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## SURVIVALS AMONG THE KAPPADOKIAN KIZILBASH (BEKTASH).

BY J. W. CROWFOOT.

[WITH PLATES XXXVI TO XXXVIII.]

LAST summer (1900), with the kind assistance of the Craven Committee in Oxford and the Fellows of Brasenose, I was sent with Mr. J. G. C. Anderson to make archaeological researches in the ancient provinces of Lykaonia and Kappadokia. I knew that there were several settlements of Kizilbash sprinkled over the latter province, and in the hope of securing fresh anthropological matter, I applied to the Council of this Institute for the loan of some instruments. For their kind accession to this request, I offer my warmest thanks to all concerned: my only regret is that I was able to make such scant use of the loan. This was due mainly to the proverbial impossibility of serving two masters: the archaeological evidence directed us invariably to roads where there were no Kizilbash. At last it was only by separating from my companion and making a private excursion in the last week of our sojourn that I was able to collect the following material. At any other time of the year I could have got more, but in August harvesting was in full swing, the villagers slept near their crops or their threshing-floors, and only the old and the rich remained in the villages. On the other hand, I had one great advantage in the company of a servant whom we have tested in three consecutive seasons—Michali Ulkeroglu,—to whose tact and *bonhomie* I am largely indebted for such success as I had.

Throughout the summer I made repeated inquiries as to the character of the Kizilbash and obtained the most various answers. The Christians were agreed that they were good people, and that I should meet with no difficulties, whereas the orthodox Turk hates and despises them. The name Kizilbash is in fact an offensive nickname born of this animosity: literally it means Red Head and is at least four centuries old; many fanciful stories have been told as to its origin in Red Caps and so forth, but in Turkey it has now simply an obscene meaning. It is very loosely used, a certain Khainakam, for instance, was pointed out to me as a Kizilbash: why? Because he drank wine and made no public prayers. Another name almost as vague is Allevi, worshipper of Ali, but the name the people I visited used among themselves was Bektash. One giving orders to another calls out "Hie! Bektash!" The name is at least 600 years old: it was borne by a famous dervish and handed down by him to an order of a half-military type closely connected with the Janissaries. The most valuable account of the Kappadokian Kizilbash known to me is that in *Murray's Guide*, from the pen of Sir Charles Wilson: as it does not run to more than twenty lines it will be admitted that there is room for more detailed information. Sir Charles Wilson (ed. 1895, p. [66]) describes them as "a large section of the population which is either Shia in faith, or professes a religion which is a strange mixture of Shiism, Paganism, Manichæism, and Christianity,—sometimes one, sometimes another element predominating. . . . They appear to be partly derived from Shias of

Turkish origin, who were forcibly transplanted from Persia during the reigns of Selim I and Suleiman I; and partly from the original inhabitants who, after having been worshippers of the Great Goddess Ma, adopted Christianity, became deeply tainted with Manichæism, and, later, embracing Islam during the Seljûk period, were exposed to Persian religious influences." It is clear that the Kizilbash vary very much in different regions (they are found as far east as Afghanistan) and in all that follows I should like it clearly understood that my words apply only to those I have personally studied and may therefore be quite inapplicable elsewhere. (See also Humann and Puchstein, *Reisen in Kleinasien*, p. 83.)

## I.

The villages with which I propose to deal lie both in the province of Angora, close to the eastern bank of the Halys. Two important roads run eastwards from Angora; the northerly one crosses the river by the bridge of Kaledjik, the southerly one leading through Kirshehr and Hadji Bektash to Cæsarea, crosses it at Cheshnir Keuprusu. At the latter I heard of two Kizilbash villages in the neighbourhood—Haidar-es-Sultan and Hassan-dede, and of these the last was described as the larger, wealthier and more intelligent: towards them accordingly I set my face. (See Map, Plate XXXVI.)

Cheshnir Keuprusu is built just at the point where the Halys enters a narrow ravine; to the south the country is open, northwards on both banks the steep rocks which wall in the river, reach back towards high and barren hills. After crossing the river, the carriage road goes in a south-easterly direction, making a more or less gradual climb, but the straightest road to Haidar-es-Sultan is a rough horse-path, which leaves the main road on the right and zigzags up the hills. In an hour-and-a-half we got over the crest of the ridge, lost sight of the river and found ourselves overlooking the village, which lies thus perched on a high upland, shut in on all sides, close to a great military and trade route, but so entirely secluded from it and with such scanty intrinsic attractions, that not one in a thousand passing along the road would ever hear of its existence. This combination of circumstances is common in Asia Minor, and seems naturally adapted to provide "cities of refuge" or backwaters of ancient custom, but is not favourable enough to stimulate the refugees to develop a new and vigorous culture. In this district the nearest town of any size is Denek Maden, and the most important people living in the neighbourhood are Turkomans, who have been settled here for about nine centuries: besides these, there are a few Kurds, Yuruks, Armenians, and "Turks," but from all alike the Kizilbash stand severely aloof.

Haidar-es-Sultan, the first village we reached, is divided into two parts, but together they do not contain more than thirty houses. In the smaller division is a walled court, and in it stands the village mosque, the *turbek* or tomb of a great man, a wonderful well, and the rooms and stabling set apart for guests. The whole enclosure is built upon the site of a Christian monastery, as the Sheikh pointed out to me, and as the remains, marble columns of rough workmanship and a

block with a cross upon it, clearly show. The early name of the site is unknown; the present name is derived from the occupant of the tomb, of whom more anon.

The tomb inside the *turbah* is covered with the usual green hangings, and in one corner of the building stands the banner of Ali; the other appurtenances consist of a wooden club, a small wooden dagger which has been blessed by a holy man and therefore still possesses mystical powers in the hands of the faithful, and two curious bronze implements, one like a long spoon, the other like a spear head, and both said to have been used in war. Mosque and tomb were restored about 50 years ago and externally differ innowise from the types common in Anatolia. The one unique feature in the enclosure is the well, which is strongly impregnated with sulphur and covered with a white slab of marble with a hole cut in it, large enough to put the head through. The Sheikh said it was a mystical matter, and refused at first to answer any questions thereanent. Later, however, he told me of a wise woman in the village who could foretell the future, but when I asked to be allowed to consult her myself, they demurred that I did not know enough Turkish to understand all she would say. On my offering to take my Greek servant as interpreter, they objected that he might learn more about my future than I should care to have him know. But finally a fee removed their last scruples, and the sibyl was fetched. An old woman, unveiled and dressed in the ungainly fashion of the country, of short stature, with reddened hair, a thick nose and a pasty, doughlike complexion; there was nothing romantic in her outward appearance. She looked suspiciously at me—probably I was the first European she had seen,—but had the expression of a stupid, sluggish-witted rustic, the last person to play an elaborate joke upon one. Silently she led me to the well and told me to look down and sniff the sulphur. Then she threw herself flat upon the ground, thrust her head well through the hole, and inhaled long breaths of the foul air until she began to groan. Lifting her head slightly, she uttered a few words, but the inspiration was incomplete and she had to put her head through the hole again and draw in breath after breath once more. She groaned again and began to kick convulsively, so the Sheikh's son knelt by her side and held her under the armpits, and thus supported she delivered the rest of the divine message. Like some other oracles, in spite of all her efforts this was disappointingly vague. "I was not so pious as I should be: if I would only walk in the path of God, He would give me the desire of my heart, and at last I should brilliantly achieve the quest now absorbing my thoughts. One day I should return with my servant to Haidar-es-Sultan, and, as an earnest of my repentance, it behoved me to offer an oke of candles and sacrifice a sheep." The getting of the oracle quite exhausted the old woman, and she remained about with us in the enclosure for about an hour in a dazed state, without uttering a word: then she walked off alone as silently as she had come.

Just as the priest is called a Sheikh, the prophetess is called a Sheikhin, and her power was described as a deodand: when one prophetess died, God sent this gift to another but always to a woman, and the office was not hereditary, like the

Sheikh's, which went by strict primogeniture. The people said she was much frequented, but I did not learn the character of any other of her oracles. The method of obtaining them and her sex suggest of course ancient examples of hydromancy, but I know of no shrine where the procedure was exactly the same. I take the original idea implicit in it to be that there is a spirit in the well: to it the inquirer must introduce himself, hence I was obliged first to inhale the fumes; then the spirit is able to communicate his knowledge to a chosen prophetess, when she has reached a properly ecstatic condition: lastly, the spirit in question cannot be wholly dissociated from the occupant of the tomb.

Besides inquirers into the future, diseased people, especially the blind and the weakminded, came to the shrine, and the window-bars of the mosque had one of the largest collections of rags I have ever seen. Murray speaks of a great sacrifice of sheep in summer at this *teke*; the only great sacrifice I could hear of was held in September, and corresponds to a Persian feast, but it is a common thing for a good Kizilbash or a grateful visitor to offer a sheep at any season of the year. Similarly, Sir Henry Rawlinson describes a sanctuary of the Ali-Allahis in Holwán called the tomb of David, which he never passed "without seeing the remains of a bleeding sacrifice," and which was visited by pilgrims from all parts of Kurdistan. (*Journal of the Royal Geographical Society*, ix (1839), p. 39.)

The second village to which I went, Hassan-dede, lies close to the Halys on the eastern bank, two and a half hours south of the easy ford at Yakshi Khan and three and a half hours west of Denek Maden. It contains from ninety to a hundred houses, and I found the people much more intelligent and quick-witted than those at Haidar. They received me with a dignified courtesy which I have never seen surpassed even among the Turks; the Sheikh introduced those present in the "Odah," adding with a conscious pride the family name in some cases, and giving three or four of the more considerable the title of Effendi. They struck me as more serious than the average villager; evidently they kept up and valued their own traditions, and, though quite communicative up to a certain point at least, did not ask the usual questions about my country, which merely idle curiosity might prompt. They were, too, energetic and prosperous, and volunteered to show me what they thought likely to be of interest.

In the southern outskirts of the village stands a large well-built mosque with a minaret in which is built a stone from Mecca, and beside it two *turbehs* where lights were burning when I rode into the village late after sundown. One *turbeh* covers the coffin of Hassan, draped as usual with a military banner in one corner, the second his two sons and daughter, the former each surmounted by a white woollen fez similar to that worn by the present Sheikh. Certain revenues had been set apart, by the Sultan Mustapha they said, for the maintenance of the mosque, formerly amounting to 6,000 piastres a year, but the financial stress of recent years has compelled the present Sultan to reduce this by two-thirds, let us hope only temporarily.

In this village I was able to correct and amplify the traditional history I had picked up in the former place. The Sheikh at Haidar-es-Sultan said that Haidar was the son of the King of Persia and came from Khorassan from a town named Yassevi; he was also called Khodja Ahmed<sup>1</sup> and was the disciple of the famous Hadji Bektash. With the latter he travelled to Cæsarea, and there took a Christian named Mēnč to wife, and together they came to the place of his tomb, where they begat children and died—the whole village now claiming descent from him. This took place, said the Sheikh, long before the Osmanlis came into the country, “about the time of Mohammed”! In Hassan-dede they said that Haidar and Hadji Bektash came there 670 or 650 years ago, and the fourteenth century, the date given by historians for the famous dervish who gave the Janissaries their name and emblem, tallies more closely with this. The connexion between Haidar-es-Sultan and Hadji Bektash is intimate enough to-day; the present Sheikh told me that he had visited the shrine of Hadji Bektash, which is about three days to the south, nine times, and further that they received frequent visits from Bektash dervishes. I met one of the latter at Kirshehr, and he too said that they came from Khorassan, before the time of the Osmanlis. Hassan, the hero of Hassan-dede, came from the same place, but only 400 years ago; however, being a holy man, he had known his precursors in a previous state and his teaching was the same—a chance betrayal of the belief in metempsychosis which underlies so many of the strange identifications one hears. The present Sheikh claims direct descent from him, and introduced me specially to several of his kinsmen; their family name was Salah-ed-din, and in all there were over twenty houses in the village filled by the same stock, the rest of the village being Bektash, but descended from natives whom Hassan found there on his arrival. All the Salah-ed-din were buried together close round the tombs of their ancestors; some are rich, some poor, and as they intermarry freely with other Bektash, but never with Osmanlis, the purity of their stock is no greater than that of their fellows. The Sheikh himself told me most of these particulars and took me round the tombs, but on purely historical questions he frequently bowed to the correction of others. The Seljuk Turks they all professed to hold in pious memory, and referred to the Mevlevi dervishes at Konia and those of Hadji Bairam at Angora almost as kinsmen. On the other hand I was astonished to hear them repeat twice that they loathed the Janissaries as their bitterest enemies.

## II.

The fragmentary memories which I have recorded above have at least one indisputable value: they illustrate to what an extent the modern Anatolian villager

<sup>1</sup> An early sheikh of the Nakshbendi order, who hailed from Yassevi. Hammer-Purgstall (*Gesch. des Osman. Reiches*, I, p. 36) refers to a Turkish book, *Neschhat* (misprint for *Reschhat*) *ainul hajat*, for full particulars of his life. He is mentioned also by Ramsay as a miracle worker: “I have observed the veneration of Karaja (*sic*) Ahmed at (two villages in Phrygia). At the latter sick persons sit in the *turbe* all night with their feet in a sort of stocks, and thus are cured” (*Religious Veneration in Asia Minor*, 9th Congress of Orientalists, London, 1893, pp. 381–391).

lives in the past, and I venture to think that they show that his traditions have been rather unduly depreciated. These legends, confused as they may be, do refer to definite historical occurrences, and though I must leave the graver problems which they raise to others to solve, I may be allowed to add a few notes which will vindicate a respectable antiquity for these stories, if not historical accuracy.

The two names which they bear, Bektash among themselves, and Kizilbash among the Turks, give us a key to their true position. The open animosity which now prevails between Bektash and Osmanli is not a century old, it dates from the disappearance of the Janissaries, which was followed by a general persecution of the Bektash. The latter remain, however, in great numbers in many parts of the Turkish empire; in Cairo, for example, they have an important *tekke*. But the recent persecution was not the first cause of difference between the two; an Egyptian friend has, for instance, given me a reference to Hadji Bektash from a collection of memoirs called *The Anemone* (الشقائق النعمانية), published at Cairo in 1277 Hegira, but written by a Turk of Constantinople in the sixteenth century (A.H. 965). "His tomb is in Turkey, and over it a cupola, and it has a small mosque. And in this our time certain heathen (ملحد—a strong word) with false pretensions pretend to belong to him, but he denies them without doubt." Wherever they are found, the same mysterious and discreditable tales cluster round them, and it seems certain anyhow that they reach back at least to the fourteenth century, the time of the "Anatolian Decarchy," and that kings of the earth delighted to honour them once and do so no longer.

The name Kizilbash, on the other hand, has different connexions, and is not, I believe, by any means generally applied to Bektash; the two are quite distinct, and I was surprised to hear the former using it among themselves. The double name can, however, be very easily explained, and sufficient material to answer my immediate purpose is to be found in the writings of an old Elizabethan historian. Samuel Purchas published the third edition of *His Pilgrimage* in the year 1617<sup>1</sup>; he was a City clergyman who made a great compilation of all that was known of the religious history of the world, in which he incorporated much unpublished material supplied by the travellers and merchants he met in London, men gifted with the keen observation and feeling for detail characteristic of the time. Of the Kizilbash movement he gives a tolerably full account, based in many parts upon the testimony of European eye-witnesses; some slight contradictions may be here ignored as immaterial to our quest. In the latter half of the fifteenth century the dominion of the Osmanli Sultans over the eastern parts of Anatolia was still extremely precarious; several princes, both Muslim and Christian, still maintained their independence, and Persia, then under Uzun Hassan, the greatest of the White Belt dynasty (Turkoman), was a really formidable rival. Uzun Hassan was connected by marriage with the Emperor of Trebizonde, and a daughter of his married a great

<sup>1</sup> See pp. 430 foll. Compare von Hammer, *Geschichte*, ii, p. 334 foll. and Zinkeisen, *Geschichte*, ii, p. 343 foll., p. 547 foll.

sheikh named Haidar. Haidar came of a famous family of mystics long settled at Erdebil, and relying in part no doubt upon his connexion with the king, aimed at political power; finally he was killed in a semi-religious war in 1488. The death of Uzun Hassan and the murderous rivalry and final extinction of his house made more easy the success of Ismail, the son of Haidar, who eventually became master of Persia, and founded the Saafi-ed-din dynasty. Both father and son combined religion with politics and naturally set themselves at the head of the learned mystics, the Sufis; they preached Ali and posed as protectors and patrons of those Sufis, who remained in Anatolia as a relic of the Seljuk empire, which of course was highly offensive to the Osmanlis. According to Purchas, Ismail took as his cognizance the Red Cap, and, whether this be so or not, the name Kizilbash now appears applied generally to his followers. Like his father, he invoked curses on Abu-bekir, Osman, and Omar; to this day no Bektash will use their names. Purchas repeats as one alternative version the story of Haidar's marriage with a Christian named "Martha, daughter of Lady Despina, who was daughter of Kalo Joannes, Emperor of Trebizonde." The names only and the places have been slightly changed in the modern tradition; the Christian connexion abides and answers to a real reciprocity of friendship and fellow-feeling. The actual occupant of the tomb which I saw, if there be one at all, certainly cannot be Haidar, for the sphere of Haidar's life and death was far away to the east, but he is no less certainly identified with him by the villagers.

Again Purchas (pp. 441, 2) tells the story of two disciples of Haidar, "Chasan Shelife and Schach Culi," who fled to Armenia Minor; there they lived for a while as austere dervishes, and gradually spreading their fame abroad, at last gathered round them an army of fanatical Kizilbash and were only defeated and slain after overrunning the greater part of Asia Minor. The date given me by the people at Hassan-dede and the name make it probable that their hero was this same disciple.

Other details will prove how faithfully the Bektash have clung to their old practices. I was told that they shave the beard sometimes but never the moustaches, and Professor von Luschan makes the same report of the Lykian Tachtadji. Purchas says, "Ismail was of faire countenance, of reasonable stature, . . . shaven albut the mustaches." In return for the opprobrious nickname of Kizilbash, I heard that the Bektash nickname the Osmanli "Hounds"—Hazyr. Purchas says "the Sophians (=Sufis) are enemies unto Dogs, killing all they find," and Ismail himself "killed all the Dogs in Tauris" (=Tabreez). And speaking of a later period he adds, "It is the common opinion that the greatest part of the Mahumetans in Soria and of Asia Minor are secretly of that sect"; and so too wrote Marcantonio Barbaro in 1573 (quoted by Zinkeisen, iii, p. 567).

These Bektash, then, are, as they say, true representatives of a "moment" before the rule of the Osmanlis; when the latter triumphed, the Bektash were men already learned in the wisdom of the day and ever since have chafed under the foreign yoke. The name of Kizilbash they owe to the attempts which they made about the year 1500 to win independence, and the banners and weapons of battle

which they keep in their *tekkes* are trophies of these vain religious wars, in curious contrast with their present retiring tranquillity. The incidents of their rise and fall will remind many of another episode enacted on the same stage and with the same result, the revolt of the Paulician heretics in the ninth century.

### III.

Enough has now been said to make clear the historical place of these Bektash during the last six or seven centuries, but this by no means exhausts our tale. As Ramsay has repeatedly shown, survivals of ancient rite and custom still linger all over Anatolia, alike among Christians and Muslims, but among certain heretical sects these survivals are far more numerous and form indeed the heart of the people's life. Professor von Luschan, in his famous discussion of the Tachtadji (*Archiv für Anthropologie*, 1891, pp. 31–53, or in Petersen and von Luschan, *Reisen in Lykien*, Wien, 1889, p. 198), has thus stated the question which this fact provokes: Are we to regard these scattered sects, Tachtadji, Yezidi, Ansariyeh, and so forth, as more or less degenerate offshoots of Shiitic Islâm or as stray relics of a very ancient heathen culture? The influence of Islâm is very strong in some cases, but it is none the less possible that in other cases these sectaries have preserved, as faithfully as the Parsees or the Brahmans, the old natural religion of the land; they may be islands of a submerged continent. Professor von Luschan treats the Tachtadji from the physical or anatomical side. My own material is too small to permit me to follow him far in this field; such as it is, it will be found in the appendix. The evidence which von Luschan collected, however, enabled him to connect anatomically the Tachtadji with the Lykian Bektash; it would be reasonable, therefore, to suppose that the Kappadokian Bektash may also fall into the same circle, and my own notes give some colour to this. It seems worth while, then, to pursue the subject in another sphere, the psychological, and ask whether we find here fragments or more of the culture which, as we know, prevailed over this area before the invasion of any of the great world-religions.

In both the villages I have described the tomb of a saint or great man fills by far the largest place in the sentiments of the people; the tomb and not the mosque is the dominating centre of attraction. As a rule the Anatolians here and elsewhere, beyond a general superstitious respect for the cemetery which varies very much in different parts, bestow no tender solicitude upon the dead, and the appearance of a village graveyard is miserable beyond words. This neglect is a good foil to the care taken of the *turbeh*; it is an object of pride and veneration, and the villagers tell you stories of the cures wrought there and the sanctity of the deceased. The occupant of one of these tombs receives no doubt, to some extent, the same honour that is paid to a saint, Christian or Muslim, in the Mediterranean area (see Lane, *Modern Egyptians*, c. x.), but there is one important difference, made especially clear by the practice in the two villages I visited. The service and cult of the saint is in the hands of people who claim to be lineally descended from him, and often profess to have some esoteric truths,

which they transmit only to their children; this it is which links them to the pre-Christian worship of heroes. Very often one comes to a deserted *turbeh*, where all inquiries as to its occupant prove fruitless; this simply means that the family which claimed descent from the saint, however fictitiously, is extinct, and no one has stepped into their place. In classical lands we can point to an exact parallel: heroes held the same position, and those who carried on their worship were obliged to discover some connexion with them either by blood or by adoption. In Greece one hears of many shrines where the name of the hero was forgotten and a nameless *ἦρως* worshipped, and the cult reaches back to a time before the Dorian invasion. The choice of a name famous in legendary history like that of Haidar or David is analogous to the many *heroa* named after Midas or Herakles. In fact, the one non-Hellenic trait lies in the spiritual pre-eminence of the modern hero and the possession of esoteric doctrines connected with this, and these are older than El Islâm (see the passage from Eusebios quoted below).

Connected with the *turbeh* at Haidar-es-Sultan we found the sacred well and the reputation of the saint as healer and prophet. The combination is almost necessary for the permanence of the cult, for in a place where ancestor worship and the worship of the vulgar dead has long disappeared, the hero can only maintain his dues by giving the worshipper a practical return for his loyalty. The form of this return is so common everywhere that I need not collect parallels. Holy wells are as much venerated to-day as in antiquity among both Christians and Muslims; the triple combination of hero, healer, and prophetess is much rarer, but we have an exact analogy at Delphi now that we know that the worship of Apollo was engrafted on an earlier cult of the dead.

It is not necessary here to repeat the arguments which have been often urged to support the theory of a single homogeneous culture connecting Greece with Asia Minor; suffice it to notice that the core of a living Anatolian religion is the old worship of heroes.

Second only in importance to their religion must be a people's marriage customs. Last summer I was told by a Christian that it was generally reported of the Bektash that they made incestuous marriages, fathers with daughters, and brothers with sisters. On such a delicate subject it was difficult for a traveller to make full inquiries, and nothing I could learn supported the charge at all. The Bektash averred that they married Bektash only, were monogamous, and admitted no divorce, and even my informant did not pretend to believe the canard. But Professor von Luschan heard of two certain unions of this kind among the Lykian Tachtadjî, and the permanence of the scandal is a striking case of survival. In Karia we know such marriages were common, and Greek ideas of "prohibited degrees" were profoundly different from the Roman; in Greece under certain circumstances a man was practically obliged to marry his niece, but in Rome by so doing the Emperor Claudius outraged the public sense of decency. And in Kappadokia itself we have an interesting witness in the person of Basil. Epiphanius, a Cypriot bishop who was compiling a massive work on heresies,

questioned him about some people called the Magousaioi, and Basil replies thus "The Magousaioi, as you were good enough to point out to me in your other letter, are here in considerable numbers, scattered all over the country, settlers having been long ago introduced into these parts from Babylon. Their manners are peculiar, as they do not mix with other men. It is quite impossible to converse with them, inasmuch as they have been made the prey of the devil to do his will. They have no books, no instructors in doctrine. They are brought up in senseless institutions, piety being handed down from father to son. In addition to the characteristics which are open to general observation, they object to the slaying of animals as defilement, and they cause the animals they want for their own use to be slaughtered by other people. They are wild after illicit marriages; they consider fire divine, and so on. No one hitherto has told me any fables about the descent of the Magi from Abraham; they name a certain Zarnuas as the founder of their race" (*Letter* 258, § 4). Epiphanius (*Expos. Fid.*, p. 1094) adds nothing material to this, but Eusebios is more explicit, and I will quote him also in full (*Præf. Evangel.*, vi, p. 275). "Among the Persians it was the custom to marry daughters and sisters and mothers, and not only did they make these impious marriages in their own country, but those who have left Persia also, the so-called Magousaioi, practise the same iniquity, handing down in succession (*κατὰ διαδοχὴν*) the same laws and customs to their children. There are many of them at the present in Media and Egypt and Phrygia and Galatia." In the time of Eusebios Galatia included the villages with which we are concerned, and in the face of practices such as we have mentioned, practices which, however common at one period, must have been bitterly opposed by every religious teacher, Christian or Muslim (see Burton, *Arabian Nights*, I, p. 110), since the time of Basil, we cannot refuse to recognise an unbroken continuity between the Magousaioi of the past and the modern Kizilbash. Only the open practice of their faith—the worship of fire and so forth—has through fear of persecution fallen into abeyance, and the lights which I saw in the *turbek* at Hassan-dede may be a survival of this (see also *Quarterly Review*, 1897, 2, p. 425, and compare Bent's account of the "Ansairie," *Cornhill Magazine*, 1891, New Series, vol. xvi, p. 68, foll.). A few notes may be added on these two passages which will bring out the whole point in clearer relief. The phraseology of Basil is curiously like the terms still in use among the Turks. "They have been made the prey of the devil"—the Turk calls them devil worshippers in many places, Layard's account of the Yezidi or Luschan's account of the Tachtadji will show with what justification. "They have no books"—this is rightly explained by the writer in the *Quarterly* to refer to religious books and is exactly parallel to the modern Turkish description of them as people "without a book," *i.e.*, Koran or Bible. "The senseless institutions" are probably rites of initiation and esoteric doctrines of manifold incarnations, eschatological matter, and so forth (see Bent, *loc. cit.*, and other travellers, *e.g.*, Van Lennep, *Travels in Asia Minor*, I, p. 293, foll.); with Basil's epithet few who have read about the Druses and Ansariyeh will care to quarrel. Zarnuas I suppose to be one of the many corruptions of

Zarathustra's name. As regards the name Magousaioi, those who like to find a geographical origin for every sect will be able to point to a town in Arabia named Magousa (Pliny, *N. H.*, vi, 32; Strabo, pp. 118, 619, 780): the word is used in modern Arabic = fire-worshippers. Of superstitions connected with animals I could find no trace, except that they, like so many others, regard the hare, which they call "Ali's cat," saying that he petted it as others keep pet cats, with special respect. Nor had they, like the Tachtadji, any special fear of particular colours.

Two other survivals from the pre-Islamic period may next be mentioned, compelling us to the same conclusion. One of the first things you hear from a Turk about them is that they drink wine and do not fast, and the Sheikh at Haidar-es-Sultan gave us a vivid picture of the joys of winter, when it was cold outside and there was nothing to do but light a fire and tiddle by it from morning till night. In their drinking, which is otherwise orthodox enough, they have one peculiar custom: however small the cup out of which they drink may be, they hold it with both hands. The dervishes at Hadji Bektash do the same, as I was told on good authority, and Luschan reports it also of the Tachtadji, calling the practice "*völlig unklar in seiner Bedeutung*." But some light is thrown on the subject by a sentence in Ainsworth's *Travels and Researches* (1842, vol. ii, p. 188). Of the Yezidi he says they "speak often of wine as the blood of Christ, and hold the cup with both hands, after the sacramental manner of the East, when drinking it." It seems to me highly improbable that the Yezidi or the Anatolian Allevi have got the custom from the Christians and extended it to common use; far more likely that the latter should have consecrated and confined to a special rite a custom once universal in the East. One is tempted to ask whether such a custom does not underlie the form of the classical drinking cup, the *kylix*, which invariably has two handles. The large eyes of Ionian origin which are the commonest decorations of these *kylikes* in the sixth and fifth centuries B.C., and which were no doubt intended as *apotropaia* to avert the evil eye, seem indeed to point to a phase when a religious or superstitious significance was attached to every act of drinking.

Again, Professor von Luschan mentions the extraordinary ornaments which he saw in the ears of Lykian Bektash dervishes; Purchas similarly describes huge earrings as being worn by most of the dervish orders in the sixteenth century. In classical literature and in the Bible there are frequent references to the earring as the mark of the Oriental, and the monuments, Assyrian and "Hittite," tell the same tale. Juvenal, for instance, writes, "Natus ad Euphratem molles quod in aure fenestræ arguerint," and I could apply the term "window" without much exaggeration to the huge hole which I saw bored in the ear of the dervish from Hadji Bektash whom I met in Kirshelhr.

This evidence proves that we have in these villages stumbled upon the certain fragments of a pre-Islamic civilisation. In the previous section I tried to fix the position of our villagers during the last few centuries in which the country has been under Muslim rule; we can now carry the process farther back and sketch in outline their earlier development.

Officially they rank as heretical Mussulmans; their traditions bring some of them at least from Khorassan. These facts must not be blinked; on the contrary I am ready to accept both, and regard as probable on all grounds (*see* appendix) a fusion between the earlier population and some of the first Muslim immigrants, who were driven by Mongol pressure from their seats in Bokhara and Samarcand and elsewhere. But neither must the bearing of certain other facts be blinked. The descent of these refugees from Khorassan is but a single wave in a rhythmic stream which has been flowing for thousands and thousands of years. Even in neolithic times Kappadokia appears to have turned to the east rather than the west; the form and material of the stone implements found there point to Armenia and inner Asia. In the Hellenistic age Hellenism, as then understood, made no progress against the intense nationalism of the native states, which were ruled by kings who prided themselves on descent from one of the Seven Persians. Droysen describes the country as "*mit iranischen Wesen erfüllt* (iii, p. 84). In the Christian period Basil and Eusebios repeat and amplify the witness of Strabo. Already, therefore, before the time of Alexander the inhabitants of Kappadokia had come under oriental influence and developed a religious theory of their own which made them impervious to Greek and Christian missionaries; and this religious theory the brief notices I have quoted enable us to identify with the practice of the living Kizilbash. Not only have we thereby obtained a new authority from which to reconstruct the past, but the mere fact of its permanence throws fresh light on the intervening centuries, on the spread and character of Christianity in Kappadokia, and the tolerance and assimilative powers of the Seljuk Turks, and the true inwardness of several anti-Sunnite movements which owed their strength to an alliance of new dissenters with old pagans. And yet even this "Persian" culture was only a compromise and a pouring of new wine into old bottles. Behind it we see traces of a simpler, less specialised civilisation which once stretched at least from the Persian mountains to the mainland of Greece. This lay at the foundations both of the Persian system and also of Hellenism, and by removing the upper strata we can recognise in the *temenos* at Haidar-es-Sultan a living embodiment of the humble origins of Delphi, before the Dorian Apollo's advent raised it to a pan-Hellenic significance. Archæologists who have busied themselves in distinguishing the various layers accumulated on an ancient site will, I hope, acknowledge in this method a rough comment on their own successive periods, and one that can, alas, be only rarely made.

#### APPENDIX.

For reasons which have been already mentioned, I was unable to take as many measurements as I should have liked. In all I measured fifteen, five at Haidar-es-Sultan and ten at Hassan-dede, but one of the latter (No. 15) had such an unsymmetrical and abnormal head as to be quite worthless; I only measured him because he was a rich man whom I dared not offend. The Sheikh at Haidar was the only one who refused to be either measured or photographed, and this "because he was a holy man"; others, including his own son, he compelled to submit to my tender mercies.

TABLE I.

Number.	Name.	Age.	Height.	Length of head.	Breadth of head.	Vertex to ear tragus.	Smallest breadth of forehead.	Bizygomatic breadth of face.	Nasion to chin.	Length of nose.	Breadth of nose.	Distance between eyes.	Cephalic index.	Length by height index.	Racial index.
1	Mehmed ...	58	166·7	176	161	137	112	152	139	64	38	33	91·4	77·8	91·4
2	Haidar Effendi ...	45	170·9	179	161	123	111	139	129	61	36	30	89·9	68·7	92·8
3	Moussa ...	21	171·4	178	157	128	110	141	131	56	34	—	88·2	71·9	92·9
4	Emrullah Effendi ...	50	156·8	187	164	132	107	147	133	62	35	32	87·7	70·5	90·4
5	Mehmish ...	35	163·5	175	153	127	103	134	131	58	34	—	87·4	72·5	97·7
6	Hussein ...	56	—	183	159	137	114	146	135	63	38	35	86·8	74·8	92·4
7	Saduk ...	27	165·7	189	163	133	110	146	125	54	35	—	86·2	70·3	85·6
8	Bairam ...	38	162·3	181	153	130	112	138	126	51	35	33	84·5	71·8	88·4
9	Abbas ...	60	163·3	185	156	134	107	145	134	57	35	30	84·3	72·4	92·4
10	Veli Effendi ...	65	170·8	189	159	131	114	143	131	55	37	35	84·1	69·3	91·6
11	Mehmed ...	40	167·8	187	157	128	107	141	133	55	37	—	83·9	68·4	94·3
12	Djafir ...	54	160·5	179	150	138	110	141	124	59	34	34	83·7	77·0	87·9
13	Mouslou ...	20	174·4	188	156	139	112	139	132	57	39	—	82·9	73·9	94·9
14	Mustapha ...	35	158·1	194	160	125	117	151	151	63	35	36	82·4	64·4	99·9
15	Suleiman Effendi ...	38	175·4	191	146	140	104	145	123	58	39	32	76·4	73·3	84·8

NOTES.—Of these, Nos. 3, 5, 7, 11, 13 were taken at Haidar-es-Sultan; Moussa (No. 3) was a younger son of the Shekh. The rest are all natives of Hassan-dede, Nos. 1, 6, 8 being described simply as Bektash, the remaining seven (Nos. 2, 4, 9, 10, 12, 14, 15) being Salah-ed-din. Veli Effendi (No. 10) was the Shekh of the village and therefore head of this family. For the portraits of 1, 9, 10, 12, see Plates XXXVII, XXXVIII.

Three had blue eyes, and all dark brown hair or grey. Abbas (No. 9) had no face hair whatever. Omitting Suleiman Effendi, we have, therefore, measurements of fourteen Kappadokian Bektash to compare immediately with the measurements taken by von Luschan in Lykia, that is, with thirteen Tatchadji and forty Lykian Bektash. This can be done most simply by arranging the three groups in tabular form according to the three most important indices.

TABLE II.

Comparison of cephalic indices.

Indices.	14 Kappadokian Bektash.	13 Tachtadji.	40 Lykian Bektash.
80 — 85	7	5	6
85·1 — 90	6	7	34
90·1 — —	1	1	0

TABLE III.

Comparison of length by height indices.

Indices.	14 Kappadokian Bektash.	13 Tachtadji.	40 Lykian Bektash.
— — 70	4	0	0
70·1 — 75	8	3	10
75·1 — —	2	10	30

TABLE IV.

Comparison of facial indices.

Indices.	14 Kappadokian Bektash.	13 Tachtadji.	40 Lykian Bektash.
— — 90	3	10	37
90·1 — 95	9	1	2
95·1 — —	2	2	1

If we looked at the cephalic index only it would be easy to group all these together as an entirely homogeneous brachycephalic race, but the other indices speedily dispel this pleasing illusion. The Kappadokian villagers present startling differences even within the limits of a single family. Looking, however, as is only right, at the individuals here measured, two at least, Mehmed and Djaffir (Nos. 1 and 12), stand out as evidently akin to the Lykian group. Through Professor von Luschan's kindness I was able to throw upon the screen photographs of a Tachtadji and a Syrian Fella (Ansariyeh) and the likeness between these and the two former convinced all, I think, of their mutual connexion. They have the same broad, high skull, so straight behind that some have supposed its form to be due to artificial deformation; for this latter hypothesis, however, resuscitated by W. Z. Ripley, there is not a shadow of evidence. The short-headed Armenian child lies in a cradle of the same type as the long-headed Anatolian Greek, and the shape of the former's head is that of *Homo Alpinus* wherever he be found. The antiquity of this type in Anatolia is proved partly by the evidence of Hittite monuments, partly by various ancient skulls that have been found in North Syria (Sendjirli), Lykia, Phrygia (Boseyuk), and Assos, and is further corroborated by its latter-day extension.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See the references given by Mr. Duckworth in *Journ. Anthrop. Inst.* (N.S.) II, p. 145, foll., and to these add Virchow, *Ueber alte Schädel von Aeos und Cypern*, Berlin, 1884, and *Verhandlungen der Berliner anthropologischen Gesellschaft*, 1896, p. 123.

The differences between the Kappadokians and the Lykians may be due to immigrations during the Seljukid period or perhaps earlier, for even in the most archaic times of which we are likely to find traces we shall probably find various types existing side by side.

#### DISCUSSION.

Sir C. WILSON: I have listened with much pleasure to Mr. Crowfoot's interesting paper. My experiences amongst the Kizilbash agree generally with what he has told us. They are disliked by the Sunnī Moslems, possibly because they will not intermarry with them; and are accused of all kinds of obscene conduct without, as far as I could ascertain, the slightest foundation. They seemed to me a cleanly, inoffensive people, friendly to strangers, and ready, if no Sunnī were present, to talk freely upon all subjects but their religion. The women are allowed much more freedom than amongst Sunnī Moslems, and, except in presence of a Sunnī, do not veil. Their customs differ in various localities, and some of them have certainly come down from the Christian period during which Kappadokia was Hellenised though, perhaps, not so completely as has generally been supposed.

I have never heard the Kizilbash called Bektash, and was not aware that they used that name amongst themselves. The names, in their original application, are so wide apart, that I do not understand how they have come to be applied to one people. I can only suppose that the villages visited by Mr. Crowfoot were on land which formerly belonged to the Bektash Dervishes, and that the villagers had been protected by the Bektashes when the fraternity was powerful.

The term Kizilbash ("red-head") came into use during the rise of the Safavī dynasty, which reigned over Persia for more than two hundred years (1499–1722). It was used to distinguish the Persianised Turks, or Turkish Shī'as, who formed the ruling class and wore red caps, from their enemies the Sunnī Turks and Tatars to the East, who wore green felt caps and were called "Yefhil-bash" ("green-head"). When the term was first used in Asia Minor I do not know, but suppose it must have been after the campaign of Selim I in Persia (1514), when Shī'a Turks from Persia were settled in Asia Minor, apparently under the belief that they would eventually become Sunnīs.

Hajji Bektash was a native of Nishapūr, who seems to have found his way to Asia Minor about the time when Orkhan was conducting his early campaigns against the Byzantines (1326–46). He is known to have taken a leading part in the capture of Mudania (1351) and appears to have been more of a fighting dervish than of a philosophic devotee such as the celebrated Mevlana of Konia. Hajji Bektash gave the Janissaries their name, *Yeni-cheri*, and their standard; and his followers were closely connected with the Janissaries until their suppression (1826). At that time the Bektashes held extensive lands throughout the Empire, and had become a great power. Their lands were nearly all confiscated, and their power completely broken by persecution. The exemption of the monastery of Hajji Bektash from the general confiscation seems to have been due to its having been on land granted to the founder for military service.

There is no more interesting study than that of the original population of Asia Minor, to which the name Proto-Armenian has been supplied. In many localities the early types appear to be well-marked, and if the Society desires to

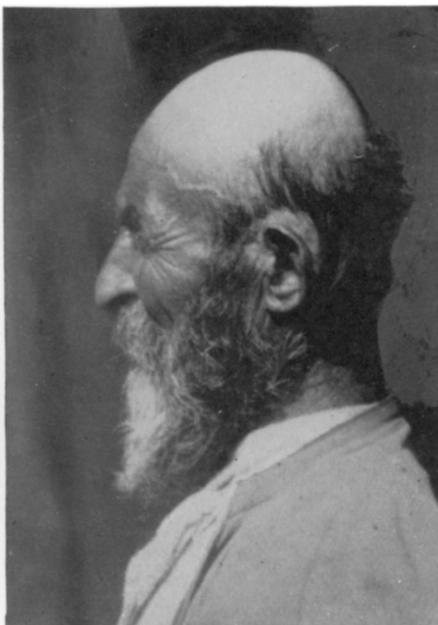
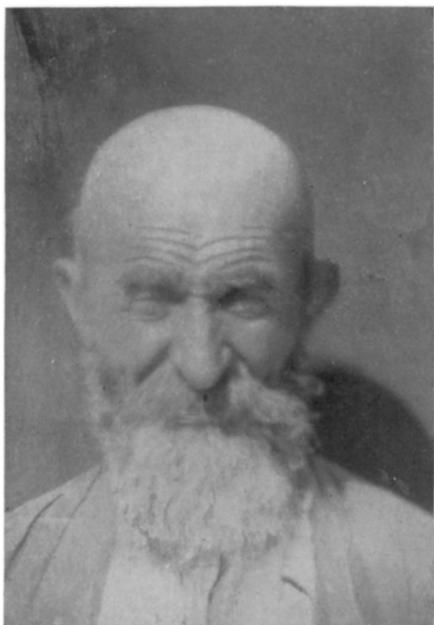
continue the class of research which Mr. Crowfoot has so successfully conducted, I would suggest three districts in which I think interesting and important results would be obtained. (1) In the compact Kizilbash population of the Livas Vilâyet, especially in the Amasia Sanjok. (2) In the volcanic district north of Nigdeh, especially amongst the mixed Christian and Moslem population of the underground villages which I have described in Murray's *Handbook* (p. 168 ff). (3) Amongst the large Kizilbash population of the wild mountain district of Dersim which lies between Erzingan and Kharpût. No great road has ever traversed this district, and it has always been a harbour of refuge for tribes driven into the mountains by invaders. The people are friendly, and the country contains fine scenery. I should wish to add my testimony to the importance of Mr. Crowfoot's work and express the hope that it may be continued.

MR. G. L. GOMME: I cannot pretend to any knowledge of the subject by personal knowledge of the people, but perhaps I may venture to emphasize the importance of local ethnographical details such as the author has given us. When one gets physical types, and survival of customs grouped together in local studies, we are likely to get evidence of the most important nature. I was much struck with the priestess element in the well ritual, and was inclined to ask the author whether it was accompanied by any evidence of women of superior influence in the house. But Sir Charles Wilson partly answered this by an observation he made upon this point. I would however ask the author what he exactly meant by the term *hanlet*. Are these divisions tribal, or upon what basis are they made? He did not mention anything equivalent in the second village, and I should like to know what the term exactly implies.

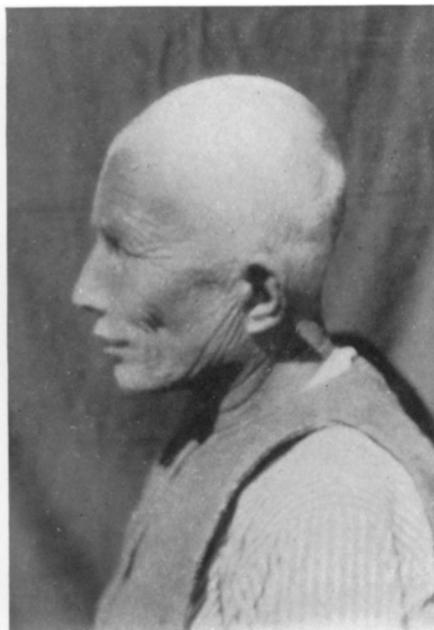
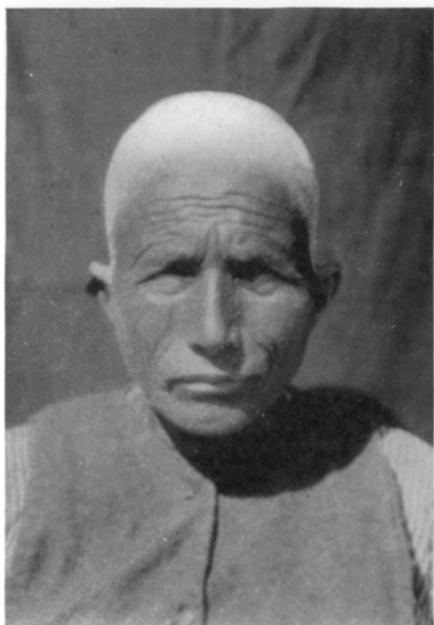
DR. GARSON: The form of head which is shown by the photographs of these natives is a common one in cases where the skull is short, that is to say, brachycephalic people. The author did not mention the mean cephalic index of these natives, but they appear to me to be highly brachycephalic. There is no deformity present as far as I can judge by the pictures, the straight and flat appearance of the back of the head is due to the form of the skull and cannot be attributed to any form of cradle in which as children they have been laid.

SIR T. HOLDICH: In the course of his most interesting paper the lecturer referred to Khorassan as the probable original habitat of the Kizilbash. It may therefore be of some interest to point out that there are many Kizilbashes still resident in Khorassan—not the Khorassan of modern Persia, but the Khorassan of the Durani Empire (a century and a half ago) which included Afghanistan, Baluchistan and a part of the Punjab. This is Khorassan as it is probably known to the Kizilbash of Armenia now. The largest colony of these people is to be found at Kabul, where they are a peaceable trading community, Aryan in type and feature, merchants (mostly) by profession, Shiahs by faith, and invariably favourable (as are the Shiahs of all frontier communities) to England and British interests. The old woman who endeavoured to extract truth from the well for Mr. Crowfoot's benefit might answer, in his description, to any old Kizilbash woman of Kabul. There are (or were) a few Kizilbashes in the ranks of the Indian Army. I once possessed a Kizilbash orderly, drawn from the native cavalry, who was a specially smart and capable soldier. There can, I think, be little doubt about the connexion between the Kizilbash of Afghanistan and the Kizilbash of Kappadokia.



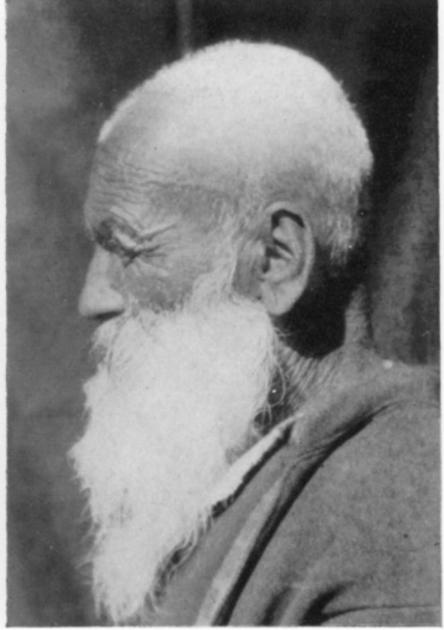


MEHMED (1).



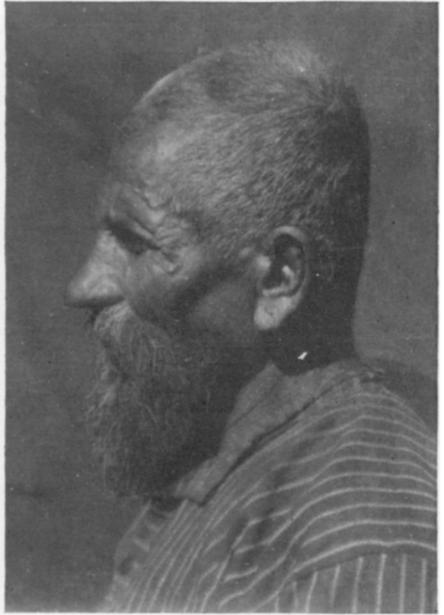
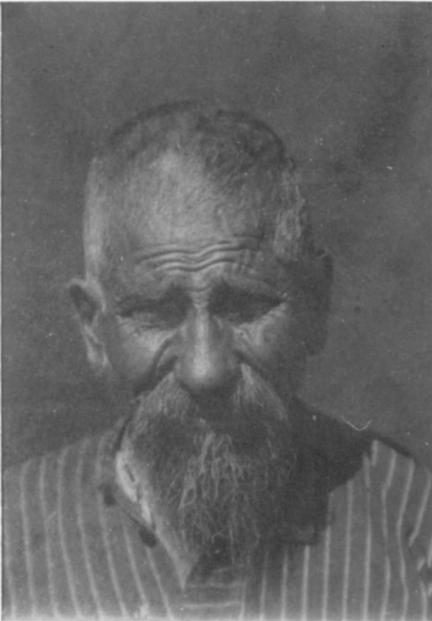
ABBAS (9).

BEKTASHI PORTRAITS. FULL FACE AND PROFILE.



**VELI EFFENDI (10).**

**THE SHEIKH OF HASSAN-DEDE.**



**DJAFFIR (12).**

**BEKTASHI PORTRAITS. FULL FACE AND PROFILE.**