

Mapping the *Tekkes* and *Türbes* in Western Thrace: A New Contribution to the Old Literature

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Abstract: Sufis, particularly the Alevi and Bektashi communities, tend to be overlooked within in Western Thrace, where Muslim identity is dominated by Orthodox Islam (i.e., Sunnism) for both cultural and political reasons. Consequently, the sacred places of groups that are perceived to be heterodox are, similar to these groups themselves, rendered invisible and many times deliberately left to obscurity. The present study combines bibliography and fieldwork to locate and derive information about Sufi *tekkes* [lodges], *türbes* [Muslim shrines], and *cemevis* [gathering places] in Western Thrace to broaden the future scope of research on the material culture and beliefs of those marginalized communities.

Keywords: Balkans, Western Thrace, Sufism, *tekkes*, *türbes*

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Introduction: Methodological Orientations

The advent, spread, and prolonged presence of Islam and the Ottoman Empire in Greece has left its traces in the present, along with a vibrant Muslim community living in the region of Western Thrace. On the occasion of my doctoral research, part of which was carried out within the framework of the Innovative Cultural Experience (ICE) Project,¹ I had the opportunity to investigate the region and search for the material and intangible cultural heritage of the Muslims of the region. My research resulted in the systematic recording of old and modern places of worship, which in turn led to a search for the various cultural and religious events that make up the mosaic of the Muslim community of Thrace. A “mosaic” (Demetriou, 2013, p. 61) which is composed of individual communities within the Muslim minority, who although share commonalities with each other of which the Muslim identity itself is the principal being, are also punctuated by differences. “Mystical Islam” is known in the literature as *Sufism* (Arabic: *tasawwuf*), and is one of these differences (Ernst, 1997, p. 17). Although the Alevi and Bektashi *tarikāt* (from the Arabic *tariqa*, meaning sect/community)² seems to be the most prominent in the region of Western Thrace, lesser sects have also evidently existed and held a measure of influence (Tsibiridou, 2015, p. 220).

The present article focuses mainly on the search for Sufi religious places and records and classifications regarding them. For this reason and based on Efstratios Zegkinis’s (1996) pioneering study of this period regarding Bektashism of Western Thrace, this research presents the *tekkes* [Sufi lodges], *türbes* [funerary shrines] and *cemevi* [gathering houses] of the region identified during the research. The methodology followed

1 The ICE project seeks to design and implement an innovative system to promote cultural heritage. More specifically, the ICE project proposes the creation of an innovative product called ICE for active and experiential tours, for the promotion of cultural and commercial products, and for developing a content aggregation mechanism to enrich the augmented reality material for the labelled cultural and commercial exhibit. The final ICE product will be targeted at an educational exhibition, as well as other venues, with the possibility of providing an integrated exhibitory presentation service with dynamic content adapted to users’ preferences, needs, and profile through a knowledge management system.

2 The choice of the terms community, but especially the Turkish term *tarikāt*, which is derived from the Arabic term *طريقة* and means the way or the road, is a legitimate way to refer either generally or specifically to a Sufi organization. A term which is widely used is the term *battalion*. Sufi orders as a term is a Western perception and understanding of this particular religious phenomenon. This term was originally used to describe the monastic orders of the Roman Catholic Church. However, a Sufi order is not the same as a monastic order, as a person’s membership in a monastic order of the Roman Catholic denomination requires compulsory submission to the order and observance of rules, such as the rule of celibacy, and these are regulations that are not required for one’s admission and membership in a Sufi *tarikāt* (Ζιάκας, 1983, p. 417).

in this research turns first to the study of literature and then to fieldwork. Regarding the literature, it can be seen to be divided into academic and non-academic parts. The references for the region of Western Thrace regarding the *tekkes*, *türbes*, and other religious places of the Sufi and non-Sufi *tariqa* are scattered and will be examined below. These references sometimes only include a name or a locale, and sometimes extend to just a handful of lines; these references can be found dispersed anywhere, from the earliest records of European and non-European travelers who wandered the geographical boundaries of the Ottoman Empire to the present-day local press.

In particular, the contemporary non-academic material, which seems to be larger in quantity, is usually written by philistors and folklorists who happen to be locals in most cases, either Greeks or Greek citizens who in terms of self-definition choose to describe themselves as Turks. Sometimes, these local intellectuals write with a specific purpose and for a specific audience. They either write about the cultural “other” or about themselves and the communities they want to represent. Researchers are invited to examine these texts with care, as their testimony combined with their locality encapsulates some of the “inner voices” of the communities (Grehan, 2014, p. 17), which present and highlight continuities and discontinuities and sometimes reveal attempts at self-definition, highlighting cultural hegemonic discourses and trends at the core of the communities themselves (Lowry, 2009, p. 22).³

Regarding the sacred places, after focusing first on the literature with Zegkinis’ (1996) reference work as a basis, I return to Western Thrace, physically. I identified new religious sites, recording them for the first time, and visited other sites that had already been recorded to examine their current status. This article briefly sets out details for each sacred site, recording names where possible, as well as locations and architectural types. I also briefly examine any materiality, attempting a first comprehensive description and classification for future research to use later on. Concerning the names, whether a proper name itself or a toponym, I have rendered these as the locals use them

3 One such example of a local study is the work of the deposed religious leader (Dede) of the Alevi and Bektashi communities of Western Thrace, in particular of the communities living in the Northwestern Evros region (Koç, 2011). Another example of a local study with a thematic focus on Sufism, tekkes, and türbes of the region, especially the tekke of Seyyid Ali Sultan, is the work of local teacher Ahmet Kavak (2006) from the Vakos settlement in Rhodope. Both of the above works were written in Turkish, while the teacher Dimitris Vrachioglou (2000), also a local teacher, wrote a study in Greek that mainly examined the festivals of the Alevi and Bektashi communities in Evros.

in Greek and Turkish. Finally, I use color photographic material where necessary as evidence of the current state of the depicted monument.

From the Pages of Yesterday to the Field of Today

From the period of the Ottoman Empire to the present day, the majority of Balkan Muslims have followed the Sunnite teachings of Islam, with the Hanafi school being the dominant of the four schools (*madhhab*) of law (Shaw 1976, pp. 135-138). At the same time, Sufi currents have left behind communities and sacred places such as *tekkes*, *türbes*, and *cemevis* in the region of Western Thrace that are still preserved today, demonstrating that Balkan Islam is distinguished both for its locality and for its variety of forms and expressions (Poulton, 1997, p. 2).

The premises and facilities of a Sufi community (*tarikāt, tariqa*) that constitute the base where all their worship and social events are held are called *tekkes* in Turkish (*zāwiyya* or *ribat* in Arabic, or *Khāniqa* in Persian). These terms denote the location where the followers of the various Sufi communities gather (Ernst, 1997, p. 125). *Tekkes* usually consist of a group of buildings and may have a particular architecture that varies from place to place (Grehan, 2014, pp. 48-49). *Tekkes* usually include halls for performing rituals, a mausoleum, a cemetery, a guest house, a kitchen, and meeting place, as well as a library that may be located within or outside the urban fabric. In a Sufi *tekke* complex, a *türbe* usually plays a very important role, whether indoors or outdoors. These *türbes* usually contain the body of the original founder of the Sufi community or some other prominent figure (Μακρής, 2004, p. 382).

Thus, a *türbe* is a very important element for the function and structure of a Sufi community and *tekke*, as it becomes a point of pilgrimage and place for offerings from believers of the surrounding area or even from distant regions. In some cases, when the interred person is particularly well known, he is described as a *walī* (i.e., “friend of God;” Grehan, 2014, p. 63), and a pilgrimage to his *türbe* may be a substitute for the sacred pilgrimage to Mecca and Medina, the places where the Prophet lived and died (Μακρής, 2004, p. 382). The *türbe* may not be part of a building complex in many cases. Finally, another type of sacred place associated with Sufism and in particular with the Alevi branch, is the *cemevi* (Andersen & Gündüz, 2020, pp. 47-63). The *cemevi* of the Alevi have functional rooms, kitchens, libraries, and classrooms, in addition to the central prayer room in which the *cem* ritual is performed (Langer, 2010, p. 203).

Professor Efstratios Zegkinis⁴ (1996) contribution has been extremely important for the Greek bibliography, as his work focused on the Muslim minority of Western Thrace, in particular on the Bektashi of the same region. Zegkinis' work focused on the Bektashi community of Western Thrace within the historical context before and after the advent and spread of this *tariqa* in Western Thrace. Specifically, he presented the characteristics of the community, such as some information about its founder and some basic rituals (Zegkinis, 1996, pp. 21–49). Zegkinis later provided information about the situation in Thrace before and after the arrival of the Ottomans and the Bektashis (1996, pp. 51–127), as well as information about the Bektashis' relations with the Sublime Porte (1996, pp. 129–154). Finally, his work concluded with references to the common folk customs of the Christians and the dervishes of the Bektashi (1996, pp. 232–243).

Zegkinis' work became more widely known even to the local populations due to his records on *tekkes* in the chapter titled *Tekkes, Chapels and Open-Air Tombs of Bektashi Saints*, “Τεκκέδες, παρεκκλήσια και υπαίθριοι τάφοι Μπεκτασιδών αγίων” (1996, pp. 175–230).⁵ Zegkinis focused and dealt exclusively with the geographical area of Western Thrace, which at the time of his research was structured into three prefectures: Evros, Rhodope, and Xanthi. Currently, it is divided into three regional units with the

4 Efstratios Zegkinis was an Islamologist-Turcologist who was born in Imbros in 1938 and passed away in 2020 at 82 in Thessaloniki. He was a professor for many years at the Aristotle University of Thessaloniki, specialized in the history and culture of Islam in the Balkan region. He had served in various professorial positions at the Special Pedagogical Academy of Thessaloniki, the Pedagogical School of the Aristotle University of Thessaloniki in the city of Florina, as well as the Department of Pastoral and Social Theology of the Faculty of Theology of the same university since 2003. Efstratios Zegkinis was awarded a doctorate from the Department of Pastoral Theology in 1985, completing his thesis titled “Bektashism in Western Thrace: A Contribution to the History of the Propagation of Islam on Greek Territory” (Zegkinis, 1985). During his career, he published several works and articles, the most important of which is “Bektashism in Western Thrace: A Contribution to the History of the Propagation of Islam on Greek Territory” (Zegkinis, 1996, first edition 1988), “The Muslims of Thrace” (Zegkinis, 1994), “Genitsaris and Bektashism. Genesis of Balkan Islam” (Zegkinis, 2002), “The Abolition of the Sultanate and Caliphate in Turkey” (Zegkinis, 2002), and “Bektashis, Dervishes and the National Movement in Albania” (Zegkinis, 2005).

5 Thierry Zarcone' critique of Zegkinis' (1988) work is interesting: “En revanche, l'étude de Efstratios Zenginè porte plus spécialement sur l'histoire sociale et religieuse du Bektachisme dans une zone bien définie et très mal connue jusqu'à présent, la Thrace occidentale, comprenant le nomos de l'Ebre et ceux des Rhodopes et de Xanthès. En plus de son étude sur la pénétration de l'Islam et sur le rôle joué par les derviches colonisateurs en Thrace occidentale, Zenginè s'est interrogé sur les caractéristiques du dialogue islamo-chrétien. Mais il s'est aussi rendu sur le terrain et a publié dans le chapitre 6 de son livre les résultats d'une étude systématique et détaillée des bâtiments, tombeaux et cimetières liés à l'ordre des bektachis qui se trouvent de nos jours en Thrace occidentale,” retrieved 10/3/2023 from <https://oui.hypotheses.org/2765>

same names. Assessing his research concerning *tekkes*, focusing on the fact that Zegkinis recorded in his work sacred places without strictly classifying them is worthwhile, as he considered them predominantly as *tekkes*, and all but three of them belonging to the Bektashi community (1996, pp. 175–230). In this respect, Heath Lowry's view on the *türbe* of Kütüklü Baba (*Kütüklü Baba Türbesi*) at Selino in Xanthi, to which Zegkinis gave the designation of *tekke*, is of interest. According to Lowry (2009, p. 41), this characterization is incorrect, as no other evidence is found today other than the *türbe* itself. A *tekke* likely existed on the site before 1826, which Sultan Mahmud II had destroyed. Also regarding the recording and citation of the *tekkes* and *türbes*, Zegkinis drew his material very heavily from the works of Ekrem Hakkı Ayverdi (2000) and Abdurrahim Dede (1977) and Thierry Zarccone's (1992) review regarding the archival material from the Ottoman documents of Constantinople and Ankara, omitting the Ottoman archives of Adrianople.⁶

Chapter 6 of Zegkinis' study (1996, pp. 179–230) records 87 *tekkes* and *türbes* in the region of Western Thrace under separate sections corresponding respectively to the three above-mentioned prefectures. The fact that one might extract from all of the author's own entries at the time of his research, as well as from fieldwork undertaken today, that only one place is a real *tekke* and is even in operation, while all the other entries and reports concern *türbes*, such as mausoleums or external funerary monuments, is worth emphasizing. I will return to this issue as regards the classification of terms and types. Finally, before examining the results of Zegkinis' research for each prefecture, worth is had in mentioning that, of the above total number of *tekkes* and *türbes*, 42 corresponded to actual places at the time of his research. At the same time,

6 Of great interest is one of the few reviews of Zegkinis' (1988) work, that of Thierry Zarccone, and in particular his commentary on the use of the Ottoman documents of the Vilayet of Adrianople.

Salname-i Vilâyet-i Edirne: "Précisons que outre ses travaux sur le terrain ou sur les sources grecques et turques imprimées, l'auteur a exploité certains dossiers des archives du Başvekâlet à Istanbul et du Tapu ve Kadastro à Ankara. Toutefois, une seule remarque, l'auteur ne semble pas avoir consulté les sâlnâme du vilâyet d'Edirne qui apportent, sur certains points, quelques précisions non négligeables. Pour donner un peu plus de richesse à ce résumé, nous indiquerons donc, lorsque l'intérêt se présentera, les informations complémentaires que nous donnent les sâlnâme de ce vilâyet," retrieved 10/3/2023 from: <https://oui.hypotheses.org/2765>. Also of great interest is how a similar criticism about the choice of sources in the same work was politicized and used in articles by the organization *Avrupa Batı Trakya Türk Federasyonu* [European Federation of Western Thrace Turks]. See: Poşpoş Tekkesi: Yok olan tarihi bir eser daha! Retrieved 10/3/2023 from <https://www.abttf.org/haberler-detay.php?id=605&kid=108>

the remaining 45 entries relate to sacred sites that no longer exist at the time the current article is being written; however, they have been identified in sources Zegkinis located.

Specifically, Zegkinis' (1996, pp. 179–207) work on the Evros region informs that, of the 39 *tekkes* in total, 14 belonged to the Bektashi community and existed at the time of his research and 15 had been destroyed as early 1826. Five *tekkes* in the town of Didymoteicho in particular, eight *tekkes* are located in Feres and two in Makri. For the region of Rhodope, Zegkinis mentioned a total of 18 *tekkes*, of which seven belonged to the Bektashis and had existed up to the time of his writing. Six *tekkes* were only mentioned in sources, and Zegkinis (1996, pp. 207–213) did not locate them in the field. Finally, five open-air graves also exist. For the region of Xanthi, a total of 30 *türbes* are mentioned, of which 12 are Bektashi, three are new cemeteries, four cemeteries no longer exist at the time of the current study's writing, two were non-Bektashi ones that belong to other communities and also no longer exist, and finally nine are open-air cemeteries for which no description is given (pp. 213–230). Particularly important in documenting the above sacred places are the monochrome photographic images of the 45 *tekkes* he identified, which he lists in the appendix of his work (pp. 279–313).

Efstratios Zegkinis' work, in particular his study focusing on the Bektashi community of Western Thrace, can be characterized as unique, pioneering, and as he himself indeed noted, quite difficult: "The undertaking was difficult if not daring, since those who belong to this mystical movement openly behave as if they are integrated into Sunnism and have an inviolable condition not to reveal their true beliefs. After persistent efforts, several obstacles were overcome, and I could point out the peculiar living conditions of these populations, whom the sources call the Bektashi" (1996, p. 15).

Research such as Zegkinis', which he carried out over a period of six years (1996, p. 15), was not only difficult because he claimed the members of the community did not publicly reveal their true religious beliefs and practices, mainly because of the political and social conditions that prevailed in the wider region of Western Thrace, as well as in other border regions of Greece. Until 1995,⁷ these areas had already been considered

7 At the time when Efstratios Zegkinis was conducting his research, the control regime in the border region of Western Thrace was still in force: "Throughout the Cold War era (in fact since the time of the Metaxas dictatorship, in 1936) and up to the mid-1990s, the 'Pomak villages' (Pomakohórya) in the mountain ranges of Xanthi and Rhodope were enclosed within a restricted zone of military surveillance known as epitiróumeni zóni. The fear of a possible Pomak state emerging resulted in stricter surveil-

Epitroumenes Zones [Monitored Zones] by the Metaxas regime under Law 376/1936⁸ on Amyntikes Perioxes [Defence Areas].⁹ The historical circumstances and political decisions to draw borders within the borders and the subsequent political choices to maintain this peculiar regime left a particular imprint on local communities on multiple levels, which is still visible in the economic, political, and intrapersonal relations of the locals. The above post-civil war policies of the Greek state created an atypical regime of social, economic, and political isolationism and also left their mark on the monuments and sacred sites, especially in mountainous Western Thrace. As one woman told me during a meal with her Alevi family about the “barriers” in Northwestern Evros:

*Those barriers that we had, they were placed up for us Muslims, until the 90s or so, we had them, there is still the outpost on the river. Those bars protected us so we could keep our customs and places from the influence of the consulate in Komotini.*¹⁰

The above conditions would logically make producing academic discourse difficult. With the lifting of the blockades and the change of policy on the part of the Greek state after 1990 by putting to a certain extent earlier discriminatory tactics to one side, the way was somewhat opened for research to be conducted in the regions of Western Thrace, especially in the settlements of the mountainous areas of Rhodope and Evros. For the Alevi and Bektashi of the region and in particular for the *tekkes* and *türbes* of

lance for Pomak villages. Thus, whereas ‘restricted areas’ governed by special military legislation were to be found along the whole length of the northern Greek border, the policy was especially enforced in Thrace” (Labrianidis 1997, p. 40; 1999, p. 82). When people in both Komotini and the mountains were asked about this period during fieldwork, they referred to the zone as a “border,” indistinguishable from a “national border (sınır).” Note that on the other side of the national border with Bulgaria, the closure that followed World War II separated villages that had previously intermarried (Tsibiridou 1994, p. 14) and might have been more relevant to daily life than the internal border within Greece. This restriction was in force until 1996, when following the collapse of communism, the zone disappeared, and villagers were allowed to move and settle freely elsewhere within Greece, with many moving to the urban centers of Komotini and Xanthi, as well as to the surrounding villages (Troubeta, 2001, p. 58; Imam & Tsakiride, 2003, p. 77). The relaxation of this legislation took place over a period of time and was differentially enforced in different areas. Thus, Lambrianidis showed that the mountain area of Xanthi had experienced differential development between the eastern region (inhabited by Pomaks) and the western (inhabited by Greeks; Lambrianidis, 1999, pp. 85–90; as cited in Demetriou, 2013, p. 100). See also “The Muslim Minority of Greek Thrace” (Aarbakke, 2000, pp. 564–565).

8 Necessary. Law no. 376/1936, Government Gazette A 546/18-12-1936. Available at <https://www.ndf.gr/el/law/loipa/finish/14--/242--3761936.html> (accessed: 03 October 2023).

9 For the historical context of the creation of Law 376/1936, but also for an understanding of the trends and dynamics of the period, see “The last Ottomans. The Muslim minority of Greece, 1940-49’ (Feathers-ton et. al 2011, pp. 65-69).

10 From my fieldnotes.

Western Thrace, no other specialized study has occurred in modern academic literature apart from Zegkinis', barring a few scattered references in various works and articles.

From the field research in the region of Western Thrace, we recorded a total of 116 sacred sites which are generally related to Sufism, i.e. *tekkes*, *türbes* and *cemevis*. Of the above 116 sites, some are active and others inactive; some have been converted into orthodox churches and mosques while others have only survived in the narratives of local people (Fig. 1). In Greece today, I could identify only two *tekkes* surviving as building complexes that retain many of the characteristics of a *tekke* being used for ritual purposes. One is the *tekke* of Seyyid Ali Sultan of Roussa,¹¹ which is still fully functional and is the administrative, congregational, and primary spiritual center of the Alevi and Bektashi communities in Greece (Markou, 2020, p. 787). The second is the historically significant *tekke* located in Asprogeia Farsala called *Durbalı Sultan* or *Ireni Tekke*, which also belongs to the Bektashi. In the past, some locals of Albanian origin had maintained the *tekke*. This is no longer true, however. The *tekke* is only occasionally operational on certain days of the year, with rituals being performed by Bektashi visiting from Albania or by their immigrant compatriots from Athens.

Tekkes, Türbes and Cemevis in Western Thrace

As mentioned above, the only active *tekke* in the form of a building complex is the one in Roussa. It includes the central prayer room, a meeting place for the members of the 12-member committee of the administration of *Seyyid Ali Sultan Dergâhı Tekkesi*, a slaughterhouse, a cookhouse, a cemetery, a separate *türbe* for Seyyid Ali Sultan, and a residence of Ottoman architecture in which the complex manager and his family reside (Zegkinis 1996, pp. 179–195). The *tekke* of Seyyid Ali in the Roussa area is one of the oldest and most important sites for the Bektashi. According to information derived from the inscription located at the entrance of the main prayer hall (i.e., Meydan Evi; Fig. 2), it was built in 804 AH/1402 CE and renovated in 1172 AH/1759 CE. These days, the region of Western Thrace does not have similar *tekkes*, only scattered burial monuments that the local Muslim Alevi and Bektashi populations, as they identify themselves, and the Sunnis call *türbes*. The *türbes* of Western Thrace are today the remnants of the Ottoman past of the region. The order in which I list the areas where *türbes* have

11 Seyyid Ali Sultan Dergâhı - Tekkesi. Retrieved 10/3/2023 from: https://www.facebook.com/seyyid.ali.sultan.dergahi?locale=el_GR

been found is the same as that followed by Efstratios Zegkinis in his work “Bektashism in Western Thrace:” first the ones in Evros, then the ones in Rhodope, and finally those in Xanthi (1996, pp. 179–230).

In particular, 40 religious places were identified in the Regional Unit of Evros (Fig. 3):

1) The *Tekke* of Seyyid Ali Sultan (also known as *Seyyid Ali Sultan Dergâhı-Tekkesi* or *Kızıl Deli*), which I briefly mentioned above, is located three kilometers southwest of the settlement of Roussa (*Ruşenler*) in the Regional Unit of Evros.

2) The *Türbe Kato Tekkes (Aşağı Türbesi)* is located one kilometer west of the settlement of Mikro Dereio (*Küçük Derbent*) in the Regional Unit of Evros. It is a burial monument within a single-room, stone-built, hexagonal-shaped building with a stone roof.

3) The *Türbe* of Mürsel Bali Baba (*Mürsel Bali Baba Türbesi*) is located southwest of the settlement of Roussa (*Ruşenler*) in the Regional Unit of Evros. It is a stone-built external funerary monument with a stone wall. Burial tombstones are found in the surrounding area.

4) The *Türbe* of Gaziler Baba (*Gaziler Baba Türbesi*) is located south of the abandoned settlement of Spano (*Köseömer* or *Köse Köy*) in the Regional Unit of Evros. It is an external stone-built burial monument surrounded by a stone wall with an entrance.

5) The *Türbe* of Çilingir Baba (*Çilingir Baba Türbesi*) is located northwest of the abandoned settlement of Chaldini (*Yılanlı Köy*) and also near the abandoned settlement of Spano (*Köseömer* or *Köse Köy*) in the Regional Unit of Evros. It is a stone-built external funerary monument with a stone wall. The surrounding area has many tombstones.

6) The *Türbe* of Hasan Baba (*Hasan Baba Türbesi*) is located northwest of the abandoned settlement of Chaldini (*Yılanlı Köy*) and near the also abandoned settlement of Spano (*Köseömer* or *Köse Köy*) in the Regional Unit of Evros. It is an external stone-built burial monument surrounded by a stone wall with an entrance.

7) The *Türbe* of Kayıp Baba (*Kayıp Baba Türbesi*) is located northwest of the abandoned settlement of Chaldini (*Yılanlı Köy*) in the Regional Unit of Evros. It is a stone-built external funerary monument with a stone wall.

8) The *Türbe* of Sinan Baba (*Sinan Baba Türbesi*) is located northwest of the abandoned settlement of Chaldini (*Yılanlı Köy*) and near the also abandoned settlement of Spano

(*Köseömer* or *Köse Köy*) in the Regional Unit of Evros. It is a stone-built external funerary monument with a stone wall.

9) The *Türbe* of Mustafa Baba (*Mustafa Baba Türbesi*) is located in the settlement of Goniko (*Babalar Köy*) in the Regional Unit of Evros. It is a stone-built external funerary monument.

10) The *Türbe* of Gözcü Baba (*Gözcü Baba Türbesi*) is located a short distance west of the *Tekke* of Seyyid Ali Sultan in the Regional Unit of Evros. It is an external stone-built funerary monument surrounded by a stone wall. A tree grows inside the monument.

11) The *Türbe* of Dolu Baba (*Dolu Baba Türbesi*) is located in the settlement of Mikrakio (*Kütüklü Köy*) in the Regional Unit of Evros. It is a funerary monument located within a stone building in the shape of a quadrilateral.

12) The *Türbe* of Gani Baba (*Gani Baba Türbesi*) is located in the settlement of Urania (*Karaören Köy*) in the Regional Unit of Evros. It is an external stone-built funerary monument with a stone wall and an entrance located in the cemetery of the settlement.

13) The *Türbe* of Rusen Baba (*Ruşen* or *Ruşen Baba - Dede Türbesi*) is located in the settlement of Roussa (*Ruşenler Köy*) in the Regional Unit of Evros. It is an external stone-built funerary monument with a stone wall located in the cemetery of the settlement.

14) The *Türbe* of Pounari Baba (*Pounari* or *Pınarı Baba Türbesi*) is located a few meters from the *Tekke* of Seyyid Ali Sultan Dergâhı (*Seyyid Ali Sultan Dergâhı-Tekkesi*) in the Regional Unit of Evros. It is an external stone-built funerary monument with a stone wall through which trees grow and located opposite the well of the *tekke*.

15) The türbe known as *Saat Makamı Türbesi* is located between the settlements of Mikro Derbent (*Küçük Derbent*) and Ruşenler in the Regional Unit of Evros. It is an external stone-built funerary monument with a stone wall through which a tree grows (Fig. 4).

16) The *Türbe* of Garip Baba (*Garip Baba Türbesi*) is located in the settlement of Korymvos (*Hacıali/Kruşevo Köy*) in the Regional Unit of Evros. It is a recently renovated marble external funerary monument in the dimensions of a human body.

17) The *Türbe* of Gazi Hasan Baba (*Gazi Hasan Baba Türbesi*) is located in the settlement of Sidiro (*Demirören Köy*) in the Regional Unit of Evros. It is a funerary monument

located inside a renovated building with a rectangular roof in the shape of a parallelogram. In the past, the monument was external with no roof and just a perimeter wall.

18) The *Türbe* of Ibrahim Baba (*İbrahim Baba Türbesi*) is located in the town of Feres (*Fere* or *Ferecik*) in the Regional Unit of Evros. It is a stone-built building with a dome roof. The building currently has no burial monument inside.

19) The *Türbe* of Sancaktar Baba (*Sancaktar Baba Türbesi*) is located in the settlement of Makri (*Megri Köy*) in the Regional Unit of Evros. It is a funerary monument located inside a four-sided building.

20) The *Türbe* of Oruç Paşa Baba (*Oruç Paşa Türbesi*) is located in the city of Didymoteicho (*Dimetoka*) in the Regional Unit of Evros. It is an external brick building which housed a burial monument.

21) The *Türbe* of Gazi Baba (*Gazi Baba Türbesi*) is located in the city of Didymoteicho (*Dimetoka*) in the Regional Unit of Evros. It is an external structure of small dimensions within which is a space for depositing objects (offerings) and serves for the worshippers to light and deposit candles. It has no funerary monument.

In Didymoteicho, two others similar *türbes* were found. The names of these two *türbes* could not be identified. Both are located within the city of Didymoteicho, south of the city's castle, at the location of the Tower of Vassilopoula and at the intersection of Aristotelous and Olympiados streets. The two *türbes* are similar to the *Gazi Babat Türbesi* with two external structures, small in dimension, constructed with modern materials (e.g., brick and mortar), located between Ottoman tombs, and serve for depositing objects.

Also, Alexandroupolis has seven *türbes* similar to those mentioned above from Didymoteicho and located within the settlement of Terma Avantos. Five of the *türbes* are located within private residences, either in courtyards or inside the residences. These are small buildings, usually low in height, which serves to allow worshippers to deposit objects (Fig. 5). Local reports also exist about the settlement of Terma Avantos concerning two small *türbes* whose use had been converted into Christian churches. An external *türbe* is also located in the settlement of Polia, (*Aksakal Köy*), but it is impossible to reach because of the dense vegetation. I have a report of the existence of a *türbe* in the settlement of Tauri (*Tekke Köy*) but it is impossible to locate at this stage of the

research. For the Regional Unit of Evros, locals report that *türbes* had been converted into Christian churches. These reports concern the *Işıklar Nefes Baba Türbesi* in the area of Traianoupolis, where the church of St. George is located today, which actually suffered extensive damage from the Evros fires in the summer of 2023, as well as the location of the current church of St. Athanasius west of the settlement of Terma Avantos.

Finally, six *cemevis* are located in the north-western Evros region. The *cemevis* are located in the settlements of Roussa (*Ruşenler Köy*), Megalo Dereio (*Buyuk Derbent Köy*), Goniko (*Babalar Köy*), Ourania (*Karaören Köy*), Mesimeri (*Mesimler Köy*), and Mikrakio (*Kütüklü Köy*). These are modern, single-story buildings with the characteristics of a common residence of the area. They generally consist of two or more interior spaces that are arranged in such a way as to serve the religious needs of each community (Fig. 6).

Similarly, 37 religious places have been identified in the Regional Unit of Rhodope (Fig. 7):

1) A *türbe* is located on a hill north of the town of Iasmos in the Regional Unit of Rhodope and is known as *Yazıköy Türbesi*. It is a funerary monument within a one-room, stone-built building of quadrilateral shape with a four-sided tiled roof.

2) A *türbe* is located west of the settlement of Ambrosia in the Regional Unit of Rhodope and is known as *Ortakçı Köy Türbesi*. It is a funerary monument within a one-room building of quadrilateral shape with a four-sided tiled roof.

3) The *Türbe* of Ak Baba (*Ak Baba Türbesi*) is located southeast of the settlement of Amaxades (*Arabacı Köy*) in the Regional Unit of Rhodope. It is a funerary monument within a rectangular-shaped building.

4) A *türbe* is located in the settlement of Ergani in the Regional Unit of Rhodope and is known as *Yardımlı Köy Türbesi*. It is an external funerary monument made of cement plaster in the shape of a parallelogram.

5) The *Türbe* of Timour Baba (*Demir Baba Türbesi*) is located in the settlement of Venna (*Demirbeyli Köy*) in the Regional Unit of Rhodope. It is a funerary monument within a two-room building of rectangular shape with a four-tiered tiled roof.

6) A *türbe* is located south of the settlement Mikro Doukato in the Regional Unit of Rhodope and is known as *Küçük Doğançı Köy Türbesi*. It is an external stone-built burial monument covered by dense vegetation.

7) A türbe is located in the settlement of Asomati in the Regional Unit of Rhodope and is known as *Bulatköy Türbesi*. It is a funerary monument within a rectangular-shaped building located in the settlement cemetery.

8) A türbe is located west of the settlement of Velkio in the Regional Unit of Rhodope and is known as *Bekirköy Türbesi*. It is an external stone-built burial monument which is covered by dense vegetation.

9) A *Türbe* is located in the settlement of Koptero in the Regional Unit of Rhodope and is known as *Yalımlı Köy Türbesi*. It is a small four-sided building with no burial monument.

10) A türbe is located west of the settlement of Atarni in the Regional Unit of Rhodope and is known as *Hotolar Köy Türbesi*. It is an external stone-built burial monument covered by dense vegetation (Fig. 8).

11) A türbe is located in the town of Sapes in the Regional Unit of Rhodope and is known as *Şapçı Türbesi*. It is an external funerary monument made of cement mortar and rectangular in shape (Fig. 9).

12) A türbe is located northwest of the town of Arriana in the Regional Unit of Rhodope and is known as *Kozlu Kebir Köy Türbesi*. The *türbe* is in fact composed of two distinct external stone-built burial monuments in very close proximity to each other.

13) A türbe is located east of the settlement of Arsakeio in the Regional Unit of Rhodope and is known as *Aşağıköy Türbesi*. It is an external funerary monument made of cement mortar and with a parallelogram shape.

14) A türbe is located in the settlement of Galini in the Regional Unit of Rhodope and is known as *Yalınçalı Köy Türbesi*. It is an external funerary monument largely covered by cement mortar in the courtyard of the mosque of the settlement, which is known as *Yalınçalı Köy Camii*.

15) A türbe is located in the settlement of Velkio in the Regional Unit of Rhodope and goes by the name of *Bekirköy Türbesi*. It is a small monument that allows people to light and offer candles. It is located within the courtyard of a residence.

16) A türbe is located north of the settlement of Lampro in the Regional Unit of Rhodope and is called *Satiköy Türbesi*. It is an external stone-built burial monument surrounded by a stone wall.

17) The *Türbe* of Ali Baba (*Ali Baba Türbesi*) is located in the settlement of Ano Kambi (*Yukarı Kamberler Köyü*) in the Regional Unit of Rhodope. It is an external stone-built funerary monument.

18) The *Türbe* of Kanber Baba (*Kanber Baba Türbesi*) is located in the settlement of Kato Kambi (*Aşağı Kamberler Köyü*) in the Regional Unit of Rhodope. It is an external stone-built funerary monument surrounded by a stone wall with an entrance. Some trees are growing inside the monument.

The city of Komotini (*Gümülcine*), the capital of the Regional Unit of Rhodope, has 13 *türbes* and one *tekke*. The urban complex has five *türbes* and the demolished *Tekke* of Pos-pos (*Postinpûş Baba Tekkesi*), as well as five *türbes* in the settlement of Ifaistos (*Kalkanca*) and three more *türbes* in the settlement of *Alan Köyü*.

Also, reports are found from locals that a *tekke* or a *türbe* is located in the abandoned settlement of Mitriko (*Anaköy*). Last in the regional unit of Rhodope are three reports from locals about *türbes* that had been converted into Christian churches: the first in the area of Petrota (*Taşlık*) and called *ourbes ton Petroton* (*Taşlık Türbesi*), the second in the town of Sapes (*Şapçı*) where the Church of St. Nicholas is housed, and finally the church of St. Marina in the area of Imeros (*İmaret*).

Finally, 45 religious places were identified in the Regional Unit of Xanthi (Fig. 10):

1) The türbe known as the Tomb of the Bride (*Gelin Mezarı Türbesi*) is located in the settlement of Sounion (*Sünnetçi Köyü*) in the Regional Unit of Xanthi. It is a funerary monument located within a single-room, recently renovated, stone building shaped like a parallelogram with a four-roofed tiled roof.

2) A türbe is located in the settlement of Polysito in the Regional Unit of Xanthi and is known as *Kızılcaköy Türbesi*. It consists of three burial monuments next to one another and housed in a room adjoined to a house in a private courtyard.

3) The *Türbe* of Naide Elmanlı (*Naide Elmanlı Türbesi*) is located in the settlement of Sidini (*Elmanlı Köyü*) in the Regional Unit of Xanthi. It consists of five funerary

monuments housed inside a one-room building, four-sided in shape, with a gable roof (Fig. 11).

4) The *Türbe* of Kütüklü Baba (*Kütüklü Baba Türbesi*) is located northeast of the settlement of Selino (*Kereviz Köy*) in the Regional Unit of Xanthi. It is a stone-built funerary monument housed in a stone-built octagonal building with a domed roof.

5) The *Türbe* of Kottani (*Koşnalar Köy Türbesi*) is located west of the settlement of Kottani in the Regional Unit of Xanthi. It is a funerary monument located within a one-room building with a quadrilateral shape and a four-roofed tiled roof.

6) The *Türbe* of Budala Hodja (*Budala Hoca Türbesi*) is located in the settlement of Thermes (*Ilıca Köy*) in the Regional Unit of Xanthi. It consists of three funerary monuments within a two-room building in the shape of a parallelogram with different entrances for each room and a four-tiered tiled roof. Great interest is drawn from the second room being internally designed as a *masjid*.

7) The *Türbe* of Dudu Baba (*Dudu Baba Türbesi*) is located in the settlement of Iliopetra (*Göynüklü Köy*) in the Regional Unit of Xanthi. It is a funerary monument within a one-room, recently renovated building with four sides and a four-tiered tiled roof.

8) The *Türbe* of Hasip Baba (*Hasip Baba Türbesi*) is located within the city of Xanthi (*İskeçe*) in the Regional Unit of Xanthi. It is a funerary monument within a one-room, stone-built square building with a four-sided tiled roof.

9) The *Türbe* of Emir Baba (*Emir Baba Türbesi*) is located in the settlement of Palia Morsini/Old Morsini (*Buyuk Mursal Köy*) in the Regional Unit of Xanthi. It is a funerary monument within the ground floor of a two-story Ottoman house.

10) The *Türbe* of Ali Naime (*Ali Naime Baba Türbesi*) is located in the settlement of Iliopetra (*Göynüklü Köy*) in the Regional Unit of Xanthi. It is a funerary within a square one-room building with a wooden roof.

11) A *türbe* is located in the settlement of Iliopetra in the Regional Unit of Xanthi and is known as *Göynüklü Köy Baba Türbesi*. It consists of two burial monuments within a one-room building of quadrilateral shape with a tiled roof (Fig. 12).

12) The *Türbe* of Yazı Baba (*Giazi or Gazi Baba Türbesi*) is located in the settlement of Iliopetra (*Göynüklü Köy*) in the Regional Unit of Xanthi. It is a recently renovated one-room building with no burial monument.

13) The *Türbe* of Ayşegül or (*Ayşegül Türbesi*) is located south of the settlement of Giona (*Güneyler Köy*) in the Regional Unit of Xanthi. It is a funerary monument within a one-room stone building of rectangular shape with a four-roofed tiled roof (Fig. 13).

14) The *Türbe* of Ayşe Karaca (*Ayşe Karaca Türbesi*) is located in the small town of Echinon (*Şahin*) in the Regional Unit of Xanthi. It is a tomb within a stone-built building of rectangular shape.

15) The *Türbe* of Karaca Ahmet (*Karaca Ahmet Türbesi*) is located in the small town of Echinon (*Şahin*) in the Regional Unit of Xanthi. It is a funerary monument within the *Tekke Camii* Mosque of Echinon.

16) The *Türbe* of Nazire (*Nazire Türbesi*) is located in the settlement of Myki (*Mustafça Köy*) in the Regional Unit of Xanthi. It is a funerary monument inside a stone-built building.

17) The *Türbe* of Siaban (*Siaban Türbesi*) is located in the settlement of Rematia (*Ketenlik Köy*) in the Regional Unit of Xanthi. It is a funerary monument within a room of a private residence.

18) A *türbe* is located south of the settlement of Neo Erasmio in the Regional Unit of Xanthi and is known as *Taraşmanlı Türbesi*. It is a funerary monument within a rectangular-shaped building with a gable roof.

19) A *türbe* is located in the settlement of Kyrnos in the Regional Unit of Xanthi and is known as *Kır Mahale Köy Türbesi*. These are two burial monuments within a single-room, recently renovated building (Fig. 14).

20) A *türbe* is located in the settlement of Dekarcho in the Regional Unit of Xanthi and is known as *Beyobası Köy Türbesi*. It is a small monument allows one to light and offer candles. It is located within the courtyard of a residence.

21) A *türbe* is located in the settlement of Nea Amissos in the Regional Unit of Xanthi and is known as *Alacakilise Köy Türbesi*. It is a small building with no funerary monument and allows one to deposit objects and light candles.

22) A *türbe* is located in the settlement of Giona in the Regional Unit of Xanthi known as *Güneyler Köy Türbesi*. It is a small-sized monument that allows for the lighting and offering of candles and is located in the courtyard of a house.

23) A *türbe* is located in the settlement of Zilotis in the Regional Unit of Xanthi and is called *Sineli Köy Türbesi*. It is a funerary monument within a rectangular-shaped building with a gable roof.

24) A *türbe* is located in the settlement of Drosero in the Regional Unit of Xanthi and is known as *Serin Mahallesi Türbesi*. It is a small monument that serves for lighting and offering candles and is located within a residential courtyard.

25) A *türbe* is located in the settlement of Kentauros in the Regional Unit of Xanthi and is called *Ketenlik Köy Türbesi*. It is an external stone-built funerary monument surrounded by a stone wall with an entrance. A tree grows inside the monument.

The town of Genisea (*Yenice*) has 15 *türbes* found either in public areas such as squares and crossroads or in private areas such as courtyards and rooms of houses. Of these *türbes*, some have the form of a funerary monument, while others have the form of a small building used for depositing objects.

I have also received reports from locals about the existence of *türbes* in three other settlements. Eumiro had the *Emirler Köy Tekkesi* in the place where the Municipal Gymnasium is located today. Kidari (*Sarikler Köy*) had one at the location of the current mosque. Lastly in Xanthi, the location of what is today the Moufteia (*Müftülüğü*) allegedly used to have a *tekke*. Also, two reports refer to *türbes* that had been converted into temples. The first, called *Kırklar Türbesi*, was converted into a Temple of the Ascension in the settlement of Margariti, while the second, located in the settlement of Drimia, had been converted into a Temple of St. George.

Conclusions

Based on the above data, the only active *tekke* today in the region of Western Thrace is clearly the *Tekke* of Roussa, as the locals refer to it and otherwise known as the *Tekke* of the Community of Seyyid Ali Sultan (*Seyyid Ali Sultan Dergâhı-Tekkesi*). With regard to the pioneering work of Zegkinis, the term *tekke* is used in a generalized way for all burial monuments (i.e., *türbes*), which he has recorded and listed. Concerning the number of *türbes* in Zegkinis' work with regard to the present article, in which I attempted to provide as complete a current record as possible, the extensive fieldwork has identified and recorded 77 more *türbes*. The *türbes* are categorized into public and private and are also divided into outdoor and indoor. External *türbes* are usually

stone-built and often surrounded by a stone wall. Indoor (i.e., roof-covered) *türbes* are usually made of other materials and are mainly located within single-room buildings. Monuments that are used to deposit votive objects and lighted candles are also found to be called *türbes*; these are small in size. My research points to the fact that *türbes* and *tekkes* being converted to mosques or temples have not occurred frequently. Finally, regarding the *cemevis* of the Alevi and Bektashi of Western Thrace, these are a type of religious site that has not been recorded or examined at all. My research has revealed the existence of an extremely new building in Megalo Derio (*Buyuk Derbent*), to which I will devote a special study.

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