

New Europe College Yearbook 2013-2014



MARIAN VIOREL ANĂSTĂSOAIE
DANIEL ANDERSSON
NORAH BENARROSH-ORSONI
FRANCESCA BIAGIOLI
TREASA CAMPBELL
DANIEL CRISTEA-ENACHE
LUCIE GUESNIER
DAMIEN GUILLAUME
TAMÁS KISS
SARA KUEHN
JONATHAN MURPHY
DOMINIC NEGRICI
MLADEN OSTOJIĆ
NAOMI VAN STEENBERGEN

Editor: Irina Vainovski-Mihai

Copyright – New Europe College
ISSN 1584-0298

New Europe College
Str. Plantelor 21
023971 Bucharest
Romania
www.nec.ro; e-mail: nec@nec.ro

Tel. (+4) 021.307.99.10, Fax (+4) 021. 327.07.74



SARA KUEHN

Born in 1966

Ph.D. in Islamic Art and Archaeology, Free University of Berlin
Thesis: *The Dragon in Medieval East Christian and Islamic Art*

German, historian of Islamic art
Consultant, World Heritage Missions

Select fellowships and grants:

Monbusho Scholarship, Japanese Government (Monbu-kagaku-shō) Scholarship
program, International Christian University (ICU), Tokyo, Japan, 1988 – 1991.

Museum of Applied Arts (MAK), Vienna, Austria, 2010–2011.

Österreichische Forschungsgemeinschaft (Austrian Research Foundation),
Vienna, Austria, 2011.

London Academy of Iranian Studies (LAIS), London, UK, 2011–2012.

Orient Institut der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft (OIB), Beirut,
Lebanon, 2012–2013.

Iran Heritage Foundation, 2013.

Conference papers and public lectures delivered in Edinburgh, UK; Olomouc, Czech Republic; Montreal, Canada; Bucharest, Romania; Cluj-Napoca, Romania; New Delhi, India; London, UK; Heidelberg, Germany; Cologne, Germany; Ashgabat, Turkmenistan; Vienna, Austria; Oxford, UK; York, UK; Yerevan, Armenia; Basel, Switzerland; Kalamazoo, MI, USA; Helsinki, Finland; Beirut, Lebanon; Guwahati, Assam, India; New Delhi, India; Paris, France; Constanta, Romania; Bakhchisaray, Crimea, Ukraine; Bergen, Norway; Sarajevo, Bosnia-Herzegovina; Baku, Azerbaijan.

Participation in research projects:

Evaluation of museum collections and curatorial documentation in the context of World Heritage missions, as well as other consulting activities; United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) – United Nations Development Program (UNDP); Kuwait National Museum, Dār al-Athār al-Islāmiyyah, Kuwait; Iconographic expressions of Sufism in the western Balkans (Bosnia and Herzegovina, the Novi Pazar Sandžak in Serbia, Macedonia, Kosovo and Albania).

Numerous articles published in scholarly journals

Books:

Monsters as Bearers of Life-Giving Powers? Trans-Religious Migrations of an Ancient Western Asian Symbolism (9th to 14th Century AD), Indira Gandhi National Centre for the Arts, New Delhi, 2015.

The Dragon in Medieval East Christian and Islamic Art, Islamic History and Civilization: Studies and Texts 86, Brill, Leiden, Boston, 2011.

TWELVER SHĪ'Ī COMPONENTS IN CONTEMPORARY BEKTĀŠI VISUAL PIETY IN THE WESTERN BALKANS?: A NOTE ON BEKTĀŠI VISUAL CULTURE*¹

Abstract

This paper sets out to engage in aspects of a Shī'īte tendency in the visual and representational art of the Bektāšiyya, one of the congregational orders of Islam, and their association with the Imāmī "Twelver" tradition of Iran. It thereby focuses on Albanian Bektāši religious imagery and symbolism and their relationship to devotional practices, ritual and sacred space within the context of the contemporary conventions of this religious order in the western Balkans. In spite of an obvious incorporation of elements of a Twelve-Imām Shī'īte provenance, the visual and devotional piety and practice of the Bektāši *ṭarīqa* however deviates greatly from the ceremonies and rules propagated by official Shī'a Islam. The study postulates that Bektāšiism as a religion has incorporated many autochthonous Albanian traits and that its visual conceptualisation also developed aspects of an independent Albanian character.

Keywords: Visual piety, Bektāšiyya, Şūfī, Albania, Twelve-Imām Shī'īsm, Imām 'Alī, Shī'ī Imāms, 'Āshūrā', Karbalā', Nawrūz.

This paper sets out to engage in aspects of a Shī'īte tendency in the visual and representational art of the post-communist Bektāšiyya, one of the most important of the mystical (Şūfī) brotherhoods of Islam in the western Balkans and their association with the Imāmī "Twelver" tradition (*lthnā'asharī Shī'a*) of Iran. It thereby focuses on central Bektāši dogmas that inform the varied expressions of visual popular belief and piety in

* The author was a fellow of the European Institutes for Advanced Study (EURIAS) program within the academic year of 2013-2014.

communal ritual spaces such as Bektāši *teqes* (Şūfī gathering places, convents), *tyrbes* (mausolea with graves of (Bektāši) saints) and *maydāns* (*mejdans*, congregational chambers or communal meeting places) in these regions.²

Bektāšiism in the western sector of the Balkan peninsula is today mainly confined to Albanian-speaking communities in Albania, Kosovo and Macedonia,³ where it began to take root among the Muslim population beginning in the sixteenth century.⁴ Over the years, this monastic order (Ar. *ṭarīqa*, (spiritual) path or way to God) of *dervishes* or Şūfīs developed in the local context of Albanian regional traditions, survived many crises such as its proscription by the Ottomans in 1241/1826⁵ and played a dominant role in the Albanian national awakening (*Rilindja*) developed after the fall of the Ottoman Empire, in a period extending from the second half of the nineteenth century to the Declaration of Independence in 1912.⁶ Following the official abolition of all Şūfī orders in the newly founded Turkish Republic in 1925, the Albanian Bektāšis decided in 1929 to transfer the World Headquarters of the Bektāši Congregation from the town of Hacibektaş in the central Anatolian region of Turkey to Tirana in Albania.⁷ This facilitated the very significant expansion of the order in southern and central Albanian territories, which came to an end with the communist takeover of Albania at the end of the Second World War when the Bektāšis became a target of Enver Hoxha's government (1944–1991). The anti-religious policy in Albania culminated in 1967 when religion was categorically outlawed and any open expression of pious sentiment became a criminal offence.⁸

With the collapse of the atheistic communist regime in 1991, religious freedom was restored to Albania. However, two decades of imposed atheism meant that *teqes* had to be reclaimed and renovated, *tyrbes* restored, and a new generation of *bābās* (spiritual guides or masters) and *dervishes* instructed in doctrine and ritual.⁹ Due to destruction and dispersal of much of its traditional architectural and artistic heritage, very little of the visual culture of Albanian Bektāši institutions survived that pre-dates the 1990s.

Likewise in Yugoslav-period Kosovo and Macedonia or, more recently, during the 1998–99 conflict in Kosovo, Bektāši institutions suffered serious damage. The important *teqe* complex in Đakovica (Gjakovë) in Kosovo, the Komuniteti Bektashian Gjyshata e Kosovës Teqeja Gjakovë, was deliberately targeted and razed to the ground during the last war. Parts of the historic Arabati Bābā Teqe (established in 945/1538; the present

complex was built after 1214/1799) in Tetovë (Turk. Kalkandelen) in Macedonia, the largest *teqe* complex in the Balkans and Turkey, were burnt down as recently as 2002. Hence, much of the visual and representational aesthetic expressions, artefacts and material culture in Bektāši *teqes* in Albania, Macedonia and Kosovo are necessarily of a recent date.

Bektāšiism as a religion is deeply indebted to Shī'ī Islam. Bektāši adherents stress the pre-eminence of 'Alī ibn Abi Talib, young cousin and son-in-law of the Prophet Muḥammad, father of the Prophet's beloved grandsons Ḥasan and Ḥusayn, and the fourth caliph (16/656–40/661) of the Muslim *umma* (community of believers), as the legitimate heir of the Prophet. They thereby follow the common Shī'īte belief that 'Alī (whom the Prophet had adopted as a boy even before his first marriage and the first male to accept Islam) was the rightful Caliph, the first infallible leader of the faith or Imām designated as the foundation of the Imāmate, the very heart of Shī'ism, and that his designated successors, are the true Imāms, the only valid, albeit rejected and persecuted, leaders of all Muslims.¹⁰

Most of all, they consider 'Alī as the manifestation of the divine on earth. 'Alī is acknowledged as the *ṣaḥib-i risala*, the repository of the Prophet's knowledge, he is the revealer of the "esoteric" Qur'ān, the sole gate to the spiritual exegesis (*ta'wīl*) of the Holy Book,¹¹ a conviction upheld by Shī'ī theologians until today, while the Prophet Muḥammad is considered the *naṭiq-i risala*, the mouthpiece of the Qur'ān. In other words, the Prophet is seen as the vehicle by which the *zāhir* (that is the "external" or literal) Qur'ān became manifest to humanity, whereas 'Alī personifies a certain *bāṭin* (the inner or esoteric levels of correct interpretation of the verses of the Qur'ān) the allegorical or hidden aspect of the divine. In mystical exegesis the terms are employed to differentiate between the esoteric and exoteric aspects of religious knowledge conveyed through the sayings and deeds of 'Alī. The *bāṭin* aspect is accessed via spiritual hermeneutics, *ta'wīl*, an interpretive process that also applies allegory and symbolism to the scriptural text. According to *ḥadīth* reports (traditions attributed to Muḥammad and his followers), the Prophet said: "I am the City of Knowledge and 'Alī is its Gate; one cannot enter a city without passing through the gate."¹²

In this way "Muḥammad and 'Alī" are seen as special manifestations of the same divine reality, reflected by the fact that in everyday parlance the names of Muḥammad and 'Alī are never separated but articulated as one syntactic unit and one name: Muḥammad-'Alī.¹³ While Muḥammad personifies manifest law (Ar. *sharī'a*), 'Alī is regarded as the *ṭarīqa* that in Muslim mysticism denotes the way which guides the *dervish* from the

sharī'a to the divine reality (Ar. *ḥaqīqa*), that is to Allāh Himself (*al-Ḥaqq*). In Bektāši visual culture the trinity Allāh-Muḥammad-ʿAlī is of singular importance, forming a unified reality manifesting one and the same truth (*ḥaqīqa*). The potential for truth and perfection is present in every human being since Allāh (that is Muḥammad-ʿAlī) is present in all beings, in every animate and inanimate object.¹⁴

Veneration of ʿAlī

Aspects of this belief are represented in a coloured print which miraculously survived the socialist regime and the 1992–1995 war in Bosnia-Herzegovina between Serbian and Croatian nationalists and Muslim Bosnians. The calligraphy, which represents the Bektāši creed and images from ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib's life,¹⁵ is now housed in the oldest and most important Naqshbandī *tekke* (Alb. *teqe*, *dervish* gathering place) of Bosnia-Herzegovina and perhaps southeastern Europe, located Živčići/Vukeljići near Fojnica in central Bosnia (Fig. 1). Owing to its remote location the *tekke* has not been destroyed during the war.

A Bektāši expression of piety *par excellence*, the calligraphic form allows for a deeper reflection of ʿAlī's true qualities and his intimate relationship with the divine. It consists of epigraphic and figurative elements in mirror-image halves, a symbolic reference to both the *zāhir* and the *bāṭin* aspects of being. The name of ʿAlī is written at the centre in bold letters in the so-called "doubled"-style, alluding to the central credo of Bektāšiism: ʿAlī is Allāh.¹⁶ The divine presence in the human face is evidenced by the shape of the letter ʿayn which follows the contours of the human eye whereas the eyes represent ʿAlī's two sons through Muḥammad's daughter Fāṭima, Ḥasan, the second Shīʿī Imām (the right eye) and Ḥusayn, the third Shīʿī Imām and Karbalā martyr (the left eye).¹⁷ At the centre of the image is a depiction of a large symbolic stone, often fashioned of nephrite, carved with twelve flutings, which is presented to the *dervish* at the end of his discipleship and which he subsequently wears around the neck suspended on a fine cord. The prominent position underlines the pre-eminent place this symbol holds in Bektāši iconographic language. Known as "the stone of surrender" (*teslīm tāš*),¹⁸ it symbolises the union of human individuality with the eternal truth and of the abandonment of human individuality in the eternal truth that is the unity of Allāh, Muḥammad and ʿAlī.¹⁹

The visual discourse presents two well-known occurrences in ‘Alī’s life also rendered in mirror-image composition (that is reflected across a vertical axis). The first incident in the upper section features a veiled figure leading a camel with a coffin. It illustrates the well-known Shī‘ite legend according to which ‘Alī not only predicted his own death but is visually presented as carrying his own corpse in a coffin mounted on a camel to the place of his tomb.²⁰ According to Bektāšī tradition, ‘Alī told his two sons, Ḥasan and Ḥusayn, that when he died a veiled man would come to their house, would load his coffin on a camel and lead it away for burial. Under no circumstances were his sons to follow the veiled man or question him. When ‘Alī’s predictions came indeed true, Ḥasan and Ḥusayn could not refrain from asking about the man’s identity. The stranger lifted his veil and revealed his face: it was their father ‘Alī, miraculously carrying his own body to its grave.²¹ The story not only confirms ‘Alī’s divinely-inspired, miraculous powers but also shows him as the ultimate “seer,” who foretells and enacts his own death for his sons.

The second depiction featured in the lower section relates to his metamorphosis into a lion (*al-ḥaydar*), or more precisely the victorious lion of God (*al-asad Allāh al-ghālib*), also known as “the impetuous lion” (*al-ḥaydar al-karrār*).²² The bilaterally symmetrical arrangement in mirror image shows a lion *couchant* (representing ‘Alī) wrestling with a serpent, alluding to the transformation of the mythical warrior into a spiritual warrior (*fātā*). The combat which takes place on an external mythical ground – symbolised by the lion’s fight with the serpent – can on another level be considered an individual and a collective moral and spiritual struggle (*jihād*) against one’s lower self or temptation, a process which was deemed to be more meritorious than physical struggle.²³

‘Alī ibn Abī Tālib’s legendary double-bladed or double-pointed sword Dhu’l-faḡār, a symbol of his unparalleled valour on the battlefield, carried next to the coffin on the back of the camel also became an integral element of the calligraphy. Its shape is repeated in the Arabic letter *alif* and *yā*. The *lām-alif*, considered a single letter, is often compared to the sword of ‘Alī.²⁴ In this depiction it is vertically flanked by the bifurcating Dhu’l-faḡār while the letter *yā* is horizontally extended to form the Dhu’l-faḡār below, which surmounts the lions *couchant* with serpents. According to some sources, ‘Alī’s most recognisable symbol, his “miraculous sword,” Dhu’l-faḡār, was obtained by Muḥammad as booty of the critical Battle of Badr (2/623-4) and presented to ‘Alī at the Battle of Uḥūd (3/625). As will be shown in what follows, in Bektāšī contemporary visual vocabulary the

sword is still understood as the symbolic representation of 'Alī's supreme power. The tips of the *aliīs* frame a *taxh* (Ar. *tāj*, lit. crown), the headgear of *dervishes*, *bābās* and *dedes*, from which the twelve-fluted *teslīm tās* is suspended on a fine chain.

Shī'a components of Bektāšiism also manifests itself in the birthday celebration of 'Alī on the occasion of the New Year celebration Nawrūz (Sultan Nevruz), the Iranian spring equinox (following the Persian solar calendar),²⁵ which for the Bektāši takes place annually on 22 March. For the order it is a festivity of central importance. The ceremony is now conducted by the present head or *dedebābā* (lit. "great-grandfather," Kryegjysh) of the Bektāšiyya, Hājji Bābā Edmond Brahimaj (Alb. Haxhi Bābā Edmond Brahimaj, popularly known as Bābā Mondi) supported by the leading figures of *dedes* or "grandfathers" (*gjysh*), known as his deputies (Alb. *halife*, Ar. *khalīfa*), and *bābās* at the World Headquarters (Kryegjyshata Botërore) of the Bektāši Community in Tirana, the Mother Teqe of the Bektāši Šūfī Order (*asitāne-i madhe*).

The singular importance of the figure of the first Shī'īte Imām 'Alī is reflected in his imaginary single portrait crowning the entrance of the Bektāši Kryegjyshata Botërore (Fig. 2).²⁶ Whereas in the above-discussed nineteenth-century print, 'Alī is rendered as a completely veiled figure, his unveiled face is here shown on a towering billboard – the monumental size underlining not only his exalted status but also the belief in the representational power of the Imām's portrait.²⁷ Its outline in the form of a *teslīm tās* once again emphasises its centrality in the Bektāši creed.

The building itself is crowned by a large architectural construction in the shape of a *taxh* or clerical headdress, which makes a monumental appearance on most Bektāši *teqes*. Much symbolic significance is attached to this headdress. Known as Hūsaynī Taxh²⁸ in remembrance of Hūsayn ibn 'Alī ibn Abi Talib, grandson of the Prophet Muḥammad and third Shī'īte Imām, the *taxh* made of white felt, is divided into four parts by four folds, symbolising the four spiritual stations of the mystical path (*sharī'a*, manifest law of Islam; *ṭarīqa* (pl. *ṭuruq*), inner way, path, method; *ma'rifa*, mystical intuitive knowledge of spiritual truth; and *haqīqa*, divine reality); these are subdivided by three grooves into twelve gores (*terks*), each commemorating one of the twelve Shī'ī Imāms, starting with 'Alī ibn Abī Ṭalib to Mahdī who went into occultation in 260/874. The central knob on top is in remembrance of the divine reality²⁹ and the green cloth wrapped around the base distinguishes the *taxh* as that of a spiritual guide or master (*murshid*). In like manner, the dodecagonal *teslīm tās* is carved

with twelve points representing the twelve Imāms who provide religious guidance for the community. The shape of both the *taxh* and the *teslīm tās* thus emphasises the close connection with the number twelve and the Twelver Imāms.³⁰ The act of wearing these potent symbols of identification thus communicates a complex set of doctrinal, ritual, devotional and ethical values.

Bālim Sultān (878/1473–925/1519), born at Dimetoka near Edirne in Thrace, to a Christian mother, known to Bektāšī tradition as *pīr thānī*, the “second founder” of the Bektāšīyya is credited with reforming Bektāšī ritual practices and organisational changes in the nature of the order’s bicephalous hierarchy. To him are ascribed the first use of the twelve candles and associated paraphernalia in various rituals and ceremonies, the introduction of the *teslīm tās*, and, most importantly, the establishing of a hierarchy of ranks of the elect (*tē mbërrimët*) and truly initiated at the head of which stood that of the celibate or *myxheret dervish*, who is distinguished by a special pierced earring, the *mengjush*, worn on the right ear.³¹ As evidenced by the present Bektāšī leadership, celibate *bābās* and *dedes* continue to be prominent especially among the Albanian-speaking communities.

As has been shown, ‘Alī is at the very centre of the Bektāšī worldview. His likeness is paramount to convert the sacred presence into an iconographically-related experience. It expresses and transmits remembered emotions transforming the beholder through dealienation, namely through the recognition that he/she participates in a larger social and spiritual context. At the World Headquarters (Kryegjyshata Botërore) of the Bektāšī Community in Tirana, an oil painting on canvas prominently displays a contemporary single portrait of ‘Alī as an enthroned ruler. The tall arch-shaped backrest of the monumental golden throne halo-like frames his head like a diadem resembling the rising sun. ‘Alī is seen as the light given to the believers by God (Qur’ān 57:28) and he is the universal light after the death of the Prophet, which makes him his only legitimate successor.³² He is portrayed with a full long black beard holding a *tasbiḥ*, or rosary, in his right hand³³ and is clad in a red garment in commemoration of his sacrifice and martyrdom at the hands of the Khārijite ‘Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Muljam al-Murādī while praying at the Great Mosque in Kufāh on the 19 Ramaḍān 40/25–26 January 661 providing a prologue to the central martyrdom of his son Ḥusayn (Fig. 3). His green shoes and headdress signify his family relation with the Prophet and underline his authority as a representative of Islam.³⁴ Bejewelled regalia on the white *taxh* mark his

rulership. The portrait is framed by epigraphic inscriptions in Arabic and Persian, once again underlining his pivotal position:

Right side (upper cartouche, with the first part of the Qur'ānic "verse of sincerity," *āyat al-Ikhlāṣ*, 112:3 (underlined), followed by Persian, then the second part of *āyat al-Ikhlāṣ*, 112:3 (underlined), and again Persian)

لَمْ يَلِدْ از مادر کیسی و لَمْ يُولَدْ چو سو

lam yalid az mader kesī wa lam yūld chu sū

He neither begets nor has been born by a mother

(lower cartouche, in Arabic, followed by a quote from *āyat al-Ikhlāṣ*, 112:4 (underlined))

لَمْ يَكُنْ بَعْدِي نَبِيٌّ مِثْلَتْ لَهُ كُفْرًا أَحَدٌ

lam yakun ba'dī nabi mathult lahu kufuwan aḥad

There is no profit after me as nor is there to Him any equivalent

Left side (lower cartouche, in Arabic, Persian and *āyat al-Ikhlāṣ*, 112:1 (underlined))

بَا عَلِيٍّ اسْتِثْبُوتٌ قُلْ هُوَ اللَّهُ أَحَدٌ

ya 'alī ast thubūt qul huwa allahu aḥad

Calling unto 'Alī is the confirmation of say, "He is Allāh, [who is] One,

(upper cartouche, in Persian, followed by Arabic and an *āyat al-Ikhlāṣ*, 112:2, (underlined))

نَامُ تَوْ نَقْشِ نَكِينِ أَمْرِ اللَّهِ الصَّمَدِ

nam to naqshe nigīn amr allāhu al-ṣamad

Your name is the inscription on the stone by the order of Allāh, the Eternal Refuge

Inscription at the bottom (in Arabic)

قَالَ اللَّهُ تَبَارَكَ وَتَعَالَى عَزَّ وَجَلَّ وَلَايَةُ عَلِيٍّ بْنِ أَبِيطَالِبٍ [sic] حَصْنِي فَمَنْ دَخَلَ حَصْنِي أَمِنَ مِنْ عَذَابِي

qala allahu tabarak wa ta'ālā 'azza wa jall wilāyatu 'Alī ibn abī Talb [sic] ḥisnī faman dakhala ḥisnī amina 'adhabī

Allāh said revered and almighty, glorified and sublime be He, 'Alī ibn Abi Talb [sic] is my fortress, he who enters my fortress is safe of my wrath.

The regional *gyjshatë* celebrate the ceremonies of the birthday of ‘Alī on the occasion of Nawrūz on the days following the main ceremony at the Kryegjyshata Botërore in Tirana. The focal point of the ceremonial arrangement is again a closely related large-scale imaginary portrait of the Imām, smiling gently, presented with rays of light around his head marking him as a sanctified figure (Fig. 4).³⁵

Another variation on the same theme is the portrayal of ‘Alī as paragon of virtue with leading figures of the Bektāšiyya. To commemorate the first-year death anniversary of the late leader (Kryegjysh) of the Bektāši *ṭarīqa* and the Muslim Community of Albania (Komuniteti Musliman i Shqipërisë, KMSH), paired billboards were shown throughout Albania featuring the bust of Bābā Ḥajji Dede Reshat Bardhi (Alb. Kryegjshi Bābā Haxhi Dede Reshat Bardhi; 4 March 1935–2 April 2011) on the one side and the conventional portrait of ‘Alī on other side (Fig. 5) suggesting his allegiance to the Imām. It is particularly noteworthy that according to local sources, Bābā Reshat is the first Bektāši who posthumously is named a lion like ‘Alī,³⁶ a eulogy inscribed on his cenotaph in the *tyrbe* at the Bektāši Kryegjyshata Botërore.

Portraits of ‘Alī in three-quarter-profile and with a persistent gaze oriented to the left are found in most Bektāši *tyrbes* exemplified by a woven tapestry featuring an oval medallion with a single-portrait depiction of ‘Alī’s bust and surmounting a cross-over of a pair of confronted Dhu’l-faqārs displayed in the Melčan Tyrbe of Bābā Avdullah Melčan near Korça in southeastern Albania (Fig. 6).

Comparable visual representations of ‘Alī flank, once again, the central portrait of the late Kryegjishi at the *teqe* (*dervish* complex) situated above the cave of the heterodox hero and mystic saint, Šarī Šaltūq (Alb. Sari Salltëk), who is credited with the propagation of Islam in the Balkan peninsula, located at the top of a mountain named after the holy man, Mount Sari Salltëk, in Krujë. To the right, ‘Alī is accompanied by his symbolic effigy, the lion *couchant*.³⁷ In the same *teqe* are further portraits of ‘Alī (Fig. 7),³⁸ one of which shows him in a standing position holding his two-pointed Dhu’l-faqār in front of him with two hands, which in miniature form appears also to the left of his head with radiant rays of light emanating from it. Inscribed to the right of his head is the Prophet’s well-known maxim about ‘Alī as “the perfect exemplar of chivalry,... the greatest warrior of Islamic history, and patron saint of the guides,”³⁹ which also appears on the forked shape of the sword with a Turkish transliteration below:

Lā fatā illā ‘Alī wa / Lā Saif illā Dhu’l-faqār

لا فتى إلا علي لا سيف إلا ذو الفقار

There is no hero but ‘Alī and there is no sword but Zulfikar [Dhu’l-faqār, ‘Alī’s sword]

According to Islamic tradition, a voice is said to have recited the formula when the Prophet Muḥammad gave the sword to ‘Alī.⁴⁰ The fact that the heroism of ‘Alī is cited first (*Lā fatā illā ‘Alī wa*; rather than the second part of the formula, *Lā Saif illā Dhu’l-faqār*) is indicative of the Shī‘īte tradition.⁴¹

We have already had occasion to discuss the ever-present religious veneration of the Imām, once again highlighted at a much revered *maqām* (a memorial place commemorating the saint’s visit) with the footprint of the right foot of Šarī Šaltūq (Fig. 8a):⁴² the only visual representation at this *maqām* is another woven portrait of ‘Alī’s bust from which radiate rays of brilliant light (Fig. 8b). Like most Bektāši structures the construction covering the “blessed object,” located in a small forest between Fushë Krujë and Krujë, was destroyed during communism and rebuilt in the early 1990s.

This particular adoration of ‘Alī in the Bektāši context is of course not necessarily indicative of a Shī‘īte tendency. Indeed, the majority of Šūfī *ṭarīqas* reach Muḥammad via his son-in-law and cousin ‘Alī who is the spiritual authority *par excellence* after the Prophet. The reverence in which the Imām is held by Shī‘ītes and Šūfīs alike rather demonstrates the intimate connection between Shī‘īsm and Šūfīsm (*taṣawwuf*), the “mystical” practice of Islam, characterised by an internalised “esoteric” piety.⁴³ This devotion to the divinity of ‘Alī occupies, as we have seen, a predominant position in Bektāši spirituality; indeed Bektāšīs partake in an active ‘Alīd charisma.

Bektāši rhetoric of display is further informed by portraits of Ḥājī Bektāš, the eponymous reputed founder and patron saint or “first Pīr” of the Bektāšiyya, and Bālim Sultān, the “second Pīr” of the the order, flanking the portrait of ‘Alī at the *teqe* complex of Melan (built c. 1800) located on a mountaintop above the village of Libohovë in the district of Gjirokastër in southern Albania (Fig. 9). Ḥājī Bektāš, a Khurasani Šūfī with ecstatic tendencies, is said to have settled and died in central Anatolia in 738/1337, the *Hijrī* date coincides with the sum of the numerical values of the letters composing the word Bektāšiyya (2+20+400+1+300+10+5).⁴⁴ He is shown to embrace both a bovid, perhaps a gazelle, with his right

arm and a lion with his left arm. According to the principal hagiographical work concerning the saint, the *Wilāyat-nāma*, written in Turkish prose between 886/1481 and 907/1501, Bektāš is presented as a holy man who in the latter part of his life could keep together in peace the lion and the lamb in his “lap,”⁴⁵ because he was close to Allāh.⁴⁶ Representing Bektāši iconography *par excellence*, the depiction seeks to emphasise the saint’s peacebuilding character and his overcoming as well as reconciling all opposites symbolised by his keeping both a ferocious predatory animal and its potential prey in perfect harmony in his arms. It thus implies the dream of eschatological peace involving the idea of a universe of harmony akin to the Christian notion of “the lion [that] will lie down with the lamb” (Isa. 11.6–9). At the same time, it signifies Ḥājī Bektāš’s protection over the Bektāši community.

Veneration of ‘Alī and the Twelve Shī‘ite Imāms

Outside of devotion to ‘Alī, other Shī‘ite inspirations within the Bektāši doctrine include, of course, the veneration of the twelve Shī‘ite Imāms whose role as mediators and intercessors are manifest in Bektāši images and decorative programmes. The special reverence of the latter as spiritual leaders possessing authority and intimacy with God (*walāya*) again reflects Bektāši Twelve Shī‘ite orientation.⁴⁷ The Komuniteti Bektashian Gjyshata e Kosovës Teqeja Gjakovë in Kosovo preserves a colour poster, which in the upper section features two medallions, one with ‘Alī, the other with Ḥājī Bektāš – symbolically and spiritually connecting the Imām with the Bektāši founder and patron saint (Figs. 10 a and b).⁴⁸ The medallions, once again, surmount ‘Alī’s Dhu’l-faqār and the twelve Imāms shown in kneeling position their legs folded under them on animal skin seats (Pers. *pūst* or Turk. *post*, lit. “*pellis*, skin”)⁴⁹ in a V-shaped arrangement. ‘Alī is featured in the central position, across his lap is placed his sword in its sheath which he clasps with both hands. As in the above-discussed example (Fig. 7), the illustration of the monumental Dhu’l-faqār suspended above the twelve Imāms again heralds the same blessed formula with the Turkish transliteration below:

Lā fatā illā ‘Alī wa / Lā Saif illā Dhu’l-faqār

The caption has been considered appropriate to be inscribed on works of art at least since the Islamic medieval period. The potency of the inscription is underlined by the luminous rays that emanate from under the dark clouds symbolising the divine blessing bestowed upon the twelve Imāms and exerting a dramatic effect. This is further emphasised by the ephemeral-looking winged angel, whose head and body are rendered in three-quarter view, facing left, and who extends the right hand towards the central figure, ‘Alī, in a gesture of blessing. Clad in a long white robe, the angel bears a large fluttering red shawl while the head is covered with a brown headscarf (in contrast to the Imāms who are represented with green headscarves) (Figs. 10 a and b). Some early Shī‘ites believed that the Dhu’l-Faqār was brought down from heaven by the archangel Gabriel who bestowed it, together with other sacred relics of the Prophet Muḥammad, as a sign to the Imāms.⁵⁰ Amongst portraits of ‘Alī and Hājī Bektāš at the *tyrbe* of Bābā Ballen in Krujë in northcentral Albania is yet another depiction of the twelve Imāms (Figs. 11 a and b). With the appearance of ‘Alī’s sword, the Dhu’l-faqār, its subliminal aspect is underlined by prominent sunbeams which appear from the dark clouds; the Dhu’l-faqār itself thereby replaces the figure of the angel of the above-mentioned example (Fig. 11 b).

A major source of information on Albanian Bektāši beliefs is the nineteenth-century Bektāši poet Naim Frashëri (25 May 1846–20 October 1900), the great national writer of Albania and activist of the nineteenth-century Albanian nationalist movement whose writings are still widely read by Albanian-speaking Bektāšis today. In his prose he mobilises the anti-Sunnī and openly Shī‘ite orientation of the Bektāši to express opposition to Ottoman domination and to promote a separate (Muslim) Albanian identity thereby trying to transform Bektāši religious doctrine into a vehicle of national aspirations.⁵¹ His aim was to develop an Albanian Bektāši community and to sever ties from the mother *teqe* in Turkey. He thereby hoped that Bektāšiism would develop into the national religion of Albania bridging the differences between the Christian and the Muslim faith (Bektāši *teqes* still serve as places of worship for both Muslims and Christians).⁵²

In his *Fletore e Bektashinjet*, or Bektāši Notebook, published in Bucharest in 1896, he opens with an introductory profession of the Bektāši faith and practice, which includes a statement of the belief in Allāh, in Muḥammad-Ali, the dual form of the ‘Alīd cult, then Khadīja bint Khuwaylid, the Prophet’s first wife, Fāṭima, daughter of Muḥammad and Khadīja, and the Prophet’s only male descendants, the sons of ‘Alī and

Fāṭima, Ḥasan and Ḥusayn. The *teqe* complex named after late Kryegjshi Bābā Haxhi Dede Reshat Bardhi in Sarandë in southern Albania preserves a coloured print with a triple portrait featuring ‘Alī flanked by his two sons, who are both highly venerated as martyrs (Fig. 12).

Next is a proclamation of the belief in the Twelver Imāms. ‘Alī is conceived of as their father and Fāṭima (ca. 12 before *hijrah*/605–11/633) as their mother. Christian prophets such as Moses, Mary and Jesus and their disciples are also acknowledged. The sixth Imām, Abū ‘Abd Allāh Ja‘far ibn Muḥammad al-Šādiq (80/699–700 or 83/702 – 148/765), and Ḥājī Bektāš are the elders in the spiritual “chain” of transmission (Ar. *silsila*) shared by all those initiated into the Bektāši *ṭarīqa* and guaranteeing for the adherents the authenticity of their initiatory filiation:

“All these have said: ‘Do good and abstain from evil.’”

And again:

“Without knowledge and truth and without brotherhood, no man can become a true Bektāši. For the Bektāši, the universe is God himself.”⁵³

Veneration of the *ahl al-bayt*

The pre-eminence of the veneration of the earliest “people of the House [of the Prophet Muḥammad],” *ahl al-bayt* (Alb. *ehl-i beyt*), namely the Prophet, his daughter Fāṭima, her husband ‘Alī, and their two sons, Ḥasan and Ḥusayn, from whom God “removed all impurity” (Qur’ān 33:33),⁵⁴ in the setting of a Bektāši *teqe* is reflected in a contemporary painting at the World Headquarters (Kryegjyshata Botërore) of the Bektāši Community in Tirana (Fig. 13). Popularly often called *aṣḥāb al-kisā*’ (“people of the cloak”) in remembrance of the occasion when Muḥammad enveloped his immediate family with his mantle and recited in 33:33, the belief of the supermundane qualities of the *ehl-i beyt* and the Imāms descended from them forms a core of Bektāši devotion. The close association with the creed is marked by the fact that the holy five are depicted below a small Ḥusaynī Taxh with suspended *teslīm tāš* directly above Fāṭima who is depicted in the centre. As a sign of his martyrdom and triumph, ‘Alī is again clad in a red robe. It is striking that the heads of ‘Alī and Muḥammad are surrounded by disk haloes of green light whereas the heads of young Ḥasan and Ḥusayn, who flank their grandfather and father, are

furnished with tall cusped green haloes. The circular halo ceased to be an attribute of holiness in “official” Islamic visual representations where it was replaced by the flame-halo.⁵⁵ The preference for the round halo in popular iconography might be traced back to the Christian substratum.⁵⁶ ‘Alī and Muḥammad both hold a *tasbiḥ* in their right hand consisting of ninety-nine beads, the number of the “Beautiful names of Allāh.” The two brothers kneel, resting on their lower legs, with their arms folded across their breasts, their hands pointing towards their shoulders in a posture signifying abject humility. Ten small angels carrying wreaths float in the interstices between the family members. The ideal locus of authority and salvation in worldly and spiritual matters, the *ehli beyt* are seen as perfect leaders of the community. The special reverence in which the holy five are held by the Bektāši is reflected in a closely comparable painting of the latter depicted next to portraits of ‘Alī and Ḥājī Bektāš again cradling a small bovid and a lion at the Shemimi Bābā Teqe and the *tyrbe* of Bābā Selim Kaliçani from Kosovo in Fushë Krujë (rebuilt in 1991) (Fig. 14). The male members are, once more, represented with closely comparable haloes (the round haloes around the heads of ‘Alī and Muḥammad are yellow-coloured) and flanked by eight small angels carrying wreaths that hover in the interstitial areas between the shoulders of the family members, two of which frame the twelve-gore *taxh* above the head of Fāṭima at the centre distinguishing it as a powerful visual symbol.⁵⁷

The main visual reference in the *maydān* (*meydan*), the congregational chamber reserved for the performance of the primary devotional ritual of the *ayin-i xhem*, the “essence of union,” is yet another monumental colour poster of the *ehli beyt* at the Bektāši *teqe* in Kičevo in Macedonia, headed by Ejup Bābā. We have already had occasion to observe that in Bektāšiism the reverence for the divinely ordained, infallible twelve Imāms (who stem from the Prophet’s family, starting with ‘Alī, the first in a series of twelve) takes on many symbolic forms. The material manifestation of their sacred presence is also reflected in the “throne of Muḥammad” or *takht-i Muḥammad*, a three-step wooden structure, on which twelve candles symbolising the twelve Imāms are arranged in groups of four. A further candle with three wicks is placed either on the first step or on the ground in front of it. Known as *birlik çirag*, “the candle of Unity,” or *kanun çirag*, “the candle of the Law,” it is likewise an important element in the *çirag ayini* or “ceremonies of light,” in which verse 35 of Sūrat al-Nūr (Qur’ān 24) plays an essential role.⁵⁸ Also placed in front of this display of devotional piety is a twelve-fluted *teslīm tāš* (see Figs. 1 and 2).

Centrality of the Karbalā Narrative Expressions

Notably, next to the poster of the *ehli beyt* surmounting the *takht-i Muḥammad* is an emblematic depiction of a final scene of the seventh-century Karbalā tragedy, the Qerbelaja, one of the founding myths of Shī'ism, which in retrospect was to become one of the greatest battles in the history of mankind. The representation mnemonically evokes the combat during which Ḥusayn's heavily outnumbered and underequipped forces comprising his family and seventy-two men were placed under siege in the desert of Karbalā close to Kūfah in southern Iraq and were denied access to water (to the Euphrates River, their only aqueous source) – an inversion of Ḥasan's murder which occurred ten years earlier by poisoned water. All but two of Ḥusayn's men were slain mercilessly in defence of the true Islam on the battlefield at noon on Friday on the tenth of Muḥarram ('Āshurā') 61/31 May 680 by the Sunnī oppressors. The Imām was decapitated and the women were taken prisoner.

Albanian Bektāšis put particular emphasis on keeping alive the memory of Ḥusayn's noble battle, sacrifice and violent death and that of the other Karbalā fighters through a plethora of dramatic visual depictions and mnemonic devices to visually empathise with the agony of scorching heat, thirst and hunger experienced by the wounded martyrs, imagine, re-enact and thereby ritually commemorate the epic tradition.

Naim Frashëri's long poem *Qerbelaja*,⁵⁹ which contains twenty-five sections, remains one of the most recited and chanted poems in Albania today. Importantly, he tries to transform this Shī'ite theme of suffering and redemption into a national Albanian theme:⁶⁰

*O vëllezrë shqiptarë!
Pa qasuni duke qarë,
Dhe mbani zi këtë ditë,
T'u xbresë nga Zoti dritë.
Pa kujtoni Qerbelanë!*

O brother Albanians!
Come closer while crying
And mourn this death
So the light from the Lord comes [up]on you.
Remember Karbalā!

The *Qerbelaja* recounts in great detail Ḥusayn's rebellion, the divinely pre-ordained nature of his final death and ultimate triumph being understood as an epic struggle between good and evil. An equestrian portrait, well-known from an Iranian as well as Turkish context, features a single episodic design with the archetypal martyr, son of 'Alī and grandson of the Prophet, in full armour holding a spear in his right hand mounted on his white stallion, Dhu'l-janāḥ, overlooking the battle scene during the last hours of 'Āshurā' in the desert of Karbalā (Fig. 15).⁶¹

Another *maydān* in the same *teqe* – also reserved for liturgical meetings – has a similar *takht-i Muḥammad* at the far end of the hall. It is topped by yet another painting of the twelve Imāms rendered in a near-identical configuration and crested by two circular medallions in the upper corner, once again, enclosing portraits of 'Alī and Ḥājī Bektāš (Figs. 16 a and b). The former are surmounted by another angel descended from heaven (closely comparable to the one that hovered above the twelve Imāms in the poster discussed earlier, Figs. 10 a and b) who with his right hand gestures towards 'Alī's monumental two-bladed sword, the Dhu'l-faqār. The composition surmounts again the same potent Arabic inscription on the sword with its Turkish transliteration below.

Considered to be the most sacred place of the Bektāši Community reserved only for the initiated, the *maydān* at the Kryegjiyshata Botërore in Tirana has a similar *takht-i Muḥammad* with the twelve candles (Fig. 17). A closely related arrangement is found in the *maydān* of the Komuniteti Bektashian Gjyshata e Kosovës Teqeja Gjakovë featuring a central *takht-i Muḥammad* again with the lights alluding to the twelver Imāms (Fig. 18).

As mentioned above, the Gjakovë *teqe* complex – that had been established in 1204/1790 and was known for its substantial library – was allegedly deliberately targeted and completely destroyed by Serb extremists in the spring of 1999. This necessarily presents a *terminus post quem* for the dating of the liturgical objects and the pictorial programme at the *teqe*. The main entrance of the *teqe* is dominated by a dramatic large-scale contemporary visual narration commemorating the physical suffering and painful death of Ḥusayn and the other heroes at the historical Battle of Karbalā, the *Qerbelaja*, symbolising his heroic struggle against religious tyranny and corruption (Fig. 19). The battle scene shows the pre-eminent infallible Imām on his white horse, Dhu'l-janāḥ, attacking a mounted enemy soldier with his spear. The walls of the assembly hall of the same *teqe* once again show posters of the repertoire of other well-known episodes of this overarching and paradigmatic story of existential tragedy,

the most common pictorial representation in contemporary Bektāšī visual culture, creating a visual cognitive-emotional framework for the spiritual experience of the devotees. The most important season in the Bektāšī calendar are the first ten days of Muḥarram, the first month of the Islamic calendar, during which an annual period of fasting and abstinence, the *matem* (Ar. *ma'tam*; the memorial services in honour of Ḥusayn's tragic martyrdom at Karbalā at the beginning of the Muḥarram month; lit. "bereavement") is observed in rituals of remembrance and celebration. For the Bektāšī this replaces the obligatory annual fasting during the month of Ramaḍān observed by Muslims worldwide, regarded as one of the Five Pillars of Islam.

During the *matem* the *bābās*, *dervishes* and devotees fast and meditate as they memorialise accounts of Ḥusayn's martyrdom and the thirst he suffered in the desert of Karbalā by drinking no pure water (only water mixed with drops of tea or coffee) and by eating no meat or food which contains animal fat. They visually celebrate and continue to re-enact Ḥusayn's *passio* – a formalised communal ritual which, as in much of the Shī'ite world, is pietistic and didactic in character. Visual signs as pictorial representation of the latter are called forth during the devotional practice, deploying a rhetoric of immediacy, longing and fervour which solicits an empathetic response that allows for a communal identification with the Imām's patient suffering, persecution and martyrdom and a concomitant emulation of some of his virtues. In like manner as in the dramatic Iranian *ta'zīya* performances (the ritual of mourning for Ḥusayn), the task is to transform and articulate his pathos and agony into a sensation of both lamentation and compassion – a suffering with – merging with that of the devotees' and thereby removing or mitigating it. In so doing the material and spiritual realms overlap and form a single continuum. By thereby tapping into the "collective memory" and salvation history of the Bektāšī community, the idea of martyrdom and the "redemptive nature" of suffering creates community among the devout believers.⁶² The ten- or twelve-day period culminates in special mourning observances on the tenth day of the ritual commemoration of 'Āshurā' (the date of Ḥusayn's death)⁶³ marked with a special 'Āshurā' (pudding) made of cracked wheat, sugar, dried fruit, crushed nuts and cinnamon.

In the *tyrbe* of the *teqe* this affection is expressed by portraits of 'Alī, Ḥusayn and Ḥājī Bektāš surmounting yet further depictions of the Qerbelaja with Dhu'l-janāḥ, Ḥusayn's wounded horse, returning on its own to the tents of Ḥusayn's mourning female family members after the Imām's

martyrdom (Fig. 20).⁶⁴ The same scene is prominently displayed in the Kryegjyshata Botërore in Tirana. A powerful iconography for his martyred master, the white stallion carrying an empty saddle, blood flowing from its wounds, stands in profile with its head bent down towards a kneeling woman with a cloth pulled over her head in a sign of mourning, her hands stretched towards the horse's hooves. This iconic scene of the aftermath of the battle is set against a row of white tents with wailing women covered with white face scarves, clad in long garments, and their children.⁶⁵

Veneration of 'Abbās ibn 'Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib

In this connection, it is worthwhile to consider a representation with the heroic triple portraiture of 'Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib, 'Abbās ibn 'Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib and Ḥusayn ibn 'Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib (Fig. 21).⁶⁶ The same poster is kept both at the Arabati Bābā Teqe in Tetovë in Macedonia and the *teqe* complex of the late Kryegjshi Bābā Haxhi Dede Reshat Bardhi in Sarandë in southern Albania. The figure of 'Abbās ibn 'Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib (Alb. Abaz 'Alīu), Imām Ḥusayn's half-brother and standard-bearer of his army at the Battle of Karbalā, coagulates into a particularly symbolic figure and is of great spiritual importance to the Bektāši. Regarded as Ḥusayn's most faithful supporter and friend, he is one of the most popular Shī'ī intercessors (Fig. 22). The idealised portrait of the armoured warrior whose hands were cut off during the Battle of Karbalā at the order of the Umayyad commander and who was finally slain when he tried to procure water from the Euphrates, represents another variation on the theme of redemptive suffering. The green cloth wrapped around his helmet topped by two feathers characterises him as a member of the Prophet's family and the rays of light around his head indicate his sanctity. The bleeding wound on his forehead, his tearful eyes and his chapped lips foreshadow his impending martyrdom. In an act of visual piety, his image transfigures into a solemn corporeal gaze eliciting a powerful visceral response in the beholder. The poster is, again, well-known from a Twelver Shī'a context and is widely dispersed in Iran.⁶⁷

In a depiction from a leaflet distributed at the Kryegjyshata Botërore in Tirana, the *asitāne-i madhe*, dated 22 August 2010, we see Abbaz 'Alīu set against a large portrait of his half-brother 'Alī (Fig. 23). In another depiction of Abbaz 'Alīu, his face is concealed by a luminous light reflecting his radiating luminous essence (Fig. 24).⁶⁸

His *maqām*, said to have been constructed in 1029/1620, is located on the southern summit of Mount Tomor.⁶⁹ One of the highest peaks in southern Albania and the most sacred mountain of the Bektāši community, the locality is in itself an intrinsic symbol of Bektāši identity. The ritual commemoration of the martyrdom of Abbaz ‘Alīu, which takes place each year from 20 to 25 August, brings together many thousands of faithful members of the community from all parts of Albania and beyond. They make the pilgrimage to Abbaz ‘Alīu’s *maqām* with accompanying feast and *kurban* (Ar. *qurbān*, propitiatory animal sacrifice) to commemorate his martyrdom.

According to Bektāši tradition, the latter once came to Albania on his white horse to save the country from the barbarians, whence he is said to have spent those five days in August on Mount Tomor.⁷⁰ His annual return to the sacred mountain during this period bestows additional blessings upon the pilgrimage. An inscription on the outer walls of Abbaz ‘Alīu’s octagonal commemorative tomb quotes Naim Frashëri’s poem *Luletë e Verësë* (Flowers of the Summer, published in Bucharest in 1890) transmitting and memorialising the Bektāši cultural myth:⁷¹

*Abbaz Aliu zu Tomorë /
Erdhi afër nesh /
Shqipërija s’mbet e gjorë /
Se Zoti desh.*

Abbas ‘Alī took over Tomor /
He came to live with us /
Albania was no longer afflicted /
For God came to love it.

Another Bektāši legend records that when Hājī Bektāš saw Christian pilgrims make their annual climb on 15 August, the Assumption Day of the Virgin Mary, to the peak of Mount Tomor, he journeyed to Karbalā to exhume an arm bone from the grave of ‘Abbās ibn ‘Alī and hurled it up to the peak of Mount Tomor in order to consecrate the mountain as ‘Abbās ibn ‘Alī’s second grave.⁷²

The Christian tradition of a pilgrimage to the peak of Mount Tomor is another example of a sacred place having multiple dedications and, most likely, is a vestige of pre-Christian cults. Importantly, Abbaz ‘Alīu is identified with the Christian Saint Elias who is considered immortal. Like

other points in the sacred calendar, the saint's feast day is much older than its name would suggest and associates the prophet with pre-Christian lightning gods. He is also known as "Elias the Thunderer" and, according to legend, is held responsible for summer storms, hail, rain, thunder and dew. At the same time, he is associated with mountaintops.⁷³

This example paradigmatically illustrates, once again, that collective beliefs, ritual practices, ceremonies and representations are often considered to be part of the official religion – Christianity or Islam – of a given local community or social network in Albania. Significantly, these are not only categorised collectively but are appropriated as an "ancestral legacy of traditions and customs."⁷⁴ At the same time, post-communist Bektāši visual representations have an inner dynamics, generated by their need for a politico-religious positioning and for local legitimisation. The decisive national character of the order was fostered in the course of the early 20th century when next to Catholicism, Orthodoxy and Sunnī Islam, Bektāšiism became officially recognised by the Albanian state as fourth legal denominational congregation of the country. During the Ottoman period all Muslims lived under the authority of the Sunnī clergy, and all *Şūfī tañqas* were expected to comply with this reality. But, as noted earlier, in 1920 the Albanian government officially acknowledged the Bektāši Islamic community as being distinct from the larger Sunnī one with the same status as that of the Sunnī Muslims. In a 2012 meeting with Bābā Mondī, he professed a Shī'ī position and clearly associated the Bektāši with the Shī'ī-oriented Alevī community defining the Bektāši as Shī'īte.

Post-communist Bektāšiism in Albania also continues to forge close links with the Islamic Republic of Iran. And although the Bektāšīs are not orthodox Shī'ītes, Iran is very active in supporting them (Fig. 25). Amongst other things, a number of Albanian Bektāšīs reportedly receive grants to undergo Shī'īte theological and religious training in Iran, especially at the Theological Faculty of the Holy City of Qum.⁷⁵ It may be hypothesised that upon their return, they might actively support a rapprochement with the mystical and intellectual forms of orthodox Iranian Twelver Shī'ism.

References common in much Bektāši thought to Shī'īte phenomena facilitate the influx of Iranian Twelver Shī'īte-inspired repertoire of well-known and long-established visual signs, in particular with reference to the wider family of the Prophet and the Qerbelaja tragedy, is quite

prevalent in post-communist Bektāši iconographic language. Especially since the early 1990s, the diffusion of new iconographic types and poster art emanating in particular from Iran and Turkey contributes to a “synchronistic pictorial tradition” understood as congruent and continuous with the valued past, continually reused and adapted and enjoys particular popularity.⁷⁶ In the matrix of Bektāši commemorative ritual practice the immense force of this popular visual piety is mirrored in narrative as well as “condensed” symbolic representations propounding mysteries of another world to aspire to and to live in. And in spite of the rapid change that the Albanian Bektāšiyya has been undergoing in the past two decades, they thus clearly value and safeguard their contemporary visual culture and aesthetic practices as rooted in and continuous with their traditional iconography. For the moment, then, we can conclude that this visual corpus not only reflects the *Zeitgeist* but also actively helps to engender a sense of belonging and identity turning the adherents of the Albanian Bektāšiyya into a larger collective.⁷⁷

PLATES



Fig. 1



Fig. 2



Fig. 3



Fig. 4



Fig. 5



Fig. 6



Fig. 7



Fig. 8a



Fig. 8b



Fig. 9



Fig. 10a



Fig. 10b



Fig. 11a



Fig. 11b



Fig. 12



Fig. 13



Fig. 14



Fig. 15

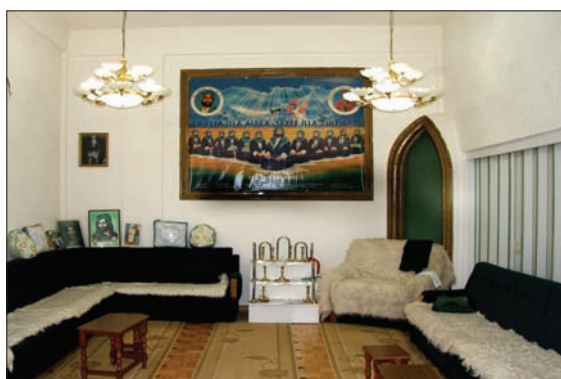


Fig. 16a

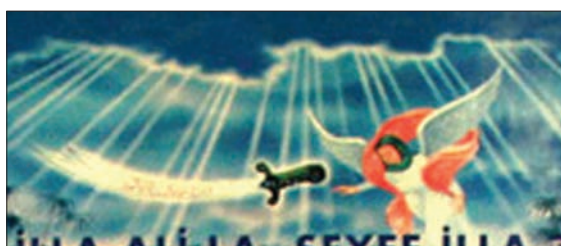


Fig. 16b



Fig. 17



Fig. 18



Fig. 19



Fig. 20



Fig. 21



Fig. 22

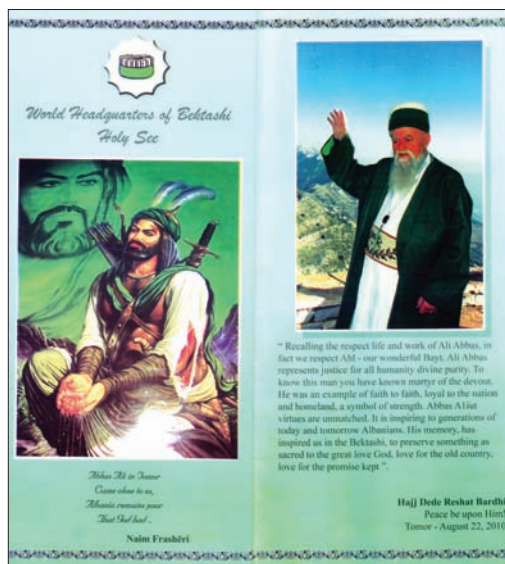


Fig. 23



Fig. 24



Fig. 25

List of Illustrations

Fig. 1

Bektāši creed and images from ‘Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib’s life; coloured print. Naqshbandī *tekke* of Živčići/Vukeljjići near Fojnica, founded in 1781 by Shejh Husejn Bābā Zukić; headed by Shejh Husejn efendi Hadžimejlić. Photograph Sara Kuehn, 2011.

Fig. 2

The portrait of ‘Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib in the form of a *teslīm tāsh*. Nawrūz celebrated as Imām ‘Alī’s birthday; welcoming address by Ḥajji Bābā Edmond Brahimaj (Bābā Mondī), the present leader (Kryegjysh) of the Bektāši order, flanked by Bābā Halil and Dervish Saliu Peti, 22 March 2012, at the World Headquarters of the Bektāši Community in Tirana, the Mother Teqe of the Bektāši Šūfī Order (*asitāne-i madhe*). Photograph Sara Kuehn, 2012.

Fig. 3

Painting of ‘Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib at the World Headquarters of the Bektāši Community in Tirana, the Mother Teqe of the Bektāši Šūfī Order (*asitāne-i madhe*). Photograph Sara Kuehn, 2012.

Fig. 4

Portrait of ‘Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib; Nawrūz ceremony on 24 March 2012 by Ḥajji Bābā Edmond Brahimaj (Bābā Mondī) flanked by Bābā Halil Curri, Bābā Hysniu Shehu and Dervish Abdul Mutalib Beciri at Turan Teqe complex of Korçë, southeastern Albania. Photograph Sara Kuehn, 2012.

Fig. 5

Billboards with portraits of ‘Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib and Grandfather Bābā Ḥajji Dede Reshat Bardhi (Albanian: Kryegjishi Bābā Haxhi Dede Reshat Bardhi) (4 March, 1935–2 April, 2011), the late leader (Kryegjysh) of the Bektāši Order, in front of the Tyrbe of Dede Hasani in Këlçyra, near Përmet, southern Albania. Photograph Sara Kuehn, 2012.

Fig. 6

Portrait of ‘Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib in the Melčan Tyrbe of Bābā Avdullah Melčan near Korçë, southeastern Albania.

Photograph Sara Kuehn, 2012.

Fig. 7

Depiction of ‘Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib at the *teqe* above the cave of the heterodox hero and mystic saint, Šarī Šaltūq, located at the top of Mount Šarī Šaltūq in Krujë, northcentral Albania.

Photograph Sara Kuehn, 2012.

Figs. 8 a and b

a. Footprint of right foot of the heterodox hero and mystic saint, Šarī Šaltūq.

b. Woven portrait of ‘Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib.

at the *maqam* of Šarī Šaltūq located in a small forest between Fushë Krujë and Krujë, northcentral Albania.

Photographs Sara Kuehn, 2012.

Fig. 9

Portraits of ‘Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib (centre), Ḥājī Bektāš Walī, the “first Pīr” of the Bektāšiyya, Bālim Sulṭān (878/1473 to 925/1519), the “second Pīr” of the Bektāšiyya (left), below the Albanian national flag and seated underneath Dervish Myrteza Shehu at the *teqe* complex of Melan (built c. 1800) on a mountaintop above the village of Libohovë in the district of Gjirokastër, southern Albania.

Photograph Sara Kuehn, 2012.

Figs. 10 a and b

Poster with portraits of ‘Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib and Ḥājī Bektāš Walī, surmounting ‘Alī’s legendary two-pointed sword, the Dhu’l-faqār, and the devotional formula

lā fatā ’illā ’alī wa lā saif ’illā dhu’l-faqār

with the twelve Imāms seated below.

Komuniteti Bektashian Gjyshata e Kosovës Teqeja Gjakovë, Đakovica (Gjakovë), Kosovo.

Photographs Sara Kuehn, 2011.

Figs. 11 a and b

a. Portraits of ‘Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib, Ḥājī Bektāš Walī and the twelve Imāms.
b. surmounted by ‘Alī’s legendary two-pointed sword, the *Dhu’l-faḳār*, and the devotional formula

lā fatā ’illā ’alī wa lā saif ’illā dhu’l-faḳār

at the *tyrbe* of Bābā Ballen in Krujë, northcentral Albania.

Photographs Sara Kuehn, 2011.

Fig. 12

Coloured print with ‘Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib flanked by his sons Ḥasan and Ḥusayn at the *teqe* complex of the late Kryegjshi Bābā Haxhi Dede Reshat Bardhi, Sarandë, southern Albania.

Photograph Sara Kuehn, 2012.

Fig. 13

Contemporary painting of the Family of the Prophet (*ahl al-bayt*) the Prophet Muḥammad, ‘Alī, Fāṭima, Ḥasan and Ḥusayn identified by inscriptions at the World Headquarters of the Bektāši Community in Tirana, Albania.

Photograph Sara Kuehn, 2012.

Fig. 14

Rendering of the Family of the Prophet (*ahl al-bayt*), Muḥammad, ‘Alī, Fāṭima, Ḥasan and Ḥusayn, at the Shemimi Bābā Teqe and the Tyrbe of Bābā Selim Kaliçani from Kosovo located in Fushkrujë; rebuilt in 1991.

Photograph Sara Kuehn, 2012.

Fig. 15

Poster with a scene of the Karbalā tragedy (the Qerbelaja) showing Imām Ḥusayn mounted on his white horse, *Dhu’l-janāh*, overlooking the battle scene during the last hours of ‘Āshurā in the desert of Karbalā, at the *teqe’s maydān*, the ceremonial chamber reserved for the performance of the *ayin-i cem* (“congregational ceremony”) in Kičevo, Macedonia, which has ties to the Turkish Bektāši community under Haydar Ercan Dede rather than Tirana; the *teqe* is headed by Ejup Bābā.

Photographs Sara Kuehn, 2011.

Figs. 16 a–b

Poster with portraits of ‘Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib and Ḥājī Bektāš Walī, surmounting ‘Alī’s legendary two-pointed sword, the Dhu’l-faḳār, and the devotional formula

lā fatā ’illā ‘alī wa lā saif ’illā dhu’l-faḳār

with the twelve Imāms seated below; at the *teqe*’s second *maydān*, Kičevo, Macedonia.

Photographs Sara Kuehn, 2011.

Fig. 17

The *maydān* with the *takht-i Muḥammad* with twelve candles referring to the twelve Imāms at the World Headquarters of the Bektāš Community in Tirana, the Mother Teqe of the Bektāši Šūfī Order (*asitāne-i madhe*).

Photographs Sara Kuehn, 2012.

Fig. 18

The *maydān* with the *takht-i Muḥammad* with twelve candles of the Komuniteti Bektashian Gjyshata e Kosovës Teqeja Gjakovë, Đakovica (Gjakovë), Kosovo; the complex was completely destroyed during the 1998–99 war and has since been rebuilt.

Photographs Sara Kuehn, 2011.

Fig. 19

Contemporary painting commemorating the martyrdom Imām Husayn, Komuniteti Bektashian Gjyshata e Kosovës Teqeja Gjakovë, Đakovica (Gjakovë), Kosovo.

Photograph Sara Kuehn, 2011.

Fig. 20

Poster with scenes of the Karbalā tragedy with Dhu’l-janāh, Imām Ḥusayn’s horse, returning to the tents of the family of Ḥusayn after the Imām’s martyrdom, Komuniteti Bektashian Gjyshata e Kosovës Teqeja Gjakovë, Đakovica (Gjakovë), Kosovo.

Photographs Sara Kuehn, 2011.

Fig. 21

Poster with the portraits of ‘Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib, ‘Abbās ibn ‘Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib and Imām Ḥusayn. The same poster is displayed in the Arabati Bābā Teqe in Tetovë, Macedonia, and in the *teqe* complex of the late Kryegjshi Bābā Haxhi Dede Reshat Bardhi, Sarandë, southern Albania.

Photograph Sara Kuehn, 2011.

Fig. 22

Poster with the portrait of ‘Abbās ibn ‘Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib, Imām Ḥusayn’s half-brother and standard-bearer of his army, Arabati Bābā Teqe in Tetovë, Macedonia.

Photograph Sara Kuehn, 2011.

Fig. 23

Leaflet with the portrait of ‘Abbās ibn ‘Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib set against a large portrait of his half-brother ‘Alī, and that of the late Kryegjshi Bābā Haxhi Dede Reshat Bardhi, dated 22 August, 2010, distributed at the World Headquarters of the Bektāši Community in Tirana.

Fig. 24

Portrait of ‘Abbās ibn ‘Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib, his face is concealed by a luminous light reflecting his radiating luminous essence; World Headquarters of the Bektāši Community in Tirana.

Fig. 25

Ḥajji Bābā Edmond Brahimaj (Bābā Mondī) with the Iranian ambassador in Tirana, Mr Ali Amouei at the World Headquarters of the Bektāši Community in Tirana, the Mother Teqe of the Bektāši Şūfī Order (*asitāne-i madhe*).

Photograph Sara Kuehn, 2012.

NOTES

Acknowledgments. Fieldwork conducted in the Western Balkans and in Albania between 2011 and 2013 was supported by the Österreichische Forschungsgemeinschaft (Austrian Research Foundation).

- ¹ The term was coined by Morgan's 1998 study of popular devotional images in contemporary American lives and communities.
- ² The Shī'īte component of post-Ottoman Alevīs and Bektāšīs in the Balkans has recently been addressed by Stoyanov 2012, 170–209, and *idem* 2013, 163–187, and of the Alevīs in Turkey by Shankland 2012, 210–228. For an investigation of parallels between the Bektāšiyya and *lthnā 'asharī Shī'a*, see Norton 2001, 168–200; also Vorhoff 1998, 23–50. In this context it is of special interest to follow the on-going discourse, brought forward by Yuri Stoyanov (2012, 192 and n. 76), about Ismā'īlī (Sevener Shī'īte) aspects in Bektāši and other Anatolian heterodox groups (Kizilbaş) beliefs and sacred architecture in the eastern Balkans. On the historical bipartite development of Bektāši and Kizilbaş, see Mélikoff 1998, 1–7.
- ³ The Albanian Bektāšiyya is divided into six *gjyshatë* or administrations with centres in Fushë Krujë (covering Krujë), as well as Vlorë, Gjirokastër, Berat, Elbasan, Korçë, while the seventh is in Macedonia's Tetovë. The *teqes* in Shkodër, Durrës, Kukës, Pejë, Gjakovë and Bulqizë are self-administered.
- ⁴ Birge 1937, 56–58.
- ⁵ The Islamic calendar, dating from Muḥammad's *hijrah* or emigration, of AD 622, is a lunar one which every year is about eleven days shorter than the Julian and Gregorian solar year. In this study, when two dates are given, the first is the Islamic, or *Hijrī*, year, and the second the Western, Christian (or Common Era, CE), year.
- ⁶ Hasluck, M. 1925; Kressing 2002, 77–78, 83; Birge 1937, 15; Elsie 2001, 27.
- ⁷ Bartl 1993, 595; Lakshman-Lepain 2002, 39–41.
- ⁸ For a discussion of the post-Ottoman period, see Clayer 1990 and *eadem* 1996.
- ⁹ Albania's Bektāši disciples follow the four-level initiation structure as set up by Bālim Sultān in the sixteenth century comprising the *muhib* (Ar. *muḥibb*, believer, also meaning "lover"), the *dervish*, the *bābā* (father) and the *dede* or *gjysh* (grandfather), while at the top of the Bektāši community stands the Kryegjyshi. Each of the four levels requires a preparatory period of at least three years followed by an initiation ceremony. *Dervishes* are expected to leave their family and professional life and live in the *teqe*.
- ¹⁰ Cf. Ayub 1978, 53–68.
- ¹¹ See, for instance, issues in the Iranian journal *Message of Thaqaalayn*, edited by the *Ahl al-Bayt World Assembly* in Tehran, 1423/2003, vol. 7,

no. 4; 'Alī Akbar Rostami, "Exegesis of the Qur'ān – the Heritage of the Ahl al-Bayt," 57–9; Ahmad Turābī, "Imam 'Alī, the Source of Authentic Qur'ānic Knowledge," 89–91, or Muhammad Bāqir Hujjatī, "Imam 'Alī, the First Compiler of the Holy Qur'ān," 105–7; cited after Brunner 2005, 346 and n. 143.

¹² Birge 1937, 173–174.

¹³ For Bektāši amulets composed from the written names of Muḥammad and 'Alī, see Schimmel 1984, 110. Cf. Birge 1937, 132–134; de Jong 1989, 8; Trix 1996, 205.

¹⁴ This is further confirmed by essential traditions, in particular that of the Prophet Muḥammad attending the Banquet of the Forty which took place during his Night Journey (Ar. Lailat al-Mi'rāj). He is received to that Banquet by Imām 'Alī whom he does not recognise at first because he is the divine 'Alī. Muḥammad drinks of the juice of the grapes brought by the spiritual presence of Salman al-Pārisī/Salmān-i Pāk, the aid and companion of 'Alī, and joins the sacred dance of the community. Through the presence of the Prophet at that ceremony, the Bektāšiyya maintains a connection with part of the Islamic world. For an exploration of this see tradition, see De Jong 1989, 9–10; Melikoff 2001, 97–120.

¹⁵ For a comparable print, see de Jong 1989, 24, pl. 8; *idem* 1992, 230, fig. 11.1; Shani 2012, 135, fig. 56.

¹⁶ Cf. *idem* 1989, 12; Trix 1996, 205. On mirror-image calligraphy in Turkish art, see Avcı 1977, 20–33.

¹⁷ Cf. de Jong 1989, 12; Trix 1996, 205–206. For the historical background on Ḥasan and Ḥusayn and their role in Shī'ī piety, see Ayub 1978, esp. 37–140.

¹⁸ The word for (spiritual) surrender or submission (*teslīm*) is built on the Arabic root "s-l-m" that underlies the Arabic term *islām*, literally, submission (to God), and associates it also with one of the most famous Ṣūfī *ḥadīths*, "Die before you die," implying a metaphorical death to the concerns of the material world through the reigning in of the concupiscent desires of the self before the physical death; to achieve "death before dying" was to attain spiritual union with the divine. See also Karamustafa 1994, 21, 41. In the same vein, the button on the Bektāši cap symbolises a "human head," since the Bektāšīs are often glossed as "the beheaded dead people," cf. Karamustafa 1993, 124. For a discussion of the motif of the beheaded saint, see Ocak 1989, 75–80.

¹⁹ Brown 1868, 180–181.

²⁰ Muslims hold different views on the use of figurative representations, especially in the context of religious practice. Adherents to the Shī'ī, in particular, look back at a long history of producing figurative imagery with themes from the Shī'a hagiography to be used in a religious context. See Flakerud 2010, 2; Khosronejad 2012, 1–24, esp. 9, 12.

²¹ Ergun 1944, vol. 3, 35, cited after *idem*, 8. Cf. Ocak 2005, 272.

- 22 Cf. Schimmel 1994, 23; Shani 2012, 122–158; Suleman 2012, 215–232; Zarcone 2012, 104–121.
- 23 Emphasis on freedom from temptations though control of one's sexual instincts is a prescription of Bektāši (and Alevī, a religious group within Twelver Shī'ī Islam characterised by elements of the Bektāšiyya) ethics as stated in the *adab* or precept, "Be in control of your hand, your tongue and your loins," that is adherence to truth, honesty and chastity.
- 24 Schimmel 1975, 419; Aksel, 1967, 49, 61, 124–125.
- 25 Cf. Birge 1937, 219–231.
- 26 Cf. a contemporary portrait of Imām 'Alī depicted at the mausoleum of the Imāmzāde Šāh-i Zaid in Kirmān, Iran, Newid 2006, 186, fig. C8 and a contemporary poster, Puin 2008, vol. 3, 866, fig. H-2, and 879, fig. H-11.
- 27 As has been conclusively shown by Ingvild Flakerud (2010, 21–31), prototypical models of imaginary portraiture have been coined in nineteenth-century Iran.
- 28 The Ḥusaynī Taxh of the Bektāši *dervishes* is thought to have been inspired by the hat of the Turkish Janissaries, both featuring twelve gores. See Birge 1937, 37, 46, 50–1, 232–3, and ill. on 28, 236.
- 29 Trix 1996, 196–197.
- 30 For the importance of the number twelve in Bektāšiism, see Müller 1967, 40–41, 43, 45.
- 31 In contradistinction to Islamic tradition which discourages the practice of celibacy, Bālim Sulṭān is considered to have institutionalised the Mucerrid branch into the order that advocates the permanent status of celibacy (Alb. *beqaria*, Turk. *müceritlik*) for the highest adepts of the Bektāšiyya, which has its roots in the antinomian piety of the later medieval period. Karamustafa 1993, 121–129; Algar, "Bektāšiya," *Elr.* Cf. Hasluck, F. 1929, vol. 1, 152–164; de Jong 1989, 7–8; Bashir 2007, 133–150, esp. 134, 143–144.
- 32 Rubin 1975, 41, 67. For a discussion of Šūfī concepts of "light" in medieval Islam, see the important monograph of Rosenthal 1970, 157–9.
- 33 For its use by the Bektāšis, see Birge 1937, 235 and plate 10. There is evidence for the *tasbīḥ* having been used at first in Šūfī circles, see Goldziher 1890, 295–300, esp. 296. Cf. Venzlaff 1985.
- 34 According to Shī'īte tradition, the primordial essence of the *ahl al-bayt* as the first creation is sometimes described as dwelling within shadows of a green colour; the Prophet and his family are, moreover, said to have been created as green shadows from the light of God; Rubin 1975, 101. See also Flakerud 2010, 45.
- 35 For closely related depictions, see Puin 2008, vol. 3, 881, H-13, and 896, H-27b.
- 36 Personal communication.
- 37 For a comparable depiction of 'Alī holding his Dhu'l-faḡār with a recumbent lion at his feet, Iran, twentieth century, see Suleman 2012, 219, fig. 84.

- 38 For a near-identical depiction, see Puin 2008, vol. 3, 877, H-9.
- 39 Murata 2001, 267. Literature on classical Islamic *futuwwa* or *fatā* (Pers. *javānmardī*) ideals, whose aim was to promote a code of chivalry or young-manliness, which was quite widespread in Islamic societies (especially during the late medieval period), underlines the tradition about ‘Alī as the ideal chevalier (*fatā*) (see Yildirim 2013, 53–70, esp. 55, 58), but does not link it with the devotional formula (*idem*, 66).
- 40 Ṭabarī, I, 3, 1359, 1402, cited by Calmard, “Ḍu’l-Faqār,” *Elr*.
- 41 Bal‘amī, ed. Rowshan, III, 169, cited by Calmard, “Ḍu’l-Faqār,” *Elr*.
- 42 See Hasluck, F. 1912/1913, 207, 212; *idem* 1914/1915–1915/1916, 66–67; *idem* 1929, vol. 2, 435. For a general discussion of the phenomenon, see Schimmel 1994, 2–3, 182–183. For discourse on the footprints of the Prophet Muḥammad (*qadam al-rasūl* or *qadam al-sharīf*), see Hasluck, F. 1929, vol. 1, 185–187, vol. 2, 609. For further expositions of the footprints of the Prophet – perhaps the most important one being sheltered by the Dome of the Rock (constructed by ‘Abd al-Mālik (r. 685–705) in 691) on Mount Moriah in Jerusalem, see Hasan 1993, 335–343 and Gruber 2013, 297–307. On the Prophet’s footprint in the Indian subcontinent, see Hasan, “Kadam Rasul,” *Banglapedia*, and Welch 1993, 166–178. Footprints of other prophets such as Adam, Abraham, Moses and Aaron were linked to the religious practice of pilgrimage to Mecca (*ḥajj*) and shrine visitation or “minor” pilgrimages (*ziyārāt*). The legend of Adam’s footprint is first mentioned in the in the geographical literature of the Islamic medieval period, the anonymous *Akhbār al-Ṣīn wa-l-Hind*, ed. J. Sauvaget, 1948, 5, and Mas‘ūdī, *Kitāb munāj al-dhahab*, ed. C.B. de Meynard, P. de Courteille 1861, 60. The place on earth on which Adam was cast down after the Fall is said to be marked by his seventy-cubit wide footprint on top of a mountain called “al-Ruhūn” (a name of Sanskrit origin, also called Samanoḷa rock) on the island of Ceylon or Sarandīb (in present-day south central Sri Lanka, also referred to as Samantakūṭa or Sri Pāda), which is still visible; see Skeen 1870, esp. 58; Strong 2004, 89–90, 92–97; an extraordinary tradition links Adam’s famous footprint with that of the Buddha, who is said to have stood with one foot on Adam’s Peak and with the other in Mecca, where according to tradition, a great stūpa enshrined the relic (the Makkama Mahāvihāra), accordingly the Buddha was referred to as the “sage of Mecca” (Makkama Muni), see Obeyesekere 1984, 135–36; 307. For Abraham’s footprint in Anatolia, see, for instance, van Berchem and Herzfeld 1954, 178–179.
- 43 For a discussion of the historical connection between Shī‘ism and Ṣūfism, see Nasr 1970, 215–233.
- 44 Just like the dates of his birth and death that are unknown but have been computed on the basis of chronograms respectively as 646/1248 and 738/1337, most of the available information on him is legendary and

- hagiographical. Cf. Browne 1907, 535; Birge 1937, 34–35; Kriss and Kriss-Heinrich 1960, 294.
- 45 For a related imaginary portrait of Ḥājī Bektāš, see Puin 2008, vol. 3, 921, L-1; Zarcone 2013, 151, pl. 5.
- 46 Gölpınarlı 1958.
- 47 For the Shī‘ī, the twelve Imāms are regarded as the exclusive representatives of the divine light on earth; Rubin 1975, 65. The multivalent concept of *walāya*, the offering of spiritual guidance, has at the same time a Ṣūfī connotation. Cf. Schimmel 1975, 199.
- 48 For a comparable poster, see Puin 2008, vol. 3, 870, fig. H-3d.
- 49 In most Ṣūfī fraternities this seat assumes a special significance. It constitutes the spiritual master’s seat representing his controlled animal self.
- 50 Birge 1937, 138; Donaldson 1938, 82–83. According to some traditions, after the Battle of Uḥud, when ‘Alī, the epitome of courage, demonstrated his strength, bravery and chivalry, an angel was heard calling out the well-known saying; Murata 2001, 267.
- 51 Duijzings 2002, 64.
- 52 Hasluck, M. 1925, 388–398, esp. 391; Duijzings 2002, 66.
- 53 For a further discussion of Naim Frashëri’s *Fletore e Bektashinjet*, see Hasluck, M. 1925, 388–398. For a complete English translation of the *Notebook*, see Hasluck, F. 1929, vol. 2, 554–562; Birge 1937, 79, 171; Elsie 2001, 25–33; the first part of the Notebook was published in German by Jokl 1926, 226–256.
- 54 De Jong 1998, 9. On the centrality of the Prophet and the *ahl al-bayt* for Shī‘īte piety, see Ayub 1978, 37–147; for a general discussion, see also Fontana 1994.
- 55 Arnold 1965, 95–97; Milstein 1986, 537–539.
- 56 Fodor 2005, 192.
- 57 Just like the Shī‘ī interpretations the Bektāši also identify the *ehl-i beyt* as people of the light. Likewise the various references of light mentioned in the Qur’ānic “verse of light,” *āyat al-nūr*, 24:35, are seen as allegoric symbols of ‘Alī, Fāṭima, Ḥasan, Ḥusayn and the rest of the Imāms. Cf. Rubin 1975, 65–67, 98–102.
- 58 De Jong 1998, 11, see also 21, pl. 4. For a detailed description of the ceremonies, see Haas 1988, 143–146.
- 59 Bucharest 1898; translated from the Albanian by Robert Elsie, and first published in English in *History of Albanian Literature*, New York 1995, vol. 1, 238. For a summary of Naim Frashëri’s *Qerbelaja*, see Norris 1993, 182–185. Cf. Izeti 2001, 139–161.
- 60 Frashëri, *Qerbelaja*, 18; cited after Duijzings 2000, 173. To this may be added earlier Karbalā epics written by his uncles, Dalip and Shahin Frashëri,

Albanian masterpieces respectively titled the *Hadikaja* ("The Garden") and the *Myhtarnameja* or *Mukhtār-nāma* ("Tale of Myhtar"); Norris 1973, 180.

61 Cf. Puin 2008, vol. 3, 857, fig. G-13; Flakerud 2010, 143.

62 Cf. Ayub 1978, 141–179. The term "collective memory" was introduced by Maurice Halbwachs in 1925. For a recent review of the term, see Assmann 2010, 34–50.

63 Cf. Birge 1937, 172, 173, 213.

64 A closely related depiction is published in Puin 2008, vol. 3, 859, fig. G-15.

65 Cf. Flakerud 2010, 149, fig. 49.

66 Cf. a comparable representation of Imām 'Alī with his sons 'Abbās and Ḥusayn in Nurābād, Iran, Newid 2006, 203, fig. D11.

67 For a near-identical contemporary representation of 'Abbās from Iran, see Puin 2008, vol. 3, 846, fig. G-2. Another closely related example from Kirmān, Iran is depicted in Newid 2006, 233, fig. G16.

68 Significantly, this suggests the survival of the Sasanian idea that the ruler's face was so luminous that in order not to be burned mortals had to hide their faces. See Milstein 1986, 539.

69 Elsie 2001, 3; *idem* 2002, 3.

70 *Idem*.

71 *Idem*.

72 *Idem*.

73 Hasluck, F. 1929, vol. 1, 165, n. 2 and 548, n. 2. Norris 1993, 98. Elsie 2002, 3, 65. The prophet spent forty days in a cave on Mount Horeb (1 Kings 19:8). In a similar vein, Slavic mythology is full of references to Perun, the supreme god of climatological phenomena such as storms, thunder and lightning bolts, who was amalgamated with Saint Elias after the arrival of Christianity. The prophet Ilyās (Elias) is also known in the Qur'ān (37:123–32).

74 Among the customs and taboos the Bektāšīs "inherited" from their Illyrian and Christian past is, for instance, an abstention from the flesh of hares. Cf. Norris 2004, 326.

75 Personal communication with members of the Bektāšiyya in March and April 2012. Cf. Kressing 2000, personal communication with Lakshman-Lepain in 1996. Doja 2006, 500. Norris 2006, 112. To this may be added the publications by the Iranian foundation Saadi Shirazi that were still generously provided in 2012. Cf. also Clayer 2012, 202.

76 *Eadem* 202–203.

77 Cf. Norris 1993, 171–174; Doja 2013, 120.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- AKSEL, M., *Türklerde dinî resimler: yazı-resim (Religious Pictures in Turkish Art)*, Elif Kitabevi, İstanbul, 1967.
- ALGAR, H., "Bektāšīya," *Encyclopaedia Iranica Online (EIr)*. Available: www.iranica.com (Accessed October 2013).
- ANONYMOUS, *Akhbār al-Šīn wa-l-Hind*, ed. J. Sauvaget, *Akhbār al-Šīn wa-l-Hind. Relation de la Chine et de l'Inde, Rédigée en 851*, Les Belles Lettres, Paris, 1948.
- ARNOLD, T.W., *Painting in Islam: Study of the Place of Pictorial Art in Muslim Culture*, New York, Dover, 1965.
- ASSMANN, A., "Re-Framing Memory. Between Individual and Collective Forms of Constructing the Past," *Performing the Past: Memory, History, and Identity in Modern Europe*, eds. Karin Tilmans, Frank van Vree, and Jay M. Winter, Amsterdam, Netherlands: Amsterdam University Press, 2010, 34–50.
- AVCI, C., "Türk Sanatında Aynalı Yazılar (Mirror Writing in Turkish Art)," *Kültür ve Sanat*, Ankara Kültür Bakanlığı, 5, 1977, 20–33.
- AYUB, M., *Redemptive Suffering in Islām: A Study of the Devotional Aspects of 'Āshūrā' in Twelver Shī'ism*, Mouton, The Hague, 1978.
- BARTL, P., "Religionsgemeinschaften und Kirchen," *Albanien. Südosteuropa-Handbuch* vol. 7, ed. K.-D. Grothusen, Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, Göttingen, 1993, 587–614.
- BASHIR, S., "Islamic Tradition and Celibacy," *Celibacy and Religious Traditions*, ed. C. Olson, Oxford University Press, New York, 2007, 133–150.
- BROWNE, E.G., "Further Notes on the Literature of the Hurufis and their Connection with the Bektashi Order of Dervishes," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain & Ireland (New Series)* 39, 3, 1907, 533–581.
- VAN BERCHEM, M., and HERZFELD, E., *Matériaux pour un Corpus inscriptionum Arabicum*, Partie 2, *Syrie du Sud*, T. 1-3, Mémoires publ. par les membres de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale du Caire, Institut français d'archéologie orientale, Cairo, 1954.
- BIRGE, J. K., *The Bektashi Order of Dervishes*, Luzac & Co, London, 1937.
- BLAIR, S., *Islamic Calligraphy*, Edinburgh University Press, Edinburgh, 2008.
- BROWN, J. P., *The Dervishes: or, Oriental Spiritualism*, Trübner, London, 1868.
- BRUNNER, R., "The Role of Ḥadīth as Cultural Memory in Shī'ī History," *Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam* 30, 2005, 318–360.
- BÜRGEL, J.-C., *The Feather of the Simurgh: The Licit Magic of the Arts of Medieval Islam*, New York University Press, New York, NY, 1988.
- ÇAGMAN, F., and TANDINI, Z., "Illustration and the Art of the Book in the Šūfī Orders in the Ottoman Empire," *Sufism and Sufis in Ottoman Society Sources, Doctrine, Rituals, Turuq, Architecture, Literature and Fine Arts, Modernism*, ed. A.Y. Ocak, The Turkish Historical Society, Atatürk Supreme Council for Culture, Language and History, Ankara, 2005, 101–121.

- CALMARD, J., "Du'l-Faqār," *Encyclopaedia Iranica Online (EIr)*. Available at <http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/dul-faqar> (accessed July 2014).
- ĆEHAIĆ, D., "Bektashis and Islam in Bosnia and Hercegovina," *Anali Gazi Husrev-begove Biblioteke* 5–6, 1978, 83–90.
- CENTLIVRES, P. and CENTLIVRES-DEMONT, M., *Imageries populaires en Islam*, Éditions Georg, Geneva, 1997.
- CENTLIVRES-DEMONT, M., "La Bataille de Kerbela (680/61H.) dans l'imagerie populaire chiite: langage et symbols," *La multiplication des images en pays d'Islam: de l'estampe à la télévision (17e-21e siècle)*. Actes du Colloque *Images: Fonctions et Langages. L'Incursion de l'Image Moderne dans l'Orient Musulman et sa Périphérie. Istanbul. Université du Bosphore (Boğaziçi Üniversitesi)*. 25–27 mars 1999, eds. B. Heyberger and S. Naef, Ergon, Würzburg, 2003, 103–117.
- CLAYER, N., *L'Albanie pays des derviches. Les orders mystiques musulmans en Albanie à l'époque post-ottomane (1912–1967)*, Otto Harrassowitz, Berlin and Wiesbaden, 1990.
- CLAYER, N., *Religion et nation chez les Albanais (XIXe–XXe siècles)*, *Analecta Isisiana* 64, Isis, Istanbul, 2002.
- CLAYER, N., "The Bektashi Institutions in Southeastern Europe: Alternative Muslim Official Structures and their Limits," *Die Welt des Islams* 52, 2012, 183–203.
- CORNELL, E., "A Surviving Neoplatonism: On the Creed of the Bektashi Order. Conversations with a Mursit," *Islam and Christian-Muslim Relations* 17, 1, 2006, 1–20.
- DE JONG, F., "The *Iconography of Bektāshism*: A Survey of Themes and Symbolism in Clerical Costume, Liturgical Objects and Pictorial Art," *Manuscripts of the Middle East*, ed. Déroche, F. et al., Ter Lugt Press, Leiden, 1989, 7–29; reprinted in *From History to Theology: Ali in Islamic Belief*, ed. A.Y. Ocak, Turkish Historical Society, Türk Tarih Kurumu, Ankara, 2005, 265–290.
- DE JONG, F., "Pictorial Art of the Bektāshī Order," *The Dervish Lodge*, ed. R. Lifchez, University of California Press, Berkeley, Los Angeles and Oxford, 1992, 228–241.
- DOJA, A., "Spiritual Surrender: From Companionship to Hierarchy in the History of Bektashism," *Numen*, 53, 2006, 448–504.
- DOJA, A., "The Politics of Religious Dualism: Naim Frashëri and his Elective Affinity to Religion in the Course of 19th-Century Albanian Activism," *Social Compass* 60, 1, 2013, 115–133.
- DONALDSON, B. A., *The Wild Rue*, Luzac & Co, London, 1938.
- DUIJZINGS, G.H.J., "Naim Frashëri's Qerbelaja Religion and Nationalism among the Albanians," *Religion and the Politics of Identity in Kosovo*, London, 2000, 157–175.
- DUIJZINGS, G.H.J., "Religion and the Politics of 'Albanianism': Naim Frashëri's Bektashi Writings," *Albanian Identities: Myths, Narratives and Politics*, eds. S. Schwandner-Sievers and B.J. Fischer, London, 2002, 60–69.

- ELSIE, R., *A Dictionary of Albanian Religion, Mythology, and Folk Culture*, New York University Press, New York, NY, 2001.
- ELSIE, R., *Handbuch zur albanischen Volkskultur: Mythologie, Religion, Volksglaube, Sitten, Gebräuche und kulturelle Besonderheiten*, Otto Harrassowitz, Wiesbaden, 2002.
- ERGUN, S. N., *Bektaşî Şairleri ve Nefesleri*, 3 vols., İstanbul Maarîf Kitaphanesi, İstanbul, 1944.
- FLASKERUD, I., *Visualizing Belief and Piety in Iranian Shiism*, Continuum, London and New York, 2010.
- FODOR, A., "Types of Shī'ite Amulets from Iraq," *Shia Islam*, ed. F. de Jong, Utrecht, 1992, 118–34; reprinted in *From History to Theology: Ali in Islamic Belief*, ed. A.Y. Ocak, Turkish Historical Society, Türk Tarih Kurumu, Ankara, 2005, 185–202.
- FONTANA, M. V., *Iconografia dell'ahl al-bayt: immagini di arte persiana dal XII al XX secolo*, Istituto universitario orientale, Naples, 1994.
- FRASHËRI, N., *Fletore e Bektashinjet*, Shtypëshkronjë të Shqipëtarëve, Bucharest, 1896, reprint Mbrothësia, Thessalonika, 1909.
- GOLDZIHNER, I., "Le rosaire dans l'Islam," *Revue de l'Histoire des Religions* 21, 1890, 295–300. Reprint in *idem, Gesammelte Schriften II*, George Olms, Hildesheim, 1968, 374–379.
- GÖLPINARLI, A., *Manakıb-ı Hacı Bektâş-ı Velî: vilâyet-nâme*, İnkılâp Kitabevi, İstanbul, 1958.
- GRUBER, C., "The Prophet Muhammad's Footprint," *Festschrift in Honour of Charles Melville*, ed. R. Hillenbrand, I.B. Tauris, London, 2013, 297–307.
- HAAS, A., *Die Bektaşî: Riten und Mysterien eines islamischen Ordens*, Express Edition, Berlin, 1988.
- HASAN, P., "Kadam Rasul," *Banglapedia: National Encyclopedia of Bangladesh*. Available at http://www.banglapedia.org/HT/K_0015.htm (accessed July 2014).
- HASAN, P., "The Footprint of the Prophet," *Muqarnas*, 10, *Essays in Honor of Oleg Grabar*, 1993, 335–343.
- HASLUCK, F.W., "Studies in Turkish History and Folk-Legend," *The Annual of the British School at Athens*, 19, 1912/1913, 198–220.
- HASLUCK, F.W., "Stone Cults and Venerated Stones in the Graeco-Turkish Area," *The Annual of the British School at Athens*, 21, 1914/1915–1915/1916, 62–83.
- HASLUCK, F.W., *Christianity and Islam under the Sultans*, ed. M. M. Hasluck, 2 vols. Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1929.
- HASLUCK, M., "The Nonconformist Moslems of Albania," *The Muslim World* 15, 1925, 388–398.
- IZETI, M., *Tarikati Bektashian*, Çabej, Tetova, 2001.
- JOKL, N., "Die Bektaschis von Naim Frashëri," *Balkan Archiv* 2, 1926, 226–256.

- KARAMUSTAFA, A.T., "Kalenders, Abdals, Hayderis: The Formation of the Bektāṣiye in the Sixteenth Century," *Süleymân the Second and His Time*, eds. H. İnalçık, C. Kafadar, Istanbul, 1993, 121–129.
- KARAMUSTAFA, A.T., *God's Unruly Friends: Dervish Groups in the Islamic Later Middle Period, 1200–1550*, Salt Lake City, Utah, 1994.
- KHOSRONEJAD, P., "Introduction," *The Art and Material Culture of Iranian Shi'ism: Iconography and Religious Devotion in Shi'i Islam*, ed. P. Khosronejad, I.B. Tauris in association with Iran Heritage Foundation, London and New York, 2012, 1–24.
- KRESSING, F., "A Preliminary Account of Research Regarding the Albanian Bektashis: Myths and Unresolved Questions," *Albania, a Country in Transition: Aspects of Changing Identities in a South-East European Country*, eds. F. Kressing and K. Kaser, Schriften des Zentrum für Europäische Integrationsforschung 51, Nomos, Baden-Baden, 2002, 65–91.
- KRISS, R., and KRISS-Heinrich, H., *Volksglaube im Bereich des Islam*, vol. 1, *Wallfahrtswesen und Heiligenverehrung*, Wiesbaden, 1960.
- LAKSHMAN-LEPAIN, R., "Albanian Islam – Developments and Disruptions," *Albania – A Country in Transition. Aspects of Changing Identities in a South-East European Country*, eds. F. Kressing and K. Kaser, Nomos, Baden-Baden, 2002, 39–64.
- MAS'UDI, *Kitāb murāj al-dhahab*, ed. C. Barbier de Meynard, Pavet de Courteille, Maçoudī. *Les Prairies d'Or. Texte et Traduction*, vol. I, Imprimerie Impériale, Paris, 1861.
- MÉLIKOFF, I., "Bektashi/Kızılbaş: Historical Bipartition and Its Consequences," *Alevi Identity: Cultural, Religious and Social Perspectives. Papers Read at a Conference held at the Swedish Research Institute in Istanbul, November 25-27, 1996*, eds. T. Olsson, E. Özdalga and C. Raudvere, Transactions Svenska forskningsinstitutet i Istanbul 8, 1998, 1–7.
- MÉLIKOFF, I., "La divinisation d'Ali chez les Bektachis-Alevs," *Au banquet des Quarante: exploration au coeur du Bektachisme-Alevisme*, *Analecta Isisiana* 50, Isis, Istanbul, 2001, 97–120; reprinted in *From History to Theology: Ali in Islamic Belief*, ed. A.Y. Ocak, Turkish Historical Society, Türk Tarih Kurumu, Ankara, 2005, 83–110.
- MILSTEIN, R., "Light, Fire and the Sun in Islamic Painting," *Studies in Islamic History and Civilization in Honour of Professor David Ayalon*, ed. M. Sharon, Cana, Jerusalem; E.J. Brill, Leiden,, 1986, 533–552.
- MORGAN, D., *Visual Piety: A History and Theory of Popular Religious Images*, University of California Press, Berkeley, Los Angeles and London, 1998.
- MÜLLER, K.E., *Kulturhistorische Studien zur Genese pseudo-islamischer Sektengebilde in Vorderasien*, *Studien zur Kulturkunde* 22, F. Steiner, Wiesbaden, 1967.
- MURATA, S., *The Tao of Islam: A Sourcebook on Gender Relationships in Islamic Thought*, State University of New York Press, Albany, 1992.

- NASR, S.H., "Le Shi'isme et le soufisme: leurs relations principales et historiques," *Le shi'isme imâmite: colloque de Strasbourg (6–9 mai 1968)*, Presses universitaires de France, Paris, 1970, 215–233.
- NEWID, M.A., *Der schiitische Islam in Bildern: Rituale und Heilige*, Edition Avicenna, Munich, 2006.
- NORRIS, H.T., *Islam in the Balkans: Religion and Society between Europe and the Arab World*, University of South Carolina Press, Columbia, SC, 1993.
- NORRIS, H.T., *Popular Sufism of Eastern Europe: Sufi Brotherhoods and the Dialogue with Christianity and 'Heterodoxy'*, Routledge, London, 2006.
- NORRIS, H.T., "Bektashi Life on the Border Between Albania and Greece," *Archaeology, Anthropology and Heritage in the Balkans and Anatolia: The Life and Times of F.W. Hasluck, 1878–1920*, vol. 1, ed. D. Shankland, Isis Press, Istanbul, 2004, 309–28.
- NORTON, J.D., "The Bektashis in the Balkans," *Religious Quest and National Identity in the Balkans*, ed. C. Hawkesworth, M. Heppell and H.T. Norris, Palgrave, Basingstoke and New York, 2001, 168–200.
- OBEYESEKERE, G., *The Cult of the Goddess Pattini*, University of Chicago Press, Chicago, IL, 1984.
- OCAK, A.Y., "La Tête Coupée dans le folklore turc: Un point de rencontre de l'histoire et de la légende," *Etudes et documents balkaniques et méditerranéens* 14, 1989, 75–80.
- OCAK, A.Y., ed., *Sufism and Sufis in Ottoman Society Sources, Doctrine, Rituals, Turuq, Architecture, Literature and Fine Arts, Modernism*, The Turkish Historical Society, Atatürk Supreme Council for Culture, Language and History, Ankara, 2005.
- POPOVIĆ, A., and VEINSTEIN, G., *Bektachiyya: études sur l'ordre mystique des Bektachis et les groupes relevant de Hadji Bektach*, Isis Press, Istanbul, 1995.
- PUIN, E., *Islamische Plakate: Kalligraphie und Malerei im Dienste des Glaubens*, 3 vols., Beiträge zur Kulturgeschichte des islamischen Orients 39, Verlag für Orientkunde, Dortmund, 2008.
- SCHIMMEL, A., *Mystical Dimensions of Islam*, University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill, NC, 1975.
- SCHIMMEL, A., *Calligraphy and Islamic Culture*, Hagop Kevorkian Series on Near Eastern Art and Civilization, New York University Press, New York, 1984.
- SCHIMMEL, A., *Deciphering the Signs of God: A Phenomenological Approach to Islam*, State University of New York Press, Albany, NY, 1994.
- SHANKLAND, D., "Are the Alevi Shi'ite?" *Shi'i Islam and Identity: Religion, Politics and Change in the Global Muslim Community*, Library of Modern Religion 25, ed. Lloyd Ridgeon, I.B. Tauris, London and New York, 2012, 210–228.
- SHANI, R., "Calligraphic Lions Symbolising the Esoteric Dimension of 'Alī's Nature," *The Art and Material Culture of Iranian Shi'ism: Iconography and Religious Devotion in Shi'i Islam*, ed. P. Khosronejad, I.B. Tauris in association with Iran Heritage Foundation, London and New York, 2012, 122–158.

- SKEEN, W., *Adam's Peak: Legendary, Traditional, and Historic Notices of the Samanala and Sīr-Pāda, with a Descriptive Account of the Pilgrim's Route from Colombo, to the Sacred Foot-Print*, W.L.H. Skeen, Colombo, 1870.
- STOYANOV, Y., "Contested Post-Ottoman Alevi and Bektashi Identities in the Balkans and their Shi'ite Component," *Shi'i Islam and Identity: Religion, Politics and Change in the Global Muslim Community*, Library of Modern Religion 25, ed. Lloyd Ridgeon, I.B.Tauris, London and New York, 2012, 170–209.
- STOYANOV, Y., "Between Middle Eastern Heterodoxy, Indigenization and Modern Shi'ism: Competing Identities among the Balkan Alevi and Bektashi Communities in the Post-Ottoman Period," *Ottoman Legacies in the Contemporary Mediterranean: The Balkans and the Middle East Compared*, Part II, eds. E. Ginio and K. Kaser, Ottoman Legacies in the Contemporary Mediterranean, The European Forum at the Hebrew University, Conference and Lecture Series 8, 2013, 163–187.
- STRONG, J.S., *Relics of the Buddha*, Princeton University Press, Princeton, NJ, 2004.
- SULEMAN, F., "The Iconography of Ali as the Lion of God in Shi'i Art and Material Culture," *The Art and Material Culture of Iranian Shi'ism: Iconography and Religious Devotion in Shi'i Islam*, ed. P. Khosronejad, I.B. Tauris in association with Iran Heritage Foundation, London and New York, 2012, 215–232.
- TRIMINGHAM, J. S., *The Sufi Orders in Islam*, Clarendon, Oxford, 1971.
- TRIX, F., "Symmetry in the Service of Islamic Mysticism: A Central Calligraphic *lehva*," *Symmetry: Culture and Science* 7, 2, 1996, 193–208.
- VAN BERCHER, M. and HERZFELD, E. E., *Matériaux pour un Corpus inscriptionum arabicarum*, Partie 2, *Syrie du Nord*, Mémoires publiés par les membres de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale du Caire 76, Impr. de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale, Cairo, 1954.
- VENZLAFF, H., *Der islamische Rosenkranz*, Abh. für die Kunde des Morgenlandes, 47, 2, Kommissionsverlag F. Steiner Wiesbaden, Stuttgart, 1985.
- VORHOFF, K., "Academic and Journalistic Publications on the Alevi and Bektashi of Turkey," *Alevi Identity: Cultural, Religious and Social Perspectives. Papers Read at a Conference held at the Swedish Research Institute in Istanbul, November 25-27, 1996*, eds. T. Olsson, E. Özdalga and C. Raudvere, Transactions Svenska forskningsinstitutet i Istanbul 8, 1998, 23–50.
- WELCH, A., "The Shrine of the Holy Footprint in Delhi," *Muqarnas*, 14, 1993, 166–178.
- YILDIRIM, R., "Shī'itisation of the Futuwwa Tradition in the Fifteenth Century," *British Journal of Middle Eastern Studies* 40, 1, 2013, 53–70.
- ZARCONE, T., "The Lion of Ali in Anatolia: History, Symbolism and Iconology," *The Art and Material Culture of Iranian Shi'ism: Iconography and Religious Devotion in Shi'i Islam*, ed. P. Khosronejad, I.B. Tauris in association with Iran Heritage Foundation, London and New York, 2012, 104–121.