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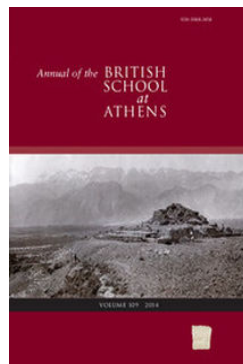
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Geographical Distribution of the Bektashi

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GEOGRAPHICAL DISTRIBUTION OF THE BEKTASHI.

(PLATES XII, XIII.)

IN the following paper an attempt has been made to bring together scattered notices from printed sources regarding the geographical distribution of the Bektashi sect, as indicated by the position of existing or formerly existing convents of the order.¹ I have further included such information on this subject as I have been able to obtain from my own journeys and enquiries (1913-15) among the Bektashi: nearly all this information is gathered from Bektashi sources, and much from more than one such source. I hope to have made a fairly complete record of Bektashi establishments in Albania, now the most important sphere of their activities, and a substantial basis for further enquiry in the other countries where the sect is to be found, with the exception of Asia Minor, for which my sources are at present inadequate.

From the evidence at our disposal the Bektashi establishments in Asia Minor would seem to be grouped most thickly in the 'Kyzylbash' or *Shia* Mahomedan districts, especially in (1) the *vilayets* of Angora and Sivas, and (2) in the south-west corner (Lydia) of that of Konia, where the *Shia* tribes are known from their occupation as *Tachtadji* ('wood-cutters'). For the third great stronghold of Anatolian *Shias*, the Kurdish *vilayets* of Kharput and Erzeroum, no information as to Bektashi *tekkes* is available. Indeed the nature of the connection between

¹ On the Bektashi and their organisation, see *B.S.A.* xx. 94 ff.

'Kyzylbash' and Bektashi is still obscure: we know only that both profess adherence to the *Shia* form of Islam, and that widely-scattered *Shia* communities acknowledge the spiritual supremacy of the Tchelebi¹ of the Bektashi.

In Europe, Southern Albania, with its population of Christians converted in relatively recent times to Islam, is the only country in which the Bektashi are strongly represented at the present day. Crete, where their numbers were till recently considerable, and the Kastoria district of Macedonia, present the same phenomenon of Bektashism grafted on a Christian population. Elsewhere one sees traces of successful propaganda amongst the immigrant Asiatic village communities, which were probably half-pagan and wholly nomadic at their first appearance in Europe. Such are the 'Koniari' of Southern Macedonia and Thessaly, the 'Yourouks' of the Rhodope, and the Tartars of the Dobroudja. From the number of *tekkes* traceable in the Adrianople district especially, it seems legitimate to suppose that such military centres, owing to the close connection which existed for more than two centuries between the Bektashi and the Janissaries, formed at one time important *foci* of missionary endeavour.

It seems possible to detect a characteristic variation in the types of Bektashi saint venerated in Anatolia, European Turkey, and Albania respectively.² In Anatolia, the typical saint is regarded as a missionary more or less closely connected with Hadji Bektash himself, and consequently, so remote as to be mythical. In European Turkey the saints are again remote and ancient, being referred to the period of the Turkish conquest: but they are regarded primarily as warriors rather than as missionaries. This points to the development of Bektashism in these countries under the auspices of the Janissary-Bektashi combination in the sixteenth and following centuries. In Albania the typical saint is again a missionary, but differs both from the 'Anatolian' and the 'Roumelian' types in laying no claim to great antiquity: the Bektashi propaganda in Albania dates confessedly from the eighteenth century and the saints are historical persons.

We may further remark as regards the position of Bektashi *tekkes* that, whereas those of other orders are generally found in, or in the

¹ See below, p. 87 f.

² Cf. Evliya, *Travels*, tr. von Hammer, ii. 20 f.: 'The seven hundred convents of dervishes, Begtashi, which actually exist in Turkey, are derived from seven hundred dervishes of Hâji Begtash.'

immediate neighbourhood of, the larger centres of population, those of the Bektashi are situated, as a rule, either in quite isolated positions or on the outskirts of villages. This is due, no doubt, partly to the fact that their propaganda and influence largely touches rustic populations, and partly to the hostility with which they are regarded by the *Sunni* clergy. We may reasonably assume that between the capture of the Janissaries by the Bektashi (about 1590) and the destruction of the former (1826), the provincial garrisons of Janissaries, like that of Constantinople, had a resident Bektashi *sheikh* in their barracks, and presumably a *tekke* within easy reach. These have, since 1826, ceased to exist as such, but the 'saints' *mausolea* still often to be found in, or at the entrance to Turkish citadels, may very probably be a surviving remnant of original Bektashi establishments connected with the Janissaries.

We turn now to the enumeration of the *tekkes*.

I.—ASIA MINOR. (FIG. I.)¹

A.—VILAYET OF ANGORA.

Hadji Bektash (Pir-evi).—The reputed founder of the sect, Hadji Bektash, lies buried at the village bearing his name near Kirshehr in central Asia Minor.² Adjoining the tomb is a convent (*tekke*), called Pir-evi ('House of the patron Saint') which forms the headquarters of the Bektashi order and its adherents. It contains, besides the tomb of the founder, that of Balum Sultan, a very important Bektashi saint, reputed the founder of one of the four branches into which the sect is divided: his tomb is in the part of the convent devoted to the celibate (*moudjerrid*) dervishes. The *tekke* is further remarkable as containing a mosque with minaret, served by a *hodja* of the orthodox *Nakshbendi* order; this is

¹ The maps illustrating this paper were drawn by Mr. Hasluck for his own use only. They have not been re-drawn owing to difficulties due to present conditions.—(EDITOR.)

² Evliya says of the tomb (*Travels*, tr. von Hammer, ii. 21): 'Haji Bektash died in Sultan Orkhan's reign, and was buried in his presence in the capital of Crimea, where a Tatar princess raised the monument over his tomb. This monument having fallen into decay Sheitán Murád, a Beg of Caesarea of Sultan Suleiman's time, restored and covered it with lead.' The 'capital of Crimea' is obviously a mistake for Kirshehr, possibly owing to the proximity of the 'Tatar princess.' At the present day the cauldrons in the kitchen of the convent, which are among the sights of the place, are said to have been given by 'the Tartar Khan,' who is curiously identified with Orkhan (*Contemp. Review*, Nov. 1913, 695).

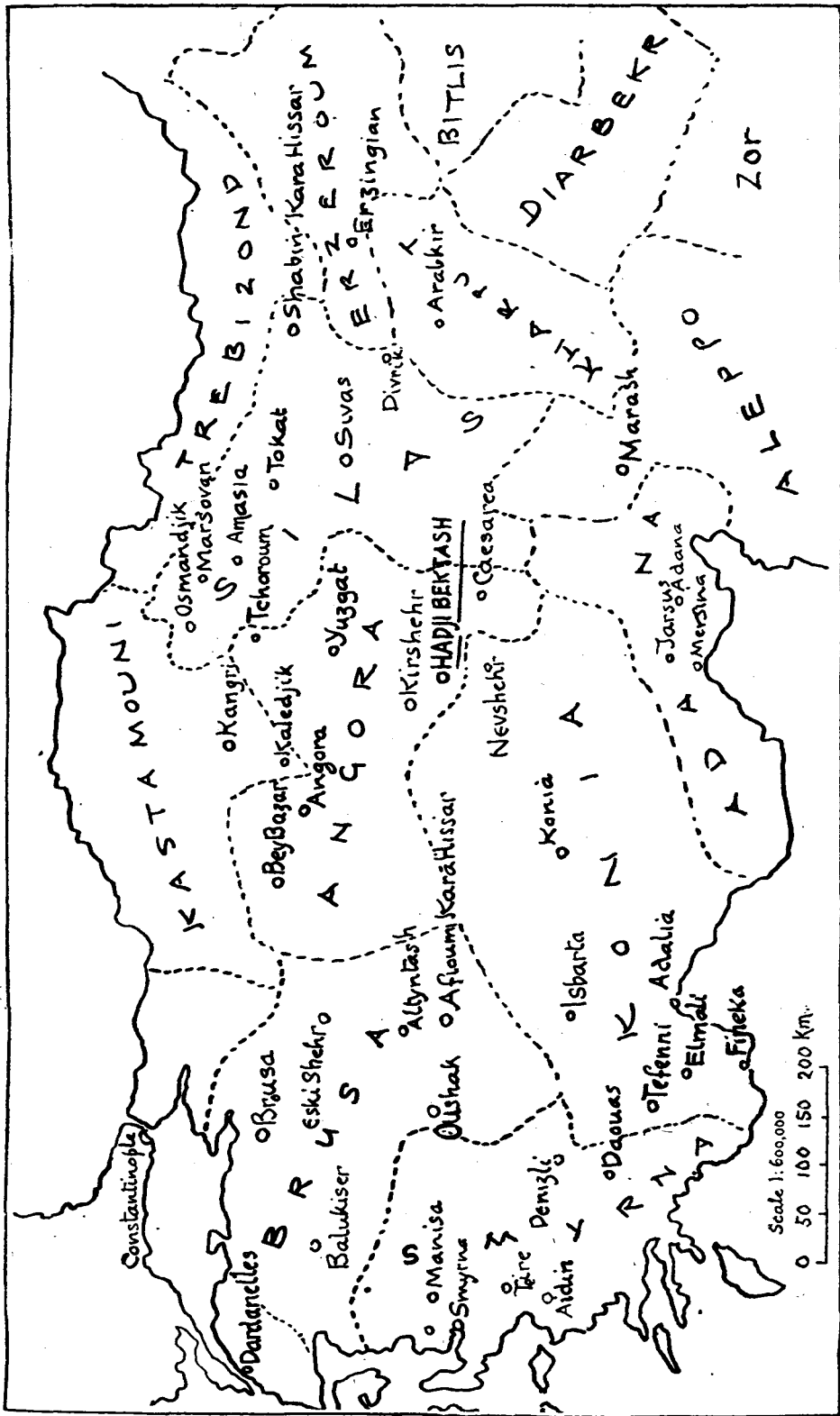


FIG. 1.—SKETCH-MAP SHEWING THE DISTRIBUTION OF THE BEKTASHI IN ASIA MINOR.

an innovation of Mahmoud II.'s time (1826), emphasising the *Sunni* version of Hadji Bektash, which represents him as a Nakshbendi *sheikh*.¹

The *tekke* was formerly supported by the revenues of 362 villages, the inhabitants of which were affiliated to the Bektashi order. The number of these villages has been gradually reduced on various pretexts by the government to twenty-four.² The revenues of the *tekke*, estimated at £60,000, are divided between the rival heads of the order, the Akhi Dede, or Dede Baba, and the Tchelebi.

Of these the former claims to be the spiritual or 'apostolic' successor of Hadji Bektash. He resides in the convent of Hadji Bektash and exercises authority over it and over one part of the Bektashi organisation. The Albanian and Cretan Bektashi, for example, recognise him as their supreme head, and the appointments of their *sheikhs* must be ratified by him. This branch of the order seems to be entirely in the hands of the Albanians: the late abbot, Faisi Baba, was from Albania, as are the two candidates for the still vacant position.³

Under the Dede Baba are eight other Babas, each having a separate 'residency' (*konak*), who preside over the various departments of work carried on in the *tekke*, directing the labours of the probationers under them. Their respective spheres are the buttery (*Kilerdji Baba*), the bakery (*Ekmekdji Baba*), the kitchen (*Ashdji Baba*), the stables (*Atadji Baba*), the guest-house (*Mehmandar Baba*), the mausoleum of Balum Sultan (*Balum Evi*), and the vineyards (*Dede Bagh, Hanbagh*).

The Tchelebi (at present Djemal Effendi) claims to be the actual descendant of Hadji Bektash and *de jure* the supreme head of the order. His office is hereditary in his family though the succession is not from father to son, the senior surviving brother of a deceased Tchelebi taking precedence of his eldest son. He lives outside the convent and is employed in the administration of the property of the foundation. His genealogy is disputed by the party of the Dede Baba, who, holding that Hadji Bektash had no children, regard him as an impostor. They explain his alleged

¹ The *tekke* of Hadji Bektash has been described by P. Lucas, *Voyage en Grèce* (Amsterdam, 1714), i. 124; Levidis, *Αἱ ἐν μοναστήσις μοναὶ τῆς Καππαδοκίας*, 98; Cuinet, *Asie Mineure*, i. 841; Naumann, *Vom Goldenen Horn zu den Quellen des Euphrat*, 193 ff.; Prof. White in *Contemp. Review*, Nov. 1913, 693 ff. See also *B.S.A.*, xx. 102.

² From Cuinet, except the last figure, which he gives, no doubt correctly for his time, as 42.

³ I hear since writing this that the choice has fallen on one Mesoud.

descent by an intermediate legend of his ancestor's miraculous birth from a woman fertilized by drinking the blood of Hadji Bektash.¹ So recently as 1909, at the proclamation of the Turkish Constitution, the Tchelebi asserted his claim to be regarded as supreme head of the order by a petition to the new government to restore him his ancient rights. At present his position is recognized by the 'Kyzylbash' populations of Asia Minor, and the *sheikhs* of *tekkes* ministering to these populations are consecrated by him. These *sheikhs*, who appear to be hereditary,² and their flocks are looked upon with some contempt by the other branch of the Bektashi, who call them *Soufi*, and regard their organisation as lax and their doctrines as superstitious. The son of the *sheikh* of the *tekke* at Roumeli Hissar explained to me the difference between them by saying that the Kyzylbash were 'Catholics,' the true Bektashi 'Protestants'; this, coming from an old pupil of Robert College, is probably to be interpreted as meaning that the Bektashi represent a 'reformation' and have discarded what they regard as the superstitious doctrinal accretions in the faith of their backward Anatolian co-religionists.

The relations between the *Tchelebi* and the *Dede Baba* are naturally strained, but dervishes of the celibate branch are treated with respect by the married *sheikhs*.

As regards theology, the Bektashi, as opposed to the 'Kyzylbash,' claim the sixth Imam (Djafer Sadik) as their patron, while the 'Kyzylbash' hold that their priesthood descends from the fifth (Mahommed Bakir). There is also a very important distinction between the two sects as regards the religious life. The Bektashi dervishes, who form the priestly caste of their branch, are nearly without exception celibate (*moudjerrid*).³ The

¹ Cuinet, *Asie Mineure*, i. 342. The legend admitted by the celibate branch makes the woman the wife of a *hodja* and gives her name as Khatun Djikana. Another variant makes Hadji Bektash a *nefess oglou* or 'son of the breath [*sc.* of God]' (for which see George of Hungary's tract *De Moribus Turcorum* xv. *ad fin.*). Miraculous birth is alleged of many Turkish saints, especially by the 'Kyzylbash' Kurds of their Imam Bakir, who was conceived by an Armenian virgin, miraculously impregnated by the head of Hussein in the form of honey, and brought forth by a sneeze. (*Geog. Journ.* xlv. (1914), 64 f.) For other examples see Grenard in *Journ. Asiat.* xv. (1900), 11, and Skene, *Anadol*, 285.

² Crowfoot, *J. R. Anthr. Inst.* xxx. 308, 312 (Haidar-es-Sultan and Hassan-dede). This is the rule also at the *tekke* of Sidi Battal (Ouvré, *Un Mois en Phrygie*, 94; Radet, *Arch. des Miss.* vi. (1895), 445).

³ As such the Bektashi dervishes have a special veneration for Balum Sultan, a reforming saint who lived some two generations after Hadji Bektash and is buried at Pir-evi. Though Hadji Bektash is regarded by them as having lived unmarried, Balum Sultan is considered as the peculiar patron of the celibate branch.

'Kyzylbash,' on the other hand, have a hereditary priesthood, and their *sheikhs* are consequently of necessity married (*moutekhil*).

Now if, as there seems some reason to believe, the Bektashi represent an original tribal grouping under a chief with temporal and spiritual powers, it is probable that the *Tchelebi* represents the original hereditary chief of the tribe, who has been ousted by the superimposed celibate dervish organisation, in which the succession is 'apostolic.' The hereditary *sheikhs* or *babas* consecrated by him, again, represent the hereditary chiefs of sub-tribes or affiliated tribes; as hereditary they must of necessity be married, and this is the chief distinction between them and the mainly celibate dervishes of the other branch.

The earliest mention of the *Tchelebi* of the Bektashi seems to be in connection with a rising of dervishes and Turcomans which took place in 1526-7.¹ The district affected was that of Angora²; the leader of the rising, generally known as Kalenderoglou, is said by some authors to have borne the title of *Zelebi*, and all are agreed that he pretended to be a descendant of Hadji Bektash. In view of the later connection between the Bektashi and Janissaries, it is worth noting that on this occasion Janissaries seem to have had no scruples about marching against the *Tchelebi*.

Other *tekkes* recorded in the same *vilayet* are the following:—

Beybazar (near).—West of this town, on the Sakaria, is the *türbe* (mausoleum) of Emrem Younouz Sultan, who is described by Lejean, evidently from an ignorant local informant, as 'un Sultan Koniarite qui y a été enseveli avec sa fille et ses deux fils.'³ Emrem Younouz is in reality claimed by the Bektashi as a saint belonging to their order. There seems to be no establishment here, though the tomb is held in reverence locally.⁴

Tchorum (near).—Ten kilometres west of Tchorum, R. Kiepert's map marks (from a native source) *Sidim Sultan*. Evliya mentions the

¹ Hammer-Hellert, *Hist. Emp. Ott.* v. 95; Leunclavius, *Ann. Turc. s.a. 1526 and Lib. Sing.* § 222; de Mezeray, *Hist. des Turcs*, i. 502.

² Four tribes are mentioned by name as having taken part in the rising, the Tchitcheki, Akdje Koyounlu, Massdlu, and Bozokli: there is a Tchitchek Dagħ north of the convent of Hadji Bektash, and Bozouk is the name of the district in which it stands, so that two at least of the tribes mentioned seem to be connected with the district.

³ *Bull. Soc. Géog.* xvii. (1869), 63.

⁴ Anderson in *J.H.S.* 1899, 70. For Emrem Younouz ('Younouz Imre') see Gibb (*Ottoman Poetry*, i. 164), who places him in the early fourteenth century.

place as, in his time, the site of 'a convent of bareheaded and barefooted Bektashi.'¹

Angora (near).—On the Hussein Dagħ, a mountain east of Angora, is the tomb of Hussein Ghazi, an Arab warrior-saint adopted by the Bektashi. In Evliya's time there was a convent of a hundred Bektashi dervishes here and a much-frequented yearly festival.² There is now only a mausoleum (*türbe*) kept up by the Bairami dervishes of Angora.³

Yuzgat (near).—Here there is said to be a *tekke* at a place called Mudjur, which does not figure on our maps, but is distinct from the village of the same name near Kirshehr.

Aladja (near).—The Shamaspur *tekke*, containing a second grave of the Arab warrior Hussein Ghazi, belongs to the order, but is now abandoned.⁴

Kirshehr.—A *tekke* called Akhi-*evren* in this district was cited to me by a Bektashi dervish.⁵ A saint of the same name, described as a companion in arms of Sultan Osman, is mentioned by Hadji Khalifa as buried at Akshehr.⁶ A third (?) saint, Ahiwiran or Ahi Baba of Caesarea, buried at Denizli, is said by Evliya to be the patron of Turkish tanners. A somewhat confused anecdote apparently derives his name from *Awren*, wild beast.⁷ A *tekke* of Ak Elven (*sic*) exists at Angora. The name is evidently one of those which have suffered from popular etymology. The original form may be *Akhi + evren*. *Eren* means 'saint,' while *Akhi* is the

¹ *Travels*, tr. von Hammer, ii. 223.

² Evliya, *Travels*, ii. 228, cf. Hadji Khalifa, *Djihannuma*, tr. Armain, 703.

³ Perrot et Guillaume, *Expl. de la Galatie*, i. 283.

⁴ Hamilton, *Asia Minor*, i. 402 f.; H. J. Ross, *Letters from the East*, 348; Wilson, in Murray's *Asia Minor*, 36; *Trans. Victoria Inst.* xxxix. 159; cf. *B.S.A.* xx. 104. Perrot found two or three Bektashi dervishes there in 1861 (*Souvenirs d'un Voyage*, 418).

⁵ A Khalveti Saint Akhi Mirim, who died at Akshehr in 1409-10 is mentioned by Jacob (*Beiträge*, 80, n. 3): his tomb may well have changed hands, like many others; affiliation to the newcomers' order being axiomatic.

⁶ *Hadji Owren* in Armain's translation; *Hakhi Ouran* in *Menassik-el-Hadj*, 12; *Akhi Evren* in Hammer-Hellert, *Hist. Emp. Ott.* i. 248 (cf. Huart, *Konia*, 112, where the tomb of Seid Mahmoud *Kheirani* at Akshehr is described).

⁷ *Travels*, i₂. 206: '[Ahweran of Caesarea] was a great saint in the time of the Seljuk family. It is a famous story, that it having been hinted to the king that Ahibaba paid no duties, and the collectors having come to him in execution, they were all frightened away by a wild beast (*Awren*) starting from the middle of his shop, and which accompanied him to the king, who being equally frightened out of his wits, was very happy to allow him the permission asked, to bury the collectors killed. His tomb is a great establishment in the gardens of the town of Denizli . . . and all the Turkish tanners acknowledge this *Ahúawren* to be their patron.' In the last variation of the name there seems to be a play on *Ahoua*, a fabulous beast like a syren (C. White, *Constantinople*, i. 174).

Arabic for *my brother*, and has a special signification in connection with the important society or 'Brotherhood,' known already in the early fourteenth century to Ibn Batuta as a widespread social league among the Turcomans of Seljouk Asia Minor,¹ and later as a political combination of some importance.²

Among the Bektashi the word *Akhi* is preserved in the title of the *sheikh* of the convent of Hadji Bektash, and they had formerly at least a subdivision called the 'Brothers of Roum (*i.e.* Anatolia).³' It may be that at some time in their history they amalgamated with, and eventually absorbed, the Turcoman 'Brotherhood.'

Moudjour (near Kirshehr).—There is here a sacred stone guarded by a Bektashi dervish.⁴

Pâtouk Sultan.—This saint is buried in a village convent of the same (Kirshehr) district.

B.—VILAYET OF KONIA.

Neushehr (near).—Here there is said to be a Bektashi *tekke* containing the grave of a saint named Nusr-ed-din.

Adalia.—The order possesses a *tekke* here which seems to be of minor importance.

Elmali had formerly a *tekke* containing the tomb of Haidar Baba; this is one of the convents destroyed in 1826. The town (or district?) is also known as the burial-place of Abdal Mousa, a very celebrated saint.⁵ There is a village called *Tekke* about twelve kilometres S. by W. of the town. Elmali is the centre of the district inhabited by the primitive *Shia* tribes known as *Tachtadji* ('wood-cutters'). But the lay members of the order seem here, as in Albania, to include some well-to-do landowners and town-dwellers.⁶

¹ Ibn Batuta, tr. Lee 68 ff.; tr. Sanguinetti, ii. 260 ff.

² Hammer-Hellert, *Hist. Emp. Ott.* i. 214. On the 'Brotherhood' see Karabashek in *Zeitschr. f. Numismatik*, 1877, 213 ff.

³ *Akheian-i-Room* (Brown, *Dervishes*, 142): the corresponding subdivisions were the *Ghazis* (warriors), *Abdals* (asketes), and *Sisters* of Roum. In Seaman's *Orchan*, p. 108, *Achi*=*frater* is given as a grade in dervish communities.

⁴ Cholet, *Arménie*, 48.

⁵ Jacob, *Bektaschije*, 28, cf. *Beiträge*, 14, 85. See below (*Cairo*).

⁶ Von Luschan, *Reisen in Lykien*, ii. 203.

Gilevgi, three hours north of Elmali, has a *tekke* containing the grave of Kilerdji Baba,¹ a disciple of Abdal Mousa.

Fineka, the port of Elmali, has a *tekke* with grave of Kiafi Baba. This may be identical with the *tekke* mentioned by Petersen and von Luschan as existing on the site of Limyra: there were two dervishes here in 1884.²

Gul Hissar, thirty kilometres S.E. of Tcfenni, in the northern part of this district, contains a *tekke* with the grave of Yaman Ali Baba.

C.—VILAYET OF SMYRNA (AIDIN).

Smyrna.—There is now a small Bektashi *tekke* here containing the grave of Hassan Baba, in the quarter of Kiatib Oglou on the outskirts of the town. Bektashi gravestones are to be seen in the small cemetery surrounding the 'tomb of Polycarp' on the castle hill.³

Teire.—Here there are two *tekkes*, one of which contains the grave of Khorassanli Ali Baba.

Daouas.—Here is buried one of the successors (*khalifa*) of Hadji Bektash, Sari Ismail Sultan.

Denizli seems to be, or to have been, an important Bektashi centre. There are said to be three *tekkes* in the district. Within a radius of two hours are the tombs of the saints Teslim Sultan and Dede Sultan. At Karagatch⁴ is that of Niazi [Baba].

Yatagan (near Kara Euyuk, in the south of the *Vilayet*).—A rich and important *tekke* containing the grave of a saint Jatagundie (Yatagan dede?) was visited here by Paul Lucas in the early years of the eighteenth century.⁵ It was one of the Bektashi foundations destroyed in 1826, but

¹ Cf. above (Hadji Bektash).

² *Reisen in Lykien*, ii. 204 n. I note also, still nearer Fineka, a village *Haladj*, the name of which suggests Bektashi associations. Mansour-el-Halladj is claimed by the Bektashi as the spiritual master of their great saint Fazil Yezdan (Degrand, *Haute Albanie*, 229) and a forerunner of the sect.

³ *B.S.A.* xx. 82, n. 3.

⁴ Perhaps Kabagatch, near Serai Keui, where Kiepert's map marks a *tekke*.

⁵ *Voyage fait en 1714*, ii. 171 f.: 'un couvent où l'on garde précieusement le corps d'un Mahometan nommé Jatagundie, qu'on dit avoir opéré de grands merveilles dans tout le Pais. La Mosquée où il repose est très-belle & bien entretenue; il y a dedans 60 chandeliers d'argent massif de dix pieds de haut, & un fort grand nombre de lampes d'or & d'argent. Deux cent Dervis sont employés au service de cette Mosquée; ils ont une Bibliothèque très-bien fournie . . . comme cette Mosquée a de revenus immenses, il y a une fondation pour nourrir et loger tous les passans, & on y exerce l'hospitalité avec beaucoup de charité,' cf. *B.S.A.* xx. 98.

seems since to have revived to some extent. Yatagan Baba is reputed the master of Abdal Mousa.¹ Another *tekke* at the same place contains the grave of Abdi Bey Sultan.

Menemen.—The *tekke* here contains the grave of Bakri Baba.

Manisa.—The Bektashi have no *tekke* at Manisa since the persecution of 1826, but claim that they were important there, and that the graves of Aine Ali and Niazi belong by right to their order.

Touloum Bounar.—The newly rebuilt *türbe* of Yaffer Baba, a conspicuous object from the Cassaba line (near Touloum Bounar station) is claimed by the Bektashi as part of a convent dissolved in 1826.

D.—VILAYET OF BRUSA (KHUDA VENDORIAR).

Brusa, though the Bektashi have now no footing there, seems formerly to have been a great stronghold of the order.² The following graves are those of (real or supposed) Bektashi saints:—

Abdal Mourad.—To this was attached a *tekke*, reputed of Sultan Orkhan's foundation³; the saint himself is said by the sixteenth century historian, Saad-ed-din, to have been a holy man of this reign,⁴ though his connection with the Bektashi is not noticed, and is probably apocryphal. Evliya calls him a companion of Hadji Bektash.⁵ The *tekke* is mentioned in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries,⁶ and the tomb of the saint still exists.⁷

Geikli Baba is regarded as the contemporary and companion in arms of Abdal Mourad, and, like him, a follower of Hadji Bektash and one of Achmet Yassevi's apostles.⁸ The connection with Hadji Bektash and his cycle is a late development as in the case of Abdal Mousa.⁹

Ramazan Baba is spoken of by Evliya as 'buried in a pleasant

¹ See above, *Elmali* and below, *Cairo*.

² Cf. Assad Effendi, *Destr. des Janissaires*, 302; the expulsion of the Bektashi from Brusa in 1826 was witnessed by Laborde (*Asie Mineure*, 24).

³ Evliya, *Travels*, tr. von Hammer, ii. 8, ii. 24.

⁴ In Seaman's *Orchan*, 116.

⁵ *Loc. cit.*

⁶ Sestini, *Littere Odoporiche*, i. 117; von Hammer, *Reise nach Brusa*, 57; Cuinet, *Asie Mineure*, iv. 129.

⁷ Kandis, *Προβρα*, 153.

⁸ Evliya, *Travels*, ii. 21, 24. On Achmet Yassevi and his introduction into the Bektashi cycle see *B. S. A.* xx.

⁹ Cf. Seaman's *Orchan*, *loc. cit.*

meadow in Brússa in a convent of Begtáshis,¹ but is claimed for the Nakshbendi order by Assad Effendi.²

Sheikh Kili.—The foundation of the *tekke* attached to this tomb was ascribed by Evliya to Orkhan.³

Akbeyik Sultan.—This saint is assigned by the same author both to the Bektashi⁴ and the Bairami.⁵

Other Bektashi *tekkes* exist, or are known to have existed, at the following places in the Brusa vilayet.

Sidi Ghazi, a village south of Eski Shehr. The saint buried in the *tekke*, who has given his name to the village, is a celebrated warrior of the Arab period; his grave was discovered already in Seljouk times, and the foundation came into the hands of the Bektashi at least as early as the sixteenth century.⁶ The *tekke* still exists, though the foundation is much decayed.⁷ Near, and west of it, is the *tekke* of Soudja-ed-din, who is mentioned by Jacob as an important Bektashi saint.⁸ This *tekke* seems also to be kept up. Those of Melek Baba and Urian Baba in the same district are now dissolved.

Besh Karish (near Altyñ Tash and the railway station, Ihsanieh). Here is buried Resoul Ali Sultan or Resoul Baba, a *khalifa* of Hadji Bektash.⁹

Redjeb (three hours from Ushak). Here is buried the *khalifa* Kolu Atchik Hadjim Sultan.¹⁰ The *tekke* is now disused and administered by a steward (*mouteveli*), but seems to be of some local importance.

Balukisir.—Another *khalifa* Seyyid Djemal Sultan, is buried in this district.¹¹ I have no information as to the *tekke*.

¹ *Travels*, ii. 27; cf. von Hammer, *Reise nach Brussa*, 56.

² *Destr. des Janissaires*, 300.

³ Evliya, *Travels*, ii. 8.

⁴ *Ibid.*, ii. 8.

⁵ *Ibid.*, ii. 26. It should be noted that Hadji Bairam himself is claimed by the Bektashi at the present day.

⁶ See Browne, *J.R.A.S.* 1907, where a Houroufi MS. is said to have been copied here in 1545-6; and cf. Menavino, *Libri Cinque delle Cose Turchesche* (1548), 60.

⁷ For details and bibliography of this *tekke* see *B.S.A.* xix. 184 ff. To bibliography add C. Wülzinger, *Drei Bektaschklöster Phrygiens*, xx. 103 (Berlin, 1913).

⁸ *Die Bektaschiye*, 28.

⁹ Jacob, *Bektaschiye*, 27.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*

¹¹ *Ibid.* The site may be looked for at Tekke Keui near Keksud, near which is a village *Bektashler*.

The *vilayet* of Brusa seems to have been a stronghold of the Bektashi in the fifties of the last century.¹

Dardanelles.²—Though no *tekke* exists here to-day, it was probably a Bektashi centre before 1826, on account of the number of Janissaries quartered there. A ruined and deserted *tekke* exists outside the village of Seraidjik, in the valley of the Rhodius. It bears the name of the saint interred in it (*Indje* or *Indjir Baba*) and is still visited as a pilgrimage.³

Chevalier in the early years of the present century describes a *tekke*, apparently Bektashi, possibly identical with the above.⁴

E.—VILAYET OF KASTAMOUNI.

Kaledjik (near).—Evllya describes in this district the pilgrimage of Kodji Baba, one of the disciples of Hadji Bektash, who was buried in a convent bearing his name. 'There is no other building than the convent; the tomb is adorned with lamps and candelabras. His [*i.e.*, the saint's] banner, drum, habit, and carpet are all preserved, as though he himself were present. The Turcomans have great faith in this saint.'⁵

Kangri (near).—At the village of Airak, north of the Kizil Irmah river, in this district, Evllya found a large and hospitable convent, containing a hundred dervishes and the tomb of Mahommed Shah Dede; this saint 'came with Hadji Bektash from Khorassan to the Court of Bayezid [I.].'⁶

F.—VILAYET OF SIVAS.

Sivas.—In the town is a recent *tekke*, called Maksoumler ('the infants')⁷, founded by a certain Halil Pasha, afterwards Governor of Beyrout. About fifty years ago, a dervish is said to have discovered by

¹ C. MacFarlane, *Turkey and her Destiny*, i. 501.

² Strictly speaking the town of the Dardanelles is not in the Brusa province but forms the capital of an independent sub-prefecture (*sandjak*).

³ From Mr. R. Grech of the Dardanelles.

⁴ *Voyage de la Propontide*, 14: 'Derrière la ville s'étend une large plaine au milieu de laquelle on trouve un Teké ou couvent de Derviches, entouré de vignes et de jardins délicieux. Ces solitaires donnent au pays qui les avoisine l'exemple de l'hospitalité la plus affectueuse: ils offrent leurs plus beaux fruits et leurs cellules au voyageur fatigué et de la meilleur foi du monde lui font admirer un cercueil de quarante pieds, qui contient les reliques du géant qui les a fondés.'

⁵ *Travels*, ii. 226.

⁶ *Ibid.* ii. 236.

⁷ Or Maksoum Pak (Pers. *pāk* = 'pure').

revelation the graves of two infants (*maksoum*), who were identified with Ali Eftar, son of the fifth Imam (Mahommed Bakir), and Sali, son of the seventh (Mousa Kiazim); these infants are regarded as martyrs.¹ The infant son of Halil Pasha is also buried in the *tekke*.

Amasia.—Here is a *tekke* containing the grave of Piri Baba.

Divrigi (near).—Three hours from Divrigi is a recent *tekke* founded by a learned Bektashi *sheikh* named Gani Baba and called Andahar Tekkiesi.²

Three important *tekkes* in this (strongly *Shia*) *vilayet* are mentioned by Evliya in the seventeenth century, of which the first two certainly exist. These are:—

Marsovan, with tomb of Piri Dede, 'a companion of Hadji Bektash.' In Evliya's time there were 300 dervishes there, and the convent was supported by the revenues of 366 villages.³ There seems lately to have been a kind of 'revival' in which immigrants from Transcaucasia (Kars district) have played an important part.

Osmandjik, with tomb of Koyoun Baba, who came with Hadji Bektash from Khorassan. All the inhabitants of the town were in Evliya's time affiliated to the Bektashi.⁴ The foundation seems now to have passed into other hands, and the saint to be known as 'Pambouk Baba.'

Bárúgünde (near Shabin Kara Hissar).—This *tekke* contained the tomb of Behlul of Samarkand and those of the Tchoban family.⁵ It is probably the 'Tchobanli Tekke' marked on R. Kiepert's map due south of Shabin Kara Hissar, on the road to Erzingian. Evliya also makes brief mention of a Bektashi *tekke* of Mohammed Shah near Etchmiadzin.⁶

A list, however incomplete, of Anatolian centres in which there is now no Bektashi establishment, may be of service to future enquirers. The following places have been cited to me as such by Bektashi informants: Adana, Aintab, Angora, Beyshehr, Brusa, Caesarea, Dardanelles,

¹ This is probably the pilgrimage of the 'Kyzylbash' Kurds at Sivas mentioned by Molyneux-Seel as the 'tomb of Hassan.' The confusion with the other pair of Holy Children, Hassan and Hussein, is readily comprehensible.

² Perhaps from *Anzaghar*, marked south of Divrigi in R. Kiepert's map.

³ *Travels*, ii. 215, cf. Hadji Khalfa, tr. Armain, 681.

⁴ *Ibid.* ii. 96, cf. Jacob, *Bektaschije*, 28.

⁵ *Ibid.* ii. 205.

⁶ *Ibid.* ii. 125.

Isbarta, Karaman, Konia, Manisa, Marash,¹ Melasso, Mersina, Nazli, Pyrgi, Tarsus, Trebizond.

The absence of Bektashi at Angora is accounted for by the local predominance of the Bairami order, and at Konia, Karaman,² and Manisa by the position held there by the Mevlevi. Adana,³ Aidin, Caesarea,⁴ and Pyrgi,⁵ are notoriously 'black' *Sunni* towns.

Shamakh.—The furthest extension of Bektashism eastwards seems to be marked by the important *tekke* visited by Evliya at Shamakh, near Baku. This contained the tomb of Pir Merizat and was supported by the revenues of 300 villages, the inhabitants of which were mostly affiliated to the order.⁶

The Kurds of the Dersim recognize Hadji Bektash, and one Bektashi *tekke* is said to exist in Kurdistan.⁷

II.—MESOPOTAMIA.

In Mesopotamia there are Bektashi *tekkes* in the neighbourhood of the *Shia* holy-places: these are probably rather rest-houses for Bektashi pilgrims than regular *tekkes*. They are said to be placed at **Bagdad** (with tomb of Gulgul Baba),⁸ **Kazmen** (a suburb of Bagdad sacred for Shias as containing the tomb of Imam Mousa), **Kerbela**, **Nedjef**, and **Samara**. There seem to be no Bektashi *tekkes* in Syria (certainly not at Damascus or Jerusalem), where the population seems to be little in sympathy with dervishes in general.

III.—EGYPT.

Cairo.—The Bektashi convent on the Mokattan above the citadel is the only establishment of the order in Egypt. A great cave in the precincts

¹ A *tekke* is said to have existed there till 1826.

² Davis (*Life in Asia Minor*, 295), speaks of the Valideh *Tekke* here as Bektashi: it is of course Mevlevi.

³ Cf. Niebuhr, *Reisebeschreibung*, iii. 118. But I have heard of a learned Bektashi *baba* resident in this *vilayet* at Djebel-Bereket (Yarpout), which perhaps implies the existence of propaganda among the local Turcoman tribes.

⁴ Assad Effendi, *Destr. des Janissaires*, 314, 317; cf. (for Caesarea) Skene, *Anadol*, 159.

⁵ Assad Effendi, *loc. cit.*; Amasia had in 1826 the same reputation, but has now a Bektashi *tekke*, as has Teire (for which see Schlechta-Wsserd, *Denkschr. Uren Ak.*, *P.-H. Cl.* vii. (1857, i. 47).

⁶ *Travels*, ii. 60.

⁷ Taylor seems to have found a *tekke* at Arabkir in 1860 (*J. R. G. S.* 1868, 28, 312).

⁸ Niebuhr, *Voyage en Arabie*, ii. 242, 244.

of the convent serves as *türbe* or mausoleum ; the chief saint buried in it (reputed the founder of the convent) is named Kaigousouz¹ Sultan. He was a pupil of Abdal Mousa,² and brought the Bektashi faith to Egypt. He is said to have been a prince by birth, and bore in the world the name of Sultanzade Ghaibi. His reputation is great among the Bektashi, who regard him as the founder of the fourth branch of the order. It seems unlikely that the grave of Kaigousouz is authentic or that the convent is of great antiquity. Pococke and Perry, who examined this slope of the Mokattam pretty carefully in the first half of the seventeenth century, notice 'grottoes' but no *tekke* ; the latter says expressly that the grottoes were uninhabited.³ The foundation may thus be connected with the spread of Bektashism in the later years of the eighteenth century and not improbably with the Albanian mercenaries who served at this time in Egypt, possibly with Mahommed Ali himself, who is said by some Bektashi to have been a member of their sect. The same is said of Omer Vrioni, of Berat, who seems to have done some soldiering in Egypt. The following description of the Cairo establishment of the Bektashi seems the best available :—'The tekîya projects from the hill, and may be distinguished from afar by a bank of verdant foliage with which it is fronted. Ascending a long flight of steps and passing through a small garden, you enter the tekîya, which has lately been rebuilt for the dervishes by the Khedive Ismail⁴ and some of the princesses.⁵ The hall for the devotions of the members, the rooms of the shêkh, and the sumptuous kitchen may be inspected. . . . The small open court of the tekîya leads into an ancient quarry . . . penetrating the rock for more than 200 feet. A pathway of matting enclosed by a wooden railing leads to the innermost recess where lies buried the *Sheikh* Abdallah el-Maghâwri, *i.e.* of the Grotto or Cave (Maghâra). His original name was Kîghûsûz, and he was a native of Adalia. Sent as deputy to Egypt to propagate the doctrines of the fraternity, he settled there and took the name of Abdallah.'⁶ At the present day the *tekke* of Kaigousouz at Cairo appears to be the only

¹ Kaigousouz is said to be a word used by the Bektashi for *pilaf*.

² See above, *Elmali*.

³ *View of the Levant*, 234.

⁴ 1863-79.

⁵ Cf. Baedeker, *Egypt*, p. 53 : 'A handsomely gilt coffin here is said to contain the remains of a female relative of the Khedive'—evidently buried here as a benefactress of the *tekke*.

⁶ Murray's *Egypt* (1900), 29.

Bektashi establishment in Egypt or indeed in North Africa. The sect may owe its persistence here to the floating Albanian population; the present abbot is a Tosk Albanian.

The sect formerly held also the *tekke* of Kasr-el-Ainy in Old Cairo, which is claimed by Assad Effendi as an original foundation of the Nakshbendi.¹ The *tekke* is first mentioned by Pococke, who, however, does not state to which order it belonged.² Wilkinson says it was founded by the Bektashi and belonged to them till transferred to the Kadri by Ibrahim Pasha.³

IV.—CONSTANTINOPLE.

The following list of Bektashi *tekkes* existing at the capital was given me at the *tekke* of Shehidler above Roumeli Hissar.⁴

A.—EUROPEAN SIDE.

1. **Yedi Koule** (Kazli Tchesme), *Sheikh* Abdullah.
2. **Top Kapou**, *Sheikh* Abdullah.
3. **Kariadin** (above Eyoub), *Sheikh* Hafouz Baba.
4. **Sudlidja**, *Sheikh* Hussein Baba.
5. **Karagatch** (near Kiaghith Khane), *Sheikh* Munir Baba.
6. **Rumeli Hissar** (Shehidler).

Nos. 1 and 2 are for celibates. The *sheikhs* of 6 are of Anatolian descent, and the office is hereditary.

B.—ASIATIC SIDE.

7. **Tchamlidja.**

8. **Merdiven Keui.**—This important *tekke* is said by the Bektashi to contain the grave of a very ancient warrior-saint, Shahkouli, who 'fought against Constantine' and was here buried. The name of the founder of the *tekke* was given me as Mehemet Ali Baba, and that of the present

¹ *Destruction des Janissaires*, 300.

² *Description of the East*, i, 29.

³ *Modern Egypt*, i, 287; cf. *J. R. Asiat. Soc.* 1907, 573, from which the *tekke* appears to have been Bektashi as late as 1808.

⁴ Similar lists are given by Tschudi in Jacob, *Bektaschije* 51 ff. and Depont and Coppolani, *Confréries Musulmanes*, 530-1.

sheikh as Hadji Achmet Baba. The *tekke* is also said to contain the grave of Azbi Tchaoush, who conducted Misri Effendi to exile and was converted by him on the way.¹

At the suppression of the Order in 1826, there were fourteen convents in the capital,² of which nine were demolished.³ These were at (1) Yede Koule, (2) Eyoub, (3) Sudlidja, (4) Karagatch, (5) Shehidlik,⁴ (6) Tchamlidja, (7) Merdiven Keui, (8) Eukuz Liman,⁵ and (9) Scutari.⁶

It thus appears that since 1826, the Bektashi have managed to reinstate themselves in seven out of the nine proscribed *tekkes*, and to add one (Top Kapou) to the number of their Constantinople establishments.⁷

Of *tekkes* formerly occupied by the Bektashi in the Constantinople district we can cite :—

Roumeli Hissar.—Durmish Dede, a sailors' saint who died in the reign of Achmet I., and was buried on the point of Roumeli Hissar.⁸ This *tekke* is now in the hands of the Khalveti.

Istrandja, in the hills north-east of Constantinople.⁹

V.—TURKEY IN EUROPE. (FIG. 2.)

In this country, and particularly in the neighbourhood of Adrianople, the Bektashi had many *tekkes*, most of which were destroyed in the persecution of 1826.

¹ Brown, *Dervishes*, 164; for Misri Effendi, a seventeenth-century poet and heresiarch with a leaning towards Bektashi doctrines, see Cantemir, *Hist. Ottomane*, tr. Joncquière, ii. 218, 228 ff.; Hammer-Hellert, *Hist. Emp. Ott.* xi. 335; and Gibb, *Hist. of Ottoman Poetry*, iii. 312.

² Rosen, *Geschichte der Türkei*, i. 19.

³ Assad Effendi, *Destr. des Janissaires*, 326.

⁴ The destruction of this *tekke* is mentioned by C. MacFarlane, *Turkey and her Destiny*, ii. 504. It is cited as belonging to the Melamiyoum by J. P. Brown (*Dervishes*, 175).

⁵ Mentioned also by Evliya, *Travels*, i. 2, 81; Hammer, *Constantinopolis*, ii. 322.

⁶ Probably the *tekke* containing the tomb of Karadja Achmet (on whom see *B.S.A.* xx. 120 ff.) of which the *türbe* survives.

⁷ There were three Bektashi *tekkes* about 1850 (Brown, *Dervishes*, 530 f.).

⁸ Evliya, *Travels*, i. 2, 70: 'the Dervishes Bektashi superintend it [the pilgrimage] with their drums and lamps,' cf. Hammer-Hellert, *Hist. Emp. Ott.* xviii. 85.

⁹ *Ibid.* i. 2, 88: 'there is a convent of the Bektashi; they hunt for the emperor harts, roes, and deer, of which they make hams.'

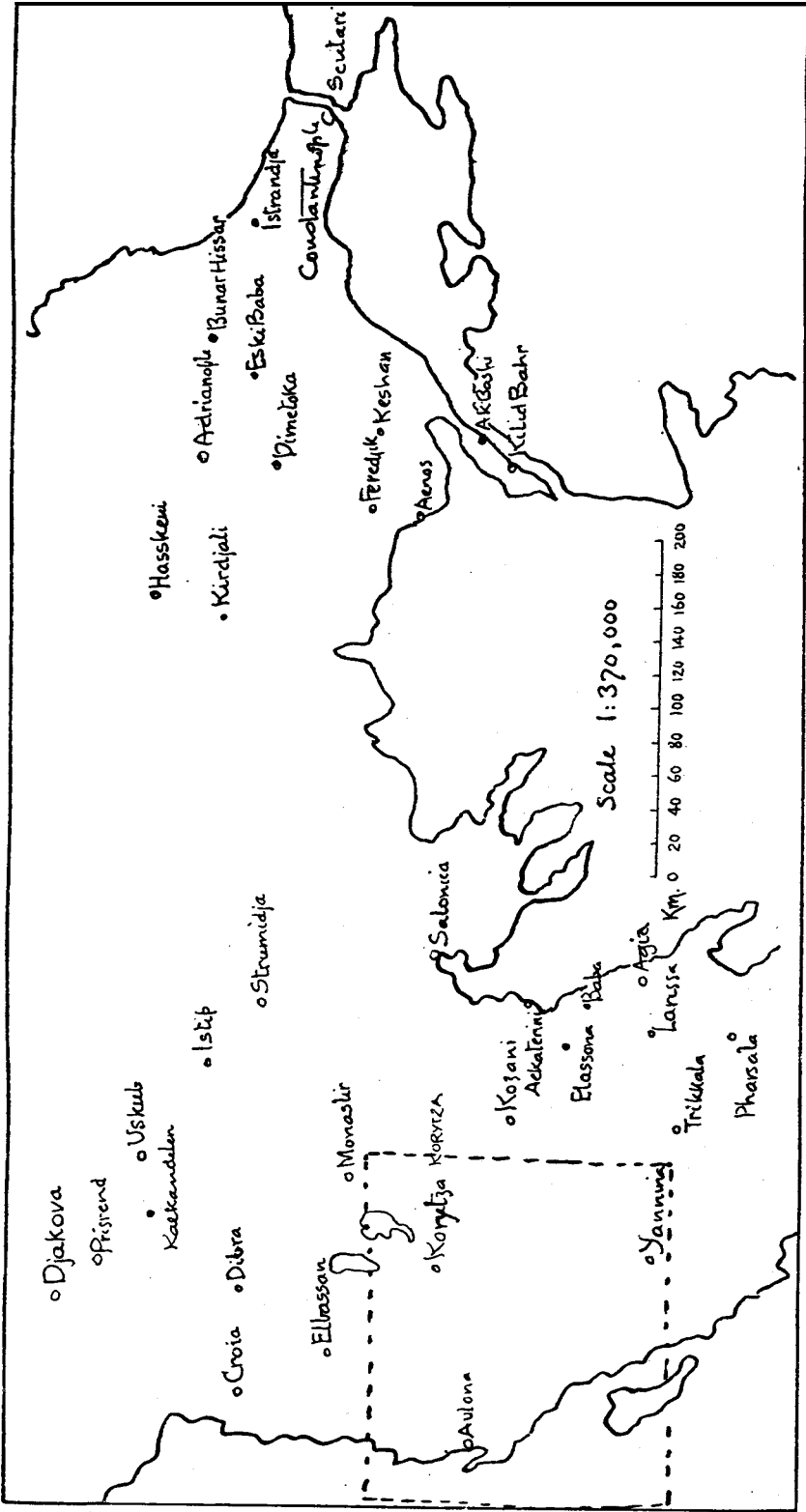


FIG. 2.—SKETCH-MAP SHEWING THE DISTRIBUTION OF THE BEKTASHI IN EUROPE.

A.—GALLIPOLI PENINSULA.¹

There are still two *tekkes* here at

Kıldj Bahr (opposite the town of Dardanelles) and **Ak Bashi** (Sestos).—This latter is a simple cell, tenanted by one dervish,² who acts as guardian to the tomb of Ghazi Fazil Beg, one of the companions of Suleiman Pasha in his first invasion of Europe.³

B.—DISTRICT OF ADRIANOPE.

This district has been in its day a great stronghold of Bektashism. At Adrianople itself, a disreputable *tekke* on the hill called Khidrlik was suppressed already in 1641,⁴ and in 1826 no less than sixteen convents in the town and district were confiscated: The country round Adrianople, especially to the west of the city, into which district a numerous Turkish nomad population has been imported from Asia at various dates,⁵ preserves the names of many destroyed *tekkes* which have in recent years developed into farms or villages.

East of Adrianople two such *tekkes* have left traditions behind them. These are:—

Eski Baba, on the main road to Constantinople.—The saint here buried was identified with Sari Saltik, a famous Bektashi saint. The *türbe* is said to be an ancient church of S. Nicolas; it is still frequented by Christians as well as Mahomedans.⁶

Bounar Hissar, some miles east of Kirk Kilisse.—The *tekke* seems to have been confiscated in 1826, but the grave of the saint, Binbiroglou Achmet Baba, was still later a pilgrimage for Turks. The *tekke* is now a farm.⁷

¹ This district, now isolated, was probably connected with Adrianople by a chain of *tekkes* down to 1826. The maps mark many *tekkes* between the two points, most of which, I am informed, are now farms.

² As in E. D. Clarke's time (*Travels*, iii, 86).

³ Cf. Saad-ed-din in Seaman's *Orchan*, 80.

⁴ Jacob, *Beiträge*, 16; cf. Rycaut, *Present State of the Turkish Empire*, 67. Covel (*Journal*, 248) says there was formerly a Greek church of S. George at this point.

⁵ Hammer-Hellert, *Hist. Emp. Ott.* i. 330 (Turks from Menimen sent to Philippopolis district); cf. Baker, *Turkey in Europe*, 382.

⁶ *B.S.A.* xix. 205, xx. 108.

⁷ *B.S.A.* xx. 108. This is the *tekke* which is said formerly to have contained an inscription in 'Ancient Syrian' letters 'like nails,' probably the inscribed pillar set up by Darius at the sources of the Taurus (*J.R.G.S.* xxiv. (1854), 44; see *Arch. Anz.* 1915, 3 ff.). I believe this pillar may have

South of Adrianople; Slade,¹ in 1830, notes the sites of several Bektashi *tekkes* ruined during the attempted suppression of the order by Sultan Mahmoud II.

At **Feredjik**, on the hill above the village, he found the ruins of a *tekke* and a tomb-chamber containing the graves of five dervishes. The chief of these, he was informed, was Ibrahim Baba of the Bektashi order. Five miles further on was the tomb of another Bektashi saint, Nefez Baba, who was said to have come from Gallipoli with the first Turkish conquerors, and to have founded a *tekke* here. Nefez Baba was the son of the King of Fez.² Some miles further on was a third Bektashi *tekke*, containing the tomb of a certain Rustem Baba, which Slade did not visit.³

Keshan.—There is here a small *tekke* in the town itself, tenanted by a *baba* and servitors (Albanians).

Domouz Dere (near Keshan).—This *tekke* is tenanted by an abbot and three or four dervishes. Its history is particularly interesting in relation to the question of Bektashi usurpations. According to local tradition, borne out, as we shall see, by very solid evidence, the *tekke* was originally a small Greek monastery of S. George. The Bektashi are said to have gained a footing there during or after an epidemic of plague, which depopulated the neighbouring (Christian) village of Tchiltik. This is said to have happened 'about sixty years ago,' very possibly at the time of the last great outbreak of plague in European Turkey, which took place in 1836-9,⁴ almost within living memory.

At the present time the feast-day of S. George is still celebrated at Domouz Dere by a *panegyris* of a social character, which is frequented both by Turks and Greeks; the representatives of the two religions do not mix together more than is necessary.

The original church of S. George has been divided by the dervishes into several compartments, including living-rooms and a tomb-chamber for

been 'adopted' by the Bektashi, like the sacred stone at Tekke Keui (see *Macedonia* below), as an additional attraction to the *tekke* of Bounar Hissar. Its cuneiform writing was probably recognised as 'Ancient Syrian' by some dervish who had visited the *Shia* sanctuaries in Mesopotamia where cuneiform monuments are common.

¹ *Travels*, 470.

² This is too evidently an inference from his name (*nefess* = 'Breath' and metaph. 'Spirit').

³ A probable Bektashi *tekke* on the outskirts of Aenos may be recognised in the building called Younouz Baba Tekkiesi (Δελτίον Χρ. Αρχαιολ. Ἐταιρείας, Η'. 28).

⁴ Edmund Spencer, *Travels in European Turkey*, ii. 378 ff.

the abbots' graves; the compartment including the original 'sanctuary' still preserves the upper part of the screen (*templon*), and on its north wall is an ancient *eikon* of S. George flanked by lighted lamps. This has been actually seen by my informant, an Italian friend long resident in the district of Keshan and on easy terms with the dervishes of the *tekke*.

So recent and so well-documented a case of Bektashi usurpation as this must be regarded as a warning against excess of scepticism in appreciating legends current elsewhere, and resting solely on tradition, of similar occurrences. What happened at Domouz Dere probably happened *mutatis mutandis* at Eski Baba,¹ and may have happened at many other 'ambiguous' sanctuaries; the story of the Christian *eikon* jealously guarded at the *tekke* of Reni,² if it be a fable, is at least a fable not without historical parallels. At the same time tradition must not be accepted blindly. We know for a fact that many Christian churches have been transformed into mosques by the Turks. Yet the 'traditions' as to the Christian past of mosques are often demonstrably false; notoriously so in the case of the mosque of Isa Bey or 'Church of S. John' at Ephesus. To the *West*, as we have said, Bektashi establishments were thickly planted, but most were destroyed in 1826.

At **Kush Kavak**, at the fork of the main road leading from Adrianople to Kirdjali and Gumuldjiria, a *tekke* is said by the Bektashi still to exist. It may be that of Ohad Baba, marked on the War Office map just north of the village.

Dimetoika.—*Tekkes* of Kyzyl Deli Sultan in this district are mentioned by Assad Effendi³ as among those demolished in 1826. The name of the saint is shown on our maps in the district due west of Dimetoka, which adjoins the Kirdjali district transferred by the treaty of Bucharest to Bulgaria.

¹ Above, p. 101.

² See below, *Thessaly*.

³ *Destruction des Janissaires*, 314: special instructions regarding these *tekkes* are given in the text of the firman printed by the same author at pp. 325 ff.: 'Vous vous rendrez d'abord à Adrianople; là, de concert avec Mohammed-Assad-Pacha, gouverneur de Tcharmen, vous expulserez des tékiés de Kizil-Deli-Sultan les bektachis qui s'y trouvent. . . Notre intention est de destiner au casernement des corps de soldats de Mahomet qui pourront par suite être formés dans ces contrées les bâtiments spacieux et commodes de quelques-uns de ces établissements, et de transformer les grand salles en mosquées.' For Kyzyl Deli Sultan see also Brown, *The Dervishes*, 325; Jacob, *Bektaschije*, 28.

VI.—BULGARIA.

Kirdjali, the district adjoining that of Adrianople on the west and lately ceded to Bulgaria, contains the grave and *tekke* of the Bektashi saint Said Ali Sultan. The *tekke* was destroyed by the Bulgars in the last war, the *türbe* (mausoleum) being spared.

Haskovo, between Philippopolis and the frontier, half a day north of Kirdjali, possesses (or possessed) a *tekke* with the grave of Moustafa Baba.¹ It is, as usual, at some distance from the town.

Strumidja (Stroumnitza, in 'New Bulgaria').—In this district there was, before the Balkan war, a Bektashi *tekke* containing the grave of a saint Ismail Baba, and a hot spring attributed to the agency of the saint's foot. This *tekke* is now destroyed.²

Razgrad (near).—There was also till recently an isolated *tekke* containing the grave of Hassan Demir Baba Pehlivan, who lived '400 years ago' and performed a number of miracles. The *tekke* was founded early in the nineteenth century by Pehlivan Baba, Pasha of Rustchuk.³ A good description of it, the legend of the buried hero, and a block of the *tekke* and its surroundings are given by Kanitz.⁴

A *tekke* of Moustafa Baba, between Rustchuk and Silistria, is mentioned by Jacob.⁵

Elsewhere in Bulgaria there is said to be a Bektashi community at Selvi in the district of Turnavo, but my informant⁶ does not know whether they possess a *tekke*. An Albanian dervish at Meltchan (Korytzà) told me there was formerly a *tekke* at Turnavo itself, but it had been destroyed already before the Balkan War.⁷

¹ The *tekke* seems to be mentioned by Quiclet (*Voyage*, 149). An Albanian Bektashi informant assures me that no Bektashi establishment now exists here, but is contradicted by Midhat Bey Frasherî who, though not himself an adherent of the order, comes of a Bektashi family, and is now resident in Bulgaria.

² From an Albanian dervish at Meltchan (Korytzà) who had resided at Strumidja.

³ Jireshek, *Fürstenthum Bulgarien*, 411.

⁴ *Op. cit.*, iii. 298 ff. (p. 535 f. in the French translation).

⁵ *Beiträge*, 17.

⁶ Midhat Bey Frasherî.

⁷ The same dervish assured me that there was now no Bektashi *tekke* or community in Bulgaria.

VII.—ROUMANIA.

Three *tekkes* of the Bektashi are mentioned within the present frontiers of Roumania :—

(1) At **Baba Dagh** was a Bektashi convent containing one of the graves of Sari Saltik.¹

(2) At **Kilgra** (Kaliakra) on the Black Sea, Evliya visited a *tekke* of Bektashi, containing another reputed grave of the same saint.² I am informed that the site is now completely deserted, though it remains a pilgrimage for Moslems and Christians alike.

Baltchik (near).—Here was formerly a Bektashi *tekke* of great importance, one of the largest in Roumeli. The saint there buried was called Hafouz Halil Baba, or Ak-yazili Baba, and was by Christians identified with S. Athanasius.³

VIII.—SERVIA.

In 'new Servia,' *i.e.*, Servian Macedonia, *tekkes* are said to exist, or to have existed, at the following places; many of them seem to have been destroyed during and after the Balkan war :—

Monastir.—Here there is a small *tekke* in the town, with the grave of Hussein Baba, a martyr (*shahid*), dated 1872-3; this *tekke* was unharmed in 1914.

In the neighbourhood are (or were) *tekkes* at the villages of

Kirshova and **Kanatlar**.

In the Albanian district of western Servia were *tekkes* at

Djakova and **Prizrend**.⁴

Uskub.—Here there were, before the war, two Bektashi *tekkes* named after Moustafa Baba and Suleiman Baba: the latter was a recent establishment.

¹ Evliya, *Travels*, tr. von Hammer, ii. 72; cf. *B.S.A.* xix. 205 f.

² Evliya, *Travels*, ii. 72; Hadji Khalfa, *Rumeli*, tr. von Hammer, 27; *Arch. Epig. Mitth.* x. (1886), 188 f.; cf. *B.S.A.* xix. 205, xx. 108.

³ Kanitz, *Bulgarien*, ii. 211 (French trans. 474-7); *Arch. Epig. Mitth.* x. (1886), 182; *B.S.A.* xx. 109.

⁴ This *tekke* is mentioned by Brailsford, *Macedonia*, 247.

Kalkandelen.—Here still (1914) exists a large and important *tekke* containing the supposed grave of Sersem Ali. This *tekke* was founded by Riza Pasha (d. 1822), at the instance of Moharrabe Baba, who discovered, by revelation, the tomb of Sersem Ali.¹ The *tekke* stands within a rectangle of high walls, each pierced by a gateway (Pl. XII. 1), just outside the town. The buildings of the *tekke* include lodgings for the dervishes, two oratories (*meidan*), the tombs of Sersem Ali, Moharrabe Baba, Riza Pasha, and others, a large open *mesdjid* standing on columns, guest-rooms, kitchens, and farm buildings. All these seem to be of the date of the foundation; they are for the most part picturesque and rather elaborate wooden buildings with deep porticoes (Pl. XII. 2). Fruit and flower-gardens are included in the precinct.

At **Tekke Keui**, near the station of Alexandrovo, between Koumanovo and Uskub, is a small *tekke* with the grave of Karadja Achmet. The cult has been discussed by Evans²; it now seems likely that this site will be transferred to Christianity.³

There were also *tekkes* at

Ishtip and **Kuprulu**, and the Christian monastery of S. Naoum on Lake Ochrida is visited by Bektashi as a pilgrimage⁴ (Pl. XII. 3).

IX.—GREECE.

A.—MACEDONIA.

Salonica.—A *tekke* formerly existing on the western outskirts of the town was destroyed during the Balkan war.

Kastoria.—The *tekke* is situated at the entrance to the town on the Florina road. It is now small and insignificant, being tenanted only by an abbot, but is said to be ancient and formerly important. It suffered during the persecution of 1826. The chief saint buried here, Cassim Baba, is supposed to have lived at the time of the Turkish conquest, and enjoys considerable local fame as a posthumous miracle-worker. He is said during his lifetime to have converted many Christians by the somewhat crude method of hurling from the hill on the landward side of the

¹ See *B.S.A.* xx. 110, 117; and for Sersem Ali, Jacob, *Bektaschije*, 28.

² *J.H.S.* xxi. 202.

³ *B.S.A.* xx. 110.

⁴ *B.S.A.* xx. 111.

isthmus of Kastoria a huge rock, which crashed into a church full of worshippers.

Of a second *tekke*, occupied within living memory, at Toplitz (near the barracks) only the *türbe* and grave of Sandjakdar Ali Baba remain. The Bektashi also lay claim to the grave of Aidin Baba, in a humble *türbe* on the outskirts of the gypsy quarter.

In the district of Kastoria, west of the market-town of Anagelitsa, the Bektashi have a considerable following. The Moslem element in the population is here supposed to have been converted in recent times, 'a hundred and fifty years ago' being the usual estimate. This is borne out by the fact that the Moslems in question (called Valakhádhēs)¹ speak Greek, and in some villages have deserted churches (not converted into mosques), to which they shew considerable respect. The Bektashi *tekkes* serving this district are at Vodhorína, two-and-a-half hours west of Anagelitsa, and Odra, high up on the slopes of the Pindus range.

Both *tekkes* are connected with the same saint, Emineh Baba, who seems to be historical. He is said to have been executed at Monastir in A.H. 1007 (1598-9) for professing the unorthodox opinions of Mansour-el-Halladj, who is claimed by the Bektashi as an early preacher of their doctrines and a precursor of their order.² Emineh appeared to his sister on the night of his execution at her home in Vodhorína; she was preparing a meal to which guests were invited. He helped his sister in her preparations, and afterwards sat down to table. Some of the guests, noticing that he took nothing, pressed him to eat, which he refused to do, on the ground that he was fasting. Finally, however, yielding to their importunity, he ate, with the words 'If you had not made me eat, I should have visited you every evening.' He then disappeared.³

Vodhorína.—The *tekke* here is an ordinary house in the village, the *türbes* of former abbots being as usual some little distance away and not architecturally remarkable. It is said to have suffered in 1826 and is now occupied by an abbot only, who is from the district. A room of the house itself contains a plain commemorative cenotaph to Emineh Baba, his habit (*khirka*), and other relics; this room is used by the sick for incubation.

¹ On the Valakhádhēs see Wace and Thompson, *Nomads of the Balkans*, 29 f.

² He lived in the early part of the fourth century of the Hegira, and was martyred for his opinions at Bagdad. See Hastings' *Dict. of Religion*, s.v. *Halladj*.

³ From the abbot at Vodhorína.

Other cenotaphs of the saint are said to exist at Kapishnitsa (near Viglishta) and at Monastir.¹

Odra is, like Vodhorína, a small establishment occupied by an abbot and two or three dervishes, all local but one, who is an Albanian. The great attraction is a cave or chasm in the mountain, said to have been formed miraculously by Emineh Baba, who smote the mountain with his sword.

Local Greek tradition identifies the Odra site with that of a former church of S. Menas, to whom is attributed the miracle of the cave; the habit of Emineh, at Vodhorína, which is of no great antiquity, is also believed to be that of S. Menas. The identification may be due merely to the verbal assimilation of the names Emineh and 'Αἰ Μηνῶ; but in more than one village of the Valachád the dedication of the church is said to be still preserved.

Near Kozani, in the Sari Gueul district, is a group of four Bektashi *tekkes*. The district in question is inhabited entirely by Anatolian Turks ('Koniari'), who were settled there in the early years of the Turkish conquest and preserve their language and customs unchanged. By religion they are partly Bektashi and partly fanatical *Sunni* Mahommedans.

Djouma.—The most important *tekke* of this group is built on a slight eminence just outside the village of the same name. It has every appearance of prosperity, and is occupied by an abbot and nine or ten dervishes. The saints buried in the adjoining *türbe* are Piri Baba and Erbei Baba. Their date is unknown, but the *türbe* was repaired, according to an inscription, by two dervishes (implying the existence of a foundation) in A.H. 1143 (1730–1). Unlike most *tekkes* in this district, Djouma seems to be a place of considerable religious importance. It is much frequented in May (especially Thursdays and Saturdays) by Moslem women on account of the reputation of its sacred well for the cure of sterility. I was told by the abbot that Christian women made use of this well on Sundays, and, though this was denied by educated Greeks of Kozani, it may be true of the less advanced women of the adjacent Bulgarian villages. The *türbe*

¹ He is evidently confused, perhaps wilfully, with Khirka Baba, an (apparently historical) orthodox *sheikh* of Monastir who 'disappeared,' leaving, like Emineh, his habit behind him. This habit, much venerated by pilgrims, is kept in the tower (*Kula*) occupied during his lifetime by the *sheikh*. Water in which it has been dipped is said either to *kill or cure* chronic invalids: it is said sometimes to be administered without the knowledge of the patient by his sympathetic (or impatient) relatives.

of the saints is used for incubation by lunatics, and contains a club and an axe, regarded as personal relics of the saints, which are used for the cure (by contact with the affected part) of various ailments. There is also a very simple oracle, consisting in an earthenware ball, suspended from the roof of the *türbe* by a string. The enquirer swings the ball away from him ; if it strikes him on its return swing, the answer to his question is in the affirmative.

The other *tekkes* of the Sari Gueul district are :—

Baghdje, in a healthy and pleasant position among trees and running water in the hills above the village of Topdjilar.¹ The *tekke* itself is an insignificant house, occupied by an abbot from Aintab and his servants. The *türbe*, which contains the grave of Ghazi Ali Baba, a saint of vague antiquity, was rebuilt this year (1915). About it are many graves marked by the Bektashi *taj*.

Boudjak, between the villages of Kousheler and Soppoular, is now subordinated to Djouma and has no abbot ; it boasts the grave of Memi Bey Sultan and is inhabited by married dervishes.

At **Ineli**, between the Sari Gueul district and Kailar, there is said to be a *tekke* with the tomb of Ghazi Baba.

The property of the *tekkes* at Djouma and Boudjak was confiscated in 1826 and acquired by a rich Greek of Kozani, who, however, never prospered after his sacrilegious purchase. The land was bought back 'about forty years ago' and the *tekkes* reopened. Vague traditions as to the Christian origins of these foundations are current in Kozani. Some say that all Christian church lands were seized at the Turkish conquest and that monasteries then became *tekkes* ; others are equally certain that Ali Pasha was responsible. The dedications of the supplanted monasteries are similarly disputed. Djouma is variously said to occupy the site of a church of S. George or of S. Elias ; Baghdje of S. Elias or of S. Demetrius ; and Boudjak perhaps one of S. George. The site of Baghdje certainly suggests that of a Greek monastery, but a site suitable for a monastery is equally suitable for a *tekke*, and the abbot informed me that in the considerable agricultural and building operations which have taken place under his direction, no evidence of former buildings has come to light. I could find no satisfactory evidence that Christians frequented the *tekkes* of the district for religious purposes except at Djouma ; but the

¹ This village is, curiously enough, *Sunni*, while its neighbour, Ine Ova, is Bektashi.

district is purely Turkish and was reputed dangerous before the Balkan war.

Elassona.—Here there is a small *tekke*, occupied only by an (Albanian) abbot, beside the Serfidje road on the outskirts of the town. The Greeks say it was founded after the union of Thessaly with Greece (1882), but the occupants hold that it is a good deal older. The chief saint is Sali Baba, who is buried in a simple *türbe* with the (two) successive abbots of the *tekke*, the present incumbent being the third: the *türbe* is dated 1250 (1834-5). Sali Baba is represented as a saint of much earlier date,¹ who enjoyed a local vogue before the *türbe* was built at the instance of the first abbot (Nedjeb Baba), and at the expense of certain local *bey*s. We have here, to all appearance, a documented instance of the occupation of a popular saint-cult by the Bektashi.² Nedjeb Baba probably established himself as guardian of the grave, and received instructions in a vision as to the building of the *türbe* from its saintly occupant.³

Aekaterini.—It is at first sight surprising to find a Bektashi *tekke* in what is now a purely Greek coast-district; but Leake's account shews that in his time the local landowners were Moslems, and the *bey* of the village was connected by marriage with Ali Pasha⁴: the *tekke* was probably *inter alia* a road-post like Ali's foundations in Thessaly.⁵

B.—THESSALY.

All available evidence points to the period and influence of Ali Pasha as responsible for the propagation of Bektashism in this province, ceded to Greece in 1882; this evidence is the stronger as coming from several independent sources.

Rení.—The sole remaining Bektashi *tekke* in Thessaly is at Rení, between Velestino and Pharsala.⁶ In 1914, I found it tenanted only by an (Albanian) abbot and servitors. The rest of the dervishes, who seem also to have been Albanians, left at the time of the Balkan war. The *tekke* is beautifully situated and appears prosperous. Two *türbes* contain-

¹ 'Five hundred years ago,' the formula for the period of the Turkish conquest.

² See *B.S.A.* xx. 98.

³ This is the typical development of a purely popular cult into a dervish establishment carried one step further than in the case of the tomb of Risk Baba at Candia (see below, *Crete*).

⁴ *N. Greece*, iii. 415.

⁵ See below.

⁶ See *B.S.A.* xx. 110.

ing the tombs (1) of the saints Turbali Sultan, Djaffer, and Mustafa, all reputed warriors of the period of the Turkish conquest, and (2) of certain venerated *sheikhs*, stand before the great gate of the *tekke*. These *türbes* are of some architectural interest, and seem at least as early as the seventeenth century; in this they differ from most Bektashi buildings I have seen, which are unpretentious and obviously recent. According to local *savants*,¹ the *tekke* was originally a Latin monastery, dedicated to S. George or S. Demetrius, and was occupied by dervishes from Konia (Mevlevi?) in the first half of the seventeenth century. Ali Pasha transferred it to the Bektashi; it escaped the persecutions of 1826, and down to the occupation of the country by the Greeks, and even after, had a bad reputation as the resort of brigands and other bad characters.² So late as 1888 there were 54 dervishes in residence.

Other Bektashi *tekkes* in the province, now no longer existent, were established, according to the local authorities, by Ali and dissolved in 1826, at the following places:—

(1) Near **Tatar**, at the spot still called *Tehke* and marked by a fine grove of cypresses.³ The present proprietor of the site, now a farm (*chiftlik*), Mr. Y. Apostolides, kindly informs me that it was till recently in the hands of the Mevlevi order,⁴ and that of the buildings an octagonal *türbe* is preserved, which is supposed to contain the tomb of the founder. His name was given me at Reni as Balli Baba. The rest of the buildings were burnt in the war of 1897.⁵

(2) Near the village of **Kupekli** was a *tekke* containing the grave of Shahin Baba. The three *tekkes* were said to have been founded at the time of the Turkish conquest.

(3) The *tekke* of **Hassan Baba** at the entrance to the gorge of Tempe⁶ is represented by the local authorities as another Bektashi convent founded or supported by Ali in order to control the traffic of the important road through the defile. Though the saint is, I believe, claimed by the Nakshbendi, 'Baba' more generally denotes a Bektashi saint, and Hassan

¹ See below, *Appendix*.

² Cf. below, p. 116.

³ Mentioned by Leake, *N. Greece*, i. 445.

⁴ It may have passed from the Bektashi to the Mevlevi in 1826, cf. below, p. 112.

⁵ The *tekke* was the headquarters of the Turkish staff on May 9 (Bigham, *With the Turkish Army in Thessaly*, 92).

⁶ Dodwell, *Views in Greece*, II. vi. (cf. *Tour*, ii. 107); Urquhart, *Spirit of the East*, i. 27; Lear, *Albania*, 396; Chirol, *Twixt Greek and Turk*, 116.

Baba seems to be represented as a warrior-saint of the usual Bektashi type. On the other hand, Dodwell's drawing (1805) shews the *tekke* with a mosque and minaret, which latter is an unusual feature in a Bektashi convent. Edward Lear, in the 'fifties, describes the dervish in charge as 'steeple hatted,' which rather points to the Mevlevi as the then occupants. At the fall of the Bektashi (1826), they were in the ascendant by the favour of Sultan Mahmoud II.¹

All these *tekkes* are said to have been made use of for political purposes by Ali, and their sites on or near important highways to have been selected with that intent. Ali's political connection with the order has been discussed elsewhere.² With regard to Thessaly, the local account of his activities is borne out by contemporary notices of *tekkes* founded in his time.

(4) At **Trikkala** Leake found a large and prosperous *tekke* built by Ali himself.³

Agià (near).—A Bektashi *tekke* at Aidinli, three miles north-west of Agià (Magnesia) is mentioned by Leake as being built by Ali Pasha in 1809.⁴ This seems to be identical with the convent of Alicouli mentioned by Pouqueville.⁵

At **Larissa** the 'Forty Saints,' whose tombs were formerly to be seen at the 'Mosque of the Forty' (*Kirkklar Djami*), now destroyed, are claimed by the Bektashi.

C.—CRETE.

The Bektashi of Crete are now distributed in the three chief towns of the island, Candia, Rethymo, and Canea. There was formerly a *tekke*

¹ *B.S.A.* xix. 216 ff.

² *B.S.A.* xx. 113 ff.: see also below (*Epirus*).

³ *N. Greece*, iv. 284: 'Trikkala has lately been adorned by the Pasha with a new Tekiéh or college of Bektashli dervises on the site of a former one. He has not only removed several old buildings to give more space and air to his college, but has endowed it with property in khans, shops, and houses, and has added some fields on the banks of the *Lethaeus*. There are now about fifteen of these Mahometan monks in the house with a Sheikh or Chief, who is married to a Ioannite woman, and as well lodged and dressed as many a Pashá. Besides his own apartments, there are very comfortable lodgings for the dervises, and every convenience for the reception of strangers.'

⁴ *N. Greece*, iv. 413: 'At Aidinli Alý Pashá is now building a Tekiéh for his favourite Bektashlis.

⁵ *Voyage de la Grèce*, iii. 384: '... le bourg Turc d'Alicouli, dont le Téké, qui est le plus riche de la Thessalie, est un chef-lieu de l'ordre des Bektadgis.' The *sheikh*, Achmet, was an acquaintance of Pouqueville's.

at H. Vlasios, a Mahommedan village two hours south of Candia. At Canea I obtained from a Bektashi layman approximate statistics of the strength of the order in the three towns before and after the troubles of 1897, which resulted in a considerable emigration of Moslem Cretans to Asia Minor, Tripolitania, and the Sporades. This movement is reflected in the statistics, which are given for what they are worth:—

	(1) Before 1897.	(2) Present day.
Candia	5,000	About 500
Rethymo	3,000	1,000
Canea	200	70

The district south of Candia was that in which the Moslem element was strongest. It is hardly necessary to say that the Moslem Cretans are of Cretan blood and represent the indigenous element converted from Christianity since the Turkish conquest. The small number of Bektashi at Canea, the capital of the island and an important town, is accounted for by the fact that the Mevlevi are strong there, as also, owing to the floating population of Tripolines ('Halikouti') from Benghazi, the Rufai.

Candia.—The *tekke* lies on the main road three-quarters of an hour south of the town, near the site of Knossos and the village of Fortezza.¹ It was founded before the fall of Candia (1669), in 1650² by a celebrated saint named Khorassanli Ali Dede, who is buried there. The present venerable *Sheikh*, who has the title of *Khalifa*, is an Albanian from Kolonia and a celibate; his predecessor was married, and at his death it was thought more expedient for the convent that a celibate should succeed him. There are about a dozen dervishes, many of whom seem to be Albanian. The *tekke* has every appearance of prosperity and good management.

Outside the New Gate of Candia is the tomb of Risk Baba (Pl. XIII. 2), who is distinguished by the *taj* on his headstone as a Bektashi saint. To judge by the mass of rags affixed to a tree in his precinct he is a very popular intercessor. A small hut built beside the grave is that of a self-appointed guardian of the tomb, who is buried beside the saint.

The *tekke* at **Rethymo** contains the grave of Hassan Baba. At

¹ The *tekke* is described, with a photograph of the *meidan*, by Hall in *P. S. Bibl. Arch.* 1913, 147 ff. and Pl. 39, and mentioned by Spratt, *Crete*, i. 80.

² Of this I was assured there was documentary evidence by a learned Bektashi layman of Candia. The Turkish headquarters during the long siege of Candia were at Fortezza.

Ganea there is now no *tekke* owing to Bektashi migration.¹ A Bektashi warrior-saint Mustafa Ghazi is buried under an open *türbe* on the outskirts of the town; his headstone bears the *taj* of the order. This tomb is much frequented by the Tripolines on May 22.

D.—EPIRUS. (FIG. 3.)

In this region Bektashism seems to have taken no permanent root south of latitude 40°. In spite of Ali Pasha's patronage,² the Bektashi admit that they have never possessed a *tekke* at Yannina, his capital, where the only trace of them is the tomb of Hassan Sheret Baba, a saint of Ali's time, and that of Ali himself, the headstone of which was formerly distinguished by the regulation Bektashi *taj*.³ On the road between Yannina and Metzovo a *tekke* which formerly existed is now deserted; we may probably regard it as one of Ali's 'strategic' foundations devised to control the important pass into Thessaly.⁴

North of latitude 40°, on the other hand, lies, or lay till the troubles after the Balkan war, the great stronghold of nineteenth-century Bektashism, now cut in two by the artificial frontier between the Greek province of N. Epirus and the principality of Albania. Bektashi from this district (Toskeria) have told me that their co-religionists form nine-tenths of the Moslem population, as against one-tenth among the Ghegs of the north.

As to the history of Bektashism in Epirus, my researches have been able to establish the leading facts: (1) that it is of comparatively recent introduction, and (2) that the firm root it has taken is mainly due to the influence of Ali Pasha (1759-1822), who was himself a member of the order.⁵ The Tosks regard the *tekke* of Kastoria⁶ as the most ancient in their country, but Kastoria belongs geographically to Macedonia. The

¹ The *sheikh* formerly in charge was invited by Cretan Bektashi refugees in Benghazi to come and minister to them, but he died without founding a *tekke* there; this would have been difficult owing to the predominance of the Rufai and Senoussi sects in that district.

² See *B.S.A.* xx. 216 ff.

³ This is shewn in a drawing of the tomb in Walsh's *Constantinople and the Seven Churches*, and was mentioned to me as proof of Ali's connection with the sect by an elderly Epirote, who remembered seeing it. The headstone is now replaced by a wooden post.

⁴ See above, *Thessaly*.

⁵ This idea was put forward long ago on the evidence or tradition, which is no safe guide, since a figure like Ali's bulks large in popular thought and is apt to absorb much that does not belong to it.

⁶ Above, *Macedonia*.

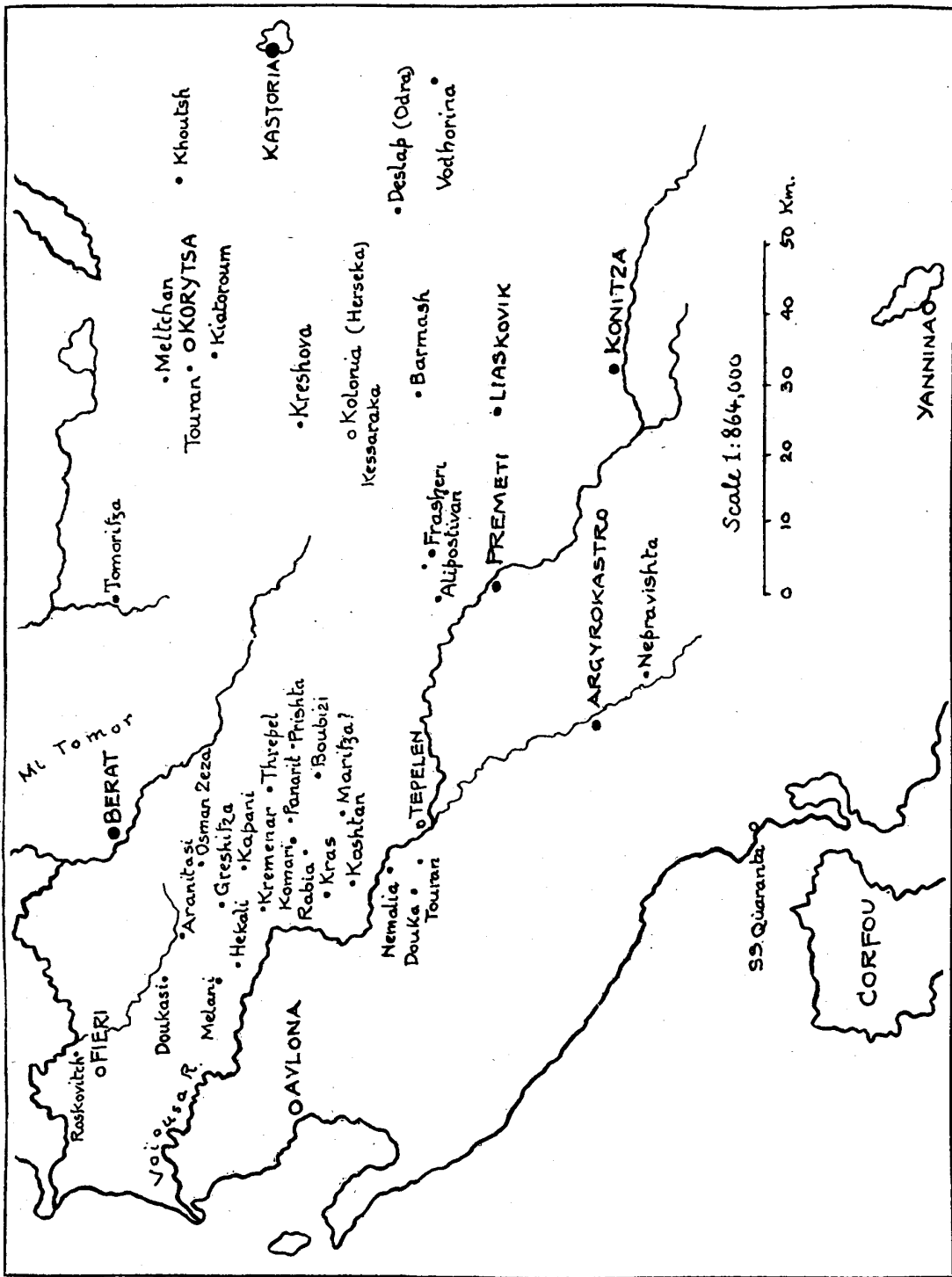


FIG. 3.—SKETCH-MAP SHEWING THE DISTRIBUTION OF THE BEKTASHI IN S. ALBANIA.

date of this *tekke* is vague, and, as elsewhere in Roumeli, the saint there buried is referred to the period of the Turkish conquest and his personality is frankly superhuman. On the Albanian side of the mountains, on the other hand, the dates of the saints are known and recent, and they have no pretensions to be more than the founders of the *tekkes* where their bones lie. In point of antiquity the Argyrokastro foundations claim to be earlier than Ali Pasha, but can produce no evidence. The Korytzà group, Kónitza, the important *tekke* of Frásheri, and some others are admittedly foundations of Ali's contemporaries, while many others confess to a much later origin.

With very few exceptions the saints buried in Albanian *tekkes* seem to be of small religious importance, the living abbot being much more considered. To an outsider it appears that the Albanian temperament has evolved a form of Bektashism in which the social organisation rather than the religious-superstitious side is uppermost. This is borne out also by externals; the Bektashi *tekkes* throughout the district have no distinguishing marks and no set plan. They are generally built simply and solidly, like good country houses, and situated just outside villages, more rarely in proximity to considerable towns. The tombs of the saints are in very simple *türbes* standing well away from the main buildings, it is said for reasons of health.

Characteristic of the time at which Bektashism won its foothold in Albania—the era of the French Revolution—is the prominence given here, in theory at least, to certain liberal ideas, such as the Brotherhood of Man and the unimportance of the dogmas and formalities of religion as compared with conduct. Both these ideas and the quietist doctrines which to some extent depend on them, are latent in much dervish thought; but they are radically opposed to the stern ideal of Islam propagated by the sword which animated the Janissaries in their days of conquest, and which shows itself in the conception of the earlier Bektashi saints as superhuman champions of the Faith.

The persecution of Sultan Mahmoud (1826) touched the Albanian Bektashi lightly, owing not only to the fact that the movement in Albania had not reached its height, but also doubtless to the wildness and inaccessibility of the country; we may well believe, indeed, that it was a refuge for Bektashi proscribed elsewhere, certainly for those of Albanian birth.

The only orders competing with the Bektashi in Southern Albania were the orthodox Sadi (at Liaskovik) and the Khalveti; of this latter an offshoot, known as the Hayati,¹ has or had establishments at Tepelen (burnt), Liaskovik (burnt), Korytzà (ruined), Viglishta, Tchangeri, Progi, and Ochrida. The Khalveti-Hayati are said to have come into Albania later than the Bektashi, but are shewn by the date over the portal of their ruined *tekke* at Liaskovik (1211 = 1796-7) to be no recent intruders.

Sultan Abdul Medjid (1839-61) is said not only to have abstained from persecuting the Bektashi, but to have given positive orders that they were not to be molested.² Abdul Hamid seems to have suspected them, and is said to have sent a special emissary to Albania to report on the extent of the heresy and the number of *tekkes*, but no persecution or active measures followed. His suspicions were probably based on the participation of the Bektashi in the national movement of 1880-1, when the cession of part of Southern Albania to Greece was under discussion, and the southern Albanians rose under Abdul Bey Frasheri, ostensibly to save the threatened provinces to Turkey, but really aiming at an independent Albanian state.

The losses of the Bektashi order in Epirus during the troubles succeeding the Balkan war were enormous, many *tekkes* having been burnt to the ground, and most of the remainder looted of everything moveable by the Epirote irregulars. The nominal excuse for this was (1) that the order was implicated in the national Albanian (and therefore anti-Greek) movement, and (2) that some *tekkes* were suspected of having harboured not only 'bands' but fugitives from justice (the two categories largely overlap) and to have shared their plunder. To this the Bektashi would probably reply that they were natural allies, by blood and language, of the Albanian cause, and that hospitality, irrespective of persons, is the rule of the order. It is clear that in such a country the evident prosperity of the *tekkes*, whatever the character of their inmates, would be sufficient to attract the cupidity of guerrilla captains; several dervishes are said to have been murdered because they would not or could not disclose the whereabouts of their supposed wealth.

¹ I can find in printed sources no mention of this order or sub-order. Their patron is said to be Hassan of Basra. They can, I think, hardly be identical with Rycaut's *Hayetti* (*Present State*, 61), a heretical sect with Christian leanings, the Khalveti being regarded as orthodox.

² Aravantinos (*Χρονογραφία τῆς Ἠπείρου*, (1857), ii. 18) notes, evidently with surprise, that in his day many of the inhabitants of Argyrokastro were *openly* Bektashi.

The following is a list of the Bektashi *tekkes* in Epirus before the Balkan war. Villages with *tekkes* are grouped with their market towns, and, the maps of the province being as yet very imperfect, their distance or direction from these centres is indicated where possible.

Argyrokastró.—Bektashism is said to have gained a footing here about 150 years ago.' Ali Pasha's influence was strong here owing to the marriage of his sister to a powerful local bey.¹ The chief, and now the sole surviving, *tekke* is that of Hadji Suleiman Baba, delightfully situated on a small isolated eminence near the town (Pl. XIII. 1). Before the war twenty dervishes resided here; there are now ten, of whom several are refugees from *tekkes* destroyed in Albania and elsewhere. The history of the *tekke* cannot be traced for more than 70 years; the earliest of the four *türbes* containing the graves of deceased abbots dates only from 1862-3, but according to legend Argyrokastró was visited at a vague early date by the Bektashi saints Hassan Baba² and Mustafa Baba, of whom the latter is buried here. There were formerly two other Bektashi *tekkes* at Argyrokastró called respectively after Ali Baba and Zein-el-abeleddin Baba, the former in the town itself, the latter between it and the *tekke* of Hadji Suleiman.

In the neighbourhood of Argyrokastró (four hours S.E.) there is one *tekke*, of recent foundation, at **Nepравishta**.

At Tepelen, the birth-place of Ali, there was never a Bektashi *tekke*, though until the war there were several in villages of the district. These are:—

Douka (half-an-hour).

Touran; the saint is Ali Baba.

Velikeui (half-an-hour).

Nemalia (one hour); the *tekke* is said to be seventy years old.

Kóshdan (one-and-a-half hours); the saint is Ismail Baba and the *tekke* is said to be 100 years old.

All these *tekkes* were destroyed in the recent troubles. Leake notes 'a Tekiéh or convent of dervises' on the slopes of Mt. Trebushin, across the river from Tepelen.³ From its position this was probably a Bektashi establishment.⁴

At **Premeti**, where three-quarters of the Moslem population were

¹ Leake, *N. Greece*, i. 40.

² See above, *Thessaly*.

³ *N. Greece*, i. 31.

⁴ Above, p. 111.

Bektashi, there is a *tekke*, said to be fifty or sixty years old, on the slope of the hill above the town,¹ containing the grave of Bektash Baba. Troops are now (1915) lodged in the *tekke*, and the dervishes have settled in the town.

Ali Postivan, in this neighbourhood, had a *tekke* with tomb of Ali Baba, burnt in 1914.

Kónitza.—This is said to be the oldest *tekke* in the district. It contains the grave of Haidar Baba, and was undamaged in 1915.²

Liaskovik.—The population of this (till the war) thriving hill-town is largely Bektashi.³ The *tekke* just outside it, on a hill above the Kolonia road, is said to have been about thirty-five years old; it contained the grave of Abeddin Baba, and housed seven or eight dervishes. It is now entirely destroyed.

Batchka (S) was founded from Meltchan,⁴ and is now destroyed.

There is a *ziaret* or pilgrimage at Vrepska in this district.

Frásheri.—Here, before the war, was a large and important *tekke* tenanted by about twenty dervishes, and containing the tomb of the *Sheikh* Nasibi. This saint, who was a contemporary of Ali Pasha, is much revered, and it is said that the Tosks use his name in asseverations instead of God's. His original name was Moharrem Baba, but when he made his pilgrimage to the *tekke* of Hadji Bektash, the door of the *tekke* opened to him of its own accord, and the abbot, recognising a miracle, said, 'It is thy fate (*nasib*).' Nasibi, with *Sheikh* Ali and *Sheikh* Mimi, is said to have foretold to Ali Pasha his brilliant future, warning him also of the fate which would overtake him if he failed to govern justly. The *tekke* of Frásheri, with the tomb of Nasibi, was burnt to the ground in 1914, and is now beginning to be inhabited by a few dervishes.

In the upland pastoral district of Kolonia, which centres in the half-ruined village of Herseka, were the following *tekkes*, all destroyed since the war:—

Krëshova (two hours north of Herseka), with tomb of Hassan Baba.

¹ The *tekke* is described by Miss Durham, *Burden of the Balkans*, 228.

² The son of a dervish *sheikh* at Kónitza (probably, therefore, a Bektashi), was martyred for Christianity at Vrachori in 1814 ('St. John the Neomartyr of Kónitza,' for whose life see Νέον Δεσποτάριον, 331).

³ Cf. Durham, *op. cit.* 217. Since the war many of the well-to-do Bektashi have fled to Yannina.

⁴ Below p. 119.

Kessáraka, with tomb of Hadji Baba.

Bármash (S. of Herseka), with tomb of Baba Suleiman, thirty-five years old; it had about five dervishes before the war.

Istária, about twenty-five years old.

In the district of Korytzà are four *tekkes*.

Meltchan, the chief of these, stands on high ground above the village of the same name, and half-an-hour right of the high road to Moschopolis. The *tekke* was looted by the Greek insurgents, but the solid and homely buildings were spared. The date of the foundation is given as 'a hundred and eight years ago'—probably the date of the death of the founder (Husseïn Baba), who is buried in a simple *türbe*, in this case octagonal, away from the dwelling-rooms; the antechamber of the *türbe* is used for incubation by the sick. An abbot (who takes precedence *ex-officio* of all local abbots) and five dervishes are now in residence. There is no mosque or *mesdjid*, the antechamber of one of the *türbes* being used as such when required:

Kiatoroùm is a smaller *tekke*, apparently modern,¹ about three-quarters of an hour south of Korytzà, and a few minutes from the village of the same name. No abbot has been appointed since the insurrection, when the *tekke* was looted. It was tenanted by one dervish.

Touràn, half-an-hour south-west of Korytzà, is a still smaller foundation; it is a dependency of Meltchan and has no abbot. The saint buried there is Ali Baba.

A link between Epirus and Macedonia is formed by the *tekke* of **Khoutsh**, half-an-hour beyond Viglishta on the road from Korytzà to Kastoria. The *tekke* stands in the village of the same name. It possesses a *türbe* containing the graves of nine anonymous saints, said as usual to be of great (but vague) antiquity. I was told by the abbot at Kastoria that Khoutsh was founded by a certain Ibrahim Baba after the persecution of 1826. The chief saint, Hafouz Baba, died only eight years ago. Khoutsh is now tenanted by an abbot and two dervishes. It was looted, but not burnt, by the Epirotes.

¹ I was told at Metchan that all the three *tekkes* of Korytzà were contemporary; but at Kiatoroùm itself that the latter was only thirty-five years old: the latter date may refer to the buildings, which are certainly not older.

X.—ALBANIA.

In the present principality of Albania the chief Bektashi district is that of Malakastra in the south. Further north Bektashism is only sporadic owing to the strong *Sunni* opinions and consequent opposition of the Ghegs. Malakastra is a Tosk district, lying between the river Voiousa (Aoiüs) and that of Berat (Lioumi Beratit); its Bektashism is a natural continuation of that of Tepelen, from which it is divided only by a purely artificial frontier.

The numerous Bektashi *tekkes* which existed in Malakastra before the war are now deserted and in ruins; such as escaped the Christian Epirote irregulars immediately after the war were recently destroyed by the Ghëg followers of Essad Pasha of Tirana.¹ The history of the conversion of this district to Bektashism is vague; all seem agreed that it is recent, and more recent than in Greek Albania. The *tekkes* of Gláva and Kápani have been cited to me as the oldest, their age being assessed at 'a hundred' and 'thirty-five' years respectively. There seems considerable probability that the beginnings of the propaganda are as old as the time of Ali Pasha, since we know that the sect was established further north (at Croia, *q.v.*) in his time, and some Bektashi claim that Omer Vrioni of Berat and a certain Mahmoud Bey of Ávlona, contemporaries of Ali, were in the movement.² Traces of Bektashism are to be found both at Ávlona and at Berat, and neither Omar nor Mahmoud are, like Ali, great figures to which popular tradition refers all events indiscriminately.

In the Malakastra district were the following *tekkes*, some of which I have been unable to place on the map:—

Gláva.

Mélani.

Rabía.

Aranítasi.

Kràs: the saint buried here is Moharrem Baba.

Doukasi.

Prishta: this is said to be an important *tekke*.

Dervishieh.

¹ Essad is the great-grandson of the murderer of Mimi.

² Degrand cites also a contemporary Ibrahim Bey of Kavaia as a member of the sect.

Bouúbizi : here three *tekkes* were burnt by the Epirotes.

Kápani.

Krémanar.

Komari.

Osman Zeza.

Maritza.

Greshitza.

Panarit : a recent *tekke*.

Shent Mraiñ, or 'Place of the Saint,' so-called from a legendary visit of Sari Saltik.

At Avlona, Patsch noted the grave of a Bektashi saint, Kosum Baba,¹ and at Hekali a cemetery containing graves marked by the Bektashi mitre (*taj*).²

Outside the Malakstra district, Bektashi *tekkes* exist, or existed till recently, in South Albania, at **Berat**, east of the latter at **Driza** on the Devol and **Tomoritza**,³ to the south at **Threpele**, and to the north, on the head waters of the Mati, at **Martanesh**.

In northern Albania, where, as we have said, the majority of the Moslem population is *Sunni*, there are Bektashi *tekkes* at the following places :—

Elbassan.—This *tekke*, founded by a certain Moustafa Baba who was buried there, was recently destroyed by the Ghegs.

Dibra.—The *tekke* here is likewise said to have been destroyed by the Ghegs.

Bektashi *Ziaret*s at Durazzo and Shiakh may be inferred from Degrand's version of the Sari Saltik legend.⁴ The population of Tirana is said by the same author to be equally divided between the Bektashi and Rufaï sects.⁵

Croia.—The population of this town seems to be almost exclusively Bektashi. Its extraordinary importance as a place of Bektashi pilgrimage is brought out by Degrand's interesting account of the saints' tombs, traditionally 366 in number, in and about the town.⁶ Bektashism seems to have been introduced here towards the end of the eighteenth

¹ *Berat*, II. ² *Ibid.* 118.

³ For a Bektashi (?) cult on Mt. Tomor in this district see Baldacci in *Bull. R. Soc. Geogr.* (Roma), 1915, 978.

⁴ *Haute Albanie*, 240. ⁵ *Ibid.* 194.

⁶ *Ibid.* 221 ff.: cf. Ippen, *Skutari*, 71 ff.; *Wiss. Mitth. aus Bosnien* vii. 60.

century by Ali Pasha's agent, *Sheikh Mimi*, who founded a *tekke* at Croia in 1807 and at first made common cause with the local chief, Kaplan Pasha Topdan, as against his neighbour the Pasha of Scutari,¹ who was hostile to Ali of Yannina. The missionary *sheikh* afterwards fell out with Kaplan Pasha, either, as the latter said, because he had been bought by the Pasha of Scutari, or possibly because he suspected Kaplan Pasha himself of similar disloyalty to Ali and the Bektashi party. Kaplan ordered Mimi to quit Croia; the *sheikh* retaliated by an unsuccessful attempt to murder the pasha, which cost him his own life. But public feeling in Croia was so strong for Mimi, that the Topdan family were unable to reside there and moved to Tirana.² The family quarrel of the Topdan with the Bektashi is, as we have seen, perpetuated by their modern representative, Essad Pasha.

Croia is one of the many places associated with the adventures of the Bektashi saint Sari Saltik.³ Of the two chief *tekkes*, one ('Mali Krush') contains a grave of this saint, the other ('Fush Krush' an hour-and-a-half from the town) that of Baba Ali; the latter is described by Ippen in some detail. From Skutari the Bektashi were banished for political reasons in the time of Ali Pasha,⁴ and seem never to have regained a footing there

XI.—AUSTRO-HUNGARY.

A.—BOSNIA.

There has been no Bektashi *tekke* in Bosnia since 1903, though the sect lingers on and the communities are visited from time to time by *sheikhs* from Albania.⁵

B.—BUDAPEST.

The furthest outpost of Bektashism is the *tekke* of Gul Baba, a relic of the Turkish occupation, which is still one of the minor sights of the Hungarian capital.⁶

F. W. HASLUCK.

¹ So we find Kaplan at the end of the eighteenth century celebrated a victory over his rival by building a *türbe* to the Bektashi saint Hamza Baba (Ippen, *op. cit.* 71).

² Degrand.

³ *B.S.A.* xix. 207, *ci.* xx. 106 ff.: I have heard, but not very definitely, of a hitherto unrecorded tomb of Sari Saltik at Khass, between Scutari and Djakova.

⁴ Ippen, *Skutari*, 36. ⁵ *Ibid.* 73.

⁶ See E. Browne, *Travels* (1673), 34; M. Walker, *Old Tracks*, 289; J. P. Brown, *The Dervishes*, 88; *Die österreichisch-ungarische Monarchie in Wort und Bild: Ungarn* (III.), p. 96; Baedeker, *Oesterreich-Ungarn*, etc.

APPENDIX.

EXTRACT ON THE BEKTASHI *TEKKES* OF THESSALY.¹

... South-east of this village [Irinì and Rinì in the deme of Skotousa], in a hilly and romantic situation among tall and shady trees (planes, dwarf-oaks, and cornels), stands the *tekke* of the Bektashi, an establishment famous throughout all Thessaly. In it, according to Government statistics, reside thirty-nine dervishes, but at the time of my visit (1888) I was told that there were, exclusive of servitors, fifty-four, all illiterate and superstitious Albanians. An intelligent dervish informed me that the *tekke* was formerly a monastery of the Western church,² and that the Turks took it over about 1630-40; there was a church of S. Demetrius, but the dervishes say it was dedicated to S. George, on account of the greater veneration they affect towards the latter.³ For a time the *tekke* was occupied by Turkish dervishes from the great *tekke*, called Koulakli Baba, at Konia.⁴ But during the despotic reign of the famous Ali Pasha of Tepelen (according to the *Phonì tou Laou* ⁵), who justified his contempt for religion by pretending to be a follower of the liberal Bektashi, it was given to the Albanians; at this time there were founded in Thessaly certain convents which were rather political rallying-points for the surrounding population than religious establishments. There were four such convents, all situated at strategic points, commanding the more frequented highways. These were the *tekkes* of Tourbali Sultan near Rinì, on the road from Volo to Pharsala and Kharditsa; of Bali Baba, near the village of Tatar, on the road between Lamia, Larissa, and Pharsala; of Shahin Baba, near the village of Kupekli; and Baba Tekke, in the celebrated Vale of Tempe, on the road from Larissa to Tsagesi. These *tekkes* became the regular resorts of criminals, who plundered and spoiled the surrounding populations. So that, at the time of the destruction of the Janissaries by Sultan Mahmoud in 1826, an imperial order was issued for the destruction of the Bektashi, and the population, both Christian and Mahomedan, fell upon the *tekkes* and drove out their inmates. Two *tekkes*, those of the villages Tatar and Kupekli, were burnt: that of Rinì, either because its inmates put up a more determined resistance, or because it lay some distance

¹ This is a translation of an article from the Volo periodical *Προμηθεύς*, 1893, No. 55, pp. 442 f., to which my attention was called by M. Pericles Apostolides of Volo. The periodical in question was edited, and seems to have been written also, by an Athonite monk, Zosimas.

² On this point Mr. Apostolides has kindly supplied me with the following additional information: 'I was told at the *tekke* of Rinì that an inscribed slab with Latin characters was preserved there: this may be the tomb of some Franciscan abbot. According to a *chrysoboullon* of the monastery of Makryniotissa the lands of this foundation extended to the district of Seratzì Irinì (*Σερατζή 'Ιρινί*). It is therefore most probable that this site was occupied and the monastery built by Franciscans in the Frankish period.' The existence of a Franciscan monastery in seventeenth-century Thessaly seems to me highly improbable. Confusion has probably arisen from the inscription in letters really or supposedly 'Frankish.'

³ In *Προμηθεύς*, 1891 (p. 268), the same author writes: 'There is a local tradition that the dervishes preserve to the present day a picture of S. Demetrius and burn lamps before it. I questioned the dervishes on this subject, but was not allowed to see the picture.'

⁴ The 'great *tekke* at Konia' can hardly be other than that of the Mevlevi dervishes, who wear a headdress called *Koulak* ('tower').

⁵ Apparently the Volo newspaper (1882-4) of that name, but I have searched it in vain to find this reference.

from Pharsala, was spared. From 1833 onwards all sorts of rascals, sometimes even brigands, began once more to congregate in it on the pretence of doing penance, and this state of things continued till the last years of Turkish rule under the direction of a former servant of the Muslim Aga, a certain Bairam Aga, who continues to preside over the *tekke*. Under him the system of rapine and pillage reached its height: the whole countryside was subjected by the raids of his armed brigands. A wily and far-sighted man, he legitimised his oppressive acts after the Union¹ by forged documents, supplied him by the Turkish authorities, making the *tekke* his personal property. He had still two or three monks and a few servitors to back him.

There is a local tradition that the *tekke* was built on the site of an ancient Byzantine monastery of S. George, but it is impossible to confirm this by investigation as long as the Albanians remain in possession. The *tekke* has defences like a small fortress² and entrance is forbidden.

At the time of the Union there were fifty monks or dervishes in the *tekke*: there are now only three and some paid servitors of Bairam Baba, all Albanians. The dervishes who formerly lived here were remarkable for the fact that they wore in their right ears a great iron earring,³ and hanging on their breasts an eight-sided stone⁴: the novices wore white caps, and all shaved their heads once a week.

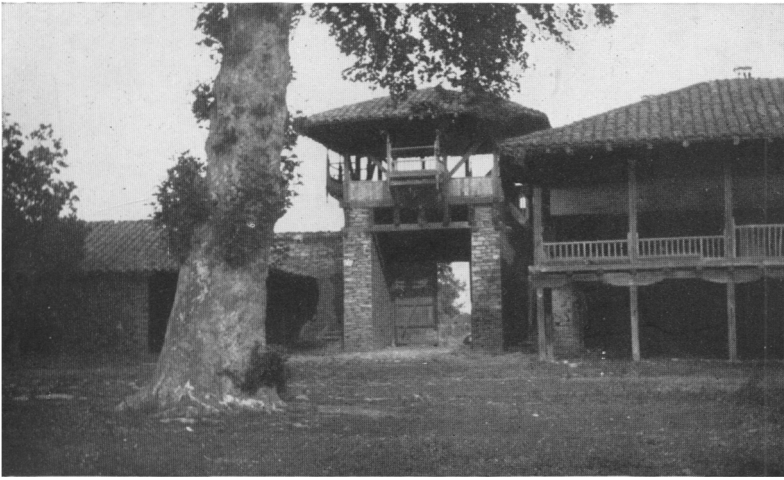
¹ *I.e.* of Thessaly with Greece, 1882.

² This is an absurd exaggeration: the chief defences are two sheep-dogs.

³ This is the distinguishing mark of celibate dervishes of the Bektashi order.

⁴ This is evidently the *Testim Tash* ('Stone of Resignation') of the Bektashi, which has, however, generally a twelve-pointed form.

I



2



3



GEOGRAPHICAL DISTRIBUTION OF THE BEKTASHI : 1, 2. GATEWAY AND MOSQUE OF *Tekke* AT KALKANDELEN.
3. CHRISTIAN MONASTERY OF S. NAOUM ON L. OCHRIDA.

I



GEOGRAPHICAL DISTRIBUTION OF THE BEKTASHI : 1. *Tekke* at ARGYROKASTRO.
2. PRECINCT OF RISK BABA, CANDIA. (*Phot.* Behaeddin).