

The Annual of the British School at Athens

<http://journals.cambridge.org/ATH>

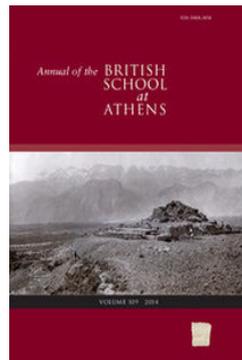
Additional services for *The Annual of the British School at Athens*:

Email alerts: [Click here](#)

Subscriptions: [Click here](#)

Commercial reprints: [Click here](#)

Terms of use : [Click here](#)



Ambiguous Sanctuaries and Bektashi Propaganda

F. W. Hasluck

The Annual of the British School at Athens / Volume 20 / November 1914, pp 94 - 119

DOI: 10.1017/S0068245400009424, Published online: 11 October 2013

Link to this article: http://journals.cambridge.org/abstract_S0068245400009424

How to cite this article:

F. W. Hasluck (1914). Ambiguous Sanctuaries and Bektashi Propaganda. The Annual of the British School at Athens, 20, pp 94-119 doi:10.1017/S0068245400009424

Request Permissions : [Click here](#)

AMBIGUOUS SANCTUARIES AND BEKTASHI PROPAGANDA.

THE stratification of cults at famous sanctuaries of the ancient world, reflected for the most part in their local mythology, has long been interpreted as evidence of the invasion of older by newer gods and religious systems. A religion carried by a conquering race or by a missionary priesthood to alien lands superimposes itself, by force or persuasion, on an indigenous cult: the process is expressed in mythological terms under the figure of a personal combat between the rival gods or of the 'reception' of the new god by the old.¹ Eventually either one god or the other succumbs and disappears or is relegated to an inferior position; or, again, the two may be more or less completely identified and fused.

Of the religions of antiquity it is seldom possible to do more than conjecture by what methods and processes these transitions were actually carried out. The paper which follows is an attempt to examine some phenomena of the superimposition of cult in the case of a modern Mahomedan sect—the Bektashi—acting on the sanctuaries of the mixed populations of Turkey and in particular on Christian saint-cults. So far as we can see, where Bektashism has gained ground at the expense of Christianity this has been accomplished without violence, either by processes analogous to that known to the ancient world as the 'reception' of the new god by the old, or simply by the identification of the two personalities. The 'ambiguous' sanctuary, claimed and frequented by both religions, seems to represent a distinct stage of development—the period of equipoise, as it were—in the transition both from Christianity to Bektashism and, in the rare cases where political and other circumstances are favourable, from Bektashism to Christianity.

¹ Of the latter phenomenon the typical case is that of the 'reception' of Asklepios by Amunos at Athens (*Ath. Mitth.* xxi. 307 ff.; Kutsch, *Attische Heilgötter und Heroen*, 12 ff.).

BEKTASHISM AND ORTHODOX ISLAM.

The Bektashi are best known as an order of dervishes, but, as in other orders, professed dervishes form only the hierarchy of their organisation, the rank and file being laymen (called *mühib* = 'friend')¹ openly or secretly subscribing to their doctrines: each local congregation finds its normal rallying-point and place of common worship in the nearest Bektashi *tekke*. A *tekke* may, according to circumstances, be a convent containing a number of professed dervishes under a *baba* or abbot, or a kind of 'lodge' inhabited only by the *baba*, as the spiritual head of the local community, and his attendants. It always contains the grave of a saint of the order (often the founder of the *tekke*), and a room (called *meidan*) for common worship. The Bektashi sect is identified with no nation or race, and is widely spread over the old Turkish Empire from Mesopotamia to Albania: its geographical distribution will form the subject of a future paper.

The religious doctrines of the Bektashi are devised to cater for all intellects and all temperaments: their system includes, like other mystic religions, a gradual initiation to secret knowledge by a number of grades: these form a series of steps between a crude and popular religion, in which saint-worship plays an important part, to a very emancipated, and in some respects enlightened, philosophy. The theology of Bektashism ranges from pantheism to atheism. Its doctrine and ritual, so far as the latter is known, have numerous points of contact with *Shia* Mahommedanism, of which it is confessedly an offshoot, and with Christianity, to which it acknowledges itself akin. In theory at least abstinence from violence and charity to all men are inculcated: the good Bektashi should make no distinction in his conduct between Musulmans and non-Musulmans, and members of non-Musulman religions may be admitted to the order. These tenets are so far carried into practice that in the 'fifties of the last century a Greek, by name Antonáki Varsámis, even became president of a local 'lodge' in the Brusa vilayet: he owed his position to the purchase of lands of which the former proprietor (who, from the description given of him, may well have been an Albanian) was a Bektashi of great local

¹ This, the ordinary name for lay adherents of a dervish order, is variously explained as 'Friends of the Family of the Prophet' or 'Friends of the Order.'

importance.¹ In our own day Monseigneur Petit writes of the Albanian Bektashi as follows :—‘ Parmi les cinquante ou soixante derviches que compte chacun de leurs couvents d’Albanie, une enquête même sommaire découvrirait aisément nombre de Chrétiens à qui on a révélé, comme à des Musulmans authentiques, les secrets de l’ordre, mais sans exiger d’eux le sacrifice de leur foi. Ils assistent aux cérémonies liturgiques, d’ailleurs fort courtes,—cinq ou six minutes par jour—et le reste du temps, ils peuvent, si bon leur semble, remplir leurs devoirs de Chrétiens.’²

All candidates for admission to the order must be believers in God and persons of good moral character: this latter must be guaranteed by a satisfactory sponsor.

Bektashism is not hereditary, the son of a Bektashi father being perfectly at liberty to choose at years of discretion whether or not he will enter the Bektashi order or another.

Orthodox *Sunni* Moslems are scandalised not only by the *Shia* beliefs of the Bektashi, but by their everyday practice. They are notoriously careless of the Prophet’s injunctions with regard to circumcision, veiling of women, regular prayer, and abstention from strong drink; the latter freedom undoubtedly tends to swell their ranks with undesirables. Further, their peculiar worship is performed not in a mosque but in a special chapel or oratory (*meidan*), and with closed doors; both sexes take part in the worship. This gives rise to the scandalous suspicions usually entertained of secret religions.

Usurpation of alien sanctuaries seems to have played an important part in the spread of Bektashism from the beginning. In the first place it is now generally recognised that the sect acquired its present name by such an usurpation. The Anatolian saint Hadji Bektash has in reality nothing to do with the doctrines of the sect which bears his name. The real founder of the so-called Bektashi was a Persian mystic named Fadlullah, and the original name of the sect Houroufi. The traditional date—a very doubtful one—of Hadji Bektash’s death is 1337–8. Fadlullah died, a martyr to his own gospel, at the hands of one of Timour’s sons in 1393–4. Shortly after his death his disciples introduced the Houroufi doctrines to the inmates of the

¹ Macfarlane, *Turkey and its Destiny*, i. 496 f.: the same person, evidently, is mentioned in Lady Blunt’s *People of Turkey*, ii. 278.

² *Les Confréries Musulmanes*, 17. Mgr. Petit’s information on the Bektashi has a special value as coming from the learned Samy Bey Frasherî, an Albanian from a Bektashi district.

convent of Hadji Bektash (near Kirshehr in Asia Minor) as the hidden learning of Hadji Bektash himself, under the shelter of whose name the Houroufi henceforth disseminated their (to orthodox Moslems) heretical and blasphemous doctrines.¹ The heresy continued to spread more or less unnoticed, and the sect acquired considerable political power by its combination with the Janissaries, which was officially recognised at the end of the sixteenth century. Henceforward the Bektashi become more and more suspected of heresy and disloyalty, till at last Mahmoud II. in 1826 made an attempt to destroy at one blow the Janissaries and their dervish backers. By his action the Janissaries were permanently broken, the Bektashi only crippled: by the fifties of the last century they had largely recovered,² and at the present day they exercise a considerable secret influence over the laymen affiliated to them, especially in out of the way parts of Asia Minor (Cappadocia, Lycia, and Kurdistan) and in Albania.³

In this latter country the Bektashi are said to number as many as 80,000 adherents,⁴ and Albanian dervishes are frequently found in convents outside their own country. A recent visitor reports that even at the central *tekke* of Hadji Bektash in the heart of Asia Minor the majority of the dervishes are Albanian:⁵ many of these would doubtless be qualifying themselves for the presidency of a *tekke* in their own country.

The methods used by the Bektashi to appropriate the sanctuary of Hadji Bektash were evidently used by them elsewhere for the spread of their gospel. We may suppose that the persons administering tribal and other sanctuaries were won over, probably by more or less complete

¹ Browne in *J. R. Asiat. Soc.* 1907, 535 ff.; G. Jacob, *Beiträge zur Geschichte des Dervischordens der Bektaschi*; cf. Degrand, *Haute Albanie*, 228 ff. for current legends on the subject of the encroachment of the Houroufi on the convent of Hadji Bektash. The Bektashi deny that the Houroufi doctrines are an essential part of their system, but admit that many Houroufi disguised themselves as Bektashi and Mevlevi at the time of their persecution under Timour.

² Scarlatos Byzantios (Κωνσταντινούπολις, iii. 496) says that *one-fifth* of the Turkish population of Constantinople was supposed in his time to be Bektashi. For the influence of the sect in western Asia Minor about the same time see MacFarlane, *Turkey and its Destiny*, i. 497 ff. The Bektashi seem to attribute the expansion to the tolerance shewn them by Sultan Abdul Medjid (1839-61).

³ For Bektashism in Albania see Leake, *N. Greece*, iv. 284; Degrand, *Haute Albanie*, 230; Durham, *Burden of the Balkans*, 208; Brailsford, *Macedonia*, 243 ff.

⁴ (Blunt) *People of Turkey*, ii. 277, confirmed to me in Epirus. The whole number of Bektashis is assessed by themselves at 3,000,000.

⁵ Prof. White in *Contemporary Review*, Nov. 1913, 694.

initiation into the secret learning of the Bektashi and the increase of power and prestige thereby afforded. The worshippers were satisfied by some apocryphal legend connecting their saint with Hadji Bektash or a saint of his cycle,¹ and probably by an increased output of miracles; the sanctuary with its *clientèle* would be thenceforth affiliated to the Bektashi organisation. In the case of the more or less anonymous and untended saints' tombs or *dedes* such as abound all over Turkey the problem was still simpler. Such saints had only to be induced to reveal their true nature in dreams to Bektashi dervishes, and for the future their graves would be distinguished by Bektashi headdresses.

Crowfoot's researches among the Anatolian *Shia* tribes ('Kyzylbash') of Cappadocia have revealed the process of amalgamation in an intermediate stage.² At Haidar-es-Sultan, a *Shia* village near Angora, the eponymous saint Haidar, probably tribal in origin,³ is identified quite irrationally under Bektashi auspices with Khodja Achmet of Yassi, who figures in Bektashi legend as the spiritual master of Hadji Bektash, or with Karadja Achmet, a saintly prince of Persia, who, though himself probably in origin a tribal saint, has been adopted into the Bektashi cycle.⁴ The *tekke* of Haidar-es-Sultan has close relations with the Bektashi.

Similar cases of absorption by the Bektashi could probably be found without difficulty elsewhere. A probable case seems to be the great and rich convent with two hundred dervishes found by Lucas at Yatagan⁵ near Denizli (vilayet of Aidin), 'où l'on garde précieusement le corps d'un Mahometan nommé Jatagoundie, que l'on dit avoir opéré de grandes merveilles dans tout le Pais.'⁶ Tsakyroglou's list of nomad Turkish tribes includes one named *Yataganli*, which frequents the vilayet of Aidin.⁷

¹ So in ancient Athens the newcomer Asklepios is foisted on the indigenous Amunos on the assumption that both were pupils of Chiron. In the case of Turkish tribal sanctuaries the propagation of such myths would be particularly easy: the tribes dimly remembered their immigration, as squatters and raiders, from the east, while the fictitious cycle of Bektashi tradition represented Hadji Bektash and his companions as immigrant missionaries from the same quarter.

² *J. R. Anthr. Inst.* xxx. (1900) 305 ff.

³ A Tribe of Dersimli ('Kyzylbash') Kurds is called *Haidarli* (*Geog. Journ.* xliv. (1914) 68). The name Haidar ('lion') has a special vogue among Shias, the 'lion of God' being a title of Ali.

⁴ On Haidar-es-Sultan see note below, p. 120.

⁵ So Arundell, *Asia Minor*, ii. 50.

⁶ *Voyage dans la Turquie fait en 1714*, ii. 171.

⁷ *Περὶ Γιουρούκων*, 15.

The saint buried at Yatagan was in all probability the eponym of the tribe (Yatagan-Dede?) later adopted, like Haidar, by the Bektashi: the assumption that the convent was in the hands of this order of dervishes is not so wild as it appears, since convents of other Turkish orders are seldom found beyond the outskirts of large towns.¹

Such absorption of tribal saints, whose cults are often in the hands of more or less illiterate people is comparatively easy. The Bektashi, according to their enemies at least, were quite as successful in ousting rival religious orders. Hadji Bektash himself is generally considered by the orthodox a saint of the Nakshbendi order, and since the suppression of the Bektashi in 1826, an orthodox mosque with a minaret has been built at the central *tekke*, and a Nakshbendi Sheikh quartered on the community for the performance of services in it.² Similarly the Nakshbendi claimed that the Bektashi had unscrupulously usurped others of their saints' tombs, including those of Ramazan Baba at Brusa and of the saint buried in the *tekke* of Kasr-el-Ain at Cairo.³ Such usurpations, if we may believe Assad Effendi, the historian of Sultan Mahmoud's campaign against the Bektashi, were numerous: under the pretext that the titles *baba* and *abdal* denoted exclusively Bektashi saints, the Bektashi appropriated the chapels and sepulchral monuments of all the saints so entitled belonging by right to the Nakshbendi, Kadri, and other orders.⁴

BECTASHISM AND CHRISTIANITY IN ASIA MINOR.

We have thus found evidence of Bektashi encroachments on tribal sanctuaries and on the holy places of other orders. More interesting is

¹ Since writing the above I have ascertained that the *tekke* of Yatagan was one of the Bektashi convents ruined in 1826; it is now insignificant, though the tomb of Yatagan Baba survives.

² I have often found a *mesdjid* or oratory in a Bektashi *tekke*, but never a mosque with proper establishment. *Mesdjids* are built for the appearance of orthodoxy and for the accommodation of orthodox visitors.

³ This saint was identified by the Nakshbendi with a certain Mollah Ainy. The Bektashi seem to have associated the *tekke* with Kaigousouz Sultan, buried in the present Bektashi *tekke* on the Mokattam (see Browne in *J. R. Asiat. Soc.* 1907, 573). The *tekke* of Kasr-el-Ain is said by Wilkinson to have been originally Bektashi (*Modern Egypt*, i. 287). Pococke mentions it (*Descr. of the East*, i. 29) but without stating to which order it belonged in his time. It was transferred by Ibrahim Pasha to the Kadri (Wilkinson, *loc. cit.*) and is now said to be in the hands of the Rufai.

⁴ Assad Effendi, *Destruction des Janissaires* (1833), 300. The Albanian Bektashi seem to lay claim to such saints as Shems Tabrizi, Nasr-ed-din Khodja of Akshehr, and Hadji Bairam (founder of the *Bairami* order) of Angora (Degrand, *Haute Albanie*, 230).

their procedure in the case of Christian churches and saints' tombs; they have not only laid claim to Christian sanctuaries, but have also in return thrown open the doors of their own to Christians. This is the more remarkable since Christians in Turkish lands are much less protected by public opinion than are orthodox Moslem sects like the Nakshbendi.

The numerous points of contact between Bektashism and Christianity have been set forth at length by Jacob.¹ The only historical evidence of overt propaganda among Christians is to be found in the accounts of the rebellion of Bedr-ed-din of Simav,² in the early years of the fifteenth century, which can hardly have been unconnected with the Bektashi-Houroufi sect, though this is nowhere explicitly stated. The rebellion was partly a religious, partly a social movement: the programme included the Bektashi-Houroufi doctrines of religious fusion and community of goods. An enthusiastic welcome was extended to Christian proselytes and proclamation was made to the effect that any Turk who denied true religion in the Christians was himself irreligious. A special manifesto on these lines, carried by a dervish deputation to a Cretan monk resident in Chios, was successful in winning him to the cause.³ The pro-Christian tendencies of the rebels were evidently recognised by the Turks in the punishment eventually meted out to their leader, who was crucified.

Liberal theory, however, can have little real hold on the imagination of the masses. For the illiterate, whether Moslem or Christian, doctrine is important mainly as embodying a series of prohibitions: their vital and positive religion is bound up with the cult of the saints, and demands concrete objects of worship, especially graves and relics,⁴ and above all

¹ *Die Bektaschijje in ihren Verhältniss zu verwandten Erscheinungen in Abh. d. Philos.-Philol. Klasse d. k. Bayr. Ak. d. Wiss.* xxiv. (1909), iii. Abth. 29 ff.

² Ducas, 112 B; Hammer-Hellert, *Hist. Emp. Ott.* ii. 181 ff.

³ The text is given by Ducas. The leader of the rebels sent to the Cretan saying: 'κατὰ συνασκητῆς σου εἰμι, καὶ τῷ θεῷ ᾧ λατρεύεις κατὰ τὴν προσκύνησιν φέρω.' With this compare the conduct of the Houroufi dervish, met in Chios about the same time by George of Hungary, who 'intrabat ecclesiam Christianam et signabat se signo crucis et aspergebat se aqua benedicta et dicebat manifeste uestra lex est ita bona sicut nostra est' (*De Ritu Turcorum*, cap. xx.).

⁴ The enormous potency of graves and buried saints in popular religion is pointed out in regard to the Holy Places of Islam by Burckhardt. Though the visit to the Prophet's tomb at Medina is optional and the pilgrimage to the Kaaba at Mecca obligatory, the tomb of the Prophet inspires the people of Medina with much more respect than the Kaaba does those at Mecca, visitors crowd with more zeal and eagerness to the former shrine than the latter, and more decorum is observed in its precincts. At Mecca itself men will swear lightly by the Kaaba, but not by the grave of Abou Taleb (*Arabia*, i. 235, ii. 195, 197).

miracles, to sustain its faith. It is in the cult of the saints that the Bektashi propaganda amongst Christians has left most trace. The lines adopted are identical with or parallel to those followed, according to the theory propounded elsewhere,¹ by the Mevlevi order of dervishes at Konia in the Middle Ages for a similar purpose. On the one hand Moslem sanctuaries are made 'ambiguous,' or accessible to Christians also, by the circulation of legends to the effect (1) that a saint worshipped by Moslems as a Moslem was secretly converted to Christianity, or (2) that the Moslem saint's mausoleum is shared by a Christian. On the other hand, Christian sanctuaries are made accessible to Moslems by (3) the identification of the Christian saint with a Moslem. These three schemes may be called for brevity 'conversion,' 'intrusion,' and 'identification': for the latter process use is often made on the Moslem side of a somewhat vague personage—at Konia Plato—as a 'lay-figure' capable of assimilation to various Christian saints.

In Turkey, particularly in parts where the average peasant intelligence and general culture are of a low order and the difference between Christian and Moslem is not acutely felt, it is usual for any sanctuary reputed for its miracles to be frequented by both religions.² The 'conversion,' 'intrusion,' and 'identification' schemes are devised to accentuate this natural point of contact between the two religions and to put it on a logical footing. The idea of metempsychosis, which is often implied by 'identification,' though foreign to orthodox Christian thought, is widely current in the *Shia* forms of Islam.³

For Asia Minor the 'lay-figure' saint of the Bektashi is possibly the protean Khidr. Khidr is revered in a vague way by all Moslems, who often identify him with S. George. He has a special prominence among the 'Kyzylbash' of Asia Minor,⁴ whose connection with the Bektashi is obscure but well authenticated. The 'Kyzylbash' Kurds of the Dersim recognise the Armenian saint Sergius as identical with Khidr⁵ and make

¹ *B.S.A.* xix. 191 ff.

² In this assimilation language is an important factor. The phenomena here mentioned occur markedly in Central Asia Minor where all races speak Turkish, and in Albania where all religions speak Albanian.

³ The Persian Shah Abbas held firmly that Ali, S. George, and S. James of Compostella were identical (*P. della Valle, Viaggio*, ii. 257 f.).

⁴ White, *Trans. Vict. Inst.* xxxix. (1907) 156; cf. Jerphanion in *Byz. Zeit.* xx. 493. The same is true of the Nosairi (*R. Dussaud, Religion des Nosairis*, 128-135).

⁵ Grenard, *Journ. Soc. Asiat.* iii. (1904) 518.

pilgrimage to Armenian churches of S. Sergius as to sanctuaries of Khidr.¹ Further west, among Greek populations who hold S. Sergius of less importance than do the Armenians, the connection generally admitted by Moslems between Khidr and S. George and S. Elias has probably served its turn. At the *tekke* of Sheikh Elwan in Pontus Khidr seems certainly to have supplanted S. Theodore,² who, as a cavalier and a dragon-slayer, approximates to S. George. Though we cannot as yet definitely ascribe to the Bektashi this transference from Christianity to Islam, the locality falls well within the range of their influence.

The more ignorant the populations concerned, the further such identifications can be pressed. The 'Kyzylbash' Kurds, who possess in all probability a strong admixture of Armenian blood, equate Ali to Christ, the Twelve Imams to the Twelve Apostles, and Hassan and Hussein to SS. Peter and Paul.³ The conversion of illiterate Christians, always aided by material attractions, becomes fatally easy under the influences of this accommodating form of Islam.

Apparent examples of such religious fusion under Bektashi auspices are to be found in the following Anatolian cults.

1.—*Hadji Bektash Tekke, near Kirshehr.*

This, the central *tekke* of the Bektashi order, is frequented by Christians, who claim that the site was once occupied by a Christian monastery of S. Charalambos.⁴ On entering the mausoleum (*turbe*) where Hadji Bektash lies buried Christians make the sign of the cross: they are said to identify the tomb with that of S. Charalambos,⁵ who, however, has no connection with Cappadocia. The identification has probably grown up owing to some legendary intervention of Hadji Bektash at a time of plague, such intervention being characteristic of S. Charalambos.⁶ That the identification is not of great antiquity⁷ seems proved by the account of the archbishop Cyril (1815), who equates Hadji Bektash

¹ Molyneux Seel, *Geog. Journ.* xlv. (1914) 66. The Armenians are said to confuse S. Sergius and George (P. della Valle, *Viaggio*, ii. 253).

² Anderson, *Studia Pontica*, i. 9 ff.; cf. iii. 207 ff. See further Grégoire, *Byz. Zeit.* xix. 59-61; Jerphanion, *ibid.* xx. 492.

³ Molyneux Seel, *loc. cit.*

⁴ Levides, *Αί ἐν μονολίθους μοναὶ τῆς Καππαδοκίας*, 98.

⁵ Cuinet, *Asie Mineure*, i. 841, confirmed to me by Mr. Sirinides of Talas, who has visited the *tekke*. The personalities of Hadji Bektash and S. Charalambos are so far fused in the popular mind that a well-known story of Hadji Bektash, which tells how he outdid Achmet Rufai, who rode on a lion, by riding on a wall (Degrand, *Haute Albanie*, 229) was told to Mr. Dawkins by Anatolian Greeks of S. Charalambos and Mahomet!

⁶ See, e.g., Polites, *Δελτίον τῆς Ἰστ. Ἐταιρείας*, i. 22, and the same author's *Παραδόσεις*, No. 908; M. Hamilton, *Greek Saints*, 71.

⁷ It has however taken firm hold, and appears to be believed in Macedonia.

not to S. Charalambos but to S. Eustathius.¹ The latter is connected in the *Synaxaria*² with Rome, not Anatolia, and is by no means a prominent saint in the Eastern Church.³ His link with Hadji Bektash is probably to be found in the incident, regularly figured in his *eikons*, of his conversion while hunting, by the apparition of a stag with a cross between its horns, which cried out with a human voice, 'Why pursuest thou me? I am Jesus Christ.' The Christian story is really pointless and was probably an importation from the East, where the idea of the Unity of Nature with God is widespread. Deer have, moreover, a special connection with dervishes, and are respected on that account.⁴ The famous Bektashi saint Kaigousouz Sultan, like S. Eustathius, was converted out hunting by the transformation of a wounded deer into a venerable dervish. In another story Hadji Bektash himself converts an unbeliever by exhibiting on his own person the wounds inflicted by the latter on a stag. The identification of Hadji Bektash with S. Eustathius was probably made on the ground of some similar story.

2.—*Haidar-es-Sultan Tekke, near Angora.*⁵

Haidar, the Moslem saint buried here, is identified under Bektashi auspices with Khodja Achmet (Karadja Achmet?), a disciple of Hadji Bektash, who is said to have settled here with his wife, a Christian woman, named Mēnē, from Caesarea. Local (Moslem) tradition holds that the *tekke* occupies the site of a Christian monastery.⁶ The connection with the Bektashi is obvious from the legend: the village is 'Kyzylbash' or Shia, and as such under their religious authority.⁷

3.—*Tekke of Sidi Battal, near Eskishehr.*

This dervish convent, which has been in the hands of the Bektashi at least since the sixteenth century,⁸ claims to possess the tomb of the Arab hero Sidi Battal Ghazi; beside him reposes his wife, who was, according tradition, a Christian princess.⁹

¹ Περιγραφή τῆς Ἀρχιεπισκοπῆς Ἰκονίου, II: 'Χατζῆ Πεκτάς, ὅπου τεκές, ἦτοι μοναστήριον πεκτάσιδων δερβισιδων, παρωνομασμένον ἀπὸ τῶν Ἁγίων Εὐστάθιον, Χ. Πεκτάς λεγόμενον παρ' αὐτῶν, τὸν ὁποῖον θέλουσιν ἀρχηγὸν τοῦ τάγματος αὐτῶν.' The author of this rare work, of which I was fortunate enough to find a copy in the Greek Archaeological Society's Library, was archbishop of Iconium and later (1815-1818) Patriarch of Constantinople (Cyril VI.).

² Sept. 20.

³ Churches are, however, dedicated to him by the Orthodox, e.g., at Konia (Ramsay, *Cities of S. Paul*, 377).

⁴ Carnoy and Nicolaïdes, *Traditions populaires de Constantinople*, 10.

⁵ See above p. 98, and the note at the end of this article.

⁶ Crowfoot in *J. R. Anthr. Inst.* xxx. (1900) 305-320.

⁷ On this point see further White in *Trans. Victoria Inst.* xl. (1908), 231. The Kyzylbash of Asia Minor are regarded by the Bektashi proper as an inferior branch of their order and called contemptuously *Soufi*. Their spiritual rulers receive authority not from the Abbot (*Akhi Dede*) of the central Bektashi *tekke* but from the *Tchelebi*, a mysterious personage who lives outside the *tekke* and claims to be an actual descendant of Hadji Bektash, and consequently the legitimate head of the order.

⁸ Here also there must for chronological reasons have been a usurpation by the Bektashi if the traditional account of the discovery of Sidi Battal's remains by a Seljouk princess is allowed. A legend is told at the *tekke* of a visit of Hadji Bektash to the place, and, to confirm it, marks of his hands and teeth are shewn on the walls of the buildings (Mordtmann, *Φιλολ. Σύλλογος Κων'πόλεως, Παράρτημα τοῦ θ' τόμου*, xv.). Other Bektashi legends connecting the convent with Hadji Bektash or his early followers are given by Jacob (*Beiträge*, 13) from Evliya.

⁹ *B.S.A.* xix. 186.

4.—*Shamaspur Tekke, Aladja (Paphlagonia).*

Local Moslems say of this (Bektashi) *tekke*, that it was an old Greek monastery.¹ The saint buried there is Hussein Ghazi, the father of Sidi Battal.² The name of the *tekke*, however, seems to connect it also with *Shamas*, who figures in Turkish legend as the governor of a castle near Kirshehr, slain in single combat by Sidi Battal³: this is a popular rendering and localization of an incident in the Romance of Sidi Battal, in which *Schâmas*, brother of the governor of Amorium, is slain by the hero.⁴ In this same romance the hero converts to Islam a monk named *Schûmas*.⁵ It is tempting to suppose that from these materials a Christian figure, somewhat analogous to the 'monk' or 'bishop' buried in the *tekke* of the Mevlevi at Konia,⁶ has been manufactured and intruded on the Shamaspur *tekke*.

5.—*Tekke of Nusr-ed-din, Zile (Pontus).*

This *tekke* is venerated by Christians, apparently as containing the tomb of the Forty Martyrs of Sebaste. It was formerly called Kirklar Tekke ('Convent of the Forty') and is thought by Grégoire to have had a Christian past under that title.⁷ The isolated position of the *tekke* in a strongly *Shia* district almost warrants the assumption that it is connected with the Bektashi.

6.—*S. Nerses, Roumkale.*

This ancient Armenian church was occupied by Mahommedans in the latter part of the seventeenth century '*afin de donner à entendre par là qu'ils révèrent les Saints & que celui auquel cette Eglise est dédiée, estoit de leur party et Musulman comme eux.*'⁸ Roumkale is on the Upper Euphrates, not far from the country of the 'Kyzylbash' Kurds, who have a religious connection with the Bektashi.

7.—*Chapel at Adalia.*

Savary de Brèves found at Adalia a cave-chapel, still retaining traces of Christian frescoes, in which was shewn the tomb of a Christian hermit. The latter, according to the Turks, had on his death-bed confessed himself a Musulman, and on this account received from Musulmans the honour due to one of their own saints.⁹ The Bektashi order has at the present day an establishment at Adalia.

¹ Hamilton, *Asia Minor*, i. 402 f.; H. J. Ross, *Letters from the East*, 343; Wilson in Murray's *Asia Minor*, 36. The *tekke* is also mentioned as a place of miraculous healing by Prof. White, *Trans. Vict. Inst.* xxxix. 159.

² For the latter see *B.S.A.* xix. 188.

³ Ainsworth, *Travels*, i. 157.

⁴ Ethé, *Fahrten des Sayyid Bathâl*, ii. 27.

⁵ *Ibid.* 21; *Shamas* is the Arabic for *deacon*.

⁶ *B.S.A.* xix. 195.

⁷ *B.C.H.* 1909, 25 ff.; cf. *Studia Pontica*, iii. 243 and Jerphanion in *Mél. Fac. Orient.* (Beyrou), 1911, xxxviii.

⁸ M. Febvre, *Théâtre de la Turquie*, (1682) 40.

⁹ *Voyage* (Paris, 1628), 23. For a similar legendary conversion, but to Christianity, of an ambiguous saint, cf. *B.S.A.* xix. 195.

8.—‘*Tomb of S. Polycarp, Smyrna.*’

The history of this cult is discussed at length elsewhere.¹ It has been, as far back as it can be traced, Moslem in form, and appears first in Moslem hands. S. Polycarp was formerly claimed as a saint of their own by the dervishes in charge of the tomb, who are shewn by the Bektashi headdress on an adjoining grave to have been at some time members of this order. A supposed mitre of the saint was shewn to pilgrims.²

9.—‘*Tomb of S. Theodore, near Benderegli (Heraclea Ponti).*’

A *turbe* (mausoleum) on a hill above Alapli, a few miles west of Benderegli, is visited yearly by Christians as containing the tomb of S. Theodore *Stratelates*,³ who, according to his legend, suffered martyrdom at Heraclea under Licinius and was buried at Euchaïta.⁴

The *turbe* seems to be a humble wooden erection and contains two outwardly Turkish tombs,⁵ attributed by the Greeks to S. Theodore and his disciple Varro,⁶ and by the Turks to a warrior saint named Ghazi Shahid Mustafa and his son. These are tended by a Turkish woman, who receives offerings from pilgrims of both religions in the shape of money and candles.⁷

The connection of this ambiguous cult with the Bektashi cannot be pressed, but there is a village bearing the name *Beteshler* (interpreted by von Diest as *Bektashler*, ‘the Bektashis’) in the vicinity.⁸

10.—*Mamasoun Tekke (Ziaret Kilisse) near Newshehr.*

This sanctuary was discovered, apparently in the last century,⁹ by a series of ‘miraculous’ accidents. The site was occupied by a barn¹⁰ belonging to an inhabitant of the (purely Turkish) village of Mamasoun, but the hay kept in it

¹ Above, pp. 81 ff.

² Cf. No. 12 below (Baba Eski).

³ P. Makris, *Ἡρακλεία τοῦ Πόντου* (Athens, 1908), 115 ff.

⁴ For the legend of S. Theodore see Delehayé, *Saints Militaires*, ch. ii.

⁵ Makris describes them as ‘*δύο ξύλινα κιβώτια ἅπερ εἶνε φέρετρα,*’ adding ‘*πρὸς τὸ μέρος τῆς κεφαλῆς φέρουσι κιδάρεις [turbans] καὶ μέγα κομβολόγιον [rosary].*’

⁶ ‘Varro’ (Ὀυάρρων) does not figure in the orthodox legend of S. Theodore: Makris speaks of an ancient inscription formerly kept at the site; it possibly contained the name.

⁷ A similar mixed cult of S. Theodore and ‘un santon dit “Gaghni”’ in Pontus was reported by Père Girard to Cumont, but without details (*Stud. Pont.* ii. 143 note 3).

⁸ Von Diest, *Pergamon zum Pontus*, 81. *Betesh* or *Petesh* seems to be the original form of *Bektash*. In George of Hungary’s *De Turcorum Moribus* (cap. xv.), written in the middle of the fifteenth century, the saint is called *Hartschi Petesch* (translated *adiutorius peregrinationis*). The form *Bektash* seems to depend on a false etymology from *geubek* (‘navel’) and *tash* (‘stone’) as Leake betrays:—‘The Bektashli are so called from a Cappadocian sheikh who wore a stone upon his navel’ (*N. Greece*, iv. 284).

⁹ It is not mentioned in the Archbishop Cyril’s *Περιγραφή τῆς ἀρχιεπισκοπῆς Ἰκονίου* (1815) or indicated in his map, 1812, which generally marks even purely Moslem *tekkas* of importance.

¹⁰ So Nicolaïdes; but from Rott’s account it would appear that the *tekke* is one of a series of rock-cut churches, many of which are still used as barns.

caught fire repeatedly. As a stable the building proved equally unlucky, and the animals occupying it died one by one. These warnings finally induced the proprietor to excavate, very possibly under directions from a dervish and with a view to finding the 'talisman' which bewitched the building.¹ A rock-cut Christian church and human bones were then discovered, and the latter, probably on account of the name of the village, attributed to S. Mamas.² The church has been adapted for the ambiguous modern cult. At the east end is a Holy Table, at which itinerant Christian priests are allowed to officiate, and a picture of S. Mamas, while in the south wall is a niche (*mihrab*) giving the orientation of Mecca to Turkish pilgrims. There is no partition between Christian and Moslem worshippers, but the latter, while at their prayers, are allowed to turn the picture from them. The sanctuary is administered by dervishes.³

An analysis of these ten cases of ambiguous sanctuaries in Asia Minor gives the following results:—

1. Connection with the Bektashi is established in five cases (1, 2, 3, 4, 8). The remainder of the sanctuaries are situated within the area of Bektashi activities and are not known to be in other hands.

2. Christian saints are claimed as Moslem by the 'conversion' or analogous *motifs* in four, possibly five, cases (5 (?), 6, 7, 8, 10).

3. Apparently Moslem saints are claimed as Christian by 'identification' in two cases (1, 9). Moslem sanctuaries have a Christian side developed by 'intrusion' in two, possibly three, cases (2, 3 (?), 4).

BEKTASHISM AND CHRISTIANITY IN EUROPE.

The 'lay-figure' of Bektashi propaganda amongst the Christians of Roumeli is Sari Saltik,⁴ whose elaborate legend has been discussed in the last volume of the *Annual*.⁵ Sari Saltik, originally, as I believe, a tribal

¹ For the procedure see the tale of the 'Priest and the Turkish Witch' in *Polites' Παράδοσεις*, No. 839.

² *Mamasoun* would be near enough to the Turkish genitive from *Mamas*. The saint, however, was born at Gangra in Paphlagonia and suffered at Caesarea. The name of the village is probably a corruption of the ancient *Momoassos* (Ramsay, *Hist. Geog.* 285).

³ For the tradition of the haunted building and the origin of the cult see Carnoy and Nicolaïdes, *Traditions de l'Asie Mineure*, 193; for the church-mosque, Levides, *Αί ἐν μονοῖθις μοναί*, 130 f.; Pharasopoulos, *Τὰ Σύλατα*, 74 f. I am indebted to Mr. Sirinides of Talas for first-hand information not contained in these authors. The church-mosque is mentioned as a place of pilgrimage of Greeks, Armenians, and Turks by H. Rott, *Kleinas. Denkmäler*, 263.

⁴ Khizr has also an importance, at present ill-defined, for Albanian Bektashism (Durham, *Burden of the Balkans*, 208).

⁵ *B.S.A.* xix. 203 ff.

saint,¹ is identified in a general way with S. Nicolas, and seems to have occupied a certain number of churches dedicated to that saint in eastern Turkey in Europe.

These can all be brought into relation with the earliest cycle of the Sari Saltik myth, which concerns itself with his apocryphal adventures in Europe, and ends with his death and the miraculous transformation of his body into *seven* bodies, four of which were buried in Turkish territory (Thrace, Bulgaria, Roumania, Crimea?) and three in Christian Europe (Bohemia, Dantzic, Sweden).² In a variant version, from a manuscript discovered by Degrand at Tirana, *forty* bodies of Sari Saltik are found after his death; one of these is singled out by a miracle as the genuine corpse and buried in a circle composed of the other thirty-nine.³ This variant suggests a pretext was needed for the usurpation of some cult of 'the Forty.'⁴

In the western section, which appears to have been touched by Bektashi propaganda a good deal later than the eastern, and now contains in Albania the chief stronghold of the sect, Sari Saltik is identified with the Christian saints Naoum and Spyridon. The corresponding cycle of

¹ This idea, put forward tentatively in *B.S.A.* xix., gains weight from the following considerations: (1) Colour-adjectives ('black,' 'white,' 'red,' 'blue') like *Sari* ('yellow') are often prefixed to tribal names, possibly alluding to the distinctive colouring or marking of the herds of sections of a divided tribe. (2) A town in the Crimea named *Baba Saltouk* after 'a diviner' (*i.e.*, a tribal holy man?) is mentioned by Ibn Batuta (tr. Sanguinetti, ii. 416, 445), and *Baba Dagh*, the starting-point of the Sari Saltik of Bektashi tradition, was colonised by Tartars, probably from the Crimea. (3) *Saltaklu* appears as a village-name near Eski Baba in Thrace, and *Saltik* in Phrygia near *Sandykli*. (4) It is obvious that *Saltik*, like *Betesh* (above, p. 105, note 8), means nothing to the ordinary Turk, by the frequent attempts to produce an etymology for it. *Sari Saltik* is variously rendered 'The Blond Apostle' (Ippen, *Skutari*, 72); 'the Yellow Corpse' (λείψανόν), which was the explanation offered me by the Abbot of S. Naoum (see below No. 19); 'Yellow Pate' (Bodleian *Cod. Rawlinson*, C. 799. f. 50 *verso*); 'Yellow Jacket' was the translation offered me by a bey of Ochrida; a still more complicated derivation, from *salmak* ('dismiss'), is given from a native source by Degrand (*Haute Albanie*, 240).

² This version is set down by the seventeenth-century traveller Evliya Effendi on the authority of the dervishes of Kilgra (*Travels*, tr. von Hammer, ii. 70-72).

³ Degrand, *Haute Albanie*, 240: the MS. is said by Jacobs to be the *Vilayetname* of Hadjim Sultan (*Beiträge*, 2 n. 4).

⁴ For cults of 'the Forty' see *B.S.A.* xix. 221 ff.; the Bektashi may have been aiming at the 'Forty' cult of Kirk Kilsisse, discussed on p. 224, or even SS. Quaranta in Albania, where there is said to be a ruined monastery containing forty underground chambers, one for each saint. Ali Pasha of Yannina, whose connection with the Bektashi and the Sari Saltik legend is discussed below, restored the adjacent fortress (Παπασσός, ii. 462, cf. Leake, *N. Greece*, i. 11.). But a Bektashi *tekke* has never existed there. On the other hand the sect lays claim to a 'Forty' cult in Larissa.

the Sari Saltik myth now current in Albania, makes that country the exclusive scene of the saint's activity. He appears at Croia, where he slays a dragon, and in the sequel, to escape persecution, crosses miraculously to Corfou, where he dies.¹ To the date and bearing of this part of the legend we shall return.

The following ambiguous sanctuaries may be cited from the European area :—

11.—*Tekke of Sari Saltik, Kilgra (Bulgaria).*

This Bektashi sanctuary (now abandoned), on the promontory of Kilgra (Kaliakra) in Bulgaria, was held by its former dervish occupants to have been the scene of Sari Saltik's fight with the dragon, and one of the seven places where he was buried.² Local Christians now hold that it contains the tomb of S. Nicolas, with whom it may have been associated in Byzantine times; for the Turks the saint worshipped there is now known as Hadji Baba.³

12.—*Tekke at Baba Eski (Thrace).*

The Bektashi in charge of this sanctuary in the seventeenth century identified the saint buried in it with their own Sari Saltik and the Christian S. Nicolas.⁴ The *tekke* is said to be a former Christian church and is to this day frequented by Christians.⁵ A mitre and other relics, alleged to have belonged to S. Nicolas, were formerly shewn here, but were not accepted as genuine by the Christians.⁶

13.—*Tekke of Binbiroglou Achmet Baba, Bounar Hissar (Thrace).*

Macintosh in 1836 found just east of Bounar Hissar 'a cemetery distinguished by a tower-shaped building with a dome roof said to be a remnant of an ancient Greek church dedicated to S. Nicolas, but now the burying-place of a wealthy Turkish proprietor.'⁷ Boué, who describes the already deserted *tekke* of this day (1837), speaks of the saint as a 'general Achmet' who was regarded as the conqueror

¹ Degrand, *Haute Albanie*, 207.

² *B.S.A.* xix. 205.

³ *Arch. Epig. Mitth.* x. (1886) 188 f. : 'Am äussersten Ende gibt es neben dem Leuchthurm vier kleinere, künstlich ausgeglättete und mit gemisselten Sitzen versehene Höhlenkäume, die wie Wohnzimmer untereinander verbunden sind. Eine mit einen niederen Umfassung zugemauerte Ecke darin gilt den Christen als Grab des heil. Nikola, den Türken als das des "Hadji Baba."'

⁴ *B.S.A.* xix. 205.

⁵ M. Christodoulos, *Περιγραφή Σαράντα Ἐκκλησιῶν*, 47: τὸ ἀρχαῖον ὄνομα ἀντικατέστη διὰ τοῦ σήμερον ἐκ τοῦ τάφου πολιούχου Δερβίση (Βαβᾶ) χαίροντος ἐπόληψιν παρὰ Τούρκοις τε καὶ Χριστιανοῖς κειμένου ἐν τῷ παρὰ τῇ κόμῃ εἰς τεκὲν μεταβληθέντι ἀρχαίῳ Ναῷ τοῦ Ἁγίου Νικολάου ἐν ᾧ καὶ κατῴκει. I was told in 1909 that Christians still frequented the *tekke*.

⁶ S. Gerlach, *Tagebuch*, 571 : 'Diese Waffen, sprechen die Türcken, habe St. Niclaus gefuhret : Die Griechen aber sprechen, die Türcken habens nur hinein gehanget.'

⁷ *Military Tour*, i. 73.

of the country.¹ Bektashi saints in Roumeli are often represented as early *ghazis*. The full name of the saint, and that of the order to which the *tekke* belonged (Bektashi), are given by Jochmus, who visited the place in 1847.² The 'ambiguous' character of the sanctuary is betrayed, in the light of Albanian and other parallels,³ by Macintosh's words.

14.—*Tekke of Akyazyly Baba, near Baltchik (Roumania).*

Though it is nowhere distinctly stated that this *tekke* was in the hands of the Bektashi, the phenomena are so similar to those of known Bektashi sanctuaries that this seems almost certain.⁴ The saint, who appears to have been purely Moslem in origin,⁵ develops a Christian side as S. Athanasius, who, under present conditions, seems in a fair way to usurp all the honours of the place.⁶

15.—*S. Eusebia, Selymbria (Thrace).*

What seems, in the light of modern developments in Albania,⁷ to be a corresponding adoption of a Christian saint by the Bektashi is noted by Cantemir in Thrace, a former stronghold of the order. 'At Selymbria are preserved entire,' he says, 'the remains of S. Euphemia: the Turks call her *Cadid*, and visit her out of curiosity.'⁸ The allusion is to the body of S. (*δσρία*) Xene (in religion Eusebia) of Mylasa, which is still preserved in the church of the Virgin at Selymbria.⁹ Here as in Albania, if our supposition is correct, the Bektashi have selected an ancient church containing the tangible relics of a popular saint, whom they have re-named for the purposes of their propaganda.

¹ *Itinéraires dans la Turquie d'Europe*, i. 132 :—' On n'y voit plus qu'un pays couvert de broussailles, au milieu duquel il y a une petite mosquée et vis-à-vis un bâtiment carré entouré d'une muraille. La mosquée n'est que le monument qui recèle les restes du général Achmed, le conquérant de ce pays, et ceux de quelques uns de ses parents. Une natte entoure le tombeau afin qu'on puisse y prier. Un cimetière est autour de cet édifice, qui est un lieu de pèlerinage et le bâtiment carré sert à héberger alors les devots.' The *tekke* was probably one of those put down in 1826, and is now a *chiftlik* or farm.

² *J.R.G.S.* xxiv. (1854) 44.

³ Especially Nos. 17, 18, below.

⁴ This I have since ascertained to be the case.

⁵ He was possibly tribal: a village named Akyazyly formerly existed in Bulgaria (*Arch. Epig. Mitth.* x. (1886), 161), and there is a village Akyazi in Bithynia.

⁶ Kanitz, *Bulgarie*, 473 ff.; Jireshek, *Bulgarien*, 533; cf. *Arch. Epig. Mitth.* x. (1886) 182; J. Nikolaou, 'Ὁδησός (Varna, 1894), 248–250. I was told by a local resident that during the last war the crescent on the *turbe* had been displaced in favour of a cross by the Bulgarian priest of the village. I hope in another place to discuss in detail the development of this cult.

⁷ Below, Nos. 19, 20.

⁸ *Empire Ottoman*, tr. Joncquières, i. 121. Turks or Greeks will of course frequent any miraculous shrine for cure irrespective of religion; the renaming stamps this case as peculiar. Von Hammer (*Hist. Emp. Ott.* iii. 14) translates *Cadid* by *momie*, but I can find no authority for this.

⁹ S. Xene figures in the *Synaxaria* of Jan. 24. Her relics at Selymbria are mentioned already in 1614 by Pietro della Valle (*Viaggio*, i. 47) and in modern times are one of the attractions of a frequented Orthodox pilgrimage, cf. Θρακικὴ Ἐπιτεριὰς, i. 68; Ξενοφάνης, ii. 256, 322. A distaff and other belongings of the saint are also shewn; such relics are comparatively rare in Orthodoxy, exceedingly common in popular Islam.

fiction of Karadja Achmet¹ with S. George has taken such hold on the Christian population that since the Balkan war and the Servian conquest of the district the sanctuary has been formally claimed for Christianity by the erection of a cross, though the dervish in charge has not been evicted.²

19.—*Monastery of S. Naoum on lake Ochrida.*

This monastery, containing the tomb of the saint, one of the seven apostles of the Slavs, is known to local Moslems generally as Sari Saltik, with whom the Christian saint is identified³; the Bektashi of the adjoining (Koritza) district make pilgrimage to the tomb. Already in the twenties of the last century Walsh remarks that 'the Turks claim S. Naoum as a holy man of their religion,'⁴ and von Hahn in the sixties found a prayer-carpet kept at the tomb for the benefit of Moslem pilgrims⁵: this carpet, not being a necessary, or even a usual, feature of a Moslem cult, was probably considered, or on its way to be considered, a personal relic of the saint. While I was at S. Naoum (1914) the Greek abbot, to whom I am indebted for information on the relations of the Bektashi with the monastery, told me that he had received a visit from the abbot of one of the Bektashi *tekkes* at Koritza, who told him that Sari Saltik, on a visit to the monastery, had, with the Christian abbot, miraculously crossed the lake to Ochrida on a straw-mat (*ψάθα*). Such miraculous journeys, generally made on prayer-rugs, are a regular *motif* of dervish stories.⁶ The introduction of Ochrida may indicate the beginning of an adoption by the Bektashi of the church and tomb of S. Clement in the latter town.

20.—*S. Spyridon, Corfou.*

S. Spyridon, as we have said, is one of the Christian saints identified by the Bektashi with their own apostle Sari Saltik⁷; this explains the introduction of Corfou, where S. Spyridon's body is preserved in the cathedral, into the Croia cycle of Sari Saltik's adventures.⁸ Albanian Bektashi are said to make pilgrimage to the saint in Corfou.⁹

¹ Karadja Achmet is a regular Bektashi 'intrusion' figure of the same type as Sari Saltik: see below p. 121.

² From a local Mahommedan informant (1914).

³ According to one Bektashi tradition, Sari Saltik settled at the monastery, converted, and eventually succeeded, the Christian abbot. This is a mild edition of the earlier episode at Dantzig (*B.S.A.* xix. 204).

⁴ Constantinople, ii. 376; cf. E. Spencer, *Travels in Turkey*, ii. 76.

⁵ *Drin und Wardar*, 108 f.

⁶ The incident occurs in the 'first edition' of the Sari Saltik legend, where the saint and his companions cross in this way to Europe, and in a version of the Croia-Corfou cycle told me by the Sheikh at the *tekke* of Turbe Ali; in this latter story the dervish's habit (*πάσο*=*khirka*) was the vehicle. For the theme in Christian and other hagiologies see Saintyves, *Saints Successeurs des Dieux*, 254.

⁷ Miss Durham heard this at Croia (*Burden of the Balkans*, 304), I from a southern Albanian Bektashi at Uskub, from the Sheikh of the *tekke* at Reni, and from the abbot of S. Naoum.

⁸ *B.S.A.* xix. 207, where it is wrongly explained.

⁹ I am told by an English Corfiote of the older generation, Mr. Weale, that in his childhood many Albanian Moslems visited the cathedral at S. Spyridon's two festivals, and paid their respects to the saint's remains: they often brought with them offerings of candles and even of livestock. [This has been abundantly confirmed by enquiries at Corfou.]

An analysis of these ten ambiguous sanctuaries in Europe gives the following results :—

(i) Connection with the Bektashi is established in eight cases (11, 12, 13, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20).

(ii) Bektashi sanctuaries are made accessible to Christians by 'identification' in five cases (13, 14, 16, 17, 18).

(iii) Christian sanctuaries are made accessible to Bektashi by 'identification' in four, possibly five, cases (11, 12, 15 (?), 19, 20)

It will be noted that the mental attitude of Bektashi and Christians with regard to these ambiguous sanctuaries is somewhat different. The educated Bektashi, to whom the ideas of pantheism and metempsychosis are familiar, find it easy and natural to identify the Christian saints with their own; for simpler souls, if indeed the efficacy of the miracles does not suffice them, fables like the 'disguise' of Sari Saltik in the robes of 'Svity Nikola'¹ may be used to bridge the gap. Christians, having before them numerous examples of churches usurped by the Moslem conqueror, accept rather the assumption that the Bektashi sanctuary occupies a site already consecrated by Christian tradition, though their act of worship is made in the actual tomb-chamber of the Moslem saint, and conforms to the custom of the Moslem sanctuary. This leads in some cases to the belief that the buried Saint himself was a Christian, and political changes may lead to the definite and official transference of the *tekke* to Christianity.² In the promulgation and acceptance of these fictitious identifications the material interests of the parties concerned have evidently played an important part. The occupiers of the ambiguous sanctuary, be they Christian or Bektashi, find their *clientèle*, and consequently their revenues, increased, while the frequenters receive the less tangible but not less appreciated benefits of miraculous healing and intercession.

The concessions of Bektashism to Christianity and of Christianity to Bektashism seem at first sight exactly balanced. Christian churches adopt fictitious Bektashi traditions and receive Bektashi pilgrims: conversely, Bektashi *tekkes* adopt fictitious Christian legends and receive Christian pilgrims. But the apparent equality is only superficial. The ultimate aim of the Bektashi was not to amalgamate Christianity with

¹ *B.S.A.* xix. 204.

² Cf. Nos. 14, 18 above.

Bektashism on equal terms but to absorb Christianity in Bektashism. It may well be that the partial adoption by the Bektashi of such churches as S. Naoum and S. Spyridon really represent intermediate stages in the process of transition from exclusive Christian ownership to complete Bektashi occupation. In Albania we can understand that the process was arrested by the revival of the Orthodox Church in the eighteenth century. In Thrace we seem to see in Eski Baba, where a Christian church has become completely Bektashi, an example of successful transference at a more favourable date. In Anatolia it is at least possible that the same methods were used earlier still, so early and with such complete success that no trace of the process remains : but we have always to bear in mind the possibility that supposed Christian ' traditions ' are to be accounted for by false legends, circulated or countenanced from interested motives by the dervishes in charge, or on patriotic grounds by the local Christians.

POLITICAL BACKGROUND.

The propagation of such a religion as Bektashism is considerably aided if it can rely on the support or connivance of the civil power, especially as it is regarded by orthodox Moslems as heretical. In the case of the western (Albanian) group of ambiguous sanctuaries under Bektashi influence clear traces can be detected of a political combination such as we have suggested in explanation of the analogous religious phenomena at mediaeval Konia. The spread of Bektashism in Albania is generally thought to be due to the support given to the propagandists by Ali Pasha of Yannina (d. 1822)¹ : this idea will be found to be well grounded, and there are hints that Ali's relations with the Bektashi were paralleled by those of other Albanian and Roumeliote potentates. It is still strongly held in Tepelen, the birthplace of Ali, that his connection with dervishes was an important factor of his success. One tradition says his father was a dervish.² Ali himself believed devoutly in dervishes, and not without reason. It is said that while still a poor and insignificant boy he was pointed out by a wandering holy man, to whom he and his mother had, despite their poverty, offered shelter and hospitality, as one that had a great future. This same holy man gave him

¹ Brailsford, *Macedonia*, 233, 244. This I have found generally admitted by South Albanian Bektashi, some of whom also connect Omer Vrioni of Berat and Mahmoud Bey of Aulona, both contemporaries of Ali, with the movement.

² Durham, *Burden of the Balkans*, 239.

a 'lucky' ring, which he wore even at the end of his life.¹ His superstitious belief in prophecy was enhanced by his contact with the Greek monk and evangelist Cosmas (afterwards canonized), who foretold to him, already in 1778, that he should prevail over the pasha of Berat, become vizir of Epirus, fight with the Sultan, and go to Constantinople 'with a red beard'²—all of which eventually came to pass.

It was apparently in his later life that Ali 'got religion'; naturally it was not the strict observance of *Sunni* puritans that attracted him, but rather the licence and superstition of the less reputable members of the dervish orders, and their potential political importance. 'In his younger years,' writes Hobhouse in 1809, 'Ali was not a very strict Mahometan; but he has lately become religious and entertains several dervishes at his court.'³ I was told definitely by a Bektashi sheikh that Ali was admitted to their order by the celebrated Sheikh Mimi of Bokhara, who was certainly alive in 1807.⁴ This is probably the change to which Hobhouse refers.

Towards the end of his life the Pasha was much addicted to the society of dervishes, and Yannina became notorious as the haunt of the most disreputable of them.⁵ Ibrahim Manzour enumerates no fewer than seven prominent sheikhs of his own time who received special favours from Ali,⁶ being provided with endowed *tekkes* or other establishment. One of them Ali used regularly as his diplomatic agent; another toured in Albania, collecting contributions for the order, and, doubtless, information for his master also. The sheikh of a *tekke* at Scutari (Constantinople) visited the court of Yannina regularly once a year.⁷ The local (Epirote) Bektashi

¹ Ibrahim Manzour, *Mém. sur la Grèce et l'Albanie*, 271 (the author was a French renegade who spent some years (1816-19) at Ali's court): a similar story was told to Miss Durham at Tepelen.

² Zotos, *Λεξικὸν τῶν Ἀγίων*, s.v. *Κοσμάς*, 621; cf. Sathas, *Νεοελλ. Φιλολογία*, 491. It should be noted that a very similar prophecy is attributed by the Bektashi to three of their own saints, Sheikh Mimi, Sheikh Ali, and Nasibi.

³ *Travels*, i. 124.

⁴ See below. Aravantinos (*Ἱστορία Ἀλῆ Πασσᾶ*, 417) says that Ali boasted that he was a Bektashi. The headstone of the tomb of Ali at Yannina was formerly marked by the twelve-sided headdress (*taj*) of the order, as is shewn in a drawing in Walsh's *Constantinople and the Seven Churches*. The headstone has been removed within living memory.

⁵ Leake *N. Greece*, iv. 285:—'There is no place in Greece where in consequence of this encouragement these wandering or mendicant Musulman monks are so numerous as at Yannina.' Ibrahim Manzour says the same of his own time.

⁶ *Mémoires*, 211.

⁷ *Ibid.* 291.

with whom I have conversed on the subject did not recognise the names of the sheikhs enumerated by Ibrahim Manzour as belonging to their sect: the one possible exception was Sheikh Hassan, who is probably identical with the Bektashi saint Hassan Baba Sheret, buried outside Yannina.¹ My informants were agreed that their order had never possessed a *tekke* in Yannina or south of it, on account of the fanatical orthodoxy of local Moslems. Ali himself did not openly admit his connection with the heretical sect.² It is, of course, possible that some of the apparently orthodox dervishes in his pay were either secret adherents of the Bektashi or (to use no harsher word) latitudinarian in their beliefs.³

Ali's connection with the Bektashi was mainly, perhaps, a matter of policy,⁴ but his personal religion, such as it was, shews the mixture of atheism, tempered by superstition, and tolerance towards other sects, especially Christians, which is characteristic of the lower forms of Bektashism. 'At the time that Christianity was out of favour in France,' says Leake, 'he was in the habit of ridiculing religion and the immortality of the soul with his French prisoners, and he lately remarked to me, speaking of Mahomet, *καὶ ἐγὼ εἶμαι προφήτης εἰς τὰ Ἰωάννινα*—and I too am a prophet at Joannina.'⁵ But with all this he had a deep-rooted belief in charms, magic, and prophecy. As regards his tolerant attitude towards Christians he may have been influenced by the prophecy of Cosmas, whose memory he perpetuated by the erection of a monastery to enshrine his remains.⁶ His Greek wife was allowed an Orthodox chapel in his palace at Yannina,⁷ and many Christian churches were built by his permission,⁸ a concession exceptional, if not illegal, in his time: on the other hand he is said never to have built a mosque.⁹ In his courts

¹ Of the others I was only able to trace Sheikh Broussalou, whose tomb is still to be seen in Preveza; he is regarded as an orthodox saint.

² Ibrahim Manzour, *Mémoires*, xix.: one of Ali's sons, Mouktar Pasha, openly avowed himself *Shia*; Selim, another son by a slave wife, is said to have become a dervish *sheikh* (North, *Essay on Ancient and Modern Greeks*, 191).

³ The distinctions between the Bektashi and other orders are not rigid. I have heard of two recent cases of the conversion of sheikhs of other orders to Bektashism.

⁴ Leake, *N. Greece*, iv. 285: 'Although no practical encourager of liberty and equality he finds the religious doctrines of the Bektashli exactly suited to him' . . . 'Aly takes from every body and gives only to the dervises, whom he undoubtedly finds politically useful,' cf. *ibid.* i. 407.

⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶ Zotos, *loc. cit.*

⁷ Beauchamp, *Vie d'Ali Pacha*, 181.

⁸ Juchereau, *Empire Ottoman*, iii. 65.

⁹ Miller, *Ottoman Empire*, 64; but the statement needs modification; cf. Holland, *Travels*, i. 412; Leake, *N. Greece*, i. 152.

Christians were rather favoured than otherwise.¹ Here, as in his alliance with the Bektashi, which was of the nature of a compact in the interest of both parties, we must not lose sight of the political motive: to conciliate the Christians was to bid for the support of an important minority which might otherwise give trouble.

So much for Ali's connection with the Bektashi and the activities of the latter in Yannina itself. Leake, who already recognised the Pasha's predilection for the Bektashi, noted in Thessaly, then one of his dependencies, *tekkes* at Trikkala and at Aidinli (near Agia) built at his expense.² Croia, which was in the *pashalik* of Scutari, and is now the great stronghold of Bektashism in Northern Albania, was for some years the residence of Sheikh Mimi, who had admitted Ali to the order. Mimi's missionary work at Croia was conspicuously successful. He founded a *tekke* there in 1807, apparently beside an existing (or reputed) saint's grave but eventually fell a victim to his intrigues against the civil governor.³ It is possibly in connection with this incident that the Pasha of Scutari banished from his capital all Bektashi dervishes as emissaries of Ali.⁴

We have thus direct evidence of Ali's connection and collaboration with the Bektashi in Thessaly which formed part of his satrapy, and in the province of Scutari outside it. It thus seems probable that the same combination was responsible for much of the recent conversion of the Southern (Tosk) Albanians in the districts north of Yannina (Argyrokastrò, Premeti, Konitza, Leskovik, Kolonia, Koritza), which are at the present day strongly Bektashi.⁵ Patsch, speaking of the district of Berat, remarks significantly that all Tosk and Liap Albanians first converted under Ali Pasha, though they outwardly conform, are in fact but indifferent Mussulmans, caring little for mosques or prayers.⁶

The claims of the Bektashi to the Christian saint Naoum, buried near Koritza, may possibly be traced to the period and influences of Ali's supremacy. The monastery of S. Naoum was rebuilt in 1806,⁷ and Leake, who visited it in 1809, remarks the special favour shewn to it by Ali.⁸ Von Hahn was told in the sixties that the fame of the monastery was

¹ Beauchamp, *loc. cit.*

² *N. Greece*, iv. 284, 413; cf. Pouqueville, *Voyage de la Grèce*, iii. 384.

³ Degrand, *Haute Albanie*, 209, cf. 240.

⁴ Ippen, *Skutari*, 36.

⁵ This is admitted both by Christians and Bektashi.

⁶ *Das Sanschak Berat*, 53.

⁷ *Ath. Mitth.*, 1902, 440.

⁸ *N. Greece*, iv. 149.

relatively recent, and that it was under the official protection of a local Moslem (Bektashi?) family¹: the reverence shewn by the Turks for S. Naoum is mentioned about the the time of Ali's death by Walsh.²

As to the Sari Saltik-S. Spyridon equation, it occurs first in the Croia cycle of the Sari Saltik legend, the whole of which is foreign to the earlier version given by Evliya: the adventures of the saint at Croia may well have been adapted from the original legend for local consumption by Ali's agent there, the missionary Sheikh Mimi. One of Ali's great political ambitions was to add the Ionian islands to his dominions, and especially S. Mavra and Ćorfou, as being opposite respectively to Preveza and Sayada and SS. Quaranta, the ports of his capital Yannina.³ S. Mavra he nearly succeeded in taking⁴: Ćorfou had been prophetically promised him by a dervish named Sheikh Ali (d. 1817) in whom he implicitly believed.⁵ The alleged tomb of Sari Saltik would form in Ćorfou just such a religious bait to his followers as had been provided by the earlier version of the legend at certain points in Christian Europe.⁶

The *tekke* at Kalkandelen⁷ offers a similar example of retrospective legend. It was built, according to information collected on the spot, by a certain Riza Pasha at the instance of a Bektashi dervish named Mouharrebe Baba, to whom was revealed at Constantinople (presumably by a vision) the site of the grave of a great Bektashi saint, Sersem Ali, at Kalkandelen. The *tekke* at Kalkandelen now contains amongst others the graves of Sersem Ali and of the two founders, Mouharrebe Baba and Riza Pasha.

Sersem Ali is supposed to have died in the middle of the sixteenth century,⁸ and has, beyond this reputed grave, no connection with Albania. Riza Pasha's tomb is dated 1238 A.H. (=1822-3 A.D.). It thus seems fairly clear that the tomb of Sersem Ali is not authentic, and that the dervish's 'vision' was part of the Bektashi propaganda in Albania. To judge by the date of Riza Pasha's death (the same as that of Ali) the *tekke* may well belong to the series dating from the period of Ali's power.

¹ *Dvin und Wardar*, 108.

² *Constantinople*, ii. 376 (quoted above).

³ Beauchamp, *Vie d'Ali Pacha*, 163, 194; Holland, *Travels*, i. 405, 450, etc.

⁴ Leake, *N. Greece*, iii. 13. In Leake's time the fort, still called *Tekke*, on the mainland opposite S. Mavra was actually a dervish convent.

⁵ Ibrahim Manzour, *op. cit.* 234. Sheikh Ali is claimed by the Bektashi.

⁶ Cf. *B.S.A.* xix. 206.

⁷ Above, No. 17.

⁸ Jacob, *Bektaschije*, 27.

Both at Croia and at Kalkandelen fabricated evidence of earlier Bektashi occupation seems to have been made the pretext or justification for the founding of Bektashi *tekkes*, in the former case by a known emissary of Ali Pasha, in the latter probably independently of his influence. Kalkandelen seems at this period to have been subject with Uskub to hereditary pashas of old standing,¹ of whom Riza was probably one.

Other local pashas in Roumeli were manifestly in touch with the Bektashi movement at about the same date. Hassan Pehlivan Baba, pasha of Rustchuk, founded the *tekke* of Demir Baba, a saint supposed to have lived 'four hundred years ago.'² This *tekke* seems certainly to have been Bektashi, as it suffered under Mahmoud II,³ the notorious persecutor of the sect; the pasha himself appears to have been loyal to the Sultan, though his title of 'Baba' seems to indicate that he held a high position in the Bektashi hierarchy. Another contemporary governor who may reasonably be suspected of Bektashi leanings is the notorious Paswanoglou, whose successful rebellion (1799) against Selim III. brought him the pashalik of Widin.⁴ He seems to have been a strong partizan of the Janissaries (who were backed by the Bektashi) and of the *ancien régime*,⁵ and his fief of Kirdja or Kirdja Ali, whence his ferocious irregulars, the 'Kirdjali' were recruited,⁶ has been in its time an important Bektashi centre as containing the tomb of the saint Said Ali.⁷

Turning back to the Asiatic side of the Aegean, we find no clear evidence of similar combinations between dervish orders and local *beys*, though they may be suspected. In Western Asia Minor, as in European Turkey, the concentration of power in the hands of a few leading families at the end of the eighteenth century has long been remarked. The chief of these families were the Karaosmanoglou, the Ellezoglou, and the Tchapanoglou. The dominions of the Karaosmanoglou included a large

¹ Grisebach, *Reise durch Rumelien* (1839), ii. 230 ff.

² Jireshek, *Fürstentum Bulgarien*, 411; cf. Kanitz, *Bulgarie*, 535, for a description and legends of the *tekke*. Pehlivan Baba is mentioned in contemporary history (Jorga, *Gesch. d. Osman. Reiches*, U. 190 etc.) and in legend becomes inextricably involved in the fantastic adventures of the saint of the *tekke*.

³ Kanitz, *loc. cit.*

⁴ On Paswanoglou see Ranke, *Servia*, 487; Jorga, *op. cit.* V. 119 etc.

⁵ For the politico-religious combinations of this period see *B.S.A.* xix. 216 ff.

⁶ Most contemporary travellers in Rumeli mention the devastations of the 'Kirdjali' bands in the district of Adrianople and elsewhere.

⁷ F.W.H. It would not be surprising to hear that the tomb of Said Ali was 'discovered' by a dervish in Paswanoglou's time.

portion of the present Aidin (Smyrna) *vilayet*, their capital being at Magnesia, which is only second to Konia as a centre of the Mevlevi order of dervishes¹; the territory of the Ellezoglou marched with theirs on the south, occupying the present *sanjak* of Mentesh down to Budrum (Halicarnassus)²; while the Tchapanoglou, further east, with their capital at Yuzgat, governed an extensive territory, inhabited largely by semi-nomad Turcoman tribes, and including the central *tekke* of the Bektashi, in the *vilayets* of Sivas and Angora. The relations of these semi-independent feudatories were harmonious and their rule strict but enlightened, notably in the treatment of Christians, who thrived conspicuously under all three dynasties.³ The power of the three governing families was broken by the centralising policy of Mahmoud II., in spite of their proved loyalty,⁴ to the great detriment of the country.

It is tempting to suppose that at the back of this harmonious, tolerant, and (for Turkey) stable baronial government, developed simultaneously over large districts of Asia Minor, lay a secret religious organisation⁵ with liberal principles, such as those of the Mevlevi, or such as Bektashism might have become under more intelligent and far-sighted rulers than Ali Pasha of Yannina.

F.-W. HASLUCK.

¹ Garnett, *Women of Turkey*, ii. 438. Magnesia was also a Bektashi stronghold down to 1826.

² *Spectateur Oriental*, No. 297 (8 Dec. 1827).

³ This is a commonplace in the case of the Karaosmanoglou (see especially Keppel, *Journey across the Balkans*, ii. 323). For the treatment of Christians by the Ellezoglou see Cockerell, *Travels*, 162; W. Turner, *Tour in the Levant*, iii. 10, Tchihatchef's *Reisen*, ed. Kiepert, 23; for the similar tendencies of Turkish beys of the Mylasa district *Ξενοφάνης*, iii. 452, Turner, *op. cit.* iii. 67. For the condition of Christians under the Tchapanoglou see Perrot, *Souvenirs*, 386: the best account of them is in Kinneir's *Journey through Asia Minor* (85 ff.).

⁴ It is noteworthy that in 1808, when Mahmoud II. came to the throne by the deposition of Mustafa IV. (a creature of the Janissary-Bektashi combination) he had the support of the Karaosmanoglou and the Tchapanoglou (*Times*, Nov. 15, 1808, cf. Juchereau, *Hist. Emp. Ott.* ii. 247).

⁵ Such a combination certainly existed among the Turkomans of the Angora district in the fourteenth century (*Wiener Zeitschr. f. Numis.*, 1877, 213; cf. Hammer-Hellert, *Hist. Emp. Ott.* i. 214).