

*Orta oyunu 150050**D165*

Ortaoyunu

Di

Alessio Bombaci (Napoli)

„Ivez Fakih“ und dem Todesdatum 735 (!)<sup>73</sup>. Das alte Bektaschi-Kloster, das einst hier stand und dessen Scheiche Nachfahren des 'Ivaz Faqih waren (es mag deren noch welche geben und sie mögen das Original unserer Urkunde noch verwahren!), ist heute völlig verschwunden. Doch wurde es nicht schon bei der Aufhebung des Ordens 1826, sondern erst in neuerer Zeit zerstört, da es noch 1897 unter den in der Umgebung Konstantinopels ihr Dasein fristenden Tekkes angeführt wird<sup>74</sup>.

Die Rolle, die 'Ivaz Faqih, der Empfänger unserer drei Urkunden (6—8) von 1402, 1415 und 1419, auf diesem vorgeschobenen Posten des Islam in den bewegten Jahren zwischen der Katastrophe von Angora und der Wiedervereinigung des Reiches durch Mehmed I. gespielt hat, läßt sich natürlich nur mutmaßen. Sie kann nicht gering gewesen sein, da, wer immer in diesem Gebiet Anspruch auf die Herrschaft erhob, sich den Scheich durch ein Privileg zu verpflichten suchte. Erst wird das Çiftlik, das er — wie wird nicht gesagt — innerhalb des Laçin Timars besitzt, von 'Isâ mit Freiheiten ausgestattet. Dieses Privileg wird dann von Muştafâ erneuert<sup>75</sup>. Mehmed anerkennt ihn gar als Eigentümer des ganzen Timars und gestattet ihm, dieses zu einem Familien-Vaqf zu machen. So außerordentliche Gunsterweisung läßt auf eine außergewöhnliche Bedeutung des Mannes schließen. Es kann von ihm angenommen werden, daß er in diesen trüben und gefährlichen Jahren wenigstens die geistliche Autorität aufrecht erhielt und dafür sorgte, daß seine Gemeinde zuversichtlich blieb und treu zu ihrem muslimischen Glauben stand. Darüber hinaus läßt sich vermuten, daß er sich politisch einer klugen Zurückhaltung befleißigte und sich mit jedem der jeweiligen Machthaber gut zu stellen verstand, aber dann doch sich rechtzeitig für den schließlich triumphierenden Mehmed kräftig einsetzte und aus dessen Sieg auch erheblichen Nutzen zog.

<sup>73</sup> ERNEST MAMBOURY, Istanbul touristique, 2. Aufl., Galata-Istanbul 1951, S. 594. Die Inschrift — es ist anzunehmen, sie ist türkisch in Lateinbuchstaben — lautet sicher etwas anders als MAMBOURY übersetzt, aber den Namen und das (unmögliche) Todesdatum wird er schon richtig gelesen haben.

<sup>74</sup> DEPONT und COPPOLANI, Les confréries religieuses musulmanes, Alger 1897, S. 531 (hier zitiert nach G. JACOB, Beiträge zur Kenntnis des Derwisch-Ordens der Bektaschis, Türk. Bibl. IX, Berlin 1908, S. 15).

<sup>75</sup> Unter weitgehender Beibehaltung des Wortlautes. Die Aussage der Urkunde (7), daß es sich um die Erneuerung eines von Muştafâ selbst früher verliehenen Privileges handelt, ist nicht wörtlich zu nehmen — Muştafâ identifiziert sich da mit seinem Vorgänger, den zu nennen er vielleicht absichtlich vermeidet.

Il campo di studi in cui il Prof. Duda si è mosso è così vasto che non è difficile per coloro che vogliono dedicargli uno scritto trovare un soggetto che rientri tra quelli da lui toccati. La mia scelta si è rivolta al teatro turco, al cui studio il Duda ha contribuito con la apprezzata edizione di una farsa del teatro delle ombre<sup>1</sup>. Alla scelta ha fornito occasione l'essermi dovuto recentemente occupare dell'argomento per preparare un articolo di carattere divulgativo che proprio adesso ho terminato di stendere<sup>2</sup>.

Come è noto il teatro turco, prima di venire a contatto con il teatro moderno europeo, si articolava in quattro distinte forme: l'*ortaoyunu* teatro all'aperto con attori recitanti in mezzo a una cerchia di spettatori, il cosiddetto teatro delle ombre, il teatro dei burattini o marionette (*quqla*), la recitazione dei *meddâh* attori unici producentisi in più parti.

Qui ci occuperemo dell'*ortaoyunu*. È merito del KUNOS, agli inizi del nostro secolo, aver gettato le basi per la sua conoscenza. Egli ne ha fornito un'ampia descrizione, corredata da riassunti di trame e da testi, e ne ha tracciato la storia, collegandolo alle rappresentazioni di compagnie di artisti dell'intrattenimento menzionate dal noto scrittore ottomano del XVII secolo Evliyâ Çelebi. Circa le ascendenze lo studioso ungherese propendeva per il mimo bizantino cui si sarebbe aggiunta in un secondo tempo la Commedia dell'Arte italiana<sup>3</sup>. Successivamente si sono occupati dell'*ortaoyunu* principalmente F. KÖPRÜLÜ<sup>4</sup>,

<sup>1</sup> HERBERT DUDA, *Fasl-i Ferhad*, Istanbul 1931.

<sup>2</sup> Uscirà nella «Storia dei generi letterari» dell'editore Vallardi.

<sup>3</sup> IGNAZ KUNOS, Türkisches Volksschauspiel. Orta oynu (sic), in Keleti Szemle VIII (1907), 1—93, 262—306.

<sup>4</sup> M. F. KÖPRÜLÜZADE (F. KÖPRÜLÜ), *Meddâhlar*, in «Türkiyat Meğmû'ası» I (1925), 1—45 (dell'*ortaoyunu* si parla particolarmente nelle pagine 38 sgg.).

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SHADOW PLAYS, *Khayāl al-Zill*, making their way westwards from Eastern Asia probably through India or Persia became known to the Arabs around the IXth or Xth century. Judging from frequent passages in Arabic literature they came soon into favour with all classes of audiences, especially in Syria, Palestine and Egypt. Throughout the Ottoman period their popularity continued under the Turkish name of Karagöz, and has still not completely vanished. Nowadays the shows are given in the cafés of the popular quarters during the nights of the *Ramadān*\* fast, contributing their part to the general merry-making. The screen on which the shadows are projected consists of a simple sheet of white cloth hanging down from the ceiling and lit from behind. The figures, 10 to 15 inches high, are rather artlessly cut out of stiff, heavy leather and manipulated from below by means of sticks attached to their articulated members and jaw. The text - dialogues interspersed with rhymed and musical pieces - are spoken and sung by the puppet players who also perform the instrumental part.

The plays, for the most part naively dramatized legends and tales of the popular story-tellers\*, mix the heroic and the burlesque with satirical extempore allusions to local topics or political events and the persiflage of certain current, practices and customs in social, professional and business intercourse. While they may have been at first specially written for particular troupes or occasions, the original, continuously remodeled by generations of performers and adapted to the demands of the changing environment, situation and taste of the public has become unrecognizable. The only known author in the field was Muhammad ibn-Dāniyāl (the son of Daniel), an Egyptian physician of Jewish or Christian descent (XIIIth cent.). But the characters of the single play which he left - the drunkard, the quack doctor, the cunning rogue, the juggler and similar typical figures of every-day life - were most probably already before his time standing elements of this genre of theatrical show. Notwithstanding their occasionally quite licentious language and unrestrained criticism of official institutions and methods of procedure the shadow plays never met with objections on this ground; on the contrary, men like the philosopher ibn-ʿArabi\* found in them a deep mystical meaning and compared the shadow life

of the marionettes ruled by the will of the puppet master with the existence of men. Until the middle of the XIXth century they remained the only branch of Arabic literature containing a dramatic element; they exercised no influence on the beginnings of the modern Arab theatre and cinema\*, which have been coming to life exclusively under Occidental influence.

For Turcologists, the banks of this river are of supreme importance as the locus for the Old Turkish inscriptions, carved in the middle decades of the 8th century in a so-called "runic" script, in fact derived ultimately from the Aramaic one [see *TURKS. Languages*]. These inscriptions are the royal annals of the Köktürk empire, centred on this region till its fall in 744 and supersession by a Uyghur [*q.v.*] grouping based on Kara Balghasun on the Orkhon; these Uyghurs were in turn dispossessed by the Kirghiz [*q.v.*] in 840 and forced to migrate southwards to Kansu and Turfan [*q.vv.*]. No Islamic geographers mention the Orkhon, but we know something of Kara Balghasun (whose ruins are still visible) from the visit to it by a Muslim traveller Tamīm b. Baḥr al-Muṭṭawwiʿ, which probably took place, in Minorsky's view, in 821 A.D.; this is the only first-hand Muslim account of the Uyghur kingdom in Mongolia.

*Bibliography*: See V. Minorsky, *Tamīm ibn Baḥr's journey to the Uyghurs*, in *BSOAS*, xii (1948), 275-305. (C.E. BOSWORTH)

**OROMO**, a people of eastern Africa, partly Islamised, present in Ethiopia but also, although in small numbers only, in Kenya, Somalia and even in the Sudan. Among its constituent groups are the Arssi (Arusi), Boran, Guji, Karayu, Leqa, Macha, Raya (Azebo), Tulama, Wello, etc. The Amharas, amongst whom they have become installed, have for a long time given them the name of "Galla", whose etymology is uncertain.

Numerically, the Oromo form one of the leading ethnic groups of Africa. In Ethiopia they represent 40% of the total population, i.e. between some ten and fourteen millions. Linguistically, they are the majority, ahead of the Amhara speakers. Their language is called by themselves *afaan oromo* and by the Amharas *oromeñña* or *galleñña*, and belongs to the Cushitic group [see *kūsh*] at the side of Afar, Agaw, Bedja, Saho and Somali. The writing of Oromo in Latin characters seems now to be becoming generalised, even though the Ethiopian or Arabic alphabets have sometimes been used for it also.

Religious differences (they include Christians faithful to the national church, Catholics and Lutherans, also Muslims, and also followers of their traditional religions), as well as the cultural diversity of their groups and the denial of their existence as a people before 1975, have not prevented the gradual formation of a common identity among the Oromo. This is based on a substantial degree of linguistic intercommunication and on common values (such as the *gada* system). For some people it shows itself in a nationalism which the setting-up of a new, decentralised Ethiopian administrative system (1992), which endeavours to regroup the Oromo lands into an entity called "Oromia", would probably not satisfy completely.

The cradle of the Oromo, originally nomads, is believed to have been the region which stretches from Lake Abaya to the upper course of the Webi Shebele. The most important warrior raids and migrations which pushed them northwards began in the middle of the 16th century. They were favoured, if not provoked, by the disorder brought about by the wars which had set the Christian empire against the Muslims in the first half of that century, and especially against the sultanate of Harar [*q.v.*]. These migrations brought them to the Blue Nile, to Tigré and, in the northeast, to Harar, in the midst of peoples whose customs and beliefs, and even language, they often adopted. In this way, some of them early became Muslim.

From the 18th century onwards, Muslim political

entities took shape, often engaged in trading. In the north, the Taju and Wello were capable of having an influence on the political evolution of the Christian states until 1853. In the south, petty kingdoms (Ennarya, Jimma, Gera, Gomma and Guma), originating from the middle of the 18th century, became Muslim under the influence of merchants, mainly Harari ones. Divided by internal rivalries, they were integrated into the empire by Menelik between 1881 and 1897, together with the Arssi region which had become Muslim in the second half of the century and the sultanate of Harar itself.

Oromo Islam is far from "orthodox", and its devotees are sometimes Muslim only in name. The famous pilgrimage to the *kubba* of Shaykh Nūr Husen takes place in the Arssi territory, and the rites practised there strongly resemble those of the traditional pilgrimages at Abba Mudda. The influential *tarīkas* have come from the Sudan (Tiġjāniyya, Sammāniyya) or from Arabia (Aḥmadiyya, Kādiriyya).

*Bibliography*: Information on Oromo Islam is very scattered. In addition to the bibls. published on Ethiopia, Kenya and Somalia, one may consult J.S. Trimmingham, *Islam in Ethiopia*, London 1952; A. Trudnos, *Oromo documentation. Bibliography and maps*, Warsaw 1984; P.T.W. Baxter, *The present state of Oromo studies: a resumé*, in *Bull. des Études Africaines de l'Inalco*, vi, no. 11 (1986), 53-82.

(A. ROUAUD)

**ORONTE(s)** [see *AL-ʿAṢĪ*].

**ORTA** (ت.), literally "centre", in Ottoman Turkish military terminology, the equivalent of a company of fighting men in the three divisions (the *Segmen*, the *Djemaʿat* and the *Bölük*) of which the Janissary corps was eventually composed [see *ODJAK* and *YEŪI ÇERİLER*].

The number of *ortas* within the corps varied through the ages, but eventually approached 200; d'Ohsson reckoned the total at 229. The strength of each *orta* likewise varied; in the time of Meḥemmed II Fātiḥ [*q.v.*], they are said to have been composed of 50 men, but in the low hundreds at subsequent periods. The commander of an *orta* was called the *Corbađi* (literally, "soup purveyor" [*q.v.*]), and amongst the officers below him were, *inter alios*, the *Aşđi* ("cook") and the *Baş Kara Kullukđju* ("head scullion"), reflecting the origin of much Janissary nomenclature in culinary terms. The several officers in an *orta* seem to have reflected a variety of military functions rather than a hierarchy of ranks, as in modern armies. Also, each *orta* had its own clerk, *oda yazıđđı*, who kept the rolls of the soldiers on the company's strength.

*Bibliography*: İ.H. Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı devleti teşkilâtından kapukulu ocakları*, Ankara 1943-4, index; M.Z. Pakalın, *Tarih deyimleri ve terimleri sözlüğü*, Istanbul 1946-54, ii, 730-1; H.A.R. Gibb and H. Bowen, *Islamic society in the West*, i/1, London 1950, index and esp. 60-3, 314-20. (Ed.)

**ORTA OYUNU** (ت.), "entertainment staged in the middle place", a form of popular Turkish entertainment so-called because it takes place in the open air, *palanka*, around which the spectators form a circle. One side is reserved for the men, the other for the women. Behind the spectators is found the place where the actors get ready to enter the stage by means of a passage which is left free. The décor consists solely of a chair—or a table—called *dükkan* "shop, booth" and a folding screen, *yeŪi dünya* "new world". An orchestra made up of a *zurna*, oboe, a *çifte nakkäre* "double drum" and a *dawul* "big drum" plays a tune for dancing, and the dancers (*köçek*) enter the stage, followed by the *djurđjunadıis* "comic dancers". After this

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ed. 'Abd al-Bākī, ii, 953 f., Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, *Musnad*, v, 229, 233, 247) his name seems to be confused with that of another transmitter called al-Khawlānī, namely 'A'īdh Allāh b. 'Abd Allāh Abū Idrīs, one time *kādi* of Damascus. Since Abū Idrīs is considered as really too young (born in A.H. 8, he died in 80/699, cf. *Tahdhīb*, v, 86 f.) to have transmitted this *ḥadīth qudsī* from the Companion Mu'adh b. Djabal, Abū Muslim's name may have been inserted to bridge the gap in an otherwise imperfect *isnād*. Confusion of the two Khawlānīs seems to be also apparent elsewhere (cf. Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-aṣhrāf*, iv/b, ed. M. Schloessinger, Jerusalem 1938, 60).

*Bibliography*: Abū Nu'aym, *Ḥilyat al-awliyā'*, ii, 122-31, v, 120-2; Nasr b. Muzāḥim, *Waḳ'at Ṣiffīn*, ed. Hārūn, Cairo 1382/1962-3, 85 f.; Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, ed. Sachau, vii/2, 157 (in this source it is alleged that he came from Baṣra, which is most probably an apocryphal statement not borne out by evidence found elsewhere); Dārimī, *Sunan*, *muḥaddima*, 34; Ibn Kutayba, *Ma'ārif*, ed. 'Ukkāsha, 439; Dīnawarī, *al-Akhbār al-ḥiwāl*, ed. Guirgass, 172 ff.; Bayhaqī, *K. al-Maḥāsin wa'l-masāwī*, ed. Schwally, Giessen 1902, 380; Ibn 'Abd Rabbihi, *al-'Iḥd al-farīd*, index s.v.; Dhahabī, *Siyar a'lām al-nubalā'*, iii, 93; Ibn Ḥaǧǧar, *Tahdhīb at-tahdhīb*, xii, 235 f. (G. H. A. JUVNBOLL)

X **KHAYĀL**, the most important song form in the classical repertoire of north Indian music, is regarded by some to have been invented by Amīr Khusraw (651-725/1253-1325) and attributed by others to Ḥusayn Shāh Sharkī (862-934/1458-1528), the ruler of Dīawnpūr, who was dispossessed by Buhlūl Lodī in ca. 1476. Whatever its genesis, there is little doubt that it saw its greatest development during the Muslim period of Indian history and that its major exponents have generally been Muslims. It arose as a reaction to the traditional composition *dhrupad*, whose rigid and austere character seemed to inhibit improvisation and technical virtuosity. In contrast, *khayāl*, as its name implies, was intended to afford greater freedom to the musician's imagination. The two forms continued to exist in competition with one another, their advocates rivalling among themselves and claiming superiority for their respective styles. In the 12th/18th century, *khayāl* received a tremendous impetus as a result of the efforts of Muḥammad Shāh (d. 1161/1748) and that of his court singers Adā Rang and Sadā Rang. It now leads all musical compositions and is regarded as the most significant contribution to the development of music. Its content deals primarily with religious and amorous themes, and consists of a relatively short set piece employed as the basis for improvisation.

*Bibliography*: Faḳīr Allāh, *Rūg Durpan*, I.O. Pers. Ms. 1937; Mirzā Muḥammad b. Faḳīr al-Dīn Muḥammad, *Tuḥfat al-Hind*, I.O. Pers. Ms. 1269; Wāǧǧid 'Alī Shāh, *Ṣawt-i Mubārak*, Lucknow 1853; S. N. Haidar Rizvi, *Music in Muslim India*, in IC, xv (1941); M. Mujeeb, *The Indian Muslims*, London 1967; Aziz Ahmad, *An intellectual history of Islam in India*, Edinburgh 1969; N. Augustus Willard, *Music of India*, Calcutta 1962; H. A. Popley, *The music of India*, Calcutta 1950; N. A. Jairazbhoy, *The Rāgs of North Indian music*, Middletown, Conn. 1971. (MUNIBUR RAHMAN)

⊙ **KHAYĀL**, MİR MUḤAMMAD TAḲĪ, of Aḥmadābād in Guǧǧarāt (d. 1173/1759-60), author of a collection of tales in 15 volumes entitled *Bustān-i Khayāl*, composed in Persian prose between 1155/

1742 and 1169/1756, at the request of his patron Nawwāb Rashīd Khān, or, according to one manuscript, for the two brothers Nawwāb Rashīd Khān and Nawwāb Muḥammad Iṣḥāk Khān, sons of Dja'far 'Alī Khān (Nawwāb of Bengal 1170-4/1757-61 and 1176-8/1763-5); an account of the contents of this work, which is made up partly of historical legends and partly of fantastic fairy tales, is given by Ethé, *Cat. of Persian Mss. of the Bodleian Library*, No. 480.

*Bibliography*: Ethé, in *Gr. I. Ph.* ii, 342.

(ED.)

⊙ **KHAYĀL AL-ZĪLL** ("Shadow fantasy"), popular Arabic name for the shadow-play, possibly brought over from South-East Asia or India and performed in Muslim lands from the 12th century A.D. to the 20th one. Although occasionally presented during the long evenings of the Ramaḍān fast, it has now virtually disappeared with the spread of education, the cinema and television.

The only extant texts of medieval Arabic shadow-plays were composed in the 7th/13th century A.D. by an Egyptian ophthalmologist, Ibn Dāniyāl [q.v.], and consist of a humorous pageant of Egyptian life under the Mamlūk ruler Baybars I [q.v.]. More frequently, however, the text of a shadow-play amounted to no more than general guidelines for the performers. In the Ottoman period the shadow-play spread through North Africa and other Arabic-speaking countries, as the Ottoman Turks popularised the *Karagöz* [q.v.], in which several stereotyped characters amused an unsophisticated audience. The *Karagöz* also penetrated Anatolia, the Arab countries, Greece and Roumania. Iran had its own form of shadow-play, as had Muslim communities in Central Asia, but they did not attain the same popularity.

After Ibn Dāniyāl's time, one finds scattered references to Arabic shadow-plays; however, only from the 12th/18th century onwards is relatively more known. In Syria and in most of North Africa a *Karagöz*-type prevailed, but Egypt held to its own tradition of shadow-play, which usually presented the adventures and misadventures of characters in the market-place or on Nile boats (e.g. *li'b al-markīb*, *li'b al-timsāh*).

A standard *khayāl al-zīll* performance in the 18th and 19th centuries was usually constructed on the following lines: a large sheet was hung as a screen on an improvised stage in the open air, in a coffee-house, or, more rarely, in a public hall, and a bright lamp placed behind it. Between the two, small (often 30 cm. high) two-dimensional figurines, of thin coloured translucent leather, were manipulated by the shadow-play master, who was called the *muḥaddim*. He used several sticks to move the head and limbs of the figurines, through holes specially pierced into the figurines; the shadows thus cast on the screen were both lifesize and lifelike. One or more persons assisted the *muḥaddim* in this task and in the recitations of the different characters.

The texts recited were memorised, rather than read, but often seemed also to bear the mark of improvisation, not unlike the *commedia dell'arte*. The *li'b* ("play") started with a *mafla'* ("prologue") and was divided into *fuṣūl* ("acts"), although some plays were of one *faṣl* only. Songs and music were interspersed as needed, prose alternating with verse. The vernacular predominated and the contents and style were geared to a familiar background, e.g. the bathhouse or the market-place. The plot was simple enough, usually based on misadventures and misunderstandings. Slapstick—including severe thrash-

poetry (see quotations in Ibn Hishām, ed. Wüstenfeld, 261, and Nöldeke-Schwally, *Geschichte des Qurāns*, i, 92) means "abundance". Some ancient writers of *tafsir* interpret *kawthar* in Qur'ān, CVIII, 1 as "abundant goodness" (*al-khayr al-kathir*; cf. Ibn Hishām, *op. cit.*; al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsir*, xxx, 180-1).

This etymological meaning, however, although it did not totally disappear, gave way to a traditional interpretation. According to this the Prophet himself regarded *al-kawthar* as the proper name of a river in Paradise (cf. Ibn Hishām, 261 *in fine*, and specially al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsir*, xxx, 179), or as a pond which was shown to him at the time of his ascension to the Throne of God, and which was designated for him (al-Ṭabarī, *ibid.*, 180; cf. A. J. Wensinck, *The Muslim Creed*, Cambridge 1932, 231). This last explanation is considered most credible by al-Ṭabarī; *al-kawthar* was, then, becoming something almost synonymous with *hawḍ* [q.v.], "the Prophet's pool", at which believers quench their thirst when entering Paradise. Its existence is affirmed in several "professions of faith". But more frequently *al-kawthar* will be the river which feeds the pool. According to a subsequent idea (cf. *Ahwāl al-kiyāma*, ed. Wolff, 107), all the rivers of Paradise flow into the *hawḍ al-kawthar*, also called *nahr Muḥammad*, as specially belonging to the Prophet.

The most ancient Sūras already mention "the spring" (*'ayn*), "the living spring" (*'ayn jāriya*) which waters Paradise (LXXVII, 41; LXXXVIII, 12 and *passim*); the Medinan Sūras describe in more detail the "rivers" (*al-anhār*). In XLVII, 15, for example: "There will be rivers there, the water of which is incorruptible, rivers of milk which never sour, rivers of wine sweet for those who drink of them, rivers of clear honey". This description suggests the rivers of Paradise of Judaeo-Christian eschatology, flowing with oil, milk, wine and honey. It is of note that oil is replaced by "incorruptible water" (*ghayr āsin*), so precious in the deserts of Arabia (cf. J. Horovitz, *Das koranische Paradies*, 9). *Ḥadīths* and *tafsirs* delight in describing *al-kawthar* on this same model. But taking into consideration the root meaning of "abundance", *al-kawthar*, the "river of the Prophet" presents itself as the quintessence of the rivers of Paradise. In certain versions quoted by the *Tafsir* of al-Ṭabarī it is said: "Its waters are whiter than the snow and sweeter than honey", or, "And its waters are of wine". Surpassing the Qur'ānic description are others endowing it with "banks of gold" or a bed of "rubies and pearls" with a perfume "more penetrating than musk" (cf. Soubhi El-Saleh, *La vie future selon le Coran*, Paris 1972, 36 and ref.). Rationalising or modern *tafsirs* easily lend a metaphoric sense to these details.

**Bibliography:** given in the article. The principal traditional references to *al-kawthar* are (cf. Soubhi El-Saleh, *op. cit.*, 36, n. 6 and Annexe I): Bukhārī, viii, *Riḥāq*, 119; *Musnad* of Ibn Hanbal, ii, 112; Tirmidhī, ii, *Tafsir*, to CVIII, 240; Ibn Mādja, *Zuhd*, 307; later, Baghawi, *Maṣābiḥ al-Sunna*, ii, *Hawḍ*, 145; Ibn Kayyim al-Djawziyya, *Ḥādī l-arwāḥ ilā bilād al-afrah*, 131, etc.

(J. HOROVITZ - L. GARDET)

**KAWUKLU**, Turkish "the man with the *Ḳawuk*", a character of the Turkish *Orta oyunu* theatre.

Turkish *Ḳawuk* indicates a rather high, variously-shaped cap, with a headband, *şarık*, wound round it (Ağakay, *Türkçe sözlük: sarık sarılan başlık*). Such caps of varying shape and colour according to rank were worn by officers of the Janissaries (cf. Maḥmūd Shewket, *Oṯmānlı teşkilât ve kıyâfet-i askeriyyesi*,

Istanbul 1325, i, 29 ff.). Other professions too had their own special *Ḳawuk*, there were *wezir*, *mollâ*, *kâtib* and *paşallık Ḳawuklu*, some with specific names: *kallâvî*, *ḳhorasânî*, *müdjeweweze*, *selimî*, *şerf* (cf. Emin Cenkmén, *Osmanlı sarayı ve kıyâfeleri*, Istanbul 1948). In official language, even an Arabic plural *ḳawâwîk* was formed. However, the popular mind conceived of the *Ḳawuk* wearer in a different fashion: *ḳawuk büyük ama altında efendi yok*, "an imposing cap but no gentleman underneath it"; *ḳawuk sallamak*, "to wave one's cap", *i.e.*, "to say yes and amen to everything"; *ḳawukçu* or *dalkavuk*, "coaxer or wheedler"; *ḳawuk giydirmek*, "to put on a cap", *i.e.*, "to impose upon someone".

A special *ḳawuklu* appears as one of the two main characters of the Turkish popular theatre *Orta oyunu* [q.v.]. Such theatres had existed previously, but so far as we know, the term *Orta oyunu* occurs for the first time in 1833. The heyday of the *Orta* theatre was towards the end of the 19th century; it then became known in Europe through Kúnos's descriptions. The hero of the comic play was the *Ḳawuklu*, just like *Ḳaragöz* [q.v.] in the shadow-plays. The other main character, *Peshekâr*, was a kind of theatre-director, corresponding somewhat to *Ḥadživâd* in the shadow-play. The *Ḳawuklu*'s dress, including a caftan (*djübbe*) and trousers (*shalvâr*) was red, even the cap (see the plates in Kúnos and Gerçek's publications). Often appearing as a pedlar, artisan or servant, the *Ḳawuklu* was a clown whose comedy lay in his misunderstanding the words of the other actors, his mindless execution of orders, which he twisted and exaggerated, his immoderate bragging, slyness and ready wit, and his imitation (*taḳlîd*) of foreign voices and dialects, especially those of the non-Turks in the Ottoman Empire. Dextrous juggling was also part of his performance. Only the main lines of the action were known; the *Ḳawuklu* had to improvise all the jokes, so that his performance was a demanding one. About 40 titles of plays, some identical with those of the shadow-play, are known, and 25 names of famous *Ḳawuklus* have come down to us. Special mention should be made of *Hamdî* (d. 1911), 'Abdî (= 'Abd al-Razzâk, d. 1914), *Kel Hasan* (d. 1929) and *Nâshîṭ* (1889-1938) (see Gövsa, *Türk meşhurları ansiklopedisi*, with plates). Performances by these and other *Ḳawuklus* are still remembered by the populace. *Hamdî*, when asked by Kúnos where he had learnt his art, answered significantly that his uncle and comrades had been his teachers. In origin, the *Orta* theatre was probably influenced by foreign elements; *Bombacı* has suggested influences from Jews, Greeks and perhaps Gypsies.

During the Reform period, this type of theatre met with serious competition from the European theatre, and many modernists wanted to forbid it outright. At the time when modern-type stages were set up, *Hamdî* made an attempt with the so-called *süflörlü oyunlar*, but without real success. *Kel Hasan* was more fortunate and died a rich man. In recent times, the *Orta* theatre has almost completely disappeared and endeavours to revive it are only occasionally heard of.

**Bibliography:** I. Kúnos, *Orta-oyunou*, Budapest 1888; idem, *Das türkische Volksschauspiel Orta oyunu*, Leipzig 1908; J. Horovitz, *Spuren griechischer Mimen im Orient*, Berlin 1905; Selim Nüzhet Gerçek, *Türk temaşası, Meddâh, Karagöz, Orta oyunu*, Istanbul 1930; Th. Menzel, *Meddâh, Schattentheater und Orta oyunu*, ArO Monographie x, Prague 1941; Nurullah Tilgen, *Orta oyunu*

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# MASKE UND KOTHURN

VIERTELJAHRSSCHRIFT FÜR THEATERWISSENSCHAFT

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## WIE ENTSTAND DAS TÜRKISCHE ORTA OYUNU (SPIEL IN DER MITTE)?\*

Von Metin A n d (Ankara)

*Mit Tafeln V bis XI.*

Das Orta Oyunu ist sehr verschieden vom Schattenspiel Karagöz: jenes wird mit lebendigen Schauspielern gespielt, dieses hinter einem Vorhang mit leblosen Figuren aus Leder. Es besteht aber doch zwischen beiden Spielen eine so große Ähnlichkeit hinsichtlich der Atmosphäre, der Personen, der Form des Spieles und nicht zuletzt dem Wunsche, das Publikum zum Lachen zu bringen, daß wir annehmen müssen, daß das eine aus dem anderen hervorgegangen ist, da beide nicht gleichzeitig entstanden sein können. Es ist jedoch schwer zu entscheiden, welches von beiden zuerst vorhanden war. Obwohl schon sehr viele Untersuchungen über das Schattenspiel Karagöz, über das Puppentheater, über den Meddah, einen einzelnen Erzähler, und das Orta Oyunu veröffentlicht worden sind, so bleibt doch bei dieser letzten Form des Theaters noch vieles im Dunkeln, und wir finden sehr viele noch ungelöste Probleme vor.

Da ist zunächst einmal die Frage nach dem Alter des Orta Oyunu. Manche, die zu diesem Thema Untersuchungen angestellt haben, setzen zum Beispiel das Datum des Auftretens des Orta Oyunu sehr spät, etwa erst in der Mitte des 19. Jahrhunderts an. Sie gehen davon aus, daß erst in dieser Zeit der Ausdruck Orta Oyunu zum erstenmal belegt ist, obwohl man doch schon Jahrhunderte lang gesprochenen Aufführungen mit lebendigen Spielern begegnet. Aber auch hier werden die verschiedensten Daten genannt. Es gibt zwei Gründe dafür, das Datum des Auftretens so spät anzusetzen: erstens konnten diejenigen, die die Untersuchungen anstellten, auf Grund ihrer Quellen nicht beweisen, daß schon zu früheren Zeiten Orta Oyunu gespielt wurde, und zweitens begegnete ihnen der Ausdruck Orta Oyunu in diesen Quellen zum erstenmal erst in der Mitte des vergangenen Jahrhunderts. Wie bei jeder Spielgattung ist es jedoch auch für das Orta Oyunu falsch, es erst mit dem Datum beginnen zu lassen, an dem es den Namen Orta Oyunu erhielt. Diese Spielart hat vielmehr durch Jahrhunderte hin-

\*) Der Aufsatz ist türkisch unter dem Titel 'Ortaoyunu nasıl çıktı?' in der Zeitschrift Türk Dili, Nr. 198, Ankara 1968, S. 685—693 erschienen. Er wurde von Monika Röllig ins Deutsche übersetzt, doch lagen von den gelegentlich zitierten osmanisch-türkischen Passagen nur modernisierte Fassungen vor, ohne daß die Übersetzerin Einblick in die Originale nehmen konnte. Für die türkische Theaterliteratur und speziell auch das Orta Oyunu vgl. schon Max Meinecke, Maske und Kothurn, 11. Jg. (1965), S. 120—133.



DN. 196524

Yemenici Andon Kadıköy'de, Haydar Pehlivan Kadıköy'de ve Rıhtımboyu'nda, Müştak Baba Üsküdar'da, Kantarcı Hakkı Kasımpaşa'da, Hayal Küpü Emin Ağa Beyazıt'ta, Cerrah Salih Efendi Direklerarası'nda, Darphaneli Hafız Efendi Sultanahmet'te, Püskülcü Hüsnü Efendi Kadirga Limanı'nda, Rum Hacı Yorgi Eyüp Sultan'da Karagöz oynatırdı (MBY, 62-63).

Ahmed Rasim kendi gördüğü hayalcilerin Şeyh Fehmi Efendi, Cerrah Salih ile Katib Salih olduğunu, bunlardan başka hayalciler de görmesine rağmen onların bunlar derecesinde maharet sahibi olmadıklarını belirtir (MBY, 65).

Bu hayalciler arasında halka oynayan Hayalciler kâhyası Tahir Efendi ve Hayal Küpü Emin Ağa'nın hayalciler arasında dahi bir oynadığını bir daha oynamaz, bir söylediği muhavereyi bir daha söylemez diye şöhreti vardır. Ahmed Rasim'in deyiimiyle bunlar Karagöz tuluatçılığında eşsiz kişilerdir (MBY, 65).

Ayrıca Ahmed Rasim, Müsahib Said Efendi adında bir hayalcinin Sultan Mahmud'a (1808-1839) oynadığı Karagözlerin hoşluğu ile ilgili pek çok fıkra anlatıldığını söyler (MBY, 65).

Tiyatroyu Karagöz perdesinde icat yolunu tutan Katib Salih isimli bir hayalcidir. Hatta bu hayalci perde içinde perde açarak kanto da söyletirdi. Onun bu yaptıkları geleneğe aykırı görülmüş, alafranga Karagöz oynatıyor, bu nasıl olur, diye muhafazakârlar tarafından eleştirilmiştir (MBY, 67).

Hayali Kâtip Salih bir ramazanda Arif'in kiraathanesinde hayal oynatmıştır. Yazar buraya onu seyretmeye gider; çünkü daha önce onunla ilgili bir gazetede takdir yazısı okumuş ve merak etmiştir. Paraları vererek arkadaşıyla beraber kiraathanede birinci mevkie geçerler. Bu kiraathanede genelde çocuklar vardır. Bildirilen saatten yarım saat sonra oyun başlar. Perde açılmaya başlayınca defin, zillerin sesi gelir. Çok ses olduğundan Karagöz çocukları uyarır. Sus ulan! Şu çocukları susturun gibi sözler söyler. Hacivat olsa bu ihtarı daha nazik yapardı; ancak Karagöz nezakete kulak asmazdı. Perde açılıp oyun başlar, yazar ve arkadaşı oyunda yeni bir şey görme ümidindedir. Ancak eski tas eski hamam, yeni bir şey yoktur (ŞM II, 192-194).

### 4.3. Orta Oyunu





## ORTA OYUNU



**A**NADOLU yakasının Göztepenin arkalarına düşen Merdivenköyündeki [Mama] mesiresi.. yahut ki, Boğaziçinde Sarıyerde [Fındık suyu].. Çubuklu çayırı, Göksuyun içerilerinde [Yedikardeşler] teferrüçgâhı..

Bazan da Emergân korusunda, Üsküdar'da icadiye tepesinde, Bağlarbaşı'nda da oynadıkları olurdu. Zaten ne ağırlıkları var? Beş, on sanatkar, zurnacı ile davulcusu, pusat (e'bise) sandığı, Yenidünya tâbir edilen ve üç yüzlü bir paravanadan ibaret bulunan sözüm ona ev!..

Bu basit malzeme ile senenin müsait günlerinde, açık havada bütün İstanbul halkına neşe ve neşat saçarlardı. Orta oyununun en son hakikî ustası Kavuklu Hamdi efendi ile Pişekâr Küçük İsmail efendi idi ki, bu ikinci-

sinin aramızdan ebediyen ayrılması topu birkaç yıllık vakadır.

Diğer eşhası temsil edenler içerisinde de kıymetli sanat erbabı yok değildi. Meselâ kadın rolü oynayan ve kendilerine zenne denilen, billûr yaşmak altında en işvekâr bir saraylıdan ayırd edilemeyecek kadar muvaffak olan öyle kabiliyetler vardı ki, seyircilere parmak ısırtırlardı.

Oyun günü mesirenin küçücük kahvesi iğne atılsa yere düşmeyecek derecede kesif bir halk kütlesile dolar, redingottan gecelik entarisine, Raglan pardesüden Şam hırkasına, kukuleteli avniyeden kolsuz hayderiye kadar türlü kıyafette erkekler arkasız alçacık iskemlelere çökerler, renk renk çarşafı, meşlâhlı, yeldirmeli kadınlar civıl civıl, seyrek kafeslerin ardında yer alırlar, zurna orta oyunu giriş havasına ağaz eyler ve biraz sonra meydana pişekâr görünürdü.

O, başında avare kavuğu, sırtında kürkü, elinde şakşağı ile ortaya gelir gelmez cemaati selâmlar ve temsil edilecek oyunu haber verirdi.

Derken zurna kavuklu havasını tutturur, o esnada, seyirci kalabalığını yarararak, arkasında kanbur ve aptal çömezi ile Hamdi efendi çıkardı.

Hamdi ile Küçük İsmailin muhaverelerine doyum olmaz, nükteler, cinaslar bir sel halinde birbirini takip eder, dinleyiciler de kahkahadan kırılırlardı.

Bilhassa Hamdi son zamanlarda bir rüya tekerlemesi icat eylemişti ki, rahmetli sanatkarın hayal genişliğine ve kelâm kudretine delildi. Muhayyel vakayı bir hakikat imiş gibi, ciddiye-tine asla hâlel getirmeden anlatmaya başlar, rüya olduğunu tâ, en sonunda:

— Bir de uyanayım ki..  
Diyerek ikrar ederdi.

Orta oyununu halka sevdiren, o tarihlerde dram oynayan Mmakanın tu-

lûat sahnesinde şöret kazanan Abdürrezzakla Kel Hasanın, Şevkinin ve henüz sivrilmiye başlayan Naşidin kuvvetli rekabetlerine rağmen yaşatan, Hamdi merhumun kendi sanatında deha mertebesine varan kudret, kabiliyet ve muvaffakiyeti olmuştur.

Onun oyunlarına bütün İstanbul seve seve taşınırdı. Ressam Muazzez'in iptidai fakat realist fırçasile yaşattığı orta oyunu sahne ve seyircileri benim hafızamda yaşayan manzaraya tamamı tamamına tevafuk eder. Hamdinin herhangi bir tehlike sezen horozunkini andıran bakışları, Küçük İsmailin müstehzi bir tebessümle daha da süzülen gözleri, zennenin, saf zanparaları tereddüde düşüren işvele-ri, frenk doktor taklidine çıkan müteveffa Garbisin maşa ile nabız tutması, Karadeniz uşağı Hayrettinin arka arkaya bir araba dolusu lâf sıralayıp da bu sel kelâmın karşısında afallayan Hamdiye:

— Hay, brakmaysın ki, içi lâf da pen edeyum!

Diye çıkışması, hâlâ gözlerimin önünde ve kulaklarımdadır.

Gençlik!.. Ben bu oyunların birini kaçırmazdım. Feyizli topraklarından pıtrak gibi, yabanî çiçekler, al gelincikler, sarı noktalı beyaz papatyalar, mor devediklenleri, altın renginde, adını bilmediğim çeşit çeşit nebatlar fıskıran Çamlıca tepelerinden, zümrüt gibi yeşil kâliçesini göz alabildiğine yerlere seren Uzunçayıra iner, soluğu Mamada alırdım.

Yahut ki, Boğazın mavi suları üzerinde bir ok gibi süzülen küçücük sandalla Çubukluya uçardım.

Oturmak için seçtiğim yer mutlaka kapı dibinde, kadınlara tahsis olunan kafesin pek yakınında olmalıydı.

Sade ben mi? Hayır! Kanı kaynayan bütün gençlik orada idi. Önceden, özene bezene hususi, alaca kâğıtlar üzerine yazılmış, [Çoban levantası] ile ta'tir edilmiş aşk nameleleri, o toplantı-

nın içinde kadınlar tarafına geçmiye yegâne mezun simitçi, kâğıthelvacısı, fıstıkçı makulesi adamlar vasıtasile «öteye» iletilir, tatlı ve sonsuz bir heyecan içerisinde netice beklenirdi.

Binde bir karşılık gören bu masumane teşebbüslere mukabil kaç defa hüsrana uğranıldığını sormayın! Gönüller okadar teşne ve fırsatlar öylesine kıt idi ki, açık havadaki bu orta oyunu toplantılarının temin eylediği kolaylıklardan istifadeye kalkışmamak elimizden gelmezdi.. ne yapalım?

Zurnanın ara vermiyen cırlak nağmeleri, davulun coşkun sesi, kavuklu ile pişekârın yarenlikleri, Arap, Acem, Karadenizli, Kürt, Arnavut, Kayserili, Kastanbolulu, frenk taklitleri bir yandan içimize neşe saçıyorken, bir taraftan da kafes arkasından gelen levanta kokuları, gevrek gülüşmeler, teşne nazarlara akseden taze bir sima, hayalhanemize gelecek günler için bol bol sermaye verirdi.

Olgun çağdaki ve yaşını başını almış kimseler de orta oyunundan ziyadesile zevk alırlardı. İçlerinde her sınıfa, her tabakaya mensup simalar vardı. Tatil gününü en teklifsiz kıyafetle geçirebilmekten haz duyan pašalardan tutun da, ocaktaki tencerelerini çırağa emanet eden ahçıbaşıya, ağızlarına birer torba geçirdiği hayvanlarını kendi hallerine terkeden arabacıya, tâ Edirnekapısından koşup gelen meraklı «beybaba» ya kadar, hepsi yanyana, omuz omuza, basık iskemlelerin üzerinde sıralanırlardı.

Arap «Mamadadı» dan korkarak, Hamdinin kallâvi kavuğundan ürkerrek viyaklıyan «fırlama» lar, kafesin aralığından içerisini ısrarla «dikiz» eden sırnaşık, boyalı bırıklı, top sakallı herifi paylıyan acuzeler... gülünecek yerde gülmeyip alelâde bir muhaverenin ortasında birdenbire makaraları koyveren ham ervahlar mı istersiniz? Hepsini burada bulurdunuz.

Orta oyunu böyle bir âlemdi!..