

A Cultural Analysis in The Context of Karl Marx's Political Economy and Max Weber's Sociology of Religion: Takva

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ABSTRACT

The subject of religion in Turkish cinema has been handled with different dimensions from the past to the present and has been one of the most important main materials of our cinema in every period. The 2006 film Takva stands at a different point in terms of dealing with religion in a realistic way in terms of economy and politics. Movies are visual products in terms of their narrative structure, and the ideological messages they want to convey are conveyed largely through images. This study consists of two parts. In the first part of the study, the analysis of the movie Takva according to Greimas' Acting Example was made. In this context, subject-object opposition on the will axis, sender-receiver opposition on the communication axis, and auxiliary-blocker opposition on the power axis are put forward. It has been tried to explain how the meaning is constructed by revealing the syntactic and serial elements in the film. In the second part of the study, an ideological analysis was made in the context of Karl Marx's political economy and Max Weber's sociology of religion. It has been tried to explain the ideologies underlying the syntactic and serial elements of the film.

Keywords: Taqwa, Religion, Karl Marx, Max Weber, Political Economy, Turkish Cinema.

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Introduction

The phenomenon of religion has always had an important place in the lives of individuals and societies from past to present. It has never been only a belief system that has become an indispensable element of daily life, but has also shaped economic, cultural and political relations. Although religion has been experienced under different names and in different forms in both eastern and western cultures from past to present, it has become a cultural phenomenon that holds societies together and has become a kind of management system. Unable to analyze the limits of nature and the power of the creator, human beings have managed their lives according to certain beliefs arising from higher powers. Although religion has been a force that has kept societies together throughout history, at times it has created chaos in society and caused wars, which in turn led to destruction and disintegration.

Religion is the totality of the moral system that human beings have believed in for centuries. This moral system varies according to region and culture (Velioglu, 2004, p.9). Religion, which is a kind of belief system, contains certain practices within itself. According to Durkheim, religion is an intricate system consisting of myths, dogmas and rituals. It consists of two separate phenomena: beliefs and rituals. He states that in all religions people classify reality or imagination as sacred and profane (Durkheim, 2005, pp.55-56).

This study aims to reveal the political economy aspect of religion in Islam through Karl Marx's understanding of religion. By comparing Weber's Protestant work ethic with the work ethic of Islam, it is tried to analyze capitalism through dervish lodges, sects and religion in the context of the movie Takva. For this purpose, the study consists of two stages. In the first part of the study, according to Greimas's Agentive Sampler, subject-object opposition on the axis of volition, sender-receiver opposition on the axis of communication, and helper-inhibitor opposition on the axis of power in the movie Takva were revealed. In the second part of the study, an ideological analysis was made in the context of Karl Marx's political economy and Max Weber's sociology of religion, and the ideologies underlying the syntactic and sequential elements of the film were explained and discussed.

Religion and Society

Karl Marx's and Max Weber's Understanding of Religion

Karl Marx approached religion not in a systematic way, but in a materialist way. According to him, the religious world is just a reflection of the real world. It is man who constructs religion. According to him, all religions are nothing but a fantastic reflection created to control the human mind. Marx defines religion as "the heart of a heartless world". People take refuge in religion from the cruelty of the world. Marx argues that religion legitimizes the domination of certain classes. It is a kind of opium that commands people to be docile and obey their masters. According to Marx, since religion portrays happiness as a blessing to be experienced in the next world, people become docile and do not oppose the injustices of this world (Bozkurt, 2012, p. 245).

According to Marx, religion was an expression of man's distorted self-consciousness, not as an abstract individual but as a social man. He claimed that religion distorted human existence and thus society. According to Marx, religion was "the heart of a heartless world." He therefore described religion as a kind of painkiller and the opium of the masses. He believed that in order for people to reach the path to true happiness, they had to restrain themselves from craving this opium (Bottomere, 1993, p.137). The characterization of religion as opium is not the use of religion by the upper class to lull the lower class to sleep, but a deception they use to stay on the surface of things. Marx says that from the moment one realizes the deceptions in religion, the necessity of abolishing the conditions to which one is devoted and enslaved comes with it. This abolition will be realized by the proletariat not only in the religious dimension but also in the social, economic and political context (Bozkurt, 2012, p.246).

According to Max Weber's understanding of religion, religion is not only a phenomenon that ensures social integration, but also a means of social change. According to Weber, the primary purpose of

religion is to make sense of human existence. Religion creates certain truths to explain human existence. Over time, these created truths become worldviews and affect the lives of individuals. Individuals, who are members of society, begin to design the society they live in in the way they envision as real (Bozkurt, 2012, p.248).

Because of Weber's views that religious life shapes economic behavior patterns, some have seen him in opposition to Karl Marx. However, Weber differs from Marx in terms of his method of explanation and stands in a different place from Marx's view that superstructural institutions shape and are a kind of reflection of the infrastructure, which refers to the economy and the means of production. According to Weber, religious beliefs shape the economy. For this reason, he establishes a link between the Protestant ethic, whose roots date back to the 16th century, and capitalism. Accordingly, he stated that a faithful Calvinist and Puritan adopts to work with God's commandments and that this is the means of religious purification, and therefore a means of worldliness, and therefore the carrier of the capitalist spirit (Kurt, 2010, p.4).

Weber's Comparison of Islamic Business Ethics against Protestant Business Ethics

Weber says that religion plays an important role in the development of societies. He emphasizes that only the Protestant sect can provide this development. In fact, although phenomena such as work and effort existed in the pre-Islamic period, they were recommended to Muslims with Islam and became a religion (Ustaahmetoğlu, 2019, p.231).

It is possible to say that Weber's propositions and Islamic teaching have similarities in terms of advising the individual to think. Weber does not classify the products to be produced or consumed in his teaching. Islam, on the other hand, commands that both production and consumption should be clean and halal. Both Weber's and Islam's teachings say that capital and production purposes should not sit idle on the sidelines. Whereas Weber considers any kind of gain to be a value, Islam enjoins only that which is halal and free from ill-gotten gains. Eating the rights of others, i.e. servant's rights, is also one of Islam's greatest sins. Whereas Weber says that pleasure should be avoided and the focus should be on being in a constant state of production, Islam encourages people to have fun, to be happy, to enjoy themselves in halal ways and characterizes these as opportunities for the servant to reach Allah. Weber says that as people tend to work, they become more worldly and tend to move away from religion. Islam, on the other hand, encourages work, sees it as valuable, but does not allow people to become worldly. It says that one should stay away from worldly goods and worldly affairs and work for the other world (Ustaahmetoğlu, 2019, p.237).

Weber's views on consumption have more conservative characteristics. According to Weber, capitalism turns the individual into a slave of money and commodity. Islam, on the other hand, prioritizes the welfare of the individual over the commodity and tries to create a consciousness of needing less (Ustaahmetoğlu, 2019, p.246). The economic life recommended by Islam is that the earnings should be earned in halal ways and spent in halal ways, and thus the person should not be worldly. Weber's views in *The Spirit of Capitalism and Protestant Ethics*, on the other hand, state that man exists for money and the economic system. According to his views, which he defines as the Protestant work ethic, increasing the welfare of the individual is at the forefront. In Islam, on the other hand, it is advised to prioritize the welfare of society. In this context, it is advised that balance and integrity should be ensured between economic institutions in trade, and that works that benefit society should be done (Ustaahmetoğlu, 2019, pp.246-247).

Religion and Order

Tariqa literally means the path, the method followed, the profession, the work done. According to the Sufi belief, it means a path with its own rules, which is entered in order to gain the pleasure of Allah and to worship as if seeing Allah. It also has meanings such as the spiritual journey that a person makes in order to have morals with the exemplary morals of the Prophet Muhammad (PBUH) (Presidency of Religious Affairs, 2009, pp. 350-351). Orders emerged with the organization of Sufism in Islam and it is

believed that orders are one of the ways to God (Ülken, 1969, p.284).

Dergâh, on the other hand, literally means door, threshold, place of refuge, authority, tekke, zawiya, hankâh. It is a place where the sheikh of a sect and the dervishes belonging to that sect gather and receive education by developing themselves scientifically and spiritually (Presidency of Religious Affairs, 2009, p: 59), and where the representatives of the sect perform dhikr and rituals (Ülken, 1969, p.385). Sheikh literally means master, teacher, scholar.

In Sufism, a person who helps to show the right path, gives information, presides over the dervishes who are engaged in worship in a tekke or lodge in order to educate them morally and inform them on various religious issues, is the piri of the order, the murshid (Presidency of Religious Affairs, 2009, p.341).

Individuals embrace religion in times that surround the human mind and when the human mind cannot penetrate. At the point that leads people to the truths of the universe, tariqas have undertaken a mission with the disciplines of “zuhd” , “vera” and “taqwa” in reaching Allah, the creator of truths. With modernism's rejection of what is related to religion and posmodernism's liquidation of the metanarrative and the normative attitude of the capitalist economic system, orders have produced some reactions (Taş & Güvendi, 2021, p.2). In our country, orders faced some reforms during the Tanzimat and Constitutional Monarchy periods. With the transition to the Republican regime, some interventions were made in the sects with the aim of reaching the level of contemporary civilizations and attempts to create a modern nation. In the early periods of the Republic of Turkey, the design of a modern and contemporary life was legitimized by law (Taş & Güvendi, 2021, p.3).

Within this framework, the “Law No. 677 on the Closure of Dervish Lodges and Lodges” enacted in 1925 is considered to be the beginning of developments that paved the way for important structural changes in the religious and social sphere, signaling that the state no longer needed the alliance of the sects and that the relationship based on mutual compliments was abandoned. With this law, it was decided to close down all lodges and dervish lodges operating under the office of a sheikh, either as a foundation or as a property, and to abolish titles and titles such as sheikhship, dervishhood, discipleship, grandfatherhood, seyitlik, çelebilik, babalık, emirship, witchcraft and nüshacılık (Law No. 677 dated 30/11/1925 on the Restriction of Lodges and Dervish Lodges and Tombs and the Ban and Relief of Turbearers and Certain Titles).

The Concept of Heaven and Hell

In celestial religions, paradise is envisioned as a realm where individuals will reach eternal happiness after death (Ülken, 1969, p.56). Accordingly, everything in the world was created by a being with superhuman power, and within this system, humans have no right to have a say or the chance to change it. This spiritual being has ordered the individual to lead a good and moral life in the world, and those who do good are heralded to go to heaven, while those who do evil are feared to go to hell and suffer punishment (Cevizci, 1999, p.242). In religions with the idea of the afterlife, the place where the individual will suffer torment is designed as hell (Ülken, 1969, p.55).

In Islam, the belief in the hereafter means the place to go after death, the afterlife. Believing in the afterlife and the Day of Judgment is one of the conditions of Islam. The concepts of heaven and hell have found a place in almost all religions and beliefs. Accordingly, it is believed that heaven is the place where good people will go after death and hell is the place where bad people will go after death (Velioglu, 2004, p.69). According to the belief in Islam, people who die do not immediately go to heaven or hell. According to the belief in the apocalypse, those who die wait for the day of judgment. When the day of judgment comes after the world has fallen apart, the dead will be judged and will appear before Allah to give an account of the good and evil they did while they were mortal. After being judged on the Day of Judgment, those who commit sins will go to hell, while those who obey God's commands and live in goodness will go to heaven (Hançerlioğlu, 1984, p.252).

The actions of people who do not comply with religious requirements and engage in religiously bad

behavior are defined by the concept of sin. On the other hand, good deeds are the name given to good behaviors in contrast to this situation. The places called heaven and hell are the eternal places where the person will go after the day of judgment according to the behaviors they have done. It is believed that people will be sent to these places after their good and bad behaviors in mortality are evaluated and passed through a kind of reward-punishment mechanism. Therefore, religions theoretically scare individuals with burning in hell in order to keep them away from bad behaviors (Velioglu, 2017, pp.136-137).

Marx and Weber's Understanding of Capitalism

According to Karl Marx, capitalism is a mode of production in which the basic means of production is capital. Money or credit to buy labor power or materials of production is defined as capital. In a narrower sense, capital is defined as stocks of finished or unfinished goods. When viewed as a mode of production according to the form that capital takes, the most fundamental characteristic of capitalism is that capital is in the hands of a proprietary class (Bottomere, 1993, p.321). Capitalism is an economic system in which production and distribution processes are divided into two classes depending on the market mechanism. It is based on property relations and interest. It is an economic order in which those who hold the means of production also hold the power. It is based on interest relations. It brings along industrialization and urbanization (Ülken, 1969, p.165).

Capitalism is a system of production centered on the relationship between private capital ownership and propertyless wage labor and forms the basis of the class system. It is accepted that capitalist societies are a sub-type of modern societies. (Giddens, 2020, p.60). According to Wallerstein (1983), contrary to popular belief, capitalism was not a concept related to nation-states, but an 'isolated' concept related to the world economy (p.119). This isolation is related to the isolation of the economy from politics on the basis of capitalism's labor and product markets. The isolation of politics and economy from each other is based on the dominant place of private property in the means of production (Giddens, 2020, pp.61-63). According to him, capital did not allow national borders to determine its goals. Capitalism is an economic rather than a political order and has a globalizing effect (Wallerstein, p.145). Although it is an economic order, capitalism is more than an economic order, it is the transformation of political power into economic relations (Ritzer, 2011, pp.167-168). According to Marx, capitalism will collapse at the end of the class struggle and this will be called the final collapse. Although this situation is envisioned in some religions with concepts such as "Dajjâl" and "afterlife", Marx presented it as the ideal of the proletariat (Ülken, 1969, p.262).

Weber divides capitalism into two as "political capitalism" and "modern capitalism". Political capitalism is divided into five different headings: "Imperialist capitalism", "colonial capitalism", "adventurous and predatory capitalism", "taxation capitalism" and "pariah capitalism". According to him, the process of economic development emerges in the West as modern capitalism. Modern capitalism emerged as a fruit of the capitalist economic order (Torun, 2008, p. 16). According to Weber, economic and organizational factors are as important as religious motivations in the rise of capitalism (Smith & Riley, 2016, p.35).

According to orthodox Marxism, the behavior of individuals is influenced by the economic and social conditions of the societies in which they live. Marxism is shaped within the framework of models such as capitalism, socialism and communism that emerged in the historical process of human existence. Therefore, human beings do not have the chance to choose the social class in which they will be born. Their character, worldview and behavior are shaped by the social and economic conditions in which they are born (Cevizci, 1999, p.140).

According to Weber, economic relations have affected Protestantism. These effects have also spread to religions or schools of thought such as Hinduism, Confucianism and Taoism. Religious thought systems have affected and revealed the thoughts and actions of individuals, and more specific economic thoughts and actions. These religious thought systems have begun to be effective on a global scale (Ritzer, 2011,

pp.255-256). Weber says that the foundations of capitalism as we know it today are derived from religion. The power at the core of Weber's theory comes from Protestantism. It is especially provided by Puritanism, a type of Protestantism. Most of the first capitalists were Puritans and adopted the Calvinist view. Weber claimed that Calvinist principles were the main source of the capitalist spirit. One of these principles was the idea that man is God's vehicle on earth and that it is deemed necessary by the Almighty that he work in a civil service as a wise man - a profession in order to be more praised and glorified by God (Giddens, 2012, pp.139-140).

The capitalist order creates a series of inequalities in society. Religion is used ideologically to legitimize these inequalities in society. In this way, the minds of the masses are governed. When we look at it from an Islamic perspective, religion aims to create a common identity by offering individuals a political identity. It tells them who they are or who they are not. It achieves this by distinguishing between "us" and "them." While they position themselves as "normal" and "what should be," they position the other as "deviant" and "who needs to be fought." Thus, it presents a moral understanding that gives the impression that any kind of struggle against rivals is legitimate (Cindoruk quoted by: Yaylagül, pp.43-44).

Turkish Cinema and Religion

The concept of religion and clergy is one of the frequently discussed topics in Turkish Cinema. Turkish society is a society that mostly tends to learn its religion through clergy that it believes to be highly knowledgeable and scientific. Since it is a society that learns its religion by listening to people it considers competent, the concept of clergy has been a situation that has been reflected in Turkish cinema throughout history (Karakaya, 2018, p.64). In the early periods of Turkish cinema history, clergy types were mostly represented as those who conflicted with the intellectual segment of the public, took advantage of the public's ignorance, were representatives of the old, and dragged society into darkness (Karakaya, 2016, p.62). In this context, religious figures have gone beyond being a concept within the sociological structure and have emerged as sheikhs, sect leaders, jinnists or talisman masters that the public follows. In this context, religious figures are people to whom certain special talents are attributed by the public. The religious officials appointed by the state to religious institutions are mostly excluded from these definitions. When we look at Turkish films, the types of religious figures such as jinnists, sorcerers or talisman makers are highlighted (Karakaya, 2018, p.64). In this context, it is possible to see three types of religious figures in Turkish Cinema from the past to the present. These are as follows (Yenen, 2018, p.289):

A. The Outcast Clergyman Type: The clergyman type represented especially in films about the War of Independence, with the influence of cultural modernization between 1922-1960.

B. The Narrowed Clergyman Type: The clergyman type represented as the corrupt character of traditional state piety according to the movement, genre and director in cinema between 1960-2000.

C. The Accepted/Modern Clergyman Type: The clergyman type that has been accepted in social life since the 2000s and is represented as a realistic actor in social life.

Throughout the history of Turkish cinema, although the clergy types were exhibited in an excluded and narrowed way until the 2000s, they have been replaced by more factual and realistic representations of social life in Turkish cinema after 2000. Although traditional imam types have occasionally come to the fore, they have taken their place as social reality in the cinematographic sense. In this context, in Turkish films after 2000, clergy types appear as bigoted imams, traditional imams and modern imams (Yenen, 2018, pp.293-301). In the 2006 film *Takva*, the dervish leader Sheikh character fits the traditional imam definition in the context of these definitions.

Methods

Movies, like other mass media products, are the most effective communication works that aim for artistic expression and entertainment, mediate the transfer of intercultural information and motivate

individuals in terms of the construction of social roles. Considering that humans are more prone to learning visually and that cinema is a powerful communication tool in terms of documentary, it can be said that cinema has an important place in writing social history. Therefore, these features make cinema important as an artistic and communication tool. Parallel to this situation, film criticism has also become important. It has become possible to analyze periods historically, sociologically, psychologically and economically by watching movies. (Özden, 2004, pp.58-59) In this sense, Marxist criticism, which is a sociological and ideological film review method, also comes to the fore (Özden, 2004, p.156). Films, which are products of the media industry, have hegemonic power over the segment that does not have capital power in the modern capitalist system (Ryan, 2014, p.219). According to Marxism, which is also a sociological and historical theory, society is governed by the class that holds the means of production and the ideology of that class. The first thinker to present a critical examination of modern economic life was Karl Marx (Ryan, 2013, p.97). In order to describe and explain the ideological and economic dimensions of the texts, the film *Takva* was examined with the Marxist analysis method in this study. In order to more clearly reveal the economic political dimension of Islam and the effect of dervish lodges on individuals' religious beliefs, the Marxist critical method was used.

Narrative in a movie, in its broadest sense, is how the story is told to the audience and in which elements the meaning is designed in the mind of the audience. In every narrative, there are indispensable basic elements such as time, space, characters, actions, events, conflict, cause-effect relationship, the position of the narrator and the position of the audience (Yaren, 2013, p.167).

Cinema is a type of narrative form. Narratives have the feature of naturalizing life. The source of this naturalness stems from their structural characteristics. Structuralism is based on Vladimir Propp's studies on the morphology of fairy tales in the 1990s (Propp, 1990) and Claude Levi Strauss's studies on myths in the 1950s (Strauss, 2013). Their methods have also been used in cinema studies. The structuralist approach is an approach that uses methods and ideas belonging to linguistics, focuses on culture and cinema, and examines the structures underlying narratives (Ryan, 2012, p.199). Structuralist criticism accomplishes this by examining visual elements. Films are also narrative products consisting of signs (Ryan, 2012, p. 200). In classical narrative, there is a chain order in the form of order/disruption of order/reestablishment of order or order/problem/solution (Hayward, 2012, p.308). This type of narrative structure is also present in the film *Takva*. The established order at the beginning of the film is disrupted when the main character Muharrem is assigned to collect the revenues of the lodge he is affiliated with. At the end of the film, Muharrem loses his mental balance because the economic and political structure of the lodge disrupts his spiritual balance.

Results

Subtitles

Summary of the Film

The film tells the story of Muharrem, who is devoted to his religious beliefs and lives his daily life within the framework of his religious beliefs. Muharrem lives alone in his family home in Süleymaniye. He has been working in the sack shop run by his father's friend's son Ali Bey since his childhood. When not at work, he participates in the dhikr rituals of the order he is affiliated with. Muharrem is single and has no sexual life. He suppresses his sexual instincts due to his religious thoughts and sees sexuality as a situation that leads a person away from religion and pushes him towards perversion. These suppressed instincts come out in his dreams. Muharrem lives to gain Allah's approval and does not get involved in what is forbidden. Being an honest person soon attracts the attention of the sheikh of the lodge he is affiliated with, and the sheikh assigns Muharrem, who is affiliated with the order, to collect the rental income of houses and workplaces and to do the maintenance and repair of real estate. In this way, he also sees the economic side of the lodge that he is only affiliated with for his religious practices and becomes involved in it. From that moment on, everything in Muharrem's life begins to change. A room is arranged for Muharrem in the lodge, a car with a driver is provided for his transportation. He is given

suits, fountain pens and Oltu stone prayer beads. As some of the economic power of the lodge falls into his hands and his living conditions change, Muharrem's perspective on the world also begins to change. He cannot maintain the balance between his previous simple life and the opportunities that the new life offers him. Muharrem did everything he did before with the fear of Allah and the love he felt for Him. Muharrem, who lives a life quite distant from worldly affairs, falls into a deadlock and becomes depressed because he cannot grasp the economic and political aspect of religion. He begins to become aggressive and interfere in the affairs of the people around him. While he was a poor and insignificant person, his sudden involvement in the financial affairs of the lodge brought him power, respect and position. He is given the right, good, beautiful, good deeds, sins, piety, etc. Whatever is taught as, all these values and meanings in his new life begin to contradict each other. Everything he did to be close to Allah and gain His consent has been turned upside down. Muharrem, who had avoided forbidden things until that day, does all kinds of things that he used to consider as sins, such as eating forbidden things and lying, after getting involved in the economic affairs of the order, and his fears begin. Thinking that he will go to hell because of the sins he has committed, he begins to live hell in this world.

Film Characters and Places

The characters of the movie *Takva* are described below in terms of their positions in the plot, characteristic features and relationships with each other:

Muharrem: Muharrem, the main character of the movie, is someone who has no interest in worldly affairs until he is assigned by the lodge and spends his time trying to gain Allah's consent. After he starts to deal with the economic affairs of the lodge, he becomes depressed because he fears that he will go to hell because of the sins he has committed. Muharrem, who leaves his modest neighborhood to collect the income of the order, encounters the cosmopolitan structure of Istanbul and discovers that there is a world outside that he has never known before. Uncovered women, people drinking during the day, luxurious lives, beautiful and well-groomed women trigger his sexuality that he tries to suppress, and Muharrem begins to experience a depression within himself. **Sheikh:** He is the sheikh of the lodge that Muharrem is a member of. His relationship with Muharrem is hierarchical in terms of religion and economy. He is seen as a great and opinion leader by the lodge members. He says that he does worldly work for religious purposes such as giving religious education to the youth in the lodge and providing them with shelter and food. He says that everything he does towards his disciples is done to gain the consent of Allah, thus legitimizing all his behavior. His relationship with Muharrem progresses in the context of the lodge's economic affairs, and he convinces him by not paying him any price for the work he does and saying that what he does is in the way of Allah. Because he is married and has children, he lives his sexuality in a heterosexual manner. He withdraws from the dervish lodge affairs by entering a 40-day seclusion. He is in a guiding position for Muharrem. Since individuals see the lodges as intermediary institutions on the path of Allah, it can be said that Muharrem lives his religious belief through the sheikh and consults the sheikh in order to gain Allah's approval.

Rauf (Sheikh's Assistant): He is the person who is consulted after the sheikh in the lodge and the sheikh's right-hand man. He mostly performs the dhikr rituals alongside the sheikh. He is responsible for ensuring the relations between the sheikh and the congregation. Although he actually manages the lodge's affairs, he seemingly portrays an image of having neither economic nor institutional responsibility. He is cunning and opportunistic. He is assigned by the sheikh to guide Muharrem in situations where his knowledge and experience are insufficient.

Ali Bey (Muharrem's boss): Ali Bey sells sacks in an old inn, running the shop inherited from his father. He both makes Muharrem run errands and entrusts the shop to Muharrem when he is not there. Although he does not directly participate in the dhikr rituals, he respects and shows loyalty to the Sheikh and the lodge. When the Sheikh talks to him and asks Muharrem to work half a day, he accepts. In order for the work to go smoothly, he takes on a young Bosnian immigrant as an apprentice to Muharrem. Since he pays his alms and zakat, he considers everything permissible in trade. He sees the extra money

Muharrem receives from the contractor as halal. Although he seems religious, his hypocritical beliefs in trade are based on a pragmatic background.

Erol (Contractor): He sees that in order to do business, he needs to establish close relations with the lodge and therefore approaches Muharrem. Although he does not need it, he buys a large amount of sacks from Muharrem by paying cash. Muharrem tells the price of the sack, which costs 3 billion, as 9 billion. He tells his boss Ali Bey that he got 7 billion and confiscates 2 billion, but he feels guilty. The next day, Erol brings two more contractor friends and wants to buy the sack. Muharrem tells the same lie once more and confiscates some of the money again. His lies, which grow like a snowball, cause Muharrem's balance to be disrupted.

Sheikh's Daughter: The woman Muharrem sees in his dreams and makes love with. Muharrem does not know who she is. When he learns that this attractive and seductive woman in his dreams is actually veiled and the Sheikh's daughter, he collapses at the door of the lodge. The Sheikh's daughter is a respectful and veiled girl due to her religious beliefs and upbringing. She is in a passive position in the film. The girl, who lives in accordance with her religious beliefs, obeys her father.

Muharrem's Apprentice (Muhittin) and Çaycı's Apprentice: Two young people, one from Bosnia and the other Turkish, are more pragmatic, more realistic, more up-to-date and real-life types. The tea maker's apprentice is aware that life is a struggle to make ends meet, but he doesn't have much to do. Muhittin, on the other hand, has lived through the Bosnian War. His parents are there. His only goal is to help his parents and the people there. That's why he collects money with other immigrants. He is aware that he can't get anywhere just by praying, and he strives to do something. These side characters, as living historical people, help to express the dilemma Muharrem is experiencing.

Narrative Structure in the Film Takva

Syntactic Analysis of the Film

This section of the conflict aims to describe the story and narrative structure of the film Takva. Within this framework, the film will be examined in 5 stages according to the Syntactic Analysis: the beginning stage, the transformative stage, the series of actions, the balancing and regulating situation and the ending stage.

Phase 1 - The Beginning Stage: Muharrem Entering the Lodge to Do the Economic Affairs of the Lodge

The film begins with the image of the main character Muharrem performing ablution and performing the morning prayer at home. After performing the morning prayer and praying, Muharrem then goes to his workplace. He does the work that his boss Ali Bey asks of him. In the evening, he goes to the lodge he is affiliated with and participates in the dhikr rituals. In this sequence at the opening of the film, we see what kind of person the main character is in his individual life, who he is in contact with in his business life, his social position, and in the lodge and dhikr scene, the source of his religious beliefs and how he forms and lives these beliefs. This stage is the stage where we get to know the main character of the film, his environment, the filmic setting and the other characters of the film.

Phase 2 - Transformative Phase: Muharrem's Environment Changes as He Enters the Lodge

In this phase of the film, transformative events occur where the story nodes and conflicts begin. The sheikh of the lodge, together with his right-hand man Rauf, asks Muharrem to collect the rents of the lodge's real estate. They also talk to Muharrem's boss, Ali Bey, and ask him to give him the afternoon off. Although Muharrem hesitates, he considers himself lucky because these collected rents will be spent on the path of Allah and, upon Rauf's suggestion, he moves from the house where he lives alone to a room in the lodge. Rauf gives Muharrem new clothes, pens, prayer beads and a car with a driver to use in collecting the rents. Because Muharrem, who works on the path of Allah, must live according to this

order. He is told that he should not be late and that there is not even a single minute to be wasted on the path of Allah.

Muharrem, who is modest, free from worldly affairs and lives only to gain Allah's approval, suddenly has his whole life changed. He has taken on a modern appearance by shaving his beard and starting to wear a suit. In the words of Rauf or Ali Bey, "his shape has improved." Even his posture has changed and he has become more upright. The change in Muharrem is first seen in the increase in the respect he receives from those around him. First, his boss, Ali Bey, stops asking Muharrem to bring him coffee in the sack shop and hires a new apprentice to help Muharrem.

Muharrem now goes to the sack shop in the mornings and deals with the work of the lodge in the afternoons. He leaves his neighborhood in Süleymaniye, which he has never left before, and encounters the cosmopolitan structure of Istanbul. He sees that there is a world outside his own small world and that the people living in this world do not live the way he lives to earn Allah's approval. Although he initially thought that only the people of the world outside of his own lived this way, he encounters the economic and political face of the lodge when he sees that the lodge he is affiliated with also charges rent from people who drink alcohol, live without covering themselves, or violate the rights of others.

Phase 3 - Series of Actions - The Beginning of Disruptive Events: Muharrem Questioning His Religious Values and Himself

This phase is the phase between the beginning and the end of the film, where conflicts and crises are revealed. Muharrem's world also begins to change as he becomes the external representative and visible face of the lodge's economic affairs. Contrary to what he knows, he sees that Istanbul has a completely different face and realizes that most people do not live by fulfilling their religious duties like he does. He sees that people drink alcohol, women do not cover themselves and people easily commit sins. He sees that the members of the lodge where he lives his religion easily violate the rights of others and commit sins when it comes to economic relations and interests. Muharrem is told that if these behaviors are done for the lodge, they are done "in the way of Allah" and that they are not considered sins. All these events lead Muharrem to an inner impasse.

Contrary to Muharrem's belief, when religion and economic interests mix, the values he knows begin to turn upside down. Everything he previously condemned and considered sinful begins to be done when he enters the lodge. When the society places him in a respectable position and the opportunities he has at his disposal combine, he easily makes mistakes, lies and violates the rights of others.

Phase 4 - The Balancing and Regulating Element: Muharrem's Balance is Disrupted

Muharrem has now learned the lodge's procedures thoroughly and has begun to manage the lodge's financial affairs by trying to suppress his guilty conscience. Contractor Erol comes to Muharrem and buys a sack, even though he doesn't need it to run his own business. This is the scene where the events that disrupt Muharrem's balance escalate. Muharrem begins to feel guilty when he accidentally takes three times the amount of money from Erol. A few days later, Erol arrives with two more friends. They don't need the sack either, but in order to be closer to Muharrem and therefore the lodge, they buy a sack from Muharrem, and although Muharrem doesn't want it, he sells the sack to both of these contractors for three times the amount and cannot go back on the lie he told.

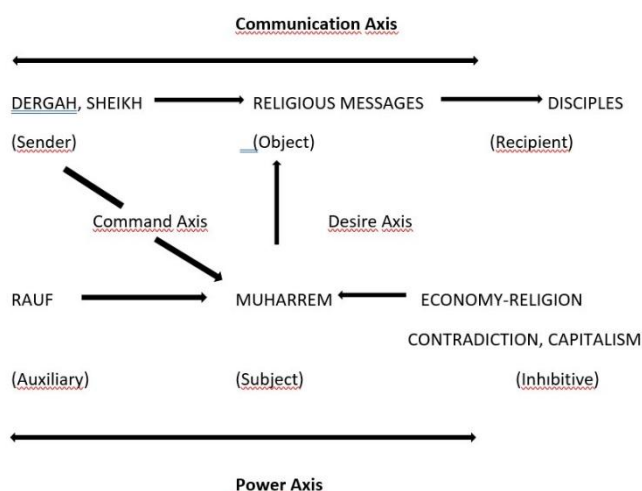
Muharrem thinks he has committed a sin and will burn in hell. He increases his worship and asks Allah to forgive him. He wants to ask the Sheikh of the lodge for advice, but the Sheikh has entered seclusion for 40 days and has withdrawn from worldly affairs. This time, Muharrem goes to Rauf, but Rauf tells him to be patient and wait for 40 days. This wait is the beginning of the events that lead Muharrem to go mad.

Phase 5 - Ending Situation - Muharrem's Madness and the Return of the Story to the Beginning

The ending phase of the film is the phase where Muharrem loses his mind and occurs in the last sequence of the film. Muharrem begins to lose his mind during the 40-day wait. While wandering around Istanbul in a mad mood on a rainy day, he sees a veiled woman buying gold with dollars in a jeweler in the Grand Bazaar. This woman is the woman he made love to in his dreams and does not know who she is. He begins to follow the woman in horror. He sees the woman enter the lodge and enters the lodge after her. He quickly grabs the woman by the back and asks who she is, crying. The woman says she is the daughter of the Sheikh. Muharrem, who is completely lost with this information, starts running around the lodge like a madman. The rain continues to fall with all its might and Muharrem's tears mix with the rainwater. Muharrem eventually feels deep remorse for both deviating from the religion and the truth he has learned, and he collapses to the ground, losing his mind. He eventually becomes paralyzed and bedridden, and continues to live in a vegetative state, bedridden. At this stage of the film, Muharrem's rise has ended and the story has returned to the beginning.

Narrative Characters in the Film Takva According to the Actual Model

The characteristic roles and areas of action of the heroes in the movie Takva (2006) are analyzed below according to the Actual Model scheme developed by Greimas:



Scheme 1. Adaptation of A.J. Greimas' scheme to the film Takva

Serial Binary Oppositions in the Movie Takva

A form of structuralism was developed by Claude Lévi-Strauss, who called it Binary Oppositions. Binary opposition, in its simplest form, is a set of two interrelated categories that form the universe. In a correctly established binary opposition, everything is positioned in two categories. If we call the binary opposition A and B, A never exists alone, it always needs category B. Without category B, there is no limit to category A (Fiske, 2011, pp.222-223). According to Claude Lévi-Strauss, who is considered the father of structuralism and modern anthropology, people make sense of the outside world, events and the chaos of people by reducing them to binary oppositions. Jhon Fiske adapted Lévi Strauss' Binary Oppositions model to traditional western films, popular war films and even news (Yaren, 2013, p.186).

These central oppositions placed in the film are the elements that design and develop the narrative structure in the film. The opposing conceptual concepts in the film text are examined with serial analysis. Determining these oppositions helps the level of meaning and connotation of the discourse to become more apparent (Parsa, 2008, p.16).

The binary oppositions determined on the serial structure of the film Takva are as follows (Table 1):

Table 1: Binary oppositions that emerge in the serial structure of the film Takva

Modern	Traditional
New	Old
Religious	Infidel
Good	Bad
Rich	Poor
Sin	Good Deed
Heaven	Hell
Angel	Devil
Covered	Uncovered
Intelligent	Mad
Reward	Punishment
Woman	Man

The concepts presented as oppositions in Table 1 lead us to the main ideas and ideologies conveyed in the film. The film is based on four basic ideologies. In this context, the ideologies presented in the film Takva are as follows: Religious Institutions Are Essentially Economic Institutions: Although religious organizations or institutions are positioned as having the function of providing spiritual satisfaction to individuals and developing their spirituality, their foundations are based on economic relations. The fulfillment of the functions of religious institutions and the continuation of their order depend on meeting material needs. Such institutions often obtain their material income from their members.

Ignoring Spiritual Values When Material Benefits Are in Question: Although the importance of strengthening the spiritual aspect in reaching Allah's consent is emphasized, when monetary relations and interests are involved, materiality comes to the fore for individuals whose spiritual aspect is not strong enough.

Rejection of Reason Drives the Individual to Madness: Humans are beings who think with their minds and can make decisions. Individuals who refuse to think with their minds in the face of events and facts about the world or seek answers in some superstitions, after a while, fall into a mental impasse and start to go crazy because they cannot interpret the situations.

How Suppression of Instincts Disrupts the Individual's Spiritual Balance: Humans are creatures with certain physiological needs. Sexuality is also a physiological instinct and need, like hunger, thirst, and sleeplessness. In the movie, although Muharrem tries to suppress this instinct, this situation has the opposite effect on him. Although he tries to suppress this natural instinct and perceives it as a threat, it is seen that it negatively affects his daily life and disrupts his balance. For example, in the movie, when Muharrem is eating with Rauf in the lodge dining hall, a disciple who is described as a madman leaves a red apple on the table with a hard force, which arouses sexual feelings in Muharrem.

The Dergah's Perspective on Economic Affairs in Takva

Takva (Taqwa) literally means "to protect, to be protected, to beware, to show respect, to be religious, to obey, to be afraid, to hesitate". It is a word derived from the infinitive (action) *wikāye*. According to Sayyid Sharif al-Jurjani, *taqwa* is "to obey Allah and to avoid His punishment. This avoidance is achieved by protecting the soul from behaviors that require punishment. The word *taqwa*, which is used 385 times in the Quran, is used in the sense of "to be protected from His punishment by obeying Allah's commands and avoiding His prohibitions" (Uludag, 2010, p.484).

Takva (Taqwa) means to fulfill the fard and obligatory acts properly with a consciousness as if seeing Allah; to do *nafilehs* a lot in order to gain Allah's approval; to comply with the *sunnah*. It is interpreted as the believer acting with the consciousness of servitude to Allah in all his attitudes and behaviors, entering under the protection of Allah, trying to strengthen the love and respect he feels for Him, and being afraid of damaging this love and respect. Keeping and protecting the mind and heart of the servant away from everything that will make him forget Allah. In the 16th verse of the Nahl Sura in the Quran, it

is stated that “Surely Allah is with those who are pious and do good deeds” (Presidency of Religious Affairs, 2009, p.349). The Sheikh chose Muharram for the economic affairs of the lodge because he was a quiet, calm and pious man. Because Muharram was a person with complete faith and open heart. However, since economic affairs were delicate affairs, Rauf had doubts about whether Muharram could do this job. He shared this with the Sheikh. The Sheikh said, “To do worldly affairs, it is not necessary to have an open mind, but to have an open heart. He says, “You will involve the devil in the works done with an open mind.” Even though Muharram's knowledge is lacking, he will do these works under Rauf's leadership and will not question them. He will believe that he is only performing a service in the way of Allah, he will not receive any material reward from the lodge in return for these works, he will do his duty completely and the only reward he will receive will be “Allah's consent.”

The lodge that Muharram has been going to since his youth to fulfill his religious duties is not only a religious place, but also an economic institution. It is a place that has income and expenses and needs to be operated. The lodge is a business with 43 apartments, 35 shops, and 7 plots of land that are used as a wood storage and a scrap yard all around Istanbul. With these incomes, the lodge's “soup is boiling” and clothes are given to so many orphans, children are educated in Quran courses and charity is done. Muharram, who encounters the economic aspect of the lodge for the first time, is hesitant about whether he can do this job, but the Sheikh and Rauf manipulate him and tell him that Muharram was chosen by Allah to continue the lodge order. Muharram's boss, Ali Bey, does not object to the Sheikh's request, even though he attends the dervish lodge's dhikr rituals and has no direct connection with it, and allows Muharram to take care of the lodge's business in the afternoons. The Sheikh's request for Ali Bey to contribute to the lodge is not for economic reasons, but for Muharram to do the lodge's business. Because most of Ali Bey's customers are members of the lodge, and Ali Bey cannot actually do sacking without the lodge's permission. Therefore, he must obtain permission from the lodge and the Sheikh.

In addition to collecting rental income, Muharram has another duty, such as having real estate repaired and restored. He has some repairs done, but he has had these works done by people who are not members of the lodge. The lodge has a closed organizational structure within itself. For this reason, he gives priority to his own members in the work to be done and excludes those who are not from him. As Weber emphasizes in his book *The Spirit of Capitalism and the Protestant Ethic*, economic relations derive their bond from religious unity and economic relations are not allowed to go outside of a certain community structure. This situation has also been the case in Muslim societies. The Sheikh tells Muharram, “You had some repair work done. It would have been great if you had the craftsmen affiliated with our lodge do them. We would both give our religious brothers the opportunity to do charity and help our lodge develop.” This closed structure wants to keep “charity” within itself, just like in economic affairs. Because what is actually desired is that economic relations do not go outside the structure.

When Muharram settles into his room in the lodge and starts doing the work of the lodge, changes begin in his life. While he lives a meager existence in his modest home, the life in the lodge first changes him visually. He adapts to modern life. First, the Sheikh gives him a mobile phone as a gift. Then Rauf presents Muharram with suits, shirts, shoes, a watch, a fountain pen and a rosary made of jet stone. Muharram asks, “Would these look good on me when even my sheikh hasn't touched them?” Muharram replies, “Are yours the same as his signs of wealth, Muharram Efendi? The abundance of our order should be visible in you with his knowledge and wisdom. What did the poet say? Compare my spring with the state of our garden. These are temporary things. Knowledge and wisdom are permanent. May Allah grant us all,” and “It is known to all of us that your trusts will not surprise you, that you will use them for esteemed purposes, not for your own pleasure and enjoyment.” Muharram, who lives a life free of worldly goods according to the Islamic faith and believes that living without ostentation is necessary to reach the path of Allah, begins to fear these changes and question his own values. However, Muharram is the visible face of the economic affairs of the lodge, its external representative. He shaves his beard, grows only a small moustache, starts wearing a suit, even his stance and attitude change. However, Rauf convinces Muharram by saying that these trusts are temporary and that he will

use them to do important things on the path of Allah. According to the lodge, Muharrem should represent the lodge properly outside.

According to the Islamic belief, all the goods in the world are temporary and their ownership belongs to Allah. The servant must stay away from worldly things and perform his/her religious duties while mortal in order to gain Allah's consent. In this sense, Muharrem is advised not to covet worldly goods. Being fond of worldly goods is considered equivalent to a person not being able to control his/her desires and causing him/her to commit sins. In Islam, there is a belief that property belongs to Allah and that people are only the guardians of these goods. For this reason, it is said that Muharrem is not the real owner of everything he owns, that he uses it in the way of Allah and that he/she should not be disturbed in his/her conscience for this reason. When viewed from the capitalist perspective, property is attributed a value in Islam and this value is said to be spiritual. However, people who position themselves as "privileged", such as the Sheikh, do not see any harm in using these properties as their own. Although it is emphasized that all Muslims are equal according to the belief, what is meant by this equality is equality in the presence of Allah, not economic equality. Muharrem sees the owner of a car repair shop drinking during the day when he goes to collect his rental income and becomes very uncomfortable. Because drinking is haram and according to Muharrem, the rent paid by this sinful man will be used for the charity of the lodge, but that money is the money of a sinner. Muharrem finds himself in a dilemma about whether this money, which he considers haram, should be accepted or not. He says that the repairman should be removed from the shop, which is the property of the lodge from a moral point of view. He shares this idea with Rauf and the Sheikh. However, the Sheikh says that it does not matter whether the man drinks or not, what matters is whether he pays his rent on time. Muharrem finds himself in a conflict in his inner world again. Muharrem sees that the father of a family living in a house where he goes to collect his rental income is sick, that there are small children in the house, and that they cannot even find a bite of bread in the cold and that they cannot pay the rent. He feels sorry for the family and returns to the lodge without collecting the rent. Although the family cannot pay the rent, they are a religious family who live according to the lodge's instructions, and for this reason they offer the Sheikh and Rauf not to collect rent from them. Rauf gets nervous and asks, "Didn't you collect the rent?" Muharrem hesitates and lies and says that he did. The Sheikh says, "Since the time of Adam, there have always been rich and poor. However, in this time, the poor are more than they deserve. Hunger and poverty are rampant. Our religion looks after the poor, Muharrem. Your enlightened heart is aware of this. That is your light. If it is not necessary to collect rent, do not collect it. However, if a student needs to be sent from here because we did not collect that rent, you choose that, Muharrem. We will not get involved in this responsibility. With Allah's permission, that job is yours," and leaves Muharrem in a dilemma and forces him to make a choice. He suggests that the income collected by the lodge for the poor, such as fitra and zakat, be given to this family. However, this time the Sheikh says, "It is not right to interfere with this balance, this request for help. If it is later revealed that the zakats were given to those families to collect the rents, our community may be harmed. These are sensitive issues, Muharrem. We need to be careful," he says.

Islam says that the poor should be helped and charity should be done. However, the lodge, which is said to have some kind of "worldly wealth" in order to do charity, does not take responsibility when it comes to helping this poor family. Because this family is also one of the lodge's sources of income and their failure to pay their rent means that one of the lodge's incomes will decrease. Muharrem is manipulated in terms of conscience by saying that transferring other incomes allocated for the poor to this family will create other grievances.

According to the Islamic view, eating interest is forbidden and is an infringement on other people's rights. Banks that operate on the basis of interest are not looked upon favorably in the Islamic view, considering them to be a pillar of the capitalist order. Muharrem's suggestion that the lodge's financial affairs, such as paying bills, be carried out through the bank by giving an automatic payment instruction is rejected by Rauf on this ground. The lodge says that it is against capitalism. "Banks are dealing in usury. They are also paying the electricity and water bills that we have deposited and making unlawful money off our backs with interest. No way," he says. However, when it comes to increasing the lodge's income by 15% according to the inflation rate of the day, Rauf does not oppose this and therefore

capitalism. Because the bills to be paid are the money that will come out of the lodge's pocket, and the money that will be received with the increase will go into the lodge's pocket.

The lodge, which frequently emphasizes that it is against capitalism, is also against the dollar. It is frequently emphasized that shopping should be done in Turkish Lira, which is religiously appropriate and halal. Because the dollar is the currency of global capital in trade. However, when Contractor Erol comes to Muharrem to buy a sack, he hands him dollars to pay and asks if there is a problem. Muharrem says there is no problem. In the film, we see the Sheikh's daughter also buying jewelry from a jeweler with dollars. Although it is said that the dollar is a product of the capitalist system, there is no harm in buying dollars when it goes to the pockets of Muslims who say they are against capitalism.

One of the characters in the film where we can most clearly see the lodge's perspective on the economy is Muharrem's boss, Ali Bey. While selling sacks to contractor Erol Bey, Muharrem gave in to the devil, sold the sacks that cost 3 billion for 9 billion, and told his boss Ali Bey that he received 7 billion, and committed a sin by lying. He told his boss that the customer gave 7 billion but he wanted to bill him 9 billion. Ali Bey was happy with the 7 billion and put it in the safe. When Muharrem questioned whether what he did was right with the pang of conscience he felt, Ali Bey said, "This is business, it has a place in the book. You will evaluate the opportunities. Moreover, we pay our alms and zakat every penny. Whatever I earn is halal." He legitimizes the sin he committed by giving examples of the charities he has done because he is a religious person and he clears himself. Muharrem gives 7 billion to Ali Bey and keeps 2 billion for himself. This time, Ali Bey says, "Well done Muharrem, cash sales, huh?" This foundation business has not only opened your heart but also your mind." Muharrem was chosen not because he was knowledgeable about the economic affairs of the lodge, but because his heart was open. However, over time, Muharrem also took on the spirit of the lodge and, in Ali Bey's words, "his mind has been opened." It is religiously forbidden to make unjust gains. However, Muharrem's behavior and Ali Bey's telling him to be a person who fulfills his religious duties legitimizes it and covers up the wrongdoing.

In the film, Muharrem's apprentice, Bosnian Muhittin, and the Turkish tea maker's apprentice are positioned as different faces of the economy. Muhittin has seen the Bosnian War and is collecting money in dollars to save his family from Bosnia. The tea maker's apprentice's relationship with money is represented to a degree that will turn his daily life around. Muhittin believes that it is necessary to do something concrete to help his family. According to him, unlike Muharrem, just sitting and praying is not a solution.

Muharrem often reflects his moral understanding on his work and gives him advice because he is Muharrem's superior in economic status. He tells him that he should cut his hair, that long hair is not welcomed by the tradesmen and that he should pray often. He advises him not to be late for work and not to skip work. Muharrem, who has adopted the principle of living his faith according to its requirements, one day sees Muhittin and his friends hanging a poster and collecting aid for Bosnia and gets angry, saying that these are in vain and that Muhittin's country is now here. Muharrem responds by saying that Muharrem has not seen the war. Muharrem gets even angrier and says that he prays for Bosnia. Since Muhittin believes in concrete solutions, he says that problems cannot be solved by just praying and gets a slap from Muharrem in return. Muharrem is experiencing an identity crisis after taking over the financial affairs of the lodge. He has become irritable in recent days because he has committed the acts he considers sinful and cannot share them with anyone, and he takes his anger out on Muhittin. Muharrem, who regrets the slap he gave Muhittin, says, "I just wanted to be a good person, Muhittin. Just a good person. The Creator is always and everywhere. If you do what He says and do not do what He does not want, you will be a good person in this world and comfortable in the afterlife. But it did not happen, it does not happen. Satan is always there. Maybe the devil we call is ourselves," he says.

Discussion

Interpretation of Visual Indicators in the Film Takva

A movie is an art that is completely based on visually. In cinema, meaning is created with elements such as camera angles, editing, and lighting in a technical context. The story in the script is established through these technical elements. The director uses these technical elements to convey the main idea of the story in the script to the audience and to create perception. Human beings are creatures with a high ability to perceive visually and the main thing in cinema is to show. In this context, it is possible to observe that meaning is established through these elements in many scenes in the film Takva.

One of the most important indicators of the formation and maintenance of the bond between the lodge and the disciples in the film is the dhikr scenes. In these dhikr ceremonies led by the Sheikh and directed by Rauf, the disciples of the lodge lose their consciousness in a way with the hymns he sings, and in Marx's words, they take "opium" and go into a trance. Muharrem also participates in these dhikr ceremonies and fulfills his religious duties in his own way. All the disciples accompany the hymns and prayers Rauf sings during the dhikr ceremonies, distance themselves from worldliness and worship as if Allah were with them. These ceremonies have a numbing effect on the disciples and are of great importance in maintaining their devotion to their Sheikh. Because their Sheikh acts as a messenger in their eyes in reaching the path of Allah. However, after a certain point in the dhikr scenes, it is seen that the ritual exceeds the dimension of worship for the disciples and reaches the point of losing themselves and eliminating their minds. Some of the disciples become numb and unable to control even their physical movements, experiencing a state of stupor between wakefulness and fainting.



Image 1. Zikr Ceremony

When we consider the camera angle of the Sheikh, Rauf and the disciples during the dhikr ceremonies, we see that the Sheikh is shot from the opposite and slightly lower angle, Rauf is sitting to his left, and the disciples are bowing towards the Sheikh from the back as if praying. The low angle of the Sheikh places him in a high place in the perception of the audience and depicts how the disciples see him. The fact that Rauf is sitting and standing next to the Sheikh against the disciples and does not move as if he is prostrating towards the disciples shows that he is in a superior position than the disciples and is positioned as the Sheikh's assistant. One of the most important scenes of the film is Muharrem's dream scenes. Muharrem is a single man and most nights he dreams of making love with a woman he does not know in different places. Muharrem's repressed sexuality manifests itself in his dreams. In some of these scenes, the place where they make love is illuminated with red light and the woman offers Muharrem a drink. The red and dim lighting creates an erotic environment visually and triggers sexual associations. In

Muharrem's eyes, women are the devil and they lead him away from the path of Allah and lead him to commit sins.

We can see Muharrem's perspective on women in other scenes of the film. While riding in the minibus, he gets uncomfortable with the uncovered, miniskirted girl sitting next to him and changes his position in order not to physically touch the girl. In another scene of the film, he gets uncomfortable when he sees women's underwear and bikinis displayed openly on lifeless mannequins in one of the offices buildings, he goes to collect rent income. Muharrem, who sees the woman he sees as the devil in his dreams, wakes up from his sleep and tries to purify himself from the sin he has committed by performing a full ablution. Muharrem's instincts that he tries to suppress in his subconscious show themselves in his sleep.

For Muharrem, sexuality is a moral issue. According to the sheikh, it is not a problem, it is a situation that should only be experienced through marriage. He believes that one must get married in order not to make sexual mistakes and sin, to meet the needs of the body and not fall into adultery. For this reason, he wants to marry his daughter to Muharrem and asks Rauf to examine Muharrem's mouth. However, Muharrem says, "We have long closed that book, brother Rauf. We came here not to get married, but to show off." Although he says that he does not want to get married for spiritual reasons, Muharrem is individually shy and tries to suppress his sexual instincts by strengthening his spirituality through worship. Another important scene in terms of showing the economic and political aspect of religion is the scene where Muharrem collects the rent money and prays with his bag. Muharrem collects the rent and puts it in his bag. He goes to the mosque to pray. In order for his bag of money not to be stolen, he puts the bag towards the qibla and prays towards the bag of money by standing in the direction of the qibla. According to Islamic belief, there should not be anyone or any object between the person praying and the qibla. Otherwise, the prayer the person performs will not be considered valid. However, in this scene, Muharrem seems to be prostrating to money. In this scene, the relationship between dervish lodges and capitalism is symbolically represented. At the same time, while the people praying and Muharrem are shown in a darker light, a strong white light is coming from the direction of the qibla to the money bag and Muharrem is praying towards it. Here, the money is positioned in a sublime point. Although capital, which is the basis of the capitalist system, is a phenomenon created by humans, it has become sacred over time and has become something that people worship.



Image 2. Muharrem praying with a money bag in front of him

Muharrem is someone who has no relationship with money until he starts handling the financial affairs of the lodge. For him, money, just like women, is a kind of devil that leads people astray. However, due to the task he has undertaken, money has become the center of his life and has started to lead him astray. He accidentally sold bags to the contractor Erol for too much money and, fearing that this money would be considered the lodge's money, he hid them in his house where he used to live alone. Although

he reveals his perspective on money by saying "I wouldn't even touch them if it were possible" to his apprentice Muhittin, who wants to convert the liras he has in his hands to dollars in order to send money to his family, he cannot avoid touching money due to the work he has undertaken. One of the scenes where we see the relationship between religion and capitalism most clearly in the film is the market-mosque positioning shown by the camera in the scene where Muharrem receives rent from a hypermarket owner who is his tenant. In this scene, the post-modern world's perspective on mosques and economic relations is clearly seen. There is an entertainment center at the bottom of the building and a mosque at the top. People in poverty, excluded by the capitalist system, are directed to worship in order to find salvation in the afterlife that they could not find in this world. On the lower side, they are depicted as places where people who represent the skilled workforce in urban life, who work in jobs that require knowledge and skills in the capitalist system, have fun.



Image 3. Mosque scene with entertainment center on the lower floor

When Muharrem becomes fully involved in the economic affairs of the lodge, everything he thought was right turns upside down. First, people's perspectives towards him begin to change. After entering the lodge's roof, he is no longer that weak man who brings his boss's coffee and runs errands. Even his boss, Ali Bey, hires him an apprentice. He avoids giving him work. We see clearly in the scene where they go to the mosque that Muharrem's economic position has increased along with his social position. Sheikh, Rauf, Muharrem and Ali Bey perform Friday prayers at the Fatih Mosque. Since there is no room, Ali Bey remains in the back rows, but Sheikh, Rauf and Muharrem Efendi pray in the same row, thus achieving the equality envisaged by Islam. However, Ali Bey, who was previously above him in economic class, has fallen to a lower class than Muharrem in social terms, and Muharrem has experienced both an economic and social rise with his entry to the lodge. Ali Bey has fallen into the background.



Image 4. The scene where Ali Bey is in the back row of Muharrem during Friday prayers



Image 5. The scene where Muharrem prays in the same row with the Sheikh

Muharrem, who has left his own small world and seen the different neighborhoods and lives of Istanbul, has now started to change and deviate from what he knows to be true. He starts to lie easily, eat haram and violate other people's rights. The Sheikh and Rauf's suggestions also have a great effect on this. For example, while he gets in line beforehand and does his business in government offices like normal citizens, he does not hesitate to violate the rights of people waiting in line for the dervish lodge's business and to do his business without waiting in line. When he hears civil servants talking about him in government offices, "they say you are Muslim, while citizens are waiting over there, they make their own business go first. Civil servants pull strings," he feels a little guilty. Since he considers violating other people's rights a sin, he consults Rauf and says he wants to enter the queue and do his business that way. However, Rauf opposes this. "Your time is valuable. You are using your time on the path of Allah. Not for yourself. For this reason, every minute of yours is worth gold. You should feel that way. You should not get tired. You should not linger. You should not wait. He warns Muharrem by saying, "Every time you earn is a new opportunity for you to serve Allah." He once again removes this from the status of a sin with the argument that it is 'for Allah' and manipulates Muharrem.

Muharrem has become thoroughly involved with the e-mail business of the lodge and has also learned the ways and procedures. Muharrem's understanding of morality also begins to change as he becomes acquainted with the economic side of the lodge. The auto repair shop belonging to the lodge does not have a license. Therefore, the building appears to be illegal and a license must be obtained. For Muharrem, who serves in the path of Allah, all means are now permissible. Without waiting in line, he meets with the mayor and obtains the necessary document to obtain a license. Although the building appears to be illegal, it is emphasized that the license obtained illegally through the lodge supporters is also a service in the path of Allah.

As Muharrem gets involved in sin, the fears within him begin to increase. Because for him, the servant who commits sin has strayed from the path of gaining Allah's approval and has begun to progress towards hell. Although the Sheikh and Rauf try to calm Muharrem down by pushing him into committing irregularities and telling him that what he is doing is not a sin and that it is for the sake of Allah, a part of Muharrem says the opposite. For this reason, Muharrem, who is a quiet person, starts to become an angry person day by day. He meddles in the affairs of the people around him, especially the teahouse next door, and takes his anger out on him. He gets angry at his apprentice Muhittin, who has long hair, and tells him that it would be more appropriate for him to have his hair cut. He gets angry at his apprentice Muhittin, who says "Good morning" to him, and says, "Give Allah's greetings first."

The events that lead Muharrem astray in the film and lead him to lose his mind begin when his path crosses with the contractor Erol. Erol comes to the sackmaker's shop and buys a large amount of sacks from Muharrem, even though he does not need them. Erol is one of the representatives of the capitalist system in the modern world. He does construction work and is involved in trade. He is aware of the power of the lodge and Muharrem is the most important person who will bring him to the lodge. He knows that the way to develop his economic affairs is through the lodge and meets Muharrem with the excuse of buying a sack. It is understood that his real concern is not the sack when he does not ask Ali Bey for a sack when Muharrem comes to the shop while he is away. Erol, who is aware that economic

relations revolve around religious structures, comes to the shop a few days later with two more friends and they buy sacks from Muharrem even though they do not need them. Erol shows his intention to Muharrem by saying, “Actually, the sack is an excuse. What is important is your reputation.”

Muharrem has gained a status in society due to being the economic representative of the lodge and this status has brought him prestige. Muharrem unintentionally sells the sacks first to Erol and then to his friends for three times the price and begins to suffer the torment of hell because he cannot turn back from this mistake. After making a mistake, he says to himself, “There is no turning back from here, I cannot explain this,” and a series of mistakes follow one another. He wants to consult the Sheikh to get rid of the torment inside him, but the Sheikh has gone into seclusion for 40 days and has withdrawn from worldly affairs. He consults Rauf, but Rauf cannot solve his problems either and advises him to be patient for 40 days. Unable to solve his problems with reason, Muharrem embraces his spirituality. He tries to reduce the fear inside him by turning to Allah. During this 40-day period, he increases his worship and asks Allah for forgiveness for his sins. He says, “O Allah, who creates pearls from rainwater, accept my tears as well.” This waiting and remorse blinds Muharrem day by day and leads to his end. Muharrem starts running on the street, feeling remorse for selling goods to Erol and his friends at a high price. He washes his hands and face in a fountain he sees on the road to purify himself. However, when he looks down, he sees his own image reflected on the surface of the water. No matter how much he runs, he cannot escape himself. His own sinful image is looking at him.



Image 6. Muharrem's face reflected in water



Image 7. Muharrem's mood gradually deteriorating

In the last sequence of the film, Muharrem has become a man who is completely angry, cannot control his physical movements, and cannot think with his mind. On a rainy day in the Grand Bazaar, he sees the woman he made love to in his dreams and whose identity he does not know, buying jewelry with dollars, and he follows her. He sees the woman enter the lodge, grabs her with greed, shakes her and says, “Who are you? What are you doing here? I am the disciple of this lodge, the dog of this gate. Tell me, who are you?” and starts to cry. His tears mix with the rainwater. The rain pouring down from the sky like a glass on a pitch-black day symbolizes Muharrem's darkening self, his sins, and his pain. The sky has taken on Muharrem's self and is crying instead of Muharrem. What is flowing from the sky are Muharrem's tears. The woman says that she is the daughter of Sheikh Cemal Efendi. Muharrem, who is surprised by what he has learned, throws himself around in the lodge and finally loses his mind and collapses to the

ground. On top of all the sins he has committed, he is devastated to see the woman he sees as the source of his spiritual feelings in the lodge, whom he sees as the devil and a misleader.



Image 8. The scene where Muharrem realizes that the woman he saw in his dream is the daughter of the Sheikh



Image 9. The scene where Muharrem loses his mind

In the last scene of the film, Muharrem has lost his mind. The Sheikh Effendi explains this situation to his disciples again during a dhikr ceremony in the lodge. The lodge, which legitimizes all the actions he takes by saying that they are actions taken in the path of Allah, explains Muharrem's madness to his disciples in this way. It is said that even his madness stems from a necessity of the established order in the path of Allah. The Sheikh explains this to his disciples in the lodge where they gather before the dhikr ceremony, as follows: "This person is torn between attaining and not attaining. This happens from time to time. Muharrem Effendi is a gift sent to our lodge by Allah. This was also good news to me in a dream a few months ago. Look at the gift you sent us at this time. I said to him, 'I have a beautiful daughter, I will give her to you.' 'No,' said the blessed one. 'We have withdrawn from these matters,' he said. 'Our duty is not to be a groom, but to serve this door,' he said." His madness is not explained as a mental illness but as "sainthood" and "a gift from Allah". The Sheikh, who says that this situation was given to him by Allah, ensures the continuity of his exalted position in the eyes of his disciples with this argument. He anesthetizes his disciples' minds by telling them religious stories and tries to keep them away from questioning the reasons why Muharrem lost his mind.



Image 10. The scene where Muharrem's madness is explained to the dervishes



Image 11. The scene where Muharrem, who lost his mind, is looked after by the Sheikh's daughter

In the closing scene of the film, we see Muharrem lying bedridden in a room in the lodge, in need of care. His care has been taken over by the lodge. The sheikh's daughter gives him his medicine and water. Muharrem has become unable to meet his needs on his own if it were not for the care of the woman he sees as the devil. In this scene, the woman and himself are shown not with a red light, but with a white light symbolizing divinity. Muharrem has gone mad and as a good person, he has begun to live hell in this world where he wants to be comfortable on the other side and works to earn Allah's approval.

Conclusion

The subject of religion has been an important subject throughout the history of Turkish Cinema from past to present. It has been frequently discussed in different genres according to the periods of Turkish cinema and has been reflected on the silver screen in different aspects. Although religious-themed films in Turkish cinema mostly present themselves as religious stories, the film *Takva* stands out in terms of showing religion and religious institutions in their real dimensions. The film *Takva* stands out from its counterparts in terms of addressing religion with an economic dimension, the characters being closer to those in daily life, and the realism of the locations it uses. It is an important film in terms of reflecting religion as a social reality, going beyond the intellectual-pious, modern-bigot boundaries we have seen in Turkish cinema so far. Although the film seems to address the religious beliefs of individuals within the framework of the lodge, it is actually exceptional in that it realistically reveals that lodges and tariqa-like structures have economic and political structures and that such relations are maintained within a closed organizational structure.

Religion produces a network of economic relations and these relations progress in a systematic dimension. Religion excludes and does not include those who are not from it. This is an unchanging situation, both in the context of individual relations and in the economic and political context. In the film, the Sheikh reacts negatively to Muharrem's having other repairmen from outside the lodge do the maintenance work of the properties. Because Muharrem prevented the lodge disciples from doing good deeds by turning to economic groups outside the lodge.

In religion, the concepts of good and bad have guided the behavior of individuals, and those who behave well have been encouraged to go to heaven, while those who behave badly, stray from the path of Allah and commit sins have been threatened with burning in hell. Behaviors that are performed in accordance with religious commandments as commanded by Allah have been considered good deeds, while behaviors that are contrary to them have been considered sins. The concepts of heaven and hell have stood before individuals as an interrogation or criminal judge in every action they take, as a kind of reward-punishment system. In the location where the dhikr scenes in the film are performed, there is a fire constantly burning in the fireplace behind the Sheikh on the right and left. The individuals sit with their backs to this fire. In these scenes where religious ceremonies are performed, the fire is always there as an element of fear. Individuals are also members of social groups. Institutions such as family, education and religious institutions are normative structures. Religious institutions in particular -

whether official or not - always claim that they derive their rules from religion, thus having a binding feature for individuals.

The dervish lodges and similar structures that individuals see as a shelter to be closer to Allah, to purify themselves from worldliness and to strengthen their spiritual aspects are also structures with strict rules. However, although they fundamentally display these spiritual aspects as their main function, these structures have a physical identity, appearance and a position in society. Above all, they cannot be independent of the economy and political relations. These physical structures also have a certain order of operation and, as the Sheikh puts it, "their soup must boil." However, when economic relations come into play, we can see that some behaviors that are considered sins are carried out in these institutions that claim to serve in the way of Allah and have the quality of doing good, individuals get involved in what is forbidden and the rights of others, which are considered the greatest sin according to the Islamic belief, are disregarded. These situations are explained with the argument that the dervish lodges serve in the way of Allah and the sins are legitimized. In this context, the movie *Takva* stands out from its peers among the movies made on the subject of religion so far and takes its place in the history of Turkish cinema as a successful example of its kind.

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