e-ISSN: 2149-7826

journal.phaselis.org

PHASELIS | Disiplinlerarası Akdeniz Araştırmaları Dergisi
Journal of Interdisciplinary Mediterranean Studies

Issue XI (2025)

Kâfî Baba Lodge: The Centre of Sufıstıc Educatıon in the Ottoman Phoenix in the Modern Age

Kâfî Baba Tekkesi: Yakınçağ Osmanlı Finikesi'nde Bir Tasavvufî Eğitim Merkezi

Mahmut DEMİR

https://orcid.org/0000-0002-1895-4086

OPEN ACCESS JOURNALS

The entire contents of this journal, *Phaselis: Journal of Interdisciplinary Mediterranean Studies,* is open to users and it is an 'open access' journal. Users are able to read the full texts, to download, to copy, print and distribute without obtaining the permission of the editor and author(s). However, all references to the articles published in the e-journal *Phaselis* are to indicate through reference the source of the citation from this journal.

Phaselis: Journal of Interdisciplinary Mediterranean Studies is a peer-reviewed journal and the articles which have had their peer reviewing process completed will be published on the web-site (journal.phaselis.org) in the year of the journal's issue (e.g. Issue X: January-December 2024). At the end of December 2024 the year's issue is completed and Issue XI: January-December 2025 will begin.

Responsibility for the articles published in this journal remains with the authors.

This work is licensed under a Creative Commons Attribution-NonCommercial-ShareAlike 4.0 International License.

Citation M. Demir, "Kâfî Baba Lodge: The Centre of Sufıstıc Educatıon in the Ottoman Phoenix in the Modern Age". *Phaselis* XI (2025) 1-14. http://dx.doi.org/10.5281/zenodo.14602025

Received Date: 11.11.2024 | Acceptance Date: 20.11.2024
Online Publication Date: 05.01.2025

Editing Phaselis Research Project
www.phaselis.org

PHASELIS

Geliş Tarihi: 11.11.2024
Kabul Tarihi: 20.11.2024
Yayın Tarihi: 05.01.2025

XI (2025) 1-14
DOI: 10.5281/zenodo.14602025
journal.phaselis.org

Kâfî Baba Lodge: The Centre of Sufistic Education in the Ottoman Phoenix in the Modern Age

Kâfî Baba Tekkesi: Yakınçağ Osmanlı Finikesi'nde Bir Tasavvufî Eğitim Merkezi

Mahmut DEMİR*

Abstract: Phoenix, which has an ancient history, has been one of the most important centers of the Lycia region and has maintained its importance for centuries. In particular, Bektashi, one of the most important Islamic Sufi orders, took root and developed around Phoenix. A lively social life was formed in the region during the Ottoman period. This vitality also manifested itself in the ancient city of Limyra, and the Kâfî Baba Lodge in Phoenix developed as a branch of the Abdal Musa Dervish Lodge in Elmalı and emerged as one of the important centers of the Alevi-Bektashi tradition. Kâfî Baba Lodge, which was certainly an important Sufi education center where the principles of Bektashi beliefs were taught, has a deep-rooted history. However, it has been destroyed over the centuries, so it has been the scene of a comprehensive reconstruction activity in the Modern Age, early XIXth century. Kâfî Baba Lodge is one of the most important and well-established centers of Alevi-Bektashi culture in the region. It is also one of the pioneering centers of the early colonizing dervish movement that was instrumental in the Islamisation of Phoenix and Limyra. This study discusses the personality of Kâfî Baba, who gave his name to the tekke. The available data about the tekke were evaluated, and a re-reading of the Ottoman Turkish funerary inscription of Hasan Baba, located adjacent to the tekke, was undertaken, resulting in the identification of addenda and corrigenda.

Keywords: Kâfî Baba Lodge, Abdal Musa, Phoenix, Sufistic Education, Bektashism

Öz: Kadim bir tarihi geçmişe sahip olan Finike, bağlı olduğu Lykia Bölgesi'nin en önemli merkezlerinden birisi olmuştur ve önemini yüzyıllar boyunca sürdürmüştür. Özellikle İslam tasavvuf tarikatlarının en önemlilerinden olan Bektâşîliğin Finike çevresinde kök salıp gelişmesiyle birlikte Osmanlılar zamanında bölgede canlı bir sosyal hayat oluşmuştur. Bu canlılık kendisini Limyra antik kenti içerisinde de göstermiş, Elmalı'daki Abdal Musa Dergâhı'nın şubesi olarak Finike'deki Kâfî Baba Tekkesi gelişim göstermiş, Alevî-Bektâşi geleneğinin önemli merkezlerinden birisi olarak ortaya çıkmıştır. Bektâşî inanç esaslarının öğretildiği önemli bir tasavvufi eğitim merkezi olduğu muhakkak olan Kâfî Baba Tekkesi, köklü bir geçmişe sahip olmakla birlikte yüzyıllar içerisinde tahrip olmuş bu nedenle Yakınçağ'da XIX. yüzyılın başlarında kapsamlı bir imar faaliyetine sahne olmuştur. Kâfî Baba Tekkesi Alevî-Bektâşi kültürünün bölgedeki en önemli ve köklü merkezlerindendir. Ayrıca Finike ve Limyra çevresinin Müslümanlaşmasında etkili olan erken dönem kolonizatör derviş hareketinin öncü merkezlerinden de birisidir. Bu çalışmada tekkeye adını veren Kâfî Baba'nın kişiliği ele alınmış, tekke ile ilgili eldeki veriler değerlendirilmiş, tekkenin bitişiğinde yer alan Hasan Baba'ya ait Osmanlıca Türkçe mezar kitabesinin yeniden okunması sonucunda eklemeler ve düzeltmeler yapılmıştır.

Anahtar Sözcükler: Kâfî Baba Tekkesi, Abdal Musa, Finike, Tasavvufî Eğitim, Bektaşilik

* Dr., Antalya. mahmutdemirr7@gmail.com | https://orcid.org/0000-0002-1895-4086
We would like to sincerely thank Dr. Banu Yener-Marksteiner and the Diskeles Association for their contribution to the preparation of this study.

Introduction

The region, which was called Lycia-Pamphylia in antiquity and included the cities of Phoenix and Limyra, began to be called Teke Eli/ili in the Middle Ages and later. This region was located in the south of Anatolia and included centers such as Antalya, Kaş, Kalkanlı, Milli, Gömbe, Elmalı, İstanoz and Karahisar. This region was probably named Teke Eli in the second half of the XIVth century during the reign of Mübârizeddîn Mehmed Bey, who was famous with the title Emirü's-Sevâhil[1]. Phoenix, one of the most important and oldest centres of the Teke Region (Lycia-Pamphylia), was not only a port city but also a religious centre. While Limyra was the religious centre of the region from the late IVth century AD until the IXth century AD, the episcopal centre was moved to the coastal city of Phoenix at the end of the same century and Limyra began to lose its importance. In addition to being a port city and a religious centre, the city was also located on the roads extending from the West to the East, which increased the importance of the city. In the VII-IXth centuries, when Arab attacks increased, Phoenix was attached to the Kibyrraioton Thema of the Late Roman Empire together with the important centres in the region[2]. After the Battle of Manzikert in 1071, when the power of the Byzantine Empire in Anatolia significantly decreased, Turks started to come to the Lycia-Pamphylia region. They started to settle in the region on a large scale after the fall of the fortified area of Philetos north of Elmalı in 1158. Khoma, Kibyra, Podalya, Balbura and Bubon are thought to be among the first centres where Turks settled after this development[3]. In the following period, especially with the conquests carried out by the Seljuqs, it is also suggested that more Turkish communities came to the region, especially from the end of the XIIth century, and that they may have settled in the cities of Limyra and Rhodiapolis[4]. The presence of Turks in Lycia-Pamphylia, especially in the coastal areas, becomes more evident in the XIIIth century. As a matter of fact, the Seljuqs conquered Attaleia (Antalya), the most important centre of the region, on 5 March 1207 and started to settle Turks in the region. According to İlhan Erdem, the Seljuks did not show much interest in the Lycian region, nor did they bring services here. On the other hand, the region was left out of the Anatolian transport network. For this reason, the Turks in the region preserved their identity due to the lifestyle and culture they brought from Central Asia. Mystical sheikhs called Turkmen Babas were influential among the Turks in this region, to which the Seljuqs were indifferent. Among these groups, the dervishes who came to the region after growing up in the dervish lodges of Baba Ilyas Khorasani, Haji Bektâş Veli and Sarı Saltuk are particularly important. Especially Bektashi dervishes had a great influence among the Muslim-Turkish communities in this region[5]. After the dissolution of the Seljuks of Turkey, Phoenix remained mostly under the rule of Hamidids in the period we call the Principalities period, but political instability was experienced in the region. Towards the end of the century, the Ottomans, a great political power under the rule of Yıldırım Bayezid, came to the region. In Fact the Teke region, including Phoenix, was conquered by the Ottomans during the reign of the Ottoman Sultan Yıldırım Bayezid (1389-1403)[6].

With the Ottoman rule, the social classes and settlement centers in and around Phoenix became more visible. The data on this subject are largely obtained from Ottoman waqf and tahrir records. According to the records of the General Directorate of Foundations, a total of 16

1 Tekindağ 1977, 55.
2 Güçlü 2011, 415-416.
3 Erdem 2016, 244-245.
4 Güçlü 2011, 418.
5 Erdem 2016, 246-249.
6 Oruç Bey 2009, 37; Kemalpaşazade 2000, 209; Hoca Sadettin Efendi 1999, 197-198.

foundations were established in Phoenix during the Ottoman period[7]. For example, the Abdal Musa Lodge, which is located in Tekkeköy in Elmalı today, is recorded as being located in Phoenix in 1455 and 1479-1480. In 1530 dated tahrir record, it is written that the lodge was located in Elmalı this time[8]. This suggests that the lodge was moved to Elmalı after 1480, or that Elmalı was connected to Phoenix at the time of the 1455 and 1479-1480 records. In the *Defter-i Evkâf-ı Livâ-i Teke*, prepared before 1567, it is mentioned that a mosque in Phoenix had a foundation land with a revenue of 30 akçe in Sırataş locality near Elmalı Abdal Musa Lodge and that there was a bathhouse in Phoenix, which was a part of the foundation of this mosque but was completely ruined[9]. There is also some information about the foundation records of the Abdal Musa Lodge in Elmalı in the same book. Accordingly, it is understood that the lodge owned a paddy mill with a revenue of 500 akçe at Göksu River in Phoenix and a place in Phoenix that brought 360 akçe income[10]. In the Ottoman records, there are also records of many zawiyas in Phoenix. These are Isik Ilyas Zawiyah in Gilevgi Village of Phoenix, Çeke Dede Zawiyah in Ernaz Village, Mevlana Bedreddin son of Lutfi Zawiyah in Halaçlar Village, Haji Garib Zawiyah and Seydi Melik Zawiyah in Phoenix. The first records of these five zawiyas are found in the tahrir book dated 1530. The names of these five zawiyahs are also mentioned in the foundation book dated 1567[11]. Considering the foundation and tahrir records of Teke Livası in the XVth and XVIth centuries, it is understood that Turkmen communities started to settle in the region from the early dates and that there was a vibrant social life. Turkmen influx to the region continued in the following period. In general, the Teke region remained far away from the influence of Sunni Islam, and for this reason, a structure under the old Turkish customs and lifestyle was formed in the region. Bektashis had an influenced on the people with this structure[12]. According to the Ottoman Tahrir Book No. 107 prepared in the XVIth century, it is seen that the Yoruk Community was registered in Phoenix[13]. When we look at the people living in and around Phoenix today, Tahtacis living according to the Old Turkish traditions, communities belonging to Alevi-Bektashi culture and belief, and Yoruks continue to exist.

A Bektashi in Phoenix and Neighbourhood: Abdal Musa

Abdal Musa, one of the most important Sufis in Anatolia, was a Turkmen dervish belonging to the Abdals of Rum. The fact that his name was heard in the region where the Ottoman Principality sprouted and that he was associated with the establishment of the Janissary Corps makes him very important. Although it is rumored that he was originally from the city of Hoy in Azerbaijan, his exact date of birth is not known. According to Alevi/Bektashi tradition, Abdal Musa was the son of Hasan Gazi, one of the sons of Haydar Ata, who was a descendant of the Prophet Muhammad and the uncle of Haji Bektaş Veli[14]. He is one of the most important figures of Haji Bektâş Veli lodge. Abdal Musa, a disciple of Hatun Ana, one of the Bacıyan-ı Rum, who succeeded Pir after his death, had a great role in the spread of the Bektashi tradition. After growing up in Haji Bektâş Veli he traveled to the borders of Western Anatolia and came to the lands of the Ottoman Principality and spread the tradition of Haji Bektâş Veli among the veterans here[15]. Abdal Musa has a privileged place in the Bektashi tradition. Because the lodge he founded is the second ashtān of Bektashism

7 Erdoğru 1995, 95.
8 Karaca 2002, 378.
9 Erdoğru 1995, 159.
10 Erdoğru 1995, 169.
11 Karaca 2002, 380-383.
12 Tekindağ 1977, 55-57.
13 Güçlü 2011, 421.
14 Şahin 2007, 98-99.
15 Ocak 1992, 373.

after the office of the Pīr[16]. The eleventh of the twelve peltries laid on the ground during the Bektashi ritual is known as the 'Abdal Musa Sultan Peltry'. It is also stated that Abdal Musa was with Orhan Gazi during his conquest of Bursa and had a close relationship with the venerable figure called Geyikli Baba[17].

The main importance of Abdal Musa stems from the fact that he was the person who prevented the name of Haji Bektâş Veli from being forgotten and ensured the spread of his tradition. According to Ahmet Yaşar Ocak, Abdal Musa and those around him carried out one of the most important events in the history of religion and mysticism in Anatolia in the XIVth century. They ensured the spread and establishment of the tradition of Haji Bektâş Veli among both the ruling class and other social groups in the geography where the Ottomans sprouted[18]. Abdal Musa established contact with Geyikli Baba in the Ottoman geography and probably with his guidance, he left that region and moved to the Teke Region on the southwestern Anatolian coast[19].

The movement of Abdal Musa from the vicinity of Bursa, where the first traces of his tradition are seen, to the Teke Region is a development that should be emphasized both for that period and for the future. Especially for the Phoenix-Elmalı region, which is within the Teke Region, the arrival of Abdal Musa to the region is particularly important. It is believed that Abdal Musa, after leaving the Ottoman lands, emigrated to the Aydin region, where mostly heterodox Turkish communities lived, and then to the Teke region, which was the centre of the Kizilbash. Since the Teke region has been inhabited by Turkmen tribes of Shiite faith, especially Tahtacis, it is easy to understand how the Abdal Musa tradition settled and spread here. Finally, Abdal Musa came to Phoenix via Aydın and Denizli and settled here[20]. With the arrival of Abdal Musa in the region, the Bektashi tradition was rooted in Phoenix and its surroundings. Musa Seyirci, based on the data he obtained from his researches and travels in the Phoenix region, states that there are lodges and foundation lands belonging to the Abdal Musa tradition in the Feteke Village of Kalkanlı, as well as in the villages of Bayadlar (Zümrütova) and Karamak (Karamık)[21]. Apart from this, there are also the graves of people such as Budala Sultan, Sevündük Dede, Kilerci Baba, Baltası Gedik, Mestan Dede, Keramet Baba and Oturak Dede in the region as traces of the Abdal Musa tradition[22]. As Fuad Köprülü states, after the arrival of Abdal Musa in the region and the strengthening and settlement of Bektâşism in the region, some tombs and lodges were connected to the Abdal Musa tradition[23].

Kâfî Baba's Personality

There is no clear and detailed information about the life of Kâfî Baba, who gave his name to the lodge located in the ancient city of Limyra and whose name is mentioned in the inscription of the lodge. The most valuable information about him is found in the Abdal Musa Velâyetnama. According to the information here, one day Abdal Musa asked his disciples if they had any request from him. Upon this, firstly a disciple named Abdal Kefî (آبدال کفی) came and asked for his patronage. Abdal Musa, on the other hand, said that he gave him a place called *evvel Lotanya ve ahir Lotanya* (اوّل لوتنیه و آخر لوتنیه). Then, after a dialogue between Abdal Musa and Abdal Kefî, Abdal Musa sang his famous poem mentioning his lineage and hometown[24]. The Abdal Kefî mentioned here is most probably Kâfî Baba, who gave his name to the lodge in the ancient city of Limyra. In our opinion, it is also possible that the former Lotanya and the latter Lotanya, i.e. the new and the old Lotanya,

16 Ögke 2013, 136.
17 Köprülü 1988, 64.
18 Ocak 2005, 231-233.
19 Uçar 2010, 275.
20 Köprülü 1973, 205-206; Köprülü 1988, 64; Uçar 2010, 275-276.
21 Seyirci 1999, 28-29.
22 Seyirci 1999, 61-64.
23 Köprülü 1973, 202.
24 Güzel 1999, 151-153.

mentioned in the Velâyetnama of Abdal Musa are the corrupted form of the name of the ancient city of Limyra used by the Muslim Turks in the region.

With this information found in the Velâyetnama of Abdal Musa, it is understood that Abdal Kefî was one of the leading disciples of Abdal Musa and that he was given a separate lodge for the continuation of the tradition. It is also possible that Abdal Musa was at that time in his lodge in Elmalı or elsewhere and therefore sent Abdal Kefî to Limyra. Fuad Köprülü, in a Menakıpnama of Kaygusuz Abdal, which he himself did not see, conveys information about Kâfî Baba's establishment of a lodge in the present place. According to this information, Kaygusuz Abdal, a disciple of Abdal Musa, left Kâfî Baba in the area where the lodge is located in Limyra during his journey to Egypt[25]. Even though the information conveyed by the legends is of a very low degree of authenticity, the state of the records on this subject obliges us to take into account the legendary information. However, according to a popular rumor, Kâfî Baba was sent to Phoenix by Abdal Musa himself to invite the people in the region to Islam and to ensure contact with his disciple Kaygusuz Abdal in Egypt by sea[26].

In some publications on the historical personality of Kâfî Baba, it is recorded that he was originally from Alaiyye and that he died in 870 AH, 1454 AD. Based on a record in the *Risaletü'l-Ahmediyye* of Ahmet Sırrı Baba, one of the last Bektashi Babas, the same records state that Kâfî Baba's real name was Muhammed bin Nida-i Kasım. They also state that he was influenced by Hurufism and that he was known for his work *Maarifname-i Kaf u Nun*, which he wrote about Hasan Sabbah's *Iqan*, a Batinist exegesis of the Qur'an. In the same studies, the text of the inscription on the Kâfî Baba Lodge is given incorrectly and the above information is tried to be supported by adding the phrase "*Kaf u Nun'la dile geldi eyledi Hakke'l-Yakiyn*" which is not in the inscription itself[27]. However, as we have shown above, the information in the Velayetnama of Abdal Musa shows that Kâfî Baba lived next to Abdal Musa. On the other hand, the statement "*Aşıkı idi o şahın devlet-i eyyamına*" in the inscription of Kâfî Baba Lodge shows that he was connected to Abdal Musa during his lifetime and that he was a contemporary of him. Therefore, it is very unlikely that the information given by the researchers about Kâfî Baba is correct. In addition, although Şehabettin Tekindağ states that Kâfî Baba was Abdal Musa's chief cook, he does not cite any source[28]. From the relatively reliable information available, it can be concluded that Kâfî Baba was a contemporary and disciple of Abdal Musa and that he came to the ancient city of Limyra under his guidance and founded a lodge in the Abdal Musa Bektashi tradition.

Kâfî Baba's Lodge in Limyra/Finike

The most important trace of the Abdal Musa tradition, and therefore of Bektâşism, in and around Phoenix in the Teke Region is undoubtedly the Kâfî Baba Lodge located in the ancient city of Limyra. The tomb is in Saklısu Neighbourhood of Yuvalı Village of Phoenix. It is rumored that the old name of the place where the tomb is located is Zengeder[29]. Kâfî Baba Lodge was restored in

25 Köprülü 1973, 202.

26 Seyirci 1999, 61.

27 Koca tarihsiz, 82-84; Aksüt 2008, 18-19; Burkan 2010, 79. In addition to these sources, Abdulhalim Durma, in his work, lists the postmasters of Kâfî Baba Lodge. The list here is as follows: Kâfî Baba (d. 1454), Aynî Hasan Baba (d. 1811), Kalecikli Haki Baba (d. 1813), Seyyid İbrahim Baba (d. 1821), Mustafa Baba (d. 1859), Yaşar Agâhi Baba (d. 1885), Cafer Baba (d. 1897), Süleyman Vehbi Baba (d. 1901) and Ramazan Baba (d. 1911). Durma 2016, 163-164. The research in question also contains brief information about the postmasters whose names are listed here. However, since it does not base this information on any source and gives the date of Kâfî Baba's death as 1454 like the other sources above, we think that the information it contains should be met with skepticism.

28 Tekindağ 1977, 75. Werner T. Bauer also states that Kâfî Baba was the cook of Abdal Musa based on the inscription on the ledge. See. Bauer 1999, 121. However, as seen above, there is no word in the text of the inscription that gives this information. This information is probably due to the fact that the first word of the 3rd line of the inscription, "*Aşığı/His devoote*", was mistakenly read as "Aşçı/cook" or "Aşçısı/his cook".

29 Güzel 1999, s. 35; Aksüt 2008, 18.

1960. It has a rectangular plan and measures 13.5 x 8.5 meters. The tomb inside belongs to Kâfî Baba and is made of concrete and is 4 meters long. It is rumored that the tomb is visited by childless women and those who want to make offerings[30]. (Fig. 1-2).

Fig. 1: Kâfî Baba Lodge (Demir, 2019)

Fig. 2: Interior view of Kâfî Baba Lodge (Demir, 2019)

The oldest trace of Kâfî Baba Lodge in the official records is found in a document from the reign of Sultan Mehmed the Conqueror, which contains the foundation records of the Teke region. In this foundation book, which seems to have been prepared by two officials named Oruç Bey and Edhem Bey during the reign of Ottoman Sultan Murat II, it is recorded that there was an Abdal Musa Lodge in Phoenix[31]. According to the record in this document titled *Defter-i Evkâf-ı Vilayet-i Teke*, the Abdal Musa Lodge in Phoenix could not be found in the book. However, it is recorded that it had a foundation from the past and the Ottoman Sultan of the period recognized the foundation and gave its certificate to a person named Saki Muhammed. It is also recorded in the document that there were 3 houses attached to the lodge and the land of the lodge had an income of 2320 coin[32]. From this record, it is clearly understood that a person named Sâkî Mehmed was in charge of the lodge in Phoenix at the time the book was written, and that the lodge was established much earlier and passed on to the Ottomans. While there is information about the Abdal Musa Lodge in Elmalı in the foundation and tahrir records of the later Ottoman period, there is no information about any Abdal Musa Lodge in Phoenix[33]. However, in a foundation record of Elmalı Abdal Musa Lodge obtained from the Land Registry and Cadastre records, it is recorded that the lodge had foundation lands around a zawiya in Phoenix[34]. Although the name of the lodge in Phoenix is not mentioned in the document, this lodge is most probably Kâfî Baba Lodge. There are other views on the existence of the Phoenix Kâfî Baba Lodge in the Ottoman records.

It is suggested that the Kâfî Baba Lodge in the ancient city of Limyra may have been founded during the Seljuq period. On the other hand, it is also stated that the establishment of the lodge here was in accordance with the religious position of Limyra in the Byzantine period. According to this view, with this lodge opened by Abdal Musa in Limyra, his tradition took the place of the legendary St Nicholas living in Myra in the IVth century AD, and even provided cultural transformation in the region by influencing Muslim and non-Muslim people at the same time[35]. However, it is very unlikely that the lodge was founded during the Seljuq period. Because, as mentioned above, Abdal Musa had been in the geography where the Ottomans flourished and then came to the Teke Region and settled in the region. Therefore, his arrival in the region and the

30 Seyirci 1999, 59-61.
31 Altınay 1340, 68-69.
32 Altınay 1340, 73. See also for this waqf record. Erten 1940, 123-127.
33 Erdoğru 1995, 169-173.
34 The document in question has been published by Musa Seyirci from the Foundations section of Süleyman Fikri Erten's unpublished work "Abdal Musa-Kaygusuz Baba". See. Seyirci 1999, 107-108.
35 Güçlü 2011, 431-432.

establishment of the lodge in Limyra must have taken place in the first half of the XIVth century. The foundation record from the reign of Mehmed the Conqueror shows that the lodge had been in existence for a long time, strengthens the idea that it was established as early as the first half of the XIVth century. In addition, the fact that the Abdal Musa Lodge is mentioned only in Phoenix although Elmalı is mentioned in the document in question is also evidence that the Abdal Musa tradition was only in Phoenix at that time[36]. There is also a rumor about the establishment of the lodge in the Velayetnama of Abdal Musa. According to the narration, when Abdal Musa came to the region, he descended from the plateau to the coastal area and established a lodge here. According to Prof. Dr. Abdurrahman Güzel, who published the Velayetnama, the lodge in the coastal area mentioned here should be Kâfî Baba Lodge[37]. Fuad Köprülü, based on a legend of Kaygusuz Abdal, states that Kaygusuz Abdal, the most famous disciple of Abdal Musa, was initiated in the lodge known today as Kâfî Baba Lodge and traveled to Egypt with his companions from there[38]. However, it is also rumored that Kaygusuz Abdal was initiated into Abdal Musa in Elmalı[39]. This second narration is more accepted among researchers.

The famous Abdal Musa Lodge in Elmalı developed in the middle of the XVIIth century, as Evliya Çelebi states. According to the information given by the sources, more than three hundred mücerred dervishes who adhered to the belief of Ahl-i Sunnah lived in Elmalı Abdal Musa Lodge. It is estimated that this lodge near Elmalı was founded after the development of Bektashism in the XVIth century. With the development of the lodge in Elmalı, the Abdal Musa narrations, which were found in and around Kâfî Baba Lodge near Phoenix, gradually shifted here[40]. Werner T. Bauer states that one of the reasons for the shift of the Abdal Musa tradition from Limyra to Elmalı further inland may be the decline of the importance of the port of Phoenix. According to him, Phoenix was experiencing its heyday in the XIVth and XVth centuries when the tradition was located in Limyra[41]. Hasluck's work should be considered as one of the sources that directly mentions Kâfî Baba Lodge. The information given by the work about the lodge is as follows: "*Phoenix is the harbour of Elmalı. It has a lodge containing the grave of Kâfî Baba. This must have been the lodge indicated by Petersen and Luşan to be in the neighbourhood of Limyra. In 1884 there were two dervishes here*"[42]. As can be seen, the study emphasizes that Phoenix was the harbor of Elmalı in the late XIXth century and states that dervishes lived in Kâfî Baba Lodge.

In Evliya Çelebi's records, it is mentioned that there is an Abdal Musa Lodge in a very beautiful location among lemon, citrus, pomegranate and fig trees near Phoenix. It is also pointed out that the number of dervishes in the lodge was small since it did not have any foundation, but still around 40-50 poor people resided in the lodge. Lastly, he states that two people named Nazar Dede and Balım Dede are buried in the garden of the lodge[43]. This lodge mentioned by Evliya Çelebi is certainly the present Kâfî Baba Lodge. He gives very detailed information about the Abdal Musa Lodge in Elmalı[44]. Today, the area where Kâfî Baba Lodge is located corresponds exactly to the description of a beautiful place surrounded by orchards described by Evliya Çelebi. The area is used by the people as a spacious promenade with its freshwater spring flowing next to it and the surrounding pomegranate and citrus groves. The whereabouts of the gravestones of Nazar Dede and Balım Dede recorded by Evliya Çelebi are not clear. The only inscribed tombstone near the

36 Köprülü 1973, 206; Güzel 1999, 55.
37 Güzel 1999, 141, fn. 2.
38 Köprülü 1999, 202; Güçlü 2011, 432. See also for the journey of Kaygusuz Abdal, a disciple of Abdal Musa, to Egypt and his adventures there. Köprülü 1939, 13-39; Güzel 2018.
39 Azamat 2002, 74; Güzel 1996, 302; 2018, 61; Çift 2011, 113.
40 Köprülü 1968, 64.
41 Bauer 1999, 119-120.
42 Bauer 1999, 120; Hasluck 2000, 8.
43 Evliya Çelebi 2011, 300.
44 Evliya Çelebi 2011, 297-298.

lodge is the tombstone of Hasan Baba mentioned above. It is highly probable that the graves of Nazar Dede and Balım Dede, who were probably the postnishins of the lodge, are in the irregular and uninscribed dervish cemetery just behind the lodge (Fig. 3). There is also the grave of a man named Bedir Baba in the ancient city of Limyra near the Kâfî Baba Lodge. There is no trace of Bedir Baba's grave and there is no information about him in the records. However, when the Kâfî Baba Lodge, Hasan Baba's grave, the dervish cemetery next to the lodge, the remains of the building and Bedir Baba's grave are combined, it becomes clear that there was a cult tradition in the city of Limyra (Fig. 4).

Fig. 3. The Dervish Cemetery of Kâfî Baba Lodge (Demir, 2019)

Fig. 4. Bedir Baba's tomb (Demir, 2019)

Süleyman Fikri Erten, the founder of the Antalya Museum and author of the famous History of Antalya Livası, also mentions Kâfî Baba Lodge in his work. He states that the tomb is located near the ruins of Limyra (لميرا), about an hour's drive west of Phoenix. He also states that the tomb is located in a very beautiful location, decorated with a large garden, surrounded by various cells and large kitchens. According to him, these ruins show that this place was once home to a very crowded congregation. For this reason, the lodge certainly had large-scale foundations that could sustain this crowd[45]. Based on the remains of the buildings around the Kâfî Baba Lodge, it is thought that there was once a Cem House (Meydan House), a guesthouse, a soup kitchen and large accommodation spaces where Alevi/Bektashi Sufi rituals were performed and etiquette and manners training was given[46]. When the ruins around the lodge are analyzed, it is understood that Kâfî Baba Lodge once housed a crowded community of people. Numerous dervish graves and various living spaces are visible in the vicinity, indicating that the lodge was in a condition to meet the needs of a crowded community. The location of this lodge, which is one of the most important Bektashi centers in the region, its size and the presence of a postmaster indicate that Sufi education on the manners and etiquette of the Bektashi order was given here. As a matter of fact, it is a necessity to provide Sufi education in a place where there is a community of order. In this respect, Kâfî Baba Lodge is also a centre of Sufi education. On the other hand, some data reveals the active life of the lodge and its ties with other Bektashi centres. This data is a graffiti written on the kitchen wall of the Kafi Baba Lodge by a Bektashi named Nuri, an Abdal Musa affiliate who visited the lodge, and is dated 27 Rajab 1273 (23 March 1857). This inscription, which was written on the kitchen wall of the Kafi Baba Lodge, was revealed when the plaster covering it fell off during heavy rainfall in the winter of 2002 and was documented by Giray Ercenk and brought to the world of science. However, due to the disappearance of the plaster protecting it, the writing in question was erased in a short time and has not survived to the present day. Although there is a hadîs-i sharîf or a word of wisdom from caliph Ali written in Arabic just below the writing, the rest cannot be read. The parts written in Ottoman Turkish and readable are as follows:

45 Erten 1340-1338, 192-193.
46 Koçyiğit 2023, 1612.

پیر ابدال موسی سلطان کمینه کمتری نوری
یا حضرت کافی بابا
فی ۲۷ رجب سنه ۷۳(۱۲)

Abdâl Musa Sultân's humble servant Nuri
O hazrati Kâfî Baba
in 27 Rajab year hijri [12]73 (23 March 1857)[47]

Werner T. Bauer, who saw the remains of the buildings near the Kâfî Baba Lodge, states that one of the buildings may have been the kitchen of the lodge and the other may have been the square where religious ceremonies were performed[48] (Fig. 5-6).

Fig. 5. Kitchen and other buildings of Lodge (Demir, 2019)

Fig. 6. Another view of the building ruins (Demir, 2019)

Süleyman Fikri Erten states in his work that the original inscription containing the death date of Kâfî Baba, who gave his name to the tomb, is not available, but he gave the text of the Ottoman Turkish inscription dated 1231 (1815-1816) on the tomb. The text and transcription of the inscription in Ottoman Turkish is as follows:

پیر ثانی حضرت آبدال موسی نك خادمی
عشقی ایدی او شاهك دولت ایامنه
سید ابراهیم دده اول پشوای مؤمنین
توربه سین قیلدی مهیا یکیدن اول خانمان

کلشن زار ایچره اسرار حقایق محرمی
کافی بابا دیرلر ایدی اشبو أرك نامنه
سی و یك سال مسندنده اولمشدی همنشین
تاریخدرشش جهاتك پاسبان دیدبان ۱۲۳۱[49]

Gülşen-i zâr içre esrâr-ı hakâyık mahremi
Kâfî Baba dirler idi işbu erin nâmına
Sî u yek sâl mesnedinde olmuşdu hem-nişîn
Târihidir şeş cihâtın pâsbân-ı dîdebân 1231
(Fig. 7).

Pîr-i sânî Hazret-i Abdâl Musânın hâdimi
Âşığı idi o şâhın devlet-i eyyâmına
Seyyid İbrâhîm Dede ol pîşvâ-yı mü'minîn
Türbesin kıldı müheyyâ yeniden ol hânümân

47 Ercenk 2021, 319.

48 Bauer 1999, 121.

49 Erten 1340-1338, 193. In the printed text given by Süleyman Fikri Erten, there are reading errors and missing words, probably due to the poor condition of the inscription. The text of the inscription was viewed by us on site and the words were checked one by one. Missing words and misreadings have been corrected and the correct text is given here. The text of the inscription in question is also given in the work titled Abdal Musa Sultan written by Musa Seyirci. However, the text here is a transcription of the Ottoman Turkish text given by Süleyman Fikri Erten and repeats the reading errors found in the said text. See. Seyirci 1999, 59-60. See also for the inscription of the lodge. Kapusuzoğlu 2001, 31; Koçyiğit 2021, 176-177.

Fig. 7. The inscription of Kâfî Baba Lodge (Demir, 2019)

Seyyid İbrahim Dede, whose name is mentioned in the small inscription on the door of the lodge and who is understood to have repaired the lodge, is the head of the religious order of the Abdal Musa Lodge in Elmalı. Although it is thought that he was the head of the religious order of Kâfî Baba Lodge because of the inscription, his grave is in the treasury of Elmalı Abdal Musa Lodge and it is clearly written on his gravestone that he was the postnisha of Abdal Musa Lodge. On the other hand, it is recorded on his tombstone that he passed away on 25 Muharram 1237 (22 October 1821)[50]. Seyyid İbrahim Dede rebuilt the tomb of Abdal Musa and its surroundings in Abdal Musa Lodge 3 years after Kâfî Baba Lodge during his the head of the religious order period. This is understood from the inscriptions dated 1228 AH (1813 AD) with the name of Seyyid İbrahim Dede on the network around the cist of Abdal Musa[51]. The inscription on the well of the Abdal Musa Lodge dated 1234 AH (1818/1819 AD), which also mentions Seyyid İbrahim Dede, clearly reveals this situation[52]. It is understood that the last postmaster of Kâfî Baba Lodge was Ramazan Baba. He died in Katerin Lodge in Greece, which he had visited, and his tombstone was written by Tahir Baba in talik calligraphy. The surviving marble tombstone is cylindrical and prepared in accordance with the Bektashi tradition. There is a Bektashi headdress in Hüseyni style and a necklace with a surrender stone engraved on it. The 14-line tombstone clearly states that Ramazan Baba died on 22 Teşrin-i sâni 1326 (5 December 1910) and that he was the postmaster of the Bektashi Dervish Lodge in Phoenix, Antalya[53].

A critical point is that Seyyid İbrahim Dede, the postmaster of Elmalı Abdal Musa Logde, repaired and restored the Kafi Baba Lodge. Because this activity sheds light on the connection between him and the lodge in Elmalı with Kâfî Baba Lodge. The repair of Kâfî Baba Lodge, which is thought to be the earliest centre of the Abdal Musa tradition in the Teke Region, emphasizes its place and importance in the tradition. In short, Seyyid İbrahim Dede, who knew the place of Kâfî Baba Lodge in his own tradition, tried to ensure that the roots of the tradition were not forgotten and that the relic of Abdal Musa in Kâfî Baba Lodge did not succumb to time and disappear, and revived the lodge by restoring it. There is another piece of information that reveals the ties of Kâfî Baba Lodge with Elmalı Abdal Musa Lodge. According to this, Elmalı Abdal Musa Lodge was the richest lodge in Anatolia. The properties of Kâfî Baba in Phoenix, Kerâmeddin in Kaş and Haydar Baba in Elmalı were also connected to the Elmalı Abdal Musa Lodge. Of these three lodges, Kâfî Baba Lodge was repaired in the early XIXth century, while no trace of the other two lodges remains[54]. The fact that only Kâfî Baba Lodge was repaired and restored while the other two lodges were deprived of it clearly shows that this lodge was an important center for the Bektashi tradition[55]. On the other hand, there is some information in Evliya Çelebi's work that in addition to

---

50 Karaçağ 2011, 103. For example, Werner T. Bauer states that Seyyid İbrahim Dede was the postmaster of Kâfî Baba Lodge based on the lodge inscription and that he remained in this position for 18 years (Bauer 1999, 121). However, as mentioned above, it is clearly understood from his tombstone and the construction activities he carried out that Seyyid İbrahim Baba was the postmaster of Elmalı Abdal Musa Lodge.

51 Güzel 1999, 34-35.

52 Akçay 1970, 368-369.

53 Tanman 1990, 22-23; Koçyiğit 2021, 176.

54 Maden 2013, 127, n. 129.

55 However, it is really interesting that Kâfî Baba's name is not mentioned in the Ottoman estate and tahrir records and other archival documents related to the region. However, Hatice Durgun makes an evaluation of Kâfî Baba Lodge in her article on the foundations of Elmalı Abdal Musa Lodge, which she published based on the documents in the Prime Ministry Ottoman Archives. He thinks that the Sheikh Gebran Zawiyah mentioned in the documents numbered BOA, EV. d 15024, BOA, EV. d 20206, BOA, EV. d 22983, which he came across during his research, and

the Kâfî Baba Lodge in the vicinity of Phoenix, there is the tomb of another Abdal Musa caliph in Sevindik Dede Village and that several dervishes lived in the vicinity[56]. From the information given by Evliya Çelebi, it is understood that the Abdal Musa tradition lived intensively in Lodge and Elmalı regions and that there was an ancient connection between Elmalı Abdal Musa Lodge and Limyra Kâfî Baba Lodge. As mentioned above, the reconstruction activities of Seyyid İbrahim Dede, the postmaster of Elmalı Abdal Musa Lodge, are aimed at preserving both the Abdal Musa tradition and the bond between the two lodges in the region. On the other hand, there is another piece of data on the connection between the lodges in Elmalı and Phoenix. A modern study of the people visiting the Elmalı Abdal Musa Lodge revealed that there were also visitors from the Phoenix region among those who visited the lodge[57]. In short, the Abdal Musa tradition in the Phoenix and Elmalı regions is still alive and the connection between the two lodges continues.

In addition to the Ottoman Turkish repair inscription of Seyyid İbrahim Dede in the Limyra Kâfî Baba Lodge, there is also a grave of a Bektashi Babas with a 12-slice Fahîr-type serpuş right next to the lodge[58]. No record on his gravestone would constitute direct evidence of his relationship with the Kâfî Baba Lodge. It is only clearly understood that he belonged to the Bektashi order. However, since the Fâhir serpuş of the gravestone is specific to the Bektashi Babas who held the postmaster, and since the grave is located right next to the lodge, it is possible that Hasan Baba was a postmaster in the Kâfî Baba Lodge. The Ottoman Turkish text of Hasan Baba's tombstone in classical style and its transcription into today's letters are as follows:

1-) Huve’l-Hallâkü’l-Bâki	١ـ هوُالخلاّق البْاقىْ
2-) Cennet-mekân-ı Firdevs-	٢ـ جنّتْ مْكانْ فردوسْ
3-) Aşiyân mürşid-i erkân-ı	٣ـ اشيانْ مُرشْد اركانْ
4-) Tarikat ve pişvâyı sülûk-ı	٤ـ طريْقتْ و پيشْواى سُلوكْ
5-) Erbâb-ı hakikat Hazret-i	٥ـ ارْبابْ حَقيقتْ حَضْرَتْ
6-) Hâcı Bektâş Velî Sultân	٦ـ حَاجىْ بكتاش وَلى سُلطانْ
7-) Fukârâsından Es-Seyyîd	٧ـ فقراسِنْدنْ السّيدْ
8-) Hasan Bâbâ ruhı içün	٨ـ حَسَنْ بابا روحْى ايچونْ
9-) El-fatiha	٩ـ الفَتِحهْ
10-) Fî 4 Muharrem sene 1227	١٠ـ فى ٤ م سنه ١٢٢٧

recorded to be in Phoenix, may be Kâfî Baba Lodge. On this subject, see. Durgun 2014, 296, n. 10.

56 Evliya Çelebi 2011, 299.

57 Hancı 2011, 236.

58 The 12 segments of the Fâhir-type Bektashi serpuş symbolically signify the 12 imams. This type of headdress is quite common among Bektashis and is worn by Bektashi Babas who hold the postmaster. For detailed information, see also İşli 2009, 176-177.

As it is understood from Hasan Baba's gravestone, he was a Bektashi dervish from the tradition of Haji Bektash Veli and Abdal Musa. It is recorded on his gravestone that he passed away on 4 Muharram 1227 AH, 12 January 1812 AD[59]. (Fig. 8). Today the tombstone is curiously painted entirely with green paint and the text on the metal plaque is incorrect. In addition, the grave is being vandalized by candles lit by the people visiting the area for wishing purposes. In fact, the phrase *fi 4 Muharram*, which clearly gives the day of Hasan Baba's death clearly, was revealed after we cleaned the melted candle remains accumulated at the bottom of the tombstone. was revealed afterwards.

Fig. 8. Hasan Baba's tomb (Demir, 2019)

Conclusion

Phoenix has continued to be an important centre throughout its history. It has been continuously inhabited from antiquity to the present day, especially due to its harbor. It maintained its importance during the Ottoman rule and became a cosmopolitan and social living area by hosting various communities. The ancient city of Limyra, which is a part of Phoenix and a religious centre, differs from other ancient cities in the region in one aspect. This distinctive difference is that the city was inhabited during the Antiquity, the Middle Ages and the Ottoman Period. There is also an important trace of the earliest dates of the arrival of the Turks in the region in Limyra. This trace is the Kâfî Baba Lodge, which is a part of the Abdal Musa tradition, one of the most important names of Bektashi. In fact, it is clear that the location of the Kâfî Baba Lodge was discussed in this study was not chosen by chance. This place was particularly suitable for Bektashi Sufis who, due to their tradition and tradition and customs, settled in isolated areas away from Sunni centres, especially in the vicinity of the local Christian population. The lodge was established in a very pleasant neighborhood and is also next to the ancient city of Limyra. In this case, it can be clearly thought that the Bektashis who came here were in contact with the local Christian population and played a role in the conversion of the people to Islam over time. It is already known that Bektashis played a role in the colonization and Islamization activities in the non-Muslim populated regions of Anatolia and especially in the Rumelia region in the early periods of the Ottoman Empire. It can be safely assumed that Kâfî Baba Lodge, which is likely to be the oldest centre of the Bektashi tradition in the Teke region due to Abdal Musa, also played a role in the Muslim colonization and conversion movements in and around Limyra. Moreover, the ruins of the buildings around the lodge show that this place was once a large Bektashi centre and was home to a crowded community. Its position in the Bektashi tradition and the size of the complex around it also indicate that it was a centre of sufistic education belonging to the Bektashi school. The manners and etiquette of Bektashism were certainly taught to people through religious order and the contact with other Bektashi centres was maintained. The effects of the Bektashi Sufic school here are still continuing and there is still a vibrant Alevî-Bektashi culture in and around Limyra.

[59] The date of Hasan Baba's death is given as 19 January 1812 by Werner T. Bauer. However, using the Turkish Historical Society's Date Conversion Guide, we have found the date 12 January 1812 as the equivalent of the Hijri date 4 Muharram 1227. For the publication in question, see also Bauer 1999, 121.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Akçay İ. 1970, "Abdal Musa Tekkesi". *VII. Türk Tarih Kongresi Bildirileri I.* Ankara, 360-373.

Aksüt A. 2008, "İlk Abdal Musa Dergâhı, Kâfî Baba ve Yuvalı". *Serçeşme Dergisi* 40, 18-19.

Altınay A. R. 1340, "Fatih Zamanında Tekeili". *Türk Tarih Encümeni Mecmuası* 79/2, 65-76.

Azamat N. 2002, "Kaygusuz Abdal Maddesi". *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslam Ansiklopedisi* 25, 74-76.

Bauer, W. T. 1999, "Kâfî Baba Bektaşi Tekkesi". Ed. Jürgen Borchhardt, *Limyra Likya Bölgesi'nde Limyra Antik Kenti'nin Gizemli Sularında Yapılan Arkeolojik Araştırmalar.* İstanbul, 117-122.

Burkan G. 2010, *Antalya Çevresindeki Bektaşi Tekkeleri*. Yayımlanmamış Yüksek Lisans Tezi, Trakya Üniversitesi. Edirne.

Çift S. 2011, "Elmalı'nın Mısır-Arap Kültürüne Armağanı: Mısır Bektâşîliği". Ed. B. Kemikli, *Elmalı İlim ve İrfan Şehri.* Antalya, 113-128.

Demir M. 2017, *13. Yüzyıl Doğu Akdenizi'nin (Antalya-Alanya-Misis-Tarsus-Anazarba-Lazkiye-Süveydiye) Siyasi, Sosyal ve Ekonomik Tarihi*. Yayımlanmamış Yüksek Lisans Tezi, Akdeniz Üniversitesi. Antalya.

Durgun H. 2014, "XIX. yy'da Elmalı Abdal Musa Dergâhı Şeyhliği ve Vakıflarına Yönelik Müdahaleler". *Adalya* XVII, 295-309.

Erdem İ. 2016, "Ortaçağ Sonlarında Likya Levant Ticareti ve Türkmenler (12.-15. YY)". Eds. K. Dörtlük, B. Varkıvanç, T. Kahya, J. des Courtils, M. D. Alparslan & R. Boyraz, *III. Likya Sempozyumu Bildirileri I.* Antalya, 243-251.

Ercenk G. 2021. *Dünden Bugüne Teke Eli*. Antalya.

Erdoğru M. A. 1995, "Antalya ve Havalisi Tarihi İçin Bir Kaynak: Defter-i Evkâf-ı Livâ-i Teke". *Ege Üniversitesi Tarih İncelemeleri Dergisi* X/I, 91-185.

Erten S. F. 1340-1338, *Antalya Livâsı Tarihi*. İstanbul.

Erten S. F. 1940, *Antalya Tarihi*. İstanbul.

Güçlü M. 2011, "Doğu Akdeniz'de Bir Liman Kenti: Finike". Eds. Haydar Çoruh, M. Yaşar Ertaş & M. Ziya Köse, *Osmanlı Dönemi Akdeniz Dünyası.* İstanbul, 415-441.

Güzel A. 1996, "Abdal Musa'nın Hayatı". Ed. F. N. Koçak, *Alanya Tarih ve Kültür Seminerleri 1992-1993-1994-1995.* Alanya, 295-302.

Güzel A. 1999, *Abdal Musa Velayetnamesi*. Ankara.

Güzel A. 2018, *Kaygusuz Abdal (Alaeddin Gaybî) Menakıbnamesi*. Ankara.

Hancı S. 2011, "Antalya Tekkeköy, Abdal Musa Türbesi Anma Törenleri: Yerleşik Halk ile Ziyaretçi Topluluk Üzerindeki Etkileri". *Alevilik Araştırmaları Dergisi* I, 229-249.

Hasluck F. W. 2000, *Bektaşilik Tetkikleri*. Çev. R. Hulusi. İstanbul.

Hoca Sadettin Efendi 1999, *Tacü't-Tevarih* I. Haz. İsmet Parmaksızoğlu. Ankara.

İşli H. N. 2009, *Osmanlı Serpuşları*. İstanbul.

Kapusuzoğlu E. 2001, *Finike Tarih-Kültür-Folklor*. Finike.

Karaca B. 2002, *XV. ve XVI. Yüzyıllarda Teke Sancağı*. Isparta.

Karaçağ A. 2011. "Abdal Musa Tekkesi Mezar Taşları". *Türk Kültürü ve Hacı Bektaş Veli Araştırma Dergisi* 57, 99-130.

Kemalpaşazade 2000, *Tevârih-i Al-i Osman IV. Defter.* Haz. K. Imazawa. Ankara.

Koca Ş. (Tarihsiz), *Bektaşilik ve Bektaşi Dergâhları*. İstanbul.

Koçyiğit E. 2021, *Antalya Türbeleri*. Yayımlanmamış Yüksek Lisans Tezi, Akdeniz Üniversitesi. Antalya.

Koçyiğit E. 2023, "Abdal Musa Dergâhı Dervişlerinden Kâfî Baba ve Tekkesi", *Social Sciences Research Journal* 12/13, 1609-1621.

Köprülü M. F. 1939, "Mısır'da Bektaşilik". *Türkiyat Mecmuası* VI, 13-39.

Köprülü M. F. 1973, "Abdal Musa". *Türk Kültürü* 124, 198-207.

Köprülü O. F. 1988, "Abdal Musa Maddesi". *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslam Ansiklopedisi* 1, 64-65.

Maden F. 2013, *Bektaşî Tekkelerinin Kapatılması (1826) ve Bektaşiliğin Yasaklı Yılları*. Ankara.

Ocak A. Y. 2005, *Türk Sufiliğine Bakışlar*. İstanbul.

Ocak A.Y. 1992, “Bektaşilik Maddesi”. *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslam Ansiklopedisi* 5, 373-379.

Oruç Bey 2009, *Osmanlı Tarihi (1288-1502)*. Sad. N. Öztürk. İstanbul.

Ögke A. 2013, *Elmalı Erenleri*. Antalya.

Seyirci M. 1999, *Abdal Musa Sultan*. İstanbul.

Şahin H. 2007, *Osmanlı Devletinin Kuruluş Döneminde Dinî Zümreler (1299-1402)*. Yayımlanmamış Doktora Tezi, Marmara Üniversitesi. İstanbul.

Tanman M. B. 1990, “Yunanistan’da, Katerinde Abdullah Baba Tekkesi”. *Sanat Tarihi Araştırmaları Dergisi* 9/3, 19-28.

Tekindağ M. C. Ş. 1977, “Teke-eli ve Teke-oğulları”. *İstanbul Üniversitesi Tarih Enstitüsü Dergisi* VII-VIII, 55-94.

Uçar R. 2010, “Pir-i Sani: Abdal Mûsa”. *Anadolu’da Aleviliğin Dünü ve Bugünü*. Ed. H. İ. Bulut. Sakarya, 273-287.