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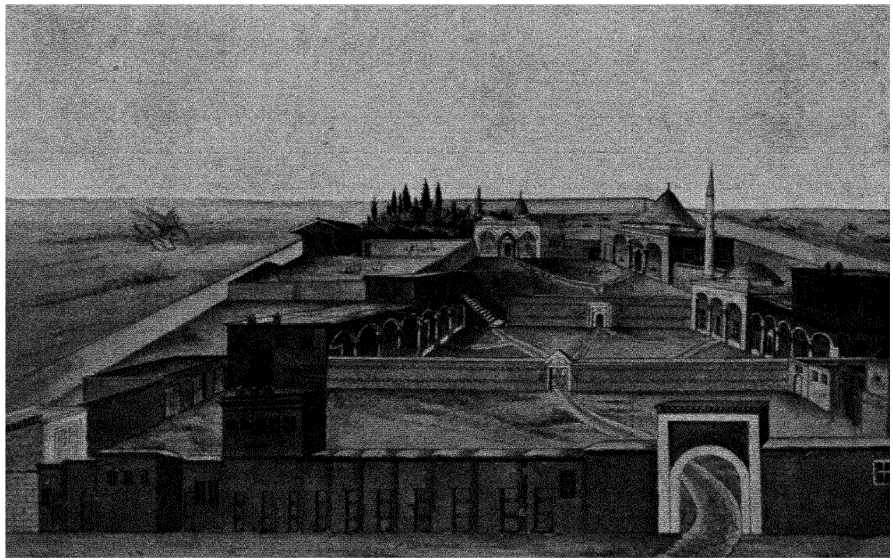
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THE TEKKE OF HAJI BEKTASH

CHRISTIANITY AND ISLAM UNDER THE SULTANS

BY THE LATE

F. W. HASLUCK, M.A.

Formerly Fellow of King's College Cambridge; Librarian of the British School at Athens

EDITED BY

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B.A. (CANTAB.), M.A. (ABDN.)

Wilson Travelling Fellow in Aberdeen University, 1921–3

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VOL. I

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BY THE SAME AUTHOR

Cyzicus, Athos and its Monasteries
Letters on Religion and Folk-lore,
Joint Author (with H. H. Jewell) of *The Church of our Lady of the Hundred Gates at Paros*

Printed in Great Britain

EDITOR'S NOTE

MY husband spent most of his life from 1899 to 1916 in Greece and Turkey. During the first fourteen years of this period, working as an archaeologist rather than as an orientalist, he studied at various times the classical archaeology of Greece, the medieval and modern history of Smyrna, the rise and development of the Orthodox monasteries of Mount Athos, the records of medieval geography and travel in the Near East, and the Genoese and Venetian coins and heraldry found in that area. The fruits of these studies were several books and some fifty articles.

In the spring of 1913 he visited Konia, the ancient Iconium. There he became interested in the interplay of Christianity and Islam within the Turkish empire, and from that time this subject and its derivatives occupied most of his attention. The result of his researches is this work, the first comprehensive study of Turkish folk-lore and its relations with Christianity. The inequalities of the work, however, are so obvious that they call for an explanation of the circumstances in which it has been written and published.

After his visit to Konia the author read and wrote steadily until the outbreak of the war. His delicate health made active military service impossible, and he continued his researches, amid ever-increasing difficulties, until the summer of 1915. Then he joined the Intelligence Department of the British Legation at Athens, where use was found for his exceptional knowledge of the languages and general conditions of the Near East. He found the work uncongenial, but he devoted himself entirely to it and had only his weekly holiday for writing. Late in 1916 the lung trouble that had long sapped his strength was diagnosed and he was sent to Switzerland. There was considerable danger

from German submarines at that time on the sea journey from Greece to Italy, and to avoid risk of loss he left behind him in Athens such of his manuscripts as did not exist in duplicate. In Switzerland he continued to read and to write, so far as his gradually declining health and strength allowed. He died there on February 22, 1920, a few days after his forty-second birthday.

It then fell to me to publish as much of his work as possible. On the present subject he had intended to publish two books, the first entitled 'Transferences from Christianity to Islam and Vice Versa' and the second 'Studies in Turkish Popular History and Religion'. Since, however, their contents were cognate and 'Studies' was left very unfinished, my friends advised their fusion. This has been carried out, 'Transferences' being represented in the present edition by Part I and Chapters XXV–XXXVIII of Part III, and 'Studies' by Part II and Chapters XXXIX–LX of Part III. The title of the present edition was given by me.

Very few of the manuscripts had passed the author as ready for publication. One-third of the total number were nearly ready. Four-fifths of the others, including those in Athens, were in a provisional form, and one-fifth existed only in notes. In my editorial work I have preserved the original text as scrupulously as possible. Certain repetitions were deleted after the two books were combined, and defective chapters have been written up and completed to the best of my ability, but these are the only parts of the text which are not as my husband wrote them. In such alterations as I made, I followed his notes and made extensive use of his letters to Professor R. M. Dawkins. All the passages rewritten have been specified, so that editorial mistakes may not be imputed to him. In the foot-notes I have taken more liberties. My husband hoped that others

would desire to build on his foundations, and with this possibility in view I have greatly enlarged the foot-notes by including whatever relevant material existed in his Swiss note-books. Much of this material was destined for two companion volumes which he planned on transferences from paganism to Christianity in the West and from Christianity to Islam in Syria and Palestine. Some of his work on transferences from paganism appears in his 'Letters on Religion and Folk-lore', but the bulk of his material for those companion volumes is now to be found in the foot-notes of the present book. In this connexion I regret that some references have defied verification.

The bibliography, glossary, and index are my work. The glossary was kindly checked by Sir Harry Lamb, G.B.E., K.C.M.G., and the index was revised by the indexing expert of the Clarendon Press. The map has been drawn under my directions by the Press.

The spelling of classical and Moslem names has caused the usual difficulties. In both cases well-known words have been written in what seemed their most familiar, though possibly erroneous, English forms. Less familiar classical words have been transliterated letter by letter, and unfamiliar Moslem words have been given, through the kind help of Mr. E. Edwards, according to the British Museum system of transliteration, but without diacritic signs. On the whole, Turkish, rather than Arabic, vowels have been preferred in these Moslem words.

As foot-notes indicate, early versions of some chapters have already appeared elsewhere. My cordial thanks are now offered to the editors of the *Annual of the British School at Athens*, the *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, and the *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute* for permitting the chapters in question to be reprinted.

As regards other obligations, my husband would have wished special mention to be made of the generosity

with which the library of the Faculté de Théologie Libre at Lausanne and the cantonal libraries of Sion and Lausanne lent him books during his stay in Switzerland. His constant praise of the staff and library of the Reading Room at the British Museum was more than justified by my own experiences when verifying the references in this work. The Clarendon Press have undertaken its publication on most generous terms and have shown a very pleasant courtesy in all their dealings with me. Their printers have handled the long and difficult manuscript with taste and skill. The Hibbert Trustees have kindly borne part of the expenses of publication. The clever photograph of the sacred fowls of St. James is by Mr. C. Thomas. The 'writing' of the Seven Sleepers was made for me by a Cretan dervish in 1915. Professor Dawkins has read Parts I and II in manuscript and has made some useful suggestions. Professor Sir Thomas Arnold, C.I.E., F.B.A., D.Litt., has allowed me to consult him again and again. Mr. Stanley Casson, Principal W. R. Halliday, the late Dr. D. G. Hogarth, C.M.G., F.B.A., D.Litt., Professor D. S. Margoliouth, D.Litt., Dr. H. Thomas, D.Litt., and the Rev. Dr. Wigram, D.D., also have been kind. From first to last Dr. G. F. Hill, LL.D., F.S.A., D.Litt., has put his experience and his learning at my disposal.

In a sense it is fitting that my hand should put the finishing touches to the work. The fateful visit to Konia was the wedding present I (unforeseeingly) chose from those which my husband-to-be offered me the previous summer. Since his death I have spent four years, all told, preparing the work for publication. Yet it is only too certain that many errors and deficiencies still remain in it, mass of detail that it is. I hope they will be set down to me and will not gravely impede readers in their use or their enjoyment of the work.

M. M. H.

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PERIODICALS AND BOOKS CONSULTED

I. LIST OF PERIODICALS

Abh. Bayr. Ak. for *Abhandlungen der Königlichen Bayrischen Akademie der Wissenschaften* (Munich).
Abh. Sächs. Ges. for *Abhandlungen der Königlich-Sächsischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften* (Leipzig).
A.J.A. for *American Journal of Archaeology* (Baltimore).
A. J. Phil. for *American Journal of Philology* (Baltimore).
L'Albanie (Lausanne).
Amer. Miss. Her. for *American Missionary Herald* (Boston).
Annales des Mines (Paris).
Archaeologia (London).
Arch. des Miss. for *Archives des Missions Scientifiques et Littéraires* (Paris).
Arch. Epigr. Mitth. for *Archäologische Epigraphische Mittheilungen aus Oesterreich* (Vienna).
Arch. Hist. Gascogne for *Archives Historiques de la Gascogne* (Auch).
Archiv f. Religionsw. for *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft* (Freiburg i. B.).
Arch. Zeit. for *Archäologische Zeitung* (Berlin).
Ἀθηναῖον (Athens).
Ath. Mitth. for *Mittheilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts* (Athens).
Atti Soc. Lig. for *Atti della Società Ligure di Storia Patria* (Genoa).
Das Ausland (Munich).
Beitr. z. Vaterl. Gesch. Basels for *Beiträge zur vaterländischen Geschichte Basels* (Basel).
Bessarione (Rome).
Blackwood's Magazine for *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine* (Edinburgh).
Boll. R. Soc. Geogr. for *Bollettino della Reale Società Geografica* (Rome).
B.C.H. for *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique* (Athens).
B.S.A. for *Annual of the British School at Athens* (London).
Bulletin d'Archéologie Chrétienne (Belley).
Bull. Soc. Géog. for *Bulletin de la Société de Géographie* (Paris).
Bund (Berne).
Βυζαντὶς (Constantinople).
Byz. Zeit. for *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* (Leipzig).
Chambers' Journal (London).

Class. Rev. for *Classical Review* (London).
Comptes Rendus for *Comptes Rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres* (Paris).
Congr. Arch. for *Congrès Archéologique de France* (Paris).
[*Onzième*] *Congrès d'Orientalistes* (Paris).
Contemp. Rev. for *Contemporary Review* (London).
Δελτίον Χριστ. Ἀρχαιολ. Ἑταιρείας for *Δελτίον τῆς Χριστιανικῆς Ἀρχαιολογικῆς Ἑταιρείας* (Athens).
Δελτίον Ἱστορ. Ἑταιρείας for *Δελτίον τῆς Ἱστορικῆς καὶ Ἐθνολογικῆς Ἑταιρείας* (Athens).
Denk. Wien. Akad. for *Denkschriften der Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften* (Vienna).
Échos d'Orient (Paris).
Ἡμερολ. Φ. Σκόκου for *Ἡμερολόγιον Φ. Σκόκου* (Athens).
Emmanuel Coll. Mag. for *Emmanuel College Magazine* (Cambridge).
Eng. Hist. Rev. for *English Historical Review* (London).
Ἑστία (Athens).
Expositor (London).
Folk-Lore (London).
Gelehrte Anzeigen d. bayr. Akad. for *Gelehrte Anzeigen der Königlichen Bayrischen Akademie* (Munich).
Geog. Journ. for *Geographical Journal* (London).
Globus (Brunswick).
Harper's Magazine (London).
L'Illustration (Paris).
Der Islam (Strassburg).
Jahrbuch for *Jahrbuch des Kaiserlich Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts* (Berlin).
Jahrbücher der Literatur (Vienna).
J.H.S. for *Journal of Hellenic Studies* (London).
Journ. Asiat. for *Journal Asiatique* (Paris).
Journ. Int. Num. for *Journal International d'Archéologie Numismatique* (Athens).
J. R. Anthr. Inst. for *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute* (London).
J. R. Asiat. Soc. for *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* (London).
J.R.G.S. for *Journal of the Royal Geographical Society* (London).
J.R.S. for *Journal of Roman Studies* (London).
Λαογραφία (Athens).
Liverp. Ann. Arch. for *Liverpool Annals of Archaeology and Anthropology* (London and Liverpool).
Man (London).
Mécheroutiette (Constantinople).
Mél. Fac. Or. for *Mélanges de la Faculté Orientale* (Beyrut).

Mém. Acad. Aix for *Mémoires de l'Académie d'Aix* (Aix-en-Provence).
Mém. Ac. Inscrr. for *Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres* (Paris).
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Mines de l'Orient (= *Fundgruben des Orients*) (Vienna).
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Mosl. World for *Moslem World* (London).
Μουσεῖον for *Μουσεῖον καὶ Βιβλιοθήκη τῆς Εὐαγγελικῆς Σχολῆς* (Smyrna).
Νεολόγος (Constantinople).
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Nineteenth Century (London).
Notre-Dame (Paris).
Nouv. Jour. As. for *Nouveau Journal Asiatique* (Paris).
Num. Zeit. for *Numismatische Zeitschrift* (Vienna).
Oriens Christianus [1] (Rome).
Πανδώρα (Hermoupolis).
Papers A.S.A. for *Papers of the American School at Athens* (Boston).
Papers B.S.R. for *Papers of the British School at Rome* (London).
Παρνασσός (Athens).
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P.E.F., Q.S. for *Palestine Exploration Fund, Quarterly Statement* (London).
Φιλολ. Σύλλογος for *Φιλολογικὸς Σύλλογος* (Constantinople).
Ἡ Φωνὴ τοῦ Λαοῦ (Volo).
P.R.G.S. for *Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society* (London).
Proc. Russ. Arch. Inst. for *Proceedings of the Russian Archaeological Institute* (Constantinople) = Русскій Археологическій Институтъ въ Константинополѣ. Извѣстія. Том. 9.
Proc. Soc. Bibl. Arch. for *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology* (London).
Προμηθεύς (Volo).
Rec. de Voyages for *Recueil de Voyages et de Mémoires* (Paris).
Records of the Past (Washington).
Report Brit. Ass. for *Report of the British Association* (London).
Rev. Arch. for *Revue Archéologique* (Paris).
Rev. Deux Mondes for *Revue des Deux Mondes* (Paris).
Rev. Ét. Anc. for *Revue des Études Anciennes* (Bordeaux).
Rev. Hist. Relig. for *Revue de l'Histoire des Religions* (Paris).
Rev. Instr. Pub. Belg. for *Revue de l'Instruction Publique en Belgique* (Tirlemont).

[1] The periodical is to be distinguished from Le Quien's book of the same name.

Rev. Num. for *Revue Numismatique* (Paris).
Rev. Or. Lat. for *Revue de l'Orient Latin* (Paris).
R. G. S., Suppl. Pap., for *Royal Geographical Society, Supplementary Papers* (London).
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Verh. Ges. f. Erdkunde for *Verhandlungen der Gesellschaft für Erdkunde* (Berlin).
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Z. D. Morgenl. Ges. for *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* (Leipzig).
Z.D.P.V. for *Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins* (Leipzig).
Z. f. Anthropol. for *Zeitschrift der Gesellschaft für Anthropologie* (Berlin).
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[1] The majority of modern Greek books in this list are accessible only at the British Archaeological School, Athens, or the National Library, Athens. Mr. Heurtley, of the British School, and Mr. D. P. Petrocochino have kindly helped me with certain of their bibliographical details. Books marked with an asterisk are those I have been unable to consult.—M. M. H.

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I

TRANSFERENCES FROM CHRISTIANITY TO ISLAM AND VICE VERSA

I

INTRODUCTION

PROFESSOR SIR WILLIAM RAMSAY has in repeated articles laid stress on the tenacity of local religious traditions in Asia Minor, especially directing the attention of travellers to important Mohammedan holy places as possible heirs to Christian traditions.[1] The following essay is an attempt to bring together some available cases of sites and cults transferred from Christianity to Islam, and to draw from them such conclusions regarding the causes and process of such transference as seem justified by the evidence at our disposal. Though my reading of this evidence often leads me to conclusions differing widely from Ramsay's, I am confident that he will recognize and appreciate any honest attempt to work out his own suggestions: nor can the arrangement of so much widely scattered material be without a certain value.

My own conclusion, derived, I hope, impartially from the evidence, is that a survival of religious tradition is so far from inevitable that it is only probable under favourable conditions. A violent social upheaval, such as a conquest by aliens, may possibly, and a change of population involving a wide area will probably, obliterate such traditions altogether. In the transition from Christianity to Islam both these conditions obtained in many country districts of Asia Minor. In European Turkey the Christian element has always been in the majority, but the conquest of 1453 meant considerable

[1] *Trans. Orient. Congr.* (London), 1893, ii, 381–91; *Expositor*, 7th series, ii (1906), pp. 454–75; *Pauline Studies*, chap. vi; *cf.* also *Impressions of Turkey*, pp. 71, 265; *Geog. Journ.* xx (1902), p. 274; *B.S.A.* xviii. 61.

social changes for Constantinople, from which of necessity, owing to the comparative completeness of its records, many of my cases in Chapter II are taken. On the other hand, in the pagan-Christian transition [1] period the process was gradual and without violent shock. It is logical to expect less survival from Christianity to Islam than from paganism to Christianity, and such facts as we have are in harmony with this expectation.

Despite the readiness with which the eye of faith detects 'survivals', well-documented instances of the imposition of Mohammedan cults on Christian are rare in Turkish lands. This may be partly discounted by the considerations (1) that our knowledge of the Christian cults obtaining in the interior of the country at the Turkish conquest is lamentably meagre, and (2) that little or no research has been directed to the investigation of the *origines* of Mohammedan holy places.[2] We cannot in the nature of things expect more than a very limited number of proved or probable transferences of cult.

For the purposes of the present investigation we may divide our instances of transferred or supplanted sanctuaries into the following main categories:

(*a*) Urban sanctuaries, where the transference is expressed outwardly by the transformation of parish church into parish mosque (Chapter II).

(*b*) Suburban or rural sanctuaries, where the characteristic outward change is from monastery to *tekke* or dervish convent, or from Christian chapel to Moslem oratory (Chapter V).

(*c*) 'Natural' cults, depending ultimately for their sanctity on physical characteristics of the site, where

[1] *Cf.* Hasluck, *Letters*, pp. 47, 57.

[2] This could alone excuse my own presumption in intruding on such a field without sufficient knowledge of the languages to consult oriental sources at first hand.

buildings and organization are non-existent or of negligible importance (Chapters VIII and IX).

In all apparent cases of Christian cults transferred to Moslems we must distinguish as clearly as possible the character of the newcomers' inheritance from the displaced religion. Is it, so to speak, ' material ' or ' spiritual ' ? Has the Christian site or building alone fallen into alien hands, or has there passed with it some of the pre-Mohammedan *religio loci*, *e. g.* the personality of the saint supplanted or the local legends and customs of the sanctuary ? And how far has the previous sanctity of the spot affected its selection by later comers ?

II

TRANSFERENCE OF URBAN SANCTUARIES

IN the case of urban cults particularly a special *caveat* must be entered against the arbitrary assumption that, because a church was taken over by the conquerors and used as a mosque, the *religio loci* was transferred with the building. It was the normal custom of a Mohammedan sovereign, on conquering a town, either to build a mosque or to appropriate to that use as soon as possible the best available building, which was frequently, as is natural, a church. This he did, primarily in order to seal his conquest by having official prayer (*khutba*) said for him as sovereign, and in the second place with the less personal object of providing for the public worship of his co-religionists.[1] Thus, even during a temporary occupation, mosques were not infrequently built, as by the Arabs at Missis in A. D. 703,[2] by Harun-al-Rashid at Tyana,[3] and (according to tradition) by Maslama at Galata [4] during the Arab siege of Constantinople. On the other hand, the first action of the Ottoman sultan Osman, after the taking of Karaja Hisar, was the transformation of the church into a mosque.[5] Mohammed II at Constantinople first trans-

[1] Fabri (*Evagat.* ii, 228) notes that, when either Christians or Saracens take a town, they change the cult, mosques becoming churches and vice versa. The reason in both cases is *propter aptitudinem*. Even the apostles did not destroy temples, but removed the idols and consecrated the buildings: see Hasluck, *Letters*, pp. 233 ff.

[2] Brooks, in *J.H.S.* xviii, 204–5.

[3] Bury, *E. Roman Empire*, p. 250.

[4] This seems, however, to be a 'discovery' of Mohammed III's reign (1595–1603): *cf.* Hammer-Hellert, *Hist. Emp. Ott.* xviii, 71, and below, pp. 719–20.

[5] Hammer-Hellert, *Hist. Emp. Ott.* i, 75.

formed S. Sophia into a mosque and later built one of his own, the latter being officially the 'Friday' mosque of the city. Still later, it is recorded of Suleiman the Magnificent that he converted churches into mosques in every one of the towns and fortresses he had won from Christendom.[1] All churches in towns taken by assault were at the disposal of the conqueror, though the principle was not always insisted on.[2] The significance of the 'Friday' mosque in conquered towns is thus primarily political rather than religious,[3] and the change from church to mosque was in most cases dictated merely by precedent and convenience. When whole villages of Christians were converted, the village

[1] Evliya, *Travels*, I, i, 82. An inscription at Chios (Hasluck, in *B.S.A.* xvi, 154, no. 16 b) testifies to Turkish practice at this same period. A curious commentary on this is provided by the passage in Michon, *Solution nouv. de la Ques. des Lieux Saints*, p. 72. In the eighteenth century the Cenaculum at Jerusalem was known also as the Tomb of David. Some Moslems obtained entry to the convent on the plea of its being David's tomb, and said their prayers there, after which it was automatically recognized as a mosque. Omar, on the contrary, when he took Jerusalem, said his prayers at the spot now marked by a minaret near the Holy Sepulchre church (Stanley, *Sinai*, p. 460). This was a mark of clemency, because he could have done so within the church, thereby transforming it into a mosque.

[2] At Damascus we find the curious compromise of dividing the great church between the two religions (Le Strange, *Palestine*, p. 265 : *cf.* Menasik-el-Haj, *Kitab*, tr. Bianchi, p. 36, in *Rec. de Voyages*, ii, 115). At Larnaka in Cyprus the church of S. Lazaros was transformed into a mosque, and afterwards bought back by the Christians (de Villamont, *Voyages*, i, 284 : *cf.* Kootwyck, in Cobham, *Excerpta Cypria*, p. 190). At Constantinople part of the city was regarded as taken by storm, part as surrendered (Mordtmann in *Byz. Zeit.* xxi, 129–144). The transformation of churches into mosques after this date seems due to special circumstances, political, religious, or even personal.

[3] In the same way the churches on Mount Athos had scarcely suffered from the Turks until the political troubles of the Greek revolution arose (Hasluck, *Athos and its Monasteries*, pp. 50 ff.). Miss Durham found that the Turks had desecrated a church *from policy*, and states that this terrorism had a great moral effect (*Burden of the Balkans*, pp. 122–3).

church probably became a mosque automatically in the same way.[1]

It is further to be noticed that a mosque is only by exception a holy place [2] in the superstitious sense that a church often is, since it is not normally a place of burial [3] or the repository of relics. Both these functions belong in Islam rather to the *turbe* or mausoleum. In towns only a limited number of privileged graves are gathered round the mosques, the great burial-grounds being outside the walls. The conjunction of mosque

[1] A case in Cappadocia, dating back less than two centuries, is cited by Oberhummer and Zimmerer (*Durch Syrien*, p. 143): *cf.* Rott, *Kleinas. Denkm.*, p. 199. On the other hand, the Vallahadhes of SW. Macedonia (see Wace and Thompson, *Nomads of the Balkans*, p. 29; M. M. Hasluck, in *Contemp. Rev.*, Feb. 1924, pp. 225 ff.) have preserved some churches as such. According to information supplied to me by a police officer of Chotil, there is at Vrosdan a church of the Anargyri, whose feast is kept by the local Mohammedan women, if sick; an Orthodox priest celebrates at the church, crossing these women's foreheads with oil from the saint's lamp: the women are particular that this oil, and no other, should be used. At Vrondiza a church of S. Nicolas remains unchanged. Once a man stole a tile from the church but restored it after S. Nicolas had appeared and threatened him in a dream, and ever since a lamp has been kept burning in honour of the saint. A shepherd feeding his flocks near Vinyani was rebuked by Kasim (S. Demetrius), who appeared to him. A man who neglected to fulfil his vow to light a lamp to S. Demetrius was struck cross-eyed. [My personal inquiries in 1922 suggested that these and similar churches survive in some Vallahadhes villages because the villages in question were till lately *chiftliks* worked by Christian labourers, for whose benefit the church was tolerated.· M. M. H.] *Cf.* the Moslem Albanians of Kachanik (Bérard, *Macédoine*, pp. 110 f.).

[2] Even the great mosque of Mecca is used by poor pilgrims as a lodging (Burckhardt, *Arabia*, i, 273). They eat and sleep there, but may not cook.

[3] Mohammed himself even forbade the bringing of corpses into mosques at burial (d'Ohsson, *Tableau*, i, 240). Lane, however, states that in Cairo bodies are brought into a mosque before burial (*Mod. Egyptians*, ii, 263). Mohammed's own tomb at Medina is separated from the mosque lest it should become 'an Object of Idolatrous Adoration' (Burton, *Pilgrimage to Meccah*, 1906, i, 314). For the Sultan of Egypt and S. Barbara's body see below, p. 235, n. 1.

and *turbe* either is, as, *e.g.*, at Eyyub at Constantinople, a development of the idea that the graves of departed saints impart a peculiar efficacy to prayer ;[1] or, as, *e.g.*, at the Ulu Jami at Manisa, it is due to a pious founder's desire that prayer for his soul may be suggested by the presence of his tomb in or near the mosque.[2] In cases where a 'transferred' church possessed a grave, for instance, of peculiar sanctity, this sanctity might (but need not) be inherited by the mosque, either through the adoption of the tomb under another name or by some less obvious process.

The following instances of 'transferred' churches illustrate the abolition, adoption,[3] or transference of the cults involved :

1. S. Sophia, Constantinople. Here, in spite of the 'superstitious' sanctity attaching to the Christian church from the numberless relics and sacred objects deposited in it, especially the tomb of S. John Chrysostom,[4] the building became at the conquest primarily a *jami* or place of assembly for the Faithful. The case of S. Sophia is, however, remarkable as illustrating the tendency, not only of certain old superstitions to survive—the selection being apparently quite arbitrary—but also of new ones to come into being after the change of masters. In this case certainly the resultant mass of superstitious legend is due at least as much to the

[1] The mental attitude of Mohammedans with regard to the saintly dead, which of course varies greatly from class to class, has been admirably explained by Gibb (*Ottoman Poetry*, i, 180, n. 2 : quoted below, pp. 256–7) : the above is a perfect orthodox point of view. See the fuller treatment below, pp. 250 ff.

[2] See below, p. 228.

[3] For the assimilation of non-Islamic ideas by Islam see especially Goldziher, in *Rev. Hist. Relig.* ii (1860), p. 298. The Holy Land in particular affords well-documented examples of Christian cults taken over by the Moslems.

[4] See especially an anonymous fifteenth-century pilgrim's account in Khitrovo, *Itin. Russes*, pp. 225–7.

inherent beauty and impressiveness of the building itself as to its antecedent consecration.

In S. Sophia, then, though the Christian cults of saints' relics were abolished when the church became a mosque, at least three of the sacred antiquities of the Christians continued to be recognized as such by the Turks.[1] (1) The doors said by the Christians to have been constructed from wood of the ark [2] were still an object of reverence to Moslems, who said a *fatiha* for the repose of Noah's soul before them as a preliminary to setting out on a voyage.[3] (2) The sacred well, covered, as Christians said, by a stone from the well of Samaria,[4] afforded the Turks a cure for palpitation of the heart. (3) The curative virtues of the 'sweating column', attributed by the Christians to S. Gregory,[5] were fathered by the Turks on the Moslem saint Khidr:[6]

[1] Of S. Sophia Quiclet says (*Voyages*, p. 170): 'il y a une pierre de marbre, sur laquelle les Turcs croyent que *la Vierge* a lavé les langes de *nostre Seigneur*, qu'ils honorent extrémement pour cette raison'.

[2] Khitrovo, *Itin. Russes*, pp. 225–7.

[3] Evliya, *Travels*, I, i, 63, and C. White, *Constantinople*, i, 272. *Cf.* Lonicerus, *Chron. Turc.*, tom. I, vol. ii, cap. i, p. 101: 'vnam [januam] e ligno arcae Noae extructam esse fabulantur, qua etiam de caussa perforato aere tribus locis lignum osculis adeuntium, & remissionem inde peccatorum sibi promittentium, patere aiunt'. *Cf.* also G. Sandys, *Travels*, p. 25; Aaron Hill, *Ottoman Empire* (1709), p. 138.

[4] Antoniades, *Ἁγία Σοφία*, ii, 169 ff.

[5] C. White, *Constantinople*, i, 270, and Evliya, *op. cit.* I, i, 63. Ailing Christians rubbed their shoulders against it for cure (Antony of Novgorod (1200), in Khitrovo, *Itin. Russes*, p. 90, and in Lethaby and Swainson, *S. Sophia*, p. 102). Aaron Hill (*Ottoman Empire*, p. 138), says that in his day both Christians and Turks held the column for that at which Christ was scourged: 'and *upon this only ground* you may see great numbers of promiscuous People wiping off the Moisture with their Cloaths or Foreheads, some expecting by its sovereign Power, to be protected from the least Misfortune'. The moisture of the column is held to cure ophthalmia if patients wet their fingers in the hole made by Khidr's thumb and touch their eyes with the damp finger (Guthe, in *Z.D.P.V.* xvii, 303). For the connexion with S. Gregory see Sandys, *Travels*, p. 25; Antoniades, *Ἁγία Σοφία*, ii, 226–7.

[6] For Khidr see below, pp. 319 ff.

both saints are said to have appeared near the pillar. Further, a series of legends grew up associating the building both with the conquest of Constantinople and with much earlier events in the history of Islam. Thus, the hole in the Sweating Column was said to have been made by Khidr as a sign to Mohammed, the conqueror of the city.[1] When the Turks first entered the building, the corpse of one of their warriors was found in it laid out ready for burial, with the invocation *Ya Vudud* ('O All-loving') inscribed on his breast in crimson letters.[2] By a further stretch of imagination the 'praying-places' of heroes like Eyyub, Sidi Battal, and others who fought in the Arab sieges of Constantinople, were pointed out.[3]

The site and building itself were islamised by various traditions. The site had been sanctified by the prayers of Solomon:[4] at the building Justinian's architect was aided in his work by the Moslem saint Khidr,[5] who attempted to orientate the building after its construction:[6] and, finally, a legend connected the repairs after the earthquake of A.D. 538 with Mohammed himself. The dome, so ran the story, fell in on the day the Prophet was born,[7] and could not be repaired till Elias (Khidr) appeared to the Greeks and prescribed the use of mortar compounded of sand from Mecca, water from the well Zem-zem, and saliva of the Prophet. The

[1] Guthe in *Z.D.P.V.* xvii, 303.

[2] Evliya, I, i, 44; I, ii, 14. The story is possibly influenced by the legend current in Mandeville's time (in Wright, *Early Travels*, p. 135; *cf.* Bovenschen in *Z. f. Erdk.* 1888, p. 216, for Mandeville's sources), that the body of a man was found in S. Sophia with an inscription showing that he had believed in Christ long before His birth. For this ante-dating type of legend see below, pp. 72–3.

[3] Evliya, I, i, 59 f. [4] *Ibid.* I, i, 60. [5] *Ibid.* I, i, 55: *cf.* 21 f.

[6] Carnoy and Nicolaides, *Folklore de Constantinople*, p. 29. The Turkish folk-lore regarding S. Sophia collected in the work shows that many of the traditions of Evliya are probably current in our own day.

[7] A church at Erzerum did the same (Haji Khalfa, tr. Armain, p. 651).

place where Elias appeared was held sacred by the Turks and pilgrims, who, saying their prayers there for forty days in succession, were infallibly granted their hearts' desire by the intercession of Elias. Loss of memory was cured by seven successive prayers at the spot and the observance of certain prescribed forms of prayer and diet.[1]

It appears indeed from Evliya's account that two hundred years after the Conquest S. Sophia was as 'superstitiously' holy to the Turks as it had been to the Greeks before them. Of this holiness, as we have seen, part only was actually inherited: the rest may be regarded as the outcome of the impression of almost supernatural magnificence made by the building on the conquerors, and their natural desire to associate it with the history of their own religion since it had become a mosque. Any remarkable ancient building may attract to itself a cycle of legend: the fact that S. Sophia is now a mosque has more to do with the religious colouring of its Turkish folk-lore than the fact that it was once a church. This point is illustrated by the history of the 'Tower of the Winds' at Athens, which had no religious associations till it was adopted by dervishes,[2] of which adoption there is no earlier record than that of Stuart and Revett.[3] At a later time the tower was supposed to be haunted by the Moslem saint Kara Baba.[4] The religious-superstitious association is

[1] Evliya, I, i, 55 and 64; more fully in C. White's *Constantinople*, i, 267 ff.; Khidr also appeared in S. Sophia in the reign of Sultan Selim II (Evliya, I, i, 61).

[2] They came or returned between Pococke's visit in 1740 (*Descr. of the East*, II, ii, 168) and Stuart and Revett's in 1753 (*Ant. of Athens*, i, 14: *cf.* Le Roy (1754), *Mon. de la Grèce*, ii, 10, and Chandler (1765), *Travs. in As. Min. and Greece*, ii, 117).

[3] The dervishes then in possession of the building were Kadri, as is shown by the still remaining plaster finial in the form of a twelve-sided Kadri mitre (*taj*).

[4] Kambouroglous, *Ἱστορία*, iii, 125; for Kara Baba, who was buried

probably here suggested in the first instance by the resemblance of the building to an octagonal Seljuk *turbe*.[1]

It is noteworthy that, while the greatest respect was shown to S. Sophia, the mosque of Mohammed II was by some considered a specially propitious place of prayer, 'because the workmen employed in building it were all Musulmans; and to this day neither Jews nor Christians are allowed to enter its blessed doors,'[2] *i.e.* because it had never been a church. This is in direct contradiction to the theory of inherited sanctity.

2. PARTHENON, ATHENS. The history of the transformed Parthenon offers phenomena exactly similar though not so fully documented. Of its Christian marvels at least one continued to attract the admiration of the new congregation—the transparent marble windows by which light was admitted to the interior. This

at the east end of the Acropolis, see Dodwell's *Tour through Greece*, i, 305.

[1] Whereas the account of Athens in 1390 by N. da Martoni (below, p. 181, n. 5) is full of medieval saints, relics, and miracles, the curious notice of its wonders written about the time of the Turkish conquest and entitled *Τὰ Θέατρα καὶ Διδασκαλεῖα τῶν Ἀθηνῶν* by the so-called *Anon. Viennensis* (in Kambouroglous' *Μνημεῖα*, i, 92, and elsewhere) displays a purely classical interest. Here (§ 2) the Tower of the Winds is called the school of Socrates, an association kept up till the middle of the seventeenth century, though the building itself becomes a convent (*tekke*) of dervishes called the 'Tekke of Ibrahim'. This is first mentioned by another anonymous author (*Anon. Paris.*, published by Förster in *Ath. Mitth.* viii, 31, and by Kambouroglous in *Μνημεῖα*, i, 95, and *Ἱστορία*, i, 125, 159). He has been placed by various authors in the fifteenth, the sixteenth, and even the second half of the seventeenth century (Gregorovius, *Stadt Athen*, ii, 361, note), and considers the building to have been the 'temple and school' of Socrates. The French missionary Babin, dated with certainty in the middle of the seventeenth century, considers it, however, a tomb (Babin, *Relation d'Athènes*, Lyon, 1674, p. 41; *cf.* Nointel, *ap.* Laborde, *Athènes*, i, 122, and Consul B. Goujon in Omont, *Miss. Arch.* i, 335; see also Perry's *View of the Levant*, p. 492). This is, to my mind, the Turkish contribution to the myth.

[2] Evliya, *Travels*, 1, i, 66–7.

simple miracle, thought by Martoni in 1395 to indicate the presence of a buried saint,[1] was considered by the seventeenth-century Turks to be a sign given by the Prophet to Mohammed the Conqueror the day the church was changed into a mosque.[2]

The antecedent Christian sanctity [3] of the building and the potency of Christian magic were credited with two miracles of the 'black' sort.[4] (1) A Turk, who ventured to open a marble chest or tomb, was struck dead, and his action brought plague on the town.[5] (2) Another, who fired at an *eikon* of the Virgin in the building, was killed outright by the ricochet of the bullet, or, according to other accounts, was punished by the withering of his arm.[6] Further, we have evidence, though on the doubtful authority of La Guilletière, that about the middle of the seventeenth century the Parthenon became the centre of an important Moslem pilgrimage administered by dervishes from Asia Minor, who, however, had been driven out some ten years before our author wrote (*i.e.* about 1659). The passage concerning this neglected chapter in the Parthenon's history is given in full on p. 755. La Guilletière's statement is denied by Spon on the authority of Consul Giraud and local Greeks ten years later (1679). But Giraud was not consul at the time to which La Guil-

[1] Martoni in *Ath. Mitth.* xxii, 429. For other 'burning stones' of the same sort see below, p. 181 and n. 5.

[2] La Guilletière, *Athènes Ancienne et Nouvelle*, p. 196.

[3] The Parthenon is sometimes supposed to have been a church of the Wisdom of God, but Lambros has shown it belonged to the *Παναγία Ἀθηνιώτισσα* (*Ἀθῆναι περὶ τὰ τέλη τοῦ ιβ' αἰῶνος*, p. 34).

[4] On such miracles see below, pp. 36–7.

[5] Babin, *Relation d'Athènes*, pp. 32–3; La Guilletière, *op. cit.*, p. 198; Wheler, *Journey into Greece*, p. 364; Galland, *Journal*, i, 38.

[6] Babin, *Relation d'Athènes*, pp. 32–3; La Guilletière, *op. cit.*, p. 193; Galland, *loc. cit.*; Wheler, *loc. cit.* During the Turkish occupation of Mount Athos a soldier shot at the Virgin over the gate of the monastery of Vatopedi: the image bled and the soldier was found hung (Didron, *Iconographie Chrétienne*, p. 461).

letière refers, and some considerations support the latter's testimony. His description of the interior of the building hung with rags and other offerings rings true, and the movement against the dervish orders under Mohammed IV from 1656 onwards [1] fits exactly with the expulsion of the dervishes mentioned by La Guilletière.[2] It is, however, possible that he has confused the Parthenon with another building. If not, to whom were the dervish cult and pilgrimage directed? Athens was particularly connected by learned orientals with the Greek philosophers, and on that account called by them the 'City of the Sages' (*Medinat al Hokama*).[3] The local traditions of the later Middle Ages associated nearly every ancient building at Athens with some philosopher.[4] The tradition of Athens as the dwelling-place of Plato 'the divine' was still alive among the Turks in the middle of the seventeenth century.[5] It is quite possible that the Parthenon at Athens, like the church of S. Amphilochius at Konia,[6] figured

[1] For this movement see below, pp. 419–23.

[2] As to the reputation of La Guilletière, the general verdict of our own times is that his forgery consisted in his using the material of other people, notably the Athenian missionaries, passing it off as the fruit of his own travels.

[3] D'Herbelot, *Bibl. Orientale*, *s.v.* 'Athiniah': *cf.* Saad-ed-din, in Hammer-Hellert, *Hist. Emp. Ott.* i, 351.

[4] *Anon. Viennensis* (ed. L. Ross in *Jahrbücher der Litt.* 1840): also Kambouroglous, *Μνημεῖα*, i, 159).

[5] *Cf.* Haji Khalfa, *Rumeli und Bosna*, p. 109: 'Atina ... der Wohnort des göttlichen Plato und der berühmtesten Philosophen, und deshalb die Stadt der Weisen genannt'.

[6] See below, pp. 364–5. Another house of Plato was shown at Pergamon in the fourteenth century (Ibn Batuta, tr. Sanguinetti, ii, 315; tr. Lee, p. 73), though Galen, not Plato, was the philosopher connected with that town: possibly the two were fused in the popular mind. A reputed house of Hippocrates (to Arabs, Bokrat) in Kos served in the eighteenth century as a mosque (Egmont and Heymann, *Travels*, i, 263); already in 1420 Buondelmonti had spoken of the house and spring of Hippocrates (*Liber Insularum*, § 45), the latter at first identified with a curious built well-house above the town of Kos, and later,

as Plato's observatory.[1] The dervishes of La Guilletière's time came from Konia,[2] where the cult of Plato was predominant.

3. S. DEMETRIUS, SALONICA, was not converted into a mosque till some years after the taking of the city by the Turks. The grave of the saint, to which primarily the church owed its sanctity, was respected and remained a Christian pilgrimage:[3] it was, further, to some extent adopted as a place of healing by the Moslems.[4]

after this had reverted to its classical name of Burinna, with a spring called *κόκκινα νερά* (Herzog, *Koische Forschungen*, p. 161). Other references to Hippocrates in Kos are Galland (1673), ed. Schefer, ii, 21; Perry (1743), *View of the Levant*, p. 481 ('imperfect Vestiges of the house on a high rocky hill about a mile west of Burinna'); *ibid.*, p. 480 (Burinna = dormitory and study of Hippocrates); Des Barres, *Voyage*, i, 179 (palace of Hippocrates); *ibid.* i, 180 (school in the town, now turned into a mosque). The Greeks told Michaud (*Corresp. d'Orient, 1830–1*, iii, 464) that his chamber was in the castle of Kos. Tucher, in Feyerabend (1480), *Reyssbuch*, p. 371 B, speaks of the house of Hippocrates.

[1] It is interesting to note in this connexion the letter (1641) signed by the Turkish notables of Athens, including the head of the dervishes, commending the Jesuit missionary Père Blaizeau for his knowledge of astrology (Carayon, *Rel. Inéd. de la Compagnie de Jésus*, p. 147).

[2] See the extract given below, p. 755.

[3] The profit derived from pilgrims is here of course a consideration: *cf.* Mackenzie and Irby, *Travels in Slavonic Provinces*, p. 10; G. F. Abbott, *Tale of a Tour in Macedonia*, p. 14.

[4] Joan. Anagn., *De ext. Thessalon. Excid.*, cap. xvi; Eustathius, *Opuscula*, p. 173; L. Garnett, *Women of Turkey*, ii, 151, n. 1; for the cult in 1489 see Khitrovo, *Itin. Russes*, p. 263. The Turkish name of the mosque, Kasimiyyeh (after Kasim, the sixth Imam), seems merely to refer to the original Christian festival, S. Demetrius' day (Oct. 26) being also sacred to Kasim (Rycaut, *Greek and Armenian Churches*, p. 152). I can find no suggestion that the tomb of S. Demetrius was regarded as that of Kasim (*cf.* Cantimir, *Hist. Emp. Oth.* ii, 39) by the Turks, though this is not an impossible development (*cf.* especially below, p. 48; Elwan Chelebi) in spite of the fact that a tomb of Kasim exists at Bagdad (Southgate, *Travels*, ii, 167; Massignon, in *Rev. Hist. Relig.* lviii (1908), p. 337). For the 'measuring' of S. Demetrius see below p. 263, quoting de Launay, *Chez les Grecs de Turquie* pp. 183–4.

The exact converse of this phenomenon (*i.e.* a Moslem place of pilgrimage situated in a church in a Christian country and respected by Christians) is to be found in the case of the reputed tomb of a 'sister of Mohammed' at the church of SS. Peter and Sophia at Tarsus under the rule of the Armenian kings.[1]

4. S. Amphilochius, Konia. Here the miracle-working grave of S. Amphilochius, bishop of Iconium, was identified by the Seljuk Turks with that of Plato the philosopher.[2] The church was in the fifteenth century a pilgrimage for both religions.[3]

5. S. Andrew of Crete (Khoja Mustafa Jamisi), Constantinople. The miracle-working Christian saint buried here [4] was superseded on the 'discovery' in the reign of 'Sultan Mahmud' of apocryphal graves of Fatima and Zeinab, the daughters of the Imam Husain, who were said to have been brought captive to Constantinople and to have killed themselves to avoid being

[1] Willebrand of Oldenburg (1211), ed. L. Allatius, *Σύμμικτα*, i, 137. The grave was in *angulo quodam extra fores* [sic] *Ecclesiae*. The church is now replaced by the Ulu Jami (Langlois, *Cilicie*, p. 317). See further below, p. 698.

[2] A parallel case is that of Aristotle at Palermo. Gregorovius, quoting (*Wanderjahre*, iii (*Siciliana*), p. 114) Amari's translation of the tenth century Ibn Haukal, says 'im Al-Kassar (der Paläopolis des Polybius) bewunderte er die grosse Festtagsmoschee [evidently meant for *Freitagsmoschee*], die ehemalige Kathedrale der Christen, worin man ihm eine Kapelle zeigte, in welcher der Sarg des Aristoteles in der Luft schwebte. Zu ihm, so sagt er, beteten ehedem die Christen um Regen'. It is to be noted that the Arabs took Palermo in 831, the Normans in 1071. Like Plato at Konia, Aristotle is probably a Christian saint taken over by the Arabs as Plato by the Seljuks, and re-named. See further, below, p. 364.

[3] Khitrovo, *Itin. Russes*, p. 256 (1466): 'il y a là une église chrétienne [consacrée], selon eux, à Platon, & selon nous, à Amphilothée . . . l'huile sainte découle de lui jusqu'à présent'. For the Seljuk cult and legends of Plato see below, pp. 363 ff.; for the subsequent history of the church, see below, chap. iii, no. 9.

[4] Van Millingen, *Churches in Constantinople*, p. 108; Carnoy and Nicolaides, *Folklore de Constantinople*, p. 116.

married to Christians, or to have died in prison for refusing to deny their faith. The transformed church thus acquired a respectable Mohammedan tradition, and the Moslem saints continued the miracles of healing with which the Christian church was formerly associated.[1]

6. S. THEKLA (TOKLU MESJIDI), CONSTANTINOPLE. The saint and healer [2] here celebrated by the Christians was replaced by a Turkish saint, apparently apocryphal, called Toklu or Doghlu Dede. This personage is supposed by the Turks to have acted as a sort of regimental *bhisti* at the siege of 1453;[3] the legend is probably evolved from the name, originally a corruption of Thekla, which was borne by a Turkish saint, Doghlu Baba, buried at Brusa. Doghlu Baba was so called because he *drank* sour milk,[4] whereas his namesake at Constantinople purveyed it to the troops.

7. S. ELIAS (DAUD MONASTIR), BRUSA. This church —we know nothing of its Christian past—was given a new sanctity by the interment in it of the remains of Sultan Osman. It thus became not only a holy place for Mohammedans, but a national Ottoman sanctuary.[5] It was never a Friday mosque, its small proportions and circular plan marking it out for a *turbe*.

[1] Carnoy and Nicolaides, *loc. cit.*; Meyer's *Konstantinopel*, p. 319. Before this discovery the tomb of a 'Companion of Eyyub' was shown at the mosque (*Jardin des Mosquées* in Hammer-Hellert, *Hist. Emp. Ott.* xviii, 35 (349)).

[2] M. Hamilton, *Incubation*, p. 135.

[3] Paspates, *Βυζ. Μελέται*, p. 359; Van Millingen, *op. cit.*, p. 207; Meyer, *op. cit.*, p. 340; Hammer-Hellert, *Hist. Emp. Ott.* xviii, 16. The word *dogh* is represented as an old Turkish word for *whey*.

[4] Seaman, *Orchan*, p. 120; *cf.* the *Yoghurtlu Dede* of von Hammer (*Brussa*, p. 57). But this saint seems also known as *Daghli Baba* ('Mountain Father'), *cf.* Gibb, *Ottoman Poetry*, iii, 364.

[5] The church was badly damaged by an earthquake in 1804 and is now destroyed: see Texier and Pullan, *Byz. Architecture*, p. 157; G. Wheler, *Journey into Greece*, p. 216; von Hammer, *Brussa*, pp. 47 ff.; J. Pardoe, *City of the Sultans*, ii, 24 ff.; W. Turner, *Tour in the Levant*, iii, 175–6.

Though at least one church in every conquered city was made over to Islam in the way we have described, it must not be assumed that the local tradition of a mosque having been a church is in all cases a true one.[1] An instance which can be checked is that of the great mosque of Isa Bey at Ephesus, which down to quite recent times was pointed out as the church of S. John. The entirely frivolous reasons for this identification are discussed and dismissed by Falkener.[2] The church of S. John was indeed transformed into a mosque, and is mentioned as such down to the middle of the fourteenth century.[3] But the mosque of Isa Bey is a purely Turkish building dating from 1375.[4] In our own times a relatively modern mosque at Uskub has been claimed by the Serbian conquerors as a church of S. Simeon and bids fair to change its religion on that obviously untrue assumption.[5]

[1] Della Valle mentions (*Voyages*, iv, 61) a mosque claimed by Armenians as an ancient Armenian church, apparently falsely.

[2] Falkener, *Ephesus*, p. 155.

[3] Ibn Batuta, tr. Sanguinetti, ii, 308; Wilhelm von Boldenseele (1336). Ibn Batuta wrote about 1340.

[4] *Austrian Expedition to Ephesus*, i, 131.

[5] F. W. H.

III

ARRESTED URBAN TRANSFERENCES

NUMEROUS cases are on record in which the transference of a church to Islam has been attended or followed by untoward incidents which have been regarded by the Christians as miracles and by the Moslems as due to black magic.[1] When these warnings are considered too serious to be neglected, the usual course is to close the church altogether or to put it to some secular use,[2] not to restore it to Christian worship. Examples are common, and, though the stories are usually told by Christians, we shall find that they are also accepted, and indeed acted upon, by Moslems. Thus :

1. A CHURCH at MARSOVAN was transformed into a mosque, but it was found impossible to keep its minaret from falling down as soon as it was built.[3]

2. S. JOHN, RHODES. The minaret added to this transformed church was five times struck by lightning.[4]

[1] The same may happen when a mosque is turned into a church, as in the case of a mosque at Akka (Le Strange, *Palestine*, p. 331). Early Christians also recognized and feared the potency of pagan magic, taking precautions accordingly ; *cf.* Allard, *L'Art Païen*, p. 262 (a law of 435 (*Cod. Theodos.* xvi : x, 25) orders pagan ' fana, templa, delubra, si quae etiam nunc restant integra, praecepto magistratuum destrui, collocationeque venerandae christianae religionis signi expiari ').

[2] After the fall of Jerusalem the Ascension church was made a mosque, but, as Christians could not be kept away, the Saracens spoiled it of its marbles and left it common (Fabri, *Evagat.* i, 389).

[3] Cuinet, *Turquie d'Asie*, i, 761 ; Haji Khalfa (tr. Armain, ii, 682) recognized the mosque as a Christian building but without mentioning the superstition connected with it. At Jerusalem the house of Ananias is now a mosque, but three attempts to build a minaret have failed (Goujon, *Terre Sainte*, p. 33). Similarly, infidels could not put images in the rebuilt temple (Petachia, in *Nouv. Jour. As.* viii, 400).

[4] Stochove, *Voyage*, p. 223 ; *cf.* Veryard, *Choice Remarks*, p. 330.

3. The METROPOLIS, YANNINA, was converted into a mosque in 1597; the same year the minaret fell, owing, as was said, to the intervention of the Archangels.[1]

4. 'S. JOHN', PERGAMON (the great ruin now known as 'Kizil Avli') had a minaret added when it was first adopted as a mosque. The doorway opening on the gallery, designed to face Mecca-wards, insisted on turning to the north, which in some obscure way led to the fall of the minaret. The building is now abandoned.[2]

5. 'S. SOPHIA', SOFIA, was half ruined by an earthquake when transformed into a mosque.[3]

6. S. FRANCIS, GALATA (1701) was struck by lightning for a similar reason. In this case the miracle was attributed by the Franks to the patron saint.[4]

[1] Contemporary MSS. note published by Lambros in *Νέος Ἑλληνομνήμων*, vii, 183. We may perhaps infer that the date of the accident was the feast of the Archangels (Sept. 6) or that the church was dedicated to them: a church of S. Michael in the castle is mentioned in the MS. *History of Yannina* published by Leake (*N. Greece*, iv, 562), but this seems to have been destroyed in the reign of Murad II in 1431, *cf.* however, p. 563.

[2] Arundell, *Seven Churches*, p. 288; C. B. Elliott, *Travels*, ii, 126. The same miracle is told by Rycaut, perhaps owing to some confusion, of S. Demetrius in the same town: 'there are two churches, one anciently dedicated to S. *John*, and another to S. *Demetrius*, both which the *Turks* have relinquished, the first because (as report goes) the Walls fall as much by night as they are built by day; and the other, because the Door of the *Menareh* or Steeple, which above where they call to Prayers points always towards *Mecha* . . . did in a miraculous manner after it was built turn itself to the North, to which point that Door now looks, of which I myself have been an Eye-witness; but what deceit may have been herein contrived by the *Greek* Masons I am not able to aver' (Rycaut, *Greek and Armenian Churches*, p. 67). J. B. S. Morritt, *Letters*, p. 134, heard that a small mosque near the church had fallen down every time the Turks attempted to build it.

[3] Kanitz, *Bulgarie*, p. 295: this church-mosque was also said to be haunted by the ghost of 'Sophia the daughter of Constantine and Helen (! !)', who was buried there (Benaglia, *Viaggio*, p. 45).

[4] De La Mottraye, *Travels*, i, 166, 206.

7. S. SOPHIA, PERGAMON. Here a cross insisted on replacing the newly built minaret and became such an obsession that the Turks built a dome over it.[1]

8. CHURCH at THYATIRA (AKHISAR). Here the top of the minaret fell repeatedly.[2] This or another transformed church in the same town possesses a column which 'wept' when a Christian entered the building and 'high above the roof is a small cross, the removal of which would cause the collapse of the mosque'.[3]

The destruction of minarets, which are the characteristic Mohammedan feature of a transformed church, may be attributed either to the anti-Moslem influence of the building itself, as below in No. 12, or simply to the 'evil eye' of the deprived Christians.[4] It is sufficiently obvious that the tall and slender minaret is in the nature of things the most likely part of any mosque to suffer from lightning or earthquake.

Some transformed churches were much more dangerous, *e.g.*:

9. S. AMPHILOCHIUS, KONIA (see above, p. 17, No. 4), though transformed into a mosque, as may be seen from the still existing *mihrab*, was found to be unlucky for Moslems, who died [5] after entering it, and it was disused in consequence.[6]

[1] Elliott, *op. cit.* ii, 127. [2] Wheler, *Journey into Greece*, p. 236.

[3] Ramsay, *Studies in History and Art*, p. 290: also in his *Interm. of Races in Asia Minor*, p. 21.

[4] The minaret of the Green Mosque at Bulak (Cairo) falls if a 'Frank' draws it. David Roberts, whose drawing shows the minaret much higher than it is now, may have been the innocent cause of the superstition, see Hasluck, *Letters*, p. 75.

[5] Similarly, Moslems cannot live in the Christian village of Sidnaya near Damascus (d'Arvieux, *Mémoires*, ii, 462), in the church of S. Thomas at Jerusalem (Goujon, *Terre Sainte*, p. 242: *cf.* Thévenot, *Voyages*, ii, 650), in the cell of S. Paul at Jerusalem (Goujon, p. 34), or in the house of Veronica there (Tobler, *Topogr. von Jerusalem*, i, 252). Maundrell (ed. Wright, p. 459) mentions a village Booteshallah [Beit Jala] near Bethlehem in which no Turk can live more than two years: *none*, he adds, *will risk it*: *cf.* Robinson, *Palestine*, ii, 322. The

10. JUMANUN JAMISI, ADALIA. A chapel of the 'Friday' mosque at Adalia (a transformed church) was shut up because it was found that all Moslems who entered it died.[7] The whole building is now abandoned and appears still to have a bad reputation: a few years ago a wall was built round it *on account of an outbreak of plague in the immediate vicinity.*[8]

Moslems retaliate in kind, saying no Christian can live long in the Persian city of Chardabago (Maundeville, ed. Wright, p. 205). The same prejudice exists between Jew and Moslem. Thus, no Jew can live at Thaurus (Ludolf, *De Itinere*, p. 58) or at Caesarea (Carnoy and Nicolaides, *Trad. de l'Asie Mineure*, pp. 224–6), and Turks die at the Jewish Jobar (d'Arvieux, *Mémoires*, ii, 461 : *cf.* the inscription warning strangers away from the Temple of Herod at Jerusalem on pain of death, mentioned by Josephus, *Antiq.* xv, 14). Occasionally, a compromise is made: for instance, the house of Judas at Damascus could not be converted into a mosque, so both Turks and Christians worship side by side in it (d'Arvieux, ii, 456). The mention of the house (church) of S. Thomas on Zion raises several very interesting problems. According to Tobler (*Topogr. von Jerusalem*, i, 446) it was first mentioned by Tchudi (1519) as the house of S. Thomas and inhabited by Indian Christians from India. It was thought the site of Christ's appearance to Thomas. In 1586 Zuallart says it was a church but in ruins [the year 1561 saw the whole group of buildings on Mount Zion in Moslem hands. F. W. H.] Boucher (1610) says that all Jews and Moors who entered it died, either immediately or within three days (*cf.* also Quaresmius, 1616–26, and Nau, 1674). Troilo (1666–) heard the story from a Turk. Yet from 1681 onwards a mosque stood on the site and was seen by Tobler.

[6] It is now a clock-house and store (*cf.* Ramsay, *Pauline Studies*, p. 170; *Studies in History and Art*, p. 290). It was probably first intended on account of its conspicuous position for the Friday mosque of Konia, this place being taken eventually by the adjacent mosque of Ala-ed-din. In theory the Friday mosque, or at least its minaret, should overtop all Christian churches.

[7] Lucas, *Voyage dans la Grèce*, i, 245; the same author (*ibid.* i, 95) notes the case of a church at Kutahia, of which the anti-Moslem influence was so strong that Turkish houses built near it fell down.

[8] H. Rott, *Kleinas. Denkm.*, p. 46; *cf.* above, p. 22. When the Armenian renegade, Ali Pasha, was governor of Beyrut, he turned the church of S. George there into a mosque. Although (for a consideration) he allowed the Christians to carry away all the sacred furniture,

11. S. Nicolas, Alessio (Albania). This church was transformed into a mosque at the conquest (1478), but has since been abandoned as unlucky, three successive *muezzins* having fallen from the belfry while announcing the hour of prayer.[1]

The explanation given by Lucas in the case of No. 10 is probably good for all.[2] The Turks held that the Christians had laid a spell on the building, while the Christians admitted the working of the holy relics left inside. In the case of Alessio we know that Skanderbeg was buried in the church, and that at the conquest his tomb was rifled by the Turks who used his bones for charms.[3] He was probably held responsible for the accidents also.

12. Mosque of Zachariah, Aleppo. A curious story of compromise after hostile manifestations in a converted church comes from Aleppo. At the Mohammedan conquest of that city a church, now called the Mosque of Zachariah, was transformed into a mosque. The first *muezzin* who gave the call to prayer from its tower fell and was killed: the second died by a violent death. His successor prayed to the Christian saint to spare his life. The request was granted on condition that the Christian *trisagion* should take the place of the orthodox Moslem call to prayer. The office of *muezzin* is hereditary in this mosque, and an author of the seventies assures us that the *trisagion* (in Arabic)[4] is cried from the minaret once in twenty-four hours.[5]

pictures, &c., ill-luck pursued the pasha for his sacrilege: falling ill, he was taken to Constantinople where he was beheaded, his body being thrust into the sea. See d'Arvieux, *Mémoires*, ii, 376–7.

[1] Von Hahn, *Alban. Studien*, i, 93; Hecquard, *Haute Albanie*, p. 57; Degrand, *Haute Albanie*, p. 241.

[2] Above, p. 23.

[3] Barletius Scodrensis, *Vita Skanderbegi*, xiii, *ad fin.* (in Lonicerus, *Chron. Turc.* i, 36, and elsewhere). For their motive see also below, p. 35.

[4] Cutts, *Christians under the Crescent*, 1876, pp. 46 f.: 'it is said

The haunting or bewitching of churches might, as at first in the case of Adalia (No. 10), be partial only, just as a visitation might fall upon the minaret and spare the main building. The sacristy of a church in Belgrade remained intractable long after the conversion of the church,[6] and one of the galleries of the S. Sophia mosque at Okhrida seems to have had a bad reputation down to the Balkan war, without, however, rendering the building as a whole unfit for Moslem worship.[7] The house of S. Anne at Jerusalem has been turned into a mosque, but Moslems die if they enter the crypt.[8]

that the proclamation made at midnight from this minaret, and made with the hand before the mouth so as to disguise the words, is not the usual proclamation of the muezzins, but is a proclamation of the Name of the Holy Trinity . . . to this day the listener can hear the voice from the minaret of Zechariah begin: "*Kadoos Allah, kadoos*, etc.", and go off into an unintelligible cry, clearly different from the usual cry, and believed to be that which is written above' [*i. e.* 'Kadoos Allah, Kadoos el kawi, Kadoos ilezi la iemoot, erhamna,' the Arabic version of ἅγιος ὁ Θεός, ἅγιος ὁ ἰσχυρός, ἅγιος ὁ ἀθάνατος, ἐλέησον ἡμᾶς]. It should be remembered that the Christian doctrine of the Trinity is most repugnant to Moslem theology.

[5] Milder versions of the same theme are recorded by Thévenot and de la Brocquière. The former states that a certain mosque at Damascus was reputed a former temple of Serapis and said to contain the body of S. Simeon Stylites. 'Le Muesem n'y peut crier la priére comme aux autres Mosquées, & . . . lorsqu'il veut crier, la voix lui manque' (Thévenot, *Voyages*, iii, 61). When the *muezzins* climbed the minaret of the transformed church of S. Barbara at Beyrut, 'they were so beaten that from that day no one has ventured to return thither' (B. de la Brocquière, ed. Wright, pp. 296 f.). It is remarkable that the mosque of S. Simeon Stylites in Antioch of Syria is a recognized Moslem pilgrimage (Menasik-el-Haj, tr. Bianchi, in *Rec. de Voyages*, ii, 105), from which town the body of the saint was transferred to Damascus, according to Thévenot, *loc. cit.*

[6] Poullet, *Nouvelles Relations*, i, 129.

[7] Durham, *Burden of the Balkans*, p. 140. Wace in 1912 found the mosque disused (*Ridgeway Essays*, p. 280). Edmund Spencer in 1850 (*Travels*, ii, 72) says it was in his time a military store.

[8] At the time (1735) of d'Arvieux' visit to Beyrut Turks no longer ventured to descend into the crypt of its chief mosque, which had formerly been a church belonging to the Cordeliers. 'Les premiers

13. S. STEPHEN, BATRON (near Tripoli in Syria), offered a still more violent supernatural resistance to the Moslem usurper. Originally a Benedictine monastery church, it was transformed into a dervish convent. In the space of a year no less than thirty-five of the inmates died sudden and violent deaths:

'Les uns estoient trouvez renversez par terre, tous livides de coups, qu'ils disoient leur avoir esté donnez par un phantosme, qui leur apparoissoit dans cette Église, vestu à la façon des Papazes Chrestiens. Les autres estoient tous fracassez et meurtris de leur cheute du haut de la tour de ladite Église, d'où ils estoient renversez par une vertu occulte et divine qui les ébloüissoit, lorsqu'ils y montoient. Si bien qu'épouvantez d'un si grand chastiment, ils n'oserent plus s'opiniastrer à y demeurer, et l'abandonnerent malgré eux; ce qui m'a esté raconté sur les lieux mesmes, que j'ay veus et visitez.'[1]

If we may attempt to define at all the agency by which such miracles are supposed to be performed, we must take into account not only the buried saints and patrons, but also the spirits belonging to the buildings concerned.

qui y descendirent depuis que l'Église eut été convertie en Mosquée, perdirent la vûë, Dieu les punissant ainsi de leur trop grande curiosité.' To avoid all risk of similar accidents they blocked the door of the staircase which led to the crypt (d'Arvieux, *Mémoires*, ii, 347). This was dangerous to Moslems for the further reason that it contained the famous 'Bleeding Crucifix' of Beyrut (d'Arvieux, *loc. cit.*: Goujon, *Terre Sainte*, p. 325: de la Brocquière, ed. Wright, p. 297). The story went that some Jews had outraged the crucifix, whereupon it shed a quantity of blood. Most of the blood was distributed abroad in bottles, but one portion was preserved in the crypt of the church, though the Turks of d'Arvieux' time refused to allow Christians to see it. The crucifix also was preserved in the crypt. Once some rich Christians had subscribed considerable sums in order to buy it, but the Turks were unable to remove it, some dying then and there, others becoming blind and dying later (d'Arvieux, *loc. cit.*). For a possible explanation of the origin of the legend see Hasluck, *Letters*, p. 151.

[1] Febvre, *Théâtre de la Turquie*, p. 46. Savary de Brèves (*Voyages*, p. 43) cites other miracles related of this church and admitted by local Turks. He seems, however, to think the dedication S. James.

14. Thus, at the church of S. NICOLAS, CANEA, now a mosque, the Greeks hold that unless the picture of the saint is duly provided with a lamp, the spirit of the building (not S. Nicolas himself) appears and kills the guardian for his neglect.[1]

15. At S. CATHERINE'S MOSQUE, CANDIA, also a transformed church, the spirit of the building contents itself with a yearly demonstration of a terrifying sort. It has the form of an ox.[2]

The presence of such spirits in sacred buildings is not contingent on the transformation of a church into a mosque, since churches as such are often inhabited by spirits of this class.[3] They generally appear in animal form, and, as Polites hints,[4] probably represent the spirits of beasts immolated at the erection of the buildings to which they are attached. But the transformation, and still more the destruction, of the church, excites their hostility,[5] as the Turks themselves admit.[6]

[1] Polites, *Παραδόσεις*, no. 517. [2] *Ibid.*, no. 518.

[3] *Ibid.*, nos. 507 (Zante), 511, 512, 513, 515 (Athens); also 503, 509, *cf.* 487. On the Mohammedan side similar phenomena occur: for instance, at the mosque of Muhyi-ed-din at Damascus any *khoja* who ascends the minaret is thrown down by an 'Arab' (F. W. H. from Husain Aga of Chotil): there is, so far as I know, no Christian tradition, and the 'Arab' is generally a merely secular 'spook' or 'demon': for this see below, pp. 730–5. [4] Note on no. 507.

[5] *Cf.* de Brèves, *Voyages*, p. 127: 'vinsmes à la maison de sainct Thomas, que la deuote Imperatrice de Constantinople fit eriger en Eglise, maintenant deserte, & demy ruinée: souuent les Turcs ont essayé de la reparer, pour s'en servir de Mosquée, mais soudain que les Architectes y entroient, vn hideux serpent sortant d'entre les ruines leur faisoit quitter outils & dessein tout ensemble'. A serpent in the same way prevented the desecration of the Nativity church by the Saracens (Fabri, *Evagat.* i, 474–5) and by Jews (Goujon, *Terre Sainte*, p. 273). For a similar belief in Albania see Durham, *High Albania*, p. 264.

[6] Triandaphyllides, *Οἱ Φυγάδες*, i, 36: *ὑποθέτει ὁ Τοῦρκος ὅτι ἔχουσι τὰ τοιαῦτα οἰκοδομήματα πνεῦμα φύλακα αὐτῶν, καὶ πᾶς ὁ κατακρημνίζων τοιαῦτα κτίρια ἐπερεθίζει τὴν ὀργὴν καὶ ἐκδίκησιν τοῦ πνεύματος . . . Ἤκουσα αὐτοὺς διηγουμένους πολλὰ παραδείγ-*

Merely to threaten a sacred building might bring down the vengeance of Heaven. Wheler relates a story connecting the explosion in the Propylaea some twenty years before his time with the impious action of a Turk, which was miraculously frustrated :

'A certain *Haga* of the Castle, a zealous Enemy to Christianity, resolved one day to batter down a Church ; who having prepared all things in readiness over Night to do the intended Execution next day, being a Festival according to their Law, they meant thus maliciously to celebrate, by the Ruin of a Christian Church. But were the same Night miraculously prevented by Thunder and Lightning from Heaven ; which set the Powder on Fire, and blew part of the Roof, whereon the *Haga's* House stood, together with him, and his whole Family, up into the Air. . . . The next day they found Bows and Arrows, Shields, and other Armour, all about the Country ; but never heard they any news of the *Haga* again.' [1]

This story is still current in Athens in connexion with the church of S. Demetrius on the slopes of the

ματα παθόντων δῆθεν, διότι ἐτόλμησαν ν' ἀφαιρέσωσι λίθους μόνον ἐκ τοιούτου ἐρειπιωθέντος οἰκοδομήματος. Christians are equally superstitious about taking stones from churches : people who do this either die suddenly or lose a hand or a foot (H. Rott, *Kleinas. Denkm.*, p. 192). The sheikh at Angora, who in 1834 pulled down part of the Augusteum (the property of his own *tekke*), was nevertheless pursued by ill-luck (Perrot and Guillaume, *Explor. de la Galatie*, i, 297). The sultan who removed three of the columns which supported the dome of S. Euphemia's, Chalcedon, could not move the fourth : it weeps on the feast-day of the church (but the priests deliberately arranged this miracle) : see Sestini, *Lettres*, iii, 171. The Saracens could not build on the site of S. Mary of the Swoon, nor could they take away its stones (Fabri, *Evagat.* i, 359). The image of the Virgin of Sidnaya near Damascus turned to flesh when stolen and so frightened the thief into restoring it (Maundrell, *Voyage*, p. 220) : for this image see further below, p. 462, n. 7, and Porter, *Damascus*, p. 130. The Saracens were so terrified by a vision that they could not remove the columns of the Nativity church (Ludolf, *De Itinere*, p. 72).

[1] Wheler, *Journey into Greece*, p. 359, who probably had it from the French consul Giraud (*cf.* Collignon in *Mém. Ac. Inscrr.* 1897, p. 63). A similar miracle occurs in Hammer-Hellert, *Hist. Emp. Ott.* xviii, 79 (697).

Museum Hill, surnamed 'the Bombardier' (Λουμβαρδιέρης) on account of the incident. According to the version related to me in 1914 the *agha* tried to bombard the church on a Christian feast-day when it was full of people, but his cannon turned against himself.

Spoliation of churches is likewise apt to bring with it untoward results. The *bey* who stole the famous 'burning stone' of Angora went blind till he returned it, and only recovered his sight by the intercession of a sinless child.[1] Instances of this sort could be multiplied,[2] but they are mostly told by the Christians and seem practically to have had little or no restraining influence.[3] It is interesting to find the Turkish soldiers quartered on Athos during the Revolution sparing the pictures of saints in the monastery churches,[4] but mutilating those of devils in representations of the Last Judgement, &c. Their conduct, both here and in other circumstances mentioned above, amounts to a tacit confession of Turkish belief in, and fear of, Christian magic.[5] This betrays itself also in various other ways.[6] At the conquest of Salonica Sultan Murad II, before entering S. Deme-

[1] Lucas, *Voy. dans la Grèce*, i, 111–12 : *cf.* below, p. 181. For the power of virginity see below, p. 200.

[2] *Cf.* Blancard in Charrière, *Négociations dans le Levant*, i, 351.

[3] *Cf.* however, Fabri, *Evagat.* i, 474–5, and the instances given above, p. 27, n. 6.

[4] Slade, *Travels in Turkey*, p. 492.

[5] Lamartine, *Voyage en Orient*, iii, 173, tells the amusing story that, if a Christian says the Creed continuously, a dervish at the Tower of the Forty at Ramleh must go on turning (these dervishes are Mevlevi) until he dies : once the dervishes caught a Christian doing this and made him recite the creed backwards and so stop the charm. The stories of defiling mosques and churches seem to indicate that both religions may also indulge in reckless defiance of the other's magic : for such stories see Fabri, *Evagat.* i, 268 (an exact parallel to which is in Burckhardt, *Arabia*, i, 307–8 : *cf.* also Fabri, *Evagat.* i, 380). *Cf.* also E. H. Palmer in *P.E.F., Q.S.* for 1871, p. 125. *Cf.* Hasluck, *Letters*, p. 177.

[6] *e.g.* Moslems will not cut wood near former Christian churches (Durham, *High Albania*, p. 160).

trius, *sacrificed a ram with his own hands*,[1] after which he proceeded without scruple to sack the church. The sacrifice was of course apotropaic [2] and amounted to an acknowledgement of the hostile potentialities of the church.[3]

The power of the Cross is also admitted by Moslems.[4] Ibn Batuta at Constantinople says he was 'prevented' from entering S. Sophia by the numerous crosses placed on and around the building to exclude infidels.[5] It is this belief in the hostile potentialities of the Cross,[6] not mere wantonness, which is responsible for the common defacing of sculptured crosses in occupied Christian buildings: as a rule the horizontal limbs only are obliterated.[7] On the other hand, Christian magic may be conciliated, and the Cross itself pressed into the service of Moslems. A stone decorated with a cross at Eljik in Galatia cures sickness; [8] the Kizilbash of Pontus mark their bread before baking with a cross; [9] in Tunis

[1] Ducas, cap. xxix (p. 201 B).

[2] The root-idea of all sacrifice (*kurban*) among Semites seems to have been that of communion with God: it is now regarded as apotropaic, a life being given for life threatened or spared. In practice *kurban* is apt to degenerate into a free meal: see further below, pp. 259 ff.

[3] Chateaubriand, quoting Père Roger, *verbatim*, says (*Itinér.* ii, 373) that the Turks are so scrupulous about the Sakhra because, all prayers being efficacious, those of a Christian might succeed in driving out the Turks altogether.

[4] Poiré, *Tunisie Française*, p. 173, says that the Moslem women of Algeria tattoo crosses on their faces and arms.

[5] So in G. Temple, *Travels*, ii, 127; Lee's translation, however, gives (p. 84) quite a different rendering of the passage.

[6] Before 'Hamor' could build the Dome of the Rock a cross on Mount Olivet had to be removed (Fabri, *Evagat.* ii, 217).

[7] *e.g.* at S. Sophia (Grelot, *Voyage to Constantinople*, p. 99); at Adalia (Hasluck, in *B.S.A.* xv, 271); Amastris (Hasluck, in *B.S.A.* xvii, 136 (1)); Smyrna (Hasluck, *ibid.*, 149). In later conquests, *e.g.* Rhodes and Chios, the crosses were spared.

[8] See below, p. 206, n. 3.

[9] G. E. White, in *Trans. Vict. Inst.* xl (1908), p. 230.

women tattoo a cross on their faces ; [1] a phylactery worn by the Moslem women of Egypt is called ' wood of the Cross ' ; [2] and Sir Edwin Pears has noted at the present day the use by Turks of the prophylactic cross on buildings in course of erection.[3] In 1916 an English resident of Constantinople told me that the building of a mosque at Bulgurlu, a village in Asia opposite Constantinople, was constantly interrupted by accidents of various kinds. A learned *khoja* discovered that the reason of this was that the site chosen was that of an old Christian church, and that the ill-luck could be turned by placing a cross in the crescent crowning the minaret of the mosque. His advice was followed, the accidents ceased, and the cross and crescent are, according to my informant, still to be seen on the minaret of the village mosque.

A similar tale was told d'Arvieux of the chief mosque in Beyrut, the former church of the Cordeliers.[4] When the Turks captured Beyrut and placed a crescent where the cross had been on this church, the steeple was destroyed by lightning. A second shared the fate of the first, as did a third, a fourth, and a fifth.

' A la fin un Renegat qui avoit été Chrétien dans sa jeunesse . . . persuada au Gouverneur & au Peuple, que le seul moyen qu'il y avoit d'y faire tenir un croissant, étoit de mettre une croix au-dessus, les assurant que par ce moyen les sortileges cesseroient & n'auroient plus d'effet.'

The expedient proved successful, as d'Arvieux saw for himself.[5]

Like the Cross, both the rites of the Church and the gospel itself may be turned to account by Moslems. For example, the baptism of the half pagan Turkoman princes of southern Asia Minor, attributed by Bertran-

[1] Covel, *Greek Church*, p. 391 ; Poiré, *loc. cit.*
[2] Lane, *Mod. Egyptians*, ii, 317.
[3] *Turkey*, p. 79.
[4] Mentioned above, p. 25, n. 8.
[5] D'Arvieux, *Mémoires*, ii, 348.

don de la Brocquière to their wish to 'take off the bad smell' which distinguished Mohammedans,[1] was almost certainly a prophylactic measure. Busbecq in the middle of the sixteenth century knew several Turks who had had their children baptized in secret, the reason being that 'they were persuaded that the ceremony contained some good in itself and they were sure that it had not been arbitrarily introduced'.[2] A passage in Story is very interesting and clear on the point. Quoting from Casalius,[3] he says:

'These ablutions became much less frequent among the Christians on account of the expiation made upon earth by the blood of Christ, for the innate *foetor* in the blood of man was expelled by baptism; and it is related of certain tribes on the confines of Armenia, who generated exceedingly unpleasant smells, that whenever they were washed in the waters of baptism they at once lost this bad odour. Indeed, the Patriarch of Constantinople observed, that some of those who came to receive baptism from the Christians demanded it not for the orthodox reason of purifying their souls and obtaining sancti-

[1] Ed. Schefer, p. 90 (ed. Wright, p. 315): 'Ramadan . . . avoit esté filz d'une femme crestienne laquelle l'avoit fait baptisier à la loy gregiesque pour luy enlever le flair et le senteur qu'ont ceulx qui ne sont point baptisiez. Il n'estoit ni bon crestien ni bon sarazin.' *Cf.* p. 115 (ed. Wright, p. 324), where the prince of Karaman is similarly said to have been 'baptistié en la loy greguesque pour oster le flair'. The supposed smell of the unbaptized Turk (see Hahn, *Alban. Studien*, i, 38; Durham, *High Albania*, p. 74) has been used by Greeks in modern times to account for his otherwise inexplicable custom of *washing* (Hobhouse, *Albania*, i, 33).

[2] Busbecq, *Lettres*, ii, 111 f. The same author cites (p. 110) the curious fact that the Turks had the greatest respect for the 'Blessing of the Waters' by the Greek Church at Epiphany, before which they never put to sea, and for the yearly ceremony of the digging of the Lemnian earth, at which a Christian priest regularly presided (for this see below, pp. 675 ff.). The reason given was that 'there are several ancient customs among them which daily practice has proved very useful and of which the reason is unknown', and that their forefathers were wiser than themselves.

[3] *De Thermis et Balneis Veterum.*

fication, but considering it as a sort of incantation by which they could obtain corporal cleanliness. So also, in the same manner and for the same purpose, the Agerini [1] sought baptism, as Balsamum [2] relates in his commentary on the nineteenth canon of the 'Concilium Sardicense', and elsewhere on the forty-ninth canon (Synod VI in Trullo) where he says that these same Agerini were persuaded that their children would be vexed by demons, and smell like dogs, unless they received Christian baptism. In a similar way the Jews stink and are freed therefrom by baptism.' [3]

More worldly reasons are sometimes admitted. Thus, among the Druses 'on a même des exemples, que de vieux Emirs & Shechs, qui croyent que leur posterité pourroit avoir quelque avantage de l'amitié des Chrétiens, se sont fait baptiser sur leur lit de mort'.[4] A young Druse prince, having been circumcised to please the Turks, was baptized at the instance of his Maronite tutor to get him the political goodwill of the Maronites.[5]

Later, we find Mohammedan mothers in Albania baptizing their children as a charm against leprosy, witchcraft, and wolves.[6] A Venetian *Relazione* of 1579

[1] *Agareni* = Moslems. *Cf.* Fabri, *Evagat.* i, 275 (Jerus.); iii, 50 (Cairo).

[2] Theod. Balsamon (middle of the twelfth century).

[3] Story, *Roba di Roma*, ii, 31. He adds a reference to Fortunatus, *Carmina V* (*de Judaeis baptisatis*, A. D. 579), who says 'abluitur Judaeus odor baptismate divo', and another to Bosio, *Relig. di S. Giovanni*, ii, 1589, who mentions the dogs of Halicarnassus (Budrum) who detected Turks by smell (*cf.* also Fabri, *Evagat.* iii, 261–2). Isabel Burton (*Inner Life of Syria*, p. 203) and Fabri (*Evagat.* ii, 370) also mention the supposed smell of Jews.

[4] Niebuhr, *Voyage en Arabie*, ii, 353. The Druses permit their children to be baptized if a Maronite monk or bishop wishes it.

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 385. *Cf.* Fabri, i, 275 (Jerusalem Saracens).

[6] T. W. Arnold, *Preaching of Islam*, p. 156, quoting the unpublished seventeenth century MS. of Bizzi, for which see Ranke, *Servia*, pp. 367 ff. In the *acta* of the Albanian council of 1703 it is stated that Mohammedan parents baptized their children 'non ut Christianos

says that Turkish mothers generally considered baptism as a protection against the first,[1] and another of 1585 says that Sultan Murad III was baptized, the ceremony being held for a specific against the falling sickness.[2]

With regard to the superstitious use of Christian symbols and texts Thomas Smith writes of the seventeenth century Turks :

'Some of them, notwithstanding their Zeal for *Mahomet* and the Religion by him establish'd, retain not only a favourable and honourable Opinion of our Blessed Saviour, but even place some kind of confidence in the usage of his Name, or of the words of the Gospel, though it may seem to be wholly in the way of Superstition. Thus in their Amulets, which they call *Chaimaili*, being little bits of Paper about two or three fingers breadth, roll'd up in pieces of Silk, containing several short Prayers or Sentences out of the *Alcoran*, with several Circles with other Figures, they usually inscribe the holy and venerable Name of JESUS or the figure of the Cross, or the first words of St. *John's*[3] Gospel and the like.'[4]

efficiant sed pro corporali salute, ut liberentur a foetore, comitiali morbo [epilepsy], maleficiorum periculo, et a lupis' (Von Hahn, *Alban. Studien*, i, 38). Conversely, Christian children in Albania (Durazzo) are circumcised (Bérard, *Turquie*, p. 16) : *cf.* Pears, *Turkey*, p. 172. In the same way the conversion and baptism of the Arian tribe cured them of leprosy (Gregory of Tours, *De Mirac. S. Mart.* I, xi) : this idea probably depends on the prototypes of the Jordan baptism and the cure of the leprous Naaman in the Jordan (*cf.* Gregory, *De Glor. Mart.* i, xix).

[1] Alberi, *Relazioni degli Ambasciatori Veneti*, ser. III, vol. iii, i, 455 : 'le mogli dei Turchi purchè possano furtivamente battezzare i figlioli, non mancano, et molti Turchi ancora se ne contentano, siccome molti che hanno figliuoli di moglie turca li fanno battezzare, avendo essi credenza che il battesimo non lascierà venir loro la lebbra'.

[2] Alberi, *op. cit.* ser. III, vol. iii, iii, 280 : 'una opinione . . . regna fra i Turchi, che i lor figliuoli quando sono battezzati abbiano miglior ventura e non sogliano patire di mal caduco'.

[3] Thiers, *Traité des Superstitions*, i, 315, condemns amulets containing the gospels and, quoting Augustine (*Tract. 7 in cap. 1 S. Johan*), says the gospel of S. John was placed on the head for headache : *cf.*

Georgewicz, an Hungarian Croat, who lived thirteen years in captivity among the Turks, mentions this use much earlier and gives a hint of the thought which underlay it: 'Inveniuntur inter eos [*sc.* Turcos], qui eius sint superstitionis, vt *in aciem proditurí*, primum caput Evangelij Joannis Graece conscriptum de collo suspendunt, persuasum habentes, certum hoc *aduersus hostilem impetum & insidias* esse amuletum.'[5] At the time of which our author writes (the reign of Suleiman I, 1520–66), Turkish arms were turned chiefly against Christendom: it is hard to resist the conclusion that the Christian charm was here used expressly to nullify Christian opposition, magical or otherwise.[6] Similarly, in the Jewish wars certain Maccabean soldiers killed in a skirmish were found to be wearing idolatrous charms[7] and were supposed to have lost their lives for their impiety. But we may well doubt whether the rest of the troops were so pious as their survival was held to imply. So, in Crete, as late as the revolution of 1897,

Maury, *Croy. du Moyen Âge*, p. 357 (service of exorcism included reading this gospel and passing the priest's stole round the patient's neck). Collin de Plancy (*Dict. des Reliques*, ii, 34, *s.v. Jean*) says it was used to expel demons, to cure epilepsy, to find treasure, and to avert thunder: further, when Siberian Cossacks plunder a house, they place a key at this chapter of the Bible; if the key turns, there is money about. *Cf.* also Estienne, *Apologie pour Hérodote*, ii, ch. xxxii, § vii.

[4] In Ray's *Voyages*, ii, 71. Père Pacifique (*Voyage de Perse*, p. 31) cites a case of a Turkish woman with a paralysed hand who was cured by having the latter passage read over her, the miracle taking place at the words *Verbum caro factum est.* For an example of the use of the latter charm against foul weather by a Greek seaman, see Cockerell's *Travels*, p. 130.

[5] In Lonicerus, *Chron. Turc.* i, iii, 208 (the italics are mine). The date of Georgewicz' first published work is 1544.

[6] Similarly, Mohammed II himself is said to have worn an amulet made of the seamless tunic of Christ and an *enkolpion* of the Virgin (Francesco Suriano, *Trattato di Terra Santa* (late fifteenth century), pp. 94 f.). *Cf.* also the case of Skanderbeg, above, p. 24.

[7] *Ἱερώματα τῶν ἀπὸ Ἰαμνείας εἰδώλων, ἀφ' ὧν ὁ νόμος ἀπήργει τοὺς Ἰουδαίους* (2 Macc. xii, 40).

we are told that the holy tables of churches in Christian villages sacked by the Turks were systematically broken in pieces :

'the explanation given by persons of both creeds was always the same. When the church is consecrated, the bits of candle used are melted together into a lump, and the sacred relics placed in the middle; the whole is then put into the hollow column which supports the altar-slab. *The Moslems believe that if they wear a Christian relic Christian bullets cannot hurt them.* What is more curious still is that the Mussulmans, believing that the spell only lasts a few years, actually take back the relics to the Christian priests, who are said, for backsheesh, to place them on the altar during Mass; having thus regained their power, the charms are handed back to their possessors.' [1]

Much of this participation in Christian superstition certainly arises from the enforced intimacy of Christian and Moslem women, and especially from mixed marriages and the introduction of Christian women to harems.[2] It does not of necessity imply that the Moslem populations which use the Cross or even baptism as prophylactics are converts from Christianity, though in some districts (*e. g.* Albania and Crete) this is at least an important contributory cause of the anomaly.

To sum up, all such miracles of 'Arrested Transference' are thus seen to be really a subdivision of the theme of 'Punishment for Sacrilege'. The instrument is the foundation animal or negro [3] or the saint (by apparition) or relics. The ultimate cause of the fatal

[1] Bickford Smith, *Cretan Sketches*, pp. 71 f.

[2] *Cf.* de la Brocquière and the Venetian *Relazioni* cited above, and especially, for the form of mixed marriage known as *cubin*, de la Mottraye, *Travels*, i, 335; Alberi, *Relazioni degli Ambasciatori Veneti*, ser. III, vol. ii, 454 f.; and for an interesting and probably typical case Gédoyn, *Journal*, ed. Boppe, p. 130.

[3] This is almost the same thing as guardian spirit, negro, or snake, the connexion being the guardianship functions commonly exercised by negroes (see below, p. 732).

entry seems to be the presence of relics, and of this the Christian type may lie in Edessa. The letter of Christ to Abgarus was preserved there, and its presence was supposed to render the town uninhabitable for heretics and infidels.[1] Edessa was in a good situation geographically for the dissemination of its legends and the antiquity of its Christianity gave them considerable prestige.

[1] Ludolf, *De Itinere*, p. 62. See also Hasluck, *Letters*, p. 172.

IV

SECULARIZED URBAN CHURCHES

A SECOND category of 'arrested' transferences is formed by the churches devoted by the Moslem conqueror to civil uses. This seems to have been done when a sufficient number of churches in a conquered city had been converted into mosques. Of the secularized churches, some lost their religious character permanently, some retained a tradition of sanctity among the ousted Christians.[1] Others, again, after an interval of secular use, became mosques and accumulated Moslem traditions, others, like certain churches in the last chapter, proved 'unlucky' for Moslems and were in rare cases restored to Christian use. Examples are:

1. S. IRENE, CONSTANTINOPLE, transformed at the conquest into an armoury.

2. S. MARK, RHODES, converted into a bath.[2]

Other instances of the conversion of sacred buildings into baths are given below (Nos. 3, 4, 5,): these may explain[3] the Christian religious associations of other baths, where there is no further evidence of an original church.

3. A BATH exists at MARSOVAN where the Christians still celebrate S. Barbara.[4] This bath is said, and probably correctly according to my informant, to have been a church. On S. Barbara's day the bath is always

[1] *e. g.* the church of S. John at Ephesus was used by the Turks as a market-house, but remained intact and accessible to Christians (Ludolf, *De Itinere*, p. 24).

[2] Belabre, *Rhodes of the Knights*, p. 153, *cf.* p. 156.

[3] But *cf.* ch. ix, no. 10 (Kainarja), note.

[4] Cumont, *Stud. Pont.* ii, 142: the saint seems to be localized in Pontus as well as at Nicomedia, but the original legend, in which a bath figures, locates her in Egypt (at Heliopolis in her *acta* as set forth by Symeon Metaphrastes—see de la Roque, *Voyage de Syrie*, i, 130: her body was preserved at Cairo according to Ludolf, *De Itinere*, p. 54).

accessible to Greeks who come there and light candles in honour of their saint. The bath is said in local legend to have been at one time the abode of Piri Baba, a Moslem (Shia) saint buried on the outskirts of the town.[1] This legend is at least as early as Evliya Efendi, who records a tradition current in his day that Piri Baba frequented the bath in order to heal the women who resorted there, causing thereby some scandal.[2]

4. A BATH in SMYRNA is called by the Christians after S. Catherine, whose day is still celebrated there by Greek women.[3]

5. BATH of YILDIZ DEDE, CONSTANTINOPLE. This bath is said by a Turkish authority to have been originally a church transformed soon after the Conquest. It has to some extent acquired sanctity for Moslems by the burial in its immediate vicinity of the founder, Yildiz Dede ('S. Star').[4]

The history of this cult, which comes from a single (eighteenth-century) source, offers considerable opportunity for speculation. 'Yildiz Dede' may have been (1) an historical personage (from his name a dervish) of the date indicated. But the 'time of the Conquest' is by the eighteenth century already for the Turks a mythical period to which ancient saints are readily attributed. Or (2) he may have been an imaginary person evolved from a translation of the name of the Greek saint Asterios,[5] to whom a monastery at Con-

[1] Information kindly supplied me by Professor White of Marsovan.

[2] Evliya, *Travels*, ii, 213–14. A curious Christian parallel for this is recorded in Stephen Graham's *With the Russian pilgrims to Jerusalem*, p. 254.

[3] Fontrier in *Rev. Ét. Anc.* ix, 116.

[4] *Jardin des Mosquées* in Hammer-Hellert, *Hist. Emp. Ott.* xviii, 52 (489): 'Le fondateur, Yildiz dédé, changea, au temps de la conquête, une église en un bain qui prit son nom; son tombeau fut reconstruit lorsque le Sultan Mahmoud I monta sur le trône, et un cloître y fut établi en 1166 (1752)'.

[5] For another possible connexion between *Yildiz* and *Asterios* see below, p. 101.

stantinople was dedicated.[1] Or (3) he may have been a canonized bath-spirit [2] supposed to be attached to a *hammam*, whose name or sign was *Yildiz* ('Star').

Of churches which, after an interlude of civil use, again became sacred buildings, probably owing mainly to their suitability for the purpose, we may cite:

6. The church of PANTOKRATOR, CONSTANTINOPLE. It became a mosque after being used some twenty years as a store.[3]

7. S. THEODOSIA (GUL JAMI), CONSTANTINOPLE, has a similar history, but is from a religious point of view more interesting. The reputation of the saint's tomb as a place of healing in Byzantine times is brought out especially by Stephen of Novgorod (1350).[4] When the city was taken by the Turks, the tomb was desecrated and the remains of the saint scattered. The church was used as a naval store till the reign of Selim II (1566–74), when it became a mosque. In the seventeenth century it was held by the Turks to be a foundation of the Arab invaders of Constantinople.[5] The tomb of the saint, in the south-east pier of the dome, seems to have been rediscovered during repairs in 1832 and is now Turkish in form. The doorway leading to it bears the curiously inappropriate Turkish inscription 'Tomb of the Apostles, disciples of Jesus'; and it is regarded by some authorities as that of Constantine Palaiologos, but this tradition cannot be traced farther back than the restoration of 1832.[6]

[1] Du Cange, *Constant. Christ.* iv, 153; Siderides in *Φιλολ. Σύλλογος*, *κθ'*, 255.

[2] *Cf.* below, ch. ix, no. 10.

[3] Van Millingen, *Byz. Churches in Constantinople*, p. 233.

[4] Khitrovo, *Itin. Russes*, p. 125.

[5] Evliya, *Travels*, I, i, 24: *cf.* below, p. 717.

[6] Van Millingen, *Byz. Churches in Constantinople*, pp. 162 ff.: no one with any idea of the meaning of evidence will, I think, dispute van Millingen's reasoned conclusions as against the fantastic assumptions on which the legend of the grave of Constantine rests. Only one point

The secularization, however, of a church might, like transformation, bring with it disastrous consequences. Thus :

8. A chapel of S. NICOLAS AT EMIRGHIAN on the Bosporus was desecrated and turned into a private house by a Turk during the Greek revolution. The owner, not content with this, threw down the *eikon* of the patron saint : he died the same night. Exorcism of the ' spirit ' by a Greek priest proved in vain : successive tenants of the house were equally unlucky, and it was perforce abandoned. The story was firmly believed by Greeks and Turks alike.[1]

The phenomena are not confined to Christian places of worship. It is recorded that a synagogue in Rhodes, transformed into a bath by Suleiman I, turned unlucky on this account.[2]

In some cases the manifestations following the secula-

remains unexplained : why do the Turks call the grave that of the Apostles ? I suspect that this comes from a misunderstanding or wilful perversion of the late Constantine legend, which insists that the remains of the Emperor were brought from the church of the Apostles, when the latter was destroyed, to the present Gul Jami (then a naval store). See further below, p. 354, n. 1.

[1] J. Pardoe, *City of the Sultans*, ii, 168. A very similar instance is recorded from Sylata by Pharasopoulos (*Τὰ Σύλατα*, p. 28). It is also said that Mustafa Beg in 1618 turned the Chapel of Flagellation at Jerusalem into a stable. In the morning he found his horses dead : each time he renewed the experiment the horses died. At last a ' wise man of El Islam ' told him the Christians venerated the site because of the Flagellation of Christ, so Mustafa Beg abandoned it as a stable, but would not give it back. It fell to ruins eventually, but Ibrahim Pasha gave it to the Franciscans, for whom Maximilian of Bavaria rebuilt it in 1838 (I. Burton, *Inner Life of Syria*, p. 346 : *cf.* Goujon, *Terre Sainte*, p. 181). Tobler (*Topogr. von Jerusalem*, i, 347) gives the above and other versions, Quaresmius (1616–26) being the first to tell the tale, with Laffi (1675) copying him, and Roger (1647) and Legrenzi (1673) following him : Legrenzi introduces an earthquake. The pedigree of the chapel seems very doubtful, and the site does not appear to have been recognized much, if at all, before the miracle.

[2] Egmont and Heymann, *Travels*, i, 268 f.

rization of a sacred building led to its restoration to its original use. Of this a good instance is that of a church in Cyprus.

9. S. James of Persia, Nicosia, was desecrated, and for some time used by a fanatical janissary as a stable. The saint appeared to the janissary 'tout brillant de lumière, vestu d'habits sacerdotaux, tenant un baston pastoral en main' and threatened him and his house with disaster if he continued in his sacrilegious course. The janissary tried to treat his 'dream' lightly, but a second and more terrible vision, followed by the sudden death of the camels kept in the church-stable, brought him to his senses, and he abandoned the stable and the adjoining house. As no one else dared purchase the property, it eventually came into the hands of the Capuchins at a nominal figure, and the church was restored to its original use. It was henceforward greatly reverenced by local Mohammedans, who anointed their sick with oil from the saint's lamp.[1]

It is interesting to note that near the mother-church of S. James of Persia at Nisibin there exists, or existed, a small building once used as a granary by a Mohammedan. But S. James appearing to him in a dream and asking him why he profaned his temple, the proprietor abandoned his granary, which was in Niebuhr's time used as a chapel by the Jacobites.[2] The connexion is obvious,[3] as is the superior handling of the theme in the

[1] M. Febvre, *Théâtre de la Turquie*, pp. 7 f.: 'Il ne se passe pas jour qu'ils n'y viennent faire quelques prieres & demander aux Religieux par devotion un peu de l'huile de la lampe qui brûle devant l'image du Saint pour en oindre leurs malades, en reconnoissance de quoy ils donnent des cierges, ou une phiole d'huile pour entretenir toujours cette lampe allumée. J'en ay veu d'autres qui en passant devant l'Eglise, la saluoient avec une inclination de teste, & touchoient la muraille des deux mains comme pour en attirer la benediction'.

[2] C. Niebuhr, *Voyage en Arabie*, ii, 308–9.

[3] For a similar inheritance from the mother-church *cf.* the case of an Armenian convent at Dar Robat, near Mardin, which was regularly

Cypriote version, where the church itself is in question, not an insignificant building in its vicinity.

A particularly interesting and well-documented instance of similar development is afforded by the church-mosque at Mamasun.

10. MAMASUN TEKKE, near NEVSHEHR. Possibly the most extraordinary case of an ambiguous cult in Asia Minor is the worship of the Christian saint Mamas under his own name by Turks and Greeks in the wholly Turkish village of Mamasun. The sanctuary, called Ziaret Kilise ('Pilgrimage Church'), was discovered, apparently in the last century,[1] by a series of 'miraculous' accidents. The site was apparently an outhouse and was formerly used as a barn,[2] but it was found that hay kept in it caught fire. As a stable it proved equally unlucky, the horses kept in it dying one by one.[3] These warnings finally induced the Turkish owner to excavate, very possibly in the hope of finding the 'talisman' which bewitched the building.[4] A rock-cut Christian church and human bones were then discovered, the church being attributed to S. Mamas, probably on account of the name of the village,[5] and later adapted for the modern cult. At the east end stands a Holy Table (at which itinerant Christian priests officiate), with a picture of S. Mamas, while in the south wall is a niche

swept out by an exorcised devil (Niebuhr, *op. cit.* ii, 324, note). This miracle is borrowed from the great monastery of Echmiadzin (Rycaut, *Greek and Armenian Churches*, p. 406).

[1] It is not indicated in the map of the Archbishop Cyril (1812), which generally marks even Moslem *tekkes* of importance, nor is it noticed in his *Περιγραφή* (1815).

[2] So Nicolaides (in Carnoy and Nicolaides, *Trad. de l'Asie Mineure*, p. 193), but from Rott's account (*Kleinas. Denkm.*, p. 263) it would appear that the *tekke* is one of a series of rock-cut churches, many of which are still used as barns.

[3] *Cf.* above, no. 9.

[4] For the procedure see the tale of the 'Priest and the Turkish Witch' in Polites, *Παραδόσεις*, no. 839.

[5] *Mamasun* would be near enough to the Turkish genitive from *Mamas*.

(*mihrab*) for the Turks. There is no partition between the Christian and Moslem worshippers, but the latter, while at their prayers, are allowed to turn the picture from them. The skull and other bones of the saint, discovered on the site, are shown in a box and work miracles for Christian and Turk alike : sick people are also cured by wearing a necklet preserved as a relic. The sanctuary is tended by a dervish.[1]

The bones of S. Mamas are of course not authentic. He was born at Gangra (Changri) in Paphlagonia [2] and suffered at Cæsarea, near which are ruins of a church still associated with his cult.[3] The bones at Mamasun were in all probability identified with the saint on account of the name of the village, which is really derived from the ancient Momoassos.[4]

The accounts of the sanctuary and cult at Mamasun are given in full below.[5] It will be noticed (1) that the Greek versions entirely ignore the miraculous circumstances attending the discovery and (2) that they reproduce to some extent the ' haunted stable ' *motif* used in the similar stories of the churches of S. James the

[1] For the tradition of the haunted building and the origin of the cult see Carnoy and Nicolaides, *loc. cit.* : for the church-mosque see Levides, *Μοναὶ τῆς Καππαδοκίας*, pp. 130 f., and Pharasopoulos, *Τὰ Σύλατα*, pp. 74 f. It is mentioned also by H. Rott, *Kleinas. Denkm.*, p. 163. 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, *loc. cit.* Other churches frequented by both religions, who similarly partition the building, are S. John's at Sebaste in Palestine (d'Arvieux, *Mémoires*, ii, 82) and S. George's at Lydda (de Brèves, *Voyages*, p. 100).

[2] Here a *turbe* is still associated with his name by Christians (below, p. 95).

[3] Cuinet, *Turquie d'Asie*, i, 310. For the early cult of S. Mamas see Theodosius, *de Situ Terrae Sanctae* (*c.* 530), ed. Geyer, p. 144, and Delehaye, *Culte des Martyrs*, pp. 203 f.

[4] The equation Momoassos-Mamasun has Ramsay's sanction (*Hist. Geog.*, p. 285), and is readily parallelled in the local nomenclature of this district.

[5] Pp. 759–61.

Persian at Nicosia [1] and the chapel of the Flagellation at Jerusalem.[2] It is, however, probable that some foundation for the tale, whether real, alleged, or artificial, existed at Mamasun, since it is otherwise difficult to account for the discovery in a Turkish village and its exploitation by a Turk. A somewhat similar case is related by Lady Duff Gordon from Egypt, in which a Mohammedan mason in Cairo received spontaneously, or at least from no recorded suggestion, instructions in a dream from a Christian saint buried in a Coptic church at Bibbeh to come and repair his church. The instructions were acted on, the mason putting his services gratuitously at the disposal of the local Coptic community.[3]

My latest information [4] on the cult at Mamasun, derived from a Greek native of Urgub who has been recently exiled, seems to show that it has become of late years markedly more Mohammedan in type. According to my informant, the custodian is no longer a dervish but a 'Turk'—the antithesis is significant—who professes himself a dervish only to conciliate Christian pilgrims. There are no longer pictures (εἰκόνες) in the church, only the remains of frescoes (ἁγιογραφίες, ἱστορίες) on the walls: nor are the relics shown or handled.[5] The saint, now called Mamasun Baba, is buried in a *turbe* a short distance from the church, where his tomb is shown and pilgrims go through the common rag-tying ritual. The establishment is supported by the tithes of a neighbouring village called Tekke.

[1] Above, p. 42.

[2] Above, p. 41, n. 1, from Tobler, *Jerus.* i, 347, and I. Burton, *Inner Life of Syria*, p. 346. The miracle, it will be remembered, is alleged to have occurred in 1618 and is recorded by a contemporary, Quaresmius.

[3] *Letters from Egypt* (1902), p. 30. The saint appears to have been S. George.

[4] April, 1916.

[5] Turkish religious law insists on immediate burial (*cf.* d'Ohsson, *Tableau*, i, 235, and the other references given below, p. 235, n. 1.)

The nearest parallel I can find for so amicable a juxtaposition of religions is the sanctuary formerly frequented by sailors, Christian and Moslem, at Lampedusa,[1] midway between Malta and the Barbary coast, where a single rock-cut chapel served by a Catholic priest and at times wholly untenanted, sheltered a Christian altar with a statue of the Virgin and the grave of a Mohammedan saint, receiving in consequence the veneration of both religions.[2] Closer in some respects is the analogy between the *tekke* of Mamas and a Christian monastery of S. George situated in a Mohammedan village near Bethlehem and venerated by both religions.[3] But S. George is in Syria particularly susceptible to identification with the Moslem saint Khidr,[4] whereas Mamas has no Moslem affinities.

[1] See below, p. 757, n. 1.

[2] A notice of this sanctuary is given by Ashby in *Liverpool Ann. Arch.* iv, 26–9. Some seventeenth- and eighteenth-century accounts of it are reprinted below, pp. 755–9.

[3] Einsler, in *Z.D.P.V.* xvii, 49; Baldensperger, in *P.E.F., Q.S* for 1893, p. 208; *cf.* Chaplin, *ibid.* 1894, p. 36, n., and Hanauer, *Folk-Lore of the Holy Land*, p. 52. *Cf.* the similar phenomenon in the churches of S. George at Lydda (Fabri, *Evagat.* i, 219), Rama (Pococke, *Voyages*, iii, 15), Homs (La Roque, *Voyage de Syrie*, i, 191–2): in the chapel of the Ascension at Jerusalem (Pococke, *Voyages*, iii, 82), in the Cenaculum at Jerusalem (Robinson, *Palestine*, i, 356), and in the church of S. John at Sebaste (Thévenot, *Voyages*, ii, 683).

[4] See below, pp. 326 ff.

V

TRANSFERENCE OF RURAL SANCTUARIES

WE have now to consider the case of churches outside towns, where there is *a priori* no reason for Mohammedan intrusion, since there is no congregation at hand to worship in the converted church. The occupation of such churches, *i. e.* monasteries or country chapels, was generally effected by the dervish orders, and seems usually actuated by the actual sanctity of the spot,[1] especially as manifested by healing miracles. In certain of the cases cited below Christians, retaining their tradition, continue to frequent the converted sanctuaries and to participate in the cult.

I set first a group of apparent or reputed instances of the imposition of Mohammedan on Christian cults, in which there is a considerable amount of evidence, historical, archæological, or traditional, for the change of religion, and in a few cases suggestions of the manner in which it came about.

1. ELWAN CHELEBI, a village fifteen miles east of Chorum (Paphlagonia), is named after a Turkish saint buried there in a now decayed *tekke*. The village has been identified with the medieval Euchaita,[2] which seems to have owed its whole importance to its being the burial-place of S. Theodore.[3] The church of S.

[1] We are for the present ignoring as of minor importance for our inquiry the practical considerations of site, &c., including the appropriateness of buildings. A round or octagonal plan, for instance, inevitably suggests the *turbe* of a Mohammedan saint, *cf.* chap. ii, no. 7.

[2] So Anderson (*Stud. Pont.* i, 9 ff., *cf.* iii, 207 ff.), who is responsible for the discovery of the 'survival'.

[3] Originally S. Theodore Stratelates, later S. Theodore Tiron. For the SS. Theodore, see Delehaye, *Légendes des SS. Militaires*, pp. 11 ff.;

Theodore, who was said to have slain a dragon in the neighbourhood, was celebrated as a miracle-working shrine in the eleventh century. Euchaita is now placed at Avghat,[1] but Elwan Chelebi is well within the area of S. Theodore's popularity, and may represent, if not the great shrine, at least a subsidiary one of importance, perhaps the scene of the dragon-slaying.[2]

In the middle of the sixteenth century Busbecq [3] and Dernschwam [4] passed through the place, then called Tekke Keui, on their journey to Amasia. They found there a *tekke* of dervishes devoted to the cult of Khidr, a Mohammedan saint generally identified with S. George, whose horse and dragon-legend he shares.[5] The dervishes showed their visitors some traces of the dragon, a hoof-mark and spring made by Khidr's horse, and the tomb not of the saint himself (who found the Water of Life and became immortal) [6] but of his groom and of his sister's son, who accompanied him on his dragon-slaying expedition. Cures were performed at the site by the use of earth and scrapings of the wall which surrounded the place of the dragon. Finally, Haji Khalfa (1648) notices in this district the pilgrimage to the tomb of Sheikh Elwan;[7] the sheikh was an historical personage who died in the reign of Orkhan (1326–60)

W. Hengstenberg in *Oriens Christianus*, *N.S.* ii (1912), pp. 78 ff,. 241 ff., and review by Ehrhard in *Byz. Zeit.* xxii, 179 ff. For another tomb of S. Theodore Tiron shown at Benderegli (Herakleia Pontica) see below, pp. 88–9. The tradition placing the passion of S. Theodore at Benderegli is early (*Synaxaria*, Feb. 8 ; Conybeare, *Monuments of Early Christianity*, p. 224), but seems no longer current there (*cf.* P. Makris, *Ἡρακλεία τοῦ Πόντου* pp. 115 ff.).

[1] Grégoire in *Byz. Zeit.* xix, 59–61 ; *cf.* Jerphanion, *ibid.* xx, 492.

[2] So in the local dragon-legend of Kruya in Albania, Kruya itself is regarded as the slaying-place, but Alessio is introduced as the place where the dragon fell (see my article in *B.S.A.* xix, 208, below, p. 436, n. 1).

[3] *Lettres*, i, 166 ff.

[4] 1553–5. See Kiepert in *Globus*, lii, 186 ff., 202 ff., 214 ff., 230 ff.

[5] See below, pp. 321 ff.

[6] Le Strange, *E. Caliphate*, p. 175.

[7] Tr. Armain, p. 681.

and is chiefly known as the translator of a Persian mystic poem.[1]

From these indications we may reconstruct the history of the sanctuary somewhat as follows. The site of the church of S. Theodore was at some time taken over by the Mohammedans, who identified the saint on the ground of his *eikon*-type [2] (he is generally represented on horseback) and dragon-legend, possibly helped by his name, with their own Khidr. After the transference the interment of Sheikh Elwan on the site gave it a new and more concrete sanctity.[3]

2. KIRKLAR TEKKE, ZILE. At three-quarters of an hour from Zile (Zela) in Pontus is the village of Tekke, formerly called Kirklar Tekke or Convent of the Forty.

[1] Hammer-Hellert, *Hist. Emp. Ott.* i, 211 ; Gibb, *Ottoman Poetry*, i, 178.

[2] The ' nephew ' of Khidr does not belong to the original Khidr story, and may be introduced here to explain an *eikon* depicting both S. Theodore Stratelates and S. Theodore Tiron. The importance of eikonography can scarcely be exaggerated. By it our ideas of the devil, fairies, and even saints are made precise. Carroll made the word ' Jabberwock ' and Tenniel *drew* the idea : but for the drawing, ' Jabberwock ' would convey no precise mental idea. The lack of images is one reason of the fluidity of Turkish saints. Turks generally arrive only at the rough classification, warriors, dervishes, &c., whereas the Greeks, with their *eikons*, not only use this kind of classification but have their appropriate distinguishing marks. In the case of SS. George and Demetrius, for instance, S. George has a white horse and conquers a dragon, S. Demetrius has a red horse and conquers a pagan. Turks can in Khidr fuse the aged ascete Elias and the young soldier George, Greeks could scarcely do so. J. C. Lawson never could persuade a Greek child to draw his conception of a Kallikantzaros and so prove or disprove his Centaur theory : this is because there is no eikonography of Kallikantzari. For the curious similarity between the influence of oral literature on folk-lore and the influence of eikonography on popular hagiology see Hasluck, *Letters*, pp. 169–70.

[3] There seems no reason to doubt the authenticity of the tomb of Sheikh Elwan. It was shown already, as Dernschwam's plan of the *tekke* (Kiepert in *Globus*, lii, 232) makes clear, in Busbecq's time. But the tomb of Khidr's companions occupies the place of honour right of the entrance.

The religious centre of the village is a *tekke* containing the mausoleum (*turbe*) of Sheikh Nusr-ed-din Evliya, a fourteenth-century saint of Bokhara. The *turbe* is of some antiquity and contains Byzantine fragments: parts of it seem to be of Byzantine construction. In it repose the sheikh and his children: a crypt beneath is looked upon as specially holy and is visited by Greek and Armenian as well as Turkish pilgrims. The site of Kirklar Tekke checks exactly with what we know of Sarin, the burial place of the Forty Martyrs of Sebaste (Sivas).[1] The name *Kirklar* ('the Forty') is indeed common in the district, but this is not to be wondered at, considering the vogue of the Forty Martyrs in their own country.[2] In the case of the 'Convent of the Forty' the name could easily be explained to Mohammedans by supposing a convent originally containing forty dervishes or dedicated to one of the Mohammedan groups of forty saints.[3]

Both at Kirklar Tekke and at Sheikh Elwan it is to be noted that the transference from Christianity to Islam is made by way of an intermediate stage, in which the cult is directed to rather shadowy and non-committal personages comparable to 'Plato' in Chapter II, no. 4, above.

3. KIRKLAR TEKKE near NICOSIA, Cyprus. This Cypriote *tekke*[4] seems to be an example of a similar Moslem encroachment, though Mr. H. C. Luke informs me that he has had the local archives searched in vain for evidence of the time or process of the transference:

[1] Grégoire, in *B.C.H.* 1909, pp. 25 ff. and *Stud. Pont.* iii, 243; Jerphanion, in *Mél. Fac. Or.* 1911, p. xxxviii. The latter considers the identification Sarin-Kirklar Tekke possible, but does not think it was the chief burial-place of the Forty Martyrs.

[2] Grégoire and Jerphanion, *locc. citt.*

[3] For the Forty in Near Eastern folk-lore and religion see below, pp. 391–402; at Zile, p. 574.

[4] About ten miles ESE. of Nicosia.

there is no dervish establishment on the spot. The sanctuary is frequented not only by Mohammedans but by Christians, who recognize in the Moslem 'Kirklar' their own 'Forty Saints'.[1]

4. KIRKLAR TEKKE, KIRK KILISE. The precedents afforded by the Mohammedan 'Convents of the Forty' in Pontus and Cyprus go far towards substantiating the Christian origin of the outwardly modern Convent of the Forty (Kirklar Tekke) at Kirk Kilise in Thrace.[2] The Christian cult of the Forty Martyrs of Sebaste [3] flourishes in Thrace, and Kirk Kilise itself has a modern church of that dedication. The town may well take its name from the original church or monastery.[4]

5. KALIAKRA, BULGARIA. A cave at Kaliakra, near Varna, was in the seventeenth century exploited by Bektashi dervishes as the tomb of a saint called Kilgra Sultan, identified with Sari Saltik [5] and the scene of his victory over a dragon. The Bektashi identified their saint with S. Nicolas, to whom probably the Kaliakra site was dedicated in Christian times.[6] At the present day the site forms part of a Christian kingdom, but the population is still mixed. The 'tomb' was till recently visited by Christians as that of S. Nicolas and by Mohammedans as that of a saint called Haji Baba.[7]

[1] Hackett, *Church of Cyprus*, p. 421; Luke and Jardine, *Handbook of Cyprus* (1913), p. 47. On the significance of the number 'Forty' see the references given below, p. 393, n. 3.

[2] F. W. H. The *tekke* is mentioned by M. Christodoulos, *Ἡ Θρᾴκη*, p. 245.

[3] At an earlier date the saints were probably identified with the local (Adrianople) group celebrated on 1 Sept.

[4] This is one of the explanations put forward by Christodoulos (*op. cit.*, pp. 196, 245). See further below, p. 397.

[5] On Sari Saltik and his legend-cycle see below, pp. 429 ff.

[6] For this see below, p. 578.

[7] Jireček in *Arch. Epigr. Mitth.* 1886, p. 189. Professor Skorpil informs me (1913) that the *tekke* of Kaliakra no longer exists. The cave, which seems to be the seat of the present cult is mentioned by H. C. Barkley, *Bulgaria before the War*, p. 321.

6. At HAIDAR-ES-SULTAN, a 'Kizilbash' village south-east of Angora, Crowfoot found a *tekke* containing the tombs of the eponymous Haidar and his family, together with a well emitting sulphurous fumes and used as an oracle.[1] He was informed by the sheikh that the *tekke* occupied the site of a Christian monastery. In spite of a slight discrepancy as to position, the well is probably to be identified with the 'Madmen's Well' near Angora mentioned as a 'kill-or-cure' remedy for lunatics by Haji Khalfa (1648): the latter says nothing of a *tekke* but remarks that there was a ruined Christian church near the well.[2]

The legends of the buried saint as told to Crowfoot belong evidently to two *strata*: (*a*) Haidar is apparently identified with the father of Shah Ismail of Persia and the founder of the Haidari sect of Shias. But, in fact, this Haidar neither was, as Crowfoot was told, son of the King of Persia, nor did he die in Asia Minor. The real Haidar[3] is probably a local hero or tribal ancestor of a Shia clan and elsewhere unknown to fame. (*b*) Whoever the buried Haidar may be, he is locally identified with the sheikh Khoja Ahmed of Yasi in Turkestan. In local legend Khoja Ahmed is regarded as one of Haji Bektash's disciples,[4] who, having married a Christian woman of Cæsarea named Mene, settled at the

[1] In *J. R. Anthr. Inst.* xxx (1900), pp. 305–20.

[2] Tr. Armain, p. 703 ('east of Angora on this side of the Kyzyl Irmak'). Madmen were made to look into the well and either recovered or died of this treatment. Sane people only noticed a sulphurous smell. Near the well was a cemetery where unsuccessful patients were buried. A well, where exactly similar cures are practised at the present day, is cited by Halliday (in *Folk-Lore*, xxiii, 220) at Sipan Dere in the Taurus. The parallelism is so exact that the two wells can hardly be without connexion.

[3] Haidar (*lion*) is a name specially connected with Ali, the 'lion of God'. *Haidarli* is the name of a tribe of Kizilbash Kurds in the Dersim (Molyneux-Seel in *Geog. Journ.* xliv, 1914, p. 68). On such tribal heroes see below, chap. xxi.

[4] This seems a local error: see below, p. 404, n. 2.

village of Haidar-es-Sultan. The apocryphal connexion between Khoja Ahmed and Haji Bektash, discussed below,[1] was confirmed by the sheikh of Hasan Dede, a neighbouring 'Kizilbash' village, and is acknowledged also by the Bektashi dervishes to whose influence the identification is probably due. The marriage of Khoja Ahmed with a Christian woman Mene may, as Crowfoot remarks, point to a connexion between this cult and a Christian predecessor.[2] But the only evidence for the latter is (*a*) the local and Moslem tradition of a monastery on the site, backed by (*b*) the somewhat equivocal testimony of Haji Khalfa and (*c*) the antecedent probability of the sulphurous well having been adopted by Christianity.

It is probable that in most of the cases cited above the transference of holy places to Islam was actuated to a greater or less degree by religious or superstitious, as opposed to political or politico-religious motives. Though all religions may share the blessings of a holy place, its actual servants may be regarded as having a special claim on the good offices of its patron, and the revenues to be obtained by discreet exploitation of him must not be ignored as a contributory stimulus.

7. S. Nerses, Rumkale. It is in this spirit, as appears from Christian evidence, that the ancient Armenian church of S. Nerses at Rumkale [3] on the Upper Euphrates was forcibly occupied by Mohammedans in the latter part of the seventeenth century.[4]

8. A well-documented modern instance of Moslem

[1] Pp. 403 f. [2] S. Menas? See below, p. 403, n. 3.

[3] The church is mentioned as a place of Christian pilgrimage by Pococke, *Descr. of the East*, II, i, 157. Rumkale was the seat of the Armenian patriarchs from 1147 to 1298 (J. A. de Saint-Martin, *Mémoires sur l'Arménie*, i, 196; ii, 443), and was the birth-place of the patriarch Nerses IV Klaietsi. He died there in 1173.

[4] Febvre, *Théâtre de la Turquie*, pp. 45–6: 'il y a environ dix ans qu'ils prirent aux Arméniens l'Église d'Ouroumcala, dite Saint Nerses, qui est fort ancienne, illustre en miracles, & fameuse par la quantité des

intrusion on a Christian monastery is afforded by the case of DOMUZ DERE TEKKE (near Keshan in Thrace). This (Bektashi) *tekke* occupies the site and buildings of a small Greek monastery of S. George. The usurpation by the Bektashi is said to have taken place 'about sixty years ago', the depopulation of the neighbouring Christian village by an epidemic of plague [1] giving the dervishes an opportunity to intrude themselves without opposition. At the present day a *panegyris* takes place at the *tekke* yearly on S. George's day and is frequented by Turks and Greeks. The original monastery church has been divided by the dervishes into several compartments, including living-rooms and a tomb-chamber for the burial of their deceased abbots. The sanctuary end of the church still retains to some extent its original character: the upper part of the screen (*templon*) is preserved, and on the north wall of the church is hung an ancient *eikon* of S. George flanked by lighted lamps.[2] It need hardly be pointed out that this example of a usurped Christian monastery throws important light on the circumstances in which other such sites were, or may have been, usurped.[3]

9. To a similar process may tentatively be assigned the transference to Islam of the *tekke* near ESKI BABA (Thrace), which offers a similar example of an ambiguous cult. Eski Baba ('S. Old') is mentioned under that name, thus implying the existence of the Turkish cult, as early as 1553.[4] The *tekke* itself is said by several authors to have been formerly a church of S. Nicolas [5]

pelerins qui y venoient de toutes parts, *afin de donner à entendre par là qu'ils reverent les Saints, & que celuy auquel cette Église est dediée, estoit de leur party, & Musulman comme eux*'. Here one is inclined to suspect dervish, especially Bektashi, influence.

[1] For this see below, p. 520. [2] See further below, p. 521.

[3] See especially the case of Eski Baba, below, no. 9.

[4] Verantius, *ap.* Jireček, *Heerstrasse*, p. 167.

[5] Gerlach, Bargrave, and Covel (quoted below): *cf.* Pococke, *Descr. of the East*, II, ii, 140.

and the saint buried in it was held by the Turks to be S. Nicolas himself, of whom sundry apocryphal relics were shown.[1]

The cult seems certainly to have been administered by Bektashi dervishes, who identify their own saint Sari Saltik with S. Nicolas.[2] The ' Baba ' of Eski Baba was thus one of the usual Bektashi ambiguous saints.[3] The *tekke* was evidently an important pilgrimage in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and in 1667 provoked the remonstrances of the strict Sunni preacher Vani Efendi, who would have abolished the cult as superstitious.[4] It continued, however, in spite of opposition, as is seen by Covel's account in 1675,[5] and at the present day is admittedly frequented by Christians as well as Turks.[6] It is a nice question whether S. Nicolas has come to his own through these vicissitudes, or whether he is a pure invention of the Bektashi occupants of the sanctuary, devised to attract local Christians of the humbler classes. The building seems quite certainly to have been a church originally, since my

[1] Gerlach, quoted below, p. 761.

[2] See below, p. 430.

[3] Below, pp. 564 ff.

[4] Hammer-Hellert, *Hist. Emp. Ott.* xi, 250. The saint is here spoken of as *Kanbur Dede* (' S. Humpback '), but the identification seems certain from the location of the cult near Khavsa, which is half a day's journey from Eski Baba.

[5] Quoted below, p. 257 : *cf.* also the account of the Serbian patriarch Arsenij Černojevič (A. D. 1683), in *Glasnik*, xxxiii, 189, quoted by Bury, *E. Roman Empire*, p. 345 (' the tomb of a certain Nicolas, a warrior who had accompanied the fatal expedition of Nicephorus [809] and seen a strange warning dream. The Turks had shrouded the head of the corpse with a turban ').

[6] M. Christodoulos, *Περιγραφὴ Σαράντα Ἐκκλησιῶν*, p. 47 (quoted in full below, p. 578, n. 6) : the fact was confirmed to me in 1907, when I was told that Christians incubated in the church, and that a round stone on which patients sat gave oracles by turning under them, right for recovery and left for death. The *tekke*-church has not yet fallen into ruin, and down to the Balkan war was more or less occupied by dervishes, according to one of my informants.

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informants insist on the existence in it of frescoes of saints (*ἁγιογραφίες*).

10. S. Chariton, Konia. A possible case of the 'arrested transference' of a rural sanctuary [1] is to be found at the monastery of S. Chariton, an hour north of Konia, where a small rock-cut mosque has been excavated beside the churches of S. Chariton, S. Amphilochius, S. Sabbas, and the Virgin, inside the monastery enclosure.[2] The mosque is of the simplest possible form, a small rectangular chamber with a plain rock-cut prayer-niche. Legend has it that the son of Jelal-ed-din, the first 'Chelebi', or General, of the Mevlevi dervishes, falling from the cliff above the monastery, was saved from injury by a mysterious old man, afterwards identified from the *eikon* as S. Chariton himself. This is the explanation given of the existence of the mosque and of the still friendly relations between the monastery and the *tekke* of the Mevlevi at Konia.[3] There is no hint in the legend of aggression on the part of the Mevlevi, nor do the local Christians of to-day appear to resent so apparently unorthodox an intrusion. The legends of the Mevlevi themselves speak of a great friendship between the abbot of the 'Monastery of Plato' (evidently by the description that of S. Chariton) and their own founder, who convinced the abbot of his sainthood by his miracles.[4] In the Christian version, therefore, the Moslem is half converted to Christianity, in that of the Mevlevi the converse is the case.

For the presence of a mosque within the monastery enclosure some approach to a parallel may be found at

[1] For another see chap. vi, no. 15 (S. Naum near Okhrida).

[2] It should be remarked that this enclosure is recent, dating from the middle of the last century: but the monastery is much older, as is shown by inscriptions of 1068 and 1290 (repairs) published by the Archbishop Cyril: see below, pp 379–83.

[3] See below, p. 374.

[4] Redhouse, *Mesnevi*, pp. 72, 87; *cf.* chap. vii, below, p. 86.

the monastery of S. Catherine on Sinai,[1] where a mosque was built at an early date as a concession to Mohammedans. A somewhat similar concession was made by the Templars at Jerusalem, who voluntarily made over to the use of a Saracen *emir* a chapel of the mosque El Aksa.[2]

In the above examples it will be noted (*a*) that the transference of cults and holy places of the 'rural' class is very often accomplished, not by the representatives of the official religion, but by the dervish orders. Dervishes are not only the natural successors to monks, but are undoubtedly in Turkey the element in Islam least hostile and most conciliatory to Christianity. As in Pagan-Christian transferences,[3] nomenclature sometimes aids the identification, 'Thekla' becoming 'Toklu',[4] Amphilotheos 'Eflatun',[5] and so on.

It will further be noted (*b*) that the transference, if it is more than a mere matter of occupation, seems generally effected by means of a rough identification of the Christian saint with his Moslem successor, often a remote or ambiguous figure (like Khidr, Plato, 'the Forty') who tends in turn to be supplanted by an actual buried saint.[6] In the same way S. Polycarp at Smyrna, while his alleged tomb was in Turkish hands, seems to have been frankly accepted as 'an Evangelist

[1] The mosque at Sinai, said by a Russian pilgrim of 1560 to have been a chapel of S. Basil (Khitrovo, *Itin. Russes*, p. 303), existed at least as early as 1381, though traditionally attributed to the reign of Selim I (1512–20); see R. Weil, *Sinai*, p. 242; Burckhardt, *Syria*, pp. 543–4, *cf.* pp. 546–7; Fabri, *Evagat.* ii, 501; Ludolf, on the contrary, who returned from his travels in 1341, does not mention the mosque (*De Itinere*, p. 65), but says (p. 66) that the monastery was already favoured by the 'soldan', 'qui dare consuevit eis maximas eleemosynas'.

[2] Arnold, *Preaching of Islam*, p. 77: but the orthodoxy of the Templars may well be called in question.

[3] M. Hamilton, *Greek Saints*, chap. ii; Saintyves, *Saints Successeurs des Dieux*, pp. 303 ff.

[4] Chap. ii, no. 6.

[5] See below, p. 368, n. 4.

[6] Chap. v, nos. 1, 2; *cf.* no. 5.

of God and a friend of the Prophet' ;[1] but we do not know what hazy identification underlies this statement.

As to the process by which sites of this class were transferred from one religion to another, it is obviously impossible to generalize, but, broadly speaking, there are three possible processes :

(*a*) Occupation by force ;
(*b*) Gradual and peaceful intrusion ;
(*c*) Re-occupation of an abandoned site.

(*a*) *Forcible occupation* may be said to be regular in the case of town churches, so often converted into mosques,[2] but exceptional in the case of rural sanctuaries. The church of S. Nerses at Rumkale [3] and the tomb of S. Polycarp at Smyrna [4] are our only proved instances.

(*b*) *Gradual and peaceful intrusion* seems rather the rule than the exception in transferences of the 'rural' type of sanctuary, to judge from the evidence of tradition in the cases cited. The form of the transference is not as in ancient mythology, 'reception',[5] but rather identification of the supplanter with the old occupier : this is rendered particularly easy by vaguely current ideas of metempsychosis. The mystic teaching, as well as the religious tolerance, of the dervish orders should be borne in mind throughout. The normal stages of a peaceful intrusion may perhaps be tabulated hypothetically as follows :

(i) Mohammedans frequent a Christian holy place and are convinced by miracles of its sanctity and efficacy.[6]

(ii) The Christian saint is in consequence identified by his new *clientèle* with a Mohammedan saint : or considered to have been a crypto-Mussulman.[7] Under

[1] Pacifique, *Voyage de Perse*, p. 12 (quoted below, p. 407) ; *cf.* Stochove, *Voyage*, p. 18 ; and for a full treatment of the subject see below, pp. 406 ff.
[2] Above, chap. ii.
[3] Above, p. 53.
[4] Below, pp. 411–12.
[5] See below, pp. 59–60.
[6] See below, chap. vi, *ad init.*
[7] See below, pp. 442 ff.

favourable conditions a *tekke*, *turbe*, or mosque may be built in the neighbourhood.[1]

(iii) The Mohammedan establishment ousts the Christians entirely, owing less, probably, to Mohammedan intolerance than to accidental reasons such as disappearance (by conversion or otherwise) of the local Christian population or reluctance of a Christian minority to mix with Turks at festivals, either from instinctive social reasons[2] or from fear of tampering with black magic and incurring the wrath of the Church.

When the process is complete, tradition and, possibly, the internal evidence of building or continued frequentation by Christians, would be the only traces of the original religion of the site.

A comparative examination of the legends which relate to similar clashing of religions in ancient times and in the Pagan-Christian transition period shows that such legends fall into two main groups. The first includes the legends of violent collision, implying a determined resistance of the old god to the newcomer. This resistance might result in the victory or the defeat and displacement of the old god. In myth it takes the form of a physical struggle (*e. g.* Apollo and Python, Apollo and Herakles, S. George and the Dragon), or of a competition (Poseidon and Athena, Thekla and Sarpedon,[3] *cf.* Elijah and the Prophets of Baal); the story is of course told from the winner's side. The second group of legends records compromise between the original god and the newcomer, a compromise which the ancients generally allegorize as the 'reception' of the new god by the old

[1] *Cf.* chap. v, no. 9.

[2] An interesting example of the potency of such motives as this is afforded by a cult of Samson at Bethshemesh, which has been deserted by its Moslem *clientèle* on account of its adoption by the inhabitants of a recently settled Jewish village (Vincent, in *P.E.F.*, *Q.S.* for 1911, p. 147).

[3] M. Hamilton, *Incubation*, p. 136.

(*e. g.* Asklepios by Amynos).[1] This scheme is in the nature of things not overtly admissible in the Pagan-Christian transition legends, owing to the exclusiveness of Christianity : the limit of Christian concession is the ante-dating type of legend.[2] In Pagan-Christian transitions, therefore, the occupation was generally peaceful.

In the legend-cycle of the Christian-Mohammedan transition allegories representing the victory of Islam after struggle or competition are hard to find,[3] except in the late and sophisticated legend of Sari Saltik, which I have treated separately elsewhere.[4] There are a certain number of ' drawn battles ' commemorated in such stories as those of the miraculous preservation of the church of Sylata from Ala-ed-din,[5] of the monastery of S. Panteleëmon at Nicomedia from Sultan Murad,[6] and of the monastery of Sumela from Selim I ; [7] in these the hostile princes are so far converted that they desist from their hostility and become benefactors of the churches in question. Our ' arrested transferences ' in Chapter IV, nos. 1 to 5, where neither religion can claim a complete victory, fall into a similar category.

(*c*) *Re-occupation of an abandoned site* seems to be exemplified in Chapter V, nos. 6 and 8. In many cases, probably, wholly deserted Christian sites were thus occupied either for practical reasons such as site, suitable

[1] A. Koerte in *Ath. Mitth.* xxi, 307 ff. ; Kutsch, *Attische Heilgötter und Heroen*, pp. 12 ff.

[2] As in the well-known legend of Ara Coeli and in that of the Cyzicene Dindymon, where the dedication of a temple to the ' Mother of the Gods ' is regarded as a mistake for ' Mother of God ' (Hasluck, *Cyzicus*, p. 161).

[3] For a possible case in Asia Minor see Cumont, *Stud. Pont.* ii, 261 (Niksar).

[4] Below, pp. 429 ff.

[5] Pharasopoulos, *Τὰ Σύλατα*, p. 132 ; *cf.* above, chap. iv, no. 8.

[6] Kleonymos and Papadopoulos, *Βιθυνικά*, p. 68 ; M. Walker, *Old Tracks*, pp. 34 f. (Murad IV is probably meant ; *cf.* below, p. 603).

[7] Ioannides, *Ἱστορία Τραπεζοῦντος*, p. 127 ; Palgrave, *Ulysses*, p. 40, *cf.* p. 33, where a similar legend is related of Murad IV.

buildings, &c.,[1] or on account of 'revelations', but these can hardly be reckoned as more than 'material' transferences, since the new cult is spiritually independent of its predecessor. To simple and devout minds the discovery of ruins, especially if accompanied by dreams [2] or other accidental phenomena (*cf.* Chapter IV, no. 10), suggests the previous existence of a holy place, generally of the finder's religion, and anything remotely resembling a sacred building,[3] a tomb,[4] or a cultus-object [5] readily evokes a suitable legend and saint. So the recently 'revealed' church of S. Charalambos in Pontus,[6] though it actually occupies the site

[1] The Khalveti order in Egypt systematically occupied the deserted Christian monasteries (Sell, *Relig. Orders of Islam*, p. 55).

[2] It is impossible to estimate the purely accidental influence of dreams and visions on all departments of Oriental life, though its importance cannot be denied. This influence, as also the fantastic and arbitrary methods of interpreting dreams, is exemplified by the following story, told me of himself by a Cypriote friend. Having been long ill and under medical treatment, he was visited by an apparition which bade him abstain from doctors' stuff. He was convinced that the apparition was Dr. D. G. Hogarth. His daughter, however, assured him that it was S. Panteleëmon, *as it had no beard*, and to S. Panteleëmon he went successfully for cure. But to himself the vision is still Dr. Hogarth. A similar story from an ancient source would undoubtedly be accepted as evidence that in Cyprus the hero Hogarth was identified with the god Panteleëmon. A confirmatory vision proved the genuineness of the tradition that Hasan's head was in the mosque of Hasaneyn in Cairo (Lane, *Mod. Egyptians*, i, 270).

[3] See the unvarnished account by Hobhouse (an eyewitness) of the discovery by a dream of a 'church of S. Nicolas' at Athens (*Albania*, ii, 530).

[4] The cult of Hulfet Ghazi at Amasia (Cumont, *Stud. Pont.* ii, 169) is probably based on no more than the discovery of the (ancient) sarcophagus in which the hero is said to rest: similarly, in Karpathos two ancient sarcophagi are supposed to be those of Digenes Akritas and his wife (Polites, *Παραδόσεις*, no. 122).

[5] The acceptance by Greeks at Koron of a Hellenistic terra-cotta as S. Luke (Wace, in *Liverpool Ann. Arch.* iii, 24) is an extreme case.

[6] Th. Reinach, in *Rev. Arch.* xxi (1913), p. 42. The Moslem cult occupying a site formerly sacred to Zeus Stratios in Pontus (Cumont,

of a temple of Apollo, has no more than an accidental connexion with the ancient cult; nor have the cults, Christian and Moslem, at pre-historic buildings in Cyprus[1] any proved connexion with the ancient religious past of those buildings till the *lacunae* in their history are satisfactorily bridged.

Stud. Pont. ii, 172) is probably another case of accidental superposition.

[1] See below, p. 704.

VI

CHRISTIAN SANCTUARIES FREQUENTED BY MOSLEMS

IN the preceding chapters we have touched incidentally on several points illustrating the popular Turkish attitude towards the ' magic ' side of Christianity, and we have reached the following conclusions:

(1) Christian ritual is looked on as capable of setting in motion a supernatural world which is harmful to Mohammedans. For instance, a Christian building may be rendered antagonistic to Moslems by Christian spells, and the cross is a piece of pro-Christian magic, the hostile potency of which must be taken into account by Mohammedans.

(2) The supernatural powers set in motion by Christian ritual may, however, be conciliated by Mohammedan: for instance, baptism may be regarded as giving an additional security to Mohammedan children, or Christian charms may be worn with salutary effect by Mohammedans. Similarly, an outraged Christian church-spirit, if properly approached, may become beneficent, or at least neutral, in its action towards Mohammedans.

We have next to consider the attitude of Turkish peasants towards the God and the saints of the Christians.

In the face of a common disaster, such as a prolonged drought or an epidemic, Christian and Moslem will combine in supplication and even share the same procession. Such a combination of Mohammedans, Christians, and Jews is recorded at Aleppo during a plague of locusts.[1] At Athens, in Turkish times, a continued

[1] Bousquet, *Actes des Apôtres Modernes*, ii, 95; *cf.* Rycaut, *Greek and Armenian Churches*, pp. 375 ff., where there is a description of the

drought occasioned a public supplication of Christians and Turks together, which, failing of its effect, was followed by a second of Turks alone. This likewise proving without result, the negro quarter prayed and obtained rain at once. The frank comment of Athenians, Christian and Moslem, was, 'Why, the negroes have more faith than we have!'[1] A similar occurrence is reported by a Jesuit missionary from Chios. At a time of prolonged drought the Turks and Greeks in turn made prayer for rain without success. Finally, the Catholics organized a procession, in which an image of the Virgin was carried, and were rewarded by a copious shower. The Turks attributed the miracle directly to the Catholic Virgin.[2] One explanation of the friendliness of the fanatical sultan, Selim I, to Christians is that at a time of plague their intercessions had been successful, when the Turks had prayed in vain.[3] In the same way the heads of all religions at Cairo, including Catholics, Copts, Greeks, and Jews, meet at the mosque of Amr to implore the mercy of God whenever an insufficient inundation of the Nile is feared.[4] The mosque of the prophet Daniel at Alexandria is similarly venerated for the same reason by Jews, Christians, and Moslems.[5]

proceedings too long for insertion here, yet heartily recommended to the curious.

[1] '*Βρέ, οἱ Ἀραπάδες ἔχουν πιὸ πίστι ἀπὸ μᾶς*' (Kambouroglous, *Μνημεῖα*, i, 312). At the tomb of the Virgin in Jerusalem, Greeks, Armenians, Copts, and Abyssinians have each a chapel, while the Turks have a *mihrab* (d'Arvieux, *Mémoires*, ii, 180). During a drought at Saida, Greeks, Latins, and Jews prayed without result for rain, which was, however, obtained by a Mussulman procession, ending in a ritual ploughing by the Pasha (La Roque, *Voyage de Syrie*, i, 7 ff.).

[2] 'Les Turcs disoient que la *Meriem* des papas francs étoit la plus puissante' (Carayon, *Rel. Inéd. de la Compagnie de Jésus*, p. 23).

[3] Schepper, *Missions Diplomatiques*, p. 181. A similar story is related of the caliph Mamun (d'Ohsson, *Tableau*, i, 220).

[4] De Vaujany, *Caire*, p. 297.

[5] De Vaujany, *Alexandrie*, p. 112. In Savary de Brèves (*Voyages*,

A story still more remarkable than the above was related to me in 1916 by a Greek native of Urgub in Cappadocia. This town possesses the mummified body of an Orthodox neo-saint, S. John 'the Russian', who is supposed to have lived and died in the eighteenth century.[1] The body enjoys considerable respect both from Christians and Mussulmans. On the occasion of an epidemic of cholera in 1908 among the children of the Turks, the latter begged and obtained as a favour from the Greeks that the saint should be paraded through their quarters. During the procession the Turkish women threw costly embroidered handkerchiefs on the bier as offerings to the saint, who in answer to their faith immediately put an end to the epidemic. In a strongly Moslem village in Albania Miss Durham saw two men and four women, all Mohammedans, and three of the women with ailing infants, crawl under the altar during mass and stay there until it was over. Afterwards the priest blessed them: 'Moslem charms had not succeeded, so they were trying Christian ones' for their sickness.[2]

Again, the frequentation of Christian healing-shrines

pp. 246 ff.) there is an interesting account of the inundation and attendant ceremonies. In August and September the daily increase is cried by small boys, inciting the people to praise God. Maillet (*Descr. de l'Égypte*, i, 78–9) records the miraculous prediction of the height of the Nile by means of a well, *Bir-el-jernus*, in a Coptic church in Upper Egypt. On the night of the Drop the governor goes to this church, a mass is celebrated on an altar placed over this well, and a cord is hung and left to soak in the well: the prediction is made according to the length of cord wetted during the mass (*cf.* also i, 81 for another such church). Chastel (*Hist. du Paganisme*, p. 90) says paganism was unusually tenacious in Egypt on account of the importance of the Nile flood; Constantine removed to a Christian church the measure of the flood kept in a temple at Memphis (*ibid.*, p. 73), Julian replaced it (*ibid.*, p. 134). Analogous is the story of Omar's letter to the Nile (Savary, *Lettres sur l'Égypte*, i, 86–7; Lane, *Mod. Egyptians*, ii, 230). See also Hasluck, *Letters*, p. 57.

[1] See below, pp. 440–1.

[2] *High Albania*, p. 316.

by Turks is so common a phenomenon at the present day that it would deserve no more than a passing mention here but for the fact that it may have been an important stage in the transference of many holy places from Christianity to Islam. We therefore give a selection of cases showing that the practice was of early date and common to the whole Turkish area from Bosnia to Trebizond and Egypt.

(*A*) GREEK ORTHODOX CHURCHES.

1. 'NOTRE DAME DU PLOMB' (KURSHUNLU JAMI), SARAJEVO. This church, possessing a miracle-working picture of the Virgin, was frequented for cures by Greeks, Latins, and Turks.[1]

2 and 3. The churches of S. MICHAEL at SYKI [2] and TEPEJIK [3] in Bithynia, both famous for cures of madness, are frequented by Turks as well as Greeks.

4. S. PHOTINE, SMYRNA. The holy well in the church is frequented for the cure of eye-diseases by Turks.[4]

5. VIRGIN OF SUMELA, TREBIZOND. The picture, painted by S. Luke, has special virtue against locusts and is visited by the surrounding population, irrespective of religion, for relief from all kinds of misfortune.[5]

6. ASSUMPTION, ADRIANOPLE (MARASH). Turks and Jews participate in the mud-bath cure for rheumatism associated with the Greek Church and Festival of the Assumption.[6]

[1] Des Hayes, *Voiage*, p. 57.

[2] MacFarlane, *Turkey and its Destiny*, ii, 87.

[3] Covel, cited by M. Hamilton, *Incubation*, p. 222. Both here and at Syki there are cells for raving patients, an unusual feature of such places (Hasluck, *Cyzicus*, p. 62).

[4] M. Hamilton, *Greek Saints*, p. 64; *cf.* below, p. 409, n. 2.

[5] Fallmerayer, *Fragmente*, p. 121.

[6] Covel, *Diaries*, p. 247; *cf.* below, p. 680, n. 1; for Jewish participation see Danon in *Onzième Congrès d'Orientalistes*, Paris, 1897, sect. vii, p. 264. Similarly, Turks assisted at the yearly miracle of the Sealed Earth at Lemnos, connected with the Festival of Transfiguration (see below, p. 675; *cf.* Busbecq, cited above, p. 32, n. 2).

7. ANNUNCIATION, TENOS. Turks have come even here successfully for cure, though the cult dates only from 1821, is strongly pervaded by Greek national ideals, and is comparatively inconveniently situated for Turkish pilgrims.[1]

8. S. GEORGE, CAIRO. Turks, having a great veneration for S. George, frequently say their prayers on Friday in this church, where mad people are cured with certainty if detained three days in the church.[2]

(*B*) ARMENIAN CHURCHES.

9. A church at ANGORA, possessing a miracle-working cross of transparent marble, was a Turkish pilgrimage at least as early as the fifteenth century.[3]

10. The same is true of the church of S. JOHN THE BAPTIST at CÆSAREA in Cappadocia, which is famous for its cures of animals.[4]

11. The church of S. CHRYSOSTOM, BEZIRIEH (PONTUS)[5] is frequented by Turks as by Christians of all three rites.

12. So also is the MONASTERY OF ARMASHA near ISMID, which is a comparatively modern holy place, its foundation dating only from 1608.[6]

(*C*) A LATIN SAINT.

13. An instance of a Latin saint reverenced by Turks is to be found in S. ANTHONY OF PADUA, CHIOS. A picture of the saint in this church was famous for its miracles and venerated both by Latin and Greek Christians. A Turkish *bey*, who was anxious for news of a ship long overdue, abstracted the picture, placed it in

[1] M. Hamilton, *Incubation*, p. 200.

[2] Pococke, *Descr. of the East*, i, 28; *cf.* Niebuhr, *Voyage en Arabie*, i, 100; Thévenot, *Voyages*, ii, 439; Vaujany, *Caire*, pp. 293 f.

[3] Schiltberger, *Reise*, ed. Penzel, p. 85 (ed. Hakluyt, p. 40). For the church and miracles see Lucas, *Voyage dans la Grèce*, i, 111; Tournefort, *Voyage*, Letter xxi; Pococke, *Descr. of the East*, II, ii, 89; Walker, *Old Tracks*, p. 71, *cf.* p. 65.

[4] Carnoy and Nicolaides, *Trad. Pop. de l'Asie Mineure*, p. 203.

[5] Cuinet, *Turquie d'Asie*, i, 735. [6] *Ibid.* iv, 365.

his house, and placated it with flowers and candles, hoping by this means to bring his ship safely to port. This treatment proving unsuccessful, he took away the candles and flowers, beating the picture and threatening the 'infamous Christian' who dared to 'mock a Mussulman' that he would cut him to pieces (*i. e.* the picture), if he did not 'give up' the ship. At this juncture the ship came to port, and the picture was returned to the church with a gift of a hundred piastres.[1]

The above instances suffice to show that throughout Turkey the frequentation of Christian holy places by Moslems is not conditional on the antiquity of the sanctuary in question or on any particular form of Christianity being professed in it. Nor is it to be put off by any cult practices theoretically repugnant to Moslems, such, *e.g.* as involve the use of the cross or of pictures. Practically any of the religions of Turkey may share the use of a sanctuary administered by another, if this sanctuary has a sufficient reputation for beneficent

[1] Dumont, *Nouv. Voyage*, pp. 221 ff. Moslems used to reverence the tomb of the Sieur de Chateuil in the Lebanon (d'Arvieux, *Mémoires*, ii, 418). The *naïveté* of threatening an inanimate representation of a saint can be paralleled in the West: Sébillot (*Folk-Lore de France*, iv, 166) gives examples from France. Lucius (*Anfänge des Heiligenk.*, p. 287) gives others from early Christian times: for instance, S. Domitius' lamps were broken by a Syrian crowd because he had healed a Jew and left a Christian unhealed. Gregory of Tours (*De Glor. Conf.*, cap. lxxi, cited also by Collin de Plancy, *Dict. des Reliques*, ii, 202) records that a bishop of Aix, indignant at having one of his villages stolen, cut off the candles offered to S. Mitre of Aix until the village should be restored, which it eventually was. The image of S. George of Villeneuve was thrown into the Seine because frost on his day damaged vines (Collin de Plancy, *op. cit.* i, 430); the same fate threatened S. Peter in Navarre (*ibid.* ii, 434). His own monks threatened S. Étienne de Grandmont with dismemberment if he did not cease to work the miracles for whose sake pilgrims crowded to his tomb and so disturbed the repose of the monks (*ibid.* iii, 225). A Jew entrusted his house to an image of S. Nicolas, but the house was robbed notwithstanding, so the Jew beat the image, whereupon S. Nicolas at once ordered the robbers to return the spoil (*ibid.* ii, 217).

miracles,[1] among which miracles of healing play a predominant part.

14. Ruined Church, Philadelphia (Alashehr). Particularly curious is the frequentation by Turks of a ruined and abandoned Christian church at Philadelphia (Alashehr), which was, moreover, reputed to be haunted by Christian ghosts.[2] The explanation is the usual one: a candle lighted in the ruins ensured relief from toothache.

The tendency to participation is of course strongest where the level of culture is lowest and all sects meet on a common basis of secular superstition. Consequently, we may be fairly sure that what is true of to-day is true also of the period of Turkish conquest. It is further important to remark that this frequentation of Christian sanctuaries by Moslems does not seem to imply any desire on the part of the Moslem population to usurp the administration of the sanctuary in question. Participation is in normal circumstances sufficient for them, and they are perfectly content to leave Christian saints in the hands of Christian priests. Usurpation comes from the organized priesthood or the dervish orders, who, in the event of successful aggression, stand to gain both in prestige and materially. Where, as in many

[1] Montet (*Culte des Saints Musulmans*, p. 24) gives a case where Jewish women frequent a Moslem saint for sterility. Moors frequented the synagogue of Bona at prayer-time on Friday evening 'pour obtenir la guérison de leurs maladies, la fécondité, ou la réussite de leurs projets' (Poiret, *Voyage en Barbarie*, i, 132). A miracle, acknowledged by both Moslems and Jews, justified this faith: when the Jews were building the synagogue, the Book of the Law was seen floating on the waves: no Moslem could seize it, but it came readily to a Jew, who deposited it in the synagogue. This miracle is noteworthy as being the favourite Christian theme of a picture or image cast up by the sea, but transferred to the sacred book, the 'Book of the Law' taking the place in the estimation of Jews which images hold in the imagination of Christians.

[2] C. B. Elliott, *Travels*, ii, 90. The ruins are now built up among Turkish houses (Lambakis, *Ἑπτὰ Ἀστέρες*, p. 375).

rustic chapels, there was no permanent Christian organization or endowment, the intrusion of a dervish guardian need make little or no immediate difference to Christian worshippers. But in many cases such sanctuaries were doubtless left throughout their history without this administration and took their religious colouring simply from the population which happened to use them.

In the following instance, probably not isolated, Moslem pilgrimage to a Christian church seems to have been attracted, not only by the material benefits of healing to be obtained from it, but also by the direct stimulus offered by a Mohammedan sect.

15. S. NAUM, OKHRIDA. The tomb of the saint, one of the 'Seven Apostles of the Slavs', has curative powers especially for lunatics.[1] It is frequented by Bektashi Mohammedans from the surrounding district, who identify the saint with their own Sari Saltik.[2] Even the orthodox Sunni recognize the saint as one of their own, alleging (*a*) that he lived before the rise of the Bektashi heresy and (*b*) that the Christians usurped his tomb.[3]

I have endeavoured in another place[4] to show that the cult of S. Naum by Bektashi Mohammedans dates from the propagation of their faith under, and with the secret connivance of, Ali Pasha of Yannina, and is in all probability to be regarded as a preliminary, checked by the opportune revival of Christianity, to the occupation of the church as a *tekke* by Bektashi dervishes. It is in fact an arrested transference somewhat similar to our examples in Chapter III.

All these Christian holy places, and numberless others, are frequented by Moslems primarily on account of the

[1] Spencer, *Travels* (1851), ii, 76; von Hahn, *Drin und Wardar*, p. 108. Walsh (*Constantinople*, ii, 376) says the Turks claim S. Naum as a holy man of their religion.

[2] From information collected on the spot: for Sari Saltik see below, pp. 429 ff. [3] From an orthodox Mohammedan at Okhrida.

[4] See below, pp. 586 ff.

acknowledged power of the saints or relics in question as manifested by beneficent miracles. There are also cases where Turks have been led to believe in the power of the Christian saints by the manifestation of their hostility. Cantimir cites that of a Turkish *bey* in the Dobruja who reverenced S. Phocas and kept his feast as a holiday, since he had been convinced by a disaster to his crops that neglect of this precaution brought upon him the anger of the saint.[1] Similarly, Ali Pasha of Yannina, having seized a plot of ground belonging to a church of S. John, was visited by the saint in a dream; he promptly restored the land and contributed to the church.[2]

In the same category of hostile manifestations by Christian saints, often admitted (at least tacitly) by Turks, may be ranged the protection of churches by these patrons against Turkish aggression[3] and the miraculous working of transformed churches against their new owners.[4] It is clear that in the Turkish popular mind Christian saints, like Christian magic, have power and may be offended or placated. The sentiment with which they are regarded depends simply on the nature, beneficent or maleficent, of their manifestations, but, as we have seen from the case of S. James at Nicosia,[5] a manifestation of hostile power implies the possibility of beneficence. A saint who has power to avenge an insult has power also to reward an act of homage.

[1] *Hist. Emp. Oth.* i, 237. The reason given in some parts of Bosnia for the observance of S. Procopius' day by local Moslems is identical (Ugljen, in *Wiss. Mitth. Bosnien*, i, 488).

[2] Aravantinos, *Ἀλῆ Πασᾶ*, p. 418. Similarly, and probably for similar reasons, the Moslems of Albania, many of whom are of course converts of comparatively recent date, are said to reverence S. George and S. Nicolas (Hecquard, *Haute Albanie*, pp. 153, 200). It is said that a Catholic bishop of Skutari was desired from Rome to give less prominence to the Feast of S. Nicolas, but he replied that he was powerless in the matter, as the bulk of the people who attended the festival were not his own parishioners but Moslems.

[3] Chap. v, *ad fin.*

[4] Chap. iii, *ad init.*

[5] Chap. iv, no. 9.

This is an extremely simple rustic point of view, little if at all removed from that which instigates the placation of *jinns* and *peris*: it would probably be reprobated as a vulgar error by most instructed Mussulmans.[1] A higher reading of the phenomena of miraculous healings and other supernatural manifestations by alien saints is quite easy for those imbued with the teaching of the dervish orders, and is not impossible for orthodox Mussulmans. By the latitudinarian Bektashi, for instance, the religion professed during his lifetime by a dead saint is a matter of indifference; 'a saint', as I have heard it put, 'is for all the world'. In an aphoristic story in the (Mevlevi) *Acts of the Adepts* 'one of the greatest of God's cherished saints' is recognized in a poor Frank, who had been insulted by a Mussulman.[2] Identifications of Christian with Moslem saints are, again, rendered possible by the theory of metempsychosis, which is current even in stricter circles: and thoroughly orthodox Moslem divines have considered Khidr and Elias, for example, as the same person reincarnated at different periods. Further, certain prominent Christian saints, of whom the type is Christ Himself,[3] are regarded as pre-Islamic Mussulmans, just as certain pre-Christian pagans, like 'Hermogenes the Wise Man',[4] Plato,[5] Aristotle,[6] and Virgil, were con-

[1] *Cf.* Einsler in *Z.D.P.V.* xvii, 69, where a distinguished, sheikh asked how it came about that Moslems who made vows to Khidr often paid them in churches of S. George, did not dispute the fact, but was of opinion that only very ignorant Moslems could so act.

[2] In Redhouse's *Mesnevi*, p. 34.

[3] Also S. John: *cf.* the eighteenth-century pilgrim's book (Menasik-el-Haj, *Kitab*, tr. Bianchi, in *Rec. de Voyages*, ii, 116) and Thévenot, *Voyages*, ii, 445.

[4] Mandeville, ed. Wright, p. 135: this is probably an error for 'Hermes Trismegistus'. Gregory the Great got Trajan salvation in consideration of his virtues (Hare, *Walks in Rome*, i, 135).

[5] *Cf.* Cousin, *Hist. de l'Église*, 1, x, 203. Michael Psellos (in Rambaud, *Ét. Byz.*, p. 145) interprets Homer in a Christian sense and calls Plato a precursor of Christianity. [6] *Cf.* Comparetti, *Virgilio*, i, 287.

sidered by medieval Christendom to have been to some extent Christians born out of due time. On some such footing the tomb of 'Hazret Shimun' (S. Simeon) at Antioch of Syria takes a place among the official pilgrimages for Moslems,[1] as did also 'S. John Polycarp' at Smyrna.[2]

More than this, it is held that even since the revelation of Mohammed certain persons among the Christians were recognized by Allah as of His Elect,[3] and after their death were transported from their graves among the Christians to the cemeteries of the Mussulmans [4] by 72,000 camels set apart for the purpose. This tradition is only a slightly wider and more liberal version of others current in our own day. Two stories using the theme were recently told to Gervais-Courtellemont at Mecca itself. In one, the mysterious camels were seen at their work in the famous Meccan cemetery of El Maala; in the other, the body of a Christian (Rumi) princess,[5] who, being in love with an enslaved Moorish prince, had made the Profession of Faith in secret,[6] was substituted by the agency of the camels for that of a professing but reprobate Mussulman buried in the same cemetery.[7]

[1] See above, p. 25, n. 5.

[2] See above, p. 58; below, p. 408.

[3] See below, p. 443.

[4] De Brèves, *Voyages*, pp. 24 f. (quoted in full below, pp. 446–7).

[5] Is this a story of North African origin connected with the 'tomb of the Christian Woman' near Algiers (Berbrugger, *Tombeau de la Chrétienne*)?

[6] *Cf.* below, p. 448.

[7] Gervais-Courtellemont, *Voyage à la Mecque*, pp. 105 ff.; the writer's informant was a sheikh of the strict Hanifite sect. Lady Duff-Gordon heard a similar story told in Egypt as an actual occurrence of Mohammed Ali's time (*Letters from Egypt*, pp. 198 ff.). At Monastir the favourite place for praying for rain in times of drought is a *turbe* said to cover the remains of a non-Mohammedan princess, which were miraculously substituted for those of a *khoja*; see further below, p. 360.

The same theory of secret believers [1] is used in the following:

16. Chapel at Adalia. De Brèves found at Adalia a cave-chapel, still retaining traces of Christian frescoes, in which was shown the tomb of a Christian hermit. The latter, according to the Turks, had on his deathbed confessed himself a Mussulman, and on this account received from Believers the honour due to one of their own saints.[2] This is an exact Moslem counterpart to the Christian legend of Shems-ed-din at Konia.[3]

[1] For the similar secret conversion of a Christian princess of Genoa see Lane, *Thousand and One Nights*, p. 202.

[2] De Brèves, *Voyages*, p. 23: 'Comme nous estions là, vn renié nous mena voir vne grotte, qui est au pied des murailles de ce chasteau, sur le bord d'vn haut et noir precipice, que la fente du roc fait en cest endroit: Il y a dedans vn tombeau de pierre éleué enuiron de deux pieds, où on dit qu'est inhumé le sainct homme qui y residoit. Ceste grotte seruoit de Chapelle, du temps des Chrestiens, & s'y void encore la peinture de la Vierge Marie, demy effacée: auiourd'huy les Turcs s'en seruent de Mosquée, font voeu au Sainct, en leurs maladies, prient Dieu sur son tombeau, & y bruslent de l'encens, disans auoir eu reuelation qu'encore qu'il eust vescu en la Religion des Iaours, qu'ils appellent, ou Infidelles, (ainsi nõment-ils les Chrestiens) il estoit neantmoins en son ame bon Musulman, & qu'en mourant il s'estoit declaré tel.'

[3] Below, chap. vii, no. 6.

VII

MOHAMMEDAN SANCTUARIES FREQUENTED BY CHRISTIANS

IT seems then, in default of historical evidence, impossible to distinguish between the three classes of occupation. The material evidence of building is common to all three and we are thus thrown back on (1) tradition, which is more or less circumstantial but generally ambiguous and unreliable, and (2) the inference we may draw from the frequentation by Christians of outwardly Mohammedan holy places. The latter is a fairly constant phenomenon in the better-documented transferred cults [1] and at first sight appears to be the last vestige and the most tangible evidence of previous Christian occupation. May we then, in default of other evidence, regard the frequentation of a Mohammedan sanctuary by Christians as proof that the sanctuary in question was originally Christian? It is true that the orthodox Christian peasant theoretically regards the Mohammedan religion as unclean, whereas the Turk has no such prejudice against Christianity: even if Sunni and learned, he considers it less as bad in itself than as imperfect,[2] as being based on an earlier revelation than Islam, and degenerate as regards the worship of 'idols'.[3] An outward expression of this point of view is the fact that in the reconquered coun-

[1] Such as S. Sophia, Constantinople; the Parthenon, Athens; S. Demetrius, Salonica; Elwan Chelebi; Kirklar Tekke, Zile.

[2] When a Christian marries a Jewess, Moslem law says the children must be brought up in the Christian as 'the better faith' (Lane, *Mod. Egyptians*, i, 123.)

[3] On this subject see the answer given by the strict Sunni preacher

tries a mosque, unless it has been (or is thought to have been) a church is rarely, if ever, taken over as a church by the Orthodox.[1] On the other hand, when we come to consider the popular Christian attitude towards Moslem saints in Turkey, as manifested practically, *i.e.* in the frequentation of Mohammedan sanctuaries by Christians, we shall find that it is little if at all different from the Mohammedan attitude towards Christian saints.

Of Syria it is said that Christian holy places are less frequented by Mohammedans than Mohammedan by Christians.[2] In Turkey, probably owing to the superior education of the Christian element, the reverse seems to be the case at the present day. On the other hand, despite the strong theoretical prejudices of Christians, the popular religious thought, and still more the ritual practice, of Oriental Christendom have much in common with those of Islam. In the case of saints the attraction of healing miracles goes far to overcome all scruples, and Greek no less than Turk admits the idea

Vani Efendi to Sir Thomas Baines (J. Covel, *Diaries*, p. 270). As to the personal uncleanness of Christians, the Turks hold, and not without reason, very decided views (*cf.* Pacifique, *Voyage de Perse*, p. 21).

[1] I know of no instance. The beautiful disused mosque at Sofia, like those at Athens, Nauplia, Chalkis, and Monemvasia, is turned to civil uses. At Nauplia one mosque is adapted as a church, but by Latins. In the later Venetian period one mosque at Athens became a Catholic and another a Lutheran church (Philadelpheus, *Ἱστορία Ἀθηνῶν*, p. 178). A mosque at Theodosia (Kaffa) in the Crimea was taken over as a church by the Armenians (Demidoff, *Southern Russia*, ii, 205). Doutté, *Marabouts*, p. 70, states that the Catholic cathedral of Algiers was formerly a mosque. The resources of the community concerned would naturally count for much in such things. [This no doubt explains the most exceptional conversion into a Greek church of the mosque at Balchik in Thessaly, one hour from Mavrokhor station and two from Tempe, though the villagers do not pretend that the mosque was originally a church. I owe its discovery to the accident of being trapped in Thessaly in the winter of 1922 by the flooded Peneios. M. M. H.]

[2] Einsler in *Z.D.P.V.* xvii, 42; d'Arvieux, *Mémoires*, ii, 21.

that, if his own saints fail him, an alien may be invoked. This unorthodox theory was enunciated to me in so many words by a Cappadocian Greek, and is, as we shall see, borne out in practice. An amusing instance of the actual conversion of a Christian Albanian to Islam on these lines is related by the renegade Ibrahim Manzur Efendi. The Albanian in question, finding himself, as he believed, pursued by a run of ill-luck, solicited in vain the help of Christ, the Virgin, and S. Nicolas. As these did nothing for him, he turned to Mohammed with satisfactory results, especially, as he naïvely remarks, to his pocket, and on the strength of his experience he became a Mohammedan.[1]

'If a common Turk hath a horse sick,' says an acute and experienced observer, Sir Dudley North, 'he will have the Alcoran read over it, and, rather than fail, the law of Moses or the Gospel of Christ. And there are poor Christians that will get a holy man, though a Turk, to read over a sick child; and the poor Jews the like. It is the *reading over* that they value, together with the venerable phiz of the holy man that performs, without much distinction what it is he reads.'[2]

Scarlatos Byzantios, writing in the fifties, says frankly that in his own time Christians, and frequently even priests, when ill, invited *emirs* and dervishes to 'read over' them, while Turks frequented Christian priests for the same purpose.[3] Exorcism by 'reading over' being largely considered as a specific against witchcraft,

[1] *Mémoires*, p. xxii.

[2] R. North, *Lives of the Norths*, ii, 146; Père Pacifique, *Voyage de Perse*, p. 31.

[3] Κωνσταντινούπολις (1869), iii, 583. *Cf.* also Biliotti and Cottret, p. 634; Pears, *Turkey*, p. 78; Dorys, *Femme Turque*, p. 76; Lane, *Mod. Egyptians*, i, 297. Selim III being seriously ill, his mother called in Procopius, the Greek patriarch of Jerusalem and much respected for his goodness: bringing his deacons and apparatus, he came and prayed successfully for the sultan's recovery (Dorys, *Femme Turque*, p. 78: he gives no authority but great detail).

'overlooking', &c., it is easy to understand that, just as the Turkish soldiers 'in aciem prodituri' wore Christian charms to render Christian weapons ineffectual,[1] so Christians, when they suspected the hostile working against them of black arts, possibly or probably put in motion by Moslems, resorted to Moslem incantations to avert or overcome them. So in a Greek folk-story of a priest whose wife was bewitched, the priest 'began with prayers and readings, but when he found that was no good, he went off to a Turkish witch', who was eventually successful in removing the (Turkish) spell.[2]

The following story is given on the excellent authority of a French missionary priest working among the Uniate Bulgarians of Thrace.[3] In one of their villages an epidemic of measles made its appearance. A child of Bulgar-Uniate parentage, apparently healthy in the first instance, was placed as a prophylactic measure in an oven, a fire being lighted at the mouth.[4] The child

[1] See above, chap. iii, *ad fin.*

[2] Polites, *Παραδόσεις*, no. 839: *ὁ παπᾶς τὴν ἄρχισε μὲ ταῖς εὐχαῖς καὶ τὰ διαβάσματα, ἀλλὰ σὰν εἶδε πῶς δὲν ἔκανε τίποτα, ἔτρεξε σὲ μιὰ τούρκισσα μάγισσα; cf.* Durham, *High Albania*, p. 88.

[3] They occupy a small group of hill-villages above Kirk Kilise.

[4] The practice of putting children in ovens to cure fever is condemned as superstitious by Bede and others (see J. B. Thiers, *Traité des Superstitions*, p. 433). The oven *motif* recurs in the *Évang. de l'Enfance* (in Migne, *Dict. des Apocryphes*, i, 997), where a child protégé of the Virgin is placed in an oven by his wicked stepmother, but escapes unharmed. Migne (note *ad loc.*) says a similar tale was told by the Arabs of Moses, who was hidden from the emissaries of Pharaoh in an oven by his mother: though a fire was inadvertently lit underneath, the child was unhurt: the story is also told by Spiro, *Hist. de Joseph*, p. 61. *Cf.* the tale of the Imam Bakir (Molyneux-Seel in *Geog. Journ.* xliv (1914), p. 65; below, p. 147, where there is a play on the word *bakir* (Tk. = *copper*) and a cauldron is substituted for the oven. The same *motif* is found in a tale told by Greg. Turon. (*de Glor. Mart.* i, x) after Evagr. iv, 36, and Niceph. xvii, 25. A Jewish child, who had taken the sacrament with his Christian playmates, was put in an oven

was so frightened that it became epileptic. This was put down to the evil eye, and a cousin was called in to treat it: the treatment consisted in burning a lock of the child's hair and a candle before an *eikon* with appropriate incantation. This proving unsuccessful, a *khoja* was consulted, who prescribed a written amulet. This in turn failing, the parents, against the priest's advice, took the child secretly to a Greek Orthodox church of the Archangels for a course of forty days' incubation.[1]

Another story, illustrating a slightly more sophisticated point of view, is told of Constantinople Greeks by N. Basileiadou.[2] This, though put into literary form, rings so true that one can hardly doubt its essential authenticity. The theme is the dilemma of a Christian mother who had tried in vain all the resources of Christian pilgrimages for the cure of her sick daughter, and was at length, against the advice of her own confessor, induced by a (Christian) neighbour to go to the Turkish sanctuary of Eyyub as a last resort.[3] In the course of the ceremony, which consisted in a 'reading over' by the *khoja* of the mosque, the patient and her mother suffered so severely from nervous strain that the former died within three months and the latter lost her reason. The comments of the neighbours on the double tragedy are characteristic. Some said the guilty pair had been punished for their sin against God: others that the devil was irritated by their half-heartedness in seeking his aid and then repenting: others that the whole affair was due to witchcraft: and others, again, that you should not mix religion and the black art, but

by his father as a punishment, but was preserved by the Virgin who appeared to him in a vision: the same miracle is said to have taken place at Bourges.

[1] Marcelle Tinayre, *Notes d'une Voyageuse*, pp. 148 ff.

[2] *Ἡμερολ. Φ. Σκόκου*, 1913, pp. 288–95.

[3] The neighbours' words are: *Ὅλα τῆς θρησκείας μας τὰ ἔκαμες. Τόρα θὰ κάμουμε ἐξωτικά. Ὁ κουντουρντισμένος* [*i.e.* the devil, *lit.* 'the mad one'], *ἂς εἶνε καὶ ἔξω ἀπ' ἐδῶ, παντοῦ φθάνει.*

keep to one or the other.[1] All thus agreed that Turkish miracles were sorcery and nothing more.

From one point of view Christian priest and Mohammedan *khoja* are medicine-men differentiated for their respective sects; side by side with them certain laymen practise magic, black or white, for all indiscriminately. Experience has shown that the help of the religious, as of the lay, medicine-man can be enlisted on behalf of a client of whatever religion he may be by the use of a very concrete argument.[2] The saints are in popular thought similar intermediaries, though of a higher grade, and are treated in exactly the same way. It must further be remarked that the actual procedure at a Mohammedan healing-shrine is familiar to Christians through 'folk-lore' usages common to the whole population if not shared or countenanced by their own religion as are knotting rags, driving nails, incubation, contact with relics, propitiatory sacrifice (*kurban*),[3] the offering of votive candles, and exorcism by 'reading over'. Even ritual practices generally considered quite exceptional, such as 'walking over' ailing children by the Rifai dervishes,[4] are paralleled in the Orthodox

[1] '*Καλέ, ἡ ἁμαρτία τοὺς εὗρε. Τοὺς τῶπε κ' ὁ πνευματικός.*'

'*Καλέ, τοὺς ἔβλαψε ὁ ἔξω ἀπ' ἐδῶ* [*i.e.* the devil]. *Πῆγαν στὰ πόδια του καὶ τὸ μετάνοιωσαν.*'

'*Τίποτε. Τὰ μάγια ἔχουν τέτοιο θάνατο.*'

''*Ἀπὸ τ' ἁγιάσματα στὰ ξωτικά. Αὐτὰ θὰ πάθουν. Ἢ τὸ ἕνα ἢ τὸ ἄλλο.*'

Εἰς ἕνα μόνον συμφωνοῦσαν ὅλες, ποῦ ἔφτυναν τὸν κόρφο τους.

[2] This is true even where great opposition exists officially between the two religions; *cf.* Saint Clair and Brophy, *Residence in Bulgaria*, p. 68.

[3] For this practice among Anatolian Christians see White, in *Trans. Vict. Inst.* xxxix (1907), p. 154; *cf.* Carnoy and Nicolaides, *Trad. de l'Asie Mineure*, p. 196 (sacrifice of cocks by Armenians); Polites, *Παραδόσεις*, no. 503 (sacrifice to S. George near Kalamata); Miller, *Greek Life*, p. 196 (sacrifice of cock at Athens). For a sacrifice of bulls in Thrace, at which an Orthodox priest presides, see G. Megas in *Λαογραφία*, iii, 148–71.

[4] W. Turner, *Tour in the Levant*, iii, 367.

Church [1] as is the ceremony, apparently common among the Shia Mussulmans,[2] of the 'selling' of them to the saint.[3]

The difference between a Mohammedan and a Christian saint thus reduces itself largely to a matter of names. The instances cited below of outwardly Mohammedan holy places frequented by Christians exemplify this point of view and tend to show that the alleged Christian origin of such 'mixed cults', unless supported by more tangible evidence, must be regarded as 'not proven', just as a tradition that a certain mosque was once a church must not be accepted without scrutiny, though churches have been changed into mosques often enough.

Our first instance of a Moslem sanctuary frequented by both religions has no vestige of a tradition linking it with Christianity. It is an example of the thesis we have put forward above that religious prejudice succumbs to the desire of healing.[4]

1. Imam Baghevi, Konia. Outside the humble *turbe* of the Imam Baghevi in the station suburb at Konia are two stones, popularly supposed to represent the horses of the Imam turned to stone: the idea is easily explained by their rough resemblance to pack-saddles.[5]

[1] At the Tenos festival. A similar ritual existed formerly in the Latin church at Andros (La Mottraye, *Travels*, i, 277).

[2] Haji Khan and Sparroy, *With the Pilgrims to Mecca*, p. 273 (children so sold are called 'dogs of Abbas'); *cf.* the Yuruk ceremonies on Ida (Leaf in *Geog. Journ.* xl (1912), p. 37). For the same custom in Syria see Curtiss, *Prim. Semitic Relig.*, p. 167.

[3] It is done by the Orthodox at Balukli (Carnoy and Nicolaides, *Folklore de Constant.*, p. 64), Selymbria (Prodikos, in Θρᾳκικὴ Ἐπετηρίς, i, 67), and elsewhere (M. Hamilton, *Greek Saints*, pp. 56 f.).

[4] This example is selected only for its detail. 'Folk-lore' practices by Christians (especially women) at Mohammedan shrines could probably be found in any mixed town. In Rumeli at Lule Burgas a *dede* named Tendem Baba is similarly frequented by Christians and placated with candles, though he has no *turbe* or establishment whatever (F. W. H.).

[5] See further below, p. 196.

Cures are worked in two ways. If the patient is a child who cannot walk or a woman who cannot conceive, he or she sits astride the stones as if they were a horse. Persons afflicted with pains in the belly prostrate themselves over the stones so as to touch them with the afflicted part.[1] The cure is used by Christian and Turkish women indifferently.

A similar women's cult is that of:

2. Esef Daï, Thyatira (Akhisar). The tomb of Esef (Eshref?) Daï is visited by Christian as well as Moslem women, who light candles in his honour. The adjoining mosque is held by the Christians to replace a church of S. John, of which, however, no trace now remains.[2]

3. Mosque of Eyyub, Constantinople. This historic mosque has Christian traditions, but they are demonstrably of small value. The mosque owes its sanctity for Moslems to the supposed grave of the Arab warrior Eyyub, which was discovered on the site shortly after the conquest.[3] But the reputation for healing of its sacred well attracted to it a Greek *clientèle* who explained its virtues by the assumption that the Moslem saint Eyyub, buried in the mosque, was identical with the Job of the Old Testament [4] or with Samuel! [5] A third identification of the site with that of an earlier

[1] The first procedure is evidently suggested by the form of the saddle-like stones. The cure of belly-pains (*baghersak* = bowels) is attributed to the Imam on account of his name, really the ethnic from Bagthur in Khorasan (see d'Herbelot, *s.v. Bagavi*). I suspect that the modesty of my informant or a misunderstanding of my own prevented me while on the spot from realizing that the second cure was really for 'binding' (*bagh*), for which see Abbott, *Macedonian Folklore*, pp. 171, 232, 234; [Blunt], *People of Turkey*, ii, 236; d'Ohsson, *Tableau*, ii, 314, &c.

[2] Lambakis, *Ἑπτὰ Ἀστέρες*, pp. 317–18. Such cases could probably be multiplied indefinitely. [3] See below, pp. 714–16.

[4] Gerlach, *Tage-Buch*, pp. 187, 341.

[5] Canaye, *Voyage* (1573), p. 110. At a later date Gyllius' hypothesis also was current among learned Greeks (below, p. 83).

church of S. Mamas, current slightly earlier, is due to the archaeologist Gyllius: though more scientific than the others, it has been completely disposed of by Pargoire.[1] There is thus no reason to believe that the sanctity of Eyyub is pre-Turkish.

Two of the most important dervish *tekkes*, at Haji Bektash near Kirshehr in Cappadocia, and at Konia, containing the tombs of the founders of the Bektashi and Mevlevi orders respectively, have also their Christian traditions.

4. HAJI BEKTASH TEKKE, near KIRSHEHR. The *tekke* of Haji Bektash is frequented not only by (Moslem) adherents of the Bektashi order,[2] of which it is the head-quarters, but also by Christians, who, on entering the *turbe* of the founder, make the sign of the cross.[3] Levides, a local authority, holds that the present cells of the dervishes formed part of a Christian monastery and, like most of his compatriots, claims the site for S. Charalambos.[4] The connexion of the site with this saint is so general that the founder's tomb itself is supposed by some Christians to be that of S. Charalambos,[5] but without much probability as the local connexions

[1] *Proc. Russ. Arch. Inst.* (Constantinople), ix (1904), pp. 261 ff.

[2] Sunni Moslems are not welcomed, the Bektashi order being now confessedly Shia: the mosque, forced upon the dervishes by Mahmud II, is served by a resident Nakshbandi sheikh (F. W. H.).

[3] Cuinet, *Turquie d'Asie*, i, 341. The *tekke* has been visited also by P. Lucas (*Voyage dans la Grèce*, i, 124), Naumann (*Vom Goldnen Horn*, 193 ff.), and recently by Professor White of Marsovan (see *Contemp. Rev.*, Nov. 1913, pp. 690 ff.).

[4] *Μοναὶ τῆς Καππαδοκίας*, pp. 97 f.: *Ἐν δὲ ταῖς Ὄχραις (τανῦν Χαδζῆ-Πεκτὰς) ἦν τὸ περίφημον Μοναστήριον τοῦ ἁγίου Χαραλάμπους, ὅπερ περιῆλθε νῦν εἰς χεῖρας τῶν ἀσκητῶν τοῦ Δερβίσου Χαδζῆ Πεκτάση-Βελί, σῶζον καὶ οἰκήματα διὰ τοὺς προσκυνητὰς καὶ κελλία διὰ τοὺς ἀσκητάς, καὶ βρύσιν καὶ ἀμπελῶνας.*

[5] Cuinet, *loc. cit.*, confirmed to me by Mr. Sirinides of Talas. The Bektashi dervishes seem rather to encourage the identification. It is said that they will kill any Mussulman who blasphemes Christ or *S. Charalambos*: see further below, pp. 571–2.

of this saint are with Magnesia ; he is, however, much revered all over Orthodox Christendom,[1] especially as an averter of plague,[2] and there is nothing irrational in supposing that a monastery in Cappadocia was dedicated to him.[3] On the other hand, it is quite possible that a healing or prophylactic miracle of Haji Bektash during an epidemic has led to the identification,[4] and that the idea, once in the air, has been promoted by the Bektashi. It is so far accepted that the well-known story of Haji Bektash, which tells how he outdid Ahmed Rifai, who rode on a lion, by riding on a wall,[5] was related to Mr. Dawkins by Greeks in Asia Minor of S. Charalambos and Mohammed.

But the identification of Haji Bektash with S. Charalambos does not seem to be of great antiquity.[6] A hundred years ago the archbishop Cyril claims both *tekke* and saint for S. Eustathius,[7] who is connected in the *Synaxaria* [8] with Rome, not Anatolia, and is by no means an important saint in the Eastern Church.[9]

[1] *Cf.* the recent ' revelation ' of a church of his near Niksar (Reinach, in *Rev. Arch.* xxi (1913), p. 42).

[2] See Polites in *Δελτίον Ἱστορ. Ἑταιρείας*, i, 22, and *cf.* his *Παραδόσεις*, no. 908 ; also M. Hamilton, *Greek Saints*, p. 71. The saint is popularly called *Καράλωβος* as from (Turkish) *Kara* (' black ') and *λώβη*.

[3] Similarly, I have heard S. Charalambos identified with S. Roch by a Greek priest.

[4] The neighbouring village of Mujur was still largely Christian in the seventeenth century (Tavernier, *Travels*, p. 39 : ' abundance of Greeks, which they constrain ever and anon to turn Turks ').

[5] Degrand, *Haute Albanie*, p. 229, &c. ; below, p. 289.

[6] It has, however, taken firm hold, and appears to be believed in Macedonia.

[7] *Περιγραφή*, p. 11 : *Χατζῆ Πεκτάς, ὅπου τεκές, ἤτοι μοναστήριον πεκτάσιδων δερβίσιδων, παρωνομασμένον ἀπὸ τὸν Ἅγιον Εὐστάθιον, Χ. Πεκτὰς λεγόμενον παῤ αὐτῶν, τὸν ὁποῖον θέλουσιν ἀρχηγὸν τοῦ τάγματος αὐτῶν*. For the author of this rare work see below, p. 379.

[8] 20 Sept.

[9] Churches are, however, dedicated to him by the Orthodox, *e.g.* at Konia (Ramsay, *Cities of St. Paul*, p. 377).

His link with Haji Bektash is probably to be found in the incident, regularly figured in his *eikons* and common to the legend of S. Hubert of Liége, of his conversion while hunting by the apparition of a stag with a cross between its horns, which cried out with a human voice:[1] 'Why pursuest thou me? I am Jesus Christ.' This story is paralleled by another told of Kaigusuz,[2] an eminent saint of the Bektashi order. In his youth, while out hunting, he wounded a stag, which turned into a dervish. Stricken with remorse, he retired to a convent, where, cutting wood one day for the brotherhood, he heard a tree he was cutting cry out, 'Why smitest thou me?' This incident was the cause of his recognition as a saint.[3] In another story Haji Bektash himself converts an unbeliever by exhibiting on his own person the wounds inflicted by the latter on a stag.[4] Further, Haji Bektash's reputed master was Karaja Ahmed,[5] literally, *Stag* Ahmed. The identification of Haji Bektash with S. Eustathius was probably made on the ground of some similar story.

5. Mevlevi Tekke, Konia. At the great *tekke* of the Mevlevi dervishes in Konia Lucas was told by an Armenian that a Christian bishop Efsepi (Eusebius?)[6] was buried beside Jelal-ed-din, the founder of the

[1] Talking animals are elsewhere recorded; *cf.* Spiro, *Hist. de Joseph*, p. 39.

[2] For this saint see further, below, pp. 290 f.

[3] Told by an Anatolian to Mr. W. H. Peckham, formerly H. B. M.'s consul at Uskub. It is to be noted that in the Christian legend of S. Eustathius the stag episode is merely picturesque. In the Moslem version it falls into place; the stag which becomes a dervish, and the tree which cries out, alike symbolize the unity of nature, full comprehension of which is one aim of the dervish's life of contemplation. Both Christian and Mohammedan legends probably come ultimately from a Buddhist source. On the connexion of deer with dervishes see further, below, pp. 460 ff.

[4] F. W. H. [5] Evliya, *Travels*, ii, 21; *cf.* ii, 215.

[6] No such bishop occurs in the Greek lists of Iconium bishops which have come down to us.

Mevlevi order, at the latter's special request. The legend explaining this anomaly tells how the 'Chelebi' Jelal-ed-din, going on pilgrimage, charged his great friend the bishop with the care of his household and the government of the city during his absence. The bishop gave into his hands at his departure a small box, bidding him keep it closed till his return, and accepted the charge on this condition. On the return of Jelal-ed-din his wives and household slaves accused the bishop of evil conduct towards them, and the 'Chelebi' in a fit of anger ordered his instant execution. The unfortunate bishop implored as a last favour an interview with the 'Chelebi', in the course of which he called on him to open the mysterious box committed to his charge. It was found of course to contain indisputable proof of the bishop's innocence. The 'Chelebi' in his remorse insisted that, when the good bishop died, he should be buried beside his own tomb as a mark of their indissoluble friendship.[1]

This story was told me with the omission of the bishop's name by Prodromos Petrides of Konia in 1913. In a variant story told by Levides[2] and, a hundred years ago, by the archbishop Cyril,[3] the hero is the abbot of S. Chariton. The Mevlevi dervishes themselves acknowledge that there is truth in the legend, but in their version of it the 'bishop' or 'abbot' becomes a monk, who came from Constantinople and was converted by Jelal-ed-din to the Mevlevi doctrines.

6. Tekke of Shems-ed-din, Konia. Another instance from Konia of a similar ambiguous cult is given by Schiltberger (*c.* 1400).

[1] Lucas, *Voyage dans la Grèce*, i, 151 ff.

[2] *Μοναὶ τῆς Καππαδοκίας*, p. 156; *cf.* N. Rizos, *Καππαδοκικά*, p. 130, and above, chap. v, no. 10.

[3] *Περιγραφή*, p. 42 (quoted below, p. 375, n. 2). The 'tomb of the monk' is mentioned in general terms by Macarius of Antioch (*Travels* (*c.* 1650), i, 8) and by Miss Pardoe (*City of the Sultans*, i, 52).

'There is also,' says he, 'in this country [Karaman] a city called Könia, in which lies the saint, Schenisis, who was first an Infidel priest, and was secretly baptised; and when his end approached, received from an Armenian priest the body of God in an apple. He has worked great miracles.'[1]

This early legend refers of course to the tomb of Shems-ed-din of Tabriz, the friend and instructor of Jelal-ed-din, which is situated in Konia, but at some distance from the great *tekke* of the Mevlevi. It is naturally a tomb much revered by that order as being that of their founder's master. The story is remarkable as the converse of the Mevlevi version of the 'Eusebius' legend; here a Mohammedan is converted to Christianity, there a Christian to Islam. In each case the sanctuary in question is made accessible to both religions.[2]

7. S. Arab, Larnaka (Cyprus). This is another ambiguous cult first mentioned by Mariti (eighteenth century).[3] At the present day this sanctuary is still frequented both by Turks and Greeks. By the former it is known as Turabi Tekke, by the latter as S. Therapon.[4] Turabi is the name of a wandering dervish from Kastamuni in northern Anatolia, who lived in the reign of Mohammed II and was noted for his liberal views as to religions outside Islam.[5] S. Therapon is a well-known saint and healer in Cyprus, where he has several churches; he is not, however, specially connected with Larnaka.[6] As to the origins of a cult of this sort, it is impossible to be dogmatic. From the evidence we have it seems probable that it began as a secular cult of an

[1] Hakluyt society's edition (ed. Telfer), p. 40.

[2] See below, p. 377.

[3] *Travels*, tr. Cobham, p. 41 (quoted in full below, p. 735).

[4] Hackett, *Church of Cyprus*, p. 421; Luke and Jardine, *Handbook of Cyprus* (1913), p. 47: there is now, Mr. Luke tells me, no dervish establishment attached to the tomb.

[5] Von Hammer, *Osman. Dichtkunst*, i, 214.

[6] For the S. Therapon of Cyprus see Delehaye in *Anal. Boll.* xxvi, 247 ff.

'Arab' *jinn*,[1] later identified with Turabi (perhaps through the Greek τοῦ Ἀράπη ὁ τεκκές, ἡ σπηλιά), from which it is an easy step to the Christian Therapon. If this theory is correct, we have here a cult now shared by both religions, whose origins were neither Christian nor Mohammedan, but secular.[2]

8. 'Tomb of S. Theodore,' Benderegli (Herakleia Pontica). Herakleia on the south coast of the Black Sea has been celebrated for many centuries as the place of martyrdom of S. Theodore Stratelates ('the General'), who, according to legend, suffered under Licinius and was buried at Euchaita, the scene of his conquest of a dragon which infested the country. His tomb at Euchaita was a famous pilgrimage in the early Middle Ages.[3] It is possibly owing to his connexion with other localities besides Euchaita (Amasia and Herakleia) that his rather shadowy twin, S. Theodore Tiron ('the recruit'),[4] came into existence. In 1389, when the whole coast was already in Turkish hands, we hear from a Russian pilgrim of a church and tomb of S. Theodore Tiron at Herakleia.[5] Halfway through the seventeenth century a reference to the martyrdom of a S. Theodore (this time the 'general') at Herakleia in the *Travels of Macarius* [6] shows that the tradition was not forgotten. At the present day a *turbe* in a cemetery on a hill above Arapli a few miles west of the town is visited yearly by

[1] For the 'Arab' in folk-lore and cult see below, pp. 730–5. The cult of a 'S. Arab' could be reconciled to Greeks by the assumption of their conversion. *Cf.* the case of 'S. Barbarus' at Iveron on Athos (Smyrnakes, Ἅγιον Ὄρος, p. 471; Tozer, *Highlands of Turkey*, i, 83; Hasluck, *Athos*, p. 165, n. 1) and that of 'S. Schenisis' above, p. 87.

[2] *Synaxaria*, 9 Feb.

[3] For the legends of S. Theodore and their development see references above, p. 47, n. 3.

[4] *Synaxaria*, 17 Feb.

[5] Ignatius of Smolensk in Khitrovo, *Itin. Russes*, p. 134: 'il y a là [viz. à Pandoraklia] l'église de saint Théodore Tiron, bâtie sur le lieu même de son martyre & contenant son tombeau'.

[6] Tr. Belfour, ii, 424.

Christians as containing the tomb of S. Theodore 'the general'.[1] The *turbe* seems to be no more than a wooden hut, and contains two outwardly Turkish tombs,[2] attributed by the Greeks to S. Theodore and his disciple Varro, 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 money or candles.

In view of this graduated series of compromises between the competing religions it seems clear that, while some of the Moslem sanctuaries claimed by Christians as originally Christian may really be so, the development indicated above in Chapter V from Christianity to Islam is paralleled by a converse development from Islam towards Christianity, the stages being:

(i) A Moslem sanctuary attracts by its miracles a *clientèle* of Christians (Chapter VII, no. 6).[3]

(ii) These justify their participation in the cult by the assumption that the site, building, or saint in question was originally Christian [4] and by the fabrication of a suitable legend [5] (Chapter VII, no. 4).

[1] P. Makris, *Ἡρακλεία τοῦ Πόντου*, pp. 115 ff.

[2] See below, p. 575, n. 2.

[3] So a Turkish pasha, buried at Drivasto in Albania, works miracles for Christians, *when he sees that their hearts are secretly inclined to Islam* (Hecquard, *Haute Albanie*, p. 326): the latter clause of course 'saves the face' of the saint in case of failure.

[4] There is at least a possibility that a similar process of thought underlay the recognition by the Christians of the Holy Sepulchre *beneath the temple of Venus*, if we assume that, as is not unlikely in Syria (*cf.* especially Frazer, *Adonis*, i, 13 ff.; Heisenberg, *Grabeskirche*, i, 197 ff.), the death, burial, and resurrection of Adonis were there celebrated.

[5] An extremely interesting illustration of the 'white' or 'black' interpretation of Moslem saints is afforded by two folk-stories from Greece cited by Polites (*Παραδόσεις*, nos. 209, 446), in which (1) a Turkish saint called Delikli Baba ('Old Man of the Hole') at Pylos is accepted as originally Christian, while (2) his namesake at Nauplia becomes a specialized form of the 'guardian Arab' demon common in Greco-Turkish folk-lore. In all probability both 'saints' were Turkish

(iii) It is quite possible to imagine a Christian political and ecclesiastical ascendency completing the process of conversion by the formal recognition as Christian of such indeterminate sanctuaries, for instance, as those of Haji Bektash and S. Mamas.[1]

9. At the TEKKE of AKYAZILI BABA (HAFIZ KHALIL BABA near BALCHIK (now in Rumania) a transformation on the lines indicated seems in a fair way to be completed. Of this sanctuary we have luckily three independent accounts written before and after the liberation of Bulgaria.

(1) Kanitz, writing in 1872, describes the *tekke* as one of the most celebrated Mohammedan shrines in the Euxine district, in point of size probably unsurpassed in European Turkey, and still sheltering twenty-six dervishes. The magnificent *turbe* was built by Suleiman II [2] and contained various relics of the saint, including a Moslem pilgrim's staff, a pair of shoes, besides a tomb of orthodox Mohammedan form. The *tekke* was burnt by the Russians in 1829, which looks as if the Orthodox at that date held it in no particular reverence.[3]

(2) Jireček, writing apparently of the eighties, gives interesting particulars of the development of the cult in his day. The saint was then known as Akyazili Baba.[4]

'pierced stone' or cave cults anthropomorphized; one of them, and not the other, performed miracles for Christians. *Cf.* below, p. 223.

[1] Professor White of Marsovan declares he has 'seen shrines now Christian once Mohammedan, and, conversely, shrines now Mohammedan which were once in Christian keeping' (*Trans. Vict. Inst.* xxxix (1907), p. 156). For the transition to Islam from Christianity in Syria see Curtiss, *Prim. Semitic Relig.*, pp. 239 ff.

[2] It appears to have been dated: Jireček's account supports the idea that the *turbe* was purely Turkish.

[3] Kanitz, *Donau-Bulgarien*, iii, 211 ff. (in the French translation, pp. 474 ff.): the passage in Haji Khalfa (*Rumeli und Bosna*, tr. von Hammer, p. 27), cited by Kanitz as mentioning this *tekke*, really refers to that of Kilgra (see below, p. 431).

[4] This may be designed to facilitate the identification with Athanasius.

His main function was the recovery of stolen cattle,[1] but his powers, down to the period of the Crimean War, were available only for his co-religionists. After this, evidently under the pressure of a change in population, he began to exert himself in favour of Christians also as *S. Athanasius*. In 1883 (*i. e.* after the foundation of the Bulgarian principality) his two personalities were recognized. The gifts made by Moslems to Akyazili Baba were kept separate from those made by Christians to S. Athanasius, and the latter contributed to a Christian school, then in building at Balchik. The Moslem side of the saint was evidently on the wane. We now hear first of the development of the medical side of the cult (doubtless, however, older), fever patients making the circuit of the tomb in the saint's slippers. A copy of the Koran was still kept on the tomb.[2]

(3) Nikolaos,[3] a local Greek author of the 'nineties, speaks of the *tekke* as an undoubted Christian church, though tended by dervishes, and standing in a village of Circassian refugees. It holds festival on 2 May, the day of S. Athanasius of Alexandria, whose tomb it contains. Miracles of healing are frequently wrought at the place. Patients incubate all night, locked in the 'church', inserting the ailing part, if possible, in a hole near the tomb of 'Athanasius'; on the tomb are placed a gospel, lamps, and a *pair of shoes* which the saint wears when he appears to patients.[4] The

[1] A refugee of 1878 from Varna, now resident at Beikoz, informed me that the herds of the saint went out and returned from pasture untended and unharmed, whereas strange animals sent out with them did not return.

[2] Jireček, *Bulgarien* (1891), p. 533; also in *Arch. Epigr. Mitth.*, 1886, p. 182. The former passage is given in full on p. 763 below.

[3] J. Nikolaos, *Ὀδησσός*, pp. 248–50, quoted below, p. 764, at length.

[4] *Cf.* the somewhat similar Christian superstition with regard to S. Michael at Syki (Bithynia) in *B.S.A.* xiii, 297 (Hasluck), and Polites, *Παραδόσεις*, no. 200, with notes.

incubation seems still to be supervised entirely by a dervish.[1]

According to information gleaned in 1914 from a resident of Varna, the village by the *tekke* is now inhabited by Bulgarians, and a transference of the sanctuary to Christianity, such as has been suggested above, actually took place during the late Balkan War, when the Bulgarian priest of the village erected a cross on the *turbe*. The crescent was, however, shortly afterwards replaced by the invading Rumanian army. In such cases as this it is impossible to prove, except by the argument *a silentio*, that the Moslem cult had not ultimately a Christian predecessor. But at Balchik especially we have at least a strong presumption in favour of Moslem origin, since (1) there is no natural feature of the site which renders an antecedent cult probable; (2) the buildings seem to be entirely Turkish; (3) the tomb of Athanasius is obviously unauthentic; (4) 2 May is only a secondary festival of S. Athanasius, his great day being 18 January. It is possible that the coincidence of the original feast-day (*mevlud*) of Hafiz Khalil with 2 May has determined his Christian pseudonym.

10. Tekke Keui, near Uskub. The case of Balchik has an exact parallel in Serbian Macedonia. Before the Balkan War Evans found at Tekke Keui near Uskub a purely Mohammedan (Bektashi) sanctuary, with the grave of a Mohammedan saint, to which Christians also resorted on S. George's day.[2] A local Mohammedan informed me in 1914 that the place was now formally claimed for S. George by the erection of a cross, though the dervish in charge was not (as yet) evicted.[3]

11. Turbali Tekke, near Pharsala. The last re-

[1] Professor Skorpil informs me (1913), through Mr. Gilliat Smith, H. B. M.'s consul at Varna, that the *tekke* is now ruined, only part of a kitchen of Turkish construction remaining besides the tomb.

[2] In *J.H.S.* xxi, 202, and in *Archaeologia*, xlix, 110: *cf.* below, pp. 274–7 ff.

[3] [He had gone by 1923. M. M. H.]

maining Bektashi convent in Thessaly, near the village of Aivali in the district of Pharsala, seems to be a similar case. The mausoleum of the saint Turbe Ali, which is purely Turkish in form like all the buildings of the *tekke*, and probably dates from the sixteenth century, is visited by Christians as a sanctuary of S. George, and a 'tradition' is current that the *tekke* was once a monastery dedicated to that saint. When the Bektashi community follows the example of its once numerous neighbours and abandons the site, a church, as a local Christian admitted as a matter of course, will probably take its place on the strength of the tradition.[1]

12. Sersem Ali Tekke, Kalkandelen. Similarly, in Serbian Macedonia the once flourishing Bektashi *tekke* just outside Kalkandelen, founded by a certain Riza Pasha less than a hundred and fifty years ago and now doomed to extinction under the pressure of Serbian taxation, is quite likely to be replaced by a church of S. Elias, with whom the Bektashi saint buried there (Sersem Ali) is identified by the local Christians. For this identification there seems to be no other warrant than the likeness between the names Ali and Elias:[2] the site is not an eminence, as are most of those dedicated by the Orthodox to Elias, and the buildings are perfectly in keeping with the date given on the founder's tombstone (A.H. 1238).[3]

It thus seems clear that a certain number of Moslem holy places manage to perpetuate their sanctity through a period of Christian conquest and even Moslem emi-

[1] F. W. H. See further details below, pp. 531–2.

[2] A Christian from Premet, where the Bektashi sect is influential, told me, independently of the above example, that Ali and Elias were commonly identified in Bektashism. In Bosnia the Mohammedan (Bektashi ?) festival of S. Elias is known as Alijun (Lilek in *Wiss. Mitth. Bosnien*, viii, 273). It should be noted that the Albanian for S. Elias is Shen Li. It may be that the saint Abbas Ali, who haunts Mount Tomor in S. Albania, is also equated locally to S. Elias, see below, p. 548, n. 2.

[3] Further below, pp. 524–5.

gration : this at first sight bears out the view that the religious traditions of a locality cannot be extinguished. But it is equally clear that such of these holy places as have come under our view owe their survival not to well-authenticated traditions of previous Christian sanctity but to adroit management (aided by good luck) on the part of their dervish administrators. We thus arrive at the negative result that, in default of more cogent evidence, it is not safe to accept that of ' tradition ' backed by Christian frequentation, as proof of the antecedent occupation by Christians of a sanctuary now outwardly Mohammedan.

In several of the ambiguous cults cited above the Christian version of the local religious legend is not only accepted but welcomed, and even, to judge by Gerlach's account of the church-*tekke* of Eski Baba, promoted (for Christian consumption) by the Mohammedans in charge of the sanctuary in question. This tendency is specially prominent in the case of ambiguous sanctuaries administered by or connected with the Bektashi [1] order. The two following sanctuaries, which are insufficiently known, are recommended for investigation on these lines.

13. SHAMASPUR TEKKE,[2] ALAJA (in Paphlagonia). This is a half-ruined sanctuary under Bektashi administration. Sir Charles Wilson calls it a cruciform church,[3] but Hamilton's description makes it clear that it was a *tekke*, probably of Seljuk date, planned like the Konia *medresehs* as a cross inscribed in a square.[4] It is signifi-

[1] See below, pp. 564 ff.

[2] See below, pp. 710 f.

[3] In Murray's *Asia Minor*, p. 36.

[4] Hamilton, *Asia Minor*, i, 402 f. : ' The building is square . . . on the east side is a handsome marble entrance in Saraceno-Gothic style, while within it is built in the form of a Greek cross, having one of the four recesses facing the east '. H. J. Ross (*Letters from the East*, p. 243) recognized the building as Mohammedan, as did Perrot (*Souvenirs d'un Voyage*, p. 418), who found two or three Bektashi dervishes there in 1861.

cant that the *Turks* of Alaja ' said the building was an old Greek monastery '.[1] The saint buried at this *tekke* is Husain, the father of Sidi Battal. Its name, however, connects it with Shamas, the Christian governor of a castle near Kirshehr, who was converted after being defeated in single combat by Sidi Battal himself.[2] It seems likely that the tomb of the converted Shamas was shown beside that of the Moslem hero, just as that of the Christian princess was shown beside the grave of Sidi Battal,[3] and that of the Christian monk beside Jelal-ed-din's at Konia,[4] as an attraction to Christian pilgrims.

14. The skeleton of a similar double legend is probably to be recognized[5] in two notices of a building called MEJID TASH, outside Changri (Gangra) in Paphlagonia. Ainsworth speaks of this as a Mohammedan monument, apparently a Seljuk *turbe*, containing several tombs, which the local Christians vehemently claimed as those of their own saints ;[6] Cuinet in his description of Changri notices ' un *turbé* ou chapelle funéraire musulmane, autrefois couvent grec orthodoxe dédié à S. Mamas '.[7]

15. PAMBUK BABA,[8] OSMANJIK. My account of the

[1] Hamilton, *loc. cit.* [2] See below, p. 711, n. 3.

[3] See below, pp. 705–8. [4] See above, p. 86.

[5] The suggestion here made is, of course, subject to correction, and is designed to stimulate further inquiry.

[6] *Travels*, i, 110 : the monument was dated by an Arabic inscription referring it to the reign of John Laskaris. *Cf.* Wilson (in Murray's *Asia Minor*, p. 10), who says it is the ' reported site of a massacre of Christians '.

[7] *Turquie d'Asie*, iv, 553. But S. Mamas, born at Gangra, was buried at Caesarea (Theodosius, *De Situ Terrae Sanctae*, ed. Geyer, p. 144, who mentions S. Galenicius at Gangra) : see above, p. 44.

[8] Pambuk Baba (' Cotton Saint ') seems to have succeeded, or to be identical with, the Bektashi saint Koyun Baba (' Sheep saint '), whose convent at Osmanjik is mentioned by Evliya (*Travels*, ii, 96). The convent is still of importance, though it seems to have passed into other hands.

cult is derived from a single source, a Greek native of Urgub, and is given for what it is worth. Pambuk Baba is reputed the builder of the stone bridge[1] across the river Halys which divides the two quarters of the town. My informant told me that the saintly architect, ' being unwilling to use the oxen of unbelievers ' for the transport of material, had cursed the townspeople, and to this day the inhabitants of one quarter were one-eyed and those of the other afflicted with ringworm. He added that the stones for the bridge were eventually brought by stags.

This outline has certainly to be filled in somewhat as follows. Former bridges had been swept away by the river ; the saint, not yet recognized as such, promised to build a substantial structure if the inhabitants would lend their draught animals : they, doubting his ability and laughing at him for pretending to know about bridges, refused : he then cursed them, manifesting his supernatural power, not only by building the present wonderful bridge, but by pressing wild deer (the favourite animals or familiars of dervishes)[2] into his service for the transport of the stone required.

So far, we have no more than a naïve piece of local mythology. The special interest of Pambuk Baba for us is that he is said to have been a converted Christian named S. Gerasimos. This may be read as an admission that the site of Pambuk Baba's convent was once Christian and so dedicated : but (1) Osmanjik is a town of purely Turkish origin and has probably never had a Christian church ;[3] and (2) if it had, S. Gerasimos is a very unlikely dedication. The latter consideration renders it equally difficult to assume that the tradition is one of those devised to attract Christians like that of

[1] A photograph of this bridge, really the work of Bayezid II, is given by Anderson, *Stud. Pont.* i, 103. [2] See below, pp. 460 f.

[3] It is, however, in a Kizilbash district : *cf.* v. Flottwell, *Stromgebiet des Qyzyl-Yrmaq*, p. 11.

Shems-ed-din at Konia.[1] In the Greek Church the Palestinian monk, S. Gerasimos, has no wide vogue, and the importance of the neo-saint Gerasimos of Zante, though great locally, is confined to that island and its neighbourhood. On the other hand, in Russia S. Gerasimos of Palestine is widely reverenced and Gerasimos is a common name among the laity. We know that after the Russo-Turkish war of 1807–8 Russian prisoners were brought into this district as slaves, many of whom turned Turk and settled in the country.[2] Is S. Gerasimos a reminiscence of one of these Russian renegades turned dervish ?[3]

[1] Above, p. 86–7.

[2] Kinneir, *Journey through Asia Minor*, p. 88 : ' During my stay [1813] at Ooscat [Yuzgat] I was frequently visited by several Russians . . . who had been taken in the wars and brought here by this Pasha. They had changed their religion, married Mahomedan women, and, following their respective professions, enjoyed, as they said, a much happier life than they had ever done before ' (*cf.* Oberhummer and Zimmerer, *Durch Syrien*, p. 211, note, for Russian renegades at Urgub). Are these the real ancestors of the fair-haired ' survivals of the Galatians ' seen by several over-sanguine travellers in this district ? See further below, p. 441, n. 6.

[3] Some confirmation of this still hazardous theory exists in the prestige enjoyed by renegade marabouts. The saint of Mogador, for example, is Sidi Mogdul, Mogador being a Portuguese distortion of Mogdul, but the saint's real name was MacDonald (? MacDougall) : see Montet, *Culte des Saints Musulmans*, p. 15.

VIII

TRANSFERENCE OF NATURAL SANCTUARIES—MOUNTAINS

WHEN we turn to consider the transference of cults at holy places chosen primarily for their physical peculiarities, that is, ' natural ' as opposed to ' artificial ' sanctuaries, we are confronted by serious difficulties, material and psychological. The rustic nature of these cults often deprives us of the evidence afforded by buildings,[1] and, further, the idea of the sanctity of mountains and springs (to choose the commonest forms of ' natural ' holy places) is very widespread among primitive peoples. Both mountains and springs are held sacred by the nomad Yuruks, who can hardly have been greatly influenced, like town-dwellers, by the beliefs of their Christian neighbours. Hence, even where one religion is demonstrably superseded by another, it must remain doubtful whether a site has been chosen by the new-comers on account of its inherited sanctity or independently, merely because it struck them as an appropriate place for worship. Still less, where, as in the majority of cases, no proof of pre-Mohammedan religious occupation is obtainable, must the primitive type of the cultus be held to prove its chronologically ancient, and therefore inherited, origin.[2] In dealing with mountain cults, then, we have not only to consider their inheritance of sanctity, proved or possible, but also to take into account certain ideas predisposing men

[1] Among the ancients also temples were rarely built on mountains, a precinct and altar being held more appropriate.

[2] For more adequate illustration I have admitted in this section several cases of ' natural ' cults of which Christian origins have not been suspected.

in general, and especially Moslems, to their selection. These include :

(*a*) The widespread idea of primitive humanity that the god controlling the weather, and especially rainfall, is best propitiated on mountain-tops where clouds gather.[1]

(*b*) The secondary aspect of mountains, common to Islam and Christianity, as the abode of ascetics. The Bithynian Olympus, for example, was not only a resort of Christian monks, but in the early Ottoman period the abode of Moslem anchorites. Mountain hermits are often weather-prophets and rain-makers.[2]

(*c*) Quite independent of this is the secular, 'folk-lore' conception of a mountain or a mountain-top as the grave of a giant, conceived of originally as a 'black' figure, but liable, under the religious influences of the associations suggested in (*a*) and (*b*), to become a saint of superhuman proportions.[3] The presence on a mountain-top of anything resembling or suggesting a grave, such as a cairn, a rough stone enclosure, or even a tree or trees,[4] may be accepted as the grave of the saint, and welcomed as a tangible, yet not idolatrous, object of veneration.[5]

The following examples illustrate the various stages :

1. KAPU DAGH (DINDYMON). One of the bare summits of the Cyzicene Dindymon is named Dede Baïr, which can be roughly translated 'Saint's Hill', or perhaps better, less literally, 'Sacred Hill' :[6] there is, so

[1] For the 'high places' which are regularly devoted still by Sunnis to the rain prayer outside Turkish towns see below, p. 102, n. 4.

[2] *Cf.* R. Walsh, *Constantinople*, i, 294.

[3] The 'tomb of the prophet Joshua' on the Bosporus is, as I have shown elsewhere (below, p. 305), an instance.

[4] Cumont, *Stud. Pont.* ii, 211, records a case where two prominent trees standing on a mountain are so accepted.

[5] This process of development seems to be world-wide : *cf.* Halliday, in *B.S.A.* xvii, 182 ff.

[6] For the vague use of *dede* for a holy place or *numen* see Ramsay, *Pauline Studies*, p. 172.

far as I know, no cult. The classical traditions of Dindymon are well known. There is an important Christian pilgrimage-church, not on the hill, but in one of the valleys beneath it.[1]

2. IDA. The double summit of the Trojan Ida is held by the Yuruks to represent the graves of a nameless 'Baba' (*lit.* 'father', but generally with the meaning 'saint') and his (nameless) daughter Sari Kiz ('Yellow Girl'). But *at the same time* the peaks represent stones sifted by the daughter.[2] A trace of a previous Christian cult may be seen by the eye of faith in the fact that the Yuruks hold festival here on 15 August (Assumption of the Virgin), and the fact that the daughter, despite her sex, seems the more important figure of the two. But certain dates in the Turkish year, *e. g.* S. George (Khidrelles), which are reckoned by the Syrian calendar, seem to be older than Christianity and not derived from it: of these 15 August appears to be one.[3]

3. The HASAN DAGH, near CAESAREA, has on its summit (1) a ruined Christian chapel and (2) a *turbe* associated with the sheikh Tur Hasan Veli,[4] who can boast a respectable cycle of tradition.[5] He represents, in all

[1] Hasluck, *Cyzicus*, p. 161: the church is connected by a medieval tradition with the Jasonian temple of Dindymene.

[2] Leaf in *Geog. Journ.* xl (1912), p. 37.

[3] August 15 is said to be kept as a feast by the Bektashi at Kruya (Degrand, *Haute Albanie*, p. 234), and I have been told by Christians that this is the 'great Bairam' of the sect, though Bektashi deny it. A Bektashi festival might in any case be derived from Christianity, but the same date is chosen for the assembly of witches in Georgia (N. W. Thomas, in *Man*, 1901, p. 57); *cf.* also below, no. 4, and, further, p. 132. Lucius (*Anfänge des Heiligenk.* p. 521) says the date of the Assumption appears first in Syria and as 'Obitus Deiparae *pro Vitibus*'; see further Hasluck, *Letters*, p. 95.

[4] Ramsay and Bell, *Thousand and One Churches*, p. 256, where it is said that the *mevlud* (anniversary festival) is still kept.

[5] Carnoy and Nicolaides, *Trad. de l'Asie Mineure*, pp. 212 ff.

probability, a tribal eponymous hero,[1] and may even be historical.[2]

4. The YILDIZ DAGH (' Star Mountain '), near Sivas, exhibits the same combination of Christian and Mohammedan sanctuaries, here not superimposed, but on separate peaks. There is a Mohammedan festival on the mountain in August.[3] A sanguine interpreter of these facts may here make out a good case for a survival, starting from the equation *yildiz* = *star* = ἀστήρ. A Christian saint Asterios is celebrated in the Greek calendar on 7 August,[4] and a bishop of Amasia bore the name about A.D. 400.[5] Did the pious bishop re-dedicate the hitherto pagan mountain to his name-saint? On the other hand, the district of which the ' Star Mountain ' forms part bears officially the name of Yildizili (' Land of Yildiz ').[6] Yildiz is a not uncommon personal name among the Turks,[7] and in particular it was borne by one of the six sons of Oguz, a semi-mythical Turkoman chieftain; each of these six sons was the founder of a tribe.[8] So that here, as at the Hasan Dagh, there is a good case for supposing the saint to be tribal and Turkish. As regards the August festival, it seems probable that the Kizilbash keep one on the fifteenth of the month.[9]

5. The ALI DAGH, near CAESAREA, is said by Moham-

[1] There is a village bearing the (tribal ?) name, Dur Hasanlu, near Kirshehr: see below, p. 339.

[2] A local chief in this region named Hasan is mentioned in the eleventh century (Anna Comnena, xiv, 1: *cf.* the crusading writer quoted in full by Tomaschek, in *Sitzb. Wien. Akad., Ph.-Hist. Cl.*, cxxiv (1891), viii, 85).

[3] Wilson, in Murray's *Asia Minor*, p. 42; Cumont, *Stud. Pont.* ii, 233.

[4] Ὅσιος Ἀστέριος συγκλητικὸς καὶ θαυματουργός

[5] Le Quien, *Oriens Christianus*, i, 526.

[6] Cuinet, *Turquie d'Asie*, i, 698.

[7] For Oguz and his sons see d'Herbelot, *s. v.*, and Hammer-Hellert, *Hist. Emp. Ott.* i, 6 ff.

[8] See d'Herbelot, *s. v. Ildiz*, and Hammer-Hellert, xviii, 52.

[9] Above, p. 100, n. 3.

medans to have been made by Ali, who, while helping the Prophet to make Argaeus, let fall a mass of earth through the breaking of a sieve.[1] The Christians associate the mountain with S. Basil, who is said to have resorted to it to pray.[2] On one of the two conspicuous summits are remains of a Christian church, on the other the Moslems have built a place of prayer.[3]

The development thus seems to be as follows, leaving inheritances from Christianity for the moment out of sight :

(i) An eminence is chosen by a neighbouring population as a place for propitiating the weather-god.[4]

(ii) Its existence or peculiarities are attributed to a miracle.

(iii) The peak itself[5] or any existing building on it is accepted as the grave (tumulus or *turbe*, as the case may be) of a saint, often the author of the miracle. Subsequently, additions (a built grave, *turbe*, or *tekke*) may be made and a name found for the saint : but in primitive communities he often remains nameless. The

[1] Thompson, in *Proc. Soc. Bibl. Arch.* 1910, p. 292 ; Scott-Stevenson, *Ride through Asia Minor*, p. 206.

[2] Carnoy and Nicolaides, *Trad. de l'Asie Mineure*, pp. 191 f. ; Texier, *Asie Mineure*, ii, 61 ; Levides, *Μοναὶ τῆς Καππαδοκίας*, p. 56 ; Rizos, *Καππαδοκικά*, p. 138.

[3] Levides, *loc. cit.* : *οἱ Ὀθωμανοὶ ἔκτισαν ἐπὶ τῆς πρὸς ἀνατολὰς κορυφῆς προσκύνημα, Ταχταλὴ καλούμενον· σώζεται . . . καὶ φρέαρ μεταγενέστερον καλούμενον φρέαρ Χαδζῆ Παϊράμ.* Skene (*Anadol*, pp. 144 ff.) says the Ali Dagh has *three* peaks, occupied respectively by a ruined church, a mosque, and a Moslem cemetery connected with the famous hero Sidi Ghazi, for whom see below, pp. 705 ff.

[4] The practice survives among the orthodox populations of towns. Most Turkish towns choose an eminence on the outskirts as a place for the rain-prayer.

[5] Or even the whole mountain : a popular legend relates that the site of the ' Giant's Mountain ' on the Bosporus was once a plain on which a giant was buried : each mourner threw a handful of soil on the grave, thus making the mountain (Grosvenor, *Constantinople*, i, 214).

chances of an authentic saint being buried seem to me, in the case of mountains, remote:[1] saints' names or titles, however, account for a large proportion of the mountain nomenclature of Asia Minor: many are probably of tribal *eponymi* associated by the local worshippers with their praying-place.

The preference for mountain-tops as sanctuaries extends also to minor heights, natural and artificial. Examples are:

6. Murad Baïr, a conical promontory in the Cyzicene peninsula, called by the Greeks S. Simeon: on its summit are remains of a rude chapel, with a roughly built Turkish tomb, probably a cenotaph, inside it.[2]

7. Baba Sultan Tekke. An artificial mound outside Yeni Shehr in Bithynia is occupied by the *turbe* and *tekke* of a saint variously called Baba Sultan,[3] Emir Sultan,[4] and Postin Push.[5]

8. Tulum Bunar. A conspicuous conical mound (tumulus or signal-station?) near Tulum Bunar station on the Kasaba line is crowned by the *turbe* of Jafer Ghazi. The tomb is probably not authentic [6] and the *turbe* of recent construction.

9. The so-called 'Tomb of Hannibal' near Gebze in Bithynia is a similar example. Here again an already existing tumulus has been used as a burial-place or accepted as such. The saint, real or imaginary, is supposed to be a *ghazi* of the early Ottoman period.[7]

10. 'Tomb of Achilles' (Troad). At the Trojan tumulus known by this name 'the summit of the cone

[1] *Cf.* however, below, p. 104, n. 3. [2] Hasluck, *Cyzicus*, p. 18.

[3] Wilson in Murray's *Constantinople*, p. 133.

[4] F. W. H. I believe the mound to be artificial, but not (as Wilson) a tumulus.

[5] Hammer-Hellert, *Hist. Emp. Ott.* i, 229. [6] See below, p. 508.

[7] Pococke, *Descr. of the East*, II, ii, 98; Lechevalier, *Propontide*, p. 39; Siderides, in Φιλολ. Σύλλογος, *KZ'*, 280. For the real site of Hannibal's tomb see Leake, *Asia Minor*, p. 9, and a paper by Wiegand in *Ath. Mitth.* 1902, pp. 321 ff.

has been smoothed off, and contains a small mud building erected by a Mahometan Dervish, who, by a whimsical singularity of disposition, has converted the tomb of Achilles into a repository for his own ashes '.[1] This gives an important sidelight on the cases, apparently fairly frequent, of Turkish burials on ancient tumuli.[2] In such cases the modern selection of the site is probably due less to its antecedent sanctity than to its conspicuousness.

ὥς κεν τηλεφανὴς . . . ἀνδράσιν·εἴη
τοῖς οἳ νῦν γεγάασι καὶ οἳ μετόπισθεν ἔσονται.[3]

But, even in what would appear to be most favourable conditions, the choice of ancient tumuli for saints' tombs is quite arbitrary. At Haji Bektash in Cappadocia, for instance, a huge artificial mound near by has not been selected either for the site of the *tekke* or the burial-place of a saint.[4]

[1] W. Francklin, *Remarks on the Plain of Troy*, p. 46. For the Christians of the Troad the tumulus called Ujek Tepe is sacred to S. Elias (Schliemann, *Ilios*, English edition, p. 658) and another to S. Demetrius (*ibid.*, p. 669; Walpole, *Memoirs*, p. 372).

[2] In Thrace (Covel's *Diaries*, p. 187) and Rumeli generally (Ranke, *Servia*, p. 464; Jireček in *Arch. Epigr. Mitth.* 1886, p. 63); also near Damascus (Rogers in *P.E.F., Q.S.* for 1869, p. 44).

[3] Homer, *Od.* xxiv, 82. Beduin sheikhs are by preference buried on mountain-tops (Burckhardt, *Syria*, p. 612). Von Schweiger-Lerchenfeld (*Armenien*, p. 3) notes the presence of Moslem graves on the Lesser Ararat, as on Hor and Sinai, ' denn möglichst hoch begraben zu werden, war und ist im mohammedanischen Oriente allezeit ein brennender Wunsch '.

[4] White in *Contemp. Rev.*, Nov. 1913, p. 695.

IX

TRANSFERENCE OF NATURAL SANCTUARIES—SPRINGS

TURNING to spring-cults, we find all the stages of an analogous development.

(*a*) The Yuruks, who are still in the primitive stage, reverence springs not remarkable to the outside observer.[1] These cults are, of course, ill-known psychologically, and their seats indicated externally only by the rags attached to neighbouring trees : they are thus indistinguishable from the obscurer Christian ἁγιάσματα.

(*b*) The spring is attributed to the miraculous agency of a saint.[2]

(*c*) Among more developed populations some degree of anthropomorphism is sometimes added to the antecedent sanctity of the spring by the burial, real or supposed, of a saint in the neighbourhood. Examples are :

1. AVJILAR, TROAD. The hot springs (*ilija*) near this village are not only used medicinally, but regarded superstitiously, rags being knotted to the surrounding bushes ;[3] but the cult seems not to be organized or affiliated to either of the prevailing religions. Such springs could be found by hundreds in Asia Minor.

[1] This I have from Dr. Chasseaud of Smyrna, whose profession has brought him into contact with the nomad tribes of the Aidin *vilayet* : below, p. 129–32.

[2] No. 2 below. For other examples of springs which are supposed to owe their origin to the action of a saint see von Hammer, *Brussa*, p. 14 (Emir Sultan) ; Degrand, *Haute Albanie*, p. 244 (Zem Zem Baba) ; Evliya, *Travels*, ii, 226 (Sheikh Shami). The holy man usually makes water spring forth with his staff, which may be made to account for the frequent combination of tree and spring.

[3] Schliemann, *Ilios*, English ed., p. 325.

2. The spring at IVRIZ: this is attributed by legend to a miracle performed by Osman, a 'companion of the Prophet', but the cult seems to have remained in the primitive stage.[1]

3. A mineral spring in ESKISHEHR adjoins a *turbe* containing the tombs of the (nameless) 'Seven' (*Yediler*).[2]

4. The ESKI KAPLUJA bath at Brusa, supplied by a natural hot spring, is used by women as a cure for sterility *in conjunction with a pilgrimage to the adjacent turbe of Murad I*, the only Turkish sultan who earned the title of 'Martyr'.[3] It is customary for women to take and eat grains of wheat placed on the tomb. Wilson[4] records that the same sanctified wheat, when mixed with seed-corn, is supposed to ensure a good crop. The earliest mention of the wheat on the tomb is Luke's: 'a Plow and a Vessell of Wheat is then placed to keep in mind the encouragement he [Murad] gave to husbandry,'[5] and this would be a perfectly satisfactory explanation to simple pilgrims, for whom any object placed in contact with the tombs of the sainted dead may have miraculous power. It is interesting to remark that a model plough is, as all who know the Egyptian bazaar at Constantinople will bear out, a recognized talisman. As to the wheat, it was probably intended in the first instance as an offering of first-fruits to the dead to bring good luck to the coming crop.[6] The transference from agricultural to human fertility

[1] Davis, *Asiatic Turkey*, p. 251; V. de Bunsen, *Soul of a Turk*, p. 175; *cf.* Haji Khalfa, tr. Armain, p. 671; Ramsay, *Pauline Stud.*, p. 173.

[2] F. W. H. [3] Cuinet, *Turquie d'Asie*, iv, 36.

[4] In Murray's *Constantinople*, p. 129.

[5] *Voyage to Constantinople*, B.M. Sloane MS. 2720, f. 28: *cf.* Pardoe, *City of the Sultans*, ii, 54.

[6] So plaited wheat-ears of new corn are shown suspended on the walls of a Macedonian *tekke* by Evans (*J.H.S.* xxi, 203) and to an *eikon* of the Virgin by Kanitz (*Bulgarie*, p. 409). I noticed at the mausoleum of Jehangir near Lahore in India a pile of wheat on the tomb, possibly used in a similar way.

is an easy one. The whole is a combination of a cult of the dead with the half-religious, half-practical use of medicinal springs.[1] As to 'survival', we have no evidence for a Christian cult at these *thermae*, and the grave of Murad is of course authentic; but in the same city we have a hot spring with a long religious pedigree.

5. Between the Eski and Yeni Kukurtlu baths the Greeks celebrate S. Patricius, bishop of Brusa, who was, according to tradition, martyred at these baths, the site of which was then occupied by a temple of Asklepios.[2] The Turks, independently of Christian tradition, or otherwise, have built between the two baths a *turbe* containing the tomb of Akchi Baba.[3]

6. Spring of Abu Ishak, Erzerum. This cult, centring in a spring before the Tabriz gate of the city, is ambiguous. The spring is connected by Armenians with the martyrdom (A.D. 796) of the Christian saints Eusebius and Isaac,[4] by the Turks with a Moslem named Abu Ishak.

7. The famous hot springs at Kuri Yalova in Bithynia have a similar history. In ancient times, as their name, *Πύθια Θερμά*, implies, they were dedicated to Apollo, from whom the Christian S. Michael inherited them.[5] For the Turks the place is sanctified by the burial there of an 'abdal' dervish.[6] Here, as at

[1] In Syria the power of fertilizing women is attributed directly (and anthropomorphically) to the *velis* of hot springs (Curtiss, *Prim. Semitic Relig.*, pp. 116–17).

[2] *Acta SS.* (April 28) mentions the temple of Asklepios, which, however, does not figure in the *Synax. Cp.* (May 19): the healing god is of course appropriate at such a site. For the modern cult of S. Patricius see Kandis, *Προῦσα*, pp. 132 and 200. The bath known as Bekiar Hammam is by the Greeks considered sacred to S. John (*ibid.*, p. 82).

[3] F. W. H. I could not discover whether the *turbe* was, as in no. 4, connected with cures at the baths.

[4] Cuinet, *Turquie d'Asie*, i, 185; Lynch, *Armenia*, ii, 212; Evliya, *Travels*, ii, 27; *cf.* Haji Khalfa, tr. Armain, p. 652.

[5] Procopius, *De Aedif.*, v, 3.

[6] Hammer-Hellert, *Hist. Emp. Ott.* i, 114.

Brusa, the Mohammedan development is the weak link in the pedigree, the connexion between the baths and the 'abdal' not being made out.[1]

8. At the hot springs of ARMUDLU in Bithynia a very similar development appears to have taken place in the cult. Here we have a strong presumption of an ancient nymph cult, a well-developed medieval and modern Christian saint cult, and the materials for a Mohammedan *dede* cult. As no printed study of this site is available, I have discussed it in some detail later on.[2] But the cult of a *dede* is not an inseparable accompaniment of a hot spring for Turks.[3]

9. At BUYUK TEPE KEUI on the Upper Granicus is such a spring, shown by an inscription to have been sacred to Artemis in Roman times.[4] The bath-house, into which the inscription is built, is still largely Roman. The Greeks still consider the hot spring an *ayasma* of S. Constantine.[5] There is no evidence, however, for a corresponding Turkish cult.[6]

It may be here noted that the collocation of natural

[1] In 1610 the French ambassador, de Gontaut Biron, found a mosque served by two 'santons' (probably the *turbe* of the 'abdal') within a hundred yards of the baths (*Ambassade*, in *Arch. Hist. Gascogne*, xvi (1888), p. 126). But the pious Evliya Efendi, who visited the baths in 1640 (*Travels*, ii, 40), does not mention the saint's tomb as a pilgrimage.

[2] Pp. 466 ff.

[3] It is to me very significant that Evliya, the seventeenth-century Pausanias of Turkey, in spite of his excessive reverence for saints, betrays no superstitious view of the curative powers of the hot springs of Brusa, though he describes them at length (*Travels*, ii, 10).

[4] *C.I.G.* 3695 *e*. [5] F. W. H.

[6] The cult of the *ayasma* of Yasi Euren (Tymandos) cited by Ramsay (*Pauline Studies*, p. 184, *cf. Hist. Geog.*, p. 402; also Murray's *Asia Minor*, p. 147) as a survival from antiquity would be a parallel case, were there any evidence to connect the *ayasma* with the dedication to Hercules Restitutor (*C.I.L.*, iii, *Supp.* 6867) in the neighbouring village: but there is no such evidence, and *a priori* the coldness of the spring is against its dedication to Herakles (*cf.* Aristophanes, *Nubes*, 1051: *ποῦ ψυχρὰ δῆτα πώποτ' εἶδες Ἡράκλεια λουτρά*; and Athenaeus, xii, 6).

hot baths and mosques (as, *e.g.*, in two cases in the Kutahia district cited by Haji Khalfa)[1] does not necessarily imply a sacred site, since mosque, caravanserai, and bath are regarded as the first necessities at any frequented halting-place: but a mosque at a hot spring may also be regarded as a precaution against unorthodox superstition.

10. KAINARJA, BRUSA. An extremely interesting case of a cure which took place at these (sulphurous) baths is related by Lady Blunt.[2] It shows that superstition, unaided by religion, may go far towards establishing a cult with elaborate ritual. Lady Blunt tells her story as follows:

The patient, a woman crippled by rheumatism, incubated, armed with a petition to the *peris*,[3] by whom the bath was known to be haunted, for a whole night in the inner bath-chamber, which smells strongly of sulphur. Her account, *verbatim*, reads exactly like the text of an Epidaurian *stele* not yet edited by the priests. She first became unconscious; then, coming to herself, she felt 'invisible beings' (it was quite dark) chafing her limbs. Next a pail of cold water was thrown over her, and the shock and fright made her stand on her feet and walk a few steps towards the door, calling for help. The departure of the *peris*, marked by the banging of a door, was immediately followed by the arrival of her friends. In the morning the patient retained the use of her limbs, and in recognition of the cure a sheep was sacrificed, which, we may well imagine, was eaten by the *peris* concerned.

Here we have a well-developed ritual and effective

[1] Tr. Armain, p. 688.

[2] *People of Turkey*, by a Consul's Daughter [F. Blunt], ii, 226–9; the bath has long been considered miraculous: *cf.* J. Pardoe, *City of the Sultans*, ii, 58.

[3] For this rather uncommon method of communication *cf.* Carnoy and Nicolaides, *Folklore de Constantinople*, p. 160.

organization joined to a cult which has never reached the stage of religion. Obviously, the *peris* of Kainarja only need conversion to Islam and a *turbe* for their home to rank amongst the most orthodox pilgrimages. Obviously, too, no Christian precedent is needed for such a cult, though for all we know one may have existed at Kainarja before the Turkish conquest.

It is important to note here that the conception of the 'manifestation of the god' by natural hot springs, which is the usually accepted explanation of superstitious usages in connexion with them, is not a necessary factor in the development of this cult. Baths in general, owing doubtless to their dim atmosphere [1] and echoing vaults, together with the necessity of exposing the person during their use, are well known to be dangerous haunts of *peris* and *jinns*.[2] In spite of this somewhat sinister reputation a bath, like a spring, may become superstitiously associated with the name of a holy man,[3] like that of the Bektashi saint, Piri Dede, at Marsovan, associated by Christians with S. Barbara, in whose

[1] For a well infested by *jinns* see Hume Griffith, *Behind the Veil in Persia*, p. 166. Deriving from the same conception is the idea in Moslem eschatology that the souls of the just remain in the Well of Souls till the Day of Judgement.

[2] Palgrave, *Ulysses*, pp. 58 f.; [Blunt], *People of Turkey*, ii, 226; Lane, *Mod. Egyptians*, ii, 37; E. Sykes, *Persia and its People*, p. 331; Burton, *Arabian Nights*, v, 54; Carnoy and Nicolaides, *Trad. de l'Asie Mineure*, p. 111. Jewish women in Turkey propitiate the spirits of baths when nursing children (Danon in *Onzième Congrès d'Orientalistes*, Paris, 1897, Sect. vii, 264); the reason is probably that their breasts are exposed while bathing; *cf.* also on this point a story in Legrand's *Contes Populaires Grecs*, p. 48. Specific instances of haunted baths are cited by Palgrave (*loc. cit.*: at Trebizond); J. Nikolaos (*Ὀδησσός*, p. 245: at Varna); Evliya (*Travels*, ii, 13: at Brusa); and Polites (*Παραδόσεις*, no. 674: at Athens, where the *peris* are called Nereids); *cf.* also *Synaxaria*, Sep. 26. L. Einsler in *Z.D.P.V.*, x, 160–81, gives an excellent account of superstitions connected with baths.

[3] Schumacher in *P.E.F., Q.S.* for 1888, p. 151, gives a case where patients bathe in certain hot baths and then proceed to visit the tomb of a holy man in the neighbourhood.

legend a bath figures.[1] Similarly, the baths constructed by Mohammed II at the mosque of Eyyub have, on account of their position, acquired a reputation for curative powers.[2]

An exactly similar development in the case of mills may here be noted. Both water- and wind-mills are in Greece reputed the haunt of evil spirits (καλλικάντζαροι),[3] and no doubt the same is true of the other side of the Aegean. The next step is the conception of the mill-spirits as beneficent. Near Monastir Lady Blunt found a mill which was deliberately selected as a suitable spot for working magic cures in 'the seven weeks following Easter'.[4] Finally, in Asia Minor a water-mill is selected as a place of incubation on the ground that a saint named Haji Bekir performed the miracle for its owner and, consequently (or inconsequently), haunts the building.[5]

These notes on the two most important classes of 'natural' sanctuaries lead us to the conclusion that Turk and Christian are equally prone to mountain and spring cults, which are natural to almost any primitive religion on account of their close connexion with agriculture. When these cults are developed, anthropomorphism becomes more or less prominent, though,

[1] Above, chap. iv, no. 3. Similarly, the bath figuring in the legend of the Forty Martyrs is shown at Sivas (below, p. 393). Is the Mithraeum in the baths of Caracalla a classical parallel? The waters of Alexandria Troas owe their virtue to the protection of a 'santon' (Bussierre, *Lettres*, i, 189). *Cf.* also Kitchener in *P.E.F., Q.S.* for 1877, p. 121.

[2] Carnoy and Nicolaides, *Folklore de Constantinople*, p. 156.

[3] Polites, *Παραδόσεις*, nos. 624–6, 628–37, and note on no. 624 (p. 1341); *cf.* also nos. 848, 849, for the tradition that the invention or perfecting of windmills was due to devils.

[4] *People of Turkey*, ii, 236.

[5] Carnoy and Nicolaides, *Trad. de l'Asie Mineure*, pp. 210, 335. *Cf.* a sanctuary of S. Mamas in a cellar with a winepress mentioned by the same authors, p. 195.

owing to the 'popular' origin of Turkish saints, as opposed to the ecclesiastical canonization required for sainthood by the Christian Churches, it reaches a completer stage among the Turks than among the Christians. The Turk is quite at liberty to choose or even invent the patron of a mountain or spring and build his tomb, whereas the Christian's choice is restricted to the existing calendar, and, though he may bolster up the connexion between cult and saint by more or less probable legends, this rarely gets so far as to warrant a tomb.

As to the question of 'survivals' in mountain and spring cults, we have seen in some of the cases cited above that there is a tradition or even material evidence of previous Christian occupation. But the 'spiritual' inheritance is so impalpable that reasonable people will content themselves with saying that these cults, whether actually initiated by Moslem, Christian, or Pagan, belong to the same primitive phase of religious thought and are developed along similar lines. It is the phase of thought, and not every one, or even most, of its manifestations, which is the immortal element and the true survival.

X

GENERAL CONCLUSIONS

FROM our inquiry as a whole we have arrived at the conclusion that, while Islam in Turkey can be proved in many instances to have succeeded to a material inheritance from Christendom, a corresponding 'spiritual' inheritance is seldom proved and generally unprovable. In the few cases where it can be authenticated, the inherited sanctity seems due less to any vague awe attaching to particular localities than to the desire to continue the practical benefits, especially healing, derived from the cult of the dead.

A wider survey of the history of Moslem sanctuaries in Turkey would probably bring into further prominence the purely human conditions governing the vogue of important holy places. We may note here that these are generally towns,[1] whose sanctity consists ultimately in an accumulation of saints' tombs due to the long importance of the town in question as a centre of population. The continuance of their vogue as religious centres depends directly on the continuance of their population and is materially aided by the establishment in them of the religious orders and consequent organization. An isolated sanctuary, if on a frequented route, especially the great pilgrim road to Mecca, stands a greater chance of wide popularity than one remote from it: if the road becomes less populous, the sanctuary suffers with it. The decline of the *tekke* of Sidi Battal with the disuse of the pilgrim road is a case in point.[2] Of the converse an illustration is offered by

[1] Konia, Brusa, formerly Isnik, and probably Kirshehr, are instances.

[2] See below, p. 705. A good Christian parallel is S. Nicolas at Myra, which is no longer of religious importance, since the pilgrims, travelling

Musa Tekke, a healing sanctuary near Kachanik (on the Mitrovitza line in Serbian Macedonia). Here the immediate proximity of the sanctuary to the railway secures it offerings thrown from the windows of every passing train and a publicity which it could hardly hope for if it were in a more remote situation.

The popularity of country sanctuaries without these adventitious aids tends to be either strictly local (exceptionally, as in the case of the tomb of Ertoghrul at Sugut, national) or sectarian, corresponding respectively to tribal and religious divisions of the population. Of the sectarian type, the convent of Haji Bektash,[1] with its dependent villages inhabited by affiliated laymen, is a notable instance, recalling, but in no way dependent on, or surviving from, the ancient Anatolian religious polities.

'Natural' sanctuaries are of purely local religious importance, though curative springs, some of which fall into this category, attract for practical reasons a wider *clientèle*.

As to the larger question of the inheritance of religious tradition in Asia Minor irrespective of period, it must be admitted that the theory 'once a holy place, always a holy place' does not in fact hold good. It is truer in Syria,[2] where (1) the bulk of the population has always been of the same (Semitic) stock, and (2) many saints and sites of the Old Testament cycle and some others are venerated alike in Jewish, Christian, and Mohammedan tradition.

by steamer, have neither need to hug the Karamanian coast nor practical reasons for putting in there. [1] See below, pp. 502 ff.

[2] Compare, *e.g.*, the perpetuated holiness of such places as Jerusalem (city), Carmel and Sinai (mountains), and Hierapolis-Membij (spring); for the general question of 'survivals' of religious practice in Syria see S. I. Curtiss, *Prim. Semitic Relig., passim.* In Albania, which was converted but recently, and has largely kept its population unmixed, investigation would probably disclose similar phenomena: see above, p. 71, n. 2.

In Turkey and especially Asia Minor we should expect, and indeed find, more connexion of this kind between paganism and Christianity than between Christianity and Islam, since the coming of Islam coincided with a social cataclysm and a great displacement of population.

While it is always hard to demonstrate that an existing Moslem holy place does not inherit an ancient religious site or tradition, the burden of proof must rest with the other side. The holiest place for Moslems in Constantinople to-day, the mosque of Eyyub, had, so far as we know, no Christian predecessor.[1]

On the other hand, it is apparent that many sites of extraordinary sanctity both in ancient and in Christian times have at the present day lost all tradition of that sanctity. Ephesus, a place of the greatest religious importance during both periods, owes its remaining Christian sanctity to its proximity to Smyrna and the Greek coast-towns, and it seems never to have passed on its religious tradition to Islam. The existence of the fine mosque of Isa Bey, considered by Ramsay as proof that the city was a holy place for medieval Turks,[2] seems to me only to mark the fact that it was once an important centre of Turkish population. Any one of the still existing *turbes* at Ephesus might, indeed, under favourable conditions, especially endowment, organization, and permanent Moslem population, have become and remained a popular Mohammedan pilgrimage. Failing these advantages, they have fallen with the great mosque into neglect and ruin. The Asklepieion of Pergamon, under the administration of the ancients one of the most frequented healing shrines of the known world, has bequeathed to the town no religious tradition. Christian Pergamon, again, has inherited from

[1] Above, chap. vii, no. 3.

[2] In *Geog. Journ.* xx (1902), p. 274, see above, p. 19.

the Apocalyptic Church no special Christian sanctity,[1] and to Islam the town has no religious significance whatever. The temple at Olba, once the seat of hereditary priest-kings and of great local religious importance, shows traces of having been transformed into a church, but none of Mohammedan occupation.[2] At Athens the Erechtheum, which, if a comparatively recent building, at least inherited the most venerable traditions of the city, became a church under the Byzantines, but a dwelling-house under the Turks.

Of 'natural' sanctuaries two instances in particular, the Corycian cave in Cilicia and the 'Chimera' flame in Lycia, seem to afford striking confirmation of the thesis that there was much less 'survival' in the Christian-Moslem than in the Pagan-Christian transition period. At the Corycian cave, a naturally impressive place regarded with great religious awe in ancient times, a Christian church was built on the very site of the pagan temple. The nomad Turks who now inhabit the district use the cave itself as a stable for camels [3] and scout the idea of anything supernatural about it.[4] The 'Chimera' (*Yanar*) in Lycia, a natural flame issuing from the ground, was naturally connected in ancient times with Hephaestus ; [5] ruins of a Christian church were found near it.[6] But the mysterious flame is used by the prosaic modern inhabitants (nomads) for culinary purposes.[7]

[1] The 'grave of Antipas' now held sacred by local Christians (near the reputed church of S. John : see Lambakis, *Ἑπτὰ Ἀστέρες*, p. 284) is a recent discovery. In the thirties his tomb was in the mosque known as S. Sophia (C. B. Elliott, *Travels*, ii, 127).

[2] Bent in *J.H.S.* xii, 206 ff.

[3] Bent in *J.H.S.* xii, 212–14.

[4] Bent in *P.R.G.S.* 1890, p. 457.

[5] Pauly-Wissowa, *s.v. Hephaistion* (1).

[6] Petersen in von Luschan's *Lykien*, ii, 138 ff.

[7] Beaufort, *Karamania*, p. 46 ; Spratt and Forbes, *Lycia*, ii, 182. The flame, however, is so far superstitiously regarded that it is said not to cook stolen food, and its soot is good for sore eyes (Colnaghi in New-

The religious awe attaching to ancient places of worship thus dwindles or dies where it is not continuously reinforced by organization. It is human organization in the end which was responsible for the fame of all the widely reputed sanctuaries of antiquity. All owed their extended vogue either to the external organization of politics or commerce, or to the internal organization of an astute, or even learned, priestly caste dealing in cures, oracles, or mysteries. Both classes alike were dependent on facility of communication, again largely a human consideration, for the continuance of their prosperity.

The traditions of Moslem shrines are mortal likewise. The *tekke* of Sidi Battal, whether a Christian holy place by origin or not,[1] is doomed. It owes a precarious survival principally to its endowment and hereditary sheikhs,[2] who have preserved the continuity of its traditions despite the fall of the Bektashi order and the desertion of the pilgrims' road. But what proportion of Turkish *tekkes* can claim as much? For every dying cult like that of Sidi Ghazi one could point to a hundred dead: and new ones daily grow up to take their place and satisfy the religious needs of a varying population.[3]

In Europe, where Islam gives back, the stages are

ton, *Travels and Discoveries*, i, 345; *cf.* Cockerell, *Travels*, p. 170). The Greeks connect the mysterious flame with the Wandering Jew (Polites, *Παραδόσεις*, ii, 788), who is called *Κουτητής* in Lesbos (Georgeakis and Pineau, *Folk-Lore de Lesbos*, p. 345). The word occurs in Zotos's *Λεξικὸν τῶν Ἁγίων Πάντων* in the meaning merely of 'silly old fool'. For the Wandering Jew as a shepherd who offended Moses see Hanauer, *Folk-Lore of the Holy Land*, p. 42: for the story as a whole see G. Paris's *Légendes du Moyen Âge*, pp. 149–221.

[1] See below, pp. 705–10.

[2] Ouvré, *Un Mois en Phrygie*, p. 87; Radet, in *Arch. des Miss.* vi (1895), pp. 446–7.

[3] For a good instance see L. Ross's account of the discovery of a Moslem saint in 1845 at Larnaka in Cyprus (*Reisen nach Kos*, pp. 198 f.); also the extraordinary history of the canonization of an Egyptian

clear. The story of Hasan Baba,[1] the erstwhile saint of Tempe, is typical. Under the Crescent the intercessions of Hasan and the touch of his ancient weapons cured all human ills, and many halted at his *tekke*. Forty years ago (1882) Thessaly fell to Greece. A traveller passed through Tempe the year before the cession and found the *tekke* intact and the dervish guardian at his post, but on the point of departure. The arms of Hasan Baba had lost their virtue—' God has now withdrawn His strength from them '—and did mighty works no longer.[2] To-day nothing remains of the sanctuary save a minaret without a mosque, a *turbe* with plundered graves, and a few roofless walls. The withdrawal of the Moslem population from Thessaly due to the change of frontier has here been sufficient to blot out spiritually and materially a sanctuary of some local importance. The inference is that changes in political and social conditions, especially change of population, of which Asia Minor has seen so much, can and do obliterate the most ancient local religious traditions, and, consequently, that our pretensions to accuracy in delineating local religious history must largely depend on our knowledge of these changes. Without this knowledge, which we seldom or never have, the assumption too often made on the ground of some accidental similarity that one half-known cult has supplanted another is picturesque but unprofitable guesswork.

mummy at the Seven Towers of Constantinople in the early years of the eighteenth century (below, pp. 352–4).

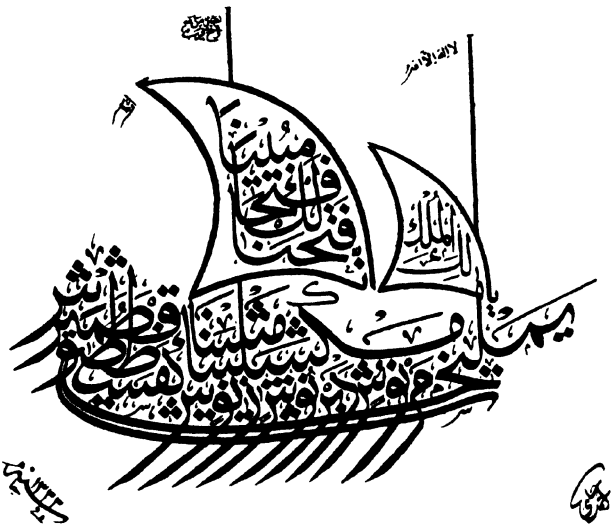
[1] For full references see below, p. 357, n. 1.

[2] V. Chirol, *Twixt Greek and Turk*, p. 116.

PART II

STUDIES IN TURKISH POPULAR HISTORY AND RELIGION [1]

[1] [Certain chapters are missing here, such as ' The Religions of Asia Minor ' (following chap. xi), ' Arab Saints and Turkish Ghazis ' (following the present chap. xxi); in others, sections only have been written. Thus, chap. xiii is all that remains of a projected treatment of the ' History of the Shia Faith in Asia Minor ', the scattered accounts of the Bektashi alone represent a chapter on ' The Mevlevi and the Bektashi ', in chap. xiv the sections on Mountain and Spring Cults are lacking, and chap. xxii ends abruptly.—M. M. H.]



THE SEVEN SLEEPERS

(*For a discussion of their legend see pages* 309–19.)

INTRODUCTION

THE results of this first collection, mainly from printed sources, of material relating to the popular religion of Turkey will come as a surprise to many. The field as such has been touched by few articles and fewer books, yet the stray references to local cults and legends contained in works of travel, reinforced in some cases by personal inquiries, eke out this meagre supply of information to such an extent that the outlines of the subject as a whole and even glimpses of the individual development of certain popular cults can be attempted. That the whole should be imperfect and incomplete is almost inevitable in all such first attempts to arrange and systematize scattered information : professed orientalists in particular will find much to censure and to correct. Yet I have preferred to run this risk rather than to omit an opportunity of stimulating students and travellers in the Near East to further research in a fruitful and to a large extent virgin field. Such a compilation as this, whatever its defects, may afford them at least a collection of data, possibly a quickened interest in rustic religious phenomena too often dismissed in default of background as mere isolated curiosities.

The interest of Turkish religious folk-lore as such is possibly small, since it is influenced to an overwhelming extent by Persian, Semitic, and even North African ideas. The purely Turkish element is difficult to recognize and probably small. It can be disentangled only when we are better informed as to the religious practice of the pre-Islamic Turks, including the still half-pagan 'Yuruk' Turks of Asia Minor and western Persia. Mecca, Jerusalem, Kerbela, to some extent also Con-

stantinople and Cairo, are exchanges and clearing-houses of the religious ideas of the Moslem world, and it is inevitable that they should affect by various agencies (notably returned pilgrims and vagrant holy men) the current of ideas even in the remotest villages of the Empire.

Yet the same is true to some extent of all religions but the most primitive, and for the history of religion in general no people's beliefs can be left out of sight. From the comparative point of view, and especially for the study of the religions of the ancient world in the area now occupied by the Turkish Empire, the interest of the subject seems to me considerable, as disclosing, not, as might be expected, picturesque 'survivals' from antiquity, but as bringing into prominence certain points which have been unconsciously kept in the background by the in some ways over-logical methods pursued by recent research.

Credulity and an almost entire lack of logic as regards religious matters are not peculiar to the Turkish peasant. Religious practice is not immutable, though it seems to develop within certain broad lines. Apparently primitive features may be in reality of recent origin, secondary phenomena may become primary. Secular magic may influence and pervert religious ritual, secular folk-lore figures may under propitious influences take their place among the saints.

Religious legend springs not only from allegory and actual religious history but from idle or interested gossip or from purely accidental occurrences such as the successful predictions of holy men and the dreams and fancies of laymen arbitrarily interpreted. Irreconcilable legends may circulate at the same time in the same place; it occurs only to a small class to unify the whole cycle of current legend, and this class, though not necessarily dishonest or interested, is still credulous and uncritical. Analogies in ritual and legend, however ap-

parently exact, seldom or never amount to proof of common origin, entirely different origins leading through various development to identical results. The two creative forces—the popular and the learned (which are often equivalent to the lay and the priestly)—have been at work in some form on religion as far back as we can see. In Turkey they can still be seen at work. It is this which gives to these Turkish studies a more than local interest.

XII[1]

HETERODOX TRIBES OF ASIA MINOR

§ 1. Introductory

PROFESSOR VON LUSCHAN, in his Huxley lecture on *Early Inhabitants of Asia Minor*,[2] has done much to bring order into our ideas of the still insufficiently known ethnological and religious divisions of that country. His studies are based mainly on his personal observations, and his point of view is for the most part that of a physical anthropologist. His predecessors in field work, dealing generally with narrower areas, have produced a great mass of literature, scattered or in some cases difficult of access, and no serious attempt has been made to approach the problems involved from the historical side. It therefore seems worth while at this stage to bring together the scattered material of explorers and collate with it such historical information as may be gleaned from printed sources, with the object of presenting in one view a summary of the facts at our disposal and the problems they suggest for the investigation of future explorers in the history, and particularly the religious history, of Anatolia.

European travellers in Asia Minor, mainly classical archaeologists and very seldom orientalists, are generally better acquainted with Christianity than with Islam. Consequently, the divisions of the Christians are more obvious to them than those of the Mohammedan populations. By most the latter are regarded as a single whole, and any divergence they may notice from orthodox Sunni practice suggests to them that the population

[1] In this chapter pp. 124–58 have already appeared in the *J. R. Anthr. Inst.* li (1921), pp. 310 ff.; pp. 159–66 in the *B.S.A.* xx, pp. 95 ff.

[2] *J. R. Anthr. Inst.* xli, 221 ff.

in question has been affected by Christianity, that is, that it represents an originally Christian population half-converted to Islam. This archaeologically attractive theory is especially dangerous in so far as it touches anthropological questions, since the supposed converted Christians are naturally assumed to be a pre-Turkish, and, in default of evidence to the contrary (which is never forthcoming), an aboriginal population.

The archaeologists, then, mainly on the evidence afforded by religion, hold that (1) the heterodox tribes are converted Christians, and they gladly accept the theory of the anthropologists, based mainly on craniology, that (2) the heterodox tribes are aboriginal. The orientalists, headed by Vambéry, deny both these statements, holding that the peoples concerned are mainly of Turkish blood and comparatively recent immigrants from western Persia or beyond.

As far as religion is concerned, the main purpose of the present essay is to emphasize the fact that, though crypto-Christians exist in Asia Minor,[1] many, if not most, of the unorthodox practices obtaining amongst tribes supposed to have been originally Christian, are in fact to be referred either (1) to the primitive stratum of religion, which survives in superstitious practice among Christians no less than Mohammedans, or (2) to the Shia branch of the Mohammedan faith, which, though orthodox in Persia, is to the Sunni Turks quite as much outside the pale as the Christianity of the Armenian is to the Greek or vice versa.

It is probable that many Turkish tribes, passing through northern Persia on their way westwards, first met with Islam in the Shia form, so that the Shia religion may be considered to some extent as the link between paganism and Sunni Mohammedanism. We can certainly point to a period during which a Shia, or at least a Persianizing, form of Islam was prevalent,

[1] See below, pp. 469 ff.

together with a culture derived almost exclusively from Persia, in central Asia Minor.[1]

Very considerable confusion has also arisen with regard to the heterodox tribes of Asia Minor owing to a vague and inaccurate use of tribal and other names. It has been more or less assumed that, whatever their original significance, the names Yuruk, Turkoman, Kizilbash, Takhtaji, Bektash, &c., are on the same footing and have ethnological significance. An examination of what has been written on the tribes in question leads to the conclusion that some of these names denote, not ethnological, but religious and other divisions. Thus, of the names cited above, Yuruk[2] in itself denotes no more than the nomadic life of the tribes so designated, while Turkoman is a tribal name wrongly used to cover a much larger division of the population. Takhtaji ('woodcutter') is essentially a caste-name, Kizilbash ('red-head') is a nickname for a widely distributed religious sect, while Bektash designates members of a religious organization within that sect.[3] So far from these categories being mutually exclusive, it would be possible for a single person to come under all of them.

§ 2. The Yuruks

The term Yuruk has long been recognized by ethnologists as of very wide and vague application: in itself, as we have said, it signifies no more than 'nomadic'. Dr. Tsakyroglous of Smyrna, whose profession has given him unusual opportunities for intimacy with the Yuruks of his *vilayet*, is the only writer who has dealt with the Anatolian Yuruks as a whole.[4] He enumerates no less

[1] See below, pp. 167 ff.

[2] Tk. *yurumek* = to walk. The word 'Yuruk' is first used, as far as I can discover, by Rycaut (*Hist. of the Turks*, ii, 138; *cf.* Pococke, *Descr. of the East*, II, ii, 108) of the nomads of the Troad.

[3] See below, pp. 159 ff.

[4] *Περὶ Γιουρούκων* (pp. 40), Athens, 1891. There is also a French

than eighty-eight tribes of them, varying greatly in size and importance and distributed over all parts of Asia Minor.[1] His list, however, does not profess to be complete, though, if we except the short list of tribes in the Aidin *vilayet* given by Vambéry,[2] it is the only attempt to collect Anatolian tribal names. As the pamphlet containing this list is inaccessible, the list is given in full below,[3] together with some tribal names collected by Langlois in Cilicia, and, for comparison, a list of Turkoman tribes given to Niebuhr by Patrick Russell of Aleppo, together with Burckhardt's list.

The Yuruk tribes (*ashiret*) bear for the most part personal names, presumably of ancestral chiefs, with or without the adjectival suffix *-li*. Examples are Durgut, Ahmedli, Gueuk Musali, Sheikhli. It is significant that the chief of the latter tribe bears the surname Sheikhli Baba Zade ('Son of Father Sheikhli'). Other tribes bear names apparently denoting their *habitat*, as Akdaghli ('of the White Mountain'), and Rumli, or characteristics as Kachar ('runners'), Tash-evli ('stone-house men'), Boïni Injeli ('slim-figured men'), Sari-Kechili ('men with yellow goats'). Traces of early divisions of originally united tribes are probably to be seen in the numerous tribal names running in pairs, such as Selge- and Keles-Kachar,[4] Kara- and Sari-Tek-

translation printed at Smyrna. [Another in German is said to exist in *Globus*, but I have failed to trace the reference.—M. M. H.]

[1] Tsakyroglous, *op. cit.*, pp. 13 ff. and 22: in view of theories regarding the origin of the Zebeks, I note on the latter page the name *Zeibekli:* the significance of the name seems to be somewhat similar to that of *Παλληκάρι* in Greek (*cf.* von Diest, *Reisen und Forschungen*, i, 27).

[2] *Das Türkenvolk*, p. 606 (the names which do not figure in Tsakyroglous's list are marked by an asterisk): Selge Kachar*, Keles Kachar, Kara Tekkeli, Sari Tekkeli, Sachi Karali, Eski Yuruk, Farsak, Kizil Kechili, Kara Kechili*, Khorgun, Burkhan, Yel Aldi, Karin Karali*, Karagachli*, Kirtish, Akdaghli, Narinjali, Jabar*, Tash Evli, Chepni.

[3] Pp. 475 ff.

[4] Vambéry, *op. cit.*, p. 606; but according to Tsakyroglous (p. 17)

keli, Kizil- and Kara-Kechili. Colour-epithets, such as *Kara* ('black'), *Ak* ('white'), *Kizil* ('red'), *Sari* ('yellow'), and *Gueuk* ('blue') are probably in all cases taken from the natural colour or distinctive markings of the flocks of two divisions of the same tribe; this seems clear from the occurrence of such names as Ak-koyunlu (*white sheep* tribe), Alaja-koyunlu (*spotted sheep* tribe), Kizil-kechili (*red goat* tribe), &c. Some of the Anatolian tribe-names occur also farther east, as Odemish in Merv[1] and Kengerlu in Transcaucasia.[2] From the Kachar tribe, which is still to be found in Transcaucasia, was descended the late dynasty of Persia.[3] Nadir Shah was of the Afshar tribe of Khorasan, with which the Anatolian Afshars claim kinship.[4] Of the Yuruk tribes in the Aidin *vilayet* enumerated by Vambéry, the Burkhan, Narinjali, and Kirtish still exist among the central Asian Turkomans. Bayandir is a subdivision of the Göklen tribe.[5] A very large proportion of the tribal names can be found also on the map of Asia Minor as village names, presumably denoting places where tribes or portions of tribes have settled. Examples are Baindir [Bayandir], Ushak, Odemish, Kenger, Durgutlu, and many others.

Though most of these tribes are pastoral, some are addicted to other callings: the Kachar and Farsak are camel-men, many of the Yuruks of Mount Ida are woodcutters, the Abdal, whom von Luschan identifies with the gypsies, a beggar caste.[6] Other tribes are distinguished by their skill in certain crafts, as the Turkmen, Harmandali, and Zili in carpet-weaving, and the Kenger of Adala (near Kula in Lydia) in massage.[7]

Kula Kachar, Keles Kachar, and Ova Kachar are subdivisions (*mahallas*) of the same tribe.

[1] Tsakyroglous, p. 21.

[2] Vambéry, p. 572.

[3] Vambéry, pp. 572, 577.

[4] Vambéry, p. 607.

[5] Vambéry, p. 394.

[6] Tsakyroglous, *op. cit.*, p. 19. Vambéry (p. 391) found a subdivision of a central Asian Turkoman tribe so named.

[7] Tsakyroglous, p. 21.

The head of the tribe is called *bey* or *sheikh*.[1] The tribe is subdivided into *kabilehs* ('clans') or *mahallas* ('quarters', 'wards'), the latter a word in common use as a division of a town among the settled populations. Divisions of the same tribe are found in widely separated districts in Asia Minor: evidence of such splitting up is to be found in the occurrence of certain tribal names all over the map. On the other hand, some tribes have a well defined area within which their settlements are thickly planted. Of this the Afshar tribe of the Taurus affords a notable instance.[2] Similarly, the original home of the Farsak tribe in Asia Minor seems to have been the mountainous region north-west of Selefke which bears their name.[3] But scattered units of both tribes, to judge by the evidence of the map, wandered far.

The languages current among the Yuruks are varied. They are mostly rough dialects of Turkish, among which those of Azerbeijan and Jaghatai have been recognized.[4] Dr. Chasseaud of Smyrna tells me he has found that Yuruks from different parts (presumably of the Aidin *vilayet*), even when they acknowledge kinship, are unable to understand each other. Tsakyroglous says, further, that some tribes speak Kurdish, *i. e.* probably, that some nomads are Kurds, and that the Abdal speak a language of their own.[5]

As to the religion of the Yuruks, on which subject they are extremely reticent, very varied accounts have been given. Humann speaks of them in western Asia Minor as entirely without religion.[6] Drs. Tsakyroglous

[1] Tsakyroglous, p. 17.

[2] Grothe, *Vorderasienexpedition*, ii, 135 and map. See also Ramsay, *Impressions of Turkey*, pp. 108 ff.; Tschihatscheff, *Reisen*, p. 14; Skene, *Anadol*, p. 184; van Lennep, *Travels in Asia Minor*, ii, 96.

[3] Haji Khalfa, tr. Armain, p. 665.

[4] Tsakyroglous, *op. cit.*, p. 23.

[5] Tsakyroglous, p. 26, where samples are given.

[6] *Verh. Ges. f. Erdkunde*, 1880, p. 248.

and Chasseaud, with their more intimate knowledge, concur in considering them (negatively) heretical. Some nomad tribes are certainly Shia,[1] while the Yuruks of Lycia are reported by Bent to be good Sunni Mohammedans.[2] These discrepant accounts are intelligible only when we realize that the Yuruks are not a homogeneous race, but a collection of tribes and sub-tribes which, originally pagan, have fallen to a greater or less degree under various missionary influences.

It is generally reported of Yuruks that circumcision is not usually practised among them, and that, when the operation is performed from motives of policy, they prefer that it should not be done by a Sunni in orthodox fashion. A similar prejudice is implied by the story quoted by Tsakyroglous [3] from the Turkish newspaper *Hakikat* to the effect that a Jew from the Dardanelles is habitually invited by the Yuruks of Mount Ida to perform for them some ritual act *at marriages*. This is probably a confusion, the same word (*duyun*) being commonly used by the Turks both for marriage and circumcision (properly *sunnet*).[4] Dr. Chasseaud tells me that, when he has operated on Yuruks, the feast was made several days after, and a *khoja* duly invited. It was then explained to the latter that the operation had been already performed, and his scruples silenced by a present of money. The object of this manœuvre is probably to ensure the proper disposal of the part amputated in order that it may not come into the

[1] C. B. Elliott, *Travels*, ii, 107 (Turkomans near Akhisar); Haji Khalfa, tr. Armain, p. 656 (Turkomans near Trebizond); *ibid.* p. 683 (*liva* of Bozuk = Kirshehr). The Afshars are Sunni (Karolides, *Τὰ Κόμανα*, p. 42) but do not veil women.

[2] *J. R. Anthr. Inst.* xx, 274; *cf.* von Luschan, *Lykien*, ii, 216.

[3] *Περὶ Γιουρούκων*, p. 33.

[4] So apparently in India the Persian word for marriage (*shadi*) is used for both ceremonies (Hastings, *Encycl. of Religion*, *s.v. Circumcision*, p. 678). For the performance of the operation by non-Mussulmans, see the same article, p. 677.

wrong hands.[1] Similarly, Dr. Chasseaud tells me both Yuruk women and Turkish midwives in towns are exceedingly scrupulous that the *placenta* should be properly disposed of.[2] Some Cappadocian Greeks hide the umbilical cord of new-born children in a chink in the wall of church or school, which ensures that the child grows up devout or learned.[3] It is natural to compare the similar superstitions about nail-parings and extracted teeth.[4]

[1] Hastings (*Encycl. of Religion*, *s.v. Circumcision*, p. 678) says 'the *exuviae* seem generally to be burned or buried, sometimes in a mosque'. At an imperial circumcision in 1582 the part amputated was presented in a golden box to the Queen Mother (de Vigenère, *Illustr. sur Chalcondile*, p. 271, in de Mezeray's *Hist. des Turcs*, ii). In the seventeenth century the Turks burnt it (Aaron Hill, *Ottoman Empire*, p. 47). Among Persians of the same date *aut gallinis edendum dabatur aut a feminis sterilibus spe progeniei consumebatur* (Raphael du Mans, *Estat de Perse*, ed. Schefer, p. 77). Byzantios in the middle of the last century writes: *Τὸ ἀποτμηθὲν μέρος θάπτεται ἢ φέρεται ὡς φυλακτήριον ἐπὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς ὑπὸ τοῦ νεοφωτίστου* (*Κωνσταντινούπολις*, iii, 485). Osman Bey states that the part amputated is presented to the parents on a plate, where they in return place the customary gifts (*Les Imans et les Derviches*, p. 121). The magic power of the part in question is thus proved: it might be used actively as a charm or merely put out of harm's way. The modern Turks in towns are said to be very careless in the matter, doubtless regarding the superstitions concerned as old wives' tales: hence possibly the scruples of the Yuruks, who are still punctilious in the matter.

[2] On the importance attached to the *placenta* in Egypt and elsewhere, see Seligman and Murray in *Man*, 1911, p. 168, and in *Ridgeway Essays*, p. 451. For Turkey, *cf.* Abbott, *Macedonian Folklore*, p. 123.

[3] Pharasopoulos, *Τὰ Σύλατα*, p. 41.

[4] Frazer (*Taboo and the Perils of the Soul*, pp. 267 ff.) shows that superstitious care in the disposal of nails and teeth is world-wide, the original idea being to prevent their malicious use by sorcerers. In Bosnia nail-parings are placed where contact with unclean things is not likely, in fountains, in the earth, or in a mosque (*Wiss. Mitth. Bosnien*, vii, 279). For the superstition in Asia Minor, see White, *Trans. Vict. Inst.* xxxix (1907), p. 159; de Bunsen, *Soul of a Turk*, p. 147; Aucher-Eloy, *Voyages*, p. 71 (hole in mosque wall at Angora used for extracted teeth and toothache so cured); in Macedonia, Abbott, *Macedonian*

When a Sunni preacher visits the Yuruk villages of Mount Ida during Ramazan, he is lodged in the best tent and royally entertained, but induced by a present of money to abstain from meddling with the Yuruks' ceremonies and from preaching and teaching.[1]

All this merely shows that the tribes in question are not Sunni. Little has been extracted from them as to the positive side of their religion. According to Dr. Chasseaud, the Yuruks have an initiation ceremony corresponding to circumcision at which he has himself been present, though he was unable to see what took place. Further, their holy places—called, as all over Turkey, *dedes*—are frequently trees or bushes, not remarkable to the outside observer, which they hang with rags; certain springs, also not outwardly remarkable, are held sacred. On two occasions Dr. Chasseaud, when in the company of Yuruks, was prevented by them from drawing water at such springs, though the *tabu* did not extend to the Yuruks themselves. A Yuruk mountain-cult with a festival on 15 August on the summit of Ida and vaguely connected with two giants (male and female), to whom small offerings of money are made, has come under my own observation.[2] These hints, so far as they go, point to a primitive animistic religion slightly touched with anthropomorphism.

The Lycian Yuruks (as opposed to the heretical Takhtaji) are regarded by both Bent [3] and von Luschan [4] as good Sunni Mohammedans: they have *khojas*, the Koran, and circumcision, say their five prayers, eschew pork and wine, and make pilgrimage to Mecca.

Folklore, p. 214; in Lesbos, Georgeakis and Pineau, *Folk-Lore de Lesbos*, p. 331.

[1] *Hakikat, ap.* Tsakyroglous, p. 33; *cf.* for Persian nomads Malcolm, *Hist. of Persia*, ii, 433.

[2] *Cf.* Leaf, in *Geog. Journ.* xl, 1912, p. 37. The date seems at first sight to be a link with Christianity, but see above, p. 100, n. 3.

[3] *J. R. Anthr. Inst.* xx, 274. [4] *Lykien*, ii, 216.

In villages they assimilate themselves to the settled population, though intermarriage is rare.[1] Sunni propaganda, as we have seen, exists among the Yuruks of Ida: it is said to have made great strides elsewhere, especially in the Konia *vilayet*.[2] The Yuruks of Lycia are probably of comparatively recent conversion.

Of the Shia heresy there is little or no trace except among the confessedly 'Kizilbash' tribes,[3] which we shall discuss at length;[4] we do not know whether Shia missionaries are at work among the pagan nomads. Nor are there among the Yuruks any positive traces of Christianity, though the idea is widely, if vaguely, current. The evidence we have points to the conclusion that, except where they have been affected by Shia or Sunni propaganda, the Yuruk tribes are 'primitive' in religion; further, that by race and speech they are largely Turkish, and may be regarded as still unsettled fragments of the nomad hordes which strayed into Asia Minor in the Middle Ages.

The Turks, before they left their home in Central Asia, worshipped the sky-god (Tañri)[5] and spirits of

[1] Von Luschan, *Lykien*, ii, 216.

[2] Tsakyroglous, *Περὶ Γιουρούκων*, p. 35.

[3] I here note the frequency of the name Haidar among Yuruks, perhaps a link with the Kizilbash. The Yuruks are said by the writer of the *Hakikat* article to drink wine, which is still negative evidence of Shiism, and to be visited yearly by an itinerant holy man (? from Syria), which is true of the Lycian Kizilbash and may be merely a confusion.

[4] Below, pp. 139 ff. Some include the Chepni in this category; see Oberhummer and Zimmerer, *Durch Syrien*, p. 393. Wilson, in *J.R.G.S.* 1884, 314, calls them Nosairi by religion. See also von Diest, *Reisen und Forschungen*, i, 27.

[5] On the word see Vambéry, *Prim. Cultur des Turko-Tatarischen Volkes*, pp. 240 ff. This seems to have been the current word for 'God' in Turkish till quite a late date, *cf.* Schiltberger, ed. Hakluyt, p. 74, ed. Penzel, p. 149; Leunclavius, *Pandectes*, § 177; Hammer-Hellert, *Hist. Emp. Ott.* iv, 64. It occurs frequently in the modern folk-tales collected by Kunos. [Among the Turkish-speaking Moslems of Macedonia it is still used as a synonym for *Allah*. M. M. H.]

earth and water; they had no priestly caste.[1] That ancestor-worship developed early is clear from the present comprehensive use of *dede* (lit. 'grandfather') to describe any holy place:[2] gaining ground, possibly because more or less permitted in Islam, it seems to have been fused with the original elements of their religion, and especially with the cult of 'high places', originally doubtless the places where the sky-god was worshipped, especially for rain.[3] We consequently find that mountains in Turkey frequently bear human names, which are, or are said to be, those of saints. When these saints' names are also those of tribes, it seems probable that they are regarded as the eponymous ancestors of the tribes concerned. In tribes still without a priestly caste the tribal chief is the natural person to invoke the sky-god on behalf of the tribe, and the eventual confusion between the sky-god who sends rain and the tribal chief whose prayers induce him to send it, is merely the confusion between deity and intercessor which is familiar enough in Christendom. The rain-maker-sheikh and the magician or dervish are hardly distinguishable, so that we are not surprised if Tur Hasan Veli,[4] the saint of the Hasan Dagh in Cappadocia, and his tribesmen are said in folk-tales to have been dervishes,[5] or if Ibn Batuta[6] says of Baba Saltuk,[7] the tribal saint of a group of Crimean Tatars, that he was

[1] Eliot, *Turkey in Europe*, p. 79. The latter is still true of the nomads. The first Turkish ruler to embrace Islam is said to have been Satok Bogra, Khan of Turkestan, died 1048 (Grenard in *Journ. Asiat.* xv, 1900, pp. 5 ff.).

[2] See below, p. 256. For *dede* with the meaning of *numen*, *cf.* Ramsay, *Pauline Studies*, p. 172.

[3] This custom is preserved among the Shia Turks (Kizilbash) of Pontus (White, in *Trans. Vict. Inst.* xxxix (1907), p. 154). They have also a festival at the summer solstice held on mountain tops.

[4] See below, p. 339.

[5] Carnoy and Nicolaides, *Trad. de l'Asie Mineure*, pp. 212 ff.

[6] Tr. Sanguinetti, ii, 416, 445.

[7] See below, p. 340.

'said to have been a diviner'. Haji Bektash himself, before the usurpation of his tomb by the Hurufi sect,[1] seems to have been no more than a tribal ancestor.[2] Many of the 'seven hundred dervishes' of his cycle, who came with him from Khorasan at the bidding of Khoja Ahmed of Yasi for the conversion of Rum,[3] must have been tribal heroes of the same kind.

This grouping round tribal leaders seems to be the basis of the early Turkish polity: the tribal tie was not always one of blood, since powerful tribes or leaders included under their own name less important allies. The tribe known from its leader as Osmanli was a political combination of this sort, and is said to have been composed of seven tribes, of which at least one (the Farsak[4]) still exists independently as a Yuruk tribe. A similar political grouping in recent times is that of the Shah Savand Kurds, which was formed artificially and purely for political reasons by Shah Abbas of Persia in the seventeenth century.[5] Such probably was the grouping of tribes round the Seljuk dynasty, which succeeded in attaining to a considerable degree of material civilization and political cohesion, dominating the greater part of Asia Minor.

When the central power became weakened, however, the combination disintegrated into smaller territorial units, resting probably on similar tribal groupings, which kept their names in some cases for many centuries.[6] The province of Tekke (Adalia) is a notable instance. Tekke or Tekkeli is a 'Yuruk' tribe in Asia

[1] See below, p. 160.

[2] See below, pp. 488–9 ff.

[3] Evliya, *Travels*, ii, 70 ff.

[4] Hammer-Hellert, *Hist. Emp. Ott.* i, 361.

[5] Bent, *Report Brit. Ass.*, 1889 (Newcastle), Sect. H, p. 3.

[6] Kizil Ahmedli (in Paphlagonia) and Mentesh (in Lycia) are probable examples. In 1564 the Venetian *Relazioni* (Alberi, ser. III, vol. ii, 19) mention as leading families in Asia Minor the Kizil Ahmedli (Paphlagonia), Diercanli (Sarukhan ?), Durcadurli (Zulkadr), and Ramadanli (Cilicia).

Minor to this day[1]—the name occurs also in central Asia —and the Tekke-oglu, descendants or reputed descendants of the tribal eponym, were still important *derebeys* in the Adalia district as late as the reforms of Mahmud II.[2]

Down to the reforms and centralization of the early nineteenth century the nomad tribes were allowed a great deal of liberty and were administered by their own *beys*,[3] only occasionally by strangers appointed from Constantinople.[4] They seem to have been turbulent and easily excited to rebellion. Their risings were often fomented by sheikhs, probably Persian emissaries sent over the frontier to embarrass the Sultan.

In the wooded mountains of Anatolia and in the steppe land of the central plateau, notably in the districts of Bozuk (Kirshehr) and Haimaneh, where the natural conditions—thin soil and lack of water—are against permanent settlement, the Yuruks have been able to maintain themselves in compact masses without abandoning their primitive social conditions: the mountaineers turn to wood-cutting and the men of the plains to herding. Various attempts have been made to break up their solidarity and wean them to settled life, the first by the importation of Kurds,[5] the second by the formation of town-centres. Many towns of the dis-

[1] Settled according to Tsakyroglous, *Περὶ Γιουρούκων*, p. 15, about Nazli in the Aidin *vilayet*: see below, p. 477.

[2] Cuinet, *Turquie d'Asie*, i, 860; W. Turner, *Tour in the Levant*, iii, 386; Beaufort, *Karamania*, pp. 118 ff.; Cockerell, *Travels*, p. 182.

[3] Leunclavius, *Pandectes*, § 61; a 'chief of the tribes', Durgut, is mentioned as a feudatory of the Karamanoglu dynasty in the time of Murad II (1421–51) by Hammer (*Hist. Emp. Ott.* ii, 288). The Yuruks of Rumeli in the eighteenth century supplied a contingent of 57,000 troops under their own leaders (Perry, *View of the Levant*, p. 48).

[4] A Circassian, Abaza Hasan, was appointed Voivode of the Anatolian Turkomans (see below, p. 138) in the seventeenth century (Hammer-Hellert, *op. cit.* x, 300). Abaza Hasan's palace at the modern Vizir Kupru is mentioned by Haji Khalfa, tr. Armain, p. 683.

[5] The Kurds of the Haimaneh district are Sunni (Cuinet, *Turquie d'Asie*, i, 253).

tricts mentioned seem to be of recent origin and artificial foundation. Ak Serai is a Seljuk foundation of 1171,[1] Nevshehr was founded by Damad Ibrahim in 1720,[2] and Yuzgat, the capital of the Chapanoglu, dates from the eighteenth century.[3] The two latter certainly are not spontaneous growths but artificial settlements.[4]

The more backward tribes are still nomadic in the restricted sense—that is, they have definite summer pasturages and fixed winter quarters, between which they alternate.[5] The winter quarters tend gradually to become fixed villages, and despite the mutual antipathies of 'Turk' and 'Yuruk', some tribes are said to be absorbed by towns.[6] But government pressure has not yet succeeded in weaning the Yuruks from their old life, and their conversion to Islam is also incomplete.

In view of all we have said, it would be surprising not to find among these heterogeneous tribes great diversity in physical type, as well as customs and religion, within the restrictions imposed on them by their manner of life, and future investigators will perhaps do best to consider the tribes known as 'Yuruk' more as separate units than has been done hitherto. Their apparent and obvious similarities, such as the absence of mosques, relatively high status of women,[7] and hospitality, are probably due to the habits of life shared by the whole group irrespective of race.

[1] It was founded by Kilij Arslan in 1171 (Le Strange, *E. Caliphate*, p. 149).

[2] Hammer-Hellert, *Hist. Emp. Ott.* xiv, 190. Damad Ibrahim was Vizir 1718–30 (Hammer-Hellert, *op. cit.* xiii, 336, xiv, 225).

[3] W. J. Hamilton, *Asia Minor*, i, 387, speaks of Yuzgat as being 'ninety years old'. There was another attempt in the fifties to settle nomad Kurds near Yuzgat (H. J. Ross, *Letters from the East*, p. 248).

[4] None of these towns is an important centre at the present day, and in antiquity the districts in question contained no towns of great note.

[5] *Cf.* the nomads of Adana, who winter there and summer at Caesarea (Langlois, *Cilicie*, p. 23). [6] Ramsay, *Impressions of Turkey*, p. 101.

[7] Women are not veiled even among Sunni tribes: this is categori-

§ 3. The Turkomans

The word Turkmen (Turkoman) seems properly applied to an important tribe of the Yuruk group. This tribe is widely distributed, being found in the districts of the Bithynian Olympus, Dineir, Konia, Sivas, and even Cyprus.[1] Dr. Chasseaud considers that the term denotes a markedly Mongolian type and is synonymous with Tatar.[2] The Turkmens with whom he is acquainted are herdsmen by calling, not rich, and frequently serving others.

This tallies with the account given by Burckhardt[3] of the Turkomans he knew. He divides them into five main tribes, namely, the 'Ryhanlu' with thirteen sub-tribes, the 'Jerid' with six sub-tribes, the 'Pehluvanlu', the 'Rishwans' with four sub-tribes, and the 'Karashukli'. Of these, the 'Karashukli' are a mixed tribe of Turkomans and Arabs, living near Bir on the Euphrates. The Pehlivanli are the most numerous, while both the Jerid and the Rishvans are more numerous than the Rihanli, who have 3,000 tents, each containing two to fifteen inmates, and muster 2,510 horsemen all told. The Pehlivanli and the Rihanli are tributary to the Chapanoglu, the Jerid to the governors of 'Badjazze' (Baias?) and Adana, between which they live. The Rishvans also are now tributary to the Chapanoglu, though formerly to the governor of Besna (Behesneh) near Aintab. The Pehlivanli drive sheep as far as Constantinople, and their camels form almost exclusively the caravans of Smyrna and the interior of Anatolia. The Rishvans are notorious liars. If Rihanli families

cally stated by Karolides of the Afshars (*Τὰ Κόμανα*, p. 42); the veiling of women is not an original Turkish usage.

[1] Tsakyroglous, *op. cit.* p. 11.

[2] So Tsakyroglous, p. 34, von Luschan, *J. R. Anthr. Inst.* xli, 227, and van Lennep, *Travels in Asia Minor*, i, 296.

[3] *Travels in Syria*, App. I, pp. 633 ff.

dislike their chief, they join another tribe. Some of the Pehlivanli have long been cultivators, but the Rihanli employ *fellahs* to cultivate for them.

The word Turkmen, however, has for long had a wider signification, exactly corresponding to the ordinary use of the word Yuruk, *i.e.* it denotes nomadic as opposed to settled Turks. It is found with this meaning as early as Cinnamus [1] and is still so used by the modern Turks.[2] In his correspondence with Bayezid, Tamerlane calls himself and his fellow Moguls 'Turks', and stigmatizes the Ottomans as 'Turkmans'.[3]

§ 4. The Kizilbash [4]

A. *General*

The word *Kizilbash* (lit. 'red-head') is said by all authorities to be of comparatively recent origin, dating only from the establishment of the Safavi dynasty of Persia by the Shah Ismail in 1499.[5] 'Kizilbash' was originally a nickname given to the new Shah's supporters on account of their having adopted as a distinguishing mark a red cap: the name continued in Persia to designate a kind of warrior-caste or order of knighthood.[6] The Persian change of dynasty brought with it a change in the official religion, since the preceding monarchs

[1] P. 121P: *cf.* Ducange's note *ad loc.*; Leunclavius, *Pandectes*, § 61; Ramsay, *Hist. Geog.*, p. 213, and *Cit. and Bish.*, p. 696.

[2] Tsakyroglous (*op. cit.*, p. 11) says that the words 'Turkmen', 'Yuruk,' 'Geuchebeh' (Tk. *geuch etmek* = to move house; *Koche* is the Turkoman word for *nomad* according to Vambéry, *op. cit.*, p. 385) are used by the Turks indiscriminately for nomads, except that the last implies a tribe on the move. Turks and Turkomans are distinguished by Haji Khalfa, tr. Armain, p. 690.

[3] Conder, *Turkey*, p. 11, n., a reference M. M. H. owes to Dr. Malcolm Burr.

[4] This section was written up by M. M. H.

[5] Hammer-Hellert, *Hist. Emp. Ott.* iv, 90 and iv, 94, n.; *cf.* Leunclavius, *Pandectes*, § 188; d'Herbelot, *Bibl. Orientale s.v. Haidar*; Knolles, *Turk. Hist.*, p. 316. See below, p. 169.

[6] P. della Valle, *Viaggi*, ii, 46–7.

had been of Turkish origin and Sunni, whereas Shah Ismail adhered to the Shia doctrines of his father. The name ' Kizilbash ', therefore, is associated from the first both with Persian nationality and Persian (Shia) religion, but has no ethnological significance whatever. In modern popular Turkish, owing to the long enmity between the two nations and the two religions, and to the suspicion and dislike with which the Turks regard the ' Kizilbash ' of their own country, the word is used merely to designate a person of loose morals.[1]

As regards Anatolia, ' Kizilbash ' is a contemptuous term used to denote the adherents of all sects of the Shia religion, including, *e. g.*, the Nosairi and Yezidi, irrespective of race or language: the corresponding inoffensive term, by which the Anatolian Kizilbash designate themselves, is Alevi (' worshippers of Ali '). Both terms include the Shia tribes of northern Asia Minor, who are said to be Iranian Turks [2] and speak Turkish, and the so-called ' Western Kurds ', whose speech is a distinct dialect (' Zaza ') of Kurdish or Turkish, and whose race is generally thought to contain a strong admixture of Armenian blood. This opinion, based not only on the physical characteristics of the tribes concerned but on tradition of various kinds, is of some importance as bearing on the question of the Christian element in the Kizilbash religion: we shall return to it later.

In the west of Asia Minor the ' Kizilbash ' are found only sporadically. In the Smyrna *vilayet* they are numerous in the *sanjak* of Tekke (Lycia), where they are called ' Takhtaji ',[3] and are reported by Tsakyroglous to inhabit certain valleys of the Hermus [4] and

[1] Similarly, *dervish* is used of a person lax in the performance of his religious duties or suspected of free thought.

[2] Vambéry, *Das Türkenvolk*, p. 607. [3] See below, p. 158.

[4] On the slopes of Mounts Tmolus and Sipylus and in the districts of Nymphi and Salikli.

Maeander,[1] where they are nomadic or semi-nomadic.[2] The Kizilbash of Kaz Dagh (probably Ida, which other considerations point out as a Kizilbash district) are mentioned by Cantimir,[3] and Oberhummer found Kizilbash villages in the neighbourhood of Afiun-Kara-Hisar,[4] which forms a link on the main highway between the eastern and western groups.

As to the eastern group of Kizilbash, they are known to inhabit certain parts of the *vilayet* of Angora,[5] and are admitted even by Turkish statistics to be numerous in those of Sivas (279,834),[6] Diarbekr (6,000),[7] and Kharput (182,580).[8] In the case of the Sivas *vilayet* the official figures represent them as exactly half as numerous as the Sunni Moslems, not only in the *vilayet* as a whole but in every *kaza* composing it. The inference is that they are in reality much more numerous than the government is willing to admit. Grenard, the only writer who has treated the eastern Kizilbash area as a connected whole, estimates the total number of the sect as upwards of a million.[9] Of these, he places

[1] At Denizli and Apa.

[2] *Περὶ Γιουρούκων*, p. 29.

[3] *Hist. Emp. Oth.* i, 179.

[4] *Durch Syrien*, p. 393.

[5] Crowfoot, in *J. R. Anthr. Inst.* xxx (1900), pp. 305–20; Perrot, *Souvenirs d'un Voyage*, p. 423; Cuinet, *Turquie d'Asie*, i, 253.

[6] Cuinet, *Turquie d'Asie*, i, 617; for further information on the Kizilbash of this *vilayet* see van Lennep, *Travels in Asia Minor*, i, 30 (*cf.* Jewett in *Amer. Miss. Her.* liv, 109 f., Nutting, *ibid.* lvi, 345, Livingston, *ibid.* lxi, 246, Winchester, *ibid.* lvii, 71; Prof. G. White (of Marsovan College), *Trans. Vict. Inst.* xl (1908), pp. 225–36, and *Contemp. Rev.* Nov. 1913, pp. 690 ff.). Jerphanion's *Carte du Yéchil Irmaq* is the first attempt to show the distribution of the Kizilbash villages.

[7] Cuinet, *op. cit.*, ii, 322.

[8] *Ibid.* ii, 412. Further information on the Kizilbash of Kurdistan is given by Taylor in *J.R.G.S.* 1865, pp. 28 ff., 1868, pp. 304 ff.; Richardson, in *Amer. Miss. Her.* lii, 296 f., Perkins, *ibid.* liii, 304 ff.; Wilson, in Murray's *Asia Minor*, pp. [63] and 276; Bent, *Report Brit. Ass.* 1889; Huntington in *Geog. Journ.* xx (1902), pp. 186 ff.; Molyneux-Seel in *Geog. Journ.* xliv (1914), pp. 51 ff.

[9] *Journ. Asiat.* 1904 (x[e] série, iii), p. 521.

365,000 in the *vilayet* of *Sivas* (*kazas* of Sivas, Divriji, Tonus, Yildizili, Hafik, Zile, Mejid Euzu, Haji Keui), 300,000 in that of Kharput, and 107,000 in that of Erzerum (*sanjak* of Erzinjian, especially *kazas* of Baiburt, Terjian, and part of Kighi). It is thus in the 'Armenian' *vilayets* that the 'Kizilbash' are strongest.

The great importance of Grenard's statistics consists in the fact that they clearly show the close geographical contact of the Kizilbash communities of western Kurdistan with those of eastern Anatolia. We may probably assume that the eastern Anatolian Kizilbash are similarly connected with the more scattered communities of western Anatolia.

The Kizilbash religion, if we make allowances for variation due to locality and to the natural intelligence, candour, and knowledge of different informants, is similarly homogeneous, though fluid; there are indications that the whole sect is linked together by its alliance with the Bektashi dervishes. Thus, in Cilicia the woodcutter caste has embraced a form of the Shia faith and would be reckoned by the Turks as Kizilbash: some have identified their religion with that of the Syrian Nosairi.[1] In the province of Tekke (Lycia) also the Kizilbash are generally known as Takhtaji ('woodcutters') on account of their employment, but, like the Kizilbash elsewhere, they call themselves Alevi [2] and are connected with the Bektashi order of dervishes,[3] whose local centre is at Elmali.

Side by side with the Lycian Takhtaji von Luschan found traces of what appeared to be a second heterodox sect, the Bektashi.[4] Similarly, Crowfoot, finding that the Kizilbash of the Halys district (*vilayet* of Angora)

[1] Tsakyroglous, *op. cit.*, p. 18; but this identity is denied by F Schaffer, *Cilicia* (*Petermanns Mitth., Ergänzungsheft* cxli, p. 27).

[2] On the Lycian Takhtaji see below, p. 158, n. 5.

[3] See below, p. 158.

[4] Von Luschan, *Lykien*, ii, 203, n.

hailed each other as ' Bektash ', suspected that this was the name of a local sect of Kizilbash.[1] The real explanation of the apparent second sect or subdivision lies in the close association of many Kizilbash with the Bektashi order of dervishes. Lycia has long been a field of Bektashi propaganda, and the Kizilbash villages of the Halys are not far from the central sanctuary of the Bektashi, near Kirshehr,[2] which contains the tomb of their titular founder, Haji Bektash, and is visited as a pilgrimage even by the distant Kizilbash Kurds.[3] The Bektashi-Kizilbash of Lycia are probably Kizilbash who have become affiliated as lay adherents (*muhib*) of the Bektashi order of dervishes. As to the ' Bektash ' of the Halys district, which are nearer the Bektashi centre, they may either be inhabitants of villages forming part of the endowments (*vakuf*) of the *tekke* of Haji Bektash, or, if (as I have suggested elsewhere) [4] ' Haji Bektash ' himself represents the original tribal-chief and medicine-man eponymous of a tribe Bektashli, they may be a portion of this tribe.

Kizilbash, in the Turkish sense at least, are to be reckoned the inhabitants of certain heterodox villages in the Hermus valley, regarding the population of which Ramsay gleaned the following details. Like the nomads, they do not conform to orthodox Mohammedan custom in the details of veiling women, polygamy, abstention from wine, and worship in mosques. They fast twelve days in spring, their women are called by Christian names, they have no aversion to Christian holy books, and are visited by an itinerant holy man called a Karabash[5] (Tk. ' black head '). It happens that, among the Yezidi

[1] *J. R. Anthr. Inst.* xxx (1900), p. 305; *cf.* Grothe, *Vorderasien-expedition*, ii, 148, n. 4. [2] See below, p. 502.

[3] Molyneux-Seel, *Geog. Journ.* xliv (1914), p. 66.

[4] *B.S.A.* xxi (1914–16), p. 89: *cf.* below, p. 341.

[5] Ramsay, *Pauline Studies*, pp. 180 f. and *Interm. of Races in Asia Minor*, p. 20.

of Syria (Jebel Siman),[1] there is a tribe possessing a kind of Levitical status and called Karabash.[2] The Yezidi religion is, of course, known to contain Christian elements, and the Yezidi view of Christianity and the Bible is somewhat similar to that of the Kizilbash. It would thus appear that the heterodox villages of the Hermus valley are connected with the Yezidi, which implies that they were converted or colonized from Syria. But it will be observed that the whole argument depends on the word 'Karabash', which is ambiguous, having been applied, till recently, to Christian monks and priests [3] (as wearing black caps) in general. It is safer to suppose for the present that the story is a garbled version of an annual visitation of Kizilbash villages, which are known to exist in this district,[4] by Bektashi sheikhs.

B. *Religion*

The following is a summary of the information at our disposal on the religion of the Kizilbash, compiled from several sources and referring chiefly to the Kizilbash of the Kurdish and Armenian *vilayets*.

(i) *Theology.*

God is one and omnipotent, without son or companion.[5]

Ali is God incarnate, identical with Christ, and will appear again.[6]

[1] This is a colony of their main settlement, grouped round the shrine of Sheikh Adi in the Mosul *vilayet*. For the Yezidi see Menzel in Grothe, *Vorderasienexpedition*, i, pp. lxxxix ff.

[2] Jerphanion, in *Mél. Fac. Or.* (Beyrut), ii, 376. The Yezidi itinerant preachers wear black turbans (Hume Griffith, *Behind the Veil in Persia*, p. 288).

[3] *Cf.* O. F. von Richter, *Wallfahrten*, p. 333; Fallmerayer, *Fragmente*, p. 125; also Schiltberger, *Reise*, ed. Penzel, p. 149, ed. Telfer, p. 74. Hammer mentions a Khalveti called Karabash (*Hist. Emp. Ott.* xviii, 97 (805)).

[4] Above, p. 140.

[5] Molyneux-Seel in *Geog. Journ.* xliv (1914), p. 65.

[6] Grenard in *Journ. Asiat.* 1904 (x[e] série, iii), pp. 514 ff.

Ali is identical with Christ and is the spirit of God. 'Ali is the best of men, excelling even Mohammed in goodness; if Ali had not existed, God could not have created the world, but Ali is emphatically not divine.' [1]

Ali is identical with Christ, but the Kizilbash call him Ali to deceive the Turks.[2]

The Kizilbash Trinity is perhaps Ali, Jesus, and Mohammed (Father, Son, and Holy Spirit respectively), but the intrusion of Mohammed, for whom they have no reverence, is to be suspected.[3]

Their prayers are directed chiefly to Allah, Ali, and Husain.[4]

The Devil is a person and is re-incarnated to oppose each incarnation of God: he is not worshipped.[5]

Intermediaries are the five archangels, twelve ministers of God, and forty prophets, including 'Selman'. The prophet Khidr is identified with S. Sergius.[6]

The twelve Imams are the twelve Apostles; Hasan and Husain are SS. Peter and Paul.[7]

The twelfth Imam is in hiding, and the Kizilbash await his coming.[8]

The great prophets are Jesus, Mohammed, Moses, Abraham, and Ali.[9]

The great prophets are Adam, Moses, David, and Jesus.[10]

The great prophets are Adam, Noah, Abraham, Moses, Christ, Mohammed, and Ali.[11]

Moses, David, Christ, and Ali are all incarnations of the same person.[12]

[1] M. Sykes, *Dar-ul-Islam*, pp. 121–2.
[2] Dunmore in *Amer. Miss. Her.* liii (1857), p. 219.
[3] Grenard, *op. cit.*, p. 515.
[4] Grothe, *Vorderasienexpedition*, ii, 153.
[5] Grenard, p. 516.
[6] *Ibid.*, p. 515, and (for the last part) Molyneux-Seel, p. 66.
[7] Molyneux-Seel, p. 66. [8] Sykes, p. 122. [9] *Ibid.*, p. 121.
[10] Ellsworth Huntington in *Geog. Journ.* xx (1902), p. 187.
[11] Molyneux-Seel, p. 65. [12] Von Luschan, *Lykien*, ii, 201.

Jesus is the greatest of the prophets.[1]

The Virgin is regarded as the Mother of God and much venerated.[2]

(ii) *Mythology.*

When the Mohammedans of Damascus killed Husain, the son of Ali, they cut off his head and carried it away. It was stolen from them by an Armenian priest, Akh Murtaza Keshish, who substituted for it the head of his eldest son, at the proposal of the latter. As the Turks discovered the fraud, the priest cut off the heads of all his seven sons and offered each in turn as the head of Husain. In the case of the last head he received a divine warning to smear it with the blood of Husain, and by this means deceived the 'Turks' and kept the holy relic for himself.[3]

He placed it in a special apartment, which he adorned with gold and silver and silk. His only daughter, entering that apartment one day, saw not the head of Husain but a plate of gold filled with honey. She tasted the honey and became with child. 'One day the girl complained of a cold, and on sneezing her father saw suddenly issue from her nose a bright flame, which changed at the same instant into the form of a child. Thus did Imam Bakir, son of Hussein, come into the world.'

'The fact that a descendant of Ali had been born immediately became known to the sorcerers of the Turks, who there-

[1] Huntington, p. 187. [2] Grenard, p. 515.

[3] Molyneux-Seel, p. 64. A variation is related by White from the Cappadocian Kizilbash country (*Contemp. Rev.*, Nov. 1913, p. 698) as follows: 'There is a story that when the great Ali was put to death by his enemies, his head by some chance was placed for safe keeping in the hands of a Christian priest. Afterwards the persecutors wanted it to gloat over it or abuse it, but the priest refused to deliver it up. On being pressed, he cut off the head of his eldest son and offered that instead, but it was refused. So he did with his second and other sons, to the number of seven. Then his wife asked her husband to cut off and offer her head. He did so, and this was accepted.'

upon sent people to search for the child and slay it. They came to the priest's house. At this time the young mother was engaged in washing the household linen, and, being told the reason of the visit of the Turks, hastily put her child into a copper cauldron which was on the fire and covered him with linen. The Turks knew by their magic arts that the child was in a house of copper, but unable to find any such house in the precincts of the priest's dwelling were baffled, and the child's life was saved. On account of this incident the child received the name of Bakir, which in Turkish means copper.' [1]

Ali as a child went to Khubyar and was put into a furnace for seven days as his enemies wished to kill him.[2]

(iii) *Hierarchy.*

The priests are called *Dede* : above them are bishops and patriarchs. Of the latter there are two, one of whom resides in a *tekke* at Khubyar, fifty-five kilometres north-east of Sivas. The patriarchs are descendants of Ali and infallible in doctrine.[3]

The religious head of the Kizilbash resides in the Dersim.[4]

Priests are called *Said* ; above them are bishops (*Murshid*) and archbishops (*Murshidun Murshidu*). *Saids* give religious instruction and receive tribute.[5]

The Kizilbash are visited once a year, but at no fixed time, by a *murshid*, who holds a service, recites the law, and gives definite readings and interpretations of the sacred books. If he pays a second visit in the year he holds no religious conversation.[6]

Priests are allowed to marry,[7] but celibates enjoy greater prestige.[8]

Once or twice a year every village is visited by a *dede*,

[1] Molyneux-Seel, p. 65. [2] Grenard, p. 518. [3] *Ibid.*
[4] Oberhummer and Zimmerer, *Durch Syrien*, p. 394.
[5] Molyneux-Seel, p. 64. [6] *Ibid.*, p. 66.
[7] *Cf.* the Takhtaji (below, p. 159).
[8] Prof. White, in *Trans. Vict. Inst.* xl (1908), p. 236.

a kind of communion takes place, as also preaching, prayers, and a religious dance in which both sexes participate.[1]

The hierarchy is composed of '*Deydees*' and '*Seyds*'; the latter are hereditary, the former apostolically consecrated.[2]

Peripatetic *dedes* are mentioned by Grothe.[3]

(iv) *Fasts and Feasts and Public Worship.*

The twelve days' fast and feast of Moharrem is observed.[4]

They fast twelve days for the twelve Imams and three days for Khidr.[5]

They fast before Khidr's feast (9 February) and at the Armenian Easter.[6]

'On the night of January 1st (O.S.)[7] they meet at the house of the Seïds for a ceremony resembling the Communion. After prayers the Seïd blesses the bread, which is called *Haqq loqmase*,[8] and distributes it to the communicants, who approach two by two. The blessed bread is not distributed to any person who may be declared by the inhabitants of his village to be unworthy. The communicants are called *Musseib*.'[9]

The Kizilbash have neither mosque nor church, but both sexes meet for prayer at the house of the *Said* on Fridays.[10]

They have a perverted mass: the priest chants prayers in honour of Christ, Moses, and David. Water is consecrated by the priest dipping a stick into it. There is a public confession of sins, which are punished by

[1] Prof. White, in *Trans. Vict. Inst.* xl (1908), p. 231.
[2] Taylor, in *J.R.G.S.* xxxviii (1868), p. 319.
[3] Grothe, ii, 155.
[4] Grenard, p. 514; Sykes, p. 122.
[5] Molyneux-Seel, p. 66.
[6] Grenard, p. 518.
[7] This is one of the days on which the Nosairi celebrate their communion, the others being Christmas, Epiphany, and the Persian New Year (*Nevruz*). For some notes on Nevruz see Goldziher in *Rev. Hist. Relig.* ii (1880), pp. 308–9.
[8] 'Morsel of the Just' (*i.e.* God).
[9] Molyneux-Seel, p. 66.
[10] *Ibid.*

fines: lights are put out while the congregation mourns its sins.[1] When they are re-lighted, the priest gives absolution,[2] and, having blessed bread and wine, gives a sop to the congregation. Morsels (*loqma*) of the flesh of a sacrificed lamb are given at the same time. Known evil livers are not admitted to the service.[3]

As to the consecrating of water the following is informing:

'All the Seids keep with them a certain stick and a leather bag, about the uses of which there is some mystery, and which are said to be employed in the performance of certain pagan rites. However, the Seids say that the stick is a portion of the rod of Moses, and the bag an imitation of that carried by St. John the Baptist.'[4]

(v) *Private Prayer.*

Private prayer is enjoined once a day. This prayer is secret, but contains reference to all the great prophets.[5]

They pray privately every morning.[6]

They never pray in private.[7]

They adore the sun rising and setting,[8] reverence fire. and sacrifice at the sources of rivers, in particular that of the Mezur.[9]

(vi) *Sacred Books.*

The Kizilbash have no sacred books, but recognize as

[1] *Cf.* Grothe, ii, 155. [2] *Cf.* the Lycian Takhtaji (below, p. 159).

[3] Grenard, p. 517. A 'sort of sacrament' is reported of the eastern Kizilbash by Huntington (*loc. cit.*, p. 188), a communion of bread and wine by White (*Contemp. Rev.*, Nov. 1913, p. 696).

[4] Molyneux-Seel, p. 66. [5] Sykes, p. 121.

[6] Molyneux-Seel, p. 66. [7] Huntington, p. 187.

[8] *Cf.* the similar custom of the Yezidi, mentioned by W. B. Heard in *J. R. Anthr. Inst.* xli (1911), p. 213.

[9] Taylor, *J.R.G.S.* xxxviii (1868), p. 320. A local legend connects the source of the Mezur with a shepherd saint of the same name, who is said to have disappeared there (Molyneux-Seel, *loc. cit.*, p. 60). It is probably a nature cult anthropomorphized.

inspired the Pentateuch, the New Testament, and the Koran.[1]

They admit the five collections of Traditions, but do not recognize Jews or fire-worshippers as 'People of the Book'.[2]

They have four holy books, which are the Gospels.[3]

They have two books, the *Bouyourouk*,[4] which contains selections from the Old Testament, and the *Yusef Kitab*,[5] which contains extracts from the New Testament.[6]

They have a book, which is only in the possession of the priesthood, but it does not seem to be a *corpus* of dogma.[7]

The Lycian Takhtaji claim to have a book.[8]

(vii) *Pilgrimage.*

The Kizilbash do not make pilgrimage to Mecca but to the Shia sanctuaries of Bagdad, Kufa, and Kerbela, and to certain Anatolian holy places, the most important being Haji Bektash (near Kirshehr), the centre of the Bektashi dervishes, and a reputed tomb of Hasan at Sivas.[9]

[1] Molyneux-Seel, p. 66. Van Lennep says vaguely that they read the Christian scriptures (*Travels in Asia Minor*, pp. 30 ff.).

[2] Sykes, p. 122. Mills records an attempt in 1841 to convert the Samaritans forcibly on the plea that they had no book. The Jews got them off on the plea that they accept the Pentateuch (*Three Months*, pp. 277 ff.).

[3] Huntington, p. 187. This author recognizes that the Kizilbash, when questioned as to their religion by Christians, colour their answers to make its analogies to Christianity closer. This seems to be an extreme case.

[4] ['Book of Commandments' from *buyurmak*=to command.—M. M. H.]

[5] ['Joseph's book.'—M. M. H.]

[6] Dunmore in *Amer. Miss. Her.* liii (1857), p. 220.

[7] Grothe, ii, 151, 154.

[8] Von Luschan, ii, 200.

[9] Molyneux-Seel, p. 66. This is presumably the tomb of the Holy Children (*Maksum Pak*), discovered in recent times in the town of Sivas. The Holy Children are not Hasan and Husain but the infant

(viii) *Marriage.*

The Kizilbash may marry three wives; divorce and temporary marriage are prohibited. An unfaithful wife may be killed.[1]

Divorce is prohibited. Armenians are accepted as *parrains* at marriages.[2]

Divorce is prohibited.[3]

Strictly the Kizilbash are only permitted to take one wife, but many have lapsed into polygamy. The peripatetic *dede* presides at marriages when possible.[4]

Prostitution of virgins to guests, and especially to itinerant *dedes*, is recorded, on the authority of a bigoted Sunni by Grothe.[5]

It is fairly apparent that the predominating element in the Kizilbash religion is Shia Mohammedanism, and the secondary Christian, the whole having a substratum of pagan animistic elements,[6] many of which might be found in slightly changed form among professedly orthodox Turks or oriental Christians. On the Shia side note the exalted position held by Ali, Hasan, and Husain, and the importance of their pilgrimages, as compared with the neglect of Mohammed and Mecca: note also the importance of the Imams and the Second Advent. The Christian elements, apart from the formal identification of Shia with Christian sacred figures, reduce themselves to the celebration of certain Armenian feasts, and the ritual of the 'perverted mass'. It should be noted that the 'ritual meal' is an idea by no means foreign to Islam,[7] the Semitic element being, as in Christianity, partly responsible. Nor must it be over-

sons of two of the Imams: the confusion in popular thought is natural (see below, pp. 511–2).

[1] Sykes, p. 121. [2] Grenard, pp. 518, 521. [3] Taylor, p. 319.

[4] Grothe, ii, 154. [5] *Vorderasienexpedition*, ii, 150.

[6] Grenard, *loc. cit.*, brings this out in detail.

[7] G. Jacob, in *Der Islam* (ii, 232), for 'Bektashi' communion.

looked that one of the prototypes of the Christian communion is found in Persian Mithraism.

As regards the hierarchy it seems clear that the parish priest, who is generally called *Said* by our authorities, is normally married, his office being hereditary, and he himself, as his name implies, a descendant of the Prophet and therefore of Ali. A celibate monk can, however, as in oriental Christianity, officiate, if in orders, as parish priest. The peripatetic 'bishop' or *murshid* [1] seems to be a (celibate?) dervish of the Bektashi order. On this point Tsakyroglous, speaking of the Kizilbash in general but probably more particularly of those in his own *vilayet* of Aidin, is very explicit. He says that the communities are visited yearly by Bektashi sheikhs, who confess, catechize, and instruct their flocks.[2] Professor White, speaking of Pontus, says that the Kizilbash villages there are organized in groups, each group having its *tekke* of dervishes.[3] The 'patriarchs', of whom one resides at Khubyar (the other is probably the 'Chelebi' of the Bektashi [4]) are again hereditary (the 'Chelebi' certainly), their descent being important. The doubling of the office reminds us of the Armenian and Greek churches.

Certain points in the Kizilbash system, mostly nega-

[1] The word is in general use amongst dervishes for a 'spiritual director'; every sheikh of a convent, for instance, is a *murshid* in relation to his pupils (*shagird*).

[2] *Περὶ Γιουρούκων*, p. 30: *Ἐκ τῆς μονῆς ταύτης* (*sc.* *τοῦ Χατζῆ Βεκτὰς*) *ἐξέρχονται ἐτησίως εἰς περιοδείαν Σεΐχαι ἐπισκεπτόμενοι τὰς κώμας καὶ τὰ χωρία ἔνθα ὑπάρχουσι κοινότητες τῶν Κιζὶλ-μπάς, ἐξομολογοῦσιν αὐτοὺς, κατήχουσι καὶ ποδηγετοῦσιν αὐτοὺς εἰς τὴν ὁδὸν τῆς ἀληθείας καὶ ἔχοντες συνάμα δικαστικὴν οὕτως εἰπεῖν δικαιοδοσίαν ἐξομαλύνουσι διηνέξεις καὶ διαφορὰς ὑφιστάμενας μεταξὺ τῶν κοινοτήτων. Οὗτοι ἐν τέλει λαμβάνουσιν παρ' αὐτῶν καὶ τὸ ἐτησίως ὡρισμένον δηνάριον.*

[3] *Trans. Vict. Inst.* xl (1908), p. 231.

[4] *Cf.* White, in *Contemp. Rev.*, Nov. 1913, p. 693. But Oberhummer speaks of a supreme religious head of the Kizilbash as resident in the Dersim (*op. cit.*, p. 394).

tive, sever them from, and form a stumbling-block to, their Sunni neighbours. Thus, they do not conform to Sunni practice in the matter of veiling women, the five prayers, circumcision, and other religious duties; they are said to eat pork and drink wine, to marry within the prohibited degrees, and to indulge in immoral orgies, men and women being assembled in a great room in which the lights are suddenly extinguished. This is evidently a prejudiced version of the 'perverted mass' ceremony described above. Impartial investigators have found that, while marriage between brother and sister is countenanced by the Takhtaji,[1] the Kizilbash are very strict about divorce and monogamy, and the grave charge of promiscuity, which has been much exploited by (chiefly ignorant) Sunni partisans and has earned for the Kizilbash the opprobrious nicknames of *Zerati* and *Mumsunderen* ('candle-extinguishers'[2]), is generally thought to be a calumny. The same charges of incest and promiscuity are brought against the Druses by Benjamin of Tudela in the twelfth century,[3] and the latter in modern times by the Arabs against the fire-worshippers[4] as by the 'Old' Turks against the Crypto-Jews of Salonica.[5] The truth seems to be that the

[1] Von Luschan, ii, 199.

[2] Rycaut, *Ottoman Empire* (1687), p. 65: *cf.* Niebuhr, *Reisebeschreibung*, iii, 125. On *zerati* see Gibb, *Ottoman Poetry*, i, 358.

[3] *Travels*, ed. Asher, pp. 61–2, ed. Wright, p. 80. For the same charge against the Nosairi of Syria see Niebuhr, *Voyage en Arabie*, ii, 361.

[4] Jerphanion in *Mél. Fac. Or.* ii, 405.

[5] *Mécheroutiette* (an organ of the Turkish Liberal party), 1914, p. 16. The same is alleged of the Russian Tatarinof sect (see A. Dumas, *Russie*): one of their number confessed this, but *under torture*. Early Christian heretics were accused by the orthodox of the same crime (Strack, *Blutaberglaube*, p. 71); pagans said the same of Christians (Kortholt, *De Calumniis Paganorum*). Thévenot records that the vagabond *Hhoüames* of Egypt practised promiscuity (*Voyages*, ii, 852), but any mixed gathering was liable to the suspicion: *cf.* the accounts of the Easter Fire ceremony at Jerusalem in d'Arvieux, *Mémoires*, ii,

Turks are extremely strict about the degrees of consanguinity,[1] and that some Kizilbash infringe their rules. As a matter of fact, as we have seen above, the marriage laws of the Dersim Kizilbash at least are in some respects much stricter than those of orthodox Islam. For the rest, Kizilbash laxity in the veiling of women and the fact that the sexes unite in an act of worship, of which no more is known than that it is unorthodox, are sufficient basis for a wholesale slander.[2]

A certain amount of official pressure is exerted to convert the Kizilbash to the orthodox faith of Islam. To them, as to the Yuruks of Ida, Sunni missionaries are sent to preach during the month of Ramazan, and mosques are occasionally built in their villages by government orders.[3] The Pontic Kizilbash, according to Professor White, are to some extent organized against government aggression. Some years ago, it is said, a rumour became current that the documents of the Kizilbash religious foundations (*vakuf*) were required at Constantinople : the leaders of the sect warned their communities to be ready to resist, and no steps were taken by the government.[4]

As regards the connexion between Christianity and the religion of the Kizilbash the latter claim that there is very little difference between the two faiths ; [5] they are certainly in their personal relations more sympathetic to Christians than to Sunni Mohammedans. An *agha* of Kizilbash Kurds was actually converted to

142 ; Fabri, *Evagat.* ii, 92 ; Maundrell, *Travels*, ed. Wright, p. 182. *Cf.* also what Lucius says of the festivals of martyrs in early times (*Anfänge des Heiligenk.*, pp. 319–23). In the case of Jerusalem there is also an idea that a child begotten in such circumstances and surroundings is particularly fortunate (Tobler, *Bethlehem*, pp. 75, 139 ; Tobler, *Golgatha*, p. 427).

[1] *Cf.* Le Bruyn, *Voyage*, i, 405.

[2] See also Hasluck, *Letters*, p. 16.

[3] White, in *Trans. Vict. Inst.* xl (1908), p. 228.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 235 : too much stress will not be laid on this story by those who know the country.

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 231.

Christianity by American missionaries in the fifties.[1] An obvious link between the two religions is the fact that both are regarded as inferiors, socially and politically, by the dominant Sunni religion. Further, we have found that the Kizilbash celebrate certain Armenian feasts and are thickest in the 'Armenian' *vilayets*. A number of traditions also connect the two. Thus, the Kurdish, and probably also the Anatolian, Kizilbash represent their Imam as born of the virgin daughter of an Armenian priest.[2] The Armenians on their side claim the Kizilbash Kurds as perverted co-religionists.[3] Other examples of traditions recording the conversion of Armenians *en bloc* to Islam are to be found in the cases (1) of a tribe classed as Turkoman and called Pehlivanli, settled between Sivas and Angora[4] (a 'Kizilbash' country, be it remarked), and (2) of the Mahalemi 'Kurds', who are said to have been converted 'two hundred years ago'.[5] According to Mrs.

[1] Dunmore in *Amer. Miss. Her.* liii (1857), pp. 219 f.

[2] Above, p. 146.

[3] Molyneux-Seel in *Geog. Journ.* xliv (1914), pp. 64–7 : *cf.* Huntington, *ibid.* xx (1902), p. 186.

[4] Niebuhr (who had it from Patrick Russell of Aleppo), *Voyage en Arabie*, ii, 341 : see below, pp. 479, 481.

[5] Sir Mark Sykes in *Geog. Journ.* xxx (1907), p. 387. Both these and the Pehlivanli (Niebuhr, *Voyage en Arabie*, ii, 341) are said to have turned Mussulman on account of the severity of Armenian fasts. The *motif* is a 'stock' one (*cf.* Pococke, *Descr. of the East*, ii, 133 ; G. Kammas, in *Μικρασ. Ἡμερολ.* 1915, p. 281), but the conversion may nevertheless be a fact : on the other hand, it may be merely a reflection on the character of the tribes in question, put into currency by rivals or enemies. The Maronite villages are said to convert regularly to Protestantism when oppressed by their priests : when this pressure has gained them their point, they as regularly revert to Catholicism (Mrs. Mackintosh, *Damascus*, p. 286). If it were as easy and safe to revert from Islam as from Protestantism, we should doubtless find fewer Moslems in Turkey at the present day : *cf.* the cases of the Presba villages (Bérard, *Macédoine*, p. 20), of the Karamuratadhes (Pouqueville, *Voyage dans la Grèce*, i, 259–61), and of the Vallahadhes (Bérard, *Macédoine*, p. 110 ; Wace and Thompson, *Nomads of the Balkans*, p. 29).

Scott-Stevenson the (Sunni) Afshars[1] of the Anti-Taurus claim Armenian descent,[2] which though probably false of the Afshars as a whole, may still be true of some sections of the tribe. Tschihatscheff's picture of Pharasa (a Greek village of the Anti-Taurus) in the fifties, ruled by Afshar chiefs and taking part with them in their forays against the Turks,[3] may show a phase in such a development.[4] As regards the Kizilbash, it is important to note that all traditions speak of them as converted Armenians, not Greeks.

It must not, however, be imagined that the question of the 'Kizilbash' religion is finally disposed of by classing it as Shia, since the Shia religion is sub-divided into numerous sects and heresies. Sir Charles Wilson compares the religion of the Anatolian Kizilbash, not with that of orthodox Persian Shias, but rather with that of the Nosairi of Syria.[5] Bent, speaking of the Takhtaji in particular, classes their religion with that of the Nosairi and Yezidi,[6] and von Luschan[7] and Oberhummer[8] are of the same opinion. It cannot be expected that the religion practised by these scattered

[1] For the Afshars see Grothe, *Vorderasienexpedition*, ii, 135 f.

[2] *Ride through Asia Minor*, p. 218. Others have called them renegade Greeks (Tsakyroglous, *Περὶ Γιουρούκων*, p. 13).

[3] Tschihatscheff's *Reisen*, ed. Kiepert, p. 14. We may compare the conditions noticed in the early years of the nineteenth century by Burckhardt in the Cilician plain (Barker, *Lares and Penates*, pp. 355 ff.). Here the Greek villages were subjected to Turkoman chiefs and had largely assimilated themselves to their protectors, from whom only details of headgear distinguished them. This gives an idea how rural populations may have been gradually converted to Islam.

[4] The recent ('fifty years ago,' *i.e.* about 1830) conversion of Burunguz, an Armenian village near Tomarza, in the district of Caesarea, noted by J. F. Skene (*Anadol*, p. 175), is worth putting on record in this connexion: both period and locality point to the Afshars as the 'missionaries' responsible for the change.

[5] *Geog. Journ.* vi (1884), p. 313.

[6] *J. R. Anthr. Inst.* xx (1890), p. 270.

[7] *Lykien*, ii, 202.

[8] *Durch Syrien*, p. 394.

and possibly heterogeneous communities is identical. But in the present vague state of our knowledge it would be worse than useless to attempt a more exact classification.

It is at least fairly clear that the Kizilbash religion from Mardin and Erzerum to Smyrna is identical in its main lines and an offshoot of Shia Islam containing considerable elements of Christianity, with an animistic basis, according to Grenard's information, and that the Bektashi, the only dervish order in Turkey openly professing the Shia faith, form a sort of hierarchy among a large proportion of the Kizilbash populations. The inherence of the Bektashi, whatever its origin, is explained by the fiction that the tribal saints of the various Kizilbash villages were ' brothers ', ' companions ', or ' disciples ' of Haji Bektash.[1]

Von Luschan has already established the important point [2] that the similarities of religion between the ' Kizilbash ' group (including ' Bektash ' and ' Takhtaji ') in Anatolia coincide with anthropological similarities which connect this group also with the North Syrian and North Mesopotamian heterodox sects (Yezidi, Nosairi, &c.), with the Armenians, with certain types of Anatolian Greek, and with the Hittites. The locality in which this anthropological type is most frequent is the mountainous ' bridge-land ' which lies between the fertile countries of Anatolia, Persia, Mesopotamia, and Syria. This ' bridge-land ' has never been civilized, though it has been penetrated at various times by missionaries, religious, political, and military: in particular, being the old border-land between Turkey and Persia, it was naturally the resort of Persian emissaries during the long wars of the two nations. The result of the presumed religious propaganda carried on from the side of Persia among still pagan nomads,

[1] See below, pp. 339–41.

[2] *J. R. Anthr. Inst.* xli (1911), pp. 241 f.

Kurdish and Turkish, possibly also among Armenian Christians,[1] is a patchwork of religious compromises, of which the outwardly predominating elements are Shia Islam and Armenian Christianity, among a people of marked physical homogeneity. A certain proportion of these peoples has migrated westwards, as probably in other directions, either from natural causes or under the pressure of the artificial transplantation, which was carried out in the sixteenth century by the Ottoman Government[2] as a means of breaking up the solidarity of border-tribes known to be Shia in religion and consequently in sympathy with Persia. The emigration process may have gone on for centuries, the emigrants from the mountainous 'bridge-land' sometimes amalgamating with the men of the plains under the influence of a prevalent civilization, sometimes keeping themselves aloof owing to religious or other differences. The 'bridge-land' type, when found in the west, may thus represent immigrations of widely different date, ranging from remote antiquity to comparatively modern times.

§ 5. The Takhtaji[3]

The Kizilbash of Lycia (the province of Tekke) are, as already stated,[4] numerous and generally known as Takhtaji (*woodcutters*) on account of their employment, but like the Kizilbash elsewhere they call themselves Alevi[5] and are connected with the Bektashi order of dervishes,[6] whose local centre is at Elmali. They are said to owe their conversion to Shia Islam to missionary sheikhs dispatched from Konia in the fourteenth cen-

[1] Or the conversion of the latter may be attributed to the persecution of already converted Kurds and Turks.

[2] *Cf.* Belon, *Observations de Plusieurs Singularitéz*, iii, cap. xii.

[3] This section has been put together by M. M. H.

[4] Above, p. 142.

[5] On the Lycian Takhtaji see Bent, *J. R. Anthr. Inst.* xx (1890), pp. 269–76; von Luschan, *Lykien*, ii, 198–213; Cuinet, *Turquie d'Asie*, i, 855.

[6] See above, p. 142.

tury.[1] This woodcutter caste of Takhtaji exists in Cilicia also, where it has embraced a form of the Shia faith and therefore would be reckoned Kizilbash by the Turks.

Although we have little exact information on the religion of the Lycian Takhtaji, what we have confirms the idea of their close religious connexion with the Kizilbash farther east. Thus, every Lycian Takhtaji tribe, however small, has a *Baba* or *Dede*, whose office is hereditary.[2] Again, confession and absolution ceremonies exist among them [3] as among the Kizilbash,[4] while Kizilbash and Takhtaji alike claim to have a sacred book.[5] Marriage between brother and sister is permitted to the Takhtaji [6] but not recorded of the Kizilbash.[7]

These indications are vague enough but sufficient to make authorities like Bent,[8] von Luschan,[9] and Oberhummer [10] class the religion of the Takhtaji with that of the Nosairi [11] and Yezidi. More cannot be said in the present state of our knowledge.

§ 6. The Bektashi [12]

The Bektashi sect is reputed to have been founded by Haji Bektash, who is represented as a fourteenth-century Anatolian saint, mainly famous as having consecrated the original corps of Janissaries,[13] but the latest

[1] Hammer-Hellert, *Hist. Emp. Ott.* iv, 91 (from the sixteenth century Turkish historian Jenabi).

[2] Von Luschan, *Lykien*, ii, 201 : *cf.* the Kizilbash, above, p. 147.

[3] *Ibid.* ii, 202. [4] Above, pp. 148–9. [5] Above, pp. 149–50.

[6] Von Luschan, *op. cit.* ii, 199. [7] *Cf.* above, p. 153.

[8] *J. R. Anthr. Inst.* xx (1890), p. 270. [9] *Lykien*, ii, 202.

[10] *Durch Syrien*, p. 394.

[11] Tsakyroglous similarly identified the religion of the Cilician Takhtaji with that of the Nosairi (*Περὶ Γιουρούκων*, p. 18), but F. Schaffer denied this identity (*Petermanns Mitth., Ergänzungsheft* cxli, p. 27).

[12] This section has been put together by M. M. H.

[13] See below, pp. 483 ff.

authorities are agreed that he is no more than a figure-head. The real founder of the Bektashi was a Persian mystic named Fadlullah, and the original name of the sect Hurufi. The traditional date—a very doubtful one—of Haji Bektash's death is 1337–8, whereas Fadlullah died in 1393–4, a martyr to his own gospel, at the hands of one of Timur's sons. Shortly after his death his disciples introduced the Hurufi doctrines to the inmates of the convent of Haji Bektash (near Kirshehr in Asia Minor) as the hidden learning of Haji Bektash himself, under the shelter of whose name the Hurufi henceforth disseminated their doctrines, which to orthodox Moslems are heretical and blasphemous.[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 recognized at the end of the sixteenth century. Henceforward the Bektashi became more and more suspected of heresy and disloyalty, till at last Mahmud 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

[1] Browne in *J. R. Asiat. Soc.* 1907, pp. 535 ff.; G. Jacob, *Bektaschijje*, p. 19; *cf.* Degrand, *Haute Albanie*, pp. 228 ff. for current legends on the subject of the encroachment of the Hurufi on the convent of Haji Bektash. The Bektashi deny that the Hurufi doctrines are an essential part of their system, but admit that many Hurufi disguised themselves as Bektashi and Mevlevi at the time of their persecution under Timur.

[2] Byzantios (*Κωνσταντινούπολις*, iii, 494) 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 their expansion to the tolerance shown them by Sultan Abdul Mejid (1839–61).

them, especially in Albania [1] and out of the way parts of Asia Minor (Cappadocia, Lycia, and Kurdistan).

In Albania the Bektashi are said to number as many as 80,000 adherents,[2] and Albanian dervishes are frequently found in convents outside their own country. A recent visitor reports that even at the central *tekke* of Haji Bektash in the heart of Asia Minor the majority of the dervishes are Albanian : [3] many of these would doubtless be qualifying themselves for the presidency of a *tekke* in their own country.

As to Asia Minor, our available evidence indicates that there the Bektashi establishments are grouped most thickly in the Kizilbash districts, but the nature of the connexion between them 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 Chelebi [4] of the Bektashi. Together with his rival, the Akhi Dede, the Chelebi lives at the central convent [5] of the order near Nevshehr in Cappadocia, where Haji Bektash lies buried.

The Akhi Dede, who is known also as Dede Baba, claims to be the spiritual or 'apostolic' successor of Haji Bektash. He resides in the convent of Haji Bektash and exercises authority over it and over one part of the Bektashi organization. The Albanian and Cretan Bektashi, for example, recognize 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 abbots are generally from Albania.

[1] For Bektashism in Albania see Leake, *N. Greece*, iv, 284 ; Degrand, *Haute Albanie*, pp. 230 ff. ; Durham, *Burden of the Balkans*, p. 207 ; Brailsford, *Macedonia*, pp. 243 ff.

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

[3] Prof. White, in *Contemporary Rev.*, Nov. 1913, p. 694.

[4] See below, pp. 162–3. [5] See below, pp. 502 ff.

The Chelebi (in 1914 Jemal Efendi) claims to be the actual descendant of Haji 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 Chelebi 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 Haji Bektash had no children, regard him as an impostor. They explain his alleged descent by an intermediate legend of his ancestor's miraculous birth from a woman fertilized by drinking the blood of Haji Bektash.[1] So recently as 1909, at the proclamation of the Turkish Constitution, the Chelebi 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 Kizilbash 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 *Sufi*, and regard their organization as lax and their doctrines as superstitious. The son of the sheikh of the *tekke* at Rumeli Hisar explained to me the difference between

[1] Cuinet, *Turquie d'Asie*, i, 342. The legend admitted by the celibate branch makes the woman the wife of a *khoja* and gives her name as Khatun Jikana. Another variant makes Haji Bektash a *nefes oglu* 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 Kizilbash Kurds of their Imam Bakir (see above, p. 146). For other examples see Grenard in *Journ. Asiat.* xv (1900), p. 11, and Skene, *Anadol*, p. 285.

[2] Crowfoot in *J. R. Anthr. Inst.* xxx, pp. 308, 312 (Haidar-es-Sultan and Hasan Dede). This is the rule also at the *tekke* of Sidi Battal (Ouvré, *Un Mois en Phrygie*, p. 94; Radet, *Arch. des Miss.* vi (1895), pp. 446–7).

them by saying that the Kizilbash 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 earliest mention of the *Chelebi* of the Bektashi seems to be in connexion with a rising of dervishes and Turkomans which began in 1526–7.[1] The district affected was that of Angora;[2] the leader of the rising, generally known as Kalenderoglu, is said by some authors to have borne the title of *Zelebi* [Chelebi], and all are agreed that he pretended to be a descendant of Haji Bektash. In view of the later connexion between the Bektashi and Janissaries, it is worth noting that on this occasion Janissaries seem to have had no scruples about marching against the Chelebi.

As regards theology, the Bektashi, as opposed to the Kizilbash, claim the sixth Imam (Jafer Sadik) as their patron, while the Kizilbash hold that their priesthood descends from the fifth (Mohammed 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 (*mujerred*).[3] The Kizilbash,

[1] Hammer-Hellert, *Hist. Emp. Ott.* v, 95; Leunclavius, *Annales*, 343P, *s.a.* 1526 and *Pandectes*, § 222; de Mezeray, *Hist. des Turcs*, i, 502.

[2] Four tribes are mentioned by name as having taken part in the rising, the Chichekli, Akje Koyunlu, Massdlu, and Bozoklu: there is a Chichek Dagh north of the convent of Haji Bektash, and Bozuk 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] As such the Bektashi dervishes have a special veneration for Balum Sultan, a reforming saint who lived some two generations after Haji Bektash and is buried in Pir-evi. Though Haji Bektash is regarded by them as having lived unmarried, Balum Sultan is considered as the

on the other hand, have a hereditary priesthood, and their sheikhs are consequently of necessity married (*mutehhil*).[1]

Now if, as there seems some reason to believe, the Bektashi represent an original tribal grouping under a chief with temporal and spiritual powers,[2] it is probable that the *Chelebi* represents the original hereditary chief of the tribe, who has been ousted by the superimposed celibate dervish organization, 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.

Professed dervishes, however, form only the hierarchy of the Bektashi organization. The rank and file are laymen (called *muhib* [3]=*friend*), who openly or secretly subscribe to Bektashi doctrines. All candidates for admission to the order must be believers in God and 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.[4]

peculiar patron of the celibate branch. It is interesting to find that a recent war-map marks a mountain in north Albania as *Tekke Balim Sultan*. In von Hahn's map (in *Alban. Studien*) seventy years earlier the mountain is marked simply *Balle*, which is the Albanian word for *peak* according to von Hahn. It would thus appear that the Bektashi have here foisted one of their own saints on another as they have done on Mount Tomor (see below, pp. 548 ff.) and elsewhere.

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

[2] *Cf.* above, p. 135.

[3] 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'.

[4] Fadil Bey Klissura, when aged twenty, informed me that his

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 often contains the grave of a saint of the order (generally the founder of the *tekke*), and always has a room (*meidan*, *ibadet hane*) 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 has been discussed elsewhere.[1]

Orthodox Sunni Moslems are scandalized not only by the Shia beliefs of the Bektashi, but also by their every-day 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 the *ibadet hane*, and with closed doors; both sexes take part in the worship. This gives rise to the scandalous suspicions usually entertained of secret religions.[2]

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

mother and aunts were Bektashis. His uncle joined late, but neither he nor his elder brother had so far joined.

[1] In *B.S.A.* xxi, 84–124 (reprinted with additions and corrections below, pp. 500 ff.).

[2] See above, p. 153.

ranges from pantheism to atheism. Its doctrine and ritual, so far as the latter is known, have numerous points of contact with Shia Mohammedanism,[1] of which it is confessedly an offshoot, and with Christianity[2], 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 Mussulmans and non-Mussulmans, and members of non-Mussulman 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 Antonaki Varsamis, 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 importance.[3] The subject is treated in detail below.[4]

[1] *e. g.* they avowedly place Ali before Mohammed. For their doctrines see Naim Bey Frasheri's *Bektashi Pages*, below, pp. 552 ff.

[2] Jacob has set out the points of contact in *Bektaschijje*, pp. 29 ff. On the use of this relationship by the Bektashi see cap. xliv.

[3] MacFarlane, *Turkey and its Destiny*, i, 496 f. : the same person, evidently, is mentioned in Lady Blunt's *People of Turkey*, ii, 278. In our own day, on the authority of the learned Sami Bey Frasheri, an Albanian from a Bektashi district, Monseigneur Petit writes (*Confréries Musulmanes*, p. 17) that in each Albanian convent are found some dervishes who are really Christian still, but are admitted to Bektashi membership. [Our personal investigations, conducted independently among the Albanian *tekkes*, discovered exaggerations in Mgr. Petit's information. M. M. H.]

[4] Pp. 564 ff.

XIII

SHIA MOVEMENTS AND PROPAGANDA IN ASIA MINOR

THE two main periods when Asia Minor was affected by Shia ideas are (1) that of the Seljuk empire of Rum, and (2) that of the Safavi dynasty of Persia. During the former, Persian philosophic and mystic ideas became, so to speak, acclimatized, penetrating from the court of Konia downwards; during the latter, definitely Shia doctrines were propagated in many country districts of Asia Minor, by missionaries half religious, half political, the effect of whose work, as we shall see, persists down to our own day.

During the first period Konia[1] is of course the distributing centre. Especially during the reign of Ala-ed-din I (1219–1236) it was a focus of Persian ideas and of a culture wholly derived from Persia, and the repair of numerous philosophers and holy men from Bokhara, Khorasan, and Persia, who were driven by Mongol pressure from their homes. Best known of these are Jelal-ed-din Rumi, the mystic poet of Bokhara, and his friend and master in philosophy, Shems-ed-din of Tabriz. Jelal-ed-din, the founder of the Mevlevi dervish order, which has exercised, and to some extent exercises to-day, considerable religious and even political influence in the district, was especially favoured by Ala-ed-din. The Mevlevi order was never openly accused of the Shia heresy, and has been throughout its history politically loyal and morally untainted by the excesses which have brought other dervish orders into disrepute, but its liberal and philosophic principles render its members suspect to strait-laced Sunni Mohammedans. In the same way the neighbouring Mohammedan

[1] See more fully below, p. 370.

princes looked askance on the Persian culture of the sultans of Konia.[1]

Of direct propaganda by the holy men who made Konia their centre we have little trace. One significant passage quoted by von Hammer from Jenabi tells us that in the districts of Tekke (Adalia) and Diarbekr, which were later (and still are) strongholds of the Shia movement, the inhabitants were devoted to the Persian sheikhs and doctrine, the former having been spared from the fury of Timur by the intercession of the sheikh Sadr-ed-din of Konia.[2] If this refers to the celebrated sheikh of that name who died in 1274,[3] the connexion with Timur is chronologically impossible. It is much more likely that the Shia faith, which is particularly adapted for missionary propaganda among simple folk, was preached in those districts already under the Seljuks by sheikhs from Konia. The populations subjected to Shia influences are represented by the modern Takhtaji of Lycia and the Alevi Kurds of Diarbekr *vilayet*. Similarly in the north, Sunusa, a fanatical Shia town near Amasia, is mentioned already by Mustawfi (1340).[4]

The Shia propaganda of the second period is closely connected with the history of Persia. Uzun Hasan, the last ruler of the (Turkish) White-Sheep dynasty of Persia, married his daughter to Haidar, son of Juneid,

[1] 'Dans le voisinage, on se demandait si les Seljoukides n'étaient pas devenus païens, mages ou guèbres, et Noureddin Zenghi, prince d'Alep, un musulman convaincu, exigea que Kylydj Arslan II [1192–1204] renouvelât, entre les mains de son ambassadeur, la profession de foi de l'Islamisme, parce qu'il ne le croyait pas un vrai fidèle' (Huart, *Konia*, pp. 214 f.)

[2] Hammer-Hellert, *Hist. Emp. Ott.* iv, 91, from Jenabi (sixteenth century). Similarly, Sheikh Baba saved Egerdir from Timur (*ibid.* ii, 118).

[3] Huart, *Konia*, pp. 170 f.: this Sadr-ed-din was a close friend of Jelal-ed-din. But Malcolm (*Hist. of Persia*, i, 321) refers the incident to Sadr-ed-din, the ancestor of Shah Ismail.

[4] Le Strange, *E. Caliphate*, p. 146.

a distinguished sheikh from Erdebil. Of the marriage was born Ismail, the future founder of the Safavi dynasty of Persia. Haidar's family claimed descent from Ali, and Haidar himself was the founder of the Haidari sect, to which the majority of Persian Shias belong. He is also credited with the invention of the red cap or 'crown' (*taj*) with twelve folds, commemorating the twelve Imams, which eventually became the badge of Ismail's followers [1] and gained for the Shia sect in general the nickname of 'Kizilbash'.[2] Haidar of Erdebil was killed in battle (1488). Ismail, his only surviving son, succeeded, after a struggle, to the throne of Persia.

Even under the Turkish dynasty the Persians and the Turks had been enemies, and Ismail followed the policy of his predecessor. The followers of the Persian sheikhs in the Turkish provinces of Tekke and Diarbekr had helped to put him on the throne and were still true to their faith. Ismail made use of them to embarrass the Sultan in his own country. His emissaries were a certain Hasan Chelife (Khalife) [3] and another, in some accounts the son of Hasan, who passed under the names of Karabeyik, Tekkeli, Shahkuli ('slave of the Shah'), and, in derisive parody, Sheitankuli ('slave of Satan'). Hasan and Shahkuli took up their abode in the district of Tekke and for six or seven years lived in caves as hermits, acquiring a great reputation for sanctity: the pious Bayezid II is said to have sent Hasan a yearly pension. The political part of the propaganda matured in 1509.[4]

The adherents of Shahkuli, who seems to have been

[1] *Testa rossa* (*red cap*) = Persian, *verde* = Usbek, *bianca* = Turk, *nera* = Georgian, according to Hammer-Hallert, *Hist. Emp. Ott.* iv, 94, who says the different races in the Turkish Empire were thus nicknamed from their head-dress.

[2] *i.e. red head.* See especially d'Herbelot, *s.v. Haidar* (above, p. 139).

[3] Hasan Khalife is the name of a Bektashi leader of the Janissaries in 1632 (Assad Effendi, *Destr. des Janissaires*, p. 342).

[4] *i.e.* after the disastrous earthquake which occurred in that year at

more of a fighter than Hasan, mustered at a place called Tascia, and, marching on Adalia, took it by surprise on a Sunday during the yearly fair. They then advanced on Konia, receiving a reinforcement of Persian cavalry and adding to their adherents on the way. Before Konia they were again victorious, but, having no guns, could not venture an assault on a walled city. They then marched north-west, defeated the viceroy of Anatolia on the Sangarius, took Kutahia by assault, and retired eastwards. An engagement followed near Angora, in which Hasan was killed, as was the Turkish general. The rebels seem to have had the worst of the fight and retired, some crossing the Halys and making off to Tekke, whither they were pursued by the Imperial troops, while others, after some fighting on the way, escaped into Persia.[1] The partisans of the rebels and their doctrines were transported from Asia to the Peloponnese, Macedonia, and Epirus.[2] The heretics of Tekke are said to have been planted in the recent Turkish conquests of Koron and Modon.[3]

The topographical details of this campaign are hard to follow, owing to (1) the historians' ignorance of the

Constantinople and which the Turks considered ominous (Leunclavius, *Annales*, 335 P., *s.a.* 1509).

[1] For accounts of this campaign (1509–11) see Hammer-Hellert, *Hist. Emp. Ott.* iv, 90 ff.; Giovio, 'Fatti Illustri di Selim,' in *Cose de Turchi*; Spandugino in Sansovino, *Origine de' Turchi*, p. 136; Knolles, *Turk. Hist.*, pp. 316–24; *Historia Politica, ap.* Crusius, *Turco-Graecia*, p. 34; Leunclavius, *Annales*, 335 P., *s.a.* 1509; *ibid.*, *Pandectes*, § 179 ff.; Cantimir, *Hist. Emp. Oth.*, pp. 134 ff.

[2] Knolles, *op. cit.*, p. 324: remnants of this transplantation may survive in the obscure people called Erghne in the Rhodope mountains, who are said by Baker (*Turkey in Europe*, p. 382) to have become Mohammedan (Sunni?) about a hundred years ago. The reproach brought against them of having wives in common and holding great assemblies several times in the year, both sexes together, is the regular charge made against the Kizilbash by the Sunni: *cf.* above, p. 153. For transportations of populations in general see Hasluck, *Letters*, p. 166.

[3] Hammer-Hellert, iv, 93.

localities in default of maps, (2) the mutilation of names in the Italian (probably Venetian) sources, and (3) the nature of the rebellion. The propaganda seems to have infected a wide area[1] and the rebels evidently scattered to their homes, various bodies of troops being detached to follow them. Everything points to Tekke as the focus. Giovio's 'Sassi Rossi', the place of Hasan's retirement, is evidently the modern Kizil Kaya ['Red Rock'] district north of Adalia.[2] The 'city of Tascia at the foot of Monte Nero' seems to represent the modern Kash Kasaba, near which is still a village named Kara Dagh, while Elmali, the other chief town of the district, is also mentioned. The site of the battle by Angora, 'near Mount Olyga' (Giovio) is placed by one account[3] in the plain of Chibuk Ovasi, the scene of the victories of Cn. Manlius over the Gauls and of Timur over Bayezid I. A *turbe* shown in the Kizilbash village of Hasan Dede near Denek Maden may be the historical resting-place of the Shia leader.

After the battle of Angora, Hammer seems to confuse two series of operations, one against the rebels remaining in the province of Tekke, centring round Shahkuli's old haunt of Kizil Kaya, and another against the main body retiring from the neighbourhood of Angora via Sivas, Caesarea, and the province of Zulkadr to Persia. This confusion comes direct from Giovio, who describes the operations near Kizil Kaya as having taken place not far from Celenis (Celaenae) and Maras (Marash), the seat of Aladolo (Ala-ed-Devlet), prince of Zulkadr. The name of Celaenae (Dineir) can be ignored as based merely on the similarity between the names of the town Marash and the (ancient) river

[1] See below, p. 173, n. 8.

[2] Kizil Kaya was a *kadilik* in the seventeenth century (Haji Khalfa, p. 697), and till recently a *nahiyeh*.

[3] Leunclavius, *Annales*, 336 p., *s.a.* 1509. Leunclavius is based on the Turkish historian Jemali (*c.* 1550).

Marsyas near Celaenae.[1] The Turkish historians Ali and Saadeddin [2] confuse with the battle near Angora an engagement which they place at Sarimsaklik or on the Gueuk-chai, and they mention Caesarea on the eastward retreat of the rebels. Sarimsaklik is in all probability the village of that name north of Caesarea and the Gueuk-chai the upper waters (not of the Calycadnus, as Hammer, but) of the Sihun. Leaving aside the operations in Tekke, we have thus a consistent line of march from Angora via Sivas, Sarimsaklik, and the Gueuk-chai to Marash, the capital of Zulkadr.

We have at least established that the districts devoted to the Persian sheikhs in the Seljuk period—Tekke and Zulkadr—were still in the early sixteenth century Shia. The only town in the north mentioned as a centre of Persian propaganda at this time is Beybazar near Angora.[3] It is probable that many other districts were infected at the same time with the Shia heresy, and that these districts were inhabited by nomad Turkomans. For later, in spite of the measures taken to break up the solidarity of the nomad tribes and remove the heterodox element, we find the same combination of Persian sheikhs and Turkoman nomads giving constant trouble to the government, especially in the frontier provinces. Thus, the principality of Zulkadr, founded in 1378 in the Antitaurus about Albistan and Marash, and later including a wide extent of country between the Ottoman empire and the Persian dominions, intrigued alternately with either power till its final absorption in the Ottoman empire under Selim I in

[1] Giovio's *Cose de Turchi* (or the Venetian reports on which it is based) seems to have been the basis of the fictitious travels in Asia Minor of Leonardo da Vinci. [2] Hammer-Hellert, iv, 113.

[3] Cantimir, p. 134. The 'Historia Politica' (in Crusius, *Turco-Graecia*), p. 34, mentions as followers of Shahkuli the inhabitants of Karamania in general, the Farsak (*Βαρσάκιδες*), a tribe settled in the Taurus (see p. 129 above), and the Zulkadr (*Τουρκατήρλιδες*).

1515, after a successful war with Persia : [1] the same monarch reduced the Cilician principate of the Ramazanoglu (Ich-ili) on the Syrian frontier.[2]

It is to the reduction of Zulkadr, according to Sir Charles Wilson,[3] that the settlement of Shia Turks in western Asia Minor must be referred. We have seen that certain districts were Shia before this date, but that such a transplantation did take place is shown by the fact that the once important derebeys of Boghaz-Keui descend from Ala-ed-Devlet of Zulkadr and still administer the revenues of the *turbe* of Shahruf, son of Ala-ed-Devlet, at Gemerek.[4] To about the same date, when Kurdistan was reorganized as a Turkish province,[5] are to be referred the Kurdish colonies in western Asia Minor. Their westernmost districts are the Haimaneh, an imperial estate [6] west and south of Angora, and the Bozuk district (capital Kirshehr) south-east of it.[7] The Kurds in this *vilayet* are Sunni.[8] Bozuk was known later as a Shia district.

The process of transplantation is a regular policy devised to break up the strong tribal ties of the turbulent nomad populations; the mixture both of races and religions in the newly settled districts is probably intentional. But the districts of Cilicia (Ich-ili) and Zulkadr remained turbulent and tribal till

[1] Hammer-Hellert, iii, 253 ff.; iv, 213. Zulkadr included at one time Caesarea (*ibid.* iii, 255) and Kirshehr (*ibid.* iv, 29).

[2] *Ibid.* iv, 213.

[3] Crowfoot in *J. R. Anthr. Inst.* xxx (1900), p. 319 : *cf.* Vambéry, *Das Türkenvolk*, p. 607.

[4] Wilson, in Murray's *Asia Minor*, p. 20 : *cf.* Warkworth, *Diary*, p. 21.

[5] Hammer-Hellert, iv, 253.

[6] Haji Khalfa, tr. Armain, p. 704 : *cf.* the modern railway station Beylik Akhor ('imperial stud farm').

[7] Wilson, in Murray's *Asia Minor*, p. [63].

[8] Cuinet, *Turquie d'Asie*, i, 253. But Wilson (*J.R.G.S.*, 1884, p. 313) speaks of the Haimaneh Kurds as partly Shia by religion, and Tsakyroglous suspects it of others in the *vilayet* of Aidin (*Περὶ Γιουρούκων*, p. 32).

much later, and seem to have had their racial differences and political grievances accentuated, evidently at the instance of Persia, by religious emissaries. Thus, in 1526, the Turkomans of Ich-ili revolted, ostensibly on economic grounds, led by a certain Suklun Shah Veli, evidently by his name a saint or dervish. At the same time there was a rebellion in the Adana district headed by a Persian, Veli Khalife. In 1528 a reputed descendant of Haji Bektash, called Kalenderoglu, headed a revolt in the province of Zulkadr, enlisting thousands of dervishes, and was eventually defeated near Albistan.[1] Whether his namesake in the seventeenth century was a similar sectary we do not know.[2]

Despite the heavy hand with which such rebellions were put down, and in particular the barbarous attempt to exterminate the Shias by the fanatical Selim,[3] we find that even in the latter half of the sixteenth century Venetian reports recognize the prevalence of Shiism in Asia Minor as a whole and its political import. 'Many provinces of the Ottoman empire', says Barbaro in 1573, 'recognize themselves as of the same faith as the Persians, though their inhabitants keep their opinions to themselves for fear of the Turks: the latter again dare not openly prosecute them for fear of a rebellion.'[4] In the seventeenth century Haji Khalfa (1648) notes as specially heretic districts the neighbourhood of Trebizond, where there were Shia Turkomans, and the *liva* of Bozuk. The latter is of course the Cappadocian Kizilbash district of our own day.

[1] For references see above, p. 163, n. 1.

[2] He is said to have been in Persian pay and to have retreated, after the failure of his rebellion, to Persia (*Ambassade de Gontaut-Biron*, pp. 15, 24 f., 231).

[3] Hammer-Hellert, iv, 173 ff. and 425: forty thousand Shias in Europe and Asia were massacred on this occasion.

[4] *Relazione*, quoted by Zinkeisen, *Geschichte*, iii, 567; *cf.* Alberi's *Relazioni degli Ambasciatori Veneti*, III, vol. iii, p. 201 (1562); vol. iii, p. 406 (1594).

XIV

NATURAL CULTS

§ 1. Tree Cults

THE simplest form of tree cult results from the conception of a tree as the abode of a spirit. Certain trees are thus conceived of to-day by the primitive and half pagan nomads of Asia Minor,[1] who bind their illnesses with knots of rag to the sacred branches, as long ago by the pre-Islamic Semites at Mecca itself.[2]

The primitive conception of the haunted tree survives also among much more developed communities. Some of these trees are held to be haunted by dangerous spirits, which must be placated, others by beneficent demons capable of exerting a healing power. An example of a tree possessed with a dangerous spirit is recorded by Mrs. Walker from Mytilene. An ancient cypress near the town was regarded with considerable reverence and none dared cut it. Two hardy souls had ventured to do so. One lopped off a bough, ostensibly for building a church, and afterwards used the wood for his own house: he was pursued by ill-luck for the rest of his life.[3] The other, whose subsequent history is not recorded, was horrified to find that the tree bled when cut.[4] Haunted trees of this description are recorded also from free Greece.[5] Modern instances of

[1] See above, p. 132.

[2] Robertson-Smith, *Religion of the Semites*, p. 169; *cf.* Goldziher in *Rev. Hist. Relig.* ii (1880), p. 319; Ouseley, *Travels*, i, 369.

[3] *Cf.* Georgeakis and Pineau, *Folk-Lore de Lesbos*, p. 349.

[4] Walker, *Old Tracks*, pp. 193 f. Mrs. Bishop (*Journeys in Persia*, i, 309) mentions a similar bleeding tree.

[5] *Cf.* Polites, *Παραδόσεις*, nos. 322–6 and note on pp. 916–18. For a circumstantial account of a haunted tree near Messene see Polites in *Λαογραφία*, i, 658. The late Mr. Archie Charnaud told me in 1916 that a tree which obstructed one of the newly planned streets at Brusa was

tree spirits which are so far gods as to be credited with powers of healing can be cited from Balukisr and the Dardanelles. The former cures boils by sympathetic magic, an onion, obviously representing the affliction, being nailed to the tree.[1] The latter tree was hung with small coins by the sick, irrespective of religion.[2] These cults belong strictly to folk-lore : both the trees in question stand in cemeteries and doubtless owe some of their importance to the fact.

The ' secular ' sacred tree passes by easy transitions into the sphere of popular religion. A tree already venerated may be connected by a tradition with a saint. In this case legend generally represents the tree as the staff of the holy man miraculously endowed with life.[3] In one case his hut becomes a tree.[4] The custom of planting trees, especially cypresses, on graves, and the superstitions connected with such trees,[5] have led to the assumption that a tree possessing magical virtue, or even a well-grown tree, marks the grave of a saint : this

allowed, after solemn deliberation on the part of the authorities, to retain its position because it ' bled ' at the first attempt to cut it down. For the superstition in France see Sébillot, *Folk-Lore de France*, iii, 430. For bleeding trees in general see Frazer, *Magic Art* (1911), ii, 18, 20, 33.

[1] F. W. Hasluck, *Cyzicus*, p. 208.

[2] Hobhouse, *Albania*, ii, 804 : ' In a pleasant shady green near the burying-ground, I remember to have remarked a low stunted tree, enclosed within a wall, the boughs of which were hung round with little shreds or bags of cloth and cotton, enclosing each a single para. On inquiry, it appeared that the tree was considered sacred to some demon, the inflictor of diseases ; that the appendages were either votive offerings, or charms by which the malady was transferred from the patient to the shrub ; and that Turks, Jews, Armenians, and Greeks alike resorted to this magical remedy.'

[3] Degrand, *Haute Albanie*, p. 244 (Zem Zem Baba at Kruya) : *cf.* on the Christian side the staff of S. Polycarp at Smyrna (F. W. H. : see below, p. 417). In Polites, *Παραδόσεις*, no. 327, we have a secular counterpart to this : the venerated tree is held to represent a spit with which a man was murdered.

[4] Degrand, *Haute Albanie*, p. 243.

[5] Below, p. 226–7.

is of course especially the case with cypresses.[1] Often, doubtless, the grave of a saint has been built on this assumption beside a remarkable tree,[2] and after a certain lapse of time it is obviously impossible to say with certainty whether the tree developed the grave or vice versa.

Della Valle's account of Moslem veneration for a gigantic cypress at Passa [3] is so interesting as to be worth quoting in full. Five men, he says, could scarcely embrace it.

'Sa grandeur est un témoignage de son antiquité, et un motif de la dévotion que les Mahométans lui portent. Il découle une certaine humeur, qui est une espèce de gomme d'un petit tronc d'une de ses basses branches, que les Perses, et sur-tout les ignorans, regardent comme un sang miraculeux, qui coule tous les vendredis, qui est leur jour saint et sacré. Et dans un grand trou, capable de contenir deux personnes, qui est au milieu du tronc, ils ont coûtume d'y allumer des chandelles, comme dans un lieu auguste et vénérable, suivant leur coûtume, qui leur fait avoir de la vénération pour tous les grands et anciens arbres, croians que ce soit la retraite des ames bienheureuses, et que pour cette considération ils nomment *Pir*, qui signifie en Persan un vieillard, ou *Sceich* en Arabe ; c'est à dire, plus ancien ; ou bien encor *Iman*, qui veut dire Prêtre ou Pontife, parce que ce sont les noms ordinaires qu'ils donnent à ceux de leur secte qui sont morts dans une fausse opinion de sainteté. C'est pourquoi quand ils disent, qu'un tel arbre ou un tel lieu est *Pir* ; ils veulent dire que l'ame de quelque *Pir*, c'est à dire, d'un bienheureux, y fait sa demeure et s'y plaît.' [4]

[1] The supposed graves of S. Barbara at Nicomedia (Lucas, *Voyage dans la Grèce*, i, 52 ; de la Mottraye, *Travels*, i, 214) and of S. Athanasius at Triglia (Herges in *Bessarione*, v, 15) are probable instances on the Christian side, as is the bark of a tree of S. Paul in the same district (P. G. Makris, Τὸ Κατιρλί, p. 47).

[2] *Cf.* the case of Sheikh Abu Zeitun in Syria (Tyrwhitt Drake in *P.E.F., Q.S.* for 1872, p. 179 : *cf.* Conder, *ibid., Q.S.* for 1877, p. 101), where a dream and a fine olive tree started the cult of the saint ; *cf.* Goldziher, in *Rev. Hist. Relig.* ii (1880), p. 316.

[3] The ancient Pasargadae. [4] P. della Valle, *Voyages*, v, 355 f.

Other trees are reverenced ostensibly for their supposed connexion with historical events. Typical of these is the 'Fortunate Plane Tree' of Apollonia Pontica, which, according to von Hammer, enjoyed considerable veneration among the Turks on the ground that Murad I stood under it when he received the news of the fall of the city (1372).[1] Another plane, which stood till recently at Brusa, was held to be bound up with the luck of the Turkish empire, having been planted as such in the court of Orkhan's palace by the dervish Geyikli Baba.[2] In both cases we are justified in considering the explanatory story as of later origin than the veneration of the trees in question; the practice of planting commemorative trees, especially planes, at the birth of a child [3] has helped to gain acceptance for the aetiological legends which were devised in the first place, probably, to explain the consideration in which the planes in question were held. We shall probably be safe in assuming that saints' tombs in juxtaposition with venerated plane-trees like those at Kos [4] and at Yanobasa [5] in Bulgaria are to be classed as cenotaphs, since the plane is naturally associated with birth [6] and happy events rather than with death.

Such worship of trees comes easy to Orientals who regard nature as alive and a tree as a living creature. Thus, 'le feu *Sultan Osman* vit vn iour vn arbre qui luy sembla auoir la forme de l'vn de leurs *Deruis*, ou Religieux: & sur ceste imagination, il luy assigna vne *aspre* de paye tous les iours par aumosne, & choisit vn homme pour receuoir l'*aspre*, qui a le soin de l'arroser, & de le

[1] Hammer-Hellert, *Hist. Emp. Ott.*, i, 239.

[2] *Ibid.* i, 155. The plane planted by Mohammed II at Eyyub cures fevers (Carnoy and Nicolaides, *Folklore de Constantinople*, p. 157).

[3] R. Walsh, *Constantinople*, i, 350; Andréossi, *Constantinople*, p. 360.

[4] Wittman, *Travels*, p. 114; Sonnini, *Voyage*, i, 249.

[5] Kanitz, *Bulgarie*, p. 261.

[6] A cypress for a tomb, a plane for a birth (Andréossi, *loc. cit.*).

cultiuer pour son argent.' [1] Osman here did not differentiate tree spirit from tree, except in the sense that we differentiate the soul of a man from his body. Nor did Xerxes, who 'found . . . a plane tree so beautiful that he presented it with golden ornaments and put it under the care of one of his Immortals '.[2]

§ 2. Stone Cults [3]

Introductory

The veneration of stones seems to have been world-wide at an early stage in religious development, and has left traces everywhere in the magical and folk-lore practices of civilized peoples. Over the Semitic area stone worship, as such, survived later and more generally than among peoples more prone to anthropomorphism; and Islam, so far from being able to displace it, tacitly sanctioned it by allowing the reverence paid already by pagan Arabs to the Black Stone of the Kaaba to be perpetuated on the rather far-fetched hypothesis that the angel Gabriel had brought it to Mecca.[4] Christianity, somewhat in the same way, has permitted or encouraged the paying of reverence to stones associated by tradition with saintly personages, the Stone of Unction at Jerusalem being a typical example. In both the great religions of the Near East the arbitrary association of certain stones with sacred persons and events has

[1] Des Hayes, *Voiage*, p. 265.

[2] Herod. vii, 31; *cf* also iv, 91 ('the fountains of the Tearus afford the best and most beautiful water of all rivers: they were visited . . . by the best and most beautiful of men, Darius'). The beating of the Hellespont by Xerxes will also be recollected (see Reinach, *Rev. Arch.* 1905, pp. 1 ff.), as will the incident of the sea marriage (Reinach, *Cultes, Mythes, et Religions*, ii, 206). See also Hasluck, *Letters*, p. 69.

[3] [An early draft of this section appeared in the *B.S.A.* xxi, pp. 62–83: the writing up of my husband's new material is my work.—M. M. H.]

[4] Burckhardt, *Arabia*, i, 297; *cf.* Burton, *Pilgrimage to El-Medinah and Meccah*, London, 1855–6, iii, 158 n., 176 n. (ii, 300 n., 312 n. in the 1906 edition); *cf.* also Ray's *Voyages*, ii, 163.

been allowed to replace or mask the more primitive idea of worshipping stones as fetishes with independent power. Side by side with cults so masked by orthodoxy exist others of a purely secular sort, not necessarily more ancient chronologically, though more openly primitive in spirit, as magic and witchcraft are more primitive than religion.

The present paper is an attempt to bring together, from what may be called roughly the Greco-Turkish area, some instances of stones venerated independently of religion and often indiscriminately by Christians and Mohammedans in common, and of others brought to a greater or less degree within the pale of Islam or of Christianity: those of the second category, it will be noted, have frequently a more or less exact prototype, which to some extent sanctions their veneration, in the important holy places of the religion concerned. Whether from contamination, *i.e.* from the interaction of Christian and Mohammedan ideas over the area in question, or independently, *i.e.* from the original prevalence of similar ideas among the populations concerned, the developments of these stone-cults in both religions will be found closely parallel.

Venerated stones fall into two main groups, which to some extent overlap: those of the first class are selected for their natural qualities, especially their material, those of the second for their shape or for work upon them. An intermediate link is formed by stones bearing 'miraculous' marks or imprints, presumably natural and accidental, which are generally accounted for by legends bringing them into connexion with venerated personages.[1]

[1] The extraordinary ease with which any peculiarity of a stone may be so construed as to bring it into relation with a local saint is exemplified by the case of a stone seen by Wheler at the door of a church at Patras, which 'being struck by another stone' sent out 'a stinking Bituminous Savour'. This was attributed to its having been the seat

(i) *Natural Stones*

A.—Stones selected for their Natural Qualities.

To the first class apparently belongs what we may consider the prototype of venerated stones in Islam, the Black Stone of the Kaaba ; this seems to be an aerolith, and is built into the Holy House in fragments. Though it is supposed, and with every probability, to be the cultus-object of the idolatrous pre-Islamic Arabs at Mecca, all *hajis* piously kiss it as part of the pilgrimage.[1] Another sacred stone, on which the Prophet is supposed to have sat, exists in a mosque at Medina. It is reputed to cure sterility.[2]

For instances of stones venerated by eastern Christendom for their material, we may cite the miraculous alabaster stone seen at Angora by Schiltberger (*c.* 1400)[3] and mentioned also by later travellers.[4] This stone was cut in the shape of a cross and built into a church, the miracle being that it ' burnt ', *i. e.* was translucent in sunlight ;[5] it was credited also with healing powers. In

of the judge who condemned S. Andrew (*Journey into Greece*, p. 294). In the West ' pierres puantes ' are recorded at Paris (Collin de Plancy, *Dict. des Reliques*, ii, 439, *s.v. pierre*), and at Poitiers (Collin de Plancy, *loc. cit.* : better in Millin, *Midi de la France*, iv, 722). *Cf.* the aetiological legend which connects with the saint a certain stone built into the church of S. David at Tiflis (Gulbenkian, *Transcaucasie*, pp. 114 ff.).

[1] It would be interesting to know whether the ' stone from Mecca ' built into the mosque at Hasan Dede in Cappadocia received similar reverence (Crowfoot, in *J. R. Anthr. Inst.* xxx, 308).

[2] Goldziher in *Archiv f. Religionsw.* xiv, 308.

[3] Ed. Penzel, p. 85 ; ed. Telfer, p. 40.

[4] See above, p. 67, n. 3.

[5] The ' Yanar Tash ' near Caesarea and the thin, semitransparent marble of the bishop's tomb at Nicaea are ' miracles ' of the same unexciting kind, apparently not exploited as cures. Another ' burning stone ' was shown in the Parthenon at Athens, both before and after the Turkish occupation, with an appropriately varied legend (Martoni, in *Ath. Mitth.* xxii, 429 ; Galland, *Journal*, i, 38 ; La Guilletière, *Athènes*, p. 196).

spite of its shape it was the centre of a pilgrimage in which Moslems participated.

The selection of these stones for veneration evidently depends primarily on their unusual material. In other cases colour plays a part. Yellow stones preserved in two mosques at Constantinople (the Ahmediyyeh [1] and the Yeni Valideh [2]) are held to be charms against jaundice.[3] Analogous is the use of white stones as milk-charms,[4] of which the semi-opaque prehistoric gems of Melos and Crete offer an excellent example.[5] A plain white marble slab built into a church on the Cyzicene Peninsula is credited with the same property, scrapings of it being drunk in water by anxious mothers.[6]

B.—Pierced Stones.

Natural pierced stones and rocks are used superstitiously all over the Near East. In the Taurus, near a medicinal hot spring traditionally connected with S. Helena, is a natural pierced rock bearing, at a distance, a strong resemblance to the figure of a man leaning on a stick. This is supposed to represent a shepherd turned to stone by the curse of S. Helena, and Greeks and Turks, who make use of the healing powers of the spring, pass through the hole in the rock as part of their cure.[7] Near Caesarea Mrs. Scott-Stevenson was shown 'a large circular stone with a hole in its centre' to

[1] Carnoy and Nicolaides, *Folklore de Constantinople*, pp. 99 f.

[2] Evliya, *Travels*, ii, 83: it must be touched by the patient three times on a Saturday.

[3] The connexion between the yellow colour and the yellow disease is obvious (*cf.* V. de Bunsen, *Soul of a Turk*, pp. 156 f.; W. G. Browne, *Nouveau Voyage*, ii, 164). Similarly in Polites, *Παραδόσεις*, no. 155, yellow is symbolic of (malarial) fever, red of chicken-pox (*κοκκινή*).

[4] Also *blue* objects, on account of the relation between the words for *blue* (*γαλάζιος*) and milk (*γάλα*).

[5] R. M. Dawkins in *Ridgeway Essays*, p. 167.

[6] Hasluck, *Cyzicus*, p. 27; *cf.* below, pp. 205–6.

[7] I. Valavanis, *Μικρασιατικά*, pp. 102 f.

which ' the natives bring their children soon after they are born, and pass them through the hole in order that they may learn to speak early '.[1] Near Everek in the same district is a natural pierced rock which is traversed by persons suffering from coughs,[2] and barren women make similar use of a natural arch near the summit of Parnassus.[3] At Gallipoli fever-patients pass through a natural hole in the rock beneath the lighthouse.[4] At Arta in western Greece a pierced stone called *Ζαρόπετρα* is similarly used, with the familiar rag-tying rite, by Turks and Jews.[5] In Naxos, mothers of thin children passed them, to make them fatter,[6] through a holed stone connected with Saint Pachys.[7] In Turkish Athens an

[1] *Ride through Asia Minor*, p. 206. Is this a (giants') millstone (*μυλόπετρα*) promoted to a ' Stone of Speech ' (*ὁμιλῶ* = speak) ? Sillier things have happened.

[2] Carnoy and Nicolaides, *Trad. de l'Asie Mineure*, p. 338.

[3] From Mr. Cole of the Lake Copais Company : *cf.* Niya Salima, *Harems d'Égypte*, pp. 331–2 (sterility cured by crawling through a fork like an inverted V formed by a bough of a curious tree ; Mrs. Lee Childe, *Un Hiver au Caire*, p. 324, mentions the tree but says nothing of the cult).

[4] Constantinides, *Καλλίπολις*, p. 76.

[5] Byzantios, *Δοκίμιον τῆς Ἄρτης*, p. 367 : *ἐν αὐτῇ φέροντες διαβιβάζουσι, χάριν ἰάσεως, τοὺς ἀσθενεῖς αὐτῶν, ἐγκαταλιμπάνοντες (!) πᾶν αὐτῶν εἶδος φορέματος ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ θέσει.* The nature of the aperture (natural or artificial) in this stone is not stated. The stone itself is 2·00 m. high, and 1·00 m. broad.

[6] W. Miller, *Latins in the Levant*, p. 581 f., from Sauger, *Ducs de l'Archipel*, p. 65.

[7] S. Fort at Bordeaux has similar powers (Sainéan, *Bordeaux*, p. 20). Saint Pachys (' S. Fat ') is probably S. Pachomios, his name being punned with *παχύς* ; S. Isidore (*Ἰσίδωρος*), who patronizes weakly children, is in the same way called *ὁ σιδηρένιος ἅγιος*. Punning on saints' names is common in Greece (see M. Hamilton, *Greek Saints*, pp. 24 ff.), *cf. Στυλιανός, Σταμάτιος, Ὀνούφριος, Εὐστράτιος* (for walking), *Αἰμυλιανός* (for speech *ὁμιλῶ*). Both in Greece and in the West (*cf.* for France Sébillot, *Folk-Lore de France*, ii, 269) the majority of such saints are for children's diseases. In Greece the ' finders ' *Μηνᾶς* and *Φανούριος* are exceptions ; Georgeakis and Pineau report that in Lesbos incautious touching of her face on S. Simon's (Simeon's ?) day by a

artificial passage in the rock (called τρύπιο λιθάρι) above the Stadium was similarly used for superstitious purposes, various offerings being made to the presiding spirit.[1] Similar pierced-stone cults are cited from Bosnia.[2] All these examples, including the Cyprian cults discussed below, depend on the supposed magic virtue of pierced objects, which seems to be world-wide. The reputed virtue of holed stones, as of other traversable pierced objects, is probably bound up with the conception of holes as 'entrances' or 'new starts'. All entrances, *qua* beginnings, are regarded as critical points for good or evil. A sick person may be thought to 'change his luck' by the act of passage alone. In the case of sacred objects which are acknowledged to possess beneficent influence, it is obvious that the 'change of luck' will be a change for the better. Moreover, the patient at the moment of passing through is exposed to the beneficent influence from all sides. It is therefore comprehensible that, in passing through pierced objects such as stones, contact is often desirable.[3] In the fragment of an ancient roadway near Damascus, which is reputed the spot where S. Paul fell to the earth, pilgrims in all ages have sought pebbles to preserve as relics. This practice has produced a 'wide, arch-like excavation through the centre of the causeway' and pilgrims now, as a supplementary act of devotion, frequently pass through this

pregnant woman may cause the child to have a mole on its face (*Folk-Lore de Lesbos*, p. 329): the sequence is *Σιμών, σῆμα, σημάδι*. Other cases of such punning are given by Sébillot, *op. cit.* iv, 159; Millin, *Midi de la France*, i, 479; and by Estienne, *Apologie pour Hérodote*, § vii, p. 241; whose list provides excellent illustrations of etymology deciding the functions of saints. See also Hasluck, *Letters*, p. 82.

[1] Hobhouse, *Albania*, i, 325; Dupré, *Voyage à Athènes*, p. 36; Kambouroglous, *Ἱστορία*, i, 222: *cf.* below, p. 222.

[2] Lilek, in *Wiss. Mitth. Bosnien*, iv, 434 f.

[3] *Cf.* Loretto, where pilgrims circumambulate the Holy House on their knees, trying to touch the walls (Collin de Plancy, *Dict. des Reliques*, ii, 294).

aperture, rubbing their shoulders against its pebbly sides.[1] Similarly, at Nazareth, Turks, Arabs, and Christians alike come for healing to the two columns which mark where the Virgin and the Angel stood at the Annunciation, passing and re-passing between them, at the same time rubbing against them the part affected.[2]

'Passing through' having once become familiar as a form of ritual in connexion with objects admittedly sacred, a natural, if illogical, confusion leads to the assumption that 'going through holes is lucky', and rocks and stones or other objects capable of being so traversed tend to become respected and often to accumulate sacred traditions. In cases where the hole is not large enough to admit a person, a smaller object may be passed through, and, having absorbed the virtue of the sacred object, transfer it by close juxtaposition to the supplicant. The procedure at the grave of Chetim Tess Baba, an *abdal* or 'fool-saint' buried at Monastir, fully illustrates this point.[3]

C.—Stones with Natural Markings.

Stones bearing miraculous markings, especially footprints,[4] find prototypes for Islam in the footprints of Abraham at Mecca,[5] of the Prophet at Constantinople [6]

[1] Kelly, *Syria*, p. 195.

[2] D'Arvieux, *Mémoires*, ii, 270: 'Les Turcs, les Maures, & les Chrétiens du Païs ont une grande vénération pour ces colonnes. Dès qu'ils sont malades, ils viennent passer & repasser entre elles, s'y frottent le dos, le ventre, les bras, les cuisses, les jambes, la tête, le visage, la barbe, en un mot, toutes les parties où ils sentent de la douleur, & s'en retournent guéris de leurs maladies.'

[3] See below, p. 359.

[4] These are exceedingly common elsewhere: see Sébillot, *Folk-Lore de France*, *passim*; Antoninus *martyr*, ed. Tobler, p. 24 (xxii); Oliphant, *Haifa*, p. 146; Korten, *Reise*, p. 286; Maury, *Croy. du Moyen Âge*, pp. 301 ff.; Millin, *Midi de la France*, iv, 720; Hahn, *Alban. Studien*, p. 85.

[5] Burckhardt, *Arabia*, i, 267.

[6] *Jardin des Mosquées* in Hammer-Hellert, *Hist. Emp. Ott.* xviii, 57. It was deposited in the Mosque of Eyyub by Sultan Mahmud I (1730–54).

and Jerusalem,[1] of the Prophet's camel on Sinai,[2] and of his mule at Medina.[3] The imprints of the foot of Sari Saltik at Kruya and Bazaar Shiakh in Albania,[4] of Haji Bektash's hand at Sidi Ghazi,[5] of Sheikh Joban's at his *tekke* near Caesarea,[6] and of Demir Baba's in Bulgaria[7] are local relics of the same sort. The hoofprint of the prophet Khidr's horse was formerly shown at a *tekke* in Pontus.[8] The well-known imprint of the hand of Mohammed II in S. Sophia is perhaps the best-known instance. This, according to Elworthy, has attained to a cult among the vulgar by a confusion of Mohammed the Conqueror with Mohammed the Prophet, and is invoked for protection against the Evil Eye.[9] The 'sweating column' in the same mosque owes its curative powers to the hole made in it by the finger of the Prophet Khidr.[10]

In eastern Christianity we may perhaps regard the 'Footprint of Christ',[11] formerly shown to pilgrims in the Dome of the Rock at Jerusalem[12] as the prototype of

[1] Le Strange, *Palestine*, p. 136; Conder, *Jerusalem*, p. 11. Another occurs at Cairo (Lee Childe, *Un Hiver au Caire*, p. 85).

[2] Pococke, *Descr. of the East*, i, 146; Lenoir, *Le Fayoum*, pp. 249 f.; Thévenot, *Voyages*, ii, 536.

[3] Goldziher, in *Arch. f. Religionsw.* xiv, 308.

[4] Degrand, *Haute Albanie*, p. 240; Ippen, *Skutari*, p. 77.

[5] Mordtmann in *Φιλολ. Σύλλογος, Παραρτ. τοῦ θ.' τόμου*, p. xv.

[6] Carnoy and Nicolaides, *Trad. de l'Asie Mineure*, p. 215.

[7] Kanitz, *Bulgarie*, p. 536. Between Jerusalem and Bethlehem della Valle was shown a stone with the imprint of S. Elias' body (*Voyages*, ii, 88).

[8] Anderson, *Stud. Pont.* i, 10. Similar 'hoof-prints' are shown as those of the horse of the saint Ali Baba at Tomoritza in Albania (Baldacci, in *Boll. R. Soc. Geogr.* 1914, p. 978).

[9] Elworthy, *Evil Eye*, p. 251: *cf.* the confusion about the Sword of the Girding (see below, p. 609–10). There is another at Cairo (Browne, *Nouveau Voyage*, i, 119).

[10] Guthe in *Z.D.P.V.* xvii, 303. See above, p. 10, n. 5.

[11] At Paimpol in Brittany footprints of Christ appeared as late as the 6th of January 1771 (Saintyves, *Reliques et Images Légendaires*, p. 318).

[12] Petrus Diaconus, in Geyer, *Itin. Hieros.*, pp. 107 f.: 'Super saxum

this class of venerated stones. In modern Greece a reputed hoofmark in the rock at Philiatra (in Triphylia) is attributed to the mule of the Virgin, who appeared there,[1] and in Crete a similar mark is pointed out as the imprint of S. Nicetas' winged horse,[2] another as that of the horse of the secular hero Digenes.[3]

The imperishable nature and obvious interpretation of such stones,[4] if characteristically marked, tend to secure their local veneration regardless of changes in the religion of their *clientèle*. The footprint in the Dome of the Rock at Jerusalem, earlier attributed to Christ, is obviously the same as that held under Mussulman administration to be that of the Prophet, and probably served in Jewish times as that of Abraham.[5] A 'footprint' in Georgia is held by various parties at one and the same time to be that of the legendary queen Tamar, of a Christian priest flying from persecution, and of a Mohammedan saint who converted the district to Islam. It is thus venerated by all, irrespective of their creed.[6]

posuit dominus Iesus pedem suum, quando eum Symeon accepit in ulnis, et ita remansit pes sculptus, ac si in cera positus esset'. *Cf.* Conder, *Jerusalem*, p. 10: Antoninus *martyr*, ed. Tobler, p. 26 (xxiii). Another footprint of Christ was shown on the Mount of Olives (Didron, *Iconographie Chrétienne*, ii, 217).

[1] Polites, *Παραδόσεις*, no. 192.

[2] *Ibid.*, no. 199: *cf.* Hare, *Walks in Rome*, i, 171 (knee-marks of S. Peter).

[3] *Ibid.*, no. 120: *cf.* Durham, *Burden of the Balkans*, p. 126 (hoofprint of Marko Kraljevich's winged horse shown near Lake Presba).

[4] *Cf.* Moses' rock on Sinai (Burckhardt, *Syria*, p. 580).

[5] A pre-Crusading Moslem account (1047) of the Rock says that the footprint was then said to be that of Abraham (Le Strange, *Palestine*, p. 128): see also below, p. 195, n. 5. In the twelfth century a sacred stone at Aleppo was worshipped as the tomb of a prophet by Moslems, Jews, and Christians (Yakut, *Lexicon Geographicum*, ii, 308).

[6] Palgrave, *Ulysses*, p. 74.

(ii) *Worked Stones*

Stones venerated on account of work upon them are divided into two main categories, shaped stones and inscribed stones.

A.—Statues and Reliefs.

Stones carved with figures, *i.e.* statues and reliefs, need hardly be considered on the Mohammedan side, since the prohibition of images by Islam has taken deep root in the popular mind. Exceptional, if not unique, is the cult formerly attaching to a headless Roman statue still preserved in a fountain outside the Valideh Mosque at Candia, which was supposed to represent a Moslem warrior saint turned to stone by Christian magic.[1] Popular feeling among Mussulmans is, as a rule, against images; there is a tradition that angels

[1] Pashley, *Crete* (1837), i, 194: 'In this city the devout Mohammedan women burn incense every Friday, and some of them suspend bits of rag, and similar votive offerings, to honour an ancient statue. ... The tradition current among them is that the saint was an Arab, to whose dress the ancient robe of the statue bears some resemblance, and that he greatly distinguished himself during the famous siege of the Kástron [*i.e.* Candia].' The statue is figured on p. 186 of Pashley's work. *Cf.* also Spratt, *Crete* (1865), i, 44: 'The bust [!] of a Roman statue, at a fountain within the town . . . is . . . decorated and paid reverence to by some Turkish devotees every Friday, ... besides having a lamp with oil or incense set before it also. . . . I was informed that it [*i.e.* this worship] is due to a belief amongst the superstitious, that it is the petrified remnant of the body of a sainted Ethiopian Mussulman who was killed in the war, and whose head and lower members were cut off by the Christians, but who is destined to rise to life when the Ghiaour are to be exterminated from the island.' The statue is still (1915) as Pashley saw it, except that the flesh parts and lower draperies have been *painted black*, evidently to show that the saint was an 'Arab': the cult is discontinued, though the lighting of lamps and candles at the place by negro women is still remembered (F. W. H.). Polites, *Παραδόσεις*, ii, 765, cites also Chourmouzes, *Κρητικά*, p. 57, in this connexion.

will not enter where there is a semblance of a man,[1] and another to the effect that *complete* statues are the abode of devils.[2] This leads to their mutilation, sometimes even against the owner's interest.[3] At the same time it is not uncommon to find statues or reliefs held in considerable superstitious respect by Moslems as the abode of *jinns* possessed of power ;[4] but this power is evoked by secular magic. The *Arabian Nights* admirably illustrate these different points of view. Statues there fall into four classes. There are, first, talismans like the horseman in the *City of Brass*,[5] which are susceptible of use by those who know the trick : this horseman's magic powers are enhanced by the inscription engraved on it. Secondly, there are 'idols' inhabited intermittently by *jinns*, who give oracles through them to deceive the idolatrous.[6] Others, again, like the

[1] Cantimir, *Hist. Emp. Oth.*, i, 184. Angels will not enter a house containing a picture, a dog, or a bell (E. Abela, in *Z.D.P.V.*, vii, 93). Bells attract evil spirits, and Moslems fear them accordingly (Jessup, *Women of the Arabs*, p. 304 : *cf.* Mrs. Mackintosh, *Damascus*, p. 31).

[2] D'Arvieux, *Mémoires*, i, 45 : 'Ils prétendent que les statuës des hommes et des femmes sont en droit de contraindre les ouvriers qui les ont faites de leur donner une ame, & que cela ne se pouvant pas faire, . . . les diables se nichent & se servent de ces corps pour molester les hommes, mais que pour les empêcher, il n'y a qu'à les mutiler & les défigurer, & que les diables les voyant en cet état, les méprisent, les ont en horreur & vont chercher à se loger autre part.' At the day of Judgement makers of images will be required to put a soul into them (Lane, *Mod. Egyptians*, i, 120). In France, at S. Martial's command, the devil quitted a statue of Jupiter in the form of 'un petit enfant noir comme un Egiptien' (Collin, *Hist. Sacr. de Limoges*, p. 231). *Cf.* the Abbé Caret's letter from the Gambard Islands, dated the 6th of October 1834 (quoted by Maury, *Croy. du Moyen Âge*, p. 198).

[3] Le Bruyn, *Voyage*, i, 82.

[4] For instances see Le Strange, *Palestine*, p. 500 ; Garstang, *Land of the Hittites*, p. 95, n. 3.

[5] Lane's ed., pp. 304, 309 : *cf.* the talisman of the Loadstone Island in the story of the *Third Royal Mendicant*, p. 51 (the talisman is again a horseman). *Cf.* also, p. 228, the eagle on a pillar in *Abou Mohammed the Lazy*, which effects its results by means of *efrits*.

[6] *City of Brass*, p. 305.

jinn in the *City of Brass*, imprisoned to his armpits in a pillar for having opposed Solomon,[1] represent persons turned to stone by divine agency for sin. To a Moslem the greatest sin is unbelief: because of it the King, Queen, and inhabitants of the Magian city in the *First Lady's Tale* were petrified.[2] A fourth class consists of virtuous persons petrified by the magic artifice of malicious persons, like the young *King of the Black Islands*, whose faithless wife half turned him into stone: [3] the *motif* also recurs not infrequently in folk-lore. It is this last category into which the Candia 'Arab' falls, with the consequence that he is just as worthy of worship as if he had been buried in the ordinary way.

The Moslem or, rather, Semitic view of 'graven images' has not been without its influence on the eastern churches, which officially prohibit statues and reliefs of sacred persons. In practice, however, ancient reliefs are occasionally objects of Christian cult, even inside the church, as for example the fairly numerous reliefs of the Thracian horseman used as *eikons* of S. George in Thrace.[4] At the village church of Luzani, in lower Macedonia, Mr. Wace tells me, a horseman-relief is built into the low wall dividing the women's gallery from the main building. The top of the relief is covered with the grease of votive candles, as the relief has a reputation for curing earache, neuralgia, &c., in children: the face of the horseman is washed, and the water used (*ἀπόνιμμα*) applied to the ailing part. It is significant that the church is dedicated to S. Demetrius, a cavalier like S. George. But reliefs of purely secular subjects may be consecrated by their position in churches. Such is the white marble relief of a nude woman, powdered fragments of which, drunk in water, are used as

[1] *City of Brass*, p. 304. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 57.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 30.

[4] Dumont, *Mélanges d'Archéologie et d'Épigraphie*, p. 219; Mertzides, *Αἱ χῶραι τοῦ παρελθόντος*, p. 41.

a milk-charm at the monastery of Ardenitza in Albania.[1] The virtue of a relief is not dependent on such a position, but only enhanced or consecrated by it, and a secular relief placed in no relation to a church may be thought to have power, among Christians as among Moslems. Thus a relief of the Dioscuri by the village spring at Levetzova (Laconia), which was supposed to represent local spirits, was venerated by Christian villagers almost in our own day without coming into the sphere of the church at all.[2] The same is true of the so-called ' Demeter ' statue worshipped by the peasants at Eleusis for good crops.[3] Clarke, the discoverer of this reputed survival of Demeter worship, rightly observes that the connexion with the crops is based on the supposition that certain ornaments on the *polos* headdress of the figure represented ears of corn ; the statue is, in fact, no longer thought to be a Demeter.[4] In all probability the finding of the statue chanced to coincide with an abundant harvest and the inference was (*post hoc, ergo propter hoc*) that the talisman was ' white ' or favourable. A somewhat similar case is related from Byzantine Constantinople. In the course of building operations for a palace of Romanus I a marble bull's head was discovered, which was burnt for lime. The destruction of the talisman (as the event proved the bull's head to be) resulted in recurrent epidemics among cattle all over the empire.[5]

In all these secular cults of statues and reliefs the underlying idea is that the figures represent spirits

[1] Patsch, *Berat*, p. 154 ; *cf.* p. 124 ; *cf.* above, p. 182.

[2] L. Ross, *Wanderungen in Griechenland*, ii, 242.

[3] E. D. Clarke, *Travels*, vi, 601 f. ; Polites, *Παραδόσεις*, no. 139, and note.

[4] Michaelis, *Ancient Marbles*, p. 242.

[5] M. Glycas, *Annales*, 304 P : *τῶν θεμελίων καταβαλομένων, βοός, φασίν, εὑρεθῆναι μαρμαρίνου κεφαλήν· ἣν εὑρόντες καὶ συντρίψαντες εἰς τὸν τοῦ τιτάνου κάμινον βάλλουσιν. ἐξ ἐκείνου καὶ μέχρι τῶν τῇδε χρόνων οὐκ ἐπαύσατο πανταχοῦ τῆς γῆς ὁπόσην ἡ τῶν Ῥωμαίων περιέχει δυναστεία, τὰ τῶν βοῶν διαφθείρεσθαι γένη.*

enchanted for a purpose, good or evil, who have power, within the limits of their enchanter's intentions, and may be placated by a certain ritual. On the Moslem side, as we have seen, owing to the religious ban on representations of the human form, their activity is normally conceived of as maleficent, and their cult is placation.

B.—Columns, &c.

An important and interesting group of worked stones which owe their superstitious veneration to their shape is formed by the upright pierced monoliths used for superstitious purposes by the inhabitants in various parts of Cyprus.[1] Of these some are used by women desirous of children, who seat themselves on top of the stone; others by fever patients with the usual rag-tying ceremony; in other cases sick children and barren women are passed through the holes in the stones. So far as these practices have a connexion with religion, this is due to the proximity of the stones to churches. One stone is unofficially canonized as *Ἁγία Τρυπημένη* ('S. Bored').[2] When these pierced monoliths were first discovered at Paphos, the usual extravagant hypotheses of 'survivals' were put forward.[3] Subsequent researches by Guillemard and Hogarth have made it clear that they are parts of ancient oil-presses,[4] and that as many

[1] Hogarth, *Devia Cypria*, pp. 46 ff.; *cf.* p. 41. With the veneration of these monoliths may be compared the cult of certain dolmens in Brittany. In neither case is a survival probable. For the confusion in thought about survivals which is due to the ambiguity of meaning in the word 'pagan' see Hasluck, *Letters*, p. 57.

[2] This is interesting as an example of popular canonization by Christians exactly on Turkish lines. The Turks frequently anthropomorphise haunted places and objects they venerate in the same way, and *Ἁγία Τρυπημένη* is exactly paralleled by *Delikli Baba* (see above, p. 89, n. 5). The sex in the present case is due to the gender of *πέτρα*.

[3] Cesnola, *Cyprus*, p. 189.

[4] Some light is shed on the method of working these by Macalister's discovery at Gezer (*P.E.F.*, *Q.S.* for 1909, p. 188).

as fifty of them exist in various parts of the island; of these only a very small proportion are used for any superstitious purpose. 'The belief in the mysterious virtues of these monoliths', Hogarth concludes, 'exists in so few cases, and is so weak even in those few, that it may fairly be argued that it is only of modern origin and has not had time even yet to develop into a universal tenet.' [1]

The arbitrary selection of certain stones of this kind for superstitious purposes, and the variation in the ritual attaching to them is probably due to local dealers in magic. All have a certain *a priori* eligibility, both as pierced stones (see above) and also, to a certain extent, as columnar stones. Any isolated upright stone or column, if at all conspicuous, is apt to attract superstitious reverence.[2] The underlying idea is doubtless that such isolated columns mark places where talismans or objects enchanted for a definite purpose, generally prophylactic, are buried. Most of the talismans of Constantinople cited by Evliya [3] are connected with columns. The Column of Constantine was supposed already in Byzantine times to cover the Palladium and other relics [4] and to be on this account in a special sense

[1] *Devia Cypria*, p. 52. The stones at Paphos are figured by Magda Ohnefalsch-Richter (*Gr. Sitten und Gebräuche auf Cypern*, pl. 17), who adheres to the old theory of their ancient religious use (p. 40).

[2] A column is also the symbol of stability. The name Stylianos is given like Stamatios to children born after several children have died in infancy.

[3] *Travels*, I, i, 16 ff.; Carnoy and Nicolaides, *Folklore de Constantinople*, pp. 1 ff.; for the serpent column and its connexions with serpents see Chalcondyles, p. 329 P.; Clavijo in Mérimée, *Études*, p. 320; Quiclet, *Voyages*, p. 177; Savary de Brèves, *Voyages*, p. 33. An exception is the talisman made by Plato against the gnats of Constantinople (Evliya, I, i, 17). The serpent talisman in S. Ambrogio, Milan, is said to have come from Constantinople (Gauthiez, *Milan*, p. 18).

[4] See Du Cange, *Constant. Christ.*, i, 76 P, and the same author's notes to Anna Comnena (382–3 P). A prophylactic service at the column,

the Luck of the city.[1] A solemn burying of the talismans against plague in honour of S. Charalambos under a column in Athens little more than a century ago is recorded by Kambouroglous.[2] Similarly, when a place in Zante was discovered accidentally to be haunted, the remedy was to set up there a column marked with a cross.[3] The same connexion between column and talisman is probably to be discerned in the account of an inscribed porphyry column discovered at Constantinople in 1563 and deposited as a precious thing in the treasury of the Grand Signior.[4]

Another superstition is that columns mark, possibly protect, hidden treasure. At Urfa (Edessa) there are two giant columns, one of which performs this function, while the other is a talisman against floods.[5] As no one knows which is which, the treasure remains undisturbed since the removal of the wrong column would flood the town.

A column of a sacred building, if conspicuous for any

in which the Emperor and Patriarch took part, was performed ' according to ancient custom ' in 1327 (Niceph. Greg. viii, 15).

[1] Ducas, pp. 289–90 B ; Chalcondyles, p. 397 B.

[2] *Ἱστορία*, ii, 182 (cited by M. Hamilton, *Greek Saints*, p. 71), from a contemporary note of 1792.

[3] Polites, *Παραδόσεις*, no. 510 : *'ς τὸν τόπο ἐκεῖνο γιατὶ εἶναι κακός, ἔβαλαν μία κολόννα μὲ ἕνα σταυρὸ ἀπάνου.*

[4] Lambros in *Νέος Ἑλληνομνήμων*, vii, 176 (201) :— 1563 : *Μηνὶ Νοεμβρίῳ ϛ′ τοῦ αφξγ′ ἔτους, ἐν Κωνσταντινουπόλει, ἐπί τινος χήρας Εὐλῆ γυναικός, ὀρύσσοντές τινες πρὸς τὸ αὐξῆσαι τὸν οἶκον αὐτῆς, ἐκεῖ εὗρον κίονα πορφυροῦν, τὸ μὲν μῆκος ἔχοντα ποδῶν μ̄ε̄, τὸ δὲ πλάτος σπιθαμῶν ῑϛ̄. Ἐγκεκόλαπτο δὲ παρὰ τῇ κεφαλῇ ταυτὶ τὰ στοιχεῖα* ΕΡΓΝΕϹ. *Εὐθέως μὲν οὖν ὁ βασιλεὺς προστάξας ἐν τοῖς βασιλείοις τοῦτον ἐκόμισαν· ὃν ἰδὼν λίαν ἐθαύμασε· ὡς μέγα δὲ καὶ πολύτιμον χρῆμα, τοῖς βασιλικοῖς αὐτοῦ θησαυροῖς ἐναπέθετο.*

[5] See below, p. 368. The same columns are regarded as remains of the catapult with which Nimrod hurled Abraham into the furnace, see further, below, p 317. *Cf.* Choisy (*Asie Mineure*, p. 134) for the Aizani temple. Solomon hid treasure in the vaults of Baalbek (Volney, *Voyage*, i, 119). *Cf.* also Fabri, *Evagat.* iii, 55 ; de Brèves, *Voyages*, p. 237.

peculiarity, may evolve its own cultus. Cases are to be found in the 'sweating' column of S. Sophia, mentioned above, and in the column in the Mosque of the Groom at Cairo, to be cited later.

Columns may easily be brought within the pale of Christianity by the analogy of the Column of Christ's Scourging.[1] This *motif* is employed to sanctify the superstitious cult of a column at Paphos, at which S. Paul is said to have been scourged; the imprint of his hand appears on it, with curious inconsequence, on *S. John's* day.[2] A column in a church[3] at Athens sacred to S. John is well known for its cures of fevers. According to local tradition S. John himself buried the spirits or talismans of fever and other sicknesses under the column.[4] The ritual of the cure is as follows. The patient, having made his vow, takes a thread, 'measures' it on the *eikon* of S. John, and cuts off a corresponding length.[5] He wears this thread for three nights tied

[1] For the Column of Flagellation see Conder, *Jerusalem*, p. 15, and Tobler, *Topogr. von Jerusalem*, i, 346.

[2] Hogarth, *Devia Cypria*, p. 8.

[3] Seventeenth-century writers speak of this column as dedicated to S. John, evidently before the building of a church. The miraculous marble column in the mosque at Beyrut which was formerly a church of S. George cures pains when rolled on the aching part, the procedure being perhaps an echo of one of the tortures inflicted on the saint (Pococke, *Voyages*, iii, 275, with which compare for the procedure Amélineau, *Contes de l'Égypte chrétienne* ii, 174).

[4] Polites, *Παραδόσεις*, no. 155; M. Hamilton, *Greek Saints*, pp. 65 ff.; Rodd, *Customs of Modern Greece*, p. 167; Kambouroglous, *Ἱστορία*, i, 221, is the source of all. *Cf.* also Buchon, *Grèce Continentale*, p. 101.

[5] This part of the ritual seems to have escaped the notice of former writers. The idea is of some antiquity (see Weyh, *Μέτρον λαμβάνειν*, in *Byz. Zeit.* xxiii, 164 ff.), and has parallels elsewhere in modern Greece; *cf.* especially de Launay, *Chez les Grecs de Turquie*, p. 183, where the guardian-dervish of S. Demetrius, Salonica, gives to a Greek peasant a thread he has measured on an ornament of the saint's tomb (see below, p. 263). The footprint of Christ in the El Aksa mosque at Jerusalem has long had sovereign virtue: as early as *c.* 570 A.D. An-

round his arm and then affixes it with wax to the column. A similar miraculous column exists built into the church of the Virgin at Areopolis in Mani. Fever patients drink scrapings of it in water at the waning of the moon.[1]

Columnar stones are similarly brought into the pale of Islam by connecting them with saints. A good example of the plain 'shaped stone' class is afforded by the stones at Konia associated with the tomb of the Imam Baghevi. These are two drums of an angle-pillar from a classical colonnade. The pillar, which formed the junction between two ranges of columns set at right angles, had its two *antae* worked as half-columns, so that the section of each drum is heart-shaped. With the angle uppermost the two drums present some resemblance to a saddle, from which circumstance they are supposed to represent the horses of the Imam turned to stone, and cures are wrought by contact with them in the posture thus suggested.[2] Of another columnar stone, sixteen feet high, near Koch Hisar, Ainsworth tells a pretty story to the effect that a mosque was once being erected in a neighbouring village and good Mussulmans were contributing to it by the voluntary labour of bringing stones. A pious girl was enabled by her faith to transport this huge

toninus *martyr* writes: 'de petra illa, ubi stetit, multae fiunt virtutes: tollentes de ipsius vestigiis pedum mensuram, ligant pro singulis languoribus et sanantur' (ed. Tobler, p. 26, xxiii: a slightly different version in G. Williams, *The Holy City*, ii, 375, n. 5). Mirike (*c.* 1684) relates an analogous practice by which pilgrims to the Holy Land measure off on the Stone of Unction at Jerusalem a piece of cloth from which they fashion their future shrouds (pp. 46 f. in Tobler, *Golgatha*, p. 351; *cf.* Maundrell, ed. Wright, p. 464, who, however, does not mention the measuring). [At Bogatsko in western Macedonia a Greek mother in 1922 promised the Virgin a candle equal in length to the boy's height if she would restore her sick son to health.—M. M. H.]

[1] Polites, *Παραδόσεις*, ii, 764, citing *Πανδώρα*, xxii, 336.

[2] F. W. H. See above, p. 82.

stone to the spot where it now rests. Here a young man appeared to her and told her 'God had accepted her services and was well pleased': the girl died on the spot and was buried beneath the stone.[1] Evidently she was one of the unknown 'saints of God', the mysterious messenger being in all probability Khidr. A cult or superstitious use of this stone is not mentioned. A rather more complicated story explains the pillar worshipped at a Bektashi *tekke* near Uskub in Macedonia.[2] The saint Karaja Ahmed is said to have brought this stone, together with his own head, which had been cut off in a war, to the spot where it is now. A woman exclaiming at the extraordinary sight, the saint put down his head and the stone at the site of the present *tekke*.[3] Whatever its origin, the pillar is in its present position part of the regular ritual furniture of a Bektashi house of prayer. Some similar hagiological legend in all probability attaches (or will attach) to an ancient column composed of four drums and a base on the site of Tyana in Asia Minor. This column is a fairly exact Moslem parallel to that of S. John at Athens. Persons suffering from fever visit it in the morning, taking with them a holy man who recites some prayers, after which

[1] *Travels*, i, 187. A similar story, with a less religious colouring, is told of the 'Maiden's Stone' (Column of Marcian) at Constantinople (Carnoy and Nicolaides, *Folklore de Constantinople*, pp. 107 f.); *cf.* Evliya, *Travels*, 1, i, 17.

[2] See Evans in *J.H.S.* xxi, 200 ff., who says without details that one version of the stone's history was that it was brought by a holy man from Bosnia.

[3] F. W. H. This story is a broken-down version of that told of the Bosnian saint, Hazret Ali, whose head was cut off by his father for an alleged intrigue (after the model of Joseph and Zuleika) with his father's young wife. The saint, who was of course innocent, walked with his head in his hand till, a woman exclaiming at the sight, his head fell on the spot where the *turbe* now stands and *his father was turned into stone*. He was brought to the grave of his son and brought to life again, a spring gushing forth when this miracle took place (Mirkovič in *Wiss. Mitth. Bosnien*, i, 462; *cf.* Miss Durham, *Burden of the Balkans*, p. 228).

the patient ties a rag of his clothing to a nail and drives the nail into the joints of the column.[1]

The stone at Alexandrovo near Uskub is said by Evans to have two histories, which illustrate two widely disseminated legends accounting for the presence of extraordinary stones. It is said (1) to have come from Mecca or (2) to have been brought by a holy man from Bosnia. As to (1), stones reported to have come from Mecca may perhaps be assumed to have 'flown', *i. e.* to have come by levitation [2] at the request of some holy person. A very probable 'type-legend' is that told of a column in the mosque of Amr at Cairo. The caliph Omar is said to have commanded this stone to transfer itself from Mecca to Cairo. The stone refusing to move, he repeated his command, emphasizing it with a blow of his whip, of which the marks remain. He then remembered to add the words 'In the name of God' to the command, whereupon the stone obeyed.[3] The stories of 'stones from Mecca' at Alexandrovo and at Hasan Dede [4] in Asia Minor are probably based on this *motif*.[5]

[1] Texier, *Asie Mineure*, ii, 111. 'Le malade vient le matin, accompagné d'un iman, qui récite quelques prières ; après quoi le malade déchire une petite partie de son vêtement, et la cloue dans un des joints de la pierre ; cela s'appelle clouer la fièvre. Les joints de la colonne sont criblés de clous plantés dans le même but.'

[2] On levitation see below, pp. 285 f.

[3] H. de Vaujany, *Caire*, p. 296 ; *cf.* Lee Childe, *Un Hiver au Caire*, p. 49, and G. Migeon, *Caire*, p. 42. The column probably resembled those of the mosque at Mecca, and is perhaps mentioned also by W. G. Browne, *Nouveau Voyage*, i, 119. Tyndale, *L'Égypte*, pp. 120 ff., tells the same tale, not very well and substituting Mohammed for Omar. The connexion of the story with two great religious centres like Mecca and Cairo would ensure its circulation all over the Mohammedan world.

[4] *Cf.* above, p. 181, n. 1 ; Crowfoot, in *J. R. Anthr. Inst.* xxx, 308.

[5] Mrs. Bishop (*Journeys in Persia*, i, 276) relates that at New Julfa (an Armenian town founded in the seventeenth century by Shah Abbas) cures are wrought by certain large stones, one being evidently the capital of a column ; they 'flew' from Echmiadzin to New Julfa

From 'Flying Stone' to 'Flying Castle' is but a step. The latter *motif* occurs in the folk-tale of *Mohammed l'Avisé* in Spitta Bey's collection [1] and also at Bosra as Kasr Tayaran (*lit.* 'flying castle').[2] Possibly, however, this conception is influenced by the idea which easterns seem to have that a group of columns, as found, for instance, in the Olympieum of Athens, did not *surround* a building, but rather *supported* one high in the air.[3] In the case of the Olympieum the fragment of rubble which remains would confirm the idea.

(2) The second explanation of the Alexandrovo stone, as we have seen, is derived *immediately* from a Bosnian legend, mutilated in that it fails to explain why the saint was carrying the stone at all. The simplest form of this theme is analogous to the Koch Hisar legend, the essence of it being the miraculous accident: a saintly person carrying a stone for a religious purpose has his or her attention distracted by a person of the other sex and drops the burden. In north Albania the *motif* recurs

in one night, and, though seven times removed eighty miles, they always returned to New Julfa. For Echmiadzin see Leclercq, *Mont Ararat*, pp. 223 ff.; the stone on which Christ drew its plan with a ray of light is interesting, see Collin de Plancy, *Dict. des Reliques*, ii, 78. The 'flying stone' *motif* is certainly older than Islam. One of the numerous columns of Christ's scourging 'quae fuit in domo Caiaphae . . . modo in sanctam Sion jussu Domini secuta est' (Theodorus, A.D. 530 cited by Conder, *Jerusalem*, p. 15, as are also Paula, the Bordeaux Pilgrim, and Silvia; *cf.* Antoninus *martyr*, ed. Tobler, p. 28, xxv, and S. Eucherius in Tobler, *Palaest. Descr.*, p. 33). Here the story is probably no more than a naïve excuse for the change of site, for which see Hasluck, *Letters*, pp. 88–9.

[1] See Le Boulicaut, *Au Pays des Mystères*, pp. 156 ff., and also Artin Pasha, *Contes du Nil*, p. 278.

[2] D'Oppenheim in *Tour du Monde*, 1899, p. 364. The author acutely remarks that Kasr Tayaran at Bosra was *Colonia Nova Traiana*, a fact which may have contributed to the modern legend. Lane mentions a flying castle (*Thousand and One Nights*, p. 484).

3 The temple at Aizani is variously said to have been built on columns by the inhabitants to avoid brigands or by giants who had treasure there (Choisy, *Asie Mineure*, p. 134).

among Roman Catholics. 'A maiden, who was so holy that she was almost a saint, had vowed that she would carry it [a great rock] to the church of Berisha. Miraculously aided, she bore it a long way,' but, distracted by the good looks and piping of a shepherd, she was led into profane thought: 'the rock fell from her shoulders, and when she strove to pick it up she found her strength had gone.'[1] In all these cases the hero is a virgin, the magic power of virginity[2] being impaired by thoughts of the other sex. This is, I think, essential to the point.

Through the hermit literature the idea was pushed pretty far in the West. In France the Virgin Mary is twice said to have been carrying stones to build a church and to have dropped them on hearing that the church in question had been completed.[3]

Everywhere the theme ramifies very interestingly. On the one hand, there is the story of profane persons, such as the devil or a giant, dropping stones at various surprises. Such was the origin of the 'pregnant stone', weighing more than 11,000 tons, at Baalbek. A *jinn*, who was with child, was carrying the stone upon her head to the temple, that being part of her daily task. On being suddenly informed that her brother had been killed, she let fall the stone and sat down upon it to weep: it has remained there ever since.[4]

[1] Durham, *High Albania*, p. 193.

[2] The magic power of virginity is of course a commonplace (*cf.* Frazer, *Golden Bough*, *passim*). The 'influence of the other sex' idea is probably oriental, though not necessarily Mohammedan.

[3] Sébillot, *Folk-Lore de France*, iv, 7 and 22.

[4] Isabel Burton, *Inner Life of Syria*, p. 231. The story seems a contamination of several. A simpler version is in Ellis Warburton, *Crescent and Cross*, p. 309; male *jinns* were building Baalbek for Solomon, the females bringing stones. The great isolated stone was being brought by a female *jinn*, when she dropped it on hearing that her brother had fallen from the building. *Cf.* also Hanauer, *Folk-Lore of the Holy Land*, pp. 50, 74, and La Roque, *Voyage de Syrie*, i, 124, 128.

The notion of carrying stones to build a church, as in the case of the Virgin above, recalls a time when it was usual for penitents in pursuance of vows to carry stones, either as a mere penance or in order to help practically in some sacred enterprise, frequently undertaken, besides, as an act of piety by pious persons. Thus, among Catholic Albanians it is a popular custom, permitted as irregular but edifying by the Franciscan priesthood, for a man who has received absolution to bring a stone to the church next Sunday as a public penance.[1] In France the monks of a relaxed convent were ordered to carry one stone per sin as a penance.[2] In pursuance of a vow a pilgrim from Jerusalem carried stones from the Holy Land and discarded them only at the door of S. Peter's in Rome.[3] In these cases the symbolism is evidently the burden of sin. A case where practical use was made of a penance is the *tumulus* of S. Michael at Carnac in France, which was raised by penitents, who were condemned to bring each a sack of earth, if women, and a stone, if men.[4] This further suggests the question whether the stones in the cairns, raised where pilgrimage places come in sight,[5] were

[1] Durham, *High Albania*, p. 104. This helps to explain the quantity of ancient worked stones commonly found in Greek country churches, if an ancient site is in the neighbourhood, and incidentally the tradition that certain churches have been temples. The Armenian cathedral in Damascus has stones from Sinai, Tabor, and the Jordan (I. Burton, *op. cit.*, p. 443).

[2] Sébillot, ii, 72; *cf.* ii, 426, where erring washerwomen are so punished.

[3] *Acta SS.* 17 *Feb.* (S. Salvinus); *cf.* Fabri, *Evagat.* ii, 195, who himself collected stones from the Holy Land.

[4] Sébillot, iv, 41.

[5] Fabri, *op. cit.* ii, 175 (Saracens and Christians share the practice). Mandeville's 'Mountjoy' is Nebi Samwil, the first point from which pilgrims saw Jerusalem (Stanley, *Sinai*, p. 214; Tobler, *Topogr. von Jerusalem*, ii, 875). For Moslem practice see Montet, *Culte des Saints Musulmans*, p. 19; Tristram, *Eastern Customs*, p. 102; de Saulcy, *Voyage en Terre Sainte*, p. 100.

brought long distances for vows, but for the moment I have no clear evidence on the point.[1]

In such stories we observe a fusion between a penance and a pious custom, the object being to explain a remarkable stone. An unusual looking stone suggests the question, 'How did it come here?' and a more or less miraculous story as the answer. Such a stone also suggests that it may be remarkable not only in appearance, *i.e.* that it may have remarkable powers.

Both these lines of thought tend to run along preconceived grooves, but must harmonize to a certain extent. If the origin story is concerned with *jinns*, *e. g.*, the property of the stone falls within the *jinn* sphere. In this case the stone probably marks treasure or is a talisman of some sort. If the tale is pious, the personage figuring in it affects the stone with beneficent powers.

Both lines converge again in making either kind of stone potentially a *remedy* by black or white magic. In the case of a merely silly story like that of a girl distracted by a shepherd from her pious task, it may never develop, there being no particular moral, and the stone remains a mere stone to the end, as having no connexion with saint or *jinn*, white magic or black.

C.—Written Stones.

More numerous and more interesting are the written stones put to superstitious uses. The magical power attributed by Orientals to letters is well known.[2] As

[1] Gregorovius, *Wanderjahre*, v, 121 (1874), says pilgrims to S. Michael on Gargano, the patron saint of madness, were in the habit of placing each a stone in a tree near the entrance of the church. But this is perhaps allied to the French practice of putting stones in trees to cure pains (Sébillot, *Folk-Lore de France*, i, 352); possibly there is confusion between the two. Physical and moral health are often assimilated.

[2] On this see Hastings's *Encycl. of Religion*, art. *Charms* (*Muhamma-*

historical examples of talismanic written stones in Asia Minor may be quoted the inscription supposed to have been carried off by Harun-al-Rashid from Angora,[1] and another, composed at the request of Ala-ed-din I for the protection of the walls of Konia by the mystic poet Jelal-ed-din Rumi.[2] Christian Miletus was similarly protected by a magic inscription[3] and the Rhodian knights, in a like spirit, engraved the lintel of the chief gate at their castle of Budrum with the charm-text, *Nisi Dominus Custodierit*, &c.[4] In the seventeenth century more than one gate of Constantinople was protected by stone cannon-balls 'hang'd up over severall gates . . . *with Turkish writing upon them*'.[5] In modern

dan). To discover a thief a leaf of the book Phorkan was used on the Nile (Boucher, *Le Bouquet Sacré*, p. 49). The opening and shutting by the monks of the pentateuch kept in the church on Mt. Horeb determined the rainfall of the district (Burckhardt, *Syria*, p. 567; an evidently related tale is in Palmer, *Desert of the Exodus*, p. 66). In the mosque of Sidi Shahin, Cairo, a silver ring on a column bore an inscription in cabalistic characters which was a charm against sterility and other maladies; a passing Persian interpreted the inscription and found it quite ordinary (Vaujany, *Caire*, pp. 282–3).

[1] Haji Khalfa, tr. Armain, p. 703.

[2] Hammer-Hellert, *Hist. Emp. Ott.* i, 40.

[3] *C.I.G.* 2895. *Cf.* also the prophylactic inscription on the land-walls of Constantinople (Millingen, *Constantinople Walls*, p. 100), and for the general use of prophylactic charms on Syrian buildings of the early Christian period, Prentice in *Amer. Exped. to Syria*, iii, 17 ff. A talisman inscription guards vast treasures at Tabriz (Von Schweiger-Lerchenfeld, *Armenien*, p. 105).

[4] Newton, *Halicarnassus*, ii, 657.

[5] Covel, *Diaries*, ed. Bent, p. 217. Covel probably refers to the two gates (S. Romanos and S. Barbara) now known as *Top Kapusi*: this has generally been translated 'Cannon Gate', but the primary meaning of *top* is not 'cannon', but 'ball'. The *inscribed* cannon-ball is of course a 'reinforced' amulet: for globular objects used as a protection against the evil eye in the East, see Hildburgh in *Man*, 1913, pp. 1 ff. (Egypt), and *cf.* Rycaut, *Ottoman Empire*, p. 40 (a golden ball suspended over the entrance to the imperial divan). Gates, as entries, are specially in need of protection, just as all entries and the beginnings of new enterprises are regarded as potentially dangerous. An entry may

life we find Mohammedan houses customarily protected by the apotropaic *Mashaallah*, and both houses and ships by the 'lucky' names of the Seven Sleepers.[1]

change one's luck, and a city-gate is frequently a dark and echoing place such as *jinns* notoriously frequent (*cf.* baths, mills, and dark vaults in general, on all of which see above, p. 110). Hence at a gateway the people passing through must be protected against an unlucky passage, while the gate itself must be defended against (1) the enemy's entrance and (2) the evil eye's possible effect on the vault; this last danger explains the bosses so often seen on Mohammedan archways. Generally charms of various kinds were hung up: see below, p. 654, n. 4. An amusing story in Rycaut, *Greek and Armenian Churches*, p. 377, is worth recalling. Aleppo was suffering from locusts: to destroy them water was brought from Zem-Zem at Mecca; it had to avoid passing under all gates and was taken *over* them instead. If, as often happened, these charms were weapons or fossil bones, they were apt to evolve a saint. Of this Rhodes gives the classical instance, the supposed head of de Gozon's dragon having evolved the legend of the dragon-slaying dervish (Biliotti and Cottret, *Rhodes*, p. 153); a boot in one gateway of Old Chalkis (see below, p. 230, n. 1) has begotten a giant to match. A more drastic way of protecting the gate against an enemy's entrance was by blocking it up altogether; this was done at Jerusalem, Constantinople, &c. (see below, p. 753). Astrology also may be at the back of stories of Sultans walling up the gates by which they had entered conquered cities. A tale in de Lorey and Sladen's *Queer Things about Persia* (p. 321) is illuminating. In 1806 a Persian ambassador was about to start on an expedition when the astrologers warned him it would be unlucky to go out by his palace gate, as there was an unpropitious astrological combination in that direction; he therefore left by a breach in the wall of his neighbour's garden. Presumably, the idea is that things run in cycles and that, when the same stellar combination occurred again, the gate would become a specially vulnerable point and a new conqueror might take it. Professor Dawkins suggests that there may also be an idea that a great man's route or chair or instrument is so sanctified by its connexion with him that common use would be a profanation. Professor John Fraser finds the custom an inverted parallel to that of breaking down the city wall to admit Olympic victors. [On their return from Mecca Mohammedan pilgrims have been known to breach their garden walls to enter their homes by a new path. I have unfortunately lost the reference for this practice.—M. M. H.]

[1] See below, p. 313, and n. 2. They patronize especially the shipping of the Black Sea (C. White, *Constantinople*, i, 187).

Greek Christian houses are frequently protected by the device $\frac{IC}{NI}\left|\frac{XC}{KA}\right.$ over the door. Apotropaic charms, written on paper or metal, which are a similar expression of belief in the magic potency of letters, are often worn suspended round the neck by Orientals, either for good luck generally or as cures for disease.

It is obvious that such magic is devised to serve its masters. Christian magic may naturally be regarded as hostile to Mohammedans, which accounts for the frequent mutilation of the crosses on Christian buildings after a Turkish conquest. Similarly, at Smyrna the well-known inscription over the gate of the Byzantine castle,[1] the sense of which is quite innocent, was removed in 1827, and, despite liberal offers from archaeologists anxious for its preservation, built into the new barracks; but not before the letters had been deliberately chiselled out,[2] evidently with the intention of abolishing its magic power, conceived of as *a priori* hostile to Moslems since it was associated with a Christian building. In the same spirit the Turkish proprietor of a village near Uskub gave a general order that 'written stones' found on his premises should be thrown into the river, 'all such being works of the Devil and the cursed Giaour.'[3]

On the other hand, examples of ancient inscriptions which are supposed to have beneficial powers are numerous; these powers, needless to say, have no connexion whatever with the nature of the inscription. The colossal inscribed block from the monument of a certain Caius Vibius at Philippi is used by many women who stop at the adjacent *khan* as a milk-charm,[4] fragments of it being broken off, powdered, and drunk in water.[5]

[1] *C.I.G.* 8749. [2] Arundell, *Asia Minor*, ii, 395.

[3] Evans in *Archaeologia*, xlix, 86.

[4] Heuzey and Daumet, *Macédoine*, i, 45.

[5] F. W. H. A sinking on the top of this stone is said to be the hoof-print (ἀχνάρι) of Bucephalus.

Its selection is of course merely due to its colour and the presence on it of a supposed written charm. At Tatar Bazarjik (Eastern Rumelia) a Greek *stele* inscribed with a proxeny decree (called *Yesir Tashi* or 'Slave's stone') is used by sick, and (as usual) especially fever-stricken,[1] persons for cure. Patients scrape the stone, as at Philippi, tie a rag of their clothing to it, and leave a *para* on it in payment. The stone is supposed to mark the grave of a saint who in his lifetime ('four hundred years ago') was a Christian slave turned Moslem; he ordered the stone to be placed on his grave.[2] A 'stone font or holy water stoup' with a Christian inscription in the interstices of a cross is similarly used to charm away disease at Eljik in Galatia;[3] here the patient drives in a nail to 'hold down' the disease, a ritual act analogous to the universal tying of rags to sacred trees and saints' tombs. At Eljik the cross has been left intact and is probably thought to be part of the charm. A somewhat similar Christian example of a pagan stone pressed into the service of religion and to some extent adopted by the church, is the famous Sigean inscription, which was long kept at the church of Yenishehr for the cure of ague. Patients were rolled on it, while the priest read an appropriate Christian exorcism.[4] This

[1] According to V. de Bunsen (*Soul of a Turk*, p. 175), fever is one of the few diseases which can be cured only by prayer. Its intermittent character encourages the idea that it is the work of a capricious *jinn*.

[2] Tsoukalas, *Περιγραφὴ Φιλιππουπόλεως*, p. 65; Dumont in *Mélanges d'Archéologie et d'Épigraphie*, pp. 201, 322. The Christian slave may be introduced into the legend, since the letters of the supposed magic inscription are Greek.

[3] Anderson in *J.H.S.* xix, 88. The inscription in the arms of the cross, read by the editor ΕΠ | ΜΟ | ΝΟΥ | ΗС, may have been intended for ΕΜΜΑΝΟΥΗΛ: for this word as a charm on lintels see Prentice, *Amer. Exped. to Syria*, iii, 21. With all deference to the editor, I expect this stone was a lintel used as a gravestone and hollowed for the purpose (see below, p. 226).

[4] Lechevalier, *Troy*, p. 17; Walpole, *Memoirs*, p. 97.

stone was probably selected, in a district where inscriptions are common, on account of the unusual, and to ordinary people illegible, character of its archaic lettering.[1] In a Bulgarian church near Monastir Chirol was shown a Greek inscription much worn by the knees of the faithful, which, the priest informed him, it was no use trying to read, since it was 'written in the devil's language'. Nevertheless it was considered 'an excellent stone for exorcising evil spirits'.[2] Here it would seem that the spirit or magic of the stone was originally 'black' but had been, as it were, harnessed to serve the church.

(iii) *Survival or Development of Stone Cults*

The selection of ancient inscriptions as objects of superstition is exceedingly capricious. In general, Anatolian peasants are apt to consider that inscriptions are a secret guide to treasure hidden in or near the stone on which the letters are written.[3] This idea, however, evokes no reverence for inscribed stones, and they are often split open without scruple to find the supposed treasure.[4] But even this degree of mystery does not attach to all inscribed stones. At Aizani (Phrygia), where inscribed *stelae* of the 'door' type are very

[1] So also the irregular character of the lettering gave a magic reputation to an inscription seen by Lucas at Stenimakhos in Bulgaria (*Voyage dans la Grèce*, i, 192, *cf.* 198).

[2] V. Chirol, *Twixt Greek and Turk*, p. 67 (no political significance need be attached to the priest's words !).

[3] For [statues and] inscriptions regarded as marking places where treasure is buried, see Polites' note on his *Παραδόσεις*, no. 408. Burckhardt was told that archaeologists are treasure hunters and make it fly through the air at their wish (*Syria*, p. 428). Treasure hunting in ruins is encouraged by the practice of burying money in houses (Tristram, *Eastern Customs*, pp. 252–3).

[4] For an instance see Jireček in *Arch. Epigr. Mitth.* 1886, p. 95. *Cf.* the fate of the Moabite Stone (Wilson and Warren, *Recovery of Jerusalem*, p. 500; also Petermann's account in *P.E.F., Q.S.* for 1871, p. 138).

common, they are habitually used as washing-blocks by the women of the village. Unfamiliarity, therefore, seems certainly one condition of the selection both of 'treasure' stones and of 'healing' stones. The interest shown by 'Frank' travellers [1] is another. But the ultimate choice of such stones for reverence or superstitious regard probably depends on pure accident. The following story, told me in Thrace, illustrates the ordinary attitude of the peasant's mind toward them. A Bulgarian peasant, living between Viza and Kirk Kilise, found an inscribed stone, which he took to his house. His wife used it as a washing-block, but was at once visited by terrifying dreams and the farm animals began to die. Next the mother-in-law of the peasant trod on the stone and broke it; she died shortly after. The peasant, getting frightened, took the stone back to the place where he found it, and offered sacrifice (*kurban*) upon it. A Greek passing by saw the newly shed blood and inquired the reason of the sacrifice; having heard the tale, he made light of it, put the stone on his horse, and rode away with it. But the ill luck followed him and his horse went blind. The moral is of course that the stone was bewitched or *jinn*-haunted (στοιχειωμένον) and was one of those best left alone.[2] A run of good luck following its acquisition, on the other hand, might have proved its title to superstitious reverence, if not to adoption by religion.

The origins of such cults as these depend not on tradition but on coincidence. The chance of finding a 'survival', *i.e.* a stone venerated continuously from

[1] See below, pp. 214 ff.

[2] A very similar medieval Greek story of an enchanted stone, which was dug up by accident and brought ill luck, is given by Polites, *Παραδόσεις*, ii, 1139 f., though here the stone does not appear to have had an inscription. The aid of the church was called in to conjure the spirits back into the stone, after which it was again buried. For *jinns* haunting an ancient sarcophagus *cf.* Lane, *Mod. Egyptians*, ii, 147.

ancient times to our own, is so slight as to be negligible. It is only by chance that altars or votive *stelae* are preferred to monuments of a purely secular character. Supposed 'survivals' of this kind will not bear examination any more than the Cyprian monoliths. Ramsay, in his *Pauline Studies*,[1] mentions a written stone used by Turks for superstitious purposes, for which he claims that its cult was continuous from antiquity. His account is as follows:

'Three or four miles south of Pisidian Antioch we found in a village cemetery an altar dedicated to the god Hermes. On the top of the altar there is a shallow semicircular depression, which must probably have been intended to hold liquid offerings poured on the altar, and which was evidently made when the altar was constructed and dedicated. A native of the village ... told us that the stone was possessed of power, and that if any one who was sick came to it and drank of the water that gathered in the cup, he was cured forthwith of his sickness. This belief has lasted through the centuries; it has withstood the teaching and denunciation of Christians and Mohammedans alike.'

The fact of the cultus or folk-lore practice attached to this stone is clear enough, but some of Ramsay's inferences are more than disputable. If, as seems beyond doubt, this inscribed stone is Sterrett's No. 349, a quadrangular *cippus* with inscription recording the dedication of a *Hermes*,[2] *i.e.* a statue of Hermes, the stone was never an altar except in form. There is, therefore, no reason to refer the beginnings of its cultus-use to ancient times. It was most probably selected as a suitable stone for a grave and transported in recent times to the Turkish cemetery. The hollow on the top of the 'altar' probably dates in its present form only from the adaptation of the stone to its use as a tombstone; previously it may have had some kind of sinking for the attachment

[1] Pp. 156 ff.

[2] *Wolfe Expedition* (*Papers A.S.A.* iii), p. 218 (Alti Kapu). The text runs: ὁ δεῖνα | Διο]μήδου[ς | Ἑρμῆν | ἀνέθηκεν.

of the statue of Hermes alluded to in the inscription. Circular sinkings are commonly made on Turkish tombstones; the reason usually given is that birds are enabled to drink of the rain and dew that collect in them.[1] Further, Turkish *Jews* have a superstition that the dew which collects on tombstones cures children of fainting fits.[2] This belief is possibly borrowed from, probably shared by, the Turks. It will be seen that this reduces the fact that the stone is inscribed with the name of a god to a mere accident. Its potency comes primarily from its use as a tombstone and is probably reinforced by the fact that it has an inscription not 'understanded of the people', and therefore assumed to be of a magical character.

Sir Arthur Evans found at Ibrahimovče, near Uskub (Macedonia), a Roman altar dedicated to Jupiter Optimus Maximus, which was used by the villagers as a rain-charm. It is generally kept face downward, but in times of drought Christians and Mohammedans, headed

[1] C. White, *Constantinople*, i, 319, iii, 347; Walsh, *Constantinople*, ii, 423. According to Skene (*Wayfaring Sketches*, p. 218), the hollows are looked upon as affording the dead a means of practising the virtue of charity to the animal world: in Syria they are said to be for souls to drink out of (Baldensperger, in *P.E.F., Q.S.* for 1893, p. 217). There may be a reminiscence of the basins placed to feed the pigeons of the Kaaba at Mecca (Burckhardt, *Arabia*, i, 277); pigeons are a feature of Turkish cemeteries and sacred birds, since a pigeon is supposed, according to one account, to have inspired Mohammed (Varthema in Burton's *Pilgrimage to Al-Medinah and Meccah*, London 1906, ii, 352). For the sacredness of pigeons in Turkey, see Carnoy and Nicolaides, *Trad. de Constantinople*, p. 7; Evliya, *Travels*, 1, ii, 199; Carnoy and Nicolaides, *Folklore de Constantinople*, pp. 159, 201.

[2] Danon in *Onzième Congrès d'Orientalistes*, § vii, p. 264. *Cf.* the analogous medicinal use of water from a cup which has been buried for three years on a dead body ([Blunt], *People of Turkey*, ii, 145.) In Bosnia the rain-water which collects in a hollow of a stone—apparently natural—selected for veneration for reasons unknown to us, is drunk by sick peasants for cure. The broad principle underlying all such uses is that the absorption by swallowing not only of parts of a sacred object, but of things which have been in contact with it, is beneficial.

by a local *bey*, go together to the stone and, having restored it to its upright position, pour libations of wine on the top, praying the while for rain.[1] Evans remarks that the procedure here has no parallels in ordinary Slavonic folk-usage, and suggests that the use of the altar has been continuous since Roman times. But, while the practice of wetting the rain-charm is world-wide, the Roman rain-rituals he cites as parallels do not include libation. In all probability this stone has been found in comparatively recent times, and the 'Frankish' writing on it, from some combination of circumstances unknown to us, interpreted as a rain-charm, the ritual being prescribed by a local dervish or sorcerer. On this particular case some light is thrown by the peasants' beliefs regarding a 'written stone' buried in a vineyard near Monastir: this was once dug up, but torrents of rain followed. It is now kept buried, because, if any one dug it up again, *it would never stop raining*.[2] The more accommodating *jinn* who presides over the stone at Ibrahimovče can be so placated as to bring about a sufficient, but not excessive, rainfall when required. The idea of rain-making 'written stones', it may be remarked, is familiar to the Turks, since Turk, their eponymous ancestor, is said to have received from his father Japhet (who, in turn, inherited it from Noah) a stone engraved with the name of God which had the property of causing and stopping rain. This particular stone has been lost, but stones are said to be sometimes found which possess the same properties and are supposed to have some vague connexion with the original stone of Noah.[3]

[1] *Archaeologia*, xlix, 104.

[2] From Mr. A. J. B. Wace; *cf.* Wace and Thompson, *Nomads of the Balkans*, p. 133.

[3] D'Herbelot, *Bibl. Orientale*, s.vv. *Giourtasch* and *Turk*, and *Supplement*, p. 140. A rough boulder on the summit of the Cyprian Olympus, which seems to have been vaguely connected with the ark of Noah, was

A Christian stone-cult in connexion with a church of the Apostles near Preveza affords a baffling example of haphazard selection: for this stone, though venerated, is not in itself at all remarkable. We can only guess that its veneration is due to dreams and other accidental circumstances. The legend in regard to it is most unhelpful. The stone in question is preserved outside a church immediately to the left of the high road between Preveza and Yannina, about two hours from the former place. There seems no question of 'survival', or even of antiquity, since the stone was discovered in 1867. It has been enclosed in a small, pillar-like shrine of plastered rubble of the type commonly seen on Greek roadsides. The upper part of the pillar includes the usual niche, facing west and containing a cheap *eikon* of SS. Peter and Paul and an oil lamp. The stone itself is built into the lower part of the pillar, one surface only being exposed under a niche facing south. It seems to be an ordinary unworked stone of irregular shape with two or three sinkings in its exposed surface. The whole stands in close juxtaposition to the south-east corner of the humble modern church, and is surrounded by a wooden railing with two gates. Pilgrims pass in by the eastern gate, kiss the stone, and pass out by the western gate. Incubation (for one night) is practised in the church, and the stone has a great reputation for cures, which are not confined to Christians: a Moslem shepherd, for example, is said to have cured his sick flock by passing them through the enclosure. As to the discovery of the wonder-working stone, the story told me

formerly used as a rain-charm by the local Greeks. In times of drought it was lifted on poles, to the accompaniment of singing, by the peasants of the surrounding villages (Hackett, *Church of Cyprus*, p. 463, quoting Lusignan). Here the position of the stone seems to have had more to do with its selection than the stone itself. Any mountain-top is an appropriate place for watching the weather, and particularly for rain-making, since mountain-tops attract rain-clouds.

by the priest attached to the church is as follows. A monk from a neighbouring monastery was bidden by a vision to build at this spot a church to the Holy Apostles. One of the trees cut down during the clearing of the site *bled* copiously. This was regarded as a sign from Heaven, indicating that the desired site for the church was found. A stone was placed on the stump of the tree to stop the bleeding, and it is this stone which receives the reverence of pilgrims to-day. It is remarkable that in this legend the stone now regarded as sacred plays an entirely secondary part, and may even be regarded as receiving homage vicariously for the miraculous tree-stump it is supposed to cover. In fact, the whole of the story betrays itself as derived from secular folklore adapted clumsily enough to account for the miraculous stone. The bleeding tree was evidently of the dangerous haunted (*στοιχειωμένον*) class:[1] the real purpose of the stone is clear from the fact that when wood-cutters fell a tree of this sort they place a stone in the middle of the trunk to prevent the spirit of the tree rushing out and doing them harm.[2] The official account of the discovery wholly ignores the marvels attending it, and fails to make plain how the virtues of the stone were recognized.[3] Its main

[1] For bleeding trees in general see above, p. 175, n. 5.

[2] Polites, *op. cit.*, no. 324.

[3] S. Byzantios, *Δοκίμιον τῆς Ἄρτης* pp. 258 f.: "*Εἰς θέσιν καλουμένην Ἄνω Λούτσαν ἔκειτο ἀρχαῖός τις ἱερὸς Ναὸς ἐπ' ὀνόματι τῶν ἁγίων Ἀποστόλων Λιθάρι ἐπικαλούμενος, ἕνεκα τοῦ πρός μεσημβρίαν, ἔξω τοῦ Ναοῦ πρὸς τὸ ἱερὸν Βῆμα, δεξιόθεν ὑπάρχοντος ἐντὸς τῆς γῆς γωνιώδους τινὸς λίθου, ὃν ἀνεκαλύψαμεν τῷ 1867 ἔτει, καὶ περιεφράξαμεν, διὰ Κουβουκλίου, δι' ὃν λογοποιοῦνται πολλά, καὶ δι' ὃν ἐνεργοῦνται, τῇ Θεοῦ χάριτι διὰ πρεσβειῶν τῶν πανευφήμων Ἀποστόλων διάφορα ἰαμάτων χαρίσματα, οὐ μόνον πρὸς τοὺς ἡμετέρους, ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὸς τοὺς ἑτεροθρήσκους, προσίοντας καὶ ἐπικαλουμένους τὴν ἐκ τοῦ ἱεροῦ Λίθου σωματικὴν θεραπείαν εὐλαβῶς καὶ προσφέροντας κηρούς τε καὶ ἄλλα ἀφιερώματα. Ἐπειδὴ δὲ ὁ θαυματουργὸς οὗτος Λίθος, ὢν ἀφανής, δι' Ἀρχιερατικῆς ἐποπτείας ἀνεκαλύφθη κατὰ Ἰούλιον τοῦ εἰρημένου ἔτους, καὶ περιεφράχθη, ὡς εἴρηται,*

importance for us lies in the claim that the sacred stone was discovered under clerical supervision little more than fifty years ago.

The entire impossibility of certainty as to the age and origin of such cults, and particularly the danger of arguing from analogies, is shown by the history of the 'Black Stone' preserved at the tomb of Daniel at Susa (Sûs). The tomb of Daniel is known to have been shown at Susa as early as A.D. 530.[1] The 'Black Stone' was originally a block of dark marble, nearly cubical in form, bearing hieroglyphic figures in relief and cuneiform inscriptions. In the fifties of the last century it was held in great honour and considered bound up with the luck of the province. At that time (and probably to this day) its fragments were to be found built into one of the porticoes attached to the tomb of Daniel. It thus offered to all appearances a very fair counterpart of the broken Black Stone built into the Kaaba at Mecca, which is generally, and probably rightly, considered a relic of idolatrous worship surviving into the later cult. By the lucky accident of frequent travellers' visits to Susa, the actual history of the Black Stone and its rise to fame is known in some detail. About 1800 the Black Stone was discovered in the mound covering the ruins of Susa, and rolled down to the river-bank by the very dervish who kept the tomb in the fifties. It there served for some years as a washing-block, and attracted the notice of several European travellers. Monteith and Kinneir in 1809 found it was treated with some superstitious respect,[2] and made drawings of the inscriptions. In 1811 Sir R. Gordon, who tried

ἐδέησεν ἵνα διορθωθῇ καὶ ὁ μικρὸς καὶ πεπαλαιωμένος Ναός, ὅπερ καὶ ἐγένετο· ἀλλὰ τούτου, ἐκ περιστάσεώς τινος εἶτα πυρποληθέντος, ἀνεκαινίσθη ἐνδοξότερος καὶ λαμπρότερος . . . ἐν ἔτει 1871."

[1] Theodosius, *De Situ Terrae Sanctae*, ed. Geyer, *Itin. Hieros.* p. 149.

[2] In Egypt and Syria ancient stones, figured and written, seem generally so treated (see Garstang, *Land of the Hittites*, p. 95, n. 3, and p. 97).

without success to obtain possession of the stone, found its reputation on the increase: after this, presumably for security, it was buried, then disinterred by the guardians of the tomb of Daniel. In 1812 Ouseley found it had a reputation as a talisman against plague, hostile invasion, and other evils. In 1832 a 'stranger sayyid', supposed to be a 'Frank' in disguise, blew it to pieces with gunpowder in the hope of discovering hidden treasure: this was evidently the outcome of the interest shown in the stone by foreigners. Naturally enough, no treasure was found. But, probably from the conviction that, as the stone (1) attracted Franks [1] and (2) did not contain treasure, it must have remarkable occult powers, 'the fragments were carefully collected and reinterred within the precincts of the tomb; but immediately afterwards the province was almost depopulated by the plague, the bridge of Shuster suddenly broke, and the famous dam at Hawizah was carried away; all of which disasters were, of course, ascribed to the destruction of the talisman.[2]' The rise of the stone from obscurity to great superstitious importance can thus be placed between the years 1800 and 1832.

In conclusion, having shown how quickly a stone may rise to honour even in modern times, we may cite as a pendant the history of a suddenly arrested pillar-cult in Cairo, quite primitive in form, which rose to its climax and fell again apparently within a few days or weeks, both rise and fall being due to the arbitrary acts of definite persons. A contemporary observer gives the following account:

[1] *Cf.* Arundell, *Asia Minor*, i, 62 ff. For the Moabite Stone see above, p. 207, n. 4.

[2] Rawlinson, in *J.R.G.S.* ix, 69: for the history of the stone as given above, see further Walpole, *Travels*, p. 423, (with Monteith's drawing of the stone); Ouseley, *Travels*, i, 421 f.; de Bode, *Travels in Lauristan*, ii, 191; Loftus, *Travels in Chaldaea*, p. 416, *cf.* p. 421, and *Trans. Roy. Soc. Lit.* v (1856), p. 446.

'On the line of street from the citadel to Bab Zueileh is a mosque called Giama-el-Sais, or Mosque of the Groom. At the corner of it is a high Corinthian pillar. . . . I asked how the lower part of the pillar came to be covered all over with a thick coat of plaster, and received for answer, that this was the celebrated Amood-el-Metuely, which was proclaimed by a Mogrebbin sheikh to have miraculous effects, and that if sterile women licked it with their tongue, they would become mothers.[1] All on a sudden the pillar was so besieged by people wishing to lick it, that the streets were blocked up, and the Pasha Mahommed Ali, hearing of the delusion, caused a guard to stand while the masons plastered and built the lower part of it round with bricks.'[2]

These two 'life-histories' make it abundantly clear that a stone-cult, however primitive in type, need not be chronologically of ancient origin, even where the stone is itself ancient. Further, that a venerated stone need not represent the displaced central cultus-object of the holy place in which it is found, but may be, as at Susa, an originally independent object attracted into the orbit of an already existing sanctuary, or, as at Cairo, a portion of an already existing sacred building arbitrarily selected for special veneration.

The selection, however, of the Bab Zueileh column as an object of cult by would-be mothers is probably not arbitrary, but dependent on its having been formerly the column of execution.[3] The various superstitions connected with executed criminals are as homogeneous as they are crude. Lane found that in Egypt a mixture of blood and the water with which the bodies of executed criminals have been washed, is drunk by women

[1] There seems to be a column credited with similar powers at Medinet-el-Fayum. I know of it only from Sir Gilbert Parker's story, *The Eye of the Needle*, in *Donovan Pasha*.

[2] Paton, *Hist. of the Egyptian Revolution* (1870), ii, 276 f. This story is particularly interesting in view of the desperate efforts which have been made to find a classical past for the Athenian column of S. John.

[3] Tyndale, *L'Égypte*, p. 42.

for sterility and by men and women both for ophthalmia.[1] Another method of curing barrenness was to step seven times, without speaking, over the body of a decapitated person.[2] The idea seems to be that such persons passed out of life without any preliminary decline of vitality or unconsciousness, such as is common in ordinary deaths, and they make, on the one hand, the most dreaded ghosts,[3] and, on the other, if innocent victims, the most powerful agents for good to their suppliants.[4]

[1] *Mod. Egyptians*, i, 325.

[2] *Ibid.* i, 326. For the connexion with sterility see especially Niebuhr, *Voyage en Arabie*, ii, 164, quoted below, p. 218, n. 2.

[3] Niya Salima, *Harems d'Égypte*, p. 260, says that *efrits* (as opposed to *jinns*) ' prennent naissance au moment et sur le théâtre même d'un accident suivi de mort : leur hantise donne le délire de la persécution et la folie de suicide '.

[4] For the Jews, a person who has died a violent death is called *ipso facto* a saint (Carmoly, *Itinéraires*, p. 502). In the West, in connexion with popular (as opposed to Papal) canonization, it is noticeable, especially in the case of kings, that a violent and, if possible, literally bloody death is a desideratum. Kingship to a certain extent in itself implies sanctity (*cf.* touching for the King's evil), and to touch the Lord's anointed is sacrilege. A king who dies a violent death, whether or not in combat with the heathen, stands a good chance of canonization by the people. Thus, S. Oswald and S. Eadmund (of East Anglia) fell in battle (Hutton, *English Saints*, pp. 128, 138–44), while S. Oswine, S. Ethelbert (of East Anglia), S. Kenelm, Edward II, and Henry VI were all murdered (Hutton, pp. 136, 153, 153–4, 161, 162). His chance is increased by his being of notably pious life (*cf.* Edward the Confessor, in Hutton, p. 159; *cf.* also the case of S. Louis of France), or by his being young, when the point is probably virginity (*cf.* S. Edward of the West Saxons, murdered at seventeen by his step-mother, see Hutton, *op. cit.*, p. 155). Edward II, however, had no qualification besides kingship and his violent death : the same is perhaps true of Charles I (Hutton, pp. 338 ff.). Becket, on the other hand, is both a consecrated man and sacrilegiously and bloodily murdered : his personal popularity during his lifetime, however, and the papal convenience after his death would in any case have decided his canonization. In general, the laymen of political character, whom attempts have been made to canonize, seem all to have died by violent deaths : of these Simon de Montfort (Hutton, *op. cit.*, pp. 270 ff.) is typical. In the child saints, alleged victims of the Jews, such as S. William of Norwich and S. Hugh of Lincoln (Hutton, pp. 323 ff.), we have

It is best that the blood [1] should be taken almost before life is extinct[2], as it is evidently supposed to retain the

the combination of youth (*i.e.* virginity, as above) and bloody death. The first saints, too, were martyrs. The idea is seen at its crudest in the cult of the *decollati* at Palermo (see especially Marc Monnier, *Contes Populaires en Italie*, p. 27–9: *cf.* the account of the Glorious Hand in Baring Gould's *Curious Myths*, 2nd series, iv, 140 ff.), and in the superstitious value of relics from executed persons. Thiers, *Traité des Superstitions*, i, 390, inveighs against such use of the accessories of sudden death, whether it comes by murder or by execution.

[1] The most potent of all relics was the blood of a martyr shed at his martyrdom, his life-blood in fact. The only miracle attributed to Charles I was wrought by a handkerchief dipped in his blood (Hutton, *English Saints*, p. 349), and such relics were eagerly sought down to quite recently as often as Turks martyred Christians (*cf.* *Νέον Μαρτυρολόγιον*, *passim*). Blood was also a sovereign remedy against leprosy. An angel revealed to Amis that his leprosy would be cured if his friend Amile would consent to kill his two children, and wash him in their blood. As Amis had risked his life for Amile, the latter cut off his children's heads, took a little blood, replaced the heads, and washed Amis with the blood: he was cured of his leprosy and the children revived by a miracle (*cf.* the early thirteenth century French story used by Pater, *Renaissance*, pp. 1 ff.). The same *motif* exactly is used to revive a faithful vizir turned to stone in one of Kunos' tales (*Forty-four Turkish Tales*, pp. 217 ff.). We may also compare Constantine's proposal to cure his leprosy by bathing in infants' blood (Strack, *Blutaberglaube*, p. 22; *cf.* Migne, *Dict. des Apocryphes*, 1274, for Pharaoh's bathing in the fresh blood of Hebrew infants to cure his leprosy, on which see also Hasluck, *Letters*, p. 203), and the historical infusion of three (Jewish) children's blood made by his Jewish doctor in an attempt to save Pope Innocent VIII's life in 1492 (Gregorovius, *Stadt Rom*, vii, 306); to the Pope's credit, be it said, it was done against his will. In all these cases the innocence, especially the virginity, of the children increases the potency of the blood, but the blood is again the *vital principle* taken with the life still in it. *Cf.* also the stories told by Mrs. Hume Griffith. The child of a rich merchant was suffering from sore eyes. A sheep was killed and, while the blood was still hot, the head of the child was inserted into the sheep's body (*Behind the Veil in Persia*, p. 280). At an Armenian wedding in Persia a sheep is killed as the bride passes the threshold and she puts her foot in the blood (*ibid.*, p. 281). Fever patients are similarly wrapped in the skin of a newly slaughtered sheep (van Lennep, *Travels in Asia Minor*, i, 284).

[2] On this point Niebuhr (*Voyage en Arabie*, ii, 164) is explicit. A

vital principle and so to be particularly efficacious as a charm.

Deriving perhaps from this cult of the column of execution is the practice followed in the mosque of Sultan Hasan in Cairo.[1] The *mihrab* there has four columns, which are good for fever and barrenness. They are wetted with lemon-juice and then rubbed with a brick from Mecca which is kept in the mosque.[2] The resultant reddish liquid is drunk by the patient: the conjecture may be hazarded that this liquid is a substitute for the original blood.

Our general conclusions may be tabulated somewhat as follows:

(1) Certain kinds of stones, especially (*a*) holed stones, (*b*) columnar stones, (*c*) stones carved with figures, and

soldier in Persia had shot his officer dead; 'sur quoi d'abord la main lui fut coupée et ensuite il fut pendû. A peine lui avoit on coupé la main, que quantité de femmes s'avancèrent . . . pour avoir quelque chose du sang répandû. Elles se battoient pour le sable, qui étoit teint du sang de cet homme, et lorsque ce meurtrier pendit à la potence, plusieurs femmes ne faisoient qu'aller et venir dessous la potence, et tout cela dans l'idée que cela les aideroit pour devenir enceintes'.

[1] Vaujany, *Caire*, p. 193.

[2] The *mihrab* columns in the mosque of Amr at Damietta cure jaundice, if the patient scrapes a little powder from them and drinks it in some liquid (W. G. Browne, *Nouveau Voyage*, ii, 164); *cf.* Vaujany, *Alexandrie*, p. 205, who says that the patient first wets the column with lemon-juice and then licks it. *Mihrab* columns, being often of unusual material, easily become objects of superstition; in this case, being made of oriental alabaster (Sladen, *Queer Things about Egypt*, p. 198), they were yellow and therefore naturally good for jaundice. The licking ritual is found again and again. In the mosque of Kalaun at Cairo there are columns which cure fever and sterility when rubbed with lemon-juice and licked (Vaujany, *Caire*, p. 176; Duff Gordon, *Letters from Egypt*, p. 23). A stone in the Attarin mosque of Alexandria has a Greek inscription on it: wetted with lemon-juice and licked, it cures fever (Vaujany, *Alexandrie*, p. 109). A brass panel at Damascus with an Arabic inscription on it cured fever, when licked (I. Burton, *Inner Life of Syria*, p. 128). This ritual licking may ultimately derive from the column of execution, the Sultan Hasan practice being the intermediate link.

(*d*) inscribed stones (irrespective of the meaning of their inscriptions), are especially likely to attract superstitious veneration.

(2) Selection from among these classes depends on such considerations as size, or other conspicuousness, backed by the coincidence of dreams, or other accidental happenings, with their discovery or use. A stone's chance of selection for veneration is greatly enhanced if it is introduced (accidentally or purposely) into (*a*) a sacred building or (*b*) a cemetery.

(3) The ritual connected with the veneration of such stones is exactly that of other venerated objects in popular religion, chiefly forms of 'contact' or 'absorption'.

(4) Reverence for such stones, whether secular or religious, by Christians or Moslems, need not be of old standing, nor need it persist. Proved or even probable survivals from antiquity are exceedingly rare.

§ 3. Cave Cults

The development through folklore to religion of cave cults is very similar to that of tree cults.[1] The supernatural inhabitant of the cave is first considered merely as a ghost or apparition, like the 'Negress' of the Kamares cave.[2] If such an apparition made itself unpleasant it would undoubtedly be exorcized or placated with gifts: in this way it might be found by experience —here another word for coincidence—to have a positive 'white' value. Up to this stage the cult has no religious colour.

The following notes of cave-cults in Greco-Turkish Athens about 1800 are given by Hobhouse and Dodwell. The first refers to the rock-passage above the stadium.

'The first day I visited the place, I observed a flat stone in the side of the rock, strewed with several bits of coloured rag,

[1] Above, pp. 175–9.

[2] W. R. Halliday in *Folk-Lore*, xxiv, 359.

broken glass, flour, and honey, and a handful or two of dry pease. As I was going to examine them, a Greek in company exclaimed, " Don't touch them, Affendi, they are the Devil's goods—they are magical ". On enquiry, he assured me that some old women of Athens, well known to be witches, came often to this cavern in the dead of the night, and there performed their incantations, leaving these remnants for offerings to the evil spirit.' [1]

Dodwell, by a lucky chance, came into still closer contact with the cult of the so-called ' Tomb of Cimon ' near the church of S. Demetrius ' Loumbardieris ' :

'While I was drawing the outside of this sepulchral chamber, two Turkish women arriving seemed much disconcerted at my presence; and after some consideration and conference, desired me to go about my business, as they had something of importance to do in the cave, and did not choose to be interrupted. When I refused to retire, they called me dog and infidel! One of the women then placed herself on the outside for fear I should intrude, while the other entered; and after she had remained there about ten minutes, they both went away together; warning me at my peril not to enter the cave!

' The Greek who was with me said he was certain they had been performing magic ceremonies, as the cavern was haunted by the *Μοῖραι*, or Destinies: nothing would have tempted him to enter, and when I was going in, he threw himself upon his knees, entreating me not to risk meeting the redoubted sisters; who he was confident were feasting on what the Turkish women had left for their repast. I found in the inner chamber a small feast, consisting of a cup of honey and white almonds, a cake, on a little napkin, and a vase of aromatic herbs burning, and exhaling an agreeable perfume. This votive offering was placed upon a rock, which was cut and flat at top. . . . When I returned from the sepulchre, I found the Greek pale and trembling, and crossing himself very frequently. When he saw that I had brought out the contents of the feast, he told me he must quit my service, as he was confident that I should shortly experience some great misfortune for my impiety in

[1] Hobhouse, *Albania*, i, 325.

destroying the hopes and happiness of the two women, by removing the offerings they had made to the Destinies, in order to render them propitious to their conjugal speculations. I gave the cake to the ass, who had brought my drawing apparatus; and by whom it was devoured without any scruples; but unfortunately, as we were returning home, this animal . . . ran away braying and kicking till he broke my camera obscura in pieces. I collected the fragments as well as I could; while my Greek, who was quite sure that the accident was owing to my intrusion into the cave, triumphed in his predictions!

'Almost every cavern about Athens has its particular virtues; some are celebrated for providing its (*sic*) fair votaries with husbands, after a few sacrifices; others are resorted to by women when advanced in pregnancy, who pray for prosperous parturition, and male children; while others are supposed to be instrumental in accomplishing the dire purposes of hatred and revenge. But those evil spirits, whose assistance is invoked for vengeance and blood, are not regaled upon cakes and honey; but upon a piece of a priest's cap, or a rag from his garment, which are considered as the most favourable ingredients for the perpetration of malice and revenge.'[1]

Of the cave-cults at Athens mentioned by Hobhouse and Dodwell several have survived Turkish dominion. Kambouroglous, writing in the second half of the nineteenth century, cites a cult at the cave of the Stadium (*τρύπιο λιθάρι*)[2] and two on the Pnyx Hill, one directed to the Fates (*Καλοκιουράδες*) which is, or was, used by girls as a charm for obtaining husbands (probably that mentioned by Dodwell),[3] and another called the 'Cave of the old man' (*σπηλιὰ τοῦ Γέρου*).[4] Here 'old man' is evidently a translation of the Turkish 'Baba', which implies that the spirit of the cave was conciliated as far as the Turks were concerned and fell short of official sainthood only in so far as he had no building in his

[1] Dodwell, *Tour through Greece*, i, 396 ff.

[2] *Ἱστορία*, i, 222.

[3] *Tour through Greece*, i, 221.

[4] *Ibid.* i, 207, 222. This is the 'Tomb of Cimon'; it has now no signs of being regarded with superstitious reverence, rather the reverse.

honour or organized attendance. In the same way Delikli Baba, a cave-saint under the Palamidi fortress at Nauplia has for the Greek narrator of his story all the attributes of the 'Arab' *jinn* of folk-lore.[1]

When the cave-cult is fully accepted as 'white', the *jinn* takes rank as a saint and may or may not be identified with an historical or pseudo-historical person. The cave is then looked upon as (1) the scene of some event in the saint's life,[2] (2) his refuge or habitual abode,[3] or (3) his grave. The tendency is towards the last, but the various phases may be fused as at Kruya, where Sari Saltik kills the dragon who inhabits the cave, retires to the cave, and lives in it, leaving traces of his presence in the shape of a miraculously petrified melon![4] At Kaliakra [Kilgra] the same saint is buried in the cave formerly inhabited by the local dragon.[5]

We remark by the way that dervish ascetics not infrequently inhabit caves and ancient rock tombs. For example, the 'tomb of Mithridates' at Amasia was thus used in the fifties by a dervish from Samarkand who had seen the place in a dream.[6]

It is obvious that all three aspects of caves in relation to holy men are equally applicable to Christianity, in which we find the same dragon-caves, refuge-and dwelling-caves,[7] and tomb-caves as in Islam. Indeed, the

[1] Polites, *Παραδόσεις*, no. 446; see further above, p. 89, n. 5.

[2] For birth-caves see below, p. 225 and n. 1.

[3] For this there is a Moslem prototype in the Meccan cave of Jebel Nur, where the Prophet retired for inspiration (Burckhardt, *Arabia*, i, 320). *Cf.* the case of Hasan 'Chelife' above, p. 169.

[4] Degrand, *Haute Albanie*, pp. 236 ff.; below, pp. 434 ff.

[5] Evliya, *Travels*, ii, 72; below, pp. 429 ff.

[6] Skene, *Anadol*, p. 105; *cf.* Anderson (*Stud. Pont.* i, 64) and van Lennep (*Travels in Asia Minor*, i, 323) for S. Chrysostom's retreat in a classical rock-cut tomb near Niksar.

[7] The common Christian persecution *motif* has led also to the conception of the prison-cave ('Prison of S. Polycarp' at Smyrna, in de Burgo, *Viaggio*, i, 461, &c.).

religion of such sites depends on no more than the name of the hero of the legend, which in turn depends on his *clientèle*: Sari Saltik's grave in the Kilgra cave is called S. Nicolas's as well for the benefit of a mixed population. But the mere improbability would not have impeded the Christian identification as is seen by the existence of a corresponding apocryphal cave-tomb of S. Stephen outside Chalkis, which seems to be a development without a Moslem interlude from a secular cave cult.[1]

Interesting as an example of the arbitrary methods by which caves may be associated with historical persons is the following account of the so-called 'Shop of David', who is regarded by Moslems as the patron of armourers:

'Mr. Austen Layard . . . observed near Ser Pul Zohab, to the north-west of Kermanshah, an ancient chamber excavated in a rock. This excavation is known throughout the mountains of Luristan as the "Dukkiân Daoud" (David's shop). It is here, according to popular report, that the psalmist carried on his humble trade. . . . His shop is situated in a spot so difficult of access, that both he and his customers must have been daily placed in most critical positions. The "Dukkiân Daoud" is, nevertheless, a well-known place of pilgrimage for the inhabitants of the surrounding country, who are mostly of the sect called Daoudee. . . . Sacrifices of sheep are constantly offered before the Dukkiân, and few undertakings are commenced without invoking the benediction of the psalmist. . . . The excavated chamber is evidently the tomb of a prince or high-priest of the Sassanian epoch. Beneath the excavation is a small sculpture, representing one of the magi near a fire-altar, in the act of adoration. This is *supposed by the tribes to portray David preparing his anvil and furnace*.'[2]

[1] This is mentioned by Stephani (*Reise des Nördlichen Griechenlandes*, p. 22), who says pious offerings were laid there as in the Athenian caves. Buchon (*Voyage dans l'Eubée* [1841], p. 71) says *paras* were offered. The cave has now developed into a full-fledged church. (F. W. H.)

[2] White, *Constantinople*, i, 190 f.; *cf.* Mrs. Bishop, *Journeys in Persia*, i, 85.

Summing up, we find that caves are naturally merely bogey-ridden, but under suitable influence they blossom out in connexion with (1) hermit saints as retreats, (2) persecuted saints as refuges, (3) martyr saints as dungeons, and (4) all saints as possible burial-places. Under special influences, which I do not yet understand, caves are regarded as birthplaces. Mithras is probably very important here and may have influenced Bethlehem. It is curious that most of the birthplaces of Mohammedan saints (Mohammed, Fatima, Ali), at Mecca, which are at least relatively historical, are underground.[1]

[1] Burckhardt, *Arabia*, i, 313. Did the women bring forth underground to avoid the evil eye or some other malignant influence? Or was the after-birth or navel-string, both being important, buried in such places?

XV

TOMB AND SANCTUARY

THE ordinary Moslem grave in Turkey is marked by stones at the head and foot, and, if circumstances allow, by what is practically a copy in stone of the bier in which the dead are carried to the grave. A small space, corresponding to the size of a man, is surrounded by slabs, the head and foot being indicated by upright stones, imitating the wooden uprights which occupy the same position in the wooden bier. As on the bier the head-piece carries the turban of the deceased, so the head-piece of the grave reproduces it in stone. Dervishes' graves are marked by the *taj* or mitre of the order to which they belonged in life, and in former times the elaborate head-dresses of the various hierarchies, military, civil, and ecclesiastical, were represented in the same way. Where the grave is in a mausoleum (*turbe*) and protected from the weather, an actual head-dress occupies the same position on the tomb. Graves in the open air are generally covered by a slab which supports the head and footstones in two slots. A third aperture is made between the head- and footstones, and frequently, behind the head-stone or elsewhere, shallow sinkings are made with the avowed object of allowing the dead to practise the virtue of charity by affording drinking places for the pigeons and other birds that frequent the cemetery.

Trees, in Turkey generally cypresses,[1] are often planted

[1] The ever-green and long-lived cypress is supposed to symbolize immortality (Walsh, *Constantinople*, i, 350). In Arabia the aloe (*sabr*) is the favourite tree and is said to symbolize the patient waiting (*sabr* = 'patience') of the dead for the resurrection (Burckhardt, *Arabia*, i, 317). In Syria the myrtle seems to be used (Walpole, *Travels*, p. 317); Chandler (*Travels in As. Min.*, i, 230) cites an instance of its use in Turkey also.

at the head and foot of the grave and, when thus connected with the burial place of a saint, enjoy considerable veneration. The growth of these trees is sometimes considered an indication of the fate of the deceased. Julius Griffiths was present at a funeral where, 'as soon as the grave was filled up, each friend planted a sprig of Cypress on the right, and a second on the left hand of the deceased'. On his inquiring the reason he was told by one of the followers that 'it was to ascertain by their growth whether the deceased would enjoy the happiness promised by Mohammed'. This would be known if the sprigs on the right hand took root, the opposite if those on the left only should flourish. If both succeeded, the deceased would be greatly favoured in the next world; or, if both failed, he would be tormented by black angels until, through the mediation of the Prophet, he should be rescued from their persecution.[1] It is easy to see how, with these ideas in the air, a tree growing on the grave of a saint comes to be regarded with superstitious veneration; as also, conversely, how the fine growth of a tree, especially a cypress in a cemetery, might be taken as evidence of the place of burial of a great saint.

Tombs inside *turbes* are for the most part gabled in cross-section and are generally covered with shawls. The *turbe* itself may be of any form from a simple hut of the commonest materials to the sumptuous round or octagonal domed buildings erected over the tombs of the wealthy. A characteristic form is the open dome of masonry or wrought iron which marks some well-to-do graves in cemeteries. Any ordinary grave in a cemetery may prove itself to be that of a saint by posthumous

[1] Griffiths, *Travels*, p. 54. The same idea seems to be current in Syria respecting the grave myrtles (Walpole, *Travels*, p. 317). An echo of it is awkwardly worked into the Bosnian story of Kelkele Sali Agha, where oak-twigs are planted on the grave (Carnoy and Nicolaides, *Folklore de Constantinople*, p. 169).

miracles. Such a grave often comes in time to be enclosed in a *turbe*. But the holiness of a saint cannot be judged by the richness or otherwise of the tomb: some saints, *e. g.* the 'Joshua' of the Bosporus, 'refuse' a *turbe* by causing it to fall down or be burnt as soon as it is erected.[1]

A saint's *turbe*, even when on quite a humble scale, is often divided into two portions, the tomb chamber proper, and the place of prayer. The conjunction of mosque and *turbe* may arise in this way, as for example at Eyyub, where the mosque is strictly a convenience for pious persons desirous of praying and attending public worship at the tomb of the saint, and is of secondary importance to the *turbe*. But quite frequently also we find that the occupant of the *turbe* is the builder of the mosque, as, for example, at the Ulu Jami at Magnesia. Here the *turbe* is an accessory to the mosque. A founder often chose to be buried in or near his mosque in order to attract the prayers of the worshippers for the benefit of his soul. This might be done even when the benefaction was a secular building,[2] such as a bath [3] or a bridge.[4] Praying places forming part of roadside fountains [5] are a similar incitement to prayer for the founder's soul, directly requested by the inscription on Ahmed I's fountain at Constantinople.

[1] Other examples are Deniz Abdal at Constantinople (Carnoy and Nicolaides, *Folklore de Constantinople*, pp. 134 f.); Burhan-ed-din in Eflaki's *Acts of the Adepts*, tr. Redhouse, p. 17; Hasan Dede, a Bektashi saint buried near Tirana in Albania, was honoured by a local *bey* with a *turbe*, but showed his displeasure by burning it twice (F. W. H.). Mustafa Ghazi, buried at Canea (Crete) 'refused' a *turbe* four times by throwing it down. He afterwards appeared to the builder and instructed him to leave an opening in the roof (F. W. H.). A Christian parallel is that of S. Leontius, who, when the bishop of the district in which he was buried wished to honour him with an *ἀνακομιδή*, signified his displeasure by an earthquake (*N. Λειμων.* p. 460).

[2] Thévenot, *Voyages*, i, 182.

[3] Above, chap. iv, no. 5 (Yildiz Dede).

[4] Thévenot, *loc. cit.*

[5] *Cf.* Wood, *Ephesus*, p. 138.

Of the furniture of the *turbe* we have as yet described only the central feature, the tomb itself. The minor objects of interest consist for the most part in various relics said to have belonged to the dead saint, and to a certain extent votive objects. The relics vary according to the personality of the saint; a *ghazi*, or warrior, is marked by his weapons, a dervish by his beads, club, or crutch, and so on. These objects frequently play a prominent part in the cures wrought at the tomb. Their pedigree, even where the saint is known to be historical and the tomb authentic, is far from being above suspicion, though in most cases there is no chance of testing their authenticity. Arms and other symbolical implements are very often used to decorate the walls of Turkish convents, and these might easily come to be associated with the occupant of the tomb or other famous persons on no evidence whatsoever. So the symbolic sword seen by Dodwell in the 'Tower of the Winds' at Athens, then a dervish *tekke*,[1] became for later Athenians the sword of Mohammed the Conqueror.[2] Even the bead chaplets supposed to have belonged to deceased dervishes may have been placed there, as were those in the mausolea of the sultans,[3] for the devout to tell their prayers on. Secondly, objects originally suspended as charms against the evil eye may come into more intimate relations with the cult by confusion or design. So, for instance, at the dervish convent at Old Cairo an immense shoe or boot, connected vaguely with a 'giant' was, in the eighteenth century, hung in the entrance of the convent[4] in accordance

[1] Dodwell, *Tour through Greece*, i, 374.

[2] Kambouroglous, *Ἱστορία*, iii, 125.

[3] Covel, *Diaries*, ed. Bent, p. 182. Sultan Orkhan is believed to visit his tomb at Brusa every Friday, beat the drum, and tell his beads (Bussierre, *Lettres*, i, 154).

[4] Pococke, *Descr. of the East*, i, 29; Niebuhr, *Voyage en Arabie*, i, 101.

with a well-known superstition that such objects are prophylactic against the evil eye.[1] A century later the boot was treasured inside the convent as a relic of the founder.[2] Somewhat similarly, the famous sword called by 'Franks' the 'Sword of Roland' originally hung over a gate of the citadel at Brusa[3] and later became associated with the dervish warrior-saint Abdal Murad and was deposited at his tomb.[4] At the same time the custom of suspending the arms of warriors at their tombs undoubtedly existed. Evliya, in the seventeenth century, notes that the bow and sword of Kilij Ali were preserved in his *turbe*,[5] and in the case of a person only some fifty years dead it is unreasonable to doubt their authenticity. It is, indeed, the existence of genuine relics which has made the substitution of false ones easy.

[1] For the general use of shoes and boots with this object see, for Cairo, Hildburgh, in *Man*, 1913, p. 2, where they are said to be hung from shops and tied to camels for luck. For Turkey see M. Walker, *Eastern Life*, i, 335; Carnoy and Nicolaides, *Trad. de l'Asie Mineure*, p. 351. 'Giants'' boots were suspended in the gateways of *khans* at Brusa (Lucas, *Voyage au Levant*, ii, 129). A huge boot, supposed to be that of a giant who defended the town against the Venetians, formerly hung in one of the gates of Chalkis (L. Stephani, *Reise des Nördlichen Griechenlandes*, p. 16). A gilded shoe called *tsaroth* (*i.e. charik*, Gr. τσαρούκι) is said to have been suspended 'from the vaulte of the Temple' at Mecca (Georgewicz, *House of Ottomanno*). For shoes as relics of Turkish saints see Laborde, *Asie Mineure*, p. 65; Nikolaos, *Ὁδησσός*, p. 249; Kanitz, *Bulgarie*, p. 536. One suspects that the boots shown at Rhodes as those of Suleiman, the conqueror of the city (Egmont and Heymann, *Travels*, i, 276), were likewise prophylactic.

[2] Wilkinson, *Modern Egypt*, i, 287. For the plough on Murad I's grave at Brusa, its probable and its alleged origin, see above, p. 106.

[3] Belon, *Observations de plusieurs Singularitez*, iii, chap. xlii.

[4] Evliya, *Travels*, ii, 24. Tournefort, *Voyage*, Letter xxi; Sestini, *Lettere Odeporiche*, i, 117; *cf.* Hammer-Hellert, *Hist. Emp. Ott.* i, 153 (a garbled version of Evliya). *Cf.* the wooden sword of 'Neby Hocha' (Clermont-Ganneau, *Pal. Inconnue*, p. 60).

[5] *Travels*, I, ii, 58. The saint died 988 A.H. The arms of Murad I (d. 1389) were similarly shown at his tomb in Brusa (*ibid.* ii, 21).

The custom of suspending arms as prophylactic objects in the gates of cities and fortresses has probably in many cases originated the frequent cults of saints—generally warriors (*ghazis*)—who are honoured with cenotaphs in such places. Similarly, other talismans have evoked legends of giants and folk-lore heroes. Stuffed crocodiles,[1] whales' ('dragons' ') heads, and whales' ('giants' ') bones,[2] all of which are used prophylactically, have probably been an element in the formation of legends of dragon-slayers and giant-slayers in many other places besides Rhodes.[3]

Prayer-mats, especially deer-skins,[4] which are similarly part of the natural furniture of a *turbe*, may also come in time to be regarded as personal relics of the saint. These are easily brought into relation with legends of miraculous journeys[5] of the 'magic carpet' type. Similarly, the horns of deer are often seen suspended in *turbes*, originally, doubtless, for prophylactic purposes.[6] But in relation to a buried saint they can be explained as those of the saint's pet deer, or those of a deer which of its own free will offered itself for the Bairam sacrifice.[7] Other horns also, such as those of

[1] Crocodiles are a well-known variety of amulet: see Elworthy, *Evil Eye*, p. 321 (stuffed crocodile in doorway of cathedral at Seville), and Hildburgh, in *Man*, 1913, p. 1 (stuffed crocodiles commonly used as charms in Cairo). For them as *ex-votos* see Maury, *Croy. du Moyen Âge*, p. 232; Millin, *Midi de la France*, ii, 546.

[2] *Cf.* Hobhouse, *Albania*, ii, 948 (Constantinople); Evliya, *Travels*, ii, 230 (whales' bones and old arms in castle gate at Angora). *Cf.* also Maury, *op. cit.* ii, 233, and Clermont-Ganneau, *loc. cit.*

[3] For the 'dragon's' head at Rhodes see below, pp. 654–5, where also other instances of gate charms are collected.

[4] On the special relation between deer and dervishes see pp. 460–1.

[5] See p. 286.

[6] For them as a house charm see White, in *Mosl. World*, 1919, p. 184.

[7] This is said of deer-horns kept in the Khalveti *tekke* at Uskub (F. W. H.), and of others on the grave of the rustic saint Arab-oglu in Pontus (White, in *Records of the Past*, vi, 101). The miracle is a very old one (*cf.* Plutarch, *Lucullus*, cap. x).

goats and oxen,[1] are occasionally seen in *turbes*: these may be those of sacrificed beasts, but are probably kept and exhibited for their prophylactic value. In the Dome of the Rock at Jerusalem were formerly suspended, from the centre of the dome itself, a pair of ram's horns, reputed those of the ram sacrificed by Abraham in place of Ishmael.[2] The purpose of the talisman in such cases is probably to ensure the stability of the dome.

Ostrich eggs are suspended in sacred buildings (churches as well as mosques and *turbes*) all over the Near East.[3] Here again the original purpose seems to have been prophylactic,[4] though, as often, more elaborate explanations have been invented. Primarily an egg is said to be sovereign against the evil eye because it has no opening and is, so to speak, impregnable;[5] ostrich eggs mounted as charms are generally held in a metal frame, not pierced for a string. Ostrich-eggs are in Cairo a common charm for the protection of houses and shops.[6] Their use as *ex-votos* is early: a tree idolatrously worshipped at Mecca in pre-Islamic days had ostrich-eggs suspended from it.[7] In Greece and Turkey, ostrich-eggs being comparatively rare, and, in addition,

[1] Niebuhr, *Reisebeschreibung*, iii, 138 (deer-horns at grave of Said Omar near Kutahia, horns of oxen and goats at Afiun Kara Hisar).

[2] Le Strange, *Palestine*, p. 147. Ibn Batuta speaks of an iron buckler, reputed that of the Prophet's uncle, in this position (*ibid.*, p. 136).

[3] Moslem examples are cited from Egypt (Pococke, *Descr. of the East*, i, 31), Hebron (Grimaldi in *P.E.F.*, *Q.S.* for 1912, p. 149), Meshed Ali [Nejef] (J. Griffiths, *Travels*, p. 371), S. Sophia, Constantinople (Dallaway, *Constantinople*, p. 57), 'Tower of the Winds', Athens (Dodwell, *Tour through Greece*, i, 374), *tekke* of Hafiz Khalil near Varna (Kanitz, *Bulgarie*, p. 475).

[4] [Blunt], *People of Turkey*, ii, 244; Carnoy and Nicolaides, *Trad. de l'Asie Mineure*, p. 351; Rogers, *Vie Domestique*, p. 459.

[5] Baldensperger in *P.E.F.*, *Q.S.* for 1893, p. 216; *cf.* Jessup, *Women of the Arabs*, p. 336.

[6] Hildburgh, in *Man*, 1913, pp. 1 ff.; they have been noticed in the Egyptian bazaar at Constantinople (C. White, *Constantinople*, i, 174).

[7] Robertson Smith, *Religion of the Semites*, p. 169.

curiosities [1] easily obtained by pilgrims to the Holy Places,[2] have developed a religious symbolism over and above their prophylactic value. Among Christians they are said to be emblems of faith, since the hen ostrich is said not to sit on her eggs, but to hatch them by looking at them.[3] The Moslem interpretation of the symbolism, as given by a Turk of Sivas,[4] is still more recondite: 'the ostrich always looks at the eggs she lays; if one of them is bad, she breaks it.' Ostrich-eggs are therefore suspended in sacred buildings 'as a warning to men that if they are bad, God will break them in the same way as an ostrich does her eggs', *i.e.* reading their hearts regardless of their outward appearance.

Lastly, an object often seen hung up in the *turbes* of Turkish saints,[5] as also outside houses like the Greek May-garland, is a plait of corn-stalks with the ears left entire. This is quoted by Hildburgh as an evil eye charm used in Cairo for shops and houses.[6] But, since it is essential that the corn used in the plait should be the first of the year, it seems clear that the primary idea is that of a first-fruit offering dedicated indifferently to the local saint or the house-spirit as a thank-offering, and to ensure abundance during the coming year. An interesting Christian parallel is afforded by an illustration in Kanitz' *Bulgarie*,[7] showing the corn-plait suspended to a house-*eikon*, which may be regarded as a compromise between the pagan house-spirit and the saint of the official religion.[8]

[1] *Cf.* Mrs. Green, *Town Life in the Fifteenth Century*, i, 153.

[2] *Cf.* Lucius, *Anfänge des Heiligenk.*, pp. 303–4.

[3] Fellows, *Journal in Asia Minor*, p. 241; Tozer, *Highlands of Turkey* (Athos), i, 79.

[4] Burnaby, *On Horseback through Asia Minor*, i, 316: *cf.* I. Burton, *Inner Life of Syria*, p. 447. *Cf.* a roc's egg in Lane, *Thousand and One Nights*, p. 484.

[5] Hildburgh, in *Man*, 1913, pl. A, 3.

[6] As, *e.g.*, in the *turbe* at Tekke Keui in Macedonia (Evans, in *J.H.S* xxi, 203).

[7] P. 409.

[8] Frazer (*Spirits of the Corn and Wild*, ii, chap. x, xi) has shown that

A large number of saints' 'tombs' are cenotaphs, some admittedly so.[1] A saint of Monastir, named Khirka Baba, who appears to be historical, 'disappeared' from the sight of men, leaving his habit (*khirka*) on the ground. The spot where his habit was found is railed round like a tomb and the habit itself reverently kept in the 'tower' (*kula*) formerly inhabited by the holy man, both tower and cenotaph being frequented as a pilgrimage in his honour.[2] Similarly, Emineh Baba, a Bektashi saint of Macedonia, 'disappeared', but has, nevertheless, commemorative cenotaphs in two Bektashi convents.[3] An Anatolian saint named Haji Bekir died no one knew where, with the express object, it is said, of avoiding the posthumous honour of a *turbe*. But his spirit is supposed to haunt a mill he frequented in life, where incubation is practised by pilgrims as at a formal tomb.[4] Other venerated personages boast more than one tomb, each being locally claimed as genuine. In the case of persons historically known, it may be possible to distinguish between tomb and cenotaph. Murad I, for instance, lies buried beside his mosque at Brusa, but the spot where he fell on Kossovo[5] is marked by a *turbe* which is said to contain his heart

all over the world first-fruit offerings are made either to the dead, the gods, or the king, all, probably, representing stages in the development of religion. In some cases the offering is anthropomorphic, as may be the case with the Bulgarian corn-plait illustrated by Kanitz. For instances in the Greek area see Georgeakis and Pineau, *Folk-Lore de Lesbos*, p. 310; *cf.* Miss Durham, *Burden of the Balkans*, p. 124.

[1] *Cf.* Hanauer, *Folk-Lore of the Holy Land*, p. 79; Lane, *Thousand and One Nights*, pp. 339, 359.

[2] See below, p. 358. [3] See below, p. 527. [4] See below, p. 268.

[5] His assassin, Milosh Obilich, is buried beside him on Kossovo (Miss Durham, *Burden of the Balkans*, p. 26; Boué, *Itinéraires*, ii, 175, 178). The 'Arab' who slew Constantine Palaiologos is buried beside him (Polites, *Παραδόσεις*, no. 34 and note), as is the princess beside Sidi Ghazi, after she had (involuntarily) caused his death (see below, p. 743). Shamaspur *tekke* at Alaja probably affords another example (below, p. 573).

and bowels.[1] Suleiman Pasha, son of Orkhan, is said to be buried at Bulair in Thrace,[2] but his college (*medreseh*) at Yenishehr contains a *turbe* firmly held by local people to contain his remains: it is possible either that they were divided, as in the case of Murad I, or that he built himself at Yenishehr, during his lifetime, a *turbe* in which he was never buried. Local rivalry is also in part responsible for such inconsistencies. Both Bilejik[3] and Eskishehr[4] claim and show the grave of Edeb Ali, the father-in-law of Osman; and the bones of Osman himself, buried on the acropolis of Brusa, are claimed also by his original capital, Sugut.[5]

The reputed tombs of Arab saints and heroes shown in Asia Minor are probably, as we have said elsewhere,[6] without exception unhistorical. One at least, that of Bilal at Sinope, is a doublet of a better known grave of the same saint at Damascus.[7] Many such doublets are evidently the results of the erection of commemorative buildings marking critical points in the hero's history, like the birth-places of Suhayb at Daonas[8] and of Sidi

[1] Ippen, *Novi Bazar*, p. 147. It should be noted that according to strict Moslem religious law embalming is illegal and bodies must not be transported, exception being made for emperors (d'Ohsson, *Tableau*, i, 251; Cantimir, *Hist. Emp. Oth.* i, 46). Goldziher in *Rev. Hist. Relig.* ii (1880), p. 283, says that exhumation of the dead is thought a profanation by Moslems. Their feeling is so strong that the Sultan of Egypt at the time refused to allow S. Barbara's body, buried at Cairo, to be dispersed as relics in Christendom (Ludolf, *De Itinere*, p. 54). A miraculous fire prevented the removal of the Imam Shifei's body from its original tomb (Makrizi, quoted by de Maillet, *Descr. de l'Égypte*, i, 257 f.). Osman Bey (*Les Imans et les Derviches*, pp. 143–4) says persons must be buried where they die because that was the earth from which they were formed.

[2] Hammer-Hellert, *Hist. Emp. Ott.* i, 202; d'Ohsson, i, 101; Seaman, *Orchan*, p. 90.

[3] Hammer-Hellert, *Hist. Emp. Ott.* i, 103; *cf.* Huart, *Konia*, p. 24.

[4] Haji Khalfa, tr. Armain ii, 70: verified by F. W. H. For Edeb Ali's connexion with Eskishehr *cf.* Hammer-Hellert, i, 64.

[5] Leake, *Asia Minor*, p. 15.

[6] Below, p. 702.

[7] See below, p. 712.

[8] Le Strange, *E. Caliphate*, p. 154.

Ghazi at Malatia.[1] The tangibility of a tomb alleged to contain the actual body of a saint works powerfully in favour of the substitution of tomb for commemorative memorial in popular thought. In some cases when numerous alleged tombs[2] of the same saint were shown, legend has evidently been called in to explain them. A saint claimed by the Nakshbandi, Hasan Baba,[3] has seven tombs at various points in Rumeli. These, legend says, were erected by his disciples as 'blinds' when the saint was pursued by his enemies. The body of Sari Saltik, the Bektashi apostle of Rumeli, miraculously became seven bodies at his death, and each was buried in the capital of a separate kingdom, so that the seven tombs are found in as many towns, both of Islam and Christendom.[4] Karaja Ahmed[5] is another of these multiplied saints: his graves are found chiefly in western Asia Minor, and we may suggest that he represents the eponymous ancestor, or a series of chiefs, of a tribe bearing his name: though, as he has been merged into the Bektashi hagiology, it is more than probable that a more miraculous explanation is current.

[1] Haji Khalfa, tr. Armain, p. 660: were these 'birth-places' supposed to be the places where the *placentae* of the heroes concerned were interred?

[2] *Cf.* Montet, *Culte des Saints Musulmans*, pp. 19–20. In *P.E.F., Q.S.* for 1877, p. 89, Conder says the different tombs were sometimes supposed to represent 'stations' of the saint.

[3] Below, pp. 356–7. [4] Below, pp. 430–1. [5] Below, pp. 404–5.

XVI

INVIOLABILITY OF SANCTUARY

Introductory

A SAINT'S grave and its immediate surroundings are sacred and inviolable. Even after a casual discovery of a supposed saint through the fall of a wall, according to Professor White, 'no robbery or other depredation may be committed there, and if a grove is near by its trees cannot be cut'.[1] For such inviolability there is a precedent from the source of Islam. Mohammed himself prescribed that a radius of twelve miles round the holy city of Medina should be held inviolate: no game should be killed in it, no trees cut, and no murder or act of violence committed.[2]

Among rough communities the inviolability of a saint's precinct may be used for the protection of person and property. Sir Mark Sykes noted an instance of this in Kurdistan, at the pass of Hasan Ghazi, which he says is

'named after a Kurdish saint whose tomb is there. The Djziey Kurds hold him in great reverence and deem it a merit to be buried there; the graveyard is a refuge from feuds and robbers: no one who flees thither will be slain, and any person may leave his goods there without a guard in perfect safety. The sincerity of this extraordinarily accommodating belief is proved by the fact that the whole graveyard is littered with odds and ends, cradles, bales of cotton, bags of rice, stocks of firewood, doors, rafters, fencing, wattle, hurdles, pots and pans, left by various persons who have gone on journeys or removed owing to the temporary abandonment of the villages.'[3]

[1] In *Trans. Vict. Inst.* xxxix (1907), p. 155.

[2] Burckhardt, *Arabia*, ii, 220.

[3] *Dar-ul-Islam*, p. 189; similar sanctuaries (*makams*) in Syria, Pales-

It will be recalled that a somewhat similar use of a sanctuary on Lampedusa, violation of which rendered departure from the island impossible, is mentioned by several authors of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. This is of special interest as the inviolability of the place was respected both by Christians and Moslems.[1]

§ 1. Sacred Trees and Groves

We have seen that one of the prohibitions of the sacred territory of Medina refers to the cutting of trees. This prohibition is sometimes applied very strictly to the trees near saints' graves. In the grave enclosure of Helvaji Dede at Constantinople grow a cypress, a plane, and a laurel. These are never cut, and even when the branches fall they are not removed.[2]

There are a great many instances of small groups of trees or 'sacred groves' which must not be cut. These are sometimes to be considered religious, as connected with Mohammedan (or Christian) saints, sometimes secular, as a form of tree-worship. It is often impossible to say whether the sacredness of these groves is primitive and their connexion with saints evolved from it, or whether it is secondary and due to their proximity to saints' graves. This is a dilemma which must often meet us in other fields. Instances of these sacred groves are:

1. At Sandal, a Turkish (Kizilbash?) village near Kula in Lydia. Here the antiquity of the *tabu* is certified by a Greek inscription.[3]

tine, and elsewhere are mentioned by Baldensperger in *P.E.F.*, *Q.S.* for 1893, p. 215; Conder, *ibid.*, *Q.S.* for 1877, pp. 89, 91; Warren, *ibid.*, *Q.S.* for 1869, p. 300; Schumacher, *ibid.*, *Q.S.* for 1888, pp. 138, 160, 163; Burckhardt, *Syria*, pp. 95, 525; Goldziher in *Rev. Hist. Relig.* 1880, p. 346; Loftus, *Travels in Chaldaea*, p. 322; Petachia, in *Nouv. Jour. As.* viii, 302; Schumacher, *Across the Jordan*, pp. 5, 300, 305; G. E. White, in *Mosl. World*, 1919, pp. 10–11.

[1] See above, pp. 46 ff. and below, pp. 755 ff.

[2] Carnoy and Nicolaides, *Folklore de Constantinople*, p. 174.

[3] Tsakyroglous in *Μουσεῖον*, 1880, p. 164, no. *τλβ'*.

2. At Ebimi, a Kizilbash village in Pontus, a small eminence is crowned with a grove of pines never cut. There is a *panegyris*, with the usual sacrifice of a sheep in May.[1] The grave of a saint, Buyuk Evliya, is said to exist there.[2] The site was, in antiquity, sacred to Zeus Stratios, but the connexion is probably fortuitous.

3. At Tulum Bunar (on the Kasaba line) Oberhummer found a similar grove connected with the *tekke* of Jafer Ghazi.[3] The list could probably be added to indefinitely.[4] Taylor remarks that the sacred groves of the Kurds are mostly poplar and connected with the names of Mohammedan saints.[5] The cult of sacred groves in Circassia seems to be highly developed.[6] Similar groves also exist among the Yezidi of the Jebel Siman in Syria.[7] These may be important in the present connexion on account of the possible connexion between the Syrian heterodoxies and those of Asia Minor.

Christian parallels for these sacred groves are to be found:

1. In Albania at Tepelen. Here, in a Mussulman country, a Christian saint's *tabu* still protects the grove.[8]

2. In Greece, on the Euripus, a grove of S. George is noted which avenged the cutting of its trees by the death or wounding of the cutter.[9]

3. In Asia Minor, at Tashna (Pontus), is a grove sacred to Elias.[10]

[1] Perhaps 23 April (O.S.), the day of Khidr—S. George.

[2] Cumont, *Stud. Pont.* ii, 172. A similar sacred hill with trees exists near the Kizilbash village of Bajileh (*ibid.*, p. 187).

[3] Oberhummer and Zimmerer, *Durch Syrien*, p. 398.

[4] At Seïdeler local women prevented Choisy from cutting a switch from a willow in the village square (Choisy, *Asie Mineure*, p. 199).

[5] In *J.R.G.S.* xxxv (1865), p. 41.

[6] Spencer, *Turkey, Russia, and Circassia*, p. 383.

[7] *Mél. Fac. Or.* (Beyrut), ii, 367 (Jerphanion).

[8] Durham, *Burden of the Balkans*, p. 222.

[9] Walpole, *Travels*, p. 70.

[10] Cumont, *Stud. Pont.* ii, 129.

4. In Cyprus a grove of *Zizyphus Spina Christi* is dedicated to S. Catherine: the site may have been anciently sacred to Aphrodite. This grove is cut for the Easter bonfire.[1] The exception to the prohibition in favour of a ritual use in this last example is characteristic and ancient.[2] Similarly, trees on Mohammedan saints' graves are used for ritual purposes. For example, the leaves of the laurel which grows on the tomb of Joshua on the Bosporus are used for the fumigation of sick pilgrims.[3] Leaves from the laurels on the grave of Deniz Abdal are similarly used for the sick. But a carpenter who removed some branches from the tree without such motive, though ordered to do so by the guardian of the tomb himself, fell from the tree during the operation and was in bed for months after.[4]

§ 2. Protected Animals—Game

For the game *tabu* at Medina we may compare in Asia Minor the protection of wild birds on the mountain in Cappadocia named after and sacred to Tur Hasan Veli,[5] and of the wild sheep on the hill of the saint Fudeil Baba near Konia.[6] Dire consequences attended the killing of the latter except for the purpose of sacrifice. Deer in general are more or less sacred animals. Gazelles, roedeer, and stags must not be

[1] Magda Ohnefalsch-Richter, *Gr. Sitten und Gebräuche auf Cypern*, p. 38; Max Ohnefalsch-Richter in *J.H.S.* iv, 115. *Cf.* another case in Jessup, *Women of the Arabs*, p. 318.

[2] *Cf.* the inscription which I published in *J.H.S.* xxvii, 66 (13), and in *Cyzicus*, vi, 54. Compare the Cedars of Lebanon, for which see d'Arvieux, *Mémoires*, ii, 415; La Roque, *Voyage de Syrie*, i, 71.

[3] F. W. H.

[4] Carnoy and Nicolaides, *Folklore de Constantinople*, p. 134.

[5] *Id.*, *Trad. de l'Asie Mineure*, p. 217.

[6] Haji Khalfa, tr. Armain, p. 670. Similarly, the Christian saint Mamas of Cyprus keeps the number of *moufflons* up to seven hundred, and it is dangerous to hunt them on his day (M. Ohnefalsch-Richter, *Gr. Sitten und Gebräuche auf Cypern*, p. 162).

hunted on account of their close connexion with dervish saints. Dervishes are supposed to take the form of deer, and ascetics are said to have tamed them and lived on their milk.[1] A dervish named Geyikli Baba is said to have been present at the siege of Brusa riding on a stag.[2] Their skins and horns are frequently found in *turbes*.[3] In Pontus stags built the enclosure of a saint's grave.[4]

We may here conveniently discuss the *tabu* against the hare which exists among the Albanian Bektashi sect and elsewhere. The explanations given are various. Some say that the soul of Yezid, the wicked caliph who was responsible for the murder of Hasan and Husain, passed into a hare;[5] others that the *secretary of the Prophet* had a cat which was changed into a hare.[6] Macedonian Bektashi say that, being all blood and without flesh, it is not to be eaten.[7] The Bektashi of Cappadocia say that Ali himself kept a tame hare as others keep cats; they call the hare on that account 'the cat of Ali' and treat it with particular respect.[8] Another explanation given by the Kizilbash of the *tabu* is that by a miracle of Ali the caliph Omar was turned into a woman and bore two children; when Omar resumed his sex, his children were turned into hares, which are on this account sacred to the Kizilbash.[9] The Bektashi

[1] Carnoy and Nicolaides, *Trad. de Constantinople*, p. 10; F. W. H., below, pp. 460 f. For the superstition as to killing deer in practice see L. Garnett, *Greek Folk-Songs*, p. 86, note; Baker, *Turkey in Europe*, p. 378. Stories of dervishes and deer in both the above connexions are given below, pp. 460–2.

[2] Evliya, *Travels*, ii, 24.

[3] See p. 231.

[4] Prof. White, in *Mosl. World*, ix, 11.

[5] Brailsford, *Macedonia*, p. 246.

[6] Degrand, *Haute Albanie*, p. 234; there seems to be a confusion here between the word for secretary (*Yaziji* يازيجى) and the name of the caliph Yezid.

[7] M. M. H.

[8] Crowfoot, *J. R. Anthr. Inst.* xxx, 315. Dr. Hogarth kindly informs me that in Iraq the 'cat of Ali' is the maneless lion.

[9] H. Grothe, *Vorderasienexpedition*, ii, 152; it will be noted that this profane story is told at the expense of one of the caliphs not recognized by the Shias; the miracle of the transformation, however, is

Albanians explain the hare *tabu* by a story that the wife of a dervish wiped up some impurity with a cloth and put the cloth in a hollow tree. A hare sprang out and left the cloth stainless, being thus the incarnation of the impurity.[1] Most of the legends thus make the hare accursed rather than sacred; but the existence of both ideas side by side is interesting and not incompatible with primitive thought. In practice certainly the hare is abhorred. The Bektashi will not eat it and, if their path is crossed by one, turn back.[2] An Albanian *kavass* in one of the consulates at Monastir is said to have threatened to leave because a hare was brought into the house.[3] A shop-keeper in Constantinople found that the keeping of a tame rabbit at once lost him his Bektashi customers.[4] I have not been able to find that Christian Albanians have any feeling against eating hares,[5] but the Shia tribes of Asia Minor share the prejudice,[6]

held to Ali's credit. In de Lorey and Sladen, *Queer Things about Persia*, p. 272, there occurs a similar story in which Omar is transformed into a bitch, has six puppies, and goes through humiliating experiences. The story in the text is evidently one of a series of scurrilous tales circulated to discredit the hated caliph, who ousted Ali. The unbelieving sultan El Hakim was changed into a woman and bore three children (Lane, *Mod. Egyptians*, ii, 198).

[1] Degrand, *Haute Albanie*, p. 235.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 234; *cf.* Gédoyn's *Journal*, p. 55, where a story illustrating this is told of a Janissary: the connexion between the Janissaries and Bektashi is well-known. In Algeria it is unlucky to see a hare running away from you (Prignet, *A travers l'Algérie*, p. 74).

[3] From Mr. W. H. Peckham, formerly H.B.M.'s consul at Uskub.

[4] Carnoy and Nicolaides, *Trad. de Constantinople*, pp. 7 f. *Cf.* de Vogüé, *Hist. Orient.*, p. 198.

[5] *Cf.* the story in Bérard, *Turquie*, p. 308, where a hare crosses the road: Bérard's Christian Albanian servant crosses himself, but his Bektashi Albanian curses the hare heartily; *cf.* also p. 73. Greeks think it unlucky: *cf.* Georgeakis and Pineau, *Folk-Lore de Lesbos*, p. 339.

[6] For the Takhtajis of Lycia, who consider that bad souls are metamorphosed into hares (or turkeys) after death, see von Luschan, in Benndorf, *Lykien und Karien*, ii, 201; for the Nosairi see Dussaud, *Nosairis*, p. 93. Ibn Batuta (tr. Sanguinetti, ii, 353) notices that the

as do the Persians.[1] Certain of the wandering tribes of Persia do not scruple to eat hares, but it is considered pagan and barbarous on their part.[2] So far, then, the *tabu* on the hare seems to be religious and peculiar to the Shia forms of Islam.[3] But it should be noted that the Christian Armenians are no less averse to the hare than the Persians.[4] This may be due to Persian influence, but the same point of view is shared apparently by the Georgians, who are much less exposed to such influence.[5]

Sinope people eat it, but that the Shia Rafidhites of the Hejaz and Iraq do not.

[1] Chardin, *Voyages*, iv, 183: 'le lièvre leur est défendu. . . . Les Persans ne peuvent pas seulement entendre nommer le Liévre, parce qu'il est sujet à des pertes comme les femmes.' *Cf.* Tavernier, *Rel. of the Seraglio*, p. 28. [2] Malcolm, *Hist. of Persia*, ii, 432.

[3] For Sunni Moslems the hare is not unclean, though it is forbidden by the Mosaic law 'because he cheweth the cud but divideth not the hoof' (*Levit.* xi, 6). The hare is among the figures of animals in synagogues (Kitchener in *P.E.F., Q.S.* for 1877, p. 124).

[4] Rycaut, *Greek and Armenian Churches*, p. 395: 'They account it a sin to eat Hares, and their flesh is almost as abominable to them, as Swines-flesh to a Jew or Turk. I have asked them the Reason for it; to which they replyed, that a Hare was a melancholy Creature, and therefore unwholesom; besides it was accounted unlucky, and portending evil to any man who met one, and moreover that the Female was monthly unclean' (*cf.* Tavernier, *loc. cit.*). *Cf.* Villotte, *Voyages*, p. 536, who says neither Armenians nor Jews eat it.

[5] *Cf.* Sir Dudley North's anecdote of a Georgian slave brought to England: 'A maid servant, provoked by his leering at her, laid a fresh rabbit-skin cross his face; which was such a pollution that he ran straight to the pump, and they thought that he would never have done washing' (*Lives of the Norths*, ii, 151). Few Damascus Christians will eat it (Mrs. Mackintosh, *Damascus*, p. 54). In the Ukraine and among modern Greeks it is considered a creature of the Devil (Dähnhardt, *Natursagen*, i, 153). The position of the *tabu* may therefore be set out thus: the Bektashi in general abhor it; Christian Albanians eat it; while Bektashi Albanians abhor it, so that in Albania the ban on it seems to be a Bektashi importation. Among Christians, the Armenians avoid it, while the Greeks eat it. A transformation of Buddha into a hare is recorded (Baring Gould, *Curious Myths*, 1st series, pp. 203–4).

§ 3. Sacred Fish

The fish of sacred springs and rivers are sometimes protected in a similar way by religious scruple. Instances of sacred fish in Turkish lands appear to be rare. The best-known example is to be found in the fish kept in the fountain of the Shamaspur *tekke* near Alaja in Paphlagonia.[1] Fishes are or were also kept in the fountain of the Ulu Jami at Brusa.[2] A Christian parallel is to be found in the well-known sacred fish of Balukli near Constantinople.[3] Here the fish have no real religious significance and are merely a peg to hang folk-stories on.

For the full understanding of the veneration of sacred fish we must look farther east. In Syria particularly sacred fish have received extraordinary honours from ancient times to our own. There Xenophon [4] saw river-fish which were 'regarded as gods' by the inhabitants, and a pool full of fish sacred to the Dea Syria at Bambyke is noticed by Lucian.[5] This particular pool seems to have lost its religious significance,[6] but the well-

[1] Hamilton, *Asia Minor*, i, 403: 'a beautiful fountain of clear cold water in a deep marble basin, in which were many fish, apparently a species of carp'; H. J. Ross, *Letters from the East* (1856), p. 243; Wilson, in Murray's *Asia Minor*, p. 36. The fish mentioned by Hamilton (i, 98) at Mohimul near Taushanli may also have been sacred. *Cf.* Calder, in *J.R.S.* ii, 246.

[2] Evliya, *Travels*, ii, 6; Texier, *Asie Mineure*, i, 65.

[3] For the popular stories regarding these fish see Carnoy and Nicolaides, *Folklore de Constantinople*, pp. 54 ff. From the historical notices of the foundation collected by the priest Eugenios (*Ἡ Ζωοδόχος Πηγὴ καὶ τὰ ἱερὰ αὐτῆς προσαρτήματα*, pp. 15 ff.), it appears that the fish are not an original but a comparatively late feature of the sacred spring. I note in passing that a Christian *ayasma* containing sacred fish is to be found at Gemlek (Bithynia) at the church of Panagia Pazariotissa. For the fish of a cursed place see Polites, *Παραδόσεις*, no. 62.

[4] *Anabasis*, i, §§ 4, 9; *cf.* Rubens Duval, in *Journ. Asiat.* viii, ser. xviii, 230 ff.

[5] *De Dea Syria*, 483.

[6] Hogarth, in *B.S.A.* xiv, 187 ff.; G. L. Bell, *Amurath to Amurath*, p. 21.

known fish-pool of the Mosque of Abraham at Urfa is probably a direct survival from antiquity.[1] Other instances of sacred fish-pools are to be found at Tripoli,[2] and elsewhere.[3] Similar *tabus* in favour of river fish within a certain distance of saints' tombs are found at Susa, the burial-place of Daniel,[4] and in Kurdistan.[5]

Robertson Smith [6] is probably right in considering the Syrian instances of sacred fish as survivals of a much earlier stratum of religious thought. The divinity of the waters was conceived of as a fish,[7] the inhabitant of the waters, just as earth gods are thought of as snakes which live in the ground. The fish-divinities are eventually

[1] The first modern writer to mention it seems to be an Italian merchant (*c.* 1507 : see *Italian Travels in Persia*, ed. Hakluyt Soc., p. 144). See also Barkley, *Asia Minor*, p. 254 ; Buckingham, *Trav. in Mesopotamia*, i, 111 ; Warkworth, *Diary*, p. 242 ; Pococke, *Descr. of the East*, II, i, 160 ; Tavernier, *Voyages*, p. 68 ; Olivier, *Voyage*, iv, 218 ; Sachau, *Reise in Syrien*, p. 197 ; S. Silvia, ed. Geyer, p. 62 ; Thévenot, *Voyages*, iii, 141 ; de Bunsen, *Soul of a Turk*, p. 218 ; Niebuhr, *Voyage en Arabie*, ii, 330.

[2] Lortet, *La Syrie d'aujourd'hui*, pp. 58 f. : these sacred fish are protégés of the convent of Sheikh Bedawi. See further d'Arvieux, *Mémoires*, ii, 390–1 ; Burckhardt, *Syria*, p. 166 ; Kelly, *Syria*, p. 106 ; Renan, *Mission de Phénicie*, p. 130 ; Soury, *Études sur la Grèce*, p. 66.

[3] Sam, near Aintab (Hogarth in *B.S.A.* xiv, 188) ; Acre ? (Baldensperger in *P.E.F.*, *Q.S.* for 1893, p. 212). The fish called *sallur* may not be fished in the lake of Antioch (Dussaud, *Nosairis*, p. 93). Niebuhr (*Voyage en Arabie*, ii, 330, 137) notices, besides the sacred fish at Urfa, others at Diarbekr (*cf.* Garden, in *J.R.G.S.* xxxvii, 1867, p. 186) and at Salchin, near Antioch, also at Shiraz ; the last are under the protection of Sheikh Zade. For Palestine see Wilson and Warren, *Recovery of Jerusalem*, pp. 349, 352 (*cf.* Kitchener, in *P.E.F.*, *Q.S.* for 1877, p. 122), 376. See for Bartarza in Mesopotamia Sykes, *Dar-ul-Islam*, p. 151.

[4] Le Strange, *E. Caliphate*, p. 240 ; *cf.* below, p. 301.

[5] Evliya, *Travels*, ii, 179 (village Osmudum Sultan at the source of the Euphrates). 'Umudum Sultan the Saint, who is buried here, protects these fish, so that it is impossible to catch them.' They were red with green spots and could be caught below. For the similar *tabu* on the fish of Elisha's spring near Jericho see d'Arvieux, *Mémoires*, ii, 204.

[6] *Religion of the Semites*, pp. 174 ff.

[7] For an Anatolian river-god represented as a fish see Anderson, in *J.H.S.*, 1899, p. 76.

anthropomorphised through an intermediate fish-tailed form. The sacred fish may therefore be conceived of as (1) a god or saint, or (2) the protégé of a god or saint. In secular folk-lore we find the corresponding conceptions of (1) the magician-fish [1] (often the 'king of the fishes') and (2) the bewitched fish,[2] the former having power of its own, the latter acting as the *famulus* of a magician or higher power. The magician-fish or king of the fishes may presumably be propitiated as the 'king of the serpents' is to-day at his castle in Cilicia.[3]

The sacred fish of Syria seem to receive more veneration than would be accorded to mere protégés of the saint and to be regarded in some vague way as manifestations of the saint himself. Febvre, speaking probably of Syria, says:

'Ils ont une espece de respect & de veneration pour les poissons de certains lacs & fontaines, où qui que ce soit n'ozeroit pescher, si ce n'est pas de nuit & en cachette, le plus secretement qu'ils peuvent; ce qui fait qu'ils s'y multiplient en très-grande quantité, & qu'il y en a de monstrueux. Ils les appellent Checs [*i.e. Sheikhs*] qui est la qualité qu'ils donnent à leurs principaux Religieux, & leur allument la nuit des lampes par devotion.' [4]

At the Shamaspur *tekke* in Turkey the fish are fed with eggs by the guardian, and one is pointed out as the

[1] For magic fish in folk-lore see Cosquin, *Contes de Lorraine*, i, 60; Hartland, *Perseus*, i, 24; Legrand, *Contes Populaires Grecs*, p. 161.

[2] As in the well-known Arabian Nights' story (the first in Burton's edition). The Orthodox fish of Balukli are of the same sort with a touch from the 'Well of Life' legend cycle.

[3] Langlois, *Cilicie*, p. 469; *cf.* Davis, *Asiatic Turkey*, p. 75. A confused echo from Constantinople is given in Carnoy and Nicolaides' *Folklore de Constantinople*, p. 160.

[4] *Théâtre de la Turquie*, p. 35; *cf.* Jessup, *Women of the Arabs*, pp. 296–7, who says one black fish at Tripoli is the sheikh of the saints, whose souls are in the fish of the pool. Death is supposed to follow the eating of these fish, but the sceptical Jessup experimented without any untoward results. During the Crimean War many of the fish went off under the sea to Sebastopol and fought the infidel Russians, some returning wounded.

'sultan'; [1] whether the word is used in its political sense (for the 'king of the fishes') or as a religious title is uncertain. Popular thought is probably hazy on this as on many other such points; the main idea present in the mind of a pilgrim to the shrine is that anything closely connected with a holy place is infected with the sanctity of the place, has potential influence, and may be propitiated. It is hardly necessary to remind the reader that living things as such are more regarded in Islam than by Christendom considered as a whole. To benefit even a fish connected with a saint is meritorious, and some vague idea that the fish *is* the saint may have filtered in through dervish teaching as regards the transmigration of souls and the unity of nature. But the present popular attitude with regard to the sacred fish does not of course preclude the possibility of their worship antedating that of the human saint Husain Ghazi on this spot.

In the folk-lore of the Near East fish have two roles: they are finders or, though dead and even cooked, they fall into water and revive. Solomon had a talismanic ring which he used to entrust to one of his servants on going to the bath. A devil one day stole this ring from her, took Solomon's shape, and supplanted him, throwing the ring into the sea. A fish swallowed it so that, on the fish being caught and opened, the ring was found, and Solomon recovered his kingdom.[2] In another story a fish finds a key. The king Armenios unwittingly committed incest so retired from the world, binding his feet with a chain which he padlocked: the key he threw into the sea. After some years a deputation, which was seeking a suitable monk for patriarch, found the key in

[1] Ross, *Letters from the East*, p. 243.

[2] Sale's *Koran*, p. 342, n. The story of Polycrates is another instance of the same sort. Goldziher (*Rev. Hist. Relig.* ii, 309) says the Egyptian and Syrian Nevruz commemorates the finding of Solomon's ring. Further, see Goldziher, *loc. cit.* ii, 273.

a fish and so recognized the monk as Armenios, who thus became patriarch.[1] Numerous secular folk-stories repeat the *motif*.

An allusion to the revival of a dead fish occurs in the Koranic story of Moses' search for Khidr. Joshua, servant of Moses, was carrying a cooked fish in a basket: at the rock where they were to find Khidr, the fish leapt from the basket into the sea. Joshua, washing soon after at the Fountain of Life, chanced to sprinkle a little of the water on the fish, which at once revived.[2] In one of the Apocryphal Gospels the Infant Christ revives a salt fish by putting it into a basin of water.[3] The *motif* is copied in the original legend of Balukli. A Thessalian pilgrim in search of health arrived dead at Balukli, then a famous place of healing. A salt fish his companions had brought fell into the pool and came to life. The dead man did the same.[4] The story is found at Tripoli of Syria in a slightly different form: a dervish was frying fish, but had fried them only on one side when they sprang from the frying-pan into the fountain of Sheikh El Bedawi and came alive again: their descendants still bear on one side the marks of frying.[5] This is

[1] Amélineau, *Contes de l'Égypte Chrétienne*, i, 184.

[2] Sale's *Koran*, p. 222, nn. *e* and *g*.

[3] *Nativité de Marie* in Migne's *Dict. des Apocryphes*, i, 1078. Egyptian tradition makes the Infant Christ revive a roast cock (Migne, *Évang. de l'Enfance*, in *Dict. des Apocryphes*, i, 976; Thévenot, *Voyages*, ii, 805). The cock reappears at Santo Domingo de la Calzada. A man was hung for thirty-six days, at the end of which time he was found innocent. The authorities said it was useless to take him down, and that they might as well expect the roast fowls on the table to revive. The fowls did revive and their descendants are still shown at Santo Domingo (Baumann, *Trois Villes Saintes*, pp. 150 ff.). The story is given, with parallels from Brittany, by Sébillot, *Folk-Lore de France*, iii, 251, citing A. Nicolai, *Monsieur Saint Jacques de Compostelle*. For a photograph of the fowls at Santo Domingo see frontispiece, vol. ii.

[4] This story is already in the Byzantine authors.

[5] D'Arvieux, *Mémoires*, ii, 390 f.

the tale now current of Balukli and told either of Constantine or of a monk.[1]

With regard, therefore, to sacred fish the position may be summed up as follows. Urfa is very likely a true survival, its sanctity being documented almost continuously from antiquity, and it has most probably influenced other places in its radius. An intermediate stage is marked by the fish at the tomb of Daniel.[2] The river in which he is supposed to be buried at Susa is *tabu* for fishing a certain distance up and down stream in his honour.[3] Others, such as the sacred fish of Afiun Kara Hisar[4] or of Shiraz,[5] derive their sanctity from their association with a holy place. Balukli has in all probability no connexion with a survival of fish worship.

[1] Polites, *Παραδόσεις*, nos. 31–2; Carnoy and Nicolaides, *Folklore de Constantinople*, pp. 54 ff. Possibly the whole thing starts from an ornamental fish-pond after the oriental manner; *cf.* the 'piscinae Salamonis' in Fabri, *Evagat.* ii, 185; the round fountain mentioned by Kitchener in *P.E.F., Q.S.* for 1877, p. 122 (also by Wilson and Warren, *Recovery of Jerusalem*, p. 352); Gregorovius, *Wanderjahre*, iii (*Siciliana*), p. 95, mentions a fish-pool made at Palermo for an Arab king's pleasure; he cites others at Zitza (*loc. cit.*, p. 93) and at Cuba (*loc. cit.*, p. 92). It will be remembered that the palace of Pegai was at Balukli. Naturally something a little out of the way like goldfish would be put in such a pool. Later, when the pool had become considered an *ayasma*, it was easy to bring in the imagery of the Virgin as the Fountain of Life (the *πηγὴ Σιλοάμ*, an idea which occurs in the *οἶκοι τῆς Παναγίας*) and of Christ as a fish, with all the dependent ideas (a fish was apparently used in Holy Communion by certain sects). S. John mentions an almost ritual meal of fish and bread after the Resurrection, which is not given by the synoptics, who all have the Last Supper omitted by S. John. Later still, two strata of legend formed to explain the fish at Balukli, the earlier being the Thessalian given in the text and the other the modern Balukli legend. This miracle is supposed to have taken place at the capture of Constantinople, but it would be surprising to find a monk cooking fish at Balukli, if the Turkish Army were before the walls. [2] See below, p. 301.

[3] Benjamin of Tudela, *Itinerary*, ed. Asher, i, 117 ff.; Carmoly, *Itinéraires*, p. 459.

[4] Calder, in *J.R.S.* ii, 246 (a nameless *dede* protects these fish).

[5] Niebuhr, *Voyage en Arabie*, ii, 137 (Sheikh Zade protects the fish).

XVII

CULT OF THE DEAD

THE great Turkish pilgrimages and holy places are commonly tombs or cenotaphs of saints and heroes, who are popularly conceived of as having the power of intercession, particularly when invoked at their graves.[1] The procedure with regard to saints' tombs is greatly illuminated by the practices actually or formerly in vogue with regard to graves of the ordinary dead.

The popular belief in a kind of life in the grave for some days after death is sanctioned by orthodox practice. Immediately after burial the *khoja* stays by the grave and instructs the dead as to the cardinal points of his religion : the soul thus seems considered as not yet dispatched to the other world. It is further held that the dead are catechized in the grave by a good and an evil spirit,[2] the latter trying by blows dealt with a red-hot hammer to induce the dead man to deny his faith. A bad Mussulman, to whom Paradise is denied, succumbs to this treatment, whereas a good Mussulman is enabled to resist it. These ' tortures of the tomb ' are so far part of the official faith that they are mentioned in the *khoja's* prayers for the dead.[3] It is generally believed that the souls of the dead are detained for forty days in the neighbourhood of the grave, and that the reading of the Koran there is beneficial to them, since it assists the archangel Gabriel to defend them against the devil.[4]

[1] Jews also invoke the dead, see Carmoly, *Itinéraires*, p. 182 (quoted below, p. 257, n. 1) and p. 243.

[2] *Cf.* Lane, *Mod. Egyptians*, ii, 265, for their names (Munkar and Nakir).

[3] D'Ohsson, *Tableau*, i, 239.

[4] Cantimir, *Hist. Emp. Oth.* i, 142.

In conformity with this belief in a life in the grave, the relations of the dead are accustomed to resort to the tomb in order to pray for his soul, reciting especially the *fatiha* or opening chapter of the Koran.[1] It was also formerly the custom to leave food on the tomb,[2] the original idea being, as we shall see from the procedure at some saints' tombs, that the dead actually partook of it. Less credulous ages explained the custom as being devised to enable the deceased to exercise a vicarious charity to men (graves being commonly on frequented roads) and beasts, and to stimulate the human participants in the posthumous charity to pray for the soul of the deceased.[3] The sinkings in the covering slabs of Turkish graves were doubtless intended originally for the deposit of these offerings, though their purpose is now said to be to collect rain and dew for the birds to drink, the same principle of vicarious charity being

[1] According to Kremer (*Geschichte der herrschenden Ideen des Islams*, p. 303), this reading of the Koran is a substitute for sacrifice to the dead. At the upper end of Arab graves there is an opening through which the prayers and blessings of the relatives reach the dead (*ibid.*).

[2] At Elbassan in central Albania Bérard found that Christians had left food on tombs (*Turquie*, p. 46). In this connexion Mrs. Romanoff's description of the Russian funeral feasts is interesting (*Rites of the Greco-Russian Church*, p. 249).

[3] *Cf.* Georgewicz, *House of Ottomanno*, p. E III *vso*: 'They often resort thither [*i.e.* to the tombs] in wepinge and mournynge and certaine infernall sacrifices layde on the monumente, as bread, fleshe, cheese, Egges, milke, and the banket continewinge by the space of nyne dayes, accordynge to the Ethnicke Custome, it is al deuoured, for the disceased soules sake, eyther by Pismares and the birdes of heauen or poore people'; Sandys, *Travels*, p. 56: '[Turkish women] many times leave bread and meat on their graves . . . for Dogs and Birds to devour, as well as to relieve the poor, being held an available alms for the deceased'; Thévenot, *Voyages*, i, 192: 'Le Vendredi plusieurs apportent à boire et à manger, qu'ils mettent sur le tombeau, et les passans y peuvent manger et boire avec liberté. Ils font cela afin que ceux qui y viendront, souhaitent la bénediction de Dieu à celui pour l'amour duquel on fait cette charité'; *cf.* also Gerlach, *Tage-Buch*, p. 157; d'Arvieux, *Mémoires*, ii, 342.

alleged in support of the usage. Similarly, the perforations commonly made in grave-slabs may have been provided originally for pouring drink offerings for the dead. Both sinkings and perforations are now often used for planting flowers and small shrubs in.

Life in the grave,[1] though only dimly imagined in the

[1] A barbarous belief in life in the grave appears widespread in Mohammedan countries. Eyyub at Constantinople proved his presence by sticking his foot out of his tomb (Carnoy and Nicolaides, *Folklore de Constantinople*, p. 156). Niebuhr cites several cases from Arabia (*Voyage en Arabie*, i, 255, where the sainted Ahmed puts his hand out of his grave; *ibid.* ii, 243, where Abdal Kadir hurls his clogs at some brigands). At Damascus Pambuk Baba claimed to be a prophet, which people denied on the grounds that he was a Kurd and no Kurd ever was a prophet. To prove his sanctity he protruded his foot from his grave, and the ritual now is to wrap this foot (?) in cotton wool (F. W. H. from Husain Efendi of Chotil in Macedonia). In a Moslem cemetery at Cairo the dead several times in the year left their graves for a day, sinking back into them at night (Fabri, *Evagat.* iii, 47; *cf.* Thévenot, *Voyages*, ii, 459; de Maillet, *Descr. de l'Égypte*, ii, 205). De Brèves (*Voyages*, p. 273) relates the same story, saying he had heard it told by both Christians and Moslems; in his account the miracle took place on Good Friday only, which suggests a comparison with *Matt.* xxvii, 52 ('And the graves were opened; and many bodies of the saints which slept arose'). Two secular parallels occur in Kunos, *Forty-Four Turkish Fairy Tales*, pp. 13, 189–90. In the former a hand emerges from a grave to terrify a fearless man; in the latter a mother extends her hand to comfort her daughter, an idea found also in the Moslem tradition that Rachel spoke from her grave to comfort Joseph weeping at being led captive into Egypt (Migne, *Dict. des Apocryphes*, p. 1139; *cf.* Spiro, *Hist. de Joseph*, p. 40). In western Christendom there is found what seems at first sight to be a derivative from the East, but has probably evolved quite differently. A shepherd boy, born with only one hand, is miraculously given another, dies in the odour of sanctity, and after his death protrudes the God-given hand from his tomb (Saintyves, *Reliques et Images Légendaires*, p. 277). There may be contamination with the oriental story, but more probably the idea arose from a hand-reliquary in the form of an arm and hand upright in the act of benediction. Such hand-reliquaries are called 'mains angéliques' or 'manus de caelo missae'. On coins of Edward the Confessor a 'main angélique' issues from clouds in the act of blessing. It is to be noted that in many places it is customary to place such

case of ordinary people, is to some extent considered characteristic of great saints and great sinners.[1] Thus, the falling of an old wall is sometimes held to indicate the presence of a buried saint who turns in his sleep.[2] On the other hand, signs of life in a tomb may be held to show that its occupant is unquiet on account of his sins.[3] Sir Dudley North tells us that 'the Turks have an opinion, that men that are buried have a sort of life in their graves. If any man makes affidavit before a judge that he heard a noise in a man's grave he is by order dug up and chopped all to pieces'.[4] Michele Febvre gives a definite example of this belief and practice. Cries were alleged to have been heard from a certain tomb. The local governor, having heard of it, had the corpse exhumed and decapitated, whereupon the cries ceased.[5] Any accidental circumstance might confirm this belief, as the following anecdote shows: 'The merchants of Smyrna, once airing on horseback, had (as usual for protection) a janizary with them. Passing by the burying place of the Jews, it happened that an old Jew sat by a sepulchre. The janizary rode up to him and rated him for stinking the world a

reliquaries on the tomb of the saint concerned at his festival. This would naturally generate the notion of the saint sticking his hand out of his grave. The barbarous Moslem traditions probably originate in a country such as Arabia, where the dead are buried in graves so shallow that exposure of their remains is only too easy and frequent a phenomenon.

[1] A dead saint can on occasion embarrass the living. Saint Ismail Milk once gave a beggar who asked him for alms a written order on the Governor, duly sealed, for a hundred crowns' worth of stuff; since that date no one has been allowed to approach the saint's tomb (Niebuhr, *Voyage en Arabie*, i, 301–2).

[2] White, in *Trans. Vict. Inst.* xxxix (1907), p. 155.

[3] The ambiguity is exactly paralleled by the popular Greek belief as to saints and excommunicated persons. The bodies of both classes do not putrefy but remain intact: see below, p. 456.

[4] *Lives of the Norths*, ii, 147.

[5] *Théâtre de la Turquie*, p. 28.

second time, and commanded him to get into his grave again.' [1]

The restlessness of the sinful dead might also be manifested less crudely. Wheler at Constantinople

'observed one *Turbe* with the Cuppalo, covered only with a Grate of Wyer; of which we had this Account: that it was of *Mahomet Cupriuli*, Father to the present Vizier . . . concerning whom, after his Decease, being buried here, and having this stately Monument of white Marble, covered with Lead, Erected over his Body; the Grand Signior, and Grand Vizier, had this Dream both in the same night; to wit, that *Cupriuli* came to them, and earnestly beg'd of them a little Water to refresh him, being in a burning heat. Of this the Grand Signior and Vizier told each other, in the Morning, and thereupon thought fit to consult the Mufti, what to do concerning it; who according to their gross Superstition, advised that he should have the Roof of his Sepulcher uncovered, that the Rain might descend on his Body, thereby to quench the Flames tormenting his Soul.' [2]

Some forms of restlessness in the grave are thus considered characteristic of sinners, others of saints. All the dead alike are thought to have a vague and shadowy life in and about their graves, especially during the forty days after burial. At all times the cemetery is a mysterious borderland of the spirit-world, where miracles are apt to occur since they are half looked for, or at least readily accepted, by those who devoutly visit the graves of their relations. It is thus possible for a dead man to become a saint posthumously, if certain phenomena considered characteristic of the resting places of saints, in particular luminous appearances, occur at his tomb. Certain popular saints seem, indeed, to have acquired their reputation merely from the alleged miraculous consumption of food left at their tombs, which, as we have seen, was in more credulous times probably con-

[1] *Lives of the Norths*, ii, 147.
[2] Wheler, *Journey into Greece*, pp. 182 f.

sidered neither miraculous nor extraordinary. Such was Kara Baba at Athens,[1] and such is Jigher Baba at Monastir: the latter is propitiated with liver (*jigher*) which is said to disappear in the presence of the suppliant.[2] The practical distinction, therefore, between the ordinary pious dead and the more or less recognized saints becomes purely a matter of miracles. Once vindicated by a miracle, any tomb may claim the honours of a saint's.

One of the main differences between saints of Islam and those of Christendom lies in the fact that the cult of the former is independent of central authority and to a certain extent considered by the orthodox as heretical or at least equivocal.[3] Whereas in the Greek Church sacred spots are associated with the name of a saint in the official church calendar, or, as in the case of neomartyrs' graves, are consecrated by the authority of bishop or patriarch,[4] the cult of Turkish saints is purely popular in origin and development, and its organization so far as this exists, comes rather from the dervish orders than from the more strictly orthodox clergy. The

[1] Dodwell, *Tour through Greece*, i, 305.

[2] F. W. H. A similar tale is told of the Bektashi saint, Haji Hamza at Kruya (Degrand, *Haute Albanie*, p. 223).

[3] So Goldziher in *Rev. Hist. Relig.* ii, 268. In 1711 a young fanatic at Cairo tried to put down saint worship (*ibid.*, p. 335).

[4] Similarly, the canonization of a Roman Catholic saint depends ultimately on the Pope's sanction: see Hutton, *English Saints*, p. 163, for Henry VI (cult forbidden by Edward IV on the plea that the Pope had not authorized the canonization), *ibid.*, p. 234 (formal canonization of S. Alphege delayed), *ibid.*, p. 272 (Robert Grosseteste failed to be canonized, owing probably to the Pope's hostility). Joachim de Flor (*Acta SS.* 7 May) has a local cult but is not canonized (Migne, *Dict. des Apocryphes*, ii, n. 242). Maury (*Croy. du Moyen Âge*, p. 341) says that canonization was by bishops until 1179, when the Pope became the only source; Joan of Arc was canonized for her hallucinations, but Thomas Martin was only ridiculed for his regarding his mission to Louis XVIII in 1816 (Maury, *op. cit.*, p. 347, citing the *Relation concernant . . . Thomas Martin* par S., anc. magistrat, Paris, 1831).

saint's name is immaterial: in many cases it is not known, and he remains to the end either 'the Baba', 'the Dede', and so on, or, where differentiation is necessary, he takes a name derived from some attribute as Kara Baba ('Black saint'), Kanbur Dede ('hump-backed saint'), Geyikli Baba ('Stag saint'). Many so-called 'dedes' and 'babas', as we shall see, were never real persons but began their religious existence as vague spiritual beings or even less. The line therefore between 'religion' and 'folk-lore', always vague, is in Turkey unusually ill-defined. But the presence of a tomb, whether cenotaph or no, is felt to redeem the cult from paganism, since the veneration of the sainted dead is to some extent sanctioned by Mohammedan tradition. As to the position of orthodox Islam in theory and actual practice in regard to the cult of the dead, I cannot do better than quote the following passage from Gibb's *Ottoman Poetry*: [1]

'Although not countenanced by the Koran, the practice of visiting the tombs of holy men is common in Muhammedan countries. The object of these pious visitations varies with the intellectual status of the pilgrim. The most ignorant members of the community, more especially women of the lower classes, go there in order to implore some temporal or material favour (very often a son), and sometimes these even address their prayers to the saint himself. Persons somewhat higher in the intellectual and social scale look upon such spots as holy ground and believe that prayers offered there have a peculiar efficacy. The better educated among the strictly orthodox visit such shrines out of respect for the holy man and in order to salute the place where his remains repose. The object with which the mystics make such pilgrimage is that they may enjoy what they call muráqaba or 'spiritual communion' with the soul of the holy man. The pilgrim in this case fixes his heart or soul wholly on that of the saint, the result being that it experiences an ecstatic communion with this in the Spirit World, whereby it is greatly strengthened and rejoiced on its return to

[1] i, 180, note 2.

the earthly plane. It is not, we are expressly told, because the soul of the saint is supposed to linger about his tomb that the mystic goes thither for his muráqaba; but because it is easier for the mystic to banish all outside thoughts and fix his heart wholly and exclusively on that of the saint in a place which is hallowed by associations with the latter.'

A lively and instructive commentary on the above is furnished by Covel's adventure at Eski Baba, where a famous Moslem saint, reputed the conqueror of the town, is venerated.

'He lyes buryed,' says our author, 'in St. Nicholas's church. . . . It is made a place of prayer, and he is reckoned a great saint amongst the common people. When we went into it to see his tomb we met another old Turk, who had brought three candles, and presented them to an old woman that looks after it, and shews it to strangers. He said he had made a vow in distress to do it. The old woman told us: Yes, my sons, whenever you are in danger pray to this good holy man and he will infallibly help you. Oh fye! sister, quoth the old Turk, do not so vainly commit sin, for he was a mortall man and a sinner as well as we. I know it, quoth the old wife, that onely God doth all, and he doth nothing; but God for his sake will the sooner hear us; and so ended that point of Turkish divinity.'[1]

Though a man renowned in his lifetime for piety or learning becomes after his death naturally and almost

[1] *Diaries*, ed. Bent, p. 186. With these passages may be compared Carmoly's account (*Itinéraires*, p. 182) of Jewish belief in the cult of the dead. 'D'après,' he says, 'un usage assez antique, les israélites visitent les sépulcres dans un double but: l'un domestique, lorsque des parents ou des amis vont pleurer leurs morts; l'autre religieux, lorsqu'ils visitent les tombeaux des patriarches, des prophètes ou des docteurs de la synagogue. Chacun par ses prières, la face tournée vers la ville sainte, recommande le défunt à Dieu et lui souhaite une heureuse résurrection, ou implore l'assistance des héros de la foi. Car selon la doctrine des rabbins, ce ne sont pas seulement nos mérites, mais aussi ceux d'autrui, qui servent de moyens d'apaiser, de propitiatoire, et par l'intermédiaire duquel nous nous réconcilions avec Dieu notre père.' Carmoly adds that the most moving appeal that could be made to the sainted dead was the recitation of passages from their own works.

automatically a saint, it is, as we have seen, quite possible for a dead man of no particular eminence to enjoy a posthumous vogue, since the practical distinction of a saint's grave from another lies ultimately in its power to work miracles.[1]

The ritual practices attached to a saint cult naturally vary greatly from place to place: in some it is very simple, in others apparently very complicated. But in nearly every case examination reveals that the apparent complication is in reality no more than an accumulation of familiar elements, derived partly (*e.g.* prayer for the soul's repose and tangible offerings) from the cult of the ordinary dead, partly from secular magic: the 'magic' rites in turn are traceable to quite primitive and widely spread ideas.

As prayers, and especially the *fatiha* or opening sentences of the Koran, are regularly said for the repose of the departed soul, so in the case of the sainted dead prayer may be made as it were an offering and a means of obtaining their intercession[2] irrespective of the period at which they died. Persons about to travel, for instance, are recommended to touch the door of S. Sophia which is supposed to be made of wood from the Ark, and say a *fatiha* for the repose of Noah's soul.[3] The dead may also be honoured, their intercession solicited, or its efficacy acknowledged, by lighting candles on their tombs, by repairing or adding to the tomb building, or by the establishment of foundations for perpetual prayer and Koran reading at their tombs. A third method of invocation (though it is made use of also in other senses) is sacrifice or *kurban*.

The origins of this Semitic practice have been very

[1] Similarly, English saints have been recognized as such merely in consequence of miracles wrought at their graves: for examples see Hutton, *English Saints*, pp. 136, 153–4, 155, 159 (Henry VI), 266 ff.

[2] White, in *Mosl. World*, 1919, p. 11.

[3] *Cf.* above, p. 10.

fully investigated by Robertson Smith, and do not here concern us. In modern Turkish practice, which is of course based on wider Mohammedan use, it is considered mainly as a vicarious sacrifice, a life given for a life threatened or a life spared: it is essential that the victim should bleed. Elaborate rules for the performance of *kurban* are laid down by the Islamic code in the regulations for the sacrifices of Kurban Bairam[1] and of the Pilgrimage. Sacrifice for life spared is made after escape from danger[2] or the termination of a dangerous business: it is usual on the return from the Mecca pilgrimage.[3] Sacrifice to arrest a threatened evil is made during sickness,[4] after ominous dreams,[5] in times of danger, and to check fire or pestilence.[6] It may also be made at any critical period of life, as commonly at a boy's circumcision[7] or a bride's entry into her new home,[8] or at the commencement of any operation regarded as critical or dangerous, such as the erection of a building, the opening of a mine,[9] a railway,[10] or tramway,[11] the beginning of a journey or a war.[12] In

[1] At Kurban Bairam fanatical Moslems smear their faces with the blood of sacrifice (Le Boulicaut, *Au Pays des Mystères*, p. 112).

[2] De la Magdeleine, *Miroir Ottoman*, p. 56.

[3] M. Walker, *Old Tracks*, p. 121.

[4] De la Magdeleine, *loc. cit.*; White, in *Trans. Vict. Inst.* xl (1908), p. 232.

[5] De la Magdeleine, *loc. cit.*

[6] White, *loc. cit.*, xxxix (1907), p. 155.

[7] C. White, *Constantinople*, iii, 243.

[8] G. E. White, in *Trans. Vict. Inst.*, xxxix, 153. As an extreme case of this sort, amounting almost to human sacrifice, may be cited the case of two gypsies, who at the wedding of one of the sons of Ali Pasha jumped from a high tower at Yannina, taking on themselves to be scapegoats for Ali and his son. They were, as it happened, not much hurt, and were pensioned off by the Pasha for their feat (Ibrahim Manzzour, *Mémoires*, p. 131).

[9] White, *ibid.* For *kurban* at the digging of the Lemnian earth see below, p. 675. For it at Armenian requiem masses see Boucher, *Bouquet Sacré*, p. 434.

[10] Curtiss, *Prim. Semitic Relig.*, p. 184.

[11] As at the recent inauguration of the electric tramway at Pera.

[12] White, in *Trans. Vict. Inst.* xxxix, p. 153. Before Rogers began to

this spirit Murad II, at the conquest of Salonica, sacrificed a ram on first entering S. Demetrius,[1] and former sultans were wont to immolate whole flocks of sheep at their coronation.[2] In Persia particularly *kurban* is performed on behalf of great men entering a town. Sir Mark Sykes was complimented in this way at Altin Kupru and notices that the sacrifice was so made that the victim's blood spurted over his horse's hoofs.[3]

In these cases as in many others the sacrifice tends to degenerate into a free meal,[4] since the victim is always eaten and the great man complimented is expected to pay for it: consequently he gains both the spiritual benefit of a *kurban* made in his honour and the merit of charity. It is this latter view of *kurban* as a meritorious act which must have given rise to the curious superstition recorded by Belon that animals sacrificed will pray for their sacrificer in the Day of Judgement.[5] The

excavate a large artificial mound near Damascus the people of the neighbourhood told him that he would make no discoveries if he did not 'first propitiate the Sheikh, whose tomb is on the top of the Tell, by sacrificing a sheep in his honour' (Rogers, in *P.E.F.*, *Q.S.* for 1869, p. 44). Arabs make *kurban* with a kid to preserve their camels and to ensure the luck of the journey in general: with the blood they make *crosses* on the camels' necks (Robinson, *Palestine*, i, 269).

[1] Ducas, p. 201 B.

[2] Gerlach in Crusius, *Turco-Græcia*, p. 67.

[3] *Dar-ul-Islam*, p. 192: 'Just before entering the town I was subject to a curious and interesting method of paying honour and extorting baksheesh. A man darted forward and cut a sheep's throat, so that the blood spurted on to my horse's hoofs, crying "Avaunt evil!" The explanation of this is that if ever a man of consequence should pass a town an animal should be killed in the fashion described, so as to give fate a life in lieu of one of the honoured person's animals; and the gentleman in question is bound in honour to pay for the sheep, whose flesh is distributed to the poor'; *cf.* also Walpole's *Travels*, p. 230. Samaritans at their Passover feast the official killers and daub children's and *some* women's faces with the sacrificed lamb's blood (Mills, *Three Months*, p. 254). Are these women pregnant?

[4] *Cf.* Georgeakis and Pineau, *Folk-Lore de Lesbos*, p. 325.

[5] *Observations de Plusieurs Singularitez*, iii, chap. vi.

Shias of Pontus sacrifice to their saints regularly, not only on extraordinary occasions, but ordinary Turkish custom regards *kurban* as a mode of doing special honour to a saint, generally in acknowledgement of benefits received or expected.[1]

So far as my limited experience goes *kurban* in honour of a saint is never performed on his grave or inside his *turbe*. In some cases, as at the *turbe* of Ghazi Baba at Uskub, a special sacrificial pit is provided to receive the victim's blood, with a wooden frame for hanging and carving it.

From the Mohammedans this practice of *kurban* has spread to the Christian races with whom they came in contact; this was aided by the Easter usages, derived at an earlier period by the Christians from the Semites, and on the other hand by pagan elements surviving, especially on the folk-lore side, among Christians as well as Mohammedans. Both Armenian and Greek Orthodox Christians are familiar with the idea of apotropaic bloodshed and the half religious consumption of the victim.[2]

Prayer, care of the tombs, and sometimes *kurban* may thus be regarded as the approaches to the favour of the saints. The tangible results of their intercession are thought to be obtained by means of certain 'super-

[1] White, in *Trans. Vict. Inst.* xxxix, 154. *Cf.* the invocation of Aaron when sacrificing a goat to him (Burckhardt, *Syria*, p. 430).

[2] For the practice among Anatolian Christians in general see White, in *Trans. Vict. Inst.* xxxix (1907), p. 154; Carnoy and Nicolaides, *Trad. de l'Asie Mineure*, p. 196 (Armenian sacrifice of cocks); Ainsworth, *Travels*, i, 131 (Greek miners' sacrifice of cocks to mine-spirits). For sacrifices by the Orthodox in connexion with the Church see G. Megas, in *Λαογραφία*, iii, 148–71 (sacrifice of bulls and goats by priest in Thrace); *cf.* Polites, *Παραδόσεις*, no. 503 (sacrifice to S. George at Kalamata). *Kurban* seems formerly (in the sixteenth century) to have been made inside Orthodox churches (Polites, in *Δελτίον Ἱστορ. Ἑταιρείας*, i, 106). The modern Greek word for sacrifice is *ματώνω* ('bleed'), emphasizing the importance of shedding blood.

stitious' processes, notably 'bindings', contact with relics (especially earth from the saint's grave), incubation, and circumambulation—all, be it remarked, common to popular Eastern Christianity as well as to popular Islam. As to 'binding', the common forms of the ritual acts here included under the name of 'binding' are the tying of knots and the driving of nails (the ancient *defixio*): both acts typify and are thought actually to bring about the transference of the suppliants' ills from himself to the object knotted or nailed. Binding with this object is one of the commonest superstitious acts all over the world, and is prominent among the secular magic usages of Christians as well as Moslems throughout the Near East. Knotted rags, threads, and shreds of clothing are the commonest of all outward signs of a popular cult in Turkey. The knot is tied to the most convenient object on or in the immediate vicinity of the grave.[1] It is popularly believed that 'in proportion as these rags rot and disappear, so will maladies decrease in this world, or sins be effaced in the next.'[2] If a rag be untied, the evils bound by the knot fall upon the untier.[3] After tying the knot, the suppliant must go away without looking back. There is probably some connexion in the popular mind between rags and infectious diseases, since, when a migrant stork returns to a Turkish village with a rag in his bill, an epidemic is prognosticated.[4]

The commonest medium in the curative rites classed generally as contact with relics is earth from a saint's grave. Earth from graves is regularly, and apparently throughout Islam, used for superstitious purposes. Earth from the Prophet's tomb at Medina is commonly brought

[1] For the origin of rag-tying see *e.g.* Robertson Smith, *Religion of the Semites*, pp. 317 f. For it in practice see *e.g.* Walsh, *Residence*, ii, 463.

[2] White, *Constantinople*, iii, 348.

[3] Carnoy and Nicolaides, *Trad. de l'Asie Mineure*, p. 196.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 298.

home by pilgrims,[1] and cures are wrought with earth from saints' graves either by drinking it in water [2] or by applying it to the part affected.[3] Among the Shia Turks of Pontus earth from graves is sprinkled on the fields to prevent a plague of mice.[4] The water which collects in the circular depressions regularly cut in tombstones appears also to acquire miraculous virtues.[5] A most interesting account of the ritual at the tomb of S. Demetrius, Salonica, is given by de Launay. His words are as follows :

' Le Turc allume un cierge à la lampe . . . l'un des Grecs, qui sait le turc, dit quelques mots au sacristain, et celui-ci prend une longue ficelle ; il se baisse, il étend, le plus qu'il peut, ses vieux bras raidis ; il mesure, dans un sens, la pierre du tombeau ; il fait un nœud ; puis mesure dans l'autre sens et coupe.

' " *To onoma*, ton nom ? " dit le Turc, qui vient de mesurer, avec la ficelle, un des ornements du tombeau et a commencé, en ce point, un nœud encore lâche. Il tient, en se courbant, l'anneau, que forme la corde, sur le haut du cierge allumé et attend qu'on lui réponde. " Georgios," répond le Grec ; et le Turc, répétant " Georgios," serre le nœud dans la flamme ; il fait remarquer au Grec, d'un air satisfait, que le chanvre n'a pas brûlé.

' Une seconde fois il a mesuré, à la suite, le même ornement et, renouvelant la même cérémonie, demande : " Le nom de ton père, de ta mère ? "—" Nikolas, mon père ; Calliopé, ma mère." En répétant les deux noms, le Turc serre encore le nœud dans la flamme. Puis il continue : " Tes enfants ? " Et, quand il a fait ainsi trois nœuds soigneusement, il met la ficelle sacrée en

[1] Lane, *Mod. Egyptians*, ii, 160 ; Burckhardt, *Arabia*, i, 256 (dust of the Kaaba sold for this purpose) ; see also below, pp. 684–5.

[2] Evans, in *J.H.S.*, xxi, 203.

[3] *Turbe* of Sahib Ata, Konia (F. W. H.), and doubtless elsewhere. For the use of earth from saints' graves for medicinal purposes see also Seaman's *Orchan*, p. 116 (Karaja Ahmed). The earth of the ' place of the dragon ' at Elwan Chelebi was used for fever (Busbecq, *Life and Letters*, i, 170).

[4] White, in *Trans. Vict. Inst.* xl (1908), p. 235, and in *Mosl. World*, 1919, p. 10.

[5] See above, p. 210 and n. 2.

un petit paquet, qu'il trempe dans l'huile de la lampe ; il ajoute quelques parcelles de la terre du tombeau ; il enveloppe le tout et le remet au Grec, qui paraît tout heureux. Il lui explique d'ailleurs: "Si tu es malade, toi, ton père, ta mère, tes enfants, le nœud sur la partie souffrante et vous serez guéris." Le Grec se fait donner des détails, tâche de bien se rendre compte ; puis la même cérémonie se répète pour son compagnon.' [1]

In this account note (1) the complete fusion of cults : a Turkish dervish serves out magic to Christians in a Christian church, which has been diverted to Moslem use. Note (2) that the ritual is secular magic grafted on a common fund of religious belief in tombs, earth from graves, oil of sacred lamps, offerings of candles. The secular part is composed of several well-known beliefs : (*a*) *μέτρον λαμβάνειν*, and (*b*) 'binding' of disease and evils [2]

[1] De Launay, *Chez les Grecs de Turquie*, pp. 183–4.

[2] The interesting practice of 'binding' churches may here be noticed. E. Deschamps describes the ritual fully as he saw it in Cyprus (see *Tour du Monde*, 1897, pp. 183 ff.). His words are : 'En sortant ... je suis tout étonné de voir la base de la coupole entourée d'un cordon blanc dont les extrémités pendent jusque sur le toit. J'avais vu un gros paquet de cette *mèche* dans une anfractuosité de l'autre église S. Marina et je questionnai les indigènes sur la raison de cette singulière ceinture. . . . Un jour, un habitant du village vit en songe sainte Catherine, qui lui annonça qu'il allait arriver un grand malheur, une maladie terrible qui atteindrait tous les habitants. Pour en être préservés, il fallait incontinent entourer chaque église d'un épais cordon et les relier l'une à l'autre. Il fallait aussi que tous les habitants achetassent ce même coton, qui n'est autre chose qu'une mèche, chacun pour autant que ses moyens lui permettraient. Ce qui fut dit fut fait, et le village passa à côté du malheur. Un jour le cordon cassa : les parties qui entouraient les monuments restèrent à leur place, pourrissaient lentement ; celle qui servait à les relier fut religieusement ramassée et mise dans un trou du mur de l'église de Sainte-Catherine, où la pluie en a fait un gâteau'. Here what seems to have been the original purpose of the rite, viz. defence against sickness, has been preserved, as also in the cases cited by E. Deschamps, *Au Pays d'Aphrodite*, pp. 89–90 ; A. J. B. Wace, in *Liverpool Ann. Arch.*, iii, 23 (at Koron, Greece) : possibly also by Koechlin Schwartz, *Touriste au Caucase* (chain at Tiflis). The 'cordon' which was run round the town of Valenciennes

in general. As regards the first, the dimensions of a thing have similar virtue to the thing itself. At Athens the picture of S. John at S. John of the Column is 'measured' in the same way,[1] while the measurement (*boi* = stature) of a man may be used instead of a victim for the foundation of a building.[2] Note further (3) the degradation of these two usages evinced by the second measuring and especially in the knot. Strictly speaking, a knot is not a holy thing, it is the action of tying which, 'binding' the evil, has the effect desired. Here, the

during a plague in 1008 was still preserved in 1820 and carried in procession round the town on 8 September, the anniversary of the miracle (Collin de Plancy, *Dict. des Reliques*, ii, 323). The same method of defence against a human enemy might also be employed; during the captivity of King John after the battle of Poitiers in 1356 the *échevins* of Paris presented Notre Dame de Paris with a candle as long as the *enceinte* of Paris; this became a yearly offering until 1605 (Collin de Plancy, *op. cit.* i, 302). In the West the idea of defence against trouble seems largely lost: *cf.* de Quetteville, *Pardon of Guingamp*, p. 387 ('on the day of the Pardon [at Huelgoat in Notre Dame des Cieux] it is not unusual to see a votive offering in the shape of a girdle of wax, running three times round the exterior of the church. I saw one subsequently at the Pardon of the Mère de Dieu, near Quimper, but the string was single.... A poor woman there told me ... that she would gladly give one on the following year if her prayers were granted' [to get her daughter out of prison]. Sébillot (*Folk-Lore de France*, iv, 137) gives instances from Paris, Chartres (*cf.* P. R., in *Notre Dame*, iv, 123), and Quimper, saying it is, as might be expected, common in Brittany. See also Saintyves, *Reliques et Images Légendaires*, pp. 256 ff. (Valenciennes), 259 (Montpellier), 260 (Tournay), and on the whole subject van Gennep, *Religions, Mœurs, et Légendes* (chapter on *La Ceinture de l'Église*).

[1] See above, p. 195.

[2] See below, p. 732, n. 5. A bath at Ephesus was haunted by the spirit of a young girl who had been buried alive 'for luck' in the foundations (Migne, *Dict. des Apocryphes*, ii, 767, *cf.* p. 862). After Pittard had measured a number of gypsies in the Dobruja a monk from a neighbouring convent terrified them by saying Pittard and his friends wished to build a monastery across the Danube, beginning *par y installer des âmes dans ses murs*. The measurement of their heads had had this end in view. 'Leurs âmes allaient les quitter et passer le fleuve. Ils les perdraient ainsi à jamais.' See Pittard, *Dans le Dobrodga*, p. 131.

evil to be bound does not yet exist, it is anticipated only, the knot has become merely a sacred object in the second degree, like any other object which has partaken of the virtue of a holy place. The patient also is only anticipated. Lastly, (4) note that such mummery could be varied *ad lib.* with an ignorant *clientèle* by the same or succeeding dervishes. The only real essential is some kind of hocus-pocus, the more apparently elaborate the better, bringing in the tomb of S. Demetrius.

At other healing shrines various articles sometimes said to have belonged to the dead saint are used for cures in a similar manner. Typical is the shrine of Sultan Divani at Afiun Kara Hisar, where the iron shoes of the saint are worn for apoplexy.[1] Similarly, at the *tekke* of Husain Ghazi, at Alaja in Paphlagonia, headache is cured by leading the patient seven times round the tomb and placing a string of beads on his head, each of which is struck by a mace.[2] Both beads and mace, we may be sure, are reputed those of the hero Husain. At the *tekke* of Imam Baghevi at Konia contact with two ancient worked stones is supposed to effect cures.[3] Such relics as these may be held to work miracles independently of the presence of the tomb. Of this a good example is the cup of Maslama at Arab Jami in Constantinople, a drink from which is said to benefit mothers in childbirth and nursing.[4]

Further, a handkerchief or garment left in contact with the tomb is thought to absorb the virtue of the saint and becomes itself a secondary relic. This is the procedure used at the tomb of Abu Sufian in the ' under-

[1] Laborde, *Asie Mineure*, p. 65.

[2] White, in *Trans. Vict. Inst.* xxxix (1907), p. 159.

[3] F. W. H.: *cf.* above, p. 82.

[4] D'Ohsson, *Tableau*, i, 285; Byzantios, *Κωνσταντινούπολις*, ii, 46–7. On the Christian side also similar beliefs exist, *cf.* Antoninus *martyr*, *De Locis Sanctis*, ed. Tobler, p. 25 (xxii), who drank *pro benedictione* from the skull of the martyr Theodota.

ground mosque' at Galata [1] and other places.[2] A kill-or-cure remedy for chronic illnesses in general exists at Monastir, in the habit (*khirka*) of Kulali Mufti Sheikh Mahmud Efendi, called Khirka Baba.[3] The virtue of the *khirka* is transferred, like that of the Prophet at Constantinople,[4] to water in which it has been dipped. This water is given to patients who at once take a turn for the better or for the worse.[5] Earth from the graves of Fatima and Zeinab at Constantinople is used for the same purpose.[6]

Circumambulation has been mentioned as a sub-rite at the tomb of Husain Ghazi at Alaja [7] and is fairly common elsewhere. The practice is consecrated for Islam by its use at Mecca, where encircling (*tawaf*) the Holy House is a regular part of the pilgrims' ceremonies. It seems also to be practised by Christian pilgrims to the Holy Sepulchre. Leaving aside mystical interpretations of the act, we may probably assume that it is designed to secure the maximum amount of blessing from the sacred object in question by allowing all sides of it to act on the worshipper. It is thus a diluted form of contact with relics.

Incubation is practised as commonly in Mohammedan as in Christian sanctuaries. We may instance the shrine visited by Evans at Tekke Keui in Macedonia,[8] the *tekke* of Hafiz Khalil near Varna,[9] the cave

[1] F. W. H.: see further below, p. 727. *Cf.* the Jewish practice of scribbling one's name on a holy place, for which see d'Arvieux, *Mémoires*, ii, 225, 294.

[2] Tekke Keui, Macedonia (Evans, in *J.H.S.* xxi, 204); *cf.* Lucius, *Anfänge des Heiligenk.*, p. 195.

[3] For this sheikh see below, p. 358. [4] See below, p. 358, n. 2.

[5] Similarly, a sulphurous well between Angora and the Halys was formerly supposed a 'kill-or-cure' remedy for madmen; similar cures are practised at Sipan Dere in the Taurus; see above, p. 52, n. 2.

[6] Carnoy and Nicolaides, *Folklore de Constantinople*, p. 117.

[7] Above, p. 266 and n. 2.

[8] In *J.H.S.* xxi, 204. [9] Nikolaos, *Ὀδησσός*, pp. 248–50.

of the Seven Sleepers near Tarsus.[1] Outside the sphere of religion proper we find a bath reputed haunted by beneficent *peris*, which is used for incubation in the same way.[2] A similar secular incubation of three nights is practised by men [3] and especially animals [4] in Cappadocia.

Owing to the influence of classical parallels, especially Aesculapius worship, too much stress has been laid on the use of incubation as a cure for bodily or mental ailments. The root idea is more general. Sleep in a sacred place is regarded as a means of closer communion with the beneficent spiritual influence of the holy place through the dream state, which is not differentiated from the ecstatic trance. Though this closer communion is most often made use of for healing, it may be sought for other purposes. For example, the cave of the Seven Sleepers near Tarsus is used for incubation by women desirous of children,[5] and Catholic pilgrims formerly incubated in the church of the Sepulchre for the general beneficial results supposed to be obtained thereby: [6] this is still an important part of the pilgrimage for Russians.[7] Similarly, in ancient times incubation was practised at Oropus as a preliminary to receiving an oracle from Amphiaraus.[8]

It is interesting and characteristic that animals share with men the benefits of communion with the saints.

[1] Schaffer, *Cilicia*, p. 29.

[2] [Blunt], *People of Turkey*, ii, 226–9; *cf.* above, p. 109.

[3] Carnoy and Nicolaides, *Trad. de l'Asie Mineure*, pp. 335 ff.; this cult seems vaguely connected with the Syrian saint Haji Bekir (*ibid.*, p. 210).

[4] *Ibid.*, pp. 203–4.

[5] Schaffer, *loc. cit.* Barren women also patronize the *ojak* of Haji Bekir (Carnoy and Nicolaides, *Trad. de l'Asie Mineure*, p. 335). *Cf.* the incubation for children at Eski Baba in Thrace and at Musa Tekke near Kachanik in Macedonia (F. W. H.).

[6] Lithgow, *Rare Adventures*, p. 237; Casola's *Pilgrimage*, p. 261.

[7] Stephen Graham, *With the Russian Pilgrims to Jerusalem*, pp. 131 f.

[8] On incubation see further below, pp. 689–95.

Sick animals are brought by their masters, Christian and Moslem, to the monastery of S. John the Baptist [1] and to the church of S. Makrina [2] in the district of Caesarea. In Rumeli the *tekkes* of Choban Baba at Kumanovo and Ishtip are famous for their cures of animals by laying upon them the staff of the saint.[3] Conversely, the tomb of the Horse at Skutari works miracles for men,[4] who also frequent with reverence the graves of Suleiman Pasha and his horse at Bulair.[5]

Of oracles and divination in connexion with the cult of the dead few examples have been published. At Haidar-es-Sultan Crowfoot found a wise woman in the service of the village *tekke*, who acted the part of a Pythian priestess, inhaling the fumes of a sulphurous spring, and, thus inspired, predicted the future.[6] The spring of Bakmaja near Ainegueul (Brusa district) also

[1] Carnoy and Nicolaides, *Trad. de l'Asie Mineure*, p. 203.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 204.

[3] F. W. H. (from information obtained from local residents).

[4] Especially young children, see M. Walker, *Eastern Life*, i, 277 (below, pp. 272 f.). The horse is variously said to be that of Sultans Osman (Burgess, *Greece and the Levant*, ii, 194) or Mahmud (Meyer's *Konstantinopel*, 7th ed., p. 315; Hope, *Anastasius*, iii, 12). G. Temple (*Travels*, ii, 189) says there are two tombs of Osman II's and Mahmud I's horses. Similar memorials to dogs are found in Palestine, see Kitchener in *P.E.F., Q.S.* for 1877, p. 171, and Schumacher, *ibid., Q.S.* for 1888, p. 216.

[5] Fife-Cookson, *With the Armies of the Balkans*, p. 163. *Cf.* Abu Zenneh's in the Sinai peninsula (Robinson, *Palestine*, i, 102): of this grave Stanley writes (*Sinai*, p. 68) that it is believed the tomb of the horse of Abu Zenneh, who was killed in battle. Battle and master are alike unknown to history, but he is said to have commanded that every Arab, who passed the cairn, should throw sand on it as if it were barley, and say, 'Eat, eat, O horse of Abu Zenneh'. Stanley saw for himself that this is still done. Palmer states that, while the pagan Arabs had brought offerings to the grave, under the influence of Islam the grave had become regarded as devil-haunted and passers-by kick up sand with the words, 'Eat that and get thee gone' (*Desert of the Exodus*, p. 42). For the memorial to Shoehman's mare see Kelly, *Syria*, p. 445.

[6] In *J. R. Anthr. Inst.* xxx, 307.

exhales vapours which are credited with healing properties not used for divination.[1] A well at Eyyub used for divination is described by Evliya [2] in the following terms:

'There is an old well that goes by the name of Ján Koyússí, the well of souls.[3] If a person who has lost any thing performs here a prayer of two rika'at [4] devoting the merit of it to Yussúf,[5] and asking that great Prophet to describe to him what he or his relations have done amiss, a voice is heard from the bottom of the well describing the place where the lost thing or person is to be found. This well answers to everything except about the five hidden things (which as the Prophet declared nobody knows but God), as for example, if any one should ask, "Whether the child in the mother's womb is a boy, or a girl?" in that case no answer is returned but "stay a little". I, the humble Evliyá, having myself inquired one day at this well, where my uncle Osmán then was, and what he was doing, received the answer, that he was buying flour at Aidinjik, and would soon join me; he having arrived thirteen days after, I asked him where he had been, and what he had been doing on such a day, he replied, "that he had been buying flour at Aidinjik".'

Divination without a *medium* is reduced to its simplest elements, a 'yes' or 'no' answer to certain stereo-

[1] Cuinet, *Turquie d'Asie*, iv, 38. [2] *Travels*, I, ii, 34.

[3] Derived from the well of souls (*Bir-al-Arwah*) in the Haram at Jerusalem (Le Strange, *Palestine*, p. 132); it was said to descend to Hades (Conder, *Jerusalem*, p. 254). It occupies the site of the altar of Sacrifice and according to some Moslem divines the souls of the just rest in the well till the Day of Judgement. This is all part of the idea that caves, cisterns, and wells, which are all dark and echoing places, are haunted, probably by *jinns* in ordinary cases, but holy wells could naturally be haunted only by holy beings. This is seen most plainly perhaps in the case of caves (or crypts, for a cave is often only a natural crypt, as a crypt is sometimes an artificial cave); see above, p. 223.

[4] *Rika'at*=prostration during prayer.

[5] The connexion is of course with the (pit or) well, into which Joseph was let down by his brethren (see Sale's *Koran*, p. 170, and commentary).

typed questions being all that is required. At Eski Baba there is said to be a round stone on which sick people sit to obtain oracles of health : if they are to recover the stone turns to the right, if not, to the left.[1] At Tekke Keui near Uskub the sacred stone seen by Evans gives oracles of the same kind, if the suppliant can so embrace it that the fingers of his two hands meet, his wish is granted, if not, the reverse.[2]

Divination with pebbles for the return or otherwise of absent friends is practised at the *turbe* of Ghazi Baba at Uskub. Pebbles are kept on the tomb : the inquirer takes a handful at random and counts them. If the number is even, the answer is in the affirmative, if odd, negative.[3] In the *turbe* of a Bektashi convent at Juma, near Kozani in Macedonia, there is a simple wishing-oracle derived from the swinging of a porcelain ball or polyhedron suspended from the ceiling of the *turbe*. If this ball, swung away from the suppliant, strikes him on the rebound, his wish will be granted, otherwise the reverse may be expected.[4] Similarly, a ball in the

[1] F. W. H. from a local Christian in 1909.

[2] *Cf.* Evans, in *J.H.S.* xxi, 203 : 'The suppliant utters a prayer for what he most wishes, and afterwards embraces the stone in such a way that the finger tips meet at the further side.' On this oracle see further below, p. 277.

[3] F. W. H. (1914). I saw a small pile of pebbles also on the tomb of Jafer Ghazi in his *turbe* (now closed) in the citadel. Pebble divination is also practised at Zile in Pontus (White, *Trans. Vict. Inst.* xxxix, 162, stones thrown on a flat stone with a prayer) and at Tekke Keui near Uskub (Evans, *loc. cit.*, p. 204). Secular divination for news of absent friends by means of beads, with a rather more elaborate code, is mentioned in Carnoy and Nicolaides, *Trad. de l'Asie Mineure*, pp. 343 f.

[4] F. W. H. : see below, p. 529. *Cf.* Murray's *Asia Minor*, p. 255, where is mentioned a blue porcelain ball suspended from a mosque dome at Divriji (near Sivas) with miraculous powers. It is probable that both balls were originally charms against the evil eye. In Syria widows commonly use their husbands' tombs as oracles. The question is placed at the tomb and 'son feu mari ne manque pas de lui venir donner [la réponse] la nuit suivante' (Thévenot, *Voyages*, iii, 80).

Bektashi *tekke* of Bujak near Juma gives information about the health of absent friends.[1]

Another example of the ritual at a popular Turkish shrine is given by Mrs. Walker in her description of the 'Tomb of the Horse' at Skutari. Her words are as follows:

'Towards the south-western limit of the great Scutari burial-ground, and almost hidden among moss-grown graves, rank weeds, and cypress stems, you come upon a venerable monument—a stone vaulted roof, supported on columns, that covers nothing but a plain surface of trodden earth, with a small upright stone marking the headplace of the occupant. The people of the neighbourhood call it the tomb of a horse, and point to another burial-place enclosed in a railing, heavily trimmed with votive rags, as the grave of a saintly man, the owner[2] of the much-honoured steed.[3] This monument . . . is very similar to the tomb erected to commemorate the horse of Mohammed the Conqueror,[4] this latter in the cemetery of Eyoub, on the summit of the hill called Sandjakdjilar, the "standard-bearer" . . . this spot is endowed, they affirm, with the miraculous power of giving firmness and strength to the legs of weakly crippled children. The application of the charm takes place on Fridays, in the afternoon.

'A very dilapidated imām officiated on the day of our visit there, two or three women of the humbler class had assembled, holding their sickly babies very tenderly and anxiously. Each party brought a new whisk broom, with which the officiating priest swept carefully round the area three times; then, taking the child under the arms, proceeded to drag it round backwards, so that its legs should come as much as possible in contact with the strength-giving earth. This was done three times, with a pause at the head of the grave, when the little limbs were flapped down—also three times.

'A penny was the charge for this inexpensive if ineffectual remedy, and the mother bore away her child, taking great care

[1] M. M. H. [2] See above, p. 269, n. 4.

[3] The combination of the graves of a 'holy man' and his horse with a Christian *ayasma* seem to point to a cult of S. George-Khidr.

[4] For other horses' tombs see above, p. 269, nn. 4–5.

not to turn her head as she departed, lest the charm should be broken. On leaving the horse's grave the patient is carried to a small building near at hand, that contains, under one roof, the tomb of a Turkish Saint and a Christian *ayasma*, or holy well. An old woman, singularly alive to the merits of backshish, presides over the fountain, at which both Mussulman and Christian drink, after which the ancient lady produces a monstrous chaplet—a *tesbih*—of large dark beads, which she passes three times over the head of the visitor and down to the feet —like a skipping-rope. As the operation is paid for, any one that pleases may enjoy the privilege ; in the case of the children who had been dragged round the horse's grave, it is a necessary and completing part of the cure.' [1]

As a suggestion of origin for the tomb the following may be considered. The so-called *Horse's Tomb* has no appearance of being a tomb at all. It is merely a *kubbeh* of no very ancient date, such as are commonly built as a work of charity by women in graveyards, to serve as a retreat and shelter for mourning women.[2] A mosque was built at Skutari by a dowager sultana and named after her Valideh Atik (*elder*) Jamisi. Did the same lady build this *kubbeh*, it being called after her Valideh Sultan Atik Kubbesi, degenerating into *Sultan Ati* Kubbesi [3] (*kubbeh* of the sultan's *horse*) ?

As to the ritual at the Horse's Tomb, it will be seen at once that it is merely an accumulation of various acts supposed to be beneficial. Contact with, and proximity to, sacred objects form the base, the sacred objects being in this case (1) the earth of the tomb, (2) the water of the well, and (3) the beads of the saint. The effects of these are enhanced by (1) encircling the horse's tomb and (2) passing through the beads; the root idea of both acts ('circumambulation' [4] and 'transition' [5]) is common to the folk-lore of many countries.

[1] *Eastern Life*, i, 277 ff.
[2] See below, p. 325, n. 4.
[3] See also below, p. 327.
[4] See above, p. 267.
[5] See above, pp. 182–5. To be inside of, or encircled by, the holy

The encircling is done an auspicious number of times, and the whole ceremony takes place on an auspicious day, Friday, on which the greatest number of Moslem souls commune with God. This latter is the sole real contact of the cult with orthodox Islam.

The only record known to me of an elaborate sequence of Turkish ritual practices which is at all comparable to Mrs. Walker's for minuteness of observation is Evans's description [1] of the *tekke* and cult at Tekke Keui near the village now called Alexandrovo and not far from Uskub. The *tekke* is described as a humble building divided into an anteroom and sanctuary. The central object of the latter is a square stone pillar with bevelled edges. Behind it (from the antechamber door) is a sunken hearth occupied by candles, in front of it a square base on which the pilgrim stands when he makes his preliminary prayer. The procedure is as follows :

'Taking his stand on the flat stone by the pillar, the suppliant utters a prayer for what he most wishes, and afterwards embraces the stone in such a way that the finger-tips meet at its further side. A sick Albanian was walking round the pillar when I first saw it, kissing and embracing it at every turn.

'The worshipper who would conform to the full ritual, now fills a keg of water from a spring that rises near the shrine—another primitive touch,—and makes his way through a thorny grove up a neighbouring knoll, on which is a wooden enclosure surrounding a Mahommedan Saint's Grave or Tekke. Over the headstone of this grows a thorn tree hung with rags of divers colours, attached to it—according to a widespread primitive

object is obviously a more favourable position for receiving blessing from it than to encircle it. This is reflected in a higher plane of thought by a passage of Saadi quoted by Burton (*Pilgrimage to Meccah*, 1906, ii, 165) : 'he who travels to the Ka'abah on foot makes the circuit of the Ka'abah, but he who performs the pilgrimage of the Ka'abah in his heart is encircled by the Ka'abah'. Whereas every pilgrim makes the *tawaf*, very few are admitted to the interior of the Holy House.

[1] In *Mycenean Tree and Pillar Cult*, *J. H. S.* xxi, 202 ff.

rite—by sick persons who had made pilgrimage to the tomb. . . . In the centre of the grave was a hole, into which the water from the holy spring was poured, and mixed with the holy earth. Of this the votary drinks three times, and he must thrice anoint his forehead with it. . . .

'It was now necessary to walk three times round the grave, each time kissing and touching with the forehead the stone at the head and foot of it. A handful of the grave dust was next given me, to be made up into a triangular amulet and worn round the neck. An augury of pebbles, which were shuffled about under the Dervish's palms over a hollowed stone, having turned out propitious, we now proceeded to the sacrifice. This took place outside the sepulchral enclosure, where the Priest of the Stone was presently ready with a young ram. My Albanian guide cut its throat, and I was now instructed to dip my right hand little finger in the blood and to touch my forehead with it.

'The sacrifice completed, we made our way down again to the shrine, . . . it was now necessary to divest one's self of an article of clothing for the Dervish to wrap round the sacred pillar, where it remained all night. Due offerings of candles were made, which, as evening drew on, were lit on the sunken hearth beside the stone. We were given three barley corns to eat, and a share in the slaughtered ram, of which the rest was taken by the priest, was set apart for our supper in the adjoining antechamber. Here, beneath the same roof with the stone, and within sight of it through the open doorway, we were bidden to pass the night, so that the occult influences due to its spiritual possession might shape our dreams as in the days of the patriarchs.'

Here, as at Skutari, the religious importance of the sanctuary is divided between three sacred objects, of which two are a saint's tomb and a sacred water. The third—at Tekke Keui a pillar—usurps the lion's share of the interest. To it we shall return. Most of the ritual turns directly or indirectly on contact with these holy objects. The pillar is embraced and circumambulated, the water of the spring and the earth of the grave are both swallowed on the spot and taken away to be

worn as an amulet; similarly, a garment which has been in contact with the pillar is worn to perpetuate its beneficent influence. The corn and the sacrificial flesh are conceived of as hallowed by the connexion with the sacred place. The sacred number, here three, occurs twice. Finally, the patient, permeated by the influence of the holy place, sleeps through the mysterious night in close proximity to the sacred stone.

Some few new points which I have gleaned after Evans give an added interest to this sanctuary. First, the name of the buried saint is Karaja Ahmed and the *tekke* is in the hands of the Bektashi. Karaja Ahmed [1] is a famous saint of this order and his 'tombs' are numerous in the Sangarius valley and elsewhere in Asia Minor: the likeness of the name 'Karaja' to the Slavonic form of 'George' may have aided the saint's identification by Christians with S. George, at which Evans hints and which, since the Serbian conquest of this part of Macedonia, is so far accepted by local Christians that a cross has been erected at the place. Secondly, the sanctuary in which the pillar stands is a simple form of the Bektashi 'house of prayer' (*ibadet hane*, *meidan*) or 'lodge' and all its furniture, including pillar, square base, candle-stand, and sheepskins, is in harmony. The pillar and 'base' (called by the Bektashi *meidan tash*) seem to be essential to Bektashi ritual. The pillar is sometimes a real part of the structure of the 'lodge', sometimes a movable piece of furniture: I have seen it square and twelve-sided. The *meidan tash* likewise varies in form, being sometimes square, sometimes eight-sided, and sometimes a twelve-pointed star formed by segmental excisions from a circular stone. The *meidan tash* is supposed to symbolize the altar of Ishmael and at the initiation of a Bektashi the candidate stands on it.[2] The variation in the shape of the stone may be dependent on the grade of

[1] See below, pp. 404 f. [2] J. P. Brown, *Dervishes*, p. 167.

the ' lodge '. In large ' lodges ' there are twelve sheepskins (at Tekke Keui Evans saw only five), which are the seats of the twelve major officials of the *tekke* ;[1] similarly the Bektashi *taj* or mitre has four divisions on its rim and twelve above. It thus seems evident that the ' sacred stone ' of Tekke Keui has an esoteric meaning for the Bektashi and the fables of its ' flying from Khorasan ' or being ' brought by a holy man from Bosnia ' [2] heard by Evans are probably for rustic consumption.

Lastly, a small point in the ritual which seems to have escaped Evans, but which bulked large in the accounts of my local informants, is that the preliminary ' embracing ' of the sacred stone is in itself an oracle of the success or otherwise of the suppliant ; if his petition is not to be granted, he is unable to clasp the stone so that his finger-tips touch, a distinct embargo on the corpulent. The point is of some interest as apparently coming not from the Sunni but from the Shia side of Islam, to which the Bektashi belong. A column of the mosque of Ali at Kufa has the same oracular properties, used in this instance to confirm doubtful legitimacy or the reverse.[3] A connexion between the two seems certain.

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 153.
[2] Above, p. 197, n. 2.
[3] Niebuhr, *Voyage en Arabie*, ii, 216. See further below, p. 635.

XVIII

SAINTS AND THEIR MIRACLES

§ 1. Categories of Saints

THE saints of the Turks fall into several fairly well-defined categories, and may be divided into

(1) Prophets of the Jewish tradition (*e.g.* Noah and Joshua) ; [1]

(2) Koranic saints (*e.g.* Khidr and the Seven Sleepers) ;

(3) Men of holy life, including preachers and learned men, dervishes and anchorites ;

(4) *Ghazis* or warriors who have fallen in fight against the infidel, generally either ' Arabs ' of the early centuries of Islam or heroes of the Turkish conquest ;

(5) Tribal saints ;

(6) Lay founders of religious establishments, who have acquired merit, and therefore influence in heaven, by this pious act.

The tomb and memorials of all these, irrespective of their function in life, are felt to have power and all may

[1] Other interesting Jewish figures adopted by the Moslems are Nimrod (see below, p. 317, n. 4) and Samson. Samson bargained with his compatriots that, if he destroyed the church, and the Christians in it, at Ain Shemes [Samson's country], he should have a quarter of the revenues of the country. When the Christians had assembled in the church, he went to it and, crying, ' Ya Rabb,' knocked down the column which supported it, burying himself and them in the ruins. They buried him at Sara, and the sheikh attached to the tomb takes a quarter of the olives grown between Deir Eban and Ain Shemes : one *fellah* who refused to pay the toll found his olives, when pressed, exude blood (Clermont-Ganneau, *Pal. Inconnue*, p. 58). Story (*Roba di Roma*, ii, 248) was told that the blind man Samson had pulled down the church at Siena. One of the Greek temples at Metapontum is called *Chiesa di Sansone* (Baedeker, *S. Italy*, p. 242). I heard somewhat the same tale at Kastoria, Macedonia.

ease by their intercessions the troubles of their suppliants. In addition, in death as in life, an obscure person may prove himself a saint by manifesting his power to work miracles. Further, as elsewhere, ignorance and chicanery have added to the number of genuine graves a number of cenotaphs and bogus sanctuaries of supposititious saints.[1]

The vogue of a saint depends on many conditions. Certain saints are definitely associated with certain trades, professions, or sects.[2] Every guild in Constantinople, like every dervish organization, has its special patron saint (*pir*), who is claimed as founder. The illustrious admiral Khair-ed-din ('Barbarossa') was regularly invoked yearly, for no other reason than the success of his arms, by his successors before they put to sea with their fleets.[3] Sidi Ghazi in former days and Haji Bektash still[4] are associated with the profession of arms. Khidr, the half-divine guide of Moses in the Koran, becomes naturally enough the protector of travellers.[5] Such saints have a certain prescriptive right to veneration from their particular followers, and so to a limited extent the Turkish pantheon is departmenta-

[1] *Cf.* above, pp. 234–6.

[2] This is well seen in the West, with its more abundant material for study, *cf.* Hasluck, *Letters*, pp. 31–2.

[3] This custom began at least soon after Khair-ed-din's death in 1569 (Hammer-Hellert, *Hist. Emp. Ott.* vi, 332, quoting a Venetian *Relazione*; *cf.* Hammer-Hellert, xviii, 81 (703)). See also Canaye (1573), *Voyage*, p. 139; Thomas Smith in Ray's *Voyages*, ii, 48 ('[At Beshiktash] lies buried the famous Pyrate *Ariadin*, whom the Christian Writers call *Barbarossa*. . . . The Captain *Bassa* usually, before he puts to Sea with his Armata of Gallies, visits the tomb of this fortunate Robber . . . and makes his prayers at the neighbouring church [!] for the good success of his Expedition'). The grave is now little regarded, *cf.* Slade, *Travels*, p. 63; Temple, *Travels*, ii, 210.

[4] Decourdemanche, in *Rev. Hist. Relig.* lx (1909), p. 66.

[5] George of Hungary, *De Moribus Turcorum*, cap. xv, quoted below, p. 498. Breuning, *Orient. Reyss* (1579), p. 106, probably copies from the former. See below, p. 323, n. 1.

lized. In general, however, the popular fame of a Turkish saint depends on his power to work miracles, especially of healing, and his reputation for the cures of particular afflictions depends on chance successes, accidents of name,[1] or astute organization.

§ 2. Miracles and Legends of the Saints

The miracles of the saints are primarily tokens of the favour of God obtained by the saint's intercession with God on his own behalf or on that of others. The saints most renowned for miracles are dervishes, who possess or affect to possess occult knowledge as well as holiness, and a supposed miracle is generally attributed to a dervish. The dervish is conceived of as a person not far removed from a magician, who works through *jinns* or demons and may without prejudice claim power over *jinns*. Solomon himself, who is conceived of as perfectly orthodox and specially favoured of God, is not considered inconsistent for exercising his power over *jinns*,[2] and indeed the favour of God, combined with learning of a special sort, is supposed to give such power.

[1] A conspicuous example is Ashik Pasha, whose tomb at Kirshehr was a pilgrimage for persons afflicted by love-troubles (*ashk* = 'love'): for this see George of Hungary, *De Moribus Turcorum*, cap. xv (below, p. 496).

[2] *Jinns* built Baalbek for Solomon (*cf.* Benjamin of Tudela, ed. Wright, p. 91; de Volney, *Voyage*, ii, 119; Warburton, *Crescent and Cross*, p. 309, &c.); see above, p. 200. They also built the vaults under the Haram at Jerusalem for him (de Vogüé, *Syrie*, p. 204); the work being finished, Solomon 'les a écroués pour l'éternité aux pierres de leurs piliers'. The Bordeaux pilgrim already mentions the crypt *ubi Salomon daemones torquebat* (in Chateaubriand's *Itinér.* iii, 242). Migne (*Dict. des Apocryphes*, ii, 854) gives the incident of the demon Sakhr at the building of the Temple. The Koran (Sale's edition, p. 284) mentions his armies of demons, birds, and men. He retained his power over the *jinns* after he died by concealing his death for some time. (Conder, *Jerus.*, p. 254; *cf.* Sale's *Koran*, p. 323). Migne further (*op. cit.*, ii, 839 ff.) says that both Jews and Greek Christians attributed magic powers over demons to Solomon.

The learning in question comes partly from innate qualities, partly from meditation and instruction.

The dervishes of hagiological folk-lore have many 'fairy' characteristics. They can take various shapes,[1] are endowed with supernatural strength,[2] and, to judge by their tombs, supernatural size also. They thus approximate very closely to the *dev* of secular folk-tales, and many supposed saints may have originated as whitewashed *devs*. The dervish of legend generally falls into one of two fairly well-marked categories, *i.e.* (1) the warrior and (2) the hermit or contemplative: characteristics of both may of course be combined in one person. In general, however, it may be said that the warrior type took root with the Osmanli, while with the Seljuks the mystic learned branch was in favour.

The warrior dervish can be dismissed in a few words. The conception is of course based on the actual practice of using dervishes to inspire the troops in battle. The association of the Janissaries with the Bektashi dervishes is the outcome of this practice, which doubtless goes back to the time when every Turkish tribal chief was both the leader in war and the medicine-man of his tribe. Dervishes still marched with the troops till quite recent times, even after the fall of the Janissaries.[3] The miracles proper to the warrior dervish naturally consist in supernatural feats of arms generally accomplished with dummy weapons and the power of the spirit.[4]

[1] *Cf.* the saint in Goldziher, *Rev. Hist. Relig.* ii (1880), p. 278. Accused of not saying his prayers, he took various forms and posed his accusers with the question, 'In which form have you seen me neglect prayer?' [2] *Cf.* the sheikh in Goldziher, *loc. cit.*, p. 271.

[3] *Cf.* Hammer-Hellert, *Hist. Emp. Ott.* vii, 267; Peysonnel, *Mémoires de M. le Baron de Tott*, pp. 34 ff.; Wittman, *Travels*, p. 10; Burnaby, *On Horseback through Asia Minor* (1877), i, 318. Bektashi *babas* were specially brought to encourage the Albanian troops at the battle of Kumanovo in 1913 (F. W. H.).

[4] A dervish's wooden sword is hung up at the tomb of Sersem Ali at Kalkandelen (F. W. H.); other wooden weapons are in a Cappadocian

As characteristic of the ' hermit ' type of dervish we may specially remark miracles based on their complete union with the world of nature, including the taming of wild animals, especially deer, and, as a further extension of the same powers, supernatural power over inanimate objects.[1]

Outside dervish circles a very favourite hero for miraculous legends is the unknown saint,[2] whose miracles[3] are the vindication of his unexpected claim to veneration. They may be worked during his lifetime or after his death. The ' unknown saint of God ' is generally a conspicuously unlikely person, of very obscure station,[4] apparently negligent in his religious duties,[5] even a Christian,[6] or a drunkard.[7]

Of hagiographical legends a very large class is composed of aetiological legends devised to account for prominent natural features or natural curiosities of certain localities. The existence of mountains, springs, and lakes is frequently attributed to the direct action of saintly personages. Thus, the summits of the Trojan Ida are due to the sifting of Sari Kiz, a female saint to

tekke (Crowfoot in *J. R. Anthr. Inst.* xxx, 307). For a story turning on the same *motif* see Carnoy and Nicolaides, *Folklore de Constantinople*, pp. 74 ff.

[1] *Cf.* especially the *kutb* in Lane, *Mod. Egyptians*, i, 291.

[2] See below, p. 293.

[3] In Algeria, if a miracle takes place at the traditional burial-place or cell of a saint, whose name is unknown, a chapel of Sidi 'l Mokhfi ('My Lord the Hidden One ') is dedicated (Montet, *Culte des Saints Musulmans*, p. 21 ; *cf.* also p. 22). *Cf.* Conder, in *P.E.F., Q.S.* for 1874, pp. 23 f., for Haj Alian, a poor, obscure saint vindicated by a miracle.

[4] Ephraim Teuvetlu in (x) ; Emrem Yunuz in (vii) ; *cf.* Miss Durham, *Burden of the Balkans*, p. 309 (butcher saint of Alessio) ; P. Guérin, *Vie des Saints, s.d. Jan. 17* (S. Anthony the Great and the leather curer of Alexandria). For other eastern *motifs* in the West see below, p. 632.

[5] Imam Baghevi in (viii) ; Laleli in Carnoy and Nicolaides, *Folklore de Constantinople*, pp. 144 f.

[6] *Mesnevi*, tr. Redhouse, p. 34.

[7] Carnoy and Nicolaides, *op. cit.*, p. 39.

whom considerable reverence is paid by the surrounding Yuruk populations:[1] those of the Ali Dagh, near Caesarea, to similar action on the part of the nephew and successor of the Prophet :[2] and three tumuli at Sestos, according to ' a silly fable related by the *Turks* ', were ' formed by the straw, the chaff, and the corn of a Dervish, winnowing his grain '.[3] The spring at Ivriz was called forth by a companion of the Prophet,[4] and numerous other springs are attributed to the action of dervish-saints.[5] The lakes of Egerdir and Beyshehr were formed by Plato (' Eflatun ', a figure standing half-way between saint and magician in Oriental legend), who blocked their outlet.[6] Sheikh Arab Gueul, near Dineir, represents the site of a wicked town overwhelmed by an ' infidel dervish '.[7] Some similar story probably connects Hasan Dede with the salt lagoon in Cilicia bearing his name.[8]

This type of legend is apt to take a moral colour. The saint, insulted or angered, curses the country by an inundation. Plato, with a curious incompetence, obtains the same effect by accident or miscalculation, his aim being purely beneficent.[9] Such manipulation of water, whether for utilitarian or destructive purposes, is specially characteristic of the oriental magician.[10]

[1] See Leaf, in *Geog. Journ.* xl (1912), p. 37 ; above, p. 100.

[2] See above, p. 102, n. 3. [3] E. D. Clarke, *Travels*, iii, 86.

[4] For references see above, p. 106, n. 1.

[5] *Cf. e.g.* Hammer, *Brussa*, p. 14 ; Degrand, *Haute Albanie*, p. 244 ; Kanitz, *Bulgarie*, p. 535 ; Evliya, *Travels*, ii, 226.

[6] Below, p. 366. [7] Laborde, *Asie Mineure*, p. 105.

[8] For the lagoon see Cuinet, *Turquie d'Asie*, ii, 41. Hasan Dede may be historical : see the inscription in his honour published by Langlois, *Cilicie*, pp. 330–1.

[9] The same phenomena may be variously interpreted. The saltings of Larnaka represent, like most of the lakes cited above, the *vengeance* of a saint (Lazaros) ; but the saltings of Haji Bektash are the outcome of his beneficent forethought for a saltless people (Cuinet, *op. cit.*, i, 342). A salt marsh in Persia was caused by the mere presence of the guilty Shimr (E. C. Sykes, *Persia and its People*, p. 168).

[10] For ' Belinas ' (Apollonius of Tyana) in this connexion see below

Supposed evidences of ancient inundations on a larger scale are generally connected with the cutting of the Bosporus and the Strait of Gibraltar by Alexander the Great, a purely secular figure. According to the western account Alexander, incensed at the conduct of a king of Carthage, who refused to accept him as suitor to his (already betrothed) daughter, revenged himself by cutting the Strait of Gibraltar, and thereby flooding the low-lying districts of the stiff-necked king's territory.[1] The eastern version is for aetiological purposes more satisfactory. Alexander was opposed in Asia by Kadife, queen of Smyrna, who either refused him passage for his troops on their way to India, or declined to do him homage. He retaliated by cutting the channels of the Bosporus and the Dardanelles, and flooding Kadife's country with the water of the Black Sea. Afterwards relenting, on account of the damage done to innocent nations, he drained off some of the water by cutting the Strait of Gibraltar.[2]

This version has the merit of accounting both for ruins still submerged on the coast and for all local traces or supposed traces of the sea found inland. Thus, at various points near the Black Sea, now left high and dry, rings or pillars are pointed out as originally intended for the mooring of ships : [3] the theory is confirmed by any

p. 366, n. 6. *Cf.* the fish-pools of Solomon at Jerusalem (Fabri, *Evagat.* ii, 185). A professor at Padua moved a well bodily from one place to another (see Fabri, *op. cit.* iii, 391, who thinks he must have had a nymph in his power). This is in the oriental manner of thinking, all these things being worked ultimately by *jinns*. To my mind Solomon is the prototype of all, Christian and Moslem : see above, p. 280, n. 2.

[1] N. Davis, *Carthage*, pp. 40–1.

[2] Carnoy and Nicolaides, *Folklore de Constantinople*, pp. 16 ff. ; *cf.* Rycaut, *Greek and Armenian Churches*, p. 39, and Tsakyroglous in *Z. f. Volksk.* ii (1890), p. 103.

[3] Near Amasia (Haji Khalfa, tr. Armain, p. 685) ; near Ineboli (Carnoy and Nicolaides, *Folklore de Constantinople*, p. 18) ; on the summit of Mt. Argaeus (Carnoy and Nicolaides, *Trad. de l'Asie*

chance discoveries of petrified shells.[1] Of the former extent of Alexander's inundation of the Aegean, the name of Denizli [2] and the discovery of mooring-rings at Aidin [3] are adduced as evidence. The existence of petrified shells on Mount Pagus [4] at Smyrna, and of a colossal marble head formerly built into the castle, have probably been sufficient to bring its queen into the cycle.

Beyond the aetiological, some other favourite hagiographical *motifs* are illustrated by the selected stories which follow. These *motifs* include:

1. Competition between saints; [5]
2. The symbolic act or acted parable,[6] often combined with (1);
3. Multiplication of food; [7]
4. Miraculous journeys and transportations.[8]

The 'miraculous journey' is specially characteristic of Turkish saints [9] and doubtless of Moslem saints in general,[10] perhaps owing to the existence of a prototype

Mineure, p. 223); at Paravadi in Roumania (Evliya, *Travels*, 1, i, 6; Niebuhr, *Reisebeschreibung*, iii, 173; Haji Khalfa, *Rumeli und Bosna*, p. 32); at Menkub in the Crimea (Evliya, *loc. cit.*).

[1] Evliya, 1, i, 7.

[2] Carnoy and Nicolaides, *Folklore de Constantinople*, p. 18; the name is probably derived from a Turkish tribe *Tinghizlu*, which has become confused with *deniz* (='sea').

[3] P. Lucas, *Voyage fait en 1714*, i, 162.

[4] H. E. Strickland, *Memoirs*, ii, 14, 18.

[5] Exemplified in no. iii below (Ahmed Rifai and Haji Bektash).

[6] See no. vi below (Kaigusuz and the Stag-Dervish).

[7] See no. vii (Emrem Yunuz). The *motif* is commonplace enough. Such miracles are related of Tur Hasan Veli (Carnoy and Nicolaides, *Trad. de l'Asie Mineure*, pp. 212 ff.) and of the nameless 'Baba' of Ida (F. W. H.).

[8] A detailed classification of Moslem saints' powers according to Al Munawi, an author of the tenth century (A. H.), will be found in Goldziher, *Rev. Hist. Relig.* ii (1880), pp. 275 ff.

[9] Christian examples, however, are known. Benjamin of Tudela (ed. Wright, p. 108) records the passage of a river on his shawl by a false Messiah.

[10] For Haji Ephraim Teuvetlu, Muzur, and S. John 'the Russian'

in Mohammed's miraculous journey to Jerusalem. In our own day the great-grandson of a Khalveti dervish sheikh has told us how the deerskin, which formed the prayer-rug of his ancestor and is still treasured in the family, was confidently believed to have belonged to a stag which carried the sheikh regularly to attend Friday prayers at Mecca.[1] Though the prayer-rug is not the only vehicle of these journeys, it is easy to understand how it has been singled out.[2] Pious persons, engaged in intense prayer, must often have imagined themselves transported to the Holy Places,[3] and if the

and their miraculous journeys see below, p. 293, n. 2. Solomon and his suite went on pilgrimage to Mecca on a large carpet (Migne, *Dict. des Apocryphes*, ii, 857). The *kutb* or chief of the 'welees' is believed to transport himself from Mekkeh to Cairo in an instant, and so, too, from any one place to another' (Lane, *Mod. Egyptians*, i, 292). Durmish Dede miraculously crossed the Bosporus on foot and established himself at Rumeli Hisar (F. W. H.). Sari Saltik miraculously crossed the lake of Okhrida on a straw-mat: see below, p. 583 and n. 4 (with reference to Saintyves, *Saints Successeurs des Dieux*, p. 254). On the transportation of Moslem saints in general see Goldziher, *Rev. Hist. Relig.* ii, 275, and for levitation in general see below, pp. 665–8. Inanimate objects also were miraculously transported. The picture by S. Luke of the Virgin at Pursos came miraculously from Brusa in the iconoclastic period (Buchon, *Grèce Continentale*, p. 349). Genazzano possesses a miraculous picture of the Virgin which flew there from Skutari of Albania (Gregorovius, *Rome et ses Environs*, p. 93). The Virgin was seen by an old man in the act of transporting from Constantinople a church now in Russia (Collin de Plancy, *Dict. des Reliques*, i, 267). In Catholicism the Holy House of Loretto is the most famous case; see Collin de Plancy, *op. cit.* ii, 286 f.; U. Chevalier, *Lorette.*

[1] Halil Halid, *Diary of a Turk*, p. 5.

[2] Essentially carpets are not prayer-mats but the things Easterners sit on. For similar stories Westerners would have thought of flying *chairs*. As Mohammed used a flying horse for his miraculous journey, it may be inferred that the idea that a rug was the vehicle of transportation was later and ultimately depended on the Moslem use of mats in praying.

[3] Catholic examples also occur. In an ecstatic trance S. Lidwine visited the Holy Land (Maury, *Magie*, p. 363), while Marie d'Agreda, a Spanish mystic, went to Mexico (*ibid.*, p. 364). Their visions seemed

prayer-rug chanced to be a deerskin, it is but a small step for their descendants to imagine an actual deer, tamed by the saint, as the agent.[1]

(i) *The Spittle of Haji Bektash*[2]

Haji Bektash, travelling through the village of Ermeni, entered a peasant's cottage and was hospitably entertained by its occupants with a meal of *yoghurt* and honey. In recognition of their courtesy he blessed them and spat out a mouthful of the food, which at once hardened into stone. This, he gave them to understand, would furnish them with a perpetual livelihood. Such is the origin of the veined agate found near Nevshehr, the carving of which into buttons, cups, and other small objects is a local industry to this day.[3]

to them absolute fact, and were accepted as such by their public, who may even have seen them rigid and apparently lifeless, their souls being rapt away elsewhere. It is to be noted that religious abstraction is much more practised in the East.

[1] On the special connexion between deer and holy men see below, pp. 460 f. There is an ascending scale both for stags and carpets: (*a*) a saint of the forest rides on a stag, a wild beast but capable of domestication, see Evliya, *Travels*, ii, 24; (*b*) a saint of the desert such as Ahmed Rifai (Degrand, *Haute Albanie*, p. 229) rides on a wild and carnivorous animal, a lion, for instance; (*c*) Haji Bektash outdoes him by riding on an inanimate object, a wall (Cholet, *Arménie*, p. 47). Carpet-riding corresponds to (*c*), being in the same relation to flying horse as (*c*) is to (*a*) or (*b*). The flying horse appears already in early Aryan mythology, and is common in the Persian cycle of stories.

[2] Degrand, *Haute Albanie*, p. 230.

[3] The stone referred to is that known as *bagram* ('spittle') and is mentioned by Texier (*Asie Mineure*, ii, 88) and the archbishop Cyril (*Περιγραφή*, p. 8); *cf.* also Strabo, xii, ii, 10. This stone is worked especially at the convent of Haji Bektash, and is worn in various forms by the Bektashi dervishes. A twelve-pointed star of it is the *teslim tash* worn on the breast (Cuinet, *Turquie d'Asie*, i, 340); a seven-pointed star hangs round the neck (Leake, *N. Greece*, iv, 284) or is used as a girdle-stone ([Blunt], *People of Turkey*, ii, 275; Brown, *Dervishes*, p. 145); a crescent-shaped earring of the same material (sometimes also of metal) is the mark of the celibate Bektashi dervishes (Cuinet,

A somewhat more elaborate story based on the same theme relates that Haji Bektash asked and received hospitality in a Turkish house but afterwards discovered that his host had poisoned him. He therefore obtained at the house of a Christian an emetic which caused him to spit blood : his spittle mixed with his blood hardened into the red-veined variety of the local agate.[1]

This version gains additional point from the fact that the persons who carve the stone in question at Haji Bektash are without exception Christians, and that the relations of the Bektashi are more friendly with Christians than with orthodox Mussulmans. It seems certain, moreover, that in Degrand's version of the story ' the village of Ermeni ' indicates a village of Armenians (Tk. *Ermeni*).

(ii) *The tides of Negropont*

' Not a great many years ago this water was like any other part of the sea, and did not flow at all ;[2] but a Hadji, being a prisoner in that tower,[3] when the Infidels had the place, and confined in a dark cell, where he could see nothing but the water below, through a hole in his dungeon, begged of God to send him some sign by which he might know when to pray. His request was granted, by the change which immediately took place in the flowing and reflowing of the stream ;

Turquie d'Asie, i, 343 ; *cf.* Nicolay, *Navigations*, *cap.* xvii). A reference to a Bektashi necklace of the same material is probably to be found in MacFarlane, *Turkey and its Destiny*, i, 496 ; *cf.* d'Ohsson's cut of a Bektashi dervish (*Tableau*, ii, pl. 114). A similar story seems to be told of meerschaum (*cf.* Clarke, *Travels*, ii, 283). Covel (*Diaries*, p. 153) found a six- or eight-sided agate girdle-stone worn by dervishes to divine the health of their absent friends. [1] F. W. H.

[2] The irregular and violent tides of the Euripus have always excited curiosity, especially among the peoples of the almost tideless Mediterranean.

[3] *i.e.* the old water-castle on the bridge, since destroyed.

and since that time, the current has altered its course at each of the five seasons of prayer.' [1]

(iii) *Haji Bektash and Ahmed Rifai*

During the sojourn of Haji Bektash at Mecca it was announced to him that Ahmed Rifai, already a saint of established reputation, was coming to visit him riding on a lion and using live snakes for reins and whip. At the approach of the saint thus mounted, Haji Bektash ascended to the top of a wall, and conjured it to move under him towards Ahmed Rifai. The latter, realizing the greatness of the feat, from this moment acknowledged the saintship of Haji Bektash.[2]

[1] Hobhouse, *Albania*, i, 454. The story may owe something to that of Joseph, who is credited with the invention of watches, from the same pious motive, while imprisoned in a dark cell in Egypt (Evliya, *Travels*, i, ii, 190). With this compare the story of Christ keeping Ramazan on Mt. Quarantania, fasting all day and eating only after sundown. As the sunset could not be observed from Mt. Quarantania He made a bird of clay and gave it life (this incident probably comes from the *Évang. de l'Enfance*, see Migne, *Dict. des Apocryphes*, i, 976, and Thévenot, *Voyages*, ii, 805). This bird is the original of bats: bats, coming out at dusk, gave the *true* hour of sunset (Pierotti, *Légendes Racontées*, p. 13; Eng. ed., pp. 70 ff.). The Moslem tale adds that every night, when the fast ended, God sent down a table from Heaven with food for Christ and His disciples. This is a crude interpretation of *Matt.* iv, 11 ('Angels came and ministered unto him'), aided perhaps by paintings of the Last Supper and the *Μυστικὸν Δεῖπνον*. It is curious to find the incident repeated about the house of Simon the Tanner at Joppa, where it is a perversion of the Christians' story of the great sheet seen by Peter, containing the clean and unclean animals.

[2] The story is told in Degrand (*Haute Albanie*, p. 229), and is one of the most popular legends of their Master among the Bektashi, though its chronology does not bear scrutiny. It is also told of Haji Bektash and Haji Bairam (Cholet, *Voyage*, p. 47), and it was retailed to Prof. R. M. Dawkins by Cappadocian Greeks of S. Charalambos and Mohammed (for the equation of Haji Bektash and S. Charalambos see above, pp. 83–4). Further afield, among the Kizilbash Kurds of the Dersim, the same competition is said to have occurred between the '*Seyyids*' or holy men of two rival tribes (Molyneux Seel in *Geog. Journ.* xliv, 1914, p. 58). Very interesting is the Jewish pilgrimage a

(iv) *Abdal Musa and Geyikli Baba*

'It is related that on a certain time Abdal Musa put a live cole into cotton,[1] and sent it to *Ghenglu Baba*[2] who in return hereof put milk into a cup, and sent it to him. Now the messenger admiring at the action of the Reverend *Abdal Musa*, he demanded of him, what strange mystery is there in sending of milk, and to what purpose is it as to your action? he answered, the milke which he sent is Deeres milk; the taming of a wilde beast is very difficult.'[3]

(v) *Jelal-ed-Din and the Monk*

A Christian monk once asked Jelal-ed-din, the founder of the Mevlevi dervishes, what was the advantage of Islam over Christianity, since it was written in the Koran that all men alike should come to hell-fire. Jelal replied by putting the monk's habit, wrapped in his own, into an oven; when the packet was taken out, the monk's habit was found to be charred and blackened, Jelal's only purified by the fire.[4]

(vi) *Kaigusuz and the Stag-Dervish*

Kaigusuz, the dervish founder of the Bektashi *tekke* on the Mokattam at Cairo,[5] while he still lived in the

month after Passover to the tomb of Rabbi Ephraim Angaua at Tlemcen in Algeria. He was a refugee from Spain of the fourteenth century, and the only thing known of him is that he entered Tlemcen riding a lion, with a snake for bridle (Van Gennep, *En Algérie*, pp. 41 ff.). Roman Catholics also frequent the shrine (*ibid.*, p. 45). This obvious borrowing of one saint's legends by another occurs because the name and personality of a saint form the least stable element in tradition.

[1] This miracle (the cotton being unburnt by the coal) is reported of the Christian saint Amphilochius of Iconium by Symeon Metaphrastes (Migne, *Patr. Gr.* cxvi, 960).

[2] *Ghenglu* Baba is a mistake for *Geyikli* Baba, a saint of Brusa renowned for his success in taming deer: see below, p. 460, n. 5.

[3] Seaman's *Orchan*, pp. 118 f.

[4] Eflaki, *Acts of the Adepts*, in Redhouse's *Mesnevi*, p. 87 (81). See further below, p. 372.

[5] See below, pp. 514–16.

world before his conversion, was devoted to the chase. One day he shot at and wounded a stag. He was shocked and astonished to see the stricken animal assume the form of a venerable dervish; and, overcome with remorse, he retired to a convent and took the habit of a dervish.[1] During his noviciate he was put to menial tasks, which included the hewing of wood for the fraternity. In the course of his work, he arrived at such a point of perfection in his union with the life of Nature that one day he returned from his daily task saying that he had heard the tree he was cutting cry out 'Why strikest thou me?' On this he was at once recognized as a great saint.[2]

(vii) *Emrem Yunuz*

It is related of Emrem Yunuz that he served the same convent as woodcutter without promotion for forty years. Then in a fit of despondency at his apparent lack of progress in the Way, he left the convent and began to travel, joining himself to two strangers, also dervishes. The first evening they were in company they had no food. One of the strangers prayed, and, in answer to his prayer, food was miraculously provided. On the second evening the second of the strangers did the same. The wondering Yunuz was convinced by this that the strangers were great saints, till they confessed that this favour of God was shown them for the sake of a holy man named Yunuz, who had served his convent as woodcutter for forty years. Whereupon, having learnt his lesson, Yunuz retired once more to monastic seclusion.[3]

[1] The incident is repeated in the lives of the Christian saints, Eustathius and Hubert of Liége, doubtless from oriental (see below, p. 464), perhaps Buddhist (see the *Jatakas*, tr. Cowell,) sources.

[2] The point lies in the contrast between the saint's previous callousness and the extreme sensibility attained by the religious life. I heard the story from Mr. W. H. Peckham, formerly H.B.M.'s consul at Uskub: the name of the hero was given me by a Bektashi dervish in Crete. On stags and saints see below, pp. 460 ff.

[3] Told me in Candia by Afentaki Zade Hilali, sheikh of the Khalveti. For Emrem Yunuz see below, p. 504.

(viii) *Ala-ed-Din and the Imam Baghevi*

In the reign of Ala-ed-din, sultan of Rum, there lived outside the walls of Konia a pious Kadri dervish called the Imam Baghevi. The neighbours, scandalized to find that the Imam did not attend prayers in the mosque of the quarter, complained of him on this count to the sultan, alleging also that he was given to drinking. The sultan sent a messenger to summon him to the court to answer these charges. It being a Friday, the Imam proposed to the messenger that they should first say their prayers. The messenger consented, and they mounted their horses. By a miracle of the Imam, however, they were carried in the twinkling of an eye not to any mosque in Konia but to Mecca itself. The sultan's messenger, who had not visited the Holy Place before, lingered, and was left behind at Mecca till the Imam came for him on the following Friday. Ala-ed-din, hearing of these marvels, did not wait for the coming of the saint, but rode out in person to do him homage; but when he arrived, he found the object of his reverence already dead.[1] The horses which had made the miraculous journey were turned to stone and stand by the tomb of their saintly master, working miracles of healing for the faithful and believing to this day.[2]

(ix) *Eskiji Koja*

'When Timur marched against Brussa the inhabitants, being alarmed, inquired of Emir Sultan what was

[1] This is characteristic of the saint who has attained perfection; *cf. e.g.* Ainsworth, *Travels*, i, 187–8.

[2] F. W. H.: see above, p. 82. A variant of the same tale is told of the cobbler Laleli at Constantinople (Carnoy and Nicolaides, *Folklore de Constantinople*, p. 144). Jonas, archbishop of Novgorod in the seventeenth century, was tempted by a devil, but made the devil as a horse carry him to Jerusalem and back in one night (D'Oppenheim in *Tour du Monde*, 1899, p. 618). On levitation see above, p. 285, n. 10.

now to become of the town. The Saint said, "The commander of the town having recommended it to Eskiji Koja and Khizr, they must be informed of it." Ilderim [Bayezid I] being defeated, Emir Sultan wrote a note which he sent by one of his Dervishes into the camp of Timur, with an order to deliver it to Eskiji Koja, that is to the chief of the tailors who mend old clothes. Having read the Saint's note, he said, "Emir Sultan shall be instantly obeyed;" he stuck his needle in his turban, and before he could put up his things in his bag, all the tents of the camp were broke up by the power of his command, because this old tailor happened also to be a pole of poles, or great Saint.' [1]

(x) *Haji Ephraim Teuvetlu*

Haji Ephraim Teuvetlu is buried in a *turbe* at Havatan, a village in the Taurus. In his lifetime he was a shepherd in the service of a local *bey*. One day, while his master was absent on pilgrimage, Ephraim's wife, having prepared a tasty meal, happened to exclaim, 'How I wish the Master were here to enjoy this!' Her husband persuaded her to give him a portion of the food in a covered dish, which he conveyed, still smoking hot, to his master at Mecca. The same evening he came back to his home. When the master returned from the pilgrimage, he brought with him, as evidence of the miracle which had taken place, the covered dish, and Ephraim's reputation as a saint was thenceforward established.[2]

(xi) *Ali Efendi and the Wolf*

A certain Ali Efendi was appointed *kadi* of Tokat: he was very modest and very poor, having nothing in

[1] Evliya, *Travels*, ii, 25 f.

[2] Carnoy and Nicolaides, *Trad. de l'Asie Mineure*, pp. 218 ff. The same story forms part of the cycle of a Kurdish shepherd saint, Muzur (Molyneux Seel in *Geog. Journ.* xliv, 1914, pp. 60 f.), and, curiously of

the world but a basket (*zumbul*) of books, from which he was nicknamed 'Zumbullu'. The people of Tokat were disgusted at the appointment to their city of a man so apparently undistinguished. It happened, however, one day that a shepherd had to report to his master that a wolf had stolen a ewe from his flock: the master, believing the shepherd had himself stolen the ewe, threatened to stop the price of it from his wages, and referred the case to the *kadi* of Tokat for a decision. Ali Efendi, taking pity on the shepherd, wrote officially to the wolf, citing him to appear before the court to answer for his misdemeanour in accordance with the sacred law of Islam. The letter was duly delivered by the shepherd, the wolf duly appeared before the *kadi*, acknowledged his guilt, and was sentenced to replace the stolen ewe. The result is not stated, but 'the people of Tokat wondered at the miracle and understood that their *kadi* was a holy man and favoured by God and His Prophet'.[1]

(xii) *Sheikh El-Bedawi*

Sheikh El-Bedawi 'being denied a Privilege by the *Basha*, which he had before enjoy'd, he by moving his Cap on one side caused his [the *Basha's*] Castle to lean on one side ready to fall, which affrighting the *Basha*,

the (modern) Christian saint, S. John 'the Russian' of Urgub (Oberhummer and Zimmerer, *Durch Syrien*, p. 212, note). The *motif* is found in the *Apocrypha* (*Bel and the Dragon*, pp. 33 ff.).

[1] Carnoy and Nicolaides, *Folklore de Constantinople*, pp. 183 ff. A similar story was told to Cholet (*Voyage*, pp. 40 f.) in which Haji Bektash figures as the hero. The saint, it is said, was wrongfully accused in his youth of stealing a lamb, and summoned as witnesses in his favour first the wolves who were the actual culprits and then the stones of the valley where the theft took place. Another Zumbul Efendi is buried near Constantinople: a dervish *tekke* looks after his tomb and the adjoining grotto is famous as a pilgrimage for barren women, who crawl to the extreme end of the grotto (Osman Bey, *Les Imans et les Derviches*, p. 125).

he granted him his Privilege, and he by putting his Cap to rights by little and little set the Castle upright again.'[1]

It will be seen from these examples that the legends of Moslem saints range from quite simple rustic tales, embodying well-known folk-lore *motifs* or explaining local peculiarities, to stories of a learned and instructive nature, devised to point a moral or to increase the prestige of a saint or his order. Similarly, the traditions of a religious centre may be a literary collection of stories regarding local saints, like Eflaki's *Acts of the Adepts*,[2] which centres round the personality of Jelal-ed-din of Konia, founder of the Mevlevi order; or, like the *Story of Sari Saltik*,[3] they may be a sophisticated *réchauffé* of genuine folk-legends or, again, pure folk-legend, handed down by word of mouth and never committed to writing. A good example of the latter is the legend of the Bektashi *tekke* of Demir Baba, near Razgrad in Bulgaria. This is a clumsy patchwork, apparently untouched by literary tradition, in which the saint of the *tekke*, a (probably mythical) warrior dervish, originally conceived of as a contemporary of the Turkish conquest, is inextricably confused with the founder, an early nineteenth-century pasha of Rustchuk,[4] and is supposed to have lived under Sultan Mahmud II (1808 to 1839). This story, rescued from oblivion by Kanitz, runs as follows:

(xiii) *Hasan Demir Baba Pehlivan* [5]

Hasan Demir Baba Pehlivan lived four hundred years

[1] Thévenot, *Travels*, in Harris's *Navig. Bibl.* ii, 429 (vol. ii, 803, in the Amsterdam 1727 edition). On Sheikh El Bedawi see further below, pp. 663–70.

[2] Translated by Redhouse and published with his version of the *Mesnevi*.

[3] Discussed below, pp. 429 ff.

[4] Hasan Pehlivan Baba, on whom see further below, p. 593.

[5] Kanitz, *Bulgarie*, p. 535.

ago. He was a holy dervish, who was able to make water gush from the most arid rocks, as he did at Kral Bunar, his original dwelling-place, and in the gorge where he built his *tekke* and his tomb. He was the father of the seventy-two nations of the earth. One day a terrible giant having drunk all the water of the army of the Czar of Russia, the ally of Sultan Mahmud [1808 to 1839], Demir Baba, killed the fearful monster, and the Czar recognized this service by giving him 18,000 *okes* of salt yearly. As the Russian armies were also suffering from hunger, the dervish brought, in a sheet knotted at the four corners, bread, hay, and barley, and lo! when men and horses had eaten, there remained over and above. But when the dervishes sided against the sultan in favour of the Janissaries, the true believers, Demir Baba stopped sending victuals to the Russian Army. Ibrahim Pasha, governor of the province, in his anger, would have chastised the rebel. The latter escaped by scaling a sheer rock. Converted by this miracle, the Pasha ordered that the repose of the hermit should not be disturbed. The *tekke*, however, suffered under the impious reign of Sultan Mahmud, and it was abandoned and neglected under Abdul Mejid. The springs dried up, and this drought lasted thirty years. But the pious Abdul Aziz confirmed the ancient rights of the sacred place, and for the last four years the springs have again flowed into the Danube.

The rough classification of religious legend here attempted has some importance, if of a negative character, for the student of tradition in its relation to history. The story of Demir Baba, nearly unadulterated folk-tradition, is obviously worthless historically on account of the low intellectual calibre of its composers. The half-sophisticated legend of Sari Saltik has been shown [1] to be quite as unreliable, as being 'edited' for the purposes of propaganda. The *Acts of the Adepts*, a purely

[1] In *B.S.A.* xix, 203 ff.; *cf.* below, pp. 429 ff.

literary collection, was composed much less for historical purposes than for moral instruction : any historical value it may have is derived from its early date, nearly contemporary with that of the mystic philosophers it celebrates. The result of the examination is thus a serious warning against the use of religious legend as an independent historical source.

XIX

OLD TESTAMENT SAINTS

§ 1. Daniel

THE prophet Daniel is reverenced by Mohammedans generally as the patron of occult sciences.[1] His grave was shown at Susa at least as early as the sixth century,[2] and is still a Moslem pilgrimage. Notices of a second reputed tomb at Tarsus begin in the eighteenth century. Lucas, who visited the town in 1705, says :

'Les Habitans assurent que c'est chez eux où est mort le Prophéte Daniel : j'entrai dans une Mosquée, sous laquelle on pretend qu'il a été enterré. Les Turcs y ont mis sur une grande tombe un cercueil de bois, qu'ils reverent ; et ils le font voir euxmêmes, à ceux qui viennent, à Tarse, comme une rareté. Ce cercueil est toûjours couvert d'un grand drap noir en broderie.'[3]

W. B. Barker, an old resident in Tarsus, gives the following notice of the supposed tomb of Daniel :

'The Turks hold in great veneration a tomb which they believe contains the bones of this prophet, situated in an ancient Christian church, converted into a mosque, in the centre of the modern town of Tarsus. The sarcophagus is said to be about *forty feet below* the surface of the present soil, in consequence of the accumulation of earth and stones ; and over which a stream flows from the Cydnus river, of comparatively modern

[1] For Daniel's book of prophecies see Migne, *Dict. des Apocryphes*, ii, 188, and Polites, *Παραδόσεις*, ii, 665 ff. ; see also p. 471, n. 4 below.

[2] Theodosius, *De Situ Terrae Sanctae*, ed. Geyer in *Itin. Hieros.*, p. 149 ; ed. Tobler, p. 359.

[3] *Voyage dans la Grèce*, i, 272 f. Haji Khalfa is silent. The legend of Daniel in Cilicia at Shah Meran Kalesi (see below, p. 750, n. 1) is omitted in Bianchi's translation of Menasik-el-Haj (in *Rec. de Voyages*, ii, 103).

date. Over this stream, at the particular spot where the sarcophagus was (before the canal was cut and the waters went over it) stands the ancient church above mentioned; and to mark the exact spot of the tomb below, a wooden monument has been erected in the Turkish style. [This monument is covered with an embroidered cloth, and stands in a special apartment built for it, from the iron-grated windows of which it may occasionally be seen when the Armenians take occasion to make their secret devotions; but generally a curtain is dropped to hide it from vulgar view, and add by exclusion to the sanctity of the place]. The waters of this rivulet are turned off every year in the summer in order to clear the bed of the canal. . . . It is a curious coincidence that the supposed tomb of Daniel the Prophet at Susa is said to be, like the one above described, under a running stream.' [1]

The mosque in question is, according to Langlois, called Makam Jami, or, in full, Makam Hazreti Daniel: [2] the same author distinguishes it from the Ulu Jami, which is said to occupy the site of the church of SS. Peter and Sophia [3] and stands, like the mosque of Daniel, in the middle of the town. Cuinet seems to identify the Ulu Jami and the mosque of Daniel.[4]

It is evident that the association, late so far as we know, of the name of Daniel with the tomb of Tarsus must be connected in some way with the Susan sanctuary.[5] The latter, which is still an important Mohammedan pilgrimage, is situated on the eastern bank of the Shaur river.[6] We are comparatively well informed as

[1] *Lares and Penates*, pp. 17 f. [2] *Cilicie*, p. 329.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 317. The present building dates from A.D. 1385 (*ibid.*, p. 329).

[4] *Turquie d'Asie*, ii, 47–8: 'Dans [la mosquée] nommée "Oulou-Mekami Chérif-Djamissi" la tradition place le tombeau du prophète Daniel'.

[5] This connexion is simple, see below, p. 303.

[6] A plan is given by Loftus in *Trans. Roy. Soc. Lit.* v (1856), to face p. 422, a view by Flandin and Coste, *Voyage en Perse*, pl. 100. For the tomb of Daniel at Susa see *Jewish Encycl.* iv, 430, *s.v. Daniel, Tomb of*; for details of its legendary history Asher's edition of Benjamin of

to its history. It is first mentioned by Theodosius about 530. According to the translation by Mustawfi (*c.* 1300) of Ibn Asim († 735) the coffin of Daniel was found in the palace of the Persian governor when Susa was taken by the Arabs (640): it was said to be that of a holy man from Iraq, who had been summoned thence by the Susans in a season of drought. The Arab general, acting on orders given by Ali, turned the river of Susa temporarily from its bed and buried the body there; 'The waters of Sus now flow over the body of Daniel.' [1] Benjamin of Tudela (late twelfth century) gives an entirely different version. In his time the sepulchre of Daniel was in front of one of the synagogues, but the coffin was afterwards removed and suspended by chains from the middle of the bridge over the river. The reason for this is given as follows: the possession of the coffin of Daniel was supposed to bring prosperity to the Jewish quarter of the town which originally possessed it. The poor quarter on the other side of the river, therefore, requested that it should be given to them temporarily, and eventually it was arranged that the coffin should be yearly transferred from one side of the river to the other.[2] Sanjar Shah of Persia (d. 1158), considering the arrangement derogatory to the Prophet's remains, had the bridge measured and suspended the coffin by chains from the exact middle, 'and the coffin of Daniel is suspended from the bridge unto this very day. The King commanded that in honour of Daniel nobody should be allowed to fish in the river, one mile

Tudela, i, 117 ff., and for its present state Ouseley, *Travels*, i, 420; Loftus, *Travels in Chaldaea*, pp. 416 ff.; de Bode, *Travels in Lauristan*, ii, 190; Rawlinson, in *J.R.G.S.* ix (1839), pp. 69, 83; Layard, in *J.R.G.S.* xvi (1846), p. 61. *Cf.* Carmoly's *Itinéraires*, pp. 489 ff.

[1] From Ouseley's translation in Walpole's *Travels*, p. 429.

[2] Similarly, the body of Joseph brought prosperity to the bank of the Nile on which it was. To prevent the desolation of the other bank, it was finally buried in the river (Migne, *Dict. des Apocryphes*, ii, 424).

on each side of the coffin.'[1] Mustawfi, in the thirteenth century, describes the tomb of Daniel as standing west of the river: in his honour none of the fish in the river were ever molested by man. Medieval tradition generally asserted that Daniel's grave was in the bed of the river and that the Mosque of Daniel marked the nearest point to his supposed grave.[2]

The discussion in detail of these stories related by Ibn Asim in the eighth, and Benjamin of Tudela in the twelfth, century need not detain us. For our purpose two facts are important, viz. the supposed burial of Daniel in the bed of the river and the preservation of the fish.[3] Both these suggest an original river cult, though both are explained as due to historical persons by nearly contemporary authors.

The sole link with Tarsus is the fact that both 'tombs of Daniel' are supposed to be in river-beds, and this is probably more than a coincidence. Down to the thirteenth century, when Tarsus was under the Christian kings of Armenia, the chief, if not the only, Moslem pilgrimage in the city was the grave of the caliph Mamun who, dying in 833 at Podandus (Bozanti), was carried to Tarsus and there buried 'on the left hand side of the Friday Mosque', which seems under Armenian rule to have been the church of SS. Peter and Sophia in the middle of the city.[4] This grave was still

[1] Benjamin of Tudela, *Itinerary*, ed. Asher, i, 117 ff. The account of the coffin suspended from the bridge is confirmed by the contemporary Rabbi Petachia (*Tour du Monde*, tr. Carmoly, in *Nouv. Jour. As.* viii, 1831, p. 366). Asher's note on Benjamin of Tudela's *Itinerary*, ii, 152, cites the tenth-century Ibn Haukal as mentioning the coffin of Daniel.

[2] Le Strange, *E. Caliphate*, p. 240.

[3] Carmoly, *Itinéraires*, p. 459, says the fish are preserved a bowshot up and down from the bridge for Daniel's sake and a particular fish is fed for the royal table. Carmoly is quoting Jichus Ha-Abot (A.D. 1564), ed. Uri de Biel; Uri, however, places the tomb at Bagdad.

[4] See Willebrand of Oldenburg, in Allatius, *Σύμμικτα*, i, 137; *cf.* below, pp. 698, 702.

known in 1225 ;[1] in 1705 [2] the tomb of Mamun is not mentioned and that of Daniel replaces it as the Moslem cult of the town.

The circumstances of Mamun's death,[3] as related by a tenth-century Arab historian, were curious. At Podandus was a stream of very cold water, so clear that the legend of a coin thrown into it could be clearly read. Mamun saw in the stream a fish which he desired should be caught and cooked for him. The fish was caught, but managed to slip back into the water, splashing the caliph as it did so : the caliph shivered, and, when the fish was again caught, was unable to eat it : he died shortly after.[4] Whether the story is true or not, it seems clear that the stream at Podandus was sacred. The coin thrown in was probably an offering:[5] to catch the fish was a sin and Mamun suffered accordingly.

It is surely more than a coincidence that we find much later the incident of the fish transferred to Tarsus itself, where the caliph was buried,[6] and the place recognized as under the protection of the *jinns*.[7] Whether from confusion of the Tarsus river with that of Bozanti (to some extent explicable by the fact that the road from Tarsus through the Taurus passed Bozanti) we

[1] The date of Yakut's *Lexicon*, quoted by Le Strange, *E. Caliphate*, p. 133.

[2] The date of Lucas's visit to Tarsus. [3] See below, p. 696 f.

[4] Not, however, as Ramsay, because the water (*Geog. Journ.* xxii, 1903, p. 392) or the fish was poisonous, since it is not recorded that he drank the one or ate the other. On sacred fish see above, pp. 244–9.

[5] For this world-wide practice see Frazer's note on *Paus.* i, 34 (4) ; for Asia Minor see V. de Bunsen, *Soul of a Turk*, p. 173. Niebuhr (*Voyage en Arabie*, ii, 281) records that the Yezidis are reported to throw gold and silver into a cistern at Sheikh Adi in honour of their saint and compares the Jebel Sinjar practice.

[6] For Mamun at Tarsus see Haji Khalfa, tr. Norberg, ii, 360.

[7] Otter, *Voyage*, i, 67, note : ' l'on montre à Tarsous un endroit que l'on dit être à la garde des Génies, & à cette occasion l'on fait ce conte ; qu'un jour le Khalif Meémoun se promenant vers ce lieu, etc.' [follows the incident of the fish].

cannot tell, but evidently the fish of the river of Tarsus, like that of Susa, were considered sacred. The location of Daniel's tomb at Tarsus probably rested on its two similarities to that at Susa: (1) that it was in a river and (2) that the fish in this river were preserved. To these must be added a third factor, viz. the likeness of the last syllable of 'Tarsus' (Tersûs) to the name of Susa (Sûs), where lies the traditional grave of Daniel.[1] Is it too much to assume that the great Moslem pilgrimage of the thirteenth century and the great Moslem pilgrimage of the seventeenth were identical, *i.e.* that the 'tomb of Daniel' is in reality the tomb of Mamun?

§ 2. Joshua

The veneration of Joshua by Mohammedans is due particularly to an obscure reference to him in the fifth book of the Koran ('The Table'). Commentators, drawing on Jewish sources,[2] tell in this context the story of the Twelve Spies, of whom only two (Joshua and Caleb) were faithful in keeping secret the gigantic stature of the inhabitants of Jericho, to the end that the Israelites might not be unduly depressed. The incident of the staying of the sun till Joshua had made an end of slaying [3] is also recorded, with the addition that the day of the victory was a Friday, on which account Joshua was unwilling to prolong the slaughter, since by so doing he would break the Sabbath.[4]

His position in the Mohammedan world being thus assured, many tombs of Joshua are pointed out in the

[1] This suggestion comes to me from a learned Mohammedan of Tarsus through Mrs. Christie.

[2] *Cf. Num.* xiv, 6.

[3] *Cf. Josh.* x, 12.

[4] Sale's *Koran*, p. 76, note; d'Herbelot, *Bibl. Orientale*, *s.vv. Joschova*, *Falasthin*. Clermont-Ganneau heard the legend told near Jericho of some ruins called the 'City of Brass' because it had seven brass walls. The hero is the imam Abu Taleb, whose grave is near the ruins. The tale includes the staying of the sun (Clermont-Ganneau, *Pal. Inconnue*, p. 61).

lands of Islam.[1] But the only 'tomb of Joshua' recorded in the Turkish area is the well-known sanctuary on the summit of the Giant's Mountain (*Jebar Dagh*,[2] now more commonly *Yusha Dagh*), on the Asiatic shore of the Bosporus.[3] This has generally been identified, but on insufficient evidence, with the Greek 'Bed of Herakles' and more vaguely with the tomb of the giant Amykos, slain hereabouts by Pollux in the course of the Argonautic expedition. On general grounds it is probable that we have here to do with a site associated from very ancient times with some sort of cult, since the mountain in question is conspicuous and commands a wide view, especially of the entrance to the much-feared Black Sea. It is therefore marked out as a place of rain-making and weather-survey,[4] and the constant inhabita-

[1] Five reputed tombs are shown in Palestine, according to Le Strange (*Palestine*, pp. 337, 404, 425, 496, 531). There are others in North Africa (R. Basset, *Nédromah*, pp. 74 ff.) and at Constantinople; to the last we shall return later.

[2] Walsh, *Constantinople*, i, 293. *Jebar* is the Arabic for the Persian *dev*, the giant or monster of the Turkish folk-tales.

[3] The tomb of Joshua is mentioned by the following authors besides those cited below: Comidas, *Descr. di Costant.*, p. 79; E. D. Clarke, *Travels*, ii, 441; Andréossi, *Constantinople*, pp. 326 ff.; Hammer, *Constantinopolis*, ii, 288; Fontanier, *Voyages en Orient*, p. 25; Grenville Temple, *Travels*, ii, 77; Brayer, *Neuf Années à Constantinople*, pp. 133 f.; *Constantiniade*, p. 183; Byzantios, *Κωνσταντινούπολις*, ii, 203; Skene, *Anadol*, p. 16; Sestini, *Lettres*, iii, 464; Goldziher in *Z.D.P.V.* ii, 13–17. None of these, however, adds materially to our knowledge.

[4] Walsh (*Journey*, p. 23) states clearly that the mountain was so used in his day, a dervish on the summit signalling the approach of rain clouds in time of drought and doubtless invoking them by his prayers. 'A dervish', he says, 'stands on the top . . . and when he sees a cloud, he announces its approach. I one day climbed to the same place, and saw the dervish on the watch, and, "I looked towards the sea, and beheld a little cloud rising out of the sea, like a man's hand, and gat me down that the rain stopped me not". In effect, it immediately followed.' Such another weather-saint is Yaghmur Baba ('Rain-Father'), for whom see Ainsworth, *Travels*, i, 143, and Barth, *Reise*, p. 82.

tion of the district and frequentation of the strait by shipping would naturally give it a double vogue.

The mosque and tomb of Joshua stand on the summit of the mountain in a grove of trees. The mosque is modern and in no way remarkable. Adjoining it on the south side is a walled enclosure containing the alleged grave, which is about sixteen metres long, enclosed in a stone coping, and planted with trees and shrubs. Several trees and a railing at the north end are hung with threads and rags against fever, and the leaves of a bay tree near the other end are used for the fumigation of fever patients.[1] Around it are the houses of the (Nakshbandi) dervishes in charge of the sanctuary. They say that a *turbe* was once built over the grave, but the saint 'did not accept it' and it fell down.[2] Beneath the mountain in the valley of Beikoz are the tomb and grave of Joshua's (anonymous) standard-bearer, who himself revealed the site to a dervish.

The first mention of a religious establishment on the mountain is in the middle of the seventeenth century.[3] Galland, who made the ascent in 1672, found then 'un Turc seul avec sa femme, lequel nous dit qu'il estoit là pour garder ce lieu qui est un Tekié ou monastère nommé "Joucha peyamber": c'est à dire Josué.'[4] Wonderful accounts of the prodigious size of the buried prophet were current then as in our own day.[5] The

[1] For this fumigation (with olive leaves) *cf.* Halliday, in *Folk-Lore*, xxiv, 357. It is probably no more than a coincidence that a laurel with magic properties grew from the grave of Amykos (Schol. in Apoll., *Argonautica*, ii, 59).

[2] See above, p. 228.

[3] Evliya, *Travels*, i, ii, 73. 'People ascend the mountain of Josue to visit his tomb . . . there is a convent and some fakirs attached to it.' *Cf.* Haji Khalfa, *Djihan numa*, tr. Norberg, ii, 490: 'Sepulcrum Juschae gigantis . . . cui plurimum religionis tribuitur'.

[4] *Journal*, ed. Schefer, ii, 128.

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 133: 'Joucha doit avoir esté un furieux géant; car, les barreaux que l'on a faits pour l'environner ne viennent que jusques à son ombilic, le reste de son corps venant se terminer vis-à-vis un arbre

idea of gigantic dead and gigantic graves comes from the folk-lore side,[1] and is based primarily perhaps on the conception of a mountain as a grave-mound,[2] reinforced in some cases by the discovery of megalithic remains or fossil bones. The giant of Turkish, as of other, folk-lore is generally conceived of as 'black' or hostile.

A mosque was built in connexion with the 'tomb of Joshua' in 1755 by the grand vizir Mohammed Said,[3] who was also responsible for the restoration of the 'Mosque of the Leaded Store' (*Kurshunlu Jami*) at Galata, in which alleged tombs of Arab warrior saints were discovered by the contemporary Nakshbandi sheikh

qu'une vieille femme nous monstra.' *Cf.* Temple, *Travels*, ii, 77. Walsh (*Constantinople*, i, 294) was told that the grave contained only the foot, Prokesch only the heart, of the prophet.

[1] *Cf.* the legend of Digenes Akritas' tomb in Polites, *Παραδόσεις*, no. 131; Nebi Osha in Burckhardt, *Syria*, p. 353, and Kelly, *Syria*, p. 446; Noah in Browne, *Nouveau Voyage*, ii, 244, and in Kelly, *Syria*, p. 95; Arba at Hebron, in Carmoly, *Itinéraires*, p. 242; Seth in Stanley, *Sinai*, p. 414. According to the Christian way of thinking, gigantic stature is characteristic, not of saints, but of 'men of old time', especially warriors, who are rarely canonized: Roland, for instance, remains secular. The whales' bones at Rhodes are attributed by Greeks to Digenes (see Chaviaras in *Λαογραφία*, i, 278), who is again the paladin type; a gigantic sword at Brusa was attributed by Franks to Roland (Belon, *Observations de Plusieurs Singularitez*, III, xlii; Thévenot, *Voyages*, i, 282) and was afterwards associated with a Turkish dervish warrior-saint (*cf.* Evliya, *Travels*, ii, 24, and p. 230, above). Probably the grave of 'Antenor', still to be seen in a street of Padua, was so named from a discovery of gigantic (*i.e.* fossil) bones (see Hasluck, *Letters*, p. 42). Turks, in contrast to Christians, readily believe in gigantic saints: Sidi Battal, warrior and saint (below, pp. 705–10 ff.), was gigantic; many of the dervishes in religious folk-lore were, or by their arts could become, gigantic. This is part of the general vagueness of their division between hagiology and folk-lore, a division vaguer even than it is in the West. If the Turks find fossil bones, they attribute them either to a saint or to a dragon. In the former case they bury them, it being considered indecent and impious to keep the dead above ground (see above, p. 45, n. 5).

[2] See above, p. 99; *cf.* Grosvenor, *Constantinople*, i, 214.

[3] *Jardin des Mosquées*, tr. Hammer-Hellert, *Hist. Emp. Ott.* xviii, 108.

Muradzade Mohammed.[1] As the present foundation at the 'tomb of Joshua' belongs to this same order, it is not improbable that the same combination of dervish and minister was responsible for the work undertaken here.

The author of the *Jardin des Mosquées* differentiates the Joshua of the Bosporus clearly from the Joshua of scripture ('the Joshua buried in this place is not the prophet, but another holy man'). On the other hand, a writing which existed till recently at least in the mosque insists on the identity of the two saints, and appears to transfer the scene of Joshua's victory from Canaan to the Bosporus. A translation of this writing, given by Walsh,[2] runs as follows:

'Here is the place of his Excellency Joshua, the son of Nun (Usha-ben-Noon), on whom be peace, who was not of the priests but of the prophets. Moses, on whom be peace, sent him against the Greeks (Roum). Now while his Excellency Joshua, on a certain day, fought with this nation, in the first battle the sun went down on account of the Greeks, but while he was fighting the sun rose again after it had gone down, and the Greeks could not be saved. They saw this miracle of his Excellency Joshua the son of Nun, on whom be peace, and at the time, had he taught them the Faith, they would have received it.[3] Should any one, either male or female, deny it, there is in this holy temple a history: let them look to that, and believe that he became a prophet. The end.'

In Cuinet's version of the text are appended the author's signature and date—'Djeziré Moustafa Chakir Hâfez de Chypre des successeurs de l'émir Vasif, en l'an 1231 [1815–16]'. The name *Djeziré* suggests that the author was of Algerian origin, which perhaps accounts for his insistence on the identity of the Bosporus Joshua

[1] See below, p. 728.

[2] *Constantinople*, i, 294. A French version is given by Cuinet, *Turquie d'Asie*, iv, 618, apparently from Timoni, *Promenades*, p. 73.

[3] Cuinet has 'lorsqu'il leur proposa la vraie foi, ils l'acceptèrent'.

and the son of Nun. Of the Algerian tomb of Joshua it is related that a native who once expressed doubt as to its authenticity was punished[1] by the saint himself, who appeared to him in a dream, ordered him to put out his blasphemous tongue, and burnt it, the culprit dying three days after.[2]

The original relation between Joshua and the giant was evidently that of victor and vanquished. The grave itself was probably at first considered the grave of a wicked giant[3] slain by Joshua, afterwards that of Joshua himself. A hint of the transition is preserved in the legend that after Joshua 'had conquered the Promised Land [or the Land of Rum ?], God granted him as his earthly reward the privilege of living, dying, and being buried here.'[4] Somewhat similarly, in the legend of Sari Saltik, the cave of the dragon slain by the hero becomes the dwelling-place or the burial-place of the hero himself.[5] We may suspect, but cannot prove, that the grave of Amykos became the 'bed of Herakles' in some such way.

[1] For the punishment by God of offence given to saints see Goldziher in *Rev. Hist. Relig.* ii (1880), p. 278.

[2] For the Algerian tomb of Joshua and its legends see R. Basset, *Nédromah*, pp. 74 ff.; like that on the Bosporus, it is represented as too small for the saint's body.

[3] In Turkish folk-lore several tombs of wicked giants are recorded. In his *Travels*, ii, 115, Evliya thus describes the tomb of the wicked giant Balaam on the Egerli Dagh near Erzerum: 'I saw on the top a large tomb, on which I first said a fatihah, and, having measured it by my steps, I found it eighty paces in length, with two columns, which marked the situation of the head and the feet.... Ja'afer Effendi of Erzerum ... warned me not to visit this place any more, because it was the grave of Balaam, the son of Baur, who had died an Infidel by the curse of Moses.' For the grave of a wicked giant on the Bithynian Olympus *cf.* Hammer, *Brussa*, p. 86; *cf.* Pardoe, *City of the Sultans*, ii, 83; Evliya, ii, 17, says the giant 'Sa'dan' took refuge there from Hamza.

[4] Grosvenor, *Constantinople*, i, 213.

[5] Below, p. 435.

XX

KORANIC SAINTS

§ 1. The Seven Sleepers

I HAVE discussed elsewhere[1] the development of 'the Forty' in Near East folk-lore and religion. 'Forty' is in the first place a mystical number which plays an important part in magic and ritual. This number is connected with certain groups of persons, including both saints and secular figures, by Christian and Mohammedan alike. The Christians have a predominating 'Forty' group in the Forty Martyrs of Sebaste.

The 'Seven' group is on a similar footing.[2] Here again we have a mystical number applied to certain groups of persons, with the important difference that the prototype is a group recognized officially in the religion of both Christian and Mohammedan, the Seven Sleepers of Ephesus, or 'Companions of the Cave'.

In the case of the Forty we have seen that caves and crypts, if sufficiently large or elaborate, or containing a quantity of human remains, tend to be associated with Forty Saints. In the case of the Seven, who are in the original legend closely associated with a cave, the suggestions of the same combination point inevitably to

[1] In *B.S.A.* xix, 221–8; *cf.* below, pp. 391–402.

[2] According to the *Synaxaria* the less important Christian groups of seven saints are: (1) the Seven (female) Martyrs of Angora (18 May), (2) the Seven (female) Martyrs of Amisus (Samsun), who are probably derived from the above (18 March), (3) the Seven Martyrs of Chaldaea, of whom the *Synaxaria* give no details, (4) the Seven Martyrs of Corcyra, who were thieves converted in the prison by SS. Jason and Sosipater (28 April), (5) the *Nine* Maccabees (father, mother, and seven children), who are sometimes regarded as a Seven-group (1 August). A church of the Seven Martyrs is cited at Bor in Cappadocia (Rott, *Kleinas. Denkm.*, p. 371; Grégoire, in *B.C.H.* 1909, p. 142).

the identification of suitable caves and crypts with that of the Seven.[1] We shall consequently find that, especially on the Mohammedan side, identifications of the cave of the Seven Sleepers are numerous.

According to the Greek *Menologia*,[2] the 'Seven Sleepers', endangered by the persecution of Decius, escaped to a cave on a mountain and prayed to be delivered from the chain of the body and to be saved from the Emperor. They then gave up the ghost and remained dead, the cave being sealed up by Decius, for three hundred and sixty-two years. At the end of this time, in the reign of Theodosius, the cave was discovered and its occupants awoke from their long sleep at the moment when the Resurrection was being discussed. The cave was eventually their final grave.[3]

In Greek times a similar legend was related of the half historical Epimenides.[4] In Christian legend the sleep of S. John[5] in his tomb at Ephesus was firmly believed in during the Middle Ages.[6] The Seven Sleepers legend is of course early and widely spread. It occurs first in a Syrian version before A.D. 522[7] and

[1] *Cf.* the Jordan cave with cells for seven virgins (Antoninus *martyr*, *De Locis Sanctis*, ed. Tobler, p. 15, xii) and the *makam* of the seven daughters of Jacob at Safed (Kitchener, in *P.E.F.*, *Q.S.* for 1877, p. 124).

[2] 22 October.

[3] For the cave at Ephesus see Lambakis, *Ἑπτὰ Ἀστέρες*, p. 102; Tavernier, *Voyages*, p. 35; Spon, *Voyage*, i, 248; Le Bruyn, *Voyage*, i, 99; Wood, *Ephesus*, p. 12; v. Prokesch-Osten, *Denkwürdigkeiten*, ii, 102; Willibald, ed. Wright, pp. 721–7.

[4] See O. Kern, in Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-encyclopädie*, *s.v.*; Diogenes Laertius, i, 10.

[5] Based of course on Christ's words (*John*, xxi, 22; *cf. Matth.* xvi, 28; *Mark*, ix, 1; *Luke*, ix, 27).

[6] Daniel *hegoumenos* (1106), in Khitrovo, *Itin. Russes*, p. 7; Jordanus, *Descr. des Merveilles*, p. 64 ('sicut audivi a quodam devoto religioso, qui ibidem fuit et auribus suis audivit. De hora in horam auditur ibidem sonus fortissimus, tanquam hominis stertentis').

[7] J. Koch, *Die Siebenschläferlegende*, p. 81; Lucius, *Anfänge des Heiligenk.*, p. 82.

was current in Europe [1] as early as the sixth century.[2] Its localization at Ephesus is probably due to the currency there of the similar legend of S. John.[3]

Among eastern Christians the Ephesian cave seems the only claimant of any considerable repute. A less-known cave or crypt near Paphos in Cyprus [4] has never made its claim good. It is mentioned by many pilgrims from the latter part of the fifteenth century onwards. By some of these it is associated with the Seven Sleepers,[5] by others with the Seven Maccabees ; [6] others, again, prefer to leave the question open, and call the saints

[1] For the Seven Sleepers at Marmoutier near Tours see Dussaulx, *Voy. à Barrège*, i ; in Germany 'near the Ocean', see Paul Diaconus, *De Gestis Longob.* I, iv. Pictures of the Ephesian Seven Sleepers were miraculously found at Plouaret in Brittany (Joanne's *Guide*, *s.v. Plouaret* ; *cf.* Sébillot, *Folk-Lore de France*, iv, 25). Other cases are at Yffiniac in Brittany (Sébillot, iv, 120: *cf.* i, 399), at Marseilles (Baring Gould, *Curious Myths*, 1st Ser., p. 103). They appeared to Edward the Confessor (Hutton, *English Saints*, p. 159 ; Baring Gould, *op. cit.*, p. 101). For the Seven Maccabees in Europe see Lucius, *Anfänge des Heiligenk.*, p. 142, and Tuker and Malleson, *Christian and Ecclesiastical Rome*, i, 316. For the Seven Sleepers see also Chardry, *Set Dormanz* (thirteenth century).

[2] Le Strange, *Palestine*, p. 285 ; *cf.* Tobler, *Palaest. Descr.*, p. 147. Baring Gould (*op. cit.*, p. 100) attributes its introduction into Europe to Gregory of Tours, who says (*De Glor. Martyr.* i, xcv) that he got it from a Syrian.

[3] Already in Theodosius (*c.* 530), ed. Geyer, *Itin. Hieros.*, p. 148. *Cf.* Baring Gould, *op. cit.*, p. 109.

[4] Described recently by Enlart, *Art Gothique en Chypre*, ii, 479–80.

[5] Le Huen (1480) in Cobham's *Excerpta Cypria*, p. 51 ; Van Ghistele (1483), *T' Voyage*, p. 248; Fra Noe (*c.* 1500), in Cobham, p. 53; Affagart (1534), *ibid.*, p. 67 ; Trevisan (1512), in Schefer and Cordier, *Rec. de Voyages*, v, 217 ; J. Le Saige (p. 149), quoted by Enlart, *loc. cit.* ; de Villamont, *Voyages* (1598), ii, 258 ; Fynes Moryson, *Itinerary*, i, 459 ; de Brèves, *Voyages* (1628), p. 27 ; Pococke, *Descr. of the East*, II, i, 226.

[6] B. de Salignac, *Itin.* iv, 5 : 'in qua [civitate] septem fratres Macchabaei, una cum matre, inclyto martyrio coronati sunt' (quoted by Hackett, *Church of Cyprus*, p. 464, n. 3) : *cf.* Possot, *Voyage* (1532), ed. Schefer, p. 144.

vaguely the 'Seven Martyrs'.[1] Similarly, a deserted monastery of the Latmos group called *Yediler* ('The Seven')[2] must probably be regarded as a commemorative dedication in honour of the Ephesian Seven. Still more vague is the cult, founded doubtless on the local identification of bones found in a cave, or rock-cut chapel, which Levides cites from the Cappadocian village of Selimeh near Soghanlar Dere: this cult is frequented by both religions.[3]

In the Greek church the Seven Sleepers are not very important. I have never met with a church dedicated to them or with an *eikon* representing them in a church. From the fact that small (house) *eikons* of the Seven Sleepers are fairly common it seems probable that they have a wider vogue in popular religion. I was told in this connexion at Corfu that the Orthodox regarded an *eikon* of the Seven Sleepers hung up in the house as an effectual cure for sleeplessness.[4]

The popularity of the Seven Sleepers among Moslems is primarily due to the long narrative of their adventures in the eighteenth chapter ('The Cave') of the Koran. The 'Companions of the Cave' play a great part in popular religious folk-lore, the root idea, on which their importance in this folk-lore depends, seeming to be their immutability, due to the special favour of God.

[1] Kyprianos (1788), *Ἱστορία τῆς Κύπρου*, p. 536; *cf.* Lusignan, quoted by Hackett, *Church of Cyprus*, p. 456, n. 1.

[2] Wiegand, *Milet*, III, i, 25 ff., 95 ff. But the tradition, like the name, connecting the cave with the Seven may be late and Turkish. The paintings in the cave do not bear out the connexion.

[3] Levides, *Μοναὶ τῆς Καππαδοκίας*, p. 118: *Λείψανα σύσσωμα, καλούμενα Ἐρενλέρ, ἤτοι ὅσιοι, ἅτινα καὶ οἱ Τοῦρκοι σέβονται· Λέγεται δὲ ὅτι εἰσὶ λείψανα ἑπτὰ ἁγίων· Κεῖνται δὲ ἔνδον λελατομημένου σπηλαίου.* Another vague Seven is at Eskishehr.

[4] This is warranted by the *Εὐχολόγιον*, which contains a prayer called the 'Prayer of the Seven Sleepers', as follows: *Εὐχὴ ἐπὶ ἀσθενῆ καὶ μὴ ὑπνοῦντα ἢ ὡς λέγεται τῶν ἁγίων ἑπτὰ παιδῶν.* This prayer is not very old as it mentions S. Athanasius of Athos (*c.* 950).

Their names are therefore written on buildings as a protection against fire, and on swords to prevent their breaking.[1] The Seven seem to be looked on as special patrons of shipping, especially in the Black Sea,[2] the most dangerous known to the Turks. The names of the Seven and of their dog Katmir, often written ornamentally in the form of a ship,[3] are powerful charms to avert evil.[4] The dog is one of the animals admitted to Paradise,[5] and is regarded as a type of guardian: [6] a special kind of dog, named after him Katmir, is exempted from the ban against the keeping of dogs, as unclean animals, in houses.[7] Katmir is regarded as presiding specially over letters, which go far or which pass the sea, as a protection to preserve them from miscarriage.[8]

The identification of the cave, the whereabouts of

[1] Falkener, *Ephesus*, p. 158. In Egypt their names are commonly written on drinking-cups and food trays (Lane, *Mod. Egyptians*, i, 314).

[2] Von Hammer, *Constantinopolis*, ii, 60; v. Prokesch-Osten, *Denkwürdigkeiten*, i, 395; C. White, *Constantinople*, i, 187. *Cf.* von Hammer, in *Mines de l'Orient*, iv, 163: 'Ihre Namen finden sich häufig auf türkischen Schiffen, auf Trinkgefässen, und auf einigen sehr wohl gestochenen Talismanen' (*i.e.* engraved stones).

[3] The Persians, who are allowed by their religion to represent the human form, represent them according to the Byzantine art type (*cf.* Migeon, *Art Musulman*, ii, 36).

[4] Falkener, *op. cit.*, p. 159. A pear-shaped sequin called *armudi*, inscribed with the names of the Seven, is worn as an amulet (Comidas, *Costantinopoli*, p. 49; Falkener, p. 158).

[5] The other animals are Jonah's whale, Solomon's ant, Ishmael's ram, Abraham's calf, Queen of Sheba's ass, Salech's camel, Moses' ox, Belkis' cuckoo, and Mohammed's ass (Baring Gould, *Curious Myths*, 1st series, p. 103).

[6] 'Their dog stretched forth his fore-legs in the mouth of the cave' (*Koran*, Sale's ed., p. 218).

[7] Carnoy and Nicolaides, *Trad. de Constantinople*, p. 7.

[8] La Roque, *Voyage de l'Arabie Heureuse*, p. 74, cited by Sale in his notes to the *Koran*. *Cf.* Chardin, *Voyages*, ii, 301. *Khatm etmek* (Arabic *khatem*) = *to seal*. His tail is said to be preserved at Adrianople (Collin de Plancy, *Dict. des Reliques*, *s.v. Animaux*, i, 32).

which was not specified in the Koran, became early a subject of speculation among Mohammedans and many caves became more or less associated with the Seven in widely distant parts of the Moslem world. Outside the Turkish area we find such caves (1) near Toledo in Spain,[1] (2) at M'Gaouse in Algeria,[2] and (3) near Amman in Palestine beyond Jordan.[3] The requisites for such identifications, as is seen from the Arab stories given at length by Le Strange, were a sufficiently impressive or curious cave and a quantity of human remains, preferably mummified corpses : [4] the number is left vague in the Koranic account. In Asia Minor many reputed caves of the Seven Sleepers are mentioned, most of them too vaguely for identification. Two of them besides Ephesus [5] can be fixed. These, to which we shall return, are (4) a cave near Tarsus, and (5) a cave near Albistan. The caves at present unidentifiable, but in some cases described in great detail, are (6) at Al Albruk, variously identified with Divriji, east of Sivas, and Arabkir farther south ; [6] (7) between Amorium and Nicaea, ten or eleven days from Tarsus,[7] and possibly the same as (8) in a red mountain as one approaches Constantinople. Here there was a monastery which feasted on the day of the saints : this cave was visited by an emissary of the caliph Abu Bekr in 632, who

[1] Yakut (thirteenth cent.) in Le Strange, *Palestine*, p. 277.

[2] Shaw, *Travels to Barbary*, p. 56 ; Maury, in *Rev. Arch.* vi (1849), p. 6. *Cf.* also Prignet, *À travers l'Algérie*, p. 72.

[3] Mukaddasi (tenth cent.), cited by Le Strange, *op. cit.*, pp. 277 ff. *Cf.* d'Arvieux, *Mémoires*, ii, 458, for the Salahie cave.

[4] For Greek and Moslem interpretations of a corpse's failure to decompose see above, p. 253.

[5] Le Strange, *E. Caliphate*, p. 155.

[6] Ali of Herat (thirteenth cent.) in Le Strange, *op. cit.*, p. 119, where Le Strange identifies Al Abruk with Tephrike (Divriji). He is said (by V. Yorke, in *Geog. Journ.* viii (1896), p. 453) to have changed his opinion since in favour of Arabkir (see Le Strange, in *J. R. Asiat. Soc.*, 1895, p. 740).

[7] Ibn Abbas, *ap.* Yakut, quoted by Le Strange, *Palestine*, p. 276.

saw *thirteen* dead men lying[1] in it. Another such cave is (9) at a place in the mountains called Al Hawiyah, between Ladik and Arab territory (Tarsus ?), visited by an Arab ambassador in 720. The description is similar to that of (7), but more detailed : in particular, a pool of water is mentioned. The number of the bodies is given as thirteen.[2] Finally, (10), 'in the country of the Greeks', was visited by an Arab astrologer sent expressly for the purpose about 845.[3] The description generally corresponds to that of (8). The number of bodies is ' more than eight.'

The cave of the Seven Sleepers at Tarsus, first mentioned by Mukaddasi (985),[4] is still an important Moslem

[1] Yakut (thirteenth cent.), drawing on an eyewitness's account, in Le Strange, *Palestine*, p. 280.

[2] Mukaddasi in Le Strange, *Palestine*, pp. 282 ff. The cave may possibly be identified with one mentioned by Haji Khalfa (tr. Armain, p. 664) near Ermenek, ' où l'on voit une place très large au milieu de laquelle il y a un bassin d'où sort une source ', evidently the ' mächtige Höhle, aus der eine starke Wasserader hervorbricht ' of Heberdey and Wilhelm's *Reisen in Kilikien* (*Denk. Wien. Akad., P.-H. Cl.*, xliv, *Abh.* vi, p. 129). Well-preserved bodies are said to have been found here in recent times (Cuinet, *Turquie d'Asie*, ii, 78): 'On nous a raconté qu'un fonctionnaire du gouvernement, à force d'argent et en fournissant tous les moyens en son pouvoir, parvint, il y a deux ans, à décider deux Bohémiens à atteindre une de ces grottes et à y pénétrer. Ils y découvrirent une très grande chambre taillée dans le roc, dont l'entrée était gardée par des soldats debout et revêtus de leurs armures. Au fond de la caverne, il y avait un groupe de femmes, de vieillards et d'enfants. Tous ces cadavres, qui avaient conservé les apparences de la vie, tombèrent en poussière dès que l'air eut pénétré dans la grotte. On y recueillit néanmoins plusieurs objets très précieux, tels que des armures, des casques, des armes, des robes de soie, des joyaux, bagues, pièces de monnaie, etc.'

[3] Two accounts of this mission have come down to us from Al Biruni (A.D. 1000) and Yakut (thirteenth cent.), both professing to draw on the same eyewitness's account and quoted by Le Strange, *Palestine*, pp. 283 ff.

[4] Le Strange, *Palestine*, p. 281 : ' as regards the Cave, the city to which it belongs is Tarsus ; and further, here is the tomb of Dakiyanus '. Is this the Dunuk Tash of the legend in Langlois, *Cilicie*, p. 276 ?

pilgrimage, frequented also by local Christians, and situated on a mountain about an hour and a half north-west of the town. It obviously owes its popularity to its position near a populous town and the great pilgrim-road towards the Holy Cities. It is mentioned by Haji Khalfa[1] and Lucas[2] in the seventeenth century and by several later travellers.[3] Though it is said that this cave of the Seven Sleepers is accounted one of the principal Moslem pilgrimages after Mecca and Jerusalem, it seems to have remained till lately very rustic in externals. Langlois says of it :

'C'est une caverne carrée et voûtée, creusée dans le roc au-dessous du niveau du sol, et dans laquelle on descend par un escalier d'environ dix marches. Le jour n'y pénètre que par une ouverture ménagée dans la voûte. A côté de cette même grotte est une petite mosquée et quelques maisons abandonnées servant de caravansérail aux voyageurs musulmans et chrétiens qui dans un but différent vont en pèlerinage sur ce point.'

In the seventies a new mosque was built and some sort of establishment founded by the mother of Sultan Abdul Aziz.[4] The sanctuary has a special reputation as a cure for barren women who incubate in the cave.[5]

The identity of the cave at Tarsus with that of the Seven Sleepers was asserted, as we have seen, in the Arab period by Mukaddasi and reiterated in the Turkish by Haji Khalfa (1648). But the identification does not seem to have been locally known at the beginning of the eighteenth century. The tale told to Lucas in 1706 is as follows :

The city of Nimrod above Tarsus was formerly inhabited by giants. Four of these one day set out to raid Tarsus, and, taking their midday sleep in the cave, fell

[1] Tr. Armain, p. 663. [2] *Voyage dans la Grèce*, i, 276 ff.

[3] Barker, *Lares and Penates*, pp. 36 f. ; Langlois, *Cilicie*, pp. 337 f. ; Michaud and Poujoulat, *Corresp. d'Orient*, vii, 172 ; Davis, *Asiatic Turkey*, p. 42 ; Schaffer, *Cilicia*, p. 29.

[4] Davis, *loc. cit.* [5] Schaffer, *loc. cit.*

asleep for 150 years ' because, as is the local belief, the eternal decrees had so ordained to punish the race of giants '. ' When the four at length awoke, one of them was sent into Tarsus to get food, and found everything changed ; the race of giants, which had formerly taken toll of Tarsus, had been exterminated or driven out, and the king in whose reign the giants had fallen asleep was represented by his grandson. This king, on the appearance of a surviving giant, feared trouble, and, not believing the giant's story, sent a messenger back with him to the cave to verify it. He eventually made terms with the four giants that they were to be supplied with food on condition of not leaving the cave.' Here they eventually died.[1]

The heroes of Lucas's story are thus not seven holy men but four impious giants,[2] though some episodes of the canonical legend are still remembered. One influence working on the myth has certainly been the name of the neighbouring city of the giants, 'Nimrod',[3] which is also that of the Mohammedan type of tyrant, Nemrud, the impious fire-worshipper who built the Tower of Babel and tortured Abraham the friend of God.[4] The story of the giants has a special interest as

[1] *Voyage dans a Grèce*, i, 276 ff.

[2] Giants are normally malignant in folk stories ; *cf.* above, p. 308 n. 3. These were evidently in the end converted to Islam, though Lucas only hints at it (' ils supplierent le Roi de leur faire connoître le Dieu qu'il adoroit, parce qu'ils vouloient aussi l'honorer dans la suite . . Il faut croire que le Roi de Tarse avoit donné de bons principes à ces Geants ; car on assure qu'ils menerent là une vie fort retirée & fort austère ').

[3] The ruined *ville de Nimrod* seen by Lucas is now marked on our maps *Nemrun*, a corruption of the Greek *Lampron*.

[4] Carmoly (*Itinéraires*, p. 353) considers that the legend in which Nimrod throws Abraham into a furnace is of Jewish origin and has been adopted by the Koran. It seems to start from the [fictitious] etymology of Nimrod, which in Hebrew means ' to rebel ': see Migne, *Dict. de Apocryphes*, ii, 1102 ff. There is a Nemrud Kalesi as far west as Pergamon, but the original, according to Carmoly, is Birs Nimrud in

showing a local religious legend decaying temporarily into a secular story, to be afterwards rehabilitated, possibly under literary influence.

The cave near Albistan mentioned by Le Strange [1] is here identified for the first time. Six hours west of the town lies the mixed (Turkish and Armenian) village of Yarpuz. Kiepert's map gives in brackets below the name *Yarpuz* what is apparently a variant local (Armenian ?) form *Efsus* : both names are in all probability perversions of the ancient Arabissus, the name of an important station at this point on the Roman road.[2] An hour north-west of Yarpuz is a holy place called in Turkish *Ziaret Serai* (' Palace of the Pilgrimage ') and in Armenian *Yot Manug* (' Seven Children '). This cave is still venerated by Moslems (and doubtless by local Christians also) as the cave of the Seven Sleepers.[3] The perversion of *Arabissus* to *Efsus* and subsequent confusion with *Ephesus* lie at the back of the identification.

A cave of the Seven Sleepers, independent of those we have mentioned above, was found by Taylor in Kurdistan near the village of Hyny, north of Diarbekr.

Mesopotamia, where the mound of the furnace is still shown, ashes and all : *cf.* Ouseley's translation of Ibn Haukal, p. 70. Afterwards, on Urfa becoming identified with Ur of the Chaldees, the whole cycle was transferred there and two classical columns there are said to be part of the machine Nimrud used to hurl Abraham into the furnace. The Jewish version of this incident seems certainly based on the story of the Three Children. Niebuhr (*Voyage en Arabie*, ii, 236) heard the Nimrod legend told on the spot, Captain Warren (see *P.E.F., Q.S.* for 1869, p. 225) in the Lebanon : see also Goldziher in *Rev. Arch.* ii, 317 ; Migne, *Dict. des Apocryphes*, ii, 31 ff. It is interesting to find in Hanauer, *Folk-Lore of the Holy Land*, p. 28, that Abraham, when fleeing from Nimrod, was given protection by sheep and refused it by goats, a story which is told by Polites (*Παραδόσεις*, no. 191) of Christ fleeing from the persecuting Jews.

[1] No. 5, above.

[2] See Sterrett, *Epig. Jour.*, p. 288 ; Hogarth, *Roads in E. Asia Minor* (*R.G.S. Suppl. Pap.* III, pt. 5, p. 667) ; neither author has noticed the cave.

[3] Jerphanion and Jelabert, in *Mél. Fac. Or.* iii, 458.

The site is called *Fees* or *Afisios Daknaoos*. The latter name, a mixture of 'Ephesus' and 'Dakyanus', the eastern perversion of Decius, is due to the identification of Fees and its cave with Ephesus and the localizing in it of the Seven Sleepers legend.[1] Fees actually represents the fortress of Phison.[2]

Other caves associated by Moslems with the Seven Sleepers are to be found outside Damascus [3] and in Mesopotamia, the latter being the site favoured by the heretic Yezidi.[4]

§ 2. El Khidr in the Popular Religion of Turkey

The Moslem saint El Khidr, El Khizr ('the Verdant'), though not mentioned by name in the Koran, is generally identified by commentators with the companion of Moses' travels,[5] who secured to himself immortality by the discovery of the Fountain of Life.[6] In this latter quest tradition associates him with Alexander the Great.[7]

[1] 'The inhabitants have a tradition that the ruins, and a small cave near it, was the spot tenanted by the Seven Sleepers' (Taylor, in *J.R.G.S.* xxxv, 39). [2] Φισῶν (Procopius, *De Bell. Pers.* ii, 24).

[3] Pococke, *Descr. of the East*, II, i, 126: 'the grot of the seven sleepers, where they pretend they slept and were buried; and the sheik or imam told us that they suffered martyrdom for Christ'. *Cf.* Thévenot (in Harris's *Navig. Bibl.* ii, 445): 'half a league from *Damascus* is a rough and barren Hill, but natural Rock, where some *Dervices* live in little Hermitages. They shew you the Cave where the 7 Sleepers hid themselves when they were persecuted by *Darius*, who would have made them renounce the Christian Faith, and are said to have slept till the Time of *Theodosius* the Younger'. *Cf.* d'Arvieux, *Mémoires*, ii, 458. This cave, as I am informed by a native of Damascus, is still shown, and it is asserted that the dog Katmir can be seen lying at the entrance. [4] Layard, *Discoveries in Nineveh*, p. 206.

[5] Sale's *Koran*, p. 222 (ch. xviii): for the literary side of the Khidr legends see Vollers, in *Archiv f. Religionsw.* 1909, pp. 234–84; Friedländer, *Die Chadhirlegende und der Alexanderroman.*

[6] Le Strange, *E. Caliphate*, p. 175; Hanauer, *Folk-Lore of the Holy Land*, pp. 51 ff.; Migne, *Dict. des Apocryphes*, ii, 627.

[7] See Friedländer, *op. cit.*; Paul Meyer, *Alexandre le Grand*, ii 175 ff.; Spiegel, *Die Alexandersage*, p. 29.

Among orthodox Sunni Mohammedans Khidr has a certain vague popularity: his day, called the 'feast of Lydda' (23 Nishan = 23 April, Old Style),[1] is observed all over Turkey as the beginning of spring. Among the heretical Nosairi sect, whose religion is a perversion of the Shia Mohammedan, he is a particularly important figure,[2] as he is apparently among the Yezidi,[3] and the Druses.[4] The same seems to be the case among the Shia (Kizilbash) tribes of Asia Minor,[5] whose points of contact with the Nosairi and Yezidi are at present inexactly known.

In Turkey, generally, Khidr seems to be a vague personality conceived of mainly as a helper in sudden need, especially of travellers. He has been identified with various figures of the Old Testament, notably with Elias [6] of whom he is considered a re-incarnation, and with the Orthodox S. George, whose day, together with the associations of Lydda,[7] he has taken over; [8] the

[1] Le Strange, *Palestine*, p. 21. [2] R. Dussaud, *Nosairis*, pp. 128–35.

[3] A. Grant (*Nestorians*, p. 319) gives the 24th Nishan (probably by mistake for the 23rd) as the date of the Yezidi spring festival.

[4] Petermann, *Reisen im Orient*, i, 147. [5] See above, pp. 145, 148.

[6] *e.g.* there is an Armenian church of 'Choddre Elias' at Urfa (Niebuhr, *Voyage en Arabie*, ii, 330). For the Sinai Arabs' veneration of Khidr-Elias see Palmer, *Desert of the Exodus*, p. 57; for the combination at Samaria see Conder in *P.E.F., Q.S.* for 1877, p. 96. For the traditions of Mount Carmel see d'Arvieux, *Mémoires*, ii, 294, 306, 314, 417; de Brèves, *Voyages*, p. 68; Carmoly, *Itinéraires*, pp. 144, 448–9; Bordeaux Pilgrim, in Chateaubriand, *Itinér.* iii, 240; Goujon, *Terre Sainte*, pp. 63–5.

[7] For the church of S. George at Lydda, which was partly left to the Greeks and partly transformed into a mosque, see Robinson, *Palestine*, iii, 52; Fabri, *Evagat.*, i, 219; Goujon, *Terre Sainte*, p. 107; Ludolf, *De Itinere*, p. 50; d'Arvieux, *Mémoires*, ii, 32–3; de Brèves, *Voyages*, p. 100; V. Guérin, *Descr. de la Pales.* I, i, 324; Stern, *Die moderne Türkei*, p. 170. Two sixth-century travellers mention the tomb and martyrdom of S. George at Lydda; see Antoninus of Piacenza, *De Locis Sanctis*, ed. Tobler, p. 28, xxv (*cf.* Lucius, *Anfänge des Heiligenk.*, p. 240), and Theodore in Tobler, *Palaest. Descr.*, p. 40.

[8] *e.g.* at Beyrut (Niebuhr, *Voyage en Arabie*, ii, 382; V. Guérin,

characteristics he has borrowed from S. George includ the reputation of a dragon-slayer,[1] which S. Georg himself may have borrowed from a pagan predecessor

Descr. de la Pales. I, iii, 311–13); at Banias (Kitchener in *P.E.F., Q.S* for. 1877, p. 172; Burckhardt, *Syria*, p. 38; *cf.* Stanley, *Sinai*, pp 398–9); near Jerusalem (see below, p. 326, n. 6); in Albania (Durham *Burden of the Balkans*, p. 208). See especially Rycaut, *Ottoman Empir* p. 68.

[1] It is curious that, while in the West legend relates the rescue b S. George of a princess from a dragon, this is by no means the cas generally in the East. Thus, in the Byzantine Painters' Guide, trans lated by Didron, *Iconographie Chrétienne*, pp. 369–71, no dragon-killin type is given for the saint. Early western travellers to the East men tion his martyrdom and his burial at Lydda (Diospolis), but say nothin of his dragon fight (see, *e.g.* Antoninus of Piacenza, ed. Tobler, p. 28 xxv, and the similarly sixth-century Theodore, in Tobler's *Palaes Descr.*, p. 40). Their silence is especially notable as Lydda is so nea Joppa with its traditions of Perseus and the dragon he slew. The bone of the dragon were shown there in the Christian era: *cf.* Jerome *Epist.*, p. 108, and Josephus, *Bell. Jud.* iii, 7. According to Amélinea (*Contes de l'Égypte Chrétienne, Introd.*, p. liii) the saint is represente in Coptic eikonography as a horseman with a lance but no dragon, th slaying of the dragon being foreign to the Coptic legend. On th other hand, S. Michael slaying the dragon is pictured on horsebac (Amélineau attributes the ultimate confusion to Syrian painters work ing in Egypt, and holds that Michael, not George, replaces the Egyptia Horus). The *Martyre de Saint Georges* current among the Copt (Amélineau, *op. cit.* ii, 167 ff.) resembles the early *Acta* of the saint a given by Baring Gould in his *Curious Myths*, 2nd Series, pp. 9 ff. Th *Acta* place S. George's birth and martyrdom under Dacian, empero of the Persians, and at Melitene: among other tortures, a pillar is lai on him. The Copts hold that S. George, whom they associate wit Lydda (Amélineau, ii, 208–9), was martyred by King 'Tatien' (Amé lineau, ii, 167), who is several times called a 'dragon' (Amélineau, i 171, 198, &c.: *cf.* Hasluck, *Letters*, p. 193); one torture is to roll column over his body (Amélineau, ii, 174). A reminiscence of this tor ture is found in his church at Beyrut, where a column is rolled o patients whose backs ache (Pococke, *Voyages*, iii, 275). The Copt celebrate S. George of 'Melite' on 18 April (Amélineau, ii, 153). A in the Coptic legends, there is no mention in the *Acta* of the drago fight. In fact, according to Baring Gould (*op. cit.*, p. 31), the firs mention of the princess and the dragon is in de Voragine's *Golde Legend*, that is, not earlier than the end of the thirteenth century

The identification of Khidr with Elias is found as early as Cantacuzenus, who died A.D. 1380. S. George, he says, is worshipped by the Christians and παρ' αὐτῶν τῶν Μουσουλμανῶν τιμᾶται, ὀνομάζεται δὲ παρ' αὐτῶν χετηρ ἠλιάς.[1] George of Hungary, our best early authority on Turkish popular saints, spent a long captivity in Asia Minor during the early fifteenth century[2] and makes clear the extraordinary vogue enjoyed by Khidr in his day.

'Chidrelles', he writes, 'is before all a helper of travellers in need. Such is his repute in all Turkey that there is scarce any man to be found that hath not himself experienced his help or heard of others that have so done. He manifesteth himself in the shape of a traveller riding on a gray horse,[3] and anon re-

Thereafter it is normally mentioned by travellers to Beyrut (*e.g.* Ludolf (*c.* 1350), *De Itinere*, p. 38; d'Anglure, *Saint Voyage* (1395), p. 10; Poloner (1422), in Tobler, *Palaest. Descr.*, p. 259), and to Rama (*e.g.* della Valle, *Voyages*, ii, 19; Pococke, *Voyages*, iii, 15). It then appears to have gained general currency in the East as in the West (*cf.* Carnoy and Nicolaides, *Trad. de l'Asie Mineure*, p. 80, where a prince replaces S. George; *cf.* also modern Greek eikonography). As, therefore, its appearance in the East seems not anterior to the Crusades, while it is most prominent at Beyrut, where the Crusaders were strong, and is not found at Lydda in spite of Lydda's proximity to Joppa, the conjecture may be hazarded that the Crusaders imported this part of the legend, on which point see further below, p. 660, n. 3. Of this an echo may be preserved in the belief held by Moslems that S. George was the patron saint of the Crusaders (Conder, in *P.E.F., Q.S.* for 1877, p. 98; *cf.* Hutton, *English Saints*, p. 88, for his traditional appearance to the Crusaders before Antioch). In virtue of his prowess against dragons S. George is, like S. Michael, a famous healer of diseased minds; see below, p. 326, n. 2.

[1] P. 48.

[2] On him see below, p. 494, n. 1.

[3] This is evidently a trait borrowed from the Christian S. George, whose horse is invariably depicted as white or grey, while that of S. Demetrius is red. For an apparition of a knight on a grey horse (evidently Khidr) in a modern Anatolian folk-story see Carnoy and Nicolaides, *Trad. de l'Asie Mineure*, p. 5. Jenghiz Khan was visited in a dream by a knight armed all in white and sitting on a white horse; the knight foretold his future greatness (Mandeville, ed. Wright, p. 238). S.

lieveth the distressed wayfarer, whether he hath called on him, or whether, knowing not his name, he hath but commended himself to God, as I have heard on several hands.' [1]

The conception of Khidr as the protector of travellers is derived for Moslems primarily from Khidr's own travels as related in the Koran, the Koranic 'type' of traveller naturally becoming the patron of travellers in general. Travel being considered abnormal and dangerous, travellers have special need of a protector in sudden necessity: this is a phase also of the Orthodox S. George.[2] In this respect it seems abundantly proved, from oriental literary sources, that the personalities of Khidr and Elias are distinguished by the learned, the former being the patron of seafarers and the latter of travellers by land.[3] But it may be doubted whether the position of the two personalities is clearly defined in popular religion. In inland Kurdistan the roles of

Claude, a military saint and martyr of Antioch, who is apparently connected in Egypt with Assiut, appears on a white horse to chastise a sacrilegious *emir* (Amélineau, *Contes de l'Égypte Chrétienne*, ii, 50).

[1] George of Hungary, *De Moribus Turcorum* (first printed *c.* 1480) chap. xv (see further below, p. 498). Breuning probably copies from George of Hungary (*Orient. Reyss* (1579), p. 106: 'Chiridilles ruffet auch müde unnd matte Wandersleute unnd Pilger an'). It is perhaps worth while to cite in this connexion Pétis de la Croix's *1001 Jours* p. 267, where a young man suddenly appears to a princess in a *jinn*' castle and is greeted by her with the words, 'Je ne saurais croire que vous soyez un homme. Vous êtes sans doute le prophète Élie?'

[2] *Cf.*, in the *Travels* of the Patriarch Macarius of Antioch, the author' invocation of S. George as 'the rider upon sea and land' (tr. Belfour i, 12) and the incident, often depicted in his *eikons*, of his rescue of Christian slave from a Moslem master in a distant land (*cf.* Polites *Παραδόσεις*, p. 798, quoting Spratt, *Crete*, i, 345–6). Hottinger (*Hist Orient.*, p. 480), quoting Busbecq, says Turks made fun of this slave a figured in *eikons*. Didron, *Iconographie Chrétienne*, p. 372, notes th presence of the slave, but could hear of no explanation of his presence

[3] Vollers, *loc. cit.*, p. 262; Friedländer, *Chadhirlegende*, p. 119. Se also Hammer's extracts from Mejir-ed-Din in *Mines de l'Orient*, i 96; Goldziher, in *Rev. Hist. Relig.* ii (1880), p. 324; Lane, *Mod Egyptians*, i, 293, n.

Khidr and Elias as given above are said to be reversed,[1] which looks as if Khidr, the predominant figure, was apt to usurp the element locally of most importance. His connexion with sea-travel[2] is emphasized by the fact that his day is regarded by seamen as the opening of their season.[3]

Khidr has also a physical aspect. Whereas in relation to man he is regarded as a patron of travel and a bringer of sudden help, in relation to the world of nature he is regarded as a patron of spring, being called the 'Verdant', partly in allusion to the greenness of that season, while his feast is the beginning of spring and, in Syria, the beginning of sowing.[4] His discovery of the Water of Life[5] may also have a reference to his connexion with spring, while the physical conception of his functions has probably aided his confusion with Elias, the rain-bringer of the Christians.[6] It is probable that this rain-making aspect of Khidr is responsible for the number of hills bearing his name, which are to be found in the neighbourhood of towns and villages. Every Turkish town has its recognized place for the rain prayer. These are always outside the town and in the open air, generally high lying,[7] and frequently marked by a *turbe* or

[1] Jaba, *Recueil de Récits Kourdes*, p. 93.

[2] For the marine side of Khidr see Clermont-Ganneau in *Rev. Arch.* xxxii (1876), pp. 196–204, 372–99: his special marine associations at Suadyeh (Dussaud, *Nosairis*, p. 133) are doubtless due to the position of the sanctuary (at the mouth of the Orontes).

[3] Sestini, *Lettres*, iii, 234; *cf.* Le Bruyn, *Voyage* (Delft, 1700), p. 177. *Cf.* also d'Arvieux, *Mémoires*, ii, 315.

[4] Mukaddasi, *ap.* Clermont-Ganneau, *loc. cit.*, p. 388.

[5] See *e.g.* Spiegel, *Die Alexandersage*, p. 29.

[6] 1 *Kings*, xviii, 41–5; M. Hamilton, in *B.S.A.* xiii, 354, and *Greek Saints*, p. 20.

[7] An exception is to be found in Turkish Athens, where the rain prayer was made at 'the columns' [of the Olympieum] (Hobhouse, *Albania*, i, 323; J. Galt, *Letters*, p. 167; Michaud and Poujoulat, *Corresp. d'Orient*, i, 161). The open-air pulpit at 'the columns' is shown in L. Dupré's plate and mentioned by Randolph (*Morea*, p. 23).

dome, sometimes by a pulpit. At Constantinople, for example, a pulpit for the rain prayer was built by Murad IV on the Archery Ground (*Ok Meidan*) high above the Golden Horn.[1] At Cairo Pococke remarked the pulpit on a spur of the Mokattam hills above the citadel.[2] When, as frequently occurs, the site is marked by a *turbe* or dome, this building tends to be associated with the name of a saint, who is regarded as the intercessor for rain, though in fact it is probably more often a cenotaph or commemorative monument. Thus, at Angora the hill opposite the citadel called *Khidrlik* is crowned by a cupola on open arches. This dome may have originally commemorated an appearance of Khidr or may merely have been erected in his honour. It is now regarded as the tomb of a saint,[3] named, as I was informed, Bula Khatun.[4] This development is characteristic of a simple theology which prefers its own saint unshared to a divinity of wider powers who is shared by many.

As to local cults of Khidr, we can point to two areas, the Syrian and the Turkish. In Turkey the connexion between S. George and Khidr seems to be less close than

[1] Evliya, *Travels*, I, ii, 89.

[2] Pococke, *Descr. of the East*, i, 36.

[3] M. Walker, *Old Tracks*, p. 69; *cf.* Evliya, *Travels*, ii, 234, who seems to regard the place as the grave of a human saint named Khidr.

[4] Bula Khatun, whose name betrays her sex, may well have been the lady who built the cupola, perhaps as a prayer place for women. For this practice *cf.* Burton, *Arabian Nights*, i, 74 (and note): 'She builded for herself a cenotaph wherein to mourn, and set on its centre a dome under which showed a tomb like a Santon's sepulchre'. These cenotaphs might be 'dedicated' as memorials. At Bagdad in recent times a pasha's wife built a cupola in honour of the daughter of Noah (Niebuhr, *Voyage en Arabie*, ii, 215). Among ignorant populations such cenotaphs easily come to be accepted as actual tombs (*cf.* Niebuhr, *op. cit.*, ii, 237, where a cenotaph at Helle, built in honour of the Prophet Elias, is thought his tomb). [At Kastoria in West Macedonia two ruined open *turbes* in the Moslem cemetery are said to be either the tombs of Janissaries or shelters for mourners.—M. M. H.]

in Syria, where the two seem almost synonymous. Muslems who have made vows to Khidr frequently pay them to his Christian counterpart.[1] One of the most frequented centres of the cult is a Christian monastery near Bethlehem, which is famous for its cures of madness.[2] According to Conder, sanctuaries (*makams*) of Khidr in Palestine are often found on Crusaders' sites, thus suggesting an inheritance from S. George.[3] On the strength of his identification with Elias, Khidr has occupied a chapel of the latter at Zarephath.[4] Various sites, at Nablus[5] (a spring), Jerusalem,[6] Damascus,[7] Bagdad,[8]

[1] For the general position of Khidr in the religious folk-lore of Syria see Einsler, in *Z.D.P.V.* xvii (1894), pp. 42 ff.; Hanauer, *Folk-Lore of the Holy Land*, pp. 51 ff.

[2] Robinson, *Palestine*, ii, 321, 325; Einsler, *loc. cit.*, p. 69; Baldensperger in *P.E.F.*, *Q.S.* for 1893, p. 208, *cf.* p. 36; Hanauer, *op. cit.*, p. 52; d'Arvieux, *Mémoires*, ii, 231; Tobler, *Topogr. von Jerusalem*, ii, 501 ff., who quotes the *Anon. Allat.* as already (*c.* 1400) mentioning the chain, beating with which formed part of the cure; Thévenot, *Voyages*, ii, 639; Le Bruyn, *Voyage* (Delft, 1700), p. 277; Fabri, *Evagat.* ii, 187; Guérin, *Descr. de la Pales.* I, iii, 312. The Copts' convent of S. George in Jerusalem also possesses a chain of the saint which cures lunacy; see Tobler, *op. cit.* i, 370–1, and Tischendorf, *Terre-Sainte*, p. 204.

[3] *Survey of West Palestine*, v, 257, and *P.E.F.*, *Q.S.* for 1877, p. 98.

[4] Robinson, *Palestine*, iii, 412 f.; *cf.* Goujon, *Terre Sainte*, p. 56, and La Roque, *Voyage de Syrie*, i, 16. The fourth-century S. Paula mentions the tower of S. Elias at 'Sarepta' (Tobler, *Palaest. Descr.*, p. 13), as does the sixth-century Theodore (Tobler, *Palaest. Descr.*, p. 42); *cf.* Antoninus of Piacenza, ed. Tobler, p. 4, ii.

[5] Le Strange, *Palestine*, p. 512.

[6] *Ibid.*, p. 164; *cf.* Tobler, *Topogr. von Jerusalem*, i, 505, 529; Mejir-ed-Din, tr. v. Hammer in *Mines de l'Orient*, ii, 90; Hanauer, *Folk-Lore of the Holy Land*, p. 61.

[7] Le Strange, *Palestine*, pp. 253, 264. Monconys (*Voyages*, i, 340) and Pococke (*Descr. of the East*, ii, 119) mention a 'tomb of S. George' at Damascus, but this is rather S. George the porter, for whom see also Porter, *Damascus*, p. 16, and Thévenot, *Voyages*, iii, 49. Khidr is said to attend prayers in the Great Mosque (*Kitab* of Menasik-el-Haj, tr. Bianchi, p. 36, in *Rec. de Voyages*, ii, 116).

[8] Tavernier, *Voyages* (London, 1678), p. 86, mentions a chapel of

and Mosul,[1] are associated with his name. The last three seem to be regarded as tombs, the rest, and probably all originally, as places where he has appeared to mortals [2] or merely as memorials.

As regards Turkish lands, Khidr, who is recognizable by the fact that one of his thumbs is boneless, is said to have appeared at Constantinople several times, at S. Sophia [3] and at the Valideh Atik mosque in Skutari.[4] There is a 'station' of Khidr in the mosque of Aatik Ali Pasha in Stambul.[5] Bars of iron engraved by the

Khidr frequented by Christians. A 'tomb' is cited by Massignon in *Rev. Hist. Relig.* lviii (1908), p. 336.

[1] Hammer-Hellert, *Hist. Emp. Ott.* iv, 442; *cf.* Sherif-ed-Din, *Hist. de Timour*, tr. Pétis de la Croix, ii, 262. For the tomb of 'Nebbe Gurgis' at Mosul see Niebuhr, *Voyage en Arabie*, ii, 291, and for his martyrdom there Masudi (quoted by J. Friedrich in *Sitzb. Bayr. Akad., Ph.-Ph. Cl.*, II, ii, 181) and Baring Gould, *Curious Myths*, 2nd Series, p. 11.

[2] Stanley (*Sinai*, 268) makes some interesting remarks on the alleged tomb of Khidr at Surafend. 'Close to the sea-shore', he says, 'stands one of these sepulchral chapels dedicated to "El-Khudr", the Mohamedan representative of Elijah. There is no tomb inside, only hangings before a recess. This variation from the usual type of Mussulman sepulchres is "because El-Khudr is not yet dead; he flies round and round the world, and those chapels are built wherever he has appeared".' A miraculous light was seen, added the peasants who gave Stanley the above information, every Thursday evening and Friday morning at the chapel. This miraculous light at tombs frequently figures in legend: see above, p. 254. For his association with Surafend see also d'Arvieux, *Mémoires*, ii, 4.

[3] For Khidr's connexion with the building of S. Sophia see above, pp. 10–11. For his appearance there in the reign of Selim II see Evliya, ii, 61.

[4] Cuinet, *Turquie d'Asie*, iv, 640; *Jardin des Mosquées* in Hammer-Hellert, *Hist. Emp. Ott.* xviii, 90 (749). For this mosque see above, p. 273.

[5] *Jardin des Mosquées*, p. 30 (312). Aatik Ali Pasha was a vizir and died in 1511. It is a curious coincidence, if no more, that in the Valideh Atik mosque and in Aatik Ali's mosque there should be a station of Khidr, the only Moslem saint who goes on horseback. It would be interesting to know whether an alleged footprint of his horse were shown in these mosques.

boneless thumb of the saint are shown in the mosque of Mohammed II,[1] while he is said to be present daily at one of the five prayers in the mosque of Sultan Ahmed.[2] Near Adrianople, Covel in 1677 notices a 'place of Khidr' with an imperial kiosk said to occupy the site of a church of S. George.[3] At Gallipoli a mosque called *Khizr u Ilyas Maqami*, 'the station of Khidr and Elias,' is supposed to commemorate an appearance of the saint to the poet Mehemed Yazijioglu.[4] In Albania, near Elbassan, a hot spring bears the saint's name.[5]

In Asia Minor, Khidr has replaced at Elwan Chelebi the dragon-slaying S. Theodore.[6] This is the only proved instance of his intrusion in Turkey on a Christian cult. But in many places the name *Khidrlik* ('place of Khidr') is given to hills or 'high places' of which the Christian traditions, if any ever existed, have disappeared. Such hills exist near Angora,[7] near Sinope[8] above Geredeh (Krateia Bithyniae),[9] near Changri (Gangra),[10] near Ladik (Pontus),[11] near Tarakli (Dablae),[12] and at Afiun Kara Hisar.[13] There is a mountain *Khidirli Dagh* near Kebsud,[14] while places named *Kheder Elles* are recorded near Kula in Lydia[15] and above Tripoli on the Black Sea.[16] Père de Jerphanion, in his new map of Pontus[17] marks a village *Khedernale* ('Horseshoe of

[1] Cuinet, *loc. cit.*

[2] Carnoy and Nicolaides, *Folklore de Constantinople*, pp. 98 ff.

[3] *Diaries*, p. 248; *cf.* Jacob, *Beiträge*, p. 15, and Rycaut, *Ottoman Empire*, p. 69.

[4] Gibb, *Ottoman Poetry*, i, 393.

[5] Von Hahn, *Alban. Studien*, iii, 59, *s.v.* λιδσε.

[6] Above, p. 48.

[7] Evliya, *Travels*, ii, 230; Ainsworth, *Travels*, i, 133; see also below, p. 449.

[8] Ibn Batuta, tr. Sanguinetti, ii, 349.

[9] Von Diest, *Tilsit nach Angora*, pl. iii.

[10] R. Kiepert's *Kleinasien.*

[11] Evliya, *Travels*, ii, 211.

[12] R. Kiepert's *Kleinasien.*

[13] Von Hammer, *Osman. Dichtkunst*, i, 63.

[14] R. Philippson's *Karte des W. Kleinasiens.*

[15] R. Kiepert's *Kleinasien.*

[16] *Ibid.*

[17] *Carte du Bassin du Yéchil Irmak.* R. Kiepert gives the name as *Hidirnal.*

Khidr ') near Sivas, which probably claims, like Elwan Chelebi, to possess a hoof-print of the saint's horse. Professor White of Marsovan seems to find *Khidrlik* almost a generic name for a holy place in his district,[1] which has a large Shia population.[2]

On the grounds of Orthodox Greek practice we should, perhaps, expect that S. Elias was the saint displaced on hill-top sites.[3] But the functions and

[1] *Cf.* the use of *χιζύρης* (=*holy man*) by the Greeks of Silleh near Konia (Dawkins, *Mod. Greek*, p. 288).

[2] *Trans. Vict. Inst.* xxxix (1907), p. 156; *cf.* de Jerphanion in *Byz. Zeit.* xx, 493, where the cult of Elias at the site (Ebimi) of a temple of Zeus Stratios (Cumont, *Stud. Pont.* ii, 172) is identified as a *Khidrlik*.

[3] Elias, on the perfectly good ground of his biblical history, is the saint of rain (*cf.* Shishmanova, *Légendes Relig. Bulg.*, pp. 134 ff.), and is the most popular hill-saint in Greek lands, not because he replaces Helios, the ancient sun-god, but because of his original connexion with Carmel, where his memory is still alive (*cf.* Pierotti, *Légendes Racontées*, p. 43; Goujon, *Terre Sainte*, pp. 63–5; d'Arvieux, *Mémoires*, ii, 294, 306, 417; de Brèves, *Voyages*, p. 68). In the same way the other common (but far less common) hill dedications in Greece are connected with Tabor (*Μεταμόρφωσις Σωτῆρος*) as Athos and the Great Monastery of the Meteora, or with Olivet (*Ἀνάληψις*) as Olympus. The idea that Elias chapels were survivals of Helios worship (for which see, *e.g.*, Petit de Julleville, *Recherches en Grèce*, in *Arch. des Miss.*, 2nd ser., v (1869), p. 519; Deschamps, *La Grèce d'Aujourd'hui*, p. 322; Lawson, *Modern Greek Folklore*, p. 44; M. Hamilton (*Greek Saints*, p. 19) was opposed already by Lenormant (*Voie Éleusin.*, pp. 451–2) in 1867, and seems not to be known to Buchon in 1843, though in general he is very ready to find ancient survivals in modern Greece. The theory is based partly on nomenclature and partly on the art-types of Helios and Elias. It is true that Helios (*Ἥλιος*) looks rather like Elias (*Ἐλίας*) and that *Ἡλίου* sounds very like *Ἐλίου*. But the usual genitive of *Ἐλίας* is *Ἐλία*. It is also true that there is a certain similarity in their art-types, Helios being the charioteer of the sun, and Elias being received up into heaven in a chariot of fire. But art types are not of great importance in rustic sanctuaries, and both Helios and Elias are more frequently represented in other ways, while, if the chariot be thought away, there remain the opposite types of an ephebe and a bearded ascete. Solar survivals more probably belong to S. John, whose feast is the summer solstice, his birthday being six months before that of Christ (*Luke*, i, 26), which is the winter solstice. Thus, when Monte Cassino was founded, in 529,

conceptions of Khidr are at once so varied and so vague as to adapt him to replace almost any saint, or indeed to

S. Benedict is said to have found there a much-frequented temple of Apollo, which he replaced by a church of S. Martin, the destroyer of idols, replacing Apollo's altar by a church of S. John, the solstice saint (Beugnot, *Destr. du Paganisme*, ii, 285, quoting the nearly contemporary Leo of Ostia). That is, S. Benedict 'disinfected' the locality by building the church of S. Martin and 'transferred' the solstice festival to S. John. S. Elias comes rather late for a solstice saint, being celebrated on 19 July; it is, however, true that midsummer fires are lit on S. Elias' day in the chapel of S. Elias on the summit of Taygetos (M. Hamilton, *Greek Saints*, p. 20), but this is an isolated case not justifying a general rule. It is also to be noted that Helios was never a popular god in Greece at all under that name, except at Rhodes, where he is thought identical with Zeus Atabyrios; in modern Rhodes Mt. Ataïra retains the name and Mt. S. Elias is a separate peak. Nor was Apollo in classical (as distinct from Homeric) Greece addicted to mountain-tops. Survivalists attempt to turn this difficulty by referring to the late Roman solar cult introduced by Aurelian, the conqueror of Palmyra, from Syria. But this was a Syrian *city* cult, favoured by a Roman emperor in *Rome*, and not associated with hills or country. Survivalists also quote the equally late solar cult of Mithras, which was derived from Persia, had a great vogue in Rome, and is associated with the frequent Roman coin-legend SOLI INVICTO COMITI. But the Mithras cult does not seem to have had much vogue in Greece, and it was essentially a popular cult particularly affected by soldiers and developed, not in rustic places, but in towns and camps. The typical Mithraeum, moreover, was a cave or underground chapel made to resemble a cave. The hill-cult of Elias is unknown in the West, where these solar cults were prominent, and it seems to be found only once in South Italy (near Cotrone, Baedeker, *S. Italy*, p. 256), which remained long Greek (Mt. S. Elias in Alaska is due to Russian influence deriving from Greek practice). Elias is still a hill-saint in Syria (*e.g.* on Carmel, as above; on Sinai, see Tischendorf, *Terre-Sainte*, p. 76; Stanley, *Sinai*, p. 75; Palmer, *Desert of the Exodus*, p. 57; elsewhere, see Tobler, *Palaest. Descr.*, p. 8, and *Topogr. von Jerusalem*, ii, 712; Stanley, *Sinai*, p. 251; Pococke, *Voyages*, iii, 263, 394), where the influence of Greek language and custom can scarcely have been important. That is, in Syria, a country where Greek was never the language and Ἥλιος meant nothing, Elias is associated with three mountains which were well within the range of Christian pilgrims. Further, the chief and characteristic hill-god of antiquity was Zeus the cloud-gatherer (found on Athos, Olympus, Dicte, Anchesmos; *cf.* Lykaios, Atabyrios), the

occupy any site independently. His sudden appearances make it specially easy to associate him with any spot already hallowed by previous tradition or notable for recent supernatural occurrences,[1] while his functions as a patron of spring vegetation and as a rain-maker recommend his cult to primitive pastoral or agricultural populations.

Without claiming to solve the various fusions of cult and legend which have produced the mysterious and many-sided figure of Khidr,[2] we may perhaps make the following tentative suggestions [3] as to the origin of his functions and vogue in popular religion.

(1) In the Koran the unnamed Servant of God, generally interpreted as Khidr, travels with Moses and commits three seemingly unjust deeds.[4] A probable original [5] of this story is the Talmudic tale of Rabb

corresponding hill-goddess being Cybele-Rhea (found on Ida, Dindymon, &c.). Zeus the cloud-gatherer would be a not unnatural predecessor of Elias, in which connexion it is curious to find in Trede *Heidentum* (1889–91), i, 316, that 'der Heilige Elias hatte kürzlich sein Fest [at Naples] und sah man seine Statue mit einem Rad, in der Hand den Blitz des Zeus'. And finally, as Elias chapels are generally connected with villages, though on their outskirts, and many villages are recent or not on ancient sites, most Elias chapels are probably recent and no survival of any sort.

[1] *Cf.* the Kurdish tale of the 'Wishing Rock' (in Jaba's *Recueil d. Récits Kourdes*, xxxvi), where a naked man praying is taken for Khidr. The 'places of Khidr' seem generally regarded as *praying places* of the saint (*cf.* Gibb, *Ottoman Poetry*, i, 393).

[2] On this subject see d'Herbelot, *Bibl. Orientale*, *s.vv. Khedher*, *Elia*; von Hammer in *Theol. Studien und Kritiken*, 1831, pp. 829–32; Clermont-Ganneau, *Horus et S. Georges*, in *Rev. Arch.* xxxii (1876), pp. 196–204, 372–99; Friedländer, *Chadhirlegende*, *passim*. [See also Hastings' *Encycl. of Relig. s.v. Khidr*, for an article by Friedländer, and *s.v. Saints and Martyrs*, p. 81, no. 6, for an article by Masterman; my husband did not live to see either.—M. M. H.]

[3] [It is to be noted here that my husband did not regard this chapter as sufficiently advanced for publication, and that it is published on my responsibility for the sake of its material.—M. M. H.]

[4] Sale's edition, pp. 222 ff. [5] See below, p. 699.

Jochanan's travels with Elijah,[1] so that its being told of Khidr would indicate another case of identifying Elias with Khidr. Such an identification, however, raises the difficulty that the association of Moses with Elias involves a serious anachronism. But it may be doubted whether that matters much in popular theology, while there is some reason to suspect that the confusion dates from a period considerably anterior to the composition of the Koran, from the sixth century in fact. Antoninus of Piacenza, who travelled in the Holy Land about A. D. 570, visited Suez and came 'ad ripam, ubi transierunt filii Israel et exierunt de mare [*sic*]. Ibi est oratorium Moysis.'[2] Variant readings are: 'Et in loco, ubi [*or* quo] exierunt de mari, est oratorium Heliae. Et transcendentes [transeuntes] venimus in locum ubi intraverunt mare. Ibique [*or* ubi] est oratorium Moysis.' Tobler has little doubt that the second better represents the original reading, the copyist having inadvertently omitted part: this would also explain the *mare* for *mari* in the text.[3] Granted, then, that two 'oratories', of Moses and Elias respectively, existed, as Tobler supposes, on the Red Sea, the popular mind would readily associate them with each other, however distinct they may have been in the beginning, and would thus pave the way for the anachronism in the Koran to pass undetected. There Moses is said to have found Khidr where the sea of the Greeks joins that of the Persians, that is, at Suez.[4] In this sphere of activity Khidr may therefore with some probability be said to derive from the Hebrew Elijah.

(2) In his discovery of the Water of Life Khidr is

[1] Polano, *Selections from the Talmud*, pp. 313 ff.

[2] *De Locis Sanctis*, ed. Tobler, p. 44, xli.

[3] This opinion I share: it seems preferable to that of Friedrich Tuch (*Antoninus Martyr*, p. 39), who thinks only one 'oratorium' existed, the attribution being changed, for no good reason, from Moses to Elias.

[4] Migne, *Dict. des Apocryphes*, ii, 627, drawing on Weil, *Bibl. Leg.*

brought into connexion with Alexander, whose vizir he is said to have been. This story seems mostly to depend ultimately on the Pseudo-Callisthenes [1] but gathers up a number of legends which connect Elias with Enoch and Khidr.[2]

From the Jewish composite figure of Elias + Enoch + Phinehas [3] come several of Khidr's aspects, *e.g.*

(3) His association with learning.[4] Various traditions associate Elias with books. He is said to delight in the studies of Jewish rabbis,[5] to have written certain apocrypha,[6] and to have personally instructed Maimonides.[7] The Turks, besides confusing Elias with Enoch,[8] hold that Enoch was a great sage.

(4) From the same composite figure comes Khidr's association with the high priesthood.[9] Elias is believed to perform daily sacrifice in the Temple underground.[10] His contact with Phinehas is early and has been used by Moslem theologians as a proof that Khidr and Elias are separate persons.[11]

[1] See Paul Meyer, *Alexandre le Grand*, ii, 176; Spiegel, *Die Alexandersage*, p. 29.

[2] Enoch was held by some Jewish thought to have been an early incarnation of Elias, neither having died. The Talmud records Enoch's ascent to Heaven in a chariot of fire (Polano's *Selections from the Talmud*, p. 21). Elias and Enoch are both in the terrestrial Paradise (Villotte, *Voyages*, p. 56). In medieval French tradition 'un nommé Énoc' finds the Fountain of Life, bathes in it against Alexander's orders, and is punished (Meyer, *op. cit.* ii, 175). Masudi identified Elias with Enoch (Goldziher in *Rev. Hist. Relig.* ii, 324).

[3] On him see Hottinger, *Hist. Orient.*, pp. 87–9, with reff.; Edersheim, *Life of Jesus*, ii, 703; Goldziher, *loc. cit.*

[4] 'El Khudr' converts the heathen blacks (Lane, *Thousand and One Nights*, p. 312).

[5] Edersheim, ii, 705.

[6] Migne, *Dict. des Apocryphes*, ii, 219 ff.

[7] Wiener, *Sippurim; Sammlung Jüdischer Volkssagen*, pp. 6 ff.

[8] *e.g.* Masudi, quoted by Goldziher, *loc. cit.*

[9] On Khidr as the *Kutb* see Goldziher, *loc. cit.*, and Lane, *Mod. Egyptians*, i, 293; the latter adds that many Moslems say Elijah was the *kutb* of his time.

[10] *Cf.* Pierotti, *Légendes Racontées*, p. 22.

[11] Goldziher, *loc. cit.*

(5) Khidr's association with travel comes explicably enough in view of the above from Elias' wandering life, he being the type of the eternal wanderer. In commemoration of this, Jews lay a place for him at their Passover,[1] the idea arising especially from the text, 'And it shall come to pass, as soon as I am gone from thee, that the spirit of the Lord shall carry thee whither I know not.'[2]

Immortality is the connecting link between the components of the Enoch+Phinehas+Elias figure and leads to

(6) Khidr's identification with S. George, whom the tyrant king tried in vain to kill.[3] This entails the fusion, it will be noted, of the aged ascete Elias with the young soldier George.[4] Khidr (*verdant*, ἀειθαλής)[5] would, on this showing, be merely an epithet derived from the immortality of the Elias prototype.[6]

The results of our analysis thus tend to show that in Khidr there is no independent Moslem or pre-Moslem element. The Elias part can all be paralleled in Jewish tradition, while the George part is all Christian: only his adventure with Moses is of somewhat uncertain origin, but even that, in view of the early date of the Talmudic story,[7] is probably descended from a Jewish ancestor.

[1] Hastings' *Encycl. of Relig. s.v. Elijah.*

[2] 1 *Kings*, xviii, 12. On this see Lane, *Mod. Egyptians*, i, 293.

[3] For Masudi's account of this see J. Friedrich in *Sitzb. Bayr. Akad., Ph.-Ph. Cl.*, II, ii, 181. Masudi places the martyrdom at Mosul, where Niebuhr notes (*Voyage en Arabie*, ii, 291) the existence of his tomb. The Copts also have a tradition of S. George's resuscitations (Amélineau, *Contes de l'Égypte Chrétienne*, ii, 213).

[4] It is not likely that such a fusion could have been made except in a religion which forbade the making of images: Greeks, for example, could scarcely have done so, *cf.* above, p. 49, n. 2.

[5] So Beidawi, quoted by Hottinger, *Hist. Orient.*, p. 87.

[6] *Cf.* d'Arvieux, *Mémoires*, ii, 314: 'ils ne nomment jamais ce S. Prophete Elie, qu'ils n'y ajoûtent l'épithete de *Khdr*, qui veut dire verd, verdoyant, qui est le symbole de la vie, parce qu'ils sont persuadez que ce Prophete est encore vivant'. *Cf.* also the *Mémoires*, ii, 315.

[7] See below, pp. 699–700.

In conclusion, it may be remarked that the protean figure of Khidr has a peculiar interest for the study of popular religion in Asia Minor and the Near East generally. Accepted as a saint by orthodox Sunni Mohammedans, he seems to have been deliberately exploited by the heterodox Shia sects of Syria, Mesopotamia, Asia Minor, and Albania—that is, by the Nosairi, the Yezidi, the Kizilbash, and the Bektashi—for the purposes of their propaganda amongst non-Mohammedan populations. For Syrian, Greek, and Albanian Christians Khidr is identical with Elias and S. George. For the benefit of the Armenians he has been equated in Kurdistan with their favourite S. Sergius, and, just as Syrian Moslems make pilgrimages to churches of S. George, so do the Kizilbash Kurds of the Dersim to Armenian churches of S. Sergius.[1]

As regards Christianity, Khidr is only one of many points of contact in the Shia heterodoxies. The Kizilbash Kurds, for example, hold that Christ was reincarnated in Ali, that the Twelve Apostles and the Twelve Imams are identical, and that SS. Peter and Paul are the same persons as Hasan and Husain.[2] The

[1] Molyneux-Seel, in *Geog. Journ.* xliv (1914), p. 66; for the equation of Khidr to S. Sergius among the Anatolian Kizilbash see Grenard in *Journ. Asiat.* iii (1904), p. 518, and for Armenian confusion between SS. Sergius and George see, among others, P. della Valle, *Viaggio*, ii, 258. It seems to me possible that there was a young military frontier saint George known before the *Acta* of the (Arian) George of Alexandria became current. Melitene, where one version of the *Life* places his birth (Baring Gould, *Curious Myths*, 2nd series, p. 9; *cf.* S. George of Melite in Amélineau, *Contes de l'Égypte Chrétienne*, ii, 153) is a typical frontier place. Again, at Mosul, another frontier town, Niebuhr remarks his tomb (*Voyage en Arabie*, ii, 291), a Moslem tradition ascribing his death to the king of Mosul (Masudi, quoted by J. Friedrich in *Sitzb. Bayr. Akad., Ph.-Ph. Cl.*, 1899, II, ii, 181). S. Sergius, for whom see Lucius, *Anfänge des Heiligenk.*, pp. 234 ff., is clearly a border saint, so that this may be the point of contact between him and the soldier George.

[2] Molyneux-Seel, *loc. cit.*, pp. 65 f.; above, p. 145.

Albanian Bektashi equate their own saint Sari Saltik to S. Nicolas and other Christian saints.[1] Such points of contact may be regarded either as inheritances from Christianity or introduced with the deliberate purpose of conciliating Christians to a form of Islam. It is obvious that at all times conversion from Christianity to Islam has been aided by the considerable material advantages to be gained from it. The Shia sects to which we have referred are not forbidden outwardly to observe Sunni forms, and frequently do so; at the same time their real religion, with its many natural or artificial points of contact with Christianity, offers a compromise which spares the susceptibilities of the convert and may well have been the refuge of many harassed Christian tribes.

[1] On this question see below, pp. 435 ff.

XXI

TRIBAL SAINTS

THE evidence for the existence of a class of Turkish saints venerated as the eponymous ancestors of tribes rests, in default of fuller and more accurate knowledge, on the following considerations.

The worship of tribal ancestors is established among the Turks of Central Asia and among the nomad Turkish tribes of Persia (Azerbeijan). Of the latter Bent writes: 'The office of "pir" or elder of the tribe or "eel" is hereditary, and the "pir" generally traces his descent from some holy man, whose worship is general throughout the tribe . . . his tomb is generally in some well-known spot amongst their summer haunts, and a great object of veneration.' [1] In Asia Minor itself Crowfoot found a Shia village in Cappadocia containing the venerated tomb of a saint Haidar, from whom the villagers claimed descent.[2] Among Tsakyroglous' notes on the nomad Turkish tribes of Asia Minor is given the name of the chief of the Sheikhli tribe, Sheikh Baba Zade Selim, *i.e.* Selim, descendant of father (or 'saint') Sheikh:[3] this implies that the tribal name is derived from that of the founder or common ancestor.

Taken together, this rather slender evidence seems to warrant us in supposing that the cult of tribal ancestors was carried by the nomad Turks into Asia Minor, and

[1] 'The Nomad Tribes of Asia Minor,' in *Report Brit. Ass.*, 1889 (Newcastle), Sect. H, p. 178.

[2] *J. R. Anthr. Inst.*, xxx, 309; *cf.* above, p. 52 and below, p. 404.

[3] *Περὶ Γιουρούκων*, p. 17. In this tribe's district (Uluborlu) a fountain famous for its healing properties owes its curative qualities to the tomb of 'un Solitaire Mahometan nommé Chek baba' (Lucas, *Voyage fait en 1714*, i, 180); see below, p. 339.

that the tribal ancestor was the 'eponymous hero' of the tribe. When, therefore, we find a saint bearing the name of a tribe, we may regard it as probable that, originally at least, this saint was regarded as the eponymous ancestor of the tribe in question.[1] But this method of identification is hampered by the fact that we possess no approximation to a complete list of tribes, and the existence of many can only be inferred from the occurrence of village-names resembling in type those of known tribes: these names are, moreover, in many cases obscured by the perversions of popular etymology, having ceased to have any meaning for the modern population.

The Azerbeijan Turks, as we have seen, give their eponymous ancestor the Persian title of *pir*. Among the Anatolian nomads the chief is usually called *sheikh* or *beg*, the eponymous ancestor being called *baba* ('father') or *dede* ('grandfather'). None of these words seems originally to have had a religious connotation; the temporal chief was also the spiritual head of the tribe, and only later, in a more complicated society, have the offices been distinguished. *Pir*, *dede*, *baba*, and to some extent *sheikh*, have now in Turkey a predominantly religious colour. Consequently, when folk-stories tell us of the thousands of 'dervishes' led by sheikhs who came into Asia Minor under the Seljuks and were settled by 'Ala-ed-din',[2] we shall probably not be far wrong if we interpret the legend as referring to nomad tribes under their priest-chiefs, who established themselves at this period in the sultanate of Rum.

[1] In the Sinai peninsula there is the tomb of Sheikh Szaleh, whom some call the ancestor of the tribe Szowaleha, others Szaleh of the Koran, and others a local saint. His festival in late June is much frequented by the Beduin (Burckhardt, *Syria*, p. 489; *cf.* p. 527 for the Beduin offerings brought to the tomb of a sheikh at Sherm on the Red Sea).

[2] Carnoy and Nicolaides, *Trad. de l'Asie Mineure*, pp. 212 ff.

The most famous of these legendary priest-chiefs is Tur Hasan Veli, who was given lands on the slopes of the Hasan Dagh near Caesarea. He is probably historical and may be identified with the chief named Hasan mentioned by Anna Comnena [1] and a contemporary crusading writer [2] as ruling this part of Cappadocia about A. D. 1100. The grave of Tur Hasan is still venerated on the summit of the Hasan Dagh,[3] and the name of his tribe survives in Tur Hasanlu, a village in the neighbourhood of Kirshehr. The tribal name is formed, as usual, by adding the adjectival termination to the name of the tribal chief. Tur Hasan Veli is therefore the best documented of the tribal saints, since we have evidence of his historical existence, a village bearing his tribal name, and a cult surviving to our own day. In 'Chek Baba', a Mohammedan hermit, whose tomb and the adjacent miraculous spring in the neighbourhood of Isbarta [4] were formerly at least a frequented pilgrimage, we may probably recognize the eponym of the already mentioned Sheikhli tribe, whose present habitat is still in this district between Afiun Kara Hisar and Uluborlu.[5]

Other tribal saint cults of the same type seem to have been taken over by the Bektashi sect, and the saints' personality often obscured by their adoption into the cycle of hagiographical legend propagated by the order in its own interests.[6] Thus, the saint Haidar of Haidar-es-Sultan, though the village still regards him as its common ancestor, is identified under Bektashi auspices with a Bektashi saint and given an alternative name.[7] Similarly, Yatagan Baba, who is worshipped in a Bektashi

[1] XIV, i.

[2] Quoted by Tomaschek, *Sitzb. Wien. Akad., Phil.-Hist. Cl.*, cxxiv (1891), viii, 85.

[3] Carnoy and Nicolaides, *op. cit.*, p. 213.

[4] P. Lucas, *Voyage fait en 1714*, i, 180. This is presumably the Sheikh Baba who saved Egerdir from Timur (Hammer-Hellert, *Hist. Emp. Ott.* ii, 118).

[5] Tsakyroglous, *Περὶ Γιουρούκων*, p. 13.

[6] Below, pp. 565 ff.

[7] Crowfoot, *loc. cit.*: see also below, pp. 403 ff.

convent near Buldur [1] as the 'master' of the Bektashi saint Abdal Musa, is probably in origin the eponym of the Yataganli tribe, which is still to be found in a northern part of the same *vilayet*.[2] Another Bektashi saint, Kara or Karaja Ahmed, whose numerous tombs are shown in various parts of Asia Minor and even in Rumeli, though now recognized as a Bektashi apostle sent by Ahmed Yasevi to Asia Minor, is probably in reality a disguised tribal saint.[3] No tribe Karaja ('blackish') Ahmedli is known to our lists, but the Kara ('black') Ahmedli is a sub-tribe of the Rihanli [4] who live north-west of Aleppo, and Kizil ('red') Ahmedli [5] was a tribe of some importance in Paphlagonia. There is, further, a village Karaja Ahmedli near Nefes Keui (Tavium).

Sari Saltik, the Bektashi apostle *par excellence* of Rumeli, seems to have had a similar history. He appears to have been originally the saint of a Tatar tribe in the Crimea,[6] which emigrated to Baba Dagh in Rumania, carrying its cult with it. Developed by the Bektashi, Sari Saltik loses every trace of his real origin and figures as one of the missionary saints sent by Ahmed Yasevi for the conversion of Europe.[7] 'Saltik' has now no meaning in ordinary Turkish, though many interpretations are put forward ;[8] but (significantly) there are villages called Saltiklu in both European [9] and Asiatic [10] Turkey.

[1] For the *tekke* see Lucas, *Voyage fait en 1714*, i, 171.

[2] *Περὶ Γιουρούκων*, p. 15.

[3] On Karaja Ahmed see below, pp. 403 ff.

[4] Burckhardt, *Syria*, p. 634 ; *cf.* above, p. 138.

[5] Tribal names frequently run thus in pairs differentiated by colour epithets, see above, p. 128.

[6] Here he figures in the fourteenth century as Baba Saltuk, a diviner' (*i.e.* a chief and medicine-man ?). See Ibn Batuta, tr. Sanguinetti, ii, 416, 445.

[7] For the mythical history of Sari Saltik see below, pp. 429 ff.

[8] See p. 576, n. 3.

[9] Near Eski Baba in Thrace.

[10] Near Sandikli (which may itself be a popular corruption of *Saltikli*) in Phrygia.

Haji Bektash, the reputed founder of the Bektashi, was probably, before the usurpation of his name and grave by the Hurufi, about 1400, such another tribal saint. The whole legend-cycle connecting him with the court of Orkhan is admittedly late,[1] and the earliest notice of him we possess denies its authenticity and calls Haji Bektash the 'brother of Mentish'.[2] 'Mentish' is obviously the eponym of the widely-scattered tribe of Mentish (Mentesh), which has left its name in villages all over Asia Minor from Sivas to Caria. Bektashli is a rarer, but widely scattered, village-name, occurring so far west as Cape Lectum[3] and often, curiously enough, quite near villages called Mentish.[4] We infer that 'Bektashli' and 'Mentesh' were tribes which acknowledged themselves akin and that the original Haji Bektash was the eponymous ancestor of the former.

[1] See below, pp. 483–93.

[2] Ashik Pasha Zade (*c.* 1500), quoted by J. P. Brown, *Dervishes*, p. 141. The testimony carries especial weight, since this author was from the district of Kirshehr, where the tomb of Haji Bektash is still shown.

[3] This village is at least as early as the seventeenth century, being mentioned in the British Museum MS. Harl. 7021, *f.* 422 *vso.*

[4] Outside the district of the saint's tomb, where it is common, it occurs south-west of Divriji, near Sandikli in Phrygia, near Sivriji in the Troad, and near Kumanovo in Serbian Macedonia (von Hahn, *Belgrad nach Salonik*, p. 57). Beteshli is a village near Benderegli in Pontus (von Diest, *Perg. zum Pontus*, i, 81), but the connexion cannot be pressed.

XXII

SAINTS AND DEMONS OF THE SEA

IT is, indeed, very natural that simple persons should assume that the sudden mishaps of a seafaring life are occasioned by local sea-demons.[1] The apparent vindictiveness of wind and wave, with their at times almost animal voices, makes these demons intensely concrete conceptions. They are conceived of as human, bestial, or monstrous in form, and of course hostile to man; their cult, if any, is deprecation. To this substratum of 'black' superstition may be added the 'white' conception of a divine force acting beneficently on man's behalf against the perils of the sea; this beneficent action is invoked through an intermediary who is apt ultimately to usurp the placatory cult formerly offered to the demon, as also, like all such intermediaries, to be considered largely independent of the supreme power. Such is the process of transition from the placation of a local sea danger personified to the invocation of a local sea-saint.

We have thus the following typical forms:

(1) the local sea-demon,

(2) the local sea-hero or sea-saint.

The latter becomes in favourable circumstances:

(3) a widely potent or even universal sea-saint.

In modern times we have at least two instances of Greek sailors' belief in sea-demons of this sort, conceived of as inhabiting dangerous parts of the coast, and of a cult of deprecation directed to them. Sibthorp[2] in

[1] For demons causing the winds see Maury, *Croy. du Moyen Âge*, p. 105.

[2] In Walpole, *Memoirs*, p. 286: 'We weighed anchor in the port of Cephalonia. As our sailors rowed by Cape Capro, they made libations of bread, using the following words.' See also Polites, *Παραδόσεις*,

the latter years of the eighteenth century transcribed the prayer directed by his sailors with an offering of biscuit to the eponymous demon of Cape Kapro near Cephalonia. The emended text is as follows :

Γειά σου, Κάπο Κάπρο	*Greeting, Cape Kapro, to you,*
μὲ τὴν Καποκάπραινά σου	*And to Mrs. Cape Kapro*
καὶ μὲ τὰ Καποκαπρόπουλά σου.	*And the little Cape Kapro's.*
Νὰ Κάπρο, νὰ Κάπραινα,	*Here's for you, Kapro and Mrs. Kapro,*
νὰ τὰ Καποκαπρόπουλα.	*Here's for you little Cape Kapro's.*
Φάτε τὸ παξιμάδι	*Eat up the biscuit,*
ἐσεῖς ψάρια μελανούρια.	*You melanouria fish.*[1]

A similar cult was observed by von Hahn at Cape Linguetta in Albania. Here, according to his sailors, dwelt a marine she-demon named Linguetta, to whom ships passing her abode offered a handful of salt with the invocation 'Here's your bread, Linguetta, and send us (fair) voyage.'[2] Similarly, in classical times we may regard Scylla as the typical example of a sea-demon.

1209; *ib.* (biscuit to Cape Volpo, *cf. Z.f. Anthropol.*, p. 215); see note on no. 558 for all such practices.

[1] The *melanouria*, as actual inhabitants of the water, accept the offering, apparently as proxies for the Cape Kapro family.

[2] *Alban. Studien*, i, 131 f.; *cf.* Polites, *Παραδόσεις*, no. 558 and *note*. Bread is thrown into the sea at Gaza (Baldensperger, in *P.E.F., Q.S.* for 1893, p. 216); food is sent by Arab sailors ashore for Hasan el Merabet on an island in the Red Sea (Burckhardt, *Arabia*, ii, 347); bread is thrown into the Nile at Bibbeh at a saint's tomb (Bussierre, *Lettres*, ii, 57). The relatives of Sheikh Selim (for whom see Lady Duff Gordon, *Letters from Egypt*, pp. 45, 304) on the Nile have to be tipped before dahabiehs can get under way (King, *Dr. Liddon's Tour*, p. 75). In rough weather Moorish pilgrims invoked a saint, hung a basket of bread for him to the masthead, threw a bottle of oil and a basket of *couscous* into the sea, and tied a written charm to the masthead (Pococke, *Voyages*, iv, 213). On S. Andrew's day at Sinope cakes of wheat, sugar, and flour are baked, consecrated in S. Andrew's church, and part eaten by the fishermen who subscribed the money for the cakes. Part, however, is kept and carried to sea in the boats; when the sea is rough, crumbs are sprinkled on the waves with an appeal to S. Andrew for protection (White, in *Mosl. World*, 1919, p. 15).

Scylla, as her name implies, was originally conceived of as a dog (or a 'sea-dog' or shark = *κύων*?) and bears traces of her origin in her later art-types.[1] The 'dog-mounds' (*κυνόσσημα*) of the Hellespont, later connected with Hecuba,[2] and that on the modern Cape Volpo[3] in Caria, probably celebrated similar demons.

For the development of a demon-cult to a corresponding saint-cult an important link is furnished by travellers' accounts of the Turkish cult of Baba at Lectum. Turkish saint-cults are much less trammelled by ecclesiastical tradition than Christian,[4] and consequently show more clearly the rude natural conception of such a cult. The first notice, then, of the Lectum cult dates from about 1550. It comes to us from the monk Pachomios Rousanos, who was shocked to find that Christian sailors took part in the placation of the 'demon'. His words are as follows:

'As we sailed by Lectum, a promontory of Troy, I saw and heard the sailors preparing food for a demon who once dwelt or still dwells there, called in the Turkish or the Arabick *Papa*. And they prepared for him of their own victuals, breaking bread

[1] Roscher, *s.v.*; Pauly-Wissowa, *s.v.* For a dog-headed sea-monster on a clay seal see Evans in *J.H.S.* xxxii, 291.

[2] The connexion is evidently made through the dog-goddess Hekate (*Ἑκάτη*), of whom Hecuba (*Ἑκάβη*) is a by-form (*cf.* Pauly-Wissowa, *s.v. Hekabe*, p. 2660). *Cf.* Strabo, XIII, i, 28.

[3] Polites, *op. cit.* ii, 1209. *Cf.* Strabo, XIV, ii, 15. The locality is still dreaded: *cf.* the Symi folk-song in Michaelides, *Καρπ. Ἄισματα*, no. 10:

Πανερμιώτη Συμιακὲ	*S. Michael of Panormos on Symi,*
Καὶ Ἁγία Σοφιὰ τῆς Μπόλις,	*And S. Sophia of Stambol,*
Κὶ Ἀτ Δημήτρι Βούργαρε,	*And Bulgar S. Demetrius*
ἀποὺ τὸ Σαλονίκι.	*From Salonica.*

Ex-votos from ships in danger find their way automatically to S. Michael's church there, as Professor R. M. Dawkins, to whom I owe the translation of the difficult *Πανερμιώτη*, informs me; *cf.* a similar story told of a church of S. George in Egypt (Amélineau, *Contes de l'Égypte Chrétienne*, ii, 240).

[4] See above, p. 255.

in a plate and setting thereon cheese and onion . . . which also they cast into the sea calling on him after the Gentile manner. Howbeit I gave them no countenance, but upbraided them for their superstition.'[1]

From the notes of later travellers it is clear that the 'demon' invoked in passing the dangerous cape was for devout Moslems a perfectly legitimate recipient of worship, 'Papa' being merely the title 'Baba' given familiarly to old men and often, with no lack of respect, to popular Turkish saints.

The passages relating to the 'Baba' of Lectum are of sufficient interest to be given in full. Des Hayes[2] says of him:

'Les Turcs appellent [le Cap de Saincte Marie] Bababournou, qui en leur langue signifie *Le nez du pere*, à cause que . . . l'vn des six-vingts quatre mille Prophetes, dont i'ay parlé au discours de la Religiõ,[3] y est enterré: c'est pourquoy tous les Turcs qui y passent, iettent à son intention plusieurs morceaux de biscuit à des oyseaux, qui demeurent continuellement aux enuirons.'

Le Bruyn,[4] some fifty years later, gives substantially the same account:

'Il y a à ce *Bababarnouë* un de leurs Saints qui y est enterré; on le nomme *Baba*, qui signifie Pere. Les Barques y jettent toûjours quelque morceau de pain: mais les Plongeons, qui y sont en grande quantité, en emportent la meilleure partie.'

Egmont,[5] in the next century, adds some details as to the traditional personality of the saint, called by him

'a dervise or *Baba*, who always gave the Turks intelligence when any rovers were in the neighbouring seas. This cape is very dangerous, on account of sudden squalls from the mountains. In passing by it with a fair wind, the Turks, out of respect to the memory of the above saint, throw pieces of bread into the sea,

[1] Published by Polites in Δελτίον Ἱστορ. Ἑταιρείας, i, 108; *cf.* the same author's Παραδόσεις ii, 1208.

[2] *Voiage*, p. 340. [3] P. 257. [4] *Voyage*, i, 510.

[5] Egmont and Heymann, *Travels* (1759), i, 162 f.; *cf.* also Galland's *Journal*, ed. Schefer, ii, 158, where the tomb of the Baba is mentioned.

tho' they see them immediately carried away by a species of sea-fowl common in these parts: and the more devout among them add to this offering a prayer, for the happiness of his soul.'

We have here exactly the ritual of the demon-cults down to the peculiarity, already observed at Cape Kapro, that the offering is actually accepted, not by the saint himself, but by his *famuli* or protégés, in this case birds. But the saint is conceived of as a person who, in his lifetime, acted in the interest of mariners and continued his beneficence after death.

Whether the *Baba* of Lectum ever existed or not is immaterial. Hermits with special powers over the weather (and this, not the signalling of pirates, was undoubtedly the function of the *Baba*) have certainly been reputed and placated elsewhere. In Morocco, for instance (and from North Africa much sea-lore and superstition must have come to the Turks, who are themselves no seamen), Teonge, in the seventeenth century, records that 'on the top of Apes' hill lives a Marabott wizord or Inchanter; and what vessell soever of the Turks goes by, gives him a gun as shee goes, to beg a fortunate voyage.'[1] Evliya mentions a somewhat similar sailors' saint, Durmish Dede of Akkerman, buried at Rumeli Hisar on the Bosporus, who foretold the fortunes of mariners on their way to the Black Sea in the reign of Ahmed I.[2] A prophet of this sort is supposed

[1] *Diary* (1675), p. 33; *cf.* p. 141: 'It hath been very tempestuous all night, and so continues. Wee may suppose their Marabotts are a woork to drive us from their coasts; but *God* is above the Devill. Pierre Gonçalez, a Dominican friar of the thirteenth century at Tuy in Galicia, is the patron of Spanish sailors, being invoked as S. Elmo (Collin de Plancy, *Dict. des Reliques*, ii, 436–7).

[2] *Travels*, I, ii, 70; *cf.* 27; *cf.* Hammer-Hellert, *Hist. Emp. Ott.* xviii, 85. Durmish Dede is still placated with offerings by seamen though his personality is entirely changed. He is now represented as a dervish of the period of the Turkish conquest, who miraculously crossed the Bosporus on foot and established himself (*durmak* = 'stop', 'remain') at the spot now occupied by the (Khalveti) convent bearing

to *influence* the luck as well as to foretell it. The late Professor van Millingen once told me that in his father's time a dervish on the Bosporus was regularly consulted by Black Sea sailors and was credited with power over the wind.[1]

The sea-demon and the local sea-saint are propitiated for the same reason, viz. for security in passing dangerous points in a voyage, but in a different sense, the demon, being 'black' or hostile, producing the danger, the saint, as a rule 'white' or beneficent, averting it.

The cult both of demons and of saints owes its existence, or its interpretation in a marine sense, to the notorious dangers of their locality. Consequently, we find their sanctuaries located at such critical points on sea-routes as promontories,[2] where violent winds might be expected, localities affected by currents [3] and dangerous shoal waters; [4] it is the permanent and (locally) fixed nature of these phenomena which tends to perpetuate a cult of some kind at such points. The exact site of the local sanctuary may therefore vary, but within a radius limited by the area affected by the natural phenomena which necessitate supernatural help. So long as these exist, there is apt to be a cult, but the personality of the *numen* is liable to a complete change. The cult at Lectum was in all probability directed in ancient times to Palamedes, the sailors' god to whom the invention of lighthouses was attributed, and whose sanctuaries are always found on littoral sites.[5] In the case of Lectum the Palamedeion was some miles north of the grave of the *Baba*. In the Middle Ages we may

his name. *Cf.* the cult of Barbarossa (Khair-ed-din) (see above, p. 279). and of the ancient Protesilaos (Philostratos, *Her.* 291, Herodotus, vii, 33).

[1] *Cf.* King, *Dr. Liddon's Tour*, p. 75, and Duff Gordon, *Letters from Egypt*, pp. 45, 304.

[2] *e.g.* at Lectum, Thracian Chersonnese, Malea, Taenarum.

[3] *e.g.* Hellespont, Bosporus. [4] *e.g.* Black Sea.

[5] See Roscher's *Lexikon*, *s.v. Palamedes*, especially pp. 1271–2.

infer from the name 'Cape S. Mary' that a chapel of the Virgin[1] existed on Lectum and that she was invoked by sailors as the *Baba* was later. The three persons are wholly different in conception, but succeed one another as sailors' intercessors largely on account of the position of their sanctuaries.[2]

Further, the placation of a local sea-demon and the invocation of a local sea-saint and universal sea-god are logical. The local demon, like the local saint, is locally potent, the universal sea-god is potent over the whole area. The evolution of a universal sea-saint needs explanation.

In the case of the Turks, who look on Noah as the patron of shipping,[3] and propitiate him before undertaking a voyage,[4] the choice is perfectly logical.[5] But S. Nicolas, who has actually attained in the Eastern

[1] D'Arvieux, *Mémoires*, ii, 315, comments on the invocation of the Virgin of Mount Carmel by Turks, Moors, and Arabs. Lucius (*Anfänge des Heiligenk.*, p. 522) says the *stella Mariae* idea dates from Isidore of Sculli and that till then her connexion with the sea was incidental only.

[2] Some sort of parallel is given by the succession of seamen's saints on the Bosporus (Zeus Ourios, S. Michael, Durmish Dede), on the Hellespont (Protesilaus (?) and Hecuba, S. Euthymius of Madytos, Ghazi Fazil), and on Malea, where Moslem influence never penetrated (Apollo, S. George (Orthodox), and S. Michael (Catholic)); *cf. B.S.A.* xiv, 173. [A marginal note of my husband's on the MSS. says 'this gives a wrong impression'. The warning was presumably directed against using such a sequence of saints to support theories about the permanence of the sanctity of a once sacred spot. In general, his investigations had led him to question most cases of alleged permanent sanctity. In the present case he would probably have wished to emphasize once more the changes in the personality, even in the sex, of the successive saints, the variation in actual site of the sanctuaries, and the point that the permanent factor was not sanctity, but danger, at the places in question.—M. M. H.]

[3] He was the patron of sailors' guilds at Constantinople, as of the shipwrights' (Evliya, *Travels*, I, ii, 128, 129, 135).

[4] *Cf.* Seaman's *Orchan*, pp. 71–2, where the Turks before their first crossing to Europe invoke Noah; Evliya, *Travels*, I, i, 63. His name is a protection against snake-bite, because poisonous beasts laid aside their venom as a condition of entering the ark (J. H. Petermann,

church the position of Poseidon, was a bishop; S. Phocas,[6] who preceded him, was a gardener; S. Spyridon, who enjoys great local vogue in the Adriatic, again a bishop; while S. Paul, who travelled by sea more than any saint, has, on the contrary, no honour among Greek sailors on that account. It seems thus probable that two main causes determine the maritime importance of particular saints. First, the chief saint of a seafaring population tends to become a specialist; [7] second, a saint, whatever his character, who possesses a church on a notoriously dangerous piece of coast, becomes the natural person to invoke against the local perils of that coast, exactly as the local demon. If, in the one case, the local seafaring *clientèle* is numerous and important, or if, in the other, the coast is sufficiently frequented, its local sea-saint may, by the widespread fame of his miracles, obtain a wider reputation. The first cause seems to account for S. Phocas' vogue,[8] the second for

Reisen im Orient, ii, 303). For the pretty legend of Noah and the swallow in the ark see Comtesse de Gasparin, *À Constantinople*, pp. 189 ff.

5 So, too, with Jonah. Moslems hold that he was thrown up by the sea at the village of Gie on the Syrian coast and they never fail 'de demander permission au Prophete de passer devant chez lui' (D'Arvieux, *Mémoires*, ii, 329). A Cherbourg sailor prayed to him at Fécamp for much the same reason (Collin de Plancy, *Dict. des Reliques*, iii, 237), though he thought of him as a great sailor changed into a fish. A mound at Nineveh marks where he preached; Moslems think also that his tomb is there and jealously exclude Christians, whom, however, they allow to join in the three days' fast they observe in honour of the prophet (Hume Griffith, *Behind the Veil in Persia*, p. 174). Another reputed grave of Jonah is in Galilee and is equally difficult of access for Christians (Le Bruyn, *Voyage*, p. 318).

6 For food thrown to him see Lucius, *op. cit.*, p. 294, n. 3.

7 A curious case is given in Polites, *Παραδόσεις*, no. 205; at Spetsa, an island whose inhabitants are largely seamen by profession, S. Aimilianos, who has a chapel at the entrance to the harbour, is regularly placated by seamen leaving the port, though not usually a sea-saint. Similarly, S. Edmund became a fisherman's saint because east coast fishermen liked him (Hutton, *English Saints*, pp. 138 ff.).

8 As in classical times for that of Isis at Alexandria.

S. Nicolas',[1] whose original church lay on the Karamanian coast and was passed regularly by the two streams of Christian pilgrim traffic (from Constantinople and Venice) towards the Holy Land. Among the Turks the sea-saint of this class remains local. The characteristic sea-saints at Lectum and the Hieron (Durmish Dede) were in their lifetime given to the service of seafarers. On the other hand, Ghazi Ahmed Fazil of the Hellespont, whose grave was formerly saluted by Turkish ships, like the 'Marabott' of Teonge and doubtless with the same purpose, had,[2] as his name implies, no connexion with the sea till the position of his grave decided for him.

We have still to consider a secondary class of gods and saints who acquired the general reverence of seafarers in virtue of their patronage of travellers and a special attribute, that of sudden help. This phase is represented in the ancient world by Hermes the luck-bringer, in the Orthodox area by S. George, and in the Moslem by Khidr. Hermes and S. George [3] alike give their names to many capes in the Greek area.[4]

[1] Interesting is the cult of S. Nicolas *in undis* (Molanus, *Hist. Imaginum*, p. 390). In France S. Nicolas is now patron of fresh water only (Paul Guérin, *Vie des Saints*, Dec. 6; Peyre, *Nîmes, Arles, Orange*, p. 209).

[2] Walpole in Clarke's *Travels*, iii, 82.

[3] For S. George see Covel, *Diaries*, p. 277 (at Selymbria); Pouqueville, *Travels in the Morea*, p. 322 (at Prinkipo); Macarius, *Travels*, tr. Belfour, i, 12 (Virgin, S. Nicolas, S. Simeon the wonder-worker, S. George the rider on sea and land, S. Demetrius at sea, are the saints invoked by travellers; *cf.* the list in Grünemberg, *Pilgerfahrt*, ed. Goldfriedrich, p. 134, which includes S. Catherine of Sinai, S. Nicolas of Beyrut, S. Mary Magdalene of Marseilles, and S. James of Galicia); *cf.* Amélineau, *Contes de l'Égypte Chrétienne*, ii, 210, 240 (in Egypt); Boucher, *Bouquet Sacré*, p. 428 (a Georgian refuses to commit the sacrilege of embarking the evening before or the day after S. George's feast); Le Bruyn, *Voyage*, p. 177 (vows in general at sea); Miller *Latins in the Levant*, p. 621 (Skyros).

[4] [The chapter could not be completed. M.M.H.].

XXIII

BOGUS SAINTS

THUS far we have treated of what we may term 'authentic' saints, real persons, that is, who by their piety, learning, valour, or other distinctions during life, have gained a more or less extended vogue in popular religion, or who have posthumously proved their saintship by the miracles performed at their graves.

There is also a very large and important class of saints who may be labelled 'bogus'.[1] These owe their origin, generally speaking, either to (1) development or to (2) discovery. We have elsewhere [2] given reasons for believing that many apparently orthodox saint cults are in reality developments from the propitiation, generally apotropaic, of folk-lore figures, *jinns*, 'arabs' (which are in reality a form of *jinn*), and giants, originally regarded as hostile. Of these, plain *jinns* may be found almost anywhere, giants are perhaps specially addicted to mountains,[3] and 'arab' *jinns* to caves, springs, and buildings, especially baths and ruins; even statues may be haunted by them.[4] The 'dragon' of folk-lore, naturally enough, remains a hostile or 'black' form and in religion figures regularly as the vanquished opponent of the hero-saint, who is generally a dervish.

The discovery of bogus saints depends primarily on accidents such as the fall of an old wall,[5] or the observa-

[1] *Cf.* the false tombs mentioned at Cairo by Al Makrizi (in Goldziher, *Rev. Hist. Relig.* ii, 1880, p. 329).

[2] Above, p. 223.

[3] *Cf.* Joshua, *supra*, p. 305. Moslems like to be buried on as lofty a site as possible (von Schweiger-Lerchenfeld, *Armenien*, p. 3).

[4] For 'arabs' see below, pp. 730 ff. For *jinns* haunting wells see Lane, *Thousand and One Nights*, p. 44, and *Mod. Egyptians*, i, 282.

[5] See above, pp. 237, 253. This disclosed the grave of a Jewish

tion of phosphorescent lights,[1] which seem to be regarded as a divine substitute for the lights placed by men on the graves of the sainted dead. More tangible revelations, such as the discovery of an uncorrupted body, a sarcophagus, or remains of buildings resembling a grave or a mausoleum, are similarly accepted, under favourable conditions, as adequate grounds for the institution of a cult. Ross in the forties relates the following instance from Cyprus of the canonization of an uncorrupted corpse.

'The Turks six weeks ago found in their cemetery a corpse shewing hardly any signs of decay, a phenomenon here easily explained, since the soil is in such close proximity to the salt-lake and the sea that it is strongly impregnated with salt and saltpetre. Further, according to those who live in the immediate neighbourhood of the cemetery, the corpse cannot have been buried more than a matter of twenty or twenty-five years. . . . The Turks have made a saint of the corpse though they cannot put a name to it; sceptics say they do not even know its sex. . . . The old Pasha at Nicosia was delighted that this occurrence should have taken place under his administration, and hopes it will lead to his being specially commended at Constantinople. He at once had a small house of prayer built in the cemetery over the corpse, and summoned a Dervish to take charge of it. I went one day with the English Consul to investigate it. We found a small white-washed house in which the unknown saint reposed in a kind of catafalque under a green carpet; the Dervish sat cross-legged in one corner smoking his pipe with the indispensable coffee-set by him. This was the extent of the whole cultus.'[2]

A more extraordinary story is related by Lady Mary

saint at Maon in Syria (Carmoly, *Itinéraires*, p. 244). Lucius (*Anfänge des Heiligenk.*, p. 144, n. 5), on the authority of an Egyptian monk of the fifth century, hints at the same superstition. Possibly the superstition is very ancient and dates from some notorious case, where a wall fell revealing a tomb.

[1] See Evliya, I, ii, 68, for an instance.

[2] Ross, *Reisen nach Kos*, pp. 198 f.

Montagu in 1717 of an Egyptian mummy sent by way of Constantinople as a present to Charles XII of Sweden, then at Bender.[1] 'The Turks', she says, 'fancied it the body of God knows who; and that the state of their empire mystically depended on the conservation of it. Some old prophecies were remembered upon this occasion, and the mummy was committed prisoner to the Seven Towers.'[2] This might be disregarded as the empty gossip of contemporary Constantinople, were it not corroborated nearly a hundred years later. Pouqueville says that the story of the mummy was told in a Turkish history, of which part was translated for him by M. Ruffin;[3] the mummy, which was sent ninety-four years before as a present from the King of France to the King of Sweden, 'was about to be forwarded to its destination when it was stopped by the Janissaries upon guard at the gate of Adrianople. Being sealed with the signet of the kaimakam, it was supposed to be the relic of some saint, and was deposited at the Seven Towers.'[4] The reason of Pouqueville's interest in the mummy was that he had himself happened to re-discover it, during his captivity in that fortress, in a chamber of the northern tower of the Golden Gate. He 'never heard it said, as Lady Mary Wortley Montague affirms, that the Turks attached to it the idea of a palladium on which hung the preservation of the empire', a statement which he regarded as 'one of the pleasing fictions of her work'. But in the light of the prophecies which have circulated for so long among Greeks and Turks alike of the saviour-king who should arise from the dead to deliver the city from the Moslem yoke, it is probable that Lady Mary Montagu's story is substantially correct, and that in the occurrences she relates is to be found one source of the modern tradi-

[1] Charles XII took refuge in Turkey after the battle of Poltava (1709).

[2] *Works* (London, 1805), ii, 198.

[3] *Chargé d'affaires*, 1805–6.

[4] *Travels in the Morea*, p. 257.

tion locating the tomb of Constantine Palaiologos [1] at the Golden Gate. For our present question it is interesting to remark that the Turkish guardians are said to light to him a lamp every night and to cover him with a shawl which they renew once a year.[2]

Of a cult initiated by the discovery of a sarcophagus [3] Miss Pardoe gives a striking case from the Constantinople of her own day:

'About ten days before I left the country [*i.e.* in 1836], some workmen, employed in digging the foundation of an outbuilding at the Arsenal, brought to light a handsome sarcophagus of red marble, containing the bodies of Heraclius, a Greek emperor, who flourished during the reign of Mahomet, and his consort. The two figures representing the Imperial pair are nearly perfect. That of the Emperor holds in one hand a globe, and with

[1] Polites, in his commentary on his *Παραδόσεις*, no. 33, gives full references for this whole legend-cycle. When the years are fulfilled, the victorious army of the Greeks is to enter Constantinople by the Golden Gate, and the saviour-king, who dwells *ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ ἄκρᾳ τῆς Βυζαντίδος*, will rise from the sleep of death to lead them in. The site suits the Golden Gate well enough, standing, as it does, at the south-west corner of the triangular city, but in the traditions there is a discrepancy on one essential point, namely, the identity of the sleeper at the Golden Gate. He is either the emperor Constantine Palaiologos, or his predecessor, John Palaiologos, or S. John the Evangelist (Carnoy and Nicolaides, *Folklore de Constantinople*, p. 103). All these traditions are historically almost equally incredible. But the intrusion of S. John, who, according to medieval traditions, sleeps without tasting of death in his tomb at Ephesus, is at least intelligible in this setting. The figure of John Palaiologos, on the other hand, seems to be no more than a bridge effecting the transition between the deathless saint, John, and the deathless emperor, Palaiologos, of popular tradition. This hypothetical development seems to suit the existence at the Golden Gate of a body marvellously preserved and therefore reputed that of a saint, who was first identified by the ignorant for obvious reasons with S. John and was later swept into the cycle of local legends concerning the sleeping saviour-king.

[2] Carnoy and Nicolaides, *Folklore de Constantinople*, p. 103; *cf.* Polites, *Παραδόσεις*, no. 33.

[3] For a cult at the sarcophagus of Nebi Shaib in Palestine see Capt. Warren in *P.E.F., Q.S.* for 1869, p. 228.

the other grasps a sceptre; while the Empress is represented with her crown resting upon her open palm. At their feet are the busts of two worthies, supposed to be the portraits of celebrated warriors, but the inscriptions beneath them are nearly obliterated.

'Immediately that the identity of the occupants of this lordly tomb was ascertained, orders were given that an iron railing, breast-high, should be erected to protect the relic from injury, the Turks having a tradition that Heraclius died a Mahomedan. The fact is, however, more than doubtful.[1] . . . The Turks claimed the sarcophagus as the tomb of a True Believer; and a marble mausoleum is to be built over it, similar to those which contain the ashes of the Sultans.'[2]

It would be interesting to know how and *by whom* this sarcophagus was identified. It is obvious that Heraclius, at once the supposed crypto-Mohammedan,[3] the Christian conqueror of Jerusalem, and the restorer of the Cross, is an ideal centre for an ambiguous cult. The reigning sultan (Mahmud II) was a known leveller and closely in touch with the Mevlevi order, who in former times seem to have forwarded these ambiguous cults with a view to the fusion of religions, and may have been in part responsible for the identification.

[1] *Cf.* Gibbon, *Decline and Fall* (ed. J. B. Bury), v, 395; Bury, *Later Roman Empire*, ii, 261 f. '[Mohammed] wrote letters to the Emperor Heraclius . . . exhorting him to embrace Islam. . . . Heraclius said neither no nor yes, but sent presents to Mohammed in acknowledgment of his communication. Arab writers boast that he was really converted to Islamism, Greek writers affirm that Mohammed came and did homage to him.' For the letter sent to Heraclius see Le Strange, *Palestine*, p. 139.

[2] *City of the Sultans*, i, 420 f.

[3] On secret conversion see below, pp. 445–9.

XXIV

A PROVINCIAL PANTHEON

THE following description of the pilgrimages and holy places of the large provincial town of Monastir, all of a simple type, little, if at all, affected by the learned classes, may be deemed not without interest for Turkish mythology.

There are four *tekkes*, all small, belonging respectively to the Rifai (2), Nakshbandi, and Bektashi orders. Of these that of the Nakshbandi alone seems to be of importance for popular religion.

The first Rifai *tekke* stands off the main street of the town. Its precincts have been much curtailed by the widening of the street. It contains the tomb of Mahmud Dede the founder, who is supposed to have lived at the time of the conquest. The second, which stands on the outskirts of the town, was founded by Sheikh Nazmi Efendi in 1276 (1859–60), who is there buried with other saints, including Sheikh Mehmed of Aleppo.

The Bektashi *tekke*, also on the outskirts of the town, has outwardly the appearance of a well-to-do Turkish house and is discreetly walled. It contains the tomb of the martyr Husain Baba in an octagonal *turbe* built in 1289 (1872–3).

The Nakshbandi *tekke*, in the same quarter, is more important from our point of view as containing the tomb of Hasan Baba, which is famous for its miracles. The saint is said to have fallen under the displeasure of a sultan,[1] who sent men to hang him. Fleeing from them, the saint had *turbes* built at many places through

[1] The name of the sultan was given as 'Avranoz'; there is possibly a confusion with the famous family of Evrenos descended from the early Ottoman *ghazi* of that name buried at Yenije Vardar.

which he passed, in order to deceive the sultan into believing him dead. Consequently, cenotaphs of Hasan Baba exist in various parts, as at Kossovo, Uskub, Adrianople, Constantinople (in Divan Yolu), Anatolia, and Egypt.[1] Beside each *turbe* is a mosque. Monastir naturally claims the authentic tomb. The humble *turbe* containing the grave of the saint is specially frequented by women who cannot bring forth and children who cannot walk. The former find relief by contact with the beads of the saint, and the latter by being supported three times round the grave and leaving behind them the wooden pattens with which the circumambulation is performed.[2] *Kurban* is performed in a shed erected for the purpose outside the *turbe*; by a miraculous coincidence the saint receives every year exactly three hundred and sixty-six such offerings, one for each day. Many rags are affixed to the *turbe* windows.

The following pilgrimages are unconnected with dervish convents:

Bunar Baba. This is a sacred spring, apparently Turkish in tradition but patronized also by Christians, in a private garden on the outskirts of the town. It is said to have been discovered by Bunar Baba, a pupil of Hasan Baba, who was digging to find the body of his master with a view to being buried beside him. The spring is almost at ground level, but, however much water is taken from it, does not decrease. The water has miraculous virtue against all illnesses, if washed in

[1] These names were given to me, possibly at random. One of the cenotaphs seems to be in the once famous *tekke* at the village called Baba at the entrance to Tempe; see above, p. 118.

[2] Émile Deschamps saw quantities of children's boots left in an Armenian church of S. George at Nicosia, probably for the same reason as they are left at Monastir (*Au Pays d'Aphrodite*, p. 64). In Pontus persons with mouths awry pay a small fee and are slapped on the mouth by an attendant with the slipper of a certain saint (name not given); see Prof. White in *Mosl. World*, 1919, p. 9.

or drunk during the hour after midday on Fridays: at other times it has no power. The tomb of Bunar Baba, who was buried here by his wife, is shown close by.

Khirka Baba. This pilgrimage is again in a private garden on the outskirts of the town. The chief object of the cult is the habit (*khirka*) of Kulaḥ Mufti Sheikh Mahmud Efendi, a learned Nakshbandi divine from whom the present owners of the garden are descended.[1] The relic is kept in a chest in the upper story of the *kula* or tower, which was formerly the residence of the family; water in which the *khirka* has been dipped[2] has the virtue of killing or curing sufferers from chronic diseases; it is said sometimes to be administered without the knowledge of the patient by his sympathetic (or impatient) relatives. The sheikh disappeared mysteriously and none knows where he died or was buried; the clothes he was wearing, including the *khirka*, were found in the garden, the spot being marked by an enclosure resembling a tomb, on which candles are lit. Another relic is a hair of the Prophet's beard, which was sent to the sheikh; this is preserved in a bottle by the sheikh's descendants, and taken, three days before Ramazan Bairam, in procession to the large mosque, where the Faithful kiss it.[3] The sheikh's wife also 'disappeared': the belt she left behind is still shown and is worn by childless women in the hope of its removing their sorrow.[4]

In the cemetery on the hill north of the town are the graves of the following saints:

Kirhor Dede, said to be a very ancient saint. The grave is very simple. Beside it to the south is a mul-

[1] The oldest, who is ninety, says he represents the sixth generation from the sheikh.

[2] This is evidently based on the similar procedure with regard to the Prophet's cloak at Constantinople (C. White, *Constantinople*, i, 215).

[3] M. M. H. (1923). [4] *Ibid.*

berry tree, in the trunk of which fires have frequently been lighted, but the tree has never been consumed.[1] South of this again is a pit for *kurban*.

Chetim Tess Baba. This is again quite an ordinary grave, except that there are holes bored in the head- and foot-stones: these are said to have been made by the saint, who was an *abdal* (fool saint) in his lifetime. Barren women pass two eggs through these holes and eat them; people suffering from wounds which refuse to heal, bind them with cloths that have been passed through in the same way.[2] *Kurban* is not practised at this grave, but the saint is propitiated with candles, for which a sheltered niche is provided at the end of the

[1] This is evidently a debased version of Moses and the Burning Bush. Carmoly (*Itinéraires*, p. 263) records that both Jews and Moslems light lamps on the three tombs of Rabbi Eleazer at Alma. One Friday evening one of the trees that overshadow the tombs caught fire from the lamps. As it was their Sabbath, the Jews could not put out the fire and the Moslems refused to do so, yet next morning the tree was found unharmed. The same author (p. 318), quoting another source, attributes to pious scruples the refusal of the Moslems: God had given the saint power to manifest His glory in this fashion. The details of the Bible story are more closely followed in a French tale in Collin de Plancy, *Dict. des Reliques*, ii, 282: when the bush had burned twenty-four hours, it was found intact, with the image of N. D. de l'Épine in it. Pictures of the Virgin are commonly discovered in this way in the West: see, for instance, Collin de Plancy, *op. cit.* ii, 235, 247, 257; Maury, *Croy. du Moyen Âge*, p. 299; de Smet, *Manuel du Culte de la T. S. Vierge*, *passim*; Sébillot, *Folk-Lore de France*, iv, 120, 121, 134. Cases also occur in the East. The *Παναγία Μυρτιδιώτισσα* of Cythera was found in a myrtle-bush some three hundred years ago, for example (see her *Ἀκολουθία*, Athens, 1909), and the *Παναγία τοῦ Κάπου Δὰγ* at Cyzicus, I was informed, is periodically lost and found in a bush. No doubt many of these 'discoveries' are as suspect as 'discoveries' in general, but sometimes the miracle may have a foundation in fact. N. D. de Carentoir was placed in an oak for veneration (Sébillot, *op. cit.*, iv, 369), as was perhaps the stone image mentioned by Collin de Plancy (ii, 356) and twenty years later seen almost surrounded by the trunk of the tree. For the possible meaning of Byzantine representations of the Virgin in a burning bush see Hasluck, *Letters*, p. 93.

[2] *Cf.* above, p. 185.

grave ; however high the wind may be, the candles are never blown out.

In the cemetery near the horse-market is an open *turbe* much used for the rain-prayer in times of drought; contrary to Moslem custom in ordinary prayers, the hands of the suppliants taking part in the appeal for rain must be extended palms *downwards* or the prayer has no effect. The *turbe*, according to tradition, marks the spot where a *khoja* was buried. Some one dreamt that the grave contained a girl, and on examination it was found that the body of a Christian king's daughter had been miraculously substituted for that of the *khoja*.[1]

Tomruk Baba, called also Jigher Baba, is buried on the hill south of the town, near the armoury. He is propitiated with pieces of liver (*jigher*), which are hung on a nail and mysteriously disappear while the suppliant is still on the spot.

In the town, near Yeni Hammam, is a little yard containing two very simple turf graves, said to be those of Bektashi saints, one of whom is named *Merhum Baba*. They are frequented for all kinds of sickness and propitiated with candles, lamps, and *kurban* : no rags are tied.

In a small enclosure off the courtyard of the Nallii Jami is the grave of *Khalil Baba*, dated 1183 (1769–70) by its inscription; the headstone is crowned with the *taj* of the Bektashi. The saint is propitiated with lights.

[1] The legend seems based on the Mohammedan tradition that unworthy Moslems are removed by divine agency from the cemeteries of the Believers and their place taken by Christians, who are secretly or naturally Mussulman. See above, p. 73, and especially below, pp. 446 ff.

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