

Byzantine and Greek Orthodox Churches in Trabzon

(version 1.3)

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1. Introduction

This document explores the known Byzantine and Greek Orthodox churches in the town of Trabzon (Figure 1; Plate 1) on the Black Sea coast in north-east Türkiye.¹ It relies heavily on the past research by Selina Ballance, Anthony Bryer, David Talbot Rice², David Winfield and the last Greek metropolitan of Trabzon, Chrysanthos (reign 1908–1922).³

While there were Christians in Trabzon before the 3rd century AD, the earliest evidence of a bishop or a prelate dates back to 253–254. Byzantine Trabzon was well served with churches (Bryer and Winfield 1985). Their presence in Anatolia ended in the early 1920s under the population exchange between Greece and Türkiye, when the Orthodox Greeks were expelled from Turkish territory (Note 2). It was reported by 1952, that Christian churches in Trabzon and in the province had been either pulled down or were being used as storage depots (Harris 2005).



Figure 1: Black Sea coast

(upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/5/52/Black_Sea_map.png).

¹ The Republic of Türkiye changed its official name in 2022 from The Republic of Turkey in a request submitted to the United Nations (www.un.org/en/about-us/member-states/turkiye).

² Talbot Rice is his surname.

³ The Trabzon metropolitanate stretched 165 km east of Trabzon to 115 km west of the town (Kiminas 2009). It did not stretch that far inland from Trabzon to include the three great Byzantine monasteries of Peristereota, Vazelon and Soumela which were part of the metropolitanate of Rhodopolis. Chrysanthos (1933:791–792) lists the churches [under Greek control] in the town of Trabzon in 1913–1914 (see Note 1).



Plate 1: Trabzon looking north-west from Boz Tepe (author's photo 2018).

The oldest ecclesiastical Byzantine building dates to the 9th century.⁴ While this document describes over 60 former churches and monasteries, most are no longer standing. Sadly, some of the churches described here have scant information and some may be recorded as duplicates. From 1923, there were no operating Greek Orthodox churches in Trabzon.⁵ Six former Byzantine churches—St Philip, Chrysokephalos, St Eugenios, St Sophia, St Akindynos and St Andreas have survived today as mosques. Three other former churches; St Anne, the Theoskepastos Cave Church and the St Constantine Church in the Theoskepastos Monastery have been renovated (to some degree) and are open to tourists. One other former church, St John the Prodromos and Baptist is used as a school hall and another, the 'former church, name unknown in the Çömlekçi district' near the harbour, is a mukhtar's office and reading room, while the former St Sabbas Cave Chapels have been abandoned.

⁴ The St Anne Church was rebuilt in 884–885 AD, so it was originally built before this date.

⁵ There is still no operating Greek Orthodox church in Trabzon. The only operating Christian church in Trabzon is the Santa Maria Catholic Church, which has had to suffer severe difficulties in order to remain open.

2. A Very Brief History of Trabzon⁶

There is little reliable information on the early human settlement around Trabzon before Greek colonisation.⁷ By the 6th century BC, Trabzon was settled by Greeks from Sinope, located on the Black Sea coast (to the west of Trabzon). But there were indigenous Anatolians already living around Trabzon at this time (Avram et al. 2004). In the 7th century BC, Sinope itself was colonised by force by Greeks from Miletos from the west coast of Anatolia.

In 400 BC, Trabzon was visited by Xenophon and his 10,000 Greek mercenaries on their way back to Greece after their trek into Persia. No later than 302 BC, Mithradates I established the kingdom of Pontos. He was possibly related to the Persian dynasts. Mithradates I and kings from the same family ruled over the area on the Black Sea coast from west of modern Zonguldak (Figure 1) to Trabzon in the east until the reign of Mithradates VI. Mithradates VI, who substantially expanded his kingdom in Anatolia and around the Black Sea coast, set his sights on confrontation with the Romans. The series of Mithradatic Wars with the Romans ended with the defeat of Mithradates in 64 BC (Erciyas 2001; Koromila 2002). Trabzon was formally annexed into the Roman empire in 64 AD (Bryer and Winfield 1985).

Much later, Trabzon's strong fortifications protected it from the Seljuk Turk invasion after the defeat of the Byzantines [Eastern Romans]⁸ at the battle of Manzikert in 1071 when Theodore Gabras, saved it from the invaders (Miller 1926).

The historic town of Trabzon basically consisted of two settlements hemmed in between Boz Tepe (Grey Hill, 240 m above sea level) and the sea. To the west, a naturally defensive site which is also walled, is wedged between two deep ravines that narrow to an acropolis 1 km inland on which the Upper City contains the citadel and palace of the Trebizond Grand Komnenoi Byzantine emperors (1204–1461) (Figures 2–3). (Trabzon had been walled before 257 AD and was renovated in the following centuries (Bryer and Winfield 1985).) Below it, the Middle City was dominated by the Chrysokephalos Church. The Lower City reaches the sea with its artificial harbour. The second settlement was around 1 km east of the walled town towards the commercial harbour of Daphnous. Today the *meydan* [Taksim] or main square of Trabzon is located to the east of the walled town. Venice and Genoa (whose merchants traded in the Black Sea) were allowed to build their own castles on the seaward side. The latter built the Leontokastron⁹ (Figure 2; marked Genoese Castle in Figure 3) (Bryer 2006:715–716).

⁶ A more detailed history of Trabzon by the author can be found at:

www.pontosworld.com/index.php/history/sam-topalidis/79-a-history-of-trabzon

⁷ Trabzon was previously called Trebizond, the English name for the Greek Trapezous. (Trapeze means table in Greek.) Trapezous was named after the table like promontory on which the town was sited. Today, Greeks call it Trapezounta.

⁸ In this document, comments within '[']' within a reference are the author's own words.

⁹ Leontokastron was the fortification on the most easterly promontory before Daphnous. The promontory became the Genoese sovereign base in the early 14th century. Here were established the Genoese consul, his staff, caravansary, warehouses and ovens (Bryer and Winfield 1985:197–198).

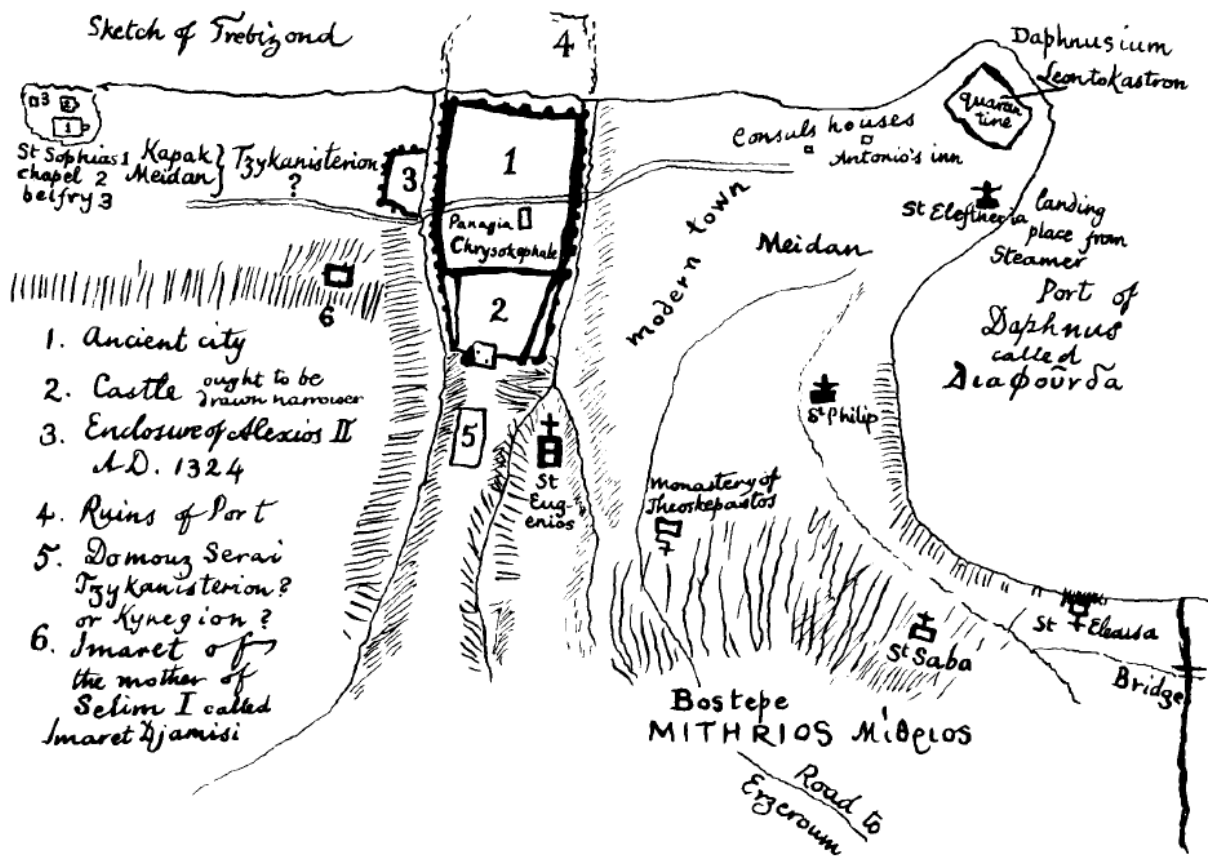


Figure 2: Simplified map of Trabzon (unpublished Finlay (1850) in Bryer and Winfield (1985:194–195)).

In 1204, Trabzon became the capital of the small Megas Komnenoi Byzantine empire (along the southern shore of the Black Sea protected further south by the Pontic Alps).¹⁰ The Megas Komnenoi emperors of Trebizond were Greek by language, Byzantine [Eastern Roman] by culture and tradition and Orthodox Christian by faith. They were constantly threatened by their Mongol and Turk neighbours in Anatolia. Their emperors prospered partly by paying tribute and partly by [at times] marrying their daughters or sisters to leaders of the neighbours posing threats (Nicol 1996:120–121).

Trabzon's wealth and influence far outstripped its size and population. Transit trade via land and sea was very profitable due to the taxes collected on goods entering and leaving the town en route to and from Asia. Trabzon was the furthest port east through which European shipping could reach an overland route to central Asia. The town's commercial importance occurred especially from 1258 to 1475 and from 1829 to 1869 (Bryer 2006:715).

¹⁰ During the Byzantine (Eastern Roman) empire (c.324–1453), the Latins of the Fourth Crusade conquered Constantinople in 1204. More details on the Komnenoi empire is discussed in Topalidis (2019) and Topalidis (in press).

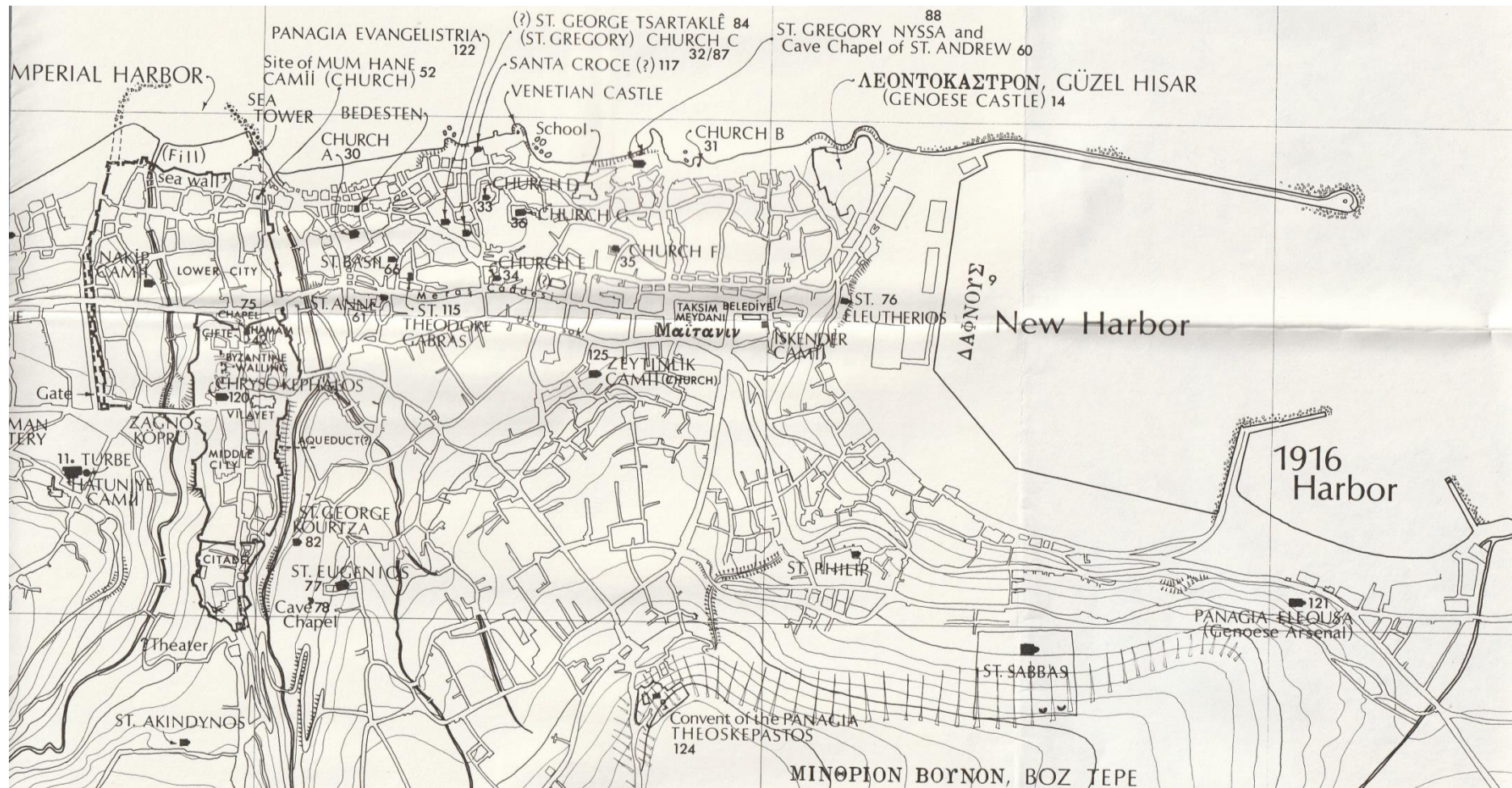


Figure 3: Churches between the western edge of the Byzantine Walls to the harbour of Daphnous in Trabzon (scale Church A (30) to St Eleutherios (76) = 1 km) (Bryer and Winfield 1985, II).

After a siege in 1461, Byzantine Trabzon surrendered to the forces of Ottoman sultan Mehmed II. However, it took to around the 1580s before the majority of Trabzon's population professed to be Muslim. The population rose significantly in the late 19th century-early 20th century with a strong Christian minority, up to probably 44% of the population.¹¹

The Christian minority began to prosper after the Ottoman sultan's Imperial Reform Edict, *Hatt-i Hümayun* of 1856, in which most remaining civil restrictions on non-Muslims were lifted and crypto-Christians were allowed to declare their Christian faith (Bryer 1970). The sultan allowed Christians to build churches and celebrate Christian rites and traditions. The repair of old churches was also allowed (Fotiadis 2001).

In the 1860s and 1870s, Trabzon's trade levelled off, influenced by the opening of the Suez Canal. By 1884, the foreign trade of Trabzon was dominated by Greek and Armenian merchants who enjoyed personal connections in Europe. In extending protection to [some] Christians, European diplomats and consuls in major Ottoman centres abused their diplomatic privileges. In contrast, the Muslim merchants were subject to higher taxes than [many of] their Christian counterparts and as a consequence, they lost economic leverage. The advantages enjoyed by [many of] the Greek and Armenian merchants created strong resentment among the Muslim merchants (Turgay 1982).

In 1916 and in 1917, during World War I when the Russian military forces occupied the Trabzon region as far as the Georgian border, the Russian Byzantine scholar, Fedor Uspenskii and his team studied many of the local churches. During their studies, they found evidence of damage to Byzantine/Greek churches.¹² After the defeat of the Greek army in the Greco-Turkish War (1919–1922) in August 1922 and formally under the population exchange (according to the Lausanne Convention signed in January 1923, see [Note 2](#)) Christians were deported from Turkish territory, including Trabzon to Greece.¹³

Today, Trabzon is a port town with an urban population of over 300,000¹⁴. It is surrounded by magnificent natural scenery and is the second largest urban centre (after Samsun) on the Black Sea Turkish coast.

¹¹ In early 1916, Trabzon had 12,000 Greeks (Topalidis 2019).

¹² Russian officer, Sergei Mintslov, was stationed in Trabzon and observed, 'I have little interest in Byzantine churches; I am more interested in simply looking over them and the mosques; more than once I stumble upon the marble capitals of columns and slabs with ornamentation from deep antiquity. They are used here as watering troughs for cattle or simply turned into floors and walls. Both Byzantines and Turks have been stealing them from the ruins of even pagan temples; doubtlessly, there was once an abundance of decorated burial mounds here' (Mintslov 1923:33–34). The Russians left Trabzon in early 1918.

¹³ The genocide of Christian Armenians and Greeks in Trabzon from 1915 to 1923 is discussed in Topalidis (in press).

¹⁴ Although there has been a 2021 Turkish population census, the latest population data on the town of Trabzon was unavailable from the Turkish Statistical Institute website.

3. Byzantine and Greek Orthodox Churches

Introduction

In this section, the former Byzantine and Greek Orthodox churches in the town of Trabzon are described based on the list of monuments (including churches) by Bryer and Winfield (1985:204–245). In this analysis, the boundary of the town extends from the former St Sophia Church (top left in Figure 2) to the west of the Byzantine Walls to the mouth of the Degirmen River in the east (bottom right in Figure 2), a distance of around 5 km. Churches south of the Kapagiannidis mansion (Ataturk Kiosk) at Soğuksu in the hills around 5 km south-west from the town centre are excluded as are churches south of the top of Boz Tepe (around 3 km south-east of the town centre, Figures 2–3). Armenian, Catholic and Protestant churches are also excluded.

Details on the list of over 60 churches follow with the same numbering system (or lettering system, e.g. Church A, when the name of the church was unknown) as presented in Bryer and Winfield (1985: 204–245) with updated information where possible. Within the following tables, the information is mostly sourced from Bryer and Winfield (1985). Other references used in the tables are identified. The name of the churches under Greek control in 1913–1914, identified by Chrysanthos (1933:791–792) in the 19th century Greek parishes are listed in full in Note 1.

St Kyriake (no 30)

In 1913–1914, name of the 19th century parish	St Basil. [Maybe the building was not under Greek control in 1913–1914. It was not recorded in this parish by Chrysanthos (1933:791–792).]
Location	Between St Basil Church and the Bedesten covered market in the eastern suburb (marked as Church A in Figure 3).
Build date	Probably between 1204 and 1461.
Date if rebuilt or converted to a mosque	Unknown if rebuilt. Not converted.
Still standing or date demolished	Demolished between 1929 and 1958 (Ballance 1960).

Talbot Rice (1929–1930) could not determine the name of this church (Plate 2) and so he called it ‘Church A’ (which later researchers maintained). It was a modest version of the Theotokos Evangelistria Church (no 122, see later). The interior was whitewashed and nothing was preserved of its original decoration.

Bryer and Winfield (1985) locate Church A (Plate 2) in Figure 3 which the author now believes is the St Kyriake Church.¹⁵ The author’s view is based on a photograph of St Kyriake taken by F Morozov and reproduced in Tsyapkina (2021) (Plate 3), which looks the same as Church A. Thus, there were two churches named St Kyriake in Trabzon.

¹⁵ Plate 3 of St Kyriake was taken by F Morozov who assisted F Uspenskii investigating Byzantine churches in Trabzon (during the Russian occupation in World War I). Tsyapkina (2021) says that the photo may have been taken in Platana (west of Trabzon). No such church existed in Platana.

Four of the five churches in the parish of St Basil as identified by Chrysanthos (1933:791–792) were St Basil (no 66), St Anne (no 61), St Evangelistria (no 122) and St Gabras (no 115) (Note 1). Chrysanthos (1933) states that the fifth, St Constantine Church, was a Byzantine Church which passed into Turkish hands in 1880.¹⁶



Plate 2: Church A, now believed to be St Kyriake Church, 1929
(D Talbot Rice 1929–1930:plate 10).

¹⁶ Bryer and Winfield (1985:204) believed that Church A could have been St Constantine or it is just possible that it could have been St Christopher (no 69) or St Niketas (no 105). None are believed to be Church A.



Plate 3: St Kyriake Church, 1916–1917 (photo by F Morozov in Tsyapkina 2021:91).

Church B (no 31, name of church unknown)

In 1913–1914, name of the 19th century parish	St Gregory.
Location	On a rock near the shore, nearly 200 m east of St Gregory of Nyssa (Plate 4; Figure 3).
Build date	Possibly constructed in the 12th century, or earlier (Talbot Rice 1929–1930). [This may have been constructed after the 12th century.]
Date if rebuilt or converted to a mosque	Unknown if rebuilt. No record of it being converted.
Still standing or date demolished	Demolished between 1929 and 1958 (Ballance 1960).

This was a single-apsed barrel-vaulted church¹⁷ with a south door and porch. According to Bryer and Winfield (1985:204), by elimination, based on the operating churches in the parish, it was probably the Taxiarchai (no 119), or St Paraskeve (no 106) or St Kyriake (no 97). In 1929, the church building was being used as a residence (Talbot Rice 1929–1930).

¹⁷ An apse is a semicircular or polygonal termination to the choir, chancel, or aisle of a church (www.britannica.com/topic/apse-church-architecture). A barrel-vaulted church has a ceiling or roof consisting of a series of semi-cylindrical arches (www.britannica.com/technology/barrel-vault).



Plate 4: Church B on the mound to the left of St Gregory of Nyssa, 1929 (D Talbot Rice 1929–1930:plate 15).

Chapel D (no 33, name of church unknown)

In 1913–1914, name of the 19th century parish	Unsure.
Location	About 310 m west of St Gregory of Nyssa and 120 m south of the old waterfront in the eastern suburb of the town (Figure 3).
Build date	Komnenoi era (1204–1461).
Date if rebuilt or converted to a mosque	It underwent later alterations. Believed not to have been converted.
Still standing or date demolished	Demolished after 1958 and before the early 1980s.

In 1958, it was a small single-apsed chapel (Figure 4) (Ballance 1960).

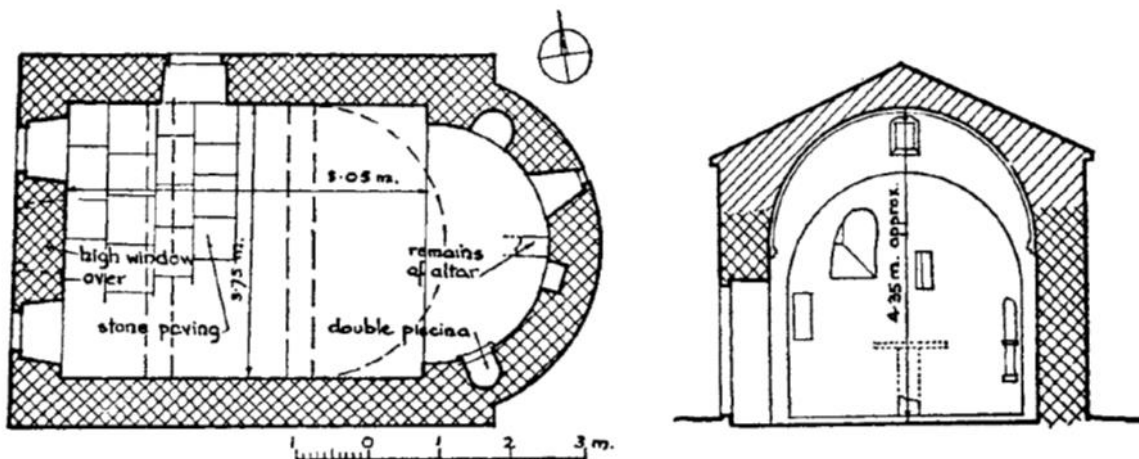


Figure 4: Chapel D (Ballance 1960:151).

Church F (no 35, name of church unknown)

In 1913–1914, name of the 19th century parish	St Gregory (Chrysanthos 1933:791–792).
Location	About 160 m south of St Gregory of Nyssa (Figure 3).
Build date	1838.
Date if rebuilt or converted to a mosque	Not rebuilt. Not converted.
Still standing or date demolished	Demolished after 1964 and before the early 1980s.

It was a triple-aisled, barrel-vaulted basilica¹⁸ (Plate 5). Church F may be St Paraskeve (no 106) or the Taxiarchai (no 119) or St Kyriake (no 97) in the parish of St Gregory (Bryer and Winfield 1985).

It had polygonal exterior apses. The side apses had six faces and the centre apse had nine faces; the total effect is in fact that of a curve. There was a tiny belfry at the apex of the gable (Ballance et al. 1966:237).¹⁹



Plate 5: Church F, 1964 (photo by S Ballance in Ballance et al. 1966:238).

¹⁸ The word basilica became limited to buildings of a more or less definite form: rectangular walled structures with an open hall extending from end to end, usually flanked by side aisles set off by colonnades (in large buildings often running entirely around the central area) (www.britannica.com/technology/basilica-architecture).

¹⁹ The reference Ballance et al. (1966), is Ballance, Bryer and Winfield (1966).

Church J (no 37, name of church unknown)

In 1913–1914, name of the 19th century parish	Not applicable. [It must have been demolished.]
Location	Between the Değirmen River [to the eastern edge of the town] and the eastern suburb.
Build date	Before 1600.
Date if rebuilt or converted to a mosque	Unknown.
Still standing or date demolished	Must have been demolished well before 1913. There is no trace of it.

It was an abandoned Greek church (whose name was unknown), seen by Bordier in 1609. It had wall-paintings (Bryer and Winfield 1985).

Chapel M (no 40, name of chapel unknown)

In 1913–1914, name of the 19th century parish	[Not applicable as the church was not under Greek control.]
Location	On the south side and partly in the thickness of the east wall of the gate between the Middle and Lower Cities, divided from the Çifte Hamami (no 42) by the wall itself.
Build date	Unknown.
Date if rebuilt or converted to a mosque	Unknown.
Still standing or date demolished	Observed in the early 1980s to be in ruins.

The name of the original chapel is unknown. The only features which survived [by the early 1980s] were an indented area of about 2.5 m by 2 m in the outer face of the gate and a small rounded apse built into the thickness of the Byzantine wall at the east end. The apse suggested a small gate chapel or shrine (Bryer and Winfield 1985:206). The status of the ruins today is unknown.

Christ (no 41)

In 1913–1914, name of the 19th century parish	Not applicable. [It may not have been under Greek control.] Not included in Chrysanthos (1933:791–792).
Location	Either within the citadel or above a town gate, or both. Perhaps identical with the Palace Chapel (no 55).
Build date	Before 1263–1318.
Date if rebuilt or converted to a mosque	Unknown.
Still standing or date demolished	Possibly demolished before 1915.

Çifte Hamami (Double Bath, no 42, name of the original church unknown)

In 1913–1914, name of the 19th century parish	Not applicable as the original church had been converted into a Turkish bath house.
Location	Adjoining and to the eastern side of, the gate between the Middle and Lower Cities, the northern side of the structure following the inner side of the curtain wall (Figure 3).
Build date	Probably of medieval date (Talbot Rice 1929–1930).
Date if rebuilt or converted to a mosque	Rebuilt into a Turkish bath sometime between 1461 and 1523.
Still standing or date demolished	The Turkish bath was closed in the 1980s [and in 2021, it was in ruins].

Originally a church (name unknown), it was converted into a small Turkish bath, divided for males and females and surmounted by a dome on an octagonal drum (Plate 6).²⁰ It was probably a triple-apsed domed basilica. Externally, only the west facade and part of the south-east wall were visible (Bryer and Winfield 1985:206).



Plate 6: Gate of St Dynamis and Çifte Hamami from the south-west (date of photo unknown, Bryer and Winfield (1985: plate 155a)).

²⁰ Before 1915, Leon Surmelian visited this bath as a young boy. He also mentions that the bath was believed to have originally been a Byzantine church (Surmelian 1946).

Dormition (Koimesis) (no 43)

In 1913–1914, name of the 19th century parish	Daphnous (Chrysanthos 1933:791–792).
Location	Exact location in the parish is unknown.
Build date	Unknown.
Date if rebuilt or converted to a mosque	Unknown if rebuilt. No record of it being converted.
Still standing or date demolished	It was standing in 1913–1914. It is unknown when it was demolished. No trace of it could be found. [There is a chance it could be the ‘former church, name unknown in the Çömlekçi district’ (see later).]

Dormition (Koimesis) (no 44)

In 1913–1914, name of the 19th century parish	Hypapante (Presentation) (Chrysanthos 1933:791–792).
Location	Probably located near and to the south-west of Taksim square (Taksim Meydani in Figure 3).
Build date	Unknown.
Date if rebuilt or converted to a mosque	Unknown if rebuilt. No record of this chapel being converted.
Still standing or date demolished	Operational in 1913–1914, but was demolished sometime after 1915. No trace of it could be found.

Hypapante (Presentation) (no 47)²¹

In 1913–1914, name of the 19th century parish	Hypapante (Presentation) (Chrysanthos 1933:791–792).
Location	About 250 m west-south-west of St Gregory of Nyssa (no 88, see later) in the eastern suburb (marked as Church G in Figure 3).
Build date	Before 1819.
Date if rebuilt or converted to a mosque	Sometime during the period 1830–1879. No record of it ever being converted.
Still standing or date demolished	It was operational in 1913–1914. Demolished after 1964 and before the early 1980s.

It was a domed cross-in-square church with narthex²² and open belfry before the north door (Plate 7). In 1964, it was closed (Ballance et al. 1966).

The prosperous Greek parish of the Hypapante embraced the western part of the commercial quarter in the eastern suburb of the town and

²¹ In Bryer and Winfield (1985:205) the name of this church was unknown and was called Church G. Subsequently, Bryer (2002:xii) identified this church as Hypapante.

²² A cross-in-square church is made up of three aisles, each one terminating in an apsidal chapel at the east, with a transverse nave, known as the exonarthex, at the west. Invariably, there was a dome over the central aisle, supported on four columns, with four vaults (www.britannica.com/technology/cross-in-square-plan). Narthex is a long narrow enclosed porch, crossing the width of a church at its entrance (www.britannica.com/technology/narthex).

included the houses of leading Greek merchants and bankers. There was an earlier church on the site in 1819, but the belfry and the large parish church were rebuilt by Greek metropolitan Constantios' reign (1830–1879) in Trabzon (Bryer 2002:xii). The belfry was probably built after the sultan's Imperial Reform Edict, *Hatt-i Hümayun* of 1856.

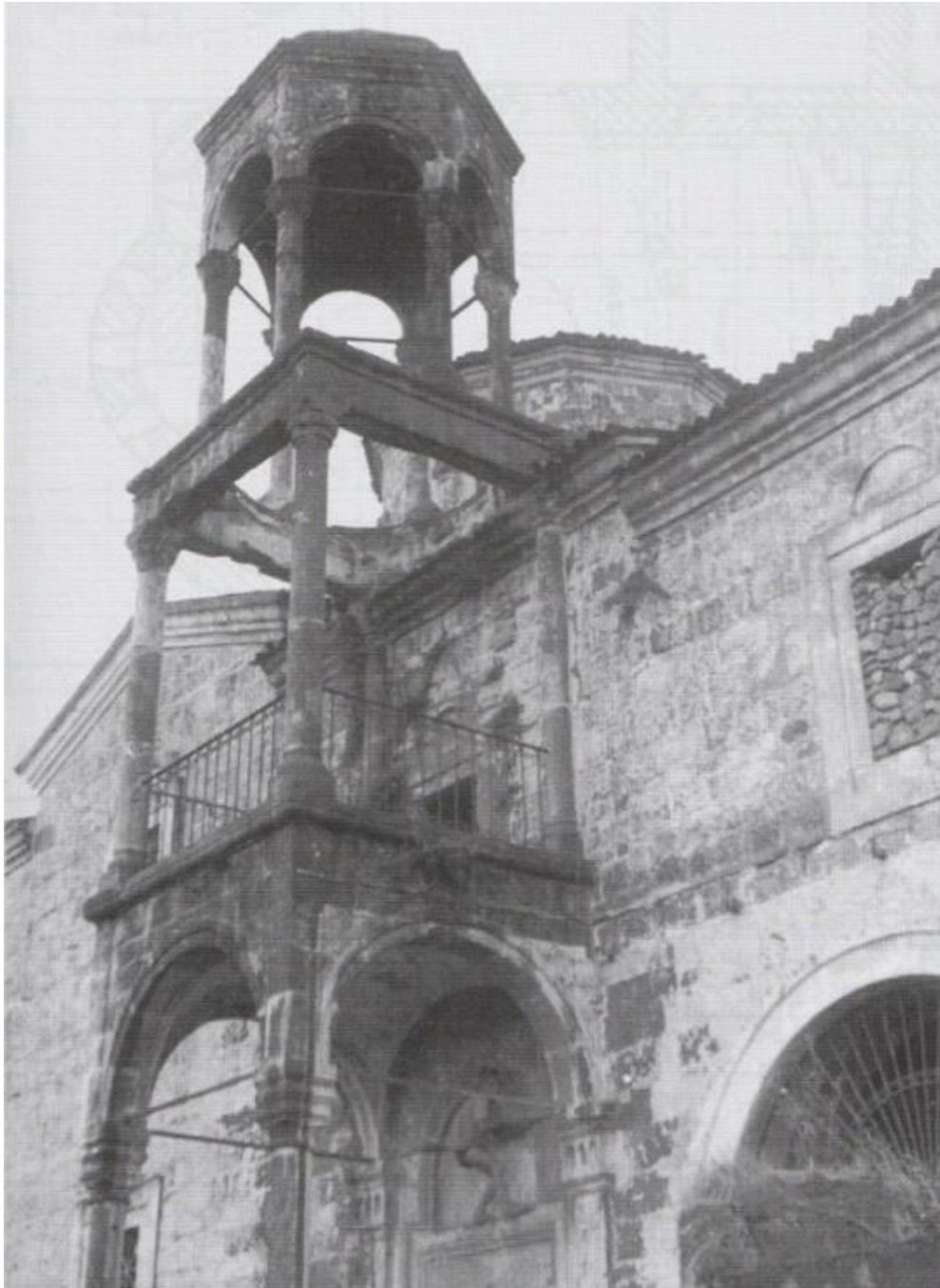


Plate 7: Hypapante Church with belfry, 1964 (photo of 'Church G' now known to be the Hypapante Church by S Ballance in Ballance et al. 1966:239).

Metamorphosis (Transfiguration) (no 50)

In 1913–1914, name of the 19th century parish	Christ (Chrysanthos 1933:791–792).
Location	Near St Eugenios Church (no 77, see later, Figure 3).
Build date	Unknown.
Date if rebuilt or converted to a mosque	Unknown if rebuilt. No record of it being converted.
Still standing or date demolished	Demolished sometime after 1915. No trace of it could be found.

It was the parish church of Christ.

Metamorphosis (Transfiguration) (no 51)

In 1913–1914, name of the 19th century parish	Operational in the parish of Hypapante (Presentation) (Chrysanthos 1933:791–792).
Location	Probably near and to the south-west of Taksim square. On a Greek map (2022 personal communication from a local Turkish source) the Metamorphosis Church was located north-east of St Basil Church and west of St Evangelistria Church (Figure 3). It is probably the church in Plate 8 which is located near the Çarşı Mosque (Plate 9).
Build date	Built at least in the 19th century.
Date if rebuilt or converted to a mosque	Unknown if rebuilt. Probably not converted to a mosque.
Still standing or date demolished	Demolished sometime after 1915. No trace of it could be found.

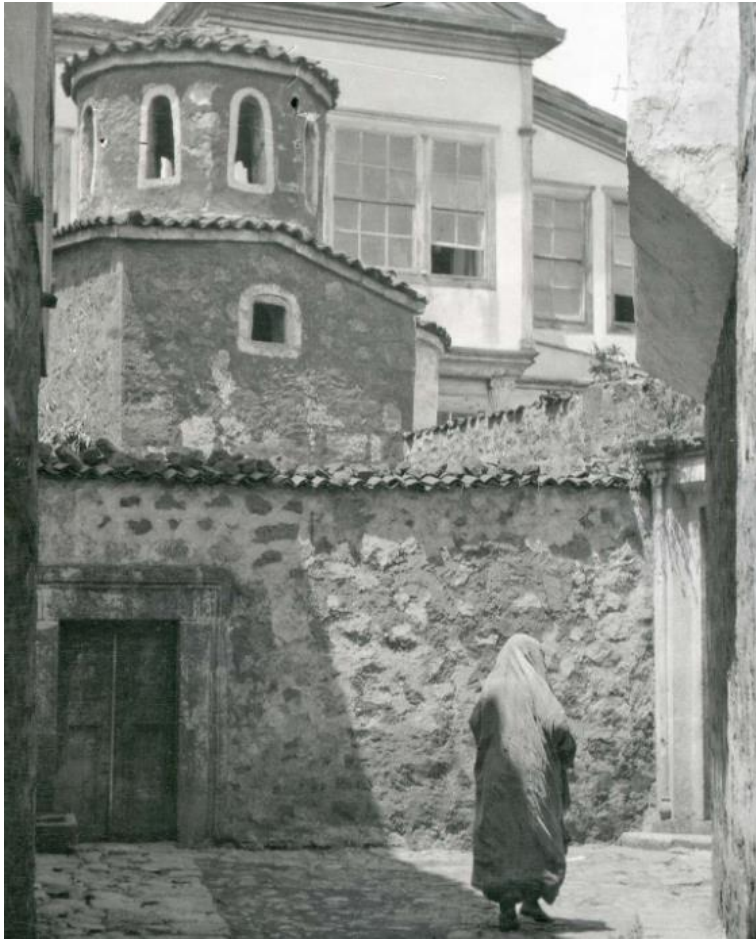


Plate 8: Probably the Metamorphosis Church, 1908 (photo by F Hasluck, digital.bsa.ac.uk/results.php?locality-irn=114&irn=145369).



Plate 9: Probably the Metamorphosis Church (red arrow), east of the Çarşı Mosque towards the top left (Ibrahim Onur Topaloğlu, 2022 personal communication).

St Andreas Church (Nakip Mosque) (no 53)

In 1913–1914, name of the 19th century parish	It was no longer a church as it had become a mosque.
Location	On the west side of the western ravine in Trabzon, in the Lower City (Nakip Cami in Figure 3).
Build date	10th or 11th century.
Date if rebuilt or converted to a mosque	It had been renovated in the past. It was also renovated more recently before 1979 and in 2015. Converted to a mosque before 1557 (Çalik et al. 2017).
Still standing or date demolished	Still standing. In 2015, the mosque, now called the Molla Siyah, was renovated and strengthened (Çalik et al. 2017).

This was a triple-aisled structure to which a north porch was added (Plate 10). It was probably abandoned after 1461. It was converted to a mosque before 1557. It was abandoned again in the 19th century (Bryer and Winfield (1985).

In 1929, the mosque was observed as abandoned, but still had interior wall paintings and traces on the exterior southern wall (Talbot Rice 1929–1930). In 1958, it was a dirty ruin (Ballance 1960). Before 1979 it was renovated (Sinclair 1989). It was renovated again in 2015 which included refurbishing the wooden floor, the windows and installing air-conditioning (Çalik et al. 2017). Today, the exterior of the mosque is in very good condition.



Plate 10: Former St Andreas Church, now Molla Siyah Mosque (author's photo 2018).

Palace Chapel (no 55)

In 1913–1914, name of the 19th century parish	Not applicable, as it was not operating as a church. It was probably not under Greek control. Not mentioned in Chrysanthos (1933:791–792).
Location	Probably located in the Kule boyu [Trabzon quarter]. Perhaps identical with the church of Christ (no 41) (Plate 11).
Build date	Probably during the Komnenoi era (1204–1461).
Date if rebuilt or converted to a mosque	Unknown if rebuilt. No record of it ever being converted.
Still standing or date demolished	The tower and chapel were largely demolished in 1932 and have now disappeared.

Uspenskii, who studied Byzantine churches in Trabzon in 1916 and 1917, believed that emperor Alexios I Komnenos (reign 1204–1222) was buried in this chapel (Bryer and Winfield 1985).



Plate 11: Entrance to the chapel in the citadel of Trabzon 1916–1917 (photo by F Uspenskii in Üre (2016:220)).

Monastery of the Pharos (no 56)

In 1913–1914, name of the 19th century parish	Not applicable, as it was demolished before 1913.
Location	Probably on the little elevated headland between Hagia Sophia to the west of the Byzantine Walls and the Lower City (Figure 2).
Build date	Probably 14th century.
Date if rebuilt or converted to a mosque	Abandoned and refounded in 14th century. No record of it being converted.
Still standing or date demolished	Demolished before 1913.

The monastery of Jesus Christ the Pantokrator and Saviour of the Pharos (Monastery of the Pharos²³) is known only from documentary evidence from 1953 when two chrysobulls [a decree issued by a Byzantine emperor] from 1432 and 1460 by the Grand Komnenoi of Trebizond were published. Apparently, Grand Duke John the Eunuch of Limnia built the monastery. (He also laid siege to the St Eugenios Church in 1340.) The monastery was abandoned and Theodora, wife of the Grand Komnenos Alexios IV, refounded it (sometime between 1395 and 1426) (Bryer and Winfield 1985:215–216).

St Akindynos (Fatih Küçük Mosque) (no 57)

In 1913–1914, name of the 19th century parish	Not applicable as it had become a mosque.
Location	At a relatively high elevation in Bahçecik district, 300 m south-south-west of the southern entrance to the citadel (see south-west corner of Figure 3).
Build date	Probably no later than the 12th century.
Date if rebuilt or converted to a mosque	There were three periods of rebuilding before it became a mosque. Converted sometime between 1523 and 1553.
Still standing or date demolished	The Fatih Küçük Mosque is still standing (Plate 12).

It was a barrel-vaulted, single-apsed basilica with a north porch. It has a high pentagonal apse replacing an earlier apse and a triple-arched north porch (both of which can be dated to the time of the Komnenoi empire of Trebizond 1204–1461). The cornice of local grey stone which runs around the church is a result of Muslim repairs [post 1523]. The exterior is faced with rectangular blocks of the same yellow stone with which St Sophia was faced (Winfield and Wainwright 1962; Bryer and Winfield 1985).

Today, the interior walls are plastered and painted white with no decoration (<https://karadeniz.gov.tr/fatih-kucuk-camii/>).

²³ Pharos in Greek means lighthouse.



Plate 12: Former St Akindynos Church—now Fatih Küçük Mosque (author's photo 2018).

St Anastasia (no 58)

In 1913–1914, name of the 19th century parish	St Gregory (Chrysanthos 1933:791–792).
Location	Before the south door of the Greek Frontistirion School (Plate 13) in the eastern suburb of the town (marked 'School' in Figure 3).
Build date	Probably 1902.
Date if rebuilt or converted to a mosque	Not rebuilt. Not converted.
Still standing or date demolished	Demolished soon after 1921.

This tiny domed chapel was part of the Greek Frontistirion school buildings [considered a High School] (Bryer and Winfield 1985). The School was built in 1902 when the chapel of St Anastasia was probably built. The chapel was destroyed soon after the Frontistirion was closed in 1921.



Plate 13: Greek Frontistirion School with the chapel of St Anastasia (www.academia.edu/42269979/Carre_postale_and_Black_Sea_culture_A_first_approach?auto=download).

St Andrew (no 60)

In 1913–1914, name of the 19th century parish	St Gregory (Chrysanthos 1933:791–792).
Location	By the sea, under the headland of St Gregory of Nyssa in the eastern suburb and partly carved out of the rock beneath St Gregory itself (Figure 3).
Build date	Possibly in the 14th century.
Date if rebuilt or converted to a mosque	Unknown if it was rebuilt. Not converted.
Still standing or date demolished	Operating in 1914 and abandoned in 1923 (at the latest). Demolished around 1964, during the construction of the seafront boulevard.

The chapel was a very simple structure which must have been swamped by storms (Plate 14). The chapel was hallowed in 19th century Trabzon as its oldest Christian shrine, where [allegedly] Apostle Andrew had first preached the Gospel to the town's people. It is highly unlikely that the Apostle Andrew ever visited Trabzon (Bryer and Winfield 1985:218).



Plate 14: St Andrew Chapel, 1963 (photo probably by D Winfield in Bryer and Winfield 1985:plate 165a).

St Anne (no 61)

In 1913–1914, name of the 19th century parish	St Basil (Chrysanthos 1933:791–792).
Location	Off Merash Street in the eastern suburb. Close to the former St Basil Church (Figure 3).
Build date	Before 884 AD.
Date if rebuilt or converted to a mosque	Rebuilt from its foundations in 884–885 AD. Not converted.
Still standing or date demolished	[It is still standing and is open to tourists.]

The St Anne Church (Plate 15) is the oldest surviving former church in Trabzon which was rebuilt under Byzantine [Eastern Roman] emperor Basil I. It was an important mortuary chapel in the late 14th and early 15th century. It remained a Greek church until 1923 when the Greeks were formally forced to leave Anatolia under the population exchange. Then it was used as a residence and sadly, the fires lit inside blackened the frescoes on the walls (Talbot Rice 1929–1930:57–58).

The interior of the church was entirely painted and many frescoes date to the 14th and 15th century. It is a triple-apsed barrel-vaulted basilica with clerestory²⁴ and crypt arranged for graves, now gutted. The apses are semicircular. Part of the exterior was also painted (Bryer and Winfield 1985).

In late 2021, as part of the restoration and conservation of the interior of the church, many new frescoes were revealed (Plate 16). The former church was again reopened to visitors in mid-2022 (www-aa-com-tr.translate.google/tr/kultur/tarihi-kucuk-ayvasil-kilisesi-ilk-ziyaretcilerini-agirliyor/2632095?_x_tr_sl=tr&_x_tr_tl=en&_x_tr_hl=en&_x_tr_pto=sc). It is amazing that this church which is over 1,100 year old is still standing.



Plate 15: St Anne Church from the south (author's photo 2018).

²⁴ A clerestory is a row of windows in the upper part of the wall of a church that divides the nave from the aisle, set above the aisle roof (www.collinsdictionary.com/dictionary/english/clerestory).



Plate 16: Some of the frescoes inside the St Anne Church, 2022
 (www.haberturk.com/tarihi-kucuk-ayvasil-kilisesi-ilk-ziyaretcilerini-agirliyor-3475859).

St Barbara (no 65)

In 1913–1914, name of the 19th century parish	Daphnous (Chrysanthos 1933:791–792).
Location	Exact location in the parish near the harbour is unknown.
Build date	Unknown, possibly after 1461.
Date if rebuilt or converted to a mosque	Unknown if rebuilt. No record of it ever being converted.
Still standing or date demolished	Believed to be operational in 1913–1914. It is unknown when this chapel was demolished [or if it is the ‘former church, name unknown in the Çömlekçi district’, see later]. If it is not this church, it could have been destroyed after 1915. No trace of it could be found.

St Basil (no 66)

In 1913–1914, name of the 19th century parish	St Basil (Chrysanthos 1933:791–792).
Location	Nearly 200 m south of the old waterfront and about 200 m east of the eastern wall of the Lower City (Figure 3).
Build date	The church is likely to belong to the period of the empire of Trebizond (1204–1461).
Date if rebuilt or converted to a mosque	It was repaired in 1867 and completely rebuilt in 1890–1895. Not converted.
Still standing or date demolished	Operational in 1913–1914. Demolished sometime between 1973 and 1981 (Lowry 2009).

This church was probably originally a domed cross-in-square building with three apses, the central one pentagonal on the exterior (Plate 17; Figure 5). There were wall paintings, probably 19th century and reused late classical or early Byzantine columns. Maybe its real founder was the Grand Komnenos Basil (1332–1340)? St Basil was a parish church and remained so until 1923 (Bryer and Winfield 1985). In 1929, it was being used as a store (Talbot Rice 1929–1930).

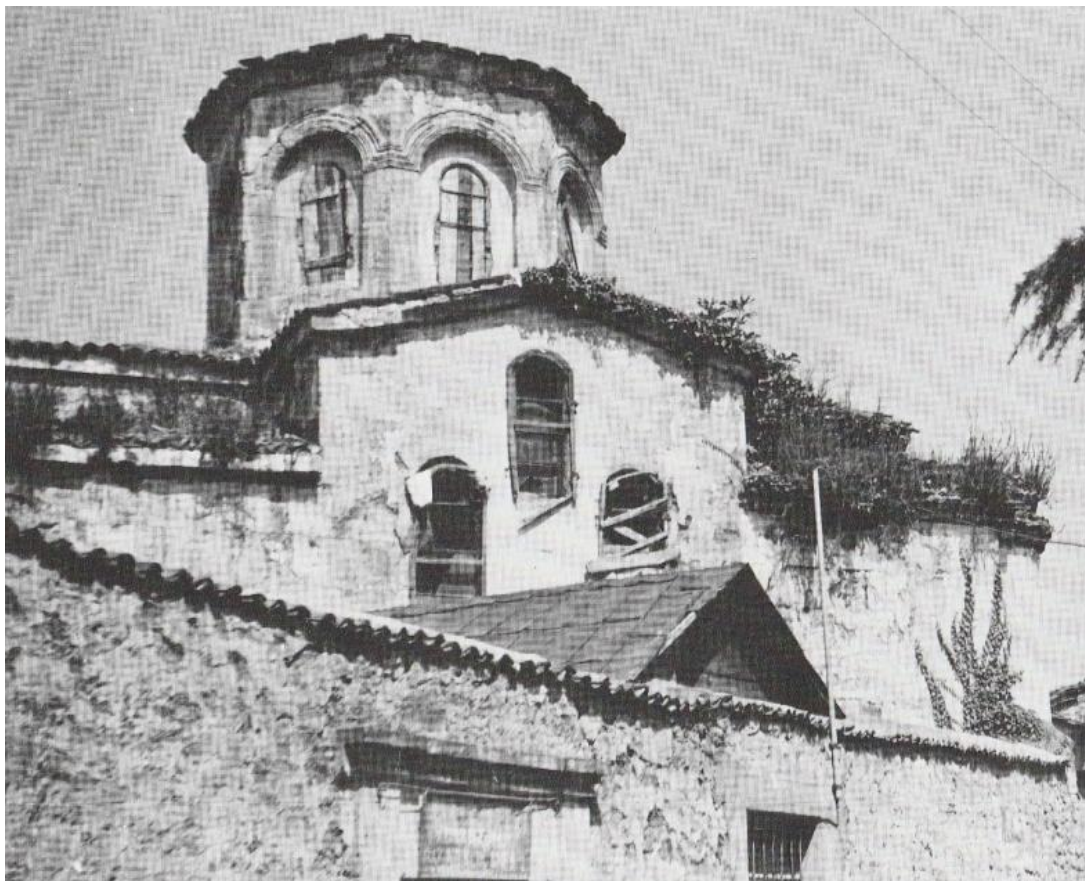


Plate 17: St Basil Church from the south, 1958–1964 (photo possibly by D Winfield in Bryer and Winfield (1985:plate 168a)).

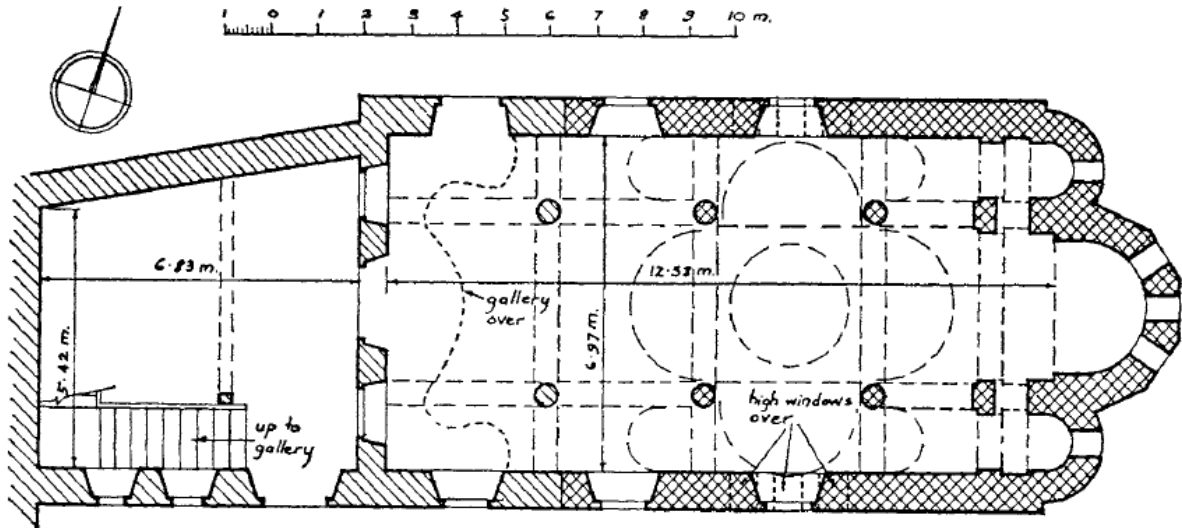


Figure 5: Plan of the St Basil Church (Ballance 1960:156).

St Basiliskos (no 67)

In 1913–1914, name of the 19th century parish	Not recorded as a Greek church in 1913–1914 by Chrysanthos (1933:791–792).
Location	Exact location in the town of Trabzon is unknown.
Build date	Sometime before 1879.
Date if rebuilt or converted to a mosque	Unknown.
Still standing or date demolished	Believed demolished before 1913.

The existence of a Greek church dedicated to St Basiliskos the Martyr was reported in 1879 (Marengo 1879:315).²⁵

²⁵ There was only a brief mention by Marengo. He was not referring to the St Basil Church.

St Christopher (no 69)

In 1913–1914, name of the 19th century parish	Not recorded by Chrysanthos (1933:791–792). [It was probably either demolished before 1913 or it was not under Greek control, or it may have become a mosque.]
Location	Near St Niketas Church (no 105, see later) and between St Theodore Gabras (no 115, see later) and the sea (Figure 3), identified by Meliopoulos (1930) as the Semerciler Mosque. It stood on the boundary of the Venetian concession of 1364.
Build date	Probably built 1204–1461.
Date if rebuilt or converted to a mosque	Unknown if rebuilt. [Unsure if it was converted to become the Semerciler Mosque. ²⁶]
Still standing or date demolished	[Unknown if or when it was demolished or if it became a mosque.]

St Constantine (no 71)

In 1913–1914, name of the 19th century parish	St Basil (Chrysanthos 1933:791–792).
Location	Exact location in this parish in the eastern suburb is unknown.
Build date	It was founded or refounded in the 14th or 15th centuries.
Date if rebuilt or converted to a mosque	Unknown if rebuilt. No record of it being converted.
Still standing or date demolished	Destroyed sometime after 1880 and before 1915.

Information on this church is limited and not very clear.

St Constantine (no 72)

In 1913–1914, name of the 19th century parish	Hypapante (Presentation) (Chrysanthos 1933:791–792).
Location	Exact location in this parish is unknown.
Build date	It was a chapel in the 19th century. Maybe built after 1461.
Date if rebuilt or converted to a mosque	Unknown if rebuilt. No record of it being converted.
Still standing or date demolished	Demolished after 1915. No trace of it could be found.

²⁶ Yücel (1988:54–55) states when the Semerciler Mosque was built is unknown. He does not mention that it may have originally been a church. I cannot verify that St Christopher became the Semerciler Mosque.

St Constantine (no 73)

In 1913–1914, name of the 19th century parish	Theoskepastos.
Location	In the southern corner of the Theoskepastos monastery on the slopes of Boz Tepe.
Build date	It was built by Greek metropolitan Constantios of Trabzon (reign 1830–1879).
Date if rebuilt or converted to a mosque	Not believed to have been rebuilt. Not converted.
Still standing or date demolished	Its walls are still standing but the church is gutted.

This church was a single-apsed barrel-vaulted basilica with a west door (Bryer and Winfield 1985). A brief view of the gutted former church can be seen in a clip on YouTube of the Theoskepastos Monastery (www.youtube.com/watch?v=b8lkymb1bgw).

St Dynamis (no 75)

In 1913–1914, name of the 19th century parish	Not applicable.
Location	Apparently at the gates leading from the Middle to the Lower City (Figure 3).
Build date	Possibly 13th century.
Date if rebuilt or converted to a mosque	Unknown if rebuilt. No record of it being converted.
Still standing or date demolished	Unknown when it was demolished.

The Seljuk Turk's third attack on Trabzon in 1223 was launched from the seaward side at a time before the Lower City walls had been built and was directed upon the Gate of St Dynamis (Plate 6). This indicates the gate by the Çifte Hamami should be identified with St Dynamis. But associated with it are two probable chapels or churches, Chapel M (no 40) and Çifte Hamami (no 42) both of which have a claim to a dedication to St Dynamis (Bryer and Winfield 1985:221).

St Eleutherios (no 76)

In 1913–1914, name of the 19th century parish	St Marina (Chrysanthos 1933:791–792).
Location	At Daphnous, on the former waterfront, about 120 m south of Leontokastron (Figures 2–3).
Build date	This chapel was built before 1360.
Date if rebuilt or converted to a mosque	Unknown if rebuilt. No record of it being converted.
Still standing or date demolished	Abandoned in 1923 (at the latest). What was left of it was demolished in 1961 with the building of the tunnel below Leontokastron.

It was suggested that St Eleutherios was a Greek church, perhaps converted to Catholic use in 1360. The church presumably passed back into Greek Orthodox hands after 1461 (Bryer and Winfield 1985:221–222).²⁷ It might have been renovated by the Greek metropolitan Constantios (before 1879).

St Eugenios (Yeni Cuma Mosque) (no 77)

In 1913–1914, name of the 19th century parish	Not applicable as it was a mosque.
Location	The former church is located nearly 200 m east of the citadel of Trabzon (at the highest point of the classical town), overlooking the eastern ravine (Figures 2–3).
Build date	A church was built on the site in 1021–1022. St Eugenios was rebuilt as a basilica on the site in about 1291.
Date if rebuilt or converted to a mosque	In 1291, 1340 and around 1500. Most probably at other times after 1500. Converted into a mosque around 1500 (Lowry 2009).
Still standing or date demolished	Open as the Yeni Cuma Mosque (Plate 18).

Eugenios and other martyrs were believed to have been put to death during the reign of Roman emperor Diocletian (285–305 AD) after overthrowing the great statue of Mithras on Mt Minthrion (Boz Tepe) at Trabzon (Bryer and Winfield 1985). Trebizond emperor Alexios I (reign 1204–1222) had Eugenios' skeleton placed in the southern nave apse of the church.²⁸ Apparently, prior to 1461, Eugenios' skeleton was placed in a marble block under the building (Yücel 1988:15).

In June 1916, during the Russian occupation of Trabzon (World War I), Russian archaeologists uncovered in the altar of the former church a grave with two skeletons. Perhaps one of the skeletons was the remains of Eugenios?²⁹ Around the church were traces of walls which once surrounded it (Mintslov 1923:47–49).

St Eugenios was rebuilt in its present form of a domed triple-apsed church, with central apse pentagonal on the exterior. The building retains an added north and west porches. The exterior west wall, part of the exterior of the apses and the entire interior were once painted. The exterior painting has weathered away and it is possible that most of the interior painting survives beneath layers of whitewash (Bryer and Winfield 1985:222).

²⁷ According to Yücel (1988:30), in 1953, the St Eleutherios Church was converted into the Hüsnü Köktuğ Mosque. This is incorrect as this church was located closer to the harbour at Daphnous.

'Maybe' the Hüsnü Köktuğ Mosque could have originally been a church, but its name is lost. The author is unaware of any church at this site.

²⁸ Nave is the central part of a church.

²⁹ Details on Mintslov's discoveries of the skeletons can be found in Topalidis and McCaskie (2022).



Plate 18: Former St Eugenius Church—now Yeni Cuma Mosque (author's photo 2018).

St Eugenios Cave Church (no 78)

In 1913–1914, name of the 19th century parish	Not applicable, it was probably demolished.
Location	About 80 m west-south-west of and below the St Eugenios church (Figure 3).
Build date	It is possible that a cave church may have predated the church of St Eugenios.
Date if rebuilt or converted to a mosque	Unknown. Not converted.
Still standing or date demolished	The cave was discovered in 1898 and has not been reported since 1904. It is believed to have been demolished.

This was reported to be a rock cut chapel or shrine, 3 m long, 2.7 m wide and 1.4 m high (Bryer and Winfield 1985).

St George (no 80)

In 1913–1914, name of the 19th century parish	Not identified. Not recorded in Chrysanthos (1933:791–792). [Possibly not under Greek control.]
Location	Nearly 400 m south-west of St Gregory of Nyssa in the eastern suburb. The church was in the Venetian quarter of 1367 (labelled Church C in Figure 3).
Build date	14th or 15th century (Ballance 1960).
Date if rebuilt or converted to a mosque	It underwent later reconstruction. Not converted.
Still standing or date demolished	Before 1929 it had lost its dome and in 1958 it was reported to have lost its east wall. It was demolished shortly after 1958–1959 (Ballance 1960:145–146).

This was a domed, triple-apsed church with adjoining chamber on the south side. On the exterior the central apse was pentagonal. The building was medieval in age, but underwent later reconstruction (Bryer and Winfield 1985).

The author believes that Church C (no 32, as recorded in Bryer and Winfield (1985:204)) and St George (no 80) are the same church. Talbot Rice's (1928–1929) labelling of his 'St Gregory' Church is incorrect and it is actually Church C (Plate 19). St George (no 80) is not the St George Tsartakle Church (no 84, see later).



Plate 19: 'St Gregory' 1929 (Talbot Rice 1929–1930:plate 14), but now believed to be the St George Church (no 80).

However, the author’s view may not be correct. In 1917, Meyer painted a church which he called ‘Church of the Transfiguration of Christ’ while he was in Trabzon (Plate 20). The name of this church does not correspond exactly with a church in Bryer and Winfield (1985). There is a possibility it could be the church of Metamorphosis (Transfiguration) in the parish of Christ as recorded in Chrysanthos (1933:791–792). Maybe Meyer was mistaken in the name of the church?



Plate 20: Church of the Transfiguration of Christ (painting by G Meyer 1917 in Tsyapkina 2021).

St George Kourtza (no 82)

In 1913–1914, name of the 19th century parish	Christ (Chrysanthos 1933:791–792).
Location	This chapel was located above the ravine; close to and north-west of the St Eugenios Church (Figure 3).
Build date	Apparently a medieval chapel.
Date if rebuilt or converted to a mosque	The chapel was replaced in the 19th century by another chapel in the Parish of Christ. Not converted.
Still standing or date demolished	It was demolished after 1915. There is no trace of it.

St George Tsartakle (no 84)³⁰

In 1913–1914, name of the 19th century parish	St George Tsartakle (Chrysanthos 1933:791–792).
Location	North side of Merash Street (Figure 3).
Build date	The three apses are older than the rest of the church which was rebuilt in 19th century (Plate 21) (Ballance et al. 1966). Originally built after 1461.
Date if rebuilt or converted to a mosque	19th century. Not converted.
Still standing or date demolished	Probably demolished between 1964 and 1966 (Ballance et al. 1966). Definitely demolished before the early 1980s.

This building was a triple-aisled barrel-vaulted basilica (Bryer and Winfield 1985). The builders do not appear to have had much confidence in their construction as the arches are tied at capital level by iron bars (Plate 22). In 1964, it was being used to store pipes (Ballance et al. 1966).

In a personal communication (in 2022, from a local Turkish source) this church was known when he/she was a youth as the St George Tsartakle Church. This view is backed up by a Greek map sent to the author by a local Turkish source which identified the location of St George Tsartakle with that of Church E in Figure 3.

Externally and internally, this church looks very similar to the ‘former church, name unknown in the Çömlekçi district’ (see later).



Plate 21: Church E, 1958–1964 (photo by D Winfield in Ballance et al. 1966:236) now believed to be the St George Tsartakle Church.

³⁰ Ballance et al. (1966) and Bryer and Winfield (1985:205) called this church, Church E as its name was unknown. The author is now confident that it is the St George Tsartakle Church.



Plate 22: Interior of Church E, 1964 (photo by S Ballance in Ballance et al. 1966:236) now believed to be the St George Tsartakle Church.

St Gregory (no 86)

In 1913–1914, name of the 19th century parish	Not applicable, as it must have been demolished. Not included in Chrysanthos (1933:791–792).
Location	On a small summit beside the mouth of the Degirmen [Mill] River to the east of the town.
Build date	Before 1609.
Date if rebuilt or converted to a mosque	Unknown if rebuilt or if it was converted.
Still standing or date demolished	[It must have been demolished well before 1900.] There is no trace of it.

This small church or chapel was only recorded by Bordier in 1609 (Bryer and Winfield 1985).

St Gregory of Nyssa (no 88)

In 1913–1914, name of the 19th century parish	St Gregory (Chrysanthos 1933:791–792).
Location	On the most easterly headland of the eastern suburb before Leontokastron (Figure 3).
Build date	Probably before 1487.
Date if rebuilt or converted to a mosque	Probably after 1665 when it became the cathedral of Trabzon. In 1863. Not converted.
Still standing or date demolished	Demolished in the 1930s.

After around 1665, when the St Philip Church was converted into a mosque, St Gregory of Nyssa became the cathedral [the seat of the metropolitan] of Trabzon. Before 1863, St Gregory of Nyssa was a medieval monastery. In 1863, the Greek metropolitan of Trabzon, Constantios, who was responsible for the rebuilding of many medieval monuments in the town, replaced the old medieval church of St Gregory of Nyssa. The new cathedral (Plate 23) was a vast church with three 'Pontic' apses, belfry and decahexagonal drum to its dome. The church was a major landmark of Trabzon until the 1930s, when it was demolished (Bryer and Winfield 1985:227–228).

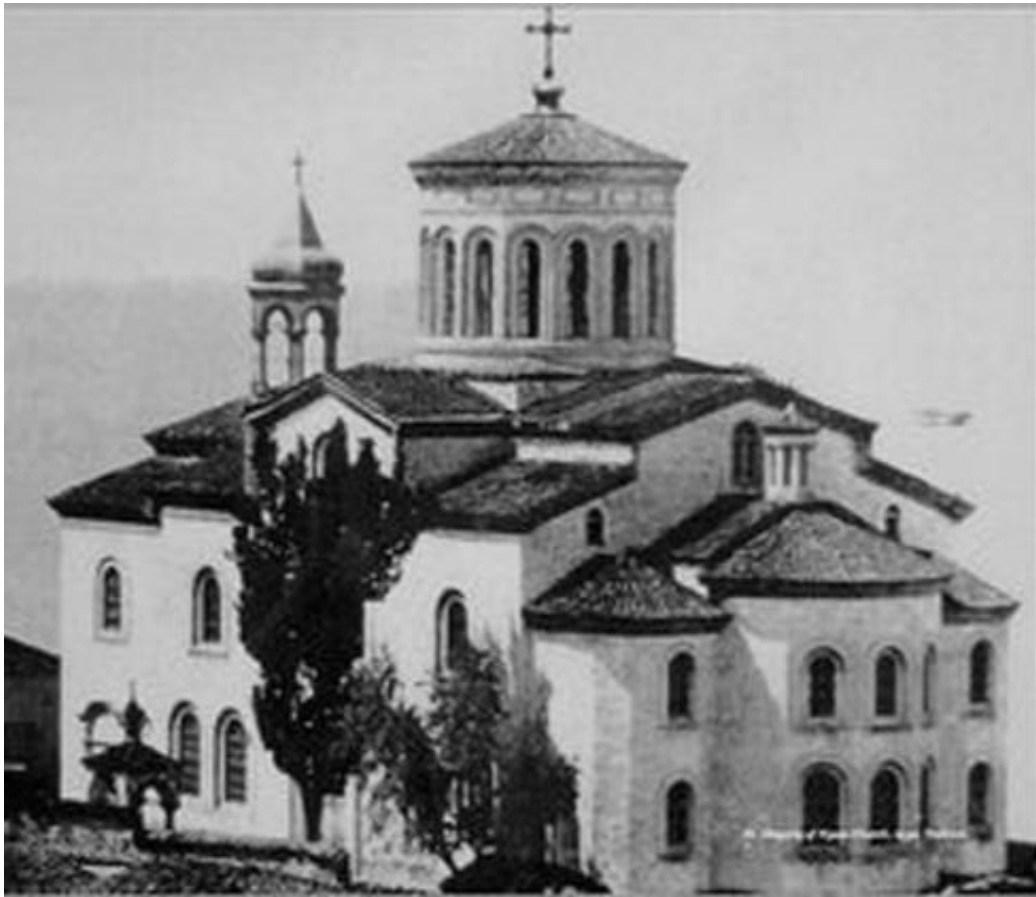


Plate 23: St Gregory of Nyssa Church looking north, 1893
(upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/8/82/Trabzon_Saint_Gregory_of_Nyssa_Cathedral_%28destroyed_1930%29.jpg).

St John the Sanctifier, Mt Minthrion (no 89)

In 1913–1914, name of the 19th century parish	Not open in 1913 or it may not have been under Greek control. Not included in Chrysanthos (1933:791–792).
Location	On the summit of Boz Tepe, above the Theoskepastos monastery (Chrysanthos 1933).
Build date	Before 1362.
Date if rebuilt or converted to a mosque	Unknown if rebuilt. Unclear if it was converted.
Still standing or date demolished	It was operating in 1850. It is unknown when it was demolished.

The site was more than a mere church or monastery. In 1362, the imperial Komnenoi family camped around St John the Sanctifier to avoid the plague (Bryer and Winfield 1985:228).

St John the Prodromos and Baptist (no 91)

In 1913–1914, name of the 19th century parish	Outside the Wall (Chrysanthos 1933:791–792).
Location	150 m west of the classical town, outside the town's Byzantine wall next to the Kaledibi Elementary school in the Hizirbey district.
Build date	1306.
Date if rebuilt or converted to a mosque	Rebuilt in 1856 by the Greek metropolitan of Trabzon. Repaired in 1998 (www.trabzonkulturturizm.gov.tr/TR,57682/st-john-kilisesi.html). No record of it being converted.
Still standing or date demolished	It is currently being used as a multi-purpose hall (www.trabzonkulturturizm.gov.tr/TR,57682/st-john-kilisesi.html). [Its exterior is in very good condition.]

The former church is also called St John Exoteichos Church ('Exoteichos' in Greek means 'outside the wall') (Plate 24) (Bryer and Winfield 1985). It stopped being used as a church by 1923. In 1966, it was being used as a store (Sinclair 1989).



Plate 24: The former St John Prodromos Church (author's photo 2018).

St John Prodromos (no 93)

In 1913–1914, name of the 19th century parish	Daphnous (Chrysanthos 1933:791–792) near the harbour. It may not have been operational.
Location	Exact location in the parish is unknown.
Build date	19th century at the latest.
Date if rebuilt or converted to a mosque	Unknown if rebuilt. No record of it being converted.
Still standing or date demolished	No trace of it could be found. It is believed to have been destroyed before 1915.

St John the Theologian (Mum Hane Mosque) (no 94)

In 1913–1914, name of the 19th century parish	Not applicable, as it was no longer a church.
Location	Under the eastern wall of the Lower City, near the sea (see Mum Hane Camii (church) in Figure 3).
Build date	Probably before 1461.
Date if rebuilt or converted to a mosque	Unknown if the church was rebuilt. Tuluveli (2002) proposes that it could have been converted in 1654.
Still standing or date demolished	Disused before 1893 and became a police station (Plate 25). A new building replaced it before 1928.

The church was a domed triple-apsed basilica of about 10 m by 6 m. The apses were triangular on the exterior. Apart from the porches, the plan was akin to that of St Eugenios. It was regarded as ‘slightly later’ in age than the St Eugenios Church (no 77) (Bryer and Winfield 1985:228).



Plate 25: Former St John the Theologian Church (photo probably by F Morozov, 1916–1917, www.historystudies.msu.ru/ojs2/index.php/ISIS/article/view/98/257).

St Kyriake (no 97)

In 1913–1914, name of the 19th century parish	St Gregory (Chrysanthos 1933:791–792).
Location	Exact location in the parish is unknown.
Build date	The chapel was mentioned in 1819 but it could be older.
Date if rebuilt or converted to a mosque	Unknown if rebuilt. No record of it being converted.
Still standing or date demolished	Demolished after 1915. No trace of it could be found.

St Marina (no 102)

In 1913–1914, name of the 19th century parish	St Marina (Chrysanthos 1933:791–792).
Location	Near St Eleutherios (no 76), below Leontokastron (Figure 3).
Build date	After 1461.
Date if rebuilt or converted to a mosque	Unknown if rebuilt. No record of it being converted.
Still standing or date demolished	There is no trace of it. Sometime after 1923 the church was destroyed.

Marengo (1879) maintains that St Marina had originally been built by the Genoese and was demolished after 1461; the Greeks, however, built another church of St Marina nearby which incorporated features from the Genoese building (Bryer and Winfield 1985:229).

Father Nicholas Economides was the last priest at the St Marina Greek Church until he was deported under the population exchange in 1923 (Andreadis 1995).

St Nicholas (no 103)

In 1913–1914, name of the 19th century parish	Not recorded in Chrysanthos (1933:791–792). [It may not have been under Greek control, or it was demolished before 1913.]
Location	Located in the Middle City, near the Chrysokephalos Church (no 120, see later).
Build date	Before 1426.
Date if rebuilt or converted to a mosque	Unknown if rebuilt. No record of it being converted.
Still standing or date demolished	It may have been demolished before 1913, no trace of the church could be found.

Before 1426, the church was sold to the Trebizond empress Theodora who then gave the property to the monastery of the Pharos (no 56) (Bryer and Winfield 1985:229).

St Nicholas (no 104)

In 1913–1914, name of the 19th century parish	St Marina (Chrysanthos 1933:791–792).
Location	It was a chapel near Leontokastron, near the harbour (Figure 3).
Build date	19th century, but inscriptions suggest an earlier foundation (Chrysanthos 1933).
Date if rebuilt or converted to a mosque	Unknown if rebuilt. No record of it being converted.
Still standing or date demolished	Operating in 1913–1914. Probably demolished after 1915. No trace of the church could be found.

St Niketas (no 105)

In 1913–1914, name of the 19th century parish	Probably demolished before 1913. Not recorded in Chrysanthos (1933:791–792).
Location	On the boundary of the Venetian concession of 1364, between St Theodore Gabras (no 115, see later) and the sea (Figure 3), placed by Meliopoulos (1930) near the Semerciler Mosque in the eastern suburb.
Build date	St Niketas is attested only in the chrysobull [a decree issued by a Byzantine emperor] of 1364.
Date if rebuilt or converted to a mosque	Unknown if rebuilt. No record of it ever being converted.
Still standing or date demolished	Probably destroyed before 1913.

St Paraskeve (no 106)

In 1913–1914, name of the 19th century parish	St Gregory (Chrysanthos 1933:791–792).
Location	Chrysanthos locates this medieval Byzantine church in the eastern suburb near the walled town (Lowry 2009:46).
Build date	Medieval Byzantine period.
Date if rebuilt or converted to a mosque	Unknown if rebuilt or if ever converted.
Still standing or date demolished	There is no trace of it. Demolished after 1915.

In Greek, Paraskeve means Friday. Bryer and Winfield (1985) infer that St Paraskeve is either Church B (no 31) or Church F (no 35) (Figure 3).

St Peter (no 107)

In 1913–1914, name of the 19th century parish	Probably demolished before 1913.
Location	Probably located near St Prokopios (no 109, see later) on Boz Tepe.
Build date	Unknown.
Date if rebuilt or converted to a mosque	Unknown if rebuilt or if ever converted.
Still standing or date demolished	Probably demolished before 1913. Nothing else is known of it.

St Philip (no 108) (Kudrettin Mosque)

In 1913–1914, name of the 19th century parish	Not applicable, as it had become a mosque.
Location	The former St Philip Church is located near the Trabzon harbour area called the Esentepe district (Figures 2–3).
Build date	Probably before 1302.
Date if rebuilt or converted to a mosque	Renovated in 1461, when it became the cathedral of Trabzon. In about 1665, it was converted into the Kudrettin Mosque. The mosque was rebuilt in 1968–1969 (Yücel 1988) (Plate 26).
Still standing or date demolished	Still standing as the Kudrettin Mosque.

In 1461, the church became the cathedral of Trabzon, after the Panagia Chrysokephalos Church was converted to a mosque in the same year (Bryer and Winfield (1985); Sinclair (1989)).

The church was built in three stages. The first stage consisted of a single apse, pentagonal on the exterior and semicircular on the interior, a square domed nave. The second stage (1461) included a substantial rectangular barrel-vaulted extension to the west, to enlarge the nave. The third was an even larger addition to the north after about 1665, when it was converted into a mosque. There are no signs of wall paintings. The high wooden floor seems to indicate a mosaic floor concealed beneath (Bryer and Winfield 1985:230).



Plate 26: Former St Philip Church—now the Kudrettin Mosque (author’s photo 2018).

St Prokopios (no 109)

In 1913–1914, name of the 19th century parish	Not applicable, as it was probably demolished.
Location	Probably on Boz Tepe (near St Peter Church, no 107).
Build date	Possibly before 1223.
Date if rebuilt or converted to a mosque	Unknown if rebuilt. No record of it ever being converted.
Still standing or date demolished	Unknown when it was demolished, possibly long before 1900.

The St Prokopios Church was mentioned in the account of the Seljuk Turk's unsuccessful invasion of Trabzon in 1223 (Bryer and Winfield 1985:230).

Ste. Reverande (no 110)

In 1913–1914, name of the 19th century parish	Believed to have been demolished before 1913. Not recorded by Chrysanthos (1933:791–792).
Location	Apparently located in the Middle City of Trabzon.
Build date	Recorded by Bordier (1609), thus built before 1609.
Date if rebuilt or converted to a mosque	Unknown if rebuilt or if it was converted.
Still standing or date demolished	[After 1609, this church may have been renamed and was demolished well before 1913.]

Bordier placed the Greek church of 'Ste Reverande' [Reverande is French for Reverend] in his distorted 1609 plan, roughly where the Chrysokephalos Church should be. It was not the Chrysokephalos. Bordier's sense of geography is questionable (Bryer and Winfield 1985). It is unknown if this church was mentioned again.

St Sabbas (no 111)

In 1913–1914, name of the 19th century parish	Not included in Chrysanthos (1933:791–792). This is perplexing, since Bryer and Winfield (1985) believe Chapel A of St Sabbas was probably in use till 1923.
Location	The small rock-cut tombs of St Sabbas are located on the northern slopes and cliff face of Boz Tepe (Figures 2–3, Plate 27).
Build date	The small rock-cut tombs are probably pre-Byzantine in age. Byzantine Chapels were probably built from late 13th century.
Date if rebuilt or converted to a mosque	Unknown if rebuilt. Not converted.
Still standing or date demolished	The cave chapels are currently in ruins.

There had been a large rectangular enclosure and four rock cut chapels, three (east, upper west and lower west) in the cliff face and one standing free below. The free-standing chapel was cut into the projecting rock, about 7 m high and 12 m wide. It consists of two cuttings: Chapel A has a deep rock-cut apse; Chapel B, to its north and below it, had a retaining wall to the north and may be a large tomb—2.9 m long. A series of wooden cells hung from the cliff face (Bryer and Winfield 1985:231). The safest way to view the St Savvas Caves is by drone (www.youtube.com/watch?v=soqYzxbUCxI).

The eastern chapel is dated to 1411. In 1344, Grand Komnenos John III was deposed and banished to St Sabbas and later sent to Constantinople. In 1349, Grand Komnenos Michael was also deposed and banished to St Sabbas and also later sent off to Constantinople. The western chapels had masonry steps leading up to them (Plate 28). St Sabbas stood above the Greek cemetery (Bryer and Winfield 1985:231).



Plate 27: The St Sabbas Caves
(www.exploretrabzon.com/index.php?sayfa=st_sabbas_chapel.150&d=en).



Plate 28: St Sabbas, stairs to the western chapels, 1929 (Talbot Rice 1929–1930:plate 16).

The Hagia Sophia (no 112) (Ayasofya Mosque)

In 1913–1914, name of the 19th century parish	Not applicable as it had become a mosque.
Location	The former St Sophia Church is situated on a bluff nearly 2 km west of Trabzon’s classical walled town and just south of the seashore (Figure 2).
Build date	It was probably completed in the mid-1250s during the reign of Trebizond emperor Manuel I Komnenos (1238–1263) (Eastmond 2004). The belltower was built in 1426.
Date if rebuilt or converted to a mosque	Probably restored in 1486, 1547, 1572 and in 2013. Repairs had occurred at other times. Probably converted in 1572. In 1964, after six years of restoration work overseen by D Talbot Rice under field direction of D Winfield, it became a museum. [It became a mosque again in 2013. In 2019, it was closed for maintenance and reopened in 2020.]
Still standing or date demolished	Still standing as the Ayasofya Mosque.

The church was part of a monastery which consisted of the main church, a very small church (probably built after the main church and razed during the 19th century (foundations can be seen bottom right in Plate 29), a belltower standing 22 m west of the main church (Plate 30) and monastic buildings within a walled enclosure of about 50 m by 90 m (Bryer and Winfield 1985:232).



Plate 29: Former St Sophia Church (Ayasofya Mosque) (author’s photo 2018).

It is the finest surviving Byzantine imperial monument of its period. It contains the finest Byzantine wall paintings of the 13th century. It has three large porches on its south, north and west entrances. The surface of the church is decorated with sculptures and reliefs. Inside the church, many of the original wall paintings survive. The church measures 27 m by 35 m and the top of the dome is 18.5 m high (Eastmond 2004:i;27).

The belltower to the west of the church contains wall paintings which were cleaned in 1961 (Bryer and Winfield 1985). The belltower is approximately 5 m by 5.5 m and 23.5 m high. It was renovated in 2010 (Türker et al. 2011). The tower is a four-storey building. It appears that any external staircase had disappeared before 1836.

The mosque was closed by 1610 and fell into disrepair (Lowry 2009). By 1879, it was used for military purposes. In 1893, the interior frescoes of the church were noted to have been covered with whitewash (Tozer 1881; Lynch 1901). In June 1916, when Trabzon was under Russian occupation, Russian scientists, studied St Sophia and took up the wooden floor covering the mosaic floor (Mintslov 1923:35). During World War I it was used (at times) as a depot and a military hospital but it became a mosque again after the war (Yücel 1988).

In 2013, in order to be used as a mosque, frescoes were hidden by screens and carpets covered the tiled floor during prayer.



Plate 30: Belltower at the former St Sophia Church
(author's photo 2018).

St Theodore (no 113)

In 1913–1914, name of the 19th century parish	Hypapante (Presentation) (Chrysanthos 1933:791–792).
Location	Exact location in the parish is unknown. See Note 1 for the other churches in this parish.
Build date	It was a chapel in the 19th century.
Date if rebuilt or converted to a mosque	Unknown if rebuilt or if it was ever converted.
Still standing or date demolished	Demolished after 1915. No trace of it could be found.

St Theodore Gabras (no 115)

In 1913–1914, name of the 19th century parish	St Basil (Chrysanthos 1933:791–792).
Location	Near St Basil church (no 66) in the eastern suburb (Figure 3).
Build date	Before 1364.
Date if rebuilt or converted to a mosque	Unknown if rebuilt. Not converted.
Still standing or date demolished	The monastery was under Greek control but was in ruins in the 19th century and has left no trace. It may not have been operating as a church in 1913–1914. It may have been demolished before 1915.

The Holy Trinity (no 116)

In 1913–1914, name of the 19th century parish	St George Tsartakle (Chrysanthos 1933:791–792).
Location	Exact location in the parish is unknown. St George Tsartakle Church must have been located near The Holy Trinity Church.
Build date	By the 19th century if not earlier.
Date if rebuilt or converted to a mosque	Unknown if this chapel was rebuilt. No record of it being converted.
Still standing or date demolished	Demolished after 1915.

It is not Church D (no 33) as speculated by Bryer and Winfield 1985:205).

Santa Croce (no 117)

In 1913–1914, name of the 19th century parish	Not recorded by Chrysanthos (1933:791–792). [Believed not-operating in 1913 and probably not under Greek control.]
Location	The Venetian perambulation begins with a church of Santa Croce, which stood close to the headland (Figure 3).
Build date	Before 1367.
Date if rebuilt or converted to a mosque	Unknown if rebuilt. No record of it ever being converted.
Still standing or date demolished	Remnants were demolished totally in 1963.

The eastern waterfront in Trabzon was drastically changed by the building of a boulevard in 1960–1965. The roadworks of 1963 revealed a church on the seafront about 50 m west of the headland on which the Venetian Castle stood. Just before it was destroyed, D Winfield prepared a record. It is proposed that this church was the Santa Croce with two rounded side apses and a central apse pentagonal on the exterior. If the church was the Santa Croce, it is more likely to have been an Orthodox church. The area had not been in Italian hands before 1367, when Santa Croce was already standing (Bryer and Winfield 1985:237–238). It is unknown when it was no longer operating as a church.

The Taxiarchai (no 119)

In 1913–1914, name of the 19th century parish	St Gregory (Chrysanthos 1933:791–792).
Location	Exact location in the parish is unknown.
Build date	Possibly after 1461.
Date if rebuilt or converted to a mosque	Unknown if this chapel was rebuilt. No record of it being converted.
Still standing or date demolished	The Taxiarchai was demolished sometime after 1915. It could be either Church B or Church F.

Chrysokephalos (no 120) (Ortahisar Fatih Mosque)

In 1913–1914, name of the 19th century parish	Not applicable as it had become a mosque (Plate 31).
Location	The former church stands in the middle of classical Trabzon, between the Byzantine walls (Figures 2–3), currently the Ortahisar district.
Build date	913–914 AD at the latest during the Byzantine [Eastern Roman] era.
Date if rebuilt or converted to a mosque	It has undergone a number of structural alterations. Most recent commenced 2015–2018. In 1461, the church became the principal mosque of Trabzon and renamed Fatih Mosque (Lowry 2009).
Still standing or date demolished	Still standing as the Ortahisar Fatih Mosque.



Plate 31: Former Panagia Chrysokephalos Church—now Ortahisar Fatih Mosque (author's photo 2018).

Originally, it was surrounded by monastic buildings and possibly the episcopal palace, later replaced by shops and booths which were cleared away [in 1916] by the occupying Russian army in World War I. Architecturally, it was a triple-aisled domed basilica with (originally) a single pentagonal apse, narthex, exonarthex and galleries (Plate 32) (Bryer and Winfield 1985:238).

It is assumed that this site had attracted a church long before it was the cathedral of Trabzon by 913–914. Chrysokephalos (Greek for 'Golden-Headed') was the metropolitan church of the Grand Komnenoi rulers of the empire of Trebizond (1204–1461), where coronations and burials took place. Its epithet, 'Golden-Headed' was probably derived from a golden icon of the Virgin Mary in the church (Bryer and Winfield 1985:239).

In 1916, during the Russian occupation, Uspenskii supervised the uncovering of what was believed to be the skeleton of Trebizond emperor Alexios IV Komnenos (died 1429) near the church (Mintslov 1923:47–49). The tomb of Alexios IV had disappeared since 1918.

More recently, renovations commenced in 2015 and involved cleaning the external stone work (Plate 31). Its exterior looks to be in very good order. Renovations were completed in late 2018 and it is operating again as a mosque. The impressive Byzantine mosaic floor (Plate 33) of around 100 m² has been preserved and is covered with glass and can be viewed outside of the hours of prayer.



Plate 32: Inside the former Chrysokephalos Church, 2006
(upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/thumb/2/2e/Trabzon_Fatih_Mosque_0174.jpg/512px-Trabzon_Fatih_Mosque_0174.jpg).



Plate 33: Fatih Mosque floor mosaic, Trabzon, 2017
(www.dailysabah.com/history/2017/11/27/mosaics-on-mosque-floor-revealed?gallery_image=undefined#big).

Theotokos Eleousa (no 121)

In 1913–1914, name of the 19th century parish	Not applicable, in ruins in 19th century. Not mentioned by Chrysanthos (1933:791–792).
Location	Close to the Daphnous shore, beside the 19th century Greek cemetery, between St Sabbas and the mouth of the Degirmen River (Figures 2–3).
Build date	It could have been built before 1367.
Date if rebuilt or converted to a mosque	Unknown if rebuilt. No record of it being converted.
Still standing or date demolished	Any remnants seem to have been destroyed with the construction of the harbour in 1916.

It also appears to have been close to the Genoese base and arsenal of 1316–1349. There is no indication of the appearance of the building (Bryer and Winfield 1985:243).

Theotokos Evangelistria (no 122)

In 1913–1914, name of the 19th century parish	St Basil (Chrysanthos 1933:791–792).
Location	About 150 m north-east of St Basil Church (no 66) in the eastern suburb of the town (Figure 3).
Build date	Talbot Rice (1929–1930) suggested 14th or 15th century.
Date if rebuilt or converted to a mosque	Two stages of construction (Talbot Rice 1929–1930). No record of it being converted.
Still standing or date demolished	Demolished sometime between 1929 and 1958 (Ballance 1960).

This church was a modest version of the St Philip Church. The Evangelistria was a domed square building with a single apse above a crypt (Bryer and Winfield 1985:244).

Theoskepastos Monastery (God-Protected) (no 124)

In 1913–1914, name of the 19th century parish	Theoskepastos.
Location	The former Orthodox monastery is located on the northern slopes of Boz Tepe—overlooking the Trabzon harbour (Plate 34; Figures 2–3).
Build date	The Cave Church was built by at least the 1340s. There were other churches in the monastery built after this date.
Date if rebuilt or converted to a mosque	Unknown if the Cave Church or the side chapel were rebuilt. Not converted.
Still standing or date demolished	The monastery has been renovated and is open to tourists.

It was probably founded, refounded or endowed in the 1340s. The Panagia Theoskepastos (Greek for God Protected) Monastery is enclosed by a rectangular wall and comprises a small 19th century side-chapel adjoining the Cave Church (Plates 35–36), a 19th century church of St Constantine (no 73, described previously) above the Cave Church, a large two-storied hall and the Cave Church (with a holy spring) of Theoskepastos itself. The

Theoskepastos was the only known nunnery in the Komnenoi Trebizond empire (1204–1461) and remained open until 1922 (Bryer and Winfield 1985:244–245).

The cave in the hillside of the monastery was probably once associated with the cult of Mithras [Persian sun god]. The cave may have become a church before it was incorporated into the Theoskepastos monastery. In 1843, the abbess ruined the well-preserved portraits of Alexios III (reign 1349–1390), his wife Theodora and his mother when she had the walls of the church on the outside within the antechamber plastered and painted (Plate 35) (Bryer and Winfield 1985:244–245).



Plate 34: The walls around the former Panagia Theoskepastos monastery (author's photo 2018).



Plate 35: Narthex of the Panagia Theoskepastos Cave Church, 1890 (commons.wikimedia.org/w/index.php?curid=91037860).

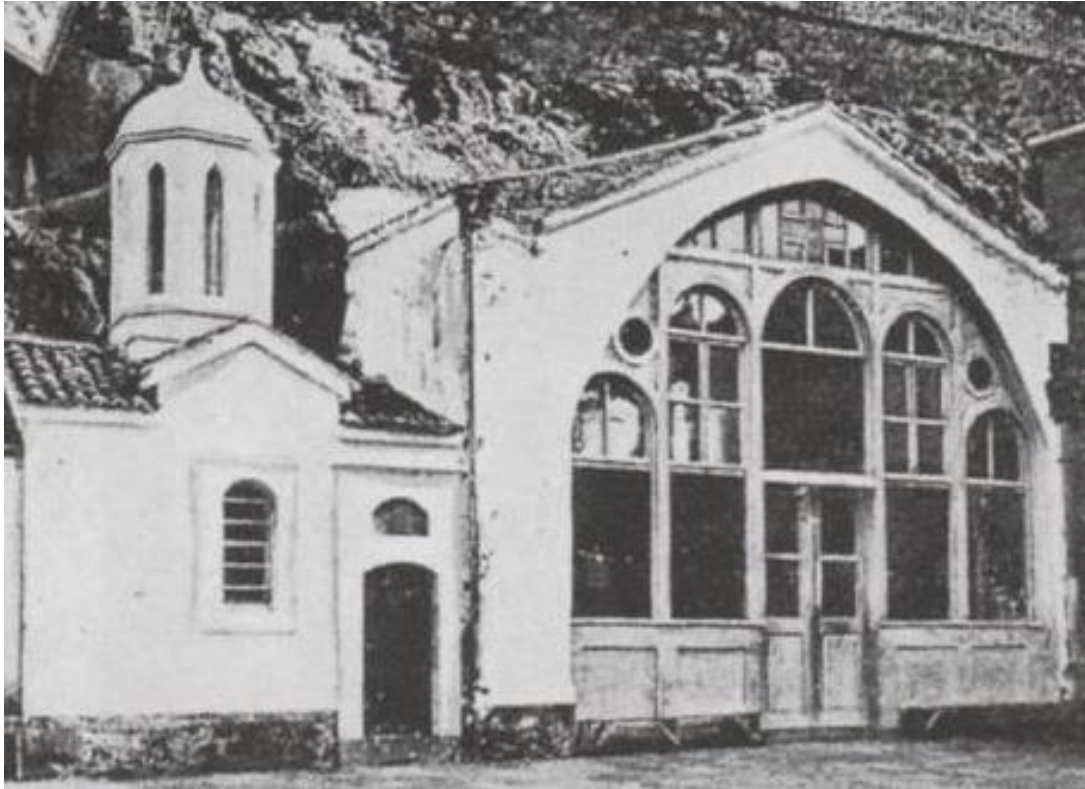


Plate 36: Panagia Theoskepastos Cave Church with side chapel before 1922 (Chrysanthos 1933:974).

Bryer and Winfield (1985:244–245) state that the Theoskepastos Monastery comprised some of the following features:

- A rectangular enclosure on the rocky hillside which is around 0.5 acre.
- Small cottage-like cells built in 1843 and replaced by the two-storied building after 1889.
- A small church seen in 1609 but now lost, unless it is represented by a 19th century, domed side chapel adjoining the Cave Church (Plate 36).
- A 19th century church of St Constantine (no 73) above the Cave Church.
- A large two-storied hall to the west of the Cave Church.
- The Cave Church of the Theoskepastos with remains of a holy-water spring and opening into an open single-arched narthex.

In 1970, the former monastery passed into the hands of the local children's hospital (Bryer and Winfield 1985). In 1978, it was locked for renovation. In 2006, excavations had commenced on the site.

Renovation of the former monastery commenced in 2014 and was opened to the public in 2020. The following YouTube clip gives a tour of the renovated former monastery: (www.youtube.com/watch?v=b8lkymb1bgw).

Zeytinlik Mosque (no 125, name of the original church unknown)

In 1913–1914, name of the 19th century parish	Not applicable as the original church (name unknown) had been converted to a medrese. ³¹
Location	The Zeytinlik (Olive Grove) Mosque was located south of the road Uzun Sokak, in the eastern suburb of Trabzon (Figure 3).
Build date	Probably 13th to 14th century (Ballance 1960).
Date if rebuilt or converted to a mosque	The possibly 17th or 18th century medrese replaced the three semicircular apsed church. In 1959, the medrese was demolished and in 1962–1963 it was replaced by the Zeytinlik Mosque. The mosque incorporated the remains of the north and central apses.
Still standing or date demolished	The Zeytinlik Mosque on the site was demolished in 2003 (Ustün Demirkaya and Tuluk 2022).

Former Church, name unknown in the Çömlekçi District

This church did not seem to be mentioned in Bryer and Winfield (1985). The author stumbled upon this church in Trabzon when he noticed its three apses which were well disguised from the road. Inside, a Christian fresco covered by a wooden lattice was on the ceiling. It is of no surprise that this church was not identified by researchers Talbot Rice, Ballance, Winfield or Bryer.

Kepenek and Haştemoğlu (2022:140) in Horuloğlu (1983:68) state that this former church (Plates 37–38) was covered with vaults dating back to the 14th century; it is located in the Çömlekçi district, near the harbour and is used today as the mukhtar's office and reading hall.

This former church could be either St Barbara (no 65), St John Prodromos (no 93) or Dormition (no 43) which were in the parish of Daphnous. Interestingly, the inside and outside of this former church are very similar to St George Tsartakle (no 84) (Plates 21–22).

³¹ A school for Islamic religious instruction.



Plate 37: Former church, name unknown, the three apses are to the right of the photo—Çömlekçi district, Muhtarligi building (author's photo 2018).



Plate 38: Inside the former church, name unknown—Muhtarligi building, in the Çömlekçi district (author's photo 2018).

4. Conclusion

This analysis, drawing largely on the indefatigable works of scholars, has revealed that there is still much that is unknown about the fate of churches and monasteries in Trabzon. Trabzon was handsomely endowed with ecclesiastical monuments. The principal agents of destruction were the Greek metropolitan Constantios of Trabzon (reign 1830–1879), who rebuilt every medieval church still in Orthodox hands and from 1958 the Municipality of Trabzon which transformed the eastern seaboard (Bryer and Winfield 1985).

Today there are only six former churches standing while another six former churches are standing as mosques. The maintenance of Trabzon's historic buildings, with their aesthetic beauty, such as former Byzantine churches, Greek Orthodox churches and mosques, is important for the benefit of future generations. These maintained buildings will also bring much needed tourist revenue to the town.

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6. Notes

Note 1

Chrysanthos (1933:791–792) lists the Greek churches and their Orthodox parishes in 1913–1914 in Trabzon. The author has included the numbering (in brackets) of the monuments in Trabzon used by Bryer and Winfield (1985) that correspond to these churches. Some of these churches may not have been operating in 1913.

1. Parish of St Gregory

St Gregory of Nyssa (no 88)
St Andrew (no 60)
St Kyriake (no 97)
The Taxiarchai (no 119, Church B or F)
St Paraskeve (no 106, Church B or F)
St Anastasia (no 58).

2. Parish of St Marina

St Marina (no 102)
St Nicholas (no 104)
St Eleutherios (no 76)

3. Parish of Hypapante (Presentation)

St Hypapante (no 47)
St Metamorphosis (Transfiguration) (no 51)
St Theodore (no 113)
St Constantine (no 72)
Dormition (no 44)

4. Parish of St George Tsartakle

St George Tsartakle (no 84)
The Holy Trinity (no 116).

5. Parish of Christ

Metamorphosis (Transfiguration) (no 50)
St George Kourtza (no 82)

6. Parish of St Basil

St Basil (no 66)
St Anne (no 61)
St Constantine (no 71)
St Evangelistria (no 122).
St Theodore Gabras (no 115)

7. Parish of Outside the Wall

St John Prodromos (no 91)

8. Parish of Theoskepastos

Theoskepastos (monastery) (Cave Church no 124 and St Constantine (no 73)).

9. Parish of Daphnous

St John Prodromos (no 93)
Dormition (no 43)
St Barbara (no 65)

Note 2

Population Exchange

The Lausanne Convention signed on 30 January 1923 concerned only the terms for the compulsory exchange of Orthodox Greek and Muslim Turkish populations between Greece and Turkey (Hirschon 2003a). As far as Greece was concerned, this population exchange legalised the existing situation. That is, after August 1922, with the defeat of the Greeks in Anatolia in the Greco-Turkish War (1919–1922), the vast majority of Greeks of Anatolia had been forced to leave for Greece from the advancing army of Mustafa Kemal (Klapisis 2014).

By the time of the population exchange, most Greek refugees (over a million) had already been forced out of Anatolia (Shirinian 2017). The Greek inhabitants of Constantinople and the Muslim inhabitants of western Thrace were exempt from this population exchange (Hirschon 2003b).

The negotiations which led to the later Lausanne Treaty (signed 24 July 1923) drew territorial boundaries and dismemberment of the Ottoman empire. The exclusion of the Greek Orthodox inhabitants of the islands of Imbros and Tenedos [in the north-northeastern Aegean Sea which were ceded to Türkiye in 1923] was also specified in the treaty (Hirschon 2003b).

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