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HURUFISM AMONG ALBANIAN BEKTASHIS

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Abstract

Hurufism, the mystical and philosophical movement, was established by Fadlallah Astarabadi (d. 796/1394) in Iran. Because of political and/or ideological reasons, some disciples of Fadlallah migrated to Anatolia like Aliyyu'l A'lâ (d. 1419) and Nasîmî (d. 1418). The former died in Azerbaijan and the latter in Syria.

The main footsteps of Hurufism can be followed into the fifteenth century and thereafter to the Balkans. Nasîmî's disciple Raffî (d. after 1418) is the first hurufi who went to the Balkans and he died in Preveza. It is witnessed that the hurufi philosophy is developed and perpetuated in the Balkans by the Bektashis.

In this paper, firstly we will talk about the Bektashi scholars and poets of the Balkans which obtained and perpetuated hurufi philosophy. Secondly, we will analyze the hurufi manuscripts which are copied in the Balkans. As it can be seen among the hurufi manuscripts in Turkish or Persian, most of them are copied in the Balkans. Finally we aim to display the role of Hurufism among Balkan Bektashis and vice-versa.

Key Words: Hurufism, Bektashis, Albanian Bektashis.

I- Introduction

Hurufism, the mystical and philosophical movement was established by Fadlallah Astarabadi (d. 796/1394) in Iran.

Hurufi philosophy is based on the contemplation of God in the universe by means of letters. The reason of using the letters as the instrument of contemplation of God is the close parallelism among human existence, God and the letters. This parallelism can be explained firstly by the identity between the divine Personality and the attributes, secondly by the letters' role in creation, thirdly by the relation between name and the named and lastly by the revelation of the letters.

The word (*kelam*) is an attribute of God. Like the colors and the forms are inseparable from the object, the attributes of God are inseparable from Personality. Hurufis establish then the identity between God and His attributes. Since the word is a divine attribute, the letters which compose the word are considered inseparable and even identical to God.

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According to Qur'an, when God creates something He says, "Be, and then it becomes." This order of "Be" (*kun*) is composed of letters. It shows that the letters are the reason of the all existence and can be found in everything.

All existents have a name composed of letters. The name signifies the object, in other words the named. When we change a letter in the name, it will not signify anymore the object. There is such an identity between the name and the named. It is another way then the existence of letters in the objects.

The objects potentially, the animals and human beings actually, can reveal the sounds that are the letters. When two objects hit against each other certain sounds appear. Animals can pronounce some sounds. And only man can pronounce all the sounds.

All of these points show the presence of letters, that is the attribute of God, in other word the presence of God, in existence. Existence is considered as the manifestation of God by means of letters. This manifestation of God is perfect in human beings. As it is explained above, humans are the only creatures who can pronounce the sounds/letters in their entirety. According to hurufi philosophy, the most possible sounds that exist are thirty-two. It is the number of the letters of the Persian alphabet with which Fadlallah spoke. The twenty-eight letters with which the Qur'an is written, Arabic letters, are crucial too for hurufi philosophy.

The manifestation of God on humans by means of the letters is perfect. When we contemplate the twenty-eight and thirty-two letters on human body, we would have contemplated God there. For example, human has either twenty-eight or thirty-two teeth. His fingers of the right and left hand obtain totally twenty-eight articulations. When a human being comes into the world she/he has seven lines which are hair, two eyebrows and four eyelashes. Being composed from four elements and seven lines is equal to twenty-eight. Like Abraham and Mohammad when we divide the hair in two, seven lines become eight and by multiplication with four elements, they are equal to thirty-two. The perpendicular line which divides the hair into two is called *khatt-i istiwâ* in hurufi philosophy. *Khatt-i istiwâ* is a perpendicular line which divides things into two and can also be contemplated in the other creatures. Since we can arrive at the contemplation of thirty-two letters on the human body only by this perpendicular line, it signifies thirty-two letters. For example the line which exists on date seeds and on leaves is a signification of thirty-two letters. Equally, the mane and the crest are the signs of the perpendicular line.

A human, since he is the only creature who can pronounce all the letters and he is the only creature on whom the manifestation of the twenty-eight and thirty-two letters can be contemplated completely, is at the highest level of existence, the nearest one to God. It is why he is called in Islam as the caliph of God on the earth.

Hurufi philosophy aims briefly to arrive at this divine contemplation by use of the letters and to put the human at the center of analyses. Even the prayers, pilgrimages and the verses of the Qur'an are interpreted from the point of display the parallelism with twenty-eight and thirty-two letters (Usluer, 2009: 107-125).

Despite the importance of hurufism, up to the present few of the hurufi texts were published. Clément Huart is the first who published two of them, for example *Hidâyat-nâma* de H. Esterâbâdî and *Mahram-nâma* de Sayyid Ishaq.¹ Rustam Ali Af, in Tehran published Fadlallah's *Diwan*. Among the Turkish hurufi texts, Firishteoghlu's *Ishq-nâma* was transliterated by İ. Arikoğlu, Misâlî's *Fayd-nâma* by N. Tohumcu and Nasîmî's *Diwan* by H. Ayan.

¹ The other texts like *Nihayatnama* and the *risalas* which are published in *Textes persans relatifs à la secte des Houroufis* by Huart are not hurufi texts.

Fadlallah and his disciples like Sheikh Abu'l Hasan (n. 1352), Sayyid Sharif, Sayyid Ishaq (n. 1369), and Amir Ghiyasaddin (d. after 1448) lived in Iran and wrote in Persian.

Fadlallah was condemned to death by the son of Tamerlane, Miranshah in 1394. Hurufis rose in rebellion against the dynasty of Tamerlane in Khwarezm (1405) but it was suppressed by Shahruh, another son of Tamerlane. Ahmedî Lor, a hurufî, attempted to assassinate Shahruh (1427). The son of Shahruh, Mirza Baysunkar, after this attempt, arrested many hurufis and condemned them to death (Usluer, 2009: 18-22).

Jihan Shah, sultan (between 1436 and 1467) of Qara Qoyunlu, in spite of his interest to hurufism and because of the fatwas of Muslim scholars, let condemnation to death of some hurufis (Usluer, 2009: 23).

One of the disciples of Fadlallah, Nasîmî, (d. 1418) and his disciple Rafî'î (d. after 1418) were the first hurufis who wrote in Turkish and, propagating hurufism, migrated to Anatolia. While Nasîmî was executed in Aleppo, Rafî'î died in Preveza (Greece).

Refî'î was encouraged by Nasimî to go to Anatolia and to the Balkans. Preveze where he is buried was conquered in 1518, nearly one century after the death of Refî'î. We can easily say that he is the first hurufî who had been, even before the Ottoman army, in the Balkans.

In the Ottoman Empire, a group of hurufî was condemned to death in Edirne by Fahreddin Acemî (d. 1460). At the time of Bayezid II (1481-1512) and Selim II (1566-1574) some esoteric movements were prosecuted and among them there were *ishiqs* that Gölpınarlı considers hurufî as *ishiq* (Gölpınarlı, 1989: 32). Except Abdulmajid b. Firishte (d. 1459) and Baktashi Darwish Mortada (18th century) who are the Anatolian translators, the footsteps of Hurufism can be followed into the fifteenth century and thereafter only in the Balkans and especially in Albania.

As the second famous hurufî in Balkans we can cite Misâlî (Gül Baba) who was martyred and buried in Buda, Hungary (1541). Muhiî and his disciple Arşî (d. 1621) can be cited as the other hurufî poets who were in Balkans.

It can be easily said that the Balkans are the most important center of hurufism. It is known that hurufism is adopted by Bektashis. We will say that among Bektashis, above all Bektashis of the Balkans adopted, propagated and sustained hurufism.

Historical sources talk limitedly about hurufism. There are two ways for determining the traces of hurufism in the Balkans. First is the hurufî thinkers and writers who lived in Balkans as quoted above and the second is the hurufî manuscripts that we will analyze here.

II- Hurufi Manuscripts

Old Arabic, Persian and Ottoman manuscripts have a common characteristic that they have most of the time *ketebe* inscription. *Ketebe* inscription (Figure A) is a kind of note written by the secretary at the end of the manuscript. This note forms generally a triangle and gives some information like the name of the secretary, the place of writing and lastly the date. Sometimes, the secretary writes some of them. When the secretary does not give any of this information we say that this manuscript does not have any *ketebe* inscription.

More than any other, hurufî *ketebe* inscriptions have an important role for following the hurufî traces. This study is based on statistics made on 107 manuscripts which have at least one of the information concerning the name of secretary, date or place of copy.

Among 107 manuscripts, 104 of them note the date of manuscript, 48 of them note the place of copy, 89 of them note the name of the secretary.

104 manuscripts which have the inscription date² were written between 1420 and 1896. Three of them were written in the 15th century, **14** of them in the 16th century, **10** of them in the 17th century, **45** of them in the 18th century and **32** of them in the 19th century.

The oldest manuscript of which we know the place of copy is dated December 1558 and it is copied in Szolnok (Hungary). The oldest manuscript copied in Albania that is known to us is dated 1707. This one is copied in Shkodra (Rus quarter) by Ali b. Ali. The latest one is written in Gjirokaster on 14 March 1840 by İbrahim b. Muhtar b. Ali b. Muhammad Hacı. It should be noted here that A. Gölpınarlı cites Egypte, without giving information, as one of the hurufi centers in the world (Gölpınarlı, 1989: 31).³ It is probably because of the manuscripts written in Iskenderiye. Furthermore, Iskenderiye where hurufi manuscripts were written is not the Ottoman name of actual Alexandria of Egypt but the Shkodra of Albania. Bakçalık, Tophanelik and Rus Quarters of Iskenderiye attest this fact.

29 hurufi manuscripts of Albania were copied in the 18th century, five of them in the 19th century. It could be said that in the 18th century, since of abundance of hurufi manuscripts, hurufism became more popular than usual in Albania.

When we look at the places which are noted in 39⁴ manuscripts, they can be listed as follows:

- 28 manuscripts in Ergirikesri (Gjirokaster-Albanie)
- 5 manuscripts in İskenderiye (Shkodra-Albanie)
- 1 Kanîne (Kanina-Albanie)
- 1 Solnok (Szolnok-Hungary)
- 1 İskece (Kanthi-Greece)
- 1 Golos (Tsalonique-Grece)
- 1 Kayseri (Turkey)
- 2 Hacı Bektaş (Turkey)
- 3 İstanbul (Turkey)
- 1 Between Bagdad and Istanbul

² Two manuscripts' which are M.K. AEF 1032 and Süleymaniye Reşid Efendi 1210/I date of copy are not noted in the text but the secretary of the first one is the same person as M.K. AEF 1030 who is Kasım Hacı from Gjirokaster, Donavat Quarter, and the secretary of the last one is the same person as the secretary of M.K. AEF 992 and 1003 that is Derviş Muhammad b. Salih. So we can add these two manuscripts to the list, at least by saying that in which century they were written.

³ At the same page Gölpınarlı may based on the name of one hurufi secretary Muhammad b. Sâlih Akçahisârî cites Akçahisar as one of the center of hurufism in Anatolia. We should say again that there are two cities named Akçahisar, one in Anatolia the other one in Albania. The last one's name is actually Krujë. Muhammad b. Sâlih Akçahisârî has copied four different hurufi texts. Except one of them there is not any detail concerning the place of the copy. Only at the end of the manuscript which is in Millet Library, no : 9320 he writes that he copied this manuscript in Ergiri (Gjirokaster) in the room of a dervish. Muhammad b. Salih sign his name as Dervish Muhammad b. Salih in this manuscript and in MK AEF 992 and 1003.

⁴ Even if the place of copy is not noted for BN Persan 24 (date 1578) which is written by Nebi Flornavî, we accepted this one, as if written in Istanbul. Because the same secretary's MK AEF 1019 (date 1578) numbered manuscript is written in Istanbul. Samely, the place of copy of YK Sermet Çiftçi 874 and Süleymaniye Hacı Mahmut Efendi 3008 is not noted in the manuscripts. But since they were copied by the same secretary of MK AEF 990 (Bayezid b. Memi Halife in Gjirokaster) we considered them as if written in Gjirokaster. We also considered the MK AEF 1031 as if written in Gjirokaster. Because it's secretary İsa b. Kemaleddin is the secretary of MK AEF 989 and MK AEF 1043 which are written in Gjirokaster. We considered also MK AEF 1032 which is written by Kasım Hacı as if written in Donavat, Gjirokaster. Because he note in another manuscript that is in MK AEF 1030 the place of copy as Donavat. Lastly, MK AEF 1035's place of copy is accepted as Gjirokaster, because it's secretary Kutb Muhammad b. Ahmed b. Kazım b. Ali, in MK AEF 1052 note the place of copy as Aplaka Quarter, Gjirokaster.

- 1 Aksaray (Turkey)
- 1 Trabzon (Turkey)
- 1 Zile (Tokat, Turkey)
- 1 Skopje (Macedonia)

In some *ketebe* inscriptions of these manuscripts, some details concerning the place can be seen like the name of the quarter. For example in Gjirokaster (Ergirikesri) one manuscript was written in Tekiyye quarter, another one in Aplaka quarter, two of them in Divitdar quarter, two others in Donavat quarter, one in Mescidler quarter and another one in Menalat quarter. One manuscript written in Shkodra (İskenderiye) was copied in Bakçalık quarter, another one in Rus and last one in Tophanelik quarter. It should be noted that only in the manuscripts written in Albania we see the names of quarters. It shows that Albanian dervishes adopted and courageously copied and spread hurufism more than the other parts of the world.

The names of the secretaries who copied the hurufi manuscripts most of the time do not give special information. Totally in 89 manuscripts the name of the secretary is cited. Some of them copied more than one hurufi book. Among them Dervish İsa b. Kemaleddin Hâce (Müezzin Dervish İsa b. Kemaleddin Hâce) copied 7 texts, Dervish Muhammad b. Salih Akçahisârî (Muhammad Kalfa or Dervish Muhammad) 4 texts and Dervish Bayezid b. Memi Halife 3 texts, Dervish Nebi Flornavî (from Phlorina-Grèce), Kasım Hâce, Dervish Elmas b. Hüseyin b. İlyas, Dervish Cafer b. Ebubekir b. Cafer, Ali b. Hüseyin, Vechî, Dervish Murtaza and Kutb Muhammad b. Ahmed b. Kazım b. Ali (Kutb Muhammad Kutb) copied each one two hurufi texts. We have only one example of these secretaries:

Ali b. Mustafa el-Müezzin, Ali b. Ali, Ali b. Muhammad, Ali b. Muhammad, Muharrem b. Ali, Muhammad b. Ali, İbrahim b. Ali, Dervish Ali Saruhânî, Dervish Ömer ibn. Abdülkerim, Dervish Muhammad b. Mustafa, Muhammad Dervish, Monla Dervish, Dervish Halil, Dervish Halil Bektaşî Hüseyinî İstanbulî, Dervish Ahmed, Dervish Ahmed, Dervish Mehmed, Dervish ricâliyişşehr be-musahib Muhammad Bey, Molla Aluş ibn-i Dervish İbrahim bin Muhtar bin Ali bin Muhammad Hâce, Sayyid Nuh b. Ahmed el-Hâmidî el-Kayserî, Sayyid Muhammad Nûrî, Sayyid Zeynelabidin Nakşî el-Melâmî, Sayyid Muhammad Ali, Sayyid Muhammad Hasib Baba, Sayyid Mustafa Fahrî el-Kâdirî el-Alevî, Genc Alizade E's-Sayyid Hüseyin, Şükrü Muhammad Hafız, Abdal ibn Murtaza, Mustafa b. Abdal-ı İlahi Murtaza, Râcî Shaykh Murtaza bin Zaîfî Murtaza, Hüseyin b. Ahmed (Mir Fuzaylî), Hasan b. Mustafa b. Doyran, Murtazâ b. Ali b. Mustafa, Muhammad b. Yusuf, Rauf Osman b. İsa, Merzifonî Abdurrahim Nizameddin Sarı Danişmendzade, Câvidî, Mir b. Rüstem, Kemal, Muhammad b. İskender, Zekeriya b. Hüseyin, Yusuf b. Kasım Mahmud, Durbe Ali Sultan Dergahı postnişini Bayram Baba'nın bendesi Zeynel Abidin Hasanî, Revnakî, Hasan Şevki b. El-Hac Muhammad Temel E't-Trabzonî, Hocazade Hasan Mahfi, Mustafa Fahrî el-Kâdirî, Rıza Kemter, Mehmed Nuri Canker, Mehmed b. Hasan, Mehmed, Mustafa, Mustafa Cemâlî Üskübî, Mustafa b. Hüseyin Siyahî, Es-Seydî Sâlih Efendi Yesârî, Mahşerî, Ahmedî / Monla Ahmed b. İbrahim b. Ahmed, Ahmed b. Abdüllatif, Ebubekir b. Osman, Çekmeceli Mehmed Hâkî, Osman İsmetî, Yusuf Muhlis Tebrizî.

Among all these secretaries, 19 dervishes and 7 sayyids draw our attention. One of the dervishes is from Phlorina (Greece), five dervishes from Gjirokaster, another one from Kruje, and the last one from Volos (Greece). One sayyid is from Kayseri and another one is from Yenice Karasu (Genisia, Greece).

It should be noted that among the secretaries, Dervish İsa b. Kemaleddin and Ali b. Mustafa are muezzin (a person who calls to pray) and Şükrü Muhammad is hafız (a person who memorized Quran). Another secretary Sayyid Mustafa Fahrî el-Kâdirî el-Alevî is affiliated to Qadiri dervish order. Sayyid Zeynelabidin Nakşî el-Melâmî is affiliated to Naqshi and Malamî dervish orders.

Hasan Şevki b. El-Hac Muhammad Temel from Trabzon is the disciple of a Uşşaqî dervish Hafız Nasuh el Uşşâkî'nin in Çayırılı madrasa. This interest of a uşşaqî dervish to hurufi texts draw our attention. In this manuscript (Süleymaniye Nafiz P. 1509) which he copied, he collected many hurufi texts like *Haqiqat-nâma*, *Muqaddimetu'l-Haqâiq*, *Saâdat-nâma*, *Akhirat-nâma*, *Vahdat-nâma*, *Turab-nâma*, *Tahqiq-nâma*, *Vilâyat-nâma*.

We find at the same time the trace of a Bektashi lodge of Volos (Greece) at the end of the manuscript copied by Zeynel Abidin Hasanî. Zeynel Abidin defines himself as “*Durbe Ali Sultan Dergahı postnişini Bayram Baba'nun bendesi*” that is “server of Bayram Baba; the sheikh of Durbe Ali Sultan Lodge”. Even if actually this lodge is called as Durbali Lodge (also Reni Lodge), in this manuscript it is named like Durbe Ali (دور بطلی) Sultan Lodge. In the list of sheikhs of Durbali Lodge there is only one whose name is Bayram; Piremitili Bayram Baba (d. 1904) (Noyan, 2002: 91-92). But, the sheikh Bayram Baba of whom our secretary is a disciple, cannot be Piremitli Bayram Baba who died in 1904 because this manuscript is dated 11 June 1795. There should be another Bayram Baba among sheikhs of Durbe Ali Sultan Lodge.

The secretary of the translation of *Jâvidân-nâma* named as *Durr-i Yetim* which is in Süleymaniye YB 2477 is Muhammad Hasib Baba. He copied this manuscript in Xanthi -Greece (İskeçe)- in December 1857 (Cemaziyel Evvel 1274). He signs the manuscript as “Muhammad Hasib Baba, inhabitant of Xanthi”. This figure is very important since being a fort proof for showing the relation between hurufism and bektashism.

Bedri Noyan says that Hasib Baba was at the head of Xanthi Lodge between 1873 and 1878 (Noyan, 2002: 121). Şevki Koca contradictorily cites that Muhammad Hasib Baba was appointed to the head of Jafar Abad Bektashi Lodge of Sütlüce (İstanbul) in 1870. Then he was charged by Mehmet Ali Hilmi Dedebaba for restoration of Xanthi Lodge (İskeçe Dergahı). Restoration was completed in 1885 (h. 1303). Hasib Baba stayed there after restoration and after his death 1886 (h. 1304) he was buried in the garden of the Xanthi Lodge (Koca, 2005: 241-242).

In spite of the contradiction we can conclude that when Hasib Baba in 1857 copied *Durr-i Yetim*, he was Baba and was in Xanthi. He was at the head of Xanthi Bektashi Lodge between 1873 and 1878. After that time he should have appointed to Jafar Abad Bektashi Lodge of Sütlüce. When he was in Sütlüce, he was sent by Mehmet Ali Hilmi Dedebaba to Xanthi for the restoration of lodge which is completed in 1885.

It is known that he died when he was nineties so we can say that when he copied the manuscript he was in his sixties and at that time he was “baba”, head of a lodge. It is also known that the inhabitants of Xanthi were calling that bektashi lodge as Hasib Baba Lodge. As a conclusion it can be thought that either since being restored by Muhammad Hasib Baba or since being there before as *baba*, at the time of inscription, this lodge is named as Hasib Baba Lodge.

Another point is that, Şevki Koca says that Muhammad Hasib Baba hails from Peloponnese (Mora, Greece) (Koca, 2005: 242). Furthermore, at the end of his inscription in Süleymaniye YB 2477 he writes that he hails from Malkara (معلقره وی) which is a district of Tekirdağ Province.

Another hurufi manuscript which is found in MK AEF 1054 contains *Taqsim-i Salât u Evqât* of Mîr Fâzîlî and another small *Risala*. At the end of this manuscript there is a letter written by the father of Monla Hüseyin, the secretary of this manuscript. This letter (vr. 112b-113a) gives us the details on the life of a hurufi texts' secretary:

“This beautiful book is written by my son Monla Husayin who is called Mir Fuzaylî, was born in h. 1136 and copied it in h. 1150. He got through the God's mercy in the Sultan Mehmed madrasa of Istanbul in h. 1160 because of the pest. May God have mercy on him.

of the family of Hashim Mustafa Dede of Uskudar; ex-notable of Gallipoli el-Haj Muhammad Aga.

19 Şaban 1265

Server of the family of Prophet, ex-notable of Gallipoli Muhammad Baba.⁶

III- Conclusion

All of these collected details and refined information give us a very rich perspective and interesting conclusions for the social history of hurufism. First of all, it can be easily said that Albania not only played a very important role in the propagation of hurufi texts but also, because of the density of interest to hurufi texts, was the surviving place of hurufi philosophy in a community. Especially beginning from the 18th century until the second part of the 19th century there was an intense interest in hurufism in Albania.

When the quantity of the hurufi manuscripts which do not have any information concerning the secretary or the place of copy (they are almost 60) is taken into consideration, it could be also thought that in Albania, hurufi secretaries had more liberty or courage for writing their names and even their addresses than the other regions of the Ottoman State.

The list of manuscripts shows us that some Bektashi dervishes like Zeynel Abidin Hasanî (affiliated to Bayram Baba), even a Bektashi lodge leader like Muhammad Hasib Baba copied hurufi manuscripts. Most of the manuscripts copied in Albania were copied by dervishes like Dervish Bâyezîd b. Memi Halife, Dervish Muhammad b. Salih Akçahisarî, Dervish Cafer b. Ebubekir, Dervish İsa b. Kemaleddin, Dervish Elmas. We do not know the affiliations of these dervishes but it is well known that Albania was the cradle of the bektashi lodges. Especially in the cities where these dervishes copied the manuscripts there were many bektashi lodges like in Gjirokaster 10, in Kruje 3, in Shkodra 7 and in Kanina one. It is highly possible that these dervishes were bektashis.

The interests of the dervishes of some orthodox groups like naqshî, qâdirî and uşşâqî to the hurufi texts shows the wide effect of hurufism among dervish orders. As it can be seen in the example of Mir Fuzaylî of Gjiroakaster who copied the hurufi texts when he was 14 and became a young scholar in Sultan Mehmed Madrasa (Istanbul), hurufism as a mystical and philosophical system was not an obstacle for being a member of madrasa.

Further research on bektashi lodges and bektashi dervishes, as well as the the new information which will be found in hurufi manuscripts, will show more clearly the role of bektashis, especially Balkan bektashis on hurufism.

⁶ Hazret-i Pîri-i umman ve dergâh-ı aşîyân-ı kutb-ı fi'l-âlemîn E's-Sayyid Hünkar Hacı Bektaş Veliyyullah efendimizin türbe-i saadet-i şeriflerinde hıfz olunarak vakıf-ı nahiye kayd olunarak ve nâ-ehlinin eline geçmeyerek ve fûrûht olunmayarak âşîkân ve sâdîkân karındaşlarımız kıraat eyleyüb bu âcizleri dahi dua-yı hayrile yad olunmak vakfımız olunduğu işbu bin iki yüz altmış beş senesi mahı Şabanu'l muazzamın on dokuzuncu günü tarihiyle Üsküdârî Hâşim Mustafa Dede'nin bende-i âl-i abâdan esbak Gelibolu ayamı el-Hacı Muhammed Ağa'nın vakf-ı Câvidânî Kebîridir. 19 Şaban 1265.

Bende-i âl-i abâ, sâbık Gelibolu ayamı Muhammed Baba.

The manuscripts which have *ketebe* inscriptions can be listed chronologically like that:

TARİHİ	YAZMA NUMARASI	MÜSTENSİHİ	İSTİNSAH EDİLDİĞİ YER
833 (1429)	Atatürk Kitap. Osman E. TY 703	---	---
Zi'l-hicce 845 (Nisan 1442)	M.K. AEF 1000	Dervish Ali Saruhânî	---
857 (1453)	Süleymaniye Hüsrev Paşa 172	---	---
Cemaziyel Ahir Gurre 907 (11 Aralık 1501)	Milli Ktp. F.B. 32	Muhammad b. Yusuf	---
1 Zilhicce 946 (8 Nisan 1540)	Milli Ktp. A8498	Rauf Osman b. İsa	---
963 (1555)	Manisa Muradiye 1143/II	Muhammad b. İskender	---
Rebiül Evvel 966 (Aralık 1558)	İ.Ü. Farsça 448	---	Solnok (Szolnok) Hungary
970 (1562)	B.N. Persan 24	---	---
Zilhicce Cuma 985 (7 Şubat 1578)	B.N. Persan 255 (Kürsiname)	Nebi Flornavî (from Phlorina-Greece)	(İstanbul ?)
Rebiül-evvel 986 (Mayıs 1578)	M.K. AEF 1019	Dervish Nebi Flornavî (from Phlorina-Greece)	der mülazemet-i Kostantiniyye (İstanbul)
989 (1581)	Cebeci İlçe Halk 06 Ceb 514	---	---
17 Ramazan 992 (21 Eylül 1584)	M.K. AEF 920	Vechî	---
---	M.K. AEM 943	Vechî ?	---
992 (1584)	M.K. AEM 390	Mahşerî	---
994 (1586)	İ.Ü. Türkçe 843	Merzifonî Abdurrahim Nizameddin Sarı Danişmendzade	---
1000 (1591)	M.K. AEF 1027	Dervish ricâliyişsehr be-musahib Muhammad Bey	Between Bagdad and İstanbul
1000 (1591)	M.K. AEF 437	Câvidî	---
1003 (1594)	M.K. AEF 1055	---	---
1015 (1607)	İ.Ü. Türkçe 6368	Mir b. Rüstem	---
1025 (1616)	M.K. AEM 397	Mehmed b. Hasan	---
1031 (1621)	M.K. AEF 1041	Ali b. Mustafa el-Müezzîn	---
Şa'ban 1037 (Nisan 1628)	M.K. AEF 186	Kemal	---
Şaban 1044 (Ocak 1635)	Milli Kütüp. HK 139	Mustafa	---
1048 (1638)	Mevlana Müzesi AG 203	Dervish Murtaza	Hacı Bektaş Village
Rebiül Evvel 1049 (Temmuz 1639)	İ.Ü. Farsça 869	Dervish Murtaza	Hacı Bektaş Village
1086 (1675)	Nuruosmaniye 3596	Dervish Muhammad b. Mustafa	---

Zi'l-hicce 1095 (Kasım 1684)	Milli Kütüp., HK 502	İsim koyu kırmızı mürekkeple silinmiş	---
Muharrem 1109 (Ağustos 1697)	Bodleian M.S. Laud Or. 224	---	---
Rebiul Ahir 1119 - Şaban 1119 (Temmuz-Kasım 1707)	Milli Kütüp. HK 49	Ahmedî / Monla Ahmed b. İbrahim b. Ahmed	---
1119 (1707)	M.K. AEF 1011	Ali b. Ali	Shkodra, Rus Quarter
20 Şaban 1119 (15 Kasım 1707)	Süleymaniye Yazma B. 4348	Abdal ibn Murtaza	---
Şa'ban 1120 (Kasım 1708)	M.K. AEF 1039	Ali b. Muhammad	Gjirokaster
1120 (1708)	M.K. AEŞ 1238	Muharrem b. Ali	Kanina
1121 (1709)	M.K. AEF 1039	Muhammad b. Ali	---
3 Zi'l-hicce 1122 (22 Ocak 1711)	Atatürk Kitap. Osman E. TY 1321	İbrahim b. Ali	Shkodra
C. Âhir 1124 (Temmuz 1712)	İ. Ü. Farsça 152	Ali b. Muhammad	Shkodra Bakçalık Quarter
1132 (1720)	M.K. AEM 396	Ahmed b. Abdüllatif	---
8 Şaban 1134 (23 Mayıs 1722)	İ. Ü. Farsça 1158	Mustafa b. Abdal-ı İlahi Murtaza	---
Ramazan 1141 (Nisan 1729)	İbrahim Olgun Özel Kitp. (Mesnevi-i Penahi)	Ali b. Hüseyin	Shkodra Tophanelik Quarter
Cemaziyel Evvel 1145 (Ekim 1732)	İ. Ü. Farsça 1158	Râcî Shaykh Murtaza bin Zâifî Murtaza	---
1148 (1735)	M.K. AEF 990	Dervish Bayezid b. Memi Halife	Gjirokaster
1149 (1736)	Yapı Kredi Sermet Çifter 874	Bayezid b. Memi Halife	Gjirokaster
1150 (1737)	M.K. AEF 1054	Hüseyin b. Ahmed (Mir Fuzaylî)	Gjirokaster
Cemaziyel Ahir 1152 (Eylül 1739)	İbrahim Olgun Özel Kitp. (Misali- Gencname)	Ali bin Hüseyin	Shkodra Tophanelik Quarter
1163 (1750)	Süleymaniye Hacı Mahmut Ef. 3080	Hasan b. Mustafa b. Doyran	---
Aşûra 1166 (Kasım 1752) Rebî'ül-evvel 1166 (Ocak 1753)	M.K. AEF 1003	Muhammad Kalfa / Dervish Muhammad (from Kruje)	Gjirokaster
Safer 1167 (Aralık 1753)	M.K. AEF 992	Dervish Muhammad b. Salih Akçahisarî (from Kruje)	Gjirokaster
---	Süleymaniye Reşid Efendi 1210/I	Muhammad b. Salih Akçahisarî (from Kruje)	Gjirokaster
C. Âhir – Safer 1175 (Ocak-Eylül 1761)	M.K. AEŞ 1362	---	---

Receb 1176 (Ocak 1763)	M.K. AEF 824	Cafer ibn. Bekir ibn. Cafer	Gjirokaster Divitdâr Quarter
<u>Receb 1178 (Aralık 1764)</u>	M.K. AEF 1034	Murtazâ b. Ali b. Mustafa	Gjirokaster
1178 (1764)	Mevlana Müzesi AG 11	---	---
1179 (1765)	M.K. AEF 1037	Monla Dervish	---
Receb 1186 (Ekim 1772)	M.K. AEF 1043	Müezzin Dervish İsa b. Kemaleddin Hâce	Gjirokaster
1186 (1772)	M.K. AEŞ 1368	Dervish Cafer b. Ebubekir b. Cafer	Gjirokaster Divitdâr Quarter
1186 (1772)	İ. Ü. Türkçe 310 EKSİK	---	---
1187 (1773)	M.K. AEM 285	Dervish İsa b. Kemaleddin Hâce	Gjirokaster
15 Safer 1188 (26 Nisan 1774)	M.K. AEŞ1356	---	---
1189 (1776)	M.K. AEM 283	Yusuf Ergirili	Gjirokaster
Şevvâl 1192 (Kasım 1778)	M.K. AEŞ 1364	Dervish Ömer ibn. Abdülkerim	---
1195 (1781)	M.K. AEF 1046	Zekeriya b. Hüseyin	---
1195 (1781)	Süleymaniye Hacı Mahmut Ef. 3008	Bayezid b. Memi	Gjirokaster
Muharrem 1198 (Aralık 1783)	Milli Kütüp. A 9320	Dervish Muhammad b. Salih Akçahisarî (from Kruje)	Gjirokaster
1199 (1785)	M.K. AEŞ 1251	Muhammad Dervish	---
1200 (1786)	M.K. AEF 1031	Dervish İsa b. Kemaleddin	Gjirokaster
1201 (1787)	Atatürk Kitap. Osman E. TY 1322	Yusuf b. Kasım Mahmud	---
15 Mart 1207 (1793)	M.K. AEF 1030	Kasım	Donavat Quarter (Gjirokaster)
---	M.K. AEF 1032	Kasım Hâce	Donavat Quarter (Gjirokaster)
1207 (1792)	Süleymaniye, Mihrişah 380	Dervish Ebubekir b. Osman	
1209 (1794)	M.K. AEF 989	Müezzin Dervish İsa b. Kemaleddin Hâce	Gjirokaster
24 Zilkade 1209 Ct - 6 Haziran 1208 (11 Haziran 1795)	Vatikan 140	Durbeali Sultan Dergahı postnişini Bayram Baba'nın bendesi Zeynel Abidin Hasanî	Golos (Volos-Greece)
1210 (1795)	Atatür Kitap. Osman E. TY 1298	Dervish İsa b. Kemaleddin Hâce	Gjirokaster
1212 (1797)	M.K. AEF 269	Dervish İsa b. Kemaleddin Hâce	Gjirokaster Tekiyye Quarter
1213 (1798)	M.K. AEF 1052	Kutb Muhammad Kutb	Gjirokaster Aplaka Quarter

1214 (1799)	M.K. AEF 1042	Dervish Elmas b. Hüseyin b. İlyas	Gjirokaster
1215 (1800)	M.K. AEF 1035	Kutb Muhammad b. Ahmed b. Kazım b. Ali	Gjirokaster
Şa'bân 1216 (Aralık 1801)	M.K. AEF 993	Dervish Elmas b. Hüseyin b. İlyas	Gjirokaster
Zi'l-hicce 1220 (Mart 1806)	Milli Ktp. A 798	Mustafa b. Hüseyin Siyahî	Gjirokaster Menalat (منالآت) Quarter
1226 (1811)	A.Ü. Yazma Eserler Mustafa Con A 684	Dervish İsa b. Kemaleddin Hâce	Gjirokaster
1231 (1816)	İ. Ü. Türkçe 1696	Dervish Halil	---
1232 (1817)	Atatürk Kitap. Osman E. TY 656	Osman İsmetî	---
1233 (1818)	Süleymaniye Hacı Mahmut Ef. 3130	---	---
Muharrem 1240 (Eylül 1824)	Milli Kütüphane, A.2206	Mehmed Nuri Canker	Aksaray
1250 (1834)	Ms.or.oct.1591	Dervish Halil Bektaşî Hüseyinî İstanbulî	---
11 Muharrem 1256 (14 Mart 1840)	M.K. AEF 1041	Molla Aluş ibn-i Dervish İbrahim bin Muhtar bin Ali bin Muhammad Hâce	Gjirokaster Mescidler Quarter
1257 (1841)	İ. Ü. Türkçe 3989	Sayyid Nuh b. Ahmed el-Hâmidî el-Kayserî	Kayseri
1257 (1841)	Atatürk Üniv. Ktp. Seyfettin Özege Kitp. Agah Sırrı Levent Böl. No : 412	---	---
1261 (1845)	İ.Ü. TY 6821	Sayyid Muhammad Nûrî	---
Cemaziyel Ahir 1266 (Nisan 1850)	İ.Ü. TY 257	Sayyid Muhammad	---
1266 (1849)	Mevlana Müzesi AG 201	Sayyid Hafız Muhammad Şükrü	---
1268 (1851)	M.K. AEŞ 1355	Sayyid Muhammad Ali	---
1268 (1851)	Milli Kütüphane, A.2830	Mustafa Fahrî el-Kadirî	---
Cemaziyel Evvel 1268 (Şubat 1852)	Milli Ktp. A 3358	Genc Alizade E's-Sayyid Hüseyin	---
13 Ramazan 1272 (18 Mayıs 1856)	Milli Ktp. FB 207	Yusuf Muhlis Tebrizî	Trabzon
1273 (1856)	İ. Ü. İslam Araştırmaları Merkezi Ktp., no : 29	---	---
Cemaziyel Evvel 1274 (Aralık 1857)	Süleymaniye Yazma B. 2477	Sayyid Muhammad Hasib Baba	İskeçe (Xanthi-Greece)
1274 (1857)	İ.Ü. Türkçe 1280	---	---
1275 (1858)	M.K. AEM 391	Revnakî	---
1275 (1858)	Milli Ktp. 1688	Sayyid Mustafa Fahrî el-Kâdirî el-Alevî	---
1275 (1858)	Atatürk Kitap. Osman E. TY 642	---	---

7 Muharrem 1277 (26 Temmuz 1860)	Milli Ktp. A 921	Sayyid Zeynelabidin Nakşî el-Melâmî	---
1281 (1864)	M.K. AEM 282	Çekmeceli Mehmed Hâkî	---
1284 (1867)	Süleymaniye İzmir 438	---	---
1288 (1871)	Süleymaniye Nafiz P. 1509	Hasan Şevki b. El-Hac Muhammad Temel E't-Trabzonî	İstanbul (Çayırılı Madrasa)
1303 (1885)	A.Ü. Yazma Eserler Üniversite A 31	Es-Seydî Salih Efendi Yesârî	Zile (Tokat)
1312 (1895)	Milli Ktp. A 3329	Mustafa Cemâlî Üskübî	Skopje (Macedonia)
15 Safer 1314 (26 Temmuz 1896)	Milli Ktp. A 5707	Rıza Kemter	---
---	B.N. Persan Suppl. 107	Dervish Ahmet	---
---	Bayezit Devlet 9343	Dervish Ahmet	---
---	Hacı Selim Ağa Ktp. 3575	Dervish Mehmet	---

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