at the West Theatre School in London. When he returned to Turkey (1923), he worked as a teacher in İstanbul at Kabataş High School for Boys and as a faculty member at the Faculty of Political Sciences and the State Conservatory.

"Nureddin Sevin," (Republic of Turkey Ministry of Culture and Tourism. 2005, accessed May 11, 2013) available from <http://www.kultur.gov.tr/EN,38744/sevin-nureddin.html>

It was also known that his family had been educated in the palace, and he was known for being as Gentlemen of İstanbul, who was a specialist of the Turkish phonetics.

through his own experiencing. However, some of them are also aware that Karagöz never directly shows what is right and what is wrong in the society. Cenk thinks that Karagöz is not a didactic character. He says,

I do not like to make Karagöz say “look that is right [or that is wrong]” or, “children you should brush your teeth” because, he is not a kind of man like that [it is against to his very character]. On the contrary, he always does the wrong things, and Hacivat tells him the righteous things but Hacivat is not a truly right man by the way. I am reflecting such things in the plays even if I perform to my own son, I do not hesitate to show that Hacivat earns money by making Karagöz work. The matter here is to show children that they should use what they have learnt from this play in their real life.

Therefore, he re-posed Karagöz philosophically in a different way in contrast to those who attribute Karagöz a didactic role. This statement also proves that Karagöz became a performance specifically addressing to children.

Whatness of Karagöz

Karagöz is...

As for the question of what Karagöz is, the performers differ from each other in terms of generations but the theater-graduates, again, approach the issue in a modern theatrical framework; for example, Dinç says that Karagöz belongs to the Asian Theater Tradition. The elder performers approach the issue more idealistically, they have a strict picture of Karagöz in their mind; however, the young performers are more flexible and opposing the idealization of Karagöz. The elder performers have certain principles about what Karagöz and a performance should be. Even, they have certain rules about the technique. Indeed, such idealizations are generally related to desire for searching a place for Karagöz among the respected arts and its aestheticization in the modern sense. The younger generation, who claims to some extent that Karagöz should have no rules, is closer to the understanding of the term *technē* that covers all actions of bringing forth. Nevertheless, they still have a rule that Karagöz has to be considered among the respected arts. This demand is a constant for all of the performers.

First of all, Acar puts the difference of Karagöz from the other traditional types of shadow theaters. Acar is also against calling Karagöz as a shadow theater because its reflections on the scene are colorful but not black & white. He also reminds that Georg Jacob started his book by the sentence that “Karagöz cannot be called as a shadow [theater] but...” Therefore, Acar prefers to define Karagöz as a “technique of the reflecting picture.” He says,

A tradition of the shadow theater has already been existed at that time in Europe. Some of the European researchers drew a roadmap; accordingly, the shadow theater followed a course starting from China and passing to Indonesia, to India, then with the help of the Gypsy people to Arabia, Egypt, then to Turkey and ends in Europe finally. There was already a kind of shadow theater in Europe, I could not manage to reach the original source yet, but a Polish researcher had also written about it.

There are other ancient sources, for example, [one is] comparing the Eastern and the Western shadow theaters. They had tried to define the shadow theater in the East by associating it to those performed in Venice. Nevertheless, the European researchers had put a difference [for the Eastern Shadow Theater] that is being colored because they had already a black and white silhouette theater in Europe. They have called that theater as the “Théâtre D'ombre (Shadow) [in French] or Schatten (Shadow) Theater” [in German]. If there had been no such difference then why they had called Karagöz as the “Ombre Shines” (Shining Shadows) [in French]. Why did the French people call it the “Ombre Shines” in the 18th and the 19th centuries? Because, it is different. The history of Karagöz will change as we learn more.

He also states that he used to define the difference between Karagöz and the Chinese Shadow theater in terms of the *style of holding the rods* inserted into figures. Nevertheless, he had changed his mind with the latest researches of Fan Pen Chen at NY University, which revealed that there are different styles of shadow theaters in China, one of which performed mainly in Hong Kong where there was an oldest trade port mainly occupied by the Arab and the Jewish colonies in the 6th century. Those traders were travelling directly to Iran and from there to Europe. He tries to say that rather than the course drawn by the many European researchers for the dissemination of the shadow theater, the new researches show that there were alternative roads throughout which the shadow theater might have diffused. Therefore, the theater known as the shadow is very different from the theater of Karagöz. He was blaming the Western researches for imposing their own reality. He is also critical about the researches, conducted in the first quarter of the Turkish Republic, and he is naming them as fake-researches. He said that Karagöz was highly manipulated by those researches.

Most of the Karagöz performers are in search of the “essence” actually. According to Heidegger,

If we speak of the "essence of a house" and the "essence of a state," we do not mean a generic type; rather we mean the ways in which house and state hold sway, administer themselves, develop and decay -the way in which they "essence".⁹⁶⁶

⁹⁶⁶ Heidegger, "The Question Concerning Technology," 30

Socrates and Plato already think the essence of something as what essences, what comes to presence, in the sense of what endures. But they think what endures as what remains permanently [*das Fortwährende*] (*aei on*). And they find what endures permanently in what, as that which remains, tenaciously persists throughout all that happens. That which remains they discover, in turn, in the aspect [*Aussehen*] (*eidōs, idea*), for example, the Idea "house."⁹⁶⁷

Therefore, the elders' search for the essence is rather Socratic and Platonic whereas the younger generation's search for the essence is more akin to Heideggerian notion of "essencing." Especially what Sevim, a female performer performing a shadow theater other than Karagöz, wants to do is to let Karagöz essence through administering itself including developing and decaying.

In the light of those explanations, Şaban, as an elder performer, says that Karagöz is a very deep issue; it includes music, knowledge of setting, public stories, etc. Everything exists in it. On the other hand, Ramazan says that crashing Karagöz to Hacivat or making them collide is not a Karagöz performance, performing Karagöz means being Karagöz; feeling it inside. He says that he has been performing for sixty years but he still does not see himself as a master; he prefers to say that he *is trying* to perform Karagöz for sixty years. Hence, Karagöz is such an art that requires expertise and mastery. He also adds, "Karagöz is a sufistic performance and very powerful in that. Karagöz is open [-theater], open to modernization and open to follow the daily agenda. Yet, there is no such thing as music *of* Karagöz but there is music *in* Karagöz." He also disapproves such debates as well as the album named "Music of Karagöz." However, an open-theater is expected to be open to all possibilities including the music indeed.

The third elder performer Bayram says that Karagöz does not much differ from any regular theater, the only difference is, one is performed in front of the curtain (before the audience), and the other one is performed behind the curtain. Besides, he adds that this is a disadvantage for Karagöz because the performer cannot see the audience. He also supports the Şaban's idea that if "everyone and his uncle" who were just capable of holding the rods become a Karagöz performer than this art would vanish. Then, Karagöz performing is no longer defined by the term *bringing-forth*. It requires to find a beauty in the work, for which not everybody is capable. That is, Karagöz, as an art, has already been stolen from all beings.

⁹⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, 30

The theater-department-graduate Dinç says, “Turkey has really a unique art of puppetry that excites the whole world; if it was not so then I could not go all over the world and perform Karagöz.” However, he utters that everyone respects that art except for the Turks. Actually, it shows that the transition to the aesthetic realm is not completed yet in Turkey. He had taken a course from Prof. Süheyl Ünver, who defined Karagöz and Puppetry belonging to the base arts (“*Süfli Sanatlar*” in Turkish). Ünver had divided arts into three, high arts, middle arts and base arts. For example, a dentist is in the category of high arts, a carpet weaver is in the category of the middle arts, and Karagöz belongs to the base arts. Yet, Dinç adds that those people dealing with the puppetry and Karagöz as the base arts have already other kinds of jobs to make their livings. After those explanations, he says that everyone is searching the ancient form of Karagöz worthy of a museum today; they were searching the original, traditional, authentic form of Karagöz. He says, “They are trying to answer to the question of what it *was*; whereas, I am trying to find what kind of Karagöz today’s audience would watch if Karagöz managed to reach out us uninterruptedly.” His idea shows a parallelism with those of Sevim.

Sevim, actually, does not perform Karagöz. She and her friend are searching what would be the shadow theater of Turkey today. They disagree with the idea that a shadow play cannot be called a shadow play if it is not Karagöz. In contrast to the elders who strictly define Karagöz, Dinç and Sevim are trying to present a kind of Karagöz that has no essence in a Socratic or a Platonic sense. She also states that they are not interested in perpetuating the traditional Karagöz but interested in what is left over from that tradition. She says,

We are actually not performing Karagöz; we are performing a shadow play by using the same technique. We are performing a shadow play with the unique figures but the technique, the lightening, curtain, and the rods are all the same as in Karagöz. Only one Karagöz performer came and watched our play, they are in difficulty to accept the existence of a shadow theater other than Karagöz. The world’s approach to the issue is also the same. The more it is base/superficial, or actually primitive, the more it is appreciated because they rather want to see us with the orientalist glasses. They generally prefer us to deal with our art in primitive forms; they do not want us to develop our art [filtered from a tradition].

In other words, while they are challenging the traditional forms of Karagöz, most of the other performers degrade them for performing a *de-formed* Karagöz, which would be the natural course of shadow play indeed. The third challenge they have to deal with is the limitation of the orientalist view that puts them in a lantern. As if to validate the comments of Sevim about the other Karagöz performers, Kadir says, “If you deal with a puppetry without *Ibiş*, and a shadow theater without Karagöz,



Figure 66 the scenes from the Play of “Lahana Sarma”. The figures were made by Sevim. The second picture shows how the figures would be if they went out of the shadow play and enter into a three-dimensional world. Two techniques are merged in one play

then you become a performer with no opportunity to perform.” He briefly says that there is no Shadow theater of Turkey other than Karagöz.

Dinç also says that the Karagöz episodes composed of the fantastic and legendary stories and elements are most important to him but

people generally stress the function of the political satire of Karagöz. He also differentiates Karagöz by its separate four parts (Prolog, Dialog, Episode, Finish) from the other types of shadow theaters. According to him, without that quadruple structure, it cannot be called Karagöz but a shadow theater in which Karagöz is happens to be leading character. He is not against the other types of shadow theaters but differentiates Karagöz in that way. He continues with the logic of the Asian audience,

The audience of the Asian theater is prisoned in a square, and search for the routes from one corner to the other within that square. Going out of the square does not excite them but the different routes, searching for the best route, makes them excited.

He says that Karagöz belongs to the Asian theater tradition; therefore, it is not a surprise that countless performers in the Ottoman Empire were performing a very limited number of plays. In fact, the Asian audience could easily spot those differences in the same plots. He also gives an example that the Turkish films, made in the 60s, 70s and the 80s, are being repeatedly broadcasted on TV, and they are still being watched. Karagöz should be considered within these conditions. Finally, he adds that a good play flows from the unknown to the known indeed, but although the audience knows what will happen in the episodes they continue to watch it. That is the logic of the audience of the Asian Theater.

According to Celal, Karagöz is already called as “*Hayal*,” which means “Imagination” in English, therefore, for centuries, everything was possible in Karagöz, and the imagination of the *Hayali* was the limit. On the other hand, according to Mülayim, Karagöz was a mirror of the Ottoman society but not very comprehensive because women did have a very low status in the Ottoman society. They were treated as a second-class citizen, and therefore they were not represented realistically in the Karagöz plays. Mülayim also approaches the issue

from a theatrical perspective by saying that the theater has been rooted in religious beliefs in general. Since the time of Dionysus, every kind of theater has grounded on mystical dramas. He says that, *as an art*, the theater was grounded on the religious rituals; therefore, it is expected for Karagöz (as an art) to include sufistic elements. Sufistic part pedagogically contributed Karagöz. He also says that Karagöz is not a mere fantasy, it tried to show the reality of the society that originated in the public with; therefore, the Turkish theater tradition has much to learn from Karagöz.

Another interviewee, Aslan, said that he coincidentally met with Karagöz and was prejudiced at the beginning because he was graduated from a western school of drama, and imagined himself performing Brecht's or Shakespeare's plays. After meeting with Karagöz, he has totally changed his mind. He said that he understood that Karagöz was a depiction of such an enchanted world; it is a kind of a fantastic travel. On the other hand, he says that Karagöz is an objector, an antagonist. He mentions about the resemblance between the *Commedia Dell'Arte* and Karagöz but also talks about the realism in Karagöz. He adds that Karagöz is a living art, one can easily see that in the TV series, or in the neighborhoods one lives. The Karagöz plays were extracted from the real life. He considers that the best arts to explain the spirit of the Turkish public are the art of Turkish paper marbling and Karagöz. He says,

People say, "I am from *Bornova* or *Karşıyaka*" instead of *Izmir*, or "*Of*" instead of *Trabzon...*" Now, I can easily catch those details after I started to deal with Karagöz. Karagöz give me another point of view, it taught me to filter the dynamics of the culture I live in, and I managed to diminish the distance between people and me. How many of us question our beliefs? We are Muslims throughout many generations; we are the children of the Muslim parents, just like Karagöz. When you were asked, you may not give a precise answer but you are in it. However, I am questioning, I am trying to be skeptical, therefore I can reach the truth, otherwise it (Karagöz) remains dogmatic.

He is against using secondhand information about what Karagöz is. His main point is to break the so-called authority of the elders, whom he thinks repeating the same mistakes without going through the original sources and without questioning them. On the other hand, he uses Karagöz as means to understand the society he lives in. He is not in search of what Karagöz was; rather, he deals with Karagöz for philosophical reasons.

According to Harun, Karagöz includes but itself is beyond of every kind of theater. However, the main characteristic of Karagöz is the political satire in contrast to the fantasy that Dinç emphasizes. He says,

Karagöz has always frightened those in power because he speaks plainly and insolently [through entertaining], but he is somehow untouchable. For example, one can continue to watch Karagöz even if one becomes the subject of Karagöz's criticism, one does not say anything or get angry because Karagöz also makes one laugh. Maybe one will get hurt but not say anything to Karagöz in reply. Karagöz is as such.

Besides, he also defines Karagöz as absurd, fantastic, classic, open, close, etc. Karagöz includes all of them at once. He also adds that Karagöz includes the most of the art schools but is beyond them. Cenk also shares the same ideas but he stresses the fantastic and the absurd peculiarities of Karagöz more than the political satire. He says that Karagöz is the origin of the other types of theaters especially the epic theater. Even he says that Karagöz is the origin of the cinema today. The other performers have also mentioned about this issue and claim that Lotte Reiniger⁹⁶⁸ who was the first to develop a stop motion film was also inspired by Karagöz. Ramazan had personally met her, and said that she had stated that she was inspired by Karagöz. All the elder performers also mentioned her. In these conditions, performers attributed Karagöz a great importance as the father of the cinema.

Cenk stresses that the entertaining part of Karagöz was forgotten, he grounds his plays on absurdity and entertainment. He is against defining any art as *traditional*. He says that, for Karagöz, the *tradition* should mean being performed since the ancient times instead of being performed exactly as it was. He argues that the *natural course* of Karagöz has been limited into and manipulated through a strict structure. So, he is against calling Karagöz as a traditional theater, he rather prefers to call it as Turkish Karagöz Theater.

The younger generation is against any idealization of Karagöz, which was also supported by Dinç and Harun. Berk and Cenk say that every performer should be free in performing Karagöz; a performer should perform as s/he pleases to do. Cenk says,

⁹⁶⁸ She is a German artist lived between 1899-1981. She and her husband had managed to shoot a video that had took three years to make. The video could be found in YouTube with the name of "The Adventures of Prince Achmed." Reiniger, Lotte. *The Adventures of Prince Achmed*. Directed by Lotte Reiniger. 1923-26.

It is ridiculous to put rules. I always ask "why not?" Everything can be possible [in Karagöz], why not? Some perform in this way, some in that way and some in another way. Some have this kind of audience; some have that kind of audience. Some performers may be known by performing grotesque Karagöz, some by epic Karagöz, some by dramatic Karagöz and some by tragic... I do not see why not.

In sum, it becomes clear that, for the performers, Karagöz includes every kind of theater but is also beyond them, they attribute a very high value to Karagöz. The elder ones have a more rigid picture of it, the theater graduates display a more academic approach and the younger generation prefers totally to be free in the style of performing. However, it is obvious that every performer is deeply connected to Karagöz, and believes that it is an enchanted art that requires a complete devotion. But the most striking comment comes from Acar that Karagöz is not a shadow theater but an art of reflecting pictures. As a support, Harun briefly says,

Karagöz is as such that it is the history, sociology, psychology, art, theater... If Karagöz is researched in detail, one can encounter with many different folks, can follow the living history and the past events, and observe the sociology of such a big geography, which includes Middle Asia, China, Anatolia, and the Balkans.

Therefore, the younger generation, who considers Karagöz as an open-form, free field of art, supporting the idea that Karagöz has no rules at all, which is closer to Karagöz as "bringing-forth" only. They are open to any type of Karagöz that deals with any peculiarity of Karagöz, such as absurdity, comic, political satire or fantasy; on the other hand, they accept that Karagöz is overarching any definition.

Being a Hayali is...

As for the definition of *Hayali*, again, there are differences between the generations about how they consider a *Hayali* should be. Today, a *Hayali* should mean something special in the modern world so that Karagöz can be placed among the respected arts. The more the definition of *Hayali* covers distinctive techniques, aesthetic figures and high profession, the more it gets a chance to be accepted as a legitimate field of the (fine) arts in the context of the performers' explanations, however, the elders have stricter definitions.

The elder performers have definite rules about being a *Hayali*. Accordingly, only those performers who master music, literature, painting, theater and daily agenda deserve to be named as *Hayali*. Şaban says,

Artist [Hayali] is not the one playing with the rods inserted to figures and repeating the words "vay Hacivat! vay Karagöz!". He has to represent his

country well in foreign receptions; he has to know politics, has to know psychology, have a good command of literature, be capable of controlling the ambience, and have a good command of audience's psychology behind the curtain. ... *Hayali* means a complete artist. He has to have a good command of painting, music, literature, folk literature, pedagogy, psychology and dramaturgy. Playing with rods behind the curtain is not performing Karagöz.

He also says that *Hayali* must know the "*Kar-i Kadim*" Plays; at least, must be capable of performing a few of them. Besides, if a performer would write new plays, they should be in accordance with the tradition, with those *Kar-i Kadim* Plays. Those new plays have to maintain the four-part-structure of Karagöz, if any of them is missing then he says that the performer is not a *Hayali*. A *Hayali* must be capable of mimicking at least 20 figures among the main characters and 40 figures among the secondary characters. He must also be capable of mimicking animals, wind, etc. only then he could be a complete artist. The other important thing for a *Hayali* is to make his/her own figures.

The other elder performer Ramazan supports Şaban by saying that a *Hayali* must know music, can do his/her own figures, must be riposte, know about daily agenda and follow the daily issues. However, the important thing here is making own figures again. He says that a performer who cannot make his/her own figure/*tasvir* cannot be a *Hayali*.

On the contrary, according to the third elder performer Bayram, a *Hayali* does not have to make his own figures/*tasvirs*, but he prefers to do so. He also says that the figures of *Hayali Küçük Ali* were not good but he used to make his own figures. It can be considered as custom but not a necessity. Furthermore, he gives an example from the past that many Karagöz performers used to hire Karagöz figures from Naşit Bey (the father of Adile Naşit and Selim Naşit Özcan) in the Coffeehouse of Arab Mehmet in Tahtakale.

One of the second generation *Hayalis*, Harun explains making one's own *tasvirs* rather in a technical way. He says that there is a difference between performing his own *tasvirs* and someone other performers' *tasvirs*. He adds that when he performs with his own *tasvirs* he knows how this *tasvir* behaves. For example, he knows which part of it would curl first when it gets hot, and what kinds of action could prevent it. In other words, performing with familiar *tasvirs* is an advantage for a performer. This idea is also supported by his apprentice Deniz, but Deniz says that he establishes an emotional connection with the *tasvir* he personally created. Besides, Sevim said that making her own *tasvir* is a kind of a rehabilitation for her.

Therefore, the general tendency to make one's own *tasvirs*. In this context, Harun says,

It resembles to the difference between the executor/interpreter and the artist. I am playing *saz* for example, but I am not a musician, I am also playing the reed flute but I am still not a musician. I am only re-playing what was composed already and I am enjoying. But, the composer is the real musician, s/he is the artist; I am only the executor/interpreter, that is what I think. Besides, there are also others playing any written note without interpretation [as a secretary]. That is not what an artist or a creator is. Karagöz is alike this, [Karagöz artist is the one who] makes his own figures, writes his own plays, prepare his own curtain... See the knives there? We are producing them ourselves am making them myself, and we reached such a level that we almost produce our own leather...

These statements summarize the perception of the artist for the most of the performers.

According to one interpretation, the philosophical teachings of Karagöz are based on the idea that *Hayali* resembles to God and the screen represents the universe. At the will of God/*Hayali*, the universe is created and spoiled continually. Therefore, the perception of the *Hayali* is presented as the one who has the God Complex⁹⁶⁹ indeed. As the man posited himself in the midst of everything, and objectified the other beings in modernity, he attributed himself the divine features knowing and controlling the world. A *Hayali* is presented almost as a perfect artist that cover all the other fields of the modern arts, such as music, theater, literature, etc., which is a long way off from the emerging conditions of Karagöz as *technē*. Besides, Hayali should make his own figures.

⁹⁶⁹ "God Complex" was presented to the field of psychology first by Alfred Ernest Jones (1879-1958), who was a British neurologist and psychoanalyst. God Complex is explained by the illusion of unlimited personal potential, Jones says,

... In any event, he insists that it is peculiar to himself, apart, and unique. (In general, nothing offends such a man as the suggestion that he resembles someone else, whether it be in hand-writing, in personal appearance, in capacity, or in conduct.) The veil of mystery and obscurity that he casts over himself is naturally extended so as to cover all those pertaining to him.

Jones, Ernest. "The God Complex," in *Essays in Applied Psycho-Analysis: Vol. II essays in Folklore, Anthropology and Religion*, by Ernest Jones, 254-266. (London: The Hogarth Press, 1951), 251-252.

Any advice that they gave would be so precious and important that not to follow it would surely be disastrous. (*Ibid.*, 259).

The resentment with which these men observe the growing prominence of younger rivals forms a curious contrast to another character-trait, namely their desire to protect. They are fond of helping, of acting as patron or guardian, and so on. All this, however, happens only under the strict condition that the person to be protected acknowledges his helpless position and appeals to them as the weak to the strong; such an appeal they often find irresistible. (*Ibid.*, 262).

To continue with the elder performer Bayram, except for the idea that one needs to make his own *tasvirs*, it can be said that he agrees with the other two elder performers about the features of *Hayali*. He says,

First of all, you have to love this job; it is valid for every job indeed, but you must be crazy to do this job. Actually, all artists are a little bit crazy, they are not normal. If you are an artist, you have to be beyond the normal, which is a must. Later, you have to study/explore what it is, what its peculiarities are, etc. For example, you have to know the history of Karagöz, what had been said about it, what had been done, what the types of plays are, etc. Today, researchers writing articles do not know what it was in the past. If you do not know, you shall not speak about it.

Therefore, he gives a special meaning to being an artist that is as an abnormality. Besides, according to Bayram, a *Hayali* has also to be good at repartee, be intellectual, have a good command of theater, even it is better for him/her going on stage because in the Ottoman society, a *Hayali* was also an actor in *Ortaoyunu*. A *Hayali* has to have knowledge of music, it is better for him/her to play an instrument, and most importantly, *Hayali* has to have a good command of *tempo*. For example, he has to know the tempo of the Spanish music, ballet, orchestra, waltz, etc. Whatever the music requires, *Hayali* has to know all the tempos for it. *Hayali* has to know tempos of tango, waltz, rumba and *çiftetelli*. He briefly says that a *Hayali* has to be a *competent artist*. Moreover, a performer could only be a *Hayali* after a long-term apprenticeship but the problems about this relationship has been discussed already. Even if they (the elders) had not lived through and experienced such kind of “moral” master-apprentice relationship, they put it as a requirement for being a *Hayali*. The elder masters give an extra importance to the long-term apprenticeship, they are talking about what it was but not offering any idea about what it should be today. The *Hayali* for those three masters is such a kind of a person who should know everything actually. Without being certain and knowing what it was in the past, they have developed discourse in their minds and making it hard to be a *Hayali* with these invented rules.

However, the conditions they put forward being a *Hayali* is already making it impossible for the new comersto be a *Hayali* so, at least, their mastery is kept unquestionable. This is another unconscious tactic of the elder masters to control the environment and their place in the market. Therefore, with those invented traditions passed from ear-to-ear, Karagöz has become such *an art* hard to be performed. It was re-formed as a noble art rather than *technē* by putting rigid rules and dressing it up with mystical characteristics by the elder masters. Yet, as Dinç would say the *Hayalis* of the past were the popular folk artists of their times. Those

qualities were not required for a person who wanted to be a Karagöz performer, but those who had them, became probably more popular.

As another elder performer and researcher, Kadir defines the Karagöz performer in another way, which is not limited in terms of the features of *Hayali*. In contrast to the definition of the other elder masters, he says,

[Hayali is the] one and only person to make all the figures speak. He is the undertaker, director, and he is the writer because there is improvisation in the performance of the plays. He is the stage manager because he manages the assistants. He can also take part in *Ortaoyunu* and *Tuluat* Theater and can be *Meddah* because of these qualities. That is already the definition of the ancient Karagöz artists.

The main problem is related with the desire the most of the contemporary Karagöz performers to define themselves as (modern) artists, and attribute an utmost value to the Karagöz performance in contradistinction to the Ottoman Karagöz performer who was just a skillful artisan.

On the other hand, Sevim, who complains about the Karagöz performers rejecting any kind of shadow theater other than Karagöz and setting strict traditional limits, says that everybody cannot perform Karagöz. According to her, one has to mimic perfectly, sing well, follow the agenda and the daily issues, and need to know many accents. S/he has to be very capable, a good actor, and has to have the ability of improvising. Besides, all those have to exist at the same time in one person. More importantly, she mentions the requirement of the ability to give *soul* to the performance. She says that a *Hayali* needs to give soul to the art, and she states that today's performers lack it. She also stresses the importance of a theater education or being an actor for a *Hayali*. That is, having a modern theater education is required so that, Karagöz acquires a position among the dramatic arts.

In contrast, Dinç says that if they (the ancient performers) were so capable to manipulate the society and raise awareness of the public, and such wise and influential people in forming the public opinion; they should have left other kinds of works/productions. Yet, they had left nothing but Karagöz. He says, "on the contrary, one of them was a glassmaker, one of them a grocer for example." He continues,

If you look at the occupations, you would see that they were not the occupations of the men of letter indeed, those people were not the philosophers but they were the men of people, the men on the streets. If you go to coffeehouses today, you can still encounter such people talking influentially. Talking itself provides a person a social relief. A Karagöz

performer is not a philosopher but the plays might have been resulted in that way. This art is a folk art eventually; we should not exaggerate it that much.

He is different from the rest of the interviewees in terms of approaching to Karagöz in dramatical framework. At least, he is aware that Karagöz was part of the culture like horse riding or smoking tobacco or shoe making. In addition, he says that Karagöz is an art that should be performed without thinking (has to be automatic). If one (*Hayali*) reads from a text during the performance, performs a few times in a year and asks his/her apprentice to hand him/her the figures on the stage during the performance, one cannot be a Karagöz performer because, the audience feel one-second-lapse as if it is a one-hour in theaters. He states that eventually it is a comedy; a performer should not give the audience a chance to think, if she thinks then you lose her, because she stops listening. This is the brief definition of *Hayali* for Dinç. He also says that he tries to do the same; he tries to act as if he is a man of people. He also states that he neither idealize Karagöz nor *Hayali*.

Therefore, *Hayali* is strictly defined by the elder masters but understood as an open-ended position for the second and the third generations except for Sevim, who is doing another kind of a shadow theater rather than Karagöz. The second and the third generations also got bored of such strict definitions of *Hayali*, but they think that a *Hayali* should make his own figures, and be very skillful and promising; besides, they all stress the importance of a theater education or at least an amateur interest in acting to deal with Karagöz. Thus, knowledge of theater makes *Hayali* more promising and promotes creativity in production. For example, a play of Harun, which combined the Turkish shadow theater, the puppetry and “*meddah*” in the same performance, has been appreciated much among the performers. Harun says,

Being an actor and going on a stage brought me great advantages for Karagöz because, Karagöz requires serious acting; it does not only consist of moving the figures. Elocution, diaphragm, sound and voice training are very important elements, especially the voice training in performance. There are remarkable differences between the performance that belongs to an ordinary performer and that belongs to the performer who has a theatrical background.

Therefore, a prestigious theater education, based on scientific approach about using the body (as an instrument) and keeping the audience engaged during the shows, is defined as additional requirement for being a *Hayali*. In contrast, although Dinç has graduated from a theater and drama department from a

university, he says that enjoying singing songs should be enough for one to be a *Hayali* if having a command of music is the issue.

Conclusively, Acar states that the rules of being a *Hayali* are orally shaped actually, and can change over time. Every master teaches his style to his apprentice, and every apprentice re-forms his own style mixing it with what he learnt from his master. However, as being one of the open-minded performers, he says, “Dealing with Karagöz brought a different kind of accumulation and a knowledge for the Karagöz artist because, it is not only a performance art but also has close ties with literature, painting and music.” By this way, he re-writes the definition of *Hayali* by reading it back to front; he merges the elders and youth’s ideas with this definition. Rather than rigid prior requirements for being a *Hayali* according to him, dealing with Karagöz for years makes someone *Hayali* because, Karagöz includes fine arts, such as literature, painting and music, by default. *Hayali*, in one way or another, acquires a good command of painting, literature and music acquired through years.

Dirty Karagöz

Before going into the issue of dirty Karagöz, the information given by the elder performer Şaban is crucial. He says,

Macid (Ayrat - calligraphist) Bey personally told me this story in 1959 in my house. In the late 1800s and the beginning of the 1900s, one day, Macid Bey, who was 4 or 5 years old at that time, was leaving the *Çukur* Pudding Shop and heading to Bayezid with his father. They had realized a dense and stinky smell like burning leather. His father had become curious and head to the inn where there was a fire. Two *zaptiye*(s) (gendarmerie) had told them to stay away, and said them, “the *imaginations* [figures] are being annihilated, do not close.” Macid Bey told me that suddenly a figure of *Tiryaki* (the Addict) had flown and fallen near his foot. His father told him to take it.

I could not buy the figure when he showed me because I was young and poor at that time but I copied the pattern. Later, I asked Cemalettin (Saracoğlu) Bey why those figures had been burnt. He replied that as he heard from Sefer Mehmet [the famous performer of the late 1800s], there were naked Karagöz figures with phallus, figures related to the dervish lodges and the palace, which could be called as vicious, obscene figures, among them. So, those figures were prevented to come to other hands by burning.

He says that 7 or 8 sacks of figures (*tasvirs*) had been burnt on that day. Besides the information given by Şaban, there are differences between the performers about dirty Karagöz, as expected. Talking about dirty Karagöz was considered as a taboo for years, especially the effects of the writers in the first quarter of the Republican period who aimed to discharge Karagöz from such peculiarities are still influential

for the elder performers and some of the apprentices directly worked with them. However, as the new written documents were released and the new researches were conducted, the idea that dirty Karagöz was impossible at least for the Muslim performers in the Ottoman Empire is softened; even changed for some performers. Needless to say, some of the elder performers still insist that the Muslim performers could not have performed dirty Karagöz. For example, Ramazan says that there is no such thing as dirty Karagöz. If there was, they had belonged to either the Jewish or the Armenian performers who were being spectated by the foreign travelers (or Levantines). He draws attention to information pollution, and says that he never trusts on the information given by Cevdet Kudret that; those dirty parts should be taken seriously. He adds that if there were performers performing dirty Karagöz they were not Muslims. Foreign travelers had only watched them because those performers were able to speak a foreign language. again here, he claims that whatever Metin And knew, he had learnt from him but transmitted wrongly. He is especially against the ideas of And on dirty Karagöz. He says,

Listen to the story! There was a man in a coffeehouse with his eight-year-old daughter... There was a dirty Karagöz play being performed. A foreign voyager asked the father in the coffeehouse whether it was proper for a small child to watch this Karagöz play, then the father answered as, "She, soon or later, will learn, won't she?" That is a lie! For such a rigid society, it is a total lie.

Despite many concrete evidence⁹⁷⁰ including the performances at he private homes of the Muslim Ottomans, Ramazan rejects the existence of dirty Karagöz. Bayram, without being so rigid, had the same attitude towards dirty Karagöz; he legitimizes dirty Karagöz in a way that the sailors, especially the Genoese sailors were addicted to dirty Karagöz plays, which were being performed by the non-Muslims in Galata area. Otherwise, in such a society, there was no possibility for a performer to perform such dirty Karagöz plays in public coffeehouses. He says that they would have immediately executed him. On the other hand, the elder performer Şaban says that he had changed his mind about dirty Karagöz when he encountered a book in the antique store of Ahmet Gaffarov. He says (in a sarcastic way, covertly referring to the other two elder performers),

Some zealots say that there is no such thing as dirty Karagöz. before a certain age (19), I have never heard of dirty Karagöz because my grandfather had been omitting those parts while he was telling us the stories of Karagöz, and had told me that Karagöz was not dirty. Afterwards I had learnt that there were dirty plays, I asked my grandfather again, and he told me that

⁹⁷⁰ For more information: Mizrahi, "Osmanlı'da Karagöz Oyunları," 48-56.

there were dirty Karagöz plays but he had never encountered them among (Katip) Salih's plays. I was following Salih's lead, and he was my idol at that age.

We had a French friend, who had introduced the [western style] orchestra to the palace. Once, we went for a dinner to her home, I was asked to perform Karagöz after the dinner. I had performed the play called *Cazular* (The Witches). The French woman liked it but told me that this was not Karagöz as she knew, and showed me an old book. She told me that Karagöz should be dirty, there is profanity in Karagöz, and she said that she had watched Karagöz in that way when she was young. I was shocked...

Later, Cevdet Kudret had published the Karagöz Book, the first volume of which was a scandal. I was upset and asked my grandfather again, and then I went to Saracoğlu's place. I asked him whether there was dirtiness in Karagöz, he said me, "yes but is not carried out now."

In 1967, I was in Gaffarov's shop; he showed me a book, which belonged to an ancient Karagöz performer. He read me some parts from the book. There were three Karagöz plays in that book, one of which was called "*Zekerli Karagöz*" (Karagöz with phallus). It had an inflated language, and probably a Greek or an Armenian performer had written that because one of the women in the play was an Armenian. Karagöz was touching her tits and there were so many dirty scenes; and even, there was a scene of a sexual intercourse. So many figures had shown trying to have sexual intercourse with the woman but, according to the story, nobody succeeded except for Karagöz. Gaffarov offered selling it to me but I said no because I thought that it was a dirty/immoral book. I was stupid but Saracoğlu had also changed my mind. When I got back to Gaffarov to buy the book, it was already late.

Later, Metin And published his book, which included a part about dirty Karagöz and seeing that I have totally changed my mind.

However, he still insists that those dirty Karagöz plays were being played by the non-Muslims, and he never believes in the story that Ramazan had told before. He says that it would be like selling refrigerators to the Eskimos ("*Müslüman mahallesinde salyangoz satmak*" in Turkish) if a Muslim *Hayali* performs a dirty Karagöz to the Muslim audience in the Ottoman society. According to him, the Ottoman-Muslim society could not stand such dirty Karagöz plays. Nevertheless, he adds that it is just his idea. He also adds that when he was trying to put a date on the figures in the Ministry of Culture, he saw some figures on which there was cross signs as a symbol. According to him, this proves that dirty Karagöz plays had been performed by the non-Muslims in the Ottoman society.

One of the second-generation performers Sezgin is apparently against dirty Karagöz and says that it is a cultural habit that people pays, for example "*Huysuz Virjin*" (Grumpy Virgin) to swear. Else, Cafer hesitates but finds dirty Karagöz as not morally right. He says that generally the sailors used to go to watch dirty Karagöz to the coffeehouses of Karaköy. He admits that there was not much variety of entertainment at that time, and it was normal that there were pornographic

Karagöz plays performed in those coffeehouses. Therefore, both the performer and the audience got to be the non-Muslims according to him.

In this context, Kafadar states that, in the nationalist era, it is difficult to consider the identities in fluidity and flexibility, and he asserts that inserting raptures between the periods and the identities is the task of the nationalists. He says,

Those who feel creepy while reading the dirty stories of Nasreddin Hodja issuing his adventures with Seyyid Mahmud Hayrani in *Saltukname*, those who go pale from fear while discussing whether the founders of the state or the holy people were good (Sunni) Muslims, and those who get goose bumps when realize the word *sharia* in the writings of *humanist Yunus Emre* start the work of comprehending a lack.⁹⁷¹

In parallel with Kafadar, Acar elucidate the issue of dirty Karagöz by saying,

when you read the literary works of *Mevlana* [Jalal al-Din al-Rumi] you should find some dirty parts in his stories. Therefore, Karagöz should also be considered as sufistic as *Mevlana* is. Maybe in our time Karagöz is considered as dirty but at that time, it was normal.

His approach towards Karagöz is always different from the others. He is aware of that considering Karagöz with the glasses of the modern age he lives in would be as wrong as idealizing Karagöz. According to him, Karagöz should be considered with the conditions of his time. He is also against the classification made according to the Muslim and the non-Muslim performers in the Ottoman society, he says,

Let us count them, *Kütahya Çeşmesi* (The Fountain of Kütahya) must have been performed by a non-Muslim [because both Karagöz's wife and Hacivat's daughter are rumored to be prostitutes] likewise *Hamam* (The Bathhouse) play. *Salıncak* (The Swing) play... While Karagöz is swinging with a *Zenne*, he gets a sexual satisfaction [in the play]. All are named as Karagöz, what is left then? In that case, all of the Karagöz plays did belong to the non-Muslims!

Besides, Aslan, from the same school with Acar, said that he does not believe in the concept of "dirty Karagöz" because he does not believe the idea that dirty Karagöz is immoral. He says that pornography is a part of life. Otherwise, pornography would be immoral. He says,

Karagöz shows whatever the society has; it can be eroticism or dirtiness... The debate is also valid for the theaters today. People discuss whether there should be dirtiness or not on the stage. My friend, this is the theater stage, this is an allocated field. You cannot behave on streets as if you are on a

⁹⁷¹ Çorlu, ed. "Cemal Kafadar İle Söyleşi," 69.

stage, they can arrest you but, this is a segregated zone, you can do [whatever you want] on a theater stage.

Although he does not limit Karagöz by definition, he is aware that he is dealing with art, which has a privileged condition in the modern society as a separate field of activity. His ideas implying that Karagöz should represent the society as any kind of art is assumed represent the reality, reminds Aristotle who claims that art imitates life.⁹⁷²

Therefore, the performers who have a theater education accept that there was dirtiness in Karagöz in the Ottoman society. On the other hand, the elder ones accept that even if it had included dirty sections, those plays belonged to the non-Muslims. Some of the second-generation performers who had worked with some of the elder performers have also difficulty to accept that there was dirtiness in Karagöz.

On the contrary, Harun has recently (2007) performed a play with dirty elements in *Leman Kültür* Cafe. The play includes the following conversation⁹⁷³ between Hacivat and Karagöz in the dialog section,

Hacivat: God, give me joy!

Karagöz: Get the fuck out of here! I am busy.

Hacivat: What are you doing?

Karagöz: Some business with my wife, get out!

Hacivat: What kind of business could you have, Karagöz?

Karagöz: We are debating on the laws of the harmonizing the European Union! What kind of business do you think? Didn't you get the point?

Hacivat: Come on! When we become a member of the EU, you will have much time to make love!

⁹⁷² Aristotle, *Poietika (şiiir sanatı üzerine)*, 2012

⁹⁷³ Original dialog:

Hacivat: Yar bana bir eğlence!

Karagöz: Hacivat siktir git ordan, işim var.

Hacivat: Senin ne işin olacak Karagözüm yahu

Karagöz: Karıyla iş üstündeyiz. Defol git

Hacivat: Ne işi Karagöz?

Karagöz: AB uyum yasalarını tartışıyoruz. Ulan ne işi olacak, anlasana işte.

Hacivat: Bırak şimdi işi AB'ye girince bol bol sevişiriz.

Karagöz: Evet Hacivat AB'ye girince bol bol verişiriz.

Karagöz: Yes Hacivat! If we become a member of the EU, we will have much time to get fucked!

Karagöz is an Entertainment for Children

The debate on dirty Karagöz is also connected with the fact that most of the contemporary performers are performing only for children; so, such a dirty reputation can affect their jobs and audiences. This is another problem today Karagöz is dealing with, that it almost became merely a children's theater. Although the elder performers know the history of Karagöz, and for example, Ramazan and Şaban categorize Karagöz into six types and only one is for children, they were and sometimes are mainly performing for children. An elder performer Şaban says that Karagöz is actually not for children if people read the ancient plays, they will see that it is full of eroticism. Ramazan also says that Karagöz is not for children; only an educated adult can understand Karagöz plays, not because of the eroticism he totally rejects but because of the political references. Bayram, another elder performer, states that it is a mistake to consider Karagöz as a theater for children; on the contrary, it is an adult theater. He tells that in the Ottoman Empire it was being performed to the adults only, and asks what a child could understand from the play of *Tahir & Zühre* or *Leyla & Mecnun*. Nevertheless, he admits that, today, they are referring only to children and not to adults. All the three elder masters accept that, today, Karagöz has become a theater for children, and adults are lost.

As a researcher and a performer, Kadir supports the idea that Karagöz was not a children's theater in the Ottoman Empire but it is normal today for Karagöz to be attractive for children because Karagöz includes comedy and humor, and resembles to the cartoons. Children love Karagöz because it presents them an opportunity to use their imagination. However, he adds that Karagöz was banned for the children in the early years of the Ottoman Empire. He says,

When we mean animation movies, we immediately recall Walt Disney, which is known all over the world. Nevertheless, before it, there was a woman dealing with animation movies, whose name was Lotte Reiniger. When there was no name as Walt Disney, this woman was making animation movies with her husband. She told me "I was inspired by Karagöz before I started to work on this." What an important statement this is! After all, Karagöz is the father of cinema; even when there was no idea about the cinema, there was Karagöz.

For those reasons, Karagöz seems attractive for children according to Kadir. Even though the performers are making their lives through performing for children today, the majority of them claim that Karagöz is a theater for adults actually. Celal, Cafer, Sezgin and Zeynep seem to be disturbed by the situation today

Karagöz has got into; for nowadays, Karagöz mainly became children's entertainment. On the other hand, Dinç does not mind the audience, and directly says that he performs for children. He remarks,

I am performing Karagöz, and it may concern only children for its subjects/topics. For example, my play "The Garbage Monster" is recommended for the children aged between three and nine because the subject makes them more excited. Yet, my other play "The Magic Tree" concerns everyone aged from seven to seventy-seven. For the other play, "The Magic Lamp", I think it would be interesting to limit the play for the children aged between three and twelve. However, the visual quality, the fantastic visuality can attract everyone without an age limit. I do not have a claim that only the adults should watch my plays. I do not act like that. It is simple: I am performing Karagöz [regardless of who will watch]. Nevertheless, the subject might concern children more than it might concern the adults; this is a subject of another debate. However, can an adult watch my plays? Yes, s/he can.

Supporting this view, Filiz says that the mastery rests on the ability of performing the same play to both adults and children, but s/he could change the content but not the whole plot immediately according to its reception by the audience.

Both Aslan and Harun admit that they are only performing for children by adding the word "unfortunately." However, they are also disturbed by the prevailing reputation of a performance for children. Both of them refer to the same play called *Salıncak* (The Swing), which is mainly performed to children today. They both stress the erotic references in this play. Nevertheless, today, many performers prefer to perform *Salıncak* (The Swing) to children by omitting those erotic parts because, children laugh most at that play. Kadir even says that he has always been performing *Salıncak* (The Swing) play to children for decades.

On the other hand, the majority of the performers performing to children today say that it is harder to perform for children than adults. Sezgin says that after the prolog and the dialog sections when these action-oriented sections have passed, children start to get bored in the section of the main plot, and they start to talk with each other. Actually, this statement proves that Karagöz is not for children. Still, they legitimize performing to children with the statement that it is more difficult to perform to children than to adults. Whatever the situation, performing to children is the outcome of the market conditions because, most of those performers earn their living only with Karagöz performed before the children, and they need such a legitimization to save the prestige of Karagöz as a part of the respected arts.

Recently, Acar, having been agitated by the debate, tried a different kind of Karagöz, intended only for the adults. This play, as mentioned before, performed in

Cemal Reşit Rey Concert Hall in 2010. In the dialog and the final sections, two different myths of Islamic culture had been presented. One is the legend of the Prophet Jonah and the other one is the ascension of the Prophet Muhammad into heaven/sky. The aim of the play was well explained by Acar,

Karagöz, which was considered as an entertainment for children for the last fifty years, was originally an adult entertainment. The perception, today, concerning Karagöz as an entertainment for children, spread among the audience and manipulated the performers to perform only for children. ... This kind of perception and the forgotten fact that 'Karagöz plays were for adults' has caused the sufistic peculiarity of Karagöz to be disregarded by the academic literature on Karagöz. The play called "*Tedbirini Terk eyle Takdir Huda'nındır*" aimed to remind that tradition [the Sufistic elements of Karagöz]. The figures, which were originally 28 cm, were re-made 50 cm, and the curtain has been made three times bigger than the usual one. This performance is not only emphasizing the sufistic peculiarities of Karagöz but also claiming that Karagöz is for the adults actually.

Besides, Celal told that he had performed Karagöz on the comemorial night of Hrant Dink on 19 January 2007. He performed two 15-minute plays one of which was emphasizing justice and the other one was emphasizing love. Besides, both Celal and Cafer said that they were invited to several medical conferences, and performed Karagöz plays related to the subjects of the conference. For example, in one occasion, Celal had performed a Karagöz play related with the joint diseases. Deniz is also writing and broadcasting political dialogs of Karagöz on his Facebook account.

Nevertheless, no one is claiming overtly as Acar did that Karagöz is not only for children. The exceptions have generally served for the other purposes as a commemoration or a conference but, what Acar did is very diferent. His performance was regarded as a product of the fine arts, and was presented in a huge saloon. The tickets, the prices of which were varied between 14 and 17 TLs, indicating the seat numbers. Besides, an orchestra claiming that there is music for Karagöz took its place next to the screen.

Therefore, Karagöz has taken its visible step in transition from being a folk art to a fine art by this play. However, despite the exceptions, Karagöz's main audience remains to be children because of the financial limitations. The Karagöz performers are mainly earning their livings by performing in schools or malls.

Status of Performing

The “Trade of Karagöz,” the financial factors conditioning Karagöz performance, the job opportunities, Ramadan and the fake-performers

The contemporary performers usually make their living by going to schools or going to the shopping malls. A few of them get financial aid from the Ministry of Culture, and a few of them are attending the international festivals, receptions and seminars about the shadow theater.

The character of the public space has changed. During the period of the Ottoman Empire, the public spaces were mainly composed of mosques, bathhouses, coffeehouses and taverns. Except performing on the streets during the time of Ramadan, the main places for the performers to were the coffeehouses. Today, the meaning of the public space is highly changed; even the social networking platforms via the internet were accounted as the public spaces. The schools, where the audience is not diversified in terms of age, are one of the public places of the modern time. However, going to schools for making money is still undesirable for the performers because they consider it disrespectful but a compulsory side of the trade because of the financial reasons. Therefore, not only the character of the public spaces has changed but the outlook of the performers to Karagöz has also changed from *technē* to fine arts.

Financial Factors affecting Karagöz Performance

Cenk explicitly gives the numbers and the prices. First of all, to perform in schools, it is required to have permission from the Ministry of Education and a clean criminal record. In addition, Celal noted that the state requires performers to have a tax registration certificate, which is also validated by the other performers to performing in schools. However, he is disturbed by the issue, and says, “No other artist has to have permission from the Trade Chamber to sell his art.” Not the commodification of Karagöz as a fine art but the permission, given by the Trade Chamber, is the source of his uneasiness.

Besides, being a member of UNIMA also positively affects the choices of the schools. However, Harun said that the Ministry of Education had not given permission to any Karagöz performer who is the member of the UNIMA for the year of 2012. The reason was unknown but all the Karagöz performers rumored that not the Minister himself but his undersecretary “hates” Karagöz, and finds it old fashioned.

Therefore, the ministry has only given to an illusionist and a live Karagöz performer to perform in schools for the year of 2012. The Karagöz performers considered the decision as a disaster.

Then again, Cenk says that there are actually countless Karagöz performers in İstanbul but they prefer to perform at schools and malls only; they do not prefer to perform in theaters for example in Halis Kurtça Theater. He says, “It is hard to make money from the theater sessions, but both the schools and the malls pay with cash money right after the performance. Nevertheless, for the box office... [the payments are delayed].” By this way, on the one hand he tries to attract Karagöz performers to perform only at the recognized theater saloons with the consideration that Karagöz is a respected art, but on the other, he says that Karagöz art does not get its true value while being performed at schools and malls for financial reasons.

He also says that an average Karagöz performer gets 500-750 TL for a single play. Those credited and well-known performers, more experienced ones, get 750-1000 TL for a single play. The prices also change according to the equipment; for example, when he performs with a large curtain and assistants he demands higher prices. Nevertheless, there are performers performing with sloppy curtains and plastic figures, and gets satisfied with 150 TL. But he adds that these prices are valid for the performances arranged in malls or for special shows. The schools generally pay 300 TL for a single play. When he is invited, he does not want to talk about the money because he says that his main concern should be the children first. So, sometimes he had performed only for 120-200 TL. Some of the other Karagöz performers considered this as a discount on the average prices but he emphasizes that his main concern is children.

Bayram, the eldest performer, said that he had been hired by Akbank, and performed Karagöz in Akbank Art Theater for 40 years but later, Akbank had decided to organize balls for children, which he says are more profitable. Now he has been performing at the Toy Museum every Sunday. He says that Akbank has already decided to dismiss Karagöz from the cultural field; and at last, they succeeded. He also says that the money they got was symbolic. Bayram was very exceptional among the performers in terms of having a stable stage for years. In this context, Dinç says,

Everyone is going to schools and introducing themselves as the best, and saying, “hire me not them.” OK, they are trying to earn money. If we look at the situation with a capitalist hat, it is right. Nevertheless, with an idealist hat, it is wrong; ethically it should not have to be in that way.

Actually, he is against making money by performing Karagöz in schools because such performances degrade Karagöz. He also says that if he were not attending the international festivals (for the sake of art), and has to make his life by performing Karagöz in schools, he would perform Karagöz for 300 TL for a show, and he says that this price is reasonable for one to perform every day.

Besides economic factors, the performers legitimize performing in schools by saying that children really love Karagöz, and actually, it is harder to perform Karagöz to children than to adults because children have a shorter duration concentration. To keep them in play requires a real mastery according to the performers.

Performing in Schools and Shopping Malls

On the other hand, both Cenk and Harun say that they are no longer going to the primary schools; they rather prefer to go to the high schools. Harun says that the primary schools had really turned into business organizations. He says,

Actually, the mainstay of the majority of the Karagöz performers is performing in schools, we go to schools too because the most accessible, easiest and the safest audience is provided by the schools. Though, I do not go to the primary schools because they all act like a business organization. They act as if we are the wholesalers; the first question is always the money. They ask about how many plays we will perform on what price. After making sure that half of the earning is to be left to the school, they arrange the audience, the children...

Once, I performed eight sessions in a day, but after that, I rested for three days.

If you collect 1000 TL for example, the manager takes the 500 TL for the school. But normally, the process should be that, you take the permission from the ministry and go to the school. With that permission, the Ministry of Education is authorized to take the 25% of the sum, and following the performance, you deposit that money into the ministry's account, and the rest belongs to you. That is the normal procedure. A manager or a school has no right to take any part of the money the performer earns. For this reason, I do not want to perform in the primary schools.

Cenk also agrees with Harun and complains about the same problem. He says that the schools consider Karagöz performance as if it is the same as *clowning*. According to Cenk, the schools are used to bring pirate theaters, which demand very reasonable prices. Therefore, the manager, regarding that he pays them for such and such money including the decor, actors, etc., find a Karagöz performer's demand as expensive. Hence, they demand a Karagöz performer to perform 10 sessions in a day because, they consider that Karagöz is a very simple thing (not as a part of the fine arts). But, Cenk says that Karagöz is a solo performance and one person makes all the figures talk and move. Regarding that a performance lasts at

least 45 minutes, it is exhaustive for a person to speak continuously for 7.5 hours to manage to perform 10 sessions. Therefore he also does not prefer to go to the primary schools.

Actually, this signifies that Karagöz has not been accepted among the respected arts yet at a societal level, and it is still considered as an entertainment having some didactic features at most. The school managers still perceive Karagöz as some a part of the social life but only addressing to one kind of audience: the children. Consequently, they refuse to pay high prices for Karagöz performances, which falls contrary to the *destination* of Karagöz as it is conceived by the contemporary performers, who want to rise Karagöz up from the base arts to status of high arts in Ünver's terms.⁹⁷⁴

Cafer mentions another problem with the schools. He says that some of the schools are demanding CDs including the whole performance in advance to control the performer if there is any heresy, which is directly related to the desire of taming Karagöz and making the performance predictable. For example, he had just started a performance in one of a religious school. In the Ghazal part, there was a saying, "*dilerim tanrıdan gülen yüzünüz solmasın*" (I may the deity never let your smiling faces fade). The school administrator asked Cafer not to use the word "*Tanrı*," (deity in English), rather, she asked Cafer to say "Allah" which is the Islamic God because, according to the administrator, there might be many deities but *Allah* is the one and only. Cafer had accepted and changed the words. In another case, he was asked to mention Ramadan, and encourage fasting. Or sometimes, he is asked to perform Karagöz in a plot that he is fasting, or not to mention his alcohol drinking. Alternatively, in another religious school, he was asked not to perform the introductory part in which Karagöz beats Hacivat.

Another example comes from Ramazan, one of the elder performers. He had performed Karagöz in a school, where the majority of the students were Jewish. He had performed the play of *Salıncak* (The Swing), according to which the Jew falls from the swing and pretends to be death and often which a Rabi comes and holds the funeral. At the end of the play, the Jew resurrects and it is understood that he has organized such a set up not to pay for the swing. After the performance, a teacher visited Ramazan, and told him that she was annoyed, and it was improper to perform particularly that play in such a school. Ramazan, who have been

⁹⁷⁴ See also page 368, the first paragraph (Süheyl Ünver)

performing the play of *Swing* for decades, could have challenged the teacher and said that this was what *art* meant, and this play have been being performed for centuries, so that she should have not taken it as offensive. Another elder performer, Bayram said that he omitted these parts from *Salıncak* (The Swing) play if he was going to play in a school.

Those incidents are limiting the freedom of the artists according to the performers, while at the same time, forcing Karagöz to be re-formed as a children's play. Besides, as discussed before, the efforts of controlling the Karagöz plays has started with the modernization efforts in the Ottoman society, which go back to the *Tanzimat period*. According to Sevim the Karagöz plays had already died when the plays were transcribed.

Another way of making money by Karagöz performing at shopping malls. Cafer says that they have been performing in *Olivium* and *Profilo*. The malls are inviting them. However, he says that the main aim of the malls is to earn more; Karagöz is not their concern actually. He says,

It is a shopping mall eventually. While Karagöz play is amusing children, their parents can shop and spend money in comfort. They especially place our theaters in front of the stores whose profit is low at that time. Eventually, malls' earnings are dependent the stores. If a store cannot make profit then the malls' profits also falls; they organize for example a Karagöz performance to attract people to those stores. It is a capitalist system. The places for the performances always change. A mall does not concern to perpetuate Karagöz performance at all.

Still, he and his wife add that they perform with an utmost care; the aim of the malls is not their concern.

Ramadan

Besides, all the performers are against to perform in Ramadan tents because they feel themselves as a décor for the hunger people focus only eating. Besides, they agree that Karagöz is not something specific to Ramadan. From a different point of view, Dinç says, "Karagöz is a social need; it is not something decorating a Ramadan tent." This kind of a perception that equals Karagöz to Ramadan increases the number of *fake-performers* as they call them. Some people, who have never been heard Karagöz before or working animator, reach those known performers (the interviewees) to ask them either sell Karagöz figures or give a quick Karagöz training within ten days. The entire Karagöz performers reject such demands during the Ramadan period. For example, Dinç, Celal, Kadir, Harun, and

Sezgin, overtly said that they reject those who want to learn Karagöz performing in a fifteen days or shorter period just before the Ramadan.

Many of them also reject the job offering during the time of Ramadan, especially those offered by the TV channels. They utter that the TV channels propose them a program series, but without any payment, for they say that promoting/advertising of the performer should be enough in return because the performer would be broadcasted on TV. The performers say that advertising is nothing beside their labor and effort. Aslan says, “I do not need an advertisement, I need money.”

Another reason for rejecting such job offers during Ramadan is the attitude of the employers towards the Karagöz performers, Sezgin says,

The employer tells me to go on the stage because the singer or another kind of artist, such as *Semazen* (whirling dervish) to be expected to go on the stage is late or did not come at that time. In that case, they tell me to perform for 10 minutes [to fill the gap]. One day, I was performing in *Bayrampaşa* at an event, the employer told me to perform for 10 minutes only; I said that I had performed for half an hour yesterday, then he replied me that yesterday the expected artist did not show up. He was touching my back by saying ‘cut it, enough!’ [While I was performing]

The duration of an ordinary Karagöz play is said to be at least 45 minutes; in the case of Sezgin, the Karagöz performance is regarded as an auxiliary entertainment to be performed, according to him. Such an understanding is also related to the activities of the fake-performers as Kadir says,

A friend in Adana, named Kısakürek, had given an interview I accidentally encountered saying, “Karagöz is no more popular among the public.” I remember it, because that is what will happen; if you drag the fish holes, then fishes extinct in the sea.

Fake-Performers

As well, one of the important problems for the Karagöz performers is the presence of the *fake-performers* as they call them. According to the interviewees, those fake-performers are, giving Karagöz a bad reputation on the one hand, and causing a decline in the average payments on the other. Especially right before Ramadan, they increase in number. This is also related to the employers, especially the municipal employers, because they are only thinking about money not the quality. By this way, the performers also emphasize that the audience assume Karagöz as an ordinary out-moded entertainment. According to Şaban, as the audience has watched the “bad” performances by the unqualified performers, their taste has changed and they started to consider Karagöz as an old-fashion entertainment.

For the fake-performers, especially for those who perform “live Karagöz,” Acar says,

First and foremost, the term “Live Karagöz” is a degrading/derogatory term because, *we* are also not doing playback. However, even if it is a live Karagöz as such, it should be indicated in the program flyers, especially in the Ramadan programs or children’s event. When they does not indicate this, first, those people who know *real* Karagöz are cheated and second, those who do not know Karagöz assume live Karagöz as the *real* Karagöz.

When I went on tours in Anatolia, some teachers and students asked me questions like “are those the puppets of Karagöz and Hacivat?” or “Do not you have those hand puppets of Karagöz and Hacivat?” This means that they have a totally different kind of Karagöz in their minds [Karagöz was introduced them wrongly]. This is a real danger, and unjust and unfair because, it takes approximately one hour to set up the curtain and prepare our equipment, in addition, removing also takes a half an hour. I mean, it takes 2 or 2.5 hour for us to perform a single play, and I did not mention the quality of the labor and the performance yet.

On the other hand, what we have a couple of people dressing like Karagöz and Hacivat and are doing a 10-minute-performance [without any preparation or equipment], and plagiarizing our words specific to some of our performers. We can definitely understand whose words and from which plays they had been stolen. I have even encountered with my own sayings [in one of the so-called live Karagöz performances].

As for the quality, we vocalize at least six characters as well as Karagöz and Hacivat in a play; we are performing a complete theater play. If they assert to perform live Karagöz, let us see them performing six characters! Yet, it has already named as Ortaoyunu; there is no need for it.

He says that even UNIMA-Bursa organizes live Karagöz shows. He also complains that such live Karagöz performances are with the cultural managers of municipalities and the state’s knowledge. They are deceiving the public and forcing the “true” curtain performers into an unfair competition. He says that the live Karagöz is cheap but regarding the quality, he sarcastically tells that the municipalities are really paying much for them. Although he hesitates to give a price, he states that the price for a conventional Karagöz performance starts from 750 TL, even, reaches to 2000 TL according to the quality of the performer. However, he says that those live Karagöz performers are not different from clowns: “A clown, today, is earning 100 TL for a show; if it is named as Karagöz then the price becomes 250 TL. They are even using fake-beards made up of shag, and you cannot differentiate Karagöz from Hacivat, they have no knowledge at all.”

Regarding the issue, Sezgin and Zeynep give examples for the fake-performers. For example, Sezgin mentions about a performer he saw at an event organized by the Municipality of *Kartal*, İstanbul. He says that the so-called performer was only vocalizing Karagöz and getting Hacivat’s voice from a laptop he put behind the curtain. He calls this incident as a scandal. Alternatively, Zeynep says that there

are people mimicking Recep İvedik⁹⁷⁵ with Karagöz and Hacivat costumes. Sezgin also against the “trade of Karagöz,” he says, “If UNESCO sees them, they immediately cancel the process.” Zeynep adds, “of course there is a free competition and we do not mean to take someone else’s bread money,” but Sezgin completes “it is not a Karagöz performance though!” In addition, Sezgin notes,

There are people, who have bought the DVDs of our elder masters sold in markets, replaying the whole performance by using the voices of our elders as if they were vocalizing, and we cannot do anything about it. The directors of the cultural affairs sections of the Municipalities are functioning as marketing agencies of these people.

They also complain about the fact that just before Ramadan, all the Karagöz and Hacivat figures in *Kapalı Çarşı* (Grand Bazaar) are sold; those fake-performers buy them to make money during the Ramadan. Zeynep says that the employers hire those who give the cheapest price without regarding the quality. She also says that they take % 75 less money than any known Karagöz performer. Zeynep also mentions that those fake-performers are buying Karagöz figures for 60-70 TL from the Grand Bazaar and performing in the municipality’s tents during the Ramadan, which results in job losses for the *registered* Karagöz performers. She also complains that those *fake-performers* are altering the name of “Karagöz” play into “Hacivat” play during the Ramadan to emphasize the pilgrimage of Hacivat.

UNIMA is trying to solve the issue by discussing it with the Ministry of Culture. The UNIMA demands is to be given an authority to control the Karagöz performers. By this way, Sezgin believes that they could diminish the number of the fake and bad performers and Live Karagöz shows so that, the public could directly watch qualified Karagöz performers, which would change the perception of Karagöz in the society. Yet, they had not been authorized when the interviews were conducted. Moreover, as mentioned before, the Ministry of Culture had not given permission to Karagöz performers who were the members of the UNIMA to perform at school for the year of 2012. On the other hand, Acar says that the only valid list of the performers was that which includes only those who succeeded in the exam of the Ministry of Culture in 2012.

Those kinds of attitudes towards the fake-performers are directly related to the process of *Enframing*, which is the essence of the modern technology according to

⁹⁷⁵ The leading character in the film: Altuniğne, Serkan, and Şahan Gökbakar, *Recep İvedik*, Directed by Togan Gökbakar, Produced by Aksoy Film, & Özen Film, Performed by Şahan Gökbakar, Fatma Toptaş, & Tuluğ Çizgen, 2008.

Heidegger. By eliminating the fake-performers with the help of the state, the recognized performers, on the one hand, are destining Karagöz to one certain direction that is the way of the fine arts itself having a high economic value. That means, the performers let Karagöz reveal itself as far as they has destined it so. On the other hand, they eliminate any other possibility in the field of Karagöz by structuring (*Enframing*) it. Thus, an activity, which once was defined by the term *technē*, has been transmitted to the field of fine arts. Therefore, as a fine art in search of finding the beauty, it has to exclude any other activity as the recognized performers call it fake or bad, which have no counterpart in the Ottoman society; Karagöz was not different than any other kind of activity as a non-art.

Perception of Art in terms of Karagöz

In the light of those explanations, Mülayim defines the aim of art, rather in an Aristotelian perspective, as reflecting the reality. He says that art originates in reality but the way of reflecting it changes according to time and society.

The Meaning of Art

The Karagöz figures (*tasvirs*) in relation with their creators and the collections are considered as works of art. This is also a matter of prestige among the performers; having a collection in a museum, having figures from the ancient masters, the workmanship and the technique or the material and the painting are the elements in defining the Karagöz as a(n) (fine) art. Besides, the performers also claim that Karagöz is a unique art deserving respect. Regarding the issue of what art should be in the context of Karagöz, Kadir says,

I do not want to call all the [Karagöz] performers as the artists because; being an artist is not that easy. Ability in art and literature are the gifts of God, not solely related to education. Therefore, you can graduate from an art school but still you cannot be a painter. Those friends [the performers] are the same. I know Bedri Baykam, his paintings are not the art pieces indeed, the state helped him to go abroad and attend an art school, and his father was a famous politician who arranged such facilities for him. What a Great Painter (!) I encountered with his paintings somewhere, I think in an art gallery in Taksim, and he was preparing for his own exhibition while we were closing the exhibit of the Karagöz figures. A child can also make his paintings. On such a huge toile, I think he had applied some glue, then whitewashed, and then had written big English words with the oil-paint brushes. He had also ripped some pieces of magazines and newspapers and attached them onto toile, and he was making an exhibit of those kinds of paintings! Why? Because, he has no talent, he is hiding behind the title of the “modern painter.” Picasso was also a modern painter but he knew classic art.

He means that even if one is interested in the modern theater, or in performers' words, the Western type of theater, one has also to know the traditional forms, the forms that originate in the society s/he lives in if s/he wants to be a profound artist. Kadir resembles art to a spark inside of a human, if it finds a chance, an opportunity, it blazes, goes out. He states that if he is able to write novels, scenarios, dramas and books, it is not him but someone inside of him is able to do. Therefore, he could not name all those today's performers as the artists and he adds that not Karagöz itself but the performers were the cause of the decline of the interest in Karagöz. He thinks as such because, according to him, every kind of art has its unique place, the TV did not kill the cinema as the photography did not kill the painting. If there were *real* artists, and if Karagöz was left to evolve in its *natural course*, there would not be a decline in the interest in Karagöz. By this way, he brings a new approach to the term "complete artist" that performers used much. Hence, a Karagöz performer not only has to know music, theater, literature, tempo, acting, setting, etc. but also has to know the other types of the traditional forms, such as Meddah, Ortaoyunu and Puppetry even if he is interested in the modern type of theaters. Thus, the conditions of becoming a *Hayali* are made more difficult.

Many of the performers also think that, regarding the time, Karagöz was more popular before, it was more an independent art than it is now but they agree on that it should also be independent now. Cafer has given the example above that in some schools, the teachers demand to stress some issues, such as fasting and Ramadan in the plays. He says that it is against the independence of the artist. His son Berk adds that they expect nothing from those people in the name of art.

Traditional vs. Modern

Another issue about the art debate among the Karagöz performers is the difficulty of the other types of theater performers to consider Karagöz as an artistic performance or as a part of the theater art; they rather consider it as a kind of entertainment. According to the interviewees, it is related to the Western oriented theater tradition of Turkey, which is to be issued later. Accordingly, Sezgin says that people have a settled idea that Karagöz is a backward type of theater. He says, "They thought that Karagöz is always the same, have the same words, same plots... The dialog sections are in the Ottoman language, the characters are wearing fez, etc."

Regarding the same issue, another elder performer Ramazan tells a story that he had offered his collection to the Sabancı Museum as a denotation, but before he

reached Dilek Sabancı, her secretary had said him that Dilek Sabancı is not interested in Karagöz; rather, she is interested in the contemporary art. Aslan also supports Sezgin, he says,

There is a settled-down prejudice in the theater community; that is, if you are interested in Karagöz then you are labeled as a reactionist. Today my friends in the theater community can talk about the *Commedia Dell'Arte*, I also know it very well; they are not labeled as zealots but I am. I am labeled as being a chauvinist in my own country.

He says that the *Commedia Dell'Arte* is already included in Karagöz, which is the unique product of Turkey. He also complains about an understanding, that is, if one is interested in Brecht or Shakespeare, s/he is a progressionist; if one is interested in Karagöz or the traditional theater of Turkey, s/he is a reactionist. He means that art has to be objective; art should function as an unbiased field that any differentiation based on race, ethnicity, sex, class, etc. should have been diminished. He also says that Karagöz is capable of that and this is the reason why he is dealing with Karagöz.

Art vs. Craft

Harun also complains about the same issue but he says that even they, the performers, are not clear about the subject; that is, many theatre actors/actresses consider Karagöz as a craft. He admits that there is a process of production and manufacturing, which is the reason for labeling Karagöz as a craft, but he also stresses that Karagöz is actually a miniature painting; those two should be considered together. He says,

Let us accept that Karagöz is not as same as the miniature art but it is still going through a process of creation and design regarding the preparation and the use of the colors, the leathering, etc. Can we still call it craft? We are also not clear yet among ourselves [the theater-graduate people]. ... We are still being considered in the context of the entertainers. ... If an artist wants to put his/her difference, s/he has to be complete in all terms [craft and performing together means being a complete artist].

Aslan also touches that they want to be no longer named as the Ramadan entertainers. They want to be accepted as respected artists in all terms, which the definition of the art attributes today. Aslan says,

I feel furious when they call me in Ramadan. I am not a Ramadan pita, I am not a rose pudding, and I am not a Ramadan drummer. I am a living

being⁹⁷⁶; they should not remember me only in Ramadan. Press [is manipulating such things] by stating; “Karagöz is death” or “we are together with [the last representative of Karagöz, who is]...” My friend, many people have never seen Mount Ararat, but it is nevertheless there! Karagöz is also the same [it does not extinguish because you have not encountered with or watch it].

The debate about whether Karagöz was an art or craft is mostly related to the issue that it includes meticulous work in figure making (as the performers said) that is divided into the different schools originate in different Karagöz performers. This also causes Karagöz to be labeled as a tradition. The importance of the technique emphasized many times by the performers also results Karagöz to be posited across the modern arts as a traditional art, on the contrary, the Karagöz performers’ desire is positing Karagöz *among* the modern arts, not *across* them.

The importance of the Technique

Before going into the economic value of Karagöz as a fine art, which is composed of the collections and the figures based on the different figure making techniques, it is better to mention briefly about the process of figure making in the eyes of the performers. Cenk says,

Because the leather is a living thing, the amount of the moisture is very important. Here on the first thing, we are cleaning up the oil and hair on the leather by rubbing it with a knife or a piece of glass. Then, we are softening and soring the leather with water because the leather is a very hard/rough material. There is a beauty in that process because after the water vaporized, the leather goes hard again and remains as it was. The holes we drilled on do not close again after the leather dries. However, if you leave the leather too runny, if it is too wet, the holes are re-closing; on the other hand, if it is too dry then you cannot drill.

Besides, the type of leather is also important, the camel-skin is softer than the calfskin because of the genetic factors in terms of the water retention value. Moreover, the technique of drilling the holes on the leather is also important. Today, there are three types of technique; one originates in Ragıp Tuğtekin who was using the eye-shaped knives. One originates in Şaban, who utilizes soldering iron. The last one is following the traditional course; that is, drilling the holes with both sides of the *nevregan* knives. This last technique takes much more time than the

⁹⁷⁶ This reminds the author of the thesis the quotes of John Merrick who says, “*I am not an elephant! I am not an animal! I am a human being! I am a man!*” in the movie: Christopher De Vore and Eric Bergren. *The Elephant Man*. Directed by David Lynch. Produced by Brooksfilm. Performed by Anthony Hopkins, John Hurt, & Anne Bancroft. 1980.

others do, but the results are closer to the *authentic* figures as they said. The brief process can be followed through the pictures below⁹⁷⁷:



Figure 68 Nevregan Knives



Figure 67 Rubbing the Leather

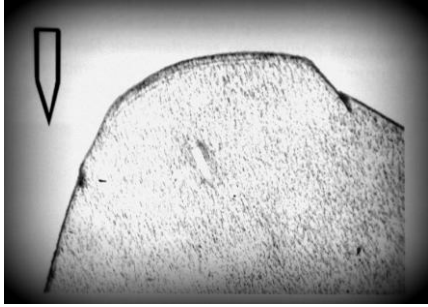


Figure 69 The first hole



Figure 70 The second Hole



Figure 71 making the eye part

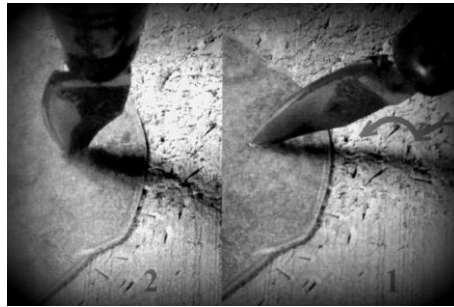


Figure 72 Nevregan using

⁹⁷⁷ Ekler, Alpay. "Karagöz Tasvir Sanatı." In *Gölgenin renkleri: Halk Kültürü Bilgi ve Belge Merkezi Karagöz Tasvirleri Koleksiyonu kataloğu*, edited by Nilüfer Zeynep Özçörekçi Göl, 33-54. Ankara: Kültür ve Turizm Bakanlığı, 2008.

More information about the process and the technique can be found in the book of the “Colors of Shadow.”⁹⁷⁸

Authenticity of the Figures and the Economic Values

The process regarding the leather can give clues about why the *authentic* figures have an artistic value than those sold in Grand Bazaar according to the performers. Şaban, an elder performer, gives information about the issue, he says,

I regretfully say that the figures of Karagöz artists do not take a blind bit of notice besides the toils of the painters today, and I see that no one appreciates too. Not everyone has an ability to make figures, making figure is a great art, and not everybody can handle it. I was a caricaturist and a painter once but my love is Karagöz, there is no one but me can do such valuable figures and have collections in different museums. The other day, someone from the British Museum called and told me that they had my valuable pieces of art in their museum and wanted me to go to England but told me that they had no money to cover the expenses. The money is not important but my health... I told them my health is not good and I rejected the invitation. In 2008, I got three offers from three different countries, which were Dubai (the UAE), Japan and the USA. I have a collection composed of 600 figures, which I made and got together in 40-50 years, two of them had offered me 2.5 million €, and one of them had offered 2.6 million €. But I am naïve you know, I thought that it must have stayed in my home country so that the next generation could see, and I called the Ministry of Culture. Mahmut [Evkuran, The Ministry of Culture and Tourism Directorate of Strategy Development] said, “Do not! We will buy it” then I asked those three countries for a time, but they rejected me, then it turned into footsie.

Can Picasso and Leonardo be the same? I devoted my whole life [to Karagöz], I make my figures like a painter, they are always appreciated because I am loyal to the authentic figures, and I am loyal to those ancient figures my ancestors had made. Are those foreigners so stupid to offer me such money? Today, an ordinary painting is valued more than a million, but the ministry decided that my 600-piece collection’s worth was very much less than those foreigners decided. After a while, they told me that they had too much figures in the archive so that they could not buy it.

Moreover, Şaban also told that one day, the son of Nedim Otyan (b. 1919 – d. 2008, a musician and a director) had visited him with a bag full of figures, and requested him to value those figures. He undervalued those bought from Hayali Küçük Ali because he says that they were like an oilcloth. Among them, he had noticed the figures of Karagöz and Hacıvat and admired them. He said that those two figures belonged to *Hayali Memduh* and were worth 200.000 TL. Then, Otyan wanted Şaban to give a document indicating the value of those two figures but Şaban had no such kind of authorization to do that despite that he worked as an expert with

⁹⁷⁸ Özçörekçi Göl, ed. *Gölgenin Renkleri*.

Acar to value the figures in the archive of the Ministry of Culture. After Ali Otyan had visited the Ministry of Culture to sell the figures, the personnel had said him that those two figures were only worth 2000 TL; but in any case, they had recommended him to meet with their expert who was Şaban. At that point, Otyan had said them that Şaban had already quoted 200.000 TL for those figures. Thus, either Karagöz does not complete its transformation into the fine arts, as discussed before, or it could not establish its market yet as a valued art in the modern sense.

In the context of the economic value of Karagöz that the performers try to establish in the modern market conditions, Şaban tells another story that someone from the Hamburg Museum had called him and requested to value some of the figures belonged to the 17th century. He had said that those figures were worth 250.000-300.000 TL. They offered him to work as an expert in the museum too, but he also rejected them because of the health issues (He has one eye almost blind and difficulty in walking). He says, “I do not pay even a penny to a painting which is so-called worth one million TL but those who cannot comprehend my art also do not pay me a penny.” He stresses that a figure of *Hayali Nazif* was worthy of five gold at the beginning of the 19th century but now it is valued much less than it. He also mentions that he made 43 figures for Metin And, who paid him 600 TL in return. Metin And had sold them to the Karagöz Museum of Bursa. Moreover, referring to the work of the expertise done in the Ministry of Culture, he writes on his web site as,

I heard that a seal belonged to Hakkat (Carver) Yamni has been bought for 140.000 TL. Then, it should not be considered as an overvaluing if I quoted 200.000 TL for the figures of Hacivat and Karagöz, which belonged to Hayali Nazif of the 19th century. It is their true value.

He is proud of having collections and exhibitions at museums. The Iranian Museum of the Islamic Art (Iran), The British Museum – The Museum of Mankind (England), The Horniman Museum (England), The Stockholm Ethnographical Museum (Sweden), The Royal Scottish Museum (Scotland), The Charleston Museum (USA), The Archive of Ohio State University (USA), The Archive of Indiana University (USA), The Musee de L’Homme and Musee Gusmet (France), The Archive of Essen University (Germany), The Art Institute of Chicago (USA), The Museum of Karagöz Collections of Japan (Osaka), The Archive of Metin And, The Archive of Şinasi Çelikkol and The City Museum of Bursa have the collections of Şaban being exhibited. On the other hand, The Museum of Rehabilitation Center for the Disabled Children (Boston, USA), The Museum of the China Shadow Theater (France), and The Nuremberg Culture and the Art House (Germany) have the

collections of another elder master Bayram. In addition, The Portugal Puppet Museum (Museu da Marioneta Lisbon, Portugal) and The Rautenstrauch-Joest-Museum (Germany) have the collections of Celal. Besides, Dinç also mentions about his collections. He says that he had four exhibitions in The Hagia Sophia Museum and near thirty exhibitions in different places in İstanbul. Moreover, he held an exhibition in Colombia, Germany, the Netherlands, Sweden, and had workshops in different places of the world. He briefly says that he had 150 performances in 40 countries on the five continents.

Plagiarism in the Context of Karagöz

In the context of art, another issue that the Karagöz performers complain about is the plagiarism as Acar calls.

Accordingly, Benjamin says that the Ancient “Greeks had only two ways of technologically reproducing works of art”⁹⁷⁹; those were the casting and the stamping. First, with the lithography, then later, with the invention of the photography, reproducing had jumped into another phase that is technological pictorial reproducing, which lessen, even diminished the difference between the copy and the authentic. Especially after the 1900s, technological reproduction had a separate place for itself. However, Benjamin points out that one thing is still missing that is the “here and now of the work of art –its unique existence in a particular place. It is this unique existence -and nothing else- that bears the mark of the history to which the work has been subject.”⁹⁸⁰ Although Benjamin uses the “term of the work of art,” his statements can cover all kinds of arts that is bringing-forth based on his mentioning about the Greeks.

Acar tells that not only the *fake-performers*, mentioned above, do plagiarism but also the known business enterprises, the Ministry of Culture and the known Karagöz performers do the same. The fact that the different performers laid claims for the play called “*Çöp Canavar*” (The Garbage Monster) is exactly fits in the scope of the oral tradition that was one of the main characteristics of Karagöz. However, it is a problem and even named as plagiarism for the Karagöz performers today. That excludes the cumulatively produced and socially shared character of Karagöz.

⁹⁷⁹ Walter Benjamin, "The Work of Art in the Age of Its Technological Reproducibility (Third Version)," In *Selected Writings Volume 4*, by Walter Benjamin, translated by Edmund Jephcott and others (Cambridge, Massachusetts, and London, England: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1938-1940), 252.

⁹⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, 253

Regarding the business cooperation, Acar says,

Turkcell (a GSM Operator in Turkey) had copied my *tasvirs* (figures). It has been 1.5 years; they had used my *tasvirs* in the commercials. I have no rights; no one is protecting me, neither the state nor the intellectuals nor the media. The state knows it because they had thousand times shot my figures and workings into the camera for documentations. I asked them to give me a document proving that those figures are mine, but they have not yet. I was still waiting for that document, and then I will win the case against Turkcell.

The issue is resulting from the difference between the authentic and the copied figures as the performers covertly indicated. An authentic figure means for them as the genuine creation of a performer, that is, not any one's mold or pattern is used. The others, known as copied, are created by using another's patterns or molds. Acar says,

The ninety percent of the figures left from the Ottoman artists are the original; in other words, they were designed based on their own imaginations. No one was copying another's figures at that time; everyone was creating his original figures. Nevertheless, after the 1860s, the copied figures started circulating because the orientalists came to Turkey and started to buy the Karagöz figures. Therefore, the demand [for the Karagöz figures] in the covered bazaar (*Bedesten*) increased, which also resulted in an increase in the number of the figure makers. Regardless of being bad or good, many Karagöz figures were sold. It became a kind of business. Those orientalists also stole some of them; they even teach the others how to steal properly.⁹⁸¹ Ritter also mentions about that. According to me, the figure collection that Ritter had taken to Germany belongs to *Enderunlu* Nazif Bey, who worked at the Palace. Thus, that collection is very important.

Therefore, related to the demand coming from the foreigners, in his words, the orientalists, the copied figures-*tasvirs* had become a kind of a profitable trade. According to Benjamin,

In principle, the work of art has always been reproducible. Objects made by humans could always be copied by humans. Replicas were made by pupils in practicing for their craft, by mastering in disseminating their work, and finally by third parties in the pursuit of profit.⁹⁸²

It is also valid for the time the interviews were conducted that in the Grand Bazaar and in DÖŞİM (Döner Sermaye İşletmesi Merkez Müdürlüğü - Central Directorate of

⁹⁸¹ Please remind the Karagöz Play called Sedefçi Karagöz (Karagöz the Antique Dealer) written in 1989, issuing the historical artifact smuggling, mentioned in chapter five of the thesis.

⁹⁸² Benjamin, "The Work of Art in the Age of Its Technological Reproducibility," 252

Circulating Capital)⁹⁸³, touristy figures, which were considered by the performers as worthless, were being sold. However, the most of the performers even the elder ones are using either Nazif or Tuğtekin's molds/patterns with slight differences, if they are considered as the pupils.

Related to the "third parties in the pursuit of profit" as Benjamin mentioned, the performers also mention about a person, who is making Karagöz figures and selling them in DÖSİM branches with permission of the Ministry of Culture. All the performers say that they cannot understand why the Ministry of Culture is still letting him to make and sell such "bad" figures. When Şaban delivered the issue to the Ministry of Culture, they had not been interested in the issue. According to Acar, this man is neither a performer nor an artist; he is only making the trade of Karagöz on behalf of the Ministry of Culture that sabotaging Karagöz. Şaban also says that via DOSİM, "that man" is selling his "sloppy" figures to tourists for 50 or 60 TL, which is an insult for Karagöz figure making on the one hand, and bringing Karagöz into disrepute by cheating the tourists as if the authentic Karagöz figures like those the man is selling, on the other.

UNESCO (The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization)

Once, they all hoped that the UNESCO process will help to solve the problems especially those related to the artistic-economic value of Karagöz, but seemingly, no one is satisfied with the acceptance of Karagöz as a world heritage. As Zafer says, it is also related to what one was expecting by the nomination of Karagöz. The interviewees are divided into three about the UNESCO program, one part, mainly composed of the elder masters and LHTs, is resentful; one part is indifferent and not interested in the program at all; and the last part considers the process objectively and can be self-critical.

Şaban is one of the resentful ones. Nevertheless, he says that he was not surprised when he was awarded with LHT because he thinks that he deserved it, otherwise he would be upset. Based on this idea, he also says that he had suggested Ramazan and Bayram to be awarded with LHT besides him. He had heard from a source, which he did not reveal, in France that he was the one most appreciated in a meeting before the awards were announced. It cannot be proven by the way but it

⁹⁸³ Ministry of Culture and Tourism. "DOSİM" (2008, accessed May 13, 2013) available from <http://dosim.kulturturizm.gov.tr>

gives clues about how he perceives himself and put in a superior position among all the other performers. He says that UNESCO brings him nothing but a bit of prestige and honor. After the announcement, he and the other two elders were acknowledged to be given 10.000 \$ within the UNESCO process, the money would be given as a support to realize the conditions that UNESCO had determined. However, only 1.850 TL was given to each three elder performers. Şaban says that he met with a Japan puppetry performer, who was given approximately 40.000 \$ for his LHT status in Japan. He claims that the main responsibility belongs to the state especially to the Ministry of Culture. They were expected to go to France for a reception, which were given by UNESCO, regarding their LHT status but the ministry did not attend the reception and did not send them. On the other hand, he mentions about the book called “Colors of Shadow” (this book was initially aimed to be the nomination form of Turkey for Karagöz to be given to UNESCO, the importance originates in this fact). He says that he was the main producer of that book and personally classified the figures and sorted out the creators but he was unsatisfied during the process. He says, “They [who studied the figures before him] had left some figures unnamed but they were mine! That was a scandal.” He also regretfully says that the figures being exhibited in the Karagöz Museum of Bursa belong to him, and Metin And had sold them to the museum but they did not indicate his name either. They acted as if the figures were anonymous until he objected.

All the three elder performers awarded with LHT say that they felt proud with the award but nothing else more. They all resentfully mention about the same issue that, at least, the Minister of Culture could attend the ceremony and personally give the awards but he did not. Şaban continues, “Today, I am sad and frightened because I am sick; I barely walk here to talk with you. The most grievous thing is that my collection will be valued after I die.”

Ramazan also says that UNESCO gave nothing except for a bit of honor and 1.850 TL. On the other hand, Bayram says that it is beneficial, at least UNESCO initiated to discipline that art. Due to the process and ICH program, the Karagöz performers began to be registered; otherwise, no one would do anything. He says that the UNESCO process forced the relevant authorities to do something, to take a responsibility about the art of Karagöz. He was also preparing a file to be delivered to the representatives of UNESCO-Turkey about Karagöz, he says that he will personally take it in there and talk with the authorities about the issue because, UNESCO is not aware of what is happening in the backyard of the field of Karagöz

performance. He also complains about the same issue that his books, figures and videos, etc. should be registered before he dies.

In parallel, Sevim also tells that every process in Turkey starts excitedly but it is done nothing afterwards. She ironically says “everything belongs and must belong to us (the Turks), Karagöz is ours, Baklava is ours... as long as they do not belong to ‘perfidious’ Greece.” Kadir also agrees with her, and says that there were meetings organized in Ankara. In the meetings, they had talked about everything regarding Karagöz, but he says that the execution part was missing; whatever offered at these meetings remained unfulfilled.

On the other hand, another performer Aslan, who sees the UNESCO process useless, says that Karagöz is as universal as music; one cannot own Karagöz as one cannot make music over to himself. He says,

It is ridiculous to register Karagöz to the Turks. Today, Greece is contributing Karagöz more than Turkey is; besides, albeit UNESCO accepted Karagöz as an ICH, if a minister of culture asks whether people are still enjoying Karagöz, it is useless [to try to safeguard it]. The UNESCO process has just turned into a matter of economy and prestige.

The other performers, who are indifferent totally to the UNESCO process, say that UNESCO brought nothing for them, besides, they also criticize those who were awarded with LHT for not having or training apprentices as UNESCO conditioned. As if a reply, Acar says,

UNESCO is not only composed of France, England, America or Germany, it also includes the other countries, such as Pakistan, Saudi Arabia and Iran besides Turkey. Its main concern is to form an initiative to protect and perpetuate such arts; it does not have to provide any financial aid. If it does then we do not know yet. During the process, a book is published in three languages. There was a team preparing the book and the nomination form, and everything was the product of that team. This team had personally searched the performers and decided the list. The result is that the government announced to the international community that they promised to safeguard Karagöz as a unique art, and bestowed it upon the world heritage. Some supposes that it guaranteed the belonging of Karagöz to Turkey. No, there is an art named Karagöz on this geography, and the related authorities contracted on safeguarding it because, it is no longer yours but belongs to the world heritage. That is what the UNESCO matter is. We will see in long run whether it is beneficial or not. However, it brings some criterion that in every two years the LHT has to train a nominee of an apprentice.

On the other hand, it is better to remember that

In order to facilitate the creation of new systems, UNESCO endeavours to assist Member States technically and/or financially through its regular budget, Participation Programme and extra-budgetary contributions by Member States⁹⁸⁴.

This means that UNESCO's program, in cooperation with the member states, is also responsible to support the ICHs of the inclined list with the financial aids, which Acar says it does not have to.

On the contrary, Sezgin stresses that with the UNESCO process, the expression that "Karagöz belongs to Turks" was registered and proven. Besides, Sezgin suggests that new performers have to be selected as LHT now because; the time given to the elders is up. He suggests especially Acar, Dinç, Aslan and Harun as the new nominees for the LHT list. Harun also says that it is important to accede to the UNESCO's treaty, because he believes that the performers, figures and the plays would be registered, and the fake-performers might be diminished.

In these conditions, being unaware of that or having a lack of a state support, UNIMA took actions to help those elder performers. They had organized a seminar teaching Karagöz figure making and performing, from which 22 students had graduated. Those LHTs had been recommended to choose one of the students they feel familiarity to train her/him as an apprentice but it was not managed. Acar says, "UNIMA had given them such a chance at least, but..." He also says that as UNIMA, they are still organizing courses, and he has established a department on puppetry at Kocaeli University. Besides, he says that his door is open to anyone who is eager to learn Karagöz.

In sum, the UNESCO process and the acceptance of Karagöz as an ICH is in an ambiguous situation for the Karagöz performers, however, as the director of UNIMA-Ankara said, the results could be seen in long run. For now, it is possible to say that the UNESCO process increased the popularity of Karagöz and attracted press attention.

Role of UNIMA (Union Internationale de la Marionnette)

As mentioned in the previous chapters, UNIMA is a nongovernmental organization aimed to bring the puppeteers, shadow performers and the Karagöz performers, special to Turkey branch, together. UNIMA is another issue of debate among the

⁹⁸⁴ UNESCO, "Living Human Treasures"

Karagöz performers the author interviewed. Some have completely broken their connections despite that they are still the members of it; some have connections but do not believe in its use. Some take the issue in objective sense and see the financial and the administrative issues as the main problems. Besides, all the performers put a difference between the İstanbul and the Ankara branches. When they are indicating that UNIMA is not working and it is useless, they generally mean it by the UNIMA-Ankara branch. It is better to remind that UNIMA-Turkey had been established by the state hand, and Acar says that today, all the revenues of the members are still being paid by the state. As once the *Karagöz Journal* had been bought by the RPP, UNIMA was also established by the state. Karagöz is still by the state's side in these conditions.

Kadir says that in 1990, UNIMA National Center was established in Ankara, and he was one of the founders. However, the state no longer effectively supports UNIMA today. Once, UNIMA-Ankara was organizing at least one festival every year but for 7-8 years, nothing can be done because of the financial cuts, even UNIMA does not have money to publish a periodical, he adds.

When UNIMA was first established in Turkey, the expenses were being covered by the state. Kadir claims that opening another branch (referring to Bursa) in Turkey is useless because, the members never pay their revenues, which are the only income of the UNIMAs. For example, when a congress is organized, none of them attends. In these circumstances, UNIMA continued only as an administrative unit. The main aim that is art has been lost according to Kadir.

Generally, arrows of the criticism were directed to UNIMA-Ankara; the director is accused of acting biased and being self-interested. For example, Cafer says that UNIMA is an international organization but the national center is not working as it is. The director is announcing the festivals very late; e.g., just three days before the festival starts, consequently, he has no time to make a preparation or even have no time to get visa. He also adds that when he personally wants to apply for a festival, the organizers reply him to apply via UNIMA. He claims, "If the Ministry [of Culture] is the sponsor for the expenses, UNIMA [Ankara] is sending his own choices, because the travel and the living expenses would be covered by the ministry." The term "own choices" is indicating those in the administrative body. He says that Zafer is the head of the UNIMA-Ankara; he is retired from the State Theaters, thus, such offers are first evaluated by him because he has still close ties with the Ministry of Culture. He also claims that if Zafer does not like the offers then he makes the offers public for the other UNIMA members. Therefore, Cafer says,

I do not want to be a part of such a [-n corrupted] organization. I will give you an example; in 2009, there was an event namely the “Turkish Day” in Bern, Switzerland. They had reached me via internet, and I participated and went there with some other artists, such as Volkan Konak. The people of the region we went were speaking French, I am Pierre Loti graduate so I did not need a translator, and I did a workshop in French. They really appreciated and invited me to the Book Fair on 23 April to be held in Zürich for the coming year. I was also directly invited by the Foreign Embassy to the next year’s “Turkish Day” to perform Karagöz again and do a workshop in French to represent Turkey. When the time came we had sent each other emails to discuss the details, -I am still keeping those copies of the emails- suddenly we had entered into a standstill period, I mean, I needed to have an invitation to get the visas, I needed time, I had to make the preparations, etc. but no news! No news at all! I did not want to call back for not being insistent, but I sent two more emails. I could not get a reply. When the day of 23 April came, I learnt that a Hayali called Kadir was there instead of me! How could it be happen? When I inquired what happened, the Embassy told me that they could not cover the travel expenses then they forwarded the issue to the Ministry of Culture. The Embassy had a contingent rate agreement with the Turkish Airlines, but they did not want to use it for us then requested the Ministry of Culture to cover the expenses. The Ministry of Culture had reached UNIMA-Ankara, and requested them a name to send him to Zurich. The authority in the Embassy told me that they had specially given my name, but if they did not insist on my name or did not reject the name given by UNIMA, they did wrong too. I did all the pre-correspondence; UNIMA must have been aware of this. In such an organization, it is impossible for me to trust.

Celal also agrees with Cafer and accuses especially the UNIMA-Ankara branch with nepotism. He says that he did not reap the benefit of UNIMA, and he has totally broken his ties with the organization.

Aslan is also another interviewee who believes that UNIMA is useless. He says, “I worked for UNIMA for a long time, I made an effort to improve UNIMA but suddenly, I decided that it is useless. Besides, I did not like the approach of the elders towards us.” He had a conflict with one of the elders. In his personal web site on Karagöz, because of a technical error, Ramazan’s name was accidentally in the list of the deceased performers. That had turned into a social problem, Ramazan had claimed that Aslan had deliberately showed his name in the list of the deceased performers since he meant that Ramazan’s time was up and Aslan was not respecting Ramazan at all. Although Aslan tried to tell that it was an accident, the incident became an honor issue for Ramazan, and UNIMA has interfered by sending Aslan a reprimand. On the other hand, Aslan says that he was the one who listed all today’s performers respectfully on his web site, and he was the one who could manage to open a Karagöz Workshop in Sultanahmet. Except for Kadir, no other performer of the UNIMA members had visited him there. He says, “I am protesting UNIMA, I repudiate it, UNIMA is not representing me. I was one of them who established UNIMA-Turkey but today it does not make any sense to me. What

did UNIMA do for me?” He adds that there was a Karagöz symposium at Gazi University but UNIMA did not make it public, and he had to contact personally with the organizers to attend the symposium. He says, “I do not respect UNIMA-Turkey, I do not care UNIMA, I am not paying my revenues and I do not want to pay.”

Dinç says that no one is paying his revenues but for the business relations they are still using the name of UNIMA as a reference. He says, “no one is attending the events of UNIMA; indeed, UNIMA has no events.” He also talks about UNIMA-Ankara as,

It was established with the state’s hand –must be independent from the beginning indeed- and there is a man of a government agency as a director, who occupied the position [for years] and is deceitfully still there, and he is doing nothing.

One of the elder masters also says that he does not pay his revenues and believes that UNIMA is not in force. Once, he had suggested that the performers, who are the members of UNIMA, should perform free shows for a while to attract and establish a vast audience. He says, “Think about a newly founded cooperation. What does it first? It conducts promotions, special offers to attract customers. When it stabilizes itself in terms of the customers, it gets into the natural course in financial terms.” His offer was rejected by UNIMA.

Cenk complains about another issue that when they get together in casual meetings of UNIMA (İstanbul), people only talk about the “politics” in his terms. By the term politics, he means that people are talking about whom they know or with which member of the parliament they contacted to get help for the Karagöz performers, or they talk about the insufficient support of the state or how they can get a financial aid from the state. On the contrary, the performers never talk about the improvement of the techniques, the new forms of the Karagöz performance or what they had learned in the last international festival; in brief, people are not talking about the art of Karagöz, which should be the main topic of UNIMA and its meetings. On the other hand, he agrees with Acar that the expectation that UNIMA has to provide job facilities for the performers is a misperception. He approaches to the issue from a different perspective; that is, if one is good at what s/he does, or if one is already a good performer so s/he does not need any other mediator to find him/her a job. He says that UNIMA is not such a kind of agency. Nevertheless, he admits that for creating a business network, UNIMA is useful for him. Therefore, the statist tendency of Karagöz is still valid in the 21st century. The Karagöz performers are in a tendency of *destining* Karagöz with the help of the state. In

other countries, UNIMA is independent from the state affairs; the UNIMA Turkey chapter is an exception in that sense.

In this manner, as the director of the UNIMA-İstanbul, Sezgin, first talks about the problems of UNIMA. He says that UNIMA needs a valid document given by the state to differentiate the “good” performers from the “bad” ones. He says that the Ministry of Culture is trying to register the artists according to their main fields of activity. In other words, the titles of “artists” written on the IDs are being replaced by the titles like “Karagöz Performer,” “Puppeteer,” “Illusionist” or “Tanner.” This new regulation is expected to prevent people having performance out of their branches. Sezgin also says that people will only deal with what is written on their IDs, because everyone dares to perform Karagöz. However, under the heading of “whatness of Karagöz” in this chapter of the thesis, almost every performer alleged that a Karagöz performer ought to deal with, at least to know, the other types of the traditional theaters that are Meddah, Ortaoyunu and Puppetry. They also claimed that in the Ottoman society, a Karagöz performer used to go on stage as an actor besides Karagöz. Furthermore, there was no such thing that Karagöz performers had only dealt with Karagöz in the Ottoman society as mentioned before, they had other kinds of jobs besides Karagöz. The specialization in a field is the product of modernity indeed.

In the context of the relationship of UNIMA and the state, Sezgin says,

The Minister of Culture Ertuğrul Günay was supporting UNIMA in a sense but the undersecretary of the present Minister of Culture is totally against Karagöz, indeed, the Traditional Theaters. ... As UNIMA-İstanbul, we are trying to solve the problems; we are performing in the name of *Kültür A.Ş.*, which is a commercial joint-stock company established by the İstanbul Metropolitan Municipality to provide services of culture, art and tourism.⁹⁸⁵ We are paying the taxes, invoice costs and the building rental of UNIMA, which is 500 TL, from the money we make through the projects of *Kültür A.Ş.* The members never pay the revenues, which is 100 TL yearly. ... We have 39 members, Bursa has 50, and Ankara is more than 50. The three elder Karagöz masters are registered in Ankara [despite the residence addresses are in İstanbul], but they are very useful for UNIMA-İstanbul. Zafer [the director of UNIMA-Ankara] did not give the masters to us; instead, he gave us those who never pay their revenues including Müjdat Gezen, who was once the director of UNIMA-İstanbul. The UNIMAs in other countries are well supported by the ministries of culture; even, they can employ salaried employees. However, we cannot do that. The Ministry of Finance does not let us to tenure. Even if the Ministry of Culture supports us, the Ministry of Finance hampers it in terms of the money.

⁹⁸⁵ “İBB Kültür AŞ” (2007, accessed June 24, 2013) available from <http://www.kultursanat.org/en/>

He also touches upon the debate of nepotism in UNIMA. He claims that they publicize all the performances offered by Kültür A.Ş. to all the members except for the elder ones. However, he says that those who are not satisfied with the payment does not accept the offers. He also adds that as UNIMA-İstanbul, they explicitly mention about how much money UNIMA will take; for example, if the performer gets 800 TL, UNIMA gets the 300 TL of it. He says, “UNIMA never forces anyone, we only offer the deal, accepting or refusing is totally up to the performers.” Sezgin says that they also share everything on the UNIMA’s Facebook page. As for the international festivals, Sezgin also utters that such offers are first evaluated by UNIMA-Ankara, but Ankara has few Karagöz performers, all the Karagöz performers are in İstanbul so, such information is also publicized via the internet or Facebook. For the late informing about the festivals, Sezgin says,

It is a complete lie. We are informing the performers at least one month earlier. But we forward those who want to attend the international festivals to UNIMA-Ankara about the details. We are offering the events to everyone. But if no one wants, then who will go for it? My relatives... For example, there was an event in Şile for 500 TL, the man told me, “I cannot go there only for 500 TL.” He was not satisfied with the money even the travel expenses were covered. Nepotism? No way!

Acar, Harun, and Zafer also support Sezgin, and Harun says that he and his apprentice Deniz are informed by UNIMA about any kind of events or festivals.

Zafer, the director of UNIMA-Ankara says below as if a defense for the accusations above,

UNIMA is a nongovernmental organization, budget of which is composed of the members’ revenues and donations. Besides, we are being supported thanks to our personal efforts and settled reliance established for years. I cannot think of that there are people saying UNIMA is useless. It is also funny to say that there is nepotism in UNIMA. Our organization neither is a political establishment nor composed of hierarchical forms. It is impossible for someone to follow his/her self-interests neither politically nor positionally nor financially. I was one of the founder members of the UNIMA National Center, and I am the director of UNIMA-Ankara since 1993, I have never made money due to the position I occupied; instead, I have spent much more money to sustain UNIMA. ... As a Center, we are considering the *technical* and the *aesthetic* levels of the performers when we are offering the jobs/events. For the festivals, we are scaling up the levels a little bit higher. For the demands reaching out to our organization, we consider and evaluate performers according to the *competence in the art*, behaviors, personality, need and availability. For the international festivals, we consider the characters of performers in terms of the *representability* besides the success. It is impossible for us to cover the expenses of the performers attending the international festivals.

Some of the words were intentionally made italic by the author of the thesis to show how an organization, which is expected to be independent from the state and work only at the will of the performers, authorizes itself about the decisions on the quality of the technique and art, and representability of a performer. Besides, Zafer uses the concept of “aesthetic levels,” to decide the artistry of the performers. However, the criteria for choosing the best performer defined in *certainty* and *objectivity* by UNIMA-Ankara unrest the most of the performers. It is needed here to remind the character of the modernity that is defined by the technology of which the essence is “*Enframing*.” An organization, demanded and established by the performers with the help of the state, holds sway over the artistry by itself and objectifies the artistic performance in accordance with a decision of which one is worthy of representability and which one is not.

On the other hand, Acar has a more positive approach towards UNIMA, he says,

UNIMA is a nongovernmental organization, the quality of which is determined by the quality of the directors. However, the members of UNIMA are in expectation that UNIMA is responsible to provide them jobs; they consider UNIMA as if it is a trade body. Nevertheless, there is no such thing meant by any of its rules. It has only one responsibility that is to promote and disseminate puppetry art, and Karagöz is just a part of it. The main title is the puppetry. On the other hand, it was established by the state-hand. If UNIMA could be independent, which is one and only accomplished by its own members, it could work better, however, the most of the members want that UNIMA should have close ties with the state; the directors should be the ex-managers of the ministry so that, they could acquire jobs. That is how they perceive UNIMA.

In brief, UNIMA’s position is also ambiguous in Turkey. Neither the state nor the members show enough respect, support and attention. Besides, UNIMA has lost confidence for the most of its members. UNIMA starts working more efficiently after the acceptance of Karagöz as an ICH by UNESCO; it is organizing Karagöz festivals in Bursa, Karagöz days in Ankara, holding conferences and symposiums, opening Karagöz Performing Courses since 1993, and has a museum about Karagöz in Bursa and art centers in three main cities: İstanbul, Ankara and Bursa. More information can be found on UNIMA-Turkey’s web site⁹⁸⁶. In addition, lately UNIMA has managed to get a document from the Ministry of Culture in cooperation with the Ministry of Education, which is indicating that UNIMA is the sole responsible for the Karagöz performers, who are going to perform in schools. In these conditions, only the performers who are accredited by UNIMA would perform in

⁹⁸⁶ UNIMA Turkey [(1993) 2001, accessed June 27, 2013] available from <http://www.unima.org.tr/>

schools and events. By this regulation, the *fake-performers* are aimed to be prevented. However, both UNIMA and UNESCO are the instruments of *Enframing* today, especially UNIMA that assumes to have right to decide what is art and what is not in terms of Karagöz.

Is Karagöz still alive? Alternatively, is the question right or wrong?

The last title can be analyzed according to those sub-titles: Modernization of Karagöz, whether it needs it or not, the role of the state and the related ministries, the contributions of the performers to Karagöz “Art”, the satirical peculiarity of the present Karagöz, and the suggestions of the performers. The explanations performers made for the decline in the popularity of Karagöz is in parallel with the changes in Turkish society.

Modernization of Karagöz, whether it needs it or not

In the nomination form of Karagöz, it is stated, “Karagöz still keeps its significance in terms of Turkish socio-economic life...”⁹⁸⁷

First of all, all the performers agree that a *fakelore* of Karagöz had been created, and the audience who met with Karagöz through the products of the *fakelore* could develop no interest in Karagöz. If it did not happen, if Karagöz had been left in its *natural course*⁹⁸⁸, there would have been totally a different Karagöz today. Therefore, Kadir says,

Today, all the traditional types of theater are being renewed. Karagöz is also a subject of the renewal. It is impossible. There is no such thing as renewal in the traditional types of theater; there can only be a development in itself, a natural development. It is also the same for Karagöz. On the other hand, there is no such thing as a “contemporary Meddah”. It is only possible if there were other types of Meddah(s) in the world so that I could evaluate and compare myself as a Meddah according to them, and then I could conclude that I am a contemporary Meddah or a backward one.

He gives the example of the clothing styles of *Zenne(s)* in the old figures in Topkapı Palace Museum, and he says that if one put them side by side, s/he can see the

⁹⁸⁷ UNESCO, "Karagöz (Nomination Form)"

⁹⁸⁸ The concept of the “natural course” is expressed directly by the performers. It might correspond to hold sway, administer itself, develop and decay; what essences, comes to presence, and what endures but not what remains permanently. Heidegger, "Question Concerning Technology," 31.

development through time. It is not a renewal, it had happened in the natural course without an intervention until the proclamation of the Republic.

Dinç summaries very briefly what happened to Karagöz starting with the foundation of the Republic. He says that starting with the disintegration process of the Ottoman Empire, the Karagöz performers fell into a struggle for life due to the conjectural reasons, such as economic conditions, warfare, political instabilities; besides, many of them had died in wars. Therefore, this art has been slowly put into chests because people have already been performing Karagöz for enjoyment, that is, they have not been directly earning their livings through Karagöz performing. Even, the puppets were left in chests. With the foundation of the Republic, when people had recovered, the “fashion” has changed. The traditional theaters have been forgotten. Everything is reformulated according to those who were brought from Europe. He says,

For the reconstruction the Turkish Theater, two people were brought from Europe, Andre Antoine from France to reorganize The City Theaters and Carl Anton Charles Ebert from Germany to organize The State Conservatory of Ankara. They had trained and educated many popular figures today, one of which was Cüneyt Gökçer. He was a professor at Ankara Hacettepe University to which The State Conservatory of Ankara joined later. After Cüneyt Gökçer, two other important figures shaped the Turkish Theater. They were Yıldız Kenter and Müşvik Kenter, who were the students of him. Yıldız Kenter became the head of the İstanbul Municipal Conservatory, and Müşvik Kenter became the head of the Mimar Sinan Conservatory. Those three have never known Karagöz. I was one of the students of Yıldız Kenter, and I know Müşvik Kenter. I had worked with them; there was nothing belongs to the Traditional Turkish Theater in the conservatory education they had given.

With the foundation of the Republic, the system has changed, a new style of theater appeared but for the traditional one it was nothing done. Nevertheless, in “Halkevleri” (People’s Houses) there were workshops and events regarding the traditional theaters. They were also closed later, and The City Theaters have started to imitate The State Conservatory. In one way or another, these traditional types of theater namely Karagöz, Ortaoyunu and Meddah have almost disappeared. They could have managed to survive of course because the performers were always the men of public, but the tradition has stopped evolving at the beginning of the foundation of the Republic. In addition, something different was presented to the taste of the public, and people were recommended to go to the new style of theaters, they were manipulated with the discourse that “the Western type of theater was good.” The fashion has totally changed. However, if Karagöz could have survived in those years, if it had been left to evolve in its natural course, it would have also changed and perpetuated. Today, you can see the figures with flying balloons in the Topkapı Palace [Museum].

Dinç means that the popularity of Karagöz has declined because of the state policies. People were deliberately manipulated to have an interest in the Western

type of theaters. On the other hand, he says that the folk art always continue to live in different forms, even in the city bazaars one can see the tracks of Karagöz. He says that Karagöz is still developing but the most of today's performers are against that. They are stuck in the idea of how they can perform the 19th-century-Karagöz as good as it was. Therefore, Karagöz took such a form that the contemporary audience has no interest in.

Mülayim says that it is so pathetic for a person to despise himself/herself. The Turkish society has to get rid of the inferiority complex. He also says that a kind of particularity might have been dominated the foundations of the conservatories in the first years of the Republic. Because those years were the years of the conflict between İstanbul and Ankara, as a folk art of İstanbul, Karagöz also had its share.

Furthermore, Cenk supports the idea that in the name of Westernization, many folk cultures had been denied. He remarks that the most visible ones were Karagöz and the other traditional types of theaters because Karagöz figures were still wearing baggy trousers and quilted turbans, which were a disgrace for the new emerging socialite. The Western type of theater; the Frankish Theater was supported at the beginning by the Ottomans and later by the Republican Turkish State. He also adds that if Karagöz have not experienced such a period, the new plays might have been written; for example, a new play might have been written in the time of Menderes, before him, in the time of Atatürk. In the 1970s and the 1980s, the new plays might have been written, especially in the time of Turgut Özal (in the same



Figure 73
Karagiozis
from the
book of
"Colors of
Shadow"

manner of the old plays). He says that the change in Karagöz does not mean to add *Tarkan* or *Barış Manço* figures at the end of the plays; he tries to say that totally new plays should have been written in accordance with the spirit of the time, which requires a natural evolution. Therefore, he believes that Karagöz would have never been named as traditional theater. When the sleeping period for Karagöz has ended, the interest in Karagöz has raised again. However, this interest has mainly shaped by the nationalist feelings because Greece tried to register Karagöz for herself; she used *Karagiozis* in the opening ceremony of the Olympiads and in their video clip of Eurovision song. Besides, the film named "Killing the Shadows,"⁹⁸⁹ which was made in 2006 in Turkey has also increased the interest. According to Cenk, the

⁹⁸⁹ Ezel Akay, Levent Kazak. *Hacivat Karagöz neden öldürüldü?* Directed by Ezel Akay. Produced by İstisnai Filmler ve Reklamlar. Performed by Haluk Bilginer, Şebnem Dönmez, & Beyazıt Öztürk. 2006.

performers had only interested in performing the best fitted Karagöz to that performed before the sleeping period. Therefore, Karagöz became outdated.

Most of the performers also agree that closing the People's Houses was a big mistake because Karagöz and the other traditional types of theater were alive in the People's Houses, and the remaining Karagöz performers were training new masters via People's Houses. Even, Acar adds that Karagöz is forced to be a theater for children resulting from a prejudice that the non-written forms, the oral forms were hard to control. Kadir says that when he was young he had met with Karagöz in one of the tours of Hayali Küçük Ali, who used to go on tours in various People's Houses in different cities of Turkey. Sezgin also agrees that for some reasons, when the People's Houses were closed, the traditional theater had sent to oblivion. He also mentions about the so-called Westernization process of Turkey. He says that the Western style of theater dominated Turkey for years; the Turkish classical music had even been avoided.⁹⁹⁰

The two elder masters and a young one also mentioned about İ. Hakkı Baltacıoğlu. Şaban said that Blatacioğlu, having been dismissed from the academy, started to work with a painter named *Mualla* (Fikret Muallâ Saygı) on Karagöz. He made Mualla make figures from cardboard daubed with the bee wax. He also made the figures bigger than the usual ones. He made Hayali Küçük Ali to perform a play with those new figures but, because those figures were too big to control, Hayali Küçük Ali had failed. Şaban says that such incidents also caused a decline in the interest in Karagöz. Harun supports Şaban that the plays Baltacıoğlu had written, which Acar also named as *fakelore*, were technically not suitable to perform. In the same context, Bayram claims that a writer had to be a performer at the same time to be able to write technically performable plays. He also mentions about the experience of the first live Karagöz that was performed in İstanbul Municipal

⁹⁹⁰ The Classical Turkish Music is a kind of music unique to the Ottoman high culture ingrained for four centuries. It was mainly composed of meters, which partially correspond the term "*usul*," and modes ("*makam*") and learned through the oral tradition as mentioned before. After the proclamation of the Republic, (Ziya) Gökalp, without being an expert in music, defined the Classical Turkish Music as a mixture of Arabic and Persian music. On the other hand, the folk music was defined as the substantial music of the Turkish society but they had to be modernized. Behar, *Musikiden Müziğe*, 273.

Darülelhan was the first conservatory of the Ottoman Empire and consequently of Turkey. There was two kind of music education in Darülelhan. One is the Classical Turkish Tradition based on the oral education, which includes the music of the Mevlevi ceremonies and the hymns that are mainly composed of the "meters" and the "modes" of the Classical Turkish Music. The other one is the Western style of education based on notation. In 1926, the part of Darülelhan based on the oral tradition teaching the Classical Turkish Music was closed in the name of Westernization. *Ibid.*, 328.

Theaters. The play was *Karagöz'ün Kaptanlığı* (Karagöz the Captain) that belongs to Aziz Nesin. He says that because the play was technically not performable on the Karagöz stage, it had to be performed live in the theater with the real actors and actresses. The play had been performed only for one week due to the low interest.

Besides the state policies, the performers also mention about the social and the technological changes, which cause a decline in the popularity of Karagöz. For example, Sezgin says that until the 1980s, the traditional theaters were popular in the circumcision ceremonies, and the elders had been calling traditional performers as a gift for their grandsons. However, when the TV has started to spread in Turkey rapidly, he began to have a difficulty to find a job in those ceremonies. Also, Ramazan says that not only Karagöz but also the other types of theaters have lost blood with the introducing the TV to Turkey. As a support, Berk says that as the new technology, such as the cinema and the TV, is presented to children, the popularity of Karagöz has declined. Karagöz is considered as “classic,” and the audience has lost its interest. Therefore, as the performers added new things to Karagöz performance, the audience considered it as degeneration, and they preoccupied with nostalgic Karagöz, which is the main obstacle for Karagöz to evolve according to Berk. He also states that in an age of the three-dimensional TVs, Karagöz seems very simple for the majority of the audiences. He is in search of how to develop Karagöz compatible with the new age. Kadir also sees the technological development as one of the main reasons of the decline in the popularity of Karagöz; he says that Karagöz was the sole entertainment before the cinema and the TV were invented. However, as it was quoted before, he says,

Every kind of art has its unique place. The TV did not kill the cinema as the photography did not kill the painting. If there were real artists, and if Karagöz was left to evolve in natural course, there would be no decline in the interest in Karagöz, and Karagöz would not die; could not die but was killed by the performers.

Yet, the main idea that the technology has affected the popularity of Karagöz is maintained by the most of the performers, even Dinç says that now there is the internet, PCs, play consoles, and all the children are used to think graphically. He claims that today's children perceive life diagrammatically. There are windows and squares continually opening and closing. If the performers understand this, they would see that they have to apply it in the plays; a performer has to be in accordance with that speed. He says,

If you still insist on vocalizing the characters as [slowly speaking] “sir, oh my Karagöz, I have said you...” children are distracted; they never come to

watch it again. You have to perform in the same tempo with that of children. You have to vocalize the characters as [rapidly speaking] “hey! What do you say?” There is nothing changed here except for the tempo. Tempo means life; it means how the life perceives itself. I am lucky because I have graduated from a Theater School. If you get the tempo, you get the audience’s pulse. If you fictionalize your whole play pictographically, it does not matter how long you speak the audience gets never distracted.

He says that the visuality is very important, and what remains in audience’s mind is always the visuality of a play.

Another reason performers mention in the context of the decline of the popularity of Karagöz is the change in the social system; social picture. In this context, Harun says that one could easily recognize the Jew or the Armenian in the old plays according to their dressing styles. One could differentiate the poor, the rich, the bazaar man, the apple seller, etc. by looking at their appearances. All have different identities, which were supported by their folkloric appearances. This was a vast richness for Karagöz. He says,

Those authentic dressings, the dressing styles of that age were very suitable for reflecting on the curtain. They were differentiated from each other, and their dressing styles were rich. However, what will a performer design today? All of us almost wear the same clothes; we wear typically T-shirts, shorts or pants, so? Nothing is different, what will I design?..

In the upper level, he criticizes the standardization, and the nation building process. If it is not an exaggeration, in the lower level, the clothing reform was responsible for losing such richness and the sources of Karagöz in terms of the visuality. Nevertheless, the Ottoman rulers differentiated people from each other for a reason that all the different ethnic, religious and the communitarian people had different customs, therefore, as also Acar says, the Ottoman rulers wanted to differentiate who was responsible for fasting and who was not or, who was allowed to go to taverns, according to clothes. They wanted to recognize a Jew by his outlook for example.

Besides, some of the performers think that the language of Karagöz is also a problem. Except for the Ghazal part that the most of the performers still use, the general language of Karagöz should be simplified and updated to today’s language. However, Sevim goes further; she claims that she is not even speaking the same language with the youth, she says,

Today, I am not speaking the same language with those born in the 1990s. Most of the time, we do not understand each other; even, we do not write

the same language. When they write 'olm' (bro) they mean 'ođlum' (brother). I do not write like that, I use the letter 'ğ', how could we communicate (?)

On the contrary, Bayram says that the language is not a problem. He had performed Karagöz for the children in France, and he managed to make them laugh. However, if Karagöz wants to regain his status that it is not for children only, it should be kept in mind that the perception of a child, which Dinç also mentioned by referring to the pictography in his plays, differs from that of an adult. As another counter argument against Bayram, Mülayim says,

The main problem is the language. The humor was created on the base of the fact that the public could not understand the Ottoman lexiphanicism in the Karagöz plays; the humor was brought out through this conflict. Karagöz either does not understand Hacivat's speech or pretends as if he does not understand it. Today, you cannot create a humor with this base. Instead, the disorders of the contemporary language can be used. Nevertheless, if the modernization of Karagöz is the issue, rather than the form, the content should be subjected to change. This world has become complicated with the beginning of the modernization era in the late 19th century. Many new trends and movements have emerged at that time. It is indispensable that the traditional common wordings became hard to be understood. In short, the world's speed of change has changed insomuch that a new language of art is needed.

On the one hand, he tries to explain the "spirit" of that age that is modern technology; and on the other, he briefly announces the change in the ontological ground shifting to the new age that is modernity, to which Karagöz does not belong actually.

Satirical Feature of Today's Karagöz

The most popular answer those interviewees have given regarding the decline in Karagöz's popularity is the abolishment of the political satire. All the performers agree that when the satire, especially the political satire, is omitted for several reasons from the Karagöz plays, it has been forced to be a children entertainment, and lost its popularity. However, they disregards the conditions of them market that force them to perform to children if they want to earn money.

In this context, Bayram says that, today, if a worker wants to have a word for his/her own rights, the labor union leader should not drive an Opel branded car. He says that this is an issue of a satire but he also adds that if he expresses it in his plays, he gets reactions. He thinks that he has limitations on the screen. In the alternative case, this is what the improvisation would mean; the artist should say whatever in his mind, but today's Turkey cannot permit a political satire. He also

gives another example that the menus of the restaurants are too complicated for an ordinary customer, not only one has to read and write but also has to read and write in French or in English. This can also be expressed satirically in Karagöz, but he, again, says that he cannot dare it. Şaban also gives other examples for the issue of satire; he says that the problems in the health system, transportation, and the social security system can be the subjects of the political satire. *Timarhane* (The Madhouse) play is still valid today (the author of the thesis disagrees with him). He also says that a foreign retired tourist can come and stay in Turkey for a month without having any financial difficulty, but a retired person from Turkey cannot do that, however, no performer today can express those issues in the plays. Kadir continues,

Let us suppose that I wrote a play called “Karagöz the Prime Minister.” If I perform it, those municipalities and the associations supporting the JDP never give me a job again, none of the TV channels invites me to one of its programs thinking that I performed a good play. What is the difference between the sultanate and the JDP government (?)

Therefore, the self-interests, the struggle for earning money, the need for social acceptance; in other words, living in common rules are in conflict with the basic characteristics of Karagöz. Consequently, this conflict causes Karagöz performers avoid political or social satire because s/he does not want to be in conflict with the government and its supporters due to the financial reasons. This is also connected with the political stance of Karagöz for years. That is, it is not only related to the conflict between the basic characteristics of the early Karagöz and today’s Karagöz the market conditions force it to be, but also related to the Karagöz’s stance, determined by the performers, according to the governments for years especially since the *Tanzimat period* except for a short time in the 1960s. On the one hand, the state has established UNIMA, and the majority of the performers demand financial and social support from the state; on the other hand, they also want Karagöz to have political satires and courage of criticizing the defective points of both the governments and the society. Hence, the focus has shifted from the Karagöz plays to the Karagöz performers; rather than expressing the agenda, gaining popularity became important due to the financial reasons.

Sezgin also says that because an artist does not have an independency, the political satire is impossible today although there is a lot of supply for it. He says that in Greece, a *Karagiozis* performer can criticize his/her prime minister or the other ministers, and use slang, but in Turkey, a performer cannot do this. Sevim is in support of those ideas and says that if only Karagöz could regain its satirical character, then it would be popular again.

On the other hand, Sezgin and Filiz agree that Karagöz should have no sides, and belong to no ideology. As Dinç says,

Karagöz can express the common difficulties in the society, such as expensiveness. Karagöz can refer to some issues but those ideas should be considered as they do not belong to the performers. Karagöz never manipulates the audience but can provide social relief (catharsis?)

According to him, Karagöz just shows what is wrong in the society but seemingly, it is also impossible regarding the conditions of modernized Turkey. However, Harun, having believed that the political satire is possible today, argues that,

Not only in Turkey, but also in the world the balances are very sensitive. To perform politically a satirical Karagöz play, a performer has to make very delicate calculations, which require a self-development, even being a party to a side. It is very important for a performer how s/he perceives the world. Karagöz differentiate Israel from a Jew, and Zionism from Judaism.

As mentioned before, he had performed a satirical Karagöz in *Atilla İlhan Culture Center* and *Leman Culture Café* for several times. He says that everyone avoids performing a satirical Karagöz play because s/he thinks that it is impossible today, but he also adds that if one has never tried, he could not know that it is possible. He says, “think about Karagöz could express what the public had in their mind, what would happen then? Karagöz would be held in high esteem in everywhere, becomes popular again.”

In this context, Cenk has an idea that he is planning to perform in the bars of İstanbul. By this way, he would use slang and criticize whatever he saw wrong in the society, and he would perform for adults. He wishes to go on the streets as the musicians on metro stations do. Otherwise, Karagöz will become a performance people have to have an appointment to watch it, which is very against to its character but has been done by Acar via Sufistic Karagöz mentioned before in this chapter.

Indeed, Harun and Cenk are covertly recommending Karagöz to be clandestine because the mainstream media is censored in a way. By performing Karagöz in bars, as Cenk recommends, and in coffeehouses with an effective political satire, it is possible for Karagöz to gain a function of a counter media. By this way, Karagöz might slowly gain its popularity and might cause people to get out of their houses and in front of their TVs, so the public places as such can be re-created. Thus, Karagöz can break the hegemony of the mainstream media and be a pioneer for a change in demanded areas. However, it is also possible to for him to be an

instrument for the other thoughts and sides other than the governments. Such ideas like performing in bars and courage for performing satirical Karagöz are coming from the new generation not from the elder masters. Yet, the main obstacle is still the technology that Karagöz could hardly compete with as an independent media. Facebook and Twitter were seemingly doing what is expected from Karagöz as a part of the social life.

Although he generally writes and performs Karagöz only for children, Aslan says that he can express whatever he believes and whatever he thinks. If it unrests those in power, it is not his problem. He also says that even if those in power punish him, he has to continue to express himself in his way, and he thinks that it is his duty as an *artist*. On the other hand, in the field of practice, all of them are performing to children and going to schools indeed to earn money.

Stance and the Role of the State

Besides the above reasons, the pose of the state, as mentioned in the first part of the section, is claimed as another important element responsible for the Karagöz's situation in the contemporary Turkish society according to the performers. Besides the *fakelore*, the most of the performers also complain about the pose of the state towards Karagöz today. It seems that there is a high-level expectation from the state about seriously dealing with the traditional theater and changing its hostile attitude towards Karagöz. Especially the elder masters say that if the state had attached a special importance to Karagöz, Karagöz would have been in better conditions today. The elder masters also say that the state should have opened traditional theater schools, or at least, it should have established faculties in universities specialized in Karagöz. Besides, they also claim that in other countries such traditional theaters and puppetry have been given a special importance. Accordingly, Kadir says,

After the foundation of the Republic, the state would make the Karagöz performers get together, and provide them fifty or fewer apprentices and a place, and then it would say, "Train them and I will ask for them after five years passed". Yet, the state did not do; and still is not doing that. The Minister of Culture only organizes festivals, but never attends the quality of the performers.

Seemingly, the decision about the quality of the artworks left to the initiative of the state. Of course, if a master wants, s/he can train an apprentice but he means here that, today, Karagöz performing requires dealing only with Karagöz; it does not accept to be a side job or a hobby. Kadir means that the state should have at least

financially supported the traditional artists rather than hampering Karagöz in several ways. He says, “The niceties of Karagöz art are lost in the name of earning money.” Therefore, he has clearly differentiated the production for art from the production for market so, Karagöz as *technē* is transformed into the field of the fine arts, and it is isolated from the society. He also gives the examples from the other countries, such as a theater specific to the puppetry that employs 300 people in Moscow, a puppetry faculty in a university in Azerbaijan and the Academia of the Puppetry in England.

In this context, some “unpleasant” events happened between the performers and the state officials. Almost all the performers, even Kadir himself, think that Kadir was wrong in the incident happened between him and the Minister of Culture Tınaz Titiz. Titiz was on duty between the years of 1987 and 1989. A newspaper had conducted an interview with Kadir presenting him in difficulty in dealing with Karagöz due to the lack of the state support. Titiz had heard of him and invited him to his office. He and the “Director of the State Traditional Theater Company” had met with the minister. Kadir had taken some books about Karagöz to give the minister. Kadir had asked the minister to employ him in İstanbul State Theaters, and let him to educate and train fifty apprentices as Karagöz masters. The minister had said “no” because, he could not employ Kadir as a state official. Kadir had insisted, and said that he could not staff and do workshops with his own means because he was living in a shanty house and his retirement pension was not enough to accomplish it. The minister had warned him not to talk about the retirement pension, after that, Kadir had also told him what kinds of contributions he made to Karagöz. When he had realized that the minister was not listening to him, he had closed his bag in a huff, which annoyed the minister. The minister had asked in a high-tempered mode, “who was watching Karagöz at our age? Who could still enjoy Karagöz? Is Karagöz still alive at that age?” After that, the conversation was over. Harun says that it was Kadir’s mistake because he could not show relative respect to the minister; besides, he had gone there in the name of UNIMA, and the UNIMA members were not aware of his presence there in the name of UNIMA. They all knew that he personally went there to talk with the minister. All the performers think that Kadir had shaped their future in a wrong way with this incident.

Before that, in 1993, “The Directorship of the State Traditional Theater Company” had been established by the state hand but the Ministry of Finance had not given support for staffing of the Directorship for years. Zafer was appointed as a manager but that was all. The Ministry of Culture had given an office for the management

but the Ministry of Finance did not support. Thus, Hadi Poyrazođlu, the director Zafer, Kamil Toygar and Kadir took an appointment from the Minister of Culture to discuss the issue. They had taken the book of “Karagöz” belonged to Cevdet Kudret to show the richness of the Karagöz performance and the plays. Şaban tells the story,

Father Hadi had naively told the minister that Karagöz was very important, it was such and such kind of art, it was moral, it was good, etc. The minister was a bad-tempered person but had said “OK,” and taken the book of Karagöz. He had randomly opened a part in the book; somehow, that part was the dialog section between Karagöz and his son in the play of *Ters Evlenme* (The Awry Marriage). He had turned black-and-blue after he had read the part, and had thrown the book in a huff by telling them “this is Karagöz you are talking about!” then they had to leave the office.

When the JDP has closed “The Directorship of the State Traditional Theater Company,” Zafer has already submitted his resignation by saying that he was useless as a manager there, and receiving a salary without doing anything. Sezgin says that because of those incidents, until the period of Semih Atalay, Karagöz have hardly been supported by the state, and now, the support is not enough. He also mentions that once Atilla Koç, the ex-Minister of Culture, had made the Toy Museum where Sezgin has regular shows open to rest at 5.00 am in the morning. When he saw the ancient Karagöz and Hacivat figures at the entrance of the museum, he had asked whether Karagöz was still being performed. At the time the interviews were conducted, Ertuđrul Günay was the Minister of Culture. Sezgin also said that Günay was supporting the traditional theaters more or less but the problem was his undersecretary, who was known by disliking Karagöz.

On the other hand, Şaban says that TRT had shot his documentary movie for three times, and archived his collection. Although he had asked several times, TRT did not broadcast the movie. He also says that after the UNESCO process started, a movie about those three elder masters were made for another documentary, their life stories were the main topic; however, it has not been broadcasted either. He adds that the state has no proper politics for the cultural issues.

According to the performers, the ministers were acting as if either Karagöz is a lost art or about to extinct. They cannot comprehend the “real” value of that art. Until the UNESCO process, Karagöz was not supported by the state at all (despite the state-hand initiatives).

In the same context, another problem about the pose of the state is the financial support given to the theaters by the Ministry of Culture. The efforts exemplified

below actually aim at opening Karagöz a space in the field of the fine arts beside the regular theaters, which have already a place among the fine arts since the Second Constitutional Era. Acar says,

When I applied for the [financial] support given to the theaters, they register me under the category of the Traditional Theaters. In this category, the state provides at most 5000 TL. On the other hand, the state provides 12.000 TL to the amateur theaters, 25.000 TL to the children's theaters and 50.000-150.000 TL to the bigger professional theaters. What does it mean? It means *cancel*; [by this way,] the state [covertly] says me not to try new things in traditional theaters [not to develop the traditional theater]. If the state provides me with 80.000 TL as it gives to the bigger theaters, I assert that no one goes to the regular theaters, and Karagöz plays to a full house.

He also says that the expenses of a Karagöz performance are not so less as the state estimates. He says that if he is going to perform for adults, he needs to bring his 5-meter curtain, six assistants, the lightening console and its controller, and a music band composed of eight people. He is trying to say that he is no different from any other theater in terms of the expenses in contrast to a Karagöz performer of the Ottoman society, who could easily afford the equipment he needed.

Acar also mentions that the state gives the biggest support that is 100.000 TL or more to the theaters that have their own saloon, but those, which do not have their own saloons, have to rent a saloon to perform their plays. He notes that he does not understand how the scales of the justice work.

Sezgin also mentions about the same issue, he states that if a traditional theater performer is going to get a support from the Ministry of Culture, they have to provide detailed invoices, all of which have to be spent for the theater expenses only, at the end of the season. The VAT value is 1.500 TL, and only the 3.500 TL is left to the performers for the expenses. He says that they are spending the rest of the money for the poster and ticket printings, buying camel leather if they can find, and the other materials required for the Karagöz performance. Besides, it is also required that the performers who took a financial support from the Ministry of Culture have to perform at least 25 plays. To fulfill this condition, Acar has been performing free Karagöz plays to children in the UNIMA-İstanbul's place. The tickets of those 25 plays have to be taken to the Provincial Culture and Tourism Directorate to prove that the performer really performed 25 plays. Sezgin also remarks about The Fund of the Turkish Prime Ministry. He says,

The Chorus of the Turkish Classical Music is composed of 30 people but because the ironers, the tailors and some other irrelevant people are travelling with them, the number reaches to 60 people. However, if I say

that I will go on a Karagöz tour with three people, they ask me whether Karagöz is not a solo performance.

Aslan gives another example that if the people are famous, they definitely get the support. He adds that, for example, the *Fire of Anatolia* the dance show got high support from the Ministry of Culture but they were not in need of it. He says that Karagöz is in need but the ministry is not funding much.

Harun explains why he “abides with” the compulsory formalities of the support despite the fact that it does not give any monetary relief. He asserts that his original plays are registered in his name. He took 5000 TL for the year of 2012, and he was expected to give all the information including news on the newspapers, statistics of the audience, places of the performances, etc. with the full text and a video of the play to the ministry. He says, “I am only considering that my performance will officially be archived.” Therefore, he assumes the state as functioning as if a notary against the plagiarism.

In this context, except for the four elder ones, the performers agree that regarding what happened hitherto, one should expect nothing from the state. Dinç says,

I am in the belief that one should expect nothing from the state. This is an independent festival. I am organizing the Karagöz and Puppetry Festival on my own, with my own money, and as long as I have it, I will continue to organize. I do not need anything. On the other hand, I am regularly paying my taxes, and in as much as I pay my taxes by doing this job, the state should not pay me back in terms of roads, water and electricity; my roads, water and electricity are the puppetry. The state should pay me back in the form of puppetry.

Acar also says that the state likes to control rather than support. He stresses that a state never truly supports the “real art,” which is Karagöz in this sense. As long as it can control, it pretends to support it. He says,

Indeed, we expect nothing from the state. We are already in touch with the friends working for the state, and we know that if a manager changes then everything changes. Alternatively, something, developing rapidly, may suddenly stop, not even slows down in the state affairs. Besides, irrelevant people can be appointed to the irrelevant posts. Therefore, the art and the state must not ever be juxtaposed. As per date, it was not the state perpetuated Karagöz, and I am sorry but, whatever it did was nothing but the *fakelore*. That is what I learned from my experiences hitherto. The state cannot help but might favor some, such as Hayali Küçük Ali in Ankara. Nevertheless, there were other contemporary successful Karagöz performers in İstanbul at that time, such as Camcı İrfan (İrfan the Glassman – İrfan Açıkgöz). No one knows him but everyone knows Hayali Küçük Ali. Those like Camcı İrfan, who were not appreciated, resented and stopped performing Karagöz, which ceased the natural development of Karagöz.

With these final statements, some of the Karagöz performers are seemingly parting their ways with the state, and heading Karagöz into the field of independent art among the respected arts, such as theater, to be valued by aesthetics of the modern Turkey

Possible Futures for Karagöz

For the future of Karagöz, the performers have different recommendations and forecasts in accordance with their pro or anti-state positions. However, all the statements were revealed at the base that Karagöz is a unique and a respected art today.

Being a pro-state person, Şaban says that Karagöz performance is a costly job so, besides the state, the banks should also support that art. In addition, the state should establish departments of the traditional theaters in universities. He also supports the state courses and trainings about Karagöz, at the end of which there should be examinations to determine the talented ones. In addition, he also concerns about the fake-performers, and says that they must be banned in one way or another from performing Karagöz. Another pro-state person Bayram says that Karagöz performers must have a permanent place, an allocated saloon, where his stage is going to be stable and therefore he is not going to carry the stage equipment for every performance (regarding his age that is 90, it should be considered as a reasonable demand). However, that is very against the Ottoman performers' situation, that is, setting a stage was easy and possible in everywhere. Kadir has also a pro-state position, he says that today, there are many types/characters to be represented in Karagöz plays in comparison to the ancient times but there is no real performer to write and play those plays. Indeed, he thinks that no one is talented and all are illiterate in the art of Karagöz, therefore, he is the only authority on Karagöz. On the other hand, he recommends some types, such as a fortuneteller, a university professor, a labor union member, a worker to be represented and performed in the Karagöz curtain. He says that if Karagöz has lost the most of the imperial types today, it does not mean that Karagöz is no more valid because, Karagöz has already been performed for centuries. The types can easily be included in and excluded from the plays. He also recommends putting Karagöz in the role of a representative, a prime minister, a mayor, a headman in the plays. He also concerns about the fake-performers and calls them as *tradesmen*. If one only aims at making money from Karagöz performing, s/he is definitely a tradesman not an artist according to Kadir, who complains that he cannot make his living by Karagöz performing.

Yet, considering the emerging conditions of Karagöz, which were featured as *technē*, everyone could, if he wanted to, perform Karagöz; rather than the terms “goodness” and “badness”, the terms “skillful” and “talented” had defined the performers. Thus, putting some pre-conditions for Karagöz performing seems a survival strategy. Being close to the state is another mean of competition; that is, the “authorities” among the Karagöz performers with the direct help of the state would be able to eliminate some other performers, who are labeled “bad” before they perform to the public.

Sezgin is another interviewee expecting state to do something, he says that the Ministry of Culture should increase the amount of the financial support it gives; in addition, it can organize Karagöz and Puppetry Festivals, the expenses of which should be covered by the Prime Ministry Promotion Fund. He also suggests that some of the performers should be salaried employees of the state. On the other hand, he stresses that their demand is not the money directly given by the state but a kind of support for their art. Thereby, the statement that “Karagöz belongs to Turks” would be retained, in his words. Besides, his main concern is also the fake-performers too, and he suggests that the state should give UNIMA a legal authority to eliminate those fake-performers. Such an initiative was given to UNIMA in 2013 as mentioned in the previous section. Moreover, he also wants the employers (the Municipals and the schools) to be more conscious about the “good” performance and the real art.

According to Dinç, this art could develop if it was not excluded from the curriculums of the schools. He says that the state could at least include the traditional theaters as a subject in the educational curriculums of the schools. He says, “I started to perform Karagöz even though I have learned nothing about it during my school years.” He is searching an answer to the question why people does not prefer to watch Karagöz even if they were mentally and earthly satisfied. He emphasizes that this was not the preference of the people but the state. He says,

I mean, the state started a project by bringing the name “Turk” [in front of the traditional theaters] but left it unfinished. It did not let Karagöz [to develop in its natural course], did not let Karagöz performing in schools, does not politically support Karagöz, and the state has totally changed the system. According to me, the first years of the Turkish Republic were a total teetering. They had started a nationalization project; nationalized many things but thereafter, all of them had been left hanging in the air. They could not manage to infuse those nationalized stuff in the public. I mean, new doors can be opened at schools to activate this art again. It is not too late; it is still possible because there are too many Karagöz performers today. ... The important thing is making people conscious of and informed about Karagöz.

On the other hand, he also accuses the Karagöz performers for being conservative. He says that life leads people in different directions and if one resists, nothing happens. He says, “If you still insist on brushing your teeth with the chew sticks, it is hopeless. OK, it cleans the teeth too but there are other things more practically doing the same thing, Karagöz should be considered as the same.” He gives an example that it is not necessary for Hacivat to read a ghazal; instead, he can recite a contemporary poem. He can recite a poem of *Orhan Veli* (1914-1950. A Turkish poet belongs to the *Garip* Movement). His emphasis is on embellishing the entrance of Hacivat, who presents himself to the audience as a literate character in a theatrical way. He says,

I am looking from an actor’s perspective. Eventually it is a kind of theater. Karagöz did not die. For whom is this nostalgia? Karagöz is a social need; you have to consider it as such, as a part of a theater. It is not something decorating your Ramadan tents [as nostalgia]. After all, we are doing theater; the problem is originating in the performers who insist on imitating the ancient plays.

By this way, he posited Karagöz as a part of a theater among the fine arts, and defined fine arts as a social need; in such a positing, it is impossible for Karagöz to extinct or to become nostalgia. He says that a performer has to follow the agenda of the similar theaters in the world to develop the Karagöz art. He also supports performing old plays in Moliere’s style. Yet, he alarms that if one performs it as it was in the 18th century with all tastes, wording and the tone; the audience gets bored to death. Conversely, if one renders *Tartuffe* for example and performs it in the style of *Ariane Mnouchkine* (a French stage director, was born in 1939), it opens another door. He says that the new direction for Karagöz is the *theater* itself, but he prefers to perform fantastic stories in a form of theater. Therefore, he destined Karagöz towards the arts of theater issuing fantastic stories.

Celal also says that Hacivat does not need to read a ghazal; he suggests that Hacivat can recite a poem of Mevlana (Jalal al-Din al-Rumi), for example, he can read, “conceal the flaws like night, and be like sun for the love” (“*kusuru örtmekte gece gibi, sevgide güneş gibi ol*”).

Another performer, Acar says that the imperial types of Karagöz are not as alive as in the Ottoman society but not dead either. He suggests that a story happened in past can be told by using those types. He also emphasizes that the classic Karagöz should be protected as it was in the Ottoman Empire for the next generation’s taste and knowledge. On the other hand, the Karagöz’s texts can update themselves in terms of clothing and fashion according to the time. He puts the difference between

the cinema and Karagöz in a way that a movie can be re-watched as many times as the viewer wants without a slightest difference. However, a Karagöz play is different, a performer can perform the same play many times but each one becomes different from the other, and if it is performed professionally, the audience can enjoy no matter how old the play is. He also states that if an artist can create a free zone, s/he already produces art in accordance with his/her life perception. He says,

Not many obstacles stand between the audience and Karagöz. We are in a better situation than that of the regular theaters. Maybe, we do not have a chance to act in a TV series to make money, but our conditions are still better than that of the regular theaters. Truthfully, they cannot attract much audience in a year inasmuch as we can do. A drama on a stage cannot reach to audience inasmuch as a Karagöz play can. But, it is a good strategy to say, “we are suffering, no one is interested in Karagöz”; it is a marketing strategy.

On the other hand, the audience is induced to children. About the same issue, Harun supports the idea that the classic Karagöz plays should be protected as they were besides the new Karagöz plays. He says that Şaban, an elder performer, who was awarded with LHT, should only perform classic Karagöz; in other words, *Kar-i Kadim* Karagöz plays because he is the best in terms of performing those plays. Furthermore, Harun suggests that a museum should be established with a permanent Karagöz stage where the old plays as they were in the Ottoman society can be performed. On the other hand, he also says that the performers are doing nothing except kicking about each other and telling about their memories. He suggests that the performers should stop this and approach Karagöz more academically because he says, “it is obvious that performing is not enough to perpetuate this art. Reading, writing, discussing and thinking about Karagöz are needed,”

That corresponds to the experience of art and the meditation on art that belongs to the field of aesthetics in the modern world. Besides, those initiatives and the ideas ground on an aim to order and organize knowledge about who will do what in the realm of the Karagöz performers. Some of them are attributed to perform the classic plays only, some of them takes the responsibility of archiving, etc., which corresponds to the term *Enframing* “that claim ceaselessly brings both men and

things to take their places in the stark configuration that is being wrought out through ordering for use”.⁹⁹¹

Among the younger performers, Cenk and Berk are bringing out different projects. For example, Cenk plans to perform in the bars of İstanbul as it was mentioned before in this section. Cenk thinks that Karagöz should lie heavily on the absurd elements and dirtiness rather than the fantastic elements, which Dinç prefers. He also plans to enlarge the size of the figures but Şaban says that the bigger the figures the heavier they become. Cenk also wants to use cinevision technology, for example, for the underwater scenes in Karagöz plays. Besides, he adds that if the time of the Jew, Arab, Armenian or the Frank/European is up, he can replace the Jew with a stingy person for the reason that the stinginess is a common human characteristic, which would never be totally abolished, and he can replace the Arab with a slow-witted person.

Alternatively, Berk is thinking about a play combining Hamlet and Karagöz. But, he says that it is not like that Hamlet comes and harangues simply; rather, he tries to build a dramaturgy. He also said that he had watched Hamlet of the Germans in the “Theater Festival” that was continuing when the interviews were conducted in İstanbul, and he highly appreciated that play. The dramaturgy of the play had utilized the new technologies as much as it could, and the scenario had been arranged accordingly. Berk says that they could manage to tell about the problems of today’s world with Hamlet.

On the contrary, Mülayim had also seen the same play, which was directed by Ostermeier⁹⁹². He admittedly says that although he was bored during the play, the play was difficult to perform in terms of the dramaturgy. In relation with Karagöz, he says,

We had watched a crazy Hamlet; too postmodern... Yes, it could catch up with the spirit of our time, but I do not like such renderings, I thought exactly that they are not playing Hamlet; they are playing *with* Hamlet. Hamlet was a woman in disguise as well in many other disguises. When I see such adaptations, I say, “God, protect us from such creative directors.”

⁹⁹¹ William Lovitt, Introduction to *Question Concerning Technology and Other Essays*, by Martin Heidegger, translated by William Lovitt, XIV-XXXIX (New York & London: Garland Publishing, 1977), xxix.

⁹⁹² Andrew Dickson, “Thomas Ostermeier: ‘Hamlet? The play’s a mess’” (The Guardian, November 13, 2011, accessed June 18, 2013) available from <http://www.guardian.co.uk/stage/2011/nov/13/thomas-ostermeier-hamlet-schaubuhne>

It was so modern, so creative to be true! I would prefer them not to play Hamlet to tell us a story of today.

But Karagöz can also make use of [technology] so he can tell us about the contemporary time without major changes. *Hüseyin Çelik*, *Bülent Arınç* and *Tayyip Erdoğan* are very suitable grotesque examples for me to take role in the Karagöz curtain because Karagöz is also a grotesque theater at heart. Besides, I would put the neo-liberals as types in the Karagöz plays. I would even adapt “*Cumhuriyet Kızı*” (Republican Girl)⁹⁹³ play of *Memet Baydur*⁹⁹⁴. *Oral Çalışlar*, *Cengiz Çandar*, *Mehmet Ali Birand*, *Hasan Cemal*, even *Yalçın Küçük* are very suitable to take a role in the “Republican Girl” adapted to Karagöz stage.

This conflict gives a clue about how the young performers are different from the elder ones. Besides, Mülayim has an established definition of art and theater; he is against rendering any kind of classic texts. Those plays should be performed as they are. But for Karagöz, he offers that it could catch up the time through the adaptations of the plays belong to the Turkish Theater.

In addition, all the performers have a common opinion that there is no need to change the technique of Karagöz, which is already in perfect condition. They accept Karagöz as the father of the cinema and give the example of Lotte Reiniger, who was inspired by Karagöz to support this common opinion. However, the younger ones are eager to utilize today’s technology especially for lightening and figure making.

The last issue is the search of a progress by the performers in Karagöz through new appliances in the plays, performance and the manufacturing. As Sevim indicated, the prime reasons behind the decline of the popularity of Karagöz are the abolishment of the political and social satire, dirtiness, its confinement into Ramadan and shifting into a theater only for children. In this context, the performers are trying different methods to overcome those problems as they defined.

Şaban says that he has written five new plays to be published, those are *Karagöz’ün Tulumbacılığı* (Karagöz the Fireman), *Zekerli yahut Toramanlı Karagöz* (Karagöz with Phallus), *Karagöz’ün Tahteravalli Oyunu* (Teeter-totter Play of Karagöz), *Karagöz’ün Hülle Oyunu* (Irreversible Divorce Play of Karagöz), *Karagöz’ün Çobanlığı* (Karagöz the Shepherd). He has planned to publish the book composed of those plays with the help of the Ministry of Culture but UNIMA has told him that it

⁹⁹³ Memet Baydur, *Cumhuriyet Kızı* [İstanbul: Remzi Kitabevi, (1988) 2000].

⁹⁹⁴ For more information: Sevdâ Şener, "Memet Baydur Tiyatrosu," *Tiyatro Araştırmaları Dergisi*, no. 31 (2011): 109-140.

would apply withholding deductions; therefore, the project has been ceased for now. In *Karagöz'ün Tulumbacılığı* play, he issued the wrist wrestling and cockfighting. In *Hülle* play, Karagöz is asked to marry with *Çelebi's* ex-wife to break the rule of the irreversible marriage that was applied in the Ottoman society (*Çelebi* wants to re-marry to his ex-wife but he had irreversibly divorced his wife). In *Zekerli Karagöz*, three overdressed women and their adventures with Karagöz are issued. He also prepared the figures of the plays. On the other hand, he was writing a book on "everything about Karagöz," such as figure making, performing, type of colors, vocalizing, etc. Besides, he has also replaced the lost décor of the play of *Eczahane* (The Pharmacy). He has found an ancient figure belonged to an Iraqi performer dated back to the 13th century. He has based his new pharmacy figure/tasvir onto this ancient tasvir. He says that he prefers to issue the old subjects belonged to the ancient İstanbul of the Ottoman society in his plays.

The eldest performer Bayram is also planning to play Hamlet with Karagöz but he did not mention about the content of the play. He also wants to perform an operetta with Karagöz figures. Moreover, he is planning to represent a gypsy neighborhood in a Karagöz play. On the other hand, he said that four foreign researchers have published books issuing him, his figures and his dialog sections for the Karagöz plays. One of them was published in Germany with the name of "*Schatten Spielen*," and the other one was published in Japan. He is in favor of using the old figures because he thinks that the old figures and the traditions would be saved from death by this way. But he is against using the modern figures with the ancient ones; for example, he is against using a girl in bikini with the man in fez in the same play. In addition, he told a story that he performed the play of *Sarhoş'a Tuzak* (Trap to the Drunkard, a version of the play of *Ters Evlenme/ The Awry Marriage*) in Germany. In the scene of the first night of the marriage that Karagöz and Drunkard (*Tuzsuz*) would meet, he started to put the bed, then commodes and then he put the oil lamps, when he put the last oil lamp, the audience had applauded him loudly because, they appreciated the detail of the decoration. He says that the audience had taken note of the lamps those completed the décor. By this way, he emphasizes and praises the importance of the details of the figure making.

Ramazan says that he has also written a book about Karagöz but he could not find a publisher yet because, the publishers think that it is not profitable to publish a Karagöz Book according to him. He is also in favor of Karagöz on TV if it would help Karagöz to be popular again.



Figure 74 a scene from the Play of the Garbage Master

Dinç has written three new plays namely, *Büyülü Ağaç* (The Magical Tree), *Çöp Canavarı* (The Garbage Monster) and *Sihirli Lamba* (The Magical Lamp). He rather prefers to perform in foreign countries and international festivals. When the interview was conducted, he was going to Sarajevo the next day. He is planning to establish a “Karagöz Association.” He is also planning to devote all of his collections and property holdings to that association. He is also founding a “Karagöz Museum” through which he says, “People will come

to know Karagöz as an important art that highly influential on the society and that presents the origins of the İstanbulites.” He states that whatever he has done hitherto and whichever education, such as restoration, theater, management, he had throughout his life, are only for Karagöz. He says, “I devoted my life to Karagöz.”

As another performer, Celal has performed a brief summary of the “The Abduction from the Seraglio” of Mozart with Karagöz figures, as an introductory session of that Opera in Goethe Theater of Germany. The Opernhaus Opera Group had personally invited him in 2004. The first show of Celal had been recorded to the camera, since then, this record was presented to the audience accompanied by prelude music in every session before the Opera started. Besides, he has performed Karagöz in the films “Karagöz Hacıvat *Neden Öldürüldü?*,”⁹⁹⁵ “*Veda*,”⁹⁹⁶ “*Babba*,”⁹⁹⁷ “*Keşanlı Ali Destanı*”⁹⁹⁸ and in the series “*Leyla ile Mecnun*.”⁹⁹⁹ He has also performed in commercials, such as *Migros* (2004), *Milliyet* (2005), *KC Group* (2006), *Sütaş* (2007) and *Coca Cola* (Euro 2008). He is not against that Karagöz can utilize TV.



Figure 75 a figure from the play of The Abduction from the Seraglio by Celal

⁹⁹⁵ Akay Ezel, Levent Kazak, *Hacıvat Karagöz neden öldürüldü?* Directed by Ezel Akay. Produced by İstisnai Filmler ve Reklamlar. Performed by Haluk Bilginer, Şebnem Dönmez, & Beyazıt Öztürk. 2006.

⁹⁹⁶ Zülfü Livaneli, *Veda*. Directed by Zülfü Livaneli. Performed by Serhat Mustafa Kılıç, Dolunay Soysert, & Burhan Güven. 2010.

⁹⁹⁷ Yalçın Yelence, *Babba*. Directed by Yalçın Yelence. Performed by Güven Kırac, Oktay Korunan, & Figen Evren. 2006.

⁹⁹⁸ *Keşanlı Ali Destanı*. TV Series. Directed by Çağan Irmak. Produced by Kanal D. Performed by Nejat İşler, & Hale Akınlı Belçim Bilgin. 2011.

⁹⁹⁹ *Leyla ile Mecnun*. TV Series. Directed by Onur Ünlü. Produced by TRT 1. Performed by Ali Atay, Serkan Keskin, & Cengiz Bozkurt. 2011.

Acar claims that he is the first to change the size of the figures. He says that when the figures get bigger, they get heavier and it takes longer to make them besides; the leather is more inclined to curl. However, he has solved these problems and managed to enlarge the figures up to 50 cm. He says that he is also the first to perform interactive Karagöz, which is letting the audience to direct the play and decide the possible final. He has also written the play of *Karagöz Ay'a Gidiyor*



Figure 76 the Poster of the Play "Karagöz goes to the Moon" by Acar

(*Karagöz goes to the Moon*) and performed it. According to the spot, Hacivat offers Karagöz to found a travel company carrying people to the Moon. Moreover, he has also written the plays of *Karagöz Plaj Bekçisi* (*Karagöz the Beach Warden*), *Karagöz Kitap Kurdu* (*Karagöz the Avid Reader*), and *Karagöz Ağaç Dikiyor* (*Karagöz is planting trees*) for children.

Both Celal and Cafer said that they have performed the *Selfish Giant* by Oscar Wilde in the form of a Karagöz play for a student's Ph.D. thesis. Celal says that the student was English and the project was prepared as part of a doctoral thesis at Kent University in 2004 whereas, Cafer says that she was French. Celal states that he made the figures to be used in the play. Cafer says that he went to England to perform the play there. Cafer also says that the play's name was *Karagöz Londra'ya Gidiyor* (*Karagöz goes to London*), and it was performed in London in 2004. The story was about that Karagöz found a job in London; he would be a tulip gardener. The job posting, which was designed as if published in the *Hürriyet Newspaper*, was reflected to the curtain with the help of a projection. The selfish Giant was not in the form of a Karagöz figure but a real person, who had cast his shadow to the curtain. The play was about the adventures of Karagöz in London, and socially criticizing some issues like regular lateness of the trains. It is ambiguous that both of the performers have helped the same Ph.D. thesis for the same play in 2004. Possibly, because of the lack of communication, they are not aware of that they had helped the same Ph.D. thesis, or both are laying claim on the same play.

Cenk is regularly performing Karagöz in Halis Kurtça Culture Center, which belongs to the Kadıköy Municipality. Besides, he is regularly going to LÖSEV (The Foundation for Children with Leukemia) and "Metin Sabancı Special Education and Rehabilitation Center" to perform Karagöz to the pediatric patients; else, he is performing to children with the Down syndrome. In addition, he is working on developing new techniques; for example, he is planning to adapt the scissors of the printing houses to the Karagöz figure making to shorten the time and to cut more than one figure at the same time but, he says that he cannot guarantee the quality.

He also says that he adapted backlit table of cartoon movie producers again to the Karagöz figure making so that, he could work refinedly. He is also working on a play. According to the story, the major types and the characters of the Karagöz plays have left the curtain and found other jobs; they have totally made a different life for themselves. But Karagöz tries to reunite them and revitalize the Karagöz Theater as in the good old days.

Aslan has been already performing Karagöz in a project called “*Dağaçar Bey ve Çöpün Altın Tektoniği*” (Doğaçar and the Golden Tectonic of Garbage)¹⁰⁰⁰ as a documentary-theater, produced by Garaj İstanbul. As mentioned before, the real garbage collectors are playing themselves and Aslan is playing himself as a Karagöz performer. Besides, he has written two Karagöz plays, those are *Boğaziçi Sefası* (A Trip in Bosphorus) and *Kız Kulesi Efsanesi* (The Legend of the Maiden's Tower). He has also educated workers in a factory located in Gebze about the “six sigma” (Six Sigma is a set of tools and strategies for process improvement, originally developed by Motorola¹⁰⁰¹) through Karagöz performance.

He also adapted the Jewish character named Shylock of the “Merchant of Venice” by William Shakespeare to the play of *Ters Evlenme* (The Awry Marriage). He has directly quoted the words of Shylock in the play by referring to Shakespeare and his play. Shylock¹⁰⁰² says,

I am a Jew. Hath not a Jew eyes? Hath not a Jew hands, organs, dimensions, senses, affections, passions? fed with the same food, hurt with the same weapons, subject to the same diseases, healed by the same means, warmed and cooled by the same winter and summer, as a Christian is? If you prick us, do we not bleed? If you tickle us, do we not laugh? If you poison us, do we not die? And if you wrong us, shall we not revenge? If we are like you in the rest, we will resemble you in that. If a Jew wrong a Christian, what is his humility? Revenge. If a Christian wrong a Jew, what should his sufferance be by Christian example? Why, revenge. The villainy you teach me, I will execute, and it shall go hard but I will better the instruction.

¹⁰⁰⁰ Sebastian Bruenger, *Dağaçar Bey ve Çöpün Altın Tektoniği*. Performed by Abdullah Dağaçar, Aziz İdikurt, Mithat İçten, Bayram Renklihava & Hasan Hüseyin Karabağ, Garaj İstanbul, İstanbul. November 16, 2010.

¹⁰⁰¹ “six sigma,” (Wikipedia, July 3, 2013, accessed July 3, 2013) available from https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Six_Sigma

¹⁰⁰² "Novel to Film: Shylock's Defense." (Public Broadcasting Service, 1995, accessed June 25, 2013) available from http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/masterpiece/merchant/ntof_shylock.html

Shakespeare, William. *The Merchant of Venice, Act 3, scene 1, 58–68*. (Yale: The Yale Shakespeare, Yale University Press, 1923).

Then Hacivat tries to relieve the Jew's mind by saying that they are no longer living in the 19th century's Italy, they are living in Turkey, where the people are used to live together. He also adds that his main motivation for dealing with Karagöz is to tell people that they can live together even if their beliefs and thoughts are different because Karagöz is already adopted such a kind of understanding. On the other hand, the reconciliation of Shakespeare and Karagöz can be considered as an attempt to show that Karagöz plays are as valuable as the plays of Shakespeare in the context of the respected arts.

Harun, as mentioned before, had performed satirical Karagöz in Leman Kültür Café. Besides, he adds figures of "Karagöz the hip-hopper" and "DJ Hacivat." They are not included in the main plots but they show up at the end of the play. He is not against the plays like *Karagöz Uzaya Gidiyor* (Karagöz goes to Space) because, Karagöz is open to everything, according to Harun.



Figure 77 Karagöz the Hip-Hopper and DJ Hacivat by Harun

Kadir, on the other hand, has devoted himself to improve the technique of Karagöz although all the performers are strictly against a change in the technique. Furthermore, Şaban, Sezgin, Dinç, and Cafer claimed that Kadir could not be awarded with LHT because he has changed the technique, and he uses acetate plaques instead of leather in the Karagöz figure making. However, Kadir explains the reasons for his preference of acetate plaques as,

I thought that if I want to perpetuate Karagöz I have to quit using leather [in figure making]. I decided that Karagöz would not compete with the cartoon movies even if I have improved the *tasvirs*. For example, the figure of *Laz* [character from the Black Sea region of Anatolia] is composed of two parts, which are the torso and head, and the legs. On the other hand, the cartoons are in abundance of motion. The leather is not suitable to be divided into smaller pieces besides; figures [made up of leather] curl when they get hot. In addition, the rods inserted to the figures go beyond the *tasvirs*, and this situation was creating a gap between the curtain and the figure, which resulted in the failure of the focus. When the size of the leather figures is enlarged, the figures also become heavier. Therefore, I decided to use acetate plaque as thin as leather instead of camel or calf leather. The only problem is the colors; my figures, made up of the acetate plaque, are rather in dead colors in comparison to those made up of leather.

Moreover, because he could not insert the rods to the acetate figures with traditional methods, he has also developed a new apparatus that is hinge.

At first, the grandson of Hayali Küçük Ali, who was accepted as an authority in Karagöz performance at that time, had considered Kadir's figures as unacceptable

for the reason that Kadir has spoiled the authenticity of the figures. However, he says that the performers have comprehended his aim at the end. With his technique, the figures can be enlarged without the obstacle of getting heavier and can be seen from a very long distance without a focus problem, which enables him to perform in larger saloons to crowded audience. He says that the audience never pays attention to the material of the figures; rather, they are interested in the enjoyment, which depends to the visibility of the performance and the ability of the performer to make laugh.



Figure 78 the tasvir(s) of Süleyman Demirel, Erdal İnönü and Bülent Ecevit made up of acetate plaque, by Kadir



Figure 79 A spaceship made up of acetate plaque, by Kadir



Figure 80 A truck tasvir belonged to Kadir.

Actually, Kadir's understanding of art is very different from all the other performers. Although he defines the *Hayali* very strictly, he has no hesitation in changing the technique of the figure making and the performance, which might correspond to the *essencing* Karagöz. Kadir's main discourse grounds on the *tradition* but the *tradition* is not something that is fixed and needs protection for him. Rather, he believes that every tradition is alive and always in change. He is also against the modernization of Karagöz, however, not because of having an ideal Karagöz in his mind but because of the idea that every art finds itself a place if it is left to evolve in its natural course. His thoughts are closer to the idea of essence of a being that administers itself in Heideggerian words. He considers Karagöz together with the other traditional theaters, and tries to comprehend Karagöz in that entirety. Nevertheless, in the final analysis, he gives an utmost importance to Karagöz as a respected art of the Turkish society.

Moreover, he was in preparation of books to be published. Those are "the Puppetry for the Preschoolers", "the Traditional Theater and İstanbul", "Karagöz, Painting, Caricature and the Traditional Turkish Theater", "Radio, Cinema, TV and the Traditional Turkish Theater" and "Karagöz and Health." Besides, he had performed

Karagöz in the films *Gülen Adam*¹⁰⁰³ (The figures of Süleyman Demirel and Erdal İnönü were prepared for this film) and *İstanbul Kanatlarının Altında*¹⁰⁰⁴.

After positing Karagöz into the realm of the fine arts under the title of theater, the performers tried to give a destination to Karagöz. On the base of the perception that the performers are *causa efficiens* acquired superiority on the other three causes, which were once equally owing each other in bringing-forth. In this context, Karagöz was also posited with its all knowledge in the world picture within *Enframing*, which comes to pass as a destining of revealing,¹⁰⁰⁵ and which is the essence of modern technology that is governing the age of the world picture.

As the Analysis Chapter indicated, the transformation of Karagöz that has emerged as *technē* in the 16th century of the Ottoman Empire (but was known before that time as a shadow theater) to the fine art in the 21st century of Turkey has been almost completed. Although Karagöz was desired to communicate with the society



Figure 81 a scene from the film, from left to right: Sheik Küşteri, Hacıvat and Karagöz

as an art in its classical form, Karagöz in other forms, such as movies and iPhone applications, could manage to communicate with the society. For example, the film “*Hacıvat Karagöz Neden Öldürüldü?*,”¹⁰⁰⁶ which was the product of modern technology had a good reception by the audience. The activities in Turkey regarding the leisure time in 2006¹⁰⁰⁷, when the movie was made, are indicated below.

Therefore, the film was made in 2006, 91.3% of the population was spending its leisure time by the audiovisual media, 87.4% of which was by watching TV. The performing arts’ share was only 0.6%. In this context, although the film was highly criticized by the contemporary, especially the elder, performers the movie had relatively a good reception by the audience, who went to cinema as a cultural

¹⁰⁰³ Erdoğan Tünas, *Gülen Adam*. Directed by Kartal Tibet. Performed by Kemal Sunal, Aydan Burhan, & Ahmet Sezerel. 1990.

¹⁰⁰⁴ Mustafa Altıoklar, *İstanbul Kanatlarının Altında*. Directed by Mustafa Altıoklar. Performed by Ege Aydan, Okan Bayülgen, Beatriz Rico, Haluk Bilginer, & Burak Sergen. 1996.

¹⁰⁰⁵ Heidegger, "Question Concerning Technology," 31

¹⁰⁰⁶ Ezel Akay, Levent Kazak. *Hacıvat Karagöz neden öldürüldü?* Directed by Ezel Akay. Produced by İstisnai Filmler ve Reklamlar. Performed by Haluk Bilginer, Şebnem Dönmez, & Beyazıt Öztürk. 2006.

¹⁰⁰⁷ The Time Use Survey of TÜİK, 2006, this table is not updated since 2006.

activity. Karagöz was (re-)introduced to 0.6% of the population, which was mainly composed of the young audience in 2006. In the general evaluation, the audience over the age of 45 gave lower points whereas the audience between the ages of 29-44 gave higher points to the film.¹⁰⁰⁸ In other words, *in the form of a movie*, Karagöz had managed to communicate the society to some extent. That tells, on the one hand, how technology determined the leisure times, which mainly dominated by the TV, and on the other, Karagöz, if it is in other forms compatible with the modern age could communicate with society.

On the other hand, the iPhone application developed by Anakule Studios, and first launched on 12 July 2012, had managed to have personal highest rank that is 73 out of 500 applications in iTunes store of Turkey. After the release, the rank of the application has gradually decreased, on 18 August 2013, it was ranked as 725 out of 1000 application. The average ratings for the application are either equal or higher than 4 out of 5.¹⁰⁰⁹ Therefore, Karagöz through a smart phone application has relatively succeeded to reach the audience in a technological way but might not the desirable way of the Karagöz performers the author interviewed, among whom there are also the performers in favor of that Karagöz should utilize the technology of its age.

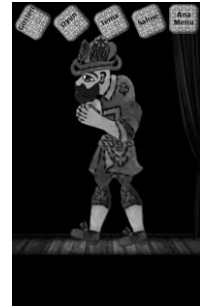


Figure 82
iKaragoz
Application for
iPhone

¹⁰⁰⁸ "User ratings for Hacivat Karagöz neden öldürüldü?" (IMDB. 1990-2000, accessed June 20, 2013) available from <http://www.imdb.com/title/tt0485510/ratings>

¹⁰⁰⁹ Annie App, "iKaragoz LITE - Daily Ranks." (App Annie, 2009, accessed August 18, 2013) available from <http://www.appannie.com/app/ios/ikaragoz-lite/ranking/#device=iphone&view=best-ranks&date=2013-08-19>

CHAPTER VII

CONCLUSION

This thesis mainly focused on Karagöz and its related products in its historicity. In contrast to its claimed being as a fine art, Karagöz was not always in being of art that is defined in modern sense. Thus, this thesis aimed at tracing the transformations of Karagöz starting from its early history, when it was in status of non-art in the Ottoman context, to the present times, when it is being declared as a respected fine art, and the performers claimed to be treated as equal with other contemporary fine artists that operates in different legitimate branches of the fine arts. It was deliberately called as “the transformations” of Karagöz for the reason that not only Karagöz itself changes but also the society it had emerged has been transformed from a ground, as mentioned before, that the beings reveals themselves as creations of God to that in which beings reveals themselves through destining of the modern subject.

This thesis tries to bring another viewpoint in studies on Karagöz that it does not approach Karagöz as an art since the very beginning of its early history. Rather, with the idea that, as art finds its meaning throughout the history, the being of Karagöz, as claimed to be an art in modern sense, should also finds its meaning throughout the history. For this thesis, considering its being in the Ottoman society it is better to approach to Karagöz with the term *technē* that is borrowed from Heidegger. *Technē* is an ability, a capability and every kinds of bringing-forth in the realm of *physis* as it finds its meaning in Ancient Greek. Thus, if art is any capability of bringing forth, then, in reference to Heidegger, art is *technē*. It is not simply a handicraft, such as ironworking, or a product of mind, such as poesy. *Technē* collectively termed both handicraft and art in the Ancient Greek, whose comprehensive understanding of art has changed first with Plato, then later, with the beginning of the modern age, in which every being was objectified and let to reveal itself only by the consent of the modern subject that inquires, orders, researches beings, and posits them with their all possible but certainly defined

knowledge in the world picture as representatives to “proper” places. Thus, art, once was every kind of bringing forth, producing and products in and for life in its extended meaning, where the life and art is not detached from each other, has transformed into fine arts, which is governed by the modern aesthetics whose only concern is to find the beautiful in art. Therefore, art, in its narrow meaning, is forced to be isolated from life.

Karagöz for the Ottoman society was also in similar context. It existed in and for the very life of the Ottomans, and assuming some functions as well as reflecting the Ottoman daily life, as a “phenomenon.” Rather than being induced to performance, with its philosophy, music, grotesque being, satire, comedy, informing, and many other functions, it was definitely as a “knowing”, which also qualifies *technē*.

Today, the performers, the known and recognized ones were also the interviewees in this thesis, desire Karagöz to be accepted as a (fine) art, and its share from the market as every work of art soon or later is commodified, as Eagleton also touched upon.

Therefore, what was aimed during the thesis is trying to understand the transformations of Karagöz, whose journey starts as *technē* in the 16th century of Ottoman society and ends, for now, as a fine art in 21st century modern Turkish society. Although thesis gave a detailed analysis of how a kind of bringing-forth transforms from being non-art to art, a new opened chapter in Karagöz as the Chapter VI elaborates, there are alternative paths for Karagöz other than being a fine art. Such kind of analysis may be possible by considering the phenomenon of *fake-performers* as the interviewees defined.

Through analyzing Karagöz within the different periods, such as Ottoman, Tanzimat, Constitutional, Republican that were the universe of Karagöz, and contemporary times within the context of conducted interviews with recognized Karagöz performers, it became possible to see how its transformations detached it from the realm of *technē* and lead it to the realm of fine arts.

In the Ottoman society, Karagöz performance was not different from any other kind of artistry corresponding to neither craft nor art in the modern sense. Relatedly, Evliya Çelebi also uses the term “skillful” only in his passage where he praises Kır Hasanzade Mehmet Çelebi the Karagöz performer of the 17th century Ottoman society. While mentioning about him, Evliya Çelebi does not use a word directly

corresponding to the term “art.” Rather, he¹⁰¹⁰ means “knowledge” or “knowing” by the word “*ilim*,” and means “*Hayali*,” which might be translated as the one who brings forth in life in relation to the grounds he holds, as the Karagöz performer” by the word “*şeb-baz*” in the Ottoman language. In this sense, not only Karagöz but every kind of bringing-forth was being considered as knowing, shaped in and produced for the society.

During the early history of Karagöz, a Karagöz performance used to require very modest set of equipment, such as a light-colored fabric stretched in a square or a rectangular wooden frame, cut and colored figures made up of camel leather or cardboard, rods, oil lamp/candle/lamp, tambourine and *nareke*.¹⁰¹¹ This simplicity were enabling them to perform anywhere and anytime as the occasions allowed. Moreover, it was enough for an enthusiast to work with a master for a while and to learn the “art” (as *technē*) within the master-apprentice relation, which originated in a moral and pragmatic system that was *fütüvvet*, to be a Karagöz performer. Furthermore, Karagöz was a part of the oral tradition,¹⁰¹² that is, considering the currency of the printed materials, the performers were not required to read from texts during the performance. Thus, they were highly utilizing improvisations, which also determined their mastery and popularity. In a society, where the literacy rate was relatively low, it was easier for Karagöz to serve as a spectacle product and to be popular among the public.

Being a popular spectacle product was not the only essencing characteristic of Karagöz. Especially after the 16th century, it was functioning as an important mediator of information and news among the public. Moreover, Karagöz had acted as an instrument of soothing the tension on the streets, where there were many communities from different religious, ethnic groups and classes meeting every day without speaking each other’s language. By this way, Karagöz was lessening the tension of possible anti-religious/ethnic attitudes among the subjects in the Ottoman society as a widespread public spectacle. For the entertaining peculiarity, Karagöz was not only an entertainment for the *rayah* (subjects of the sultan), but

¹⁰¹⁰ Evliya Çelebi, *Evliya Çelebi Seyahatnamesi*, 1. Kitap, 310.

¹⁰¹¹ Akşit, "Modernleşme sürecinde Karagöz," 65.

¹⁰¹² This was both an advantage and a disadvantage for the author of the thesis. Reaching the sources was hard but the absence of the sources about Karagöz also has proved that it was a part of the Ottoman society, who hardly needed to mention about it until the late 16th century. The paradox, which the author needed sources to prove its thesis but as long as she could not it already proved that Karagöz has emerged as *technē* and a part of the Ottoman society, which did not need to put any difference from any other product produced in society, made an interesting contribution to the thesis.

also for the military class; even the sultan was enjoying Karagöz. Therefore, Karagöz was acting as an intermediary between the subjects and the sultan. It was also a mediator between the classes, which based on the division of the rayah and military on the one hand; and based on the economical and juridical division of non-Muslims and Muslims, on the other. Furthermore, through political and social satire, irony and grotesque, Karagöz was able to criticize everything in the society without a limitation. This was the cause of the need to be mentioned bewilderedly by the foreign travelers visited İstanbul.

The types/figures/*tasvirs* in Karagöz plays were also filtered from daily life of the society. For example, the Frank was invariably depicted as a doctor or an innkeeper using Italian or French words in his speaking, the Turk was depicted as a woodcutter who was slow-witted person, the Arab was a rich coffee grinder or a slave repeatedly asking the same questions, and the Jew was a rich, chary and haggling merchant named *Bezirgan*. In accordance, Karagöz was mirroring the events of the times; for instance, the play of *Kayık* (Rowboat) was satirizing the indecent meetings of men and women on *pereme(s)* on the one hand, and corrupting artisan guild in the 17th century on the other. Besides, the play of *Hamam* (Bathhouse) was satirizing the notorious bathhouses in the Ottoman society. Therefore, Karagöz had established vital connections with the very organization of the Ottoman society as a very part of the social life. As it was a “knowing,” with its different roles, Karagöz was appealing to the different aspects of the society. Except a few names of the performers, who were known by also performing in the palace, such a kind of activity in the context of *technē* was not letting any of the constitutive elements, such as performer, performance, material (leather, knife for cutting leather, technique, etc.) and form (*tasvir*, scenery, plays, etc.) to dominate the others.

The first signs of the modernization, the essence of which was defined by Heidegger as *Enframing*, were started with the Tanzimat period, in the mid-19th century. The societal values of the Ottoman Empire, which constituted the universe of Karagöz, were made upside down with the *Tanzimat* period. After the proclamation of *Kanun-i Esasi*, which is the first constitution of the Ottoman Empire, everyone in the society, who was formerly defined as the subjects of the sultan, was recognized as an Ottoman citizen. Millet System that was based on the ethnic and religious differences was abandoned, as well as the juridical system, grounding on the division of Muslims and non-Muslims, was modified. The basic structure of the Ottoman society that was largely characterized by the differentiation of the rayah from the military class had begun to give way to new divisions. Besides the

differences in the organization of the Ottoman Empire, social life was also changing; for instance, Mahmut II introduced fez to the public and since then it had been adopted by the majority of the people regardless of being Muslim or not, and it challenged the differences in appearance among the religious and ethnic communities.

With the *Tanzimat* period, the audience encountered with two intellectual types, both Karagöz and Hacivat became educated and were equally criticizing the “backward” elements of the society. However, as discussed in detail in the previous chapters, Karagöz was presenting an illiterate, brave, morally corrupted, curious and an indifferent character with a good heart whereas, Hacivat was presenting a madrasah educated, flatterer, foxy but a respected character in the Ottoman society before the modernization efforts. Moreover, introducing new kinds of “arts” to the public was the starting point of spreading the Western ways into the Ottoman society. For the perception of art in the Western metaphysics, Heidegger states that art is described as a “cultural phenomenon or as a monument to civilization.”¹⁰¹³ This also means that art and culture are to be treated as a separate fields. The division of *technē* into the craft and art started with the *Tanzimat* period did result in favor of art, later, during the Republican era, some of the Karagöz performers preferred to be recognized as artists rather than artisans. As the meaning of art has changed, Karagöz has also underwent several transformations in parallel with the change in the world view of the society towards modernity.

After the flourishing of the printed media in the *Tanzimat* period that followed by the Constitutional era, the intellectuals re-discovered and adopted Karagöz, which was the main entertainment of the public for three centuries, and journals, such as Karagöz, had an important role in this adoption. By the development of the printed media, satire as one of the major features of Karagöz was also transmitted to the printed media, which had an immediate effect that Teodor Kasap was detained due to his caricature published in *Diyojen* Journal. This meant that the oral tradition was hard to control but the printed material was open to control by the modernizing Empire. The print-age also opened up new debates among the intellectuals about the future of the theaters as a kind of fine arts. For example, Teodor Kasap and Namık Kemal were having different ideas; Kasap was defending the traditional theaters, such as Karagöz, whereas, Kemal was suggesting people to go recently opened modern theaters. And, if an establishment of a unique Turkish

¹⁰¹³ Heidegger, *Nietzsche*, 77

Theater was the issue, Kemal was offering to ground it on the base of the western theaters whereas Kasap was insisting on grounding it on a unique idea of Turkish Theater which would be based on Karagöz and *Tuluat* traditions.

On the other side, transcribing the Karagöz plays, and producing new plays in the textual form caused Karagöz's structure to be fixed to some extent, and thus weakening the importance of improvisation resulted in a tamed and a controllable Karagöz, which meant limiting the content with the form. In contrast to its being in its early history, Karagöz started to speak in the name of ruling powers rather than the public. Knowing has been transformed as knowledge of the dominating powers to be adopted by Karagöz. Thus, the other impact of the printing on Karagöz was enabling intellectuals to pose themselves as the natural leaders of debates on Karagöz, such as the authenticity and whatness of Karagöz, as they were the masters of the written sources on the one hand, and thus were capable of deciding on which performer to be known by the larger public through mentioning their names in the texts they published, on the other. Therefore, the master-apprentice relations started to deteriorate because a possibility to learn Karagöz through reading became also possible. Furthermore, the transcribed plays of Hayali Nazif by Hellmut Ritter has also opened up an endless debate among the intellectuals about "dirty Karagöz", which became one of the main subject for the state during the first years of the Republic, and finally this specific feature of the play is almost eliminated.

Modern Turkish Republic, established in the first quarter of the 20th century, was also demanding a predictable and controllable Karagöz in accordance with the "nature" of the modernity grounds itself modern technology through calculability, calculability, ordering and standing-reserve.¹⁰¹⁴ Karagöz even turned into an instrument to disseminate the state's ideology among the public. For the same purpose, the closing time of the coffeehouses in the villages, which were the symbol of idleness according to the new government, was taken one hour earlier and rearranged to 11 pm with an effective "control" on them. Indeed, those coffeehouses were still serving as stages for the improvised and thus dirty Karagöz performances belonging to the oral tradition. After a short time, the Minister of the Internal Affairs called the intellectuals of the time to revise the Karagöz plays in accordance with the Kemalist ideology and within the context of modern perspective. The

¹⁰¹⁴ Heidegger, "Question Concerning Technology."

revised and the newly written Karagöz plays were reflecting the influence and ideology of the new state in the first years of Republic.

The question that what kind of “art” Karagöz is, was also posed in the Republican period, as the art is being forced to withdraw from life as an isolated field. For the early Ottoman performer this question was out of the place; Karagöz had a kind of function just as in the case of shoes in the society. The two, as well as the opium sellers and even the salted meat sellers, were gathered under the same system.

By closing the *Turkish Hearts* in 1931, Karagöz was totally appropriated by the government but continued to be performed in newly established institutions, namely the People’s Houses, which were under the RPP’s control. Therefore, between the late 1910s and 1950, Karagöz acted as a *representative* of the government, which meant the RPP with a nationalist language. The classical plays Hayali Küçük Ali was performing on the radio programs were re-written, and some explanatory paragraphs aimed at warning the public about the issues incompatible with the ideology shaped by the modernity were added to plays.

In relation with the changing conjecture of the world, the RPP’s ideology has weakened; and even started to change with the help of the multi-party system, the introduction of which led the RPP lose the elections and become the opposing party. In the meantime, different segments of the society had appropriated the concepts like democracy and freedom. For a while, Karagöz remained relatively disinterested but especially in the mid-1960s, during the period of the JP, Karagöz seemingly regained its satirical character, reflecting the society, particularly by the plays of Aziz Nesin. *Karagöz’ün Kaptanlığı* (Karagöz the Captain) play was presented live with the real people on the theater stage, which were accepted as branch of fine arts, yet could endure only one week. There might be two reasons for Karagöz regaining its satirical character. First, the 1961 Constitution of Turkey, prepared by the participation of different segments of the society after the military coup of 1960, was a libertarian constitution according to the standards of its time so that Karagöz might have been encouraged by these conditions. Second, the RPP was now the opposing party so that Karagöz that allied itself with RPP for such a long time could elude being a governmental apparatus and became comparatively independent.

After the military coup of 1980, a new kind of outlook that was highly depoliticizing and prone to populism with a religiously strengthened center that filed the left and the right wings began to dominate the state ideology. During this period, there were signs of shift in Karagöz plays in order to make them more attractive for child

audience, as well as conservative and didactic tendencies serving to that new ideology started to rise in the plays. After 1980s, the Islamic tendencies, arising on the economic basis lead by the state to include the “green capital” to the economy, created new plays like *İş İştir* (The Work is Work) reminding the traditional creeds with the corrections of the miscalled Islamic beliefs. On the other hand, a few Karagöz performers were trying to revive the “classical” Karagöz with an aim that Karagöz is a worth to be perpetuated in the terms of modern arts, and the play called *Karagöz’ün Çobanlığı* (Karagöz the Shepherd), and revived classic play of *Leyla & Mecnun* was a product of this kind of effort. By the late 1980s, with the play of *Sedefçi Karagöz* (Karagöz the Antique Dealer), the products of the Ottoman artisans, which emerged as *technē*, were reinterpreted as the “Ottoman Traditional Crafts,” in relation with the tendencies in the society, where the “art galleries flourished as the new money was attracted [invested in] to paintings, as well as to antiques, Islamic calligraphy, and rare books.”¹⁰¹⁵ Consequently, Karagöz also desired its share.

By the 1990s, Turkey has witnessed a technological boom together with the spread of “free market economy” that changed the social life from its roots. The private TV channels started broadcasting and gradually increased in numbers, and the first mobile phone was introduced to the public during the period of the TPP. Besides, video players, computer-based games connected to TV, handheld video game devices, such as Gameboy, and portable audio players, such as Walkman, have mushroomed. Also later with the satellite technology, TV channels covering the national and the private channels of the world nations were increased, the new and global values have entered into Turkish society. On the other hand, the society had the opportunity to re-consider its history and agenda, which the state run TRT was presenting in limits at an earlier period. Moreover, the advertisement industry jumped into another age; through the internet and TV channels, the uncontrolled media tried to define and manipulate the modern subject’s tastes. Alongside, some of the (established) Karagöz performers who also participated in the interviews of the thesis started to demand Karagöz to break its close ties with the state, at least to elude being the spokesperson of it. The statement of an interviewee well explains the situation, “Up till today, it was not the state perpetuated Karagöz, and I am

¹⁰¹⁵ Ahmad, *The Making of Modern Turkey*, 209-210.

sorry but, whatever it did was nothing but the *fakelore*. ... The state cannot support but might favor some.”¹⁰¹⁶

However, by the 2000s, Bursa Municipality also appropriated Karagöz based on its admitted but uncorroborated mythological origins. The municipality has been trying to benefit from Karagöz, which took shape mainly in İstanbul, as a “cultural product” in the economic sphere; the statements of the municipality, given in Chapter VI, on their official website also supports it.

Moreover, Karagöz is offered to UNESCO’s program, namely Intangible Cultural Heritage, to be safeguarded as a “living and traditional performing *art*.” Therefore, Karagöz’s journey apparently ends up in the 21st century with a legal recognition of UNESCO and the Turkish state that Karagöz performance belongs to the domain of fine arts. Karagöz, as a traditional and a living “art” of modern Turkey, has been bestowed to the World Heritage.

Heidegger dates the beginning of the modern technology back to the 17th of Europe, which had reached the Ottoman Empire in the midst of the 18th century and had its significant effects after the proclamation of the Republic in the beginning of the 20th century. Therefore, the background presented above for the claim that Karagöz is a respected fine art today is also the background of how *techné* is transformed into fine arts. By modernity, man has defined himself as the center of everything and defined objects accordingly as long as they are *representations*.

Today, although there are interviewees against defining Karagöz strictly, based on the admission that Karagöz should be a respected art, Karagöz totally shifted its realm from *technē* to fine arts. As an elder interviewee, Şaban supports this statement by giving a destination to Karagöz towards fine arts in his definition of *Hayali*, he says,

Hayali means a complete artist (a competent artist), who has a good command of painting, music, literature, folk literature, pedagogy, psychology and dramaturgy. Moving rods behind a curtain is not adequate to be a Karagöz performer.

As Chapter VI shows, on the base of the interviews, today, the recognized Karagöz performers desire Karagöz to be accepted as a fine art following the division of Karagöz as *technē* into (fine) art and craft. The performers who are no longer

¹⁰¹⁶ Acar, interview, tape recording.

performing Karagöz but still making figures are regarded as craftsmen and the element that defines Karagöz as an art actually became the performance. This kind of idea gives the contemporary performers (interviewees) a chance to classify Karagöz as fine art under the category of performing arts, such as theatre.

As stated by Acar¹⁰¹⁷, today, the expenses of a Karagöz performance are not so less as the state estimates. He says that if he is going to perform for adults, he needs to bring his 5-meter curtain, six assistants, the lightening console and its controller, and a music band composed of eight musicians. He is trying to say that his activity is no different from any other artistic activity of the modern theaters in the age of the culture industry in terms of the expenses in contrast to a Karagöz performer of the Ottoman society, who could easily afford the equipment he needed.¹⁰¹⁸

Considering the several transformations of Karagöz discussed throughout the thesis and information given by the interviews, today, it is actually not the performance itself but the identity of the performers turned out to be important in relation with the flourishing of the printed media, developing modern technology and spread of the free market economy. In this context, four causes that were equally owing (*verschulden*)¹⁰¹⁹ each other in bringing-forth, in *technē*, acquired a different arrangement in the modern age; that is, *causa efficiens* (the Karagöz performer) corresponding the modern subject dominated the other three causes: *causa materialis* (Leather), *causa formalis* (Karagöz figure) and *causa finalis* (Karagöz performance). Thus, the technique within the age of modern technology also became important to differentiate a performer from the others. The enlisted Karagöz performers, who are the interviewees of this thesis, are divided within themselves according to the techniques they use. The statement that “*I am the performance as it is, no more or no less*” corresponds directly to the idea that what

¹⁰¹⁷ Acar, interview, tape recording.

¹⁰¹⁸ As mentioned above, the sources informing on the early organization of Karagöz performers in the Ottoman society are quite limited. However, Evliya Çelebi mentions about them under the title of mimickers. The only division was made according to the “notable” performers and the performers of the “outskirts.” As discussed before, the main performance places for Karagöz were the coffeehouses, which were open to all kinds of people living in the Empire. Accordingly, the Karagöz performers had a simple set of equipment that enabled them to perform anywhere and anytime as the occasion allowed. Besides, there was no prior education required for being a Karagöz performer except for necessary enthusiasm.

¹⁰¹⁹ Lovitt says in footnote five, “The verb *verschulden* actually has a wide range of meanings- to be indebted, to owe, to be guilty, to be responsible for or to, to cause. Heidegger intends to awaken all these meanings and to have connotations of mutual interdependence sound throughout this passage.” In Heidegger, *Question Concerning Technology and Other Essays*, 7.

makes Karagöz *the* Karagöz is the performer as the *causa efficiens*, and what makes the performer as artist is the *causa finalis* that is the performance.

Karagöz performing is bounded to certain rules, defined by the majority of the interviewees in contrast to the Ottoman practice. Karagöz as a fine art and *Hayali* as an artist are idealized especially by the elder performers. Most of the performers are deeply occupied with defining Karagöz and the performance in a way as if they were searching the *essence* of Karagöz rather in a Platonic sense that “what endures permanently in what, as that which remains, tenaciously persists throughout all that happens.”¹⁰²⁰ That, which remains in turn, is the *idea* itself. In fact, if the estimation that Karagöz has been brought to İstanbul from Egypt was true, coloring the figures, which were in black & white in Egypt, was also *essencing* Karagöz; coming to presence of Karagöz. Nevertheless, today, this form of Karagöz is accepted as an original and ultimate form that never needs a change by the majority of the interviewees. This is actually in contrast with the idea of the *essence* defined as presencing of the whatness of a thing by Heidegger. Later, Karagöz was claimed to be a unique “art of reflection of pictures” and not a kind of a shadow theater. That also represents a kind of *Enframing* made by the contemporary enlisted performers. In this context, Heidegger says,

Enframing does not simply endanger man in his relationship to himself and to everything that is. As a destining, it banishes man into that kind of revealing which is an ordering. Where this ordering holds sway, it drives out every other possibility of revealing.¹⁰²¹

The concepts of “good” and “bad” in terms of the performance primarily should belong to the field that a *Hayali* and his/her audience concertedly establish. However, today, Karagöz is desired to be subjected to many assumed rules, which were defined by the interviewees who also define themselves as “Karagöz artist” and therefore, any possibility falling outside the definition of Karagöz they have made is dropped. Even a legal status is demanded to eliminate the *fake-performers* from the field. On the one hand, the interviewees complain about the interference to Karagöz made in the first years of the Republic by the RPP for deflecting Karagöz from its *natural course*, or in other words, from its way to-be-what-it-is. On the other hand, they are doing the same by demanding the elimination of the alleged “fake-performers.” Furthermore, having an opposing stand against the “live Karagöz” or those they call as fake-performers means both intervening to Karagöz and

¹⁰²⁰ Heidegger, "Question Concerning Technology," 30.

¹⁰²¹ *Ibid.*, 27

manipulating the receivers within the context of *Enframing*. As in the Ottoman society, it is possible to have every kind of Karagöz performance at the same time regardless of the terms good or bad defined by the (modern) subject. Nevertheless, it is also known that the market conditions force the performers (interviewees) to turn the competition to their advantage even with the help of the state so; they could eliminate the others for the sake of “art.”

Being close to the state is another instrument of competition; that is, the “authorities” among the Karagöz performers with the direct help of the state would be able to eliminate some other performers, who would be labeled as “bad” without performing to the spectators. That also testifies the statement of Eagleton that soon or later every kind of assumed art will be commodified.¹⁰²²

However, *fake-performers* can actually be related to the concept *âlêtheia*, which Heidegger defines as, “the unconcealment from out of which and in which that which presences, presences... We translate *âlêtheia* by the Latin word *veritas* and by our German word *Wahrheit* [truth].”¹⁰²³ Therefore, *fake-performers*, in the lead of the market conditions, bring forth the *whatness* of Karagöz in the modern age even if it is considered something against the definitions of the “Karagöz art” for the *true-performers* who are the enlisted ones and the interviewees of the thesis. Thus, any production regarding Karagöz happened in this realm still belongs to Karagöz by its essence, which is defined as “what essences, what comes to presence, in the sense of what endures”¹⁰²⁴ but which does not stay permanently as the *idea* proposes.

The assumption that Karagöz emerged as *technē* invalids the interpretation of “master” performers with respect to labeling other Karagöz performers as fake. The meditation on art in the modern sense gave some of today’s performers (the majority of the interviewees), an audacity to decide on what is fake and what is not, and what is art and what is not, based on the principle of patiently enduring the difficulties throughout one’s life for the sake of performing Karagöz as art. As mentioned couple of times before, one of the main problems of the interviewees is *fake-performers* as they call them. According to the interviewees, those *fake-performers* are giving Karagöz a bad reputation as well as causing a decline in the average payments. As the interviewees say, as the audience watch “bad”

¹⁰²² Eagleton, “From the Polis to Postmodernism.”

¹⁰²³ Martin Heidegger, “Science and Reflection” in *Question Concerning Technology and Other Essays*, by Martin Heidegger (New York & London: Garland Publishing, 1977), 164.

¹⁰²⁴ Heidegger, “Question Concerning Technology,” 30.

performances by the unqualified performers, their taste has changed and they thought of Karagöz as an old-fashioned entertainment.

While an elder LHT interviewee defined the *fake-performers* as the “everyone and his uncle who are able only to hold the rods”, the interviewees presented *Hayali* as almost a perfect (fine) artist who has a good command of all the other fields of modern arts, such as music, theater, literature, etc. Besides, it is better for a *Hayali* to make his own figures. By this way, today’s recognized performers posit Karagöz in the “world picture” with all the knowledge they had about it. They became the experts of Karagöz. In this regard, the contemporary enlisted performers, in other words, the interviewees in this thesis are in tendency to eliminate *fake-performers* with the help of safeguarding agreement between UNESCO and the Turkish state on the principle that Karagöz is a respected art. By this way, the *true-performers* could control the market on the hand, and their figures would be accepted as works of art with high economic values on the other.

As the interviews also show, UNIMA, which was established directly by the state, has become a destining organization for Karagöz. UNIMA, having a command on what is worth of being a representative of true art, holds sway on the artistry and objectifies the artistic performance. Today, UNIMA is against the “trade of Karagöz” as they define, and in search of a Karagöz as a respected art. The relation of UNIMA with the state continues in a way that UNIMA is getting help from the state to purge *fake-performers*, and the state is functioning as a kind of notary for the newly written plays and performances by the interviewees. However, placing Karagöz under the title of The Traditional Folk Arts by and accordingly funding it the state prove that the perception of the state about Karagöz remains the same despite the efforts of the enlisted performers for being accepted as respected artists equal to the contemporary painters.

To support the idea, Celal’s (interviewee) performance presenting “The Abduction from the Seraglio” of Mozart with Karagöz figures as an introductory session of an Opera in Germany, or Cafer’s (interviewee) contribution to a doctoral thesis were given as examples. Besides, the mastery in Karagöz is emphasized heavily, and it determines the market value of the figures. Some figures were declared as a work of art, and placed in modern museums, such as the British Museum. Furthermore, having a figure or a collection in an international museum, which some of the interviewees enlisted to differentiate themselves as the respected artists became a matter of prestige.

Alongside, considering the suggestion of Heidegger that art was an absolute need as long as it was *technē*, the discourse of Dinç (interviewee) that Karagöz is a “need” for the society actually refers to aesthetization of Karagöz in the modern sense.¹⁰²⁵ Alongside the debate whether Karagöz can communicate with today’s society, the contemporary (interviewee) performers would like to perpetuate Karagöz by claiming that it is an art. The other paths of Karagöz performance, one of which is a popular entertainment corresponding to *fake-performers* in the language of the interviewees, and the other is the children’s theater answering to the market conditions, are considered as degradation of Karagöz.

As Heidegger points out and Eagleton touches upon, the result of modernity is the domination of science and consequently technology over other fields. Such a development also resulted in a transformation in the field of entertainment. Today, the desire of Karagöz to re-gain its popularity and attraction as it had in the Ottoman society seems impossible due to the shift in the metaphysical grounds of art as Heidegger suggests.

In the context of communication, when the social conditions change, the comic as a product of those social conditions also change; in this context, Karagöz evolved rather into an isolated art to be safeguarded by the international organizations.

Therefore, what is comic in the Ottoman context is no longer comic in modernized Turkey. Every society re-forms the comic and defines it differently in every age. Thus, although the comedy finds its meaning in periodicity¹⁰²⁶, Bergson¹⁰²⁷ tries to describe the general elements of a comic. Accordingly, “the comic does not exist outside the pale of what is strictly HUMAN.”¹⁰²⁸ People laugh at those, which have human expressions or attitudes. The donkey making stuffed paprika in the kitchen or acquainted as a best friend of Karagöz was comic. Besides, those incidents breaking the normal run of human actions involuntarily, such as falling, were also comic. In this context, *Tiryaki* who falls asleep in the middle of a conversation or unreasonably beating of Karagöz was comic. Today, with the exception of Bayram’s performances, the anthropomorphic representations of animals are rarely used in

¹⁰²⁵ Eagleton, “From the Polis to Postmodernism.”

¹⁰²⁶ For a broader debate about time, see also: Martin Heidegger, *The Metaphysical Foundations of Logic*. Translated by Michael Heim (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1992).

¹⁰²⁷ Henri Bergson, *Gülme, Komiğin Anlamı Üstüne Deneme*. (İstanbul: Ayrıntı Yayınları, 2006). Henri Bergson, *Laughter: An Essay on the Meaning of the Comic*. Prods. Steve Harris, & Charles Franks. (Paris, Cantab, London: Project Gutenberg, July 26, 2009).

¹⁰²⁸ Bergson, *Laughter: An Essay on the Meaning of the Comic*, 2

Karagöz plays; in addition, the bold features of the characters, such as fallibility of Karagöz as a human being, were all cleaned out.

The second characteristic of the comic is apathy; that is, comic does not address a feeling, which is a subject of aesthetics. In Bergson's words, "the ABSENCE OF FEELING usually accompanies laughter. It seems as though the comic could not produce its disturbing effect unless it fell, so to say, on the surface of a soul that is thoroughly calm and unruffled."¹⁰²⁹ So, without considering whether it was ethically right or wrong, it was possible to call a Jewish, Armenian or a European types name in the old plays. For sure, the Ottoman comprehension of the world that the Muslims were superior to the adherents of the other monotheist religions might have also prepared a background for this kind of joking. Besides, in the Ottoman tradition, the essential division was between the *rayah* and the military class, and it is possible to say that the only valid center was the sultan, the rest was considered as his subjects. Therefore, that kind of understanding was preventing the *egoity* on the one hand, and the *objectification* of the others on the other. Consequently, without being a prime subject to objectify the other beings, it was possible to caricature everyone in the society except the sultan. Besides, there were no such ethical considerations about the physical defects of the people because, the grotesque image reflects a phenomenon that is always in transformation, and "The bodily elements are deeply positive. It is presented not in a private, egoistic form, isolated from the other spheres of life, but as something universal, representing all the people."¹⁰³⁰ Thus, the hunchbacked, the madman, or the one who speaks from his nose (*humhum*) could be the subjects of laughter. In addition, although Karagöz had a philosophical background, the settled beliefs could also be subject of laughter in plays without considering the fear of God. The grotesque comprehension also provided Karagöz to stand against the division between the soul and the body, the first one of which was assumed to belong to the God.

The apathetic Karagöz had changed during the first years of the Republic into a conscientious Karagöz, who became careful about the national feelings and the moral issues. Later, a desire of having an identity transformed into an existential anxiety because of being used as an ideological instrument; Karagöz was left belonging neither the realm of art nor the realm of craft for years. The conflict

¹⁰²⁹ *Ibid.*, 3

¹⁰³⁰ Bakhtin, *Rabelais and His World*, 19

between feeling and comedy was resolved in favor of feeling, by which Karagöz continues to be articulated into governmental politics. By the 1990s, as a result of the prevailing market conditions, Karagöz became an entertainment for children fed by the didactic elements. The new Karagöz who is conscientious and morally responsible is no longer comic for the whole society.

Therefore, on the third determinant of the comic, that is, a comic is a social phenomenon, Bergson says,

To understand laughter, we must put it back into its natural environment, which is society, and above all must we determine the utility of its function, which is a social one. Such, let us say at once, will be the leading idea of all our investigations. Laughter must answer to certain requirements of life in common. It must have a SOCIAL signification.¹⁰³¹

Karagöz starts to address only the specific segments of the society, which was mainly composed of children in contrast to the old Karagöz, which was appealing every kind of audience including the sultan, military class and peasants in the Ottoman society.

Today, Karagöz has a difficulty in articulating with the contemporary society within the common reference codes of entertainment and the popular comprehension of the comic, which also becomes a source of satire and irony in social movements. As it was seen, in *Gezi Resistance/Incidents*, not even a word on Karagöz was used in resisters' ironic comprehension of the incident. The name of Ned Stark¹⁰³² was even spelled but Karagöz had no word at all.



Figure 83 A graffiti from Gezi Incidents stating, “Ned Stark could not see these days”

The statements like “I can make him communicate” as one of an elder LHT interviewee said, are now nothing but nearly impossible claims related not to specificity of Karagöz but to the specificity of the modern age.

¹⁰³¹ Bergson, Henri. *Laughter: An Essay on the Meaning of the Comic*. Prods. Steve Harris, & Charles Franks. Paris, Cantab, London: Project Gutenberg, July 26, (1900) 2009, p: 4

¹⁰³² A popular series that tell about the seven noble families, fighting for the control of the mythical land of Westeros. Ned Stark, one of them, has been killed at the end of the first season. George R. R Martin, *Game of Thrones*. Directed by David Benioff, & D.B. Weiss. Produced by HBO. Performed by Peter Dinklage, Lena Headey, Maisie Williams, & Sean Bean. 2011--.

If Karagöz is going to be accepted as a respected art, a branch of the fine arts, it has to abandon its peculiarities belonged to the Ottoman society. Therefore, safeguarding of the intangible cultural heritages is a delusion of UNESCO that only accepts “arts,” which are both traditional and living at the same time as an ICH. Actually, UNESCO is safeguarding today’s Karagöz, which is a product of a different ontological ground and which is not capable of carrying itself over unchanged from the Ottoman times to modern Turkey. Nonetheless, UNESCO and the Turkish state are now trying to safeguard Karagöz alongside other “cultural” elements, such as *Keşkek* or *Kırkpınar Oil Wrestling* as an intangible “cultural” heritage. This also proves that according to the Western metaphysics, human actions that are not calculable and predictable are regarded as culture and as part of art. On the contrary, Karagöz in its entirety was a part of life in the Ottoman society.

Although to draw paths of Karagöz for the future is not the main intention of this thesis, despite the majority of the interviewees who deeply occupied themselves with defining Karagöz among the fine arts, some exceptions are not interested in imposing definitions on Karagöz. Especially the younger interviewees consider trying to re-enter the popular public spaces, such as bars and cafés, where the comprehension of the comic originates, to re-communicate with the society through underground ways as a surviving alternative. Besides, as mentioned previously, by performing in bars and cafés mainly inhabited by the youth of the society, Karagöz might gain a kind of popularity and function as an alternative media with efficient use of satire. Yet, it would be a disillusionment to expect Karagöz to have its being as it was in the Ottoman society. Therefore, Karagöz might have two alternative paths; one is being a respected art worthy of a museum, which is the desire of the enlisted performers (interviewees), or a popular art covering both the children’s theater and the fake-performers as the interviewees called them. As well, performing in the bars can also be considered in the context of popular art.

On that note, as it was seen in Chapter VI, Karagöz is able to communicate with the society through new mediums that are the products of modern technology. For example, the movie of “*Hacivat Karagöz Neden Öldürüldü?*” had relatively good receptions, especially by the audience aged between 29 and 44, and the smart phone applications like *iKaragöz*, designed for iPhone, had high sales rates when it was first launched in 2012 in Turkish iTunes Store.

Finally, this thesis aims at neither praising the Ottoman Karagöz nor criticizing the Republican Karagöz, or vice versa. As far as possible, the author tried to track the transformations of Karagöz, which started its journey as *technē* within the Ottoman

context, and ended up as a potential fine art in the Turkish Republic, in relation with the changes in the society. This kind of tracking can also help to understand the transformations of an *ability*, a *knowing*, from being a *non-art*, which corresponds to every kind of *bringing-forth*, towards being a *fine art*, which only concerns to seek the beautiful in works of art in modern sense, in general.

For the further discussion, a debate structured around the *fake-performers*, which are closer to the realm of *technē*, and thus described by the renowned performers as non-art may lead the thesis forward.

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APPENDIX A: AWRY MARRIAGE

Giriş - Introduction

*He is the god of all creatures, Wise, powerful, strong, very imposing, He is the sultan,
master of us excellency until the Day of Judgment, Decorator of glory throne, is
welcome.*

*Till the bright sky moon rotated,
It is inexhaustible as long as the sky existed
Oh God,*

*Let the bright natured Sultan Mehmet may remain on the throne permanently
Let his shiny maturity sun may brighten the West, South, East, and North
(Prostration off and kisses of the ground)*

Sir, I tell you not to say!

*This is yours, humble, prayer, ablutions hands and face, minded confabulation,
faithful and loyal crony. May come to on that very amusement space, may
comprehend Persian, Arabic and be familiar to some scientific music and poetry art,
Whether she sings and I listen to her or I sing and she listens to me, I wish my dear
epicurean audience may reach to your, festival of mind.
Let's complete our speech and wish you joyful night.*

(Hacivat starts to singing)

*Oh amusement to me, Oh amusement to me!
I was besotted and I do not understand what the world is
I was ignore, who am I, who is bartender and what the wine is.*

*(Karagöz comes to curtain; fight with Hacivat, Hacivat goes. Karagöz remains
lonesome and lies down.)*

KARAGÖZ- The one who is ignore of education and science, ugly faced, boy, you are the worst of the worst, due to keep your happiness, you are far away from the humanity, wish you furnish my poor delusion, shame on you, ignoring of my existence.

Well never mind! Hey man, I am your old fellow for years that performed your all kind of diversity works, but you have disgraced of me in the center, Didn't you? Especially, you are the one with big dorsa. Due to be ready to fall down, I will ignore my bountiful toleration.

Muhavere - Dialogue

HACIVAT – (*He comes*) wow sir, my Karagöz you welcome!
KARAGÖZ - I unwelcome, look my hands are full (*hits to Hacivat*)
HACIVAT - You have no right to hit me
KARAGÖZ – I’m full of with those words (*he hits*)
HACIVAT - hope the hitting has a reason
KARAGÖZ - I neither know the older or the younger
HACIVAT – You’re a mule Karagöz
KARAGÖZ - Mule is your father (*he hits*)
HACIVAT - Karagöz give up hitting me let’s talk
KARAGÖZ – You’re not a human that we talk
HACIVAT - Oh my Karagöz if I don’t see, I will be an insane
KARAGÖZ - So do I am like you
HACIVAT - How can I look? Will be insane if you do not see me?
KARAGÖZ - Man you be the insane.
HACIVAT - No, no, you like me
KARAGÖZ - Do I have obliged to like you
HACIVAT - You like me pretty boy
KARAGÖZ - I dislike you soupy boy
HACIVAT - Karagöz, we both have nothing to do to night. With what shall we waste the time?
KARAGÖZ – That’s right but near the existence of a spreader mischief-maker guy, what can I claim?
HACIVAT – You’re the wicked gypsy, started to satire. I am asking your option
KARAGÖZ - Oh, boy you have the nuptial ceremony
HACIVAT - What is that mean?
KARAGÖZ - You say lie down to sleep
HACIVAT – That’s not that way, I am asking your option
KARAGÖZ - Why do you ask me, don’t you know that I am sort of short in logic
HACIVAT - Oh I just remembered let’s play a game with you
KARAGÖZ – Let’s play
HACIVAT - What sort of play do you know among the games?
KARAGÖZ - I play “good gypsy” dancing, this is folk dancing, I play *Mandira*, *Kasap* (*dancing attract*), *Zeybek* (the Aegean folk dancing) If I hear a lively one I do this dance too.
HACIVAT - Get out of here immoral sneaky man
KARAGÖZ - Why do you angry with me, you asked I did answer.
HACIVAT - Not this type game such like card game
KARAGÖZ - I am ignore such that shelf and cupboard games
HACIVAT - You shameless, did you realize? Brother this is the name of the game. I just remembered the other card games like “Bezique, bezique.”
KARAGÖZ - I played such that games while I am young and I am tired them off.
HACIVAT - What has made you tired off?
KARAGÖZ - Playing the ring-a-rosy
HACIVAT - For example... do you play “pack game”?
KARAGÖZ - Listen the best of humor from me, we are the old hag, sometimes remain short of tobacco, and no money, we make busy the tobacco seller and without his knowledge play with his a few packs.
HACIVAT - I see, you started to impudence, Tell me do not you know any game?
KARAGÖZ - I know
HACIVAT - What game do you know?
KARAGÖZ - Missed the fish
HACIVAT - From the fish pole? Did you miss from the fish pole?
KARAGÖZ - “Missed the Fish” is the name of the game.
HACIVAT - From card games “Tramcar?”

KARAGÖZ - It is for the one who has money.
HACIVAT - Why?
KARAGÖZ - Do you know why? He can buy a few shares also can ride on it
HACIVAT - Are you stable at playing "backgammon?"
KARAGÖZ - Your father plays at the Stable.
HACIVAT - You didn't understand again! Game, another game "Checkers?"
KARAGÖZ - I walk from roof to roof on March
HACIVAT - Domino?
KARAGÖZ - I neither know ice cream nor agro
HACIVAT - I just remember and no contradiction word for this, this is known by everyone.
KARAGÖZ - Tell me what is it?
HACIVAT - "Blind man's bluff"
KARAGÖZ - Whoa! Shall we play game or contestation?
HACIVAT - Karagöz, this is a joyful game. Look I will describe to you. First of all, we will hold a stone for each other.
KARAGÖZ - I don't hold
HACIVAT - Why?
KARAGÖZ - Because, If I hold a stone why do I have to stand here? I go home, have very good time with my wife.
HACIVAT - It is not like that way. Think that we have stone in our hand, the one who touch the hand stone in, he becomes who is "it"? The one who touches to empty hand be freed. I mean touching to full hand becomes who is "it", touches to empty hand be freed.
KARAGÖZ - How do you call up such those things?
HACIVAT - Sum of the words, who is "it" in the game, we will tie his eyes. Whilst his eyes tied, he tries to search his friend. When finds, this fellow becomes who is "it".
KARAGÖZ - That's all?
HACIVAT - No, brother, that's not all. After the player's eye tied I will ask "- What are you looking for?" "-Needle and thread", "- What will you do with thread?", "-I will sew a sack", "- What will you do with a sack?", "-I will fill out stone", "- What will you do with stone?", "- I will built up a bathhouse", "- What will you do with bathhouse?", "-I will wash my baldhead", and then I call him rod, then start to looking for.
KARAGÖZ - This game is not for me.
HACIVAT - Why?
KARAGÖZ - Do you know why? Firstly, the baldness is intolerant for me. Secondly, if I become who is "it" what is mean "rod to player" I may smoke cigarette! I do not want this game.
HACIVAT - I mean, you also don't understand this game too. Let me tell you a very easy thing. If you cannot perform this then I will think that, you are not a human.
KARAGÖZ- Okay let's see!
HACIVAT - sir, do you know the game of "Masana"?
KARAGÖZ -Who don't know the sheep of Hasan?
HACIVAT - Not the Sheep of Hasan, game of Masana
KARAGÖZ - Okay, what type game is it?
HACIVAT - First you bend down your head and I hit to your neck and call "masana"
KARAGÖZ - My son, what type game is this?
HACIVAT - You say "-What is it?"
KARAGÖZ - Will I say "-Who is it?"
HACIVAT - Bend down your neck
KARAGÖZ - (*bends down his neck*) Go!
HACIVAT- (*hits*) Karagöz "Masana"!
KARAGÖZ - Which Hasan agha
HACIVAT- Poor boy, not Hasan agha, "Masana" (*hits*)
KARAGÖZ - What will I say, Hacivat?
HACIVAT- ""What is it?" (*Walks*) "Masana"!

KARAGÖZ - What is it?
HACİVAT - Take this my chili Billyoh quail, If you cannot make my quail quiver,
then I will make your chili billyoh quail quiver.
KARAGÖZ - What, what, what, what? Who will say this? You are son of a gun'
HACİVAT - Come on Karagöz it is your turn.
KARAGÖZ - Bend your neck, Hacivat
HACİVAT - (*Bends down*) Go Karagöz!
KARAGÖZ - What should we say?
HACİVAT - "Masana"
KARAGÖZ - (*hits*) "Hasan agha!"
HACİVAT - No not my dear! "Masana!"
KARAGÖZ - (*hits*) "Masana"
HACİVAT - What is it?
KARAGÖZ - Beating! What do you think, son of a gun.
HACİVAT - Not my dear. "Take that my chili Billyoh quail!"
KARAGÖZ - (*Hits*) "Take that my flip out quail!"
HACİVAT - You "Take that my chili Billyoh quail!"
KARAGÖZ - (*Hits*) you "Take that my flip out quail!"
HACİVAT - "You cannot quiver my quail".
KARAGÖZ - (*Hits*) "You cannot flip out quail"
HACİVAT - "I will quiver your quail".
KARAGÖZ - (*Hits*) "I will flip out your quail"
HACİVAT - I just remembered one more thing.
KARAGÖZ - Wish not a hard one!
HACİVAT - Bend down your neck Karagöz!
KARAGÖZ - Here you are (*Bends*)
HACİVAT - (*hits*) "Masana"
KARAGÖZ - What is it?
HACİVAT - "Water sound", "tailor knuckle duster", "sour grape soured form"
KARAGÖZ - I got it Hacivat, Bend your neck!
HACİVAT - (*Bends his neck*) come on Karagöz!
KARAGÖZ - Don't be hasty son of a gun! (*Hits*) "Masana"
HACİVAT - What is it?
KARAGÖZ - Beating! What do you think!
HACİVAT - Where is the rest?
KARAGÖZ - The rest fell in the water.
HACİVAT - Say "Masana!"
KARAGÖZ - "Masana" (*hits*)
HACİVAT - What is it?
KARAGÖZ - What should we say?
HACİVAT - "Water sound!"
KARAGÖZ - "Witch sound"
HACİVAT - Not "Witch sound", "Water sound!"
KARAGÖZ - Not "nursemaid" "Servant"
HACİVAT - "tailor knuckle duster"
KARAGÖZ - (*hits*) Tailor master...
HACİVAT - Not the "Master"
KARAGÖZ - (*Hits*) assistant master.
HACİVAT - Not "assistant master"
KARAGÖZ - (*Hits*) His apprentice.
HACİVAT - My dear he is not his apprentice. "
KARAGÖZ - (*Hits*) Owner of the shop
HACİVAT - "sour grape soured form"
KARAGÖZ - (*Hits*) sour grape soured form brother-in-law. (*Hits and Hacivat goes*)
Son of a gun, where does he get such that type tong twister words?

Boy once you left, Am I tighten with cotton thread? Let me go to fair ground, to watch the charming ladies on water wheel. Let us see, what will the wheel of fortune bring us on this short trip? *(He goes)*

Fasıl - Main Spot/Story

(Çelebi comes by singing)
(Song type Hüseyinî Aşiran)

*I miss your honoring
As my Sultan not ignoring
I have no more power to waiting
(Repeating)
As my Sultan not ignoring*

*Be nice and come my nearing
To my Sultan narrating
Killed my soul, your separating
As my Sultan not ignoring*

*Favor my words by listening
Your love makes my eyes crying
Now I am very much missing
As my Sultan not ignoring*

HACİVAT- *(Comes to curtain)* you welcome, honoring me

ÇELEBİ - Be constant at enjoyment, Hacivat Çelebi! You have not being seen for a long time. Therefore, we extremely have wondered about you. My mother who your humble servant always asks to me “Don’t you see Hacivat Çelebi?”

HACİVAT - Thanks for your consideration sir. In fact if I make mistake at visiting, I have no mistake at my devotion.

KARAGÖZ - *(from the inside)* there is no mistake on the wall, but something wrong at the foundation.

ÇELEBİ - Thank you, Hacivat Çelebi, but it is not acceptable that much faithlessness. *(Bi-vefalık)*

KARAGÖZ - *(from the inside)* says, you cannot find a wagon horse at Vefa *(A locality in İstanbul)*

ÇELEBİ - If your father passed away, his respect has not passed by him.

HACİVAT - Don’t mention it! I take my opium in the evening and take a nap on my cushion at sitting position, go nowhere, please forgive me, sir.

KARAGÖZ - *(from the inside)* you are son of gun of opium fiend.

ÇELEBİ - My mother sent you to extend her special greetings.

HACİVAT - Thanks for the messengers.

ÇELEBİ - I have a demand from you.

HACİVAT - What is demand? If we can, I remain at disposal.

ÇELEBİ - You know my older brother?

HACİVAT - Yes sir!

ÇELEBİ - We want him to marry, Hacivat. Maybe, he gives up to drunkenness if he marries with someone

HACİVAT - Very good sir, but it is a little hard to find a proper girl for him.

ÇELEBİ - It is not my business. My mother and he decided together. They sent me to you and they said” This business can only be performed by Hacivat” -Recently he was extremely boozy, and asked in turmoil, “When will you make me marry?”

HACİVAT - Recently I was passing by from fishmonger. I just saw bunch of people. I was curious about, what is happening and approached in close. Your brother was indeed very drunk and his clothes were with mud because of rolled on the ground and people were picking on him. I was very much angry with him, when I see him

at that position,” I just intended to give him some advice”, but later on I slipped away I thought he might break my heart because of his drunkenness.

ÇELEBİ - Hacivat Çelebi! The case you have seen is nothing. He has some different manners, which my entire father’s friends grieve too much.

HACIVAT - If others ignore his, those manners, which family let him marry their daughters?

ÇELEBİ - That is correct, Hacivat Çelebi but, last morning when we were discussing that matter with my mother, and while we were talking” this business can only be performed by Hacivat” he came by our near. He said “-We already discussed that matter with my mother take these double quintets of gold to Hacivat and let him find a proper girl for me to marry, and sent me to you.

HACIVAT - That is very good sir, to whose daughter can I be a part of, for that marriage? I can be a shamefaced, if the case is being interrogated.

ÇELEBİ - My dear sir, it is not a must to have a virgin one. A widow is also acceptable.

HACIVAT - Egad sirs, I indeed have confused what to do.

ÇELEBİ - Hacivat Çelebi! If he aware about that you avoid assuming that kind of business, he knows where you resident, one night, he might be extremely drunk and hangs the axe on to your house.

HACIVAT - Alas! What can I do now?

ÇELEBİ - It is your business. Here you are take these double quintets of gold which given by him. *(Gives to Hacivat)*

HACIVAT - Let me see shall I find a proper one?

ÇELEBİ - I am going. If you find a proper one please send me a message. Good-bye. *(He goes)*

HACIVAT - Good-bye! To whose daughter shall I put into a lot of problem for that marriage? Let me consult to my wife; is there any proper one in our district?

(Hacivat comes his home, knocks on the door, his wife opens the door)

HACIVAT’S WIFE - *(from the inside)* Oh Hacivat Çelebi, I see you very sorrowful.

HACIVAT - *(from the inside)* do not ask what happened to me!

HACIVAT’S WIFE - What’s the matter? What’s up?

HACIVAT - What will be? Did you recognize the son of Kınap who is at the back street?

HACIVAT’S WIFE - Oh yes how I don’t know him, what happened to him?

HACIVAT - What will be? Whole time I was talking with him at Küşteri square.

HACIVAT’S WIFE - Oh I see, then?

HACIVAT - And then...he has a drunk brother, he came to me to give him marriage, and he said to me “find me a proper girl” who would like to marry with that such a drunk man? I am amazed and what should I do now?

HACIVAT’S WIFE - sake I have something in my mind

HACIVAT - What type of idea have you had in your mind?

HACIVAT’S WIFE - What like will be? Since he has been drinking all night and day long, you say, he is” unconscious about himself”, as far as you know Karagöz is a kind of stupid man. If we can persuade Karagöz in believing that he is a “virgin girl” and let him marry with that drunken man, the drunk man maybe feel remorse for being drunkenness and he repentances not to be drunken state any more.

HACIVAT - That is very nice idea. I call the Karagöz immediately.

(Hacivat comes to curtain, Knocks on the Karagöz door, Karagöz responds from the inside)

KARAGÖZ - *(From inside)* who is it?

HACIVAT - Open the door!

KARAGÖZ - Oh Hacivat is here!

HACIVAT - Come down!

KARAGÖZ - *(Comes)* Here I am, Do you have an order?

HACIVAT - Oh my good looking daughter. Why are you walking around here?

KARAGÖZ - You are a son of gobbler man! Didn’t you call me?

HACIVAT - No I did not call you. I called Karagöz. You go ahead your home; you can't expose at street like that uncovered way. you are a wonderful and grown up as a nice old a girl.

KARAGÖZ - Hey, I am sure he swallowed his opium in reversed; he is ignoring about his words. This is me! Open your eyes and behave yourself!

HACIVAT - Madam, Don't I know who you are? Am I become senile? How come a man cannot recognize his neighbor daughter? (Addresses to audience) What a nice good-looking girl!

KARAGÖZ - I wonder did I transform to a girl. I am not used have such that type dream in standing position. Hacivat behave yourself! If you act that way, later on you are going to be taken to asylum.

HACIVAT - Who is insane? I am in right mind.

KARAGÖZ - Oh boy! I will be a mad now. You son of gun, haven't we played backgammon at our district teahouse a while ago? I did beat you twice. Moreover, we have postponed the "Kim Verdi"(Who will pay) to next night.

HACIVAT - Of course not, my madam! You have dreamed to night my lady daughter.

KARAGÖZ - To whom is that son of a gun man talking? I am about to be crazy! – You son of a gun, what is this beard?

HACIVAT - My daughter it is not a beard, they are your hair.

KARAGÖZ - You found a fault on me. What shall I say to my wife?

HACIVAT - Isn't she your elder sister?

KARAGÖZ - That's right you son of a gun! Hey Hacivat, What about my children?

HACIVAT - They are your elder sister's children.

KARAGÖZ - Oh I see, that's also right. I am going to believe in that I am a girl.

HACIVAT - Keep believing you are a girl!

KARAGÖZ - Hacivat, you sit down here, let me go and knock on my door, and see what will she tell me? (*He goes, knocks on the door*) – Sister, opens up the door!

KARAGÖZ'S WIFE - (*from the inside*) Bastard did you come?

HARAGÖZ - Hacivat, Did you hear?

HACIVAT - My dear, -Tell her, "I am a girl, you are letting me go out in uncovered way, everybody is shaming on me"

KARAGÖZ - Am I a girl, really?

HACIVAT - You are a girl.

KARAGÖZ - Tell me true Hacivat, otherwise I will beat you. (*Hits to Hacivat*)

HACIVAT - You're gypsy! Are you holder of right to beat me?

KARAGÖZ - I have right, also I have law. Hey my sweet beating hey! Call me with my old name then I will proud of you!

HACIVAT - Karagöz stop making joke and listen to me!

KARAGÖZ - Go ahead I am listening!

HACIVAT - Recently, haven't I had an interview with a man?

KARAGÖZ - Yes you had.

HACIVAT - He has a brother; he is drunk day and night. Never walks in sober.

KARAGÖZ - Doesn't he walk without savory, why he doesn't wear esteem boat?

HACIVAT - Not that way, he is having alcohol day and night.

KARAGÖZ - Does he also a wine seller? He has everything.

HACIVAT - He waits at the bottom of barrel day and night.

KARAGÖZ - What is he waiting for at the bottom of the barrel?

HACIVAT - My dear he drinks too much Raki. (Turkish strong alcohol)

KARAGÖZ - And then?

HACIVAT - Afterwards, Here you are, take these double quintets of gold, now.

KARAGÖZ - (*Receives*) Thanks heaven! Is this my money?

HACIVAT - Pretend that, you mix the butter to honey, we will marry you with him now, but you got to promise!

KARAGÖZ - This part seems difficult.

HACIVAT - Then refund the money!

KARAGÖZ - This is beyond of my control.

HACIVAT - Now we don't dress you, and marry to a drunken man.

KARAGÖZ - If this part seems difficult?

HACIVAT - Why?

KARAGÖZ - Do you know why? There is a famous saying "Even insane avoided from a drunken man" If he stabs his knife on to my body?

HACIVAT - The case never reaches at that point. We will let you have your bride chamber in a very large place.

KARAGÖZ - For example; if I enforced to move, from large place to small place, and if he comes in, by himself?

HACIVAT - We come all together with tambourines and tabors by singing "Ala-ala-hey!"

KARAGÖZ - If the drunken man kills me before you come up?

HACIVAT - Happens nothing Karagöz.

KARAGÖZ - I scare off what will I do?

HACIVAT - Since you are disagreeing then refund the money!

KARAGÖZ - This part seems difficult.

HACIVAT - You are neither giving up from the friend nor foe. Either promise or refund the money!

KARAGÖZ - Let's pretend this is happened. How we will explain that matter to my wife?

HACIVAT - If this is the matter, it is easy.

KARAGÖZ - Mine ignores the conversation.

HACIVAT - Now you go your home, and yell around "- I have been transformed to a girl, my time is up for marriage, marry me off a man, keeping me in that type closed houses and enforcing me to do house works. If my youth pass away, then, nobody will get me, I want a husband"

KARAGÖZ - You take these money, sorry I am unable to perform Hacivat.

HACIVAT - It is up to you Karagöz. Now I go and find out another girl.

KARAGÖZ - It is up to you!

HACIVAT - Karagöz, think rather well!

KARAGÖZ - You son of a gun, what will I think? You will cause me to be beaten by wife at home.

HACIVAT - Let's not make the case big issue, Karagöz! My dear I am standing here, if something goes wrong then I come.

KARAGÖZ - It is better for you to give up from that desire. I am unable to perform.

HACIVAT - It is needless to talk more. Either you promise or you refund the money!

KARAGÖZ - You are instigation man. Come on I promised. I am going home.
(Karagöz comes home and knocks on the door.)

KARAGÖZ'S WIFE - (from the inside) where have you been bastard?

KARAGÖZ - Who is bastard? I am a girl. March is already passed over; I am girl and want a husband.

KARAGÖZ'S WIFE - Bastard to whom did you get gall? If you are hot, climb up to roof.

KARAGÖZ - I have no idea to whom did I get gall? I think I did gall to money in my pocket. I want a husband!

KARAGÖZ'S WIFE - You are a calamity! I will crack your head with axe now!

KARAGÖZ - Stop, don't play son of a gun!
(Comes to square) - Hacivat, case is worry! My wife would split my head with axe.

HACIVAT - Karagöz, not to be intimidated by mere threats! Say "- I want a husband"

KARAGÖZ - (From inside) I want a husband! You have barred me in the house, enforced me washing and mopping up the floors, I don't understand, Husband, I want a husband!

KARAGÖZ'S WIFE - Bastard, behave yourself, otherwise I will crack your head and blinded your eyes!

KARAGÖZ - Stop son of a gun, stop! (Comes to curtain) Hacivat, while we are going to be a bride we will be a mortal. I gave up from that business.

HACIVAT - My dear it is not acceptable! You go home and start to yell again and say “- My time is getting up, I want a husband, you barred me in the houses!”

KARAGÖZ - (*From inside*) my time is getting up, I want a husband, you barred me in the houses!

KARAGÖZ'S WIFE - Oh my neighbors, my husband became nuts! Take a broomstick and come here.

KARAGÖZ - (*looks out from window*) Hacivat! Neighbors are coming to beat me!

HACIVAT - You say again “- I want a husband!”

KARAGÖZ - (*from inside*) I am in my right mind, I want a husband, a husband!

KARAGÖZ'S WIFE - Oh my neighbors come up with me! Hatice Mullah, Mrs. Rabia, Mrs, Ebru, Mrs. Nazlı, ugh! Our man became a nut. While coming inform our district watchman.

KARAGÖZ - (*From window*) Hacivat catch up quickly, the case got worse!

HACIVAT - Open up the door, I am coming.

(*He comes in to Karagöz house. From inside*) what is this noise and ado? What is wrong, what are you doing?

KARAGÖZ'S WIFE - Oh you welcome Hacivat Çelebi! Look my dear! My man is driven crazy, he says, “-I want a husband”

HACIVAT - Which man? Isn't she a girl?

KARAGÖZ'S WIFE - Here you are another one dummy. Hacivat have you also been driven crazy? I will now yell “Fire!”

KARAGÖZ - You are the son of the box of instigator man! Tell to woman!

HACIVAT - Hold on my dear and please do not make haste! I will tell you the truth! Neither Karagöz is crazy nor am I. Don't you know the insane Tuzsuz leaves on the back street?

KARAGÖZ'S WIFE - Yes there is.

HACIVAT - That's going to get marry. He has sent money and message via his brother to “find a girl for him” Who wants to desire his daughter to marry to that man? We will put Karagöz in woman dressed form; make a bride, maybe this drunkenness man gives up to inebriation.

KARAGÖZ'S WIFE - (*with satire*) Well-done, Hacivat! Eventually, you did find such that my stupid man?

KARAGÖZ - You are stupid, worse woman! Look!! It was like as if she smart!

HACIVAT - My dear, there is no harm on that matter. If there was, how could I be a middleman?

KARAGÖZ'S WIFE - But I don't understand! Here you are! Here he is! Unless nothing happens to him do what you want to do!

HACIVAT - On that matter, we need of your help.

KARAGÖZ'S WIFE - If it is in my capability, yes I can.

HACIVAT - You dress up Karagöz let me go to Groom side to inform them.

KARAGÖZ'S WIFE - Yes sir! This is very good!

HACIVAT - God blesses you! (*He goes*)

KARAGÖZ'S WIFE - Good-bye!

KARAGÖZ - What will happen now?

KARAGÖZ'S WIFE - What will happen now? I will dress you up!

KARAGÖZ - Okay, let's dress up!

KARAGÖZ'S WIFE - Man, come on; tie that around your waist!

KARAGÖZ - What is it? Is it a judge stone?

KARAGÖZ'S WIFE - It's been inserted to make puffy the back of the cloth.

KARAGÖZ - Okay let me have it!

KARAGÖZ'S WIFE - Take this lady's dress! Oh man, you have been very funny! (*By laughing at*) Ha, ha, ha, hay!

KARAGÖZ - Don't make fun you son of donkey man's daughter!

KARAGÖZ'S WIFE - Let me make a headdress on your head. Do you wish it to resemble to “Zeyrek hill?”

KARAGÖZ - God sake! Then the passing by lumber mules drill my brain, aren't they?

KARAGÖZ'S WIFE - You create a meaning for everything. Its name is like that. If you wish I can make "Çakmakçılar-simidi" on your head!

KARAGÖZ - That is impossible! All the dogs of the street make my brain to a fireplace.

KARAGÖZ'S WIFE - I don't know anymore! Here is a headdress put on it, remained from my grandmother!

KARAGÖZ - Here you are, make me ready!

KARAGÖZ'S WIFE - Take that *ferace* and wear it! Oh man, you put on reverse position!

KARAGÖZ - You son of a prostitute! I am not borne as a female for forty years. Being womanhood is not more than five minutes.

KARAGÖZ'S WIFE - Man, make your voice thin!

KARAGÖZ - (*Comes to curtain*) Let me see what I shall be!

HACİVAT - (*Comes*) Oh! , there is a woman here! Looks a nice one!

KARAGÖZ - Hey, dummy opium addict man, couldn't recognize me!

HACİVAT - Karagöz!

KARAGÖZ - Haaa!

HACİVAT - Oh boy you really look very good!

KARAGÖZ - you son of gun, Say "Wonderful" otherwise, your evil of eye cause to misfortune.

HACİVAT - Wonderful, forty-one and half times, Mrs. Snowball lady!

KARAGÖZ - You mean my name is snowball? I bet the broom's name is "dog-ball"

HACİVAT - I did find this name for you.

KARAGÖZ - Fuck you son of a gun! Why are you calling me that way? My name is "Karagöz!"

HACİVAT - My dear it is man name. This I gave you is a female name.

KARAGÖZ - You mean I was ignore about my name. My name is "snowball" Isn't it?

HACİVAT - Yes my dear, "Snowball" I told them that way "- The bride's name is Snowball". Let me see, when they came in what will you say them?

KARAGÖZ - "You welcome Aghas to our district teahouse. And say them "Let's have a sugared coffee!" And that's that!

HACİVAT - Karagöz, then I get heart attack.

KARAGÖZ - I'll tell you what! I am hose-installer at our district fire department; if a fire comes up, I throw away the broom from his chair say good-bye!

HACİVAT - My Karagöz for goodness sake!

KARAGÖZ - You son of gun! Why do you refrain for?

HACİVAT - Now being as Mrs. Snowball and say by thinning your voice "Oh my dear!"

KARAGÖZ - Oh my dear!

HACİVAT - Make, a bit more in thin tone.

KARAGÖZ - Oh my dear!

HACİVAT - No not done.

KARAGÖZ - (*says as if he is selling broom*) Oh my dear!

HACİVAT - Karagöz, this is almost like as if you are selling broom.

KARAGÖZ - I make it, you go!

HACİVAT - I am going.

KARAGÖZ - Good-bye!

(Hacivat goes, the matchmakers come by singing a song: the mother-in-law is in front row, Sister-in-law is just behind her, and at the back the neighbor woman come to curtain)

(*Song Suzinak*)

*I cry for help because of you without stopping
I cry for help because of your inhumanness
The crying heart failed to rescue because of you
(Repeat)*

The crying heart failed to rescue because of you

*Hey reproachful, I heard that you have offended to me
You are heart breaker, what is my fault?
You're always making me unhappy
The crying heart failed to rescue because of you*

MOTHER-IN-LAW - Girls! We walked all the way, arrived that poor place. How long do you wish to go?

SISTER-IN-LAW - My lady, you are the ram in front of us, we are the lamp at behind, hands are cuffed.

KARAGÖZ - Under these circumstances I am the shepherd dog

MOTHER-IN-LAW - Girls, what a hard not knowing the address, Is there more distance to Bride's house?

SISTER-IN-LAW - My lady, because of the bride's house is too small; we are told to be waiting for in front of the house.

NEIGHBOR WOMAN - I have ever heard that! Does the woman who will get marry, shows up to matchmakers in front of the door?

KARAGÖZ - Son of a dog woman, started to meaning!

MOTHER-IN-LAW - Hey, look at that girl. There is something in front of us. Isn't it the stone to pass over the river?

SISTER-IN-LAW - Yes my lady, it is true that...., what do you say so my sister?

NEIGHBOR WOMAN - According to me it must be a Persian mule confused its way behind the rubbish baskets.

KARAGÖZ - Have you seen that filthy woman what the hack she is doing?

MOTHER-IN-LAW - There is girl standing here. Let's ask here the bride's house

SISTER-IN-LAW - Let's ask here.

MOTHER-IN-LAW - Hey my daughter!

KARAGÖZ - Gu-gu-ri-ku!

MOTHER-IN-LAW - Are you a cock?

KARAGÖZ - No madam, I am a hen: gıd gıd gıdak! Look at my face carefully, mother-in-law!

MOTHER-IN-LAW - God sake isn't this the gins' cock? Tüh, Tüh, God sake me!

KARAGÖZ - You son of a gun woman, your spit reached onto my face!

MOTHER-IN-LAW - I see you are a hen. Don't you have a cock?

KARAGÖZ - I have no cock, I am out to search a cock for myself.

MOTHER-IN-LAW - Hey girls did you notice what a nonsense words she is saying?

SISTER-IN-LAW - Yes, my lady, I like too.

NEIGHBOR WOMAN - Since I see that woman I am having botherations in my inner side.

KARAGÖZ - Since I see you, the same thing happening to me too.

MOTHER-IN-LAW - My dear please tell me true what are you?

KARAGÖZ - If you want the truth, I am a wild goose.

MOTHER-IN-LAW - (*Addressing to sister-in-law*) Oh Girl, Look, she has been a wild goose

NEIGHBOR WOMAN - If she is a wild goose. I scare off very much.

KARAGÖZ - You son of gun, I give a written certification that you won't scare off from nothing.

MOTHER-IN-LAW - Does any wild goose ever speak?

KARAGÖZ - I am the sort of talkative type of wild goose.

MOTHER-IN-LAW - I have realized that you are human. My dear lady, I will ask you something. Please do respond correctly!

KARAGÖZ - If it is in my knowledge, I can tell.

NEIGHBOR WOMAN - My dear, why are you talking that one; as if you are considering her a logic person.

KARAGÖZ - Boy I am almost falling in love with that woman!

MOTHER-IN-LAW - We heard that Mrs. Snowball is residing around here, do you know her?

KARAGÖZ - It is not suitable to asking her to me, but, however, consequently, at the same time, will you wear that Mrs. Snowball on top of your hair?

MOTHER-IN-LAW - No my dear, we just came here to see her for my son

KARAGÖZ - Good but, She the Mrs. Snowball is very lazy, straightens her bed at every six months, she washes her face once a month either or not, she never washes her hands after finished her meal, never cleans her house, never change her clothes, her clothes stinks terrible.

MOTHER-IN-LAW - My dear, her behaves are not your business. It is our business.

SISTER-IN-LAW - My goodness, this older lady is the one that we are looking for?

KARAGÖZ - Yes my dear, I am Mrs. Snowball.

MOTHER-IN-LAW - Hey gals, did you like her?

SISTER-IN-LAW - She is alright my lady!

MOTHER-IN-LAW - Then let's go!

NEIGHBOR WOMAN - I never liked her (*They go*)

HACIVAT - (*Comes*) Karagöz, what did happen? Did they like you?

KARAGÖZ - Go and ask them. How I come I know?

HACIVAT - Karagöz would you like something special for the ceremony?

KARAGÖZ - Like, what?

HACIVAT - Like what! Like, belly dancer, drum and clarion or, fine group of musicians?

KARAGÖZ - I am ignored about fine or hard musician groups, I must see my wedding ceremony, and I want belly dancer.

HACIVAT - Ay Sir! I go now and see them and tell them, Karagöz, don't worry for anything! (*Hacivat goes, Karagöz also goes*)

(From the inside Hacivat knocks on the ladies door and they open the door)

MOTHER-IN-LAW - (*From the inside*) May I help you, Hacivat Çelebi!

HACIVAT - (*From the inside*) my lady, did you like the bride?

MOTHER-IN-LAW - Yes we did like her.

HACIVAT - Then my lady, let's commence to wedding ceremony. But Bride wants belly dancer

MOTHER-IN-LAW - With our pleasure! We send a belly dancer now.

HACIVAT - Good-bye!

MOTHER-IN-LAW - Good-bye!

(Belly dancer plays)

(Belly dance song)

The mountains feel happy when it is spring

Güzelhisar's tulip are blooming

The around of grape yards becomes shining

(Repeat)

Swings the beautiful woman of the Güzelhisar

Some has a pencil in hand they inscribe

Some has a sponge in hand undo the inscribe

They are hand-in-hand walk graceful beside

Swings the beautiful woman of the Güzelhisar

The one who is in love are side by side

The one who is in love are on aside

They sit in arm to arm near the waterside

Swings the beautiful woman of the Güzelhisar

HACIVAT-(*From inside*) Hey folks are you ready?
FOLKS - (*From inside*) we are ready, Hacivat we are ready! Sherbet to sherbet!
HACIVAT - (*Comes Karagöz's house*) Prepare my lady, the folks are coming.
KARAGÖZ - (*From inside*) you son of horny dog!

(*By singing a song the folks come. The disc-like man is in the front, the imam is just behind him. The hunched man Mehmet is at a little back, the folks, a few Beberuhis, the Çelebi Broom is at last, and the Father-watchman is in front of him.*)

(*The Song*)

*My workbench has cling, cling sound
My brother-in-law has no one besides me
He's inclinations to sleep with me
(Repeat)
Tell him baby to marry his darling
Tell my brother-in-law to send me a cradle*

*I have a cradle made out of Date palm
I have the glass ornamented out of silver wire
How come you tired off very quick from our bride?
Tell him baby to marry his darling
Tell my brother-in-law to send me a cradle*

*Brother-in-law, Brother-in-law you supposed me as my sister
Divorcing my sister and imagined to marry me
How come you tired of very quick by sleeping only a night?
Tell him baby to marry his darling
Tell my brother-in-law to send me a cradle*

IMAM - Folks, are you ready?
FOLKS - Sure we are ready!
IMAM - Are you ready to praying?
FOLKS - (*All in harmony!*) Sure we are ready!
IMAM - How nice is weather and water of Çamlıca?
FOLKS - (*All together*) Aye, aye!
IMAM - May has no trouble in this world this son of a stupid love-boy
FOLKS - (*All together*) Aye, aye!
IMAM - Kağıthane becomes very amusement during spring!
FOLKS - (*All together*) Quack, quack!
KARAGÖZ - Is this sound of duck you son of a dogs?
IMAM - If her mother-in-law talks too much won't be a nice getting a long
FOLKS - (*All together*) Aye, aye!
IMAM - The broke comes while he was twisting his mustaches!
FOLKS - Cock-a-doodle-doo!
KARAGÖZ - This is sound of cock!
IMAM - The clay Date fruit comes from the Arabia!
FOLKS - (*All together*) Aye, aye!
KARAGÖZ - This is sound of dog!
IMAM - At higher altitude from Maltepe the vulture of Beykoz
FOLKS - Gid gid gidak!
KARAGÖZ - Look at the fault of Hacivat!
IMAM - Pilaf, zerde is ready to be eaten by the spoon.
FOLKS - Pilaf, pilaf, pilaf!
IMAM - There is stuffed-turkey be ready to clawing
FOLKS - Glu glu glu!
KARAGÖZ - This is sound of turkey!

IMAM - The bride is too beautiful but her head is a little bald!
 FOLKS - Boo, boo, boo!
 KARAGÖZ - You son of dogs! How come you know my head is bald?
 IMAM - The daily food of broom is two thousands of raki!
 FOLKS - Oh my boy what a drunk he is
 KARAGÖZ - It is time to eaten the shit
 IMAM - He is curious to clothing shoes are shining
 FOLKS - *(All together)* Aye, aye!
 IMAM - There is a chain of lice on his collar
 KARAGÖZ - Under these circumstances, cleaning will be my job.
 IMAM - His neck is as dark as a bottom of fish praying pan
 FOLKS - *(All together)* Aye, aye!
 IMAM - He sleeps in bed wearing his shoes and knife on his waist
 FOLKS - *(All together)* Aye, aye!
 KARAGÖZ - Karagöz has a black sheep besides the broom!
 FOLKS - *(All together)* lets' go to sorbet *(They go)*
 WATCHMAN - Broom, hand me tips I got to go!
 TUZSUZ - Here you are father watchman!
 WATCHMAN - Thank Goodness!! You two peg out at the same pillow.
 KARAGÖZ - Curse your tongue!
 TUZSUZ - *(Yells out)* this is the man fullness!
 KARAGÖZ - He is a real insanity!
 TUZSUZ - Come on, not only one; come on all together!
 KARAGÖZ - Hacivat, I wish they all come and I get rid of from that case.
 TUZSUZ - While I was on the way coming here I smelled a very pleasant odor. Did you have Lavender (lavanta) perfume?
 KARAGÖZ - Yes my dear I have had a restaurant (lokanta) perfume!
 TUZSUZ - What type of perfume (smell) is this?
 KARAGÖZ - Because of boring! *(Karagöz means he soiled his soil his underclothes)*
 TUZSUZ - Is this due to boring?
 KARAGÖZ - Yes my dear!
 TUZSUZ - The perfume you had what type of lavender? Is this violet, or aroma? Or is it one-thousand-one flowers (çiçek)?
 KARAGÖZ - Yes my dear it will fly away (geçecek).
 TUZSUZ - What will fly away?
 KARAGÖZ - The age of the odor you have smelled.
 TUZSUZ - You mean age?
 KARAGÖZ - You will realize aged or young after a while
 TUZSUZ - What type of odor? Tell me true?
 KARAGÖZ - I have released due to boring.
 TUZSUZ - What did you release?
 KARAGÖZ - The boring staff!
 TUZSUZ - Don't be bored the place is large.
 KARAGÖZ - The place is large, but I scare about it will get shrink!
 TUZSUZ - Do not get scare my dear don't scare
 KARAGÖZ - I have no fear, but the scandal will come to surface
 TUZSUZ - Remove your veil let me see your face!
 KARAGÖZ - Better not to remove will be fine.
 TUZSUZ - Why?
 KARAGÖZ - If I remove the veil the result is no good!
 TUZSUZ - Open up your face!
 KARAGÖZ - I want a customary present for the first opening!
 TUZSUZ - Here you are a wristwatch
 KARAGÖZ - Hacivat may ring your ear!
 TUZSUZ - Open up your face!
 KARAGÖZ - Customary present for my nose!
 TUZSUZ - Here you are ring!

KARAGÖZ - All to my pocket!
TUZSUZ - Open up your face!
KARAGÖZ - Customary present for my ear, my dear!
TUZSUZ - What the heck is it? What is for the customary present for your ear?
KARAGÖZ - Why not my dear!
TUZSUZ - Open up your face! Let's see your face!
KARAGÖZ - Customary present for my cheek!
TUZSUZ - When does this customary present end up?
KARAGÖZ - When you get angry and leave off, and then customary presents end up.
TUZSUZ - (*Applies force*) I say, open up your face! You son of a gun what is this?
KARAGÖZ - A bearded bride my dear!
TUZSUZ - You son of gun! What the hack is this? Tell me true, otherwise I will cut off your head.
KARAGÖZ - Sir, I am because of being from the poor of the poorest, gypsy community, your friend Hacivat has cheated me, and gave me, these double quintets of gold, and made that game to make you to give up to be drunkenness.
TUZSUZ - Oh boy! After that minute, if I drink any raki after the last glass, I will pretend that I am a coward! You be off with you get out here son of a gun!

(*Karagöz goes. Tuzsuz goes*)

Bitiş - The End

(*Hacivat and Karagöz come together*)

HACIVAT - Oh my Karagöz! Be bygone!
KARAGÖZ - I am tired-off too much let's take a break! (*Hits*)
HACIVAT - You have brought the curtain down! Let me go and inform the owner right away! (*He goes*)
KARAGÖZ - May my Hilly-Billy words be forgiven, forgive us for albeit lapses lingua. Tomorrow night at "... " Game if I catch the one who fired my hand, Hacivat then what type of games I will play for you! (*Goes*)

APPENDIX B: PEASANT MARRIAGE

Giriş - Introduction

(The presentation starts with music after got up by whistle in traditional manner. Hacivat comes to curtain and reads the below poet after the music end up.)

*This curtain is a shadow dropped from the real world,
This place is the coquetry region of the world
This curtain is at all places where the thousands of the lights located
This is the curtain, which brings you the amusement
On this curtain the bravery is peculiar only for two men
The one is me as Hacivat, where is the Karagöz who is my man?
This place resembles to reality, is also a place made out shadow
Its art is on the tongue, the skill is on the hand.
(With harmony), Oh amusement to me, oh amusement..... to me!*

HACIVAT - Oh amusement to me, oh amusement..... to me!

KARAGÖZ - *(From Window)* get a hoarse on your voice!

HACIVAT - Keep continuing) Oh amusement to me, oh amusement.....!

KARAGÖZ - I am coming down.

HACIVAT - Amusement...., amusement!

KARAGÖZ - Whoa! Whoa! *(Karagöz jumps on Hacivat from the window and they start fighting. At last Hacivat runs away. Karagöz lies on his back, and mourns in very tired way.)* Whoa! My head is turned to a sponce head, whoa! My hips resembled to a packet smashed by an oxcart, my face resembled such a spider made his net on it. Oh my God, where did that Hacivat come who is the spoil of the human? And now what can I be with this trunk? I wonder what I can be. Can I be a handle for a dull axe? Or Can I be a handle for the forty broken pots? Or, or can I become a Karagöz figure, in Peasant marriage play?

Muhavere - Conversation

HACIVAT - *(Comes)* Oh my Karagöz what is wrong with you?

KARAGÖZ - There is a speck on my eye *(Slaps on his face)*

HACIVAT - For Goodness sake, goodness sake!

KARAGÖZ - Here is your wood nest *(Slaps on his face)*

HACIVAT - My dear Karagöz, my like-minded buddy, Your Hacivat is getting die -

KARAGÖZ - Half minded narrow head buddy, is Hacivat getting die?

HACIVAT - Not that way your loyal buddy is getting die -

KARAGÖZ - Is my buddy in the loyal place is getting die?

HACIVAT - Oh my God, I am getting die.

KARAGÖZ - Please do not die otherwise chuck on myself away.

HACIVAT - Let me know why does chuck on yourself away?
KARAGÖZ - As you know Hacivat, I cannot find anybody to slap on the face.
HACIVAT - You silly boy, look at my out looking one time.
KARAGÖZ - I looked on you, what is wrong with you?
HACIVAT - I am ill, ill.
KARAGÖZ - May you get well Hacivat. Tell me what happened to you?
HACIVAT - I have ache in my stomach
KARAGÖZ - Oh. Have a bucket of water to extinguish it.
HACIVAT - What will I extinguish?
KARAGÖZ - The fire in your stomach.
HACIVAT - It is not fire my buddy, it is a pain
KARAGÖZ - Then why you are not saying pain instead making tongue twister
HACIVAT - Because, I am speaking in literature way.
KARAGÖZ - I wish your tongue may smash as a book style! Oh man, you are about to getting die; speak in Turkish on your last minutes.
HACIVAT - The leopard cannot change its spot.
KARAGÖZ - Then make to speaking in Turkish as a habit for you, Hacivat
HACIVAT - Okay I will behave that way. But you're not ever asking what my problem is?
KARAGÖZ - Let me ask. What is your problem Hacivat Çelebi?
HACIVAT - My problem is enteric fever
KARAGÖZ - You say my problem but you are not telling what your problem is?
HACIVAT - I am telling my problem is enteric fever!
KARAGÖZ - (*Angry with him*) Problem, why you are not telling now?
HACIVAT - You don't understand. I have digestive problem.
KARAGÖZ - Damn it! Tell me what is happening?
HACIVAT - I have had pain after the meal
KARAGÖZ - Tell me what did you have?
HACIVAT - Well. Some roasted bonito, some stuffed eggplant and some *kadayıf* dessert...
KARAGÖZ - Dash it Hacivat!
HACIVAT - Why you are telling that way?
KARAGÖZ - Because you have had the most indigestible foods
HACIVAT - Is the fish indigestible Karagöz? The general surgeon is advising.
KARAGÖZ - Be careful yellow squash Hacivat! They are advising "not to have in roasted way they say make it grill"
HACIVAT - What is difference so?
KARAGÖZ - Moreover a great difference. The fried fish is hard to digest and not grind in the stomach. The grilled fish is easily digestible and grinds in the stomach. While grilling if you insert at the bottom and top of the fish some Daphne leaves, its odor disappears and smells very tasty. Oh I desired very much.
HACIVAT - Oh, I have never heard that.
KARAGÖZ - Now you heard it. The eggplant food is also indigestible. Once the one at your age have that meal they rest their trunk immediately.
HACIVAT - What is it mean so?
KARAGÖZ - Its mean is you get croak!
HACIVAT - What is it mean so?
KARAGÖZ - Its mean is you voyage to planked village
HACIVAT - What is it so?
KARAGÖZ - Its mean is you crash down.
HACIVAT - What is it mean so?
KARAGÖZ - Its mean is you kick the bucket.
HACIVAT - What is it mean so?
KARAGÖZ - Its mean is you leave from this world.
HACIVAT - What is it mean so?
KARAGÖZ - Its mean is you pop off.
HACIVAT - What is it mean so?

KARAGÖZ - Its mean is you mortal
HACIVAT - What is it mean so?
KARAGÖZ - Its mean is you close your eyes.
HACIVAT - What is it mean so?
KARAGÖZ - Its mean is you play the hoot pipe.
HACIVAT - What is it mean so?
KARAGÖZ - Its mean is you start to seethe.
HACIVAT - What is it mean so?
KARAGÖZ - Its mean is you leave with a desire left unsatisfied.
HACIVAT - What is it mean so?
KARAGÖZ - Its mean is you make the mortalities happier.
HACIVAT - What is it mean so?
KARAGÖZ - Its mean is you fall in an endless sleep.
HACIVAT - What is it mean so?
KARAGÖZ - Its mean is you ride on to Imam's kayak.
HACIVAT - What is it mean so?
KARAGÖZ - Its mean is you ran out the steam.
HACIVAT - What is it mean so?
KARAGÖZ - Its mean is you ride on to Heaven car.
HACIVAT - What is it mean so?
KARAGÖZ - You lie down on your comfortable bed.
HACIVAT - What is it mean so?
KARAGÖZ - Its mean is you go to the cone storage shed
HACIVAT - What is it mean so?
KARAGÖZ - Its mean is the ditch becomes your accommodation.
HACIVAT - What is it mean so?
KARAGÖZ - Its mean is you push up the daisies.
HACIVAT - What is it mean so?
KARAGÖZ - Its mean is you get die and go to way of all flesh. (He hits)
HACIVAT - All right my master. Does the small pancake type kadayif have any fault?
KARAGÖZ - It has big fault because it is indigestible in the stomach, Pilgrim Hacivat
HACIVAT - You do not like any food my dear. Then tell me what do I have to have?
KARAGÖZ - Listen to me. Then have *Tarhana* soup.
HACIVAT - Do you think so that *Tarhana* soup is a meal Karagöz?
KARAGÖZ - Let's see, why it is not a meal?
HACIVAT - It is the peasant meal my dear.
KARAGÖZ - This the best food then
HACIVAT - It is a rude food my dear
KARAGÖZ - You are the rude. *Tarhana* is the peasant food. It is correct but it is delicious food.
HACIVAT - How come you determine that way?
KARAGÖZ - Due to the ingredients.
HACIVAT - What are there in their ingredients?
KARAGÖZ - There is dough, there is yogurt, there are tomatoes, and it is nourishing and appetizing.
HACIVAT - Isn't it hard to digest the *Tarhana* soup?
KARAGÖZ - Easy to digest, besides it has been served to the just recovered people from the sickness.
HACIVAT - Do you think so just having only *Tarhana* soup to maintain?
KARAGÖZ - Be patient. Have beans, have green peas and have horse bean.
HACIVAT - Do you think so that bean is food my dear?
KARAGÖZ - Yes it is food, moreover it is great food. Bean is the most delicious food after meat.
HACIVAT - Shall we not have dessert my dear?

KARAGÖZ - Have it. I know, you like to have it, till you get die. Please do not have the desserts like as heavy as the lead, try to have light ones

HACIVAT - Like what my dear, like what?

KARAGÖZ - Rice pudding, milk pudding, chicken breast pudding (White pudding), starch pudding, dried fruit compote...

HACIVAT - Is the dried fruit compote a dessert?

KARAGÖZ - You are right Hacivat. How come does a mule get taste from the dried fruit compote? (*He hits*)

HACIVAT - Under these circumstances, you are going to ban the eggplant to me either, my dear.

KARAGÖZ - My dummy Hacivat, I don't say you "don't eat eggplant" but try to have the light type of eggplant foods.

HACIVAT - Like what, give me a sample?

KARAGÖZ - Hold your horse no rush! Cook the eggplant among the ashes and make its salad and have that way. Cook in the boiling water and pour raved olive oil on it and have it as stuffed eggplant, if you fry the eggplant in the pan then you become the culinary sickness and you suffer too much because of the ache.

HACIVAT - You are right my Karagöz.

KARAGÖZ - May your black eye be blind my Hacivat. Don't eat too much food. Try to have little.

HACIVAT - But I can faint because of starvation then

KARAGÖZ - You neither faint nor die because of starvation. Have less food.

HACIVAT - Then I get indigestion from stomach

KARAGÖZ - You are already a miss-chief maker. Does not worry, then you become a double size mischief-maker?

HACIVAT - Either eating very often or eating rare... Aren't all in one accounting my dear?

KARAGÖZ - No not. If you eat rare, you get starving and you eat too much. If you eat often, you do not starve very much and keep your stomach calm.

HACIVAT - This is a kind of country type prescription. It is not tailored according to the ones live in the cities.

KARAGÖZ - You are an illiterate one Hacivat. I'm about to teach you medical science. The stomachs of the peasant and countrymen are not different aren't they?

HACIVAT - whether they are alike, is not my business Karagöz

KARAGÖZ - Hold there, Hacivat I will hack you now. Tell me - Who lives longer; a peasant or a countryman?

HACIVAT - As it is known the one live, in the country lives longer Karagöz.

KARAGÖZ - Not that way, the peasant lives longer.

HACIVAT - How come you know my dear?

KARAGÖZ - Due to accounting. The general statistics have made calculations and written on the books and they have seen the fact that if the countrymen live approximately forty years, the peasants are living seventy-five year.

HACIVAT - Impossible, impossible my dear.

KARAGÖZ - What, I couldn't understand.

HACIVAT - I say not possible

KARAGÖZ - You say impossible but it is fact and possible.

HACIVAT - Impossible; because there are doctors, medicine, hospital, nurses, in the country. For that reason, the countryside people live longer than peasants and this is absolute.

KARAGÖZ - Those are not present in the village but there is clear oxygen, there is pure drinking water, there is milk, there is yogurt, there is concise bread, there are a lot of fruits. There is a nonstop action, there is joy. For that reason the peasants whether they never get ill or they get very rare ill. When they get ill their bodies are strong not like soft pastry. They do not make buzz like you are. Now, have you understood the civilization pipe and rotten countryman?

HACIVAT - Amazing, thousands times amazing! You are almost speaking like a very experienced doctor, Karagöz

KARAGÖZ - Hacivat I am not talking like a pile in the circularly tray. I am talking like a very well educated wise man.

HACIVAT - I got you, I got you, and have benefited too much. Let me have your breath on me.

KARAGÖZ - Shall I blow my breath

HACIVAT - Yes, give me a blow!

KARAGÖZ - Shall I blow you Hacivat?

HACIVAT - Yes Karagöz, do it to acquire merit in God.

KARAGÖZ - Okay, bring your foot and let me blow in between your sock. I can inflate you very quickly.

HACIVAT - My dear do you think so that I am a sacrificed sheep? Not that way, you will blow your breath by praying way that will help my stomachache may finish quickly, Karagöz.

KARAGÖZ - Alas on you Hacivat!

HACIVAT - Why is it alas on me?

KARAGÖZ - Do you think so that the stomachache will get well by breathing away or blowing the breath on you?

HACIVAT - Yes my Karagöz it will help to get well, Once in a while I have the holy breath blowing action and I recovered.

KARAGÖZ - Well I may believe in you, for that reason, once in a while I also have encountered with the same type incident in my life.

HACIVAT - I see! Let me hear that incident Karagöz.

KARAGÖZ - Here I go. Listen to me my smarty-thoughtful Hacivat. Listen and convince what a mighty power the breathing.

HACIVAT - Oh my Karagöz tell me and looking forward to hearing you

KARAGÖZ - Here I am narrating Çelebi. About forty years ago in İstanbul we were playing among the district coffeehouses, you remember?

HACIVAT - Yes, Yes...

KARAGÖZ - Then Hacivat at that time I was accommodating in Cihangir on the Yeniceşme Hill Street gate number 16.

HACIVAT - yes, then?

KARAGÖZ - I had a friend of mine name was Hasan.

HACIVAT - Was there so!

KARAGÖZ - I said yes there was. What is meaning of “was there so” are you picking on me?

HACIVAT - No I am listening to you.

KARAGÖZ - Well my dear this Hasan...

HACIVAT - Which Hasan?

KARAGÖZ - I hit you Hacivat this is its Hasan.

HACIVAT - Oh yes that Hasan.

KARAGÖZ - One day this Hasan have encountered with neuropathy who I wish you get the same. Later he came to me and said that “I have applied to all the physicians, but all failed to find out solution to my problem. I want to have a hodja to blow his breath on me.”

HACIVAT - Oh, What did you say him Karagöz?

KARAGÖZ - What will I say? I said him “give up from that idea and apply to the higher position physicians?”

HACIVAT - Above all, you were just telling me that you convinced to reading holy words and blowing the breath?

KARAGÖZ - (Laughs) It was, it was about forty years ago, not now...

HACIVAT - Oh. Then what happened to Hasan?

KARAGÖZ - What will happen to Hasan? Fortunately, he listened to my words.

HACIVAT - What has he done?

KARAGÖZ - He has gone to Eyüpsultan, and has the Çardaklı Hodja to blow his breath on him.

HACIVAT - There you go! Did you see?

KARAGÖZ - Later, Hacivat Çelebi, the Çardaklı Hodja has written an amulet for Hasan.

HACİVAT - Oh, Oh he has done very well job.

KARAGÖZ - Later on, Hacivat Çelebi, Çardaklı Hodja said him that “Go have someone to cover up this amulet and hang it on your neck, you will get rid of all your problems”

HACİVAT - It is correct, he will recover.

KARAGÖZ - Hasan has nobody. “I said him “Hasan give me the amulet have someone to sew it for covering”

HACİVAT - Well done Karagöz you did you best.

KARAGÖZ - I took the amulet in order not to give problem to my wife I said let me sew it.

HACİVAT - Good deed, Good deed Karagöz!

KARAGÖZ - I did better job Hacivat Guess what did I do?

HACİVAT - How come I know Karagöz, you tell me?

KARAGÖZ - I opened up the amulet.

HACİVAT - Opened up ha?

KARAGÖZ - Yes I opened up!

HACİVAT - Hey, did you read the Çardaklı Hodja praying?

KARAGÖZ - Yes I did read also destroyed him

HACİVAT - To whom did you destroy?

KARAGÖZ - Çardaklı Hodja!

HACİVAT - Oh my God what is that?

KARAGÖZ - What is what Hacivat? Do you remember there was an actor at Şehzadebaşı called baldhead Hasan about up to fifteen years ago?

HACİVAT - Yes there was, He was comic city of ball head Hasan effendi.

KARAGÖZ - This Baldhead Hasan effendi play announcement is appeared from the amulet. Çardaklı Hodja gave him this announcement instead of amulet.

HACİVAT - Oh my God Grief!

KARAGÖZ - Now did you understand what the exorcism is?

HACİVAT - I see, I see, but what about his problem is remedied?

KARAGÖZ - Okay let me tell you! Do you know what happens when a person abandoned, no job and no family?

HACİVAT - What happens?

KARAGÖZ - It creates curiosity it breaks your nerve system.

HACİVAT - Oh

KARAGÖZ - The human being search for something to believe in or to tie-in to something.

HACİVAT - Correct...

KARAGÖZ - At that time Hasan neither found something to believe in or to tie-in to something. He found the Çardaklı Hodja and tied-up him.

HACİVAT - That is good he has kicked to the curbed!

KARAGÖZ - No, he failed to kick to the curb. He came across with the evil spirits and at last, he got mad. He’s been sent to asylum and later he passed away.

HACİVAT - Alright, what should the poor Hasan do? Of course he should be tied up.

KARAGÖZ - He should tie up, he should tie up. But, not to one who practices exorcism.

HACİVAT - To whom can a human being tie up?

KARAGÖZ - Tie-up to nationality.

HACİVAT - This did not come to my mind.

KARAGÖZ - Have that slap on your face and never forget again! *(He slaps on his face)*

Human being ties up his job.

HACİVAT - This also did not come in my mind.

KARAGÖZ - Have that slap on your face and never forget! *(He slaps on his face)*

Human being gets marry and ties up to his family.

HACİVAT - Even though this also did not come in my mind.

KARAGÖZ - Okay have this slap on your face and also do not forget this too! (*He slaps on his face*)

HACİVAT - Okay, tell me what kinds of medicine do you advice for my stomachache?

KARAGÖZ - I don't believe in to exorcists, but believe in to the physicians.

HACİVAT - I am tired of the physician medicines.

KARAGÖZ - I am also tired of you too (*He slaps on his face*) (*Hacivat resigns*)

KARAGÖZ - I am tired of this narrow-minded Hacivat, let me go aside and let's see what the shadow show-screen does show?

Fasıl - Play -Main Plot/Spot

(Memiş comes by singing Turkish song, and after a while Ayşe also comes)

MEMİŞ - Ayşe I couldn't see you yesterday! I lost my sleep last night. I didn't sleep a wink till to morning. While the sun was rising, I shot out the home. There was a nice breezy at the environment. I have detected your smell on the flowers, I thought that you were hidden behind the trees, my hearth was palpitating, Ayşe.

AYŞE - Believe or not, Memiş, so do I. I also did not sleep a wink till to morning same as you. Something happened to me, I am unable to recognize myself anymore. I am always seeing you in my dream Memiş. As if we got married, we have returned home from cropland. I am roiling ayran in front of fireplace. We are drinking ayran from a dish, we are drinking and drinking but we are not stopping our thirsty. At that moment I have wake up. I just glanced the sun was rising up; I rashly went out of the bed. I am changing my way of direction and passing by in front of your cottage. I am unable to seeing you. I have returned to our cropland by crying. I just heard your voice. It's hit or miss, here I come by running!

MEMİŞ - What will happen, our state Ayşe? My living is not living anymore. I am not in right mind, so far. The peasants are telling me that something happened to you Memiş. They are telling me that are you smitten with or what is matter with you? I am imaging that as if we are getting separating from each other then, I am getting mad.

AYŞE - Don't think such that bad things Memiş.

MEMİŞ - How come I cannot think, if your master let you gets marry to the aliens, then what shall I do?

AYŞE - May let the God reverse the judgment of the black days if written on our fate, I cannot survive without you, Memiş! Instead of remaining in the aliens' hand, I prefer to die.

MEMİŞ - As you realize Ayşe, it is uncertain what types of tomorrow will we have? I will tell you something Ayşe.

AYŞE - Burst out Memiş!

MEMİŞ - I have no father and mother. I regret to discuss that matter with neighbors. I scare out the matter fall through the floor. I will apply to the village headman and I will ask you from your father, what do you say so my woman?

AYŞE - You do your best Memiş go and ask!

MEMİŞ - Will your father deserve you to me?

AYŞE - I hope, my father will deserve me to you! He is a poor peasant but he has got a hearth of gold. He also likes you. Doesn't he deserve me so far better than you?

MEMİŞ - You speak eloquent but, I have my own state of fear. I am not willing to say. I scare so.

AYŞE - Don't fear. Never fear. Ask me at once.

MEMİŞ - If so, better for you to leave, Ayşe. I will tap on the village headman door and I will open the matter.

AYŞE - May God help you.

MEMİŞ - Amen!

(Ayşe resigns)

(Memiş knocks on the Karagöz door)

KARAGÖZ - Who is it? Hacivat. Is that you?

MEMİŞ - Karagöz that's me, me! Son of Köroğlu?

KARAGÖZ - Oh is that you my son? Hold down I am coming. *(He comes)*

MEMİŞ - Hello there uncle Karagöz.

KARAGÖZ - Hello Memiş! What's up? Why do you call so early?

MEMİŞ - I just came for a favorable business uncle Karagöz.

KARAGÖZ - What on earth is this?

MEMİŞ - How do you know me?

KARAGÖZ - How will I know you Memiş? You are son of a lazy, ill-temper and Casanova.

MEMİŞ - What do you say so my uncle? Will you plunge me into deep sadness?

KARAGÖZ - Stop it boy, I just cracked a joke. Didn't you understand? I also know you very well, as others do. You are industries, a man of honor the magnificent! You are best boy of the village.

MEMİŞ - Thank you, uncle!

KARAGÖZ - I think, there is something on the tip of your tongue but I couldn't understand.

MEMİŞ - Good grief... How do you know the Ayşe who is daughter of the Taşcıoğlu?

KARAGÖZ - Oh... I got you know my son Memiş. Ayşe is a charming girl. She is just straight a real Turkish, respectful, industries, and good-hearted girl. She is the one and only poor little thing of the village. I swear in God that if I had a son, I'd rather deserve Ayşe to him.

MEMİŞ - Okay whether you have no son!

KARAGÖZ - *(Smiles)* whether I have no son, that's mean is as long as you are my son. Do I say so in good manner?

MEMİŞ - Keep up saying, I would like kiss your mouth.

KARAGÖZ - In that case you are my son and, shall I get Ayşe to you at all coast, Don't you? But, you do not deserve it. Don't you?

MEMİŞ - No my dear how come I don't want her. I want her. I swear in God I want her!

KARAGÖZ - Stop no hurry. I just made a joke. I know my dear; you will sacrifice your soul for Ayşe. This case can be solved without you sacrifice your soul.

MEMİŞ - I would like kiss your mouth uncle Karagöz.

KARAGÖZ - If I get you the Ayşe, you not only kiss my mouth besides kiss my all face.

MEMİŞ - Sure I am but I have fear in my mind.

KARAGÖZ - Why?

MEMİŞ - I scare about whether if Taşcıoğlu don't deserve their daughter.

KARAGÖZ - Memiş, you don't know Taşcıoğlu. He doesn't deserve her daughter to intoxicated one, not to gambler, not to bad one. He deserves her to you my son. It may be happen that, she also deserve you too.*(Smiles)* Ayşe also deserves you, It is correct isn't it?

MEMİŞ - I cannot hide anything from you, she wants that way.

KARAGÖZ - Since she also wants you, I get her to you.

MEMİŞ - If she asks any dowry what can I do?

KARAGÖZ - She doesn't ask, she doesn't ask. Better you go to your work. Taşcıoğlu is about to come.

MEMİŞ - Okay let me kiss your hand! *(He kisses)* Good-bye!

KARAGÖZ - Good-bye, God speed you.

(Memiş resign)

KARAGÖZ - The boy is good, the girl is good, and this mean is; there will be another wedding at the village. We will have saffron and rice desert. Oh my God, once the marriages numbers increased, at the same time the census of the village will increase, my mood lifted. Let me go aside, and let's see what kind of appearance the shadow curtain does show? *(He resigns)*

HASAN - *(Comes by singing a song. Taps on the Karagöz's door)* Karagöz, hey man!

KARAGÖZ - Go ahead, Taşcıoğlu!

HASAN - Don't you come down man?

KARAGÖZ - How do I don't come down you did not call yesterday, I missed you to see man.

HASAN - So do I, just come down!

KARAGÖZ - Here I am coming *(Go down the stairs)*

HASAN - What should I say? Our village no longer has returned to a township.

KARAGÖZ - Since you have been selected as a village headman, look how this village has been changed.

KARAGÖZ - I did not performed by myself, Hasan! Village headman performed his own job, the teacher performed his teacher-ship, peasants are performed their peasant jobs, Government performed the governance, and it's been taken care.

HASAN - We have to take our village more advances.

KARAGÖZ - Sure... But how will we take more advances from the exits situating I wonder do you know?

HASAN - I do not want to say lie, but it is beyond my ken.

KARAGÖZ - It is not beyond my ken I can I understand very well. Let me tell you and you too realize.

HASAN - Go ahead how it will be?

KARAGÖZ - In order to bring to advancement the census of the village must increase.

HASAN - What happens if the individual increase?

KARAGÖZ - Look what happens - They do more jobs, all the shops open up. Machineries can be purchased; even electricity light can be brought. So far, the crowded places became amusement and merry. The school's teacher number increase, the number of the children get increase, the village welfare level increase, and people enlighten.

HASAN - All right, but what to do to increase the number at the village?

KARAGÖZ - Thanks God the fly, the marshland, the malaria and the tuberculosis are all finished in our village. Now the women got to bring out babies

HASAN - You are strange my dear Karagöz, as if our women not giving birth a child.

KARAGÖZ - They are giving; birth a child but, how many?

HASAN - two or three.

KARAGÖZ - That's not desired rate, five or ten

HASAN - who is going to feed them up?

KARAGÖZ - Do not worry, they can be feed up. God sends their daily bread besides. Look how many children does İbiş have?

HASAN - Eight, may God mercy him.

KARAGÖZ - Amen! Are they hungry?

HASAN - No. Three of them grew up as young boys. They are working in the cropland with their father. Do they ever stay hungry?

KARAGÖZ - No they don't stay, Hasan they don't, moreover, Hasan.

HASAN - What?

KARAGÖZ - It is also necessary to let those youth get marry.

HASAN - I see. We are making their wedding ceremonies when they receive marriage proposal.

KARAGÖZ - This is very good. If your daughter Ayşe receives a marriage proposal do you let her get marry, don't you?

HASAN - Sure I do

KARAGÖZ - Here it is she's got a marriage proposal, Hasan.

HASAN - Did she get one? How come, I have no knowledge, man?

KARAGÖZ - Here I am informing you now.
HASAN - Who's that man let's see?
KARAGÖZ - Who's that man my dear; he is the most handsome, industry and honorable boy of the village.
HASAN - Who is it man?
KARAGÖZ - You guess him.
HASAN - Am I? Hold it. Am... am... Isn't that Memiş?
KARAGÖZ - It is real McCoy, Memiş.
HASAN - I see!
KARAGÖZ - What's wrong, you look astonished. Don't you confirm that proposal? Due to he has no money?
HASAN - Do you think so I will let my daughter get marry to the scum of the earth?
KARAGÖZ - Oh my Hasan,
HASAN - My decision is to let her marry with a rich man. I wish her to have a comfortable life.
KARAGÖZ - If your daughter doesn't want to get marry to rich man and if she insists on to get marry to Memiş?
HASAN - Let her imagine. This decision-making is not in her initiation.
KARAGÖZ - Who is the decision maker?
HASAN - I am
KARAGÖZ - You are not the person getting married. Let her to make her husband choose.
HASAN - To whom if I make up my mind then she gets marry to him. Besides it is been said that, if you "let her herself, she either gets marry to drum player or fife player".
KARAGÖZ - No not that way. This is being said for the girls not acting in wisely. Your daughter is wise.
HASAN - Not my disaster.
KARAGÖZ - You say, you will not let your daughter get marry to Memiş won't you?
HASAN - Yells out) No I will not
KARAGÖZ - You won't let to Memiş, then to whom you will let?
HASAN - Do you think so I am a scrooge? I will not deserve my daughter to a rich one but to the one as straight as a die. The one who will be my son-in-love must be honorable, diligence and brave.
KARAGÖZ - Don't you deserve your daughter to Memiş? To whom you will deserve then?
HASAN - To whom? Sure I will deserve to Memiş.
KARAGÖZ - Live long Hasan. I wish you live one thousand times live long. Then why are you repeating continuously "I won't deserve"
HASAN - I made joke with you my dear, haven't you understand?
KARAGÖZ - May God Bless you.
HASAN - But, what about the girl does she want the Memiş?
KARAGÖZ - Yes she wants. Leave this part of this matter to me. The boy informed me.
HASAN - I am alright, as of tomorrow, let's having them engaged. After the paperwork done we make have them engaged.
KARAGÖZ - You have my word, haven't you Taşcıoğlu?
MEMİŞ - I'm sitting on top of the world. Let me go and find my Ayşe.
KARAGÖZ - Don't be out of your senses young man! (Memiş resigns)
HACİVAT - (Heard his steps with tambourine. He comes in) Oh my sweetheart
KARAGÖZ - Do you need to sweet I don't have Hacivat
HACİVAT - No my dear sweetheart
KARAGÖZ - Am I in need or are you in need? Absolutely I am in need.
HACİVAT - No my dear Karagöz
KARAGÖZ - Tell me my not dear Hacivat
HACİVAT - Let me become your foot earth
KARAGÖZ - Be it. I wish you become worse than this

HACIVAT - Let me be your back and call
KARAGÖZ - Be, Be.
HACIVAT - Let me be a watchdog at your door.
KARAGÖZ - Don't be a dog, and then you bite me and you infect me rabies
HACIVAT - Karagöz!
KARAGÖZ - Hacivat!
HACIVAT - Make your wish
KARAGÖZ - I wish you got out from here
HACIVAT - My dear master, put aside the prank
KARAGÖZ - There is no place for prank. All places booked Hacivat. Let him remain uncovered at this time.
HACIVAT - My dear master let's stop making jokes and let's become serious.
KARAGÖZ - Okay let's became serious one time. Are we books aren't we?
HACIVAT - My Karagöz do me a favor
KARAGÖZ - Instead of begging like Medina money beggars, speak out that I can help you.
HACIVAT - You are my pleasant dear Karagöz; let me show you my respect
KARAGÖZ - I am not muleteers Karagöz, beat you out.
HACIVAT - Without any reason, would you like to gain a few hundred liras?
KARAGÖZ - (*Bitingly*) No I don't.
HACIVAT - Why you don't want my dear master?
KARAGÖZ - Because I am a dummy. What a stupid man you are Hacivat. Whoever doesn't want to gain a few hundred liras without any reason? Even want to gain while by running.
HACIVAT - You right all want to gain. Here you are this poor Hacivat will cause you to gain.
KARAGÖZ - Let me have it
HACIVAT - Here you are well done.
KARAGÖZ - (*Receives the money*) Blessing. What an easy way is this for making money?
HACIVAT - You have received the money haven't you?
KARAGÖZ - Yes I have received and accepted!
HACIVAT - Place it in your pocket.
KARAGÖZ - I placed it in my pocket. But do not ask it back I don't refund
HACIVAT - No, under any reason not. It is your money anymore. Well done.
KARAGÖZ - Okay enjoy the beneficiary of this money.
HACIVAT - Now my Karagöz, let's come to the point.
KARAGÖZ - What is point Hacivat is this steamboat dock?
HACIVAT - No let's come the subject that we will discuss
KARAGÖZ - Okay tell me my dear only one Hacivat
HACIVAT - You know my intractable uncle?
KARAGÖZ - Yes I know what happened to him?
HACIVAT - You know him, what a good man he is?
KARAGÖZ - I don't know him well, anyhow?
HACIVAT - How come you don't know him? Aren't you the village headman?
KARAGÖZ - Yes I am the village headman. But I don't know your intractable uncle very well, and this is it!
HACIVAT - Then let me introduce him to you.
KARAGÖZ - Go ahead to introduce.
HACIVAT - This person is very good, very straight and he is a smart man
KARAGÖZ - This is fine but it doesn't matter to me.
HACIVAT - Oh... That person wishes to marry, may interest of you.
KARAGÖZ - Really, let's prepare the documents and let him get marry Hacivat!
HACIVAT - May God blesses you!
KARAGÖZ - Is this the reason that you are begging like dog since a while Hacivat?
HACIVAT - Yes for that reason, I am begging. This is a beneficial business. I just wanted to do a good deed for you, Karagöz

KARAGÖZ - Surprise, what a good man you are Hacivat, who, I've been ignorant. To whom is that uncle tactless going to marry?

HACIVAT - My eye, he doesn't have his self-decision yet. He just applied me this morning and begged "to find out a suitable one for him"

KARAGÖZ - Gosh...To whom you will select as suitable for the snaky Salim?

HACIVAT - You did not understand. He says "according to my age".

KARAGÖZ - That is good. Find out someone, then.

HACIVAT - Yes I also considered and the man is in needy...

KARAGÖZ - Then let's find out an old woman

HACIVAT - that is correct, but this woman must develop and save the uncle snaky, isn't it?

KARAGÖZ - I agree with you. Does he prefer a fifty years old one, Hacivat?

HACIVAT - Fifty is too high my dear.

KARAGÖZ - Then forty-five

HACIVAT - No, no get down.

KARAGÖZ - Here I got down to forty.

HACIVAT - No sir I say you get down.

KARAGÖZ - (*Satire*) What about twenty Hacivat?

HACIVAT - Well this is reasonable degree

KARAGÖZ - Are you sure Hacivat?

HACIVAT - Yes my Dear Karagöz, this is the excellent.

KARAGÖZ - Hacivat I say that "the man may spend his remaining life in happiness" I pity on him. If we give him a sixteen years old girl, do you think so shall it be suitable?

HACIVAT - Very suitable my dear very suitable...

KARAGÖZ - You say so ha?

HACIVAT - Gorgeous, gorgeous.

KARAGÖZ - Which girl do you think so to be suitable in the village, Hacivat?

HACIVAT - Well my sir, this humble person unable to remember very well. Do you have a suitable one in your mind who I have no idea?

KARAGÖZ - Well, Ahmet's daughter Zehra is coming to my mind but matter in fact she's not suitable.

HACIVAT - Why?

KARAGÖZ - Well she is at her twenty-tuos. Looks a little old, think about that how can she develop and save the old man?

HACIVAT - You are speaking very correct my Karagöz, very correct.

KARAGÖZ - That is correct, let's think about the younger one, Hacivat?

HACIVAT - Oh, I can't remember.

KARAGÖZ - Neither I am.

HACIVAT - Hah. Just someone came in to my mind my Karagöz. I don't know whether you confirm her suitable

KARAGÖZ - Who is that one?

HACIVAT - She is Ayşe. The daughter of Taşcıoğlu

KARAGÖZ - Very suitable, Hacivat, very suitable.

HACIVAT - (*Enjoys*) Are you serious, Karagöz are you serious?

KARAGÖZ - Yes I am serious Hacivat Çelebi.

HACIVAT - What a good idea have I got? This is perfectly suited!

KARAGÖZ - Just like that Hacivat.

HACIVAT - You think so that, that work is done.

KARAGÖZ - Sure it is done and happens with a big scandal (He slaps)

HACIVAT - What happened to you suddenly and why are you hitting me?

KARAGÖZ - The action you are planning is a big scandal and for that reason hitting you.

HACIVAT - Why it will be a scandal? Isn't it with the order of Allah?

KARAGÖZ - You damned Hacivat! Do Allah telling us "have the sixteen years old girls get marry seventy years old snakiest"?

HACIVAT - Will it be the doomsday, if the Ayşe get marry seventy years old snaky?

KARAGÖZ - If a sixteen years old Ayşe becomes wife of seventy years old snaky, then the biggest doomsday happens.(Slaps)
HACİVAT - There is no fatal case at the end of this action?
KARAGÖZ - There is. This uncle snaky get dies in a few months because of heart attack. (Slaps)
HACİVAT - Oh my God!
KARAGÖZ - The Ayşe girl depresses and becomes tuberculosis and dies. (Slaps)
HACİVAT - Oh my master!
KARAGÖZ - It will be said that Karagöz caused that position, I get a bad name, this is worse than death for me. (Slaps)
HACİVAT - Oh my God. I haven't ever thought that case would end that way.
KARAGÖZ - You are malicious fellow, you have thought that. At the same time you have submitted that money as a bribe to me.
HACİVAT - No my sir it was just gift...
KARAGÖZ - You are a Satan even you do not donate your sins as a gift. You have given that money to me to entice away the girl's father mind. Take your money back. I am a poor village headman but, I do not sell my heart for money, get out of me, shameless man.
HACİVAT - (Angry) Karagöz, won't you let Ayşe get marry Snaky?
KARAGÖZ - I will have the Ayşe get marry her darling.
HACİVAT - Who is it?
KARAGÖZ - Memiş.
HACİVAT - Did you day Memiş?
KARAGÖZ - Yes I said, Memiş.
HACİVAT - You mean, Ayşe will marry to Memiş.
KARAGÖZ - Yes, The girl contends and the boy contends. Then Allah is also satisfied from that business.
HACİVAT - Gosh! Then all my attempts are veined aren't they?
KARAGÖZ - Well almost
HACİVAT - (Angry) Karagöz, Ayşe will never become the wife of Memiş. The Uncle Snaky is rich, and man of property and ranch. Memiş is just a poor boy, you did not act as a leader in that business, you did not but you have lost! All the moneys remain to me. When I get the girl, then you will see.
KARAGÖZ - Everyone get to marry with a match one. Ayşe belongs to Memiş. Memiş also will become the Ayşe's. They will reach to their happiness; and we will sit on our divans. (Slaps) Hacivat resigns. What a perplex man he is. He will burn the girl for a few liras. I cannot be agreeing to this evilness. I will do my best to get together Memiş to Ayşe. Let me go to my corner, and let's see what type of silhouette the shadow curtain will show us?

(Hasan comes with Snaky by singing a song)

SNAKY - Hello Hasan!
HASAN - Hello Snaky!
SNAKY - Where do you come from?
HASAN - Where can I come, coming from field from the work?
SNAKY - How is the crop?
HASAN - Not very good my master.
SNAKY - Don't worry, it gets well.
HASAN - OH I wish.
SNAKY - For a long time I'd like to do a favor for you.
HASAN - Thank you.
SNAKY - Your daughter has reached to her marriage time. Let's marry her don't we?
HASAN - We are also struggling for the same purpose my master.
SNAKY - Very good. I want your daughter may have a good life.
HASAN - Yes sir!

SNAKY - I have an idea in my mind wonder what you will say.
 HASAN - Like what my master?
 SNAKY - I like your daughter very much.
 HASAN - Sure you like her; she has born in to your hand.
 SNAKY - There you go. Instead of letting her marry to rouge, let's make their nest with a suitable one.
 HASAN - To whom do you think so?
 SNAKY - Let me talk to you frankly. I want your daughter for myself as a wife. That is it.
 HASAN - (*Laughs*) you're kidding, obviously.
 SNAKY - Hey man I am not kidding. I want Ayşe, from you, that is it.
 HASAN - Then I cannot give you the Ayşe, my master.
 SNAKY - Let me see why you cannot give her to me? Don't I a man? Can't I become a husband for your daughter? What is missing on me?
 HASAN - You are at the age of her grandfather.
 SNAKY - That is good, very good. I care your daughter very well.
 HASAN - Taking care is not an issue, she also doesn't want you.
 SNAKY - Go and ask her one time.
 HASAN - I cannot ask. If she tells me "Are you letting me marry with seventy years old man"? Then what can I tell her
 SNAKY - Maybe she wants
 HASAN - She doesn't want you, she doesn't
 SNAKY - How come you know that she doesn't want me?
 HASAN - She has a loved one
 SNAKY - Him... Who is he?
 HASAN - Memiş.
 SNAKY - Memiş? Hasan look at me, whether you wish or not, you got to give me your daughter.
 HASAN - Will you get her by enforcement uncle?
 SNAKY - No by gently.
 HASAN - How come you will get my daughter by gently? I won't give her to you.
 SNAKY - Look how will you give her to me? You owed me total one thousands of Liras. Your bills payables are in my pocket. If you do not give your daughter I will sue you to court, and receive your cropland from you. What will you do then? Here is three days for you to make up your mind. Either you give me your daughter or your cropland, did it count the cost? I am going.

(*He goes*)

KARAGÖZ - What's up my dear Hasan? What are you doing here?
 HASAN - Don't ask Karagöz, it is the end of all.
 KARAGÖZ - Tell me what happened?
 HASAN - What will happen? The snaky wanted from me the Ayşe.
 KARAGÖZ - It is up to you and do not give her to him.
 HASAN - Not give him, not give him, but he will grasp my cropland.
 KARAGÖZ - How come he grasps your cropland?
 HASAN - I owed him one thousands of Liras. If I don't give him my daughter, he will bring the case to lawsuit.
 KARAGÖZ - Look at that calamity!. What will you do Hasan now?
 HASAN - Nothing only solution is to giving him my daughter.
 KARAGÖZ - Oh No Hasan!
 HASAN - Find out a solution. Find out!...
 KARAGÖZ - Ay what shall we do now?
 HASAN - Did you see the problem we encountered. What should we do but what happened. God damn the Snaky. He was giving me every time, money when I asked. This is surprise that he has eye on my daughter. It is pity to my poor girl. If I let him marry my daughter is a problem, if I don't let him marry my daughter is

another problem. If I give my him I will lose my daughter, if I don't give, I will lose my cropland.

KARAGÖZ - All right, you go your home, let me resign in my corner, and let me find out a beneficiary solution for this matter.

HASAN All right, Karagöz, I hope something from you. (*He goes*)

HACİVAT - Oh my Karagöz!

KARAGÖZ - Here you are Karagöz. (*Slaps*)

HACİVAT - I'll tell you what.

KARAGÖZ - I'll hit you non-stop (*Slaps*)

HACİVAT - Uncle snaky...

KARAGÖZ - You are bear snaky! (*Slaps and Hacivat resigns*) You are; factious, crazy-nutty, harum-scarum, clown, house wrecker, embracer, briber, liar, pilgrim quack. (*He goes*)

(*Comes by singing a song*)

MEMİŞ - Ayşe there is no hope.

AYŞE - So do I am Memiş.

MEMİŞ - They will give you to a foreigner.

AYŞE - I won't go

MEMİŞ - Then what will you do?

AYŞE - I will get marry you. I cannot be with other males. I want to be with you.

MEMİŞ - Ayşe think carefully. If your father wants you to give to uncle snaky, what will you do?

AYŞE - I won't go Memiş!

MEMİŞ - If you don't go uncle snaky will grasp your cropland.

AYŞE - Let him do.

MEMİŞ - Then what will happen to your father's status?

AYŞE - We cooperate together and work and look after to my father.

MEMİŞ - Ayşe is this your last word?

AYŞE - This is it.

MEMİŞ - Let's run-away from that village.

AYŞE - I agree with you Memiş let's go.

KARAGÖZ - (*Comes*) hold your horses, where are you running away?

MEMİŞ - Up on the mountains.

KARAGÖZ - The wolves tear you to pieces.

MEMİŞ - There are dragons here, and then they will tear us into pieces.

KARAGÖZ - Stop children, no rush.

MEMİŞ - Father Karagöz, we love to each other, and wanting each other. We'll get marry. Ayşe will be mine, not the uncle snaky. Is this the decision, Ayşe?

AYŞE - Yes it is...

KARAGÖZ - Wow!. Super! Kids my decision is also same as with yours, as well as Hasan has the same decision. Let's get together and find out a solution.

HASAN - Let us run away, you find out a solution.

KARAGÖZ - No not. Then they will say Memiş abducted the girl. Let's forget such that type no-good traditions. For that reason so many shed blood cases happened. Let's remove the girl abduction tradition.

MEMİŞ - All right, but what about our situation?

KARAGÖZ - As far as you both want to each other, which it will be happen. This is it... You both go your houses, I will find out a solution for this matter.

MEMİŞ - All right. Come on Ayşe you go your home, and I go to mine. Father Karagöz will straighten out this matter.

(*Memiş and Ayşe resign*)

(*Hacivat comes*)

HACİVAT - Karagöz...

KARAGÖZ - What? (*Slaps*)
HACIVAT - For the goodness sake stop Karagöz!
KARAGÖZ - For the goodness sake stop Hacivat! (*Slaps*) You are rascal Satan Hacivat! Let me go and find out a solution for this matter. (*Karagöz resigns, Hacivat goes*)
HASAN - (*comes by singing a song*) Karagöz!
KARAGÖZ - Yes, Hasan aren't you?
HASAN - Yes that's me. Could come down please?
KARAGÖZ - Here I am coming (*He walks down*)
HASAN - What's up my dear?
KARAGÖZ - No news. I am just thinking about, but unfortunately could come to the resolution.
HASAN - I also thought about that matter but it is ineffectual.
KARAGÖZ - I see, you also failed to find out a solution.
HASAN - Yes I couldn't.
KARAGÖZ - Alas, what a pity!
HASAN - Yes it is a real pity!
KARAGÖZ - What will happen now?
HASAN - It will be as in uncle snaky said way.
KARAGÖZ - Alas! Alas!
HASAN - Nothing to do let's leave the rest to Allah.
KARAGÖZ - Yes let's live to Allah, but it is a pity.
HASAN - Yes it is pity I am very sorry but what can I do, never mind.
KARAGÖZ - It is a real pity for the girl.
HASAN - It is strange, why is it pity to my soul Ayşe?
KARAGÖZ - Come on boy! It is pity to the girl. The guy is at the same age of her father.
HASAN - Not at the same age of her father, they are about the same age and just suitable for each other.
KARAGÖZ - How come they are equal, he is at her grandfather's age.
HASAN - How come you say about her grandfather's age my Karagöz? At the utmost, there is only a few years difference and that is it.
KARAGÖZ - Come on man! At least there are fifty years differences.
HASAN - Don't make jokes, look at the one leaving from the hand.
KARAGÖZ - That is right, that is right, it is a real pity. Don't worry; there must be a solution to be found. Let me have a look at the matter. What about are you talking?
HASAN - About the cropland...
KARAGÖZ - About the cropland? Gosh! Speak out Hasan, to whom are you giving your daughter?
HASAN - To him as you know.
KARAGÖZ - Who is it, Uncle snaky or Memiş?
HASAN - To Memiş, man!
KARAGÖZ - Damn it! So you give Ayşe to Memiş aren't you?
HASAN - To whom are you thinking that I should give her?
KARAGÖZ - I've been thinking that you are giving her to uncle snaky. Then to whom are you telling "it is pity" for a while?
HASAN - I was telling for cropland, it is pity to cropland.
KARAGÖZ - There you go! Hasan you are indeed a good man and sacrificed the cropland for your daughter?
HASAN - Certainly, what could I do if I am being lose the cropland?
KARAGÖZ - I want a prize for my good news. Your cropland will not be sold out.
HASAN - How come not sold out. He will grasp by enforcement.
KARAGÖZ - He will not be able to grasp it.
HASAN - How come not grasp, I owed that guy one thousand of Liras, He sue me to lawsuit and gets by enforcement.
KARAGÖZ - He cannot get. I got an idea for that matter.

HASAN - What it is?

KARAGÖZ - We will mortgage your cropland to the Ziraat Bank and loan some money. We will give that money to snaky; you will get rid of from that debt.

HASAN - You live long Karagöz. This matter is almost done. But how can I repay that debt to the bank?

KARAGÖZ - Hasan, until now you were party two. Now you are having a son-in-law and getting three people. You cooperate together and work hard. This debt can be refund. At the same time bear in your mind that, the interest of the loan received from a bank, becomes less.

HASAN - You live long Karagöz. This is also done. Let me go and give good news to loved ones and make them joyful.

KARAGÖZ - Don't stop, go give them good news. Let me resign to inside. (*Hasan and Karagöz resign*)

Bitiş - Conclusion

HACIVAT - Karagöz!

- We have constructed the curtain and brought it curtain down! Let me go and inform the owner right away! (*He goes*)

KARAGÖZ - Hacivat, We played the "Played the Peasant Marriage" tonight. Thanks god we have not ashamed. The unfailing feeling of the people is our guidance. Believe or not our curtain is local made and not tear off. (*He goes*)

APPENDIX C: TABLES

The Statistics Belong to The Ottoman and The Early Republican Era

Cem Behar together with TUIK (Turkish Statistical Institute) have been preparing the population statistics regarding the Ottoman Empire since 1988. The Ottoman recordings included and examined for this project are:

1. *Mecmel Defter-i Hakani*: kept records for the arrangements of the territorial issues of cavalrymen,
2. *Mufassal* (comprehensive) *Defter-i Hakani*: systematically kept records to determine the proportions and the taxes regarding of those proportions of the tax payers in the rural areas,
3. *Mufassal Tahrir Defterleri* (the Book of Comprehensive Recordings): kept records for the economic signs,
4. *Cizye Kayıtları* (Jizya Recordings): recorded to determine the tax amounts of the non-Muslim males,
5. *Gümrük Ruznamçe Defterleri* (Day Books of Custom): kept records of the issues regarding the Trade and the Traffic; the origins, amounts and the values of the goods of those captains and the traders subjected to duty were being recorded,
6. *Dükkan Kayıtları* (Book of Shops): kept to determine the local permissions of the shops, and to keep the inventory of them,
7. *Narh Defterleri* (Books of Fixed Price): includes the price list of all the goods in the market according to the quality and sizes, recorded thereafter the inflation in *Akçe* (small silver coin) in 1640,
8. *Temettuat Defterleri* (Books of Benefits): kept for the inventory of the properties belong to the peasant as important taxpayers. Recorded after the *Tanzimat* (First Constitutional Era) Era.

The project mainly included the 16th, 17th and the 18th centuries, and between the years 1830 and 1927. The population data belonging to the 15th, 16th and the 17th centuries were based on the population censuses the Ottoman rulers had

conducted time to time in newly conquered regions. “*Tapu Tahrir Defterleri*” (The Books of Title Registries) as the inventory of the territory, individuals and agricultural income were the main source. The unit of the census is not the individuals but the households.¹⁰³³ Behar also says that İstanbul has been included separately in the project since being the capital city. İstanbul had high rates of migration for centuries. After 1875, the rates of fertility rapidly decreased and the age of marriage got older. The first signs of the demographic shifts containing big changes in the demographic structure have been first seen in İstanbul.

Table 4 İstanbul Population in 1477¹⁰³⁴

Communities	İstanbul (households)	Galata (Households)
Muslims	8.951	533
Orthodox	3.151	592
Jewish	1.647	-
Crimean Tatar	267	-
Karamanid	384	-
Armenian	372	62
Frank (European)	-	332
Coptic	31	-
Total	14. 803	1.521

Table 5 1520 – 1530 The religious populations in the Ottoman Empire (Barkan)¹⁰³⁵

Cities	Islam	Christians	Jews	Total
İstanbul	9.517	5.162	1.647	16.326
Bursa	6.165	69	117	6.351
Salonika	1.229	989	2.645	4.863
Edirne	3.338	522	201	4.061
Ankara	2.399	277	28	2.704

Notes:

- Data were based on the Ottoman Census Recordings,
- The real composition of the population must be %10 or %15 more than the recordings,
- The household number is multiplied by 5,
- Barkan himself suspects about his estimation on İstanbul.

¹⁰³³ Cem Behar, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğunun ve Türkiye'nin Nüfusu 1500-1927* (Ankara: TUIK, 1996).

¹⁰³⁴ İnalçık, *Devlet-i Aliye, Klasik Dönem (1302-1606)*, 128.

¹⁰³⁵ Behar, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğunun ve Türkiye'nin Nüfusu 1500-1927*.

Table 6 The Estimations regarding the İstanbul population for the 15th and the 16th centuries (Schneider 1952, Barkan 1957, Ayverdi 1958, Mantran 1962, Braudel 1966, Erder and Faroqi 1980, Vryonis 1967, Yerassimos 1995, Oliver 1977)¹⁰³⁶

15 th and 16 th centuries		17 th and 18 th centuries	
Years	Population	Years	Population
1430 - 1440	40.000 - 50.000	1640	1.000.000
1477	97.956	1681	800.000
1477	60.000 - 70.000	1690	600.000 - 750.000
1477	145.000 - 150.000	1792	500.000
1520 - 1530	400.000		
1550	410.000 - 520.000		
1571 - 1580	700.000		

Note: for 1477, there were three different estimations based on the same document, which was prepared to determine the number of the households in İstanbul by Muhittin Efendi who was the Kadi of İstanbul (Topkapı Palace Archive 9524).

The official censuses started to be conducted by the Ottoman rulers from the beginning of the *Tanzimat* period. The census of 1831 was accepted as the first general population census; however, only the male population was counted to determine the military potential of the Empire after the abolishment of the Janissary Corps. The original documents belonging to the census of 1844 could not be reached. The Local Census of 1856 was conducted by Mithat Pasha the Governor of Tuna, who almost used the modern consensus techniques. The census of 1885 showed the composition of the population according to age, sex, marital situation, ethnic and religious belongings, occupations and places of birth; “*Esas Nüfus Kayıt Defterleri*” (The book of base population registers) started to be kept. They resemble the contemporary books of birth records. The census of 1906 was composed of “*Esas Nüfus Kayıt Defterleri*” (The base book of population register) and “*Vukuat Defterleri*” (Book of identity register), which constituted the base of today’s “*Nüfus Kütük Defterleri*” (Books of Population identity register).

Table 7 Percentages of religious and ethnic composition of the İstanbul according to in the 19th and the early years of the 20th centuries (Shaw 1979)¹⁰³⁷

Communities	1844	1856	1885	1906	1914
Muslim	47,91	47,51	44,06	49,93	61,59
Rum	21,39	24,78	17,48	20,41	22,57
Armenian	22,43	19,08	17,12	7,14	8,02
Catholic	2,4	2,29	0,74	1,07	1,13
Jewish	5,87	5,6	5,08	5,53	5,73
Foreign Nationality			14,79	14,95	
Other		0,74	0,73	0,97	0,96
Total	100	100	100	100	100

¹⁰³⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁰³⁷ *Ibid.*

Notes: The Foreign Nationals in İstanbul were only recorded in 1885 and 1906 Censuses. They were not indicated as Muslim or Non-Muslims.

Table 8 1885, the percentages of occupational composition of İstanbul according to religion and ethnicity in the Ottoman Population Census (Shaw 1979, Karpas 1985)¹⁰³⁸

Occupation	Community					
	Muslim	Rum	Armenian	Jew	Other	Total
Craftsmen, Artisans, Traders	38,3	25,4	27	5,3	4	100
Clergy	95,3	1,5	2,1	0,4	0,7	100
Students of Madrasah and Schools	47,8	24,6	21,2	5,3	1,1	100
Non-occupied, children and others	55,8	20,5	15,5	7,5	0,7	100
Total	49,4	22,5	20,6	5,5	2	100
Total (in person)	286.6					407.609

Table 9 the religious/ethnic composition according to the official Ottoman Population Census in late 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century (Shaw 1978, Karpas 1985)¹⁰³⁹

Community	1885	1897	1906	1914
Muslim	12.585.950	14.111.943	15.518.478	15.044.846
Rum Orthodox	2.329.776	2.569.912	2.822.773	1.729.738
Armenian Gregorian	988.887	1.042.374	1.050.513	1.162.169
Bulgarian	818.962	830.186	762.754	
Rum Catholic			60.597	62.468
Rum/Armenian Catholic	150.166	120.479		
Armenian Catholic			90.050	67.838
Protestant	36.229	44.360	53.880	65.844
Latin	18.240	22.335	20.447	24.845
Jewish	184.136	215.425	256.003	187.073
Maroni		32.426	28.726	47.406
Frank	235,69		197.700	
Total	17.375.225	19.050.307	20.897.617	18.520.016

Notes:

- The community classification was made according to the “Millet System” of *Tanzimat*
- The Frank was used to indicate the foreign nationals originated in Europe
- Rum and Armenian Catholic communities were treated together in 1885 and 1897
- Changes between 1885 and 1914 were rather related to the political developments, shrink of borders, and changes in the communitarian divisions in the Ottoman Empire.

¹⁰³⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁰³⁹ Behar, Cem. *Osmanlı İmparatorluğunun ve Türkiye'nin Nüfusu 1500-1927*. Ankara: TUIK, 1996.

Leisure time activity statistics of Turkey in 2006 when “Hacivat Karagöz Neden Öldürüldü” movie was being shown on theaters.

Table 10 Percentage of the duration of activities by core domains, 2006

Core domains	Total	Male	Female
Culture	100	100	100
<i>Audio-visual media</i>	91.3	90.2	92.5
<i>Going to the cinema</i>	0.7	0.7	0.8
Listening to the radio	1.3	1.1	1.5
<i>Watching television</i>	87.4	86.4	88.3
Watching video	0.6	0.6	0.5
Listening to music	1.4	1.4	1.4
<i>Press and books</i>	7.7	9	6.4
Reading newspapers etc.	3.7	5.3	2
Reading books etc.	4.1	3.7	4.4
<i>Performing arts</i>	0.6	0.5	0.7
<i>Other cultural domains</i>	0.3	0.2	0.4
Internet and computer use	100	100	100
Internet use	54.8	53.2	60.9
Computer use	45.2	46.8	39.1
Entertainment	100	100	100
Walking and hiking	69	72.4	61.3
Going to park etc., and picnic and outdoor activities	24	20	33,1
Going to bar, disco, tavern etc.	7	7.6	5.6

APPENDIX D: THE PLAYS EXAMINED IN THIS THESIS

Table 11 The Kar-i Kadim (Old Plays) Included in Kudret's Work

Kar-i Kadim Plays	Versions
<i>Abdal Bekçi</i> (Ritter, 1959)	<i>Abdal Bekçi</i> (Kunoş, 1889; 1998) <i>Abdal Bekçi</i> (Mecmua-i Hayal, 1909) <i>Abdal Bekçi</i> (İhsan Rahim, 1909) <i>Karagöz'ün Bekçiliği</i> (Rona, 1944) <i>Meşhur "Baskın" Oyunu</i> (Gerçek, 1939) <i>Karagöz'ün Abdal Bekçi Oyunu</i> (Hayali Küçük Ali)
<i>Ağalık</i> (Ritter, 1953)	<i>Ağalık</i> (Kunos1889; 1998) <i>Karagöz'ün Mirasyediliği</i> (Hayali Memduh, 1922) <i>Karagöz Milyoner</i> (Karagözcü Kazım, 1934) <i>Karagöz'ün Ağalığı</i> (Rona, 1944) <i>Karagöz'ün Ağalığı Oyunu</i> (Hayali Küçük Ali)
<i>Bahçe</i> (Ritter, 1953)	<i>Karagöz'ün Başına Gelenler yahut Bahçe Sefası</i> (Hayali Memduh, 1925)
<i>Balık</i> (Ritter, 1953)	<i>Balıkçılar</i> (Hayrettin İvgin; Metin Özlen, 1996)
<i>Büyük Evlenme</i> (Ritter, 1953)	<i>Karagöz'ün Evlenmesi yahut Dayak Yemesi</i> (İhsan Rahim, 1909)
<i>Canbazlar</i> (Ritter, 1953)	-
<i>Cazular</i> (Ritter, 1941)	<i>Çifte Sihirbazlar</i> (Hayali Memduh, 1922) <i>Karagöz Çifte Cadılar</i> (Rona, 1945)
<i>Çeşme</i> (Ritter, 1941)	<i>Kütahya Oyunu</i> (Kunoş, 1889; 1998) <i>Karagöz'ün Başına Gelenler: Kütahya Çeşmesi</i> (Rona, 1947) <i>Yazma Muhaveresi</i> (Hayali Küçük Ali, 1952) <i>Karagöz'ün Kütahya Sefası Oyunu</i> (Hayali Küçük Ali) <i>Karagöz Kütahya Çeşmesi</i> from H. Küçük Ali (Sevilen, 1969) <i>Çeşme</i> (Hayali Memduh)
<i>Cincilik</i> (Letaif-i Hayal 1890)	<i>Karagöz'ün Rüyası</i> (İhsan Rahim, 1925)
<i>Ferhat ile Şirin</i> (Ritter, 1953; Duda, 1931)	<i>Ferhad ile Şirin</i> (Kunoş, 1889; 1998) <i>Ferhad ile Şirin yahut Hain Valide</i> (İhsan Rahim, 1909) <i>Ferhad ile Şirin</i> from H. Küçük Ali (Sevilen, 1969) <i>Ferhad ile Şirin</i> (Hayali Memduh)
<i>Hamam</i> (Ritter, 1953)	<i>Hamam</i> (Kunos 1889; 1998) <i>Karagöz'ün Hamam Eğlencesi</i> (Hayali Küçük Ali, 1928) <i>Karagöz'ün Çifte Hamamlar Oyunu</i> (Hayali Küçük Ali) <i>Karagöz, Çifte Hamamlar Oyunu yahut Karagöz'ün Dayak Yemesi</i> from H. Küçük Ali (Sevilen, 1969)

Table 12 The Kar-i Kadim (Old Plays) Included in Kudret's Work (cont.)

Kar-i Kadim Plays	Versions
<i>Kanlı Kavak</i> (Ritter, 1924)	<i>Kanlı Kavak</i> (Kunoş, 1889; 1998) <i>Kanlı Kavak</i> (Letaif-i Hayal, 1890) <i>Kanlı Kavak</i> from Ritter (Özön, 1941) Karagöz'ün <i>Kanlı Kavak</i> Oyunu (Hayali Küçük Ali) <i>Kanlı Kavak</i> from H. Küçük Ali (Sevilen, 1969) <i>Kavak Fıslı</i> (Hayali Memduh)
<i>Kanlı Nigar</i> (Ritter, 1924)	<i>İki Kiskanç Karı</i> (Sussheim, 1909) <i>İki Kiskanç Karı yahut Biçare Delikanlı</i> (İhsan Rahim, 1909) 1. Section: <i>Karagöz'ün Soyulup Dayak Yemesi</i> ; 2. Section: <i>Karagöz'ün Karaman Koyunu Olması</i> (Mecmua-i Hayal, 1909) <i>İki Kiskanç Karı veyahut Biçare Delikanlı</i> (Serif, 1923) <i>İki Kiskanç Kadın</i> (Okçuğil, 1933), <i>Kanlı Nigar</i> from Ritter (Özön, 1941) <i>Karagöz'ün Kanlı Nigar Oyunu</i> (Hayali Küçük Ali) <i>Kanlı Nigar Oyunu</i> from H. Küçük Ali (Sevilen, 1969) <i>Nigar Fıslı</i> (Hayali Memduh)
<i>Kayık</i> (Ritter, 1941)	<i>Kayık Oyunu</i> (Kunoş, 1889; 1998) <i>Yalova Sefası</i> written on the cover, but the content is <i>Kayık</i> Play (Letaif-i Hayal, 1890) <i>Karagöz'ün Kağıthane Sefası</i> (Hayali Küçük Ali, 1928) <i>Kağıthane Sefası</i> from H. Küçük Ali (Sevilen, 1969) <i>Karagöz Eğlencesi: Karagöz'ün Hıdırellez Alemi</i> (Selahattin, 1935) <i>Kayık Fıslı</i> (Hayali Memduh)
<i>Kırgınlar</i> (Ritter, 1953)	-
<i>Mandıra</i> (Ritter, 1953)	<i>Baskın: Mahalle Baskını</i> (Letaif-i Hayal, 1890) <i>Karagöz'ün Evlenmesi yahut Üç Sevdahılar</i> (Hayali Memduh, 1922) <i>Karagöz Güvey</i> (Okçuğil, 1933) <i>Karagöz'ün Evden Kovulması</i> (Süleyman, 1931) <i>Mandıra Sefası</i> (Hayali Küçük Ali, 1952) <i>Karagöz'ün Mandıra Sefası</i> (Hayali Küçük Ali) <i>Karagöz: Mandıra Sefası</i> from H. Küçük Ali (Sevilen, 1969)
<i>Meyhane</i> (Ritter, 1953)	<i>Bekri Mustafa: Meyhane Fıslı</i> (Jacob, 1899)
<i>Ödüllü; Pehlivanlar</i> (And, 1971)	-
<i>Orman</i> (Ritter 1953)	-
<i>Şairlik</i> (Ritter, 1933; 1953)	<i>Uruşma Oyunu</i> (Kunoş, 1886) <i>Karagöz'ün Aşıklığı</i> (Letaif-i Hayal, 1890) <i>Karagöz'ün Şairliği</i> (Mecmua-i Hayal, 1909) <i>Karagöz'ün Şairliği</i> (İhsan Rahim, 1909) <i>Karagöz'ün Aşıklığı</i> from Ritter (Rona, 1947)
<i>Salıncak</i> (Ritter, 1953)	<i>Karagöz'ün Salıncak Sefası</i> (Hayali Memduh, 1922) <i>Salıncak Sefası</i> (Gerçek, 1931) <i>Karagöz Salıncakçı</i> (Okçuğil, 1933) <i>Karagöz'ün Salıncak Sefası Oyunu</i> (Hayali Küçük Ali) <i>Karagöz: Salıncak Sefası Oyunu</i> from H. Küçük Ali (Sevilen, 1969)
<i>Sünnet</i> (Ritter 1953)	<i>Karagöz'ün Sünnet Olması</i> (Hayali Memduh 1922) <i>Karagöz'ün Sünnet Düğünü Oyunu</i> (Hayali Küçük Ali)
<i>Tahir ile Zühre</i> (Ritter, 1953)	<i>Tahir ile Zühre</i> (Hayali Memduh) <i>Tahir ile Zühre</i> (İhsan Rahim, 1909) <i>Tahir ile Zühre</i> (Seif, 1923) <i>Tahir ile Zühre</i> (Hayali Küçük Ali, 1952) <i>Karagöz: Tahir ile Zühre Oyunu</i> from H. Küçük Ali (Muhittin Sevilen, 1969)
<i>Tahmis</i> (Ritter, 1953)	-

Table 13 The Kar-i Kadim (Old Plays) Included in Kudret's Work (cont.)

Kar-i Kadim Plays	Versions
<i>Ters Evlenme</i> (Ritter, 1924)	<i>Ters Evlenme</i> (Kunoş, 1899; 1998) <i>Ters Evlenme Yahut Karagöz'ün Gelin Olması</i> (Mecmua-i Hayal, 1909) <i>Karagöz'ün Kadın Oldu Muhaveresi</i> (Behiç and Salih Efendiler, 1909) <i>Karagöz'ün Gelin Olması</i> (Hayali Memduh, 1922) <i>Ters Biyav – Sarhoşa Hile</i> (Hayali Memduh) <i>Karagöz'ün Gelin Oluşu</i> (Rona, 1944) <i>Karagöz'ün Gelin Olması Oyunu</i> (Hayali Küçük Ali) <i>Karagöz: Karagöz'ün Gelin Olması</i> (Sevilen, 1969)
<i>Tımarhane</i> (Ritter, 1941)	<i>Tımarhane Oyunu</i> (Kunoş, 1899; 1998) <i>Karagöz'ün Divaneliği</i> (Behiç and Salih Efendiler 1909) <i>Denyolar</i> (Hayali Memduh, 1922) <i>Karagöz Deli</i> (Okçugil, 1933) <i>Karagöz'ün Tımarhane Oyunu</i> (Hayali Küçük Ali) <i>Karagöz: Tımarhane Oyunu</i> from H. Küçük Ali (Sevilen, 1969)
<i>Yalova Sefası</i> (Ritter, 1941)	<i>Yalova Sefası</i> (Kunos 1899; 1998) <i>Karagöz'ün Yalova Sefası</i> (Hayali Memduh, 1922) <i>Karagöz Yalova Sefasında</i> (Okçugil, 1933) <i>Karagöz: Yalova Sefası Oyunu</i> from H. Küçük Ali (Sevilen, 1969)
<i>Yazıcı</i> (Ritter, 1941)	<i>Yazıcı</i> (Kunos 1889; 1998) <i>Karagöz'ün Aktör Olması yahut Komikliği</i> (Letaif-i Hayal, 1890) <i>Karagöz'ün Yazıcılığı yahut Dilenciliği</i> (İhsan Rahim, 1909) <i>Karagöz'ün Yazıcılığı</i> (Hayali Memduh, 1922) <i>Korkak Yazıcı</i> (Hayali Memduh) <i>Karagöz'ün Yazıcılığı</i> (Rona, 1945)

Table 14 The Newly Written (Nev-i İcad) Plays, included in Kudret's work

Nev-i İcad Plays	Versions
<i>Aşçılık</i> (Hayali Memduh)	<i>Karagöz Aşçbaşı</i> (Okçugil 1933) <i>Karagöz'ün Dünyaya Dönüşü</i> (Karagözcü Kazım 1934)
<i>Bakkalık</i> (Hayali Küçük Ali)	-
<i>Bursa Leylası</i> (Ritter 1953)	-
<i>Cincilik (Letaif-i Hayal 1890)</i>	<i>Karagöz'ün Rüyası</i> (İhsan Rahim 1925)
<i>Eczahane: Karagöz'ün Doktorluğu</i> (Hayali Memduh)	<i>Karagöz'ün Doktorluğu</i> (İhsan Rahim 1909)
<i>Hain Kahya/ Enver Ağa</i> (Hayali Memduh)	<i>Müthiş İntikam yahut Fedakar Komşu</i> (İhsan Rahim 1909)
<i>Karagöz'ün Esrar içip Deli Olması</i> (Letaif-i Hayal, 1890)	<i>Asri Karagöz</i> (Hayali Küçük Ali 1941)
<i>Leyla ile Mecnun</i> (Metin And, 1985)	<i>Eski ve Yeni Karagöz Oyun Metinleri</i> (Hayrettin İvgin; Metin Özlen, 1996)
<i>Ortaklar</i> (Ritter 1953)	-
<i>Sahte Esirci</i> (Hayali Küçük Ali and Otto Spies, 1964)	-
<i>Mal Çıkarma</i> (Metin And, 1975)	-

Table 15 The selected Karagöz Plays written by the proclamation of the Republic

Classic Plays (Hayali Küçük Ali/Muhittin Sevilen 1969)
<i>Abdal Bekçi Oyunu</i> (The Stupid Watchman)
<i>Çifte Hamamlar Oyunu</i> yahut <i>Karagöz'ün Dayak Yemesi</i> (Double Bathhouses or Karagöz got a thrashing) (first performed in 1928)
<i>Ferhat ile Şirin</i> (Ferhat & Şirin)
<i>Kâğıthane Sefası</i> (A Pleasure Trip at Kağıthane) (first performed in 1928)
<i>Kanlı Kavak</i> (The Bloody Poplar)
<i>Kanlı Nigar Oyunu</i> (The Bloody Nigar)
<i>Karagöz'ün Açalık Oyunu</i> (Karagöz the Agha)
<i>Karagöz'ün Bakkallığı Oyunu</i> (Karagöz the Grocer)
<i>Karagöz'ün Gelin Olması</i> (Karagöz the Bride – The Awry Marriage)
<i>Kütahya Çeşmesi</i> (The Fountain of Kütahya)
<i>Mandıra Safası</i> (The Dairy)
<i>Salıncak Safası</i> (The Swing)
<i>Tahir ile Zühre</i> (Tahir & Zühre)
<i>Timarhane Oyunu</i> (The Madhouse)
<i>Yalova Sefası</i> (A Pleasure Trip to Yalova)
1923-1950
<i>Karagöz Dans Salonunda</i> (Karagöz is in the Ballroom) (Hayali Küçük Ali - Muhittin Sevilen 1928)
<i>Karagöz Milyoner</i> (Karagöz the Millionaire) (Karagözcü Kazım 1934)
<i>Karagöz Ankara'da</i> (Karagöz is in Ankara) (İsmail Hakkı Baltacıoğlu 1940)
<i>Karagöz Stepte</i> (Karagöz is in steppe) (Behzat Lav 1940)
<i>Deli Dumrul</i> (Mad Dumrul) (Rahmi Balaban 1941, adapted from Dede Korkut)
<i>Köy Evlenmesi</i> (The Village Marriage) (İ. Hakkı Baltacıoğlu 1941)
<i>Karagöz'ün Köy Muhtarlığı</i> (Karagöz the Headman) (İ. Hakkı Baltacıoğlu 1941)
<i>Karagöz'ün Teyyare Sefası</i> (Pleasure Trip by Plane) (Hayali Küçük Ali 1941)
1950-1980
<i>Bakallık</i> (Grocery) (Hayali Küçük Ali 1953 in Ritter)
<i>Totocu Karagöz</i> (Karagöz works in football pools outlet) (1967)
<i>Karagöz'ün Berberliği</i> (Karagöz the Barber) (Aziz Nesin 1967)
<i>Karagöz'ün Kaptanlığı</i> (Karagöz the Captain) (Aziz Nesin 1967)
<i>Karagöz'ün Antrenörlüğü</i> (Karagöz the Coach) (Aziz Nesin 1967)
<i>Karagöz'ün Kahyalığı</i> (Karagöz the Agha) (Metin Özlen 1967/1976)
<i>Karagöz'ün Minibüs Faslı</i> (Karagöz's Minibus Adventure) (Metin Özlen 1967/1976)
<i>Karagöz'ün Sinema Faslı</i> (The Cinema Episode of Karagöz) (Metin Özlen 1967/1976)
<i>Balıkçılar</i> (The Fishmongers) (Metin Özlen 1976)
<i>Mahçup</i> (Shamefaced) (Talat Dumanlı 1976)
1980-1990
<i>Karagöz'ün Bankerliği</i> (Karagöz the Banker) (Mukadder Özakman 1980)
<i>Karagöz'ün Köfteciliği</i> (Karagöz the Meatball Cook) (Mukadder Özakman 1984)
<i>Karagöz'ün Çobanlığı</i> (Karagöz the Shepherd) (Metin Özlen 1986)
<i>İş İştir</i> (The work is work) (M. Mazhar Anacan 1986)
<i>Sedefçi Karagöz</i> (Karagöz the Antique Dealer) (Ercümen Melih Özbay 1989)
1990-present
<i>Şifreli Köpek</i> (Cryptic Dog) (Ali Meriç 1991)
<i>Karagöz Yazıcı</i> (Karagöz the Typewriter) (Ünver Oral 1994)
<i>Karagöz Park Bekçisi</i> (Karagöz the Park Warden) (Ünver Oral 1999)
<i>Kibar Mahalle</i> (The Polite Neighborhood) (Ahmet Önel 2000s)
<i>Karagöz Çevre Canavarı</i> (Karagöz the Environment Monster) (H. Mahmut Kısakürek 2001)
<i>Uludağ'ın Tatlı Suyu</i> (Sweet Water of Uludağ) (Nevzat Çiftçi 2001)
<i>Karagöz Turist Rehberi</i> (Karagöz the Tourist Guide) (İpek Yücel 2000s)

Table 16 The selected Karagöz Plays written by the proclamation of the Republic (cont.)

1990-present (cont.)
<i>Karagöz'ün Televizyon Sefası</i> (Karagöz's Episode of TV) (Nail Tan 2007)
<i>Karagöz'ün Gizli Telefonculuğu</i> (Karagöz the Secret Operator) (Mukadder Özakman 2008)
<i>Karagöz'ün Gazeteciliği</i> (Karagöz the Journalist) (Mukadder Özakman 2009)
Plays Author Personally watched
<i>Karagöz İş Arıyor</i> (Karagöz looking for a Job) (Cenk – Interviewee, 2012)
<i>Çöp Canavarı</i> (The Monster of Garbage) (Dinç – Interviewee, 2012)
<i>Karagöz'ün Rüyası</i> (A Dream of Karagöz) (Bayram – Interviewee, 2012)
<i>Leyla & Mecnun</i> (Harun – Interviewee, 2012)

APPENDIX E: SOME WRITTEN PLAYS AFTER THE PROCLAMATION OF REPUBLIC

The list of some newly written plays¹⁰⁴⁰ after the proclamation of the Republic:

- *Karagöz'ün Fotoğrafçılığı* (Karagöz the Photographer) (Behiç and Salih Efendiler 1909)
- *Karagöz'ün Beyoğlu Safası* (Karagöz's Pleasure Trip to Beyoğlu) (Behiç and Salih Efendiler 1909)
- *Karagöz'ün Sonbahar Eğlencesi* (Fall Entertainment of Karagöz) (Behiç and Salih Efendiler 1909)
- *Karagöz'ün Arap'tan Dayak Yemesi* (Karagöz is Beaten by the Arab) (Behiç and Salih Efendiler 1909)
- *Karagöz Dans Salonunda* (Karagöz is in the Ballroom) (Hayali Küçük Ali 1928)
- *Karagöz Helva Sohbetine Giderken* (Karagöz is going to a Halvah Talk) (Hayali Küçük Ali 1928)
- *Karagöz'ün Açıkgozlülüğü* (Shrewd Karagöz) (Ahmet Süleyman 1931)
- *Karagöz'ün Evlenmesi* (Marriage of Karagöz) (Ahmet Süleyman 1931)
- *Karagöz'ün İçgüveyliği* (Karagöz is living with His Wife's Family) (Ahmet Süleyman 1931)
- *Karagöz'ün Evden Kovulması* (Karagöz is turned out of the House) (Ahmet Süleyman 1931)
- *Karagöz'ün Florya Sefası* (Karagöz's Pleasure Trip to Florya) (Ahmet Süleyman 1931)
- *Karagöz'ün Kağıthane Alemi* (Karagöz is in Kağıthane) (Ahmet Süleyman 1931)
- *Karagöz'ün Kadıköy İhtisap¹⁰⁴¹ Ağalığı* (Karagöz as the Kadıköy's Agha of *Ihtisab*) (İsmail Hakkı Baltacıoğlu 1934)
- *Karagöz Stepte* (Karagöz is in steppe) (Behzat Lav 1940)
- *Karagöz Ankara'da* (Karagöz is in Ankara) (İsmail Hakkı Baltacıoğlu 1940)
- *Karagöz'ün Muhtarlığı* (Karagöz the Headman) (İsmail Hakkı Baltacıoğlu 1940)
- *Köy Evlenmesi* (The Village Marriage) (İsmail Hakkı Baltacıoğlu 1940)

¹⁰⁴⁰ Kudret, Karagöz. Vol. I, 35-42

¹⁰⁴¹ For the term "İhtisap", see: Bahar R. Akarpınar, "Halkbilim: Türk Gölge Oyunu Karagöz'de Zimmi Tipler," *Millî Folklor* XVI, no. 62 (2004): 19-34.

- *Özdemir Onbaşı* (The Corporal Özdemir) (Rahmi Balaban 1940)
- *Şehir mi Tövbeler Tövbesi* (City... No way!) (Rahmi Balaban 1940)
- *Keloğlan* (Rahmi Balaban 1940)
- *Dağdeviren* (Rahmi Balaban 1940)
- *Delî Dumrul* (Mad Dumrul) (Rahmi Balaban 1940)
- *Teyyare Sefası* (Karagöz is on Board) (Hayali Küçük Ali 1941)
- *İyilik Eden İyilik Bulur* (Good Gets Good) (Hayali Küçük Ali 1941)
- *Öp Hacivat'ın Elini* (Kiss the hand of Hacivat) (Ünver Oral 1965)
- *Karagöz'ün Kaptanlığı* (Karagöz the Captain) (Aziz Nesin 1968)
- *Karagöz'ün Berberliği* (Karagöz the Barber) (Aziz Nesin 1968)
- *Karagöz'ün Antrenörlüğü* (Karagöz the Coach) (Aziz Nesin 1968)
- *Karagöz'ün Minibüs Fırlığı* (Karagöz's Minibus Adventure) (Metin Özlen – Hayrettin İvgin 1996)
- *Karagöz'ün Sinema Fırlığı* (The Cinema Episode of Karagöz) (Metin Özlen – Hayrettin İvgin 1996)
- *Karagöz Stadyumda* (Karagöz is in the Stadium) (Abdülkadir Karamürsel, recorded live in the National Library, the record date is unknown)
- *Karagöz Plajda* (Karagöz is on the Beach) (Abdülkadir Karamürsel recorded live in the National Library, the record date is unknown)
- *Karagöz Gazeteci* (Karagöz the Journalist) (Abdülkadir Karamürsel recorded live in the National Library, the record date is unknown)
- *Karagöz Holivut'ta* (Karagöz is in Hollywood) (Ercüment Ekrem)
- *Hayal Perdesi* (Shadow-Show Screen) (Hayali Küçük Ali)
- *Karagöz'ün Yalancı Oyunu* (Karagöz's Play of Liar) (Hayali Küçük Ali)
- *Karagöz Dondurmacı* (Karagöz the Iceman) (İstanbul Kukla ve Karagöz Tiyatrosu Ünver Oral 2009)
- *Karagöz'ün Korkulu Rüyası* (The Nightmare of Karagöz) (Geleneksel Gösteri Sanatları Topluluğu Mahmut Hazım Kısakürek 2009)
- *Karagöz Ay'a gidiyor* (Karagöz is going to the Moon) (Üsküdar Karagöz Tiyatrosu Alpay Ekler 2009)
- *Karagöz Otelci* (Karagöz the Innkeeper) (Çelebi Kukla ve Gölge Oyunu Birliği Ahmet Karakman 2009)
- *Yılan Hikayesi* (The Endless Story) (Tayfun Özeren Karagöz Gölge Oyunu Topluluğu 2009)
- *Karagöz'ün Dönüşü* (The Return of Karagöz) (Nevzat Çiftçi 2009)
- *Dilek Çiçeği* (Wish Flower) (Nevzat Çiftçi 2009)

APPENDIX F: TÜRKÇE ÖZET

KARAGÖZ'ÜN DÖNÜŞÜMLERİNİ ANLAMAK

Çalışmanın Amacı

Bu çalışma, Karagöz'ün performans olarak, XVI. yüzyıl Osmanlı toplumunda, *technē* olarak başlayıp, bir dizi dönüşüm geçirerek XXI. yüzyıl modern Türkiye toplumunda saygın bir sanat olduğu iddiası ile son bulan yolculuğunu anlamayı amaçlar. Karagöz'ün geçirdiği dönüşümler üzerine yapılan çalışmalar mevcuttur ancak, bu çalışma, diğerlerinden farklı olarak, Karagöz'ü, tüm varoluş koşullarında modern anlamda sanat olarak tanımlamaz. Bu çalışma, yaşamın tam içinde, toplumla entegre, ne (modern) sanat alanına indirgenmiş ne de zanaat tanımı ile daraltılmış Karagöz ve ona bağlı aktivitelerin, bir bilme biçimi olan *technē*¹⁰⁴² alanından ayrılıp, Heidegger'in tanımı ile modern teknolojinin hakim olduğu *Çerçevelenmiş Dünyada*¹⁰⁴³, saygın bir "sanat" olduğu iddiasına götüren dönüşümlerini incelemeyi amaçlar.

Bu amaçla, Karagöz'ün Osmanlı'da ortaya çıkış ve varoluş koşullarını tanımlamak için aşağıda ayrıntılı bir şekilde bahsedilen *technē* kavramı kullanılmıştır. Bu kapsamda, klasik olarak tanımlanan 39 Kar-i Kadim Karagöz oyunu ve 19 diyalog bölümü, Osmanlı'nın politik, idari, ekonomik ve sosyal yapısına dair incelemeler ve gündelik yaşamda öne çıkan olaylar ve pratikler dahilinde analize tabii tutulmuştur. Bunu takiben, Karagöz'de ilk aleni dönüşümler, Osmanlı'da reform ve yenilik dönemi olarak adlandırılan Tanzimat dönemine denk gelir. Oyunlarda döneme ilişkin göndermeler, aydınlar arasında içerik ve biçime dair tartışmalar ve modernleşmenin sosyal yaşama etkileri, Karagöz bağlamında analiz edilmeye çalışılmıştır. Kaçınılmaz olarak, *Çerçevelenmiş Dünyanın* bir parçası olacak yeni ulus devletin kurulmasıyla, Karagöz'ün dönüşümleri, Cumhuriyet'in ilanından

¹⁰⁴² Heidegger, *Nietzsche, Volume I*, 81.

¹⁰⁴³ Heidegger, "The Age of the World Picture," 67

günümüze kadar olan süreç için seçilmiş 53 Karagöz oyunu temel alınarak incelemiştir. Bu oyunlar, politik, sosyal ve gündelik hayattaki değişimlere paralel olarak yorumlanmaya çalışılmıştır. Karagöz'ün bugünkü koşulları, "Karagöz saygın bir sanattır" görüşü çerçevesinde, 21 Karagöz ustası ile yapılan görüşmeler kapsamında araştırılmıştır. Yarı yapılandırılmış derin görüşme tekniği kullanılmış, görüşmeler daha sonra yazar tarafında deşifre edilip analize tabi tutulmuştur.

Kapsam ve Kuramsal Çerçeve

Her ne kadar kökeni üzerindeki tartışmalar günümüzde de devam ediyor olsa da, dünyadaki gölge oyunlarının kökeni üzerine yapılan araştırmalar sonucunda, Altay Dağları civarında yapılan kazılarda bulunan, M.Ö. V. Yüzyıla ait olduğu düşünülen ve Karagöz figürlerini andıran deri işlemlerin¹⁰⁴⁴, Karagöz'ün, Türk toplumunda, eski çağlardan beri bilindiği inancını geliştirmiştir. Bununla birlikte Metin And'ın öne sürmüştüğü Karagöz'ün Osmanlı'ya gelişinin XVI. Yüzyıla tarihlendiği yaygın görüşe¹⁰⁴⁵, son yıllarda yaptığı araştırmalarıyla ön plana çıkan, aynı zamanda Hayali olan Alpay Ekler tarafından karşı çıkmıştır.¹⁰⁴⁶ Ekler Karagöz'ün çok daha eski çağlarda Horasan bölgesinden ipek ve baharat yolları ile İstanbul'a geldiğini iddia eder. Bir diğer görüş, Evliya Çelebi'nin seyahatnamesinde vermiş olduğu bilgileri temel alan, Karagöz ve Hacivat'ın Sultan Orhan döneminde yaşamış, Ulucami'nin inşaatında çalışmış gerçek kişiler olduğu temeline dayanır.¹⁰⁴⁷ Hem dünyada hem de Türk toplumunda Karagöz'ün ortaya çıkışına dair kesin bilgiler elde etmek eldeki kaynaklar ışığında neredeyse imkansızdır.

Bu tartışmalar, tam da bu tezin ana temelini oluşturan Heidegger tarafından "çerçeveleme" (Enframing)¹⁰⁴⁸ olarak nitelenecek ve modern öznenin kendini merkeze alan anlayışı temelinde geride kalan her şeyi nesneleştirerek *Çerçevelelenmiş Dünya'da* (Age of the World Picture) organize bir şekilde yerleştirme çabasına örnek oluşturur. Her ne kadar 2. Bölümde, Karagöz hakkında geniş bilgi vermeye niyet edilmişse de bu bilgiler daha çok yol gösterici olarak kabul edilmelidir. Zira bu tez, Karagöz'ün *gerçeğini* (essence)¹⁰⁴⁹ aramaktan ziyade, *gerçekleşen* (essencing)¹⁰⁵⁰

¹⁰⁴⁴ Chen, "Shadow Theaters of the World," 29

¹⁰⁴⁵ And, *Karagoz: Turkish Shadow Theatre*, 25-26.

¹⁰⁴⁶ Alpay Ekler, "Karagöz Mısır'dan mı Geldi?" *Yeni Tiyatro*, no. 55 (December 2011): 17-20.

¹⁰⁴⁷ Evliya Çelebi, *Evliya Çelebi Seyahatnamesi, 1. Kitap: İstanbul*. 311. Evliya Çelebi, *Evliya Çelebi Seyahatnamesi'nden Seçmeler*, 164-165.

¹⁰⁴⁸ Heidegger, "Question Concerning Technology," 30.

¹⁰⁴⁹ Ibid., 30.

Karagöz'ü, toplumla girdiği ilişkiler çerçevesinde ele alıp, *technē* kapsamında tanımlanabileceği Osmanlı kontekstinden, bugün iddia edildiği üzere güzel sanatlar alanına dahil olduğu XXI. yüzyıla kadar geçen sürede, geçirmiş olduğu dönüşümleri incelemeyi amaçlar.

Bu anlamda, Heidegger *technē* terimini Sokrates öncesi Antik Yunan'da sanat anlayışını tanımlamak için kullanmıştır. Heidegger'in Nietzsche üzerine vermiş olduğu dersler, aynı zamanda sanat felsefesi ve tarihi üzerine düşüncelerini ortaya koyduğu derslerdir. Öncelikle Nietzsche'ye referansla, sanatın bu dünyanın bir ürünü olduğu, tek gerçek olanın yaşanılan dünya olduğu, böylelikle sanat kavramı üzerine yapılacak bir incelemenin bu dünyayı esas alması gerektiği söylenir, bu anlayış Nietzsche tarafından kuvvetle savunulmuştur. Hatta Nietzsche, sanatçı görüngüsünün (tezahürünün), gücün, hatta doğanın ve hatta dinin ve değerlerin temel işleyişlerini gözden geçirmek konusunda halen en açık ifade biçimi olduğunu savunur.¹⁰⁵¹ Dolayısıyla sanatçı üzerinden yapılacak her çalışma o toplumun metafizik koşullarını da ortaya çıkarır. Bu koşullar temelde Varlık nedir sorusuna verilen cevaplar bütünüdür. Bu bağlamda, varolanların ancak Tanrının yaratımları olduğu ve bu kapsamda şekillenen dünya anlayışından, modern öznenin merkeze oturduğu ve varolanların bu öznenin taleplerine göre "akılcı" yöntemlerle ve modern teknoloji ile düzenlenip tanımladığı *çerçevelemiş dünya* anlayışına geçişte, sanat anlayışı da değişmiştir.¹⁰⁵² Antik Yunan'da sanat, bilgi alanı içinde, modern anlamdaki sanat ve zanaat ayrımlarından uzak, *technē* olarak tanımlanır.¹⁰⁵³ Bu durumda, zanaatçı, devlet görevlisi, eğitimci ve hatta doğa bir şey meydana getirdikleri ve ürettikleri için sanatçı kapsamına girerler.¹⁰⁵⁴ Bu dönem, sanatın henüz kendini yalnızca Güzel'i bulmaya adanmış "güzel sanatlar" olarak çerçevelemediği bir dönemdir.¹⁰⁵⁵ Sanat tecrübe edilen bir şey değil, içinde bulunulan duyulan bir şeydir. Sanatçı olmak için ayrıca bir çaba gerekmez. *Technē* her var olanın sahip olduğu bir bilme biçimidir. Dolayısıyla, ortaya çıkarma, meydana getirmede her tülü insan kabiliyeti sanat olarak tanımlanıyorsa, sanat *technē*'dir.¹⁰⁵⁶

¹⁰⁵⁰ Ibid., 30.

¹⁰⁵¹ Martin Heidegger, *Nietzsche, Volume I*, 70.

¹⁰⁵² Heidegger, "The Age of the World Picture," 61.

¹⁰⁵³ Martin Heidegger, *Nietzsche, Volume I*, 81.

¹⁰⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 71

¹⁰⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 80.

¹⁰⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 81.

Evliya Çelebi, 17. Yüzyılda yaşamış Hayali K r Hasanzade Mehmet Çelebi'den bahsederken ne (modern anlamda) sanat terimini kullanır ne de bilim.¹⁰⁵⁷ K r Hasanzade'nin yeteneklerini  vmek i in, *ilim* sahibi ve *hazarfenn* kelimelerini kullanır. K r Hasanzade, zamanın Farabi'si olabilecek kadar bilgi sahibi, m zik ve yatık yazı konusunda yetenekli aynı zamanda bir ok sanatın da ustası, ince ruhlu taklidi kuvvetli, g ld r  yeteneđi y ksek bir Hayalidir. Osmanlı toplum yapısına da bakıldıđında, zanaat sanat ayırımından ziyade, eđlendirici kiřilerin hatta hattatların, afyon satıcılarının, k rk veya kahve satıcılarının ve cambazların, hatta lađımcıların aynı sistem altında buluřtukları g zlenir. Sanatçı aynı zamanda zanaatçıdır. Bilme, bilgi  zerinden iřleyen, sosyal yaşamı d zenleyen pratik ve ahlaki kurallar b t n  olan f t vvet anlayıřı ile řekillenmiř esnaf loncaları, usta ve  ırak iliřkisi  er evesinde her t rl   retimi ger ekleřtirirler. Karag z ustaları da bu anlayıř  er evesinde, her ne kadar tartıřılıyor olsa da, Evliya Çelebi tarafından İstanbul'daki esnaf topluluklardan bahsederken taklit i ve g ld r c  kiřiler bařlıđı altında anlatılır¹⁰⁵⁸ ve  ođu zaten bařka bir mesleđi sahip olup esnaf loncalarına  yedir. Belki de T rk eye Arap adan ge miř ve kendine yer etmiř "irfan" s zc đ , bilme, anlama, sezme gibi karřılıkları ile *techn *'nin anlamını karřılayabilir.

Karag z' n Evreni: Osmanlı Toplumunu

Karag z' n erken d neminde, Hayaliler i in m tevezai bir takım, Karag z oynamak i in yeterli olmaktadır, bu anlayıř aktivitelerini kolaylařtırmıř, diledikleri zaman diledikleri yerde perde a malarına da olanak sađlamıřtır. Bir Hayalinin Karag z oynamak i in ihtiya  duyduđu, genellikle ahřap  er eveye gerilmiř a ık renkli bir bez bir perde, deve veya dana derisinden yapılmıř ve boyanmıř veya kartondan kesilip yađda kızartılıp boyanmıř fig rler, bunlara iliřtirilmiř tahta  ubuklar, yađ lambası, mum veya gaz lambası, tef ve narekedir.¹⁰⁵⁹ Dahası, hayali olmak i in  yle belli kurallar yoktur, meraklı bir gencin bir s re bir Karag z ustası ile  alıřması f t vvet ahlakı i inde ustalıđa y kselmek i in elinden geleni yapması yeterlidir. Bunların haricinde Karag z s zl  geleneđin bir par asıdır, okur yazarlık oranları da g z  n ne alındıđında, oyunlar hafızaya dayalı oynatılır, bu da Hayaliye dođa lama řansı ve dolayıyla ustalıđını sergileme řansı verir. Kabiliyet kapsamında ele alındıđında, Karag z, irfan sahibi birinin ger ekleřtirdiđi, ortaya  ıkardıđı bir sanat halini alır bu da *techn * olarak yaklařılmasını olanaklı kılar.

¹⁰⁵⁷ Evliya Çelebi, *Evliya Çelebi Seyahatnamesi*, 1. Kitap: İstanbul, 310.

¹⁰⁵⁸ Evliya Çelebi, *Evliya Çelebi Seyahatnamesi*, 1. Kitap: İstanbul, 310.

¹⁰⁵⁹ Ahmet Akřit, "Modernleřme s recinde Karag z." *Toplumsal Tarih Dergisi*, no. 228 (December 2012): 65.

16. Yüzyıl'da yazılı kaynaklarda Karagöz'den bahsedilmeye başlanmıştır. And'a göre bu, bilimsel metotlar nazarında Karagöz'ün ortaya çıkışı olarak nitelense de 16. Yüzyıldan çok daha önce de oynatılıyor olduğunu Evliya Çelebi anlatır. Ancak 16. Yüzyıl'da bazı kaynaklarda bahsediliyor olması muhtemelen artık meşhur bir izlençe aktivitesi olarak, Karagöz olarak, yerleştiğine ve hayli popüler olduğuna işaret olabilir. Hatta İstanbul'a gelen yabancı seyyahların anılarında Karagöz'e mutlaka yer veriliyor olması da yaygın bir eyleme biçimi olduğuna kanıt olarak gösterilebilir. Her yaştan ve sınıftan seyircisi vardır ve kamusal alan işlevi gören kahvehanelerin vazgeçilmez bir parçası olduğu da anlaşılmaktadır.

Bazı görüşmeciler karşı çıksa da, açık seçkiligi, absürtlüğü, grotesk özellikleri, sosyal ve siyasal taşlamalarıyla Karagöz günlük hayatın hem parçası hem de onun aynasıdır. Karagöz, ikiye bölünen eşeğinin yanlış kenetlenmesinden sonra onu dürbün olarak kullanmaya karar verebilir, evlendiği kadının aynı gece doğurmasına şaşırılmaz, hatta yeni doğan oğlu ile küfürlü bir laf dalaşına girer, Hacivat'ın ikna çalışması ile kendisinin evlenme çağında bir kız olduğuna, sakallarının da aslında saçları olduğuna inanabilir. Oyunlar genelde küfür ve birçok cinsel mana ve gizli anlam içerir. Mesela Karagöz'ün yolda karşılaştığı üç kadının ismi Suluca Yayla Çadırı, Dillice Çeşme ve Garı Bit Ahır'dır. Karagöz, kendini kulaksız kuyruksuz tay diye tanıtır ve "evvela suluca yayla çayırında bizim tayı otlatalım, sonra dillice çeşmeden sulayalım, sonra da garı bit ahırında çekelim olmaz mı?" diye sorar. Bunlar ahlaksız Karagöz olarak nitelendirilse de, bedeni işlevlerin sıkça yer tuttuğu, ölüm ile doğumu döngüsel kabul eden, abartılı ölçüsüzlüklerden yararlanan, dilin kurallarını bozan, zaman algısını yıkan maddi beden ilkesi ile bedene ait olanı ön plana çıkaran grotesk özelliklerinin¹⁰⁶⁰ ürünüydü. Osmanlı toplumu Karagöz'ün varlık evrenini oluşturur.

Metin And'ın çalışması ile gün yüzüne çıkmış yabancı seyyahların anlatımlarına da bakıldığında sultan hariç Karagöz'ün dil uzatmadığı alay konusu etmediği kimse yoktur.¹⁰⁶¹ Bu bakımlardan Karagöz, toplumda bazı işlevler de yüklenir: sokakta birbirlerini anlamayan nice etnik dini kökenden kişileri perdede sanki birbirlerini anlıyorlarmış gibi buluşturup soyutlama yöntemi ile kemikleşmiş varsayıdığı özelliklerin altını çizer, böylece sokaktaki tansiyonu düşürür ve olası etnik ve dini çatışmaları önler. Ayaklı gazete görevi görerek halk ve yönetenler arasında bilgilendirici görevini üstlenir, kamuoyu oluşturur ve başlı başına bir protesto

¹⁰⁶⁰ Bakhtin, *Rabelais and His World*.

¹⁰⁶¹ And, *Karagoz: Turkish Shadow Theatre*, 67-75.

biçimidir. Bunların yanında askeri ve reaya olarak ayrılmış her türlü idari sınıftan, Müslüman ve gayri-Müslüman olarak ayrılmış her türlü hukuki sınıftan ve esnaf, ulema ve yönetici kesimden seyircisi olan meşhur bir izlenimdir.

Oyunlardaki tasvirler ve tipler hayatın içinden alınmış karikatürleştirilmiş bir şekilde perdeye yansıtılmıştır. Özellikle, Osmanlı ile Fransızların stratejik dostluk anlaşmasından sonra, Osmanlı'da Avrupalıları tanımlayan Frenk¹⁰⁶², doktor veya meyhane sahibidir, Türkçesi bozuk, İtalyanca veya Fransızca kelimelerle dolu bir konuşma biçim vardır ve Karagöz tarafından her daim alay konusu yapılır. Osmanlı'da deniz aşırı ticaret ile ilgilenen, fütüvvet ahlakı dışında görece spekülasyon yollarından fazla para kazanan Bezirgân, zengin Yahudi tüccardır, yaygaracı, pazarlıkçı ve korkak olarak tasvir edilir. Birçok tartışmaya konu olmuş Karagöz'ün Çingene kimliği ile en fazla ters düşen karakterdir. Osmanlı'da Millet-i Sadıka olarak alınmış Ermeni tipi de göz önünde bulundurulduğunda, bu tipler, Osmanlı Millet sisteminde millet statüsü edinmiş Zimmiler olarak Osmanlı gerçekliğinden alınmıştır. Osmanlı sultanları bu topluluklarla ilgili problemlerde bu toplulukların dini liderlerini muhatap almış, belli konular haricinde genelde kendi sosyal ve kültürel dinamiklerinde görece özgür yaşamalarına izin vermiştir. Ancak sosyal hayatta, gayrimüslimlerin kılık kıyafet konusunda Müslümanlara benzemesi yasaklanmıştır. Ata binmeleri de bazı istisnalar dışında yasaktır. Samur kürk, kalpak, frengi kemha ve atlas gibi lüks kıyafetleri giymeleri de yasaktır. III. Selim döneminde ise Müslümanların kavuk ve ayakkabıları sarı renk diğer milletler içinse çeşitli renkler olması kurala bağlanmıştır. Ancak yabancı seyyahların anlatımlarından anlaşılacağı gibi gayri-Müslim ve Müslim arasındaki ayrım Müslümanın üstünlüğü temeline dayanmaktadır. Thévenot¹⁰⁶³, sabah evinden dışarı çıktığında gayri-Müslim biriyle karşılaşan bir tutucu bir Müslümanın şeytan görmüş gibi kaçtığını ve dualar okumaya başladığını yazar. Osmanlı'nın Avrupa'daki şöhreti de bu tarz bir üstünlüğü desteklemektedir¹⁰⁶⁴, kıyafetleri nazarında şapkaları ve kabarık tüylü ceketleri dolayısıyla Türklerin Frenkleri ve diğer yabancı uyrukları kuyruksuz maymun diye adlandırdıklarını yazmaktadır.¹⁰⁶⁵ "pis" işler olarak nitelenen bazı işler de mesela meyhane işletmek, lağımcılık gibi gayri-Müslimlerce yapılmaktadır. Her ne kadar hukuki anlamda hakları sultan tarafından garanti altına alınıyor olsa da Thévenot bu tip olayları not almış hatta

¹⁰⁶² Alexandrine N. St.Claire, *Hayallerdeki Türk*, 23-24

¹⁰⁶³ Thévenot, *Thévenot Seyahatnamesi (1655-1656)*, 111.

¹⁰⁶⁴ Alexandrine N. St.Claire, *Hayallerdeki Türk*.

¹⁰⁶⁵ Thévenot, *Thévenot Seyahatnamesi (1655-1656)*, 111-114.

gayri Müslimlerin ramazan sonrası eğlencelerde Türklerin aşırı içki içmesi nedeni ile saldırıya maruz kalmamak için pek dışarı çıkmadıklarını da yazmıştır.¹⁰⁶⁶ İmparator'un kendini Cihan padişahı olarak tanımladığı bir toplumda, nihayetinde Karagöz perdesinde Zimmilerle dalga geçmek böylece mümkün olmaktadır.

Avrupa'nın Osmanlı'yı genel olarak Türk diye tanımlamasına rağmen, Karagöz oyunlarında Türk, ekseriyetle oduncu olarak tasvir edilir, anlayışı kıttır ve yanlış anlamaya müsaittir ve kolay sinirlenir. Anadolu bir tip olarak tasvir edilir. Yine araştırmacılar tarafından sıkça tartışma konusu olan Türklerin, II. Bayezid'la beraber, Osmanlı sultanlarının Türkmen beyleri ile ilişkisini dengelemek için devşirme sistemi üzerinden Yeniçeri ordusu meydana getirmesi ve burada yetişen gayri-Müslimlerin Müslüman yapılarak önemli görevlere getirilmesi¹⁰⁶⁷ Türklerin idari kadrolardan uzaklaştırılmasına ve dolayısıyla daha çok Anadolu'da ikamet etmelerine sebep olmuştur.¹⁰⁶⁸ Hatta "etrak-ı bi-idrak" olarak adlandırılmaları da bilinir. Türk tipinin bu şekilde tasvir edilmesinin temeli bu olmalıdır.

Kadınların hemen hepsi Karagöz ve Hacivat'ın karıları dahil, ahlaksız ve baştan çıkarıcı olarak tasvir edilir. Osmanlı'da, Batı mantığına dayalı kamusal alan aramak, dolayısıyla yazılı medyanın gelişmesine kadar yoktur demek doğru olmaz, kamusal alan dinamikleri, daha çok erkeklere açık cami ve kahvehanelerde, kadınlar için hamam ve özel ev toplantılarıyla yaratılabilmektedir.¹⁰⁶⁹ Hayalilerin hepsi erkek olduğu ve toplumsal yapının kamusal alanda iffetli kadına yer vermediği göz önüne alındığında kadınların da bu şekilde tasvir edilmesi doğaldır. Bunun yanında Şallı Natır ve Salkım İnci adlı iki çenginin eşcinsel ilişkisi sakınmadan ifade edilebilmiştir. Tuzsuz Deli Bekir, kanun uygulayıcılarının ve zamanla yoldan çıkmış yeniçerilerin hicvidir. İçki yasağının olduğu Müslüman bir toplumda Tuzsuz, hatta Karagöz, içki düşkünü olarak tasvir edilebilmiş, Tiryaki ise bir zamanlar esrar içtiğini de dile getirebilmiştir. Hacivat afyon tükettiğini saklamaz, afyon yutup 16 saat uyduğunu dile getirir, tütün kesesi de önemlidir. Karagöz bir oyunda alenen esrar içer, Çelebi kadınların favorisidir, birden çok birlikteliği olduğu bilinir. Evliya Çelebi hem Tiryaki'den hem de sözde Çelebilerden kitabından bahseder ve onun bahsettiği şekli ile perdeye aktarılmıştır. Arap rahatsız edici, daima aynı soruları yineleyen, anlayışı az çok kıt, ya kahve dövücüsü ya dilenci ya da zengin satıcı

¹⁰⁶⁶ Ibid., 113.

¹⁰⁶⁷ Ahmad, *The Making of Modern Turkey*, 19.

¹⁰⁶⁸ "Tarih Boyunca Türk Kimliği," *NTV Tarih*, no. 51 (April 2013): 34-36.; Erhan Afyoncu, *Osmanlı'nın Hayaleti* (İstanbul: Yeditepe, 2005), 17.

¹⁰⁶⁹ Öztürk, "Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda Kamusal Alanın Dinamikleri," 95-124.

olarak yer alır. Acem her daim kendini eğlendirecek birilerini arar konuşması İran Azeri'si tarzındadır. Bu kişiler imparatorluğun genişlemesine paralel olarak perdeye yansıtılan, toplumun parçası halkların kalıplaşmış ve kamusal alanda ilişkiye girilebildiği kadarı ile perdeye yansıtılan tiplerdir.

Diğer yandan toplumun dünyayı algılayış biçimine paralel olarak cinler, cadılar, doğaüstü yaratıklar da oyunlarda yer alır. Hatta Karagöz'ün annesi, Bok-Ana isminde bir cazu, yani büyücüdür. Hayvanlar ise yine modern algıdan farklı olarak kişilik sahibi ve diğer tiplerden neredeyse farksız olarak perdeye alınır. Eşek, Karagöz'ün arkadaşıdır, mutfakta dolma dolduracak kadar aileden biridir. Delilik ise akıl hastalığından ziyade, meczupluk olarak anlaşılmalıdır.

Diğer taraftan oyunlar da konuları itibari ile gerçekleşmiş olayların hicvidir. Hamam oyunu dönemin adı çıkmış hamamlarının hicvi iken, kayık oyunu, kadın ve erkeklerin yasak olmasına rağmen peremelerde bulunduğu dönemlerin, mandıra, kaymakçılarda toplumsal ahlaka aykırı buluşmaların hicvidir. Dolayısıyla, Karagöz içinden çıktığı toplumla gayet yaşamsal bağlar kurmuş, onun bir parçası olarak yukarıda bahsedilen fonksiyonları ile yüzyıllarca izlenince aktivitesi olagelmiştir.

14. hatta belki de 13. Yüzyıllardan beri oynatılan Karagöz karma inançlardan, İslami felsefelerden, toplumsal çeşitlikten, farklı anlayışlardan, yaşam biçimlerinden beslenmiş, kısaca toplumla canlı bağlar kurmuştur. Bu bağlamda Karagöz, zaten vardır ve oradadır. Bir ayakkabı ya da kahve, ya da şerbetten farksız bir şekilde üretilir ve kullanılırdı. Sanat gibi duygu durumları ile tecrübe edilmiyor, zanaat gibi sadece el işine de dayanmamaktadır. Bir kabiliyet olarak bilme olarak her türlü yapıp etmeden biridir.

Çerçevelenmiş Dünyaya İlk Adım

Osmanlı toplumunda Tanzimat dönemi ile başlayan ilk görünür modernleşme çabaları Karagöz'ün varoluş koşullarını da etkilemiştir. Aydınlar arasındaki tartışmalar, Karagöz bağlamında *technē'nin* sanat ve zanaat olarak bölünmesinin sanat lehine sonuçlanacak ilk işaretlerini de vermektedir. Osmanlı'nın iç dinamikleri, fetihlerin durması ile ganimetlerin azalması ve ekonomik sıkıntılar, yeniçeri ocağının bozulması, sık sık çıkan ayaklanmalar, Avrupa'nın yeni teknolojisi karşısında Osmanlı'nın yetersiz kalması gibi konular sultanları bir dizi yenilik yapmaya itmiştir. İlk olarak yeniçeri ocağı kaldırılır, dolayısıyla en temel sınıf ayrımı; reaya ve askeri sınıf ayrımı, ortadan kalkar. Ardından batıdaki gibi modern bir ordu kurulur. İlk toprak kaybının ardından Avrupa'nın ekonomik yardım

karşılığında bazı dayatmaları ile 1839'da Gülhane-i Hattı Hümayunu ilan edilir. Sultan kendi rızası ile iradesine kısıtlama koymuş olur. 1856'da Islahat Fermanı'nın ilanını takiben, sosyal, politik, ekonomik ve idari yapıyı ilgilendiren bir dizi değişim gerçekleştirilir. 1876'da Osmanlı'nın ilk anayasası Kanun-i Esasi'nin ilan edilmiş ve önceden sultanın kulları olan herkes Osmanlı vatandaşı kimliğine bürünmüştür. Millet Sistemi ve ona dayalı ayrımların ortadan kalktığı ilan edilir. Gayri-Müslim ile Müslim arasındaki ayırım ve hiyerarşi böylece ortadan kalkar. Hukuk sistem gözden geçirilir, batı tarzında yeni bakanlıklar kurulur ve sosyal yaşamı ve hukuku ilgilendiren çeşitli konularda karar almak ve kanun yapmak üzere kurul ve meclisler kurulur. Kanun-i Esasi'den sonra çeşitli dini ve etnik gruplardan oluşmuş ilk Osmanlı Meclisi de açılır, parlamento ve sultanın bir arada bulunduğu bu sistem 1878'de II. Abdülhamit'in lağvetmesine kadar sürer.¹⁰⁷⁰ Nüfus kağıdının kabulünden eşcinselliğin suç olmaktan çıkarılmasına, ilk İstanbul vapur hatlarının kurulmasına kadar Osmanlı'da sosyal politik bir çok değişiklik meydana gelir ve bunlar az çok Karagöz oyunlarına da yansıtılır. 1865 Hocapaşa Yangını, Sinematograf, yeni kurulan dergilerden *Hayal*, oyunlarda bahsedilen konular arasındadır.

Bunların yanında, Tanzimat'la yazılı basının gelişme göstermesi, Karagöz açısından önemlidir. Karagöz'ün en önemli özelliği olan politik ve sosyal hiciv Tanzimat'la sayıları iyice artan gazete ve dergilere devredilmeye başlanır. Karagöz ve Hacivat yazılı basında ün kazanmaya başlar ve görünen o ki aydınlar Karagöz'ü yeniden keşfeder. Bu dönemde çıkan bazı dergiler Karagöz ve Hacivat'ı kullanarak sosyal ve politik konulara değinmeye devam ederler, bir nevi Karagöz'ün eleştiri gücü yazılı basına aktarılmış olur. Bu dönemde *Diyojen* adlı kendi kurduğu dergide yayımladığı matbuat kanunu eleştiren Karagöz Hacivat karikatürü yüzünden, Teodor Kasap hapis cezası alır.¹⁰⁷¹ Önceleri sözlü geleneğin bir paçası olan Karagöz'ün yazılı geleneğe aktarıldığında başına geleceklerin de habercisidir aslında bu durum. Sözlü gelenek olarak kontrolü ve denetimi zor bir medya görevi görürken, yazılı hale geldiğinde, yöneticiler tarafından ilk denetime takılan da yine Karagöz'dür.

Yine bu dönemde, batı tarzı tiyatrolar kurulur ve gayri Müslümlerin ağırlıkta olduğu bu tiyatrolar aynı zamanda sanat anlayışında da değişimlere sebep olmaktadır. Bu dönem aynı zamanda batı metafiziğinin Osmanlı'da etkili olmaya başladığı dönemdir. Artık kendini sanatçı olarak tanımlayanların oluşturduğu yeni

¹⁰⁷⁰ Tanör, "II. Tanzimat Fermanı; III. Islahat Fermanı."

¹⁰⁷¹ Cevdet Kudret, *Abdülhamit Döneminde Sansür* (İstanbul: Cumhuriyet Gazetesi, 2000), 7.

aktivite alanları oluşur. Yeni tarz tiyatrolar, restoranlar ve hotel lobileri yeni kamusal alanları ve dolayısıyla kendi dinamiklerini de yaratır. Modernleşme hevesi, dönemin edebiyat eserlerinin de başlıca kritik ettiği konu haline gelir.¹⁰⁷² Tanzimat'la beraber, Osmanlı toplumunun dünya algısı ve değerleri de alt üst olur. Karagöz gibi "eski" tarz seyirlik oyunlara olan ilgi yazılı basının da etkisi ile azalır. Halk, yeni sanatlarla tanışır ve batılılaşma adı altında, var olan seyirlik aktiviteler bu yeni tanıtılan ve yayılan sanatlarla karşılaştırmaya tabii tutulur. İşte bu dönem Karagöz bağlamında *technē*'nin sanat ve zanaat olarak ayrışmaya başlamasına da tanıklık eder. Teodor Kasap ve Namık Kemal arasında geçen tartışmaya göre, Kemal, müstehcen ve ahlaksız taraflarının kontrol altına alınmasını önereceği Karagöz ve Ortaoyunu tiyatrolarından çok, halkı yeni açılan batı tarzı tiyatlara yönlendirmektedir. Buna karşın Kasap ise eğer kendine has bir Osmanlı Tiyatrosu oluşturulacaksa bunun ancak bu tip geleneksel Karagöz ve Ortaoyunu gibi tiyatroların temelinde kurulmasını önermektedir. Rum ve Ermeni oyuncuların bozuk Türkçelerindense Karagöz'ün Türkçesini tercih edeceğini söyler. Ancak Namık Kemal, Kasap'ın eleştirdiği Rum ve Ermeni oyuncuların asıl Osmanlı tiyatrosunu ayakta tuttuğunu söyleyerek karşılık verir.¹⁰⁷³ Kasap'ın *Diyojen*'de kaleme aldığı Karagöz Hacivat diyalogları ise küfürden arındırılmıştır. Teodor Kasap, aslında ikisinin de zaten nasıl olması gerektiğini bildiği belli bir konu çerçevesinde Karagöz ve Hacivat diyalogları yazar.¹⁰⁷⁴

Görüldüğü üzere Karagöz, bir yandan yazılı medyaya aktarılmış ve diğer yandan da modernleşmenin etkisi ile içeriği, aydınlarca bir *kader tayinine* tabii tutulmuştur. Karagöz'ün artık yenilenmesi gerekir ve bunun koşulları ne izleyiciye ne de oynatıcıya bırakılır. Aydınlar, Karagöz'ü "çerçevelenmiş dünya"ya bir an önce yerleştirmek için tartışmaktadırlar. Karagöz'ün "ne"liği, varsa özgünlüğü, yazılı materyal üzerinden tartışmaya açılır ve bu konuda otorite yine aydınlardır. Yazılı basının Karagöz'e bir diğer etkisi de anonim olan oyunların artık bir yazar ismine sahip olması, kabiliyetten ve aktiviteden ziyade, Hayali isimlerinin ön plana çıkması ve dolayısıyla günümüze aktarılabilmesidir. Usta-çırak ilişkisi de böylece bozulmaya başlar zira okuyarak öğrenme diye bir imkân ortaya çıkmıştır.

Yine bu dönemde, içerik bir yana, biçim üzerinde de yenileştirme çabaları başlar. Katip Salih, Ahmet Mithat Efendi'den aldığı destekle, Karagöz perdesine modern

¹⁰⁷² Mardin, Tanzimat'tan Sonra Aşırı Batılılaşma."

¹⁰⁷³ And, *Geleneksel Türk Tiyatrosu (Kukla - Karagöz - Ortaoyunu)*, 140.

¹⁰⁷⁴ Peri Efe, "Teodor Kasap, Namık Kemal Haşmet'in Geleneksel Seyirlikler-Batı Tiyatrosu Tartışmaları," *Toplumsal Tarih*, no. 181 (January 2009): 80-85.

tiyatrolarda olduğu üzere hareketli ve değişebilen perde ekler, bez yerine buzlu cam kullanmaya başlar ancak tasvirler zarar gördüğü için vazgeçer. Elektrikli ampul kullanmak da yine bu döneme rastlar. Ahmet Rasim, Katip Salih'in ününü duymuş ve bir oyununu izlemiştir ancak methedildiği kadar heyecan vermediğini söyler. Katip Salih, oyunlara batı tarzı kantolar da eklemiştir.

Daha sonraki yıllarda, Hayali Memduh, Camcı İrfan gibi hayalilerin de adı duyulmaya başlanır. İlk Karagöz oyunları kitabı 1889'da *Letaif-i Hayal* adı ile basılır, daha sonra 1908'de 20 kısa hikayeden oluşan Karagöz oyunları kitabı, İhsan Rahim tarafından basılır, *Karagöz Beyoğlu'nda*, *Karagöz mutfakta* gibi halka yeni değerler aşılamaı amaçlayan, az çok öğretici oyunlardır bunlar. Daha geç bir dönemde, 1912'de yine Karagöz Gazetesinde, *Karagöz Evleniyor* adlı bir oyun yayımlanır. Burada artık seyirci iki entelektüel tiple karşılaşır, Kasap'ın oyunlarında olduğu gibi, Karagöz ve Hacivat nasıl olması gerektiğini bildikleri halde, Karagöz'ün tecrübesi üzerinden evlenme konusundaki geri kalmış adetleri eleştirirler.

Bir çok özelliği çoktan yazılı basına aktarılan Karagöz, izlençe aktivitesi olarak da uysallaştırılacak ve kontrol edilebilir bir hale sokulacaktır. Böylece doğaçlama gücü azalır, genel yapısı sabitlenir ve daha uygun bir tabir ile evcilleştirilir. İleride, Hellmut Ritter'in, Hayali Nazif'in oyunlarını yazıya geçirip kitap olarak basması da yine aydınlar ve daha sonra da hayaliler arasında Karagöz'deki açık saçıklık ve cinsellik üzerine sonu gelmeyen bir tartışama başlatır. Karagöz'ün bu özellikleri, açık saçıklığı, cinsel içerikli diyalog ve oyun bölümleri, kısaca grotesk öğeleri Cumhuriyet'in ilgilenilmesi gerektiğini düşündüğü öncelikli endişelerinden biri olacaktır.

Karagöz'ün Güzel Sanatlara Çıkan Yolu

Heidegger'in "çerçevelenmiş dünya" olarak tanımladığı, modern teknolojinin esasını "çerçeveleme" olarak kurduğu ve var olanların ortaya çıkışının modern özne tarafından sınırlanan ve hükmedilen bir şekilde belirlenimlendiği¹⁰⁷⁵ 20. Yüzyılda, Karagöz de seyirlik aktivite olarak *kader tayinine* tabii tutulur ve biri dizi dönüşüm geçirerek güzel sanatlar alanında kendine bir yer açmaya çalışır. Karagöz, Cumhuriyet'in ilanı ile derine nüfus eden etkileri yıllarca sürecek olan devlet müdahalesine maruz kalır. Tanzimat'la başlayan evcilleştirme ve kontrol altına alma çabaları bu dönemde özellikle CHF'nin müdahaleleri ile hız kazanır. Sözlü

¹⁰⁷⁵ Heidegger, "Question Concerning Technology."

gelenekten beslenen, klasik tarzda grotesk özellikler içeren, sosyal ve politik hiciv özelliği ile öne çıkan Karagöz oyunlarına ev sahipliği yaptığı tespit edilen mekânlar kontrol altına alınır. Aylaklık mekânı olarak tabir edilen kahvehanelerin kapanış saati 12'den 11'e çekilir.¹⁰⁷⁶ Daha sonra CHF'nin önderliğinde halk hikayelerinin ve geleneksel Karagöz ve Ortaoyunu oyunlarının yenilenmesi projesine girişilir.¹⁰⁷⁷ 1950'lere kadar Karagöz devlet ideolojisini ve yeni kurulan ulus-devletin tanımlanmış değerlerini halka benimsetmek ve modern hayatın gerekleri olarak sunulan, yeni sanatların, giyim biçimlerinin ve davranış kalıplarının halka ulaştırılmasını sağlamak amacını üstlenir. Yine Aydınlar ve bazı Hayaliler tarafından, *Karagöz Balo Salonunda*, *Karagöz'ün Tayyare Sefası*, *Köy Evlenmesi*, *Karagöz Ankara'da* gibi yeni oyunlar yazılır, var olan oyunlara da modern hayatın değerlerine uygun açıklamalar eklenir. Karagöz'ün çingeneliği, hırsızlığı, yalancılığı, arsızlığı açık saçıklığı her işe karışma hali, her yere girip çıkma isteği, herkese dil uzatan kayıtsızlığı gibi karakterleri ters yüz edilir, Karagöz ve Hacivat adeta rolleri değişirler. Artık bilgili olan Karagöz cahil olan Hacivat'tır. Karagöz'ün nasıl bir sanat olduğu sorusu da ilk defa bu dönemde sorulur. İ. Hakkı Baltacıoğlu'nun *Karagöz Ankara'da* adlı oyunu temelde Karagöz'ün sinema ve tiyatro gibi modern sanatlarla yan yana yer alabileceği iddiasını taşıyan bir oyundur. Baltacıoğlu'na göre Karagöz tüm sanatların özüdür.¹⁰⁷⁸ Böylece Karagöz'ün modern sanatlara uzanan yolculuğu için önü açılmış olur. CHF kontrol gücünü arttırmak amacı ile milli mücadele yıllarında desteğini aldığı Türk Ocakları'nı kapatır yerine tamamen kendi kontrolünde olan Halkevleri'ni açar. Ankara sanatçısı olması itibarı ile hükümetle iyi ilişkiler kurabilmiş Hayali Küçük Ali, Halkevlerinde gösteriler, radyoda canlı performanslar yapmaktadır.

1950'lerden sonra CHP'nin gücü çok partili rejime geçişle birlikte azalır ancak 1960'ların sonlarına kadar Karagöz'ün içine işlemiş devletle bir hareket etme durumunu, ulusallaşmış dili ile CHP ideolojisini savunmayı ve hükümet adına konuşmayı sürdürür. Türkçe konuşmanın önemi, ulusal kimlik, Türk ulusunun yüceliği gibi konular Karagöz oyunlarına damgasına vurur. Tıpkı modern özenin çerçevelenmiş dünyada her şeyin ölçüsü ve merkezi olduğu gibi, Karagöz oyunlarının Kaba saba, anlayışı kıt Türk'ü de artık bilinçli, vicdanlı, sorumlu ve zeki bir karakter olarak oyunların merkezine yerleşir ve ona atfedilen bu özellikler ileride Doğulu veya diğer Anadolu tiplerine aktarılır.

¹⁰⁷⁶ Akşit, "Modernleşme sürecinde Karagöz," 70.

¹⁰⁷⁷ Öztürk, "Cumhuriyetin İlk Yıllarında Halk Kitaplarını Modernleştirme Çabaları," 57.

¹⁰⁷⁸ Sönmez, ed., *Karagöz Kitabı*, 228.

1960'lar sadece Türkiye için değil, dünya için de değişim yıllarıdır. Buna bağlı olarak, Türkiye'de bazı kesimler demokrasi ve özgürlük gibi kavramları telaffuz etmeye başlarlar. 1960 darbesinden sonra aralarında Başbakan Adnan Menderes'in de bulunduğu Demokrat Partinin ileri gelenleri, anayasaya aykırı davrandıkları gerekçesi yargılanır ve ölüm cezasına çarptırılır. Seçimlerde CHP bir kez daha kaybeder. O yıllarda yönetime ve bürokrasiye yerleşmeye başlayan nepotizm ve kayırma ilerde Karagöz'ün ana eleştiri konularından biri olacaktır. 1960 sonlarına kadar sessizliğini koruyan Karagöz 1960'ların sonlarında Milliyet'in açtığı yarışmayı kazanan Aziz Nesin'in oyunları ile yeniden canlanma şansı bulur. Politik hiciv *Karagöz'ün Kaptanlığı* gibi oyunlarla Karagöz'e iade edilir. *Karagöz'ün Kaptanlığı* aynı zamanda Amerikan yardımları ile ekonomik gelişme sağlama çabasında olan hükümete de ağır eleştiriler getirir. Bunun sebepleri, 1960 anayasasının görece özgürlükçü bir anayasa olması, CHP'nin iktidardan düşmesi ile Karagöz'ün devlet adına konuşma gerekliliğinin ortadan kalkması ve Karagöz'ün nispeten bağımsızlaşması olarak ifade edilebilir. Ancak Karagöz'ün içine işlemiş olan hükümet adına konuşma geleneği, 1980 sonrası tekrar dirilecek ve aynen devam edecektir. *Karagöz Totocu* oyunu, gündeme damgasını vuran 6-7 Eylül olayları, Kıbrıs Barış Harekatı gibi politik atmosferin içinde yazılmış yabancılara karşı aleni bir propaganda yürüten ancak Karagöz'ün geçmiş ile yüzleştiği oyundur. Daha geç dönemde, 1970 darbesi sonrası, Metin Özlen'in çabaları Karagöz'ün klasik oyun özelliklerini iade etme, onu başlı başına korunması ve yaşatılması gereken bir sanat olarak sunma minvalindedir, Nesin kadar olmasa da Karagöz'ün Sinema Faslı gibi oyunlarla Özlen sosyal hicvi Karagöz'e yeniden kazandırır. Tanzimat'la başlayan İmparatorluk ve Anadolu tiplerin oyunlardan dışlanması eğilimi, Özlen'in oyunları ile biraz da olsa kırılır.

1980 darbesi bir önceki darbelere göre farklıdır. Devlet ideolojisi, yine popülist bir söyleme sahip ancak merkezine dini alan, sağ ve sol kesimleri ve bazı etnik kesimleri de iktidardan dışlayan, apolitik kitleler yaratma amacı güden bir ideolojiye dönüştürülür.¹⁰⁷⁹ Bu dönemde Karagöz'de yeni değişimler gözlenir, kısa bir özgürlük döneminin ardından, Karagöz, politik ve sosyal hiciv özelliklerini tekrar kaybeder, bu yeni ideolojiye hizmet eden, yükselen İslami değerlere göndermeleri olan oyunlar bir yana, çocuklara yönelik oyunlar da yazılmaya başlanır. *İş İştir* tam da bu özellikleri taşıyan bir oyundur, aleni bir alkol propagandası yürüten Karagöz ve Hacivat'ı eski karakter özelliklerinden dışlamaya çalışan bir minvaldedir. Yine bu dönemde, fırsatlar ülkesi gibi sunulan Türkiye'de kolay para kazanma ve oportünist

¹⁰⁷⁹ Tünay, "The Turkish New Right's Attempt at Hegemony," 12.

eğilimler¹⁰⁸⁰, 1980'lerde patlak veren Banker krizi ise Özakman'ın yazdığı, *Karagöz'ün Bankerliği* oyunu ile hicvedilir. Diğer taraftan, Karagöz'ün Çobanlığı gibi, Karagöz'ün klasik oyun geleneğini canlandırmayı amaçlayan oyunlar da yazılır. *Karagöz'ün Sedefçiliği* oyunu ise, 1980 sonrası yeni paranın yaratılması ile resim sanatına, antik ve İslami eserlere olan ilginin canlanmasına¹⁰⁸¹ örnek teşkil eden, temel olarak *technē* bağlamında ortaya çıkmış Osmanlı'ya ait *sanatların* "Osmanlı Geleneksel Sanatları" adı altında yüksek değerlere alıcı bulduğu dönemin de ürünüdür. Henüz kimlik arayışındaki Karagöz bu pazardan payını almak ister.

1990 sonrası ise artık Karagöz için kendi yönünü çizmesi gerektiği bir dönemdir. 90'lar, Teknolojik gelişmelerin hız kazandığı eğlence anlayışının bilgisayarlar, özel TV kanalları, oyun konsolları ile değiştiği, dünya pazarına entegre olurken yeni ve global değerlerin topluma nüfuz ettiği bir dönemdir. Bu dönemde görüşmecilerin de ifade ettiği üzere Karagöz devlet ile olan bağını tamamen koparmak ve geleceği parlak olan güzel sanatlar alanında kendine yer açmak ister. Yine bu dönemde market koşullarının da etkisi ile Karagöz seyircisinin yaş sınırı giderek düşer ve daha çok çocuklara hitap eden bir izlence halini alır. *Şifreli Köpek* her ne kadar Cihangir örneğinde bohem hayatın ve yanlış anlaşılabilir batılılaşmanın bir sosyal hicvi olsa da *Karagöz Park Bekçisi* gibi oyunlar artık çocukları hedef alır. 2000'lerin başında Bursa Büyükşehir Belediyesi Evliya Çelebi'nin verdiği bilgilere dayanarak Karagöz'ü Bursa'ya mal etme çabalarına girişir. Böylece "kültürel" bir aktivitenin pazarlanması yoluyla Belediye ekonomik kar etme amacını taşır. *Uludağ'ın Tatlı Suyu*, *Karagöz'ün Turist Rehberliği*, *Zaman Makinesi* gibi oyunlar bu iddiayı desteklerler.

Nihayet, 2009'da, Karagöz, UNESCO-SÖKÜM kapsamında, geçerliliği tartışmalı, *sözel geleneğin parçası ve usta-çırak ilişkileri ile hayatta kalan performans "sanatı"* olarak koruma altına alınır. Böylece, hem devlet hem UNESCO Karagöz'ün yaşayan ve geleneksel bir *sanat* olduğunu ilan etmiş olur. Karagöz'ün XVI. Yüzyıl Osmanlı toplumunda *technē* olarak başlayan yolculuğu XXI. Yüzyıl modern Türkiye toplumunda sanat olduğu iddiası ile son bulur.

Karagöz'ün Günümüz Koşulları: Alan Çalışması

Bugünkü koşullarına gelince alan çalışmasından çıkan bulgular gösteriyor ki Karagöz bugün saygın bir sanat olma talebinde ve iddiasındadır.

¹⁰⁸⁰ Özkazanç, *Türkiye'de Yeni Sağ*, 1223

¹⁰⁸¹ Ahmad, *The Making of Modern Turkey*, 209-210.

Bazı görüşmeciler Karagöz'ü belli kurallar çerçevesinde tanımlayıp, dünya resminde bir yere oturmak çabasında değilseler de, genel eğilim, Karagöz'ün artık bir sanat olduğu iddiasını destekleme, varolan tüm bilgisi ile düzenlenip *çerçevelenmiş dünyada* uygun bir yere yerleştirme yönündedir. Gizlilik hakları çerçevesinde görüşmecilerin asıl isimleri saklı tutulmuş, takma isimler kullanılmıştır. Karagöz sanatçısı artık ne eğlendirici kişi ne de el işçisidir. Tecrübeli Hayalilerden biri, görüşmeci Şaban şöyle söyler,

Hayali demek komple bir sanatçı demek. Resim, musiki edebiyat, halk edebiyatı, pedagoji, psikoloji; hatta daha kapsamlı, sahnede dramaturg; her şeyi ile bir sanatçının komple yetişmesi lazım. Eğer sanatçı sadece iki değneğin ucuna Karagöz ile Hacivat'ı geçirip perde arkasında şarlatanlık yaparsa, kusura bakmasın, öyle olmaz.

Böylece Karagöz *technē* alanından diğer modern sanatlarla yakın ilişkisi olan saygın bir sanat olarak güzel sanatlar alanına dahil edilmiş olur, Hayali komple sanatçı demektir, artık sadece bir kabiliyet ve bilme biçimi değildir. Bu tarz bir anlayış, tanınmış hayalilere, Karagöz'ü tiyatro gibi modern sanatlar başlığı altına koyma şansı da verir. Osmanlı'daki basit ve zahmetsiz varoşluna karşı, başka bir Hayali, Acar'ın sözleri de bu durumu destekler,

Şimdi ben büyüklere oynayacaksam, şimdi bakın 6 tane yardımcı 5 metre perde, Karagöz'ün ışık kumandası da arkada, onu da özel yaptırdım o perde için orada ışıkçım var, yaklaşık 8 kişilik canlı orkestra... Siz buradaki oyun hazırlığı değil oyun sırasındaki maliyeti düşünün.

Temelde Karagöz oynatmanın herhangi diğer gösteri sanatlarından farkı olmadığını anlatmaya çalışır bu sözler. Osmanlı dönemindeki düşük maliyetli Karagöz'ün yerini artık özel ekipmanlarla oynatılan Karagöz almıştır. Tanzimat'tan beri, yazılı basının, teknolojinin ve serbest piyasa koşullarının gelişmesine paralel olarak bugün artık Karagöz değil, Karagöz oynatıcısı önemli hale gelir. Heidegger, eski çağlarda, bir ortaya çıkarma, meydana getirme sürecinde birbirlerinin varlığına "borçlu olan," eşit paya sahip olan dört "neden" arasındaki dengenin modern çağda bozulduğunu ifade eder.¹⁰⁸² *Causa efficiens* yani Karagöz sanatçısı, Hayali, kalan üç neden üzerinde hakimiyetini ilan etmiştir; bunlar: *causa materialis* (deri), *causa formalis* (tasvir) ve *causa finalis* (Karagöz oynatımı)'dir. Böylece hayaliler arasında kullanılan teknik de farklılaşmış, teknik başlı başına önem kazanmış ve ustalık göstergesi haline gelmiştir. Cenk'in sözleri bunu destekler niteliktedir: "benim sahnede gördüğüm kadarsınız; gördüğünüz kadarım ben." Dolayısıyla Karagöz'ü

¹⁰⁸² Heidegger, "The Question Concerning Technology," 6

Karagöz yapan, oynatıcı, yani *causa efficiens* ve oynatıcıyı da “sanatçı” yapan, bu performans, yani *causa finalis* olur.

Karagöz oynatımı belli kuralara bağlanır, Osmanlı’daki varoluşuna ve ortaya çıkış koşullarına aykırı olarak, Karagöz, sanat; Hayali de modern sanatçı ilan edilir. Birkaç Hayali dışında, bugün tanınmış Hayalilerin büyük bir bölümü, kendini, *gerçek* Karagöz’ü, Karagöz’ün *özünü* aramaya adanmıştır. Bu arayış, bir varlığın kendine hükmettiği, kendini idare ettiği, geliştiği, değiştiği, yok olan taraflarıyla, yeni katılan taraflarıyla bir bütünlük içinde olduğu bir anlayıştan¹⁰⁸³ ziyade, her şeyden geriye sabit olarak kalan, değişmeyen sabit olanı arayan Platonik bir arayış çerçevesindedir¹⁰⁸⁴, Platon ve Aristo bu değişmeyen, kalan ile “idea”yı bulurlar. Mısır’dan siyah beyaz olarak gelen figürlerin Osmanlı İstanbul’unda renklenmesi de aslında *gerçekleşen*, değişen, varolan Karagöz’e aittir. Karagöz’ün, varlığına *gerçekliğine* özüne ait olduğu anlayışı ile bu renklenmiş hali, Karagöz’ün ideası olarak kabul edilir, orijinali olarak kabul edilir. Bu bağlamda farklı bir gölge oyunu yapan görüşmeci Sevim de eleştiri alır ve bazı hayaliler Karagöz’süz bir gölge oyunu olamayacağı fikriyle, bu tarz oyunlara öz’ü bozuyor gerekçesi ile eleştiri getirir. Bu tam da Heidegger’in özünü *çerçeveleme* olarak kurduğu modern dünyanın tanımlama, sabitleme, tüm bilgisi ile bir yere yerleştirme hevesindeki modern öznenin kaygısıdır.

Heidegger, *çerçevelemenin* insanın diğer volanlarla ilişkisini tehlikeye attığını ifade eder. Bir *kader tayini* olarak, varolanları bir düzene koyma arzusu, varolana dair atfedilen dışındaki her türlü olasılığı dışarıda bırakır. Bu kapsamda, hayalilerin en çok şikayet ettiği konu *Sahte Karagözcülerdir*. Kötü ve iyi kavramları seyirci ile hayali arasında ortak belirlenmiş bir alanda yaratılması gerekirken, Karagöz’ün sanat olduğu iddiası ve hayalilerin de sanatçı olduğu iddiası, diğer tüm olasılıkları dışlama eğilimindedir. Görüşmecilerin *sahte* diye tabir ettikleri bu Karagözcüler, bugünkü koşullar dahilinde ortaya çıkmış, aslında “*gerçekleşen*”, “*aktüel*” Karagöz’ün bir parçasıdır. Karagöz’ün kendi doğasında ilerlemesini engellediği, kendi halinde gelişip değişmesine ket vurduğu gerekçesiyle, CHP özelinde devlete eleştiri getiren tanınmış sanatçılar olarak hayaliler, Karagöz’e biçtikleri saygıdeğer sanat kimliği üzerinden ve piyasa koşullarını da kendi lehlerine çevirmek gibi örtük bir sebepten, bir zamanlar CHP’nin farklı bir amaç için uyguladığı sansürü *sahte* Karagözcülere uyguladılar. Halbuki öz eğer varolanın tüm olasılıklarını içine alan

¹⁰⁸³ *Ibid.*, 30

¹⁰⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, 30

devinim halinde bir öz ise, bu durum, varolana belli olasılıkları dayatan, çerçeveleyen bir yaklaşımı temsil eder. Dolayısıyla Karagöz'ün "ne"liği modern sanatçı iddiasındaki hayaliler tarafından belirlenir. UNESCO sürecinin de etkisiyle, bu iddiayı desteklemek ve çağdaş sanatçılardan farkları olmadığını anlatmak için, Almanya'da bir opera öncesi gerçekleştirilen Karagöz oyunu ya da çağdaş müzelerdeki koleksiyonlar örnek verilir.

Bu çerçeveden bakınca, direk devlet eliyle kurulmuş olan UNIMA da bir kader tayini kuruluşu görevi görmektedir. Sanatsal performansı nesneleştirir, hangi gerçek sanatın temsil edilemeye değer hangisinin sahte olduğuna karar verecek hakimiyet alanı oluşturur. Bugün UNIMA, Karagöz'ün "ticaretine karşı durup saygın bir sanat olduğunu ifade eder, dolayısıyla "her önüne gelenin" yapacağı bir sanat değildir, bunun karar mercii de kendisidir. Hatta Kültür Bakanlığından bir karar çıkarttırmış, ve karar göre okullarda Karagöz oynatacak kişileri tayin etme yetkisine sahip sahip olmuştur.

Görüşmeciler genel olarak "ticaret" diye tanımladıkları *gerçekleşen* Karagöz alanına ait bu *sahte karagözcüleri* devlet desteği ile de elimine etme eğilimindedirler. Diğer yandan, Karagöz figürlerinin milyon dolarlara satılan çağdaş resimler kadar değerli sanat eserleri olduğunu iddia ederek, artık daha fazla eğlendirici kişiler yada gelenek sanatçısı değil, modern dünyada kendine yer etmiş modern sanatçılar olarak anılmak istediklerini açıkça ifade ederler. Bu bağlamda, UNESCO'nun, geleneksel ve aynı zamanda yaşayan, tartışmalı bir tanımla, otantik olarak koruma altına aldığı Karagöz de *çerçevelemiş dünyada* sanat eseri olarak kendine yer bulur.

Son Sözler

Bugün, Karagöz'ün toplumla Osmanlı dönemindeki gibi yaşamsal bağlar kuramaması, hayatın bir parçası değil de izole bir sanat aktivitesi haline gelmesi, bir modernite sorunudur. Karagöz'ün geçirmiş olduğu bu dönüşüm ve değişimler, *technē*'den güzel sanatlara evrilen bir kabiliyet ve bilme biçiminin yolculuğu olarak okunabilir. Şunu da ifade etmek gerekir ki genç hayaliler arasında Karagöz'e eski özelliklerini yeniden kazandırmak, sosyal ve politik hicvi yeniden Karagöz'ün özelliği yapmak amacıyla kafe ve barlarda bağımsız Karagöz oynatma fikirleri taşıyan ve bunu gerçekleştirmek isteyenler de vardır.

Bugün, Karagöz, UNESCO, Heidegger'in tanımladığı modern teknoloji ile hakim kılınan çerçevelemiş dünyada, hesaplanabilir ve kesin ölçümleri mümkün

olamayan, bilimsel nitelik dışında kalan insan eylemlerinin “kültür” olarak tanımlandığı alanda, Keşkek veya Kırkpınar yağlı güreşleri ile Karagöz’ü de korumaya alınır. Bir varolanın korunması, aslında merkeze kendini koymuş modern özenin varolanları üzerindeki hakimiyetini kanıtlayan bir lütfudur.

Bir diğer iletişim sorunu da komiğe anlam veren toplumsal koşulların değişmiş olmasıdır. Bugün Karagöz’ün geçirdiği bir dizi dönüşüm sonucunda evcilleşmiş olması bir yana, içinden çıkmış olduğu Osmanlı evreninin anlam verdiği komik, modern Türkiye’nin anlam verdiği komikten farklıdır.

Bugün Karagöz modern dünyada varolma kaygısı taşıyorsa, onu var eden koşullardan sıyrılıp ancak sanat alanına sığınarak bu kaygıdan kurtulma aşamasındadır. Bunun yanında, yine hayaliler arasında Karagöz’ün “ne”liği üzerinden giden tartışmalara yola açmış “Karagöz Hacivat neden Öldürülü?” filmi veya iKaragöz gibi akıllı telefon uygulamaları ile Karagöz modern teknolojiyi kullanarak daha geniş kitlelere ulaşabilmiştir. Dolayısıyla bunlar da halen *gerçekleşen*, devinen Karagöz’ün alanına aittir.

Ancak, yine *gerçekleşen* Karagöz alanına dahil technē kapsamında meydana gelen başka bir bilme biçimi dahilinde varolan *sahte Karagözcüler* üzerine yapılacak bir çalışma bu tezi bir sonraki aşamaya taşıyabilir.

Özetle ve yinelemek gerekirse, XVI. Yüzyıl Osmanlı toplumunda *technē* olarak çıkmış Karagöz, bir dizi dönüşüm geçirerek, XXI. Yüzyıl modern Türkiye toplumunda sanat olduğu iddiasını taşımaktadır. *Sahte Karagözcüler* halen devinen, *gerçekleşen* Karagöz’ün bir parçası olarak, son evre olarak tanımlanan güzel sanatlar alanına dahil olmak isteyen Karagöz’e bir alternatif oluşturabilir.

APPENDIX G: CURRICULUM VITAE

PERSONAL INFORMATION

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EDUCATION

Degree	Institution	Year of Graduation
MS	METU Urban Policy Planning and Local Governments, Ankara	2005
BS	METU Sociology, Ankara	2001
High School	Yunus Emre High School, Eskiřehir	1996

WORK EXPERIENCE

Year	Place	Enrollment
2007	The Organization For Security And Co-Operation In Europe (OSCE)	Media Assistant
2007	Mobile Democracy Association	Secretary General
2007	Ecotel Ind. & Com. Ltd.Co.	Sociologist
2002	Middle East Technical University, KORA	Research Assistant

FOREIGN LANGUAGES

Advanced English, Beginner German

HOBBIES

Movies, Music, Painting, Puzzle, Travel, Computer Games

APPENDIX H: TEZ FOTOKOPİSİ İZİN FORMU

ENSTİTÜ

Fen Bilimleri Enstitüsü

Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü

Uygulamalı Matematik Enstitüsü

Enformatik Enstitüsü

Deniz Bilimleri Enstitüsü

YAZARIN

Soyadı : Babadoğan
Adı : Hale
Bölümü : Sosyoloji

TEZİN ADI (İngilizce): Understanding the Transformations of Karagöz

TEZİN TÜRÜ : Yüksek Lisans Doktora

1. Tezimin tamamından kaynak gösterilmek şartıyla fotokopi alınabilir.
2. Tezimin içindekiler sayfası, özet, indeks sayfalarından ve/veya bir bölümünden kaynak gösterilmek şartıyla fotokopi alınabilir.
3. Tezimden bir bir (1) yıl süreyle fotokopi alınamaz.

TEZİN KÜTÜPHANEYE TESLİM TARİHİ: