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Abstract

This essay describes the history of Turkish cinema from its origins in 1896 until the present, focusing upon how Islam and religious Muslims are portrayed in the movies. For historical, political, and cultural reasons, Islam and religious Muslims have often been portrayed in a negative light, even though Turkey is a predominantly Muslim country. Present day Turkish cinema offers a more eclectic array of movies, including movies that show Islamic practices in daily life and movies that portray Islam in a favorable light.

Keywords

Islam, Muslims, Yesilçam Cinema, Milli Cinema, Marxist Cinema, Religious Education

Author Notes

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It has been well documented that Islam and Muslims (this includes Arabs and other characters that look Middle-Eastern) have been portrayed in a negative light by popular American cinema.¹ This negative portrayal began long before 9/11, after which most Muslim characters began to be identified as terrorists or as siding with terrorism. We might expect a negative portrayal of Islam from a Western country that identifies itself with the Judeo-Christian tradition, but wouldn't we expect a more positive portrayal of Islam in countries where the population is predominantly Muslim? In this essay we explore how Islam and Muslims have been portrayed over the years in Turkish cinema, given that Turkey is a predominately Muslim country. Surprisingly, the portrayal of Islam in Turkish Cinema has been both positive and negative, depending upon various political and cultural influences.

1923 – 1950: The One Party State

Cinema came to the Ottoman Empire in 1896, shortly after the Lumiere brothers produced their film, *Arrival of the Train at La Ciotat Station*, in 1895.² The first movies, probably made by the Lumiere brothers, were shown in the Palace of Abdülhamid II, as described by Ayşe Sultan, daughter of Sultan Abdülhamid II, in her book *Babam Sultan Abdülhamit*.³ When movies were shown to the public in 1897, however, they were shown in the Sponeck pub or beer house of Istanbul.⁴ Most of the movies shown in Turkey during the early years were, as in other countries, silent films, short films, and newsreels. Although the Turkish people loved the movies, religious Muslims were cool to the idea of showing movies in beer houses rather than in theaters, thereby limiting the audience for Turkish cinema.⁵

When Allied forces occupied Istanbul, the capital of the Ottoman Empire, in 1919 Ottoman Sultan Vahdettin sent General Mustafa Kemal to the Eastern portions of the State with orders to begin a resistance movement that would save the country from those Allied forces that had surrounded it. In 1920, Kemal went to the city of Ankara, where he established a new parliament in accordance with the Sultan's orders. The new parliament pledged its allegiance to the Sultan, established a new army, and defeated the Allied forces. After the victory, Mustafa Kemal chose to manipulate the parliament, which included many religious people, to establish his own parliament, and to found a new state in 1923, The Republic of Turkey. Mustafa Kemal became the first president of the Republic of Turkey. Although Turkey was called a republic, it was not a democratic republic. Because so many of the citizens of the new state were religious and loyal to the Sultan, Mustafa Kemal established a one party state that would enable him to remain in power.

In order to establish its own identity and separate itself from the old Ottoman Empire the new Turkish government encouraged a pro-Western/anti-Ottoman Empire attitude on the part of the Turkish people. Since Islam and religious Muslims were associated with the Ottoman Empire, the new government encouraged its citizens to adopt a negative attitude toward Islam and religious Muslims.

In the case of cinema, this meant that the new Turkish government supported only one director, Muhsin Ertuğrul. In exchange for the support of the government, Ertuğrul made movies that endorsed or promoted the pro-Western/anti-Ottoman-Islam view held by the new government. Because of his support from the government, Ertuğrul was the only director in Turkish cinema from 1923 until 1939.⁶

The first Turkish film to focus on Islam was Muhsin Ertuğrul's *The Bosphorus Mystery* (Boğaziçi Esrarı, 1923). The movie focuses upon a Muslim scholar who gives his followers heroin and who has sexual relations with his female disciples.⁷ The movie portrays Islam, in the character of the Muslim scholar, in a very negative light. Other examples of Ertuğrul movies are *A Nation is Awakening* (Bir Millet Uyaniyor, 1932) in which the main character, a Muslim scholar, is portrayed as a traitor to his country⁸ and *A Quilted Turban Was Overthrown* (Bir Kavuk Devrildi, 1939) in which a Muslim character becomes the Grandvizier of the Ottoman State, but is corrupt and governs badly, leading to a revolt by the army.⁹

In 1939, the reign of Muhsin Ertuğrul as Turkey's only film director came to an end and Turkish cinema saw the emergence of a group of new filmmakers. The new filmmakers, however, were not religious and so, for the most part, accepted and continued the stereotypes and negative images with which they were familiar. The government had no incentive to sanction filmmakers for portraying Islam and religious Muslims in a negative light because the government continued to encourage a pro-Western/anti-Ottoman-Islam attitude on the part of the Turkish people. Some movies during this period did not attack Islam directly. Dramas, comedies, and romances (as opposed to more historical films) simply did not include religious characters or any references to religion. Islam was, in some sense, insulted by its exclusion from Turkish cinema altogether.¹⁰

1950 – 2002: The Explosion of Commercial Cinema and Ideological Movements

In roughly 1950, two significant factors had a dramatic influence on Turkish cinema. The first was technological. Electricity became widely available throughout the country. The regular

availability of electricity meant that movie theaters could now operate in rural areas as well as the cities, thereby making movies available to a much wider audience than before.¹¹ The result was that movies became more popular and this created an opportunity for commercial, that is, money-making, cinema. After 1950 filmmakers could make money by showing their movies throughout the country.

The second factor was political. In 1950 the Turkish middle class wanted the government to have less control over the economy because they saw more prosperity in a free market economy than a state run economy. As well, there was significant pressure from religious Muslims (a majority of the Turkish people) for greater religious freedom. Finally, the Republican People's Party moved closer to England and the United States in terms of democracy because Stalin wanted to annex several Turkish cities in the east for the Soviet Union. The result of these pressures was the establishment of a second political party, the Democrat Party and the end of one party rule.

Because of the shift in the Turkish economy, Turkish cinema became more commercial after 1950. More people had more money to spend and they could spend it on going to the movies. Filmmakers, then, were more interested in making money than they were in supporting the ideology of the one party state. Commercial films were originally named after Yeşilçam Street in Istanbul, where most of the movies were made. Yeşilçam Street became the Hollywood of Turkey. Over the years, however, commercial cinema expanded well beyond the filmmaking of Yeşilçam Street.

But Islam still was not shown well. For the most part, from 1950 until 2002, commercial cinema in Turkey continued the trend of excluding religious characters and religious activities from the movies. Things with which most Turks would be familiar—the call to prayer (Azan),

or praying or fasting or even wearing the hijab—were not included in Turkish movies. Most of the new commercial filmmakers were not religious, so they had no incentive to include religion or religious characters in their movies. The first movie produced by religious Muslims, *Birleşen Yollar*, was not produced until 1970. The new commercial filmmakers also were in a hurry to produce films and make money, so they used existing stereotypes rather than doing research on Islam and how religious Muslims lived. Until 1950 Islam was not taught in schools, so the new directors and producers were not familiar with Islam or the life of religious Muslims through the schools that they attended.

If religious characters were portrayed in commercial cinema, they were portrayed in a negative light. Commercial cinema generally portrayed religious people as silly, uneducated, uncultured, and ridiculous. They appeared in movies as laborers, farmers, dustmen, and so on. Secular characters, however, were portrayed as educated (often as college graduates), wealthy, and cultured.¹² Secular characters were often doctors, lawyers, engineers, teachers, and members of other professions. Generally, most of the main characters in the new commercial cinema were secular.¹³

When commercial cinema produced comedies, they often gave religious names (the names of prophets or holy months) to characters that were silly, funny, or ridiculous. The religious name most often used in commercial cinema's comedies was Şaban. Şaban is the name of a holy month for Islam. Characters named Şaban, however, were usually uneducated and silly. Audiences laughed at the behavior of the characters named Şaban.¹⁴

There were some exceptions to the rule of ignoring religion or portraying religious people as silly and uneducated in commercial cinema. From roughly 1960 through the early 1970s a significant number of movies were made about heroic figures from the Seljuk Dynasty and the

Ottoman Empire. These figures were mostly soldiers or warriors. Some were historical figures and others were fictional characters. Wanting to tap into the market provided by religious Muslims, commercial cinema did produce movies that religious people would enjoy and religious people enjoyed the stories of heroic warriors of the past.¹⁵ Although these movies were not overtly religious, they did show respect for Islam and religious Muslims, thereby expanding the audience for commercial cinema.

In roughly this same period, overtly religious films were made to attract religious people to the theater. These movies were most often about the lives of particular religious figures with whom religious Muslims would be familiar. These saints and prophets, such as the Prophet Abraham or the Saint, Rabia, or the Sufi saint, Rumi, were well-known and widely admired, thereby attracting an audience of religious Muslims.¹⁶ Since the commercial cinema filmmakers were not themselves religious, their movies included many inaccuracies and false information about Islam. But religious Muslims went to see these movies anyhow, because they were about religious figures and because they generally showed Islam in a positive light, something that had not been done previously.¹⁷

After the Turkish army staged a coup in 1960, some Marxist writers and socialist directors established a movement in Turkish cinema that was an effort to take back Turkish culture from Western influences, without promoting Islam as the pillar of Turkish culture. This was called Social Realism Cinema (*Toplumsal Gerçekçi Sinema*).¹⁸ Since Social Realism Cinema was a Marxist movement, and since Marx saw religion as the opiate of the masses, Social Realism Cinema did not generally portray religion in the movies. Once again, Islam was excluded from Turkish Cinema. And, if Social Realism Cinema did include Islam or religious Muslims, they were portrayed in a negative light in accordance with Marx's view of religion.

In 1965, Social Realism Cinema divided into two groups. Some Social Realism writers and directors wanted to continue the Marxist tradition and others did not. One group developed the Revolutionary Cinema (Devrimci Sinema) Movement, a movement that continued to produce Marxist films that, for ideological reasons portrayed Islam in a negative light. But, at this same time a right wing political party was elected and that party influenced the State's Council of Censorship, making it more difficult to make hard core Marxist movies.¹⁹ The other group, Public Cinema (Ulusal Sinema), wanted to continue the effort to take back Turkish culture from Western influences, but unlike Revolutionary Cinema, Public Cinema accepted Islam as a part of Turkish culture and was willing to include Islam in the movies it produced. Social Realism Cinema, then, produced movies that were favorable to Islam and movies that were unfavorable or ignored Islam altogether.²⁰

In the 1960s, the Catholic Legion of Decency lost control of movie making in the United States.²¹ This meant that American movie makers were no longer censored and they could make movies that pushed the envelope. Among these more liberal movies were those that included sexual content, an element of filmmaking that had not been permitted by the Legion of Decency. In Turkey, this meant that it was now possible to import pornographic or erotic films. The novelty of these movies made them very popular in Turkey. Soon Turkish filmmakers started to make their own pornographic/erotic movies, thereby cashing in on the popular interest in such movies.²² Here Turkish cinema was heavily influenced by changes in filmmaking around the world.²³

The erotic/pornographic trend, however, did not last long. For religious Muslims, watching pornography is a sin. This meant that religious Muslims stopped going to the movie houses. Movie attendance also declined because ordinary people could not take their family and

friends to see Turkish produced pornography. Although the pornographic/erotic movie trend did not show Islam in a negative light, it was anti-Islam in the sense that it was sinful to watch such films.

At this same time, roughly 1970 until 2002, Turkish cinema spawned what came to be known as the Milli Cinema Movement. Milli Cinema was a nationalist/religious movement. Like Public Cinema, Milli Cinema was concerned with recapturing Turkish culture and turning away from western values. It was also against the values of the communism that developed in Turkey during the 1960s. Unlike Public Cinema, however, Milli Cinema took Islam to be the basic component of Turkish culture. This meant that Milli Cinema brought Islam back into the movies and showed respect for Islam.

A common theme in Milli Cinema was to show characters that had adopted western values but who became unhappy and unsatisfied by those values. Because of this dissatisfaction, the characters return to their Turkish culture and religion, where they find happiness and contentment. During the golden age of Milli Cinema (1990 – 2002) another theme in Milli Cinema was to show the Turkish government treating religious Turks badly and thereby to promote respect for Islam and religious Muslims. These movies were very popular.²⁴

2002-2013: New Approaches to Islam in Turkish Cinema

In 1994 the Turkish economy collapsed and the economy remained weak until after the elections of 2002. During this period, because of the economy, very few movies were made in Turkey. Most of the movies shown in Turkish theaters were American movies that did not include for the most part any reference to Islam or to religious Muslims.

In 1997 the Turkish army staged a non-violent coup against the religious government. Since the government was religious in nature, the coup brought to Turkey a secular government, a government that was once again anti-Islam, anti-Muslim. But, the army's imposition of a secular government generated a popular backlash. In 2002, then, the AK Party (Justice and Development Party) was swept into power. Once in power AK Party changed the rules in such a way that Recep Tayyip Erdoğan, who had been sent to prison and banned from politics, was able to become the Prime Minister of Turkey. With the election of Erdoğan, Turkey once again embraced its Islamic/Muslim cultural history.

Since 2002, Turkish cinema has grown considerably and it has become more sympathetic to Muslims and Islam. Filmmakers did not want to get into trouble with a government that was more accepting of religion and no longer emphasizing secularism.²⁵ As religion became more visible in society, filmmakers wanted to include religious people in their audiences and so they excluded the old stereo-types and negative images. As Turkey's religious consciousness grew, Turkish filmmakers had a new audience to which they could appeal. As well, the young Turkish filmmakers did not have a connection to the anti-Islamic films of the past, so they were quite willing to show Islam and Muslims in a positive light.²⁶ Given the new Turkish culture that emerged after 2002, Turkish cinema shifted course to keep up with cultural changes in the country.

Since 2002, there are four kinds of movies that make up the bulk of Turkish cinema. The first kind of film might be identified as overtly religious. These movies often tell the stories of religious figures. Since the focus of these movies is on religious figures, the movies express Islamic values.

An example of this kind of movie is *God's Faithful Servant, Barla* (Allah'in Sadık Kulu, Barla, 2011). This animated film tells the story of a famous Muslim scholar, Bediüzzaman Said Nursi (1878 – 1960). At a young age, Nursi received his education from the prestigious religious scholars of his hometown. He showed such a mastery of theology in religious debates that he was acclaimed by the religious scholars of his time. Because of his intelligence and ability to understand and debate religion, Nursi was given the name, "Bediüzzaman," which means "The most unique, superior person of the time."²⁷

Bediüzzaman was such a significant scholar and so influential, he was seen as a threat by the new leader of the Turkish Republic, Mustafa Kemal Atatürk. Although exiled, tortured, poisoned, and imprisoned, Nursi continued to share his ideas with the people of Turkey until his death.²⁸ His manuscripts were sent to disciples throughout Turkey and his books became best sellers and were read by millions of people. *God's Faithful Servant, Barla* is an animated biography of Nursi that shows him as a man who overcame many obstacles and who persevered in the teaching of Islam.

The second kind of movie is one that includes elements of Islam as part of everyday life in Turkey. These movies are not overtly religious, but they portray Turkey as an Islamic culture, and include a variety of elements of Islamic culture as part of the background of the front story.

One example is *Ice Cream, I Scream* (Dondurmam Gaymak, 2006). This film tells the story of Ali, who sells ice cream from his motorbike. Ali is fighting to keep his business alive in the face of severe competition from the big ice cream companies. When his motorbike is stolen, Ali believes that it was stolen by someone working for the big ice cream companies. The rest of the movie describes how Ali seeks justice from the big companies. The children who stole Ali's

motorbike are discovered, however, when they get sick from eating all of the ice cream. In the end, their parents must pay Ali money for the stolen ice cream and he does not press charges.

During the movie, we see an imam who teaches summer school in the mosque of the village. He teaches children about Islam and how to read the Quran, but does not take money for his teaching. The imam is portrayed as a nice person who contributes to the wellbeing of the village. He is a background character, but he is shown in a positive light.

And although some of the villagers are not religious, they show respect for Islam. The villagers are shown singing, playing instruments and drinking alcoholic beverages in front of a bar. But, when they hear azan (the call to prayer), they stop their partying and hide the alcohol under the table out of respect for azan. The villagers are background characters, but their daily life includes respect for Islam. Ali, the main character, also drinks alcoholic beverages, but he is also shown going to the Mosque to pray. Prayer is a part of his life, something that often would not have been shown in Turkish cinema in earlier periods.

The third kind of movie is the horror film. Because Turks do not believe in the kinds of characters that populate Western horror stories—zombies, vampires, Dracula, and so on—Turkish filmmakers have had to introduce their own horror characters and they do this by utilizing characters in their horror films, characters with which Muslims would be familiar.

Muslims are familiar, for example, with Jinn, ghostlike creatures that are very much like human beings, but which cannot be seen by the naked eye. Muslims believe that there are Jinn because the Quran says that they exist. There is even a surah named Jinn, also lending credibility to the existence of Jinn. Since Muslims believe in Jinn, Turkish filmmakers can use this invisible creature in their movies as a way of scaring people.

Turkish filmmakers also use the idea of a Dabbe in their movies. A Dabbe is a kind of beast that comes from the earth to speak to human beings. From the Surah an-Naml, verse 82. The Quran says: “When the word is fulfilled against them, we shall bring out for them a beast (Dabbe) from the earth, which will speak to them; because mankind has not believed certain of our signs.” A Dabbe is a “moving thing” that warns people to listen to the signs from God and punishes those who do not pay attention to the signs. Because the Dabbe punishes non-believers it is something to be feared and because it is to be feared it can be used in movies to frighten people.

Turkish filmmakers also use the idea of hell, which includes a special fire (saqar) that burns the skin and destroys people in a flash. Surah al Muddaththir, verses 27-29, the Quran says: “What will make you know exactly what is saqar? It spares nothing and nothing is left over. Burning the skins.” This makes hell a scary place and it can be used by filmmakers to frighten people. The Quran also includes references to A’raf, a place where people go that is between heaven and hell. While A’raf is not hell, it is still not a place that people want to go after they die. Everyone wants to go to heaven. The threat of going to A’raf is itself a scary idea.

Beast (Dabbe, 2006), *Smokeless Flame* (Semum, 2007)—n.b., The Jinn were created before time from smokeless flame— *Hell* (Cehennem, 2010), and *Araf* (Abortion, 2006) are good examples of horror or scary movies that utilize ideas with which Muslims are familiar. As used in the Quran, these ideas are not scary, but they have been adopted and often distorted by filmmakers for use in horror films in a way that is similar to the use of zombies, or vampires, or Dracula in Western films.

Finally, there are still some Marxist and left-wing movie makers who show Islam and Muslims in a negative light as a part of their political ideology. Most of these movies are not successful. After seeing movies in which Islam and Muslims are portrayed positively, most Turks are no longer drawn to directly anti-religious movies.

The most successful of the Marxist movies is *A Man's Fear of God* (Takva, 2006). Muharrem is a humble man and a devout Muslim. He lives a life of sexual abstinence and a life focused upon prayer. A Sufi Sheikh from Istanbul notices Muharrem's devotion and offers him an administrative position as manager of the seminary properties that bring in money for a school for orphans and poor children. Because of the new job, Muharrem finds himself in the modern world, a world with which he is entirely unfamiliar. Muharrem finds himself conflicted about alcohol, honesty, and even charity. He also finds that he is becoming dishonest, proud and self-centered, and domineering over others, all things he had never been before. An even more unnerving element of his new existence is the fact that he is tempted by the image of a woman in his dreams. As the focus of Muharrem's life changes, he begins to feel guilty. He tries to remain true to his faith, but it has become a struggle for him.

The Sheikh, in whom Muharrem has complete trust, is an example of how power corrupts. Although supposedly religious, the Sheikh still insists that rent be paid by everyone, even those who cannot afford it. Indeed, the Sheikh and other religious leaders are portrayed in the movie as greedy, dishonest, and hypocritical. While the movie does not include the Yeşilçam stereotypes, the movie's main idea, as the movie makers confess²⁹, is to show that people cannot be religious and participate in the society at large. If you want to be a religious person, you must stay at home and away from other people.³⁰

Conclusions

One might expect that movies in a Muslim country would portray Muslims in a positive light and show great respect for Islam. For historical and political reasons, however, Turkish cinema has sometimes shown Muslims and Islam in a negative light and has sometimes shown Muslims and Islam in a more favorable light.

With the establishment of the Turkish Republic in 1923, Turkey became a secular state and distanced itself from the old Ottoman Empire. Since religious Muslims and Islam were closely associated with the Ottoman Empire, the new Turkish state encouraged the Westernization of the country and looked unfavorably on religious Muslims and Islam. Part of Westernization was the use of Turkish cinema to show Islam and religious Muslims in a negative light, thereby explaining the establishment of the new state. From 1923 through 1939, Turkey had only one director supported by Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, the founder of the new republic, and that director was Muhsin Ertuğrul. Since Atatürk was interested in Westernizing and secularizing Turkey, Ertuğrul made movies that showed religious Muslims as ignorant, uneducated, and intolerant. He also made movies that showed Western values and culture in a favorable light.

In 1939, Muhsin Ertuğrul's one-man rule of Turkish cinema came to an end. This period spawned a group of new directors. Most of the new directors, however, followed the path established by Ertuğrul and they continued to show Islam and religious Muslims in a negative light. In 1950, Turkish cinema became more commercial. Commercial cinema often included a negative view of Islam and religious Muslims and also excluded Islamic practices from its stories. Commercial cinema, however, was not above using stories about prophets and saints and

the Ottoman's magnificent era for the sake of commercial success. The movements of Public Cinema and Milli Cinema also often depicted Islam in a positive light as an important part of Turkish culture.

In 2002, the political situation in Turkey changed, bringing with it a greater interest in Turkey's Islamic culture. The result is that most the directors of this era had no problem with Islam, so Islamic practices were often shown in movies and Islam was portrayed in a favorable light. Turkish cinema now includes overtly religious movies and movies that show Islamic practices as a part of daily life. But, Turkish cinema also includes the use of Islam in horror films and movies that continue to show Islam and religious Muslims in an unfavorable light.

At the time of this writing in 2014, there is a serious struggle for power in Turkey. We have no way of knowing what the future of Turkish politics will be. We do believe, however, that Turkish culture has accepted Islam and religious Muslims to such an extent that even if a new secular government were to take over the country, Turkish cinema would not revert back to attacks on Islam and religious Muslims. A balance now exists in Turkish culture between pro-Islamic and anti-Islamic cinema, and this will likely continue to be the case even with some changes to the political situation.

Notes

¹ See, for example, Tim Jon Semmerling, *"Evil" Arabs in American Popular Film: Orientalist Fear*, (Austin, University of Texas Press, 2006); Jack G. Shaheen, *Reel Bad Arabs: How Hollywood Vilifies a People*. (Northampton, MA: Olive Branch Press, 2001); and, Rubina Ramji, "From Navy Seals to The Siege: Getting to Know the Muslim Terrorist, Hollywood Style", *Journal Of Religion and Film*, 9, 2 (2005), accessed January 9, 2014 at <http://www.unomaha.edu/jrf/Vol9No2/RamjiIslam.htm>

² David Bordwell and Kristin Thompson, *Film Art: An Introduction*, (New York: The McGraw-Hill Companies Inc, 1997), p. 226.

³ Ayşe Osmanoğlu, *Babam Sultan Abdülhamit (Hatıralarım)*, (İstanbul: Selçuk, 1960) , p.75.

⁴ Burçak Evren, *Sigmund Weinberg: Türkiye'ye Sinemayı Getiren Adam*, (İstanbul: Milliyet, 1995), p. 33 ; Giovanni Scognamillo, *Türk Sinema Tarihi*, (İstanbul: Metis, 1987), V. I, p. 12.

⁵ Bilal Yorulmaz, “The Early Life Of Cinema In Turkey: Religious, Moral, And Social Problems Arising Between 1896-1923 And Solutions In The Light Of The Ottoman Archive Documents”, *Journal of Islamic Research*, 5, 1, 2012, pp. 186-209.

⁶ Nijat Özön, “Türk Sineması”, *Türk Dili*, Vol. 17, No. 196, (1968), s. 272.

⁷ Salih Diriklik, *Fleşbek- Türk Sinema-TV'sinde İslâmi Endişeler ve Çizgi Dışı Oluşumlar*, (İstanbul: Söğüt Ofset, 1995), V. 1, p.12

⁸ Alim Şerif Onaran, *Muhsin Ertuğrul Sineması*, (Ankara: Kültür Bakanlığı, 1981), pp.197-206.

⁹ Alim Şerif Onaran, *Türk Sineması*, V. 1, (Ankara: Kitle, 1999), p.30.

¹⁰ Some of the most well-known movies of this period include *Beautiful Coffee-Maker* (Kahveci Güzeli, 1939), *Freedom Apartment* (Hürriyet Apartmanı, 1944), *Koroğlu* (Koroğlu, 1945), *Dark Ways* (Karanlık Yollar, 1947), *Trap* (Tuzak, 1948) *Strike The Whore* (Vurun Kahpeye). Some of the most well-known directors of this period include Faruk Kenç, Şadan Kamil, Baha Gelenbevi, Aydın Arakon.

¹¹ Mesut Uçakan, *Türk Sinemasında İdeoloji*, (İstanbul: Düşünce, 1977), p.19.

¹² Some of the well-known examples are *A Nation is Awakening* (Bir Millet Uyanıyor, 1966), *Silly Millionaire* (Salak Milyoner, 1974), *Broke Landlord* (Züğürt Ağa, 1985)

¹³ Mehmet Akif Enderun, *Beyaz Perdenin Din Algısı*, (İstanbul: Işık, 2013), p.131

¹⁴ Some of the well-known examples are *Cow Şaban* (İnek Şaban, 1978), *Our Hope Şaban* (Umudumuz Şaban, 1979), *Silly Şaban* (Gerzek Şaban), *The Biggest Şaban* (En Büyük Şaban, 1983), *Average Şaban* (Ortadirek Şaban, 1984). For more information see: Bilal Yorulmaz, “Bir Yaygın Din Eğitimi Aracı Olarak Sinema”, *Yaygın Din Eğitimi Sempozyumu*, Ankara 2012, pp. 159-160.

¹⁵ Some of the well-known historical movies are *The Son of Battalgazi* (Battalgazi'nin Oğlu, 1974), *Kılıçarslan* (Kılıçarslan, 1975), *Black Murat* (Kara Murat, 1977), *Kings Are Fighting* (Hakanlar Çarpışıyor, 1977).

¹⁶ Bilal Yorulmaz, *Sinema ve Din Eğitimi*(İstanbul: Işık Akademi, 2010), pp. 93-95

¹⁷ Some of the well-known examples are *The Life of Joseph* (Hz. Yusuf'un Hayatı, 1965), *Ali: The Lion of Allah* (Allah'ın Arslanı Hz. Ali, 1969), *Abraham* (Hz. İbrahim, 1972), *Rabia* (Rabia, 1973), *The Fairness of Khaliph Omar* (Hz. Ömer'in Adaleti, 1973)

¹⁸ Some of the well-known examples are *The Revenge of The Snakes* (Yılanların Öcü, 1962), *Drought Summer* (Susuz Yaz, 1963), *Unceasing Way* (Bitmeyen Yol, 1965), *Four Woman At Hareem* (Harem'de Dört Kadın, 1965)

¹⁹ Mesut Uçakan, *Türk Sinemasında İdeoloji*, p. 36

²⁰ Some of the well-known Public Cinema movies are *Mother* (Ana, 1967), *I Fell in Love With A Turkish* (Bir Türk'e Gönül Verdim, 1967), *Sister Fatma* (Fatma Bacı, 1972).

²¹ Black, G. D. (1997), *The Catholic Crusade Against the Movies, 1940—1975*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

²² Giovanni Scognamillo, *Türk Sinema Tarihi*, (İstanbul: Metis, 1987) V. II., p. 33. and Salih Diriklik, *Fleşbek- Türk Sinema-TV'sinde İslâmi Endişeler ve Çizgi Dışı Oluşumlar*, p. 94

²³ Some of the well-known erotic movies of this period include *Sex Storm* (Seks Fırtınası, 1971), *Rasor Kazım* (Jilet Kazım, 1971), *Katherina 92* (Katherina 92, 1972), *Five Chick One Rooster* (Beş Tavuk Bir Horoz, 1974).

²⁴ Some of the well-known Milli Cinema movies include *Merging Ways* (Birleşen Yollar, 1971), *Mr. Judge* (Reis Bey, 1989), *Abdullah From Minye* (Minyeli Abdullah, 1990), *You Are Not Alone* (Yalnız Değilsiniz, 1990), *The Exile* (Sürgün, 1992), *The Boot* (Çizme, 1991).

²⁵ Ayşe Pay, “Takva’ya Takvadan Yoksun İmaj”, *Hayal Perdesi*, No. 11, (2007), p.30.

²⁶ Private Interview with İhsan Kabil, 3 August 2013.

²⁷ World Heritage Encyclopedia, “Said Nursi”, http://www.worldheritage.org/articles/Said_Nursi

²⁸ Alparslan Açıkgenç, “Said Nursi”, *Diyanet İslam Ansiklopedisi*, Vol. 35, p. 565-572.

²⁹ Hilmi Orhan, “Takva”, <http://www.zaferdergisi.com/makale-2220-takva.html>

³⁰ There are some Turkish filmmakers, such as Fatih Akin (Germany) and Ferzan Özpetek (Italy), who live and work outside of Turkey. Only a few of their movies, however, are well known in Turkey. Many of their films are made for Italian and German audiences and would not count as Turkish cinema. For those few movies by these directors that are known in Turkey, both directors have a Westernized view of Turkey and Islam that fits with other Turkish films that portray Islam in a negative light. Some of Akin’s well know movies are *Head On* (Gegen die Wand, 2004) and *The Edge of Heaven* (Auf der anderen Seite, 2007). Some of Özpetek’s well know movies are *Steam: The Turkish Bath* (Hamam, 1997) and *Harem* (Harem Suare, 1999)

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