Stavros Mamaloukos, Ioannis Perrakis, Athanasios Koumantos (University of Patras/University of Athens)

THE BYZANTINE CHURCHES OF AINOS AND SELYMBRIA, EASTERN THRACE*

Abstract: The aim of this, still in progress, research is a reconsideration of the main Byzantine churches of Ainos and Selymbria, two of the most important ancient Greek cities of Eastern Thrace, through new evidence that has arisen, mainly via a macroscopic inspection by the authors on occasion of a number of visits to the area during the last fifteen years. As a result of the work done so far, a better understanding of the construction history of some monuments has been achieved leading to a more accurate dating, unknown monuments have been discovered and three-dimensional reconstruction drawings are being prepared based on the available, published ones, as well as supplementary measurements, which produced relatively accurate drawings.

Keywords: Ainos, Enez, Selymbria, Silivri, Byzantine architecture, church architecture

Ainos and Selymbria are two of the most important ancient Greek, Roman, Byzantine and Ottoman cities of Eastern Thrace in present day Turkey. Up to the beginning of the 20th century both cities were prosperous commerce centers with a significant and flourishing Christian population. The glorious history of the cities can be traced today on the fragmentary relics of their monuments that have survived through the turbulent modern history of the area. From the several recorded churches of the two cities, most of which are dated back to the Byzantine Era, very few still survive, most of them heavily ruined, while a few more are known to us through old descriptions and depictions. The aim of the following paper is a reconsideration of the main Byzantine churches of the two cities through new evidence that has arisen mainly via a macroscopic inspection of the monuments by the authors on occasion of a number of visits to the area during the last fifteen years, and the subsequent preparation of reconstruction drawings based on the available, published drawings as well as supplementary measurements, which produced relatively accurate, though still cursory measured drawings.



Fig.1 Church of Saint Efplous of Ainos, view from N (I. Perrakis 2015).

Сл.1 Црква Светог Ефплуса, Аинос, изглед са северне стране (J. Перакис 2015)

Ainos (Enez) is built on the eastern bank of the Evros river, close to the river mouth that flows into the Aegean Sea, and is one of the most ancient and important cities of Thrace¹. Due to its favourable nodal location with direct access to the Aegean Sea and to its hinterland the city has flourished throughout its history. All commerce between central Thrace, from as far as Philippopolis (Plovdiv) to the Aegean Sea was carried out through this navigable upstream river². Furthermore its port acted as a hub for the traffic between the Balkans, Asia Minor, the Black Sea region and the Aegean Sea³.

Throughout the Byzantine period of the city, the acropolis of which had already been fortified by Emperor Justinian⁴, Ainos remained one of the most important commercial and military centers of the empire. In the 14th century the

² S. Casson, Macedonia, Thrace and Illyria. Their relations to Greece from the earliest times down to the time of PHILIP son of AMYNTAS, Humphrey Milford 1926, 255; S. Başaran, Zum Straßennætz um Ainos, Steine und Wege. Festschrift für Dieter Knibbe zum 65. Geburtstag, ed. P. Scherrer, H. Taeuber, H. Thür, (Wien 1999), 346.

³ M. Seeliger et al., Using a Multi-Proxy Approach to Detect and Date a Buried part of the Hellenistic City Wall of Ainos (NW Turkey), Geosciences 8 (Basel 9/2018), 3.

⁴ Προκοπίου ἡήτορος τοῦ Καισαρέως, Περὶ τῶν τοῦ δεσπότου Ἰουστινιανοῦ κτισμάτων, 4.11.1-6.

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¹ Basic litterature on byzantine Ainos see: P. Soustal, Thrakien (Thrakē, Rodopē und Haimimontos), Wien 1991, 170-173. Further indicative litterature on the Ottoman period of the city see: I. M. Perrakis, Εὐάγγελος Λουκματζῆς (1904-2001). Ἀναμνήσεις ἀπό τήν ἀλησμόνητη Αἶνο, Τά Νίτκα (Ἀλεξανδρούπολη 2010-2015) 11 (1-6/2010), 2-8; 12 (7-12/2010), 2-9; 13 (1-6/2011), 2-10; 14 (7-12/2011), 2-9; 15 (1-6/2012), 2-5, 9; 16 (7-12/2012), 2-7; 17 (1-6/2013), 2-8; 18 (7-12/2013), 2-9; 19 (1-6/2014), 2-7; 21 (1-6/2015), 2-7 (passim). An overall account of the research and excavations in the area of Ainos/Enez see: M. H. Sayar, The Research Activities of Turkish Historians and Archaeologists in Southeastern Thrace Through the 20th Century, Rhaidestos - Thessaloniki. Antiquities in a refugee journey. Exhibition catalogue 27.01.2016 - 31.01.2017, ed. P. Adam-Veleni, E. Tsangaraki, K. Chatzinikolaou, (Thessaloniki 2016), 189-201.

city came under the rule of the Genoese Gattilusio family, in whose hands it remained until 1456 when Sultan Mehmed II captured it for the Ottoman Empire⁵. During the Balkan Wars it was briefly occupied by the Bulgarian army⁶, and between 1919 and 1922 it became part of the modern Greek state, much as the rest of Eastern Thrace, until its Greek population evacuated it in October 1922⁷. During the 1950s it was settled by Pomak refugees from Bulgaria⁸.

The city was built on a peninsula on the eastern bank of the Evros river delta, and used to be surrounded on three sides by lagoons formed by the river. The change in the morphology of the area during the long history of the city drastically affected the urban planning and the development of the settlement⁹.

During the Archaic, Classical, Hellenistic, Roman and early Byzantine periods the city extended along the flat and hilly stretch formed by the peninsula arm towards the south and east. It used to have two ports, one located in the east and the other in the west¹⁰. During the middle Byzantine period, the multitude of raids that ravaged the Thracian hinterland caused the city to recede to the fortified acropolis, where an imposing metropolitan church was erected, and while the eastern port was abandoned the port district in the western side of the acropolis was defended behind a strong wall in the form of two arms towards the north and south respectively¹¹. The economic growth of the late Byzantine period led to the extension of the city towards the east of the acropolis, as is attested by the scattered surviving or mentioned in sources Byzantine churches.

When Georgios Lampakis visited the city in 1902, he recorded 27 Byzantine or post-Byzantine churches, two of which had been converted to

⁵ Ch. Wright, *The Gattilusio Lordships and the Aegean World 1355-1462*, Leiden – Boston 2014, passim.

⁶ As far as the short period of the bulgarian occupation of the city is concerned see the recorded testimony at: Perrakis, Εὐάγγελος Λουκματζῆς, 11 (1-6/2010), 2-8, 18 (7-12/2013), 4-6.

⁷ See the above mentioned Loukmatzis's testimony about the evacuation of the Greek population from the city (op. cit., 3-6).

⁸ Ibid, 18 (7-12/2013), 4-6; Ebru Öztürk Bektaş, *Enez (Ainos) ilçesi kültürel peyzaj alanlarının tarihsel süreçteki değişimleri üzerine araştırmalar*, unpublished Master's thesis, Işık Üniversitesi, Peyzaj Mimarlığı. Fen Bilimleri Enstirüsü, Şile 2020 passim.

⁹ As far as the topography of the city at early times is concerned see: Anca Dan et al., *Ainos in Thrace: Research perspectives in historical geography and geoarchaeology*, Anatolia Antiqua XXVII (Istanbul 2019), 127-144; Anca Dan et al., *Nouvelles recherches historiques et géoarchéologiques à Ainos : pour une première restitution graphique de la ville et du territoire antique*, Bulletin de la Société Française d'Archéologie classique XLX (Paris 2018-2019), 152-162; Thomas Schmidts et al., *Die thrakische Hafenstadt Ainos. Ergebnisse eines interdisziplinären Forschungsprojektes*, Archäologischer Anzeiger 2 (Berlin 2020), 312-374, where further indicative previous litterature can be found.

¹⁰ Anca Dan et al., Ainos in Thrace, 139-140; S. Başaran, Zum Straßennætz um Ainos, 344-345; H. Brückner et al., Die Häfen und ufernahen Befestigungen von Ainos – eine Zwischenbilanz, Häfen im 1. Millennium AD. Bauliche Konzepte, herrschaftliche und religiöse Einflüsse. Plenartreffen im Rahmen des DFG-Schwerpunktprogramms 1630 »Häfen von der Römischen Kaiserzeit bis zum Mittelalter« im Römisch-Germanischen Zentralmuseum Mainz, 13.-15. Januar 2014, ed. Thomas Schmidts - Martin Marko Vučetić, (Mainz 2015), 55-57.

¹¹ H. Brückner et al., *Die Häfen und ufernahen Befestigungen von Ainos*, 57-63.



Fig.2 Fatih Camii of Ainos, view from SW (S. Mamaloukos 2007). Сл. 2 Фатих џамија у Аиносу, изглед са југозападне стране (С. Мамалукос 2007)

places of Muslim worship¹². This immense monumental wealth was largely eradicated after the expulsion of the Christian population from the city in 1922.

A close scrutiny of the available sources, excavation findings and reports plus fieldwork has managed to locate several Byzantine churches, on which it is possible to extract certain observations on their building history and architecture.

The small church of *Saint Efplous* (Fig. 1), situated south of the city, in the old Ottoman graveyard, is known among the townsfolk by the name of Has Yunus Bey Türbesi, as it has been converted into a mausoleum (türbe) of the commander of the Ottoman fleet under Mehmet II and conqueror of Ainos, who was buried there after his execution by sultan's order¹³.

The türbe had been known to the local Greek population of the city as the former church of Saint Efplous or Hagianoplous in its folk form¹⁴, a saint whose cult in Ainos is attested in a 14th century *Life* of the saint from the Chalke Theological School library¹⁵. People's devotion to the saint, despite the fact that its church had been converted into a place of Muslim worship, was clearly expressed on the saint's feast day, on 11th of August, when a litany in his honour was organized outside of the building by the nearby parish church of Saint Demetrios¹⁶.

 12 Γ. Λαμπάκης, Περιηγήσεις, Δελτίον τῆς Χριστιανικῆς Ἀρχαιολογικῆς Ἐταιρείας Η΄ (Ἀθῆναι 1908), 4-28.

¹³ On the monument see: S. Eyice, Enez' de Yunus Kaptan türbesi ve Has Yunus Bey'in mezarı hakkında bir araştırma, Tarih Dergisi 13/17-18 (İstanbul 3/1962-9/1963), 141-158, pl. I-VI; idem, Türkiye Trakyası'nda incelemelerden notlar : I. Trakya'da Bizans Devrine ait Eserler, Belleten LXXXIII/131 (Ankara 1969), 348-349; idem, Les monuments byzantines de la Thrace Turque, Corsi di Cultura sull'Arte Ravennate e Bizantina (Ravenna 1971), 306-307; Θ. Παπαζῶτος, Σχεδίασμα περί τῶν μνημείων τῆς Αἴνου ἕως τίς ἀρχές τοῦ παρόντος aἰῶνος, Θρακική Ἐπετηρίδα 9 (Κομοτηνή 1992-1994), 95-98; R. Ousterhout, Ch. Bakirtzis, The Byzantine Monuments of the Evros / Meriç Valley, 41-42; St. Mamaloukos, Periphery of Constantinople, 110.

14 Γ. Λαμπουσιάδης, Όδοιπορικόν, Θρακικά 15 (ἐν Ἀθήναις 1941), 125.

¹⁵ Β. Κοντοβάς, Βιβλιογράφοι ἀπό τή Θράκη (Ζ΄-ΙΘ΄ αἰῶνες). Γ΄ μέρος, Θρακική Ἐπετηρίδα 6 (Κομοτηνή 1985-1986), 65.

¹⁶ B. A. Μυστακίδης, Θρακικά (IV-V), Θρακικά 3 (ἐν Ἀθήναις 1932), 53; Ἀχ. Θ. Σα-μοθράκης, Ἡ Αἶνος καὶ αἰ ἐκκλησίαι της, Θρακικὰ 19 (ἐν Ἀθήναις 1944), 29. Ousterhout and Bakirtzis have associated the church with Saint Nikolaos, based on a lost today late byzantine inscription that was recorded by Lampakis at the now demolished church of Saint Vlasios,

The nowadays in-filled and considerably altered by later modifications building is of the free cross type, its arms being nearly identical in dimensions: 5.8 m. in the eastwest direction and 5.1 m. in the north-south one¹⁷. On the east there is a convex apse with a semicircle plan, covered by a semi-dome. The arms of the cross are covered by barrel vaults, and in the middle a central dome rises on a tall, 1.65 m. high, unarticulated cylindrical drum, with four thin (15 x 60 cm. each) windows on the cardinal axes. The north cross arm also has a thin window over the door. Recent restoration works have revealed it was originally painted inside¹⁸.



Fig. 3 Fatih Camii of Ainos, interior view (I. Perrakis 2015) Сл. 3 Фатих џамија, унутрашњи изглед (Ј. Перакис 2015)

The original western door after the conversion of the building into a tomb was blocked and another one was opened up in the north arm of the cross. Inside the south arm of the cross stands the 18th century tomb of Yunus Baba¹⁹.

The rare within the region of Constantinople type of the free cross, due to its simple morphological features, has been dated in various periods by the scholars that have dealt with it. Lampakis, Eyice and Başaran have associated it with the Gala Placidia Mausoleum in Ravenna and the two latter ones with other early Byzantine momuments of the type, hence attributing it to an early date²⁰. Based on these associatons Başaran regards it as a burial chapel, "an example of the ancient grave monument tradition"²¹. Mamaloukos and Papazotos have dated it, based on its morphological features, towards the late 10th or early 11th century²². Ousterhout and Bakirtzis have dated the monument

²² Θ. Παπαζῶτος, Σχεδίασμα περί τῶν μνημείων τῆς Αἴνου, 98; St. Mamaloukos, Periphery of Constantinople, 110.

thinking that the inscription was reused at the nineteenth-century church. Yet, Saint Vlasios church was a byzantine monument and it was originally dedicated to Saint Nikolaos. Hence, the byzantine inscription was not from Saint Efplous church, but from Saint Vlasios On the latter monument, see: Θ . Παπαζῶτος, Σχεδίασμα περί τῶν μνημείων τῆς Αἴνου, 89-90, also for earler bibliography; I. Μ. Περράκης, Εὐάγγελος Λουκματζῆς, 11 (1-6/2010), 4-7.

¹⁷ S. Başaran, Ainos (Enez), 41.

¹⁸ Personal observation.

¹⁹ S. Başaran, G. Kurap, *Enez (Ainos) 2012 Yılı Kazı Çalışmalarıyla İlgili Rapor*, 35. Kazı Sonuçları Toplantısı. 27 – 31 Mayıs 2013 Muğla, v. 3, (Ankara 2014), 254.

²⁰ Γ. Λαμπάκης, Περιηγήσεις, 28; S. Eyice, Türkiye Trakyası'nda incelemelerden notlar, 349; S. Başaran, Ainos (Enez), 41.

²¹ S. Başaran, ibid.

to the 14th or 15th century²³, a date (14th cen.) that also St. Karwiese shares²⁴, whereas Vokotopoulos doubts whether it can be dated before the conquest of Constantinople²⁵.

Its morphological features, such as the type of masonry, the semicircular sanctuary apse, the cylindrical dome drum and the cross-arm façade articulation with the use of blind arches, associate it with the churches of Saint John the Forerunner in Mesembria (Nesebar) and the Dormition of the Virgin in Genna (Kaynarca)²⁶, leading to a date at the late 10th or early 11th century.

The church that survives at the northeastern corner of the ruined acropolis, known as *Fatih Camii* (Fig. 2,3), has been the subject of numerous studies and references by many scholars²⁷. The Byzantine building, deformed by extensive repairs during the Ottoman Period²⁸ and already with serious structural problems, functioned as a mosque until 1965 when it collapsed after an earthquake²⁹. Recently the parts that had collapsed were rebuilt and the building has reopened as a mosque. Although nothing is surely known about the monument's earlier history, it is clear that it used to be the "Katholike Ekklesia", i.e. the Cathedral, of Ainos³⁰ and it was most probably dedicated to the Virgin Mary³¹.

The church has impressive dimensions, 29.30 m in length, not including the conches of the sanctuary, and 21 m in width. It is composed of a largescale peculiar cross-in-square type church with a contemporaneous narthex and raised, U-shaped galleries, as well as a somewhat later outer narthex in the shape of a two-storey portico.

The visual contact between the chambers that sat above the western corner compartments and the church was provided by arched openings that perforated the walls of these spaces, overlooking the western, southern and northern arms of the church's cross-shaped body. Its vaulting is composed of barrel vaults along the arms of the cross and the parabemata, and pairs of cross-groined

²³ R. Ousterhout, Ch. Bakirtzis, *The Byzantine Monuments of the Evros / Meriç Valley*, 41.

²⁴ S. Başaran, G. Kurap, *Enez (Ainos) 2012 Yılı Kazı Çalışmalarıyla İlgili Rapor*, 253.

²⁵ Π. Λ. Βοκοτόπουλος, Ή ἐκκλησιαστικὴ ἀρχιτεκτονικὴ εἰς τὴν Δυτικὴν Στερεὰν Ἑλλάδα καὶ τὴν Ήπειρον ἀπὸ τοῦ τέλους τοῦ 7ου μέχρι τοῦ τέλους τοῦ 10ου αἰῶνος, Θεσσαλονίκη 1992², 108 (note 3).

²⁶ S. Mamaloukos, Periphery of Constantinople, 110.

²⁷ A brief account see: Στ. Μαμαλούκος, Συμπληρωματικά στοιχεία για την αρχιτεκτονική της καθολικής εκκλησίας (Φατίχ Τζαμί) της Aivov / Additional notes on the architecture of the "Katholike Ekklesia" (Fatih Camii) at Ainos (Enez), Περί Θράκης 5 (Ξάνθη 2005-2006), 11-12. Further recent literature see: Burcu Başaran, Enez Ayasofya Kilisesi (Fatih Camisi) 'nde kullanılan Yapı Malzemesinin Analizi ve Konservasyon Yöntemleri, unpublished Master's thesis, Kadir Has Üniversitesi Fen Bilimleri Enstütüsü, İstanbul 2010.

²⁸ S. Eyice, *Türkiye Trakyası'nda incelemelerden notlar*, 352 and note 39; M. Tunay, *Enez Ayasofyası fresko araştırmaları*, XI. Araştırma Sonuçları Toplantısı. Ankara 24-28 Mayıs 1993, (Ankara 1994), 522.

²⁹ S. Eyice, *Türkiye Trakyası'nda incelemelerden notlar*, 351; R. Ousterhout, *The byzantine church at Enez: Problems in twelfth-century architecture*, Jahrbuch der Ösrerreichischen Byzantinistik 35 (Wien 1985), 262.

³⁰ Θ. Παπαζῶτος, Σχεδίασμα περί τῶν μνημείων τῆς Αἴνου, 99.

³¹ R. Ousterhout, *The byzantine church at Enez*, 261 (note 3).

vaults over the western corner compartments. The long ago destroyed dome was supported by a system of reinforcing arches which, even though had been reinforced during the Ottoman period, is original³².

Both narthex and main church were accessed by three doors along their western walls. The interior of the church was amply lit by numerous singlelight windows, one two-light opening and two overlapping triple-light windows above it on the tympanums of the northern and southern arms of the cross, the northern one of the so called crouped-type³³.

Both as a whole and in its individual elements, the church is characterized by precise design. It seems that the exterior highlighted the interior's articulation quite explicitly. The facades were completely articulated with blind arches with a simple indentation at their lower part and with a double indentation in the level of the arches. On its eastern facade prevail the sanctuary's multi-sided conches of which at least that of the Holy Bema has been seriously altered by Ottoman interventions.

The walls of the church are built in alternating bands of



triple-light windows above it on the tympanums of the northern Fig. 4 Church of Saint Gregory of Neokaisareia of Ainos, view from NE. (F.W. Hasluck, 1908, BSA SPHS 01/1110.2928)

Сл. 4 Црква Светог Георгија Неокесаријског у Аиносу, изглед са североистока (F.W. Hasluck, 1908, BSA SPHS 01/1110.2928)



Fig. 5 Church of Saint John Prodromos (Forerunner) of Ainos. (G. Lambakis, 1902, XAE 3422).

Сл. 5 Црква Светог Јована Продрома (Претече) у Аиносу, (G. Lambakis, 1902, XAE 3422).

stonework and brickwork made in the recessed brick technique³⁴. Surfaces are carefully rendered with wide pointing that largely covered the stones. Upon the pointing there were incisions that made up for the carelessness in construction and the roughness of the stones and bricks on both the stonework and the brickwork bands. On the pointing of the wide joints of the brickwork there

³² About this reinforcing system and its early Christian equivalents see op. cit., 265-266.

³³ op. cit., 264.

³⁴ op. cit., 263.

were double vertical incisions. On the tympanums of the blind arches and to the uppermost parts of the apse's conches was a quite rich brick decoration³⁵. The arches and vaults were entirely of brick.

West of the church an impressive two-storey exonarthex is added that occupies the entire width of the church. It is of a specific type of space in Byzantine architecture that many middle and late Byzantine churches used to have, which could be called "enclosed exonarthexes". On ground floor, the exonarthex contained a relatively narrow (3 m in width) unified space, its western wall punctuated by two two-light windows on either side of a central three-light one, having an axial entrance and composite windows with marble frames and sills out of marble panels, traces of which are visible on the columns on either side. One more door opens on each of the side walls.

In terms of typology, it has been correlated with a group of large-scale churches of 12th century Constantinople, such as Kalenderhane Camii and Gül Camii³⁶. Eyice and Mango have dated the church of Ainos to the 12th century and the exonarthex to late Byzantine times³⁷. Based on the structural similarity of the two building phases, Vocotopoulos claimed that the whole building is Paleologan³⁸. Ousterhout correctly dated both church and exonarthex to the 12th century³⁹. From Kuniholm's research on dendrochronology, a more accurate dating determined that the monument belongs to the third quarter of the 12th century (after 1162) ⁴⁰.

To the "cross-in-square - simple four-columned type" belong the churches of **Saint Gregory of Neokaisareia** (Fig. 4) and **Saint John Prodromos** (Forerunner) (Fig. 5), both nowadays sadly destroyed, but known to us through their meager remains and from older photographs. Both of these were most probably originally erected in the 13th century, a period when Ainos was under the control of the Lascarids, or in the early Paleologan Period⁴¹.

³⁷ Respectively S. Eyice, *Türkiye Trakyası'nda incelemelerden notlar*, ibid, 352; C. Mango, *Byzantine Architecture*, New York 1976, 275.

³⁸ P. Vocotopoulos, *The Role of Constantinopolitan Architecture during the Middle and Late Byzantine Period*, Jahrbuch der Ösrerreichischen Byzantinistik 31/2 (Wien 1981), 563 (note 48).

³⁹ R. Ousterhout, *The byzantine church at Enez*, 265 and 273 respectively.

⁴⁰ P. I. Kuniholm, *Aegean Dendrochronology Project. Extensions to the Long Chronologies*, Arkeometri Sonuçları Toplantısı 8 (Ankara 1992), 460-461.

⁴¹ St. Mamaloukos, Periphery of Constantinople, 117. On the suggested by various scholars dating of these monuments, see: M. Κάππας, Η εφαρμογή του σταυροειδούς εγγεγραμμένου στη μέση και την ύστερη βυζαντινή περίοδο. Το παράδειγμα του απλού τετρακιόνιου / τετράστυλου, PhD Dissertation, Αριστοτέλειο Πανεπιστήμιο Θεσσαλονίκης, Τμήμα Ιστορίας και Αρχαιολογίας, Θεσσαλονίκη 2009, Β΄ Κατάλογος μνημείων, 14, 17, as well as Α΄ Κείμενο, 74.

³⁵ op. cit., 264-265.

³⁶ op. cit., 266-267.

The church of *Saint John Prodromos (Forerunner)* is located in the Pano Machalas (Yeni Mahalle) district north-northeast of the main gate of the acropo-lis⁴². Its meager remains are hardly visible today buried in the yard of a house after its complete demolition some twenty years ago.

It was a mid-sized building (c. 8 x 10 m.); a four-column, cross-in-square type church probably with a narthex of a later date to the west. The drum of its dome was entirely constructed of brick, with an octagonal plan, semicircular half-colonettes in the corners, alternate windows and conches on its sides, and an eave moulding, possibly with brick dentils. The single sanctuary apse was three-sided, and possibly articulated with blind arches. The façade was articulated with pilasters. The typical tympanon recess encountered in the cross-arms of cross-in-square type churches was found in the middle of the north wall. The exterior façade was articulated with alternating stone and brick bands in the recessed brick technique. Broken brick fragments appear in the joints of the brick courses and occasional vertical bricks appear in the stone courses. The inner façade, on the other hand, is treated differently, and both are facings on a rubble core. All these elements compare favorably with the Lascarid monuments of Asia Minor.

The ruins of the *church of Saint Gregory of Neokaisareia* are located in the middle of the fortified acropolis⁴³ and were excavated by A. Erzen in 1985-1986⁴⁴ and by S. Başaran in 2008⁴⁵. It was a mid-sized, simple, four-column, cross-in-square type church with a dome and a narthex. An arcosolium was formed on the interior of the north wall. The dome was entirely constructed of brick, with an octagonal plan with semicircular half-colonettes in the corners, and an eave moulding, possibly with brick dentils.

An L-shaped, narrow, timber-roofed exonarthex was later added along the west and south façades of the church. Wide doorways were opened on the south wall of the main church, in order to facilitate passage between thet and the south part of the exonarthex, essentially breaking up the façade into free-standing piers; the south wall of the narthex was also removed for the same reason. The narthex possibly was a 1807 building⁴⁶.

The single-nave church of *Theotokos Chrysopege (Virgin Mary the Life-Giving Spring)* (Fig. 6) in the northwest corner of the acropolis survives in low ruins with the exception of its north wall, which largely remains intact

⁴² On the monument, see: M. Κάππας, op. cit., B΄ Κατάλογος μνημείων, 16-17, also for earler bibliography. Besides: R. Ousterhout, *The byzantine architecture of Thrace*, 497; St. Mamaloukos, *Periphery of Constantinople*, 116 (fig. 20), 117.

⁴³ On the monument, see: Μ. Κάππας, *Η* εφαρμογή του σταυροειδούς εγγεγραμμένου, 13-15, also for earler bibliography. Besides: R. Ousterhout, *The byzantine architecture of Thrace*, 497; St. Mamaloukos, *Periphery of Constantinople*, 116 (fig. 19), 117.

⁴⁴ A. Erzen, *1985 Yılı Enez Kazısı Çalışmaları*, VIII. Kazı Sonuçları Toplantısı. Ankara 26-30 Mayıs 1986, v. II, (Ankara 1987), 275, 280; idem, *1986 Yılı Enez Kazısı Çalışmaları*, IX. Kazı Sonuçları Toplantısı. Ankara 6-10 Nisan 1987, v. II, (Ankara 1988), 280-281, 287.

⁴⁵ S. Başaran et al., *Enez (Ainos) 2008 Yılı Kazısı, Onarım-Koruma Çalışmaları*, 31. Kazı Sonuçları Toplantısı. 25-29 Mayıs 2009 Denizli, v. 2, (Ankara 2010), 120-121, 140 (fig. 6).

⁴⁶ Θ. Παπαζῶτος, Σχεδίασμα περί τῶν μνημείων τῆς Αἴνου, 93.



Fig. 6. Church of Theotokos Chrysopege (Virgin Mary the Life-Giving Spring) of Ainos. (G. Lambakis, 1902, XAE 3423

Сл. 6. Црква Богородице Хрисопеге (Богородице Живоносни Источник) у Аиносу (G. Lambakis, 1902, XAE 3423

up to its original height⁴⁷. It is a single nave, timber-roofed church with a small, semicircular apse. The walls of the church were constructed of a type of masonry with rough-cut stones interspersed with vertical bricks. According to two, one of them lost, inscriptions the church was erected in 1422/1423 under the patronage of some Demetrios Xenos by the, well known from other inscriptions as well, mason Konstantinos, and the wall painting decoration was completed a year later in 1423/142448.

Selymbria (Silivri), is built on the northern shore of the Propontis (Sea of Marmara), approximately 60 km west of Constantinople. The city was

founded by settlers from Megara sometime around 675 B.C. Thanks to its naturally fortified position and its port, it already became one of the most important ancient Greek and Roman cities of Thrace. The city clearly benefited from the transfer of the capital of the Roman state to Constantinople and flourished during the Early and Middle Byzantine periods. After the fall of which it was peacefully ceded to the Ottomans in 1453. During the period of Ottoman rule, Selymbria was an important peripheral urban center with a substantial Christian population. During the first decades of the 20th century, the city suffered from the military conflicts that unfolded in Eastern Thrace. In 1920 it was incorporated in the modern Greek state, like the rest of Eastern Thrace, until its Christian inhabitants fled to Greece as refugees in 1922. From the 1920s until the 1970s, when Muslim and refugees mostly from the area of Macedonia settled in the city, Selymbria was a small provincial Turkish city. It was during this time that a large part of its architectural wealth was lost. Silivri grew rapidly but rather haphazardly during the last decades as a satellite city and an important summer vacation center of nearby Istanbul, resulting in the almost complete loss of its historic character⁴⁹.

⁴⁹ On the history of Selymbria see briefly A. Kazhdan, *Selymbria*, ed. A. Kazhdan, A. Talbot, A. Cutler, T. Gregory, N. Ševčenko, Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium, v. 2, (New

⁴⁷ On the monument, see: St. Mamaloukos, I. Perrakis, *The Church of Theotokos Chrysopege at Ainos (Enez)*, ed. Ch. Bakirtzis, N. Zekos, X. Moniaros, *4th International Symposium on Thracian Studies, Byzantine Thrace: Evidence and Remains, Komotini, 18-22 April 2007, Proceedings*, Byzantinische Forschungen 30 (Amsterdam 2011), 503-535, pl. 844-859, also for earler bibliography.

⁴⁸ Ε. Ν. Θεοχαροπούλου, Ή γραπτή ἐπιγραφή τοῦ ναοῦ τῆς Χρυσοπηγῆς Αἴνου. Ένα ἀφανές τεκμήριο στό φῶς τῆς ἔρευνας, Βυζαντινά 35 (Θεσσαλονίκη 2017), 243-281.

When the British clergyman in Constantinople John Covel visited the city in May 1675, the city had fourteen small churches in a bad state of preservation, while there also were seven more "*in the olden days*"⁵⁰. The number of forty churches, which Efstratios Drakos⁵¹ mentions in his 1892 treatise, is most probably somewhat excessive. Unfortunately, only scant remains of one of all of these churches of Selymbria survive today. Below is a recount of the evidence available to us today on the known churches of Selymbria, and a series of observation on their history and architecture.

The church of *Saint John Prodromos (Forerunner)*, known today as *Fatih Camii* (Fig. 7, 8), is well known from old. Hence, the bibliography on this particular monument is rather abundant⁵². The church is located in the center of the fortified city. According to already known monograms found on the column capitals of a, most probably, funerary ciborium located in the interior of the monument, in conjunction with evidence from historic sources, the church was built by the Parakoimomenos and later on, Megas Dux Alexios Apokaukos

⁵⁰ N. Χειλαδάκης, Εβλιά Τσελεμπί – Τζον Κόβελ (Evliya Celebi - John Covel). Από Κωνσταντινουπόλεως εις Αδριανούπολιν. Δύο παράλληλα ταξίδια μέσα στο χρόνο, Αθήνα 1993, 97; P. Magdalino, Byzantine Churches of Selymbria, Dumbarton Oaks Papers 32 (Washington DC 1978), 316; J. P. Grélois, Dr. John Covel. Voyages en Turquie 1675 – 1677, Paris 1998, 50.

⁵¹ Ε. Δράκος, Τὰ Θρακικά : ἤτοι διάλεξις περὶ τῶν Ἐκκλησιαστικῶν Ἐπαρχιῶν Σηλυβρίας, Γάνου καὶ Χώρας, Μετρῶν καὶ Ἀθύρων, Μυριοφύτου καὶ Περιστάσεως, Καλλιπόλεως καὶ Μαδύτου, (Ἀθήνησι 1892), 19. See also Magdalino, Byzantine Churches of Selymbria, 318.

52 The most important publications on the monument are: A. $\Sigma \tau \alpha \mu \sigma \lambda \eta c$, $E \pi i \sigma \tau \sigma$ λὴ ἐκ Σηλυβρίας ἀπὸ 9 Ἰανουαρίου 1872, Ὁ ἐν Κωνσταντινουπόλει Ἑλληνικὸς Φιλολογικὸς Σύλλογος 6 (Κωνσταντινούπολις 1871-1872), 1873; J. H. Mordtmann, Zur Epigraphik von Thrakien, Archäologisch-epigraphischen Mitteilungen aus Österreich-Ungarn 8 (Wien 1884), 211-212; Δράκος, Θρακικά, 16; S. Eyice, Alexis Apocauque et l'église byzantine de Sélymbria (Silivri), Byzantion 34 (Leuven 1964), 77-104; O. Feld, Noch einmal Alexios Apokaukos und die byzantinische Kirche von Seleymbria, Byzantion 37 (Leuven 1967), 57-65; S. Eyice, Türkive Trakvası'nda incelemelerden notlar, 355-357, fig. 103; S. Eyice, Les Monuments byzantins de la Thrace Turque, 308 (fig.18), 296; S. Eyice, Encore une fois l' église d'Alexis Apocauque à Selymbria (=Silivri), Byzantion 48 (Leuven 1978), 407-416; Magdalino, Byzantine Churches of Selymbria, 314, 315-316; Akkaya, Selymbria, 160-176; R. Ousterhout, Constantinople, Bithynia, and Regional Developments in Later Palaeologan Architecture, ed. S. Ćurčić, D. Mouriki, The Twilight of Byzantium. Aspects of Cultural and Religious History in the Late Byzantine Empire, Papers from the Colloquium Held at Princeton University 8-9 May 1989, (New Jersey 1991), 80, fig. 11; Kozanoğlu, Silivri, 80-85; R. Ousterhout, The Byzantine Architecture of Thrace, 498, fig. 12; R. Ousterhout, Two Byzantine Churches of Silivri/Selymbria, ed. M. Johnson, R. Ousterhout, A. Papalexandrou, Approaches to Byzantine Architecture and its Decoration. Studies in Honor of Slobodan Curčić, Burlington, (2012), 239-249, fig. 12.1-12.7; S. Mamaloukos, Periphery of Constantinople, 112, 118, fig. 14; R. Ousterhout, Eastern Medieval Architecture: The Building Traditions of Byzantium and Neighboring Lands, New York 2021, 614, fig. 24.23.

York – Oxford 1991), 1867-1868; A. Külzer, Ostthrakien (Europe). Tabula Imperii Byzantini 12, (Wien 2008), 635-643. Also see T. Akkaya, Trakya'da Marmara Denizi kıyısında İstanbul'a bağlı bir liman kasabası: Selymbrıa (Silivri) tarih içindeki gelişimi ve eski eserleri, PhD Dissertation, İstanbul Üniversitesi, (İstanbul 1984), 10-60; C. Kozanoğlu, Her Yönüyle Silivri, Silivri 1995, 9-18.



Fig. 7,8. Church of Saint John Prodromos (Forerunner) of Selymbria interior and view from S. (B. Filov 1913, The Gipson Archive, 07-3,13).

Сл. 7,8. Црква Светог Јована Продрома у Селимврији, ентеријер и изглед са јужне стране (В. Filov 1913, The Gipson Archive, 07-3,13).

around 132853. It is highly probable that the church was the Katholikon of the Monastery of the Grand Dux mentioned in sources⁵⁴. The church is built over the western part of a large, possibly early Byzantine cistern. Initially the church must have been a three-aisled, timber roofed basilica, and not a crossin-square type church, as has been assumed both in the past, and in recent years⁵⁵. In terms of morphology the church of Saint John is a representative specimen of the late Byzantine churches of the periphery of Constantinople, which are characterized by the variety of forms and experimental flair that are typical of Byzantine architecture of this tumultuous time period. Comparable design and façade articulation novelties to the church of Selymbria are also found, for example, in the churches of Mesembria (Nesebar)56.

As Robert Ousterhout has already astutely discerned⁵⁷, at a later, unknown date, during the 14th or the first half of the 15th century, the church was drastically repaired and painted, possibly following partial collapse due to an earthquake. Evidence from a number of sources suggests that the church was con-

verted into a mosque shortly after the city was captured by the Ottomans, pos-

55 Ousterhout, Silivri, 243, 248.

⁵⁶ On the post-Byzantine churches of Mesembria see briefly Ousterhout, *Eastern Medieval Architecture*, 650-653.

⁵⁷ Ousterhout, Silivri, 245-249.

⁵³ Ousterhout, Silivri, 239-257

⁵⁴ Magdalino, *Byzantine Churches of Selymbria*, 314, 315-316.

sibly in 1462/1463⁵⁸. In the 19th century, the mosque was already deserted and ruined⁵⁹. Today very few remnants of its walls survive in the courtyard of an elegant, modern mosque that was erected towards the east of the ruined monument in the 1980s⁶⁰.

The nowadays *lost church of Selymbria* allegedly dedicated to *Saint Spyridon* (Fig. 9), is also well known to scholars and possesses an abundance of relevant bibliography⁶¹. The monument was located on the southeastern corner of the fortified city, very close to the edge of the cliff on the southern side of the Castle, towards the sea⁶². Even though the monument was destroyed after 1922, its original form can be rather safely reconstructed based on old depictions and descriptions, with the aid of the further study of some surviving architectural members⁶³.

The older reconstruction drawings of the monument were prepared by Horst Hallensleben⁶⁴, and have also been republished by Robert Ousterhout⁶⁵. New reconstruction drawings have been attempted by Stavros Mamaloukos⁶⁶ and Görkem Günay⁶⁷. The church's floor plan had overall dimensions 14 x 9 m and belonged to the rare church type known as the simple domed octagon⁶⁸. Both in terms of construction (opus mixtum masonry, and the use of the recessed brick technique), as well as in terms of morphology (volume and façade

 60 Ά. Μήλλας, Προποντίδα "μιά θάλασσα τῆς Ρωμιοσύνης", (Άθήνα 1992), 139 (fig.), 142.

⁶¹ The most important publications on the monument are: Σταμούλης, Επιστολή έκ Σηλυβρίας, 62-63 (fig. 2, 3); Κ. Μαυρίδης, Ό ἐν Σηλυβρία βυζαντινός ναὸς τοῦ Άγίου Σπυρίδωνος, Θρακικά 9 (ἐν Ἀθήναις 1938), 37-44; Μ. Σταμούλης, Ὁ ἐν Σηλυβρία βυζαντινὸς ναὸς τοῦ Άγίου Σπυρίδωνος, Θρακικά 9 (ἐν Ἀθήναις 1938), 37-44; Eyice, Trakya, 355-357; Magdalino, Byzantine Churches of Selymbria, 314; Akkaya, Selymbria, 179-181; H. Hallesleben, Die ehemalige Spyridonkirche in Silivri (Selymbria) – Eine Achtstützenkirche im Gebiet Konstantinopels, ed. O. Feld, U. Peschlow, Studien zur spätantiken und byzantinischen Kunst Friedrich Wilhelm Deichmann gewidmet, (Mainz 1986), 35-46; Μήλλας, Προποντίδα, 139 (fig.), 142; Α. Μαντάς, 24. Σηλυ(μ)βρία, ναός Αγίου Σπυρίδωνος. Όψη από τα βορειοδυτικά ΧΑΕ 3455, Θράκη - Κωνσταντινούπολη. Το οδοιπορικό του Γεωργίου Λαμπάκη (1902), Κατάλογος Έκθεσης, (Αθήνα 2007), 74-75; Ousterhout, Byzantine Architecture of Thrace, 494-496, fig. 7; Ousterhout, Silivri, 249-254, fig.12.8-12.11; Mamaloukos, Periphery of Constantinople, 110-111, fig.13; G. Günay, Orta Bizans'ın Sekiz Destekli Kilise Plan Semasının Dönemin Konstantinopolis Mimarlığıvla İlişkileri, unpublished Master's thesis, İstanbul Teknik Üniversitesi, Fen Bilimleri Enstirüsü, (Istanbul 2018), 73-86, fig. F.1-20; G. Günay, Revisiting the church of Saint Spyridon in Selymbria, Byzantinische Zeitschrift 114.1 (Wien 2021), 171-194.

⁶² Cf. Günay, Church of Saint Spyridon in Selymbria, 174-177, fig. 4.

⁶³ Cf. Hallesleben, *Silivri*, 41, pl. 8.1; Günay, *Church of Saint Spyridon in Selymbria*, 181-182, fig. 9.

⁶⁷ Günay, Church of Saint Spyridon in Selymbria, fig. 6.

⁶⁸ loc. cit.

⁵⁸ Δράκος, Θρακικά, 16. Cf. Magdalino, Byzantine Churches of Selymbria, 314.

⁵⁹ Ousterhout, *Silivri*, 239.

⁶⁴ Hallesleben, *Silivri*, fig. 1.

⁶⁵ Ousterhout, Byzantine Architecture of Thrace, fig. 12.8.

⁶⁶ Mamaloukos, Periphery of Constantinople, fig. 13.

articulation, the form the sanctuary apses, and door and window openings, etc.), the church displays common features of the architecture of Constantinople, which must also account for its rare architectural type⁶⁹. Based on typology and morphology features, the original building can be dated to the 11th century⁷⁰.

There is adequate evidence on the history of the building during modern times⁷¹. Between 1881 and 1905 the then ruined church was repaired by the Christian inhabitants of the city, in order to render it serviceable once again⁷². After the departure of the Christians in 1922 the monument was razed to the ground, in such a manner that it had completely disappeared by 193873. We know nothing of the older history of the church. Its dedication to Saint Spyridon appears to probably be modern. It is quite probable that the church was dedicated to this saint, popular in the Orthodox Church during modern times, when the ruined building was repaired, as mentioned above, after a long period of decay. A rather appealing hypothesis which could be proposed on the identification of this important middle Byzantine church of Selymbria, is that it might be the Katholikon of the, known through various sources, patriarchal Monastery of Christ Savior of Selymbria, where in 1260 Emperor Michael VIII Palaiologos transferred and buried the remains of Emperor Basil II the Bulgar Slayer, and where Michael VIII was himself interred in 128274. Sadly, available sources do not provide information on its exact location in the city, or on the form of thus undoubtedly important Monastery. If this hypothesis is not valid, and the Monastery actually lay outside the city walls, we could alternatively, though with some reservation, assume that, after the Ottoman conquest, an important Muslim mosque, possibly even Piri Mehmed Paşa camii (1530-31), the most important Ottoman monument of Selymbria, would have been erected in the place of the specific monastic complex⁷⁵.

As the encomium of the patron saint of Selymbria, great martyr Agathonikos, composed in the third quarter of the 14th century by the metropolitan of the city Filotheos⁷⁶, indicates, the *cathedral of middle Byzantine Selymbria*, which had been renovated in the third quarter of the 12th century by Emperor Manuel I Komnenos, was dedicated to *Saint Agathonikos*⁷⁷. Sources do not provide information on the location of this undoubtedly important church. It is, however, logical to assume that as a cathedral, this church would

⁶⁹ Cf. Günay, Sekiz Destekli Kilise Plan, where previous bibliography can be found.

⁷⁰ Ousterhout, Byzantine Architecture of Thrace, 496, Ousterhout, Silivri, 254; Mamaloukos, Periphery of Constantinople, 111. Görkem Günay dates the monument to the late 11th century (Günay, Church of Saint Spyridon in Selymbria, 188).

⁷¹ Cf. Günay, op. cit., 172-174.

⁷² Günay, op. cit., 173-174.

⁷³ Σταμούλης, Ναός τοῦ Άγίου Σπυρίδωνος, 37. Cf. Günay, op. cit., 174.

⁷⁴ Magdalino, *Byzantine Churches of Selymbria*, 314-315.

⁷⁵ On the monument cf. briefly Akkaya, *Selymbria*, 223-265.

⁷⁶ On the encomium see Μαρία Χ. Βακαλοπούλου, Φιλόθεος Σηλυβρίας. Βίος καί συγγραφικό ἕργο, Ἀθήνα 1992, 134-141. The original text in Greek is published and translated to English in Magdalino, *Byzantine Churches of Selymbria*, 311 and 312 respectively.

⁷⁷ Magdalino, *op. cit.*, 311-312, 313, 315.

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have been built within the city walls of the city. Could it be that the church was located in the place of the modern cathedral of Selymbria, known as Panagia Selymbriani, which was dedicated to the Birth of the Virgin? Though this hypothesis cannot be based on irrefutable evidence, it, nevertheless, appears to be quite likely. John Covel briefly discusses the church of Panagia Selymbriani, describing it as a then beautiful edifice decorated with marble columns, which by 1675, however, had been reduced to a small space, which he called an ossuary ("ye finest there, adorn'd with marble pillars, but now shrunk into noting but a vestery all most")⁷⁸. Efstratios Drakos reports that the church was built in Byzantine style (,,in a sort of Byzantine style"), even





Сл. 9. Црква Светог Спиридона Селимвријског, изглед са северозападне стране (G. Lambakis 1903, XAE 3455)

though the part between the episcopal throne and the narthex had been completely rebuilt in 1833 under Metropolitan Ierotheos. Today nothing remains of the church of Panagia *Selymbriani*, or the adjacent metropolitan mansion, apart from three inscriptions kept in the sculpture collection in the Byzantine cistern under Fatih Camii⁷⁹. The building complex of the Metropolis of Selymbria was located close to the northwestern corner of the fortified city, in the area of the later Turgut Reis School, where certain older scholars erroneously placed the church of Saint Spyridon⁸⁰.

The encomium of saint Agathonikos by metropolitan Filotheos, also mentions another church dedicated to the patron saint of Selymbria, built in the second quarter of the 14th century by the Megas Dux Alexios Apokaukos "on the Sands" (*"kata tas ammous*"), namely the location where the saint martyred⁸¹.

The aforementioned encomium by Filotheos also mentions another now lost Byzantine church, the *church of Saint Alexander*. It was located outside city walls, and the fact that it reportedly had a marble floor⁸², indicated that it was a rather lofty edifice.

⁷⁸ Magdalino, op. cit., 317, Grélois, Voyages en Turquie, 52; Χειλαδάκης, Evliya Celebi - John Covel, 98.

⁷⁹ For the inscriptions see: Akkaya, Selymbria, 305-306, 306-307, 307-308; Μήλλας, Προποντίδα, 138 (fig.), 141.

⁸⁰ Cf. Günay, Church of Saint Spyridon in Selymbria, 176, fig. 4.

⁸¹ Magdalino, Byzantine Churches of Selymbria, 311-312, 313-314, 315.

⁸² op. cit., 311-312, 315.

The last of the churches of Selymbria mentioned in Byzantine era sources is the *church of Saint Marina*, the Katholikon of a monastery dedicated to the same female saint, whose abbot Makarios is mentioned in 1446 source⁸³.

John Covel recounts that the oldest, and in his day, most beautiful of the city's churches was the *church of Saint George*⁸⁴. It had marble floors, and the dome (?) over the sanctuary had mosaic decorations (*,,the Cupola over the áyıov* $\beta \eta \mu \alpha$ *is a very good Mosaick work*⁶)⁸⁵, which according to Paul Magdalino must have dated back to the middle Byzantine period⁸⁶.

John Covel also mentions "*another*" church – apart from the cathedral of Panagia *Selymbriani* – dedicated to the Virgin, which at the time of his visit housed the relic of Hosia Xeni⁸⁷.

Lastly, just from the account of Efstratios Drakos, another six churches are known: within the fortified city Saint Demetrios, Saint Panteleimon, the Holy Apostles and Saint Theodora, and outside the city walls Saint Anna, and the Virgin of Vlahernae⁸⁸. All of these, as the rest of the Christian monuments of Selymbria, were unfortunately destroyed after the departure of the Christian inhabitants of this historic, but extremely unfortunate in the preservation of its cultural heritage city of Thrace.

Ставрос Мамалукос, Јанис Перакис, Атанасиос Кумантос (Универзитет у Патрасу/Универзитет у Атини) ВИЗАНТИЈСКЕ ЦРКВЕ АИНОСА И СЕЛИМВРИЈЕ, ИСТОЧНА ТРАКИЈА

Аинос и Селимврија су два најважнија античка грчка, римска, византијска и отоманска града Источне Тракије у данашњој Турској. До почетка XX века оба града су била изузетно просперитетна трговачка центра са веома важном хришћанском популацијом. Славна историја градова се може пратити и кроз фрагментне остатке споменика који су преживели турбулентне околности. Неки споменици су преживели: средњевизантијска црква у граду (Католики Еклисија / Фатих џамија и цркве Агиос Ефлус / Хас Јунус Беј Турбе, Свети Јован Продром, Свети Георгије Неокесаријски, Света Киријаки, Богородица Хрисопеге и Свете Тројице и Панагија Фанеромене, као и Светог Спиридона и цркве Светог Јована (Фатих) изграђене од Алексија Апокавка око 1328). Сви поменути споменици су предмет овог рада будући да су спроведена екстензивна ископавања, а узети су у обзир и необјављени извори.

⁸³ op. cit., 315-316.

⁸⁴ op. cit., 316-317; Grélois, Voyages en Turquie, 50; Χειλαδάκης, Evliya Celebi - John Covel, 98-99.

⁸⁵ Magdalino, *Byzantine Churches of Selymbria*, 316; Grélois, op. cit., 50.

⁸⁶ Magdalino, op. cit., 316, n. 316; Grélois, op. cit., 52.

⁸⁷ Magdalino, op. cit., 317; Grélois, op. cit., 52-54; Χειλαδάκης, Evliya Celebi - John Covel, 99.

⁸⁸ Δράκος, Θρακικά, 19. Cf. Magdalino, op. cit., 318.