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Cumhuriyet İlahiyat Dergisi'nin 28/3 sayısı ile karşınızdayız. Dergimiz bilimsel kriterlerden, yayın ilkelerinden ve etik değerlerden ödün vermeden yoluna devam etmekte; kendisine hedef olarak belirlediği A sınıfı dergilerin yer aldığı indekslere girme yolunda emin adımlarla ilerlemekte, alanında öncü olma rolünü sürdürmek için yoğun bir gayret göstermektedir. Dergimizin görünürlüğü, makalelerimizin taranırılığı ve atıf sayılarımız her geçen gün artmaktadır. Bu cümleden olmak üzere dergimizdeki makalelerin gösterim ve indirilme sayılarının 1 milyon eşiğini aştığını; atıf ortalamamızın da 1'in üzerine çıktığını gururla paylaşıyoruz.

Her yıl 15 Haziran ve 15 Aralık tarihlerinde, 2 sayı ve 1 özel sayı yayınlamayı görev edinmiş olan dergimiz, yeni yayın döneminde de yoğun bir ilgi ve teveccühe mazhar olmuştur. Dergimize gelen her bir makale dergimizin yayın ilkeleri doğrultusunda incelenmiş ve gerekli şartları sağlayan makaleler hakem sürecine dâhil edilmiştir. Değerlendirmeler neticesinde bu makalelerden 5 tanesi İngilizce Özel Sayı'mızda (28/3) yayınlanmıştır.

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**FROM THE EDITOR**

**The Latest Issue of Cumhuriyet Theology Journal: Volume 28 Issue 3 (English Special Issue)**

Dear Readers and Researchers,

We are here with issue 28/3 of Cumhuriyet Journal of Theology. Our journal continues on its way without compromising scientific criteria, publishing principles, and ethical values; It is taking firm steps towards entering the indexes containing Class A journals, which it has set as its target, and is making intense efforts to maintain its role as a pioneer in its field. The visibility of our journal, the searchability of our articles, and our citation numbers are increasing day by day. In this context, we are proud to share that the total views and downloads of articles in our journal have surpassed the milestone of 1 million, and our citation average has exceeded 1.

Our Journal, which has undertaken to publish 2 issues and 1 special issue on 15 June and 15 December every year, has received intense interest and favor in the new publication period. Every article submitted to our journal has been reviewed following our publication principles, and those meeting the required criteria have undergone the peer-review process. As a result of the evaluations, 5 of these articles were published in our English Special Issue (28/3).

I would like to thank all the researchers who submitted articles to our journal, our referees, our editorial team who contributed to academic publishing with their high-level sacrifices, and our university's Electronic Journal Office, which took on the task of layout. I would also like to express my gratitude to the administration of our university, our faculty deanery, our editorial office, and the rectorate printing house. On this occasion,

I greet you, our valued readers, with respect and affection. Hope to see you in our new issue...

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## The Quran from The Perspective Of Acceptance And Commitment Therapy

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### ABSTRACT

The purpose of this study is to discuss how the verses in the Holy Quran can be related to the flexible hexagon of Acceptance and Commitment Therapy. The issues discussed in the six steps of the Act can be considered among the issues emphasized in the Quran to ensure the happiness of people in this world and the hereafter. For believers, religion is the most important element that directs their lives. For this reason, when individuals who aim to continue their worldly life according to religious values encounter a problem or pain and want to get psychological support, both the client and the counselor may hesitate. Seeing the similar aspects of the Quran verses with ACT will make the work of the counselor and the client easier in the psychotherapy process. While applying this therapy to a believing client, the counselor will be able to benefit from the Holy Quran, which is the most important source according to his belief; The client will feel the pleasure that the counselor cares about his religious values. Therefore, the fact that psychological counseling techniques coincide with the messages given by the verses of the Quran will make it easier for Muslim clients to overcome the pain they experience, cope with difficulties, and most importantly, they will be able to go through the counseling process happily because it does not contradict their beliefs. For this reason, in the study, the components of the Act are explained in detail and its relationship with the verses in the Holy Quran is revealed.

**Keywords:** Religious education, ACT, Quran, Therapy

## Kabul ve Kararlılık Terapisi Perspektifinden Kur'an-I Kerim

Süreç

Geliş: 30/07/2024

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**İntihal:** Bu makale, en az iki hakem tarafından incelendi ve intihal içermediği teyit edildi.

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### Yazar Katkı Beyanı

Çalışmanın Tasarlanması Yazar-1 (%55) - Yazar-2 (%45)

Veri Toplanması Yazar-1 (%60) - Yazar-2 (%40)

Veri Analizi Yazar-1 (%60) - Yazar-2 (%40)


Makalenin Yazımı Yazar-1 (%55) - Yazar-2 (%45)


Makale Gönderimi ve Revizyonu Yazar-1 (%40) - Yazar-2 (%60)


### ÖZ


Bu çalışmanın amacı Kur'an-ı Kerim'de yer alan ayetlerin Kabul ve Kararlılık Terapisi'nin esnek altıgeni ile nasıl ilişkilendirilebileceğini tartışmaktır. Act'nin altı basamağında ele alınan konular, Kur'an'ı Kerim'de de insanların dünya ve ahiret mutluluğunu sağlamak amacıyla vurgulanan hususlar arasında düşünülebilir. İnanan insanlar açısından din onların hayatlarına yön veren en önemli unsurdur. Bu nedenle dini değerlere göre dünya hayatını sürdürmeyi hedefleyen bireyler bir sıkıntı ya da acı ile karşılaştıklarında ve psikolojik destek almak istediklerinde hem danışan hem danışman tereddüt yaşayabilmektedir. ACT ile Kur'an ayetlerinin benzer yönlerini görmek danışmanın ve danışanın psikoterapi sürecinde işini kolaylaştıracak bir durumdur. Danışman inanan bir danışana bu terapiyi uygularken onun inancına göre en önemli kaynak olan Kur'an'ı Kerim'den yararlanabilecek; danışan ise danışmanın onun dini değerlerini önemsiyor olmasının hazzını duyacaktır. Dolayısıyla psikolojik danışmanlık tekniklerinin Kuran ayetlerinin verdiği mesajlarla örtüşüyor olması, Müslüman danışanların yaşadığı acıyı atlatmasında, zorluklarla mücadele etmesinde daha fazla kolaylık sağlayabilecek ve en önemlisi danışmanlık sürecini inancına ters düşmediği için mutlu bir şekilde geçirme imkânına sahip olabilecektir. Bu nedenle çalışmada Act'in bileşenleri ayrıntılı olarak açıklanarak Kur'an'ı Kerim'de yer alan ayetlerle olan ilişkisi ortaya konmuştur.

**Anahtar Kelimeler:** Din Eğitimi, Kabul ve Kararlılık, Kur'an, Terapi.

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## Introduction

Acceptance and Commitment Therapy (ACT) is a therapy modality within the new-generation (3rd wave) cognitive behavioral therapies, introduced by Steven Hayes in the mid-1980s and carried forward by Kelly Wilson and Kirk Strosahl<sup>1</sup>. In other words, ACT is a behavioral therapy and is based on Relation Frame Theory (RFT), the theory of behavioral cognition. Also, ACT places great emphasis on positive psychology, contextual perspective, spirituality, social justice, and multiculturalism, and for this reason, ACT is an important approach to use to deal with biopsychosocial and spiritual issues and increase psychological welfare for various groups, including Muslims<sup>2</sup>. More academically, the roots of ACT began in 1976 when s/he studied with his first doctoral student, Zettle, about the roles of language in life and clinical conditions<sup>3</sup>. ACT has a strong and comprehensive basis in functional contextualism, Relational Frame Theory (RFT), and psychological flexibility (and rigidity) models. Based on these three underlying parts and especially the psychological flexibility model, the approach has become a therapy associated with both positive and abnormal psychology<sup>4</sup>.

The first piece, functional contextualism, ACT's philosophical worldview, focuses on what is feasible within the scope of functionality. It emphasizes interpreting, predicting, and influencing based on a psychological contextual perspective. RFT, which is the second piece, emphasizes the role of language and cognition in explaining the welfare and agony of humans<sup>5</sup>. RFT has a central role in the ACT because words and language are very effective in people's moods. For this reason, words, language, and cognitions are central to suffering and welfare. For example, based on the RFT perspective, if someone mentions a word (e.g., water, lemon, trauma, accident, peace), the mind focuses on it as if it were, even though it is not currently present/real. The psychological flexibility model is the third and most important component to understanding and appropriately implementing ACT.

Another issue that requires examining ACT based on the perspective of the Qur'an in the present study is the increasing Muslim population in the world. In previous studies, researchers emphasized focusing on Muslim mental health through empirical and theoretical research using the basic principles of Islam<sup>6</sup>. Muslim mental health literature suggests that Islam often shapes the challenges and strengths of Muslims as an overall central theme<sup>7</sup>. Although ACT was examined in many biopsychosocial, spiritual, and contextual senses in various groups, none of the previous studies examined the Holy Qur'an from the Perspective of Acceptance and Commitment Therapy. For this reason, the present study is important as it will contribute to the literature in this respect.

<sup>1</sup> Steven C. Hayes et al., "Acceptance and Commitment Therapy: Model, Processes and Outcomes", *Behaviour Research and Therapy* 44(1) (2006), 1-25.

<sup>2</sup> Ahmet Tanhan - Vincent T. Francisco, "Muslims and Mental Health Concerns: A Social Ecological Model Perspective", *Journal of Community Psychology* 47(4) (2019), 964-978.

<sup>3</sup> Chris Cullen, "Acceptance and Commitment Therapy (ACT): A third Wave Behaviour Therapy", *Behavioural and Cognitive Psychotherapy* 36(6) (2008), 667-673.

<sup>4</sup> Hayes et al., "Acceptance and Commitment Therapy: Model, Processes and Outcomes", 1-25; Ahmet Tanhan, *Spiritual Strength: The use of Acceptance and Commitment Therapy (ACT) with Muslim Clients* (Rochester: University of Rochester, Master Thesis, 2014).

<sup>5</sup> Hayes et al., "Acceptance and Commitment Therapy: Model, Processes and Outcomes", 1-25.

<sup>6</sup> Ahmet Tanhan - Vincent T. Francisco "Muslims and Mental Health Concerns: A Social Ecological Model Perspective. *Journal of Community Psychology* 47(4) (2019), 964-978.

<sup>7</sup> Ahmed M. Abdel-Khalek, "Islam and Mental Health: A Few Speculations", *Mental Health, Religion & Culture* 14(2) (2011), 87-92.

## 1. Method

The present study is a literature review. The functions of establishing interdisciplinary relationships, uncovering the scope of a field, and providing resources to researchers reinforce the importance of compilation studies in the literature.

Verses in the Holy Qur'an on the subjects discussed in the hexagon of Acceptance and Commitment Therapy were researched according to certain topics such as submission, patience, worship, repentance, forgiveness, and tolerance. Tafsir sources were used to determine whether the verses found in the scope of the study coincided with the steps of Acceptance and Commitment Therapy. Not every verse found on the subject was included not to exceed the volume of the study, and certain verses that corresponded to the goals of ACT were discussed in the article and similar aspects were emphasized.

## 2. Components of Acceptance and Commitment Therapy (ACT) and the Holy Qur'an

The underlying theory of the ACT model toward cognitions is technically precise and its methods are not linear<sup>8</sup>. The purpose of ACT is to increase psychological flexibility with interventions based on "Acceptance", "Cognitive Defusion", "Contact with the present moment", "Self as Context", "Values" and "Committed Action", which constitute the six main themes in ACT's Hexagon<sup>9</sup> (shown in Figure 1).

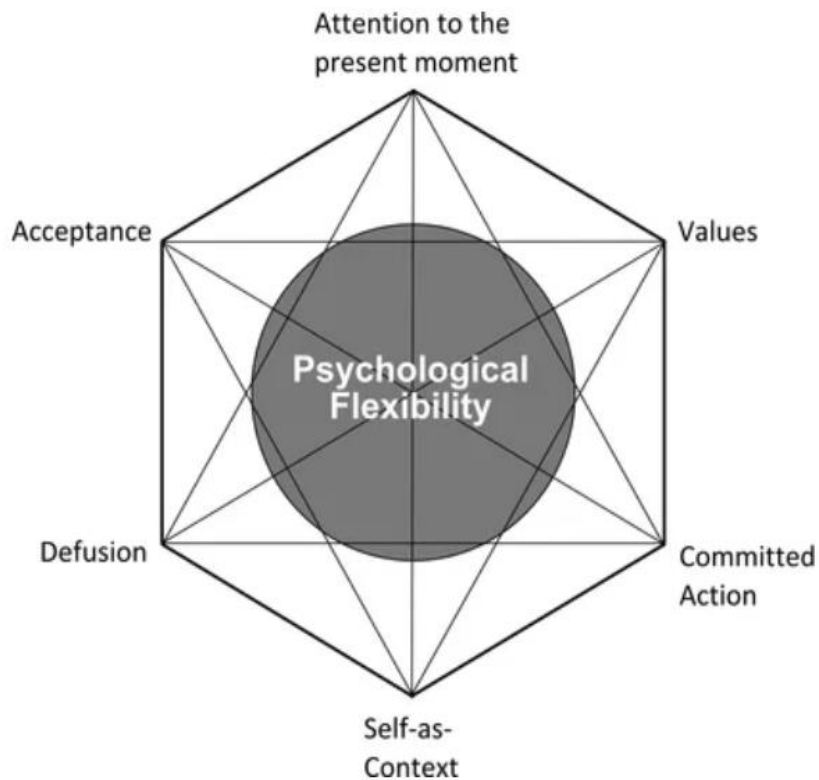


Figure 1. Act's Hexagon

<sup>8</sup> Russ Harris, *ACT with love: Stop Struggling, Reconcile Differences, and Strengthen Your Relationship with Acceptance and Commitm* (Oakland, CA: New Harbinger, 2009).

## 2.1. Acceptance

Acceptance involves actively embracing the internal experiences that arise in the present as an action and not an attitude or opinion targeting the context in which an internal experience occurs and reducing the effort an individual makes to control or regulate certain internal experiences. We can choose to be accepting or work to regulate our inner experiences. Acceptance differs from tolerance because it is considered a choice and involves a more welcoming stance towards inner experience. Acceptance is applied to internal experiences fostering experiential avoidance, which attempts to reduce or avoid unwanted internal experiences that cause negative impacts on one's functioning<sup>9</sup>. Acceptance involves not only being actively present in anxiety-provoking situations but also treating one's anxiety in a welcoming way.<sup>10</sup>

In their book *Life is About Leaving Behind as Much as Moving Forward*, Sungur and Batı (2022) said “Acceptance is an important virtue in human life. However, it does not mean submission or approval. Acceptance is being able to stop seeing what exists as we want it to be and see it as it is. Acceptance is of great importance in determining what to do with the current reality without wasting time. Sometimes there may be nothing to do. Then, all that is left for an individual is to embrace the agony and learn from it...”

Environmental experiences such as distress and the feeling of elements in worldly life are called tests in Islamic literature. When faced with this test, religion recommends patience. The concept of *patience* or *endurance* is the feeling of not losing courage and fortitude under difficult conditions. A patient person continues on his/her way or continues to wait without losing his/her morale, despite long delays and provocations. In other words, acceptance means teaching individuals not to see it as abnormal that negative emotions and thoughts occupy their minds and even affect their bodies, and establish relationships in different, new ways by accepting them as they are (in other words, perceiving them as guests) instead of fighting these emotions and thoughts aiming to help them live with a focus on the present moment<sup>11</sup>.

Acceptance, which is a step in ACT, is defined in the Holy Qur'an as consent, submission, patience, and praise for people in coping with the events they face in the world. To overcome the problems experienced by individuals, they must first accept that this worldly life will not be completely free from anxiety, stress, and distress. The Qur'an draws attention to the acceptance step of ACT in the verse “When a calamity befalls them, they say, ‘Indeed, we belong to Allah and Him we will surely return’. It is for these that the grace and mercy of their Lord belong, and it is they who have been guided to the right path”<sup>12</sup>. This verse indicates that the individual submits to fate, accepts God's judgment and is content with this judgment. The concept of *calamity* is defined as *disaster, accident, trouble*<sup>13</sup>, anything that disturbs an individual's life, property or family<sup>14</sup>. When the statements in the verse are examined carefully, it is emphasized that there may be all kinds of situations that will make an individual sad and suffer during the worldly life and that beyond all these, the worldly life will end one day and the necessity of accepting the existence of death is also emphasized.

<sup>9</sup> Steven C. Hayes, “Experiential Avoidance and Behavioral Disorders: A Functional Dimensional Approach to Diagnosis and Treatment”, *Journal of Consulting and Clinical Psychology* 64(6) (1996), 1152-1168.

<sup>10</sup> Michael P. Twohig, “Introduction: The Basics of Acceptance and Commitment Therapy”, *Cognitive and Behavioral Practice* 19(4) (2012), 499-507.

<sup>11</sup> Georg H. Eirfert - John P. Forsyth, *Acceptance and Commitment Therapy for Anxiety Disorders* (Oakland, CA: New Harbinger Publications: 2005).

<sup>12</sup> al-Bakara, 2/156.

<sup>13</sup> Mehmed Maksudoğlu, “Sabır”, *Arapça-Türkçe Öğretici Sözlük*, (İstanbul: Marmara Üniversitesi İlahiyat Vakfı Yayınları, 1995), 470.

<sup>14</sup> Vehbe Zuhayli, *Tefsirü'l-Münir*, çev. Hamdi Arslan et al. (İstanbul: Bilimevi Basın Yayıncılık, 2005), 1/329.

In the verse, the expression *returning to Allah* does not mean a word spoken only verbally, it refers to returning to Allah by the heart<sup>15</sup>. For this reason, in the general message of the verse, it is expected that the person will see what the purpose of creation is, that s/s/he will return to the Lord at the end of this worldly life, that s/s/he must always remember God's blessings, and that the blessings that remain with him/her are many times greater than the blessings taken from him/her. When an individual thinks about these, all the difficulties faced in life become easier and s/s/he accepts them<sup>16</sup>. An individual who says these when faced with a disaster knows that the situation experienced is within the power of Allah that He will dispose of His servants as He wishes, and that nothing will be lost in the presence of Allah on the Day of Judgment. This belief stems from the acceptance that they are servants of Allah and that they will return to Allah after death<sup>17</sup>. Also, people who accept what they are going through and are patient are given special mercy by Allah, the Almighty. These people find the effect of this unique mercy in the coolness of their hearts and the peace of their souls when they face a calamity. Non-believers become jealous of the mercy offered to believers when they face trouble because when an unbeliever faces a disaster, the world becomes too small for him/her. After all, s/s/he cannot accept what s/s/he has experienced<sup>18</sup>.

When the lives of the prophets, who are shown as role models for believers in the Holy Qur'an, are evaluated, it will be seen that Allah, the Almighty sent down many verses about how they could accept the troubles they experienced and cope with them. "*We will certainly test you with some fear and hunger and loss of wealth, lives and crops. Give good news to those who are patient*"<sup>19</sup>, Allah the Almighty emphasized that people will face some pain while they are alive and if they accept that these pains will happen to them and are patient, good news awaits them. This verse was revealed after the Prophet and the Muslims, who were attacked by the polytheists in their homeland of Mecca, escaped from these attacks by migrating to Medina, but they also faced some financial problems such as hunger in Medina. However, the purpose of the verse and the message it gives are absolute and general. Allah tested the Muslims of that period with some pain, and He will test people whenever He wishes until the end of the world's life. But people who rely on God and who are not crushed by the pain and problems they face will be the winners both in this world and afterlife as a result of their submission to God<sup>20</sup>. For this reason, the good news given in the verse is a great compliment to the believers who accept that life will have all kinds of troubles, like the Prophet and the believers, who endured their experiences with patience and fortitude, and who always maintained their faith in Allah with patience, submission, submission, and optimism<sup>21</sup>. In the Holy Qur'an, another issue that can serve as an example of the acceptance step of ACT is the verses regarding the acceptance of an individual's death. Accepting the existence of death, not being afraid of it, and knowing that all the troubles in the world will end with death offer support to people to endure the pain and the difficulties they face. It is reminded to the man with the verse "*It is He who kills you during the night, knows*

<sup>15</sup> Ebu'l aL'â Mevdudi, *Tefhimu'l Kuran*, çev. Muhammed han Kayanî vd. (İstanbul: İnsan Yayınları, 1995), 1/129.

<sup>16</sup> Ebussuûd Efendi, *Ebussuûd Tefsiri*, çev. Ali Akın (İstanbul: Boğaziçi Yayınları, 2006), 7/3083.

<sup>17</sup> İbn Kesir, *Hadislerle Kur'an Kerim Tefsiri*, çev. Bekir Karlıağa - Bedrettin Çetiner (İstanbul: Çağrı yayınları, 1988), 3/634.

<sup>18</sup> Zuhayli, *Tefsirü'l-Münir*, 1/331.

<sup>19</sup> al-Bakara 2/155.

<sup>20</sup> Hayrettin Karaman et al., *Kur'an Yolu Türkçe Meâl ve Tefsir* (Ankara: Diyanet İşleri Başkanlığı Yayınları, 2012), 1/241.

<sup>21</sup> Karaman et al., *Kur'an Yolu Türkçe Meâl ve Tefsir*, 1/242.

what you do during the day, and then brings you back to life (every) morning, so that the appointed term may be fulfilled. Then to Him is your return. In the end, He will inform you of what you have done”<sup>22</sup> that there is death at the end of worldly life, an individual must accept the existence of death whether s/s/he wants it or not, and that what s/s/he experiences in the world after death has a counterpart in the afterlife. In a way, Allah the Almighty kills people during the night in sleep and brings them back to life during the day, even though He knows what they will do. In this way, the appointed time for every human being is completed, and no one can postpone the time determined for him/her by Allah even in the blink of an eye.<sup>23</sup> This enables people to accept the existence of death and what they have experienced. “Allah causes people to die when their time of death comes and makes those who do not die as if they had died in their sleep. He keeps those whom He has decreed to die, and He releases others (to life) for a certain period. Surely there are lessons in this for those who think carefully”<sup>24</sup> is another verse showing that accepting the existence of death has much wisdom for people.

## 2.2. Cognitive Defusion

Cognitive defusion can be considered as reducing the true meaning of internal experiences so that thoughts are taken as mere thoughts, emotions are mere feelings, and bodily sensations are mere bodily sensations. There are many techniques developed for cognitive defusion<sup>25</sup>. For example, a negative thought can be viewed calmly, repeated out loud until only its sound remains, or treated as an externally observed event by giving it a form, size, color, speed, or shape. People can thank their minds for such an interesting thought, label the thought process (“I have the thought that I am not good”), or examine the thoughts, feelings, and memories that occurred while experiencing it. Defusion is an acceptance strategy and means accepting annoying thoughts rather than avoiding them or eliminating them. In other words, it means stopping struggling with thoughts and feelings<sup>26</sup>.

Harris explained defusion as follows. “The purpose of defusion is to allow you to fully focus on life rather than getting lost in thoughts or being pushed around by thoughts. When we detach from unhelpful thoughts, we often find that they disappear quickly or distressing emotions diminish quickly. However, these are extras and are not our main concern. For this reason, of course, if this happens, enjoy it, but do not expect these.”<sup>27</sup>

Based on Harris’ statements, it is possible to argue that the concept of submission, which is mentioned in the Holy Quran, together with the concept of patience, enables us to accept thoughts that do not benefit us and hurt and wear us out. Derived from the root *wakl* meaning entrusting in Allah in the dictionary, Tawakkul means “taking someone's work upon oneself, giving assurance to someone, entrusting one's work to someone, and trusting them”. The essence of submission is that an individual surrenders himself to God's will in every situation s/s/he faces and consents to everything that comes from Him.<sup>28</sup>

<sup>22</sup> al-En'âm 6/60.

<sup>23</sup> Ebussuûd Efendi, *Ebussuûd Tefsiri*, 5/1951.

<sup>24</sup> al-Zümer 39/42.

<sup>25</sup> Steven C. Hayes – Kirk D. Strosahl, *A Practical Guide To Acceptance And Commitment Therapy* (Newyork: Springer, 2004).

<sup>26</sup> Russ Harris, *Mutluluk Tuzağı*, çev. M.Hakan Türkçapar - K. Fatih Yavuz (İstanbul: Litera Yayıncılık, 2022).

<sup>27</sup> Harris, *Mutluluk Tuzağı*, 57.

<sup>28</sup> Mustafa Çağrı, “Tevekkül”, *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslam Ansiklopedisi* (İstanbul: TDV Yayınları, 2012), 41/1.



It is seen in the Holy Qur'an that no matter how bad the events faced by individuals are, people who put their submission in Allah without focusing on the problem are praised. Muslims who were persecuted for their faith during the time of the Prophet migrated to Abyssinia and then to Medina, upon the permission of the Prophet. Muslims in Mecca, who were subjected to many economic and political pressures and troubles, were patient with a full commitment and relied on Allah. The following verses were revealed in the Qur'an about them "We will place those who emigrate in the way of Allah after being oppressed, in a good place in this world, and the reward of the afterlife is greater, if only they knew! Because they were patient and put their submission in their Lord"<sup>29</sup>. The expressions in this verse are not limited to the first Muslims in Mecca, they also include all believers who faced the events they experienced with unshakable faith, complete submission, and patience like them.<sup>30</sup> For this reason, when an individual faces a negative situation, s/s/he asks, "Why does this always happen to me?" Do I have bad luck? Life will become more meaningful for him/her when s/s/he withdraws from thoughts such as these and allows the events experienced to guide him/her rather than manage him/her. In this process, the concepts of patience and submission, which are frequently emphasized in the Holy Qur'an, shed light on the individual.

Another example of the cognitive defusion step of acceptance and commitment therapy in the Holy Qur'an is the verses describing the situation of an individual who falls into despair by sinning. When an individual commits a sin knowingly or unknowingly, s/s/he falls into despair because s/s/he worries that God will no longer love him/her or be pleased with him/her, and s/s/he may internally see himself/herself as a "sinner" and think that God will not forgive him/her. However, if an individual who commits a sin and does things that Allah does not like, regrets what s/s/he did, believing that Allah will forgive him/her, Allah Almighty will say, "O My servants who have transgressed the limits in sins to their detriment! Do not despair of Allah's mercy. Allah will forgive all sins (if He wills), indeed, He is very forgiving, very merciful"<sup>31</sup>. Because God's mercy and forgiveness are wide enough to never allow the individual to fall into despair<sup>32</sup>. The hope in this verse, which is said to be the most hopeful in the Qur'an, is not to encourage people to sin, but to direct even the most sinful people to repent and turn to Allah as soon as possible<sup>33</sup>. There is no one and no sin that Allah will not forgive after an individual turns to Allah with repentance in time and in line with the conditions<sup>34</sup>. For this reason, when an individual commits a negative act that harms himself/herself or others, s/s/he must separate his/her mind from thoughts such as "How did I do this, how can I continue my life from now on?" and as emphasized in the verse "Whoever commits evil or wrongs himself/herself and then asks for forgiveness, s/s/he will find Allah very forgiving and merciful"<sup>35</sup> and must live his/her remaining life after repenting.

<sup>29</sup> al-Nahl 16/41-42.

<sup>30</sup> Karaman et al., *Kur'an Yolu Tefsiri*, 3/399-400.

<sup>31</sup> al-Zümer 39/53.

<sup>32</sup> Karaman et al., *Kur'an Yolu Tefsiri*, 4/627.

<sup>33</sup> Elmalılı Muhammed Hamdi Yazır, *Hak Dini Kur'an Dili*, sad. İsmail Karaçam et al. (İstanbul: Zehraveyn: 1992), 6/501.

<sup>34</sup> Zeki Duman, *Beyânu'l Hak* (Ankara: Fecr Yayınları, 2006), 2/170.

<sup>35</sup> al-Nisa 4/110.

### 2.3. Contact with the Present Moment

The purpose of being in the moment is to enable individuals to experience the world more directly so that their behaviors are more flexible and their actions are more consistent with their values<sup>36</sup>. Being in the moment is when people experience their inner experiences and the events around them as if they were happening right now, rather than focusing on past or future events. In general, it means accepting internal and external events flexibly, fluidly, and voluntarily as they are, without any evaluation or judgment. Being in the moment with one's internal and external environment helps one experience the world as it is. Being in the moment requires at least three skills (focusing attention on the present, experiencing clearly and fully what is happening at the moment, and observing these events without any judgment). Flexible contact with the moment is of great importance in rumination about the past or worrying about the future because the person is not in touch with the events happening now in both cases, but is interested in the events that have happened or might have happened before. An individual who cannot be aware of the moment because of rumination or anxiety about the future can be taught to recognize flexible contact with the present moment and refocus their attention on their current internal experiences and events around them<sup>37</sup>.

Being here now allows us to take a step back and see problems from a broader perspective. Individuals who have this skill live in the moment and can adapt to changing conditions very quickly. In other words, by stepping back, they can see even the painful events in life within the big picture. However, individuals who lack this skill tend to ruminate about the past, worry about the future, or do both. Being present makes such individuals anxious and restless. They are lost in their own life stories and events<sup>38</sup>. As Mevlana Celaleddin-i Rumi (ö. 672/1273) said, "Do not look at the past and be sad, nor look to the future and be anxious. Live the moment you are in, because you exist in that moment."

The best example of the presence step of ACT therapy can be seen in the Surah Yusuf of the Qur'an. In this surah, in which the events that Prophet Yusuf experienced as a result of his brothers' jealousy are described in detail, Prophet Yakub is seen to be successful at the moment in the face of what s/he experienced. As narrated in the surah, Yakub's other sons, jealous of their father's love for Yusuf, threw him into a well and then came to their father and told him that a wolf had eaten Yusuf. To convince Yakub of this event, his sons smeared a fake blood mark on Yusuf's shirt and showed it to him. According to one narration, Yakub, upon seeing his son's bloody shirt, expressed his sadness by saying "By Allah, I have never seen such a docile wolf before. It ate my son but did not tear his shirt"<sup>39</sup>. Prophet Yakub said, "No! Your soul has led you to do evil, so I must be patient. But it is only Allah who can be relied upon against what you tell us"<sup>40</sup>. It is seen in these verses

<sup>36</sup> Hayes et al., "Acceptance and Commitment Therapy: Model, Processes and Outcomes", 1-25.

<sup>37</sup> Michael P. Twohig, "Introduction: The Basics of Acceptance and Commitment Therapy", *Cognitive and Behavioral Practice* 19(4) (2012), 499-507.

<sup>38</sup> Kirk Strosahl et al., *Radikal Değişimler İçin Kısa Müdahaleler*, çev. K. Fatih Yavuz-Merve Terzioğlu (İstanbul: Litera Yayıncılık, 2022).

<sup>39</sup> Ebussuûd Efendi, *Ebussuûd Tefsiri*, çev. Ali Akın (İstanbul: Boğaziçi Yayınları, 2006), 7/3083.

<sup>40</sup> al-Yusuf 12/18.

that Prophet Yakub did not believe the lie his sons told him and in the face of the great sadness, s/he chose to contact the present moment, did not ask his sons about the past, did not judge them for what they did, and expressed that Allah was his helper to endure the lie they told him<sup>41</sup>. In the verse, the expression “*Sabrı Cemil* (praised patience)” that Prophet Yakub sought refuge in to endure what s/he experienced means patience shown without complaining to people in any way<sup>42</sup>, and this patience is only possible by being able to stay in the moment.

In the following verses of the Surah Yusuf, Yusuf is taken out of the well, bought by an Egyptian, thrown into prison when s/he became a young man, and when s/he was released from prison, s/he was made the head of the Treasury Department of the country where s/he lived, and when his brothers came to buy grain from the country where s/he lived, s/he met them. Yusuf recognized his brothers and asked them to bring their absent brothers to him to give them provisions. Then Yusuf played a trick on them and took his brother hostage<sup>43</sup>. When Yakub’s sons told them all this, Yakub did not believe them, and another son was added to Joseph’s pain of separation. What happened next is described in the following verses of the Quran as follows:

*“Their father said: ‘No, your souls have deceived you in this matter. I must be patient. Perhaps Allah will bring them all to me. Surely, He is the Knowing, the Wise. And s/he turned away from them and said, ‘O Joseph’s Fire! Enough! Enough!’ And his eyes became white with grief. He was swallowing and gulping. They said, “You are still talking about Joseph. By Allah, you will waste away and be destroyed. Interesting! He said, “I complain of my grief only to Allah, and I know from Allah what you do not know. O my sons, seek Joseph and his brother and do not despair of the mercy of Allah. For none despair of the mercy of Allah except the disbelievers”<sup>44</sup>.*

What Yakub said about the pain of separation from his child for the second time showed that s/he preferred to remain in the moment in the face of what was happening, just like the words s/he said when s/he lost Yusuf. Although Yakub was sad about what was happening and angry with his children, he did not say or do anything that would not please them. For this reason, s/he remained silent about the pain he faced without complaining to anyone, including those who caused him that pain<sup>45</sup>, he sought refuge in Allah and begged Him because of his sadness and grief<sup>46</sup> and he did not lose his faith that Allah would have mercy on him and give him joy from an unexpected source<sup>47</sup>. He also thought that there was great wisdom regarding all these troubles he faced<sup>48</sup>. For this reason, when Yakub was separated from his second son, he did not confront his other children about what happened to Joseph, he did not believe what they told him but avoided a judgmental attitude about their past, and he focused only on the moment he was living in, taking refuge in God, which is an important example of the “being in the moment” stage of ACT therapy.

<sup>41</sup> Muhammed Ali es- Sâbûnî, *Safvetü't-Tefâsîr*, çev. Sadrettin Gümüş ve Nedim Yılmaz (İstanbul: İz Yayıncılık, 2003), 3/143.

<sup>42</sup> Said Havva, *el-Esâs fi't-Tefsîr*, çev. M. Beşîr Eryarsoy (İstanbul: Şamil Yayınevi, 1989), 3/143.

<sup>43</sup> al-Yusuf 12/19-82.

<sup>44</sup> al-Yusuf 12/83-87.

<sup>45</sup> Havva, *el-Esâs fi't-Tefsîr*, 7/230.

<sup>46</sup> Havva, *el-Esâs fi't-Tefsîr*, 7/231.

<sup>47</sup> Sâbûnî, *Safvetü't-Tefâsîr*, 3/184.

<sup>48</sup> Ebussuûd Efendi, *Ebussuûd Tefsiri*, 7/3177.

In the continuation of the story of Joseph, when Yakub's sons returned to Egypt to take their brothers who were taken hostage, they expressed their regret with the following words when they realized that Joseph was their brother<sup>49</sup>. "They said, 'By God, God has made you superior to us. We were indeed sinners.' Joseph said, 'There is no blame on you today. May God forgive you. He is the most merciful of the merciful'<sup>50</sup>. Yusuf's statement "There is no blame on you today" regarding his brothers' regrets is a very good example of his preference for remaining in the moment. The fact that s/he emphasized "today" without feeling angry towards his brothers, despite being separated from his family and homeland, having to live with people s/he did not know, and even being imprisoned, meant that s/he would not scold them in any way at that moment<sup>51</sup> and that there would be no reproach or complaint towards them at that moment when they were to account for what they did. Yusuf's statement conveys the message, "Do not think of my words as a reproach or accusation, and do not think that something bad will happen to us in the future. Do not worry, nothing will happen to you"<sup>52</sup>. Here, it is seen that Yusuf evaluates the pain in the big picture, distances himself from feelings such as anxiety, stress, anger, and resentment for the future, and prefers to live the happiness of the moment.

#### 2.4. Self as Context

This concept is the core of ACT and RFT<sup>53</sup> and is also increasingly important in linguistic functions such as empathy, theory of mind, and sense of self<sup>54</sup>. The contextual self is supported in the ACT with mindfulness exercises, metaphors, and experiential processes<sup>55</sup>. The conceptualized self is the "you" constructed based on self-evaluations and classifications. It is what we believe we are. The clinical problem is that people will try to protect, hold on to, or preserve this conceptualization of self even if it causes ineffective action. For example, if an individual labels themselves as "depressed," they may engage in behaviors that continue to define themselves as depressed, based on a core belief that they need to be protected. In ACT, they attempt to develop a sense of self as context by experiencing "I/here/now" without defining internal-external events, and by providing awareness or perspective-taking. Similar to other ACT processes, there is flexibility here. The contextual self is considered to be facilitated in mindfulness exercises by cognitive defusion applied in the six ACT processes.

In his book, *Learning ACT Made Easy*, Harris (2022) explained the contextual self as follows. "The contextual self is the part of you that observes everything. Metaphorically, it is a) a safe space in which you can be open to difficult thoughts and feelings and make room, and b) a perspective or vantage point from which to step back and observe thoughts and feelings. We reach this

<sup>49</sup> al-Yusuf 12/90.

<sup>50</sup> al-Yusuf 12/91-92.

<sup>51</sup> Havva, *el-Esâs fi't-Tefsîr*, 7/233; Celeleddin El-Mahallî- Celeleddin Es-Suyûtî, *Tefsîrü'l-Celâleyn*, çev. Ali Rıza Kaşeli (İstanbul: Sağlam Yayınları, 2015), 2/197.

<sup>52</sup> Yazır, *Hak Dini Kur'an Dili*, 5/88.

<sup>53</sup> Steven C. Hayes, "Making Sense of Spirituality", *Behaviorism* 12 (1984), 99-110.

<sup>54</sup> Louise Mchug et al., "Knowing Me, Knowing You: Deictic Complexity in Falsebelief Understanding", *The Psychological Record* 57 (2007), 533-542.

<sup>55</sup> Hayes et al., "Acceptance and Commitment Therapy: Model, Processes and Outcomes", 1-25.

psychological space by actively observing what we see, or in other words, by deliberately bringing awareness to our awareness. Here, the aim is to increase defusion (especially defusion from the conceptualized self) and enhance acceptance by reaching a stable and secure perspective from which difficult internal experiences are observed. Another target here is to experience a stable sense of self amid constant change. In other words, it can be considered an observation point that allows us to shift our attention from problem-solving to the problem-solving process<sup>56</sup>.

The contextual self-step of acceptance and commitment therapy, which aims to see the individual's thoughts about themselves as separate from their actions, is seen in the verses of the Qur'an that deal with the individual's responsibility to do an action and to realize it. When the verse "Whether you reveal what is in your hearts or conceal it, Allah will call you to account for it"<sup>57</sup> was revealed, according to the narration of Ibn Abbas, one of the companions, Abu Bakr, Omar, and some people went to the Prophet and said, "O Messenger of Allah! We have been charged with deeds beyond our strength. Indeed, one of us may think of what s/he does not want to be in his heart..." Then, Almighty Allah revealed the verse "Allah does not impose on any soul more than it can"<sup>58</sup>. The Prophet then said, "Allah Almighty has forgiven my ummah for what they said to themselves, as long as they did not do it or say it"<sup>59</sup>. It is understood from this narration that different thoughts pass through the mind of an individual and these thoughts can sometimes have negative characteristics. Despite this, there is a part of an individual that observes him/herself and this part allows the person to separate from the things that pass through his/her mind. When we look at the hadith of the Prophet, we see that the negative thoughts or actions that pass through an individual's mind are not the responsibility. Many thoughts that do not comply with moral and religious values may pass through an individual's mind, but in general, an individual's thoughts can be divided into two; some of these are in his/her heart, and one resolves to realize them, but s/he/she cannot get rid of some of them even though s/he/she does not like them. An individual is responsible for the first type of thoughts, but s/he/she is not responsible for the second type of thoughts<sup>60</sup>. Similarly, according to ACT, when people believe and accept the thoughts passing from their minds as the ultimate truths reflecting who they are, they might fall into depression or the hands of self-blaming and self-shame, which may stop them from leading a life based on their values and decrease their psychological flexibility. On the other hand, when people notice that whatever they do or think, there is an encompassing part of theirs that observes everything and becomes aware of everything, they can understand that their self is bigger than their thoughts and actions, which gives them the idea that their specific thoughts and actions do not reflect who they are, which may increase their psychological flexibility, help forgive themselves and continue their life by holding onto their values.<sup>61</sup>

<sup>56</sup> Strosahl et al., *Radikal Değişimler İçin Kısa Müdahaleler*.

<sup>57</sup> al-Bakara 2/284.

<sup>58</sup> al-Bakara 2/286.

<sup>59</sup> Fahrudin Er-Râzî, *Tefsîr-î Kebir Mefâtîhu'l Gayb*, çev. Suat Yıldırım et al. (Ankara: Akçağ yayınları, 1989), 6/73-74.

<sup>60</sup> Râzî, *Tefsîr-î Kebir Mefâtîhu'l Gayb*, 6/74.

<sup>61</sup> Russ Harris, *Act'i Kolay Öğrenmek*, çev. Fatma Betül Esen-K. Fatih Yavuz (İstanbul: Litera Yayıncılık, 2022).

## 2.5. Values

Values are chosen qualities of purposeful actions that can never be achieved as an object but can be embodied moment by moment. In ACT, acceptance, cognitive defusion, flexible contact with the moment, etc. are not the targets because the six basic ACT processes prepare the ground for a vital, values-consistent life<sup>62</sup>. Values are the elements of life that we value that motivate us to engage in certain activities in ACT. While most people share some common values, values are chosen individually. Values are often compared to goals. For example, marriage is an attainable target, although the value of being a loving and gentle husband may be embodied as an aspect of ongoing action. Values can provide guidance, meaning, and purpose for our actions. In this way, helping individuals clarify their values can help increase the likelihood that they will approach stimuli that initially provoke avoidance, and the relevant reinforcers that have little effect can become more powerful. For example, for an individual diagnosed with an anxiety disorder, approaching an anxiety-provoking stimulus (and allowing the anxiety to be there without defending it) to attend an event at their child's school (if this is a key parenting value) will increase the reinforcing value of the anxiety<sup>63</sup>.

In his book "The Happiness Trap", Harris (2022) defines values as follows. "They are the deepest desires in our hearts, how we want to be and how we want to relate to the world around us. They are guiding principles to guide and motivate us as we go about our lives. When we live our lives in line with values, we face a sense of vitality and joy within us, and feel also that life can be enhanced, full and meaningful even when bad things happen." In other words, it is very important to use values to survive when faced with difficulties in life.

In the Qur'an, it is seen that many things are promised so that an individual can endure the events they will experience in the world. Among the things promised, the one that is frequently emphasized is Paradise. However, there is a very important value in the Qur'an that enables believers to cope with all the difficulties they face accurately. "*Allah has promised the believer men and the believer women gardens beneath which rivers flow to abide in them forever, and beautiful dwellings in gardens of perpetual residence. And the approval of Allah is greater than all of them, and that is the great happiness*"<sup>64</sup>. As stated in this verse, this value is to gain Allah's approval.

The expression at the end of the verse shows that the happiness provided by spiritual pleasures is much superior to the happiness provided by material means. Because something used as a means to an end cannot be more valuable and important than it. If gaining Allah's approval were a means to attain the blessings of paradise, then it would mean that these blessings are more important than gaining Allah's approval. However, it is emphasized in the verse that those who fully submit to Allah's will shall attain very beautiful blessings with His grace and that more important than all these blessings, they will gain His approval, and that the greatest success an individual can achieve is to attain His approval<sup>65</sup>. In all the troubles an individual faces, when tested by losing his wealth, relatives, and loved ones, if s/s/he endures all these pains by relying on Allah, knowing that s/s/he will eventually gain Allah's approval will be effective in alleviating the pain s/s/he experiences.

<sup>62</sup> Hayes et al., "Acceptance and Commitment Therapy: Model, Processes and Outcomes", 1-25.

<sup>63</sup> Twohig, "Introduction: The Basics of Acceptance and Commitment Therapy", 499-507.

<sup>64</sup> al-Tevbe 9/72.

<sup>65</sup> Karaman et al., *Kur'an Yolu Tefsiri*, 3/33-34.

The greatest blessing an individual can attain is not limited to gaining Allah's approval alone in the Holy Qur'an, but the importance of the servant being pleased with Allah is also emphasized. "You, the one who has attained the peace of faith! Return to your Lord, well-pleased to Him and He well-pleased from you. So join My true servants and enter My Paradise!"<sup>66</sup>. In these verses, the fact that the verse begins by directly addressing the individual, without using an expression such as "He will be called in the hereafter," is a warm and elegant style and a very beautiful compliment from Allah towards His servants. Even this style is like a scent full of good news for the believer, spreading to this world, of the happiness of the hereafter. In the verse, the "nafs-i mutmainnah" translated as "the person who has attained the peace of faith" describes the believer who has perfected his soul by living a worldly life as Allah desires. The conflicts within an individual who has attained the peace of faith by reaching the level of "nafs-i mutmainnah" have calmed down, his/her troubles have ended, s/s/he has become at peace with both Allah and other people, and s/s/he has become happy because of all these. The greatest happiness an individual can face is to please his Lord as a result of serving Him completely, to be rewarded by Him, and to be pleased with Him. The last blessing that this love and contentment brings to an individual is seen as Paradise, as the thing that is "superior to all blessings" is to gain the consent of Allah<sup>67</sup>.

In the above verses, the emphasis on gaining His approval as the greatest happiness an individual can reach is in line with the value level of ACT therapy. When an individual determines the highest value s/s/he will reach as God's approval in every pain and trouble s/s/he faces, s/s/he will not allow the pain s/s/he experiences to consume him/her and since s/s/he has set this value as his/her target, s/s/he will be free from all material troubles and will reach peace. Also, this peace s/s/he has will not be short-lived but eternal.

An individual must remember that the greatest happiness s/s/he can attain is Allah's approval, not only when s/he faces pain and trouble, but also when s/he enjoys different blessings in this world. "Know that the life of this world is a game, a diversion, a show-off, boasting among yourselves, and a competition in wealth and children. It is like a rain that makes farmers envy it, then withers, and then turns yellow, and then becomes chaff. In the Hereafter, there is either severe punishment or Allah's forgiveness and pleasure. The life of this world is nothing but a deceptive enjoyment"<sup>68</sup>. The verse expresses that while in this world, an individual has blessings that many people envy, such as being rich and having children, and even boasts about these blessings to others. When the verse is examined in general, it is expressed that it is necessary to accept the existence of death, that all blessings in this world are temporary, and for this reason, the most important value that an individual must possess is to gain Allah's approval. For this reason, the issues emphasized in this verse meet both the acceptance and value stages of ACT therapy.

## 2.6. Commitment in Value-Focused Behaviors

In his book Learning ACT Easily, Harris's (2022) answer to the question of what is committed action is as follows. "Committed action means effective actions guided and motivated by values, which includes physical action (overt behavior) and psychological action (implicit behavior). Committed action refers to flexible action. In other words, it also means easily adapting to the difficulties of the situation and continuing the behavior or changing the behavior when necessary. In other words, it is to do what is

<sup>66</sup> al-Fecr 89/27-30.

<sup>67</sup> Karaman et al., Kur'an Yolu Tefsiri, 5/621-622.

<sup>68</sup> al-Hadid 57/20.

necessary to live in harmony with your values. Here, the purpose is to translate values into ongoing, developing, effective, dynamic overt and implicit patterns.

According to Strosahl et al. (2022), individuals who can take actions in line with their personal beliefs and values are in connection with their values in important areas of life such as work life, private life, leisure time, and spiritual development, and all their behaviors reflect these. When faced with difficult conditions of life (which can also be called “tests”), they exhibit active and patient solution-oriented behaviors in line with their values. They also see the ups and downs of life as opportunities for growth and development within the scope of their values. However, people who lack skills in this field have not been able to determine a direction for themselves in life and feel lost. When faced with the difficulties of life, they either remain passive and withdraw or tend to exhibit impulsive, self-destructive behaviors such as substance use, aggression, or escape avoidance. As a result, they fail to resolve problems and for this reason, the difficulties of life are seen as more unmanageable.

The verses in the Quran addressing how an individual must behave in difficult times reflect the commitment step of ACT therapy in value-focused behaviors. The values that will guide an individual's behavior when they are angry, lose their wealth or loved ones, are wronged, or do harm to themselves or others are clearly emphasized in many verses in the Quran. Individuals who have these values, firstly, can achieve psychological well-being and be suitable role models for others in this regard, regardless of what they experience.

In the verses of the Quran that involve the characteristics of pious people, the values that a believer must possess are explained. “*Compete to the forgiveness of your Lord and to enter Paradise, which is as vast as the heavens and the earth, prepared for the pious. They (i.e., the pious) spend in the way of Allah in prosperity and hardship, and they suppress their anger and forgive people. Allah loves those who do good. When they do something ugly or do evil to themselves, they remember Allah and ask forgiveness for their sins. And who can forgive sins except Allah? They do not persist in what they do knowingly*”<sup>69</sup>. According to these verses, wealth does not make pious people selfish, and poverty does not make a person forget to spend in the way of Allah. Knowing very well the good aspects and weaknesses of the human being He created, Almighty Allah does not exclude a believer who sins the ranks of believers when he regrets what he has done and repents, and does not separate him from the pious who will enter Paradise. One of the striking values in this verse is overcoming anger and forgiving people. The word “*qayz*” translated as anger in the verse means “the excitement a person feels towards something unpleasant”. The sense of piety in a person enables him/her to overcome his/her anger in the face of events and forgive people. The word “*kazim (plural kazimîn)*” in the verse means “one who overcomes his/her anger, does not take revenge on those he harms even though s/he has the power, and is patient”<sup>70</sup>. When these verses are considered in general, we see that the most fundamental value that a believer must have to gain happiness in this world and the hereafter and to attain Allah’s consent is *taqwa*.

The values mentioned in the verse above, such as overcoming anger, being patient with what people do, and forgiving mistakes, are also emphasized in other verses of the Quran. It is possible to see very beautiful examples of this subject in the Surah Yusuf, which we have discussed under the heading of “Contact with the Moment”. Jacob was a prophet who experienced great pain and sorrow because of his separation from Joseph. To understand the pain Jacob experienced because

<sup>69</sup> al-Âl-i İmrân 3/133-135.

<sup>70</sup> Karaman et al., *Kur'an Yolu Tefsiri*, 1/671-674.



of what happened to him, the Prophet asked Gabriel, “How much was Jacob’s separation from Joseph?” Gabriel replied, “The separation of seventy mothers who have lost their children.” Then he asked, “Then how much is his reward?” He replied, “The reward of a hundred martyrs. Because he did not think badly of Allah for even a moment”<sup>71</sup>. This narration shows how Jacob managed to be patient. According to another narration, Jacob’s eyebrows would go down to his eyes because of his sadness for his son, and he would raise them with the help of a cloth. When he was asked why he was in this state, Jacob replied, “A long time and a lot of sadness.” For this reason, Allah Almighty said to him, “Oh Jacob! Are you complaining to me?” He said, “Oh my Lord! I made a mistake, forgive me!”<sup>72</sup>. These statements of Jacob show that he was ashamed to even describe the pain he was experiencing to others and how much he avoided rebelling against Allah. Trying to overcome the great pain he experienced by relying entirely on Allah, Jacob aimed to gain Allah’s consent as his worth and was able to be patient with what his sons did, did not harbor feelings of grudge and hatred towards them, did not harm them by getting angry even though he knew they were lying, and told his grievance only to Allah.

There are also verses on this subject in surahs other than Surah Yusuf that show the ability to forgive people’s faults as an important value. The verses revealed after the “Ifq Incident” show that Allah finds it very valuable for people to forgive each other as a value. The incident known as the “Ifq Incident” in sources is the slander against the Prophet’s wife Aisha of adultery<sup>73</sup>. The main name of those who made the slander was Abdullah B. Ubey and a few other people caused this ugly slander to spread. One of these names was a person named Mistah, the son of the aunt of Aisha’s father Abu Bakr. When it was confirmed by the verses revealed that the ugly things said about Aisha were slander, Abu Bakr swore that he would no longer help this ungrateful relative whom he constantly helped. Then, the verse “*Let not those of you who are charitable and rich swear that they will not give anything to relatives or the needy or to those who migrate in the way of Allah. Let them forgive and overlook. Do you not wish that Allah would forgive you? Allah is Forgiving, Merciful*”<sup>74</sup> was revealed. When this verse was revealed, Abu Bakr said, “By Allah, I desire that Allah forgive me, I prefer that to everything else” and broke his oath and decided to continue helping. Because, in Islamic morality, there is a rule of “treating evil with good”. If a person’s nature and basic human qualities are not corrupted, the way to turn him away from evil, reform him, and include him back in a virtuous community is to forgive him<sup>75</sup>. This event emphasizes that even if a person is very right in the events he experiences with others and is very hurt and injured, he should see forgiving him as a value to both heal his wound and to ensure that the other party regrets the evil he did. Moreover, when a person treats the person who did him harm according to this value, he will gain a much greater value, namely, Allah will forgive him.

<sup>71</sup> Ebü'l-Fazl Celâlüddîn Abdurrahmân b. Ebî Bekr b. Muhammed el-Hudayrî es-Süyûtî, *ed-Dürrü'l-Mensur fi't-tefsîr bi'l-me'sûr: Hadislerle Kur'ân-ı Kerîm Tefsiri*, çev.Zekeriya Yıldız et al. (İstanbul:Ocak Yayıncılık, 2013), 4/570.

<sup>72</sup> Ebussuûd Efendi, *Ebussuûd Tefsiri*, 7/3083.

<sup>73</sup> Mustafa Fayda, “İfk Hadisesi,” *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslam Ansiklopedisi* (İstanbul: Tdv Yayınları, 2000), 21/507-509.

<sup>74</sup> al-Nur 24/22.

<sup>75</sup> Karaman et al., *Kur'an Yolu Tefsiri*, 4/63.

It hurts more when the one who harms and causes pain is especially a family member. However, in such a situation, the Almighty Allah revealed the following verses: *"Oh you who believe! Among your spouses and children are enemies to you, so beware of them. But if you pardon and are tolerant and forgiving, then surely Allah is Forgiving and merciful. Your wealth and your children are only a test for you, and with Allah is the great reward"*<sup>76</sup>. According to the message in this verse, even people who are connected with the strongest bonds of love, such as spouses, parents, and children, may not always have the same unity of purpose. Knowingly or unknowingly, believers may suffer harm from these relatives that will damage their happiness in the hereafter. All the material and spiritual opportunities that a person has and the love and sense of attachment felt for these opportunities are a test for him/her. And the real happiness that is worth striving to achieve is with Allah<sup>77</sup>. To achieve this happiness, not pointing out people's mistakes, not bragging, covering up their shortcomings, and forgiving them will ensure that a person's sins are forgiven by Allah<sup>78</sup>. Allah treats him the way a person treats his loved ones<sup>79</sup>. For this reason, if a believer chooses to gain Allah's consent and be honored with His forgiveness as a value when he has problems with his closest ones, he must first be able to forgive others.

It is not always possible for believers to adopt the consideration of Allah's consent as a value in the face of events they face, and sometimes this is hard on the soul. Allah Almighty addresses his servants with the following verses regarding how to behave in such a situation. *"Oh you who believe! Seek help through patience and prayer. Indeed, Allah is with the patient"*<sup>80</sup>. Allah supports and protects those who turn to Him, rely on Him, are patient and pray and implore Him, never abandons them, and always helps them<sup>81</sup>.

According to the verse given above, Allah wants His servants to seek His help through patience and prayer when they are in trouble. When we consider why patience and prayer are emphasized in this verse, patience is a product of the determination, strong determination, and willpower that a person shows to achieve any goal, and devotion. For this reason, patience is a person's attitude towards himself/herself. Prayer, on the other hand, is a state in which a person turns to Allah with his/her tongue, heart, and body, in other words, with his/her whole being. For this reason, prayer is also a believer's attitude towards Allah. A person who strengthens himself/herself with patience and establishes unity with Allah through prayer has provided the psychological conditions for success<sup>82</sup>. Also, prayer, which is one of the two most valuable elements that a person can ask for help from Allah to be able to endure the bad events he experiences, gives satisfaction and peace to the person who performs it, as it is an act of worship that prevents a person from all kinds of evil<sup>83</sup>.

Another verse in the Quran commands patience and prayer against the events that a person faces. The verse, *"Seek help from Allah through patience and prayer. These are indeed hardships except for those who submit to Allah with humility"*<sup>84</sup> emphasizes the importance of these two acts of worship so that a person does not get lost in the events and pain s/he experiences when s/he encounters difficulties and troubles. Because the

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<sup>76</sup> al-Teğabün64/14-15.

<sup>77</sup> Karaman et al., *Kur'an Yolu Tefsiri*, 5/376.

<sup>78</sup> Yazır, *Hak Dini Kur'an Dili*, 8/96.

<sup>79</sup> Zuhaylî, *Tefsirü'l-Münir*, 14/500.

<sup>80</sup> al-Bakara 2/153.

<sup>81</sup> Zeki Duman, *Beyânu'l Hak*, (Ankara: Fecr Yayınları, 2006), 3/55.

<sup>82</sup> Karaman et al., *Kur'an Yolu Tefsiri*, 1/240.

<sup>83</sup> Havva, *el-Esâs fi't-Tefsîr*, 1/369.

<sup>84</sup> al-Bakara 2/45.

patience required to endure pain, to resist it, and to overcome it is the key to every success. Impatient people are always in trouble and do not have the endurance for worldly events. Also, they are people who want everything, are disturbed by everything, always have their eyes on others without appreciating the blessings they have, and are ruined when they see a small lack because they cannot bear it. For this reason, if people who are in a tight spot or face trouble connect their hearts to Allah and believe that this will pass with His permission and wait for Allah's help with a clean heart and mature faith, the result will be salvation for them. For this reason, a person should accustom their soul to patience and make patience a habit. This habit is not to leave pain, but to get rid of it<sup>85</sup> because patience is not showing helplessness and surrendering to troubles in the face of difficulties, on the contrary, it is showing the will to overcome difficulties by trusting in Allah's grace<sup>86</sup>. All these verses in the Quran that recommend patience and prayer show that if a person chooses to be pious and gain Allah's consent as the most important value in life in the face of the events he experiences, patience and prayer come first among the actions he needs to take to reach this value. This reflects ACT's commitment step in value-oriented behaviors very well.

In summary, a satisfying life does not mean that difficult life events (also called "tests") and emotions will disappear, it means that our way of relating to the difficulties and difficult emotions of this life will change. Because worldly life contains feelings of love, joy, and gratitude along with feelings of fear and sadness. Humans naturally can adapt to all these situations. In Arabic, the word "human" comes from the word "ins-nesy", meaning "insiyen", which also means "to forget". It is connected to the infinitive "uns". It is used as *uns-unsiyet*, meaning to get used to and adapt. What is expected from humans is to be able to stay in the moment and not get lost in their own story (awareness), to accept distressing inner experiences without judgment (being open), and to be able to separate from them (separation), and to establish a connection with the values they have chosen and take action in line with them (commitment-orientation in value-focused behaviors).

### 3. Discussion And Conclusion

Acceptance and Commitment Therapy (ACT) is a method developed from cognitive behavioral therapy. ACT is interested in making room for pain and improving the quality of life by helping people move towards values chosen for a meaningful life<sup>87</sup> (Tanhan, 2018). The aim of this method, in which pain is seen as a part of life, is to increase psychological flexibility in people. In this therapy, which opposes ignoring or ignoring pain, it is essential to recognize pain and accept it and show how pain can be lived with its existence. ACT is seen as an approach suitable for religious sensitivities due to its contextual structure and its foundation in processes such as acceptance, compassion, and awareness<sup>88</sup>. Functional contextualism and Islam, which are the philosophical foundations of ACT, share many intersections conceptually and practically. In other words, the similarities between ACT and Islam seem to be much greater than the differences<sup>89</sup>.

<sup>85</sup> Yazır, *Hak Dini Kur'an Dili*, 1/289.

<sup>86</sup> Karaman et al., *Kur'an Yolu Tefsiri*, 1/117-118.

<sup>87</sup> Ahmet Tanhan, "Beginning Counselor Supervision In Counseling And Challenges And Supports They Experience: Based On Developmental Models", *Adıyaman Üniversitesi Eğitim Bilimleri Dergisi* 8/1 (2018), 49-71.

<sup>88</sup> Zuhul Ağılkaya Şahin, "Din Ve Psikoloji Arasındaki Uçurum Gerçekten Ne Kadar Derin? Psikoterapilerdeki Dini İzler", *Cumhuriyet İlahiyat Dergisi* 22(3) (2018), 1607-1632.

<sup>89</sup> Ferhat Yavuz, "ACT and Islam. ACT for Clergy and Pastoral Counselors: Using Acceptance and Commitment Therapy to Bridge Psychological and Spiritual Care", ed. Jason A. Nieuwsma et al. (New Harbinger Publications: 2016), 140.

The acceptance dimension of ACT is expressed as watching our inner experiences without judgment and accepting these experiences. Acceptance is mostly an active process and is based on allowing inner thoughts and feelings to occur instead of changing or ignoring them, and accepting what is as it is. This aspect of ACT overlaps quite a bit with some concepts frequently mentioned in the Quran. Patience, gratitude, trust in God, and consent come first among these concepts. The Quran, which emphasizes that a person will be tested with various difficulties in worldly life, first asks the individual to accept the existence of these difficulties that await him, and then offers him the key to how he can combat these difficulties. For a person who accepts the existence of death and the afterlife, patience, gratitude, acceptance of what is, and trust in God will guide them in the pain they will experience. At this point, the acceptance step of ACT therapy emphasizes these concepts of the Holy Quran. The stories told in the Quran about the lives of the prophets constitute a model for believers in terms of how the acceptance step is realized in practice.

Another step of ACT, cognitive defusion, is the process of separating oneself from the internal thoughts that the person is currently united with. In this step, a certain distance is tried to be put between the thought and the individual. In this way, the individual can monitor his thoughts from the outside and the possibility of being exposed to the inhibiting effects of thoughts decreases. When an individual separates himself/herself from thoughts that do not benefit him/her, s/he can quickly distance himself from the emotions that disturb him/her. In the Quran, individuals who adopt the concepts of patience and trust in God against the events they experience and who do not allow negative thoughts to take them captive and allow them to guide them are both praised and emphasized that a very good life awaits them in the afterlife. Similarly, it is not tolerated for individuals who tend to behaviors that do not please God to focus on the sin they have committed and to fall into despair, and it is stated that individuals who regret what they have done will be cleansed with the concept of repentance. Such verses are quite compatible with the cognitive separation stage of ACT and guide how to approach pain or any negative event.

Another step of ACT is contact with the moment, which also refers to establishing a purposeful, accepting contact with the moment. It refers to the flow of thoughts, emotions, body sensations, and behaviors in the moment through the individual. The verses in the Quran (especially those describing the pain experienced by Jacob and Joseph) show that both prophets managed to stay in the moment by choosing to forgive their loved ones instead of feelings such as grudge, anger, and hatred. The prophets' success in this first contributed to their struggle with pain and protected them from behaviors that would harm themselves and others. Also, being able to stay in the moment made the individuals who caused the prophets pain regret their actions, allowing both parties to direct their lives without focusing on the past. Such verses, which are the same as the flexible contact with the moment step of ACT, serve as examples of how people who experience many pains in worldly life should behave.

Another important step of ACT is the contextual self, which expresses that we have a self-awareness that remains unchanged even if environmental conditions change. Contextual self-perception gives the individual a sense of wholeness and continuity and deals with seeing the person's thoughts about himself/herself independently of his/her behaviors. The opposite of this, the conceptual self, expresses that the individual adheres to certain definitions for himself/herself. We all have narratives and stories about what kind of person we are. We often believe in the reality of these and do not question them. We guide ourselves according to these stories and limit our

behavioral repertoire according to these narratives. For example, if we tell ourselves that we are a shy person, we do not participate in social activities. In this case, we limit our behavioral storage. There are statements in the Quran and the Hadiths of the Prophet that the negative thoughts or behaviors that pass through a person's mind will not make him/her responsible unless the person expresses them or turns them into action. Such statements in the verses and hadiths reveal that a person separates himself/herself from the negative thoughts that pass through his/her mind thanks to a part of him/her that observes him/herself and that the individual should see his/her thoughts about himself/herself separately from his/her actions. This is expressed in ACT with the concept of “contextual self”.

As another step of ACT, values are elements that are important enough to mobilize the individual in his/her life and motivate him/her to perform certain actions. An individual may act in line with goals that are not compatible with his/her values in his/her life, and this situation may present him/her with an unsatisfactory life. However, in value-oriented behaviors, the individual's behaviors are determined based on his/her values and the person is more satisfied with the results he/she achieves. In the Quran, many values are mentioned that believers can hold on to endure the troubles they experience. Particularly, the verses describing heaven and the blessings in heaven can be given as examples of this. However, in the Quran, it is emphasized that gaining the consent of Allah is a value more beautiful and greater than all material blessings and that the servant is pleased with his/her creator as Allah is pleased with the servant he created. For a person who can possess such a value, all the troubles and pains in the world do not destroy him but rather give him a new life and become a guide that directs all his actions throughout his life.

After individuals' values are defined, the things they need to do to live following these values that make their life richer and fuller constitute the commitment step of ACT in value-focused actions, which is important for a person to live a meaningful life. Having a goal in life that they have determined according to their values requires them to take action for these goals and this prevents the person from getting lost in the pain they experience. Many verses mention the behaviors that can be used to gain Allah's approval, which is emphasized as the highest value in the Quran. To reach this value, believers are asked to perform various actions such as being grateful, being patient, trusting in God, praying, avoiding actions that harm others, especially family members, relatives, and neighbors, knowing how to forgive, being just, helping people in need, repenting when they commit sins, and being sincere and continuous in their worship. The reason for wanting these behaviors is to ensure that the person reaches the ultimate goal (earning God's approval) without giving up in the face of difficulties by aiming to live a quality, healthy, and full life. This is the same as ACT's commitment step in value-oriented actions.

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## The Experiences of Syrian Female Students During the Distance Education and the Insights of Religious Culture and Ethics Teachers into the Process

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### ABSTRACT

Turkey has been hosting a large number of Syrian refugees since 2011 and has allowed Syrians to integrate into the general education system alongside Turkish students since 2016. This situation suggests that Turkey offers a unique experience in the education of Syrian refugees. However, Syrian girls may face disadvantages in their education due to traditional gender roles. Based on this premise, this study aims to examine the educational processes of Syrian girls during the COVID-19 pandemic from the perspectives of teachers, parents, and the students themselves. Therefore, this research seeks to identify the educational experiences of Syrian girls during the pandemic period in Turkey and to evaluate the contribution of religious culture and ethics (RCE) teachers to their ability to receive proper education. The participants of this research, which followed a qualitative design, included 10 students, 5 parents, and 5 RCE teachers selected through snowball sampling. The study's findings reveal that Syrian girls encountered difficulties in accessing and continuing distance education effectively. The data obtained were analyzed by considering the educational challenges experienced by refugee girls during the quarantine period from the perspectives of students, parents, and teachers, and discussed within psychological, social, and cultural contexts. Among these challenges, economic hardships, technical deficiencies, inadequacies in the physical environment, and social adjustment problems emerged as prominent issues. It was found that Syrian refugee girls struggled with limited financial resources, a lack of technological devices such as tablets and computers, inadequate internet access, and a shortage of appropriate learning environments. They also experienced psychological challenges, including isolation and a longing for social interaction, along with shifts in family dynamics. On the other hand, it was observed that Syrian girls and their parents frequently communicated with religious, cultural, and moral education teachers to address these issues. A significant finding that distinguishes this study from similar ones is that Syrian refugee girls, through their participation in both distance and face-to-face education, began to adapt to Turkish culture and lifestyle. According to the perspectives of both students and teachers, Syrian refugee students have become more socially integrated compared to their parents. As a result, it can be concluded that RCE teachers have assumed new, supportive roles in the education of Syrian refugee students.

**Keywords:** Religious Education, Syrian Female Students, Covid-19, Distance Education, Migration, Adaptation.



# Suriyeli Kız Öğrencilerin Uzaktan Eğitim Deneyimleri ve DKAB Öğretmenlerinin Bu Süreçle İlgili Görüşleri

Süreç

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## Öz


Türkiye, 2011'den itibaren geniş çapta Suriyeli mültecilere ev sahipliği yapmakta olup, 2016'dan beri de Suriyelilerin Türk öğrencilerle birlikte genel eğitim sistemine entegre olmalarına olanak sağlamaktadır. Bu durum, Türkiye'nin Suriyeli mültecilerin eğitimi konusunda özgün bir deneyime sahip olduğunu göstermektedir. Bununla birlikte, Suriyeli kız çocukları, geleneksel rolleri nedeniyle eğitim açısından dezavantajlı konumda olabilmektedirler. Buradan yola çıkarak bu çalışma Covid-19 pandemisi döneminde Suriyeli kız çocuklarının eğitim süreçlerinin öğretmenlerin, velilerin ve Suriyeli kız çocuklarının bakış açıları çerçevesinde incelemeyi problem edinmiştir. Dolayısıyla bu araştırma, Türkiye'deki Suriyeli kız çocuklarının pandemi sürecindeki eğitim deneyimlerini ve ailelerinin bu süreçteki etkilerini belirleyerek, din kültürü ve ahlak bilgisi öğretmenlerinin onların sağlıklı bir eğitim alabilme sürecine katkısını değerlendirmeyi hedeflemektedir. Nitel bir desenle kurgulanan bu araştırmanın katılımcıları, 10 öğrenci, 5 veli ve 5 din kültürü ve ahlak bilgisi öğretmeninden oluşmaktadır ve çalışma grubu kartopu örnekleme yöntemi ile belirlenmiştir. Araştırma sonuçlarına göre, Suriyeli kız öğrencilerinin uzaktan eğitime erişimde ve nitelikli bir şekilde devam ettirmede bazı zorluklarla karşılaştıkları belirlenmiştir. Çalışmada elde edilen verilerin analizinde, sığınmacı kız çocuklarının karantina dönemlerindeki uzaktan eğitim süreçlerinde yaşadıkları eğitimsel zorluklar öğrenci, veli ve öğretmen perspektifinden ele alınarak, psikolojik, sosyal ve kültürel bağlamlar çerçevesinde tartışılmıştır. Bu zorluklar arasında düşük ekonomik şartlar, teknik yetersizlikler, fiziksel ortam eksiklikleri ve sosyal adaptasyon sorunları ön plana çıkmaktadır. Suriyeli mülteci kız çocukların söz konusu dönemde eğitim açısından düşük ekonomik şartlar; tablet, bilgisayar vb. teknolojik cihazların bulunmaması, internet erişiminin olmaması gibi teknik yetersizlikler; çevrimiçi eğitimin sağlıklı yürütülmesini engelleyen çalışma veya ders odası olmaması veya ev ortamının eğitime uygun hale getirilememesi gibi fiziksel ortam yetersizlikleri; yalnızlaşma, arkadaşlara özlem ve dışarıda oyun oynayamama gibi psikolojik ve aile içi rollerin değişimi, dış dünyada ile fiziki yönden etkileşimsizlik gibi sosyal sorunlarla karşı karşıya kaldıkları tespit edilmiştir. Diğer taraftan Suriyeli kız öğrenciler ve onların velileri bu tür sorunların çözümünde genellikle din kültürü ve ahlak bilgisi dersi öğretmenleriyle iletişime geçtikleri görülmüştür. Çalışmayı benzer çalışmalardan farklılaştıran önemli bir bulgu ise, Suriyeli mülteci kız öğrenciler katıldıkları uzaktan ve yüzyüze eğitim süreçlerinin sonucu olarak Türkiye'deki kültüre ve yaşam biçimine uyum sağlamaya başladıkları hususudur. Öğrenci ve öğretmenlerin görüşlerine göre Suriyeli mülteci kız ve erkek öğrenciler ebevelerinden farklı olarak sosyal yapı ile daha uyumlu yaşayabilir hale gelmişlerdir. Sonuç olarak din eğitimi ve din kültürü ve ahlak bilgisi dersi öğretmenin, Suriyeli mülteci kız öğrencilerin eğitimlerini destekleyici yeni roller üstlendiği söylenebilir.

**Anahtar Kelimeler:** Din Eğitimi, Suriyeli Kız Çocukları, Covid-19, Uzaktan Eğitim, Göç, Uyum.

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## Introduction

Migration of people from one country to another is a common phenomenon in world history. Civil war is one of the main reasons for migration which continues today. One of these civil wars is the one in Syria that has been going on since 2011. Having left their homes due to wars, people surge into other countries as refugees. Many Syrian asylum seekers have come to neighboring Turkey as refugees. As of 22 December 2022, the number of Syrians granted "temporary protection" in Turkey is 3,543,837. Of these, 1,182,016 are between the ages of 5-18 and 567,921 are female.<sup>1</sup> According to January 2022 data, 730,806 out of 1,124,353 Syrian refugees of school age were enrolled in schools. Therefore, the schooling rate of school-age Syrian refugees is 65%. 35% of school-age Syrian refugees are outside the education system.<sup>2</sup>

Syrian refugees were educated in refugee camps and temporary education centers from 2011, until 2016; however, they have been receiving education in Turkish medium in Turkish state schools. The "Promoting Integration of Syrian Kids into the Turkish Education System (PIKTES)" project was launched in 2016. The project aims to ensure Syrian children's adaptation to the Turkish education system and offers Turkish and Arabic language education, counseling, and guidance activities, personnel, and stationery assistance to support schools.<sup>3</sup>

Although it was decided to integrate Syrian refugees into the Turkish education system, this is not an easy task because it is hard to argue that opportunities are equal for refugees and Turkish citizens. However, access to education is offered equally to refugees. First, it is not easy for refugees, who have left their own country and come to a different country, to access education in a new country where there are many differences in language, culture, and education system. There are various studies on this issue. Studies based on teacher views revealed problems of Syrian students such as language and communication, adaptation to school culture, difference of sect and culture, academic failure or low academic achievement.<sup>4</sup> Another study examined the problems related to Syrian students' parents faced by school administrators, reporting that families have problems including having several children, insufficient financial status, experiencing domestic violence, changing their address continuously, and being indifferent to their children.<sup>5</sup> A holistic literature review demonstrates serious handicaps in Syrian students' education.

<sup>1</sup> Presidency of Migration Management (PMM), "Geçici Koruma Kapsamındaki Suriyelilere İlişkin İstatistikler" (16 Haziran 2023).

<sup>2</sup> Ministry of National Education, "2021-2022 Eğitim-Öğretim Yılı Yabancı Uyruklu Öğrencilerin Eğitimine İlişkin Veriler", (22 Haziran 2022).

<sup>3</sup> Piktes, "Piktes Projesi" (13 Şubat 2020).

<sup>4</sup> Rıdvan Demir, "İmam Hatip Lisesinde Öğrenim Gören Suriyeli Öğrencilerin Eğitim Sorunları: Kilis Örneği", *Mustafa Kemal Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü Dergisi* 16/44 (23 Ekim 2019), 280-306; Cahit Erdem, "Sınıfında Mülteci Öğrenci Bulunan Sınıf Öğretmenlerinin Yaşadıkları Öğretimsel Sorunlar ve Çözüme Dair Önerileri", *Medeniyet Eğitim Araştırmaları Dergisi* 1/1 (30 Haziran 2017), 26-42; Servet Kardeş - Berrin Akman, "Suriyeli Mültecilerin Eğitimine Yönelik Öğretmen Görüşleri", *İlköğretim Online* 17/3 (31 Temmuz 2019), 1225-1237; Aybiçe Tosun vd., "Mülteci Öğrencilerin Eğitim Sorunları, Eğitim ve Din Eğitiminden Beklentileri: Eskişehir Örneği", *Eskişehir Osmangazi Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Dergisi* 19/1 (01 Haziran 2018), 107-133; Sümeyye Ertekin Yıldız, "Suriyeli Çocukların Eğitimi Konusunda Nitel Bir Araştırma: Sorunlar Ve Çözüm Önerileri", *Middle East Journal of Refugee Studies* 4/2 (30 Aralık 2019), 5-32.

<sup>5</sup> Ebru Akyavuz Külekçi vd., "Suriyeli Öğrencilerin Eğitiminde Karşılaşılan Sorunlarla İlgili Okul Yöneticilerinin Görüşleri", *Uluslararası Eğitim Araştırmacıları Dergisi* 3/1 (26 Haziran 2020), 1-15.

With the Covid-19 pandemic, an important break has been experienced in the field of education. In this process, schools in Turkey were initially closed from March 16, 2020, to April 30, 2020, and it was decided to continue education through three TV channels and the Education Information Network (EIN) within the scope of open and distance education practices at the primary and secondary education level.<sup>6</sup> Due to the ongoing effects of the pandemic, with a decision taken on April 29, 2020, the vacation period of schools was extended until May 31, 2020, and education continued with distance education.<sup>7</sup>

The introduction of distance education was novel for all students, but for refugees, it meant adding a whole new problem to the existing situation. There are some basic requirements to access online education, including an internet connection, technological devices, and an appropriate environment. It is difficult for refugees, and economically disadvantaged students, to access these opportunities. This has resulted in refugees not being able to afford educational materials, not having access to technological equipment, and having to enter the workforce early, hence significantly affecting their chances of continuing their education. Limited research on this issue revealed that refugee children's education is significantly disrupted due to reasons including financial inadequacy, challenges of online education, economic difficulties, changing roles within the family, and the negative impact of longing for school.<sup>8</sup> Another study reported that Syrian students' participation in online lessons was low due to financial problems in terms of technological devices and internet access, inadequate language, and negative attitudes of parents; home environments and the number of siblings in education created problems in participating in online lessons. Therefore, they experienced equality of opportunity in education problems and emotional and psychological gaps, resulting in level differences among students.<sup>9</sup> Thus, refugee students, experiencing problems such as alienation, loneliness, and adaptation difficulties in social life and education before the pandemic, had to struggle with many additional difficulties in the distance education process.<sup>10</sup>

These new pandemic-specific circumstances are likely to create a different situation for Syrian girls, who are disadvantaged by traditional social and gender roles. Therefore, it is needed to examine the situations that opportunities of access to distance education, which are indeed valid for all students, create for Syrian refugees in particular and Syrian refugee female students more specifically. Considering Syrian girls' traditional gender roles, they are likely to stay at home, doing household chores considered appropriate for their roles, and therefore their attendance to education is likely to be affected. Only a single finding is available in the literature on this. In the study, a participant (a 17-year-old Syrian girl) said: "...Before the pandemic, I was just a student, afterward, I became both a student and housewife (meaning a girl doing chores at home)..."<sup>11</sup> They

<sup>6</sup> Ministry of National Education, "Bakan Selçuk, Koronavirüs'e Karşı Eğitim Alanında Alınan Tedbirleri Açıkladı" (12 Mart 2020).

<sup>7</sup> Anadolu Agency, "Uzaktan eğitim 31 Mayıs'a kadar uzatıldı" (29 Nisan 2020).

<sup>8</sup> Hakan Gülerce vd., "Suriyeli Sığınmacı Çocukların COVID-19 Pandemisi Sürecinde Eğitim Hayatında Yaşadığı Sorunlar", *Avrasya Uluslararası Araştırmalar Dergisi* 10/31 (25 Haziran 2022), 92-108.

<sup>9</sup> Rabia Ünal, "Evaluation of the Distance Education Process with Syrian Students under Temporary Protection during the Covid-19 Pandemic Period", *Journal of Interdisciplinary Education: Theory and Practice* 4/1 (01 Haziran 2022), 34-52.

<sup>10</sup> Berre Sena Arslanoğlu vd., "Pandemi Dönemi Uzaktan Eğitim Süreci Sorunları: Suriyeli Mülteci Öğrenciler Üzerinde Nitel Bir İnceleme", *Ufuk Ötesi Bilim Dergisi* 21/2 (31 Aralık 2021), 290-316.

<sup>11</sup> Gülerce vd., "Suriyeli Sığınmacı Çocukların COVID-19 Pandemisi Sürecinde Eğitim Hayatında Yaşadığı Sorunlar".

addressed this as “changing roles within family” titles including male students’ changing roles.<sup>12</sup> So, the pandemic may have different effects specific to Syrian refugee girls, and families’ living conditions, religious understanding, and worldview may play a determining role in girls' education.

Religious education can undoubtedly make important contributions to overcoming such attitudes towards girls. One of the aims of the religious culture and ethics (RCE) course in schools is to "raise individuals who recognize the role of religion in making sense of life; embrace national, spiritual and moral values; and can live together with differences".<sup>13</sup> This aim enables children to make more rational sense of life and question inappropriate traditional practices. Moreover, through religious education, the child can ground his/her understanding of religion or worldview and develop a more respectful attitude towards "others". In addition, religious education can assume important responsibilities in eliminating social polarization, xenophobia, and hatred of others between native citizens and immigrants, which can arise in society because of migration and are likely to increase with the pandemic.

## 1. Purpose and Problem

The literature suggests that there is no research study on Syrian refugee female students’ educational processes during the pandemic and the contribution of religious education to this. This study aims to contribute to the literature by focusing on Syrian refugee girls. The main purpose of the study is to determine how Syrian girls experienced education during the pandemic what the impact of their families is in this process, and to evaluate what kind of contributions religious education may make to their education. Students and parents who experienced the educational processes were interviewed, as well as RCE teachers as a view from outside the family. The study examines the relationship between RCE teachers and Syrian female students, based on the assumption that cultural and religious commonalities facilitate more genuine communication. This connection can have a positive impact on the student's educational experience. While acknowledging the influence of guidance counselors and other subject teachers, the research focuses specifically on the interaction between RCE teachers and Syrian female students due to its scope. Thus, it is aimed to reach a broad perspective on Syrian girls’ education as a case. The research sought answers to the following questions:

1. Were Syrian female students able to access distance education during the pandemic? What were the supports or barriers in this regard?
2. What were the factors that supported or hindered their education during the pandemic period when they continued their education at home?
3. What solutions have teachers developed to deal with these problems?
4. What kind of contributions may the RCE teachers make to Syrian female students’ education?

<sup>12</sup> Gülerce vd., “Suriyeli Sığınmacı Çocukların COVID-19 Pandemisi Sürecinde Eğitim Hayatında Yaşadığı Sorunlar”.

<sup>13</sup> Ministry of National Education, “Din Kültürü ve Ahlak Bilgisi Dersi Öğretim Programı (Ortaöğretim 9, 10, 11 ve 12. Sınıflar)” (2018).

## 2. Method

This is a qualitative study. Since descriptions and comparisons were planned to make for more than one sub-unit that may be within a basic case in this research, it was designed in an embedded single case study design.<sup>14</sup> The case involves Syrian female students' educational processes during the pandemic. To address this case, interviews were held with Syrian refugee female students, their parents, and teachers to evaluate the phenomenon from different perspectives.

### 2.1. Participants

Given the limitations of the pandemic period, the study sample was selected from people living in the cities of Antalya and Eskişehir, where the researchers are located. The participants were 10 Syrian refugee female students aged between 12-17 years, five parents (4 mothers, 1 father) aged between 31-46 years who have at least one daughter attending school, and five RCE teachers aged between 28-45 years (3 women, 2 men). Most of the parent participants were mothers because the fathers of the female students were workers and often at work. Parents, teachers, and students were selected from different schools to reach different experiences. This was also a result of the snowball sampling method. Among the participants contacted through acquaintances, appointments were made with those who met the required criteria, and face-to-face interviews were conducted. The criteria were being a Syrian female student attending various classes in the secondary schools during the pandemic for students, having at least 2 Syrian refugee female students in the classes they teach for teachers, and having at least 1 daughter continuing her education during the pandemic period for parents.

Table 1. Demographics of Parents

Parents No	Role	Age	Number of children	Occupation	Occupation of spouse	Internet connection at home	Child's room
P1	Mother	37	5	Housewife	Automechanic	No	No
P2	Mother	35	7	Housewife	House painter	No	No
P3	Mother	35	2	Garment trade	Garment trade	Yes	Yes
P4	Father	31	7	Teacher	Housewife	No	No
P5	Mother	46	4	Teacher	Deceased	No	No

<sup>14</sup> John Ward Creswell, *Nitel Araştırma Yöntemleri Beş Yaklaşımına Göre Nitel Araştırma ve Araştırma Deseni*, çev. Selçuk Beşir Demir - Mesut Bütün (Ankara: Siyasal Kitabevi, 2023); Norman Kent Denzin - Yvonna Sessions Lincoln (ed.), *The SAGE Handbook of Qualitative Research* (USA: SAGE Publications, 2018).

Table 2. Demographics of Students

Student No	Age	Grade	Father occupation	Number of siblings	Internet connection at home	Child's room	Smart phone/ Tablet
S1	14	5	Construction worker	7	No	No	No
S2	12	6	Teacher	4	No	No	No
S3	13	5	Driver	5	No	No	No
S4	17	7	Construction worker	8	No	No	No
S5	15	9	Construction worker	6	No	No	No
S6	11	11	Auto mechanic	6	No	No	No
S7	15	6	Cleaner	4	No	No	No
S8	16	9	Dentist	3	Yes	No	Yes
S9	15	5	Teacher	5	Yes	No	No
S10	14	7	House painter	7	No	No	No

Table 3. Demographics of Teachers

Teacher No	Teaching grade	Age	Gender	Seniority
T1	Middle school	36	Female	12
T2	Middle school	45	Male	20
T3	High school	31	Female	8
T4	Middle school	38	Female	15
T5	High school	28	Male	5

## 2.2. Research Process

Permission was obtained from the university ethics committee for the study and the participants were informed. One-to-one interviews were conducted with students and teachers. Students had generally sufficient language skills to communicate successfully. The Syrian refugees were relaxed during the interviews and gave authentic answers. They lived in harmony with society due to the social acceptance and friendly approach of the Turkish people. Their comfortable behavior during the interview also confirmed this observation. However, since the Turkish language proficiency of the parents was not adequate, the interviews were conducted with the

assistance of a researcher who is fluent in Turkish and Arabic. To ensure the integrity of the data during translation to ensure validity and reliability, the Arabic interviews were also translated into Turkish by this researcher. After the initial translation, an independent expert, proficient in the languages and familiar with the subject matter, reviewed the translated transcripts for accuracy and consistency with the original context and meaning. Then, an expert with experience as an English translator, working in the field of education and familiar with qualitative research methodology, also translated the Turkish transcripts into English. Finally, the text was checked for appropriateness in Turkish and English, and the categorization of the data was by an expert in religious education who is fluent in English. This process aimed to minimize any potential meaning change and maintain the reliability of the data.

The interviews were recorded using a voice recorder. In total, the study involved 20 interviews conducted by 2 male researchers (by the authors). Although the length of the interviews varied according to the sample group, they lasted on average 25 minutes. The interviews resulted in a total of 469 minutes of audio recordings. The audio recordings were transcribed, and data analysis was carried out on these data.

### **2.3. Data Analysis**

In analyzing the data, descriptive analysis was used to explore the case clearly due to the intensity of the participant's views and the language limitations of the participating students and parents. Based on the descriptive analysis, the data were summarised and interpreted from the perspectives of the student (StudentX), parent (ParentX), and teacher (TeacherX) according to pre-defined themes.<sup>15</sup> Additionally, striking quotes from the participants' views were included if deemed relevant when analyzing the data. The data were analyzed within the themes of “technological inadequacies in accessing education, lack of a suitable setting to connect to distance education, problems arising from being at home: housework, psychological barriers, problems arising from nonproficiency in Turkish, traditional judgments about girls' education, opportunities offered by RCE teachers, perceptions about face-to-face education after the pandemic”.

## **3. Findings**

In this section, the findings are presented below following the main categories.

### **3.1. Technological Inadequacies in Accessing Education**

Participant students experienced problems in accessing distance education during the pandemic for various reasons. The main one included their problems in possessing the technological equipment to participate in distance education as well as internet connection. Only two parents (P3, P5) and two students (S8, S9) had an internet connection at home while the other parents and students connected to the internet through mobile phones. None of the students had personal computers or phones. Only S8 stated that her parents bought a tablet after the pandemic

<sup>15</sup> Ali Yıldırım - Hasan Şimşek, *Sosyal Bilimlerde Nitel Araştırma Yöntemleri*, 8. Baskı (Ankara: Seçkin Yayıncılık, 2011), 224.

started but she used it alternately with her siblings. So, the students had challenges in terms of internet connection and technological equipment to attend lessons, indicating that economic challenges inhibited Syrian female students' access to education during the pandemic. A significant problem with this is related to attending lessons on parents' phones. Connecting to lessons on their fathers' phones, S1 and S10 stated that they could not access lessons when their fathers were not at home and used the phone alternately when their fathers were at home. Another problem of connecting to lessons on phones is the high number of siblings going to school. It prevented following lessons regularly when the siblings had online lessons at the same time (S4).

These challenges were also mentioned by teachers. On the other hand, teachers added that some parents contacted them by telephone to get information about that day's lesson and homework.

Unfortunately, when we started distance education, we lost contact with many of our students. Not only refugees, but we could also not communicate with our students with low economic status, of course, most of them were refugees. Some parents or students would call and ask about the topic and homework we had covered that day, but this was not enough. (T3)

### ***3.2. Lack of a Suitable Setting to Connect to Distance Education***

Another obstacle to attending classes is the lack of a suitable environment. The students stated that they did not have a silent setting at home due to a high number of siblings, living with the elderly at home, and not having a private room (S2). A student said she attended the lesson on the balcony, which was the only place in the house where she could be alone (S10). T5 supported this idea with the following statements.

Almost every household has a young baby or child. The mother has too many responsibilities and cannot keep up with them all. In live classes, we see siblings on the screen of students who turn on the camera and sound. This reduces the child's attention and motivation. (T5)

### ***3.3. Problems Arising from Being at Home: Housework***

In addition to the unique functioning of distance education, being at home is also novel for students. Students stated that when they were at home due to the pandemic, they were more involved in household chores compared to normal times. Participants stated that help with household chores was sometimes at the request of the parent (P1, P5) and sometimes students volunteered (S1, S4, S7). Besides, some students did the chores due to their mother's illness (S5) or respect for their mothers (S6).

Lack of opportunities to connect to distance education also caused students to turn to housework since they stay at home idle. The parents stated they did not impose extra work in this regard. Teachers, on the other hand, reported that being at home made students feel that they had to do housework and therefore could not connect to the lessons (T3).

Similarly, T5 stated that the students' siblings constantly distracted them from lessons as they saw the siblings on students' screens, which shows that students inevitably had to deal with their siblings. These responsibilities that Syrian girls must bear at home are closely related to their socialization processes, worldviews, and traditional lifestyles. The pandemic process has further reinforced these traditional gender roles in some families.



### ***3.4. Psychological Barriers***

One of the negative consequences of the pandemic is psychological effects. We observed that Syrian female students experienced these psychological effects in two dimensions: coping with the reality of death and staying away from social life. About the first dimension, S7's statements, who lost her beloved aunt during the pandemic, are noteworthy as one of the important psychological damages caused by the pandemic:

On the day of our live class, I was connected to my mother's phone. During the class, my uncle called. I didn't want to answer the phone at first. When he called for the second time, I gave the phone to my mother. After talking for a while, my mother started to scream and cry. I realized that my aunt, who was sick, had lost her life. (S7).

Due to the unhygienic, crowded, and unhealthy physical environment in their living spaces, most of the Syrian female students stated that the constant announcements of the number of deaths on the evening news and the frequent news that their relatives were sick scared them a lot. T3 stated that students asked a lot of questions about pandemic deaths, especially high school students, and she told them that religion advised people to be patient and learn lessons in these situations.

Regarding the second dimension, students who stayed away from school and could not socialize adequately were affected negatively. P5 pointed out that children aged 9-11-17 did not want to participate in online lessons although they had the opportunity, and they expected to make it up when the schools opened. Some parents added that before the pandemic, the students came home tired and rested at home, therefore they did not have any tensions with their siblings; however, they were always at home during the pandemic and they became aggressive (P1, P3, P4), and missed the school (P2).

S3 expressed that being away from school was bad and made her feel incompetent, and S1 added that she felt bored at home. S5 said that her friends communicated through social media and mobile phones during the pandemic, and she kept away from the agenda and new friendships and then became lonely when she returned to school after the pandemic.

The large number of deaths during the pandemic and the inability to go out due to the quarantine practice caused psychological problems in children and made them afraid, and isolated, and indirectly disrupted their education during this period. In conclusion, these data indicate that Syrian female students experienced a decrease in motivation to attend classes during the pandemic.

### ***3.5. Problems Arising from Nonproficiency in Turkish***

Despite the technological possibilities, distance education is a more limited way of communication than face-to-face education. This limitation may cause problems, especially for refugee students due to their nonproficiency in Turkish. While Syrian refugee students have mostly made significant progress in Turkish, recent immigrants do not yet have sufficient Turkish language skills. P3 stated that although they had internet and computers at home, they had difficulties due to their children's insufficient Turkish language skills. Similarly, T1 said that due to the limited communication in distance education, they had difficulties in explaining even a concept students knew and that they could explain in 20 minutes what they could explain in 5 minutes. S6 stated that in online education, they did not have the opportunity to reach their teachers and friends outside the class, so they could not ask their friends or teachers what they did not understand in the lesson.

### ***3.6. Traditional Judgments/Barriers to Girls' Education***

An important impact of the pandemic on girls' education is that it poses a risk to the continuation of their education due to their absence from school because of the pandemic. Although parents stated that their children should complete their education and that female students aimed to continue their education and have a profession, T1 stated that a parent was against girls' education. T3, who stated that the biggest obstacles to Syrian girls' education were financial inadequacy and lack of support from their families, shared the following anecdote about a family with the mindset that "girls shouldn't go to school".

..... a student's name came to the class where I was a guidance counselor, and there was no number to contact. I went to the address we had, they moved to another neighborhood. I went to that address, the family spoke Arabic, we talked to the mother, then she gave me the father's phone number and I called him. He said that the child did not want to go to school, they forced her, but she wouldn't go, and now she went to her uncle's house for a trip. I researched and found out that this girl was not sent to school. However, she was very successful and loved to read.

Teachers thought that factors such as socioeconomic conditions, gender perceptions, and future expectations of Syrian refugee families affect their approaches to education and cause disruption of students' education. T5's observations on the behavior of female students in educational environments are noteworthy.

Syrian female students undergo a change in the process from primary school to high school. While they are normally compatible with more interactive learning and learning environments with other male students in the class in primary school, as they get older, they become more hesitant compared to Turkish students and prefer to learn in groups of girls or to learn individually. For example, when a girl was going to do a circle activity with a boy, our teacher noticed that some girls did not want to sit next to a boy and tried to overcome the problem by finding quick solutions such as having a girl next to a girl and a boy next to a boy. Of course, during this process, the school guidance service actively supported the children with the help and guidance of the religion teacher, and we saw the benefits of this in the children's acceptance of the environment. (T5)

The parents and students we interviewed about obstacles to girls' education did not mention any problems. All the findings on this issue come from teachers. Therefore, we can deduce that a small number of Syrian parents have negative attitudes towards girls' education due to traditional judgments.

### ***3.7. Opportunities Offered by RCE Teachers During the Pandemic***

During the pandemic, people's fears about health and life made them face the reality of death. This naturally led people to turn to religion and engage in worship during their stay at home. In this regard, we found that participating students and teachers shared similar experiences. For example, students stated that they were more motivated to attend RCE lessons because the pandemic coincided with Ramadan, an important time for Muslims, and COVID-19 disease made them think about life after death (S3, S6). S7 said that the RCE teacher advised them to pray to Allah more when the disease spread. S3 explained the contribution of the RCE teacher's attitude as follows.

During the quarantine period, my grandmother passed away. I couldn't even attend her funeral because I was young, and I was a girl. I was very sad, I cried for days, and I didn't attend lessons for a few weeks. Afterward, my RCE teacher found out about it, and she phoned me and gave me her condolences. The only thing that made me happy at that time was that my teacher called me. Then I resumed my classes thanks to her. (S3)

S3's communication with her RCE teacher helped her normalize her experiences and continue with real life. We can deduce that the teacher's indoctrination on the point of belief and her ability to empathize with the student had an important effect here. Similarly, T5 said:

Especially in high school, students ask a lot of questions about pandemic deaths, and I explain in class that religion advises patience and learning lessons in these situations". Regarding the opportunities of RCE lessons, the same teacher said: "We can evaluate this not only as a course but also as a teacher. Because students and parents towards us "RCE teachers are more compassionate, and they can help us a little more". Being a RCE teacher here has the following benefit: 60-70% of the students' families are more religious. As such, children inevitably feel closer to us. (T5)

T4 reported the parents' demands: "Teacher, you are an RCE teacher, you can help her (our child) a little more in this regard (T4)", and another teacher added:

Children have much healthier relationships with RCE teachers than with other teachers, mainly due to language and cultural predisposition. In other words, RCE teachers know the lives of Syrian children better. They can understand them more easily, perhaps through empathy. Of course, the children realize this, they don't tell their class teacher about their problems, but they go and open to the RCE teacher even though she is a branch teacher. Immediately after we realized this, we told our RCE teachers that they were a bridge for these children and that they were at a key point between the class teachers, other branch teachers, and the guidance service, and they were already aware of this. Even parents, for example, have a problem with a math lesson, but the parent calls the RCE teacher. Because to some extent, they can communicate with them more easily... So it is possible to say that RCE teachers have a different mission. (T2)

Similarly, T1 stated as follows:

We use Turkish when we explain something in class the child knows what I am explaining, but since he does not know its equivalent in Turkish, I explain it for a very long time by associating it with religious concepts and events that he can relate to, I explain it by giving different examples from Siyar and especially from Arab culture. When he understands an example, he says: "I know that, but this is how we say it. This is a bit of a waste of time for me, I mean what I would normally explain in 2 minutes I can sometimes explain in 10-15 minutes because we are not using a language that the child can understand (T1).

Finally, the following statements from T5 are noteworthy concerning the contribution of RCE teachers to the adaptation of Syrian refugee girls to the educational environment:

Our Syrian female students are going through a change in the process of moving from primary school to secondary school. While they are normally compatible with more interactive learning in primary school and learning environments with other male students in the class, as they get older they are more hesitant compared to their childhood and prefer learning in groups of girls or individual learning. For example, when a girl wanted to do a circle activity with another boy, our

teacher saw that some girls did not want to sit next to a boy when they met a boy and tried to overcome the problem by finding quick solutions by putting a girl next to a girl and a boy next to a boy. Of course, the school counseling service actively supported the child in this process, with the help and guidance of the RCE teacher, and we have seen the benefits of this in the children's acceptance of the environment. (T5)

Based on teachers' statements, we understand that parents and students feel close to the RCE teachers in various aspects, especially in terms of worldview. In addition, RCE teachers are graduates of theology faculties, receive intensive Arabic education, and are more familiar with Arabic compared to other teachers. This eases communication and makes them the first teachers whom parents wish to communicate. RCE teachers' approach to the education of Syrian refugee girls during the pandemic period has had an important impact on children and parents. Therefore, RCE teachers can support the education of girls through their communication with parents.

### **3.8. Perceptions about Face-to-Face Education after the Pandemic**

Students' and teachers' responses to the questions we asked to learn about Syrian refugee girls' perceptions of post-pandemic face-to-face education emphasized different dimensions. Regarding the advantages of face-to-face education, students mentioned that being in school and meeting teachers made them happy, and face-to-face education and being with friends was better (S8). Face-to-face education was more successful for student-teacher interaction although distance education was costless and hassle-free (S5). Internet connection or microphone-related problems were experienced in distance education but face-to-face education did not involve such technical problems (S6). On the other hand, S7 argued that when switched to face-to-face education, the teachers did not teach the subjects taught during the pandemic although they could not learn it then, and hence they had problems with those subjects.

Regarding post-pandemic education, Syrian refugee female students' answers about the physical and behavioral changes they observed in their friends are also noteworthy. S9 said: "*When I first came back to school, I realized that everyone had grown up*"; S7 complained about the exclusion/isolation problem in face-to-face education with these remarks: "*After the pandemic, my friends had changed, some of my friends had contacted each other through social media during the pandemic but I didn't know it. When I returned to school, they were more intimate.*"

Regarding the differentiation between Syrian and Turkish children, T2 reported that after the pandemic, Turkish girls were more extroverted, while Syrian girls had a more introverted mood. This may be associated with the facts that the fact that Syrian girls had a more limited circle of relatives and interacted with fewer people, thus spending time in a smaller social environment during the pandemic, and then suddenly joining the crowd when they came to school.

The emphasis on students' adaptation to school rules and social life is noteworthy in the answers given by some teachers in this category. For example, T1 responded to this question by stating that Turkish and Syrian girls in the 10-12 age group were behaviorally the same, liked the same things, knew the same jokes, or had the same problems related to growing up, but they differed in terms of their families' financial status and personal care. T4 pointed out that Syrian girls had more discipline-related problems at the beginning, and said: "...due to their access to technological tools

and the time they could allocate for social media use, the impact of social media tools in the education process was less than Turkish students. However, in general, all students were more maladaptive in their in-school and classroom behaviors when they started face-to-face education.” In line with this finding, T2 said:

Since the home environment was more comfortable, the distance education process was not like education at school. As a result, school rules and social rules took a back seat. However, about a month after the face-to-face education started, the children were able to adapt to school again. (T2)

T5, unlike the others, stated that there was no problem in the process of children's school attendance after the pandemic, the children who came to school before were already voluntarily and willingly involved in face-to-face education, they started to act like their peers face-to-face education, and students entered an adaptation process in terms of participating in the cultural structure and social life and forming ideas for the future, especially depending on the financial situation of the family.

## Discussion and Conclusion

This study researched Syrian refugee female students' access to distance education during the Covid-19 pandemic, the people and factors that supported or hindered their education, and the contributions offered by RCE lessons and RCE teachers during the pandemic, and eventually reveals that the pandemic has significantly altered Syrian refugee female students' education, responsibilities, lifestyles, and understanding of life.

The findings in the study regarding Syrian female students' technical inadequacies in accessing online education during the quarantine period, their parents' indifference, inaccessibility to education due to language nonproficiency and motivation problems, and not having a suitable physical setting for online education are supported by research in the literature.<sup>16</sup> Teachers and students generally tend to be dissatisfied with the online education implemented during the pandemic period.<sup>17</sup> Furthermore, the inability of Syrian refugee female students to participate in distance education due to the aforementioned impossibilities has made the situation worse for them, as emphasized in other studies,<sup>18</sup> by leading them to housework and keeping them away from education. Indeed, it is inevitable for almost all children to have learning loss due to not being able to attend education adequately. However, it can be predicted that this situation faced by Syrian girls may cause them to disconnect from education in the future, or at best,

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<sup>16</sup> Gülerce vd., “Suriyeli Sığınmacı Çocukların COVID-19 Pandemisi Sürecinde Eğitim Hayatında Yaşadığı Sorunlar”; Ünal, “Evaluation of the Distance Education Process with Syrian Students under Temporary Protection during the Covid-19 Pandemic Period”; Muhammed Esat Altıntaş, “DKAB Öğretmenlerine Göre Suriyeli Çocukların Devlet Okullarında Karşılaştıkları Sorunlar (Nitel Bir Araştırma)”, Marife, 2018, 495; Baltacı vd. “İmam Hatip Liselerindeki Suriyeli Öğrencilerin Din Eğitimi Sorunları: Çözümü Yönelik Nitel Bir Analiz”. *Ankara Üniversitesi İlahiyat Fakültesi Dergisi* 60/2 (Kasım 2019): 333.

<sup>17</sup> Ahmet Çakmak - Yakup Uzunpolat, “Din Kültürü ve Ahlak Bilgisi Öğretmenlerine Göre Salgın Döneminde Uzaktan Eğitim”, *Tasavvur / Tekirdağ İlahiyat Dergisi* 7/1 (30 Haziran 2021), 855-892; Mualla Selçuk vd., “The Online Learning Experience of Theology Students in Turkey during the COVID-19 Pandemic: A New Disposition for RE?”, *Religious Education* 116/1 (31 Ocak 2021), 74-90.

<sup>18</sup> Gülerce vd., “Suriyeli Sığınmacı Çocukların COVID-19 Pandemisi Sürecinde Eğitim Hayatında Yaşadığı Sorunlar”.

to continue their education with difficulty. Undoubtedly, this situation is related to the traditional way of life in the family, religious perceptions, and partly to the lack of importance attached to the education of girls. Furthermore, the situation of Syrian girls should be seen as an issue that needs to be addressed in terms of social cohesion and cultural conflict. As suggested by studies, it is important to implement value-centered projects and activities that would prevent both refugee students and locals from marginalizing each other, to provide governmental and non-governmental support for some projects and activities, to start free language courses to solve communication problems, to establish socio-cultural networks among the students, and to discuss the effectiveness of the intervention with multidisciplinary teamwork.<sup>19</sup>

Another noteworthy finding of the study pointed out that RCE teachers' attitudes affected Syrian refugee female students and their parents significantly during the pandemic. This finding may be due to the development of sympathy and closeness between RCE teachers and families due to religious ties, and thus, solutions to the problems experienced are developed more easily. Therefore, thanks to RCE lessons and RCE teachers in schools, it was possible for Syrian refugee girls not only to acquire the adaptation competencies required by inclusive education but also to cope with the abstentionist attitudes they have developed due to their traditional understanding of religion. This function of RCE lessons and teachers was also mentioned in studies conducted before the pandemic.<sup>20</sup> The RCE teachers' communication with the students when they lost their relatives was one of the difficulties of the pandemic and their recommendations during this communication process can be shown as an example of how religious education helps students develop resilience to problems related to making sense of life.<sup>21</sup> In parallel to this contribution of RCE lessons and teachers, there is also a study showing the existence of a significant relationship between the cultural adaptation of refugee students and their orientation to positive religious coping activities.<sup>22</sup>

Religious education tries to fulfill many different purposes and functions at the same time,<sup>23</sup> as well as helping students in the process of answering the big questions in their lives.<sup>24</sup> RCE lessons have similar purposes and functions in Turkey. In addition to these, this study demonstrates that RCE teachers, with their Arabic language skills and religious/cultural affinity, play an important role in refugee children's adaptation to school and society. Furthermore, with the use of religious commands in the textbooks that girls have the right and duty to study and acquire knowledge at least as much as boys, RCE lessons have the potential to guide families who are hesitant in this regard. For example, these statements in the "Knowledge and Belief" unit in the 9th grade are important:

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<sup>19</sup> Zeynep Özcan. "Mülteci Öğrencilerin Kültürel Uyumları ile Dinî Başa Çıkmaları Arasındaki İlişki Üzerine Bir Araştırma". *Cumhuriyet İlahiyat Dergisi* 23/1 (Haziran 2019): 144; Betül Kübra Doğan - Ayşenur Pekasıl. "Covid-19 Pandemisi Bağlamında Evsizler, Mevsimlik Tarım İşçileri, Mülteci, Şartlı Mülteci ve Geçici Koruma Kapsamında Bulunan Suriyelilerin Sorunları Üzerine Bir Değerlendirme". *Toplum ve Sosyal Hizmet*, 32/1 (Ocak 2021), 288.

<sup>20</sup> Tosun vd., "Mülteci Öğrencilerin Eğitim Sorunları, Eğitim ve Din Eğitiminden Beklentileri".

<sup>21</sup> Monique van Dijk-Groeneboer, "Religious Education in (Post-)Pandemic Times; Becoming a Resilient Professional in a Teacher Academy", *Religions* 11/11 (Kasım 2020), 610.

<sup>22</sup> Zeynep Özcan. "Mülteci Öğrencilerin Kültürel Uyumları ile Dinî Başa Çıkmaları Arasındaki İlişki Üzerine Bir Araştırma". *Cumhuriyet İlahiyat Dergisi* 23/1 (Haziran 2019): 144;

<sup>23</sup> John Conroy vd., *Does Religious Education Work? A Multi-Dimensional Investigation* (London: Bloomsbury, 2013).

<sup>24</sup> Barbara Wintersgill (ed.), *Big Ideas for Religious Education* (Exeter: University of Exeter, 2017).

With the hadith, "It is obligatory for every Muslim, male or female, to acquire knowledge", the Prophet required Muslims to learn the necessary knowledge... What is learned during school, vocational knowledge, language, and general cultural knowledge are considered in this context. Almighty Allah's command to the Prophet Muhammad (pbuh), "Pray, 'My Lord! Increase me in knowledge'" states that a person should continue to learn throughout his or her life.<sup>25</sup>

Regarding the post-pandemic face-to-face education, Syrian refugee female students emphasized the physical and behavioral changes they observed in their friends, while teachers emphasized students' adaptation to school rules and social life. Accordingly, Syrian refugee girls experienced a more disconnected school life from their peers after the pandemic, but they were able to adapt to society and culture in a short time. Syrian female students preferred face-to-face education due to the loneliness, adaptation difficulties, and difficulties in distance education they experienced during the pandemic. Besides, the participants had high expectations from education in terms of their desire to acquire a profession and their hopes for the future, which is supported in the literature.<sup>26</sup>

A peculiar finding is that Syrian refugee female students started to adapt to the culture and lifestyle in Turkey as a result of their participation in distance and face-to-face education environments. Students and teachers think that Syrian refugee children have become more able to live in harmony with the social structure, unlike their parents, which is a result of their socialization and acculturation thanks to the education they receive. The RCE course contributes to the integration of Syrian students with its content emphasizing belief systems and worship as well as cultural awareness, sharing, tolerance, and religious literacy.<sup>27</sup> A similar study also found that religious education has a significant impact on the adaptation of Syrian migrants, with the positive influence of some educators acting as a turning point, while uninformed and biased approaches have complicated social cohesion and increased tendencies towards mutual rejection.<sup>28</sup>

Based on the findings, this study offers several recommendations for Syrian female students' education. Pieces of training can be organized for refugee children and their families with school guidance services and classroom teachers to make them aware of the importance and contributions of education. RCE teachers, with whom parents primarily wish to communicate, can take a leading role in these trainings. Since refugee children have been in social isolation during the pandemic and spent more time at home, religious education can be used to help families and their children overcome their psychological problems. For example, families can read religious stories with their children or celebrate religious days and nights with them. In the process of implementing these activities, children's ages, interests, and learning styles should be considered. In conclusion, whether Syrian refugee female students will continue their education is closely related to their families' religious, cultural, and educational understandings as well as their socioeconomic status. If parents and students can develop the right understanding and approaches to these issues, Syrian refugee girls will be able to live a healthier and more fulfilling life.

<sup>25</sup> Abdullah Bektaş vd., *Ortaöğretim Din Kültürü ve Ahlak Bilgisi 9. Sınıf Ders Kitabı* (Ankara: Milli Eğitim Bakanlığı, 2022).

<sup>26</sup> Arslanoğlu vd., "Pandemi Dönemi Uzaktan Eğitim Süreci Sorunları: Suriyeli Mülteci Öğrenciler Özelinde Nitel Bir İnceleme"; Emin Tamer Yenen - Perihan Ulucan, "Uzman Görüşleri Doğrultusunda Türkiyede Yaşayan Mülteci Çocukların Sorunlarına Yönelik Çözüm Önerileri", *Nevşehir Hacı Bektaş Veli Üniversitesi SBE Dergisi* 10/1 (22 Haziran 2020), 292-305.

<sup>27</sup> Yıldız Kızılabdullah - Tuğrul Yürük, "The Contribution of the Religious Culture and Ethics Course on the Integration of Children of Syrians in Adana, Turkey", *Religious Education* 113/3 (2018), 289-301.

<sup>28</sup> Öznur Kalkan Açıköz - Ahmet Yemenici. "Türkiye'de Bulunan Geçici Koruma Statüsündeki Suriyelilerin Türkiye'deki Din Eğitimi Deneyimlerinin Değerlendirilmesi". *İnsan ve Toplum Bilimleri Araştırmaları Dergisi*, 11/4 (2022), 2261.

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## Evaluation of Prayer Windows with Inscriptions Located Around the Mausoleum of Eyup Sultan In Terms of Turkish-Islamic Arts and History"

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### Research Article

#### History

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### ABSTRACT

Prayer windows are architectural elements of various forms that are opened on the surface of the walls of mosques, tombs, lodges, cemeteries, or treasuries in the direction of people's passage and usually have inscriptions. The prayer windows opened on the body or courtyard wall of the tombs exhibit an imposing appearance in a way to attracts people's attention. In front of such windows, in the presence of the deceased, prayers and requests are made to Allah for his sake. Eyüp Sultan Mosque and Mausoleum are places where crowds of people gather on holy days of religious importance such as Friday. The prayer windows were made near the graves of common people who were not considered religious leaders, even if they had a high social status, and buried in the cemeteries around Eyüp Sultan Tomb, and in the openings in the enclosure wall of these cemeteries, have been the subject of our study with their inscriptions ending with the request for Fatih. It is understood that the prayer windows, which are in the position that constitutes the connection of the treasuries with the street, were opened to request prayer by attracting the attention of people passing by to visit mosques and tombs. We have tried to determine the place of prayer windows in the discipline of art history since they were not applied in the first period of Islam but were an elegant practice that emerged especially in the Ottoman period and had not been studied before. We have endeavored to determine the effect and reflection of the visit tradition shaped by the Ottoman period adherents of the Islamic religion on Islamic art throughout this subject. In our research, we have tried to find the first information about prayer windows. We have tried to determine the place of prayer windows in the discipline of art history since they were not applied in the first period of Islam but emerged especially in the Ottoman period and have not been studied before. We have endeavored to determine the effect and reflection of the visiting tradition shaped by the Ottoman period followers of the Islamic religion on Islamic art throughout this subject. In the first part of our research on prayer windows, Eyüp Sultan Mosque and Tomb in terms of the tradition of visitation in Islam; in the second part, the purpose and importance of the construction of prayer windows and the evaluation of these building elements in terms of form, material-technique, writing, ornamentation, and identity are discussed. In this process, the necessary permissions and usable data were obtained from the Directorate of Tombs, İstanbul Directorate of Cemeteries, and the General Directorate of Foundations İstanbul 1st Regional Directorate for the examination of 11 windows that we identified in the cemeteries around Eyüp Sultan, and the measurements of the windows were taken in a process of approximately two weeks. Within the framework of the necessary security measures, tools such as ladders and tripods were used to take the correct measurements of the high windows. The stumpage technique was applied to the inscriptions and high-relief decorations. There were some difficulties in measuring and photographing the windows due to the location of the land and the passage point of the people. The photographs were taken in detail and shared as general views and only general views were used in order not to exceed the volume of the article. The gravestones related to the subject in the background of the windows were also identified one by one by scanning the whole of the treasuries. With the data obtained because of measurement and photography, the windows were drawn with the AutoCAD program in about one and a half months. Sources on the subject were researched in many libraries in İstanbul and Ankara and on the net and collected in an average of one month. In the evaluation phase, the inscriptions of each prayer window and the associated tombstones were read and analyzed, and inferences about the art and the master were made with the signatures of the artisans on the inscriptions. In terms of art history, subheadings were opened according to the forms of the windows, and definitions were made. As an example of an application specific to the Ottoman period in Islamic architecture and art, our main aim has been to bring the prayer windows opened in the cemeteries around Eyüp Tomb to the discipline of Art History in the context of form, ornamentation, writing, and death. The text created by evaluating all the data is the result of a meticulous, comprehensive, and long-term process. With this study, it has been attempted to understand the Muslim view of death and the cultural heritage developed within this framework based on the building elements in question.

**Keywords:** Turkish-Islamic Art, Turkish-Islamic Architecture, Visiting Tradition, İstanbul, Eyup Mausoleum, Prayer Windows.

# Eyüp Sultan Türbesi Civarındaki Kitabeli Dua Pencerelelerinin Türk-İslam Sanatları ve Tarihi Açısından Değerlendirilmesi

Süreç

Geliş: 04/03/2024

Kabul: 09/05/2024

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Çalışmanın Tasarlanması Yazar-1 (%60) - Yazar-2 (%40)

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Veri Analizi Yazar-1 (%50) - Yazar-2 (%50)


Makalenin Yazımı Yazar-1 (%50) - Yazar-2 (%50)


Makale Gönderimi ve Revizyonu Yazar-1 (%50) - Yazar-2 (%50)


## ÖZ


Dua pencereleri, mezarlık ya da hazirenin ihata duvarlarının yüzeyine, insanların geçiş yönüne doğru açılan ve genelde kitabeleri bulunan çeşitli forma sahip mimari unsurlardır. Türbelerin beden ya da avlu duvarında açılan hacet (niyaz) pencereleri insanların ilgisini çekecek tarzda heybetli bir görünüm sergiler. Bu tür pencerelerin önünde, medfûn zatın huzurunda, onun hatırına Allah'a dua ve istekte bulunmaktadır. Eyüp Sultan Camii ve Türbesi, Cuma gibi dînî önemi haiz kutsal günlerde halkın kalabalık teşkil ettiği mekânlardır. Dini önder mertebesinde sayılmayan, sosyal statüsü yüksek olsa dahi Eyüp Sultan Türbesi civarındaki hazirelere defnedilen halktan insanların kabirlerinin yakınına, bu hazirelerin ihata duvarındaki açıklıklara yapılan dua pencereleri, Fatiha talebiyle son bulan kitabeleriyle çalışmamıza konu olmuştur. Hazirelerin sokakla bağlantısını teşkil eden konumda yer alan dua pencerelerinin; cami ve türbe ziyareti amacıyla yoldan geçen kişilerin dikkatini çekmek suretiyle dua talebinde bulunmak amacıyla açıldığı anlaşılmaktadır. İslam'ın ilk döneminde uygulanmayıp özellikle Osmanlı devrinde ortaya çıkan zarif bir uygulama olması ve daha önce çalışılmamış olması nedeniyle dua pencerelerinin sanat tarihi disiplindeki yerini saptamaya çalıştık. İslam dininin Osmanlı devri müntesiplerinin şekillendirdiği ziyaret geleneğinin İslam sanatına etkisi ve yansımaları bu konu genelinde belirlemeye gayret ettik. Araştırmamızda dua pencereleri ile ilgili ilk bölümde İslam'da ziyaret geleneği açısından Eyüp Sultan Camii ve Türbesi; ikinci bölümde ise dua pencerelerinin inşa amacı ve önemiyle birlikte form, malzeme-teknik, yazı, tezyinat ve kimlik açısından bu yapı elemanlarının değerlendirilmesi ele alınmıştır. Bu süreçte Eyüp Sultan çevresindeki hazirelerde saptadığımız 11 adet pencerenin incelenmesi için Türbeler Müdürlüğü, İstanbul Mezarlıklar Müdürlüğü ve T.C. Vakıflar Genel Müdürlüğü İstanbul 1. Bölge Müdürlüğü'nden gerekli izinler ve kullanılabilir veriler alınarak yaklaşık iki haftayı bulan süreçte pencerelerin ölçüleri alınmıştır. Gerekli güvenlik önlemleri çerçevesinde merdiven, üç ayak gibi aletler kullanılarak yüksek pencerelerin ölçülerinin doğru alınmasına dikkat edilmiştir. Kitabelerde ve yüksek kabartmalı süslemelerde estampaj tekniği uygulanmıştır. Arazi konumu ve insanların geçiş noktasında buldukları için pencerelerin ölçümü ve fotoğraf çekiminde birtakım zorluklar yaşanmıştır. Fotoğraflar detay içeren ve genel görünüm olarak paylaşılarak çekilmiş olup makalenin hacmini aşmamak için sadece genel görünüm kullanılmıştır. Pencerelerin arka planında yer alan konuyla irtibatlı mezar taşları da hazirelerin tamamı taranarak tek tek tarafımızca tespit edilmiştir. Ölçüm ve fotoğraflama neticesinde elde edilen verilerle pencereler AutoCAD programıyla yaklaşık bir buçuk ay sürecinde çizilmiştir. Konuyla ilgili kaynaklar İstanbul ve Ankara'daki çok sayıda kütüphanede ve net ortamında araştırılarak ortalama bir aylık süre içinde toplanmıştır. Değerlendirme aşamasında her bir dua penceresinin ve ilişkili mezar taşlarının kitabesi okunarak yazı analizlerinde bulunulmuş, kitabelerdeki sanatkar imzalarıyla sanat ve usta ile ilgili çıkarımlar ortaya konmuştur. Sanat tarihi yönünden pencerelerin formlarına göre alt başlıklar açılarak tanımlamalar yapılmıştır. İslam mimarisi ve sanatında Osmanlı devrine has bir uygulama örneği olarak Eyüp Türbesi civarındaki hazirelerde açılan dua pencerelerini böylelikle form, süsleme, yazı ve ölüm bağlamında Sanat Tarihi disiplinine kazandırmak temel amacımız olmuştur. Tüm verilerin değerlendirilmesi suretiyle oluşturulan metin titiz, kapsamlı ve uzun soluklu bir sürecin neticesidir. Bu çalışmayla söz konusu yapı unsurlarından yola çıkarak Müslümanların ölümüne bakışı ve bu çerçevede gelişen kültürel miras anlaşılmasına çalışılmıştır.

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## Introduction

Small windows or openings for prayer purposes placed on the walls of the tombs of important people, prophets or religious leaders are also called Muvacehe, niyaz or hacet windows. As in the picture next to the courtyard entrance of the Eyüp Tomb, they are closed with iron bars that allow one to see inside the tomb. They are also prominently decorated.<sup>1</sup> There are similar ones in open tombs in the form of inscribed doors. Apart from the prayer windows, which are included in the same classification due to their close relationship with the tomb structure and their role in the visit aiming at the realization of a prayer, windows with inscriptions placed on the perimeter walls of the hazirs formed by the burials around the Eyüp tomb as a reflection of the tradition of visitation are also noteworthy. These iron-barred openings, each with inscriptions of different dates, sizes, and shapes, expressing the wish to read a Fatiha, constitute the subject of this study.

There is no previous direct study on inscribed prayer windows. However, there are studies on architectural building elements, inscriptions, and inscribed buildings. In terms of architecture, it is seen that various publications have been made on building elements such as windows, doors, and crown gates with openings for lighting, ventilation, or entrance purposes.<sup>2</sup> The inscriptions, on the other hand, are inscription plates found on the surface of many buildings, mostly indicating the owner, function, and date. In various publications on this subject, it is seen that the inscriptions in the building types are Latinized; the types of writing that constitute the subject of the calligraphy art used in the inscriptions are analyzed; the resulting owner/artist and historical information are included.<sup>3</sup> In addition to Art History and Aesthetics, the inscriptions also provide enlightening information that will contribute to theology. An example of this is a publication in which the inscriptions on the Gök Madrasa in Sivas are analyzed and their value in terms of the science of hadith is investigated.<sup>4</sup>

One of the first and one of the most beautiful examples of the pilgrimage windows, which were opened to allow visitors who could not visit from inside to visit from outside, is the gold-plated metal-grid window built by Sultan Ahmed I in Eyüp Tomb. Although it refers to an opening in the wall, it can be thought that this practice in Islamic architecture in grave monuments has a different function. The *prayer windows with inscriptions*, which constitute the subject of our research, have a different function from the prayer windows opened for visitation and supplication in tomb structures in terms of being located on the walls of the hazire and being opened by relatives for unknown people, and reflect the deceased's request for prayer from the living. With this subject, which aims to contribute to the literature with a different perspective, the perspective of Islamic civilization on death is examined with

<sup>1</sup> Baha Tanman, "Hâcet Penceresi", *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslâm Ansiklopedisi* (İstanbul: TDV Yayınları, 1996), 14/435.

<sup>2</sup> Bkz. Nihal Uluengin, *Osmanlı-Türk Sivil Mimarisinde Pencere Açıklıklarının Gelişimi* (İstanbul: Mimar Sinan Güzel Sanatlar Üniversitesi, Fen Bilimleri Enstitüsü, Doktora Tezi, 1983); Şakir Çakmak, *Erken Osmanlı Dönemi Mimarisinde Taçkapılar (1300-1500)* (İzmir: Ege Üniversitesi, Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü, Doktora Tezi, 1999); Murat Karademir, *Mimar Sinan Dönemi Yapılarında Taçkapılar* (Konya: Selçuk Üniversitesi, Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü, Doktora Tezi, 2015); Doğanay, "Eyüp'teki Çardaklı Türbelerin Asma Kapıları (Hacet Kapıları)", 182-191.

<sup>3</sup> Bkz. Ali Yardım, *Alanya Kitâbeleri (Tesbit, Tescil, Tasnif ve Değerlendirme)* (İstanbul: Fetih Cemiyeti Yayınları, 2022); Murat Yüksel, *Gümüşhâne Kitâbeleri* (Gümüşhane: Gümüşhane Valiliği Yayınları, 1997); Sebiha Gürleyik, *Sivas Mezar Kitâbeleri Üzerine Bir İnceleme* (Sivas: Cumhuriyet Üniversitesi, Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü, Yüksek Lisans Tezi, 2008); Fatih Özkafa, "Türk Su Mimarisi Kitâbelerinde Hat Estetiği", *İstem* 8/15 (2010), 193-219.

<sup>4</sup> Sami Şahin, "Sivas Gök Medrese (Sahibiye Medresesi) ve Kitâbelerindeki Rivayetlerin Hadis Değeri", *Cumhuriyet Üniversitesi İlahiyat Fakültesi Dergisi* 10/1 (Haziran 2006), 145-163.

Islamic aesthetics. In addition to the nature and significance of the windows, which are reflected as an entrance to death on the wall of a graveyard or a cemetery, the folkloric bond established between the people and religion through these windows in Ottoman civilization and art is also discussed. The inscriptions, calligraphy, meaning, calligraphy history, and other information provided by the windows are examined in terms of inscriptions, as well as their form, materials and ornamentation program, and their types are categorized and defined within the framework of the discipline of Art History. In this context, our main goal is to contribute to the literature by presenting this pioneering study in terms of research method and subject.<sup>5</sup>

## 1. Importance And History of Eyüp Sultan Tomb

Eyup Sultan Mausoleum is the tomb of Abū Ayyūb al-Ansārī, the guide and bannerman of the Prophet Mohammad, who also was in the army that came to conquer Istanbul under the command of Yazid ibn Muawiya in the 48th year of the Hijrah and subsequently died here.<sup>6</sup> There are rumors that he was martyred by an accidental arrow during the six-month siege, or that he died during the same siege due to his illness and was buried at or near the walls as per his will.<sup>7</sup> This building, which hosts thousands of visitors every day and constitutes the center of the district together with the mosque, holds importance since it is a part of Istanbul's city texture and architecture tradition dating back to the Ottoman period and, long before then, the Islamic Prophet period. In addition, despite all their differences, the sources agree that the tomb of Abū Ayyūb al-Ansārī was protected and visited by the Byzantines, and this motif implies that the siege, which was a military failure, was a spiritual victory.<sup>8</sup>

The Prophet Mohammad's hadiths such as “Constantinople will surely be conquered. What a beautiful commander is the commander who conquered him, and what a beautiful soldier is the soldier who conquered him” heralds the conquest of Istanbul. The expression of this hadith names the soldiers who participated in the conquest of Istanbul as *Ni'mel Ceysh* (conquering soldiers).<sup>9</sup> The Islamic soldiers who are known to have been martyred in the sieges of Istanbul before the conquest are defined as *evvelun* (those who came before), and those who were martyred in the conquest siege of Istanbul are defined as *ahirun* (last ones).<sup>10</sup> There are 273 ahirun graves and 21 evvelun graves whose information can be accessed within the scope of the inventory work conducted by the Directorate of Cultural Heritage Protection of the Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality in 2015.<sup>11</sup> The tomb of Abū Ayyūb al-Ansārī, a companion of the Prophet Mohammad, on which his mausoleum was eventually constructed, is undoubtedly the most well-known of the evvelun graves.

<sup>5</sup> Drawings were supported by Erdem Karadeniz, a PhD student. Thank you for his contributions.

<sup>6</sup> A. Süheyl Ünver, *İstanbul'da Sahabe Kabirleri* (İstanbul: İstanbul Fethi Derneği Yayınları, 1953), 4.

<sup>7</sup> Mehmet Halit Bayrı, *İstanbul Folkloru* (Ankara: Devlet Tiyatroları Yayını, 1986), 16-19; Feray Coşkun, "Osmanlı İstanbulu'nda Müstesnâ bir Ziyâretgâh: Eyüp Sultân Türbesi", *III. Uluslararası Osmanlı İstanbulu Sempozyumu Bildirileri* (25-26 Mayıs 2015), (İstanbul: Eyüp Belediyesi Yayınları, 2015), 548-550.

<sup>8</sup> Coşkun, "Osmanlı İstanbulu'nda Müstesnâ bir Ziyâretgâh: Eyüp Sultan Türbesi", 550-551.

<sup>9</sup> Ünver, *İstanbul'da Sahabe Kabirleri*, 4-5.

<sup>10</sup> Sümeyye Meryem Arslan, "İstanbul'un Türbe, Hazire, Mezarlık ve Kabir Yerleri Envanter Çalışması", *I. Uluslararası Türk-İslam Mezar Taşları Kongresi Sempozyum Kitabı*, (Aydın: Yeni Fikir Dergisi Yayınları, 2018), 21.

<sup>11</sup> Arslan, "İstanbul'un Türbe, Hazire, Mezarlık ve Kabir Yerleri Envanter Çalışması", 21.

When Uthman Ibn Ma'zun passed away, Prophet Mohammad decided to bury him close to the Al-Masjid an-Nabawi. This decision laid the groundwork for the relationship between mosques and cemeteries in Islamic communities.<sup>12</sup> The impact of hadith stating that every companion of the prophet will be resurrected on the Day of Resurrection as the leader and light of the town where they died,<sup>13</sup> starting from this incident that took place in the second year of the Hijrah, and other such hadiths, the tombs of companions constitute an important attraction center in the formation of cemeteries and hazirs.<sup>14</sup> In the 16th century anonymous Menâkıb-ı Abû Ayyûb al-Ansârî and Nûr al-Dîn 'Alî al-Ansârî al-Karafi's Kitâbü'n-Nefahât al-'Abîr es-Sârî bi-Ehâdîs al-Abû Eyyûb al-Ansârî, it is stated that the people of Istanbul will appear before Allah on the Day of Judgement together with Abû Eyyûb. This situation shows that the biggest motivation for burial around Eyüp Tomb is the belief that the Prophet Abû Ayyûb will intercede for those who are resurrected with him on the Day of Judgement. The 16<sup>th</sup>-century anonymous Menâkıb-ı Abû Eyyûb al-Ansârî and Nûr al-Dîn 'Alî al-Ansârî al-Karafi's Kitâbü'n-Nefahât al-'Abîr es-Sârî bi-Ehâdîs al-Abû Eyyûb al-Ansârî's statements that the people of Istanbul will appear before Allah on the Day of Judgement together with Abû Eyyûb show that there is a belief that Abû Eyyûb will intercede for those who are resurrected with him on the Day of Judgement.<sup>15</sup> The Eyup Cemetery in Istanbul is one of the most famous cemeteries formed around the tomb of the companions, which is also one of the biggest cemeteries in terms of its area. In addition to this cemetery, which was formed around the tomb of Abu Ayyub al-Ansari, many mausoleums and hazirs in the Eyup district are also placed in the district due to a desire to be close to this companion.<sup>16</sup> Many of the statesmen, courtiers, and even rich city dwellers who died in Istanbul wanted their bodies to be buried near the tomb of Eyup Sultan. This is due to the widely held belief that Muslims interred in locations where the adhan recitation from the Eyup Sultan Mosque's minarets can be heard and will be spared from the torment of the grave.<sup>17</sup>

Eyüp Sultan Mausoleum, considered the pioneer of Ottoman mausoleums, is mentioned for the first time in Fâtih's foundation dated 1457. Eyup Sultan Mausoleum is an octagonal domed, cut stone building in the style of classical period mausoleum architecture. It is illuminated on each facade by rectangular windows with pointed draining arches at the bottom and pointed arched windows at the top. In the interior, the walls are covered with tiles up to the upper level of the lower windows, and the upper levels are decorated with a tile belt on which Basmala and verses from the Surah at-Tawba are written in white celî calligraphy on a dark blue background. The uppermost parts of the walls and the inner surfaces of the dome are decorated with pencil embroidery. Additionally, there are verse inscriptions about the sanctity of Abu Ayyub al-Ansari on his tomb that were written by Ahmed I, Mahmud I, and Selim III, as well as a cell (pişegah) in the wall for the preservation of the footprint that is thought to belong to the Prophet Mohammad.<sup>18</sup> A verse inscription consisting of four verses states

<sup>12</sup> Arslan, "İstanbul'un Türbe, Hazire, Mezarlık ve Kabir Yerleri Envanter Çalışması", 18.

<sup>13</sup> Tirmizi, Ebu İsa Muhammed b. İsa, "Manağib", *es-Sünen* (el-Camiu's-Sahih), Thk. Ahmed Muhammed Şakir, Daru'l-Fikr, 59.

<sup>14</sup> Nebi Bozkurt, "Mezarlık", *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslâm Ansiklopedisi* (İstanbul: TDV Yayınları, 2004), 29/520.

<sup>15</sup> Coşkun, "Osmanlı İstanbulu'nda Müstesnâ bir Ziyâretgâh: Eyüp Sultan Türbesi", 554.

<sup>16</sup> Bozkurt, "Mezarlık", 29/520.

<sup>17</sup> Bayrı, İstanbul Folkloru, 80.

<sup>18</sup> Semavi Eyice, "Eyüp Sultan Külliyesi", *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslâm Ansiklopedisi* (İstanbul: TDV Yayınları, 1995), 12/11-12.

that a well located on the side of the wall inside the tomb was rebuilt by Ahmed I in 1607-1608/1016, together with the repair of the tomb.<sup>19</sup> Ahmed I, have also added the prayer window, as well as a wall in front of the tomb on the side facing the mosque, and a fountain with three grids draining forward next to it, in 1613-14/1022. Today, on the left side of this wall, which is covered with tiles from different periods, there is a large window with a cast bronze grill. While the Sancak-ı Şerif was also kept in the tomb, only its cases are located at the tomb today since it was taken to the Hırka-i Saâdet Chamber in 1730 during the Patrona Halil rebellion for it not to fall into the hands of the rebels.

Abdulhamid I renewed the door and window sashes in 1786/1200 while Abdul Hamid II had the pearl inlaid railing wings made by his hand placed in front of the bronze door wings.<sup>20</sup> The cover of the tomb, embroidered with the calligraphy of Mustafa Rakım, was placed by Mahmud II. The silver bars were then installed by Nevşehirli Damat Ibrahim Pasha by the time the tomb was repaired in 1724-25 / 1137. The mausoleum likely underwent a fundamental repair in 1798-1800 when the reconstruction activity of the mosque took place, but its architecture was however untouched.<sup>21</sup> After this last repair, the connection between the courtyard and the tomb structure, which is outside the courtyard, has been made with the existing prayer window. It is reported in Hadikatu'l-cevami that the mausoleum underwent a serious repair during the time of Mahmud II.<sup>22</sup>

The courtyard where the fountain built by Selim III is located has two doors opening to the bazaar and the musalla. The epitaph on the outer face of the musalla gate reads as follows: “*His Excellency Fatih built a mosque that was asked for, and intended to declare intisap by devoting the thawab to you*”.

This states that Fatih Sultan Mehmed II, who was the first builder of the mosque and the tomb, declared intisap through this devotion. The word *intisap*, which is used in Sufism in the sense of a promise that a candidate disciple will fully adhere to the sheik and the orders he will give, is an important term that expresses Fatih's loyalty and belonging to Abu Ayyub al-Ansari, who is a martyr of the conquest and the guide and bannerman of the Prophet Mohammad.<sup>23</sup>

The mosque Fatih built in 1458-59/863 has a single minaret with a single balcony and a structure by which the main dome is supported by two half-domes from the sides.<sup>24</sup> While Çandarlı Ibrahim Pasha had the fountain pool in the inner courtyard built, Başdefterdar Ekmekçizade Ahmed Pasha had the annex building in front of the musalla built in 1591-92 / 1000. Mahfiruz Hatun, the mother of Osman II (1618-1622), then had the cüzhâne adjacent to the entrance of the tomb built.<sup>25</sup>

During the reign of Ahmed III, minarets were raised in 1723-24 / 1136 to make building a ridge possible. In 1732-33 / 1145, Kızlarağası Hacı Beşir Ağa built two mahfils (gathering places) on top of the madrasa rooms. Although it is known that the mosque was greatly damaged in the 1766 earthquake and was repaired by the Grand Vizier Dervish Mehmed Pasha in 1776, this was not enough to save the building. It was subsequently demolished and rebuilt a short time later. This renovation carried out by Selim III in 1800/1215, formed the building setup that exists today. In addition to the courtyard, four rooms for the imam, the tomb keeper, and the trustee, a muvakkithâne and the pathway to the

<sup>19</sup> Eyice, “Eyüp Sultan Külliyesi”, 12/11-12.

<sup>20</sup> Ayşe Ersay Yüksel, *II. Abdülhamid Sanatkâr ve Sanat Hamisi Bir Sultan* (İstanbul: Ötüken Neşriyat, 2018), 272-276.

<sup>21</sup> Eyice, “Eyüp Sultan Külliyesi”, 12/11-12.

<sup>22</sup> Hafız Hüseyin Ayvansarayi, *Hadikatü'l-cevâmi*. çev. İhsan Erzi (İstanbul: Tercüman Aile ve Kültür Yayınları, 1987), 100.

<sup>23</sup> Osman Türer, “Biat”, *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslâm Ansiklopedisi* (İstanbul: TDV Yayınları, 1992), 6/124.

<sup>24</sup> Ekrem Hakkı Ayverdi, *Osmanlı Mi'mârîsi'nde Fatih Devri* (İstanbul: İstanbul Matbaası, 1953), 217.

<sup>25</sup> Eyice, “Eyüp Sultan Külliyesi”, 12/9-10.

majesty's mahfil were also built at this time.<sup>26</sup> In 1823, the top of the balcony of the minaret facing the Golden Horn was destroyed by a lightning strike and rebuilt.<sup>27</sup> After this last repair, the complex underwent maintenance and repairs on 13 Zilkade 1263/23 October 1847, 20 Shawwal 1281/18 March 1865 and 8 Cemazeyilahir 1317/14 October 1899.<sup>28</sup> The most important repair during the Republic period was carried out by the Foundation's Administration between 1956 and 1958 with the special instructions of the prime minister of the time, Adnan Menderes.<sup>29</sup>

Halit Bayrı, who is a Republican period folk literature and folklore compiler, outlines the contributions that sultans and significant statesmen made to the tomb of the Eyup Sultan during their eras, some of which were made by them. Halit Bayrı claims that these contributions demonstrate the value that these individuals place on Eyup Sultan. All these state officials have offered their allegiance with various services to a person who is the symbol of conquest in the Ottoman Empire and the soul of Istanbul. In addition, the sword girding of the Ottoman sultans at Eyüp Tomb from Ahmed I onwards and the visits of sultans such as Suleiman the Magnificent on their way to campaigns became a tradition that lasted until the end of the reign.<sup>30</sup> This is evidence of the Osmanogullari family's attachment to Eyüp Sultan, their closeness to him, and the fact that they always expected help from Allah in his mercy.<sup>31</sup> The location of Cosmidion, where the Eyup neighborhood is situated, was where the Byzantine emperors were crowned by the patriarch. This place assumed the head of the empire. In line with this, it is also possible to characterize the sword-wearing ceremonies as a continuation of the Byzantine tradition of crowning.<sup>32</sup>

In addition to the characteristic role of the Eyup Sultan Mausoleum in the burial tradition in Istanbul, its high significance in the spirit of the city, especially its religious life and visitation folklore, is also mentioned.<sup>33</sup> As quoted below, "Until very recently, almost every Muslim child born in Istanbul had a belonging to one of these graves/maqams, and mothers and fathers took special care to introduce their children to the place where they belonged to and teach them of these places once their children reached the age to understand."<sup>34</sup>

Using more general expressions, Bayrı mentions that since this subject has now become a folkloric ritual, the public fully believes that Eyup Sultan loves children. Parents visit Eyup Sultan with their children several times a year.<sup>35</sup> The visit of Eyup Sultan, which occurs after the child is circumcised has been taken to relatives and neighbors a week earlier, kissed their hands out of respect, and invited them

<sup>26</sup> Eyice, "Eyüp Sultan Külliyesi", 12/9-10.

<sup>27</sup> Baha Tanman, "Eyüp Sultan Külliyesi", *Dünden Bugüne İstanbul Ansiklopedisi*, (İstanbul: Ana Basım A.Ş., 1994), 3/239.

<sup>28</sup> Sevil Derin, "Tarihî Süreçte Eyüp Sultan Camisi", *Sanat Tarihi Dergisi* 25/2 (Aralık 2016), 177-191.

<sup>29</sup> Eyice, "Eyüp Sultan Külliyesi", 12/10.

<sup>30</sup> Zeynep Tarım Ertuğ, *XVI. Yüzyıl Osmanlı Devleti'nde Cülus ve Cenaze Törenleri* (Ankara: Kültür Bakanlığı Yayınları, 1999),100; Cemal Kafadar, "Eyüp'te Kılıç Kuşanma Törenleri", *Eyüp: Dün/Bugün Sempozyum 11-12 Aralık 1993*, ed. Tülay Artan (İstanbul: Eyüp Belediyesi, 1994), 55; Hakan T. Karateke, *Padişahım Çok Yaşa: Osmanlı Devletinin Son Yüzyılında Merasimler* (İstanbul: Kitap Yayınevi, 2004), 51; Abdülkadir Özcan, "Kılıç Alayı", *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslâm Ansiklopedisi* (Ankara: TDV Yayınları, 2022), 25/408-410; İbrahim Hakkı Çuhadar (der.), *Mustafa Sâfi'nin Zübdetü't Tevârih'i* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 2003), 15-16.

<sup>31</sup> Bayrı, *İstanbul Folkloru*, 80.

<sup>32</sup> Ünver, *İstanbul'da Sahabe Kabirleri*, 31.

<sup>33</sup> İsmail Kara, *Biraz Yakın Tarih, Biraz Uzak Hurafe* (İstanbul: Kitabevi Yayınları, 1998), 16.

<sup>34</sup> Kara, *Biraz Yakın Tarih, Biraz Uzak Hurafe*, 16.

<sup>35</sup> Bayrı, *İstanbul Folkloru*, 81.



to his circumcision ceremony, excites children greatly because they will be receiving Eyup toys after the visitation, according to A. Emeksiz, provides an example of the ceremonial dimension of this visitation ritual and folklore.<sup>36</sup> Not only the children who will be circumcised; but children who will start school and even young men who will enter a new job are taken to the Eyup Sultan mausoleum. Shortly, in all these ceremonies and rituals, the Tomb of Eyup Sultan is the main place to visit in Istanbul.<sup>37</sup> Eyup Sultan Tomb is always characterized by crowds. Ünver expresses his complaint about the beggars who appear to see this crowd as an opportunity.<sup>38</sup>

The fact that the covers of the Kaaba and Ravza-i Mutahhara, which are called kisve, were taken to Topkapı Palace after they were replaced with new ones, and that the keys to Mecca and Medina (mefâtîh-i şerîfa) were exhibited in the tomb in Eyüp following the suppression of the Wahhabi uprising must be closely related to the fact that Hz. Abû Eyyûb opened his house to Hz. Muhammad. "Just as the Prophet Muhammad stayed in his house after he migrated from Mecca to Medina, the sacred objects from Haremeyn are also staying in the tomb. Today, even the fact that pilgrims visit the tomb before going on the hajj confirms this position of the tomb. These visits constitute the starting point of the sacred journey from the "periphery" to the center of the Islamic world".<sup>39</sup>

According to folklorist sources, the well water in the mausoleum is believed to be healing, is associated with Zamzam, and is used especially during Ramadan for breaking the fast, the water is drawn from the well with a silver bucket and distributed to the visitors with silver cups.<sup>40</sup> Folklore de Constantinople reports that a visit to the tomb is equal to half of the pilgrimage to Mecca and that it is believed that the leaves of the plane tree around the tomb and the baths of the tomb cure all diseases, especially infertility.<sup>41</sup> All these narratives show us that there was a perception that the water sources and trees in the vicinity of the tomb were sacred.<sup>42</sup> This situation increases the number of visitors as much as possible.

In the Eyüp Sultan district, which has such a prominent place in the community's memory, culture, and folklor, new graves dug because of the burial tradition, have been squeezed in from the visible areas to the inner parts of hazirs and cemeteries surrounding the mosque and tomb. Because of this, in addition to the tombstones, prayer windows with different bars were opened on the surrounding walls of the hazirs located on the route of visitation, along with epitaphs in which the name of the deceased was mentioned by the relatives of the deceased (Photo 1, Map 1). The aspiration of these people, who were not religious or state leaders, to get Fatiha prayers from the enormous crowd that came to visit Abu Ayyub al-Ansari is mentioned in the window inscriptions. Although some of them have higher status, these people being mainly regular people expecting prayers from regular people consists of a different practice based on visiting folklore.

<sup>36</sup> Abdülkadir Emeksiz, "İstanbul Folkloru", *Karaların ve Denizlerin Sultanı İstanbul*, ed. Filiz Özdem (İstanbul: YKY, 2009), 260.

<sup>37</sup> Bayrı, *İstanbul Folkloru*, 81.

<sup>38</sup> Ünver, *İstanbul'da Sahabe Kabirleri*, 35.

<sup>39</sup> Coşkun, "Osmanlı İstanbulu'nda Müstesnâ bir Ziyâretgâh: Eyüp Sultan Türbesi", 561-562.

<sup>40</sup> Arzu Öztürkmen, "From Constantinople to Istanbul: Two Sources on the Historical Folklore of a City", *Asian Folklore Studies* 61/2 (2002), 271- 294.

<sup>41</sup> Henry Carnoy - Jean Nicolaïdes, *Folklore de Constantinople* (Paris: Aux Bureaux de la Tradition, 1894), 158; Charles White, *Three Years in Constantinople or Domestic Manners of the Turks in 1844* (London: Henry Colburn, 1846), 347; Ertuğrul Önalp, "Bir İspanyol Gezgininin Gözüyle 1807 Yılında Eyüp Sultan Camii", *Tarihi Kültür ve Sanatıyla III. Eyüp Sultan Sempozyumu* (İstanbul: Eyüp Belediyesi Yayınları, 1999), 276-281.

<sup>42</sup> Coşkun, "Osmanlı İstanbulu'nda Müstesnâ bir Ziyâretgâh: Eyüp Sultan Türbesi", 562-563.

## 2. Prayer Windows of Eyup Hazirs and Their Art History Value

The dictionary definition of prayer is a plea to Allah.<sup>43</sup> Endings in epitaphs of the windows that are the subject of our research in the lines of *al-Fatiha to and for his/her soul* are indicative of the expectation of prayers from passers-by for the deceased. Fundamentally, there is no direct or indirect information in the Qur'an and authentic hadiths about the recitation of *al-Fatiha* or any Surah of the Qur'an for the deceased.<sup>44</sup> Considering the era of the Prophet Mohammad and his companions, it can be assumed that this practice, which did not exist in the early periods of Islam, arose largely through historical processes.<sup>45</sup> However, many verses that read as prayers, such as Ibrahim 14/41, indicate that the Qur'an can be read for Allah's forgiveness of a person or his dead or living parents and Muslim brothers and sisters.<sup>46</sup> Again, the funeral prayer and the *Surah al-Fatiha* recited in this prayer can also be interpreted as praying for the dead from the point of view of the Islamic religion.<sup>47</sup> From the twelfth century onward, Shafii alims such as Imam al-Ghazali (d.1111), Ibn al-Salah al-Shahrazūri (d. 1245), Muhibbuddin at-Tabari (d. 1295), Al-Khatib al-Shirbini (d. 1570), as well as Hanafi scholars such as Ibn Abidin, have a consensus that reading the Qur'an is worship and that the reward of every deed performed for worship can be endowed upon the dead.<sup>48</sup> One of the customs of the Ottoman era and the focus of this study are prayer windows, which can be seen as an architectural representation of this tradition.

The inscribed windows in question are located on the surrounding walls of the hazirs in the form of islets formed on both sides of the entrances around the Mausoleum of Eyup Sultan and the side of the streets leading to the mosque. The tombs of people whose names are written in the window inscriptions are in the hazirs where these windows are opened to. It is observed that some graves are located at a height and distance that cannot be seen directly from the windows they are attached to, and some graves are in cramped rows close to the window. It is possible that these windows placed on the surrounding walls of the hazirs overlooking the route that people often use when visiting Eyup were made to be noticed more quickly and to include the names of those lying in the tombs in the prayers of passers-by who pray. The observations we made during the field research that communities are praying in front of these windows, to the point it makes it exceedingly difficult to photograph these windows, shows the continuing function of the inscribed windows. This condition shows that the purpose of these inscribed windows is to remind visitors who are moving quickly toward their goal of visiting the Eyup Sultan Mosque and Mausoleum to pray for the deceased in a readily understandable manner, as well as to minimize the difficulty of reading all tombstones on a crowded row and the disadvantage of tombs that cannot be seen from the window owing to elevation difference. The inscribed windows, which are built in different sizes and with different decorations to attract the attention of the public, serve as a figurative bridge that opens to the other world. The fact that people pray respectfully in front of the prayer windows as a religious ritual shows that the tradition continues.

<sup>43</sup> Ferit Devellioğlu, *Osmanlıca-Türkçe Osmanlıca Lûgat* (Ankara: Aydın Kitabevi Yayınları, 2004), "Dua", 1/190.

<sup>44</sup> Mustafa Özel, "Ölünün Ardından Kur'an-ı Kerim Okunmasının Dini Dayanakları", *İslam Hukuku Araştırmaları Dergisi* 7 (2006), 480-482.

<sup>45</sup> Mustafa Öztürk, "Ölülere Dua ve İstiğfar Niyetiyle Kur'an Okuma Meselesi." *Tefsir Araştırmaları Dergisi* 3/1 (2019), 100-101.

<sup>46</sup> Öztürk, "Ölülere Dua ve İstiğfar Niyetiyle Kur'an Okuma Meselesi", 101.

<sup>47</sup> Öztürk, "Ölülere Dua ve İstiğfar Niyetiyle Kur'an Okuma Meselesi", 103.

<sup>48</sup> Öztürk, "Ölülere Dua ve İstiğfar Niyetiyle Kur'an Okuma Meselesi", 102.

Around the Eyup Sultan Mosque and Mausoleum, eleven prayer windows bearing inscriptions and embellishments have been identified. The windows are surrounded by marble or limestone frames and are in a quadrangular form. It is possible to see terracing created by the moldings in various forms on the frames. It has been observed that the window openings are closed with iron bars in diverse ways. The engraving technique was applied in the epitaphs and decorations of the windows. In some of these windows, which are the products of the Westernization period, floral and object-oriented decoration is observed, following the artistic expression of the period. In addition, the epitaphs on the windows in question convey the deceased's identity, epithet, hometown, and profession. Some of the windows that are the subject of our study also have signatures of the calligraphers on their epitaphs. It is indicated that the epitaphs signed by calligraphers, which are beautiful examples of calligraphy, are more common in the city of Istanbul, which has more historical culture accumulation than other cities.<sup>49</sup> It has been observed that the epitaphs on the mentioned prayer windows are in taliq and thuluth style in celî sizes.

Through the prayer windows that open directly to the street, the deceased people were included in everyday life and their memory was kept. To draw attention to the identity and prayer request of the entombed, the family members of the departed individuals buried in the hazirs behind the windows adorned openings on the walls in front of the tombs. In this way, passers-by were attracted to the tombs and the prayer for the deceased person was allowed to always continue. Through our research, it was observed that the tombstones of Husna Hanım, Seyyid Mehmed Sadeddin Efendi, Hafize Hanım and Mehmed Emin Bey were in the front row of the hazir facing the window, while the tombstones of Hamdullah Bey and Esmâ Hanım were in the middle row. The tombstones of Morevi Ebubekir Pasha and Soğukçeşmeli Ebubekir were in the back row. The tombstones of Habibe Hanım, Dilber Hanım and Hatice Şefika Hanım could not be located through our examination. It is highly likely that the mentioned tombstones were replaced or lost over time. But thanks to the prayer windows, their names have been kept alive in memory. It is possible to classify prayer windows in terms of opening and shape as linteled, pointed arch pedimented, and arched capstoned.

### 2.1. Linteled Windows with Rectangular Openings

The two knotted iron grilled and linteled prayer windows placed side by side, placed on the hazir wall of the Dar'ul-hadith, which is located opposite the fountain courtyard of the Eyup Sultan Mosque reflect the artistic sense of the period. These two prayer windows differ from others in that they are topped with a floral arch. It can be understood from the material difference between the wall and the windows that both marble windows were placed in the wall long after the wall was built (Photo 2). The vertical rectangular window belonging to Nefise Husna Hanım on the left exhibits a rich aesthetic appearance. A more ornate and aesthetic arrangement of the prayer window belonging to the lady in question can be associated with the place of a woman in society. The celî ta'liq epitaph placed in the semicircular space in the arch reads “Haza'l-Kabr merhûme Nefise Hüsna / Hanım binti Şakir Efendi Fi 12 Ramazan 1278” (Illustration 1-1a). The date section does not only

<sup>49</sup> Hüsrev Subaşı, “Eyüp Sultan ve Civarındaki Mezartaşı Kitâbelerinin Hat San'atı ve Tarihi Açısından Önemi”, *Tarihi, Kültürü ve Sanatıyla I. Eyüpsultan Sempozyumu Tebliğler (9-11 Mayıs 1997)* (İstanbul: Eyüp Belediyesi Yayınları, 2009), 182.

contain the year, but the full date of 12.09.1278/13.03.1862 in the form of day, month, and year. The frame of the window has the characteristics of a curb, and its surface is filled with curved branches. The arch contains a floral composition in the form of a high embossing, used to enhance the plastic effect. On the side edges of the arch, floral motifs developing from floral curved branches and motifs of roses in vases are apparent. The upper part was finished with ray arms, the ends of which were arranged in the form of arrows. The rose motif located here being the sign of Prophet Mohammad is the clearest expression of religious faith and sanctity of the people reflected in art.<sup>50</sup> The tombstone belonging to Nefise Husna Hanım is in the first row in front of the window. The cap of the headstone with the celî taliq epitaph is broken, and the inscriptions are highly eroded. The rose branch-adorned footstone is located on the ground over the grave (Photo 2a).

The prayer window on the right has a rectangular, nearly square, opening and belongs to Es-Seyyid Mehmed Sadeddin Efendi. The celî thuluth epitaph reads “*Evlad-ı Ebussud’dan ve mevali-i izamdan, İ sazade merhûm ve mağfuru’l-muhtaç ilâ rahmet-i Rabbihi’l-ğafûr Es-Seyyid Mehmed Sadeddin Efendi’nin rûhiyçün el-Fâtîha*”. Looking at the epitaph, it is apparent that the person who has his name written on this window is a descendant of a Prophet (Illustration 2-2a). In addition, the presence of the signature of an artist of the period located on the edge surfaces of the epitaph indicates the importance of the window. It is claimed that the best calligraphers and miniaturists worked on the inscriptions of the upper class of the Ottoman era, who were buried close to Eyup Sultan.<sup>51</sup> The epitaph of the mentioned prayer window has the signature of Vahdetî Efendi.<sup>52</sup> The arch has a spiral composition developing from curved branches on the side edges and a radiative arrangement is seen on the epitaph. Prayers of Rabbenâ in celî thuluth style are inscribed on the headstone dated 1269-1271, signed by Vahdetî and located in front of the inscribed window; and the identification information of Sadeddin Efendi is inscribed on the footstone inscribed with celî thuluth style, located nearest to the window. (Photo 2b).

There are two linteled prayer windows side by side on the back hazir wall of Eyup Sultan Tomb on Silahtarağa Street (Photo 3). Hamdullah Efendi is the owner of the twisted iron grilled window with a nearly square, nearly rectangular, opening on the right. The epitaph written in celî thuluth calligraphy on the window reads “*Şehremini merhûm Hafız Mustafa Efendi/zâde darphane-i amire kâtibi Hamdullah Efendi/Merhûmun rûhiyçün el-Fâtîha*” (Illustration 3-3a). The window epitaph requesting a prayer of al-Fatiha is enclosed in a horizontal rectangular panel. According to the epitaph, Hamdullah Efendi was the master of the mint of his time and belonged to the family of Mustafa Efendi. Hamdullah Efendi's headstone, which is two rows behind the window, is dated 1216/1801-1802, has a broken cap, and is decorated with celî thuluth epitaph and rose branches at both sides. (Photo 3a).

The prayer window with a vertical quadrangular opening on the left, which is 56cm from the other window, belongs to Esmâ Hanım and has a flat lintel. The difference between this window belonging to Esmâ Hanım and the one next to it is that iron spears are added at the lower row level of the window grill. The disparity of the lintel in the window and the surrounding wall indicates

<sup>50</sup> Yıldız Demiriz, *Osmanlı Kitap Sanatında Natüralist Üslupta Çiçekler* (İstanbul: İÜ Edebiyat Fakültesi Yayınları, 1986), 346.

<sup>51</sup> Subaşı, “Eyüp Sultan ve Civarındaki Mezartaşı Kitâbelerinin Hat San’atı ve Tarihi Açısından Önemi”, 184.

<sup>52</sup> Subaşı, “Eyüp Sultan ve Civarındaki Mezartaşı Kitâbelerinin Hat San’atı ve Tarihi Açısından Önemi”, 188.

interventions made in subsequent periods (Illustration 4). There is an epitaph written with celî thuluth calligraphy on the surface of the upper lintel that reads: “*El- Hac Osman Nuri Paşa halilesi Yusuf Paşa validesi El-Hacce Esmâ hanımın rûhiyçün el-Fâtiha*” (Illustration 4a). According to her epitaph, it is understood that Esmâ Hanım, who belongs to the family of a pasha, was referred to by the epithet *El-Hacce*. The tombstone of the mentioned person is in the middle row on the opposite side of the window (Photo 3b).

It is known that the courtyard wall of the mosque in the back part of the Çifte Gelinler (Double Brides) tomb in Eyup, in the section where the Mehmet Ali Pasha family grave is located, was demolished and two large prayer windows (Photo 4) were built in its place (Haskan 1993: 187). The iron bars of the transverse rectangular prayer window built for Hafize Hanım on the right side are decorated with inward facing “C” curves. The upper part of the marble-framed window ends with a molding animated with concaves and convexes (Illustration 5). It can be said that the “C” curved bars and the concave and convex moldings, common in the late period, reflect the understanding of the art of the period. The epitaph written with celî thuluth calligraphy, the ends of which end with the palmette motifs, placed on the window reads: “*Sadr-ı a’zam ve Serdâr-ı ekrem El-Hac Mehmed Emin Paşa merhûmun zevce-i muhteremleri merhume ve mağfurun lehâ Hafize Hanım rûhlariyçün el-Fâtiha sene 1209 fi 26 Cemaziye’l-ahir Leyle-i Ahad/ Kaşıkçızâde*” (Illustration 5a). The fact that Kaşıkçızade, the famous calligrapher of his period, inscribed the epitaph, the date of which is given as 26.06.1209 /18.01.1795, provides a clear example that reflects the difference in societal status on art. Hafize Hanım's tombstone capped with an onion, with the epitaph signed by Kaşıkçızâde with the same date and character, is located in the first row in front of the window, in the hazir (Photo 4a).

The prayer window built for Mehmet Emin Bey, the son of Mehmet Ali Pasha, is located adjacent to the left of the prayer window of Hafize hanım. The upper part of the prayer window in question, which has a rectangular vertical section, is “C” and “S” curved on the side edges and ends with an overspilling cornice. The window opening here is closed with curved grills, with “S” curves placed opposite to each other and “C” curves facing inward in the lower and upper rows (Illustration 6). The molded soffit and the “C” and “S” curves exhibit the decoration style of the period. It is interesting that this style of decoration, which was applied in the architectural and ornamental elements of various states of the Empire in the late period, was also applied in a plain prayer window. The celî taliq calligraphy epitaph reads: “*Serdâr-ı Ekrem El-Hac Emin Paşa merhûmun mahdum-ı mükerremleri Sadr-ı Rumeli payesi olub sabıkan Sadr-ı Anadolu merhûm Mehmed Emin Beyefendi’nin rûhiyçün el-Fâtiha- El-fakir Abdülkadir ibnü’l-merhum gufira lehüma 1225*” (Illustration 6a). It is worthy of notice that the epitaph requesting a prayer of al-Fatiha from the people was written by yet another calligrapher (Abdulkadir). Mehmed Emin Bey's turban-capped tombstone dated the same date but exhibits a celî thuluth epitaph is in front of the prayer window (Photo 4b).

At the back of the inner courtyard of the Eyup Sultan Mosque, two prayer windows were placed side by side on the rubble stone perimeter wall of the hazir, located in the direction of Beybaba Street at the gate C exit (Photo 5). The prayer window located towards the top of Beybaba Street has frames made of limestone. The upper part of the knotted iron-grilled and lintelled window with a vertical rectangular form has a semicircular symbolic arch (Illustration 7). An arc-shaped pediment opening is observed under the arch. The section containing the epitaph is located on the

lintel surface. The mentioned epitaph reads “*Vüzerâ-i zevî'l-ihtramdan/Mütekaiden irtihâl-i dâr-ı bekâ iden/Merhûm Morevî Ebubekir Paşa/Ruhlarına rızaen lillahi-l-Fâtiha 1248*”. The inscription was written in celî taliq calligraphy on two lines with two cells in each line (Illustration 7a). The epitaph emphasizes where the deceased pasha originated (Mora), and an elegant gratifying sentence was used while mentioning him. Tulip motifs emerge from the standing and flatten hemispherical vases located on the quadrangular panels on the corner surfaces of the epitaph. The tombstone of Morevi Ebubekir Pasha in the hazir is in the back most part opposite the window (Photo 5a). The sarcophagus tomb, which is located far from the window placed adjacent to the main wall of the mosque, and far above due to the elevation difference, is in ruins.

The prayer window on the left side is arranged in the same way with a lintel and a knotted iron grill. However, interventions have deformed the form of the window (Illustration 8). The epitaph inscribed with celî thuluth calligraphy reads “*Merhûm Soğukçeşmeli Ebubekir Efendi'nin ruhları için el-Fâtiha. Fi 3 Safer 1238*”. This window also indicates where the deceased person originated (Soğukçeşme) (Illustration 8a). The surfaces of the oval panels on the side edges of the epitaph were decorated with four-leaf rose motifs in a vase with legs and grooves using a carving technique. The bottom of the epitaph has a palmette motif surrounded by curved leaves from two directions. The vase motif common in the 16th and 17th centuries,<sup>53</sup> has been emphasized with flowers coming out of the vases as part of the motifs on square fountains in the Westernization period.<sup>54</sup> These two prayer windows, dated to be built in the late period, are decorated with vases and flowers coming out of them, like the decoration of fountains of their period. They show parallels with baroque decorated structures. The epitaphed headstone of Soğukçeşmeli Ebubekir Efendi located in the hazir is two rows behind the window, at a height that makes it impossible to be seen from the road due to the elevation difference (Photo 5b).

## 2.2. Arched Capstoned Prayer Windows with Rectangular Openings

At the corner of the cut stone perimeter wall around the Ferhat Paşa hazir, near gate C of the Eyup Sultan Mosque, there is an iron-grilled prayer window with a semicircular arch. It is seen that the side frames of the window in question are animated with profiled moldings (Photo 6). The epitaph located on a horizontal rectangular panel on the outside of the window inscribed with celî thuluth calligraphy reads “*Asakir-i Hassa Hazret-i Şahane ve Nizamiye seraskeri devletlû Hüsrev Muhammed Paşa hazretlerinin harem-i muhteremeleri Habibe Hanım'ın ruh-i şerifine Fâtiha*” (Illustration 9-9a). The epitaph indicates that Habibe Hanım was a high-ranking soldier's wife. Our investigations failed to turn up the tombstone for Habibe Hanım.

## 2.3. Pointed Arch-Pedimented Prayer Windows with Rectangular Openings

The cut stone surrounding the wall of the Hac Emin Efendi family grave, which is situated on Beybaba Street in the back part of the Eyup Sultan Tomb and leads to Piyer Loti Street, was adorned with a pair of pointed arch pedimented and knotted iron grilled twin windows in a vertical rectangular form with the same dimensions (Photo 7, Illustration 10). The aligned raised panels of

<sup>53</sup> Azade Akar, “Tezyini San’atlarımızda Vazo Motifleri”, *Vakıflar Dergisi* 8 (1969), 267-271.

<sup>54</sup> H. Örcün Barışta, *İstanbul Çeşmeleri Azapkapı Saliha Sultan Çeşmesi* (Ankara: TTK Yayınları, 1995), 38-57.

the same size were placed symmetrically on the bottom of the windows. The epitaph surrounded by the pointed arch pediment in the right direction contains four lines inscribed with celî taliq calligraphy. The epitaph reads “Ah mine’l mevt/ Reis’ül-ulema Nakibü’l-eşraf/Ayandan Rıza Efendi merhûmun halilesi/Dilber Hanım’ın ruhuna fâtiha Sene 1333” (Illustration 10a). The celî taliq inscription on the pediment to the left side reads “Ah mine’l-mevt/ Reis’ül-ulema Nakibü’l-eşraf/Ayandan Rıza Efendi merhûmun kerimesi/Hatice Şefika Hanım’ın rûhuna Fâtiha Sene 1346” (Illustration 10b). The epitaphs indicate that the prayer windows were built side by side for the wife and daughter of Rıza efendi, who was an ulema. The phrasing of the epitaph conveys that the deceased belonged to a family from the İlmiye class. In addition, these epitaphs are unique in that they start with the word “Ah mine'l mevt.” The change in the perspective of Ottoman society towards death in the late period, which previously had a fatalistic and temperate understanding of death, was caused by social dynamics. Laquer indicates that this expression of complaint is an indicator of spiritual change in society, especially in the upper social stratum.<sup>55</sup> The gravestones of Dilber Hanım and Hatice Şefika Hanım in the hazir could not be located through our examinations.

## Conclusion

The prayer windows that we investigated are those of Hafize Hanım. They are situated around the Eyup Sultan Tomb and Mosque on Silaharaa Street, Piyer Loti Street, Beybaba Street, and Cami-i Kebir Street. (d. 1794-95/1209), Hamdullah Efendi (d. 1801-02/1216), Mehmed Emin Beyefendi (d. 1810-11/1225), Ebubekir Efendi (d. 1822-23/1238), Ebubekir Paşa (d. 1832-33/1248), Habibe Hanım?, Es-Seyyid Mehmed Sadeddin (d. 1852-1855/1269-1271), Nefise Hüsna Hanım (d. 1861-62/1278), Esmâ Hanım (d. 1864-65/1281), Dilber Hanım (d. 1914-15/1333), Hatice Şefika Hanım (d. 1928-29/1346). We were unable to locate the tombstones of Dilber and Hatice Şefika Hanım, whose windows are next to each other and are at a family grave, and Habibe Hanım, whose name is etched on the window at the corner of the perimeter wall encircling the Ferhat Paşa hazir on the route to Sultan Reşat Street. This may be due to the increasing burial rates over time. Dilber Hanım and Hatice Şefika Hanım may also have been buried without headstones since they are buried at a family grave.

It is understood that the epitaphs of the prayer windows inscribed with requests for al-Fatiha prayers in benefit of the buried, which attracts the attention of people visiting Eyup Sultan, in especially high numbers on religious days and nights such as Friday, were built on the same dates as the graves that could be identified. This may be because most graves are in places that cannot be immediately seen from the windows. The prayer windows of Es-Seyyid Mehmed Sadeddin Efendi, Nefise Hüsna Hanım, Hafize Hanım, and Mehmed Emin Beyefendi are decorated in a flashier manner and are larger than the others. These windows are also distinguished from the others by the fact that they are signed by a calligrapher and their attached graves are located right in front of the windows. This suggests that these people who are part of the families of well-established and high-status personalities' such as Sadrazam Mehmed Ali Paşa and Ebussuud had the opportunity to choose their burial sites from choice locations.

<sup>55</sup> H. Peter Laquer, *Hüve'l Bâki İstanbul'da Osmanlı Mezarlıkları ve Mezar Taşları*, çev. Selahattin Dilidüzgün (İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 1997), 83.

It is understood that these 11 prayer windows we examined, which are a part of the visitation culture in Istanbul folklore, were built in dates between 1794 and 1929. Examining the epitaphs of the windows, it is seen that the architectural elements in question are dated to the end of the 18th century and the first half of the 20th century and that five of them belong to men and six to women. The windows are mainly built from marble; however, limestone windows are also present. These windows were classified as having rectangular openings (vertical rectangular, transverse rectangular, and rectangular close to square) with lintels, pointed arch pediments, and arched capstone. It is seen that the rectangular openings are closed with iron grills in various styles. These windows of the late period exhibit the artistic understanding of the period with their architectural details and decorative features. Concave and convex moldings, "C" and "S" curved molding corniced and iron grills, floral and object-oriented stone decorations seen on the window capstones, and pediments are reflections of the artistic preferences of the Western-influenced architectural period. The stone decorations in the first two examples are decorated with high embossing to enhance the plastic effect. The epitaphs, which are carved and embossed from the surface, are generally located on the pediment of the windows. These epitaphs are inscribed with celî thuluth or celî taliq calligraphy, like the tombstones. Some of the epitaphs are signed by their artists. The epitaphs also bring light to the language used by the people of the period, the nicknames they used and their perspectives on death.

The specified building components were built during a time when Baroque, Imperial, and eclectic decorative styles dominated Ottoman architecture. It is seen that the decorations made on the prayer windows bear the traces of these styles. Although these windows, in front of which people now stand and pray, were created as a component of the visitation culture that grew up around the tomb of Eyup Sultan, it is believed that they have developed their folklore.

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Photo 1: Air View of Eyüp Sultan Mosque and Tomb (HezarFly)



Map 1: Location of Prayer Windows with Inscriptions in the Tomb of Eyüp Sultan (VGMA/İstanbul)



Photo 2: The graveyard with the tombs and prayer windows of Nefise Hüsna Hanım and Seyyid Mehmed Sadeddin Efendi (Aliye Öten Arşivi)

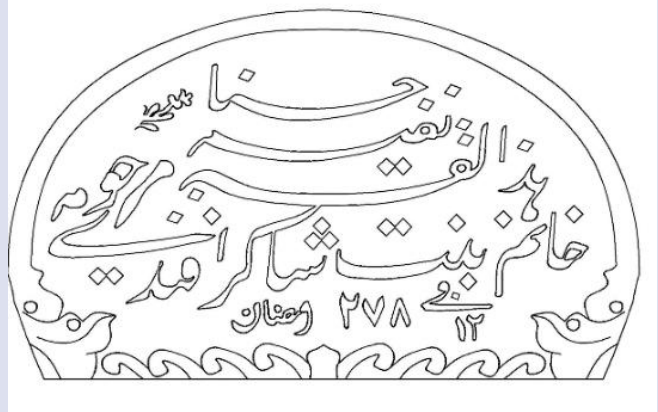
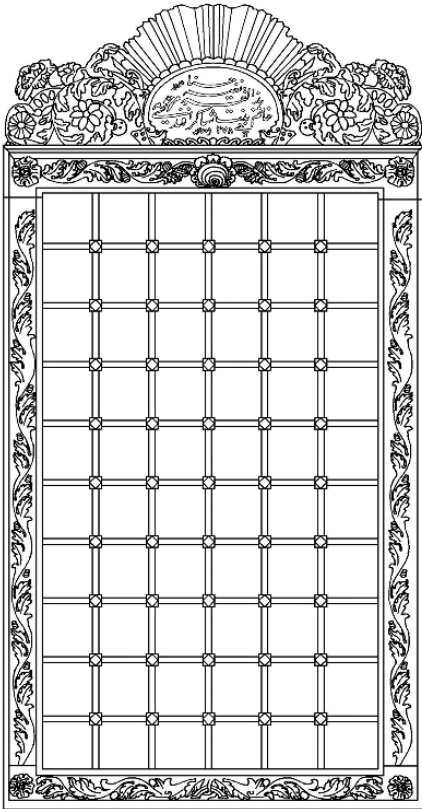


Illustration 1-1a: Nefise Hüsna Hanım's prayer window and inscription



Photo 2a: Gravestone of Nefise Hüsna Hanım (Aliye Öten Arşivi).

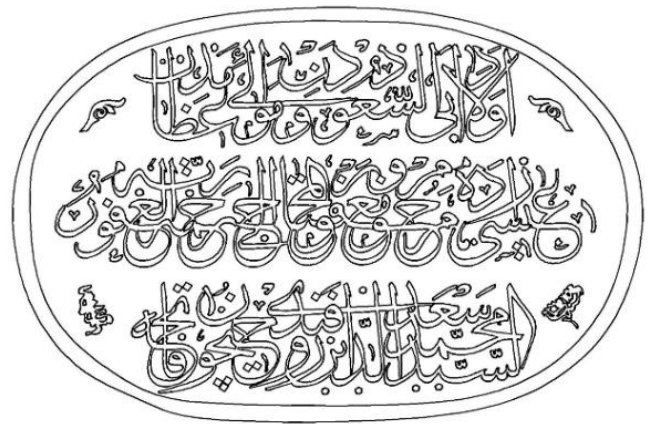
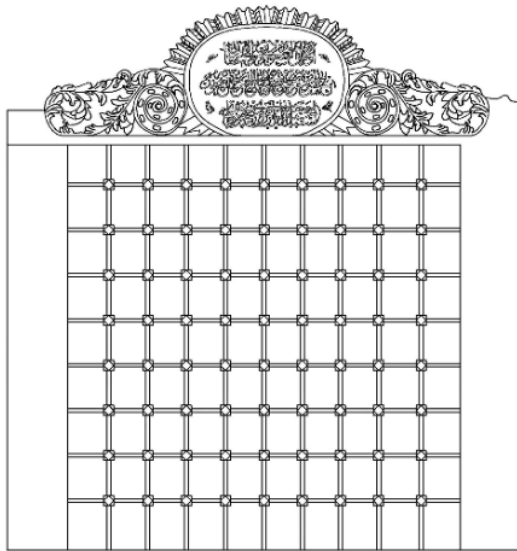


İllustration 2-2a: Seyyid Mehmed Sadeddin Efendi's prayer window and inscription



Photo 2b: Gravestone of Seyyid Mehmed Sadeddin Efendi (Aliye Öten Arşivi)



Photo 3: The graveyard with the tombs and prayer windows of Hamdullah Efendi and Esmâ Hanım (Aliye Öten Arşivi).

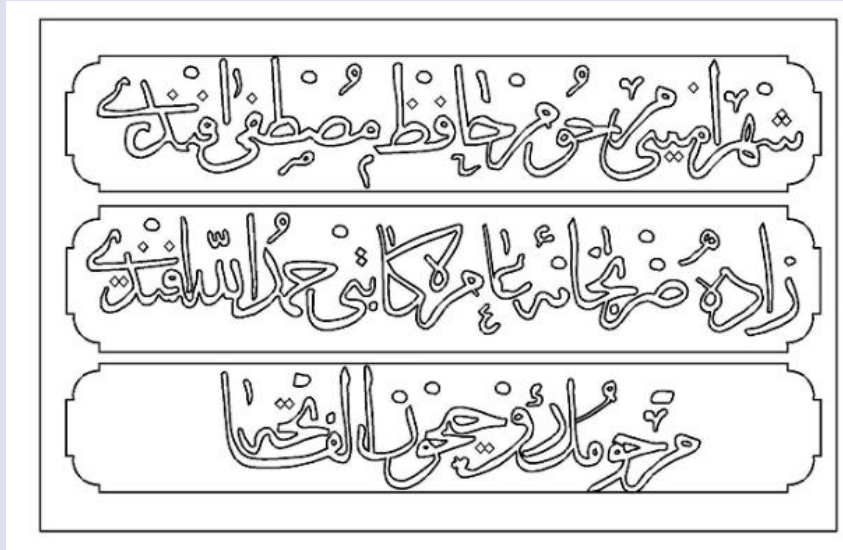
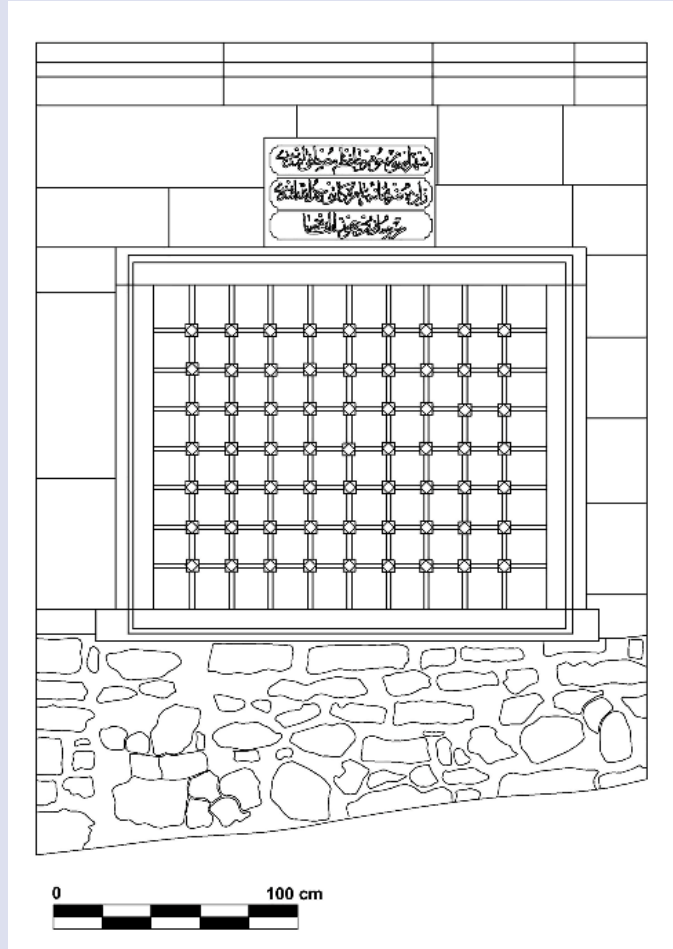


Illustration 3-3a: Hamdullah Efendi's prayer window and inscription.



Photo 3a: Gravestone of Hamdullah Efendi (Aliye Öten Arşivi).

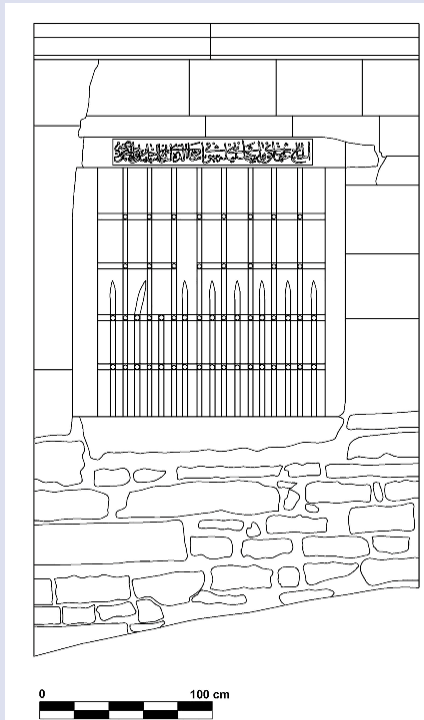


Illustration 4-4a: Esmâ Hanım's prayer window and inscription



Photo 3b: Gravestone of Esmâ Hanım (Aliye Öten Arşivi)



Photo 4: The graveyard with the tombs and prayer windows of Hafize Hanım and Mehmed Emin Bey



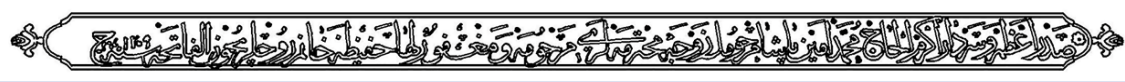
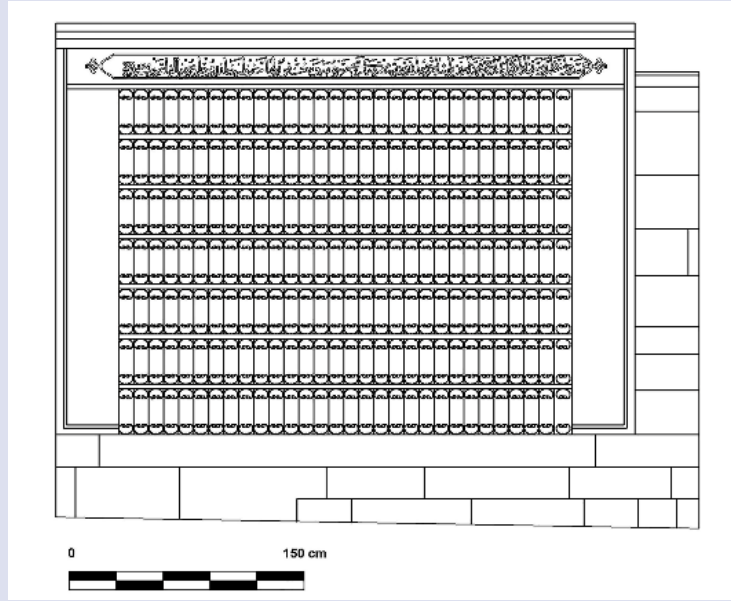


Illustration 5-5a: Hafize Hanım's prayer window and inscription



Photo 4a: Gravestone of Hafize Hanım (Aliye Öten Arşivi)

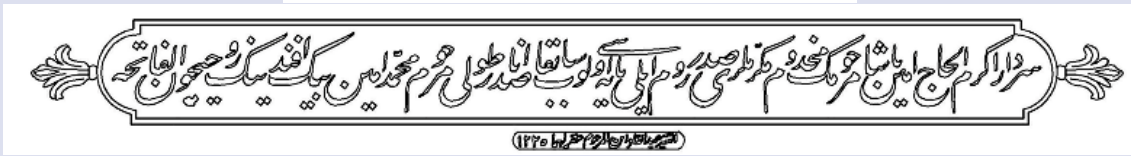
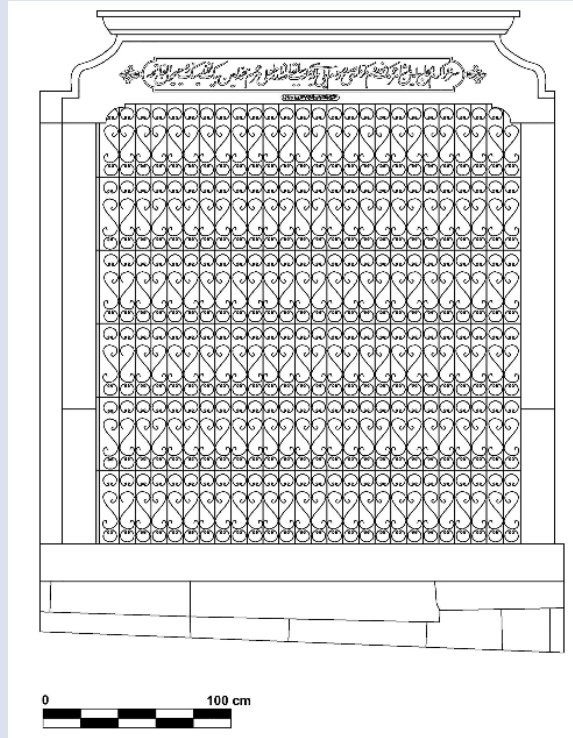


Illustration 6-6a: Mehmed Emin Beyefendi's prayer window and inscription



Photo 4b: Gravestone of Mehmed Emin Beyefendi (Aliye Öten Arşivi)



Photo 5: The graveyard with the tombs and prayer windows of Morevî Ebubekir Paşa and Ebubekir Efendi (Aliye Öten Arşivi)

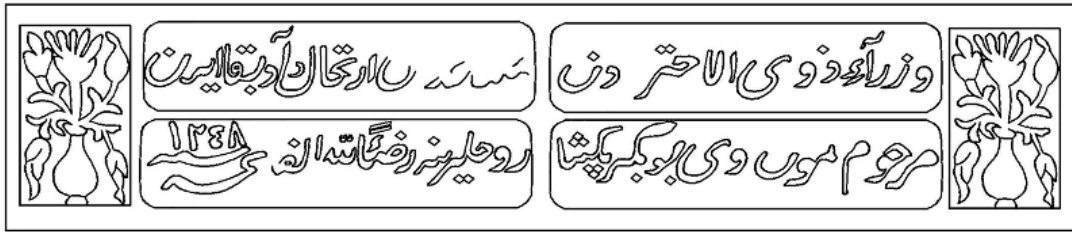


Illustration 7. Morevî Ebubekir Paşa's prayer window

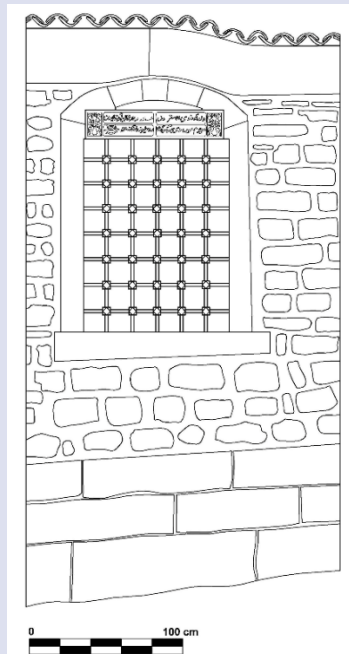


Illustration 7: Mehmed Emin Beyefendi's prayer window



Photo 5a: Gravestone of Morevî Ebubekir Paşa (Aliye Öten Arşivi)

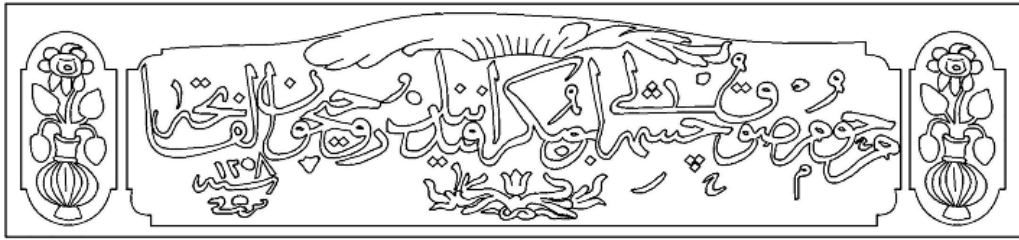


Illustration 8a: Ebubekir Efendi's inscription of prayer window

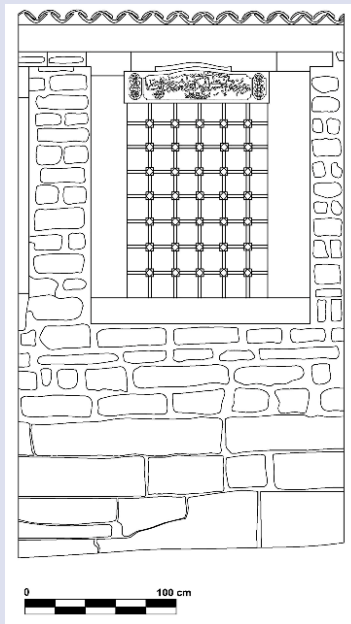


Illustration 8: Ebubekir Efendi's prayer window



Photo 5b: Gravestone of Ebubekir Efendi (Aliye Öten Arşivi)



Photo 6: Habibe Hanım's prayer window (Aliye Öten Arşivi)

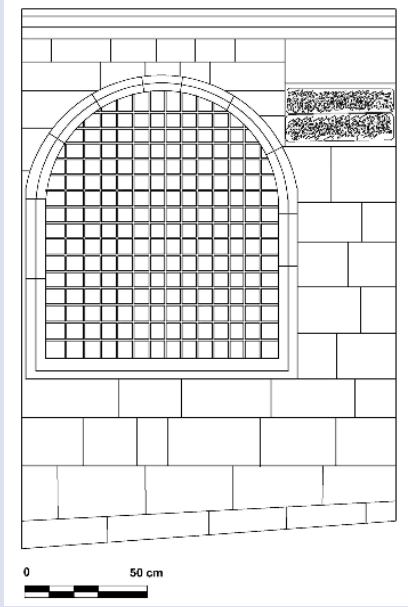


Illustration 9-9a: Habibe Hanım's prayer window and inscription



Photo 7: The prayer windows of Dilber Hanım and Hatice Şefika Hanım (Aliye Öten Arşivi)

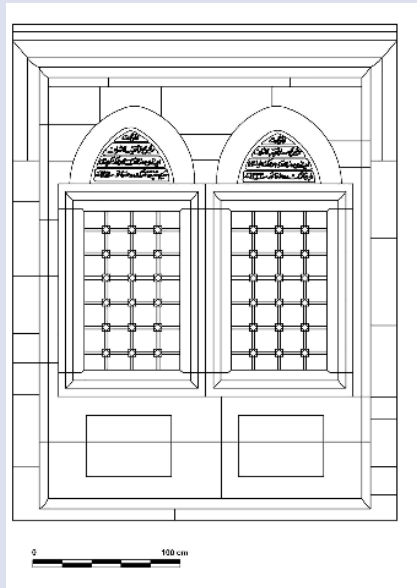


Illustration 10: The prayer windows of Dilber Hanım and Hatice Şefika Hanım

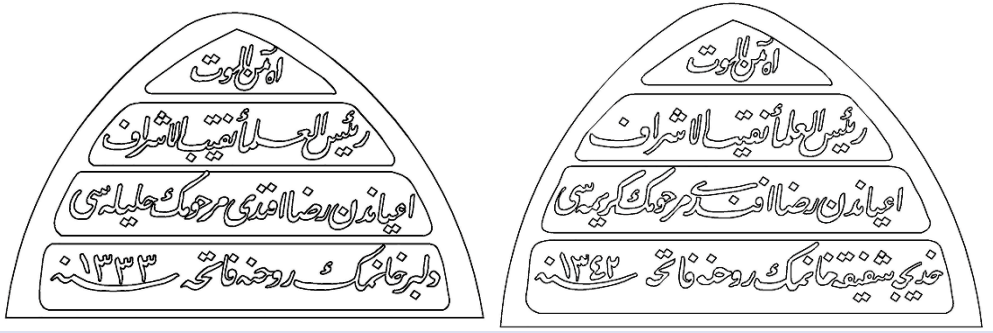


Illustration 10a/10b: Dilber Hanım and Hatice Şefika Hanım's inscription of prayer windows.



## Muslim Turcophobia: A Study of Two Missionary Authors

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### ABSTRACT

Among Turks, major religions with universal messages have always been welcomed with tolerance. The fact that Turks generally did not convert to religions other than Islam led to the interpretation of Islam as the most suitable religion for the character and national culture of Turks, and for this reason, Turks accepted Islam voluntarily, not by force. The proximity of the Turks to the Muslim regions made it easier for them to become Muslims and they became Muslims in groups. The statement in the Qur'anic Ayat âl -Kursi; *His pulpit has encompassed the heavens and the earth* السَّمَاوَاتِ كُرْسِيُّهُ وَالْأَرْضَ الْعَظِيمِ الْعَلِيِّ وَهُوَ حِفْظُهُمَا يَوْمَ دُودٍ لَّيْلٍ وَالْأَرْضَ the similarity in the fact that *Gök Tengri*, which they have believed in since the beginning of their existence, is both in the sky and much closer to them (closer than their jugular veins) has facilitated the change of belief in the Turks. The seven stories of the sky, which their ancestors saw as *Uçmak*, the fact that hell is seven stories below the earth, free thought and tolerance in both religions and the fact that there is only one God religion. The compatibility of the belief in God with hundreds of years of customs and traditions facilitated the acceptance of the idea that Islam was a suitable religion for them. The enmity against Muslim Turks, which started in the Christian world with the progress of Turkish tribes towards the West after the adoption of Islam, has increased the efforts of fanatical missionary Christian writers to create prejudice with their publications, which are far from historical facts, to demonize Turks in the Western public opinion. The common characteristics of these writers are that they fictionalize alleged inhumane crimes against Christians and present them as if they were true, and that they unconditionally support Greeks and Armenians, whom they see as the real owners of Anatolia. In this way, they accelerated the spread of "Islamophobia" in Western public opinion, and the persecution and massacres of Muslims were ignored. However, neither the Holy Qur'an, the Turks, nor the Prophet Muhammad deserve these accusations and slanders. However, the literature review revealed that no specific research (thesis, book, article) has been conducted on the subject. In this context, although Muslim-Turkish enmity has been used in different ways in original studies conducted by researchers, the impact of missionary activities that started especially in the 19th century and the main reasons for this enmity have not been investigated specifically by missionary writers. The publications of the two missionary authors researched in this study have not been translated into Turkish until today. As a methodology, the literature review on the impact of missionary and missionary activities on Muslim Turcophobia was applied in the form of the publications and analysis of the missionary authors taken as an example for the study during the period. The study aims to investigate the root causes of Muslim Turcophobia and to draw the attention of researchers to the issue in the context of two missionary writers (George Horton (d. 1942), Sir Edwin Pears (d. 1919)) who insulted, slandered, and attacked Muslims and saw Muslims as a threat to Christianity in the Turkish nation.

**Keywords:** History of Religions, Muslim Turkophobia, Missionary, Sir Edwin Pears, George Horton



## Müslüman Türk Düşmanlığı: Misyoner İki Yazar Üzerinden Bir Araştırma

Süreç

Geliş: 15/07/2024

Kabul: 05/11/2024

**İntihal:** Bu makale, en az iki hakem tarafından incelendi ve intihal içermediği teyit edildi.


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## ÖZ

Türkler arasında evrensel mesajlar içeren büyük dinler her zaman hoşgörü ile karşılanmıştır. Türklerin genellikle İslamiyet dışındaki dinlere geçmemeleri, İslamiyet'in *Türklerin karakterine ve milli kültürüne en uygun din* olarak yorumlanmasına yol açmış, bu nedenle Türkler İslamiyet'i zorla değil, gönüllü olarak kabul etmişlerdir. Türklerin, Müslüman Bölgelerine yakınlığı onların Müslüman olmasını kolaylaştırmış, topluluklar halinde Müslüman olmuşlardır. Kur'an Ayet'i-âl-Kürsi'deki ifadesi ile; *Onun minberi gökleri ve yeri kuşatmıştır* *الْعِظِيمِ الْعَلِيِّ وَهُوَ حَفِظَهُمَا ۖ يَوْمَ لَا وَاللَّارِضِ ۖ السَّمَوَاتِ كُرْسِيَهُ* varoluşlarının başlangıcından beri inandıkları *Gök Tengri'nin* hem Gök'te hem de onlara çok daha yakın (şah damarlarından daha yakın) olmasındaki benzerlik Türklerdeki inanç değişimini kolaylaştırmıştır. Atalarının *Uçmak* olarak gördükleri yedi kat gök, cehennem yerin yedi kat altında olması, her iki dinde de özgür düşünce ve hoşgörü olması, tek Tanrı'lı bir din olması. Allah inancının yüzlerce yıllık örf ve adetlerle uyumluluğu İslamiyet'in kendilerine uygun bir din olduğu fikrinin kabulünü kolaylaştırmıştır. Türk kavimlerinin İslamiyet'i kabulünden sonra Batı'ya doğru ilerleyişi ile de Hristiyan dünyasında başlayan Müslüman Türk düşmanlığı, fanatik misyoner Hristiyan yazarların, Türkleri, Batı kamuoyunda şeytanlaştırmaya yönelik, tarihi gerçeklerden çok uzak yayınlarıyla önyargı yaratma çabalarını artırmıştır. Bu yazarların ortak özellikleri; Hristiyanlara yönelik, insanlık dışı olduğu iddia edilen suçları kurgulayarak, gerçekmiş gibi sunmaları, Anadolu'nun gerçek sahibi olarak gördükleri Rum ve Ermenilere, koşulsuz destek vermeleridir. Böylelikle batı kamuoyunda *İslamofobinin* yayılmasını hızlandırmış, Müslümanlara yapılan zulüm ve katliamlar görmezden gelinmiştir. Oysa bu itham ve iftiralara ne Kur'an, ne Türkler, ne de Hz. Muhammet hak etmektedir. Ancak, yapılan literatür taramasında konuyla ilgili özel olarak bir araştırma (tez, kitap, makale) yapılmadığı görülmüştür. Bu bağlamda, Müslüman Türk düşmanlığı, araştırmacılar tarafından yapılan özgün çalışmalarda farklı şekillerde kullanılmış olsa da düşmanlığın, özellikle 19. Yüzyılda başlayan misyonerlik faaliyetlerinin etkisi ve temel nedenleri misyoner yazarlar özelinde araştırılmamıştır. Hatta çalışma kapsamında araştırılan iki misyoner yazarın yayınları bugüne kadar Türkçeye çevrilmemiştir. Metodoloji olarak, misyonerlik ve misyonerlik faaliyetlerinin Müslüman Türk düşmanlığına olan literatür taraması, dönem içinde çalışmaya örnek olarak alınan misyoner yazarların yayınları ve analizi şeklinde uygulanmıştır. Çalışmanın amacı, Müslüman Türk düşmanlığı yapan misyoner yazarların Müslümanlığa karşı hakaret, iftira ve saldırılarının bulunduğu ve Türk milleti özelinde Müslümanlığı, Hristiyanlık karşısında bir tehdit olarak gören iki misyoner yazar (George Horton (öl. 1942), Sir Edwin Pears (öl. 1919)) özelinde Müslüman Türk düşmanlığının temel nedenlerini araştırmak ve araştırmacıların konuya dikkatini çekmektir.

**Anahtar Kelimeler:** Dinler Tarihi, Müslüman Türk Düşmanlığı, Misyonerlik, Sir Edwin Pears, George Horton

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## Introduction

When the study was examined in terms of literature review, doctoral and master's theses prepared so far were examined, but studies specific to Muslim and Turkophobia could not be found. It was observed that the researchers only concluded by examining the relations between Muslims and Christians within missionary activities. It was observed that there were 147 (doctoral and master's) theses on missionary work in the National Thesis Center and these theses were partially used in the preparation of the study. On the other hand, when academic studies (books, articles) were analyzed, it was observed that there was no study specifically on Muslim-Turkish hostility. The publications of the missionary authors taken as examples for the study have not been translated into Turkish until today, nor have they been researched. On the other hand, within the scope of the studies on Muslim Enmity and missionaries, the issue of Muslim Turkophobia was partially touched upon. Relevant sources were utilized in the study. This study, which is a first in the literature, is important in terms of setting an example for future research.

The famous American historian Justin McCarthy wrote the following in the foreword of his book *Death and Exile*, in which he describes the massacres of Muslim Turks by imperialist states during the last period of the Ottoman Empire with material and moral support and historical documents:

This translation appears on the seventeenth anniversary of the publication of *Death and Exile*. *Death and Exile* was not the last word on the atrocities inflicted on the Muslims of the Balkans, Anatoly, and the Southern Caucasus. In the past seventeen years we have learned of others who endured massacre and exile, but were not included in *Death and Exile*: More than three-fourths of the Turks of the Dobruja, for example, died or were forced from their land in the period of the 1877-78 war, as were one-third of the Bosnian Muslims. I and others have written of them elsewhere. Others, especially in Turkey, have written in detail on the fate of the Turks in the wars and deportations in separate regions. New information is being found constantly in the Prime Minister's Archives and the Military Archives. Indeed, the amount of new information on the suffering of the Turks is overwhelming. It will take another, younger, scholar to bring it together into a new and more complete study. Sadly, that scholar also will be able to include new massacres and new Muslim exiles, for Bosnia, Kosovo, and Karabağ have taught us that the death and exile of the Muslims is not over.<sup>1</sup>

The Turks, whose living conditions in Central Asia had deteriorated, were introduced to Islam during their westward raids and soon became the guardians (swordsmen) of Islam. After the battle of Malazgirt in 1071 between the Muslim Oghuz Turks and the Eastern Roman Empire, the Oghuzs' homelandization of Anatolia and their dominance over the Middle East (especially Jerusalem) was perceived as a threat to Christianity, and this was the beginning of a war that continues to this day.

The Byzantine Emperor Alexi Komnen (d. 1118), to prevent the settlement of the Turks in Anatolia, had started the Crusades.<sup>2</sup> *Under the pretext that the Muslim Turks prevented Western pilgrims from traveling freely to the Holy Land*, also the Pope launched the Crusades to retake and hold Jerusalem. With this statement, Muslim Turks were shown as the cause of the Crusades with a

<sup>1</sup> Justin McCarty, *Ölüm ve Sürgün*, (İstanbul: İnkılap Kitapevi, 1998), 15- 16.

<sup>2</sup> İsmail Hakkı Uzunçarşılı, *Büyük Osmanlı Tarihi*. 1. Cilt, (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu), 2.

negative perception of Turks, the east-west distinction was emphasized with the expression *Western pilgrims and Muslim Turks*, and with an expression shaped through the element of religion with the perception of *friend and enemy*, the Turks were made enemies by creating the perception of an "infidel society" that prevented Westerners from pilgrimage.<sup>3</sup>

After the fall of the Anatolian Seljuk State, the settlement of the Turks in Anatolia and the expansion of their lands by turning their direction to the west was destined to Osman Gazi, the head of the Kayı tribe, and his sons, who were an end principality in the Söğüt region after the collapse of the Anatolian Greek Seljuk State. The Osmanoğulları Principality ensured the growth of the state and its transformation into an empire in a short time with the justice, tolerance, and freedom of belief it showed against the massacres committed by the Crusaders in the Christian lands it conquered in the wars it won. For the West, however, the fall of Constantinople, the capital of the Eastern Roman Empire, in 1453, and the Hagia Sophia, which was built by Emperor Justinian I in the 6th century and is considered the most important church of the Orthodox sect and Christendom after the church of St. Pietro in Rome, *a monument at the crossroads of cultures*, to the Muslim Turks and converted into a mosque caused a great trauma that continues to this day. However, the Turkish army, which entered Istanbul under the command of Sultan Mehmet the Conqueror exactly 250 years after the sack of Istanbul by the Latins, preserved all the cultural heritage and richness of the city, unlike the burning and looting of Istanbul by the Latins, and maintained their existence, beliefs, and culture for hundreds of years with the understanding of tolerance, justice and freedom shown towards other non-Muslim communities, especially the Orthodox community. Even though the Hagia Sophia Church, the most important sanctuary of the Orthodox community, was converted into a mosque, the icons with human figures and Christian signs inside were preserved until today by covering them with plaster, which can be skillfully removed later.

For the American missionary George Horton, 1453 was a black year. For him, the revival of Byzantium, the last remaining civilization in Anatolia, was a missionary mission:

Since that black year of 1453, the only civilization that has existed in Turkey is that provided by the Christian remnants of the former Byzantine Empire. That is why the work of American and other missionaries was of great importance. They first went to Turkey to convert Muslims. They realized that they could not do this, but that their main task was against Christians who were eager for upliftment and enlightenment. The latter's recent rapid development in advanced agriculture, industry, commerce, and education was revitalizing Christianity in the East and reweaving the dilapidated and shattered fabric of the old Byzantine Empire. The great Christian powers were given a late and final opportunity to right the wrong done to the world by the Turkish capture of Hagia Sophia, the temple of eternal wisdom.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>3</sup> M. Bileydi Koç, "Fransız Ortaokul Tarih Ders Kitaplarında Türk İmajı". *Cumhuriyet Tarihi Araştırmaları Dergisi*, 19(37), 348-377, (Bahar 2023), 359.

<sup>4</sup> George Horton, *The Blight of Asia, An Account of the Systematic Extermination of Christian Populations by Mohammedans and of the Culpability of Certain Great Power, by with the True Story of the Burning of Smyrna*, (USA: The Bobbs-Merrill Company, 1926), 60.

Sir Edwin Pears, a British missionary who, like Horton, lived in Constantinople for forty years and later wrote two books about his experiences to demonize the Muslim Turks, wrote in his book *Forty Years in Constantinople*:

“The New Rome of Constantine Augustus came under the rule of a horde of Eastern adventurers, originally Turanians and mongrels through polygamy. This was Asia's greatest victory in its dispute with Europe. For decades to come, at least, it seemed likely that the East would be able to destroy all the fruits of Marathon.<sup>5</sup>”

The Ottoman Empire's inability to maintain its position and power against a Europe that became conscious and powerful with the Renaissance and Reform movements that started with the transformation in Europe, the enrichment of the bourgeois class, which became richer and more educated, and the slaughter and plunder of primitive civilizations by the Western explorers crossing the Atlantic Ocean had disrupted the balance of power between them. The era of European kings asking for help from the Ottoman Empire even in their wars with each other was over, and the era of destroying the Ottoman Empire by uniting with their alliances began. For states like the British Empire and France, the Ottoman Empire was an obstacle on the trade routes to their colonies in the east, and a gateway to the warm waters of the Mediterranean and the Persian Gulf for Russia in the north to develop its trade. In short, by the 19th century, the Turkish presence in Anatolia had become an "oriental problem" for the Western powers. The solution was to organize nationalist fanatics among the non-Muslims who had lived peacefully in the Ottoman Empire for hundreds of years, with all kinds of weapons and material support from outside, to create unrest, and to prevent the interventions of the Turkish public order forces against the unrest and riots caused by these disturbers by spreading the false news of *Turks are massacring Christians! through newspapers to the Western Christian public opinion...*, to demonize the Turks by reviving the image of the *barbaric Turks* of hundreds of years ago, to expel them from Anatolian lands to the east, to ensure the establishment of Greek, Armenian, Kurdish, and Arab states in the places vacated by the Turks through mandate administrations to be established under the control of imperialists, and to turn Hagia Sophia back into a church and make it the center of faith of the Orthodox world. To achieve this goal, they aimed to mobilize the pious Greek and Armenian Christians, Kurdish and Arab ethnic structures in Anatolia and the Middle East with the missionaries they sent to Anatolia since the beginning of the 19th century and the missionary schools they opened by using the opportunities created by the Tanzimat and Islahat Edict.

Western Christian fanatics welcomed the success of foreign-sponsored revolts within the Ottoman Empire with great joy, while those that failed were propagandized to Western public opinion as a *Turkish genocide*. In 1821, the establishment of the Greek state in 1830 was applauded, ignoring the tens of thousands of Muslim Turks who were massacred by Greek gangs in the revolt that started in the Peloponnese and was organized by the Philiki Eteria and the Greek Orthodox Church, however, with the same formula, the massacre, and exile of tens of thousands of Muslim Turks by the Armenian Regiments in the Russian army in the First World War to establish an

<sup>5</sup> Edwin Pears, *Forty Years in Constantinople*, (London Herbert Jenkins Lti., 1916), 3.

Armenian state in six provinces in the east of Anatolia was ignored, and this unsuccessful attempt was presented to the Western public opinion with the lie of *Armenian Genocide*.

As will be seen in the content of the study, the books of missionary writers who have been trying to create unrealistic history and perceptions against Islam and Turkishness for hundreds of years have been an important factor in shaping today's Western politics. It is also a fact that this approach underlies the Christian world's insensitivity to the unjust attacks and atrocities committed against Muslims and Turks all over the world. The fact that Turkish and Muslim academics do not produce sufficient publications against all these claims and slanders creates a big gap in the literature. This study aims to fill this gap in the literature by analyzing the books of two European missionaries who tried to demonize Muslim Turks and denigrate Islam and its sacred values, and by revealing with documents that the seeds of hatred and hatred sown by missionaries in the hearts of pious Christians are the biggest lie of history.

## 1. Missionary and Missionary Activities in Turkey

The word mission comes from the Latin *Mittere*, meaning to *send*. It was translated into French as a mission, meaning a special task given to someone to do something. Missionary, which comes from the word mission, means "to establish a religious organization, to propagate religion and to make people followers of that religion"<sup>6</sup>. In general, missionary work is defined as "associations established to convert those of other religions to one's religion" and as "organizations that aim to spread Christianity in non-Christian countries"<sup>7</sup>.

Christian missionary work bases its religious reference on the various sayings of Jesus to his disciples in the New Testament texts. Jesus' words said to his disciples as he sent them out are the main reference for Christian missionary work. However, the most fundamental statement in the New Testament used as a reference for missionary work is the following statement in the Gospel of Matthew: "Go therefore and make disciples of all nations and peoples, baptizing them in the name of the Father. Baptize them in the name of the Father and of the Son and the Holy Spirit. Teach them to observe all that I have commanded you, and lo, I am with you all days, even to the end of the world"<sup>8</sup>.

Priests, priests, or clergymen who take part in spreading Christianity are also called missionaries. In short, we can say that missionary work is an organized work unit for spreading Christianity.<sup>9</sup> "In religious terms, mission and missionary work has been understood as teaching the Gospel, winning non-Christians to this religion, or converting non-Christians to a particular sect in the period from the time of the Apostles to the present day. Missionary work has been put into practice with the help of means such as printing, medical care, and building schools"<sup>10</sup>.

<sup>6</sup> Uygur Kocabaşoğlu, *Kendi Belgeleriyle Anadolu'daki Amerika, Misyoner Okulları*, (İstanbul Arba Publications, 1989), 1.

<sup>7</sup> Turkish Dictionary, 1998: II, 1571.

<sup>8</sup> Matthew, *Kaknüs Yayınları*, İstanbul, 2011, 28:19-20; *Bible (New Testament)*, (İstanbul: Dorlion Yayınları, 2020), 24:14.

<sup>9</sup> A. Mehmet Kocaoğlu, "Misyonerlik Faaliyetlerinden Pontus Rum Devletine Uzanan Süreç", *Giresun Tarihi Sempozyumu*, 24-25 Mayıs 1996, *Bildiriler*, (İstanbul, 1997), 236.

<sup>10</sup> Kocabaşoğlu, *Kendi Belgeleriyle Anadolu'daki Amerika*, 14; Süleyman Kocabaş, *Ermeni Meselesi Nedir? Ne Değildir?* (İstanbul, 1983), 9.

The greatest missionary of the Christian religion was Paul, who was originally Jewish. Paul (Saul of Tarsus) founded many churches and organized Christianity in the important centers of Anatolia and many parts of Asia, Macedonia, and Greece. The struggle between Christians and Roman emperors continued until the conversion of Emperor Constantine in 325. Constantine made Constantinople the capital of *New Rome*. In the history of Christianity, the Council held in Nicaea in 325 under the leadership of Emperor Constantine is very important.<sup>11</sup>

In the New Age, from the 16th century onwards, with the discovery of the Americas, the so-called *New World*, the Catholic churches sent missionaries to the newly conquered territories of Spain, Portugal, and France. Thus, Central and South America, the Antilles, and the Philippines were converted to Christianity. Christian missionaries propagated this religion to the Far East, reaching as far as Japan, China, and India. The *Society for the Propagation of the Faith*, founded in Rome in the 17th century, was actively directing missionary activities.<sup>12</sup>

Missionaries gave importance to social service organizations such as hospitals and schools. After the nineteenth century, Christian missions opened schools, colleges, hospitals, and nursing schools in many parts of the world. Later, these social activities extended to agricultural services, support, development and cooperative programs, and literacy campaigns.<sup>13</sup>

Missionary activities in the Ottoman Empire began with the activities of the Jesuit, Franciscan, Capuchin, and Lazarist orders, which started to operate under the auspices of France, to unite the Roman and Byzantine churches, namely the Catholic and Orthodox sects, and to increase the authority of the Pope. They also aimed to convert Muslims to Christianity, convert Greeks, Armenians, and non-Catholic Christians within the borders of the Ottoman Empire to Catholicism, and strengthen the influence of France. The reason why Catholic missionaries started their activities early in the Ottoman Empire was the capitulation privileges granted to France.<sup>14</sup>

Missionaries in the Ottoman Empire seized every opportunity. In addition to religious activities, foreigners also gained the right to open schools in the Ottoman Empire, and not content with this, they patronized the schools of non-Muslim communities close to them and maintained their influence on these schools. The policy of the foreign states that controlled the missionaries from the beginning was to control the non-Muslim communities in the Ottoman Empire.<sup>15</sup> Non-Muslims, who cooperated with the imperialist states that wanted to destroy and dismember the Ottoman Empire, supported the missionary schools of foreigners and their political goals.<sup>16</sup>

The nineteenth century was a century of many changes for the Ottoman Empire. In 1826 the Janissary Corps was abolished, the Tanzimat Edict was proclaimed in 1839, the Reform Edict was proclaimed in 1856, the Ottoman-Russian War of 1877-1878, and the Constitutional Monarchy I was proclaimed in 1876. Especially after the Edict of Reform, missionary activities had accelerated.

<sup>11</sup> Mehmet Çelik, *Fener Patrikhanesi'nin Ekümenlik İddialarının Tarihsel Seyri, (325-1453)*, (İstanbul Akademi Kitabevi, 2000), 5.

<sup>12</sup> Remzi Kılıç, "Misyonerlik ve Türkiye'ye Yönelik Misyoner Faaliyetleri", *TÜBAR-XIX-*/(2006-Bahar), 328-338.

<sup>13</sup> Kılıç, *Misyonerlik ve Türkiye'ye*, 328-338.

<sup>14</sup> Kocabaş, *Kendi Belgeleriyle Anadolu'daki Amerika*, 77-78.

<sup>15</sup> Kılıç, *Misyonerlik ve Türkiye'ye*, 328-338.

<sup>16</sup> Remzi Kılıç, "Osmanlı Türkiye'sinde Azınlık Okulları (19. Yüzyıl)", *Türk Kültürü, Yıl XXXVII*, S. 431, Ankara, 1999, (151-159), 151.

According to missionary sources, by 1893, 1317 missionaries were working in Turkey. 223 of these were American Protestant missionaries. As of 1893, five colleges were serving 4085 students. There were eighty (80) secondary schools and five hundred and thirty (530) elementary schools. In 1897, there were 624 missionary schools in Turkey with a total of 27,400 students.<sup>17</sup>

American Dr. Earle states that "In no other country in the world have missionaries and clergymen served imperialism as much as in Turkey".<sup>18</sup> This shows how strategically important Anatolia was identified and targeted even by American missionaries two centuries ago.<sup>19</sup>

In 1897, France had 127 schools, England 60, Germany 22, Italy 22, Austria 11, Russia 7, and America 131 schools in the Ottoman Empire. In the early 20th century, there were 209 foreign missionaries, 1299 local workers, 163 churches, 15348 members, 450 schools, and 25,922 students in Turkey.<sup>20</sup>

With the efforts of Orthodox and Catholic clergymen and Russia, Greek minority schools became centers of mischief against the Ottoman Empire. Their curriculums were filled with anti-Turkic subjects and how they would destroy the Turkish nation and the Ottoman Empire.

Their curricula included subjects such as propagandizing that the Turks were eternal enemies, making Europe hostile to the Turks, weakening them economically, corrupting the Turkish nation in terms of morality, nationality, religion, and traditions, teaching blasphemy, spreading blasphemy among Turks, encouraging Turks to commit adultery and other immoralities, instilling the spirit of a bully in Turkish youth, breaking the bonds of love and respect between them, and getting the teachers to drink.<sup>21</sup>

## 2. American Missionary George Horton's Missionary Activities in Turkey (From his book "The Catastrophe of Asia" accusing Turks of massacring Greeks and Armenians)

George Horton was a member of the United States of America (USA) diplomatic corps who served in various consular posts in Greece and the Ottoman Empire. He served as US Consul or Consul General in Turkey for two terms (Izmir, 1911-1917 and 1919-1922). The first one ended with the entry of the United States into the First World War and the end of diplomatic relations with the Ottoman Empire, and the second one covered the Greek administration of the city during the Greek-Turkish War. After leaving Smyrna on September 11, 1922, Horton, who had married a Greek (Catherine Sakopoulos (d. 1973)) during his diplomatic mission in Greece, published his book *The Blight of Asia* in 1926, accusing the Turks of massacring Greeks and Armenians in the wake of the fire in Smyrna on the night of September 12-13.

In his book, Horton describes himself as a Christian missionary and a humanist:

<sup>17</sup> Bilal Şimşir, "Ermeni Propagandasının Amerika Boyutu Üzerine", *Tarih Boyunca Türklerin Ermenilerle İlişkileri Sempozyumu*, (8-12 Ekim 1984), (Ankara 1985), 98.

<sup>18</sup> Kocabaş, *Kendi Belgeleriyle Anadolu'daki Amerika*, 28; Kılıç, *Misyonerlik ve Türkiye'ye*, 157.

<sup>19</sup> Kılıç, *Misyonerlik ve Türkiye'ye*, 328-338.

<sup>20</sup> Joseph K Greene, *Leavening The Levant*, (Chicago, Boston, New York: The Pilgrim Press, 1916).

<sup>21</sup> Kocabaş, *Kendi Belgeleriyle Anadolu'daki Amerika*, 95-97.

I am neither “pro-Greek”, nor “pro-Turkish”, nor American, I am nothing but a follower of Jesus. Having passed the most of my life in regions where race feeling runs high, it has been my one aim to help the oppressed, irrespective of race, as will be shown by documents submitted later, and I have won the expressed gratitude of numerous Turks for the aid and relief I have afforded them on various occasions. I am aware of the many noble qualities of the Turkish peasant, but I do not agree with many precepts of his religion, and I do not admire him when he is cutting throats or violating Christian women. The massacres already enumerated are a sufficient blot upon the Turkish name. They were made possible by the teachings of the Koran, the example of Mohammed, lust, and the desire for plunder. They sink into insignificance when compared with the vast slaughter of more recent years, conducted under the auspices of Abdul Hamid, Talaat and Company, and Mustapha Kemal.<sup>22</sup>

Horton mentions that he wrote the book for two purposes. The second purpose is a confession of the incitement of Armenians and Greeks against the Ottoman Empire through missionary schools in Anatolia since the middle of the 19th century.

One object of writing this book is to make the truth known concerning the very significant events and to throw the light on an important period during which colossal crimes have been committed against the human race, with Christianity losing ground in Europe and America as well as in Africa and the Near East.

Another object is to show that the destruction of Smyrna was but the closing act in a consistent program of exterminating Christianity throughout the length and breadth of the old Byzantine Empire; the expatriation of an ancient Christian civilization, which in recent years had begun to take on growth and rejuvenation spiritually, largely as a result of the labors of American missionary teachers. Their admirable institutions, scattered all over Turkey, which have cost the people of the United States between fifty million and eighty million dollars, have been, with some exceptions closed, or irreparably damaged, and their thousands of Christian teachers and pupils butchered or dispersed. This process of extermination was carried on over a considerable period of time, with fixed purpose, with system, and with painstaking minute details; and it was accomplished with unspeakable cruelties, causing the destruction of a greater number of human beings than have suffered in any similar persecution since the coming of Christ.<sup>23</sup>

In the first chapter of his book, Horton states, "Since its first appearance, Mohammedism has been propagated by the sword and violence as the great enemy of Christianity, as I will show in a later chapter of this book. In recent years, however, it has been left to the Turks to carry on their savage traditions"<sup>24</sup>, giving round numbers for the massacres committed by the Turks between 1822 and 1909 and the ethnic groups he claims were killed. When the list is examined, it is seen that there is no indication as to why it started in 1822 (without mentioning the date of the beginning of the Greek Revolt). However, Turkish rule in Anatolia, the Balkans, and the Middle East dates back much earlier than this date. Besides Greeks and Armenians, the list includes Bulgarians, Yezidis, Syriacs, Assyrians, Maronites, Mekodons, and even Janissaries.

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<sup>22</sup> Horton, *The Blight of Asia*, 9.

<sup>23</sup> Horton, *The Blight of Asia*, 4.

<sup>24</sup> Horton, *The Blight of Asia*, 6.



When Horton's narratives are analyzed in the following sections, it is seen that he claims that non-Muslims, who lived in peace and tranquility in the Ottoman Empire until 1822, started to be systematically massacred by the Turks for some unexplained reasons, and that this brutality continued until the Armenian deportation in 1915. It is noteworthy that Horton never mentions the Muslim Turks who were massacred during the Greek revolt that started in 1821. However, the truth was different. The American writer Justin McCarthy, in his book *Death and Exile*, emphasizes that the Greeks in the Peloponnese were engaged in a general policy of extermination against the Muslims, and the nationalist slogan of the uprising was the slogan uttered by Bishop Germanos: "Peace for Christians! Respect for the consuls! Death to the Turks!"<sup>25</sup>. McCarthy narrates the Tripoli massacre with the following striking sentences:

"For three days the poor Turkish settlers were subjected to the lust and cruelty of a mob of savages. They were spared neither in terms of gender nor age. Even women and children were tortured before being killed. The slaughter was on such a massive scale that even Kolokotronis himself, the gangster's brigand, said that when I entered the town, starting from the gate of the upper fortress, my horse's feet never touched the ground. The victory celebration parade route was paved with a blanket of corpses".<sup>26</sup> In his study titled "Peloponnesian Turks Destroyed in the Independence Process of Greece" published by Istanbul University Faculty Member Ali Gönenç, he writes: "The population of Greece decreased from 938,765 to 752,077 between 1821 and 1838. The biggest share in this decrease of nearly 200 thousand belongs to the Peloponnese Turks".<sup>27</sup>

The Greek revolt against the Ottoman Empire began in March 1821 with the massacre of some officials of the Ottoman state, especially tax collectors. This was followed in April by generalized attacks on Turks living in the Peloponnese in southern Greece. Greek bandits and peasants massacred all the Turks they could find. Ottoman soldiers, both Turkish and Albanian, were ambushed and killed. Some, like the Muslim inhabitants of Kalavryta and Kalamata, surrendered, believing that the Greeks would leave them alive. But they too were killed. Many others, like the Turks of Laconia, were massacred on the roads as they fled.<sup>28</sup>

Meanwhile, in every corner of the peninsula, the Christian population attacked and murdered the Muslim population. The mansions and vineyards of the Muslims were burned, and their property destroyed to discourage those who had fled desperately to the fortresses from returning. In 1821, between March 26 and Easter on April 22, 1821, more than fifteen thousand [Muslim] lives are thought to have been mercilessly taken and some three thousand Turkish vineyards and settlements destroyed.<sup>29</sup>

Horton, as a devoted Christian missionary, reveals at the end of the book that his real intention was to discredit Islam and its holy book, the Qur'an, and its Prophet Muhammad:

<sup>25</sup> McCarthy, *Ölüm ve Sürgün*, 9-10; Ali Gönenç, "Yunanistan'ın Bağımsızlık Sürecinde Yok Edilen Mora Türkleri". *Uluslararası Suçlar ve Tarih*, 11(12), 5-32, (Ankara, 2011), 11.

<sup>26</sup> McCarthy, *Ölüm ve Sürgün*, 10; Gönenç, *Yunanistan'ın Bağımsızlık Sürecinde*, 14.

<sup>27</sup> Gönenç, *Yunanistan'ın Bağımsızlık Sürecinde*, 25.

<sup>28</sup> McCarthy, *Ölüm ve Sürgün*, 10-11; Gönenç, *Yunanistan'ın Bağımsızlık Sürecinde*, 25.

<sup>29</sup> McCarthy, *Ölüm ve Sürgün*, 11.

The strange state of mind that enables the Turk to commit atrocities against humanity that shock and humiliate the entire race is due to three things: His own nature, the teaching of the Koran, and the example of the Prophet. This is what Gladstone<sup>30</sup> meant when he spoke of "the union of his nature and his religion".<sup>31</sup>

Horton takes his allegations one step further by claiming that the Qur'an is taken from the *Old Testament* and continues to make derogatory slanderous claims about the Prophet Muhammad:

The Quran is based on the Old Testament and the main historical characters of this book are included in it. It is complemented or supplemented by a belief in supernatural beings, such as the Jinn in many of the Eastern fairy tales and the Thousand and One Nights; to these are added the so-called revelations of the Prophet. Some of these are merely to allow Muhammad to satisfy his own desires, such as when a friend was ordered by an angel to give his beautiful wife to the Prophet.<sup>32</sup>

But according to him, the Gospel (New Testament):

"...advocates purity of life and even turns to asceticism. Jesus himself was unmarried and immaculate. The Qur'an is sensual in its teachings about this life and the afterlife. It promises the true believer a share of the females in paradise when he reaches the afterlife. The relationship of earthly wives to this new group is more or less unclear. This doctrine of the Qur'an sheds a clear light on the contemptuous view of women held by Muhammad's followers".<sup>33</sup>

Horton went even further in his criticism of the Prophet Muhammad, calling him a *genocidal murderer*.

Muhammad was a polygamist; after leaving Mecca for Medina, where he settled for a while, he raided and plundered caravans to replenish his depleted treasury; he besieged and plundered cities to obtain booty, justifying it with "revelations"; he ordered eight hundred Jewish captives to be separated from their wives and children, slaughtered and their bodies thrown into a ditch. Their wives and families were sold into slavery. This was the first massacre of Muslims; he ordered brutal and inhuman punishments; he eliminated his enemies by murder and assassination.<sup>34</sup>

In the last lines of his book, Horton summarizes his view of Turkey as follows:

The educated, Europeanized Turk of Constantinople is a shrewd and flamboyant gentleman with a seductive manner, but those who are interested in the future of Turkey, materially or morally, should never forget that this country has been *homogenized* through a series of brutal massacres carefully planned and relentlessly carried out by flamboyant and seductive gentlemen who exploit Muslim fanaticism for their own ends, and their power is based on this fanaticism.<sup>35</sup>

About Horton, Brian Coleman, in his study *George Horton: The Literary Diplomat*, published in the journal *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies*, describes Horton as follows;

<sup>30</sup> British statesman and Liberal politician. In a career lasting over 60 years, he served for 12 years as Prime Minister of the United Kingdom, spread over four non-consecutive terms (the most of any British prime minister) beginning in 1868 and ending in 1894.

<sup>31</sup> Horton, *The Blight of Asia*, 90.

<sup>32</sup> Horton, *The Blight of Asia*, 91.

<sup>33</sup> Horton, *The Blight of Asia*, 92.

<sup>34</sup> Horton, *The Blight of Asia*, 93.

<sup>35</sup> Horton, *The Blight of Asia*, 94.

"George Horton was a man of letters and US Consul General in Greece and Turkey during a period of social and political change. He wrote about the retaking of Smyrna by the Turkish army in September 1922. His writings and statements go beyond accusations and events to the demonization of Muslims in general and Turks in particular. In many of his novels, written more than twenty years before the events of September 1922, he described the Turk as the villain of Western civilization. In his account of Smyrna, he should be seen more as a propagandist than a historian.<sup>36</sup>

Horton, who was an inveterate Turk and Muslim hater, waged a war against Islam and Turkishness, which was welcomed by fanatical Christian circles, especially the Greeks and Armenians of America, and his book became a source for the theses of writers who propagated Turkophobia. Worse still, the prejudice created against Muslim Turks as the *Armenian Genocide* in 1915 influenced Western public opinion.

### 3. British Missionary Sir Edwin Pear's Missionary Activities in Turkey (Turkey and Its People and Forty Years in Constantinople Books)

Sir Edwin Pears, was born in 1835 in York, England. Robert Pears was a wealthy man and arranged for Edwin to receive a special education. Edwin Pears studied law at the University of London during his studies; he became interested in Roman law and began to work in this field. It was during these studies that a decisive influence on his personality emerged. In addition to law, Pears also became interested in history. This interest, which was also influenced by the religious-centered special education he received in his childhood, led him to produce works in the field of history in which he reflected his religious prejudice.<sup>37</sup>

One of the main bases of the Armenian claims is Sir Edwin Pears and his books *Turkey and its People* and *Forty Years in Constantinople*. His books, which he wrote as a journalist and jurist, managed to resonate throughout Europe. News that Muslim Turks were massacring Christians and Anatolia was turning into a bloodbath caused great outrage in Europe. Taking advantage of this outrage, British Prime Minister Gladstone managed to launch a major campaign against the Turks based on Pears' writings.<sup>38</sup>

A British officer named Fred Burnaby (d. 1885), influenced by these reports, traveled to Turkey to investigate the massacres and wrote that what they had been told was a big lie and that "writers who consider themselves Christians should take lessons from the Turks in Anatolia in many matters."<sup>39</sup>

In 1873, he temporarily accepted a legal position in Istanbul, which he learned was vacant. He stayed in Istanbul for forty years until he was forcibly removed. Pears started his career as a lawyer

<sup>36</sup> Brian Coleman, "George Horton: the literary diplomat". *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies*, 30 (1), 81-93, 2006, 81.

<sup>37</sup> Taha Niyazi Karaca, "Ermeni Sorunu ile İlgili Bir İngiliz Kaynağı Üzerine Eleştirel Değerlendirme", *Belleten C. LXVII*, 34, 520.

<sup>38</sup> Edwin Pears, *Dictionary of National Biography Twentieth Century 1912-1921*, (Edited by, H.W.C. Davis and J.R.H.Weaver), (London, Oxford University Pres, 1927), 428.

<sup>39</sup> Fred Barnaby, *At Sirtında Anadolu* (Çev: Fatma Taşkent), (İstanbul, İletişim Yayınları, 1999), 115.

in the British law office in Istanbul and quickly became the most famous member of the British colony in Turkey. In 1881, he was appointed as the President of the European Consular Bar Association, a position that could be considered the pinnacle of his professional career. In the meantime, he continued to work as a correspondent for the Daily News newspaper, adding journalism to his title as a lawyer and historian. During his time in Turkey, he became an implacable enemy of Abdülhamit (d. 1917), and revealed his thoughts about the Sultan in his book<sup>40</sup> "The Life of Abdülhamit"<sup>41</sup>.

Pears' claim that the idea of "believers treating non-believers as inferior", which is usually attributed to Judaism, is a rule of Islam, can be considered in good faith as "ignorant", but in bad faith as a malicious denigration of Islam:

A great hindrance to the reception by Moslems of European ideas concerning politics, philosophy, or religion is the spiritual pride of the Mahometan, by which term I mean the undoubting conviction that the believer in the religion of Mahomet has a divine right to treat all non-believers as on a lower plane, to reduce them to subjection if they are Jews or Christians, and to exterminate them if they are idolaters. Among the ignorant masses of Moslem Turks, this sense of superiority is deep. This attitude of spiritual conceit can only arise from the conviction of ignorance that divine Power has ordained that Moslems should possess dominance over other men. Once let the Sacred Books be examined and discussed, as they are beginning to be, and the conviction of inherent superiority will diminish or disappear.<sup>42</sup>

Islam is not only the last religion sent by God Almighty to all mankind through Prophet Muhammad but also the religion of *love and tolerance*. The Holy Quran recognizes all religions and prophets sent before Islam and declares them to be the "true religion":

Then We sent Our messengers one after another in their footsteps. And We sent Jesus, son of Mary, after them, and We gave him the Gospel, and made compassion and mercy in the hearts of those who followed him. And We did not prescribe for them the spiritualism which they had invented (as an innovation). But they invented it to seek Allah's pleasure, but they did not follow it properly. We gave the reward to those of them who believed, but many of them were transgressors.

43

ثُمَّ قَفَّيْنَا عَلَىٰ آثَارِهِم بِرُسُلِنَا وَقَفَّيْنَا بِعِيسَىٰ ابْنِ مَرْيَمَ وَآتَيْنَاهُ الْإِنجِيلَ وَجَعَلْنَا فِي قُلُوبِ الَّذِينَ اتَّبَعُوهُ رَأْفَةً وَرَحْمَةً ۗ وَرَهَابَنِيَّةً ۚ ابْتَدَعُوهَا مَا كَتَبْنَا عَلَيْهِمْ إِلَّا اتِّبَاعَ ۗ رِضْوَانِ اللَّهِ فَمَا رَعَوْهَا حَقَّ رِعَايَتِهَا ۚ فَآتَيْنَا الَّذِينَ آمَنُوا مِنْهُمْ أَجْرَهُمْ ۗ وَكَثِيرٌ مِنْهُمْ فَاسِقُونَ

Verily, whoever of the believers (and) the Jews, Christians, and Sabians believes in Allah and the Last Day and does righteous deeds, they shall have their reward with Allah. There is no fear for them and they shall not grieve.<sup>44</sup>

إِنَّ الَّذِينَ آمَنُوا وَالَّذِينَ هَادُوا وَالنَّصَارَىٰ وَالصَّابِئِينَ ۖ مِنْ آمَنَ بِاللَّهِ وَالْيَوْمِ الْآخِرِ وَعَمِلَ صَالِحًا فَلَهُمْ أَجْرُهُمْ عِنْدَ رَبِّهِمْ ۖ وَلَا خَوْفٌ عَلَيْهِمْ وَلَا هُمْ يَحْزَنُونَ

<sup>40</sup> Edwin Pears, *The Life of Abdülhamit*, (London Constable&Company Ltd., 1917).

<sup>41</sup> Karaca, *Ermeni Sorunu ile İlgili Bir İngiliz Kaynağı*, 520-521.

<sup>42</sup> Edwin Pears, *Turkey and Its People*, (London: Methuen & Co. Ltd., 1911), 318-334.

<sup>43</sup> Heyet, *Kur'an-ı Kerim ve Türkçe Açıklamalı Meali*, Hadimü'l Haremeyni`ş-Şerifeyn Kral Fehd Mushaf-1 Şerif Basım Kurumu, Âl-Hadid, 57/27.

<sup>44</sup> Heyet, *Kur'an-ı Kerim ve Türkçe Açıklamalı*, Âl-Baqarah, 2/62.

Verily, those who believe and those of the Jews, Sabians, and Christians who believe in Allah and the Last Day and do righteous deeds, for them there is no fear, nor shall they grieve.<sup>45</sup>

إِنَّ الَّذِينَ آمَنُوا وَالَّذِينَ هَادُوا وَالصَّابِئِينَ وَالنَّصَارَىٰ مِنَ آمَنَ بِاللَّهِ وَالْيَوْمِ الْآخِرِ وَعَمِلُوا صَالِحًا فَلَا خَوْفٌ عَلَيْهِمْ وَلَا هُمْ يَحْزَنُونَ

Ignoring tens of thousands of women who were burned to death in the Middle Ages, which they call the Dark Ages, accusing them of "witchcraft", Pears claims that Islam degrades women.

The greatest drawback to the progress of Moslem civilization is the position popularly assigned to women. Thoughtful men among foreigners recognize that this is the most serious blot upon Mahometan practice. Lady Mary Montagu, writing in 1717, said it was a popular delusion among Christian peoples that in accordance with Turkish belief, women have no souls. She then goes on to explain that the belief is that they have souls but of an inferior character to those of men.<sup>46</sup>

However, two verses in the Qur'an are clear that women have souls and can enter Paradise with men:

Allah has promised the believing men and women gardens from whose bank's rivers flow, and dwellings in the Gardens of Aden, in which they will enjoy pure pleasures and pleasures forever. And Allah's pleasure is even greater. This is the greatest salvation and attainment.<sup>47</sup>

وَعَدَ اللَّهُ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ وَالْمُؤْمِنَاتِ جَنَّاتٍ تَجْرِي مِنْ تَحْتِهَا الْأَنْهَارُ خَالِدِينَ فِيهَا وَمَسَاكِنَ طَيِّبَةً فِي جَنَّاتِ عَدْنٍ وَرِضْوَانٍ مِنَ اللَّهِ أَكْبَرَ ذَٰلِكَ هُوَ الْفَوْزُ الْعَظِيمُ

Those who believe and do good deeds, whether men or women, will enter Paradise and will not be persecuted even a hair, and their rights will not be lost.<sup>48</sup>

وَمَنْ يَعْمَلْ مِنَ الصَّالِحَاتِ مِنْ ذَكَرٍ أَوْ أُنْثَىٰ وَهُوَ مُؤْمِنٌ فَأُولَٰئِكَ يَدْخُلُونَ الْجَنَّةَ وَلَا يُظْلَمُونَ نَقِيرًا

In his book *Forty Years in Constantinople* Pears recounts an *untrue* memory of the massacre of Christian Bulgarians by Muslims. This anecdote was later cited and used by all anti-Turkish and anti-Muslim missionary writers:

Let me tell of one atrocity which I do not remember to have published. A Bulgarian family of Moslems, living at Bebek on the Bosphorus, was visited by a friend of mine who was a doctor, or hakim. The head of the household was lying ill, stricken with fever. My friend was received by the poor distracted wife, who had already lost two of her children. She thanked the doctor but spoke to him in the following terms: " You can do no good here. Hakim, because this is Allah's business. I will tell you how I know. We were living in a Bulgarian village and our next-door neighbors were Christians. The children of the two houses played together, and when I wanted a lettuce or the loan of a pan, they were always ready to oblige me. One day my husband came to me and said, ' Orders have come for us to kill the Christians, and I have to kill our neighbors; " The woman's instinct revolted. She declared that they had always been kind and had done them no harm, and she did not care who had given the orders, they ought not to be obeyed. Her husband replied that he must carry out the Padishah's command. " Then," said she, " if you do, Allah will punish you... He killed them all. Hakim and I saw the dead bodies of our own children's playmates lying out in the field. Yes, this is Allah's business. He has taken away my two children, and he'll take my husband away. He won't kill me. You can do nothing to save him." Nor could she. Mr. (afterward Sir John) Robinson, of

<sup>45</sup> Heyet, *Kur'an-ı Kerim ve Türkçe Açıklamalı*, Âl-Ma'idah, 5/69.

<sup>46</sup> Pears, *Turkey and Its People*, 318-334.

<sup>47</sup> Heyet, *Kur'an-ı Kerim ve Türkçe Açıklamalı*, Âl-Tawbah, 9/72.

<sup>48</sup> Heyet, *Kur'an-ı Kerim ve Türkçe Açıklamalı*, Âl-Nisa, 4/124.

the Daily News, sent me a telegram reporting what Mr. Disraeli had said, and adding that he desired full explanations. Thereupon I saw various friends, and especially Dr. Long and Dr. Washburn, who furnished me with translations of a mass of correspondence, from which I wrote a second and longer letter to the Daily News. In my first letter, I gave the names of thirty-seven villages that had been destroyed and whose inhabitants had been tortured or killed. In the second letter, written on June 30th, I brought the number of destroyed villages up to sixty and stated that I had seen an official report that estimated the number of persons killed at 12,000.<sup>49</sup>

The example given by Pears is impressive and written in such a way as to arouse hatred when read. However, the events described are based on completely unknown people. A Muslim woman's conversation with a foreign doctor, which constitutes the basis of the incident, is another issue to be criticized within the cultural structure of the period.

However, the reality was quite the opposite.

Reforms were carried out in many areas to abolish religious discrimination and to ensure that everyone had the same legal status as *equal Ottoman citizens*. However, what non-Muslims wanted was no longer new rights and equality, but the establishment of their national states. The first examples were the 1803 Karayorgi and 1821 Peloponnese revolts and the independence of Greece in 1829. The Bulgarians, who had been under the rule of the Greek Patriarchate of Fener for centuries and were included in the *Greek Nation*, also revolted frequently starting from 1841 as a result of the provocations of Russia. Their aim was first to get rid of Greek domination and then to ensure their political unity by establishing independent national churches.<sup>50</sup>

Greek uprisings contributed greatly to the Bulgarian uprisings and the loss of Rumelia in general. In the Peloponnese, Greek gangs killed 15.000 Turks. These gangs aimed to eliminate the Turks who prevented them from creating a nation. Even though the Ottoman Empire had the power to suppress this rebellion, the Western world supported the Greek gangs. The same scenario would later be seen in the Bulgarian uprisings

The famous historian Justin McCarty in his book "Death and Exile"<sup>51</sup> describes the migration of Muslim refugees in Bulgaria as one of the most horrifying in history. The cause of this horrifying situation was Balkan communism.

The Russian consul in Plovdiv, Nayden Gerov (d. 1900), and the Russian ambassador in Istanbul, the pro-pan Islamism Ignatiew, had a special role in preparing the Bulgarians for the uprising. Turkish and foreign documents confirm that the Bulgarian uprising was organized by the Bulgarian-born Nayden Gerov, who worked in the region continuously between 1857 and 1876.<sup>52</sup> After all these developments, Bulgarian nationalists began to ignite the fuse of uprising in some villages. They organized the Batak, Pirastim Derbendi, Çömlek village, and Braçkova uprisings. It should be recalled that before these uprisings, there had been uprisings in Tyrnova in 1835, in Nish in 1841, and Vidin in 1850.<sup>53</sup> At this point, the year 1876 was a turning point.

<sup>49</sup> Pears, *Turkey and Its People*, 10-17.

<sup>50</sup> Gülnihal Bozkurt, "II. Meşrutiyet Osmanlı Meclis Zabıtlarında Bulgar Azınlıklarının Kilise ve Okul Sorunları", 101, <http://dergiler.ankara.edu.tr/dergiler/19/821/10417.pdf>, (Accessed 03 Nov 2023).

<sup>51</sup> McCarty, *Ölüm ve Sürgün*, 108.

<sup>52</sup> British Documents, vol.2, Doc.286, Brophy'den *Elliot'a*, 1876 (Accessed 13 May 2024).

<sup>53</sup> Mustafa Burma, "Bulgaristan'ın Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'ndan Ayrılış Sürecinde Bulgar Ayaklanmaları", *Balkan Araştırma Enstitüsü Dergisi*, 1(1), 67-90. <http://www.turkishstudies.net/dergi/cilt1/sayi2/makale/kose2.pdf>, (Accessed 03 Nov 2023).

The first person to go to the region to investigate the uprising was Walter Baring. Baring reported that the number of those killed, including the Batakköy region, was 7,145.<sup>54</sup> The reports of Blacque and Yonançe Efendi, sent by the Ottoman Government to investigate the uprising, stated that the number of Bulgarians killed was not more than 3000. One of the people who gave the most accurate information about the uprising, but who was ignored by many foreign researchers, was W.L.Stoney (d. 1911), the chief representative of the Central Relief Committee. Stoney worked in the region for 6 months and visited more than 150 villages, including Bulgarian, Turkish, and mixed villages, and in his report, he put the number of people killed at 3,694, including some Turks.<sup>55</sup> In conclusion, taking all reports into account, it can be said that approximately 3000 Bulgarians and over 500 Turks were killed in the Bulgarian uprising and its suppression. Nevertheless, some sources exaggerated the death toll and increased it from 12,000 to 100,000.<sup>56</sup>

Şevket Sürreyya Aydemir (d. 1976), in his book *The Man Searching for Water*, in which he describes his life in Edirne, where he spent his childhood, describes his experiences at that time as follows:

As was the case in European Turkey, that is, in all of Rumelia, gangs and committeemen were swarming around our border city of Edirne. Half bandit, half politician gangsters, Greek gangsters, Bulgarian gangsters, and mostly Bulgarians... They would raid villages and farms from time to time. According to the stories, a gangster could be seen anywhere and in any outfit. For example, one day in a village masjid, after the morning call to prayer, a dervish with a beautiful voice was reciting the Quran. The congregation stood in rows with their heads in front of them, listening to the Quran. Then, when the music was heard, the prayer was stopped. The dervish with a beautiful voice closed the Qur'an, put it on his prayer rug, and joined the congregation. But a little later, a bomb exploded underneath this prayer rug. The masjid was devastated. The dead were piled on top of each other. However, the dervish was not among them. He had escaped, he was a gangster...<sup>57</sup>

Pears is an admirer of the Armenian nation. According to him, since Armenians were a brave and heroic race, they proved their courage in every region they fought for centuries against Persians, Arabs, Turks, and Kurds and rebelled against centuries of genocide under Muslim rule. With these characteristics, Armenians have also been the representatives of Christianity for centuries. He expresses his deep love for them in his book as follows:

In some respects, the Armenians are the most interesting people in Asia Minor. They are physically a fine race. The men are usually tall, well-built, and powerful. The women have a healthy look about them which suggests good motherhood. They are an ancient people of the same Indo-European race as ourselves, speaking an allied language. During long centuries they held their own against Persians, Arabs, Turks, and Kurds. Wherever they have had a fighting chance they proved their courage. In the economic struggle for life against alien races they and the Jews have managed to hold their own; but, unlike the Jews, a large proportion of them have remained tillers of the soil. In commerce, they are successful not only in Turkey, but in Russia, France, England, and India. Though subject to persecution for centuries under Moslem rule they have always, though sometimes after long and arduous struggle, managed to make their race respected.<sup>58</sup> "

<sup>54</sup> British Documents, vol.2, Doc.451, "Report by Mr. MBaring on the insurrection of 1876 (Accessed 13 May 2024).

<sup>55</sup> Burma, Bulgaristan'ın Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'ndan Ayrılış, 67-90.

<sup>56</sup> Burma, Bulgaristan'ın Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'ndan Ayrılış, 67-90.

<sup>57</sup> Şevket Süreyya Aydemir, *Suyu Arayan Adam*, (İstanbul: Remzi Kitapevi, 2020, 10-15).

<sup>58</sup> Pears, *Turkey and Its People*, 270.

Obviously, the author had been trying to mobilize the religious feelings of his readers with his statements and develop antipathy towards Turks and Muslims. However, he avoids mentioning the situation of Armenians, especially in the Byzantine Empire. All historical facts show that Armenians were completely freed from Byzantine oppression and persecution after they came under Seljuk rule.<sup>59</sup> During the Ottoman period, Armenians, who received the title of "the most loyal nation", were assigned many positions in the state organization, including ministries and high-level bureaucracy.<sup>60</sup>

The great hatred that Pears felt towards Muslims, especially Muslim Turks was nothing but the deep sadness and anguish that he felt because Istanbul, which was called *Queen City* by those who thought like him and which was the dream of the whole Christian world, where Hagia Sophia, one of the most important temples of the Christian world, was turned into a mosque, was in the hands of Muslim Turks. He expressed this anguish in his book *Forty Years in Constantinople* as follows:

Constantine, the New Rome of Augustus, came under the power of a band of oriental adventurers, originally Muslim Turks, and mongrels through polygamy. This was Asia's greatest victory in its dispute with Europe. Under its new masters, Constantinople was destined to become the most corrupt capital of Europe, incapable of adding any value to the history of the human race. Since 1453, no art, no literature, not even any handicrafts, nothing that the world would gladly preserve has come from Queen City. The occupation has been a misfortune with almost no compensating advantages for the world, as far as the human eye can see. Poverty as a result of mismanagement is the most conspicuous consequence of the conquest affecting the Empire's subjects. Lands were allowed to fall out of cultivation. Industries were lost. Mines were forgotten. Trade and exchange almost disappeared. Population declined. The richest state in Europe became the poorest; the most civilized the most barbaric... The demoralization of the conquered people and their churches was no less catastrophic than the damage to their material interests. Christians lost their heart. Their physical courage waned. The capture of the Queen City was followed by massacres and rapes of women. It continued until the final and complete annihilation of the Christians by the Turks. In the nearly five centuries that have passed, nothing has changed. The Turk has changed neither his character nor his methods.<sup>61</sup>

## Evaluation

Islam is the greatest enemy of the missionaries. The fact that Judaism was a closed religion specific to the Jewish nation did not bother Christian missionaries much. However, Islam's teachings that spread to humanity with its existence, and most importantly, the unchanged purity of the Quran, which consists of the sacred texts sent to humanity by the Creator, on the other hand, the contradictions between the Old Testament and the New Testament, which constitute the basis of Christianity, the acceptance of four different Gospels among dozens of Gospels by Constantine I in Nicaea in 325 A.D. as sacred texts, and the different approaches between the Gospels caused doubts to arise against Christian teachings. Initially shown as a "hope of salvation" to oppressed

<sup>59</sup> Louise Nalbandian, *The Armenian Revolutionary Movement, The Development of Armenian Political Parties through the Nineteenth Century*, (California: University of California Press, 1963), 14.

<sup>60</sup> İlber Ortaylı, *IL Abdülhamit Devrinde Taşra Bürokrasisinde Gayri Müslimler, Sultan II. Abdülhamit ve Devri Semineri*, (İstanbul: İstanbul Üniversitesi Tarih Araştırma Merkezi), 1994, 163-171.

<sup>61</sup> Pears. *Turkey and Its People*, 10-17.



nations, Christianity was then used effectively as a rebellion against emperors and the authority of the human system, based on the principle of *Jesus' rule on earth (Establishment of the State of God)*, and with the realization of its commercial and political gains over time, it has ensured its continued existence until today.

Among ancient Turkic societies, faith was seen as a choice rather than an instrument of oppression. In their nomadic life between East and West, the Turkic societies, whose belief in *Gök Tengri* was widespread, were influenced by Buddhism and Confucianism in China in the East and made their choices by meeting Judaism, Islam, and Islam in the West. The acceptance of Islam by the Turks contributed greatly to the transformation of Islam, which was considered to be a religion peculiar to the Arabs who were stuck in the Middle East in the face of the attacks of Christianity, into a world religion as the *Protector and Sword of Islam*. Naturally, the greatest enemy of the missionaries was the Turks rather than the Arabs.

Although Horton was an official of the diplomatic corps of the US government, he defined himself as a missionary, saying "I am neither pro-Greek, nor pro-Turkish, nor pro-American, nor pro-Horton's becoming a missionary was an indication of the US policy of expansion in Europe and especially in the Middle East. Since the beginning of the 20th century, the emergence of oil in the Middle East geography has put an end to the US's nearly century-long policy of isolation (seclusion). In the chaos created by the First World War, US President Wilson, a farsighted academic, planned to take the role of the war-weary Great British Empire in the region and pursue a foreign policy aimed at increasing its interests by dominating the small mandate states to be established under the name of 12 principles, which would be made possible by the activities of missionaries like Horton. In this case, Horton was saying that the US should invade:

Giving us a chance in the struggle for Mosul and oil has been the goal of all negotiations, but today it would be better for the United States to occupy the region than to look after the interests of the oil kings. Publicly it may speak of peace and civilization, but privately it speaks of oil because the territories where future concessionaires will strive to secure their rights are now in danger.<sup>62</sup>

But Horton was a romantic missionary. Although portraying Turks as genocidal murderers had been a product of British and Russian politics in previous years, unlike them, he added Islam and its Prophet Muhammad to his propaganda with the impulse of his missionary zeal. According to him, not only the Turks were an inferior race that had to be destroyed, but also Islam, which gave them power, had to be destroyed and *Jesus' dominion over the earth* had to be realized. What disturbed him was that "a strong element of the religion of Mohammed is that it is sincere and gives free rein to the passions and impulses of man's lower nature. Whatever the teachings of the Qur'an about spreading its teachings by the sword - because the translations of this holy book are numerous and one could find anything one wished in it".<sup>63</sup> For him, how could "a polygamist who plundered camel caravans and ordered the assassination of his enemies be so accepted? This is not meant to denigrate the Prophet but as a statement of known historical facts. The Qur'an, which advocates many virtues, gives more space to human passions and appeals more to the natural man than the asceticism of

<sup>62</sup> Horton, *The Blight of Asia*, 85.

<sup>63</sup> Horton, *The Blight of Asia*, 85.

Christianity, and therefore spreads more rapidly among primitive peoples and those with a lower level of civilization.<sup>64</sup>

Horton expressed his concern about the rapid spread of Islam ahead of Christianity with an example:

"I once met a sweet missionary woman who was returning to America from Africa with her feverish little child for treatment. She told me of the great advance of Islam in Africa and the seemingly hopeless task of Christian missionaries there. She drew up a kind of map of mission stations and explained: "We are trying to put a barrier in Africa to prevent the spread of Islam southward, beyond the equator."<sup>65</sup>

However, Horton, who accused the Turks of genocide, overlooked a very important detail in history. European colonizers started plundering the African continent from the 1500s onwards, and by the 1900s, slave traders had enslaved millions of Africans under the name of free labor in the agricultural fields of the new colonial areas in America. Between these years, 11-13 (according to some sources 28) million Africans were enslaved and 25-30% of this number died within the first two years as a result of the harsh working conditions, torture, and inhuman treatment imposed by the colonizers.<sup>66</sup>

Europeans' colonization and genocide were not limited to Africa. While eight million Arawaks Indians lived on the island of Hispaniola (Haiti and the Dominican Republic), which was discovered by the Spanish explorer Christopher Columbus (d. 1506) in 1492, this number was reduced to only 28 thousand after 22 years of Spanish rule. Again, in the Caribbean in 1493, 8 million Tainos Indians were almost wiped out after 50 years of Spanish rule.<sup>67</sup> Bartelemo de las Casas (d. 1566), a Dominican Spanish missionary of the time who witnessed the events, described the massacre of Europeans in his memoirs as follows:

In one day, the Spaniards mutilated, beheaded, and raped 3000 thousand people in front of Las Casas. Unprecedented barbarism and inhuman events took place in front of my eyes. The Spaniards cut off the legs of children fleeing from them. They threw people into boiling cauldrons of soap. Our soldiers committed cruel massacres. They raided villages and cities and showed no mercy to men, women, old people, and children. They showed no mercy to pregnant women, ripped open their bellies, and butchered unborn babies...<sup>68</sup>

In the 19th century, the famous British novelist Anthony Trollope (d. 1882), who visited Australia, summarized what the British colonizers did to the Indigenous Australians as follows:

We took away their (the natives') land (homeland), destroyed their food, and imposed our laws which were contrary to their customs and traditions. When they tried to defend themselves or their property in their way, we slaughtered them...We taught them to accept that we were their masters through harsh warfare.<sup>69</sup>

There are dozens of massacres written in the history of Europeans. However, neither in Turkish history nor in Islam is it possible to find any record of mass murder of human beings. Islam, a

<sup>64</sup> Horton, *The Blight of Asia*, 85.

<sup>65</sup> Horton, *The Blight of Asia*, 85.

<sup>66</sup> Sefa. M. Yürükel, *Batının İnsanlık Suçları I, Soykırımlar Tarihi*, (Ankara Near East Publishing, 2005), 11-18.

<sup>67</sup> Yürükel, *Batının İnsanlık Suçları I*, 21.

<sup>68</sup> Yürükel, *Batının İnsanlık Suçları I*, 21.

<sup>69</sup> Yürükel, *Batının İnsanlık Suçları I*, 30.

human-based religion, and its holy book, the Quran, contain dozens of verses on the value of human life. A few of them are as follows:

"That is why we laid down for the Children of Israel: "Whoever kills a man except as a punishment for killing a life or for causing mischief in the land, it is as if he had killed all mankind. And whoever saves a life, it is as if he had saved the lives of all mankind."<sup>70</sup>

مِنْ أَجْلِ ذَلِكَ كَتَبْنَا عَلَىٰ بَنِي إِسْرَائِيلَ أَنَّهُ مَن قَتَلَ نَفْسًا بِغَيْرِ نَفْسٍ أَوْ فَسَادٍ فِي الْأَرْضِ فَكَأَنَّمَا قَتَلَ النَّاسَ جَمِيعًا وَمَنْ أَحْيَاهَا فَكَأَنَّمَا أَحْيَا النَّاسَ جَمِيعًا وَلَقَدْ جَاءَتْهُمْ رُسُلُنَا بِالْبَيِّنَاتِ ثُمَّ إِنَّ كَثِيرًا مِنْهُمْ بَعْدَ ذَلِكَ فِي الْأَرْضِ لَمُسْرِفُونَ

In another verse;

Do not kill a life which Allah has forbidden to be killed without just cause. Whoever is killed unjustly, we have authorized his guardian to seek his right. But let not that guardian go too far in killing and exceed the limit set by Allah. For with this authority, he has already been given the necessary help.<sup>71</sup>

وَلَا تَقْتُلُوا النَّفْسَ الَّتِي حَرَّمَ اللَّهُ إِلَّا بِالْحَقِّ ۗ وَمَن قَتَلَ مَظْلُومًا فَقَدْ جَعَلْنَا لَوْلِيهِ سُلْطَانًا فَلَا يَسْرِفُ فِي الْقَتْلِ ۗ إِنَّهُ كَانَ مَنصُورًا

While thousands of innocent people were burned alive in the name of Christianity during the Inquisition periods in medieval Europe, the Turkish Islamic culture that stretched from Khorasan to Anatolia was laying the foundations for the construction of a new state with the motto *Let the people live so that the state may live*, the advice of Sheikh Edebali (d. 1326) to Osman Bey (d. 1326). Hacı Ahmet Yasevi (d. 1166), one of the Turkish Islamic Sufi wise men, said, "Do not break anyone's heart, even if he is an infidel. Because to break the heart is to break Allah (swt). If you see a poor strange person with a broken heart, put ointment on his wound, be his companion and helper...", he revealed the value given to human beings. Mevlana (d. 1273) said, *Come, come, come, whatever you may be, come again, whether you are an infidel or a Mohammedan, whether you are an idol worshipper, come again, our lodge is not a lodge of despair, come again, even if you have broken your repentance a hundred times* and Yunus Emre (d.1320) who said, *We love the created, because of the Creator have been the representatives of peace, friendship and humanity in Anatolia*. Five hundred years before the concept of human rights started to be spoken only for the white race in America in 1776 and in France in 1789; it was a motto of Mevlana, Yunus Emre, and Hacı Bektaşî Veli (d.1271) in Anatolia.

The book *The New World of Islam* by Lothrop Stoddard, a white supremacist racist missionary, which Horton cites as a reference, "will suffice to show how Islamism has overthrown Christianity wherever it has come face to face".<sup>72</sup>

Also, Pears was a missionary, commissioned by the British Prime Minister Sir William Ewart Gladstone to create a *hostile* perception of Muslim Turks at the behest of Christianity and in the service of imperialist Britain. Instead of preserving the territorial integrity of the Ottoman Empire, his mission was to help the Ottoman Empire pursue a policy of establishing small national states on the Ottoman territory to prevent Russian expansion. In the context of the new British policy, which became clear during the prime ministership of William Ewart Gladstone, who had a reputation as an enemy of Turks, the Armenian revolutionary movements aiming to establish an Armenian state in Eastern Anatolia were supported by British liberal politicians and writers. In this

<sup>70</sup> Heyet, *Kur'an-ı Kerim ve Türkçe Açıklamalı*, Âl-Maide, 5/32.

<sup>71</sup> Heyet, *Kur'an-ı Kerim ve Türkçe Açıklamalı*, Âl-Isra, 17/33.

<sup>72</sup> Lothrop Stoddard, *The New Word of Islam*, (London: Chapman And Hall, Ltd., 1922), 3.

environment, Sir Edwin Pears also wrote books hostile to the Turks. As a result of this systematic campaign of hostility against the Turks, Gladstone, together with the signatories of the Treaty of Berlin, succeeded in submitting a note to the Ottoman Empire on June 11, 1880, which included the issue of reforms regarding the Armenians".<sup>73</sup> Gladstone's zealotry, which started in 1880, soon encouraged the Armenians and enabled them to establish armed organizations for independence. In 1885, the Armenakan Party was founded as a revolutionary political organization. More influential were the Hunchak and Dashnaksutyun parties, the former founded in 1887 and the latter in 1890.

## Conclusion

George Horton and Sir Edwin Pears were two of thousands of missionaries who saw Turks and Muslims as a threat to Christians and wanted to wipe them off the face of the earth. Throughout their lives, these missionaries have never stopped attacking Islam, its Prophet Muhammad, and the Turks, whom they see as the "Sword of Islam". This is their reason for existence. They have always existed throughout history and will continue to exist. For them, the genocides committed against other religions and races in the name of Christianity are only a cleansing and purification. Throughout history, millions of innocent men, women, and children have been brutally murdered, enslaved, looted, and destroyed by Christian missionaries and explorers. Many ancient civilizations were wiped off the face of the earth by Westerners. However, Muslim Turks ruled with justice wherever they went and ensured that the people living there lived freely, protected their beliefs, and maintained their existence. Every nation living in the geography where the Ottoman Empire ruled for 600 years has preserved its existence and survived until today.

It is the Western world that has perpetrated the greatest genocide history has ever seen and watched those who perpetrated them. It ignored the massacres of Tatars, Circassians, Crimean Turks, Meskhetian Turks, and Kyrgyz Turks in Ürkün, who were forced to migrate from their homeland by the Russians in the Caucasus and lost their lives in harsh winter conditions, just as it ignored tens of thousands of Turks massacred in the Greek revolt in 1821. The massacres committed by Armenian terrorist organizations such as Dashnaksutsun and Hunchak in Erzurum, Van, Muş, and Bitlis, the massacres and atrocities committed by the Greeks who occupied Anatolia, the Muslim Turks massacred by the Greeks in Cyprus between 1963, and The massacre of more than 8300 Bosniaks in Srebrenica in five days in front of the eyes of Dutch soldiers of the UN, the massacre of Uyghur Turks in the north of China and East Turkistan, the massacre of thousands of Muslim Palestinian men, women and children in Gaza every day by Israeli fire in front of the eyes of the Western world are also ignored by the same group.

In conclusion, the war of the Crescent and Cross and the enmity of the West against the Turks has always existed and will continue to exist. Missionaries like Horton and Pears, as part of their duty, will make every effort to continue this war with the most unrealistic expressions, and slander. The facts of Turkish and Islamic history have been distorted and presented to the world public for

<sup>73</sup> Fahir Armaoğlu, 19. Yüzyıl Siyasi Tarihi (1789-1914), (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1997), 565-566.

the sake of Europe's political goals. Those who fulfilled this task were rewarded throughout their lives for being successful in their roles. Today, the seeds of hatred they sowed, their insults that went as far as burning our holy Quran, and the Christians who stood by and watched as thousands of Muslims were killed in Palestine. Today, however, more work is needed by historians *free of conscience and reason* to clean the seeds of hatred they sowed in the hearts of nations.

It aims to draw the attention of the academic community with this study, which takes only two of the publications of dozens of Muslim Turcophobic missionary authors in the historical process as an example. Throughout history, the Turkish scholarly community should not remain silent in the face of the demonization of Muslim Turks against the civilized world with biased, unrealistic, malicious efforts by malicious missionary writers to completely defame the administrations of our heroic ancient ancestors, who would give humanity lessons to the world.

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## Ottoman Approach to Shi and Sunni State Officers of Syria in the Examples of Fakhreddin Maanoğlu and Ali Canpolad between 1570s and 1630s

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### ABSTRACT

Some scholars argue that Ottoman Sunni orthodoxy began to take shape following the Ottoman conquest of Syria and Egypt in 1516–1517. According to this view, the conquest of these core Islamic lands replaced early Ottoman perspectives on heterodox Islam with a more orthodox understanding, as the influence of these regions spread to Ottoman peripheries. However, many contemporary academics challenge this traditional narrative, suggesting that the role of Arab ulema in shaping Ottoman Sunnism was minimal or negligible. Others attribute the Ottoman emphasis on Sunni Islam to the establishment of the Safavid Empire in the sixteenth century, positioning Sunni orthodoxy as a deliberate response to Shi'i Iran. Despite differing opinions on its origins, scholars largely agree that the Ottoman Empire increasingly enforced Sunni orthodoxy, particularly from the latter half of the sixteenth century onward. Political, administrative, and localized studies offer promising avenues for examining how this process unfolded. Within this framework, Ottoman Syria—located at the heart of Sunni-Shi'i polarization—serves as an ideal setting for field studies during the period in question. This paper is among the first to focus exclusively on Fakhreddin Maanoğlu and Ali Canpolad—two prominent Ottoman provincial governors from differing sectarian backgrounds, one Shi'i and one Sunni. It seeks to examine the extent to which the "sunnitization" of the Ottoman Empire influenced administrative decision-making in the region between the 1570s and 1630s. Through a comparative analysis of these two contemporaneous figures, this study aims to evaluate the impact of sectarian polarization on Ottoman governance in Syria, addressing a research gap that has either been overlooked or insufficiently explored. Additionally, the paper briefly considers how the Ottoman Empire's principal adversaries interpreted sectarian and identity politics during this period. This exploration serves as a preliminary step toward future studies on the broader implications of sectarianism in the region.

**Keywords:** Islamic History, Fakhreddin Maanoğlu, Ali Canpolad, and Ottoman Understanding of Islam

# Fahreddin Maanoğlu ve Ali Canpolad Örneklerinde Osmanlı Devleti'nin 1570 ile 1630 Yılları Arasında Şia ve Sünni Devlet Adamlarına Yaklaşımı

Süreç

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## ÖZ

Bazı akademisyenler, Osmanlı Sünni ortodoksisinin 1516–1517 yıllarında Suriye ve Mısır'ın Osmanlılar tarafından fethinin ardından şekillenmeye başladığını savunmaktadır. Bu görüşe göre, bu İslami merkez toprakların fethi, Osmanlıların erken dönemdeki heterodoks İslam anlayışını daha ortodoks bir yaklaşımla değiştirmiş ve bu bölgelerin etkisi Osmanlı periferilerine yayılmıştır. Ancak, günümüz akademisyenlerinin birçoğu bu geleneksel anlatıya karşı çıkarak, Arap ulemasının Osmanlı Sünniliğinin oluşumundaki rolünün sınırlı ya da önemsiz olduğunu ileri sürmektedir. Diğer bir grup ise Osmanlıların Sünni İslam'a olan vurgu yapmalarını, 16. yüzyılda Safevi İmparatorluğu'nun kuruluşuna bağlayarak bunu Şii İran'a karşı kasıtlı bir yanıt olarak yorumlamaktadır. Kökenine dair farklı görüşler olmasına rağmen, akademisyenler genel olarak Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun özellikle 16. yüzyılın ikinci yarısından itibaren Sünni ortodoksiyi giderek daha fazla pekiştirdiği konusunda hemfikirdir. Siyasi, idari ve yerel düzeyde yapılan çalışmalar, bu sürecin nasıl işlediğini anlamak için umut vadeden araştırma alanları sunmaktadır. Bu bağlamda, Sünni-Şii kutuplaşmasının merkezinde yer alan Osmanlı Suriye'si, incelenen döneme ilişkin saha çalışmaları için ideal bir ortam sağlamaktadır. Bu makale, Osmanlı taşrasında Şii ve Sünni kökenlere sahip iki önemli vali olan Fakhreddin Maanoğlu ve Ali Canpolad'a odaklanan ilk çalışmalardan biri olma özelliği taşımaktadır. Çalışma, 1570'ler ile 1630'lar arasında Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun "Sünnileşme" sürecinin bölgede idari karar alma üzerindeki etkisini incelemeyi amaçlamaktadır. Yani iki çağdaş figürün karşılaştırmalı analizi üzerinden, mezhepsel kutuplaşmanın Osmanlı yönetimine etkisi değerlendirilmektedir. Bu analiz, daha önce göz ardı edilmiş ya da yeterince ele alınmamış bir araştırma boşluğunu doldurma amacını taşımaktadır. Ayrıca, makale, dönemin Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun başlıca düşmanlarının mezhepsel ve kimlik siyaseti hakkındaki yorumlarını da kısaca ele almaktadır. Bu haliyle çalışmamız, bölgede mezhepçiliğin daha geniş etkilerini incelemek üzere gelecekte yapılacak kapsamlı araştırmalara bir öncülük etmeyi hedeflemektedir.

**Anahtar Kelimeler:** İslam Tarihi, Fahreddin Maanoğlu, Ali Canpolad ve Osmanlı'nın İslam Anlayışı

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## Introduction

The Ottoman ruling elite was composed of a diverse minority with various Islamic and sectarian backgrounds. Generally, their affiliation with specific social or political groups was not a decisive factor as the Sunni Ottoman Empire expanded at the expense of other belief systems. However, it is often assumed that starting in the sixteenth century, tensions between the Sunni Caliphate and the Shiite Imamate prompted a shift in Ottoman policies, redefining the state as the protector of the Sunni world.<sup>1</sup> Beyond this general assumption, little is known about whether the Ottomans actively preferred Sunni officers in administrative roles during this period. This paper examines the established notion of “sunnitization” in the Ottoman Empire by comparing two Ottoman provincial governors—one of Shi’i origin and one of Sunni origin—assigned to rule in Syria, a region central to sectarian debates in the sixteenth century. By critically analyzing the Ottoman preference for Sunni officers in Syria, this study provides the first comparative evaluation of the empire’s management of religious diversity through state appointments. Existing studies have largely focused on individual Ottoman statesmen and their roles within the empire across different periods. However, they often neglect the sectarian affiliations of these figures or their influence on governance. Notably, no study directly compares Fakhreddin Maanođlu and Ali Canpolad, despite their contemporaneity, their shared role as provincial governors in the same region, and their mutual rebellions against the Ottoman state.<sup>2</sup> Furthermore, no comprehensive work in the academic literature addresses the Ottoman state’s approach to appointing and managing officials from the two major sects of Islam. This paper serves as a preliminary attempt to analyze the selection and governance of Ottoman statesmen from both political and theological perspectives during the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. In doing so, it seeks to pave the way for future studies to deepen the understanding of sectarian dynamics and administrative policies within the Ottoman Empire.

### 1. Maanođlu Family and Emergence of Fakhreddin II

The sanjak (district) of Sidon and Beirut was a key region where the Druze population was concentrated during the Ottoman Empire. While the area was home to a diverse mix of ethnic and religious groups, including Sunni and Twelver Shi’a Muslims as well as Maronites, the Druze emerged as the most politically influential community during the period under review. The narrative of a four-century Lebanese resistance against the “Ottoman yoke” largely revolves around the Druze and their recurrent revolts, which significantly challenged Ottoman authority

<sup>1</sup> Hüseyin Yılmaz, *Caliphate Redefined: The Mystical Turn in Ottoman Political Thought* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2018); Tijana Krstic, “State and Religion, “Sunnitization” and “Confessionalism” in Süleyman’s Time”, *The Battle for Central Europe*, ed. Pál Fodor (Leiden: Brill, 2019); Vefa Erginbaş, *Ottoman Sunnism: New Perspectives* (Edinburg: Edinburg University Press, 2019).

<sup>2</sup> William J. Griswold, *The Great Anatolian Rebellion 1000-1020/1591-1611* (Berlin: Klaus Schwarz, 1983); Selman Oral XVII. yüzyıl Osmanlı Devleti Şam Bölgesinde Meydana Gelen Ayaklanmalar (Konya: Necmettin Erbakan Üniversitesi, Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü, Master’s Thesis, 2018); Esma Gürsu Celali *İşyanlarından Canbolatođlu Ali Paşa İşyanı* (Kilis: 7 Aralık Üniversitesi, Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü, Master’s Thesis, 2019).

between 1516 and 1697 too.<sup>3</sup> Contrary to nationalistic interpretations, the Ottoman Empire sought to establish cordial relations with the populations of newly conquered territories to maintain long-term control over these regions. Accordingly, the Ottomans often permitted local leaders to retain their lands and govern on behalf of the empire. Despite these conciliatory measures, the Druze repeatedly rebelled against both provincial and central Ottoman authorities. In response, the Ottoman state launched several military campaigns in Syria and introduced new administrative and political systems to assert greater control over the region.

Although earlier conflicts between the Ottomans and the Druzes began shortly after Selim I's conquest of Syria, their relationship can largely be characterized as peaceful until the rise of the prominent Druze leader Fakhreddin II (1572–1635) in the late sixteenth century. Before this period, detailed records on the Ma'nid family's interactions with the Ottomans are sparse, particularly before the death of Korkmaz, Fakhreddin II's father, who died in hiding following an Ottoman expedition in 1585. During this time, the Ottoman administration adopted a dual approach toward the Ma'nid family, cooperating with certain members by appointing them as tax farmers (mültezim), while punishing others who participated in uprisings against Ottoman rule. Some nationalist historians claim that Fakhreddin I (purportedly the grandfather of Fakhreddin II) was granted authority over all Druze communities after pledging allegiance to Sultan Selim in 1516. However, no concrete evidence has been presented to substantiate this assertion.<sup>4</sup> In contrast, Abu Husayn's research suggests that neither the Ma'nid family nor Korkmaz held significant influence during the Ottoman conquest of Syria and Egypt. Notably, Korkmaz is absent from Ottoman records as a bey or emir of Shuf, appearing only in the capacity of a tax farmer. This position, while part of the Ottoman administrative framework, represented a relatively modest rank with limited political importance.<sup>5</sup> Instead, Korkmaz is primarily recorded as a notable rebel (eşkiya) among the Druze, who aligned with other insurgents in opposition to the Ottoman state. For instance, an Ottoman document addressed to Ali Pasha, the former governor of Tripoli, dated February 13, 1581, reveals that Korkmaz reconciled with his former adversary, Mehmed (son of Şerafeddin), and together they led a rebellion against Ottoman authority, rallying support from members of the Druze community.<sup>6</sup> In a similar vein, just seven days later, Maanoğlu Korkmaz and his two associates, Seyfeddin and Efrahimoğlu Mansur, were accused of seizing 1,500 gold aspers and other belongings from Sergeant/Çavuş Hasan, the head of the Mısriyyun endowment. In response, the Ottoman state instructed Ali Pasha to bring Korkmaz and his men before the Ottoman court.<sup>7</sup> Over time, however, the long-standing tense relationship between the Ottomans and the Ma'nid family began to shift, particularly after the death of Korkmaz in 1585.

<sup>3</sup> As Abu Husayn rightly observed, this resistance is unlikely to be considered a nationalist struggle aimed at state-building. See Abdul-Rahim Abu-Husayn, *Rebellion, Myth Making and Nation Building: Lebanon from an Ottoman Mountain Itizam to a Nation State* (Tokyo: Research Institute for Languages and Cultures of Asia and Africa, 2009).

<sup>4</sup> Kamal S. Salibi, "The Secret of the House of Ma'n", *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 4/3 (Jul. 1973), 272-287.

<sup>5</sup> Abdul-Rahim Abu-Husayn, *Provincial Leaderships in Syria, 1575-1650* (Beirut: American University of Beirut, 1985), 70-71.

<sup>6</sup> Osmanlı Arşivi (BOA), *Bab-ı Asaflı Divan-ı Hümayun Sicilleri Mühimme Defterleri [A.DVNSMHH.d.]*, No. 42, Gömlek No. 590.

<sup>7</sup> BOA, A.DVNSMHH.d., No. 42, Gömlek No. 590.

Maanoğlu Fakhreddin II (1572–1635) succeeded his father, Korkmaz, as the leader of the Ma'nid family in the 1590s with little difficulty. Unlike his predecessors, Fakhreddin sought imperial recognition of his position as a legitimate prince (emir) within the Ottoman administration. In this context, Fakhreddin's name appeared in Ottoman records as early as February 4, 1575, when the Ottoman governor of Tripoli sent a letter to the Porte endorsing Fakhreddin as a capable leader to deal with Arab rebels. These rebels had been attacking travelers and pilgrims between the Siffin fortress and the Katif region. The governor recommended that Fakhreddin be given control of these areas as a *zeamet* to restore order, assuring that he would ensure the region's safety in service of the Ottoman state. Since the Ottomans were likely unfamiliar with Fakhreddin and his abilities, they agreed to the proposal, but only on the condition that the governor monitor Fakhreddin's actions to ensure he met the expectations of the empire.<sup>8</sup> Although the document does not provide further details on what transpired afterward, Fakhreddin's later life demonstrates that he was far more successful and adept at integrating into the Ottoman system than his forerunners. This suggests that from the outset of his career, he was highly motivated to build a strong network of relationships and shared interests to support his ambitions within the Ottoman Empire.

Maanoğlu's true advancement in his career took time and became evident only when the Ottomans appointed him as the governor of Safad in 1592–1593. Compared to other prominent groups like the Assafs and Sayfas, the Druzes under Fakhreddin were much more eager to adopt new military technologies, particularly firearms. This likely played a crucial role in Fakhreddin's ability to gain the upper hand in Syria.<sup>9</sup> More importantly, Fakhreddin learned from the mistakes of his ancestors and adopted a more pragmatic approach in his dealings with the Ottoman central administration. Not only did he pay his taxes in full, but he also regularly sent generous gifts and bribes to high-ranking Ottoman officials, including Kuyucu Murad Pasha, who served as the governor (*beylerbeyi*) of Damascus from 1592 to 1594 and later became Grand Vizier.<sup>10</sup> Both Fakhreddin and the Ottoman administration continued to benefit from each other, particularly when the Ottomans sought to remove rebellious leaders in the region, such as Yusuf Sayfa. This provided Fakhreddin the opportunity to expand his influence into other key cities in Syria, including Beirut and Kisrawan. Ultimately, Fakhreddin demonstrated his ability to effectively govern Ottoman subjects in the region, unlike other high-ranking Ottoman officials who lacked support from both the local population and Ottoman soldiers.

<sup>8</sup> BOA, A.DVNSMHHM.d., No. 42, Gömlek No. 1008.

<sup>9</sup> See for example, Uriel Heyd, *Ottoman Documents on Palestine 1552-1615: A Study of the Firman according to the Mühimme Defteri* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1960), 94, fn. 94. Some historians question the effectiveness of firearms, noting that, unlike modern rifles, they were effective only when wielded by professional units rather than small bands of bandits. Jonathan Grant, "Rethinking Ottoman 'Decline': Military Technology Diffusion in the Ottoman Empire, Fifteenth to Eighteenth Centuries", *Journal of World History* 10 (1999), 179-201. Murphey further argues that, considering the difficulty of supplying and maintaining gunpowder, firearms did not provide a decisive superiority over traditional weapons for any group, including the Ottomans. Rhoads Murphey, *Ottoman Warfare 1500-1700* (Florence: Taylor & Francis Group, 2001), 13-16.

<sup>10</sup> Muhammad al-Muhibbi, *Tarih hulsat al-atar fi ayan al-qarn al-hadi asar IV* (Beirut: Maktabat Hayyat, 1964), 354.

Fakhreddin's success stemmed not only from his pragmatic approach to the Ottoman authority but also from his ability to thrive in the sanjaks under his control. The Ottoman state formally acknowledged his achievements by sending a letter on 2 March 1605, praising him as the bey of Safad. The Porte commended him (berhudar ol) for "guarding the country, keeping the Bedouins in check, ensuring the welfare and tranquility of the population, promoting agriculture, and increasing prosperity."<sup>11</sup> As time passed, Fakhreddin became increasingly eager to exploit the Ottoman Empire's weaknesses, particularly as it struggled on multiple fronts against both internal and external enemies. For instance, he saw the 1607 rebellion led by Ali Canpolad as a significant opportunity to expand his power at the expense of his chief rival, Yusuf Sayfa, who had previously been defeated by Fakhreddin with Ali's assistance.<sup>12</sup> Although Grand Vizier Murad Pasha requested Fakhreddin's support in his campaign against Ali Canpolad at Payas in June/July 1607, Fakhreddin cautiously aligned himself with Ali. However, after Ali's defeat in October 1607, Fakhreddin had no option but to seek amnesty from Murad, with whom he had maintained a cordial relationship. Overall, Maanoğlu was determined to expand his power and influence throughout Syria, either via cooperation with the Ottoman administration or by other means.

## 2. Canpolads and Shifting Balance of Power

Before delving into the details of Ali Canpolad, it is important to recognize the significant differences between the Canpolad and Ma'nid families. Unlike the Druze Ma'nids, the power base of the Canpolad family did not rely on distinguished family members or local support in Syria. To clarify, Canpolad Beg, the family's founder, was raised in the Ottoman Palace. He was later granted the sanjak of Kilis as an ocaklık (family estate) in exchange for restoring order to the region and assisting the Ottomans in their military campaigns against the Venetians. The Ottoman archives contain numerous documents detailing Canpolad Beg's influential role in the transformation of Syria under Ottoman rule.<sup>13</sup> These documents indicate that the Ottoman administration not only admired Canpolad Beg's excellence and wisdom in ruling Syria but also placed considerable trust in him. For example, following the Ottoman conquest of Cyprus in 1571, Canpolad was able to secure significant state positions for his close relatives and associates. One notable achievement was having his son Mehmed appointed as the alay beyi (head of regiment) in Homs, where he was responsible for overseeing all matters concerning the sipahis (landholders) in the region.<sup>14</sup> Similarly, Canpolad's other son, Cafer, was granted a zeamet<sup>15</sup> in recognition of his bravery during the conquest of Nicosia in Cyprus.<sup>16</sup> Canpolad Beg was not only focused on controlling Syria but also sought state positions for his family members in other Ottoman territories. For

<sup>11</sup> Heyd, *Ottoman Documents on Palestine 1552-1615*, 53.

<sup>12</sup> Feridun Emecen, "Fahredden, Ma'noğlu", *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslam Ansiklopedisi*, (Istanbul: TDV Yayınları, 1995), 12/80-82.

<sup>13</sup> Refer to the documents below to understand his significance as the governor of Kilis province within the Ottoman Empire. BOA, A. DVNSMHH.d., No. 5, Gömlek No. 267, 829, 1064; BOA, A. A.DVNSMHH.d., No. 7, Gömlek No.743; BOA, A. A.DVNSMHH.d., No.24, Gömlek No. 189; BOA, A. A.DVNSMHH.d., No. 24, Gömlek No. 702, 704.

<sup>14</sup> BOA, A. DVNSMHH.d., No. 8, Gömlek No. 242.

<sup>15</sup> An Ottoman military or administrative fief often granted to officers in exchange for their military service to the state.

<sup>16</sup> BOA, A. DVNSMHH.d., No. 8, Gömlek No. 277.

instance, he requested that his nephew, Ömer, be granted a *gedük* (a limited right to legal resources) at the Mevlana Ebubekir theological school (madrasa) in Diyarbakir.<sup>17</sup> More importantly, Canpolad also requested a significant number of *zeamets* for his close associates, primarily based on their substantial assistance during the Ottoman conquest of Cyprus. To give but a few examples, Canpolad secured a *timar* (fief) worth 4,000 *akçes* (aspers) for his old servant Ali,<sup>18</sup> another fief worth 4,000 aspers for his chamberlain (*kethüda*) Hüdaverdi,<sup>19</sup> and a fief worth 3,000 aspers for one of his men, Abdullah.<sup>20</sup> On balance, it is clear that Canpolad built a strong relationship of trust with the Ottoman administration at the time. A notable example of this close confidence is when Canpolad requested a *timar* worth 3,000 aspers for his supporter Ferhad, the son of Abdullah, in place of Ali, whom Canpolad accused of not having participated in the Cyprus campaign he had led earlier.<sup>21</sup> The substantial number of petitions written by Canpolad Bey between 1569 and 1570 further highlights that his requests were taken seriously by the Ottoman administration. These petitions also demonstrate his clear intention to establish a power base in the region. There was a strong correlation between his growing presence in Syria and his increasing value to the Ottoman state.

Canpolad Bey's life was cut short in 1572, preventing him from realizing his long-term ambitions. However, his son Hüseyin succeeded him without difficulty and continued his father's efforts to become one of the most influential Ottoman officers in Syria. Hüseyin was first appointed governor of Kilis, and later of Aleppo, due to his merits and value to the Ottoman state. Leveraging his strong connections with Kurds and Arabs in Syria, he successfully quelled uprisings and reinforced Ottoman control in the region.<sup>22</sup> Initially, the Porte did not fully trust Hüseyin and kept a close watch on him as he interacted with other Ottoman officials. For example, on November 18, 1564, the Ottoman state instructed the governor and judge of Damascus to prevent Hüseyin Canpolad (governor of Kilis) and his son Habib (governor of Cebele) from participating in the Islamic lawsuit involving another Hüseyin (governor of Deyr Rahbe), due to a history of animosity and hostility between the two men.<sup>23</sup> Although the document does not detail subsequent events, it is clear that the Ottoman authorities were concerned that Hüseyin Canpolad might misuse his power for personal gain. Alternatively, this could also reflect the Ottoman desire to maintain control over state officers to ensure a balanced distribution of power in Syria.

Numerous documents indicate that Hüseyin Canpolad emerged as one of the most trusted Ottoman officers in Syria during this period. For instance, an imperial order dated September 30, 1581, addressed to the Ottoman governor of Tripoli, directed the governor of Kilis, Hüseyin, along with the governor of Damascus, to assist in suppressing Arab rebels in the region. Should their combined forces prove insufficient, the governor of Tripoli was instructed to request additional support from Hüseyin, who was expected to provide 5,000–6,000 *kawas* (chief bodyguards) from his forces to bolster the Ottoman garrison. Moreover, Hüseyin was tasked with eliminating both the former governor of Cebele Sanjak and

<sup>17</sup> BOA, A. DVNSMHHM.d., No. 8, Gömlek No. 323.

<sup>18</sup> BOA, A. DVNSMHHM.d., No. 8, Gömlek No. 282.

<sup>19</sup> BOA, A. DVNSMHHM.d., No. 8, Gömlek No. 1748.

<sup>20</sup> BOA, A. DVNSMHHM.d., No. 8, Gömlek No. 304.

<sup>21</sup> BOA, A. DVNSMHHM.d., No. 8, Gömlek No. 270.

<sup>22</sup> Na'imâ Mustafa Efendi, *Na'imâ Mustafa Efendi Târih-i Na'imâ (Ravzatü'l-Hüseyn fi Hulâsati Ahbâri'l-Hâfikayn) Cilt II* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınları, 2007), 329-330.

<sup>23</sup> BOA, A. DVNSMHHM.d., No. 6, Gömlek No. 392.

the Arab rebel leader Maanoğlu Korkmaz. This highlights Hüseyin's prominence as the Ottoman administration consistently prioritized him over other officers in Syria, recognizing his reliability and competence. In contrast, Korkmaz, cooperating with the former governor of Cebele in rebellion, was perceived as a secondary figure of lesser importance, firmly positioned in opposition to Ottoman authority.<sup>24</sup>

Over time, the balance of power between the Canpolad and Ma'n families gradually began to shift in favor of the latter. Despite Hüseyin Canpolad's continued career advancement following 1581, his trajectory came to an abrupt end when Grand Vizier Cigalazade Sinan Pasha executed him in 1605, accusing him of delaying his participation in the Ottoman Persian campaign. Subsequently, in 1606, Hüseyin's nephew, Ali Canpolad, succeeded him as governor of the Kilis. Ali later consolidated control over Aleppo and became its de facto leader, compelling the Ottoman administration to accept this fait accompli, despite initial reluctance. Meanwhile, Fakhreddin succeeded his father, Korkmaz, as the new leader of the Ma'n family. Unlike Fakhreddin, however, Ali lacked the ethnic and religious ties that could rally local support, relying instead on his connections to the Ottoman state for his position in Syria. This fundamental difference rendered both the Canpolad family in general, and Ali in particular, more expendable in the eyes of the Ottoman administration compared to the Ma'n family. Nevertheless, Fakhreddin managed to navigate a dual strategy, forging alliances with rebellious governors in the region while simultaneously cultivating a cooperative relationship with the Ottoman state—an approach that distinguished him from his predecessors and solidified his influence.

Despite participating in Ali Canpolad's uprising in 1607, Maanoğlu Fakhreddin managed to retain his official position within the Ottoman Empire, thanks to Murad Pasha's unexpected decision to forgive him. This act of clemency has raised suspicions among various sources, leading to speculative explanations regarding Murad's motivations. Urđi suggests that Fakhreddin secured Murad's favor by promising a substantial monetary payment when Murad was appointed governor of Damascus. Although Murad's tenure was brief, Fakhreddin reportedly honored his commitment, sending the agreed amount even after Murad's removal from office. This gesture is believed to have forged a friendly and pragmatic working relationship between the two.<sup>25</sup> In contrast, Sandys interprets their association as a mutually beneficial arrangement, framing it as a calculated win-win deal that served both parties' interests.

When Morat Bassa (now principal Vizier) came first to his government of Damasco, he [Fakhreddin] made him his, by his free entertainment and bounty; which had converted to his no small advantage: of whom he made use in his contention with Frecke the Emer of Balbec, by his authority strangled...[After Canpolad uprising was suppressed] they [People of Damascus] sought by manifold complaints to incense him [Murad Pasha] against the Emer of Sidon [Fakhreddin] as confederate with the traitor [Ali Canpolad]; which they urged with gifts, received and lost: for the old Bassa mindful of the friendly offices done him by the Emer, (corrupted also, as is thought, with great sums of money) not only not molesteth but declared him a good subject. Having till or late held good correspondence with the City and Garrison of Damasco, they had made him Sanziack of Saphet.<sup>26</sup>

<sup>24</sup> BOA, A. DVNSMHH.d., No. 46, Gömlük No. 227.

<sup>25</sup> Abu al-Wafa Al Urđi, *Maadin al-Dhahab fi al-Rijal al-Musharrafah bihim Halab* (Aleppo: British Museum, 1987), 34B-35A.

<sup>26</sup> George Sandys, *A Relation of a Journey Begun an: Dom: 1610: Foure Bookes. Containing a Description of the Turkish Empire, of Ægypt, of the Holy Land, of the Remote Parts of Italy, and Ilands Adioyning* (London: Ro: Allot, 1632), 211.

One should not overly emphasize the purportedly cordial relationship between Kuyucu Murad Pasha and Fakhreddin, as its significance may be overstated.<sup>27</sup> First, Fakhreddin's involvement in Ali's 1606 insurrection did not go unnoticed, as he was compelled to pay Murad Pasha 300,000 piasters—half in cash and half in kind—to atone for his actions and secure his position.<sup>28</sup> More importantly, when examining Murad Pasha's broader policies for dealing with the Celali rebels, his approach to Fakhreddin appears neither unusual nor exceptional. For instance, just before launching his campaign against Ali Canpolad, Murad struck a deal with Kalenderoğlu Mehmed, another key supporter of Canpolad. Under this agreement, Mehmed was granted the governorship of Ankara in exchange for abandoning his allegiance to Canpolad. This strategic move allowed Murad Pasha to isolate Canpolad and suppress his uprising more effectively. However, once the rebellion was quelled, Murad swiftly turned his attention to Kalenderoğlu, who had by then besieged Ankara—after the city resisted aligning with Murad's plan—and even launched an attack on Bursa.<sup>29</sup>

Even at the height of its power, the Ottoman Empire faced significant challenges in maintaining strict control over the Druze community. Despite the Empire's insistence on reserving the exclusive right to bear firearms for Ottoman officers, its efforts to disarm the Druze population ultimately met with little success.<sup>30</sup> The Porte struggled both to effectively collect taxes from the Druze population and to restrict their access to firearms. This issue is underscored by an imperial order sent to the Bey of Safad and the Cadi of Acre, which states:

Previous noble firmans have repeatedly reached [you] ordering that no muskets, armour, and other instruments of war of any kind must be sold to the Druzes, who leave in the said sanjak. Notwithstanding, it has now been reported that some sea captains (re'is), coming to the port of Acre by My imperial order, bring [there] muskets and other forbidden instruments of war and sell them surreptitiously.<sup>31</sup>

The Ottoman central administration's inability to secure tax collectors for the Druze region stemmed largely from the locals' hostility toward these officials, leaving them with little ability to collect revenue. Despite the empire's expenditure on punitive campaigns, such as the significant 1585 campaign led by Ibrahim Pasha of Egypt, these interventions largely failed to bring lasting order. Fakhreddin, however, distinguished himself as a capable local leader. As Olsaretti highlights,

<sup>27</sup> Wüstenfeld even argues that Fakhreddin leveraged his good relations with Murad Pasha to orchestrate the murder of one of his enemies, Mansur Furaykh of Biqa, who was, in fact, the pasha's son-in-law. Mansur's unwashed and unshrouded corpse was later delivered to Murad's daughter for burial in a small family cemetery. Ferdinand Wüstenfeld, *Fachr ed-din der Drusendfürst und seine Zeitgenossen: Die Aufstände in Syrien und Anatolien gegen die Türken in der ersten Hälfte des XI. (XVII.) Jahrhunderts* (Göttingen: Dieterichsche Verlags-Buchhandlung, 1886), 89-90.

<sup>28</sup> Burini, *Tarajim al-A'yan II*, 288. Quoted from Alessandro Olsaretti, "Political dynamics in the rise of Fakhr al-Din, 1590–1633: Crusade, trade, and state formation along the Levantine Coast", *The International History Review* 30/4 (2008), 729.

<sup>29</sup> Peçevi also notes that while Murad Pasha was engaged in battle with Canbolad, Kalenderoğlu, Kara Said, and Agaçtan Piri, approximately 30,000 rebels plundered and devastated Bursa, holding the city under their control for an extended period. Peçevi İbrahim Efendi, *Peçevi Tarihi II* (Ankara: Kültür ve Turizm Bakanlığı Yayınları 1982), 312.

<sup>30</sup> An order sent to Mehmed Beg in May/June 1571 make Ottoman commitment clear: "...You shall not allow peasants [or anyone else] to use muskets excepts Janissaries of My Threshold of Felicity and of Damascus, and timar-holders and zi'āmet-holders who habitually use muskets. You shall seize and confiscate for the Government muskets found, contrary to My order, in possession of anyone, whoever he may be..." Heyd, *Ottoman Documents on Palestine 1552-1615*, 80.

<sup>31</sup> Heyd, *Ottoman Documents on Palestine 1552-1615*, 82.

he succeeded in organizing a disciplined army equipped with modern firearms, enabling him to enforce tax collection from otherwise defiant subjects. His effectiveness in maintaining order and generating revenue likely led the Ottoman administration to overlook significant complaints lodged against him during his governorship of Safad, prioritizing the treasury's benefit over enforcing strict punitive measures.<sup>32</sup> Olsaretti concludes that “[Fakhreddin] was co-opted more than any of his predecessors into the Ottoman establishment and also into factional politics within the central administration.”<sup>33</sup>

Compared to Ali Canpolad, the Porte was notably satisfied with Fakhreddin's ability to maintain order and stability, which benefited both the economy and political landscape at a reasonable cost. White argues that from 1591 to 1596, Ottoman lands faced their longest drought in 600 years,<sup>34</sup> and more significantly, the Little Ice Age reached its peak during the winter of 1607-1608.<sup>35</sup> The Near East was more severely affected than any other region at the time, but this does not necessarily imply that the Ottoman Empire was “starving or declining, but it was increasingly vulnerable.”<sup>36</sup> I agree with Genç's assertion that Ottoman fiscal policy aimed to maximize revenue while minimizing expenses.<sup>37</sup> Under these circumstances, it would have been unwise to eliminate skilled figures like Fakhreddin, as doing so could have jeopardized Ottoman financial and political interests. Therefore, it seems more plausible that Murad's support for Fakhreddin was driven not by choice, but by necessity.

In contrast, Ali Canpolad presents a completely different picture. Humiliated by his devastating defeat at the hands of Tiryaki Hasan Pasha, Ali found himself without a power base in the region. After the defeat, he attempted to retreat to Aleppo, where he was still officially the Ottoman governor. However, the city's inhabitants rejected him, forcing him to flee eastward. Unlike Fakhreddin, who thrived and protected his regions with a relatively modern army, Ali Canpolad attempted to replicate the crumbling Ottoman bureaucratic and military systems, which had already proven ineffective in Syria. Specifically, he divided his forces into two distinct units—cavalry and infantry—mirroring the structure of the Ottoman army. He also organized his army

<sup>32</sup> An order sent to Fakhreddin in July-Sept 1604 points out that: “It has now been reported that by imposing, contrary to custom, a fixed lump sum of tax (kesim) on the village named Tiberias and on the inhabitants of other villages which are situated in your sanjak and belong to the waqf of (found by) My ancestor Sultan Süleyman Khan, may he rest in peace, you have caused the peasants of the said waqf to scatter.” Heyd, *Ottoman Documents on Palestine 1552-1615*, 144-145.

<sup>33</sup> Olsaretti, “Political dynamics in the rise of Fakhr al-Din, 1590–1633”, 712, 723.

<sup>34</sup> Sam White, *The Climate of Rebellion in the Early Modern Ottoman Empire* (Cambridge, New York and Melbourne: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 136-137.

<sup>35</sup> White, *The Climate of Rebellion in the Early Modern Ottoman Empire*, 181. As a contemporary source, Arak'el observes that conditions worsened drastically in the Mediterranean and Black Sea regions at the time. He notes that people resorted to eating cats, dogs, unclean animals, and even human flesh. Arak'el of Tabriz, *Book of History* (Californina: Mazda Publishers, 2010), 95-96.

<sup>36</sup> White, *The Climate of Rebellion in the Early Modern Ottoman Empire*, 1-3, 7, 76, 136-137, 140-141. Despite the significant challenges posed by the Little Ice Age in the seventeenth century, the Ottoman Empire managed to navigate these difficulties more effectively than the Celali rebels of the time. Abaza Hasan serves as a notable example to illustrate this. See Gündoğdu, *Erken Modern Dönemde Osmanlıda İsyân Algısı*, 112-122.

<sup>37</sup> Mehmet Genç, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda Devlet ve Ekonomi* (İstanbul: Ötüken, 2002), 35-86.



into 162 divisions, each led by a captain, or çorbacı, similar to the Ottoman Janissaries. Furthermore, his cavalry was modeled after the Ottoman People's Six Regiments organized into right and left regiments. Notably, Ali's soldiers received the same salaries and incentives that the Ottoman state paid to the Janissaries at the time.<sup>38</sup> To make a long story short, unlike Fakhreddin, Ali Canpolad inherited the numerous military and economic setbacks that the Ottoman Empire had struggled with for years. Barkey aptly notes that the bandit units, having learned military tactics from Ottoman dignitaries, imitated the state army, adopting similar organization and strategies.<sup>39</sup> This could also explain why Fakhreddin was deemed more indispensable to the Ottoman state compared to Ali, as we will discuss further below.

### 3. Ali vs Fakhreddin in the Eyes of the Ottomans

Although it is impossible to estimate the exact number of soldiers Ali commanded at the time, it was likely far more than any local leader, including Fakhreddin, could have imagined. Griswold suggests that by the time Ali launched his campaign against his archrival Seyfoğlu Yusuf, supported by Ottoman soldiers in Damascus, his forces numbered over 60,000. Additionally, Ali offered to provide 10,000 soldiers for the Ottoman-Persian war, contingent on Ahmed I recognizing him as vizier and appointing him as beylerbeyi of Aleppo. On behalf of his allies, he also requested important state positions in exchange for participating in the Ottoman campaign with a contingent of soldiers.<sup>40</sup> Another estimate by Topçular Katibi suggests that by 1607, Ali's army included 44,000 sekbans and 20,000 cavalry. Additionally, one of Ali's supporters, Çemşid, contributed 4,000 sekbans and 2,000 cavalry to fight alongside him.<sup>41</sup> According to a more conservative estimate, Ali's forces still numbered around 40,000 against the Ottoman army.<sup>42</sup>

This large number of traditional soldiers should be viewed as a weakness for Ali rather than a strength. Even the Ottoman Empire itself faced significant financial challenges in meeting military expenses. İnalçık's research highlights how military expenditures consumed more than two-thirds of the Ottoman budget, even in years of relative stability.<sup>43</sup> Unlike the relatively wealthy Fakhreddin, who could maintain a moderate army with the support of local forces, Ali Canpolad struggled to cover the exorbitant costs of his large, outdated army. This financial strain partially explains why Ali was unable to establish a more balanced relationship with the Ottoman authority, unlike Fakhreddin. Ali was known for neither offering generous gifts to high-ranking officials in

<sup>38</sup> Nâimâ Mustafa Efendi, *Târih-i Na'îmâ II*, 330.

<sup>39</sup> Karen Barkey, *Bandits and Bureaucrats: The Ottoman Route to State Centralization* (London: Cornell University Press, 1994), 198.

<sup>40</sup> Osmanlı Arşivi (BOA), *Ali Emiri Tasnifi (AET)*, No. 616.

<sup>41</sup> Ziya Yılmaz, *Topçular Kâtibi 'Abdülkâdir (Kadrî) Efendi Tarihi I (Metin ve Tahlil)* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 2003), 496.

<sup>42</sup> Abdurrahman Sağrılı, *Mehmed b. Mehmed Er-Rûmî (Edirneli)'nin Nuhbetü't-Tevârih ve'l Ahbâr'ı ve Târih-i Âl-i Osman'ı (Metinleri, Tahlilleri)* (Istanbul: İstanbul Üniversitesi, Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü, Ph.D., 2000), 12.

<sup>43</sup> Halil İnalçık - Donald Quataert, eds., *An Economic and Social History of the Ottoman Empire, 1300-1914* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 77-102. At this juncture, the heavy demands of other campaign in Syria could culminate in another major cause of unrest

the capital nor paying taxes to the state fully and on time. Unsurprisingly, money played a pivotal role in his struggles with local chiefs in Syria. For instance, his main rival, Seyfoğlu Yusuf, initially hid in the Damascus fortress and later fled after paying 100,000 gold pieces to the kadı (judge) of Damascus. Despite persistently besieging the city, Ali refused to withdraw his forces or allow free trade with the merchants. He ultimately relented only on the condition that Damascus pay him 125,000 gold pieces, an amount exceeding what Yusuf had paid to the kadı.<sup>44</sup> On another occasion, after Seyfoğlu Yusuf suffered a devastating defeat, Canpolad allowed him to go free in exchange for a substantial payment and an acknowledgment of Ali's authority.<sup>45</sup> Griswold argues that, despite possessing a few cannons, Ali could not afford the expensive cannon powder and balls needed for their use.<sup>46</sup> Similarly, Akdağ argues that the origins of Ottoman beys—whether graduates of the Palace School or former chiefs of Celali rebels—were less important. They were like slaves, bound to fulfill the wishes of their households, made up of sekbans or levends (irregular military units). Many beys lost their lives for failing to satisfy the demands of the sekbans.<sup>47</sup> On balance, Ali's constant financial struggles often forced him to act like a brigand, seeking more loot at the expense of worsening his relations with both the Ottoman state and the local people.

Before the decisive battle between the Ottoman army and Canpolad's forces, the Ottomans had already learned of Ali's intentions to establish an independent state and divide Ottoman lands among his supporters. Ali planned to grant Damascus, Tripoli, and their sanjaks to his family, allocate Anatolian cities to Kalenderoğlu Mehmed and Kara Said, and give Baghdad to Uzun Ahmedoğlu. Canpolad also sent envoys and letters to Shah Abbas. Last but not least, he proclaimed himself Sultan, having the Friday prayers recited in his name as the Sultan of Syria.<sup>48</sup> These events clarify why Murad Pasha rejected Ali's peace offer on October 24, 1607.<sup>49</sup> After his defeat by the Ottomans, Canpolad became unwelcome in the region, and unlike Fakhreddin, the Ottoman administration never considered allowing him to return to the Syria he had long devastated.

This does not necessarily indicate a fundamental difference between Fakhreddin and Ali from the perspective of the Ottoman government. Murad Pasha was not fully committed to maintaining a cordial relationship with Fakhreddin at any cost. Rather, it is more plausible to suggest that Murad waited for the right moment to address the Druze leader, who continued to provoke Ottoman ire even after the Canpolad rebellion had ended. Fakhreddin further consolidated his position by increasing his sekbans and building new infrastructure in his sanjaks. In response, Sandys argues:

It is said for certainty, that the Turke [whose commander in chief was Murad Pasha at that time] will turn his whole forces upon him the next Summer [meaning 1611]: and therefore more willingly condescends to a peace with the Persian. But the Emer is not much terrified with the rumor

<sup>44</sup> William J. Griswold, *The Great Anatolian Rebellion 1000-1020/1591-1611* (Berlin: Klaus Schwarz, 1983), 117.

<sup>45</sup> Naîmâ Mustafa Efendi, *Târih-i Na'îmâ II*, 330.

<sup>46</sup> Griswold, *The Great Anatolian Rebellion*, 123-124.

<sup>47</sup> Mustafa Akdağ, *Türk Halkının Dirlik ve Düzenlik Kavgası "Celâlî İsyanları"* (Istanbul: Cem Yayınevi, 1995), 487.

<sup>48</sup> Gökür Çelik, *Vâsîti'nin "Gazâvât-ı Murad Paşa" Adlı Eserinin İncelenmesi* (Istanbul: Marmara University, Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü, Master Thesis, 2006), 65.

<sup>49</sup> Zeynep Aycibin, *Kâtib Çelebi: Fezleke I-II-III (Tahlil ve Metin)* (Istanbul: Mimar Sinan Üniversitesi, Ortaçağ Tarihi Anabilim Dalı, Ph.D., 2007), 534.

(although he seeks to divert the temper by the continuance of gifts, the favor of his friends, and professed integrity:) for he not a little presumed of his invincible forts, well stored for a long Warre; and advantage of the mountains: having besides forty thousand expert souldiers in continually pay, part of them Moores, and part of the Christians: and if the worst should fall out, hath the sea to friends and the Florentine.<sup>50</sup>

He passed away in his nineties on August 15, 1611, in Cülek (near Diyarbakır) while preparing for another campaign against Persia the following year. Given the empire's reluctance to place additional strain on the state economy or bear the cost of a prolonged conflict with a relatively successful officer in Syria, the focus shifted. However, with Murad's death, the new Grand Vizier, Nasuh Pasha, had more freedom to confront Fakhreddin. Nasuh's meeting with a Persian envoy in Diyarbakır eventually led to a peace treaty, stipulating that Persia would send two hundred packs of silk and one hundred packs of valuables to the Ottoman capital each year.<sup>51</sup> Thus, Ottoman decision-makers were more focused on the changing political and economic landscape than on personal relationships.

The Ottoman administration did not initially target Fakhreddin or his realm in Syria. According to Mustafa Safi, the Ottoman navy sailed into the Mediterranean to search for enemy ships that might have attacked Ottoman vessels from Egypt. During this mission, the Ottoman admiral learned that Fakhreddin had plundered Damascus and its surrounding areas, as a result of his previous conflicts with the local population. As the navy advanced toward him, Fakhreddin attempted to make amends by sending back more booty than he had initially looted. More importantly, though, the Ottomans soon began to criticize him for underpaying taxes and for paying them late. Safi interprets this as a clear sign of his intent to rebel against the Porte (“işyânı istiş'âr olunmağın”).<sup>52</sup> Although Fakhreddin's request for amnesty was denied, the Ottoman navy had no choice but to return to the imperial shipyard in Istanbul due to the approaching winter. In the meantime, the Ottomans made new appointments to the sanjaks of Ajlun, Karak-Shawback, and Nablus. In response, Fakhreddin provided asylum to Hamdan Qansuh and Amr Ibn Jabr, assisting them in regaining their positions. Ultimately, he succeeded in reestablishing them in Ajlun and Hawran, first by defeating the Ottoman local army and then its auxiliary forces.<sup>53</sup> Only after these events did Nasuh Pasha ultimately decide to send Hafız Ahmed Pasha with a significant force against Fakhreddin.

We should not completely dismiss the personal and possibly political tensions between Nasuh Pasha and Fakhreddin. Both Ottoman and Arabian sources reference their old enmity (“mâcerâ-i sâbıkı olmakla”). Fakhreddin's refusal to comply with the Grand Vizier and his failure to send annual taxes to Istanbul made his removal crucial for the imperial treasury.<sup>54</sup> It remains unclear

<sup>50</sup> Sandys, *A Relation of a Journey Begun an*, 212.

<sup>51</sup> Peçevi İbrahim Efendi, *Peçevi Tarihi II*, 318. Arakel shares details of this treaty in his history book. Arak'el of Tabriz, *Book of History*, 531.

<sup>52</sup> Mustafa Safi Efendi, *Mustafa Sâfi'nin Zübdetü't-Tevârîh'i II* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 2003), 141-142.

<sup>53</sup> Ahmad al-Khalidi, *Tarikh al-Amir Fakhr al-Din al-Mani* (Beirut: al-Maṭba'ah al-Kāthūlikiyah, 1936), 8-11. Quoted from Abu-Husayn, *Provincial Leaderships in Syria, 1575-1650*, 90-91.

<sup>54</sup> Naîmâ Mustafa Efendi, *Târih-i Na'îmâ II*, 410. Mustafa Safi Efendi, *Zübdetü't-Tevârîh II*, 311.

what exactly is meant by this enduring hostility. However, the context suggests that the Ottoman decision to eliminate Fakhreddin was not driven by Nasuh Pasha's animosity but by Fakhreddin's refusal to pay taxes in full and on time. By doing so, like Ali Canpolad before him, Fakhreddin became an intolerable partner to the Ottoman Empire, which was already struggling with financial difficulties and political instability in the early seventeenth century.

Khalidi suggests three possible reasons for the deterioration in the relationship between Nasuh Pasha and Fakhreddin. First, Fakhreddin supported the Janissaries in Damascus, undermining Nasuh Pasha, who was the governor there at the time. Second, Fakhreddin not only sent less money to Nasuh but also delivered it through his deputy, Mustafa, instead of his son Ali, as had been the practice under Murad Pasha. Lastly, Fakhreddin formed an alliance with Yunus al-Harfush and Ahmed Shihab against Hafiz Ahmed Pasha.<sup>55</sup> None of these explanations were related to Fakhreddin's religious beliefs. More importantly, unlike Canpolad, who failed to establish meaningful connections with Europe, Fakhreddin demonstrated considerable competence in securing European support for his cause.<sup>56</sup> By the time the Tuscan delegation reached Cyprus to assist Ali Canbolad, he had already submitted to Ottoman rule, and Tuscany took no further action to support him. In contrast, following Fakhreddin's first unsuccessful resistance, Tuscany urgently sought to protect him. Ultimately, Fakhreddin managed to escape into exile with the help of a French ship in 1613.<sup>57</sup> Solakzade reports that when Fakhreddin's kethüda arrived with five galleons, fully equipped with cannons and ammunition off the coast of Damascus, Hafiz Ahmed Pasha sent soldiers to confront Fakhreddin's allies. The Europeans attempted to attack the Ottoman forces but failed, eventually retreating to their homeland in desperation.<sup>58</sup> Compared to previous decades, the Ottoman Empire was now better equipped and prepared to confront the challenge posed by Fakhreddin and reassert its authority in the region.

#### 4. Fakhreddin's Exile in Europe and Ottoman Response Thereafter

The punitive campaign led by Hafiz Ahmed Pasha against Maanoğlu Fakhreddin was swift and decisive. Lacking the strength to resist the formidable Ottoman forces, Fakhreddin sought refuge in Europe to preserve his life (“tahlîs-i can için Freng'e dahîl olup”). Naima characterizes

<sup>55</sup> al-Khalidi, *Tarikh al-Amir Fakhr al-Din al-Mani*, 5-7.

<sup>56</sup> Olsaretti argues that by the late sixteenth century, the weakening of empires such as the Ottomans and Habsburgs—primarily due to population growth—allowed smaller political figures, like the Grand Dukes of Tuscany and Fakhreddin, to expand their influence in the Mediterranean. Olsaretti, “Political dynamics in the rise of Fakhr al-Din, 1590–1633”, 709-740.

<sup>57</sup> Qarali argues that before the clashes between the Ottomans and Fakhreddin, Tuscany provided him with one thousand muskets, originally intended for Ali Canpolad. Additionally, Fakhreddin continued to use the threat of excommunication against Eastern Christians, compelling them to assist him whenever needed. It was also during this period that he secured the right to seek refuge in Tuscany if necessary. Bulus Qarali, *Ali Basha Junbulat wali Halab: 1605-1611* (Beirut: Darul Maksuf, 1939), 168.

<sup>58</sup> “...üzzerine frenk tâ'ifesi dahi cenk û harbe kadir olmagla gemilerine binûb hâib û hâsir memleketlerine mu'avedet itmişlerdi.” Süleyman Lokmacı, *Solak-zâde Tarihi'nin Tahli ve Metin Tenkidi* (Ankara: Atatürk Üniversitesi, Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü, Ph.D., 2015), 936.

Fakhreddin's political asylum as an act of treachery, highlighting that his acceptance in the West came with the condition of aiding European forces in a future invasion of Jerusalem and its surrounding territories.<sup>59</sup> By this time, the Ottoman navy was unable to prevent French ships from safely transporting the rebel leader to Europe.

The *Grand Signior* [Ahmed I] doth often threaten his [Fakhreddin's] subversion; which he puts off with a jest, that he knows that he will not this year trouble him: whose displeasure is not so much provoked by his encroaching, as by the revealed intelligence which he holds with the *Florentines*; whom he suffers to harbor within his haven of *Tyrus*, (yet excusing it as a place lying wast, and not to be defended) to come ashore for fresh-water, buyers of him underhand his prizes, and furnisheth him with necessaries. But designs of a higher nature have been treated of between them, as is well known to certain merchants employed in that business.<sup>60</sup>

The Ottoman Empire remained a preferable ally for the major European powers compared to Maanoğlu, who aspired to be more than a *primus inter pares* along the Levantine coast. However, Fakhreddin's ambition to eliminate all his rivals in Syria ultimately isolated him when he faced the Ottoman forces in 1613. Most Syrian local leaders, including Handan Qansuh, chose to align with the Ottoman Empire at that critical moment. Among them, Yusuf Sayfa, one of Fakhreddin's fiercest adversaries, stands out. A lewend who had settled in Syria only about fifty years earlier, Yusuf owed his position as beylerbeyi of Tripoli entirely to the Ottoman Empire. Unlike Fakhreddin, he lacked ethnic or sectarian support in the region, which paradoxically strengthened his position. His absence of local allegiances made it easier for the Porte to be removed from office if necessary, rendering him a reliable and effective tool in the Ottoman strategy against Fakhreddin and other chieftains in Syria.<sup>61</sup>

Despite Fakhreddin's disappearance from the region for approximately five years, Ottoman statesmen were not entirely free to redistribute his positions as they saw fit. Fakhreddin's uncle Yunus sought to mediate a resolution by sending their grandmother to Ahmed Pasha with 50,000 piasters and other valuable gifts. This gesture facilitated a peace treaty between the two sides. The agreement stipulated that the Ma'nid family would pay an additional 400,000 piasters to the imperial treasury. In return, the Ottoman administration confirmed Maanoğlu Ali, Fakhreddin's son, as the new Emir of the Druzes in 1613.<sup>62</sup> Interestingly, sources that eagerly criticize Kuyucu Murad Pasha for sparing Fakhreddin from Canpolad's grim fate are notably silent regarding Nasuh Pasha's decision to reinstate Ali. This reflects the Ottoman administration's continued reliance on prominent members of the Ma'nid family to ensure effective local governance. Following this precedent, Grand Vizier Mehmed Pasha, who succeeded Nasuh Pasha after his execution in 1614, similarly facilitated the political advancement of key Ma'nid figures. This decision was partly influenced by the renewal of Ottoman-Persian hostilities in 1615. Mehmed Pasha reinstated Fakhreddin's brother and son as governors of Safed and Sidon-Beirut, on the condition that they

<sup>59</sup> Na'imâ Mustafa Efendi, *Târih-i Na'imâ II*, 410.

<sup>60</sup> Sandys, *A Relation of a Journey Begun an*, 212.

<sup>61</sup> Abu-Husayn, *Provincial Leaderships in Syria, 1575-1650*, 17-34.

<sup>62</sup> Wüstenfeld, *Fachr ed-din der Drusendfürst und seine Zeitgenossen*, 139-140.

provided substantial gifts and an additional 50,000 piasters in annual taxes.<sup>63</sup> Once again, it was not personal relationships but rather the political, economic, and social conditions of the time that compelled the Ottoman Empire to cooperate first with Fakhreddin and later with his close relatives after he escaped to Europe.

Fakhreddin and Tuscany had established a well-founded relationship even before he sought refuge in Europe.<sup>64</sup> Immediately after the suppression of the Canpolad uprising by the Ottomans, Ferdinand I, Grand Duke of Tuscany (1587–1609), and Fakhreddin strengthened their ties and forged an alliance against the Ottoman Empire in 1608. Following this agreement, Ferdinand promptly dispatched a ship loaded with weapons that had originally been prepared for Canpolad.<sup>65</sup> Ferdinand's death in 1609 did not terminate the alliance, as his successor, Cosimo II de Medici (1609–1621), continued to pursue his father's plans without deviation. In 1613, Cosimo II de Medici received Fakhreddin in Florence with great honor and respect. Similarly, Pope Paul V demonstrated a long-standing favorable attitude toward Fakhreddin, as reflected in a letter sent to the Maronite patriarch in 1610. In the letter, the Pope entrusted the Maronite community to Maanoğlu's protection and instructed Fakhreddin to care for the patriarch and his subjects in the East. The following year, a Maronite bishop visited both the Tuscan court and the Holy See as Fakhreddin's representative. During this period, Fakhreddin sought to persuade the Grand Duke of Tuscany that he could reconquer the Holy Lands for Christianity—a proposal that likely earned the Pope's approval. This culminated in Fakhreddin being granted an audience with Pope Paul V in Rome.<sup>66</sup>

Following his return from Italy after the death of Nasuh Pasha, Fakhreddin steadily ascended to the height of his power and influence in Syria. His rise, often at the expense of the Sayfa family, made him the region's most prominent ruler. By 1627, he had not only seized control of Tripoli but also extended his authority over numerous other territories. Similarly, Fakhreddin expanded his dominion at the expense of Yunus Harfush, a former ally against Hafız Ahmed Pasha in 1613. Harfush, however, had exploited Fakhreddin's absence in Europe between 1613 and 1618 to collaborate with Shiites against the Ma'nids. Unsurprisingly, Fakhreddin's expansionist ambitions further strained relations between the two families. Although Harfush's machinations cost Fakhreddin several sanjaks, including Safed, Ajlun, and Nablus, the Porte ultimately restored them to the Ma'nid family. Fakhreddin solidified his dominance in 1623 with a decisive victory over his local rivals at the Battle of Anjar. Shortly afterward, he demonstrated his growing influence by intervening in the appointment of the beylerbeyi of Damascus, successfully securing Mustafa Pasha's installation as governor.<sup>67</sup> With the dethronement of Mustafa I in 1623 and the accession of

<sup>63</sup> al-Khalidi, *Lubnān fī 'ahd al-Amīr Fakhr al-Dīn al-Ma'nī al-Thānī: wa-huwa kitāb tārīkh al-Amīr Fakhr al-Dīn al-Ma'nī* (al-Matbaah al-Kathulikiyah: Beirut, 1936), 36, 43.

<sup>64</sup> The first attempt to negotiate with Fakhreddin occurred between 1599 and 1602. Although two Tuscan agents sought to reach an agreement with him, Fakhreddin completely rejected their offer at that time. Olsaretti, "Political dynamics in the rise of Fakhr al-Din, 1590–1633", 718.

<sup>65</sup> Instructions, Lioncini, Feb. 1608. Quoted from Olsaretti, "Political dynamics in the rise of Fakhr al-Din, 1590–1633", 719.

<sup>66</sup> Wüstenfeld, *Fachr ed-din der Drusendfürst und seine Zeitgenossen*, 139.

<sup>67</sup> Abu-Husayn, *Provincial Leaderships in Syria, 1575-1650*, 110-124.

Murad IV (1623–1640), the Ottoman state had little choice but to acknowledge Fakhreddin's de facto leadership in Syria.

Many scholars argue that the Ottoman provincial policies, which fostered competition among various power groups, often favored local rulers with strong financial strategies. In this context, Fakhreddin's success in driving economic development along the coastal regions was unparalleled. Members of the Ma'nid family consistently demonstrated their ability to generate substantial revenue, enabling them to fulfill their tax obligations to the imperial treasury and provide generous bounties to high-ranking Ottoman officials. Olsaretti highlights the distinctive approach of the Ma'nid family, and particularly Fakhreddin, in leveraging these resources. In a period marked by insecurity—characterized by piracy, brigandage, and heavy taxation—the Ma'ns monetized their authority by offering “protection rent” in exchange for security. Fakhreddin strategically reinvested this surplus income into infrastructure projects, particularly fortifications, which helped establish order and stabilize agriculture. These efforts were instrumental in fostering economic growth along the Levantine coast.<sup>68</sup> Accurately estimating the financial performance of the Ma'nid family is challenging, but two reports by Tuscans Giovan Battista Santi and his companion Carlo Macinghi provide valuable insights. These reports were written shortly after they visited Sidon in 1614, following Fakhreddin's arrival in Tuscany. According to Santi, Fakhreddin's domain generated an annual income of approximately 300,000 piasters. Of this, 80,000 piasters were allocated to military expenses, and 70,000 piasters were paid to the Ottoman treasury, leaving a surplus of 150,000 piasters—funds over which the Ottomans had no claim. A separate estimation by the French ambassador Deshayes de Courmenin, who traveled through the Levant in 1624, reported that Fakhreddin's income amounted to 900,000 francs, of which only 340,000 francs were sent to the Porte. This financial strength enabled him to maintain a force of 10,000 soldiers, excluding the *sekbans* tasked with guarding the borders. These substantial resources solidified Fakhreddin's reputation as one of the most illustrious and powerful princes of his time.<sup>69</sup> At this point, it is crucial to emphasize that, unlike Ali Canpolad, Fakhreddin safeguarded his budget surplus by investing in local levies as a military force rather than relying on costly professional soldiers.

In the seventeenth century, even the Ottoman Empire struggled to sustain mercenary armies, as their costs frequently pushed the treasury toward bankruptcy. Consequently, the Ottomans increasingly relied on local militia units (*nafir-i 'am*) rather than the central army, which proved far less effective in peripheral regions.<sup>70</sup> Moreover, unlike the central forces, local levies were deeply motivated to protect their villages. They fought relentlessly against any threat to rural

<sup>68</sup> Olsaretti, “Political dynamics in the rise of Fakhr al-Din, 1590–1633”, 731-732. Similarly, Derviş Mehmed Pasha, appointed beylerbeyi of Baghdad during Murad IV's reign, engaged in trade and oversaw the city's reconstruction. This enabled him to support 10,000 men, including his immediate entourage and soldiers. İbrahim Metin Kunt, “Derviş Mehmet Paşa, Vezir and Entrepreneur: A Study in Ottoman Political-Economic Theory and Practice”, *Turcica*/9 (1977): 197-214.

<sup>69</sup> H. Lammens, *La Syrie II* (Beirut: Imprimerie Catholique, 1921), 80.

<sup>70</sup> Halil İnalcık, “Military and Fiscal Transformation in the Ottoman Empire”, *Archivum Ottomanicum*/6 (1980), 305-308.

security, driven by the desire to safeguard both their income and their personal property.<sup>71</sup> More importantly, Fakhreddin fostered an urban economy that offered locals a market to sell their products and purchase the manufactured goods they needed. He also provided well-fortified strongholds where people could seek refuge during times of danger. In summary, both Fakhreddin and his local subjects had a vested interest in collaboration, as he improved agricultural methods and promoted commerce to their mutual benefit. By relying primarily on local forces, supplemented by professional soldiers, and constructing or restoring sturdy fortifications, Fakhreddin successfully established a thriving economy for both residents and merchants. In return, he adopted a pragmatic approach to taxation, charging reasonable fees that balanced local prosperity with his fiscal needs. This strategy enabled him to secure cooperation—or, when necessary, buy the support—of high-ranking Ottoman officials, further consolidating his power and influence.

#### 4.1. What Went Wrong This Time?

This balance of economic stability and security began to falter toward the end of Fakhreddin's era. On the one hand, he increasingly relied on *sekbans* for military support; on the other, his growing collaboration with foreign merchants often came at the expense of local interests as he sought to maximize his revenue.<sup>72</sup> More significantly, this period marked the reestablishment of political stability and centralized power within the Ottoman state. As part of a broader effort to reconsolidate control over its provinces, Sultan Murad IV (r. 1623–1640) showed little tolerance for Fakhreddin, who had risen to dominance in Syria at the expense of Ottoman interests. The death of Shah Abbas in 1629 further freed the Porte to focus on quelling defiance and disobedience within its domains. During this time, Fakhreddin's actions worsened the already strained relationship with the central administration. For instance, he refused to allow the *sipahis* of Hüsrev Pasha to take winter quarters in Syria after Hüsrev's failed campaign to recapture Baghdad in 1625–1626. By this point, the Porte harbored serious concerns about the possibility of Fakhreddin launching an invasion of Damascus.<sup>73</sup>

On December 28, 1632, Emir Ali, the *mirliva* (brigadier) of Sayda, Safed, and Beirut at the time, brought a tax payment of 1,700,000 *aspers* to Constantinople, likely to ease tensions and prevent a potential Ottoman campaign against his father.<sup>74</sup> Unfortunately for Fakhreddin, Sultan Murad had already made up his mind to eliminate the rebellious governor of Syria. Grand Vizier Halil Pasha eventually dispatched Küçük Ahmed Pasha to decisively deal with Fakhreddin. Although Ibrahim, the *kethüda* of Ahmed Pasha, was initially defeated and captured by Maanoğlu, the Ottoman forces later managed to wound and kill Fakhreddin's son, Ali. Fakhreddin could no longer resist the Ottoman army and fled to an inaccessible cave in the Shuf mountains to hide. However, Küçük Ahmed soon captured Fakhreddin, along with his sons Hüseyin and Mesud, and seized all their possessions. Fakhreddin was then sent to prison in the

<sup>71</sup> In contrast to the local levies, Fakhreddin's experience with mercenaries was also negative. See Abdul Karim Rafeq, "The Local Forces in Syria in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries", *Wars, Technology and Society in the Middle East* ed. V. J. Parry - M. E. Yapp (London: Oxford University Press, 1975), 291.

<sup>72</sup> Istifan Duwayhi, *Tarikh al-Azminah* (Beirut: Dar al-Hadd Khatir, 1900), 497.

<sup>73</sup> Naîmâ Mustafa Efendi, *Târih-i Na'îmâ II*, 761.

<sup>74</sup> BOA, AET, No. 789.



Ottoman capital, while his sons were enrolled at the Galata Palace to be trained as future Ottoman officers. It took nearly two more months before Sultan Murad, intent on reconquering Baghdad at all costs, ordered Fakhreddin's execution during his journey to Sivas in 1635.

What went wrong for Fakhreddin this time, when he was neither able to seek refuge in Europe, as he had two decades earlier, nor secure a new state position as he had under Murad Pasha's vizierate? By the time Fakhreddin began consolidating power in Syria, Cosimo II had passed away in 1621. His son, Ferdinand II (r. 1621-1670), was only ten years old when he succeeded his father. During Ferdinand's minority, his mother, Maria Maddalena, and his grandmother, Christina of Lorraine, ruled on his behalf. Although Ferdinand officially took power in 1628, Christina retained the real authority until she died in 1636. By this time, the previous offensive strategy against the Ottomans, which had been pursued during Maddalena's reign, was abandoned. More importantly, Fakhreddin had lost much of his support among the local population. His earlier successes, which had once made him a powerful figure, now turned into his greatest weakness. Many local leaders began sending letters of complaint to the Porte, accusing Fakhreddin of various misdeeds. Among the charges were insults to Islam, converting mosques into churches, associating with Maltese knights, sheltering and aiding pirates who plundered coastal areas, and colluding with Christian princes who sought to seize the Holy Land.<sup>75</sup> After returning from Tuscany, Fakhreddin introduced new economic and military policies that secured the loyalty of his allies against his powerful enemies but also alienated the local population, undermining their common interests. As a result, the Ottoman Empire soon recognized that Fakhreddin was no longer as crucial to Ottoman Syria as he had been previously. After holding him in prison for a brief period, he was eventually replaced with a more reliable and trustworthy figure, all while ensuring that revenue and military support from the region were not lost.

Wüstenfeld argues that Fakhreddin's execution was prompted by his grandson, Mulham. After defeating the Ottomans in battle and plundering Tripoli, Beirut, Sidon, and Acre, Mulham reignited hostilities. In response, Sultan Murad changed his position on Fakhreddin and ordered the execution of his four wives and his son Hüseyin. Despite Fakhreddin's death in Constantinople on April 13, 1635,<sup>76</sup> the Porte sought to reintegrate his close family members as potential loyal subjects. Two of Fakhreddin's sons, Mesud and Hüseyin, were enrolled in the Palace School (*gılām-ı hass*) to be trained as future Ottoman administrators. However, Mesud was soon strangled under unclear circumstances, and his body was dumped into the Marmara Sea as punishment for his perceived ingratitude toward the sultan. In contrast, Hüseyin rose through the ranks, first serving as a confidential secretary and chief deputy of the imperial treasury, before becoming the Ottoman ambassador to India during the grand vizierate of Köprülü Mehmed Pasha. Naima, who met Hüseyin in person, described him as an astute, skilled, and virtuous governor of the time.<sup>77</sup> In brief, although Fakhreddin was no longer essential for the smooth governance of Ottoman Syria, some of his close relatives were still welcome to serve the Ottoman state.<sup>78</sup>

<sup>75</sup> Hrand D. Andreasyan, *Polonyalı Simeon'un Seyahatnamesi* (Istanbul: Everest Yayınları, 2013), 219.

<sup>76</sup> Wüstenfeld, *Fachr ed-din der Drusendfürst und seine Zeitgenossen*, 168, fn. 161.

<sup>77</sup> Naimâ Mustafa Efendi, *Târih-i Na'îmâ II*, 763 and 804. Simeon presents a slightly different account, noting that two of Fakhreddin's grandsons were brought to Istanbul with their grandfather. The elder, Emir Hasan, was placed in a sack and thrown into the sea, while the younger was taken to the palace to be educated. The latter later acquired a great fortune and never returned to his ancestral lands. Andreasyan, *Polonyalı Simeon'un Seyahatnamesi*, 222.

<sup>78</sup> Barkey makes a similar claim regarding the notorious bandit Deli Hasan. Despite his earlier misdeeds, his request for amnesty was granted, and he was appointed governor of Bosnia. However, once his usefulness in the west had ended

## 5. The Role of Islamic Sects Reconsidered

Did differing religious interpretations of Islam influence Ottoman decision-making in dealing with Maanoğlu Fakhreddin and Ali Canpolad? On the one hand, it is evident that, as non-orthodox Muslims, the Druzes likely faced more opportunities for conflict with the Sunni Ottoman Empire. From the reign of Selim I onwards, the Ottomans recognized that the Druzes in Syria, under the leadership of the Ma'n family, were not inclined to accept Ottoman rule, given their opposition to the Sunni Ottoman identity. Despite this, Sultan Selim, who was one of the most ardent supporters of Sunni Islam in the empire, did not hesitate to cooperate with the Druzes against the Sunni Mamluks in 1517. On the other hand, it is notable that the Ottomans did not systematically condemn the Ma'n family for representing a heterodox branch of Islam. This lack of a consistent religiously motivated condemnation does not imply, however, that the Ottomans and the Druzes always coexisted peacefully. For example, after the Druzes, including the Ma'n family, killed an Ottoman Subashi in the Shuf region, they were accused of hostility toward Sunni Islam. This led to a fatwa from the Ottoman ulema in Damascus in 1529, calling for the Druzes' execution and the confiscation of their property.<sup>79</sup> In a similar vein, some Ottoman sources described members of the Ma'n family (and their associates) using derogatory terms such as "Benî-Kelb" (sons of dogs)<sup>80</sup> and "dürûz-ı mezhebsüz" (undenominational Druzes).<sup>81</sup> Ottoman intellectuals continued to use such insults long after Fakhreddin died in Istanbul. For example, Katip Çelebi interpreted Fakhreddin's retreat to Europe as a consequence of his lack of religious affiliation, stating that he became part of the Franks because he was neither a member of a religion nor pious ("bir din ile mütedeyyin olmadığından Frenk'e dahîl olup").<sup>82</sup>

Despite the derogatory descriptions of the Druzes, whose doctrine was closer to the Shiites than to the Sunnis, it is more plausible to view their relationship with the Ottomans in political terms rather than strictly religious ones. Unlike Ottoman writings on the Shiite Safavids, which often contained hostile rhetoric, there is no evidence of any systematic discourse or planned strategy specifically targeting the Druzes or their faith. The Ottoman Porte was generally more suspicious of the Shiites and Alevites, primarily due to the prolonged Ottoman-Persian conflicts that began in the early sixteenth century. Interestingly, the Ottoman Empire considered Fakhreddin and his Druze allies more trustworthy and competent in dealing with these "heretics" than its Orthodox subjects. For instance, in an imperial decree dated March 25, 1582, the Porte instructed the beylerbeyi and judge of Damascus to remain vigilant against the revafız (a term for Shiites here), who might attempt to enter the town of Safad in defiance of the sultan's orders.<sup>83</sup> Likewise, in collaboration with the governor of Tripoli, the Ottomans entrusted Fakhreddin with the

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and the Ottoman Empire faced Shah Abbas in the east, the decision was made to execute him. Barkey, *Bandits and Bureaucrats*, 206-207.

<sup>79</sup> Abu-Husayn, *Provincial Leaderships in Syria, 1575-1650*, 77.

<sup>80</sup> Naîmâ Mustafa Efendi, *Târih-i Na'îmâ II*, 336.

<sup>81</sup> İbrahim Hakkı Çuhadar, *Mustafa Sâfi'nin Zübdetü't-Tevârîhi* (Kayseri: Erciyes Üniversitesi, Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü, 1995), 304.

<sup>82</sup> Aycibin, *Kâtib Çelebi: Fezleke I-II-III (Tahlil ve Metin)*, 601.

<sup>83</sup> Heyd, *Ottoman Documents on Palestine 1552-1615*, 134, fn. 132.

responsibility of preventing the Rafizis from entering Tripoli as well.<sup>84</sup> Eventually, Fakhreddin was granted control over territories traditionally governed by Shiites. More importantly, however, it was not the orthodox Ottoman officers or Sunni subjects of the empire who voiced objections to Fakhreddin's rule, but rather the local Druze population, who lodged official complaints about his religious policies in Syria. The Druzes—Fakhreddin's loyal followers—also turned against him when they realized he was a dishonorable ("şerefsiz") master.<sup>85</sup> In the end, it was not the sectarian differences of the Druzes, but rather the shifting political and economic stability in the capital, that compelled the Ottomans to oppose Fakhreddin in the early 1630s. As with Sunni rebel leaders like Hüsrev and Ilyas Pashas in 1632, Sultan Murad had lost patience with the troublemakers in the empire and sought to eliminate them, placing little or no emphasis on their religious identity.

Additionally, Fakhreddin's close relationships with certain European elites gave rise to rumors about his conversion to Christianity, either in Europe or within Ottoman territories. According to Lammens, he permitted a missionary to baptize him after recovering from a serious illness.<sup>86</sup> Moreover, Wüstenfeld states that Sultan Murad granted Fakhreddin a brief moment to perform Islamic prayer before his execution. However, Fakhreddin chose instead to cross himself, which led to his immediate execution by the Sultan's direct order.<sup>87</sup> Simeon adds that after his death, it was discovered that Maanoğlu had a cross on his chest.<sup>88</sup> One could easily cite numerous claims that Fakhreddin renounced Islam and became a renegade. However, these claims appear to be little more than speculation. Most of these stories are later fabrications, rather than contemporary accounts of Fakhreddin's faith at the time. The Druzes, being few in number, did not pose a significant threat to the mainstream Ottoman understanding of Islam. Equally important, even the Shiites anathematized them as heretics. Therefore, unlike Sunni Canpolad, who sought help from Shah Abbas as a last resort, Fakhreddin never considered seeking refuge in the East. This also explains why the Porte did not perceive any tangible threat from Fakhreddin's previous role in opposing the Rafizis. Ultimately, the Ottoman Empire decided to eliminate Fakhreddin, not because of his unorthodox beliefs (or alleged conversion to Christianity) or his association with the Shiites, but because he had become not only a liability to the state and local populations but also undesirable among his co-religionists in Syria.

As adherents of Sunni Islam, the Ottomans could not publicly repudiate Ali Canpolad or denounce his faith without risking ideological inconsistency. Consequently, no Ottoman sources explicitly accuse members of the Canpolad family of heresy or association with heterodox sects. However, this absence of explicit condemnation does not imply that Ali Canpolad unconditionally recognized the Ottoman leadership of the Sunni Muslim community. For instance, the chronicler Vasiti accuses Canpolad of obstructing pilgrims en route to Mecca and Medina. If true, such actions could be interpreted as deliberate attempts to undermine Sultan Ahmed's reputation as the Caliph of Islam. Vasiti further speculates that Canpolad might have sought control over the Holy Cities,

<sup>84</sup> BOA, A. DVNSMHH.d., No. 102.

<sup>85</sup> Andreasyan, *Polonyalı Simeon'un Seyahatnamesi*, 219-220.

<sup>86</sup> Lammens, *La Syrie II*, 81.

<sup>87</sup> Wüstenfeld, *Fachr ed-din der Drusendfürst und seine Zeitgenossen*, 167.

<sup>88</sup> Andreasyan, *Polonyalı Simeon'un Seyahatnamesi*, 218, 222.

contingent on a hypothetical victory against Murad Pasha in 1607.<sup>89</sup> Overall, Ali's uprising was seen solely as huruc-ı alessultan (withdrawal of allegiance from the sultan), with no reference to his beliefs. Ottoman sources labeled him as müfsid (troublemaker), hain (traitor), or asi (rebel) while referring to their forces as leşger-i İslâm (soldiers of Islam).<sup>90</sup> Kuyucu Murad Pasha carried the Holy Flag of the Prophet Muhammad against Ali Canpolad, who unsuccessfully attempted to seize it. While the flag primarily motivated Ottoman soldiers, the conflict was not portrayed as a war between believers and unbelievers.<sup>91</sup> Unlike other rebels, such as Hüsrev and Ilyas Pashas, who had served in the Ottoman palace, the contemporary chronicler İbrahim Peçevi therefore expressed no objection to praying for God's mercy on Ali after his execution in 1610.<sup>92</sup>

Similar to Maanoğlu Fakhreddin, the Ottoman court successfully integrated key members of the Canpolad family into the palace following Ali Canpolad's execution. For instance, Mustafa Agha, the son of Ali's uncle Hüseyin, was enrolled in the Palace School and later became an Ottoman captain under Murad IV.<sup>93</sup> According to Naima, Mustafa was not only skilled in Ottoman calligraphy and clockmaking but also a talented poet.<sup>94</sup> Edirnevi further notes that Mustafa advanced to prominent positions such as mîrâhûr-ı evvel (chief supervisor of the sultan's stable) and musâhib (companion of the sultan). More notably, he was granted hass (sultanic lands) and, for the first time, the honorific title of vizier, which had not been bestowed upon Ali Canpolad.<sup>95</sup> Mustafa Agha eventually joined other high-ranking officials in scheming against Murad IV. Encouraged by Grand Vizier Recep Pasha, he persuaded the Sultan to entrust Musa Çelebi to the Vizier's protection. After Musa's assassination by Janissary rebels, both Mustafa and Recep Pasha were executed for failing to ensure his safety, however.<sup>96</sup>

## Conclusion

Following its conquest of Syria and Egypt in 1516-1517, the Ottomans began fostering a Sunni identity by emphasizing specific Islamic jurisprudence and reinforcing the divide between Sunnis and Shiites within the empire.<sup>97</sup> However, the Ottoman ruling class did not allow religious ideology to constrain pragmatic political decisions, particularly in governing regions like Syria. The Ottoman approach to figures such as Fakhreddin and Ali Canpolad should be understood in economic and political terms rather than religious, ethnic, or personal ones. The Ottoman state consistently sought to integrate any political

<sup>89</sup> Çelik, *Vâsîfî'nin "Gazâvât-ı Murad Paşa"*, 59, 65.

<sup>90</sup> Sağırılı, *Nuhbetü't-Tevârih*, 12, 38.

<sup>91</sup> Yılmaz, *Topçular Kâtibi Tarihi I*, 501-502.

<sup>92</sup> Peçevi İbrahim Efendi, *Peçevi Tarihi II*, 313.

<sup>93</sup> Peçevi İbrahim Efendi, *Peçevi Tarihi II*, 313.

<sup>94</sup> Naîmâ Mustafa Efendi, *Târih-i Na'îmâ II*, 691.

<sup>95</sup> Sağırılı, *Nuhbetü't-Tevârih*, 95-96.

<sup>96</sup> Naîmâ Mustafa Efendi, *Târih-i Na'îmâ II*, 711-712.

<sup>97</sup> See Derin Terzioğlu, "İbn Taymiyya, al-Siyasa al-Shariyya, and the Early Modern Ottomans", *Historicizing Sunni Islam in the Ottoman Empire, c. 1450-c.1750*, ed. Tijana Krstić - Derin Terzioğlu (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2020). Nir Shafir, "How to Read Heresy in the Ottoman World", *Historicizing Sunni Islam in the Ottoman Empire, c. 1450-c.1750*, ed. Tijana Krstić and Derin Terzioğlu (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2020).

or religious entity into its apparatus if they were deemed useful to the state's interests. While the Ma'n family officially entered the Ottoman system, the Canpolads had long been part of the Ottoman administrative framework. In contrast, those already entrenched in the central system had fewer opportunities to maintain their positions compared to those who were later integrated.<sup>98</sup> The Ma'n family serves as an example of how the Ottomans cultivated cordial relationships with local elites to maintain their power in Syria. For the Canpolad family, members were typically trained in the Ottoman Palace School as future governors. The empire was eager to promote them to the highest imperial posts but also quick to punish disobedience when necessary. Despite this, the Ottomans remained open to integrating members of both families, regardless of sect affiliation. This supports Barkey's argument that "the power of the state necessarily grew not only at the expense of societal groups but also because the state incorporated or legitimized these groups and linked them to itself".<sup>99</sup> This study thus highlights the contradictions between the Ottoman state's confessional policies and its political expediency, as seen in the cases of Fakhreddin and Ali Canpolad. Although the Ottoman approach may have evolved following the reconquest of Baghdad from the Safavids in 1638 and during the Kadızadeli movement from the 1630s to the 1690s—topics beyond this paper's scope—it is clear that political pragmatism often superseded sectarian divides.

Finally, while orthodox or heterodox interpretations of Islam did not significantly influence Ottoman decision-making in the examples of Fakhreddin and Ali, they played a crucial role in shaping their relationships with foreigners. Maanoğlu's heretical views of Islam appear to have facilitated his refuge in Europe, in contrast to Ali Canpolad. This cordial relationship persisted even after Fakhreddin's return to Syria. For instance, at the request of Louis XIII of France, Fakhreddin not only restored the Basilica of the Annunciation but also constructed a new Franciscan monastery adjacent to it. Additionally, he granted permission for the construction of other churches within his domains. More importantly, Fakhreddin cooperated with the Maltese Knights, allowing them to engage in trade along the Levantine coast, including the sale of goods plundered from Muslims in the Mediterranean.<sup>100</sup> In contrast, Ali Canpolad's relationship with European powers presents a starkly different picture. Despite losing everything to Murad Pasha, Ali never considered fleeing to Europe as an option, nor is there any evidence suggesting he collaborated with European powers to promote Christian hegemony in the Holy Lands. Interestingly, as a last resort, Ali offered his military services to Shiite Shah Abbas after his defeat at Oruç Valley in 1607, though without success. Conversely, there is no evidence that Fakhreddin ever sought cooperation with the Shiite Safavids against the Sunni Ottomans. These differences highlight the general approach of the Ottomans compared to foreign powers in dealing with sectarian leaders. The Ottomans viewed sectarian divisions pragmatically, focusing on governance, while foreign powers framed them as theological disputes, exploiting them to undermine the Ottoman Empire. This contrast warrants further exploration in future research.

<sup>98</sup> To examine the differences in the Ottoman approach to officials who were raised within the central Ottoman administration from the outset versus those who were later incorporated into the Ottoman system: Birol Gündoğdu, "Katırcıoğlu Mehmed ve Abaza Hasan Örneklerinde Osmanlı Devleti'nin 17. Yüzyılın Ortasında Asilere Yaklaşımı," *CUJOSS* 48/1 (June 2024): 47-65.

<sup>99</sup> Barkey, *Bandits and Bureaucrats*, 1.

<sup>100</sup> Lammens, *La Syrie II*, 78-81.

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