

ASSESSMENT OF THE *RUM* CHURCHES IN MUDANYA (BURSA)
FOR THE PURPOSE OF CONSERVATION

A THESIS SUBMITTED TO
THE GRADUATE SCHOOL OF NATURAL AND APPLIED SCIENCES
OF
MIDDLE EAST TECHNICAL UNIVERSITY

BY

NİL ARSLAN

IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS
FOR
THE DEGREE OF MASTER OF SCIENCE
IN
CONSERVATION OF CULTURAL HERITAGE IN ARCHITECTURE

APRIL 2023

Approval of the thesis:

**ASSESSMENT OF THE *RUM* CHURCHES IN MUDANYA (BURSA) FOR
THE PURPOSE OF CONSERVATION**

submitted by **NİL ARSLAN** in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree
of **Master of Science in Conservation of Cultural Heritage in Architecture,**
Middle East Technical University by,

Prof. Dr. Halil Kalıpçılar
Dean, Graduate School of **Natural and Applied Sciences** _____

Prof. Dr. Cânâ Bilsel
Head of the Department, **Architecture** _____

Assoc. Prof. Dr. Ufuk Serin
Supervisor, **Architecture, METU** _____

Examining Committee Members:

Assoc. Prof. Dr. Pınar Aykaç Leidholm
Architecture, METU _____

Assoc. Prof. Dr. Ufuk Serin
Architecture, METU _____

Assoc. Prof. Dr. Tuba Akar
Architecture, Mersin Üniversitesi _____

Date: 24.04.2023

I hereby declare that all information in this document has been obtained and presented in accordance with academic rules and ethical conduct. I also declare that, as required by these rules and conduct, I have fully cited and referenced all material and results that are not original to this work.

Name Last name : Nil Arslan

Signature :

ABSTRACT

ASSESSMENT OF THE *RUM* CHURCHES IN MUDANYA (BURSA) FOR THE PURPOSE OF CONSERVATION

Arslan, Nil
Master of Science, Conservation of Cultural Heritage in Architecture
Supervisor : Assoc. Prof. Dr. Ufuk Serin

April 2023, 213 pages

In an increasingly homogenised and globalised world, the preservation and appreciation of the authentic values of the various cultural heritages provide an invaluable source of intellectual and spiritual richness. The emerging nationalist movement of the 19th century had considerable effect when it promoted heritage as a critical component in the creation of a national identity. Conservation policies, that sought to deal with certain cultures, ignored the values of some ethnic groups and dropped from consideration. The 19th century *Rum* churches of Mudanya have been selected as case studies for this thesis because they have lost or face the risk of losing their tangible and intangible values due to their now being out of their original contexts, abandoned, neglected and misused. This study assesses these churches to appreciate their values and potentials and to identify challenges and threats. To learn what kind of conservation problems *Rum* churches face and their extent, both the surviving churches and the lost ones are reviewed. The ideological, historical and cultural factors influencing perceptions of the *Rum* heritage in Turkey are also listed and discussed to demonstrate that social attitudes and conservation practices are indeed the key and motivating factors responsible for the physical neglect of *Rum* churches. The *Rum* churches of Mudanya are examples to provide an insight into and

lessons for similar conservation problems experienced in the other 19th century Anatolian *Rum* churches that have lost their community. The *Rum* churches that are the subject of this thesis are located within the borders of the Mudanya district of Bursa in the Marmara region. This region had been one of the important centres of Orthodox Christianity since the Byzantine period, especially in the 8th and 9th centuries. Accordingly, it was home to numerous churches built by the *Rum* community, many refurbished in the 19th century. The Population Exchange between Turkey and Greece, with the Lausanne Treaty signed on 24 July 1923, however, was a key turning point that transformed the existing social structure, and with that the non-Muslim settlements and religious sites. The churches had developed within the *Rum* society of which they were an integral part. Now, bereft of their supporting populations, these buildings faced environmental, physical, social, political and economic challenges. It is known that there were nineteen *Rum* churches in Mudanya and its villages. Five of these churches have survived to the present day; one partially survived and thirteen have completely disappeared. Of the five surviving churches, two of the surviving churches converted into cultural centres in the early 2000s, three of them were abandoned after being used for various functions after the Population Exchange and displacement of local communities. Today, all the abandoned churches have undergone physical changes resulting from neglect; they remain in a poor state of preservation. In this context, a theoretical framework that explains terms related to the preservation of the heritage of diverse cultures and addresses the various approaches towards *Rum* churches in Turkey is presented. The case study is based on field surveys to better understand the characteristics of the churches and to assess the values of the buildings and the challenges related to them, as well as archival studies. Based on these analyses, a conservation assessment is made so that these churches can be better preserved in the future and the surviving churches will not face similar problems because of neglect, abuse or misuse.

Keywords: *Rum* churches, Mudanya, cultural heritage, conservation

ÖZ

MUDANYA'DAKİ (BURSA) RUM KİLİSELERİNİN KORUMA AMAÇLI OLARAK DEĞERLENDİRİLMESİ

Arslan, Nil
Yüksek Lisans, Kültürel Miras Koruma, Mimarlık
Tez Yöneticisi: Doç. Dr. Ufuk Serin

Nisan 2023, 213 sayfa

Gün geçtikçe küreselleşen ve tek tipleşen dünyada, farklı etnik toplulukların mirasları manevi ve entelektüel açıdan insanlığın paha biçilmez zenginliğini oluşturur. Fakat, 19. yüzyılın milliyetçi atmosferi içinde, 'miras' ulusal kimliğin inşasında kilit bir unsur olarak öne çıkarılmıştır. Kendi değerleri üzerinden belirli kültürlerle öncelik veren koruma politikaları, bazı etnik grupların değerlerini ihmal etmiş ve değerlendirme dışı bırakmıştır. Bu tez kapsamında çalışılan Mudanya'daki 19. yüzyıl Rum kiliseleri ise özgün bağlamlarından koparılmış, terk edilmiş ve ihmal edilmiş olmaları sebebiyle somut ve soyut değerlerini ya kaybetmiştir ya da kaybetme riskiyle karşı karşıya kalmıştır. Bu çalışma, bu kiliselerin değerlerini ve potansiyellerini anlamak, maruz kaldıkları zorlukları ve tehditleri tespit etmek amacıyla yapılan değerlendirmelere dayanmaktadır. Rum kiliselerinin karşılaştığı koruma sorunlarının etkilerini ve kapsamalarını öğrenmek için hem günümüze kadar ulaşan hem de yok olan kiliseler incelenmiştir. Türkiye'deki Rum mirasına ilişkin algıları şekillendiren ideolojik, tarihi ve kültürel faktörler de ele alınarak, toplumsal tutumların ve koruma faaliyetlerinin Rum kiliselerinin fiziksel ihmalini doğrudan etkileyen unsurlar olması tartışılmıştır. Mudanya'daki Rum kiliseleri, cemaatini kaybetmiş diğer 19. yüzyıl Anadolu Rum kiliselerinde yaşanan benzer koruma

sorunlarına ilişkin fikir veren örneklerdir. Bu tezin konusu olan Rum kiliseleri, Marmara Bölgesi'nde Bursa'nın Mudanya ilçesi sınırları içinde yer almaktadır. Bu bölge, Bizans döneminden bu yana, özellikle 8. ve 9. yüzyıllarda Ortodoks Hristiyan yaşantısının önemli merkezlerinden biri olmuştur. Sonrasında, Osmanlı döneminde, Rum cemaati tarafından inşa edilen ve birçoğu 19. yüzyılda yenilenen çok sayıda kiliseye ev sahipliği yapmıştır. Bu kiliseler, ayrılmaz birer parçası oldukları Rum toplumunun değerleri etrafında şekillenmiştir. 24 Temmuz 1923'te imzalanan Lozan Antlaşması ile Türkiye ve Yunanistan arasında gerçekleşen nüfus mübadelesi sonucu Rumların Anadolu'yu terk etmek zorunda kalmaları ve yerlerine Yunanistan'dan gelen Türklerin yerleştirilmesi toplumsal yapının, kentlerin, köylerin ve gayrimüslim dini mekanlarının değişim ve dönüşümüne neden olan önemli bir dönüm noktası olmuştur. Şimdi, onları ayakta tutan nüfustan yoksun olan bu yapılar, çevresel, fiziksel, sosyal, siyasi ve ekonomik zorluklarla karşı karşıya bulunmaktadır. Mudanya ve köylerinde on dokuz Rum kilisesi olduğu bilinmektedir. Bu kiliselerden beşi günümüze ulaşmış, biri kısmen ayakta kalmış, on üçü ise tamamen yok olmuştur. Bugün, terk edilmiş kiliselerin tamamı bakımsızlık nedeniyle fiziksel değişikliklere uğramış olup, koruma açısından oldukça kötü durumdadırlar. Bu kapsamda, Türkiye'deki Rum kiliselerine yönelik çeşitli yaklaşımları ele alan ve farklı kültürlerin mirasının korunmasına ilişkin kavramları açıklayan teorik bir çerçeve sunulmuştur. Bu çalışma, kiliselerin özelliklerini daha iyi anlamak ve yapıların değerlerini ve bunlarla ilgili sorunları değerlendirmek için yapılan arazi araştırmalarının yanı sıra arşiv çalışmalarına da dayanmaktadır. Kiliselerin gelecekte daha iyi korunabilmesi ve ayakta kalan kiliselerin bakımsızlık veya yanlış kullanım nedeniyle benzer sorunlarla karşılaşmaması amacıyla korumaya yönelik bir değerlendirme yapılmıştır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Rum kiliseleri, Mudanya, kültürel miras, koruma

to my mother

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

First of all, I would like to express my utmost gratitude and admiration to my supervisor Assoc. Prof. Dr. Ufuk Serin for her support, patience, encouragement, academic contribution and guidance throughout this thesis. I could not have finished this thesis without her support and trust.

I would like to thank the jury members Assoc. Prof. Dr. Pınar Aykaç Leidholm and Assoc. Prof. Dr. Tuba Akar for their support, valuable comments and suggestions for this study. I would also like to thank Nimet Özgönül for her valuable advice and her ideas that led to the selection of this thesis topic. The members of the Bursa Regional Board for the Protection of Cultural Assets and Mudanya Municipality shared much valuable information, which is very important for the literature research, and I am very thankful for their help. I would like to thank Kadri Uyanık for his guidance and company during the Tirilye visits. I am grateful to Doniert Evely for his support and kind guidance for editing and improving the text.

I would like to thank Eugenia Mytilineou for her precious help, knowledge and friendship, and to Makis Apostolatos for making it possible for me to access the KMS archives and for helping throughout this process. I am grateful to my friends İrem Diker Gökçe, Bilge Sena Özen, Kübra Şener, Nihan Bulut, Pelin Kesin Abay, Tuğba Ballıoğlu for their support and encouragement during my education process.

I would like to thank my dear friend Osman Can for all his support, kindness and love.

Lastly, I am most deeply grateful to my mother, Güllü Vural, for her endless love and support.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ABSTRACT.....	v
ÖZ	vii
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS	x
TABLE OF CONTENTS.....	xi
LIST OF TABLES	xviii
LIST OF FIGURES	xix
LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS	xxiv
CHAPTERS	
1 INTRODUCTION	1
1.1 Definition of the Problem and Selection of the Site	1
1.2 Aim and Scope of the Thesis	5
1.3 Methodology and Structure of the Thesis	5
1.4 Challenges and Limitations.....	9
2 ASSESSMENT OF THE <i>RUM</i> CHURCHES IN MUDANYA (BURSA) FOR THE PURPOSE OF CONSERVATION: A THEORETICAL AND LEGISLATIVE FRAMEWORK.....	11
2.1 Concepts and Terms.....	11
2.2 International Charters and Documents.....	18
2.3 National Heritage Policies and Regulations.....	23
2.3.1 Tanzimat Edict and Policies of the Ottoman Period	23
2.3.2 Policies in the Early Republican Period of Turkey.....	27

2.3.3	Non-Muslim Foundations and Their Current Legal and Administrative Status	31
2.3.4	National Legal Framework.....	33
2.4	Interim Evaluations	37
3	THE <i>RUM</i> CHURCHES IN MUDANYA AS A CASE STUDY.....	41
3.1	Mudanya in its Historical and Geographical, and Demographic Context... ..	41
3.1.1	Geographical Characteristics of Mudanya	43
3.1.2	History of Mudanya.....	44
3.1.2.1	General History of Mudanya.....	44
3.1.2.2	A History of Research into Mudanya's <i>Rum</i> Churches	51
3.1.2.3	Greek Orthodox Community of Mudanya	53
3.1.2.4	Chapels and Hagiasmas of Mudanya	55
3.2	Villages of Mudanya	56
3.2.1	Aydınpınar (Misopolis / Misebolu).....	57
3.2.1.1	Greek Orthodox Community and the Settlement of Aydınpınar.....	57
3.2.1.2	Chapels and Hagiasmas of Aydınpınar	58
3.2.2	Çınarlı (Veletler)	59
3.2.2.1	Greek Orthodox Community and the Settlement of Çınarlı	59
3.2.2.2	Hagiasmas of Çınarlı.....	60
3.2.3	Dereköy	61
3.2.3.1	Greek Orthodox Community and the Settlement of Dereköy....	61
3.2.3.2	Monasteries and Hagiasmas of Dereköy.....	62
3.2.4	Güzelyalı (Burgos / Burgaz).....	63

3.2.5	İmralı Island (Kalolimnos / Emir Ali Ceziresi)	64
3.2.5.1	Greek Orthodox Community and the Settlement of İmralı	64
3.2.6	Kumyaka (Sygi / Sigi)	66
3.2.6.1	Greek Orthodox Community and the Settlement of Kumyaka .	67
3.2.6.2	Chapels and Hagiasmas of Kumyaka	68
3.2.7	Tirilye (Triglia / Zeytinbağı).....	69
3.2.7.1	Greek Orthodox Community and the Settlement of Tirilye	70
3.2.7.2	Tirilye Council Records in the General State Archives of Greece (GAK)	72
3.2.7.3	Chapels and Hagiasmas of Tirilye	74
3.2.8	Yalıçiftlik	76
3.2.8.1	Greek Orthodox community of Yalıçiftlik	76
3.3	The <i>Rum</i> Churches in Mudanya.....	77
3.3.1	Surviving Churches.....	77
3.3.1.1	The Church of Hagios Georgios, Mudanya.....	77
3.3.1.1.1	Historical Background.....	77
3.3.1.1.2	Architectural Features	80
3.3.1.1.3	Current State of Preservation	87
3.3.1.2	The Church of Hagios Ioannes, Aydınpınar	88
3.3.1.2.1	Historical Background.....	88
3.3.1.2.2	Architectural Features	91
3.3.1.2.3	Current State of Preservation	98
3.3.1.3	The Church of Hagia Paraskevi, Dereköy	99
3.3.1.3.1	Historical Background.....	99

3.3.1.3.2	Architectural Features	101
3.3.1.3.3	Current State of Preservation	111
3.3.1.4	The Church of Hagios Georgios Ano (Dünder House), Tirilye.....	113
3.3.1.4.1	Historical Background	113
3.3.1.4.2	Architectural Features	114
3.3.1.4.3	Current State of Preservation	122
3.3.1.5	The Church of Panagia Metropolis (Theotokos), Tirilye.....	123
3.3.1.5.1	Historical Background	123
3.3.1.5.2	Architectural Features	124
3.3.1.5.3	Current State of Preservation	129
3.3.1.6	Cemetery Chapel, Tirilye	130
3.3.1.6.1	Historical Background	130
3.3.1.6.2	Architectural Features	131
3.3.1.6.3	Current State of Preservation	134
3.3.2	Partly Surviving Churches.....	135
3.3.2.1	The Church of Panagia, Yalıçıftlık	135
3.3.3	Lost Churches	137
3.3.3.1	The Church of Hagia Paraskevi, Mudanya	137
3.3.3.2	The Church of Hagia Anna, Mudanya	137
3.3.3.3	The Church of Hagia Theodosia, Mudanya	137
3.3.3.4	The Church of Hagia Paraskevi, Çınarlı (Veletler).....	138
3.3.3.5	The Church of Taxiarchis, Güzelyalı (Burgaz).....	138
3.3.3.6	The Church of Hagios Athanasios, İmralı.....	139

3.3.3.7	The Church of Hagios Ioannes, İmralı	139
3.3.3.8	The Church of Hagios Athanasios, Sigi	139
3.3.3.9	The Church of Panagia, Sigi	140
3.3.3.10	The Church of Hagios Demetrius, Tirilye	140
3.3.3.11	The Church of Hagia Episkepsis, Tirilye	140
3.3.3.12	The Church of Hagios Georgios Kato, Tirilye	141
3.3.3.13	The Church of Hagios Ioannes, Tirilye	141
3.4	Interim Evaluations	142
4	REASSESSMENT OF THE <i>RUM</i> CHURCHES IN MUDANYA: VALUES, THREATS AND OPPORTUNITIES	147
4.1	Values of the Surviving Churches	151
4.1.1	Cultural Values	152
4.1.1.1	Identity Value	152
4.1.1.1.1	Religious and Spiritual Value	152
4.1.1.1.2	Communal and Memory Value	153
4.1.1.1.3	Setting Value	154
4.1.1.2	Relative Artistic or Technical Value	155
4.1.1.2.1	Architectural Value	155
4.1.1.2.2	Technical Value.....	158
4.1.1.2.3	Aesthetic Value	159
4.1.1.3	Representativeness Value	161
4.1.2	Contemporary Socio-Economic Values.....	161
4.1.2.1	Educational Value	161
4.1.2.2	Functional Value	162

4.1.2.3	Economic Value	163
4.1.2.4	Political Value	163
4.2	Values of the Partially Surviving (and Lost) Churches	164
4.3	Threats and Challenges.....	165
4.3.1	Challenges	166
4.3.1.1	Challenges Related to Tangible and Intangible Components ..	166
4.3.1.1.1	Accessibility.....	166
4.3.1.1.2	Population Decrease	166
4.3.1.1.3	Functional Change	166
4.3.1.1.4	Inadequacy of Legal Regulations	167
4.3.2	Threats	168
4.3.2.1	Threats Related to Tangible Components	168
4.3.2.1.1	Loss of function	168
4.3.2.1.2	Structural and Material Deterioration	168
4.3.2.1.3	Lack of Documentation	169
4.3.2.1.4	Inaccurate Restoration Implementations	169
4.3.2.1.5	Vandalism, Treasure Hunters and Lack of Supervision	170
4.3.2.1.6	Lack of Economic Sources	171
4.3.2.2	Threats Related to Intangible Components	171
4.3.2.2.1	Alienation of the Christian ‘Minority’ and Their Sanctuaries	171
4.3.2.2.2	Loss of Historical Knowledge	172
4.3.2.2.3	Confiscation of Pious Foundations Properties and Registration of Churches as Private Property	173

4.4	Opportunities.....	174
4.4.1	Opportunities for Tangible Components	175
4.4.1.1	Reuse of Abandoned Churches.....	175
4.4.1.2	Religious and Spiritual Significance	175
4.4.1.3	Scientific and Educational Opportunities	176
4.4.2	Opportunities for Economic Development	177
4.4.2.1	Cultural and Religious Tourism	177
4.4.3	Opportunities for Local Community.....	177
4.4.3.1	Community Involvement.....	177
4.4.3.2	Relations with the Greek Community	177
4.5	Interim Evaluations	178
5	CONCLUSIONS.....	181
5.1	General Principles for the Surviving Churches	182
5.2	General Principles for the Partially Surviving (and Lost) Churches	189
5.3	Future Research	190
	REFERENCES	193
	APPENDICES	
A.	The Rules and Procedure for Rotating Service of the Churches of Triglia	209
B.	Regulation of The Community Cemetery in Triglia.....	212

LIST OF TABLES¹

TABLES

Table 2.1 Data on non-Muslim buildings in Ottoman lands which were built or repaired between January 1856 and April 1867 (Sönmez Pulat 2020, p. 64).	26
Table 3.1 Mudanya population between the 17th–20th centuries according to the data obtained from Ottoman records.	48
Table 3.2 Population growth in Mudanya and villages according to the data obtained from TÜİK	50
Table 4.1. Heritage values: examples from scholarly literature and guides (Buckley 2019, p. 52; Mason 2002, p. 9.)	149
Table 4.2 Values of surviving churches	151
Table 4.3 <i>Rum</i> Churches of Mudanya	157
Table 4.4 Values of the partially surviving (and lost) or churches	164
Table 4.5 Threats and challenges	165
Table 4.6 Opportunities	174

¹ All tables are by the author, unless otherwise indicated.

LIST OF FIGURES²

FIGURES

Figure 1.1. Chart illustrating the methodology of the thesis.....	6
Figure 3.1. Mudanya (URL 18)	42
Figure 3.2. Map showing the road network in and around Mudanya (URL 17) ...	43
Figure 3.3. Hisarlık Hill and citadel (URL 24)	45
Figure 3.4. Mudanya, Hagios Georgios, inscription at the entrance of the church (Covel 1998, p. 177-179.)	52
Figure 3.5. Mudanya, Hagios Georgios, inscription inside the church (Covel 1998, p. 177-179.)	52
Figure 3.6. Mudanya and its villages (URL 18).....	56
Figure 3.7. Aydınpınar, chapel and hagiaσμα of Hagia Paraskevi (2021).....	59
Figure 3.8. Çınarlı, ruins of Hagiasma of Hagia Marina inside the village (Mytilineou, 2019)	60
Figure 3.9. Dereköy, Hagiasma of Hagia Paraskevi (2021)	63
Figure 3.10. Kalolimnos Island, map showing the site of religious buildings (Hasluck, 1906, p. 320.)	65
Figure 3.11. An old Sigi postcard from the 1920s (URL 19)	67
Figure 3.12. Tirilye, as seen in the 1920s (URL 23).....	70
Figure 3.13. Tirilye with the 19th century churches as seen in 1926 (URL 28)....	73
Figure 3.14. Tirilye, 19th century churches (2022)	74
Figure 3.15. Mudanya, Hagios Georgios, inscription over the lintel of the north window (2021)	79
Figure 3.16. Mudanya, Hagios Georgios (Uğur Mumcu Cultural Centre) gallery floor restoration plan (Mudanya Municipality Archive, 2002).....	81
Figure 3.17. Mudanya, Hagios Georgios, narthex as seen from the south (2021). 82	

² All images are by the author, unless otherwise indicated.

Figure 3.18. Mudanya, Hagios Georgios, <i>naos</i> as seen from the stage (2021)	83
Figure 3.19. Mudanya, Hagios Georgios, stage as seen from the north corner of the balcony (2021).....	83
Figure 3.20. Mudanya, Hagios Georgios, gallery floor as seen from the balcony (2021)	84
Figure 3.21. Mudanya, Hagios Georgios, west façade (2021)	85
Figure 3.22. Mudanya, Hagios Georgios, as seen from the southwest (2021).....	86
Figure 3.23. Mudanya, Hagios Georgios, east façade (2021)	86
Figure 3.24. Aydınpınar, Hagios Ioannes, ground and gallery floor plans with the west façade (BOA, İ. AZN., Dosya no: 37, Gömlek no: 23, p. 4. See also Aydın 2019, p. 30.).....	90
Figure 3.25. Aydınpınar, Hagios Ioannes, ground floor restitution plan (Mudanya Municipality Archive, 2002)	91
Figure 3.26. Aydınpınar, Hagios Ioannes, inscription on the pediment above the main door (2021)	92
Figure 3.27. Aydınpınar, Hagios Ioannes, date of 1901 inscribed on the south narthex door (2021)	93
Figure 3.28. Aydınpınar, Hagios Ioannes, ambon (BKVKBK Archive, 1986)	93
Figure 3.29. Aydınpınar, Hagios Ioannes, apse as seen from the <i>naos</i> (BKVKBK Archive, 1986).....	94
Figure 3.30. Aydınpınar, Hagios Ioannes, <i>naos</i> as seen from the gallery floor (BKVKBK Archive, 1986).....	95
Figure 3.31. Aydınpınar, Hagios Ioannes, narthex and gallery floor as seen from the <i>naos</i> (BKVKBK Archive, 1986)	95
Figure 3.32. Aydınpınar, Hagios Ioannes, west façade (2021)	96
Figure 3.33. Aydınpınar, Hagios Ioannes, north façade as seen from the square in front of the mosque (BKVKBK Archive, 1986)	97
Figure 3.34. Aydınpınar, Hagios Ioannes, east façade (2021)	97
Figure 3.35. Aydınpınar, Hagios Ioannes, south façade (2021).....	97

Figure 3.36. Aydınpinar, Hagios Ioannes, narthex wall as seen from the <i>naos</i> (left); apse wall as seen from the <i>naos</i> (right) (2021)	98
Figure 3.37. Dereköy, Hagia Paraskevi, west façade with the bell tower (Foto Kemal, 1936).....	100
Figure 3.38. Dereköy, Hagia Paraskevi, ambon from 1950s (left); donation box (right) (URL 25).....	101
Figure 3.39. Dereköy, Hagia Paraskevi, ground floor plan (Dede, n.d.)	103
Figure 3.40. Dereköy, Hagia Paraskevi, north-south section from the <i>naos</i> , view towards west (Dede, n.d)	104
Figure 3.41. Dereköy, Hagia Paraskevi, narthex as seen from the <i>naos</i> (2019)..	105
Figure 3.42. Dereköy, Hagia Paraskevi, south tower, wall painting over the door opening (2021)	105
Figure 3.43. Dereköy, Hagia Paraskevi, iconostasis as seen from the southwest (1990s) (URL 20).....	106
Figure 3.44. Dereköy, Hagia Paraskevi, north-south section from the <i>naos</i> , view towards the east (Dede, n.d).....	107
Figure 3.45. Dereköy, Hagia Paraskevi, iconostasis (Dede, n.d).....	108
Figure 3.46. Dereköy, Hagia Paraskevi, west-east section from the <i>naos</i> , view towards the south (Dede, n.d)	108
Figure 3.47. Dereköy, Hagia Paraskevi, basement (2021).....	109
Figure 3.48. Dereköy, Hagia Paraskevi, west façade (URL 25).....	110
Figure 3.49. Dereköy, Hagia Paraskevi, east façade (2021)	111
Figure 3.50. Dereköy, Hagia Paraskevi, apse as seen from the <i>naos</i> (2021).....	112
Figure 3.51. Dereköy, Hagia Paraskevi, south wall (2021)	112
Figure 3.52. Tirilye, Hagios Georgios Ano, ground floor plan (Aydın, n.d.).....	115
Figure 3.53. Tirilye, Hagios Georgios Ano, AA' section (west-east direction), view towards the south (Aydın, n.d.).....	116
Figure 3.54. Tirilye, Hagios Georgios Ano, residential section and courtyard as seen from the southeast (left); view towards apse (right) (BKVKBK, 2014).....	116
Figure 3.55. Tirilye, Hagios Georgios Ano, west façade (2021)	118

Figure 3.56. Tirilye, Hagios Georgios Ano, north façade (2021)	119
Figure 3.57. Tirilye, Hagios Georgios Ano, basement floor plan (Aydın, n.d.)...	119
Figure 3.58. Tirilye, Hagios Georgios Ano, funerary stele on the west façade (left); stele on the west façade (center); stele on the north façade (right) (2019).....	120
Figure 3.59. Tirilye, Hagios Georgios Ano, south façade (Aydın, n.d.)	120
Figure 3.60. Tirilye, Hagios Georgios Ano, east façade (Aydın, n.d.).....	121
Figure 3.61. Tirilye, Hagios Georgios Ano, view from the southeast (2021)	121
Figure 3.62. Tirilye, Hagios Georgios Ano, ground floor, residential section (left); second floor, residential section (right) (BKVKBK, 2014)	122
Figure 3.63. Tirilye, Panagia Metropolis, ground floor restitution plan, 2009 (Mudanya Municipality Archive, 2003).....	124
Figure 3.64. Tirilye, Panagia Metropolis, section AA'(west-east direction) (Mudanya Municipality Archive, 2003).....	125
Figure 3.65. Tirilye, Panagia Metropolis, narthex and gallery floor as seen from the apse (2021)	125
Figure 3.66. Tirilye, Panagia Metropolis, apse and ceiling as seen from the naos, before restoration (left) (BKVKBK, 2001); apse as seen from the narthex (right) (2021)	126
Figure 3.67. Tirilye, Panagia Metropolis, view as seen from the south before restoration (left) (BKVKBK, 2001); view as seen from the south (right) (2021).	127
Figure 3.68. Tirilye, Panagia Metropolis, northeast façade (above) (Mudanya Municipality Archive, 2003); view from the north before restoration (below left) (BKVKBK, 2001); view from the north (below right) (2021).....	128
Figure 3.69. Tirilye, Panagia Metropolis, inscription on the south corner (left); southwest façade (right) (2021).....	129
Figure 3.70. Tirilye, Panagia Metropolis, Epiphany mass, January 19, 2021 (URL 26)	130
Figure 3.71. Tirilye, Cemetery Chapel, west view, 1978 (left); <i>spolia</i> on the Cemetery Chapel, 1978 (right) (URL 22)	131
Figure 3.72. Tirilye, Cemetery Chapel, west façade (2021).....	131

Figure 3.73. Tirilye, Cemetery Chapel, ground floor plan (left); basement floor plan (right) (2022).....	132
Figure 3.74. Tirilye, Cemetery Chapel, east façade, basement door (2021).....	133
Figure 3.75. Tirilye, Cemetery Chapel, basement as seen from the east (2021) .	134
Figure 3.76. Yalıçiftlik, the Church of Panagia, south façade (İ. AZN., no. 43, Gömlek no. 22, p. 85.)	135
Figure 3.77. Yalıçiftlik, the Church of Panagia, west wall (above left); south wall (above right); north wall (below) (2019)	136
Figure 3.78. Güzelyalı/Burgaz, The Church of Taxiarchis, southwest view (R. Kaplanoğlu Archive, 1998; Aydın 2010, p. 101).....	138
Figure 3.79. Tirilye, Panagia Episkepsis Icon (Apostolatos 2019, p. 36).....	141
Figure 4.1. Triglianoi forum home page (URL 29)	154
Figure 4.2. Alternating courses of stone and brick technique as seen in Aydınpinar, Hagios Ioannes (left); Dereköy, Hagia Paraskevi (right) (2021).....	158
Figure 4.3. Dereköy, Hagia Paraskevi, perforated structure on the south wall of the <i>naos</i> (2021)	159
Figure 4.4. Dereköy, Hagia Paraskevi, projection of the former bell tower and stucco mouldings on the west façade (2021)	160
Figure 4.5. Dereköy, Hagia Paraskevi, entrance to the <i>naos</i> as seen from the narthex (2021).....	160
Figure 4.6. Dereköy, Hagia Paraskevi, medallion with seraphim figure as seen on the north wall of the <i>naos</i> (2021).....	161

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ABBREVIATIONS

BKTVKBBK: Bursa Kùltür Varlıklarını Koruma Bölge Kurulu (Bursa Regional Conservation Council of Cultural Properties)

BOA: Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi (The Ottoman Archives of the Prime Minister's Office)

CDA: Cumhurbaşkanlığı Devlet Arşivi (Directorate of State Archives)

CoE: Council of Europe

GEEAYK: Gayrimenkul Eski Eserler Anıtlar Yüksek Kurulu (The High Council of Real Estate Antiquities and Monuments)

HDV: Hüdâvendigâr Vilayeti Sâlnâmesi (Yearbook of the Hüdâvendigâr Province)

ICOMOS: International Council on Monuments and Sites

KMKD: Kültürel Mirası Koruma Derneđi (Association for the Protection of Cultural Heritage).

KMS: Kéntrou Mikrasiatikón Spoudón (Centre for Asia Minor Studies)

KTVKYK: Kùltür ve Tabiat Varlıklarını Koruma Yüksek Kurulu (Council for the Conservation of Immovable Cultural and Natural Properties)

MMZC: Meclis-i Mebusan Zabıt Cerideleri (Meclis-i Mebusan Court Journals)

TÜİK: Türkiye İstatistik Kurumu (Turkish Statistical Institute)

UNESCO: United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization

VGM: Vakıflar Genel Müdürlüğü (General Directorate of Pious Foundations)

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

For all humans, diversity of culture and heritage provides an invaluable source of intellectual and spiritual richness.³ Places of cultural significance tell us about our shared past and provide a sense of connection. These act as historical records of artistic, religious, social, economic achievements of diverse civilizations. The heritage of the past – as something of value to all humanity – must be protected as in order to be transferred to the future.⁴ However, a conservation approach that selects only certain symbols of the past for the construction of a singular national identity prioritises the values of one group and ignores those of others, which results in the exclusion or even destruction of symbols belonging to certain ethnic communities.

The architectural creations of many ethnic groups of Anatolia throughout history are highly significant. However, in Turkey, the preservation of 'minority' heritages encounters difficulties, mainly due to political and social reasons. In today's complex and challenging conservation issues, value-based assessments are needed to produce more precise and balanced guidelines for decision-making processes, stemming from the need for systematic identification and categorisation.

1.1 Definition of the Problem and Selection of the Site

The productions of the diverse ethnic groups of the multicultural Turkish society create the values of our national cultural heritage. However, throughout history, and

³ ICOMOS 2013.

⁴ *Ibid.*

as a result of historical events, the cultural heritage of these communities has been abandoned and is on the verge of being lost. At the present, poor management—resulting in destruction from both natural and human causes – challenges the survival of the structures, which are already in a vulnerable state. When it comes to the preservation of *Rum* heritage in Turkey, political and social factors play a particularly important role. The ideologies that prioritise values in line with national identity lead to a relatively negative attitude towards the *Rum* heritage.

In the Ottoman Period, Anatolia was home to many ethnic groups. The *millet* system, which was adopted in the administration of this multicultural society, distinguished the communities primarily on the basis of religion. In this context, the Greek Orthodox community, also known as the *Rums*, was one of the dominant and significant non-Muslim communities of the Ottoman Empire.⁵ On 24 July 1923, the Lausanne Treaty, which paved the way for the establishment of the new Republic, resulted in the the Population Exchange and the expulsion of non-Muslim groups from the country.⁶ Accordingly, the *Rums* of Anatolia, with the exception of Istanbul, Bozcaada and Gökçeada, were deported to Greece, while the Turks from Greece were settled in Anatolia.⁷ The period between 1923 and 1933 was a time of national reconstruction for both countries, with thousands of homeless refugees.⁸ The challenges in the resettlement process have complicated the use and ownership of

⁵ The term ‘*Rum*’ is preferred instead of ‘Greek’, in this thesis. Şemseddin Sami clarified the 19th century meaning of “*Rum*” in his Turkish dictionary (*Kamûs-ı Türki*) as “The communities of Central Asia described the lands of Anatolia with this word, but we believe that this name is only applicable to the new Greek people.”: Sami 1900, p. 529. The ‘new Greeks’ of the 19th century, under ‘*millet*’ system, which identified communities on the basis of their religious communities, defined all of the Orthodox community associated with the *Rum* patriarchates and churches across the country: Güllü 2021, pp. 154–156.

⁶ The Lausanne Treaty, signed on 24 July 1923, defined the geographical, national and political boundaries of Turkey as a nation-state. The Treaty determined the status of non-Muslims as minorities and recognised them only on the basis of religion. According to the Treaty, it was agreed that the Greek Orthodox community living in Turkish territory and the Muslim community of Greek territory would be compulsorily transferred as of 1 May 1923 within the framework of Population Exchange. In the early 1920s, approximately one million Greeks migrated from Anatolia to Greece and approximately four hundred thousand Turks went from Greece to Turkey: Oran 2010, pp. 63–64.

⁷ Kaymak 2016, pp. 53–56.

⁸ Orhan and Yücel 2019, p. 20.

abandoned properties. On the other hand, the social and economic habits of the immigrants did not fit in with the cultural and historical heritage left by the Greeks.⁹ While the intangible values were lost with the migration of the *Rum* community, the churches, which served as the religious places of worship for *Rums*, began to lose their tangible values as they are deprived of their users. Thus, the transformation process of the settlements that lost their communities and the religious buildings belonging to non-Muslims has begun.

In this study, the 19th-century *Rum* churches in Mudanya district, the gateway of Bursa on the Marmara Sea, were chosen as the case study. Unlike the rest of the country, the *Rum* population had to leave Mudanya with the Armistice of Mudanya on 11 October 1922. Before the demographic shift, *Rums* constituted the majority of the population in Mudanya and many of its villages. It is known that there were a total of nineteen *Rum* churches in the centre of Mudanya and its eight *Rum* villages. Among these churches, five have survived, one survived partially and thirteen have been lost. Three of the surviving churches were used as mosques until the 1980s and then abandoned; two were used for different purposes, such as warehouses or theatre halls and now serve as cultural centres; one was used as a residence by newly arrived Turks and abandoned later. The buildings that were assigned with new functions have undergone architectural alterations at different levels; some of these alterations were carried out by the occupants in an unplanned way, and some of them were carried out within the framework of a restoration project by the municipal administration. However, the abandoned churches have experienced severe physical changes that damaged the buildings and left them in critical condition.

The surviving churches are registered as ‘immovable cultural property to be protected’. Today, the ownership of the churches belongs to the Mudanya Municipality. Only one church, which is private property, is in the process of expropriation by the Municipality. Although the abandoned churches are

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 20.

documented and restoration projects are prepared, no physical intervention has been made for conservation purposes. The buildings, which remained in a vulnerable state for approximately 40 years, are deteriorating, losing their values and physical integrity. The cultural meaning and values of neglected churches, whose relationship with the general public is weaker, has become difficult to understand. On the other hand, although the structural integrity of the churches with new functions has been maintained, the preservation of their authentic values is questionable. The Turkish-Greek conflicts and the acceptance of ideologies centered on the Turkish-Islamic synthesis gained momentum in 20th century Turkey, with the rise of conservative political parties to power as well as the discriminatory attitudes in conservation practices, has failed to halt the ongoing destruction process that started with the loss of the communities.¹⁰ As a result, poor conservation management, neglect, limited physical and intellectual access to the *Rum* churches have led to the deterioration and subsequent loss of the buildings. Therefore, it is even more necessary to conserve the Mudanya *Rum* churches as a part of our multicultural heritage and as representative examples of the 19th century *Rum* churches in the Bithynia region, with the value they hold for a range of people. The lost and partially surviving churches should also be assessed for their educational value: they illustrate all too well the various conservation issues that could apply to any Greek church in Anatolia that has similarly lost its community.

¹⁰ Keyder 1987, 124.

1.2 Aim and Scope of the Thesis

The main objective of this thesis is to assess the 19th century *Rum* churches of Mudanya in Bursa, which share common conservation problems with many other *Rum* churches in Anatolia that have been deprived of their original users, and to provide a framework for conservation strategies. The values, opportunities and conservation challenges of the churches will be analysed in a balanced and holistic approach. In line with this analysis and the information collected, it lays a foundation for appropriate conservation strategies for the churches. The major issues related to the conservation of the Mudanya *Rum* churches are outlined above. In order to develop a sustainable conservation strategy, the approach should be based on the needs and specific characteristics (architectural, social, religious, economic) of the surviving building group. In addition to the remaining churches, the analysis of the values and threats of the partially surviving or completely lost churches will also be useful in creating conservation strategies as it is informative to understand the challenges that churches are exposed to and the consequences of these problems. Destroyed and partially surviving churches, about which information is only available from historical literature, cannot be physically assessed today, hence their values need to be studied in a separate manner.

Finally, the lack of awareness or neglect of the values in both the official and public spheres will be discussed and a framework for a better understanding of the heritage will be proposed. It is crucial to integrate international documents and charters and national legal framework as main guidelines. Assessment strategies that enable the conservation of the churches within their historical and their value for different groups will be utilised to preserve the authentic characteristic of the churches.

1.3 Methodology and Structure of the Thesis

Information on the subject has been collected from archival and literature research and also by on-site surveys. The thesis consists of two parts, the theoretical and

conceptual study and then the analysis and assessment of the case study. The literature research was conducted through various books, articles, theses, international charters and documents, national legislation and newspapers: it provides information for both parts.

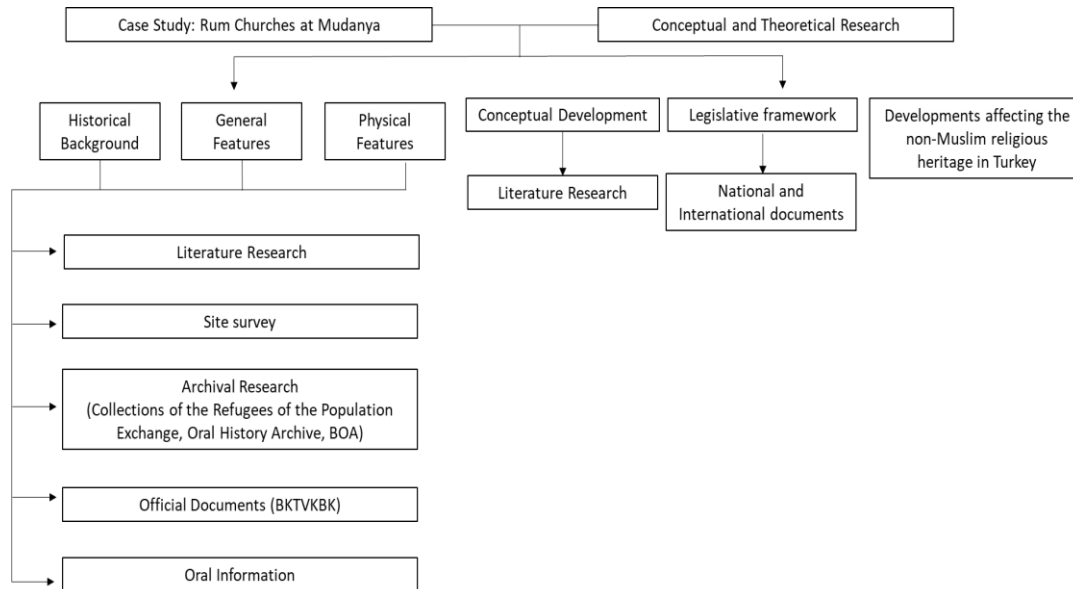


Figure 1.1. Chart illustrating the methodology of the thesis

The theoretical part of this study, Chapter 2, examines the relationship between identity, memory, and heritage while discussing how ideologies are centred on these concepts and conflicting values. This analysis provides insight into the major transformations of the non-Muslim religious buildings, which lost their communities with the Population Exchange, and the reasons that led to their neglect, which shaped the state they are in today. The examination of universal themes, international charters and documents, and legal regulations is critical for the assessment of the study group with a scientific and systematic approach.

Chapters 3 and 4 analyse and evaluate the *Rum* churches of Mudanya and discuss the values they carried for the Greeks and the impact of the transformations on the identity of the buildings. In the light of the information gathered from archival and literature research and on-site surveys, Chapters 3 analyses the historical, cultural, architectural, architectural, religious characteristics and the state of preservation of

the churches. In Chapter 4, the values of the churches, including those they had for the Greeks, are analysed following Feilden Jokilehton's value assessment model. Then the challenges and threats that prevent the proper conservation of the buildings are identified and the opportunities offered by the churches in relation to their surroundings and society analysed.

The archive of the Centre for Asia Minor Studies in Athens, one of the primary sources of information in these chapters, has contributed greatly to this study through oral history records of immigrants from the *Rum* villages of Mudanya. The records are in written format and the interviews were commonly conducted in the 1960s. In this study, the transcripts of interviews conducted with refugees from the city centre and five villages of Mudanya were used. The records provide information about settlements, social life, economic activities, important buildings and most importantly, religious life, churches, chapels and hagiomas. The Tirilye Community Council Records in the Collections of the Refugees of the Population Exchange in the Greek State Archives, especially the decisions on the churches, are also informative regarding the management and operation of the churches. The information of this source was obtained from the book 'Churches of Triglia' written by Makis Apostolos, a member of the Tirilye diaspora.

The book 'Türkiye'de Vakıf Anıtları ve Eski Eserler IV', which was prepared after a survey of foundation monuments from Bursa in 1983-84, presents descriptions, drawings and photographs of Mudanya, Dereköy and Aydınpınar churches. The dissertations of Mehmet Polat (2013) and Emel Yıldız (2014) on post-Byzantine Christian buildings located in Bursa and its environs contributed to this study. The risk analysis report of the Association for the Protection of Cultural Heritage (KMKD) provides information on the *Rum* churches in Aydınpınar and Dereköy. The report (2018) was prepared for the cultural heritage at risk in Bursa, for which a risk analysis was developed through archival research, site surveys and documentation with scientific methods.

In 2019, the master's thesis titled '19th Century Greek churches of Mudanya' written by Ersin Aydın from Uludağ University, department of art history, revealed the records related to the churches in the Presidency of the Republic of Turkey Ottoman Archives by translating them into Turkish. The Ottoman archive documents, such as Imperial orders, office books of ministries, tax records, and land registry books, in this study were accessed through Ersin Aydın's thesis.

The building documentation and other projects related to the churches are derived from the Municipality of Mudanya (Mudanya Belediyesi). Other official documents, such as registration decisions, restoration plans, buildings documentations and former images of the churches, were obtained from the Bursa Kültür Varlıklarını Koruma Bölge Kurulu (Bursa Regional Conservation Council of Cultural Properties).

The first field trip was carried out in September 2019 to clarify whether the buildings qualify to be a case study. On this trip, the churches in Mudanya, Aydınpınar, Dereköy and Tirilye were visited and they were determined as the subject of the study. In February 2020, the ruins of the Panagia Church in the village of Yalıçiftlik, which is difficult to access, were visited. In October 2020 and June 2021, more detailed surveys of the churches were carried out by taking detailed notes and photographs. During this visit, the Tirilye cemetery chapel, which had not been seen before as it lies inside a private property, was also visited. The architectural characteristics of the churches, their state of preservation and interaction with their surroundings were analysed. The survey gathered information about the plan layouts of the buildings, their construction techniques and materials, decorative elements, spatial organisation, later added elements, deterioration, missing architectural elements, transformation, deliberate destruction and changes made as a result of restoration. In addition, short interviews were conducted with senior villagers to obtain information about the history of the buildings and their settlements.

1.4 Challenges and Limitations

Due to Covid-19 restrictions, the Centre of Asia Minor Studies Archive in Athens was inaccessible for a long time. The oral interviews in the KMS archive were recorded in handwriting and only the photography of the scans on the computer screen was allowed. However, the digital transcription and translation of Greek handwriting are challenging. In addition, the information provided by different informants on a given subject did not completely match; thus, inconsistencies had to be analysed and contradictory statements had to be eliminated. Since the informants were generally born in the late 19th or early 20th century, they did not provide precise information about the construction dates of the churches. Apart from the Tirilye diaspora, no dialogue could be established with Greeks who migrated from other settlements. Very few photographs and documents could be found from the period when the churches were used as mosques.

The trees covering the interior of the abandoned churches and the walls covered by ivy plants have made the buildings almost inaccessible, complicating the study and documentation process of the buildings. The church of Hagios Georgios Ano in Tirilye is in private property and the doors were locked; the entrance was not possible. For this reason, a detailed study and photographic record of the building could not be made, and information about the interior had to be obtained from previous documentation. KMS records acknowledge the presence of *Rum* churches on the İmralı island, but it is not possible to obtain any information about the buildings on the island, which have been a high-security prison since 1935; thus, the current status of İmralı churches remains unknown. It has not been possible to access most of the hagiassmas mentioned in the archival records. The reasons for this are the difficulty of precisely locating the hagiassmas as they are in mountainous areas and forests and not being able to confirm which fountains inside the settlements are hagiassmas because of lack of information.

CHAPTER 2

ASSESSMENT OF THE *RUM* CHURCHES IN MUDANYA (BURSA) FOR THE PURPOSE OF CONSERVATION: A THEORETICAL AND LEGISLATIVE FRAMEWORK

The major sociological, political and physical challenges to the *Rum* churches of Mudanya began in 1922 when the Greek population left the city and its villages. In 1923, the Population Exchange between Greece and Turkey led to similar sociocultural and physical changes throughout Anatolia. In light of these events, concepts such as memory, cultural identity, national identity, religious nationalism and tolerance will be examined so as to have a better understanding of the situation that the churches find themselves in today. In addition to the review of the legal regulations in Turkey that are affecting these structures, international charters and documents will also be examined in order to understand issues of conservation in the context of universal themes such as multiculturalism, cultural diversity and minorities.

2.1 Concepts and Terms

In order to reevaluate and conserve the Greek churches of Mudanya, it is necessary to understand the 19th-century multicultural society, the tensions brought by this multiculturalism, the identity-centred policies implemented to maintain the social structure, the traumatic migration that took place in Mudanya after the Mudanya Armistice in 1922, the policies aimed at promoting the narratives of certain groups by making memory the main point of cultural life, and national/international preservation practices. Therefore, to start with, the notion of ‘cultural identity’ needs scrutiny, as it is both the subject and the topic of these events and circumstances.

Edward T. Hall states that cultural identity is a matter of 'becoming as well as of being'.¹¹ Cultural identities, like anything historical, have a past and are in a constant state of transformation. It is not an eternal fixed entity that transcends time and place. As Hall puts it, "It belongs to the future as much as to the past."¹² He states that identity is a representation of cultural values, and he defines identity as the name given to the various positions in which we find ourselves within the teachings of the past.¹³ Hall's definition of cultural identity as being a *position* and observations that cultural identity does not have an singular essence or a linear development from a fixed source raises the question of how cultural identity is formed. As Hall believes, cultural identities in diasporic communities are shaped by the axes of 'similarity and continuity' and 'change and rupture' that are operating simultaneously.¹⁴

John Gillis states that the concept of identity is linked to memory, and vice versa. A group's sense of sameness or collective identity is sustained through remembering and what is remembered forms identity. The fact that memory and identity are representations or reconstructions of the past shows that they are not objective values, but are rather subjective perceptions.¹⁵ Semantically, what memory is composed of is the meaning attached to memories and the ways in which they are expressed.¹⁶ Considering that memory is an active process of reproduction, it cannot be a stationery source of knowledge.¹⁷ Memory cannot remain fixed as it is at any point, since it is constantly being reconstructed with respect to the changing dynamics of the present. Although the act of remembering belongs to the individual, it is supported by other social and cultural resources which makes the memory a social construction.¹⁸ Maurice Halbwachs, who first introduced the concept of

¹¹ Hall 1990, p. 225.

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 225.

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 225.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 227.

¹⁵ Gillis 1994, p. 3.

¹⁶ Kaymak 2017, p. 128.

¹⁷ Portelli 1991, p. 23.

¹⁸ Kaymak 2017, p. 123.

‘collective memory’ in 1920, argues that there cannot be an individual memory truly separate from collective memory.¹⁹ Briefly, Halbwachs's main thesis was “We need others to remember”.²⁰ According to Jan Assmann, the manner of thinking introduced by Halbwachs can help us understand the concept of forgetting as well as remembering. As Assmann points out, if a society or an individual needs a framework of relationships to which they can relate in order to construct the past, things outside the framework of relationships will be forgotten.²¹ In a similar way, Gillis evaluates the act of remembering as the selection of our memories in reviewing them to fit our current identity.²² From this, it can be argued that identity and memory are selective. Thus they are seen as ‘useful’ by certain ideological approaches because they are based on an identification rather than a description. Considering the historical background of identity and memory, it is clear then that they are social and political structures.

Currently, Greeks residing in Greece and Turkey, although they have not directly witnessed nor been affected by the historical events due to their age, possess the ‘postmemory’ of selected trauma.²³ Marianne Hirsch's notion of ‘postmemory’ addresses this situation; according to this concept, trauma memory can be transferred to individuals who were not present at the time and place of the event, but the memory becomes a part of the collective identity of those individuals or a group by means of stories, behaviours, images and media within communities and families.²⁴

Rodney Harrison, on the other hand, argues that what modern societies need is not an acceptance of the past as a model in need of ‘salvage’, but a contemporary engagement with heritage as an ‘active production of the past’.²⁵ Rodney criticises

¹⁹ Halbwachs 1992, p. 22.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 22.

²¹ Assmann 2015, p. 40.

²² Gillis 1994, p. 3.

²³ Kaymak 2017, p. 168.

²⁴ Hirsch 2012, p. 5.

²⁵ Harrison 2012, p. 167.

the anxiety that memories might be forgotten, which attitude has become especially prevalent in the last decades, becoming almost an obsession.²⁶ The reason for this is the desire to manage and manipulate past antagonisms, injustices and inequities, as well as and as much as any positive events.²⁷ In a similar way, Christian Meier believes that remembering negative events does not prevent the repetition of destructive history; in fact, acts of remembrance keep the destructive forces of the past alive.²⁸ Both remembering and forgetting can lead to healing or damaging outcomes, depending on the historical background and, most importantly, the general timbre of cultural values: as Aleida Assmann remarks in drawing attention to the transformative and integrative power of memory.²⁹ The 'reconciliatory process of forgetting' can only work under certain conditions, and this process needs to be mutually recognised and acknowledged by all parties concerned, those who are the actors and subjects of the destructive events.³⁰

The notion of 'national identity' has become an influential component in national and international relations, starting with the French Revolution and continuing with the American Revolution and into World War II.³¹ In the 19th century, with the rise of nationalism, the attachment to national heritage was strengthened and serious actions were taken to protect it because heritage became a symbol of national identity.³² Regarding the validation of identity and solidarity that claims of blood ties engendered, the metaphorical ancestral bond as expressed through heritage plays an important role in the self-determination of ethnic groups.³³ Given the influence of heritage in the development of national identity and state legitimacy, traditional

²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 168.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 168.

²⁸ Meier 2010, p. 81.

²⁹ Assmann 2012, p.57.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, p.67.

³¹ Gillis 1994, p. 4-5.

³² Lowenthal 1994, p. 45.

³³ *Ibid.*, p. 44.

studies on heritage have unsurprisingly focused on the relationship between nationalism and heritage.³⁴

When the past is commemorated, the grandiose aspects of history are usually those celebrated, and the particular choice of certain symbols is also an indirect way for communities to elevate themselves.³⁵ According to David Lowenthal, national heritage, in which our own shared values are embodied, emphasises a developed and lofty self-image.³⁶ The circumstances in which we glorify our own legacies and dismiss the values of others are ones prone to generate hostility and antagonism. The selective narratives privilege the national identity of one group while being in conflict with the legacies of another group. This can be expressed in two ways, according to Lowenthal: the first is by emphasising values that conflict with those of the other group, whilst ignoring their own values; the second is in hostility, which arises particularly from claiming symbols of common heritage.³⁷

İlhan Tekeli points out that the limited resources allocated to conservation also play an important role in choosing which past to preserve – depending on the purpose it serves.³⁸ Thus, it can be said that although conceptually there is no problem in conserving anything, in practice the prioritisation of certain groups is again a political choice. One of the conservation approaches he specifies is selecting the symbols of the past in order to construct a national identity and then utilising this particular past in favour of the ideology that is being constructed (a sort of circular argument).³⁹ İlhan Tekeli claims that the approach centred on the Turkish-Islamic synthesis, which gained momentum after the coup d'état of September 12 1980, exemplifies this concept of conservation.⁴⁰ He also states that the glorified past,

³⁴ De Cesari 2012, p. 155.

³⁵ Lowenthal 1994, p. 46.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 41.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 51.

³⁸ Tekeli 1988, p. 22.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 20.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 20.

which did not really exist in any period, is a product especially tailored to remove any flaws.⁴¹ Under the control of state ideology, heritage production may involve very limited examples of what is available to the nation in order to realise the hegemonic practices of dominant groups.⁴²

‘Antagonistic tolerance’ is a concept that requires investigation in the scope of this research: this is an attitude that the adaptation of a society to the rise of nationalism and religious nationalism can engender. The notion of tolerance was an almost inevitable outcome of the multicultural social structure of Anatolia, particularly in the Ottoman period. Currently, although the social structure has undergone great changes, the concept of tolerance yet maintains its importance as a result of identity-centred politics rising during the 19th century. In religious nationalist political movements, members of other religions are viewed as members of other nations, and as such they can only seek ‘sovereignty’ by paradoxically becoming subjects in a state belonging to the other community.⁴³ As a response to the rise of political parties advocating the idea of religious nationalism, academic interest in the notion of ‘tolerance’ has increased.

The idea of ‘antagonistic tolerance’ was introduced by the anthropologist and sociologist Robert M. Hayden. As Hayden points out, tolerance towards the recognition and respect of differences is particularly evident in the manifestation of syncretism in physical spaces.⁴⁴ However, if these spaces are studied in detail, it is apparent that an antagonistic tolerance has been developed as an adaptation to competition between groups and the oppression of one group by another.⁴⁵ Hayden

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, p. 20.

⁴² De Cesari 2012, p. 155.

⁴³ Hayden 2002, p. 204.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 219.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 219.

argues that it is simply a pragmatic bias to consider tolerance as a positive moral attitude as a result of coexistence.⁴⁶

The observations of Frederick W. Hasluck on the attitudes of the Turkish community towards Christian holy sites support Hayden's arguments that tolerance is not a simple moral act. Hasluck explains that the Turks had approached the 'magical' aspect of Christianity in two ways.⁴⁷ The first approach is that Christian rituals possess the ability to bring out antagonistic supernatural powers that can harm Muslims. For example, churches could possess anti-Muslim Christian magic, and a cross could be part of this hostile magic. The second approach is that supernatural powers, as a result of Christian religious rituals, can actually help to protect Muslims. For example, the baptism of Muslim children can be protective, or wearing religious charms can provide healing effects. Similarly, a proper approach to the potentially hostile spirits of the church can prevent the potential danger of the same spirits, even if it does not bring benefits. The second approach shows that it is not the age or the physical characteristics of the Christian religious place, the special religious images or the crosses (although neither are welcomed in theory) that influence the Turkish visitors of Christian holy sites.⁴⁸ Hasluck clarifies the utilitarian approach as follows:

Practically any of the religions of Turkey may share the use of a sanctuary administered by another if this sanctuary has a sufficient reputation for beneficent miracles, among which miracles of healing play a predominant part.⁴⁹

According to Hayden's observations on multicultural societies, especially postcolonial communities, the culture of tolerance must be embedded in society by the authorities.⁵⁰ Otherwise, in the cases left to the consent of the majority, it is seen that the religious territories of minority groups are interfered with and their traditions

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 205.

⁴⁷ Hasluck 1929, p. 63.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 68–69.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 68.

⁵⁰ Hayden 2002, p. 219.

are ‘disappeared’. When groups are defined on the basis of differences, social identities such as religious beliefs and symbols such as religious structures became politically charged.⁵¹ Electoral activities organised to mobilise the majority group through emphasising differences may well result in shutting out the minority and in actively destroying the symbols of these groups.⁵²

The connection of memory and identity with history can be understood through various ways of commemoration. As a political and social practice, commemoration, although it may seem reconciliatory, can be the result of processes of contestation, struggle and destruction.⁵³ These conflicts are not limited to the relations between states but also extend to the political space and community.⁵⁴ According to Lowenthal, nations, like individuals, need to recognise that their heritage does not come from a single source but from many different pasts.⁵⁵ The source of national heritage emerges from the interrelationship of identities within us, including contradictory ones.

2.2 International Charters and Documents

The principles for the conservation and presentation of religious sites that are left outside their original cultural contexts and without their communities, remain vague because of changing priorities and subjective assessments. However, due to the globalising nature of contemporary international heritage debates, it can be seen that heritage issues around the world may in fact, be highly similar and have much in common. This provides a more universal approach to conservation issues on common ground.⁵⁶ For that reason, international charters, declarations and

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, p. 219.

⁵² *Ibid.*, p. 219.

⁵³ Gillis 1993, p. 5.

⁵⁴ Lowenthal 1994, p. 54.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 5.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 52.

resolutions concerning this study should be investigated to analyse attitudes and controversial approaches to multicultural heritage.

‘The International Charter for the Protection of Monuments and Sites’, commonly known as the Venice Charter (1964), adopted by the International Council on Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS), established a model for international conservation practices. The Venice Charter is a milestone in conservation studies as it broadened the scope of the ‘monument’ definition.⁵⁷ The notion of monument, developed by the Venice Charter and as explained in Article 1, incorporates not only architectural or artistic assets that are considered superior but also objects of cultural and artistic value and historical evidence (Article 3).⁵⁸ The Venice Charter, which is based on a Eurocentric perspective, lacks to include intangible values or non-structural but evidential and tangible assets.⁵⁹

The Burra Charter (1999), amended by the Australian ICOMOS International Council on Monuments and Sites, is a comprehensive resource on the theme of ‘cultural significance’.⁶⁰ ‘The Burra Charter for Places of Cultural Significance’ recognises intangible values such as meaning, use and association whilst addressing cultural diversity issues and conflicting values.⁶¹ The Charter also addresses the lawful rights and interests of individuals who share a special connection to a place.⁶² Article 1.2 provides a much broader and more inclusive perspective on both values and individual approaches:

Cultural significance means aesthetic, historic, scientific, social or spiritual value for past, present or future generations. Cultural significance is embodied in the place itself, its fabric, setting, use, associations, meanings,

⁵⁷ ICOMOS 1964.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 1–2.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 1.

⁶⁰ ICOMOS 1999.

⁶¹ Truscott 2004, pp. 30–34

⁶² *Ibid.*, pp. 30–34

records, related places and related objects. Places may have a range of values for different individuals or groups.⁶³

The Charter emphasises that 'various individuals or groups' may exhibit different values relating to the same place. It highlights the relationship between people and places through their connections and meanings.⁶⁴ The Charter is highly appreciated for its success in adapting to shifting heritage concepts, economic and political situations and varying contexts.⁶⁵

The Burra Charter and the Nara Authenticity Document are some of the international frameworks that illustrate how policy has influenced heritage conservation over time.⁶⁶ The Burra Charter emphasised the role of a context-specific awareness of 'cultural significance' in national policies and acknowledged the importance of community participation in decision-making.⁶⁷ The Nara Document recognised a flexible and dynamic concept of authenticity and allowed non-Western cultures to express their own perspectives. The Nara Document on Authenticity (1994) analyses the issues of cultural diversity and values with a particular emphasis on authenticity. Article 8 underlines the significance of cultural heritage as a shared entity while acknowledges the responsibilities of both the ethnic group that created the cultural heritage and those who look after it. The article reads as follows:

It is important to underline a fundamental principle of UNESCO, to the effect that the cultural heritage of each is the cultural heritage of all. Responsibility for cultural heritage and the management of it belongs, in the first place, to the cultural community that has generated it and, subsequently, to that which cares for it.⁶⁸

As stated in the article 13, in order to assess the authenticity of a heritage, it is first necessary to understand the sources of information:

⁶³ ICOMOS 1999, pp. 1–2.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 2–3.

⁶⁵ Mackay 2019, p. 110.

⁶⁶ Avrami and Mason 2019, p. 17.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 18.

⁶⁸ ICOMOS 1994, p. 1.

Depending on the nature of the cultural heritage, its cultural context, and its evolution through time, authenticity judgements may be linked to the worth of a great variety of sources of information. Aspects of the sources may include form and design, materials and substance, use and function, traditions and techniques, location and setting, spirit and feeling, and other internal and external factors. The use of these sources permits the elaboration of the specific artistic, historic, social, and scientific dimensions of the cultural heritage being examined.⁶⁹

The Diversity of Cultural Expressions Convention (2005) was centred on the role of cultural diversity. As emphasized in the Convention, an important factor that characterises humanity is cultural diversity, which enriches the societies and encourages sustainable development.⁷⁰ The notions of ‘cultural diversity’ and ‘cultural expression’ are described in the article 4 of the Convention:

‘Cultural diversity’ refers to the manifold ways in which the cultures of groups and societies find expression. These expressions are passed on within and among groups and societies.⁷¹

Cultural diversity is made manifest not only through the varied ways in which the cultural heritage of humanity is expressed, augmented and transmitted through the variety of cultural expressions, but also through diverse modes of artistic creation, production, dissemination, distribution and enjoyment, whatever the means and technologies used.⁷²

The Framework Convention on the Value of Cultural Heritage for Society also known as the Faro Convention (2005), prepared by the Council of Europe, is distinctive in its evaluation of values and its definition of cultural heritage by placing people and human values at the centre. This convention promotes intercultural and interreligious dialogue as it is more dynamic, engaging and equitable in its approach to the values of each culture.⁷³ The Article 2 defines the convention's definition of 'cultural heritage' as follows:

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 2.

⁷⁰ UNESCO 2005a, p. 4.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, p. 4.

⁷² *Ibid.*, p. 4.

⁷³ Council of Europe 2005, p. 1.

Cultural heritage is a group of resources inherited from the past which people identify, independently of ownership, as a reflection and expression of their constantly evolving values, beliefs, knowledge and traditions. It includes all aspects of the environment resulting from the interaction between people and places through time.⁷⁴

The Québec Declaration on the Preservation of the Spirit of Place (2008) reviewed the notion of 'spirit of place': an abstract concept whereby the tangible and intangible components of any place combine to produce the particular atmosphere and ambiance that make it unique .. its spirit..⁷⁵ This Declaration promotes a conservation strategy that is a more people-centred approach. As stated in the declaration: “Especially intangible cultural heritage makes a place more meaningful and rich; thus, intangible cultural heritage must be considered more critically.”⁷⁶

The New Zealand Charter (2010) sought to develop a framework for the conservation of cultural heritage values belonging to both the recent settlers and indigenous communities of the nation. The charter recognises that the utilisation of a place is significant for determining the values embedded in a cultural heritage.⁷⁷

The Delhi Declaration on Heritage and Democracy (2017) also targeted a sustainable development in a people-based approach. The acknowledgement of all cultures and their heritage is a matter of democracy and human rights, therefore mutual recognition of diversity, plurality, rights and duties of communities is necessary to maintain peaceful coexistence.⁷⁸ The declaration is also very pertinent to this study as it addresses the threats such as neglect, deliberate destruction, deterioration and improper management, as well as acknowledging serious events such as human migration.⁷⁹

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 2.

⁷⁵ ICOMOS 2008.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*

⁷⁷ ICOMOS 2010.

⁷⁸ ICOMOS 2017.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*

The study of cultural heritage involves social and scientific factors that are essential throughout the entire process. While subjective evaluations and assumptions regarding past civilizations are expected, the scientific approach must remain impartial and free of discriminatory beliefs or personal experiences. However, it must be noted that cultural, economic, ideological or religious influences may affect assessment, decisions, or conservation practices in certain situations. To address these problems, it is necessary to safeguard the existence of multicultural heritage sites and to develop a more inclusive approach to the remains of different civilisations, as stressed in various charters and recommendations. From this perspective, it will be possible to analyse the ongoing debates in Turkey and to gain a more comprehensive understanding of attitudes towards the *Rum* religious heritage.

2.3 National Heritage Policies and Regulations

2.3.1 Tanzimat Edict and Policies of the Ottoman Period

The concern for the survival of Greek churches and their maintenance significantly increased after the conquest of Istanbul.⁸⁰ If a land was taken over peacefully, a church and similar buildings were left as they were but new ones could not be built.⁸¹ However, completely demolished churches could be rebuilt as long as they were identical to the old ones. For this, the Christian communities had to take the permission of the Sultan first and then start construction when the Sultan declared the edict.⁸² The *Vakıf* (Foundation) institutions were crucial for the maintenance of cultural properties during the Ottoman period. The regulations allowed for regular

⁸⁰ Sönmez Pulat 2020, p. 59.

⁸¹ Alemdar 2012, p. 26.

⁸² Soykan 2000, pp. 147-149.

maintenance to ensure the survival of buildings, but did not give permission to extensive restoration unless the building is severely damaged after a disaster.⁸³

During the reign of Sultan Mahmud II (1808-1839), important initiatives were taken towards the equality and freedom of non-Muslim societies. The *Tanzimat* Edict (Imperial Edict of Gülhane), declared on November 3, 1839, opened a new era in the political and social history of the Ottoman Empire. Modernisation movements were reflected in the daily life of society and the Christians were allowed to build new churches. The restriction on maintenance work was lifted, and the requirement of a sultan's edict for repairs was abolished.⁸⁴ Before the Imperial Edict of Gülhane, the churches could not carry distinguishing signs, decorations or crosses on the exterior of the building and could not build domes.⁸⁵ Non-Muslim religious buildings could only be repaired with old and used materials.

The results of the *Tanzimat* Edict were consolidated with the *Islahat* Edict (Royal Edict of Reform) declared on February 18, 1856.⁸⁶ The *Islahat* Edict also facilitated the repair of religious and other properties of non-Muslims, such as churches, schools, hospitals and cemeteries. Accordingly, the obligation to obtain permission from the sultan for the repair of churches was abolished; the permission of the *Babiali* was sufficient for churches to be rebuilt.⁸⁷

The *Tanzimat* edict claimed to unite all Ottoman citizens under the label of *millet* and envisioned security and justice for all, adopting the principle of inviolability of life, race, and property for non-Muslims.⁸⁸ The notion of *millet*, which means 'nation' in modern Turkish, originally referred to the identification of communities in terms of religion.⁸⁹ The objective of the *millet* system was to treat non-Muslims

⁸³ Madran 2004, p. 37.

⁸⁴ Alemdar 2012, p. 77.

⁸⁵ Karaca 2008, p. 40.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 52.

⁸⁷ Bozkurt 1996, pp. 44-49.

⁸⁸ Tanör, 1998, p. 75.

⁸⁹ Braude 2014, p. 15.

as it was based on their religious communities rather than them as individuals. In the course of administration through the *millet* system, a tolerance to foster coexistence was the main reason behind the continuity of religious and ethnic diversity and the maintenance of religious, cultural and social identities.⁹⁰ The *millet* system is an example of antagonistic tolerance, as the strict regulations imposed on non-Muslim communities and architectural practices, discussed above, allowed a certain degree of religious and cultural freedom, while simultaneously preserving the Muslim dominant hierarchical power structure.

⁹⁰ Çapar 2018, pp. 1–2.

Table 2.1 Data on non-Muslim buildings in Ottoman lands which were built or repaired between January 1856 and April 1867 (Sönmez Pulat 2020, p. 64).

	Metropolitan, hospital, clergy house, bath building construction	Repair and enlarging of schools	School construction From scratch	Repair and enlarging of churches or similar types of buildings	Church or similar type construction from scratch
<i>Rum</i>	3	15	24	804	725
Armenian	1	8	11	31	44
Catholic	1	1	2	6	35
Jewish	1	-	2	6	35
Bulgarian	-	-	1	1	24
Kazakh	-	-	-	4	5
Protestant	-	-	2	2	11
Latin	1	-	1	13	18
Chaldean, Assyrian, Yakubî	-	-	1	1	8
Frank	-	-	-	-	4
Moldovian Liyivian, Ulah	-	-	-	-	4
Total	7	24	50	870	886

The *Tanzimat* Edict started the institutionalisation of the restoration and the development of legal regulations in the field of conservation in the 19th century, as explained above. Even so, the first provision regarding the values that we define as cultural and natural assets today was laid down in the Ottoman period legislation with the *Ceza Kanunname-i Humayun* in 1858, which decreed punishment for vandalism towards historic assets.⁹¹ Later, the *Asar-ı Atika Nizamname* (Ancient Monuments Legislation), established in 1869, 1874, 1883 and 1884, was directly focused on monuments and categorised ancient monuments as state property. However, the definition of ‘old’ was only restricted to the period before the Ottoman Empire and the rules did not cover the protection of immovable cultural assets. The latest *Asar-ı Atika Nizamname*, which was in force from 1906 until 1973, set more detailed rules and regulations on such immovable properties. The 1906 decree defined both movable and immovable artefacts belonging to pre-Islamic cultures in the Ottoman lands as *asar-ı atika* as well as those from the Ottoman period.⁹²

2.3.2 Policies in the Early Republican Period of Turkey

On July 24, 1923, following the Lausanne Peace Treaty, the three largest 'minority' groups (Greeks, Jews, and Armenians) were legally declared as 'minorities'. The Population Exchange between Turkey and Greece on January 30, 1923, was an important event that led to the Greek migration from Anatolia. Approximately 1.2 million *Rums* had to leave their homes, while 450,000 to 500,000 Turks were relocated to Anatolia.⁹³

The Law of Resettlement and Exchange was enacted on November 8, 1923, to settle the immigrants who came after 1923.⁹⁴ The new settlements were designated

⁹¹ Madran 2010, p. 18.

⁹² Sarıkaya Levent 2009, pp. 62-68.

⁹³ Arı 2012, p. 53.

⁹⁴ Sarıkaya Levent 2009, pp. 62-68.

according to the livelihoods and status of the immigrants.⁹⁵ The state had to give each family a house suitable for their inhabitant numbers, their social life, and a shop or vineyard/garden/land according to their occupation.⁹⁶ However, in the period between the Greeks leaving Mudanya and the arrival of the Turkish immigrants, many buildings were subjected to unauthorised occupation by local people and the immigrants were left 'homeless' for a long time.⁹⁷ Such problems in the resettlement process and the lack of housing may be the contributing factors to some churches being registered as private property after the Population Exchange.⁹⁸

Starting from 1923, in addition to the modernisation program supported by the state, a number of political and economic restrictive measures for 'minorities' were introduced. The Property Tax of 1942, which is regarded as the last and most significant regulation that restricted non-Muslims' rights to engage in commercial activity, was one of the mentioned financial measures.⁹⁹

Following the 1950 elections and the election of the conservative Democratic Party to the presidency, Turkey's single-party administration was brought to an end, marking one of the country's significant turning points.¹⁰⁰ A significant urban transformation was started by the DP Government, particularly in Istanbul, in an attempt to promote their conservative views. Despite encouraging the narrative of protecting the heritage previously harmed and obstructed, the purpose of this

⁹⁵ Kaya 2017, p.77.

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, p.178.

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, p.152.

⁹⁸ The congressman Erol Dora from the 25/1 parliamentary season directed a parliamentary question to the Minister of Culture and Tourism Ömer Çelik, on 13.07.2015. The letter concerned the Hagios Ioannes Church in Tirilye and the Syriac Mor Yuhanna Church in Mardin, both of which were available for sale. The congressman asked how the sale would be controlled, observing that these buildings are privately owned and asking if the churches will be returned to the original owners. However, the letter was dismissed since the legislative year had already ended: URL 21.

⁹⁹ Bali 2005, p. 424.

¹⁰⁰ Keyder 1987, 124.

transformation was to strengthen the connection to the Ottoman past while spreading conservative Islamist ideology into the built environment.¹⁰¹

In the 1950s, the Cyprus Issue particularly shaped the trajectory of Turkish-Greek relations. After the emergence of this situation in the early 1950s, the Turkish-Greek negotiations initiated by Atatürk and Venizelos started to break down.¹⁰² The events of September 6-7, 1955, in Istanbul, directed towards the non-Muslim community, were the outcome of all these developments.¹⁰³ Near the end of 1963, the tension that had existed between Turkish and Greek Cypriots since the 1950s rose once more. The call for military intervention in Cyprus emerged following threats and violence against the Turkish community there.¹⁰⁴ The *Rum* population of Istanbul left, as a result of Turkey's unilateral abandonment of the Convention of Establishment, Commerce and Navigation (1930) between Greece and Turkey on March 16, 1964.¹⁰⁵ Following these events, the 1974 Cyprus Peace Operation made Turkish-Greek relations even worse.¹⁰⁶

The September 12 *coup d'état* in 1980 has greatly influenced the course of Turkey's history and paved the way for right-wing movements. The political approach of the period, which promoted the Turkish-Islamic synthesis, aimed to smooth its way by mobilising and uniting the people on the basis of Turkish national identity.¹⁰⁷ Following the increase in the number of mosque constructions in the country in the 1980s, the churches that had been converted to mosques were abandoned.¹⁰⁸ This was also the case for the churches in Mudanya and its villages. A statistical analysis on the number of mosques in Turkey, conducted by Yusuf Ziya Özcan, shows a

¹⁰¹ Altınyıldız 2007, 295.

¹⁰² Kaymak 2017, p. 80.

¹⁰³ *Ibid.*, p. 80.

¹⁰⁴ Aktoprak 2010, p. 40.

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 40.

¹⁰⁶ Kaymak 2017, p. 80.

¹⁰⁷ Özyürek 2019, 3.

¹⁰⁸ The churches in Aydınpinar, Dereköy, and Yalçıftlık were used as mosques by the villagers but they were left after the construction of new mosques. This was a major event, contributing to the dilapidation process of the churches.

remarkable increase between 1981-1988.¹⁰⁹ While the population increased by 20% between 1981 and 1988, the number of mosques increased by 32%.¹¹⁰ The number of mosques per 100,000 inhabitants showed a significant increase in 1987. This may also be a result of the campaigns carried for the 1987 elections.¹¹¹

In 1983, with the election of the Anavatan Party (Motherland Party), political Islam continued its rise. During the 1980s, the public was exercised about increasing corruption and injustice, which led to the election of the Refah Party (Welfare Party) in 1991.¹¹² They utilised the programme of 'Adil Düzen' (Just Order), an Islamist ideology that criticised capitalism and liberalism.¹¹³ Ideologically, Refah Party is not fundamentally different from its predecessors in terms of its identity-based approach, but it promotes the Muslim Ottoman character as the main and authentic identity of Turkey by addressing Islam not only as a belief but also as a culture.¹¹⁴

Based on a similar programme, the AK Party (Justice and Development Party) came to power in 2002. AKP's agenda was different in so far as it pursued a strategy of economic and political liberalism on the basis of conservative values, national identity and national culture.¹¹⁵ However, the 1999 Helsinki Summit altered the approach towards ethnic, cultural, and religious division, encouraging a shift away from a conservative and nationalistic attitude towards a dialogue on diversity.¹¹⁶ This attitude change fostered a more inclusive and tolerant approach towards other cultures in Turkey. In the initial years of the governance of the AKP, the party demonstrated a progressive stance, as Turkey aimed to join the European Union

¹⁰⁹ Özcan 1990, pp. 21-22.

¹¹⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 21-22.

¹¹¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 21-22.

¹¹² Çınar *et al.* 2011, p. 533.

¹¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 536.

¹¹⁴ Çınar 2005, p. 12.

¹¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 12.

¹¹⁶ Kaya, 2005, pp. 56–57.

during its administration.¹¹⁷ However, AKP returned to its nationalist and conservative position later.

Hagia Sophia, a UNESCO World Heritage Site and a part of Istanbul's Historic Areas used to be placed in the status of a museum from 1934 until 2020.¹¹⁸ On July 2, 2020, with the decision of the Turkish authorities, and without any prior dialogue, the status was changed and the museum was turned into a mosque.¹¹⁹ This change is a symbolically powerful act for the AKP's nationalist and Islamist conservative base. The whole dispute is portrayed as a neo-Ottomanist narrative of conquest alongside a claim to national sovereignty. The 'restoration' works which followed the process of transformation were practices that attempted to conquer a demagogic battle.¹²⁰ The conversion of the other Hagia Sophias in Iznik and Trabzon into mosques after being used as museums for years are examples of similar practices to the same end.

2.3.3 Non-Muslim Foundations and Their Current Legal and Administrative Status

After the establishment of the Turkish Republic, the foundations of the non-Muslim communities obtained rights to 'community (*cemaat*) foundation' status under the Law no. 2762, which came into force in December 1935.¹²¹ In 1936, foundations were registered and recorded in the archives of the General Directorate of Pious Foundations with the declarations they submitted. Consequently, these community-based nonprofit organisations are recognised as *Vakıf*. With the permission of the 'Foundations Council', community foundations could purchase real estate and dispose of their real estates by renting, construction etc. The documents submitted

¹¹⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 56–57.

¹¹⁸ By the order of the Council of Ministers with the Decision no. 2/1589 on 24 November 1934: CDA, 24.11.1934-4979.06./30.18.1.2.

¹¹⁹ URL 31.

¹²⁰ Aykaç 2019, p. 2.

¹²¹ T.C. Resmî Gazete, 13.6.1935-3027.

by the communities were not used and were ignored in the period following Atatürk's death. In the political atmosphere of tension arising from the Cyprus problem, the issue of these documents against non-Muslims was brought up in the agenda again.¹²² As a result, with the decision of the Presidency of the Supreme Court in 1971, the properties of foundations acquired by any means after 1936 were confiscated until Turkey's commitment to the EU accession process, which was initiated in 2002.¹²³

A very significant problem that non-Muslim foundations are facing is the legal entity issue due General Directorate of Pious Foundations recognising the non-Muslim foundations as 'fused (*mazbut*)' foundations. The 1935 Law on Foundations is again responsible for this problem, in which the community foundations were initially recognised as 'annexed (*mülhak*)' foundations.¹²⁴ However, they were removed from this status and the twenty-four *Rum* community foundations were recognised as *mazbut* while hundreds of assets were confiscated and transferred to the ownership of the national treasury.¹²⁵ As of October 26, 2007, nearly a thousand properties belonging to eighty-one foundations of the Greek Orthodox community had been confiscated.¹²⁶

The General Directorate of Pious Foundations supervises *cemaat* foundations like other foundations of Turkey with the Law no. 5737, the Foundations Law (*Vakıflar Kanunu*).¹²⁷ According to Article 28 of the Foundations Law, the General Directorate is responsible for the identification, registration, inventory, repair, restoration,

¹²² Akgönül 2007, p. 319.

¹²³ Oran 2010, p. 104; Akgönül 2007, p. 113.

¹²⁴ General Directorate of Pious Foundations defines '*mülhak*' foundations as the foundations established before the adoption of the Turkish Civil Law no. 743 (abolished in 1926) and the administration of which is assigned to the descendants: T.C. Resmî Gazete, 27.09.2008-27010, Article 3.

¹²⁵ Kurban and Tsitselikis 2010, p. 17.

¹²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 107.

¹²⁷ T.C. Resmî Gazete, 20.2.2008-5737.

protection, and reconstruction of movable and immovable cultural assets owned by foundations in Turkey and abroad.¹²⁸

2.3.4 National Legal Framework

In the frame of this thesis, it is also necessary to look at the present setting of Turkey, the legislation on cultural heritage, and the associated terminology to understand how the cultural heritage of former civilisations is being managed and valued. It is crucial to establish the nature of any conservation concepts centred around international charters and legal frameworks, as well as critical and analytical methodologies and procedures for cultural heritage, in order to have a comprehensive understanding of them.

The foundations of conservation work in the modern sense were laid in the Republican period by the High Council of Immovable Antiquities and Monuments (GEEAYK), which was established in the Law no. 5805 enacted in 1951. GEEAYK was responsible for the protection of monuments with architectural and historical features and other immovable antiquities; it determined principles to be followed in maintenance works and programmes; at the same time, it functioned as a centralised body charged with supervision, monitoring the implementation of the principles and programmes.¹²⁹

The Turkish Republic's first legal regulation on heritage preservation is the Law no. 1710, Antiquities Act (*Eski Eserler Kanunu*) which was brought into force in 1973 by GEEAYK.¹³⁰ This regulation introduced the concept of 'site' and promoted the preservation of buildings together with their physical context. The process of cultural heritage preservation, starting with listing and inventory, was laid out and clarified

¹²⁸ T.C. Resmî Gazete, 20.2.2008-5737, Article 28.

¹²⁹ Sarıkaya Levent 2009, p. 63.

¹³⁰ T.C. Resmî Gazete, 06.05.1973 –14527.

in detail. Ancient Monuments and Sites Act remained in force for ten years until the Law no. 2863, Conservation of Cultural and National Property, in 1983.

The most important change incorporated in the Law no. 2863 on Conservation of Cultural and Natural Property (*Kültür ve Tabiat Varlıklarını Koruma Kanunu*) is the transition from the definition of 'antiquities' to 'cultural and natural properties', as recognised by international conservation organisations.¹³¹ The definition of cultural property was legally introduced for the first time with the Law no. 2863 of 1983.¹³² Another major change was the replacement of the central committee of GEEAYK and the establishment of the High Council for the Conservation of Cultural and Natural Heritage (*Kültür ve Tabiat Varlıklarını Koruma Yüksek Kurulu/ KTVKYK*). While KTVKYK is in charge of establishing principles, all authority related to decision-making, implementation and supervision at the local level was assigned to local conservation boards, which also included representatives from the local administration, provided that they had implemented the preliminary decisions of KTVKYK. With the Decision no. 3386, municipalities shared the authority and responsibility with KTVKYK at the implementation stage, since KTVKYK did not have the resources sufficient to monitor all the executions of these decisions, even though such decisions involved both single-buildings and whole sites.¹³³

According to Article 6b of the Law no. 2863, natural and immovable properties created before the late 19th century are to be protected by legislation.¹³⁴ In the same article, the places of worship, regardless of religion, are examples of immovable cultural property, such as: “mosques, masjids, *tekkes* (dervish lodges) and *zaviyahs*, cemeteries, *hazires* (graveyards), synagogues, basilicas, churches, monasteries, *külliyeler*”.¹³⁵

¹³¹ T.C. Resmi Gazete, 23.07.1983–18113.

¹³² Sarıkaya Levent 2009, p. 64.

¹³³ T.C. Resmi Gazete, 17.6.1987–3386, Article 51.

¹³⁴ T.C. Resmi Gazete, 23.07.1983, Article 6.

¹³⁵ T.C. Resmi Gazete, 17.6.1987 – 3386.

The first step of the conservation process is the designation of the values that should be protected, as stated in Article 7 of the Law no. 2863; this identification takes into account the history, art, region and other characteristics of the cultural and natural property.¹³⁶ Then, these values are listed by being formally registered with KTVKYK, and so the immovable property gains qualification as a cultural property.

In 1989, Turkey adopted the Convention for the Protection of the Architectural Heritage of Europe (*Avrupa Mimari Mirasının Korunması Sözleşmesi*) under the Law no. 3534. The convention's fundamental objective is to enhance and promote strategies for the conservation and development of Europe's cultural heritage.¹³⁷ It explains which properties are to be protected, defining statutory protection procedures, ancillary measures, sanctions, conservation policies, participators and associations, information and training regarding cultural heritage conservation.

The Law no. 5226, which came into force in 2004, updated the Law no. 2863, dealing with the protection of natural and cultural assets. This amendment complied with the legal obligations established by international agreements.¹³⁸ The safeguarding and maintenance of significant natural and cultural sites is the responsibility of metropolitan municipalities, according to Article 7 of the Law no. 5226. They are assigned to coordinate with other organizations, such as district administrations, municipalities, both public and private entities and to allocate funds for conservation. The projects are to be carried out in compliance with the Law no. 4734 on Public Tender Act (*Kamu İhale Kanunu*).¹³⁹ While, the Special Provincial Administrations (*İl Özel İdareleri*) made decisions, implemented and regulated services, established project organisations for documentation, restitution, and restoration projects, and

¹³⁶ *Ibid.*

¹³⁷ T.C. Resmî Gazete, 22.07.1989 – 20229.

¹³⁸ T.C. Resmî Gazete, 27.07.2004 – 25535.

¹³⁹ T.C. Resmi Gazete, 04.01.2002 – 24648.

were in charge of providing cultural and tourism services both inside as well as outside the boundaries of the municipality regions.¹⁴⁰

According to Article 10 of the Law no. 5226, if deemed appropriate by the Ministry of Culture and Tourism, it was possible for the General Directorate for Pious Foundations, special provincial administrations, municipalities and other public institutions and organisations to assist the owners, if necessary, in conserving, maintaining and repairing the immovable cultural and natural property with technical expertise and allocation from their funds.¹⁴¹ Moreover, Article 13 set out the framework of the rules and restrictions on the transfer of registered immovable cultural and natural property, while Article 14 regulated the usage terms of cultural and natural properties could be put to.¹⁴²

The regulation enacted in 2005, ‘Regulation on the Principles of Building and Control of Immovable Cultural Property to be Protected’ (*Korunması Gerekli Taşınmaz Kültür Varlıklarının Yapı Esasları ve Denetimine Dair Yönetmelik*), explains the responsibilities of local administrations and responsibilities for project supervision.¹⁴³ The goal was to set up the guidelines for identifying, maintaining, repairing and immovable cultural property that is to be conserved, as well as to control the guidelines for projects and their execution with regard to buildings or other structures.¹⁴⁴ In this regulation, provisions on a range of topics concerning immovable cultural properties are introduced, such as ‘buildings at risk of collapse’, ‘refurbishment and repair’, ‘conformity of buildings with scientific and health-related conditions’, ‘separating and merging the parcels’, ‘Registered cultural property buildings that disappeared’.

¹⁴⁰ Madran and Özgönül 2005, p. 21.

¹⁴¹ T.C. Resmi Gazete, 14.7.2004 – 5226.

¹⁴² According to Article 13, the property cannot be sold or donated without the permission of the Ministry of Culture and Tourism: T.C. Resmi Gazete, 8.8.2011-KHK-648/41.

¹⁴³ T.C. Resmi Gazete, 11.06.2005-25842.

¹⁴⁴ *Ibid.*

In 2012, the Law no. 6360 on Metropolitan Municipalities removed the legal entity status of villages by merging villages and towns under the single legal entity of a neighbourhood.¹⁴⁵ While the law strengthened the control of municipalities over villages, it significantly reduced the independence of villages. However, today, eleven years after this change in village status, villages and towns are still not recognised as neighbourhoods by the local population.¹⁴⁶

During the Ottoman period, regulations were developed for the preservation and maintenance of *Rum* churches so that they could serve their communities as actively used places of worship, but they were not recognised as cultural heritage sites. In fact, the concept of an awareness of heritage was limited during the Ottoman period. After the establishment of the Republic, a more centralised system for the protection of monuments was adopted, but the definition of cultural property did not apply to many cultural heritage sites. A more comprehensive and scientific national legislation was developed with the Law no. 2863 on Conservation of Cultural and Natural Properties, which utilised international conventions and international legal frameworks, while including local administrations in the conservation process.

2.4 Interim Evaluations

The relationship between heritage, identity, memory and politics is complex and open to interpretation. Identity and heritage are not fixed entities emerging from an established origin, but are transformed under the influence of changing cultural, social, political values, ideologies and history. In 1923, as a result of *Rums* leaving Anatolia with the Population Exchange, a major transformation process started when the churches were abandoned. The types of refunctioning of the buildings by the

¹⁴⁵ T.C. Resmî Gazete, 06.12.2012-28489.

¹⁴⁶ With the Metropolitan Municipalities Act, thirty-six villages and one town (Tirilye) of Mudanya became neighbourhoods of the district municipality. Since these settlements, which have been transformed into neighbourhoods, are still defined as villages and/or towns by the community, the term 'village' is used in this study: T.C. Resmî Gazete, 06.12.2012-28489.

Turkish community determined the several pathways of transformation for the churches.

When religion is included in the definition of a nation, as seen in the Ottoman *millet* system, which recognises the communities on the basis of their religious identities, the conflict between groups is inevitable. Greek religious buildings, as religious sites of the *other* nation, fell into the hands of the succeeding dominant group with the disappearance of their original owners. The existence of churches was tolerated to the extent that they benefited the new users. However, before the 1970-80s, no official measures were taken to protect churches as cultural heritage, until the enactments of the Law no. 1710 and the Law no. 2863.

Mudanya and its churches have commemorative value for the Greeks who experienced the traumatic process of forced migration. All places of cultural significance where the identities of the Greek diaspora are embodied, in emotional, religious and memorial terms, establish a tangible link between their past and present. However, the values of the churches for both the locals and the Greek diaspora are in conflict. The conflicting heritage cases, including religious sites belonging to ‘minorities’ and the principles behind their protection and representation, often remain unclear due to competing interests, changing priorities and subjective interpretations. This situation emphasises the challenge of integrating nationalism, which generally fosters a homogeneous and singular national identity, into a diverse population base, as well as the difficulty of accommodating diverse perceptions of heritage, cultural identity and memory. As stated in the Nara document, "In a world where the search for cultural identity is sometimes pursued through aggressive nationalism and the suppression of minority cultures, the main contribution of the idea of authenticity in conservation practice is to clarify and illuminate the collective memory of humanity."¹⁴⁷

¹⁴⁷ ICOMOS 1994, p. 1.

National heritage gained importance as a symbol of national identity, particularly in the 19th century with the rising nationalism in Turkey and elsewhere. Although Turkey is formally a secular society, in the dominant social hegemonic perception, the national heritage of Turkey is rooted in Turkish and Islamic values currently. The maintenance of shared pasts and heritage excludes certain pasts, that become de-selected when the state constructs a collective identity on a political basis. Besides being used to create national identity, heritage reinforces ideology by extending hegemonic practices into the physical and social sphere.

Legislative regulations are insufficient when it comes to the religious heritage of non-Muslim groups. The Law no. 2863, which is in force for the conservation of cultural heritage, does not provide specific regulations for religious buildings that have lost their users. In order to develop a correct and effective appreciation of conservation, it is important that legal regulations respond to non-Muslim cultural heritage too. In developing such a conservation approach, it is crucial to adopt approaches that take into account the unique characteristics of each church within its own context.

CHAPTER 3

THE *RUM* CHURCHES IN MUDANYA AS A CASE STUDY

Mudanya was a predominantly Greek settlement throughout history until the 20th century, occupying a wide area on the south coast of the Marmara sea. It was economically strong due to its location at an important crossroads of commercial networks and agricultural production from the fertile hinterlands. The monasteries established in this region during the Iconoclastic period influenced the Orthodox religious lifestyle in Mudanya. This vibrant city offers rich and complex examples of Greek orthodox religious life together with its institutions. The churches that we will be investigating in the next sections are scattered both in the vicinity of Mudanya and in the city centre. These churches constitute a rich case study for understanding the conditions of the period, the state of the religious buildings today and conservation approaches adopted towards *Rum* churches.

This chapter gives information about the general characteristics of the selected area and sets out its context. It consists of three parts. The first part is an appreciation of the historical, geographical and demographic context of Mudanya. The second explores the Greek villages of Mudanya with their demographical and historical characteristics. The third section presents information about the history of the churches, their architectural characteristics and conservation status.

3.1 Mudanya in its Historical and Geographical, and Demographic Context

Mudanya is a district of Bursa and is located in the south of the Marmara Region. It lies to the northwest of Bursa and is 32 km away from the city centre (Figure 3.1). There are forty eight neighbourhoods in Mudanya, including the villages whose

status changed with Law no. 5393, Article 4 on the Metropolitan Municipalities enacted in 2012.¹⁴⁸

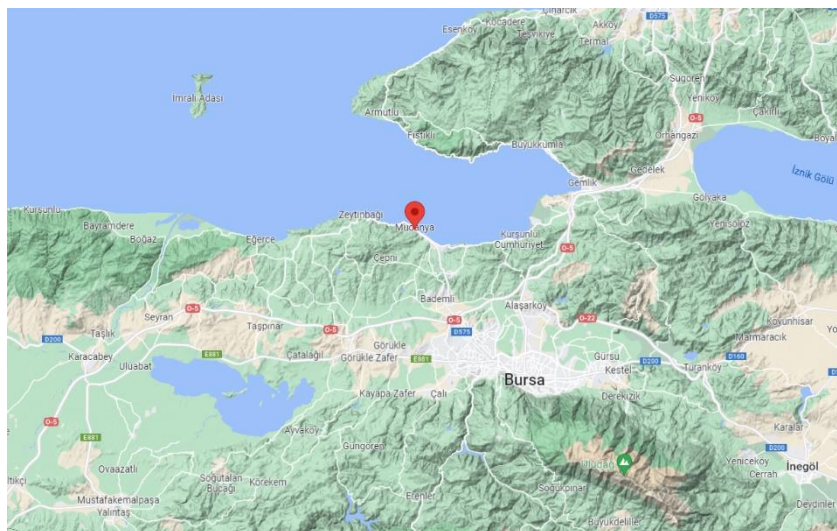


Figure 3.1. Mudanya (URL 18)

Mudanya has always been of importance throughout history as being the gateway of Bursa to the Marmara Sea. The port of Mudanya played a significant role in military strategy, the marketing of goods, marine transportation, and during Population Exchange. The city still continues to be an attraction point today. The ferries of Bursa Municipality (BUDO) convey passengers between İstanbul and Bursa in just two hours which brings many tourists to the city. Mudanya is connected to Bursa by a 30 km, well-paved, and active highway. Moreover, municipal and privately-owned buses run daily the year around at frequent intervals between Bursa-Mudanya. There are also buses departing from most of the villages to Mudanya and Bursa. Tirilye, a village of Mudanya to the west, is connected to the city with a 10 km narrow, winding road. Mudanya also had a railway between the years 1873-1953. The Mudanya-Bursa railway was constructed in 1873: it was 41.780 km long and had six stations.¹⁴⁹ This railway was mainly constructed to take raw silk, and additional products from

¹⁴⁸ URL 13.

¹⁴⁹ Gürsakar 2013, p. 40.

Bursa to Lyon and Marseille. The Fraissinet Company in Bursa sent a ship laden with silk to Marseilles and Genoa from Mudanya port every fifteen days.¹⁵⁰ With the decreasing interest in silk, the railway slowly lost its importance. After the Independence War (1919-1923), and with the transition to a new modern republic, the railway was taken over by the new government and only used for passengers. However, the railway link gradually declined until it was no longer an economical way of transportation. The rails were completely lifted in 1953.¹⁵¹

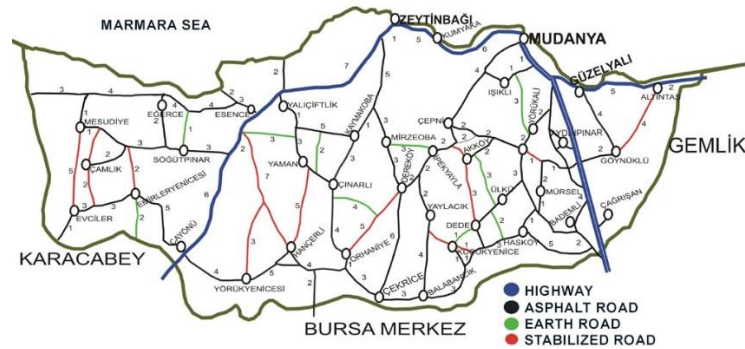


Figure 3.2. Map showing the road network in and around Mudanya (URL 17)

3.1.1 Geographical Characteristics of Mudanya

Mudanya is bordered by the Marmara Sea (Propontis) to the north, Karacabey (Mihaliç) to the west, Nilüfer to the south, and Gemlik (Kios) and Osmangazi districts at the east. Though the mountains in Mudanya are generally not very high, with the average altitude being 250 m, the topography is yet mountainous in appearance, riven by valleys in many places. The hills generally run parallel to the coast in the area from the north of the Nilüfer Stream to the sea.¹⁵² Their altitude gradually decreases from northeast to southwest. The coastal zone, bordered by two depressions to the north and south, has a length of approximately 50 km, starting

¹⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 40.

¹⁵¹ Albayrak 2018, p. 78.

¹⁵² Elitoğ 1989, p. 5.

from Eşkel Port and extending to Kurşunlu in the east. There are low coasts and 10 km-long beaches around Eyerce and Eşkel, which form the western border of Mudanya.¹⁵³ Mudanya is in a first-degree earthquake zone. The causes behind the high seismic impact are first that the district is an alluvium area, and second that the groundwater level is close to the surface.¹⁵⁴ Earthquakes occurred here throughout history and have led to significant changes in the city's built environment. The earthquake in 1854, also known as the "little apocalypse", resulted in more than half of the Bursa collapsing.¹⁵⁵ It also damaged Mudanya and its monumental buildings.

3.1.2 History of Mudanya

This section will first and primarily focus on the history of Mudanya in general and the city centre from its foundation to the present day. In addition to those in the city centre of Mudanya, it is known that there are churches, surviving or lost, in eight separate villages of Mudanya, serving the Greek Orthodox community in the 19th century. So, secondly, the 19th century history and orthodox community of Mudanya villages, where the churches are located, will be examined. To better understand the historic and religious context of the churches, sacred places such as hagasmas, chapels, monasteries, all important parts of the sacred identity, will also be reviewed.

3.1.2.1 General History of Mudanya

Myrleia was founded as a colony of Colophon in Bithynia, northwest of Prusa.¹⁵⁶ The Carian writer Pseudo Skylax who lived around 330 BCE, is the earliest source known about the ancient city. He mentions the name Myrleia and classifies it as a

¹⁵³ *Ibid.*, p. 6.

¹⁵⁴ Albayrak 2018, p. 32.

¹⁵⁵ Baykal 1947, p. 17.

¹⁵⁶ Plinius, *Naturalis Historia*, 5.40.25.

Phrygian Hellenic city.¹⁵⁷ Ancient Apameia – Myrleia consists of the Acropolis on a high and wide hill called 'Hisarlık' in the southeast of Mudanya, with the lower city and the port, situated between this hill and the sea. This area also includes a part of the present-day Mudanya district.¹⁵⁸ Remains of the citadel exist today in the 'Hisarlık' area, in the Ömerbey region (Figure 3.5).



Figure 3.3. Hisarlık Hill and citadel (URL 24)

The city was rebuilt under the name Apameia. As Strabo notes (12.4.3), this event happened at the instigation of Prusias I (230-182 CE), whose wife was called Apame. After the division of the Roman Empire in 395 CE, Apameia became a part of the East Roman Empire.

Bithynia played a significant role in the Byzantine political and ecclesiastical history both due to its distance to the capital and the fact that vital trade routes passed through the region.¹⁵⁹ The region began to be Christianized in the 1st century. In the following centuries, cities like Nikaia, Kios, Apameia and Prusa grew in importance as religious and political centres.¹⁶⁰ The monks, who resisted the pressure of the authorities, were organized locally, particularly during the Iconoclastic period (8th–

¹⁵⁷ Pseudo-Skylax, *Periplus*, 93,94.

¹⁵⁸ The earliest archaeological evidence about Myrleia is from a tumulus grave. This tumulus grave with polygonal walls was found in the south of Mudanya and dates to the second half of the 4th century BCE: Mansel 1946, p.10.

¹⁵⁹ Janin 1921, pp. 180–182.

¹⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 180.

9th centuries CE).¹⁶¹ The Byzantine monasteries still surviving in close vicinity of Tirilye are the Medikion, Pelekete, and Soterios Monasteries. The surviving Byzantine churches in this area include the Church of Archangels in Sigi; the two churches in Trilye are Fatih Camii and Kemerli Kilise.

Ottoman occupation in the area started in the 14th century. First, Osman Gazi conquered the island of Kalolimnos (İmralı) in 1307. After 1321, Ottoman rule started in earnest in Mudanya.¹⁶² Mudanya was registered as a town of the Kite (Ürünlü) *Kazâ* (province) and was mentioned as Budanya in the *Tahrir* books from 1530.¹⁶³ In the 17th century, Mudanya was separated from Kite and became a *Kazâ* on its own.¹⁶⁴

In 1899, the population of Mudanya, including its villages, was 18,190 people; the Muslim population was 4962, while the *Rum* population was 13,211 people.¹⁶⁵ The *kazâ* (province) of Mudanya, including Tirilye *nâhiye* (town) and Kalolimnos *Nâhiye*, consisted of 18 *kârıye* (village). In the *kazâ* of Mudanya, there were 13 mosques, 11 masjids, one dervish lodge, 13 hagiomas, five monasteries, 34 schools, 11 churches, three city halls, 2 *Daire-i Belediye*, one post office, five customs offices, 5 *Duyun-ı Umumiyye* office, one insurance agent, one plague house, three harbour offices, three silk factories, 3701 dwellings, five baths, 326 workplaces, three fish depots, 42 oil production facilities, one woodshop, five watermills, two windmills, two gas depots, one coal depot, nine hotels, 45 taverns, four pharmacies, two slaughterhouses, 210 coffee houses, 25 bakeries, 291 shops, three stone quarries, one tile-kiln, four farms, 93,000 decare of agricultural land, and 10,000 decare of pasture.¹⁶⁶

¹⁶¹ Mango 2006, p. 144.

¹⁶² Çiftçi 2012, p. 15.

¹⁶³ BOA, TT., Dosya No: 166, p. 136. See also Aydın 2019, p. 8.

¹⁶⁴ Oğuzoğlu 2007, p. 20.

¹⁶⁵ HDV (Hüdâvendigâr Vilayeti Sâlnâmesi), Matbaa-i Vilayet, H.1317 (1899), p. 346.

¹⁶⁶ HDV, Matbaa-i Vilayet, H.1317 (1899), p. 346.

The main agriproducts of Mudanya were olives, olive oil, silk cocoons, fruits, grapes, and onions. The primary trade products are olives, olive oil, silk cocoons, and beverages. In 1899, Mudanya produced 9 billion *kıyye* (13.500 tn)¹⁶⁷ olive, 3 billion *kıyye* (4.500 tn) grapes, 100.000 *kıyye* cocoon (150 tn), 2.500 *kıyye* (3,75 tn) onion, 775.551 *kıyye* wine (1.163 tn), 99.602 *kıyye* milk (149 tn), 120.000 *kıyye* (180 tn) of seeds and grains.¹⁶⁸

Bursa's economy was heavily dependent on sericulture during the 19th century. The first factory was established in 1844 and with the increasing demand, silk factories were built in Mudanya, Bursa and Bilecik.¹⁶⁹ These cities provided silk cocoons to European countries.¹⁷⁰ The port of Mudanya gained great importance in the silk trade between Bursa and Lyon in France. However, between the years 1914-1922 silk production rapidly decreased due to First World War. In 1873, a 41 km long railway was opened between Bursa-Mudanya for trade but was dismantled later in 1953 with the decline of the silk trade.¹⁷¹

During the First World War, the attacks of the Allies created tension in the Marmara Region and İstanbul. Armenians and *Rums* in the 19th century constituted the majority of the population of Bursa; the non-Muslim communities were seen as a threat against the government. The events during and after the war affected the city and its social life, resulting in the development of relocation and resettlement policies.¹⁷² In 1915, Greek residents from coastal cities in the Marmara region were forced to migrate inland from security concerns raised by the critical state of the Marmara coastline during the First World War.¹⁷³ *Rums* from Mudanya and Tirilye were forced to move to Bursa. Public Security Department (*Emniyyet-i Umûmiyye*

¹⁶⁷ 1 *kıyye* (*okka*) equals to 1300 gr. For further information, see Taşkın 2005, p. 96.

¹⁶⁸ HDV, Matbaa-i Vilayet, H.1316 (1898), p. 273.

¹⁶⁹ Taşlıgil 2013, p. 241

¹⁷⁰ Çiftçi 2012, p.16.

¹⁷¹ Elitoğ 1989, p.16.

¹⁷² Akkuş 2008, pp. 221–222.

¹⁷³ *Ibid.*, p. 226.

Müdîriyyeti) registers from 1915 show that Mudanya had 7013 Muslims and 16,359 *Rums* before the inland migration.¹⁷⁴ After the migration, 7013 Muslims and only 8245 *Rums* remained in the city.¹⁷⁵ *Meclis-i Mebusan* cancelled the Relocation and Resettlement Law in 1918 and stated that Armenians and *Rums* could go back to their cities, while the schools and churches were being returned to the communities.¹⁷⁶ The minutes of the Ministry of the Interior Cypher Office (*Dahiliye Nezareti Şifre Kalemi*) from 9 January 1919 show a demographic movement in Gemlik, Mudanya Harbours and Bursa towards the end of 1918.¹⁷⁷

Table 3.1 Mudanya population between the 17th–20th centuries according to the data obtained from Ottoman records.¹⁷⁸

Year	Muslim	Non-Muslim	Total
1670 ¹⁷⁹	592	1460	2052
1692 ¹⁸⁰	-	1760	-
1846 ¹⁸¹	-	2764	-
1870 ¹⁸²	3228	5398	8626
1877 ¹⁸³	6952	7206	14.158
1885 ¹⁸⁴	4543	10.600	15.143
1894	4966	11.940	16.906
1899 ¹⁸⁵	4962	13.213	18.175
1902 ¹⁸⁶	4861	13.329	18.190

¹⁷⁴ BOA, DH. EUM. KLU. d., Dosya No: 15 / 73. See also Akkuş 2008, p. 23.

¹⁷⁵ BOA, DH. EUM. KLU. d., Dosya No: 16 / 6. See also Akkuş 2008, p. 24.

¹⁷⁶ MMZC, Dev.: 3, İct. Sen.: 5, İn.: 4, p. 17. See also Akkuş 2008, p.39.

¹⁷⁷ BOA, DH. SFR. d., Dosya No: 95 / 88. See also Akkuş 2008, p.39.

¹⁷⁸ The male population data is multiplied by two (the years 1870) and dwelling number is multiplied by four (the years 1692, 1846, 1877) for total population estimation.

¹⁷⁹ BOA, D.CMH. d., Dosya No: 26632. See also Aydın 2019, p. 23.

¹⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, Dosya No: 26632. See also Aydın 2019, p. 23.

¹⁸¹ BOA, M.L.VRD. d., Dosya No: 702. See also Aydın 2019, p. 23.

¹⁸² HDV, Matbaa-i Vilayet, H. 1287 (1870), pp. 65–66.

¹⁸³ HDV, Matbaa-i Vilayet, H. 1294 (1877), p. 150.

¹⁸⁴ HDV, Matbaa-i Vilayet, H. 1303 (1885), p. 402.

¹⁸⁵ Akkılıç 1985, p. 133.

¹⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 134.

In 1919, after the Mondros Armistice, a programme of occupation started when the Greek army landed in İzmir and advanced into inner parts of Anatolia.¹⁸⁷ On 25 June 1920, the first occupation in Mudanya took place when British fleets arrived off the Gemlik and Mudanya coasts; later, the city was abandoned to the Greek army.¹⁸⁸ After two years of occupation, on 12 October 1922, Mudanya became a Turkish city under the Mudanya Armistice.

Turkish and Greek parties then came to a decision regarding minority issues and many other problems under the Lausanne Treaty. The treaty for the Population Exchange between Greece and Turkey was signed in Lausanne on 30 January 1923.¹⁸⁹ The Population Exchange was a milestone in the history of Mudanya. The first group of Turkish immigrants from Greece arrived at Bursa in December 1923. As the *Hüdavendigar* newspaper reported, the group departed from Thessaloniki on December 19 and arrived at the Mudanya port. According to *Salname* dated in 1927, Mudanya became the most heavily populated province in Bursa with 8334 new settlers.¹⁹⁰

There was a movement from the 1950s towards visiting and settling in Mudanya from summer dwellers and the retired community of Bursa.¹⁹¹ It was more favoured than other coastal cities of Bursa because of its easy accessibility, clean water and good weather. The number of summer houses increased rapidly in the city towards 1980, together with a growing real estate market. The population movement to Mudanya improved the urban development, social life, industry and economy. The demand for accommodation in the city increases during the summer season, so the intensity of the commercial and social activities changes periodically.

¹⁸⁷ On October 30, 1918, with the Treaty of Mondros Armistice, which ended the First World War for the Ottoman Empire, Anatolia was legally left open to occupation. The process arrived at a critical new stage with the Greek invasion of İzmir on May 15, 1919: Akkuş 2008, p. 264.

¹⁸⁸ Öztürk 2018, p. 399.

¹⁸⁹ Tepealtı 2019, p. 91.

¹⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 91.

¹⁹¹ Elitoğ 1989, p. 18.

Table 3.2 Population growth in Mudanya and villages according to the data obtained from TÜİK¹⁹²

Year	<i>Mudanya</i>	<i>Villages</i>	<i>Total</i>
1927	4989	8877	13,866
1935	5030	14,466	19,496
1940	4823	14,886	19,709
1945	5624	14,906	20,530
1950	5854	17,570	23,424
1955	5911	18,217	24,128
1960	6026	18,903	24,929
1965	6849	18,389	25,247
1970	7938	17,543	25,481
1975	8399	18,539	26,938
1980	10,606	20,423	31,029
1985	12,152	19,890	32,042
1990	17,196	21,460	38,656
2000	21,276	32,658	53,934
2007	30,415	31,954	62,369
2008	47,178	18,721	65,899
2009	49,805	19,149	68,954
2010	52,325	19,346	71,671
2011	54,301	19,338	73,639
2012	56,153	19,191	75,344
2013	77,461	-	77,461
2014	80,385	-	80,385
2015	83,174	-	83,174
2016	86,426	-	86,426
2017	90,282	-	90,282
2018	93,707	-	93,707
2019	97,631	-	97,631
2020	102,523	-	102,523
2021	105,308	-	105,308

¹⁹² URL 16.

3.1.2.2 A History of Research into Mudanya's *Rum* Churches

The first traveller to give information on the Greek churches was the Ottoman Syrian Orthodox Patriarch Macarius.¹⁹³ He visited Mudanya on 12 October 1652 with his son, a clergyman and chronicler, Paul of Aleppo. Paul of Aleppo mentions that he met the Patriarch Macarius on his arrival at Mudanya and that they were taken to the Church of Panagia.¹⁹⁴ He gives the number of churches in the city as twenty. Macarius also notes that there was a small church, Hagia Triada, with a spring of water passing under it, inside the Metropolitan's palace. This church was decorated with images of Holy Mountain and its monasteries. Later, he visited the churches of Hagios Theodorus and Hagios Georgios, but he could not see the other churches as they had to leave for İstanbul.¹⁹⁵

John Covell, a British scholar and scientist, visited Mudanya twice. His first visit was on October 8, 1675. He noted that the Greeks constituted the largest majority of the Mudanya population.¹⁹⁶ Covell also mentions that there were many churches in Mudanya but some of them were neglected and had fallen into ruin. There were eight churches still functioning when he visited Mudanya. During his time in Mudanya, he visited the Hagia Constantine and Hagios Theodorus churches.¹⁹⁷ His comments on the church of Hagia Constantine are about the spolia and do not convey much information about the building itself.

Between October 31 and November 10, we were in Mudanya. We read this text over a stone, just at the entrance of the church (Figure 3.3), another text was just near the first row of seats at the back (Figure 3.4). The priest of this church was a very kind Cretan called Meletios of Rethymno. He offered us an old red Mudanian wine, which I will gladly prefer over Smyrna wine. Just outside of the church entrance, on the north corner, there was a bottom piece of a broken stele. We tried to read the inscription. There is a column capital

¹⁹³ Paul of Aleppo 1836, pp. 11–12.

¹⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 11–12.

¹⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 11–12.

¹⁹⁶ Covell 1998, p. 179.

¹⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 177–179.

over a well while approaching the courtyard of the priests, from the south. But it is too large to belong to the previous piece; surrounded by a laurel wreath. There are four figures of Arion or Triton on a Dolphin in the upper spirals, and four standing statues under the spirals. The stone is heavily deteriorated, so it did not take my interest for further investigation.¹⁹⁸



Figure 3.4. Mudanya, Hagios Georgios, inscription at the entrance of the church
(Covel 1998, p. 177-179.)

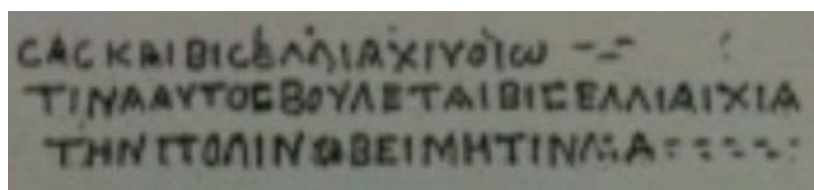


Figure 3.5. Mudanya, Hagios Georgios, inscription inside the church (Covel 1998, p. 177-179.)

The first traveller to record the church of Hagios Theodorus is Macarius, but he only mentions the name.¹⁹⁹ Covel's mention of this church is just enough to show that it did exist when he visited Mudanya, but his explanations do not provide further information. His observations about the church concern the priest of Hagios Theodorus.

Two Dutch travellers, Egmont and Heyman, visited Mudanya in 1720 and just noted that there were many churches in Mudanya since the majority of community were

¹⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 177–179.

¹⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 181.

Orthodox Christians.²⁰⁰ The British traveller Pococke, who visited Mudanya in 1738, only writes that there were seven churches for 700 Greek families in Mudanya.²⁰¹

3.1.2.3 Greek Orthodox Community of Mudanya

In Mudanya, Muslims and Christians had their own separate districts during the Ottoman period. The Christian section had eight neighbourhoods which included Hagios Georgios, Alonion, Hagios Theodoros, Hagios Apostoles, Panagia, Hagios Nicholas, Hagios Constantine, and Hagia Theodosia.²⁰² There were two ecclesiastical parishes: the Metropolis or Hagios Georgios and Hagia Theodosia.²⁰³ These two parishes constituted the Orthodox community of Mudanya.

The Mudanians went to the Metropolis of Bursa for divorces, while weddings, baptisms, and other events were operated locally in their own churches.²⁰⁴ The *Despot* (bishop) came to Mudanya two or three times in a year.²⁰⁵ He brought a record book, and these visits were a big day for the community as Mudanya resident Nikolaos Gaitanos testified for KMS (The Centre for Asia Minor Studies) Oral History Archives.²⁰⁶ The Archiepiscopal Commissioner was the religious leader of the town, while the *Ephoro-demogerontia* served as the community leader, responsible for reporting to the bishop and governor.²⁰⁷ For the administration of the

²⁰⁰ Egmont and Heyman, 1759, p. 191.

²⁰¹ Pococke 1772, p. 314.

²⁰² Moudania Refugee Association 1931, p. 27.

²⁰³ *Ibid.*, p. 27.

²⁰⁴ B157 Moudania, p. 50.

²⁰⁵ In almost every Greek province, there was a Metropolis, in other words, a Despotate, and the Metropolitans were called Despots. Later, however, the Greeks began to prefer the term "Mitropolititis" over Despot. The term "Despotis" in Greek means dominant, host, religious chief. For this term, see Menelaou 1984, p. 42.

²⁰⁶ B157 Moudania, p. 50.

²⁰⁷ The Archiepiscopal Commissioner is the title of an ecclesiastical position dating back to the 12th century. His main duty is to replace the Bishop in a cluster of remote parishes: URL 4. The Ephoro-Demogerontia, the Council of Elderly, was primarily concerned with the administration of religious and educational establishments, i.e. churches, schools and cemeteries with their land, cultural and philanthropic organizations. For further information, see Özil 2013, p. 25.

churches of two parishes, two similar ecclesiastical committees (*Epitropi*) were responsible. The *Ephoro-demogerontia* had four members and its meetings were chaired by the Metropolitan or the representative of the ‘Archiepiscopal Commissioner’ and the parishioners. Hagios Georgios Epitropi had four members, while Hagia Theodosia *Epitropi* had three.²⁰⁸ These were decided by the number of church members.

After 1919, the community administration changed. The intent of the new arrangement was to decrease the arbitrary decisions of the administrative bodies and prevent *Kocabasism*.²⁰⁹ The political-administrative council of the community was the ‘*Demogerontia*’, the council for schools was the ‘*Eforia*’ and the council for the churches was the ‘*Epitropes Committees*’. Administrative bodies had regular meetings, at which one representing member from each church was present; these representatives were elected by the ‘*enoria*’.²¹⁰ These committees elected a president and took care of various issues in the community, churches, and schools. In the past, the community funds for schools and churches were separate: vast sums were allocated for the decoration of the churches, while the schools suffered great financial hardship. After 1919, with the new arrangement, *eforodemogerontia*, *eforia* and the *epitropes* unified their budgets.²¹¹ Later, they focused first on paying the salaries of the school staff: any surplus money was spent on church maintenance.²¹²

There were fourteen churches and chapels in Mudanya before the destructive fire of 1870.²¹³ These were Hagia Theodosia, Hagios Constantinos, Hagios Nicolas, Hagios

²⁰⁸ Moudania Refugee Association 1931, p. 27.

²⁰⁹ The term *Kocabasism* is generally characterized by the authoritarian and despotic behaviour of the *Kocabasis* towards their fellow Christians. In the *millet* model, *Kocabasis* (*Kocabaşı*) were local authorities and leaders in charge of the Greek Orthodox community administration: URL 6.

²¹⁰ *Enoria* is the lowest level of the Orthodox Christian communal units in the ecclesiastical-administrative hierarchy. *Enorias* represented the Orthodox Christians of a village or a town neighbourhood: Özil 2013, p. 25.

²¹¹ *Eforia* is the public financial service responsible certifying taxes and collecting fees or other income: URL 2.

²¹² Moudania Refugee Association 1931, p. 27.

²¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 30.

Ioannes, Panagia, Hagios Georgios, Hagios Theodoros, Hagios Stefanos, Hagios Apostolos, Hagios Episkopi, Christos, Hagia Paraskevi, Hagia Catherine (*metochion* of Hagia Catherine on the Mount Sinai) and the church of Metamorphosis (*metochion* of the Metamorphosis on the Mount Athos).²¹⁴ Only the churches of Hagia Theodosia, Hagios Episkopi and Hagia Paraskevi survived the fire.²¹⁵ One of the burned churches, the Metropolitan Church of Hagios Georgios, was rebuilt from its foundations.

The oral testimonies in the KMS Archives show that the *Rum* residents were forced to leave Mudanya temporarily in 1914 and then returned in 1918 with Relocation and Resettlement policies during and after First World War. Later, the *Rums* left the city permanently in 1922 with the Mudanya Armistice.²¹⁶ In the oral history study conducted by Georges Kotzaeridis, Barba Dimitris, who was born in Mudanya and left there in his early childhood, states that they had to leave Mudanya in August 1922. Thousands of people rushed to ships leaving from the Mudanya port, and they were transported to Redestos (Tekirdağ), and from there to Greece.²¹⁷ They first arrived in Thessaloniki (Selanik) and later moved to Halkidiki, in the *Kargı Limanı* area, where they built Nea Moudania.²¹⁸

3.1.2.4 Chapels and Hagiasmas of Mudanya

The chapel of Hagioi Anargyroi was located near the sea between Mudanya and Sigi, approximately 2.5 km away from Mudanya. It was a small chapel with a source of

²¹⁴ Metochion (*μετόχιον*) is a small monastic establishment, subordinate to a larger independent monastery. A *metochion* had its own church or chapel: Kazhdan, *et al.* 1991, p.1356.

²¹⁵ Moudania Refugee Association 1931, p.30.

²¹⁶ B157 Moudania, p. 118.

²¹⁷ URL 14.

²¹⁸ B157 Moudania, p. 120.

holy water next to it.²¹⁹ In honour of the memory of the Anargyroi Saints, their feast day was commemorated on July 1 in this chapel.

The chapel of Hagios Panteleimon lay southwest of Mudanya.²²⁰ The church was located on a hill named Panteleimon and surrounded by trees. Many Moudanians had estates on this hill. There was also a hagiaσμα next to the church, rising from a rock, and pouring into a stone basin. This water was considered miraculous and covered with a small structure. The feast day of Hagios Panteleimon, on July 27, was celebrated in this chapel.²²¹

The Hagiasma of Hagia Marina was at the foot of the Hagios Panteleimon hill.²²² The Hagiasma was between the chapel of Hagios Panteleimon and Mudanya. On every July 16, masses were held in this location to honour St. Marina.

3.2 Villages of Mudanya



Figure 3.6. Mudanya and its villages (URL 18)

²¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 73.

²²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 75.

²²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 75.

²²² *Ibid.*, p. 77.

3.2.1 Aydınpinar (Misopolis / Misebolu)

Aydınpinar is a village 6 km southeast of Mudanya, situated in a ravine. The Greek name of the settlement - and in the official ecclesiastical documents - was Misopoli or Mysopoli or Misepolis, also mentioned as Misebolu in High Gate *Muhimme* Registers in Ottoman Archives.²²³

3.2.1.1 Greek Orthodox Community and the Settlement of Aydınpinar

Misopolis belonged to the district governorship (*kaymakamlık*) of Mudanya and ecclesiastically belonged to the Metropolis of Bursa.²²⁴ The community was administrated by a *mukhtar* (*muhtar*) in collaboration with two or three members. There existed a school *ephorate* and an ecclesiastical committee.²²⁵ The villagers did not visit Bursa for church-related issues because there was a representative of the *Despot* in Mudanya to see to marriage licenses or divorces. They had a priest in the village who conducted the baptism and burial ceremonies.²²⁶ The whole population was Greek. The villagers could only speak Greek, and the ones engaged in trade activities also knew Turkish.²²⁷

The trade affairs of the settlement were mostly carried with Mudanya city centre, the main occupation of the inhabitants was sericulture.²²⁸ The cocoons were sold in Gemlik (Kios) and Mudanya. They also produced olives and grapes, which were promoted in the market of Istanbul by merchants from Mudanya who visited the village.

²²³ B160 Misopoli, p. 2; BOA, DVNSMHHM. d., Dosya No: 251, p. 229. See also Aydın 2019, p. 30.

²²⁴ Moudania Refugee Association 1931, p. 294.

²²⁵ B160 Misopoli, p. 2.

²²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 2.

²²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 2.

²²⁸ The houses were at least two-storey, because of the sericulture activities and oil storage in the ground floor. For further information: B160 Misopoli, p. 3.

There were five neighbourhoods (*mahalledes*): Kato Mahallede, Apano Mahallede, Adelfato Mahallede, Hagia Paraskevi Mahallede, and Gefyraki Mahallede.²²⁹ The square in front of the church was called ‘Metropolis Square’ and had several large mulberry trees. The Easter feasts, weddings and celebrations took place there. There were eight cafes, seven grocery stores, four olive mills and a watermill in the settlement.²³⁰

The important religious buildings were the church of Hagios Ioannes, the chapel of Hagios Ioannes and the monastery of Hagios Ioannes, approximately 1.2 km away from the village.²³¹ Every year, a big festival was being held for St. Ioannes on August 29 when many people visited Misopolis from the surrounding Greek villages and Mudanya.²³² After the migration in 1922, families from the village settled in Ptolemaida, Kozani and the Magnadaz village near Thessaloniki.²³³

3.2.1.2 Chapels and Hagiasmas of Aydınpinar

The chapel of Hagios Ioannes was approximately 1.2 km away to the east of the village. Celebrations were held there on every August 29. This was the biggest religious festival in the village and lasted for eight days. People from Bursa and surrounding villages came for the festival, and everyone gathered around the chapel.²³⁴

The chapel of Skoteinos Hagios Georgios was between Mudanya and Misopolis, inside a cave with dripping hagiaσμα water.²³⁵ In the chapel, a carved icon of St.

²²⁹ B160 Misopoli, p. 4.

²³⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 16–18.

²³¹ *Ibid.*, p. 53.

²³² *Ibid.*, p. 44.

²³³ *Ibid.*, p. 21.

²³⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 7–8.

²³⁵ The chapel is called Skoteinos (dark) as it is inside a cave without any natural light, so those who pray have to light candles: *Ibid.*, p. 9.

George was positioned on a high marble shelf in a corner. The Greeks called the chapels with hagiastasmas ‘*Agiasmatoudia*’ (Holy Water Chapels).²³⁶

There were two chapels inside the village in the name of Hagia Paraskevi (Figure 3.7). One of the chapels was only 2 x 2 m in size and had a hagiasma near it.²³⁷ On the day of Hagia Paraskevi, the villagers visited the chapel, throwing candles and crosses into the hagiasma.²³⁸



Figure 3.7. Aydınpınar, chapel and hagiasma of Hagia Paraskevi (2021)

3.2.2 Çınarlı (Veletler)

3.2.2.1 Greek Orthodox Community and the Settlement of Çınarlı

Çınarlı lies 20 km west of Mudanya, and its former name was Veletler. The village is located at a high altitude and had many sycamore trees around which is the reason the village is called Çınarlı. Veletler belonged to the province (*Vilayet*) of Bursa: its governorship was with Mudanya and ecclesiastically it belonged to the Metropolis of Nicomedia.²³⁹ The Metropolitan lived in Nicomedia, but he visited the village once a year and the Exarch was the responsible body for issuing marriage permits.²⁴⁰

²³⁶ B160 Misopoli, p. 15.

²³⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 14.

²³⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 10.

²³⁹ B165 Veletler, p. 6.

²⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 7.

Although having *Rum* residents entirely, their language was Turkish. The gospels were sung in Greek, but they were translated into Turkish.²⁴¹

There were approximately 150-160 houses, all Orthodox Greeks. The village had two neighbourhoods, upper (*Yukarı*) and lower (*Aşağı*). The village market, cafes, school, church, and square were in the middle of the village.²⁴² The main source of income was agriculture and sericulture. The villagers produced silk cocoons, cereals, flax, grapes, olives and olive oil.²⁴³ After leaving the village in 1922, they settled in the village of Karacaova (Almopia), Chrissi, and Nea Triglia.²⁴⁴

3.2.2.2 Hagiasmas of Çınarlı

There were two hagiasmas in the village. The first is the Hagiasma of Hagia Galatini, which was approximately 1.2 km away from the village, in the Yamanköy direction.²⁴⁵ The second hagiasma is the Hagiasma of Hagia Marina, which was approximately 0.4 km off from the village (Figure 3.8).²⁴⁶



Figure 3.8. Çınarlı, ruins of Hagiasma of Hagia Marina inside the village
(Mytilineou, 2019)

²⁴¹ *Ibid.*, p. 10.

²⁴² *Ibid.*, p. 26.

²⁴³ *Ibid.*, p. 36.

²⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 48.

²⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 31.

²⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 32.

3.2.3 Dereköy

3.2.3.1 Greek Orthodox Community and the Settlement of Dereköy

Dereköy is a village located 15 km to the southwest of Mudanya. The neighbouring villages are Çınarlı, Mirazoba, İpekyayla, Yaylacık and Çekrice. Dereköy was settled between two streams, Arabacı and Kilik, which merged inside the settlement.²⁴⁷ The hill behind the village was called Hagios *Georgios Bairi* (*bayır/ridge*). The Dereköy population was entirely Greek Orthodox, until the 20th century.

Dereköy belonged to the district governorship (*kaimakamlıki*) of Mudanya and ecclesiastically belonged to the jurisdiction of the diocese of Apollonia and the Metropolis of Nicomedia.²⁴⁸ The Despot came from Nicomedia once a year to visit the village. The community was governed by a mukhtar in collaboration with two or three councillors (*aza*). There was also, a school ephorate and an ecclesiastical committee.²⁴⁹

There were 700-750 houses in the early 20th century as recorded in the KMS Archives. The village had fifteen neighbourhoods (*mahalledes*): Mezarlık Sırtı, Arab Mahlesi, Hagia Marina Mahlesi, Hagia Paraskevi Mahlesi, Kidan Mahlesi, Değirmen Önü, Kilise Mahlesi, Orta Mahlesi, Harman Yeri, Papazin Aralık, Arabacı Sokağı, Hagios Giorgis, Fellahın Aralık, Kumru Mahlesi, Karşı Yaka.²⁵⁰ There were five cafes, five grocery stores, four olive mills and two watermills in the village.²⁵¹

The villagers were mainly engaged in sericulture and oil production.²⁵² They also had 8-9 stills for ouzo production. The cocoons and olives were sold in Bursa. They

²⁴⁷ B162 Derekioi, p. 4.

²⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 1.

²⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 1.

²⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 5.

²⁵¹ *Ibid.*, p. 9.

²⁵² *Ibid.*, p. 9.

had a bazaar every Sunday, which attracted the neighbouring villagers who sold barley, flour, chickpeas, wood, and yoghurt, while the Dereköy villagers sold olives, oil, and ouzo.

The Dereköy inhabitants spoke Turkish, while a few knew Greek. The official language in school and the church was Greek, although students communicated in Turkish in their daily life. The ceremonies were mainly carried out in Greek, but the priest interpreted the Gospel in Turkish on important days.²⁵³

The settlement was first evacuated in 1914 temporarily, with the relocation and resettlement policies during the First World War; after the war, the inhabitants returned to Dereköy in 1919. In 1922, with Mudanya Armistice, the *Rums* left the village permanently.²⁵⁴ The families were settled in Platania, Drama, Potamia and Kimmeria of Xanthi.

3.2.3.2 Monasteries and Hagiasmas of Dereköy

There was a large monastery dedicated to the Virgin Mary at 1.2 km west of the village.²⁵⁵ The monastery started as a little shed on the location where an icon of the Virgin Mary was found in the early 19th century. This building was stone-built and had holy water inside, which the villagers drew on every January 6, the night of the Epiphany. On the day of Panagia, August 15, a big festival took place there, and many people came from other villages and Bursa.²⁵⁶

The Hagiasma of Hagios Georgios, *Koulak Hagiasmasi*, was on the hill behind the village, approximately 1.6 km away from Dereköy.²⁵⁷ There were large pine trees in

²⁵³ *Ibid.*, p. 3.

²⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 1.

²⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 7.

²⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 7.

²⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 8.

the area. It is believed that this hagiaσμα water healed ears: people who had ear problems went to Hagios Georgios, lit a candle and prayed to the Saint for healing.²⁵⁸

The Hagiasma of Hagia Paraskevi was approximately 0.4 km away from the village to the west in the Veletler (Çınarlı) village direction (Figure 3.9).²⁵⁹ It was dedicated to the protector of the eyes, St. Paraskevi. The Hagiasma had a small structure above and an icon embedded on it. On the day of St. Paraskevi, July 26, a big feast was held there.



Figure 3.9. Dereköy, Hagiasma of Hagia Paraskevi (2021)

3.2.4 Güzelyalı (Burgos / Burgaz)

Güzelyalı is one of the larger neighbourhoods of Mudanya, located to the east of Mudanya next to the seaside. It was recorded as Burgos, *Neüsaraki* in General Provincial documents (*Umum Vilayet Evrakı*).²⁶⁰ There were 76 Greek houses in the

²⁵⁸ URL 10.

²⁵⁹ B162 Derekioi, p. 8.

²⁶⁰ BOA, MKT.UM., Dosya No: 330, Gömlek No: 61. See also Aydın 2019, p. 18.

tax register books from 1844 (*Temettuat Defteri*).²⁶¹ Olive trees, vineyards and agricultural lands were their main source of income. The only known religious building of Güzelyalı is the Church of Taxiarchis.

3.2.5 İmralı Island (Kalolimnos / Emir Ali Ceziresi)

İmralı is the fourth largest island in the Marmara Sea and is located 35 km northwest of Mudanya. İmralı Island was first mentioned as Besbicus (*Bysbikos*) in the tribute lists of the Delian League.²⁶² The Metamorphosis Monastery of Theophanes, built in the 16th century, was one of the most important buildings on the island.²⁶³

3.2.5.1 Greek Orthodox Community and the Settlement of İmralı

The Greek name of the village was Kalolimnos. After the Turks took the island in 1308 under the leadership of Kara Ali, Emir Ali (İmralı) name was given to the island.²⁶⁴ Kalolimnos belonged to the governorship of Mudanya and to the city of Bursa.²⁶⁵ Ecclesiastically, it belonged to the Metropolis of Nicomedia.²⁶⁶

²⁶¹ BOA, ML. VRD. TMT.d., Dosya No: 9084. See also Aydın 2019, p. 18.

²⁶² Hansen and Nielsen 2004, p. 1358.

²⁶³ Hasluck 1906, p. 320.

²⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 320.

²⁶⁵ B 158 Kalolimnos, p. 20.

²⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 25.

The square in front of the church was a gathering point and it was surrounded by coffee shops. Easter celebrations and wedding parties took place there.²⁷¹ The village had a two-storey school, in two separate sections, one for the boys and one for the girls.²⁷² The school was next to the church square.

The only functioning churches of Kalolimnos in the 19th century were Hagios Ioannes and Hagios Athanasios.²⁷³ They had two priests, who did all weddings and baptisms. However, there were other religious complexes, as are listed in the KMS Archives. These were Hagios Dimitris and Christos Sotiros monasteries, Hagios Panteleimonas, Panagia Korfini, Panagia, Prophet Elias, Hagios Georgios, Hagios Ioannes, Hagios Constantinos, Hagia Paraskevi, and the Great Monastery of the Metamorphosis.²⁷⁴

In 1914, villagers had to leave the island temporarily during the First World War, returning in 1919 only to leave permanently in 1922 with Mudanya Armistice. The families were settled in Nea Moudania, Halkidiki, Kavala, and Thessaloniki.²⁷⁵ After the Population Exchange, the village was abandoned. Later, İmralı was designated as a prison island in 1935 and the first group of prisoners were settled inside the Great Monastery.²⁷⁶ The island is a high-degree protected prison today and not open to visitors, so the current situation of the İmralı Churches remains unknown.

3.2.6 Kumyaka (Sygi / Sigi)

Kumyaka is situated at 36.6 km northwest of Bursa, 6.5 km west of Mudanya and 5 km east of Tirilye, while being bordered by the sea to the north. The first record of

²⁷¹ *Ibid.*, p. 77.

²⁷² *Ibid.*, p. 32.

²⁷³ *Ibid.*, p. 32.

²⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 94-113.

²⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 144.

²⁷⁶ Sipahi 2013, p. 115.

the name Sigi can be found in the portulan chart 1339 by Angelino de Dalorto.²⁷⁷ The local Greek community believed that the name ‘Syki’ originated from the large number of fig trees (*sykiá*) in the village.²⁷⁸



Figure 3.11. An old Sigi postcard from the 1920s (URL 19)

3.2.6.1 Greek Orthodox Community and the Settlement of Kumyaka

The British historian and traveller Frederick W. Hasluck visited the village in 1906 and recorded twenty-five Muslim and three hundred twenty-five non-Muslim dwellings.²⁷⁹ As mentioned in the KMS Oral History Archives, there were 300-350 houses and about 2000 residents in Sigi at the beginning of the 20th century.²⁸⁰ Thirty of the houses belonged to the Turkish residents. All the villagers spoke Greek. There were no other nationalities in the village. Sigians were mostly sailors and had olive

²⁷⁷ Hinks 1929, map 3-4.

²⁷⁸ Moudania Refugee Association 1931, p. 251.

²⁷⁹ Hasluck 1906/7, p. 294.

²⁸⁰ B163 Sigi, p. 16.

trees. Agriculture was not developed because the soil was rough and infertile. The main product of the village was silk cocoons.²⁸¹

The village had two neighbourhoods, namely *ano* (upper) and *kato* (lower) *mahalledes*.²⁸² There were two *mukhtars* (*muhtar*), one Greek and one Turkish. The churches were under the administration of the Metropolitan of Bursa.²⁸³ There were one Byzantine and two *Rum* churches, a chapel with a hagiaσμα, and two hagiaσmas.²⁸⁴ The village had two priests and two psalters at the end of the 18th century.²⁸⁵ The priests were educated in the local school. Today, only one church (Taxiarchis) built in the 8th century, survives. Greeks left the village in 1922 and Turkish immigrants from Kandiya (Heraklion, Crete) settled at Sigi.

3.2.6.2 Chapels and Hagiasmas of Kumyaka

The chapel of Taxiarchi's Foot (*Taxiárhoi tó Pódi*) was 5-6 m away from the coast.²⁸⁶ It was built like a box and had a bowl of water on the floor. There was also a small icon inside. Every Monday, the village girls visited the chapel, cleaned it, and lit candles. Earlier, there existed a small chapel built at the same time as Taxiarchi. However, the villagers demolished it because of its inconvenient location and unpleasant appearance, and then built a new one just across the entrance of the Church of Taxiarchi. That is the reason it was called the "foot". The new building was a small chapel with a hagiaσμα like the previous one. This chapel does not exist today.

²⁸¹ Moudania Refugee Association 1931, p. 252.

²⁸² B163 Sigi, p. 24.

²⁸³ *Ibid.*, p. 23.

²⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 28–32.

²⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 32.

²⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 31.

The Hagiasma of Hagios Isidoros was on the coast of Sigi, towards Tirilye. It was a simple water source without any structure around it.²⁸⁷ The Hagiasma of Hagia Marina was towards Mudanya, near to Hagios Athanasios (the cemetery of Sigi).²⁸⁸

3.2.7 Tirilye (Triglia / Zeytinbağı)

Tirilye is a village of Mudanya located on the southern coast of the Marmara Sea, about 11 km west of Mudanya. Tirilye shares borders with the former *Rum* villages Yalıçiftlik (Giali Tsiflik), Kumyaka (Sygi); and Turkish villages Ergili (Daskyleion), Kaymakoba, Mirazoba.

There is no mention of a settlement called ‘Trigleia’ in any ancient source because the history of the pre-Byzantine era of Tirilye is unclear. Tryfonas Evangelides, a historian and a teacher from Tirilye, claims that in ancient times the name of the town was ‘Brylleion’.²⁸⁹ Furthermore, in the settlement, the presence of ancient inscriptions belonging to the Zeus, Kybele, and Apollo cults and the dialect used in the inscriptions indicates the existence of a Megarian colony or a settlement related to the colony.²⁹⁰

The history of Tirilye in the Byzantine period is obscure until the 11th century. The earliest Byzantine source is on the Medikion monastery supervisor Mikhael Psellos’s letter on his journey from ‘Triglia’.²⁹¹ Greek and Italian portulans show that Tirilye was an important port in the medieval period.²⁹² In the period, the monks resisting the oppressive administration were organized in the Bithynia region.²⁹³ In the 8th and 9th centuries, the three monasteries founded in the vicinity of Tirilye were

²⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 32.

²⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 32.

²⁸⁹ Evangelides 1889, pp. 93–96.

²⁹⁰ Corsten 1987, pp. 51–61.

²⁹¹ Psellos mentions as “We went along the coast with ship from 'Trigleia'. With the help of Elias, we had a very quiet journey.”: Psellos, *Chronographia* VI 97, 125.

²⁹² Delatte 1947, pp. 241, 285, 338.

²⁹³ Mango 1974, p. 98.

Medikion, Pelekete, and Soterios, while the Byzantine churches founded in this area were those of Hagios Stephanos (Fatih Camii) and the Panagia Pantobasilissa (Kemerli Kilise).



Figure 3.12. Tirilye, as seen in the 1920s (URL 23)

3.2.7.1 Greek Orthodox Community and the Settlement of Tirilye

The settlement is in a ravine between the hills called Stavropidi (facing the sea on the east), Korakofolia (facing the sea on the west) and Chtysopodia (further back, facing the village on the south).²⁹⁴ There was a stream running through the village and pouring into the sea. It had about 12 bridges, two of them being stone and the rest were of timber.²⁹⁵ The stream bed is covered today and has become the main road of Tirilye.²⁹⁶ Before that, the main road passed in front of the school, parallel to the stream, and is today known as Eski Pazar Street.

²⁹⁴ B164 Triglia, p. 33.

²⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 47.

²⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 45–46.

The village was on a slope, divided into two districts, *Káto* (lower) on the lower part and *Áno* (upper) on the higher and steep part.²⁹⁷ These two districts were themselves divided into three *enorias*, each *enoria* with its own church. The *enorias* or neighbourhoods of *Áno* are Hagios Georgios (Kaldırım Mahallesi), Pantovasilissa (Kemer Mahallesi), Hagios Dimitris (Çardak Mahallesi). The districts of *Káto* are Virgin Mary (Meydan Mahallesi), Hagios Giannis (Müzevir Mahallesi) and Kato Hagios Georgios (Selvi Mahallesi). The Turkish district was separate and did not have a special name, only called *Turkomahala*. The Turkish houses were located around the Fatih mosque.²⁹⁸

Ecclesiastically, Tirilye belonged to the Metropolis of Bursa. There was a representative of the despot in town.²⁹⁹ The town of Tirilye had six churches: Hagios Georgios Ano (upper) and Hagios Georgios Kato (lower), Panagia Metropolitan and Panagia Pantobasilissa, Hagios Ioannes and Hagios Dimitrios.³⁰⁰ The churches were organised in two sections as the upper and the lower, based on the topographic division.³⁰¹

Tirilye's school, today called *Taş Mektep*, was built between the years 1903-1909.³⁰² The architect of the school was M. Mypidhs, as the inscription on the building shows. It comprised three sections: the school for boys, the school for girls and a kindergarten for both.³⁰³ Turkish children attended the Greek school until the Turkish school was built in 1919.³⁰⁴

The economy of Tirilye was heavily dependent on agriculture. Triglians grew olives in the spring and harvested crops. They boiled silk cocoons in May and June. After

²⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 117–118.

²⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 117–118.

²⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 23.

³⁰⁰ GAK, Codex no. 427, 'Kanonismos tis Orthodoxou Koinotitos Triglias', 16 Mar. 1908, art. 3; 12 July 1909. For further information, see URL 5.

³⁰¹ GAK, Codex no. 427, 17 Aug. 1903, art. 3; 22 June 1908.

³⁰² *Ibid.*, 12 July 1909, art. 3.

³⁰³ B164 Triglia, pp. 160–165.

³⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 30.

the cocoons, they prepared the soil for the crop in the summer.³⁰⁵ The autumn was the fruit season, and then olive harvest began. Then the mills were open for oil production. Sericulture was the second important source of income after olives, and grapes were the third.

The *Rums* were forced to leave Tirilye for Bursa in 1915 with the relocation and resettlement policies and came back in 1918 with the Mondros Armistice.³⁰⁶ In 1922, after Mudanya Armistice, they had to leave Tirilye permanently. Trigilians were later settled in Thessaloniki, heavily in Nea Triglia.³⁰⁷

3.2.7.2 Tirilye Council Records in the General State Archives of Greece (GAK)

The communal registers of Tirilye, kept in the General State Archives of Greece, provide detailed information about the regulation of the implementations in the town. The well-known Triglian metropolitan, Chrysostomos of Smyrna took an active role in decisions about plans for the city and especially on the churches and schools in 1908 and 1909.

In the meeting of January 1908, chaired by the Metropolitan of Bursa Nathaniel, Chrysostomos, two plans were proposed to the *Ephoro-demogerontia*. The first proposal was to establish a new central church that would replace the existing six churches to limit the expenses of services and the second was meantime to rotate services between the five churches due to financial difficulties.³⁰⁸ The rotation program of the lower and upper cluster of churches was outlined with ‘The Rules and Procedure for Rotating Service of the Churches of Triglia’, in January 1908.³⁰⁹

³⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 54–56.

³⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 8–10.

³⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 11.

³⁰⁸ Codex no. 427, 9 Jan. 1908, art. 3.

³⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, 9 Jan. 1908, art. 3. For further information, see Appendix A.

Trigilians had to leave the village from 1915 until 1918 with the temporary relocation of the *Rums* during the First World War. After returning back to Tirilye from Bursa, the villagers found out that their churches and houses had been damaged. At the same time, the community fund was in financial difficulties: thus, the issue of operating but a single church was raised again. According to the 26.4.1919 decision: only one church will operate, and it is chosen as the Church of Hagios Georgios Kato.³¹⁰ The initial idea of building the new central church was never implemented. The land of the Church of Hagios Demetrius was selected as the location of the new central church and the Hagios Demetrius was demolished in 1919 to this end.³¹¹

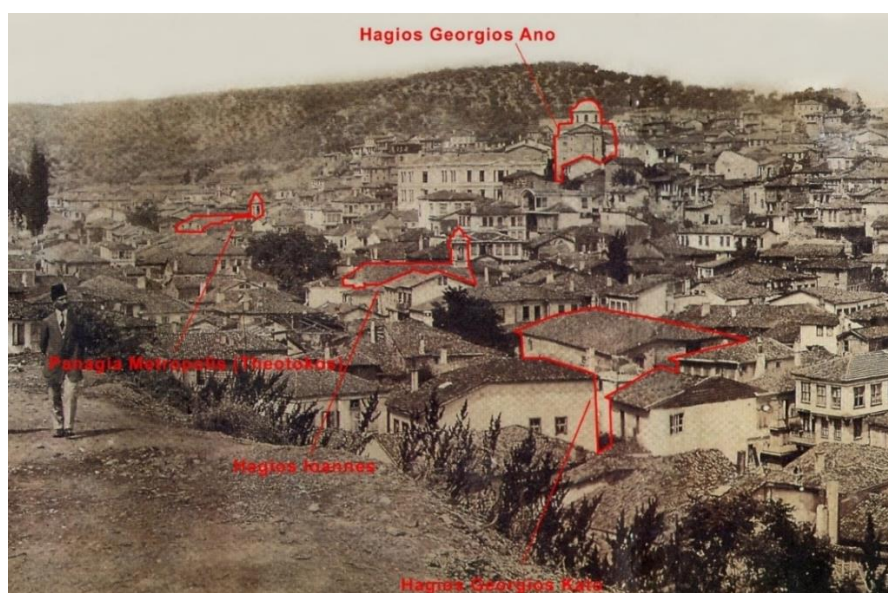


Figure 3.13. Tirilye with the 19th century churches as seen in 1926 (URL 28)

³¹⁰ Codex no. 427, 8 Sep. 1919, art. 3.

³¹¹ *Ibid.*, 9 Jan. 1908, art. 3.

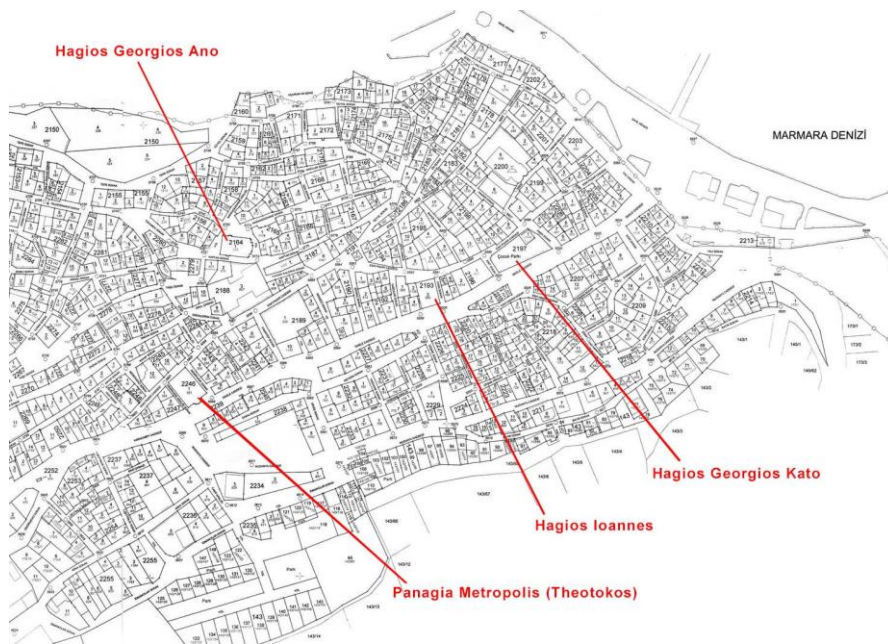


Figure 3.14. Tirilye, 19th century churches (2022)

3.2.7.3 Chapels and Hagiomas of Tirilye

The chapel of Hagia Paraskevi was in the Hagia Ioannes neighbourhood.³¹² It included a well with a small chapel on top. Hagia Paraskevi did not have an altar, just portable icons. No Sunday services were held there. The celebration of Hagios Paraskevi was held once a year or individual small afternoon services were conducted.

The chapel of Hagios Sisini had holy water running under a chapel, located among the houses near the beach.³¹³ The holy water was enclosed in a stone masonry structure (4 x 3 m). Women of the village visited the chapel on every Wednesday at dawn, lit candles, and burned incense. The Turkish community also honoured and respected it.

³¹² B164 Triglia, p. 152.

³¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 153.

The chapel of Hagios Spyridon was a small chapel, approximately 1.6 km away from the village, above *Platanies*.³¹⁴ It had holy water that came out from the chapel and ran inside the pipe along the road. This water was believed to be healing for the deaf.

In the chapel of Hagios Spyridon, celebrations were held annually on December 12. Hagios Spyridon was also the protector of the shoemakers and goldsmiths. On that day, shoemakers and goldsmiths closed their shops and did not work.

The chapel of Hagios Trifon was 1.6 km away from the village, at the border of Yalıçiftlik. It was in the fields of Triglians but later taken over by the Yalıçiftlik residents.³¹⁵ There the holy water was protected inside a small stone masonry room. The roof could shelter approximately 50 people. The villagers held celebrations on Hagios Trifon, annually on February 1. The women visited the chapel on Saturdays and on Pentecost.

The Hagiasma of Hagia Barabolini is at 1.5 km southwest from Tirilye.³¹⁶ There were to be found building remains and the holy water which took its name from Saint Barabolini. The celebrations took place during the forty days of Easter to Ascension Day. Many people from close settlements visited the hagiasma every Thursday during this period and partook of the holy water.³¹⁷

³¹⁴ The location called '*Platanies*' was approximately 1.6 km away from village, to the southwest of Tirilye. It was mostly flat land and there were the estates of Triglians, containing sycamore and mulberry trees for silkworm breeding and with small streams passing through the land. For further information, see B164 Triglia, pp. 100, 154–155.

³¹⁵ B164 Triglia, p. 156.

³¹⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 150–151.

³¹⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 150–151.

3.2.8 Yalıçiftlik

3.2.8.1 Greek Orthodox community of Yalıçiftlik

Yalıçiftlik is at 20 km west of Mudanya and 3 km away from the sea. Yalıçiftlik (Giali Tsifliki) included the outermost fields of Tirilye, used as pasture lands. First, three families came from Agrafa, then more people came from other settlements, and eventually it became a village with about 200 houses.³¹⁸ The population of the village was completely Greek Orthodox, and they spoke only Greek.³¹⁹ Yalıçiftlik administratively belonged to the district governorship of Mudanya and ecclesiastically belonged to the Metropolis of Nicomedia. They only had one church, and went to nearby villages Dereköy and Veletler for marriage licenses.³²⁰

Yalıçiftlik was a wealthy village. They owned fertile land and harvested cereals. There were also vineyards, fruit trees, olive trees and mulberries for sericulture production.³²¹ Although not being near the sea, the village owned a small port to load products such as silk cocoons, olives and olive oil for Mudanya and Tirilye. This port was called Kapanca which though in ruins today is still called a port.³²²

After 1922, most of the people from Yalıçiftlik settled in Palaichori, Kavala and Ptolemaida where they continued agricultural activities.³²³

³¹⁸ B166 Gialitsifliki, p. 5.

³¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 12.

³²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 6.

³²¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 21–25.

³²² *Ibid.*, 12.

³²³ *Ibid.*, p. 31.

3.3 The *Rum* Churches in Mudanya

3.3.1 Surviving Churches

Today, there are six churches existing in Mudanya and villages. These are Hagios Georgios in Mudanya (converted into Uğur Mumcu Cultural Centre), Hagios Ioannes in Aydınpinar, Hagia Paraskevi in Dereköy, Hagios Georgios Ano, Panagia Metropolis (converted into Faruk Çelik Cultural Centre), and the Cemetery Chapel in Tirilye. The two cultural centres are still in use, while the other four churches are abandoned. These churches will be examined in detail through their historical development, architectural characteristics and current state in order to introduce the values, threats and potentials they possess.

3.3.1.1 The Church of Hagios Georgios, Mudanya

3.3.1.1.1 Historical Background

The Metropolitan Church of Hagios Georgios was in the district of Hagios Georgios. Its construction date is unknown.³²⁴ The first mention of the church can be found in the travel book of Dr John Covell. He visited the church in 1676 and commented that it was the biggest and the most beautiful one in Mudanya.³²⁵

The church was rebuilt from foundations up after the 1870 fire.³²⁶ It was redecorated between the years 1902-1903 with marble and an ornamented iconostasis for which Mudanians paid over 700 liras to a well-known Tinian sculptor, Theodoros Lyritis

³²⁴ B157 Moudania, p. 68.

³²⁵ Covell 1998, p. 222.

³²⁶ The fire date is given as 1970 in 'Moudania Refugee Association' book, but the Foreign Ministry Imperial Order record from 1862 also mentions about the fire in Mudanya: Refugee Association 1931, p. 30; BOA, İ. HR., Dosya No: 256, Gömlek No: 15284, p. 1. See also Aydın 2019, p. 29.

and to the famous artist Nikolaos Kessanlis for painting the icons.³²⁷ The residence of the *Despot* was also in the vicinity of Hagios Georgios.³²⁸ The ‘Brotherhood of Apameia’ decorated the square where Hagios Georgios was rebuilt.³²⁹ They placed two marble epigrams, one at the entrance of the church, in front of the iron fences, and another one on the fountain inside the courtyard of the church. Both epigrams were dedicated to the citizen of Mudanya, Ioannis Filalithis, who was a philologist and a teacher at the Phanar Greek Orthodox College.³³⁰ These epigrams do not exist today.

The English translation of the epigram on the iron fences reads:

Pious desire builds a temple in my rich lands to you, Great Georgios, it is dedicated. It was built with the help of the Moudaniotes in 9 years.³³¹

26 November 1891

³²⁷ Sculptor Theodoros Lyritis (1877–1948) was born in Pyrgos on Tinos and studied at the Polytechnic University of Athens. He and his brother Lazarus maintained their workshop in İstanbul and later in Athens. After the death of Lazarus, Theodoros continued his works in Neo-Byzantine style in Athens and the villages of Attica (URL 15).

Nikolaos Kessanlis, one of the well-known Greek icon painters of the period, was born in 1859, in İstanbul. He attended the Phanar Greek Orthodox College and Rome School of Fine Arts. He worked in France and Italy then returned to İstanbul. Some of his works are in Metropolitan Church of Saint Gregory Palamas in Thessaloniki, and Kadıköy Hagia Triada Greek Orthodox Church in İstanbul (Levi 2019, p. 85; URL 8).

³²⁸ B157 Moudania, p. 68.

³²⁹ The Brotherhood of Apameia was one of the most important associations of Mudanya which was responsible for charity and community service administration. The association first started as ‘Brotherhood Myrliia’ and did not make significant decisions in the early days. The main works of the association were inscriptions on the iron fences and fountain of Hagios Georgios, and the construction of marble fountain near the central community café: Moudania Refugee Association 1931, pp. 65–68.

³³⁰ Ioannis Filalithis (1808-1888) was born in Mudanya, studied at the Phanar Greek Orthodox College, then at the University of Athens. He taught at the Phanar Greek Orthodox College for 40 years and headed the Halki School of Commerce (1846-1847): URL 9.

³³¹ The epigram is in Homeric dialect and follows as: ΤΟΝ ΔΕ ΠΟΤ ΕΥΣΕΒΙΗ ΚΛΕΙΝΟΙ ΠΕΡΙΚΑΛΛΑΕΛ ΝΗΟΝ ΛΗΜΑΜΕΝΟΙ ΛΙΠΑΡΩΝ ΜΟΥΔΑΝΙΩΝ ΝΑΕΤΑΙ ΣΕΥ ΜΕΓΑΛΩΝΥΜ ΕΚΗΤΙ ΓΕΩΡΓΙΕ ΝΥΝ ΕΡΟΕΝΤΙ ΠΑΝΤΟΘΕ ΜΙΝ ΘΡΙΓΚΩ ΑΡΙΠΡΕΠΙΩΣ ΣΤΕΨΑΝ ΑΡΗΙΡΕΠΕΩΣ. ΜΥΡΑΕΤΩΝ ΕΠΑΡΗΓΟΝΤΩΝ ΕΤΑΡΩΝ ΣΘΕΝΟΣ ΟΣΣΟΝ ΟΦΡΑ ΠΡΕΠΗ ΕΥΜΠΙΑΣ ΕΝΝΑΕΤΗΡΙ ΔΟΜΟΣ.

The Greek translation is by Monk Theodosios Mikragiannanite from Hagia Anna of Mt. Athos and follows as: ΕΥΣΕΒΗΣ ΠΟΘΟΣ ΚΤΙΖΕΙ ΠΕΡΙΚΑΛΛΗ ΝΑΟΝ ΣΤΑ ΠΛΟΥΣΙΑ ΜΟΥΔΑΝΙΑ Σ' ΕΣΕΝΑ ΜΕΓΑΛΩΝΥΜΕ ΓΕΩΡΓΙΕ ΕΙΝΑΙ ΑΦΙΕΡΩΜΕΝΟΣ. ΚΤΙΣΤΗΚΕ ΜΕ ΤΗ ΒΟΗΘΕΙΑ ΤΩΝ ΜΟΥΔΑΝΙΩΤΩΝ ΣΕ 9 ΧΡΟΝΙΑ.

The English translation of the epigram on the fountain:

The fountain that was running water was destroyed by fire, before the desolation of this city. The eagerness of the Moudaniotas built it from depth with large expenses.³³²

1 July 1881

Today there is a seven-line inscription on the northern façade over a window opening (Figure 3.15). The inscription dating to 1834 is in Greek and the English translation is as follows:

In order to be honoured due to his devotion, Iordines, son of Anastasiou and our friendly neighbour, has given all the carved stones on the façades of this holy church from his olive grove at Palaikhorio. Mudanya (Moundanion) expresses gratitude to him.³³³



Figure 3.15. Mudanya, Hagios Georgios, inscription over the lintel of the north window (2021)

³³² This epigram is in Homeric dialect, and follows as: ΚΡΙΝΙΙΝ ΚΑΛΛΙΡΟΗΝ ΑΝΑΛΩΣΕ ΚΑΤΑΧΘΟΝΙΟΝ ΠΥΡ ΤΗΝ ΔΕ ΣΥΝ ΑΦΝΕΙΑ ΤΗ ΔΕ ΠΟΛΕΙ ΠΡΟΤΕΡΟΝ ΝΥΝ ΔΕ ΜΙΝ ΕΚ ΒΛΘΡΩΝ ΤΟ ΠΟΛΙΤΩΝ ΟΥΡΑΝΙΟΝ ΠΥΡ ΔΗΜΑ ΤΟ ΜΑΡΜΑΡΕΗΝ ΑΔΡΟΤΑΤΗ ΛΛΠΛΗ. 1 Ιουλίου 1881.

The Greek translation is by Monk Theodosios Mikragiannanite and follows as: ΤΗΝ ΚΡΗΝΗ ΠΟΥ ΕΤΡΕΧΕ ΝΕΡΟ ΩΡΑΙΑ ΤΗΝ ΕΞΑΦΑΝΙΣΕ ΦΩΤΙΑ ΚΑΙ ΣΤΗΝ ΑΦΑΝΕΙΑ ΑΥΤΗ ΤΗΝ ΠΟΛΗ ΠΡΩΤΥΤΕΡΑ. ΤΩΡΑ ΕΚ ΒΑΘΡΩΝ ΟΙΚΟΔΟΜΗΣΕ ΜΕ ΜΕΓΑΛΕΣ ΔΑΠΑΝΕΣ Ο ΖΗΛΟΣ ΤΩΝ ΜΟΥΔΑΝΙΩΤΩΝ.

³³³ URL 12.

As recorded in the KMS Oral History Archives, the old Mudanian Nikolaos Gaitanos testifies that the church was approximately the same size as the Church of Hagia Irini in Athens, but without a dome. The church had a basilica type plan, with a women's section and a bell tower. For the bell tower, a fellow Mudanian donated a church bell, but in return, he insisted on making decisions on church-related issues.³³⁴ This situation caused a dispute, so the bell was taken down and given back to the donor.

As stated in the High Gate *Muhimme* Register (*Bab-ı Asafî Mühimme Defteri*) from 1853 the church was rebuilt in 1834.³³⁵ This document includes general measurements of the church (21.754 m long, 14.755 m wide and 7.818 m high). In addition, the thickness of two walls facing each other is noted as 0.85 m and 0.43 m, but without specifying the direction they ran in.

The church lost its religious function after the Population Exchange. It was used as military storage and then converted into a movie theatre in 1977. After the repair by the Municipality of Mudanya in 1993, the monument was given a new function as Uğur Mumcu Culture Centre. Today, it is owned by the Municipality of Mudanya and hosts cultural activities, theatres, social gatherings.

3.3.1.1.2 Architectural Features

The Church of Hagios Georgios is located between Bilgi and Sağlık Streets. The three-aisled church (30.27 m long, 16 m wide, and 13 m high) is in basilica type plan, is orientated east-west and is covered with a half-hipped gable roof.³³⁶ The church is preceded by a rectangular narthex on the west and terminated in a semi-circular apse on the east.

³³⁴ B157 Moudania, p. 70.

³³⁵ BOA, DVNSMHM. d., Dosya No: 258, p. 88. See also Aydın 2019, p. 29.

³³⁶ Currently, it is not clear how many aisles the church has, but information provided by Yıldız Ötüken and her team reveals that there were three aisles. For further information see Ötüken, *et al.* 1986, p. 468.

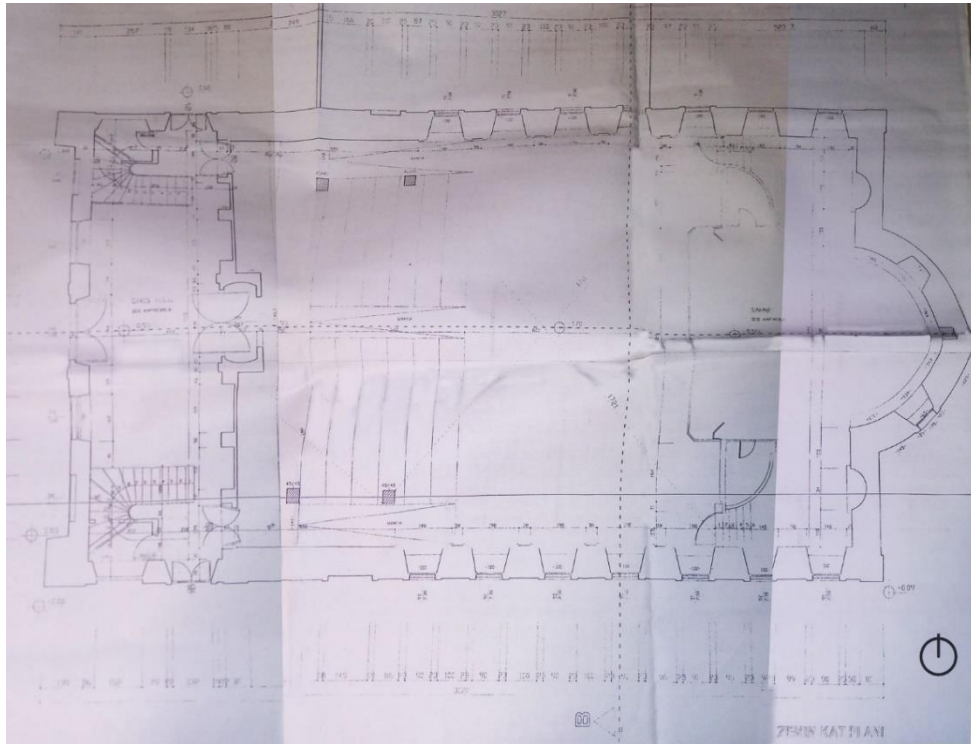


Figure 3.16. Mudanya, Hagios Georgios (Uğur Mumcu Cultural Centre) gallery floor restoration plan (Mudanya Municipality Archive, 2002)

The semi-circular arched door on the central axis of the west façade opens into the narthex. The semi-circular arched windows on both sides of the door, which are approximately the same size as the door, provide natural light to the space. The narthex is symmetrically arranged, there are side entrances in the north and south walls (Figure 3.17). In front of these doors, which are not used, two U-shaped staircases lead to the mezzanine floor. The space under both staircases is used for the bathrooms. The wall separating the narthex from the *naos* is located on the east. There are three doors in this wall opening to the *naos* and two niches between them. The door on the central axis is a semi-circular arched opening with marble pillars on both sides and a marble lintel above. The two flanking doors are smaller in size and have simple rectangular frames.



Figure 3.17. Mudanya, Hagios Georgios, narthex as seen from the south (2021)

The *naos* has been converted into a theatre hall; floor-fixed seatings continue from the west wall until the stage (Figure 3.18). The seats are fixed on steps ascending from the narthex to the bema. The gallery floor (currently the audience balcony) is at the west of the *naos*. On the north wall, three rows of sixteen semi-circular arched windows illuminate the *naos*. There are seven windows in the bottom row, four windows in the middle and five windows in the upper row. The windows on the lower level are relatively larger and there is a door next to these large windows. The *naos* layout is symmetrical, as in the narthex, and the north wall organisation is repeated on the south.

The *naos* terminates in a semi-circular apse (6.9 m in diameter) on the east (Figure 3.23). The three windows on the apse wall are permanently blocked. They can be seen on the façade but appear only as niches on the interior. Above the apse, there is a quatrefoil window in the centre and oval windows on both sides.

Currently, a stage stands in the place of the bema. The equipment and curtains surrounding the stage block the connection of the apse with the *naos*. Only the top windows of the east wall that are above the stage can be seen (Figure 3.19).



Figure 3.18. Mudanya, Hagios Georgios, *naos* as seen from the stage (2021)



Figure 3.19. Mudanya, Hagios Georgios, stage as seen from the north corner of the balcony (2021)

The gallery floor is just above the narthex and protrudes into the *naos* from the west. This floor consists of a large room at the west, an audience balcony at the east and a control booth between these two spaces. Each staircase reaching the gallery floor from the narthex is connected to this large room by a door, but the door at the north has been permanently blocked. Inside the room, there are six arched windows (in two rows) with stained glass in the west wall. There are no openings on the north wall, since the windows and the door opening to the staircase are permanently blocked. The south wall has the same layout as the north wall, except that the door opening is still in use. At the east of the gallery room, the control booth protrudes into the gallery room. There are three doors in the east wall opening to the audience balcony; one passes through the protruding room while the other ones are positioned at each side. The balcony extends 5.6 m towards the east (Figure 3.20) and there are five rows of fixed seatings on it.



Figure 3.20. Mudanya, Hagios Georgios, gallery floor as seen from the balcony
(2021)

The west façade arrangement of the building (Figure 3.21) includes a semi-circular arched entrance door (enclosed in a rectangular cut stone frame with marble spolia) with two semi-circular arched windows on each side, two rows of ten semi-circular arched windows, with two oval and a circular window on the pediment. This façade

is plastered and painted in an off-white colour, from the eaves level until the first-row window height.



Figure 3.21. Mudanya, Hagios Georgios, west façade (2021)

The north façade consists of sixteen window openings on three different levels (just visible in part on Figure 3.21). The first level has seven windows (1 x 2.4 m) and a semi-circular arched door next to them, towards the west. The second level has four, windows (1 x 1.5 m), the first two windows from the west are permanently closed while the third window from the west has the marble inscription embedded above its lintel. The third row has five windows (1 x 1 m), while the first two from the west are blocked. The north and south façade organisation is identical (for the latter, see Figure 3.22).



Figure 3.22. Mudanya, Hagios Georgios, as seen from the southwest (2021)



Figure 3.23. Mudanya, Hagios Georgios, east façade (2021)

The construction technique of the church is sandstone ashlar masonry with fine joints as seen on the exterior walls (1 m thick). All the interior wall faces are plastered and have white paint, while the exterior faces do not have any plaster or paint except for the west façade and apse wall. The arched windows are surmounted with cut stone and made from timber. All windows have stone lintels under the arch and iron bars except for the west façade. The roof is covered with Mediterranean tiles.

3.3.1.1.3 Current State of Preservation

In terms of changes and new additions to the church, major alterations have been done to the interior. The narthex has new marble floor tiles and a new flat ceiling with spotlights. The walls are plastered and painted white. The red fabric cover on the *naos* doors is poorly crafted and the original material cannot be seen. The stairs leading to the gallery floor have new marble steps and aluminium balustrades, with white painted side walls and doors under the stairs, which are not in harmony with the space. The furniture and lighting fixtures are not compatible with a historic building because of their design, materials, and installation methods. A large fuse box is placed just under the south staircase, four recycling bins are next to it. A metal detector stands in front of the west wall. The side entrances to the narthex are blocked.

In the *naos*, the seats, stage, and raised floor under the seats occupy the space, which makes it impossible to perceive the original organisation and materials. The iconostasis, load-carrying columns and aisle partitions do not exist anymore. The flat ceiling is completely new, two large octagonal gypsum ornamentations protrude downwards from the ceiling. There are many spotlights embedded into the ceiling. The fabric curtains on the windows are usually closed and they are anyway difficult to access due to their height. The arched windows are framed with black paint.

The gallery room's original features are not known, but the parquet floor, plastered and white painted walls, and flat ceilings with spotlights are new. The doors opening

to the gallery balcony are covered with red fabric for sound insulation. The original balcony floor is not visible due to the raised floor and the fixed seatings which cover most of the space. The balcony parapet wall has an aluminium bar over it for security. The side openings of the control booth on the balcony side are closed with white PVC doors and windows.

There are also material deterioration and structural problems in the building. Erosion and colour change can be observed on the stone surfaces. The window and door arches have material loss and colour changes. There is a large vertical crack on the east corner of the north façade.

3.3.1.2 The Church of Hagios Ioannes, Aydınpinar

3.3.1.2.1 Historical Background

The construction date of the church is unknown. Vasileios I. Kandes states that the Church of Hagios Ioannes was built between the years 1846 and 1870, during the period of the Bursa Metropolitan Konstantinos.³³⁷ The church was dedicated to Hagios Ioannes the Baptist celebrated on August 29.³³⁸ A priest led masses every Sunday and on holidays, but villagers sometimes brought a second priest.

The villagers found marble pieces of a structure on the road connecting the village to Mudanya.³³⁹ This location was near Hagios Panteleimon Hagiasma, approximately 2.4 km away from the village. The villagers excavated the pieces and carried them to the village. Later, they used the marble pieces inside the walls of the new church that they were building. In Giannis Kaleperis's testimonies, his father

³³⁷ Kandes, Ahmet, Demirci and Tansel 2008, p. 151.

³³⁸ B160 Misopoli, p. 3.

³³⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 3.

who passed away in the First World War at the age of 75, had seen the church being constructed when he was young.³⁴⁰

As recorded in the KMS Archives, the church could accommodate more than a thousand people. The church had a square bell tower with three bells; to be able to ring the big bell a person had to climb up the stairs to reach it.³⁴¹ There were many decorative elements and icons inside the building, some brought from Jerusalem.³⁴² The icons in the church were movable, except for the Christ Pantocrator image on the ceiling; the iconostasis had carved decorations.³⁴³

The High Gate *Muhimme* Register (*Bab-ı Asaî Mühimme Defteri*) of 1824 from the Ottoman Archives of the State Archives Directorate, provides information about the name and size of the church (20.43 m long, 14.38 m wide and 6.81 m high).³⁴⁴ The Ministry of Justice and Sects (*Adliye ve Mezâhip Nezareti*) register from 1901 explains how the timber gallery floor was added, its cost and funding information involving the village population. The document also includes ground and gallery floor plans and façade drawings (Figure 3.24).³⁴⁵ This document is as follows:

The hall of the *Rum* church in the *Misebolu karye* of *Mudanya kaza*, will be renovated. The *Rum* Patriarchy has given the construction permit. The mentioned hall will be only for women. After 28 *arşın* and 8 *parmak* (21.47 m) long, 20 *arşın* (15.15 m) wide stone wall is reconstructed, the timber hall will be built on it. The money needed for this hall, 19.000 *kuruş*, will be taken from the church donation chest. There are 1209 *Rums* in the mentioned *karye* as understood from written notification. The application letter has taken approval from Sultan. The notice of the Sultan about this topic is served on 11 March 1317.³⁴⁶

³⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 13.

³⁴¹ *Ibid.*, p. 12.

³⁴² *Ibid.*, p. 10.

³⁴³ *Ibid.*, p. 13.

³⁴⁴ BOA, DVNSMHM. d., Dosya No: 251, p. 229. See also Aydın 2019, p. 30.

³⁴⁵ BOA, İ. AZN., Dosya No: 37, Gömlek No: 23, p. 4. See also Aydın 2019, p. 30.

³⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 4.

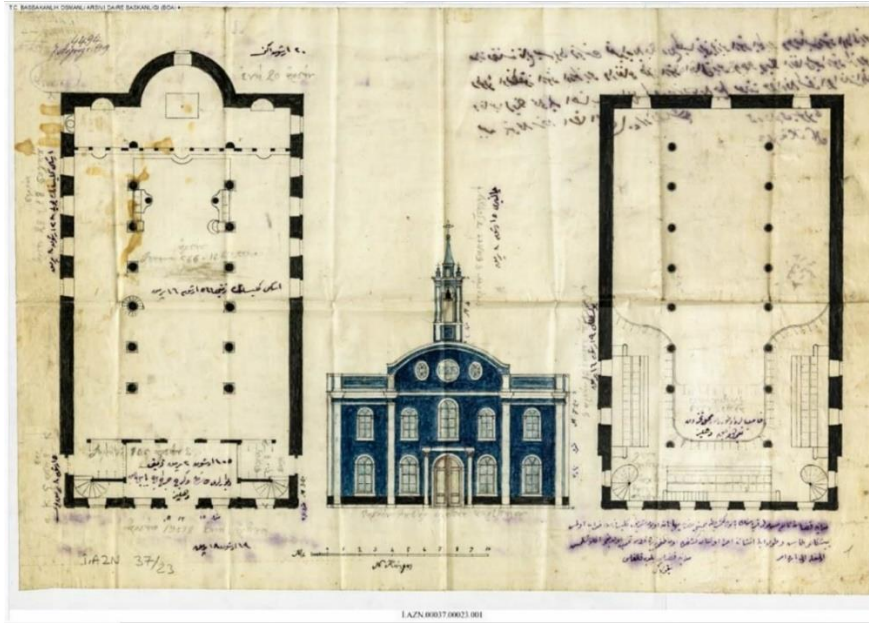


Figure 3.24. Aydın, Hagios Ioannes, ground and gallery floor plans with the west façade (BOA, İ. AZN., Dosya no: 37, Gömlek no: 23, p. 4. See also Aydın 2019, p. 30.)

The church was converted into a mosque after 1922. The bell tower on the west side was used as a minaret until its demolition in 1951.³⁴⁷ Between the years 1952-1956, a new minaret was built in the place of the old bell tower, but it does not exist today. The church was used as a mosque until 1980, when a new mosque was built, and abandoned after that. Moreover, a fire in 1982 damaged the roof structure. The marble floor slabs, and column bases were taken out. The church is registered by GEEAYK with Decision no. 12352, dated 15.11.1980. The building is a private property currently; still neglected, it is heavily covered with plants and the roof structure has disappeared completely. A building documentation and restitution project was conducted for the church, but no restoration projects have been carried out so far.

³⁴⁷ Ötügen, *et al.* 1986, p. 468.

3.3.1.2.2 Architectural Features

The Church of Hagios Ioannes is located on Atatürk Köşkü Street. The new mosque is to the east and the village coffee house is to the north of the church. The church has a basilica plan (26 m long, 16 m wide, 7 m high) with three aisles running in a east-west direction (Figure 3.25). The *naos* is preceded by a narthex at the west and terminated in an apse at the east. The church used to be covered with a half-hipped gable roof which currently is collapsed.

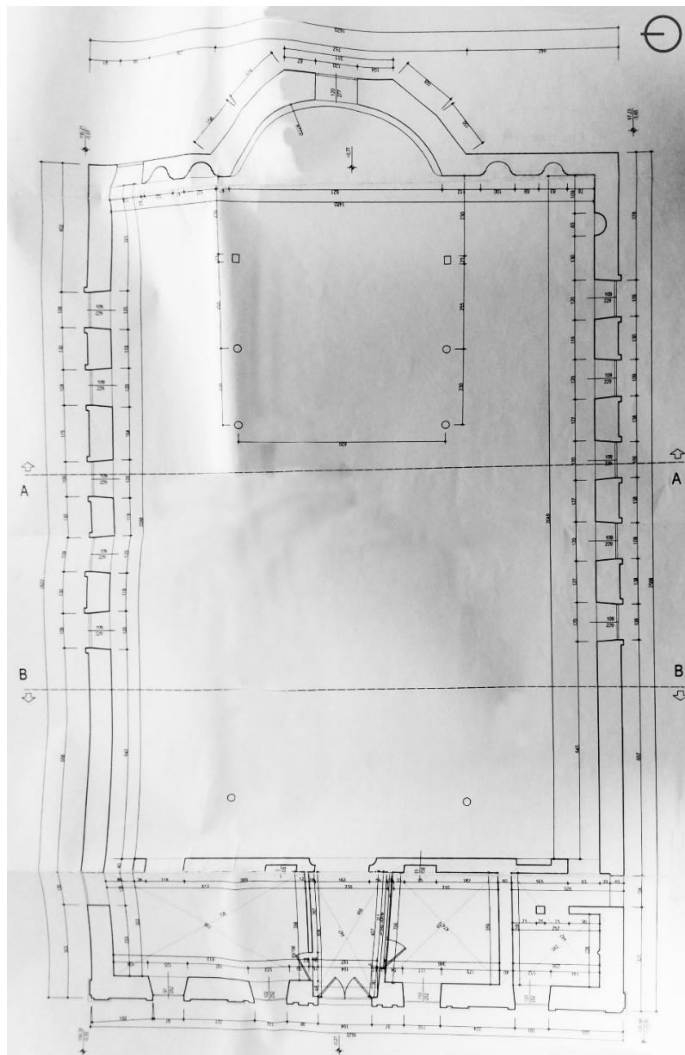


Figure 3.25. Aydınpınar, Hagios Ioannes, ground floor restitution plan (Mudanya Municipality Archive, 2002)

The main entrance on the west façade opens into the narthex. The semi-circular arched door has pilasters on both sides. A triangular pediment with a cornice is located just above the door. Inside the pediment, a marble inscription (1.5 m x 1.5 m) from 1901, reads as:³⁴⁸

How lovely is your dwelling place, O Lord!³⁴⁹

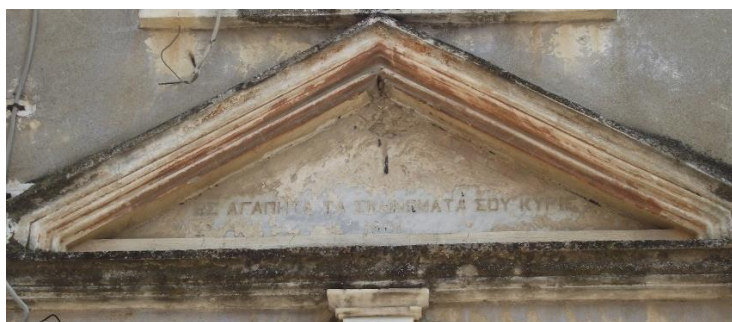


Figure 3.26. Aydınpinar, Hagios Ioannes, inscription on the pediment above the main door (2021)

The rectangular narthex used to have a gallery floor above it, which is collapsed now and there is no ceiling currently. The west wall of the rectangular narthex has five openings, a door in the centre and two semi-circular arched windows on each side. There is a narrow side door on the north wall of the narthex which is blocked with wooden boards. The east wall separates the *naos* and narthex. This wall has a wide door with a semi-circular arch and two large windows on each side. There are pilasters on both sides of the door and a rectangular plate sits on the stucco pilasters. The plate is framed by a wreath of olive leaves and there are reliefs of a face inside a medallion on each side. A Greek text is carved inside the plate and covered with paint. The south wall has a side entrance door symmetrical to the north wall. Both doors have ornamental iron bars below the semi-circular arch and the '1901' date is pierced on an iron plate (Figure 3.27).

³⁴⁸ The original Greek inscription as follows: ΩΣ ΑΓΑΠΗΤΑ ΤΑ ΣΚΗΝΩΜΑΤΑ ΣΟΥ ΚΥΡΙΕ 1901.

³⁴⁹ First sentence of Psalm 84, in the Book of Psalms: URL 3.



Figure 3.27. Aydınpınar, Hagios Ioannes, date of 1901 inscribed on the south narthex door (2021)

The staircases leading to the gallery floor used to be positioned adjacent to the north and south walls of the narthex which has completely disappeared. The timber frame gallery floor (once the women's section) used to be just above the narthex. It extended towards the *naos* in a U-shape and the north wing was longer. The structure was supported on timber buttresses as seen from BKVKBK archive images (Figure 3.31).



Figure 3.28. Aydınpınar, Hagios Ioannes, ambon (BKVKBK Archive, 1986)

The rectangular *naos* was divided into three aisles with sixteen pillars in two rows. The timber pillars were plastered and painted to give a marble effect. The nave was covered with a barrel vault ceiling, while the aisles were covered with a flat ceiling (Figure 3.29). The columns were connected to each other with semi-circular timber arches set in an east-west direction. However, the ceiling, roof and timber pillars do not exist anymore, but some column pieces can be seen inside the church. There used to be a cylindrical marble fountain in the middle of the *naos*. The information about the lost structures was obtained from the archive images of BKVKBK and the Ministry of Justice and Sects documents from the Ottoman Archives of the State Archives Directorate (Figure 3.24).

The *naos* is terminated at the east in a semi-circular apse with a *synthronon*. The apse has a window on the central axis and two niches on both sides of the apse with a window above each niche. Three circular windows with stained glass inside quatrefoil frames are located just above the apse, on the central axis.



Figure 3.29. Aydinpinar, Hagios Ioannes, apse as seen from the *naos* (BKVKBK Archive, 1986)



Figure 3.30. Aydinpinar, Hagios Ioannes, *naos* as seen from the gallery floor
(BKVKBK Archive, 1986)



Figure 3.31. Aydinpinar, Hagios Ioannes, narthex and gallery floor as seen from
the *naos* (BKVKBK Archive, 1986)

The north and south walls of the *naos* have a symmetrical arrangement as seen inside the church, except for the later addition of a *mihrab* niche to the south wall. Since the openings of the north and south walls of the *naos* are identifiable on the exterior, the necessary information about them will be given in the façade organization description.

On the west façade, the main door is set in the centre, while two windows flank it (Figure 3.32) and five windows are located above these. On the semi-circular pediment of the west façade, three circular windows are positioned. There are four equally distanced pilasters adjacent to the west façade. The north façade is divided by four pilasters, two of them are aligned with the narthex, and the other two are on the *naos* side, to the east. A minaret was added to the west corner of the north façade, in 1952-56, but it did not long survive (Figure 3.33). On the north façade, there are nine windows in two rows. The first row has five while the second has four windows. The south façade has a similar organization to the north façade (Figure 3.35). The only difference is the difference in height between the west and east of this façade which is the result of the steep slope of the street. On the east façade, the five-sided apse projects outwards, whose roof is covered with Ottoman tiles.



Figure 3.32. Aydınpınar, Hagios Ioannes, west façade (2021)



Figure 3.33. Aydın, Hagios Ioannes, north façade as seen from the square in front of the mosque (BKVKBK Archive, 1986)



Figure 3.34. Aydın, Hagios Ioannes, east façade (2021)



Figure 3.35. Aydın, Hagios Ioannes, south façade (2021)

The construction technique, as seen in the exposed walls, is alternating courses of rubble stone and brick with multiple rows of stone and two rows of brick. A cornice runs along all the façades of the building at the top level of the walls. The east and west façades are plastered, and pale blue paint can be seen, mainly on the west face where the surface material is significantly lost. The south and north walls are completely exposed while some plaster can be seen on the narthex side of the north wall. Interior walls are also plastered and have a slightly brighter blue paint than the exterior façades. There are spolia, marble columns, and many marble pieces embedded in the walls, mostly seen on the south façade. The openings of the structure have semi-circular arches except for the six circular windows on the pediments and all ground-floor level openings have iron bars.

3.3.1.2.3 Current State of Preservation

The church was abandoned with the construction of a new mosque in 1980. After that, the roof structure and interior load-carrying elements collapsed. Thus, the building remained completely open to external threats. Vegetation invaded the interior and the walls of the church, to the point that it covers the whole view (Figure 3.36).



Figure 3.36. Aydinpinar, Hagios Ioannes, narthex wall as seen from the *naos* (left); apse wall as seen from the *naos* (right) (2021)

The floor tiles were taken out. The cylindrical marble fountain in the middle of the *naos* did not survive. Many pieces from the wall are taken or fallen out, the mortar

between the stones and bricks was lost with time, the plaster and paint do not exist on most surfaces. Water damage can be generally seen on the walls, but it is concentrated around windows. Stucco decorations, specifically around the windows and cornices were broken. The window frames are damaged or lost, and no glasses are left. Numerous holes in the floor and on the walls are the result of treasure hunting. The documentation project of the church has been completed and can be seen in the BKVKBK Archive, but a conservation project has not yet been prepared yet.

3.3.1.3 The Church of Hagia Paraskevi, Dereköy

3.3.1.3.1 Historical Background

The church is dedicated to St. Paraskevi and was built in the early 19th century by the architect Abraham Ioannidis from Bursa.³⁵⁰ As described in the KMS Oral History Archives, the church did not have any perimeter walls and there was a cemetery with fifteen memorials near the building.³⁵¹ The priestly burials were just below the church.

In 1857, the villagers sent a letter to the Metropolis of Nicomedia, asking permission to repair the church.³⁵² This letter mentions that the church was damaged by the earthquakes and the community cannot enter the building for prayers. For this reason, regarding Sultan Abdulmecid's (1839-1861) new amendments, permission for reconstruction and increasing the size of the church (from 28 *arşın* in length, 12 *arşın*

³⁵⁰ Avraam Ionnides is also the architect of Hagios Ioannes Theologos Metropolitan Church of Bursa which was built in 1873. For further information, see Kandes 2008, p. 154.

³⁵¹ B162 Derekioi, pp. 6–7.

³⁵² BOA, İ. HR., Dosya No: 141, Gömlek No: 7392. See also Aydın 2010, p. 94.

in width, 8 *arşın* in height to 35 *arşın* in length, 25 *arşın* in width, 10 *arşın* height) was requested.³⁵³



Figure 3.37. Dereköy, Hagia Paraskevi, west façade with the bell tower (Foto Kemal, 1936)

The church was used as a mosque when the Turks came to the village in 1924. After the construction of a new mosque, villagers stopped using the building in 1972. The church has been abandoned since then, becoming severely damaged, with its iconostasis having disappeared. The *ambon* was moved to the Bursa Archaeology Museum. BKTVKK registered the building as ‘group I immovable cultural property to be protected’ (*korunması gerekli taşınmaz kültür varlığı*) with the Decision no.

³⁵³ 1 *arşın* (zira) equals to 75.8 cm: Taşkın 2005, p. 142.

3520, dated 13.11.1993. Currently, the Mudanya Municipality holds the ownership of the church since its transfer to the municipality in 2014. The church has a restoration plan which is still in the approval phase; there is no physical implementation yet.



Figure 3.38. Dereköy, Hagia Paraskevi, ambon from 1950s (left); donation box (right) (URL 25)

3.3.1.3.2 Architectural Features

The Church Hagia Paraskevi (17 x 26.5 m) lies on a slope on an east-west orientation and was covered with a half-hipped gable roof which does not exist today. The church had a basilica plan with three aisles. The building is preceded by a rectangular narthex on the west and terminated in three semi-circular apses on the east (Figure 3.39).

The narthex, which is 3 m higher than the street level, is reached by a semi-circular staircase with twelve steps. The entrance is through a semi-circular high arched door. The semi-open narthex is surrounded with arched openings and rectangular pillars

(sixteen in total) on three sides (north, south, and west). The west wall of the narthex has a door in the centre and two wide and two narrow semi-circular arched windows on each side. There are three arched openings on the north side of the narthex, while the south side is the same. The east wall of the narthex opens into the *naos* with a door in the centre and two arched windows on each side (Figure 3.40). The narthex ceiling is partially collapsed but the lath and plaster technique ceiling structure can be seen. The women's section used to be above the narthex and the bell tower came after that.³⁵⁴ However, these structures are now lost.

³⁵⁴ It is recorded in the archive that the sound of the church bell was heard from three hours away distance and the bell was made in Russia, costed 120 *liras*. For further information, see B162 Derekioi, pp. 6–7.

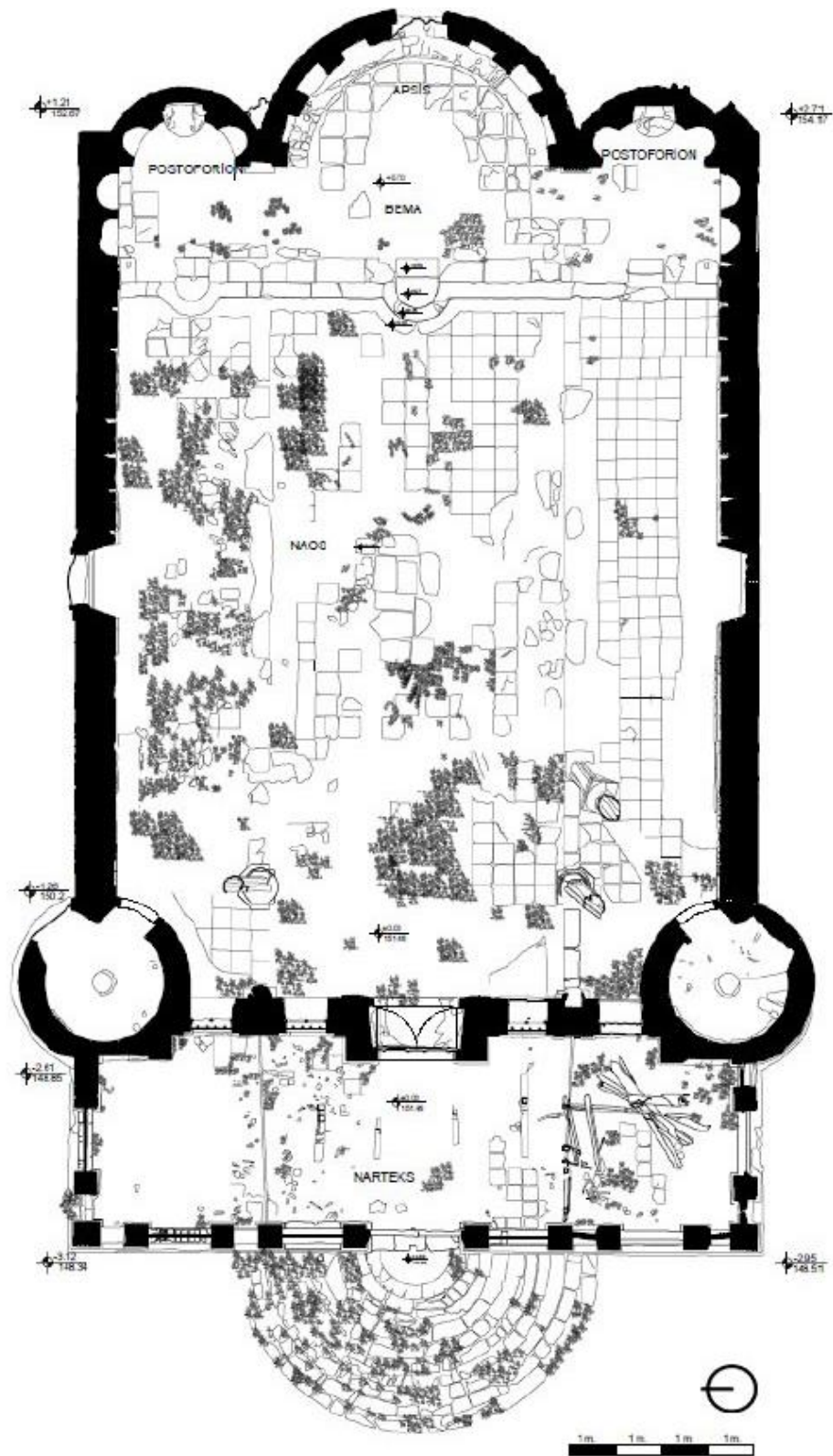


Figure 3.39. Dereköy, Hagia Paraskevi, ground floor plan (Dede, n.d.)

Based on the former images (Figure 3.43) and KMS Oral History Archives the *naos* used to be divided into three aisles by two rows of six timber pillars with Corinthian capitals and marble bases.³⁵⁵ There were images of the Twelve Apostles on these pillars and the image of the Christ Pantocrator on the ceiling. A timber *ambon* used to be located on the third column of the northern column row (Figure 3.38). The nave was covered with a barrel vault ceiling. However, the ceiling, roof and decorative elements along the load carrying structures are all gone.

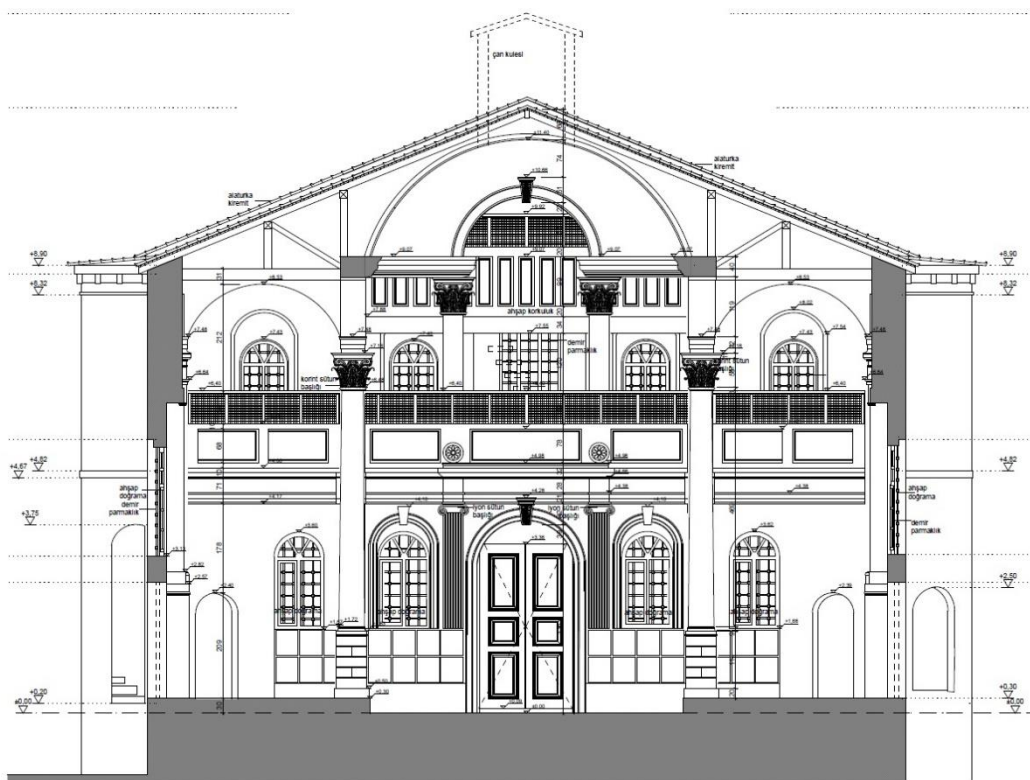


Figure 3.40. Dereköy, Hagia Paraskevi, north-south section from the *naos*, view towards west (Dede, n.d)

³⁵⁵ B162 Derekioi, pp. 6–7.



Figure 3.41. Dereköy, Hagia Paraskevi, narthex as seen from the *naos* (2019)

The cylindrical stair towers at the northwest and southwest corners of *naos* can be seen adjacent to the west wall. These stairs once provided access to the gallery floor above the narthex, but the gallery floor and the steps have disappeared. Each tower has three doors, one facing the *naos*, one opening to the outside and another opening to the gallery floor. The faded icon paintings can be seen just above the *naos* door of the southwest tower.



Figure 3.42. Dereköy, Hagia Paraskevi, south tower, wall painting over the door opening (2021)

On the north wall of the *naos*, there are six semi-circular arched windows with stucco pillars between them. Medallions can be seen above each window which used to have plaster seraphim figures inside, but the majority of the figures are damaged and lost (Figure 3.46). A door under the third window opens to the outside, making a side entrance for the *naos*. Many small holes/openings can be seen along the wall below the windows, which used to contribute to the acoustic quality of the space.

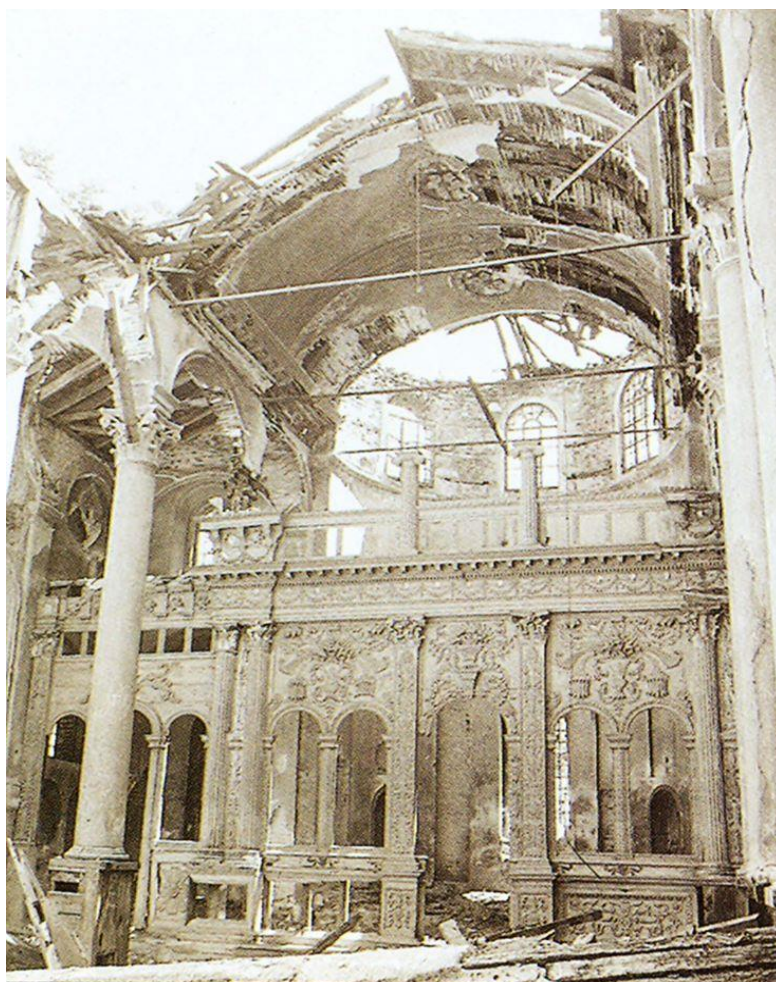


Figure 3.43. Dereköy, Hagia Paraskevi, iconostasis as seen from the southwest
(1990s) (URL 20)

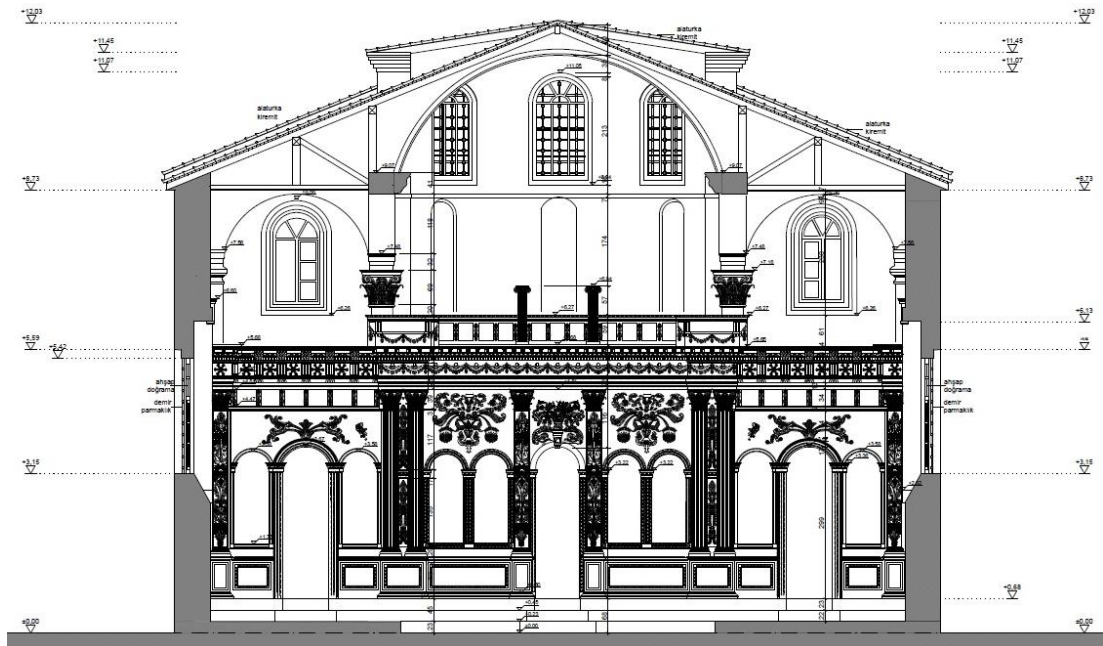


Figure 3.44. Dereköy, Hagia Paraskevi, north-south section from the *naos*, view towards the east (Dede, n.d)

At the east of *naos*, an iconostasis used to separate apse from the *naos*: this has disappeared (Figure 3.44). Currently, the triple-apsed east wall opens directly onto the main space. The central apse is larger and higher than the side apses and has a *synthronon* inside. In the central apse, a window at the centre and three tall niches on each side can be seen; above that, three arched windows in two rows are positioned but the bottom row windows are blocked (Figure 3.50). The side apses have two large niches with a window in the centre; another arched window is located just above the niches.

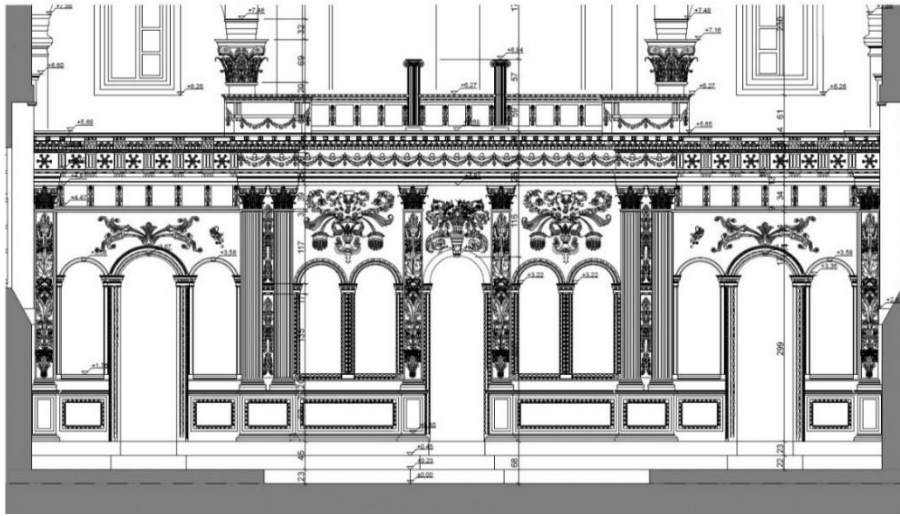


Figure 3.45. Dereköy, Hagia Paraskevi, iconostasis (Dede, n.d)

In the *naos*, the south wall arrangement is symmetrical to that of the north wall. It has six windows, a side entrance and openings in the wall similar to the north side. Some of the seraphim figures on the south wall are in better condition, and the openings can be observed better as the plaster on this wall has largely disappeared.

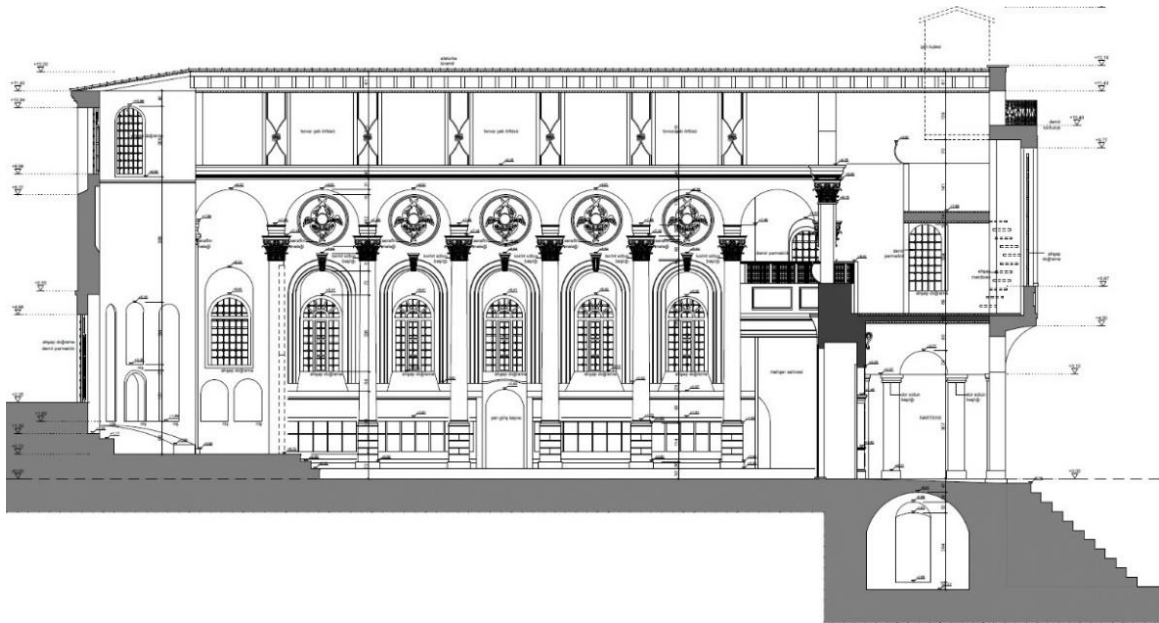


Figure 3.46. Dereköy, Hagia Paraskevi, west-east section from the *naos*, view towards the south (Dede, n.d)

On the west façade of the church, two doors on each side of the semi-circular staircase open into the basement of the church from the street level. The basement is located just under the narthex and has four rooms linearly connected to each other in the north-south direction. There is a barrel-vaulted rectangular room at the north end of the basement that opens into a domed circular room from the east. A barrel-vaulted narrow corridor is located at the south end of the basement. This corridor is blocked with soil currently and has a large arched niche in its south wall. Another rectangular barrel-vaulted room, located in the middle, connects the corridor and the north room. These rooms used to be the storage area of the church.³⁵⁶



Figure 3.47. Dereköy, Hagia Paraskevi, basement (2021)

The west façade, where the main entrance is located, directly faces onto the street and is the most elaborate façade of the building. The façade is divided into three rows with three horizontal mouldings and a triangular pediment at the top. The first row is the ground level with the staircase and two basement doors on the sides. The doors have plaster trims around them and keystones in the middle. The second row is the main entrance level with a large arched door in the centre and two narrow and two

³⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 6–7.

wide arched windows on both sides with rectangular pillars between each. On the third row, the gallery floor level, the semi-cylindrical body of the bell tower protrudes outwards and continues up until the pediment level. There is a long and narrow window inside this semi-cylindrical protrusion. Two semi-circular arched windows and two blind niches are located on both sides of the protrusion. The west façade terminates with a triangular pediment. In the central axis of the pediment, three windows create a semi-circular form. The timber bell tower used to be located just above the pediment but does not exist currently.



Figure 3.48. Dereköy, Hagia Paraskevi, west façade (URL 25)

On the north façade, there are two small windows at the gallery floor level and six large windows on the *naos* side. The semi-cylindrical stair tower protrudes between the *naos* and the narthex. No plaster or paint is seen on this façade. On the east façade, the main apse protrudes cylindrically, and the half-size side apse is located to its north side. The second side apse cannot be seen because of the storage structure built adjacent to the southern part of the façade. There are seven windows on this façade, four on the main apse and three on the sides. The south façade cannot be seen because of the houses built next to it. However, based on the interior spatial organisation, it is likely that the southern façade layout is similar to the north side.

The construction technique of the the main walls is alternating courses: two or three rows of bricks and several rows of rubble stones. Large cut stone blocks were used at the corners. The arches of the openings and the narthex pillars are brick masonry. The interior walls are plastered and painted pale blue. The only façade with plaster remaining is the west façade but there the colour has changed. The pillars on the west façade have marble-like paintings on them. The iconostasis, *ambon*, columns and aisle vaults which are lost were made of timber. Large, square floor tiles are laid in a checkerboard pattern. The stairs leading to bema from *naos* have marble steps.



Figure 3.49. Dereköy, Hagia Paraskevi, east façade (2021)

3.3.1.3.3 Current State of Preservation

Currently, the church has severely deteriorated. The roof and ceiling structure with arches, bell tower, and stair tower steps are completely lost; the timber columns are collapsed. The *ambon* was taken to the museum. The iconostasis which existed until five years ago is now completely vanished. The gallery floor has collapsed; only a small portion of the flooring can be seen. The semi-circular steps at the entrance are partially broken.



Figure 3.50. Dereköy, Hagia Paraskevi, apse as seen from the *naos* (2021)

The building is open to all environmental threats since there is no roof. Many trees and plants are growing inside the church, together with moss formation on the ground. Brick and stone pieces from the walls have fallen, especially from the upper levels. There is water damage, colour change, moss growth, and loss of surface material on the walls. While multiple surface-level cracks can be seen, there are no collapsed walls or large structural cracks.

The seraphim figures have been intentionally broken, and the icon painting is damaged. There are many holes, broken pieces and carvings on the walls which are the work of treasure hunters. The majority of floor tiles have been lifted. Window frames and glass are broken or lost; iron bars are rusty. Some windows, the south side entrance door and the basement tunnel, are blocked with bricks or earth.



Figure 3.51. Dereköy, Hagia Paraskevi, south wall (2021)

3.3.1.4 The Church of Hagios Georgios Ano (Dündar House), Tirilye

3.3.1.4.1 Historical Background

The church is within a private property, located on the north side of Taş Mektep, on Tohumcu Street. It is locally known as the Dündar House due to the presence of a residential section on its east side.³⁵⁷ The building, which was used as a residence after the Population Exchange, is currently shut and abandoned.

This church was in the Upper Neighbourhood (*Ano Mahala*) and named Georgios Ano to differentiate it from the other Hagios Georgios in Lower Neighbourhood (*Kato Mahala*). Triglians also called the church Kyparissiotis Georgios.³⁵⁸ The Tirilye community records include the request of Hagios Georgios parishioners for the repair of the church. The representatives from the parish of Hagios Georgios Ano donated the money raised by the church members.³⁵⁹ The *ephoro-demogerontia* ordered the materials required by the correspondents N. Kourapa, D. Lili and P. Abatzis. They later sent a letter to Mr D. Taka and G. Kassouris for the purchase of lead and zinc, and also for the estimation of the budget.³⁶⁰

The Ministry of Justice and Sects (*Adliye ve Mezâhip Nezareti*) register from 1894 gives information about the repair of the church towards the end of the 19th century.³⁶¹ The new church was decided to be 18.92 m long, 13.62 m wide, and 7.57 m high after the repair. The record explains the repair as follows:

In the Servi neighbourhood in Tirilye *nahiye* of Mudanya *kaza*, the reconstruction of Hagios Georgios is permitted with the request of the *Rum*

³⁵⁷ The name of the church appears as Hagios Ioannes in Turkish sources, but this information is incorrect as the Greek State Archives, KMS Oral History Archives and Ministry of Justice and Sects document have shown that it is Hagios Georgios Ano. For further information, see URL 11.

³⁵⁸ B164 Triglia, pp.128–129.

³⁵⁹ Codex no. 427, 29 Sep. 1919.

³⁶⁰ Considering the materials required for the repair, it can be concluded that the work involved the repair of the dome. For further information, see Codex no. 427, 29 Sep. 1919.

³⁶¹ BOA, İ. AZN., Dosya No: 16, Gömlek No: 44, p. 3. See also Aydın 2010, p. 103.

Patriarchate. 25 *zira* length, 18 *zira* width, and 10 *zira* height amount of masonry and *sakfi* timber will be used for this reconstruction and there will not be any additional spaces. The Christian Community has six churches existing, 876 dwellings and 5000 people population. The expense of 100 liras is paid from 6000 kuruş.³⁶²

The church became a private property after the Population Exchange and KTVKYYK registered the building as a group I ‘immovable cultural property to be protected’ (*korunması gerekli taşınmaz kültür varlığı*) with the Decision no. 2272, dated 05.09.2013. The church has a restoration plan which is still in the approval phase; there are no physical implementations yet.

3.3.1.4.2 Architectural Features

The church (19 x 13.03 m) is built on a sloped plot of land in an east-west orientation. The walls are 10.63 m high at the east and 8.40 m high at the west, although the east side sits on lower ground and the basement is on this part (Figure 3.53). The basement rooms create a levelled floor for the spaces above them.³⁶³ The plan type is a domed basilica, as the photo from 1926 shows. The church had a central dome, above the nave, as seen in the image (Figure 3.13). However, this plan type cannot be recognised currently as the roof structure and the load-carrying elements of the main space have been lost.

³⁶² 1 arşın (*zira*) equals to 75.8 cm: Taşkın 2005, p.142.

³⁶³ This church could not be entered during site visits since it is a private property. However, previous building documentation done in 2010 by Fatih Aydın and his team gives information about the interior organization and measurements.

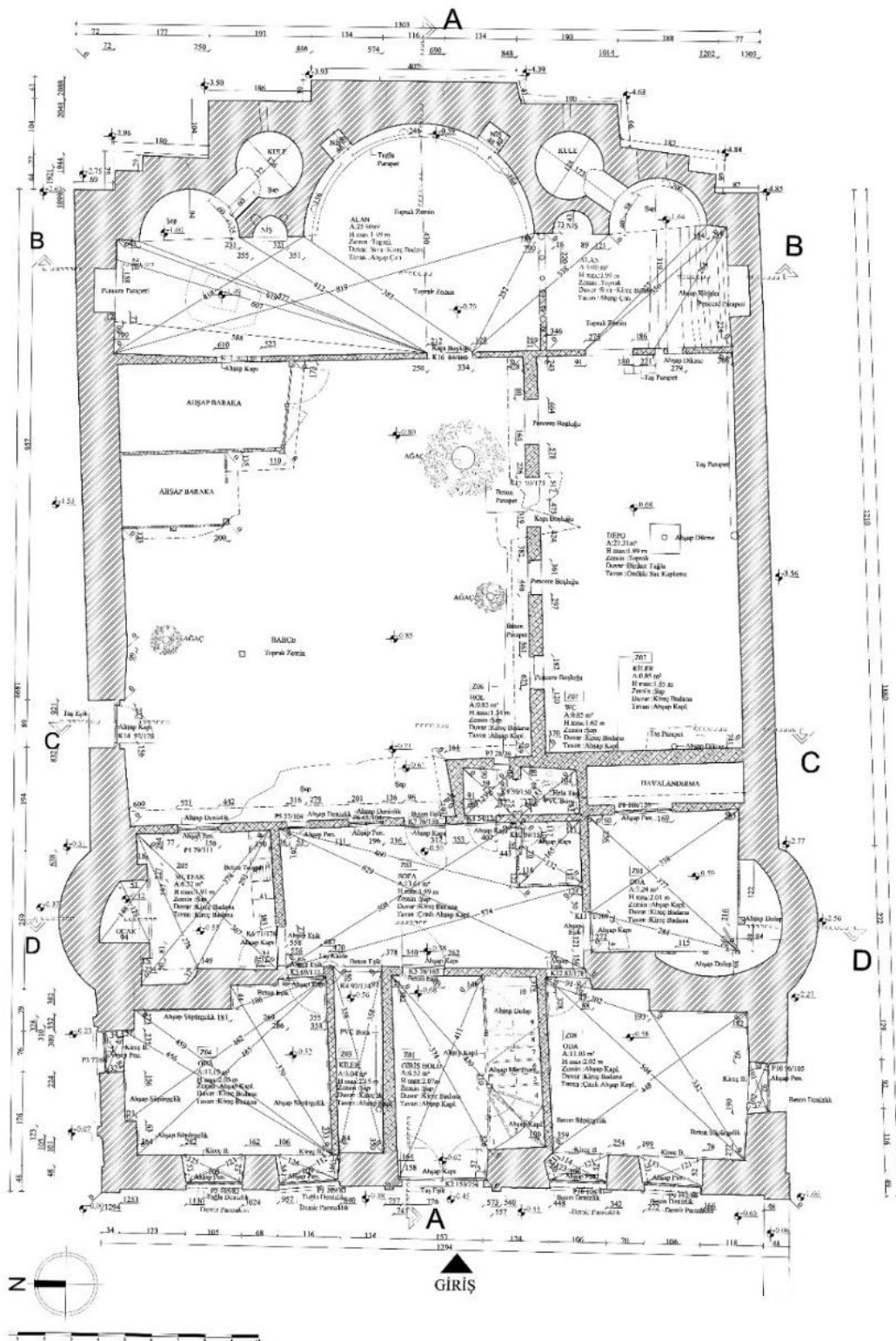


Figure 3.52. Tirilye, Hagios Georgios Ano, ground floor plan (Aydın, n.d.)

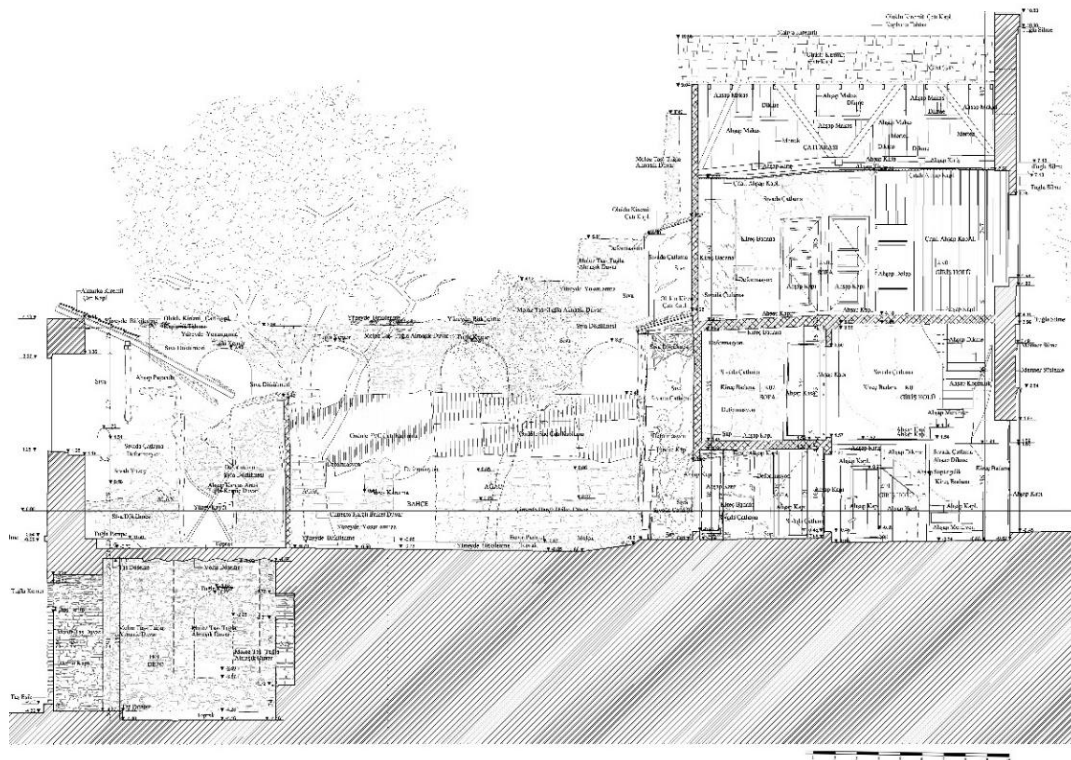


Figure 3.53. Tirilye, Hagios Georgios Ano, AA' section (west-east direction), view towards the south (Aydın, n.d.)



Figure 3.54. Tirilye, Hagios Georgios Ano, residential section and courtyard as seen from the southeast (left); view towards apse (right) (BKVKBK, 2014)

The church used to be preceded by a narthex at the west and terminated at the east with a triple apse. However today, the west side has been turned into a three-floor dwelling (Figure 3.54). The area where the residential part is located is the former

narthex of the church (Figure 3.52). In the current state, the west door of the church opens onto the entrance hall of the dwelling. There are six rooms, including the kitchen, pantry, and toilet at the ground floor. A timber L-shaped narrow stairway at the south of the entrance hall reaches the second floor. The ground floor and the first-floor plans are similar, but the second-floor plan is not known. This three-floor dwelling with the attic is a completely timber-framed structure, except for the south, west, and north exterior walls which belong to the original building.

A small door at the east of the residential section opens into the courtyard. The current courtyard used to be the former *naos* of the church (Figure 3.54). The *naos* is now preceded by the dwelling at the west and terminates at the east with a triple apse.

At the west of the *naos*, two stair towers can be seen, adjacent to the north and south walls of the church. These towers make cylindrical protrusions at the north and south façades. As noted in the KMS archives, the staircases were still being built inside the towers, one being in the south tower and the other being in the north, but one of them remained unfinished.³⁶⁴

On the north wall of the *naos*, four semi-circular arched windows can be seen. The first window from the west has been converted into a door by widening the opening down to the ground. The triple apse is at the east of the *naos*, while a *diakonikon* and a *pastophorion* are located on each side of the main apse. The main apse has two rectangular niches inside. There are two small cylindrical voids connected to the *diakonikon* and *pastophorion*. The purpose of these spaces is unknown. A later added timber frame wall is placed between apses and *naos* where an iconostasis would be approximately have been located. This wall partially blocks the apse view, but it is partially collapsed now. The south wall of the *naos* is symmetrical to the north, except for it not having a door opening.

³⁶⁴ B164 Triglia, pp.128–129.

The west façade of the church is the most elaborate façade, and the main entrance is located on the central axis (Figure 3.55). The double leaved, timber door has a semi-circular marble arch, marble posts and lintels. There are four windows on each side of the door. Two funerary steles are embedded next to the door.³⁶⁵ Three arched windows can be seen above the door level. The façade terminates in a semi-circular arched pediment with a circular window in its centre.



Figure 3.55. Tirilye, Hagios Georgios Ano, west façade (2021)

The north façade slopes down from west to east for approximately 3 m at the ground level (Figure 3.56). The staircase tower, located between the narthex and *naos*, creates a semi-cylindrical protrusion. On this façade, there are six windows, two of which are blocked, one of which is altered into a door, and two doors that were later blocked with brick masonry. The apse section, which is at the very east of the façade, is set further behind the *naos* façade by a series of gradual setbacks.

³⁶⁵ The originality of these rectangular and square windows is questionable. First they do not have the windows surmounted by an arch that many openings have in the building. Second is the irregular brick masonry and cement in use around the windows. The third reason is they are not in harmony with the general façade organization.



Figure 3.56. Tirilye, Hagios Georgios Ano, north façade (2021)

The arched door in the centre of the east façade opens into a large cellar with a jack-arched ceiling. There are three niches in the room, on the north, south and west walls. The south niche opens into a small, depressed storage room without any windows.

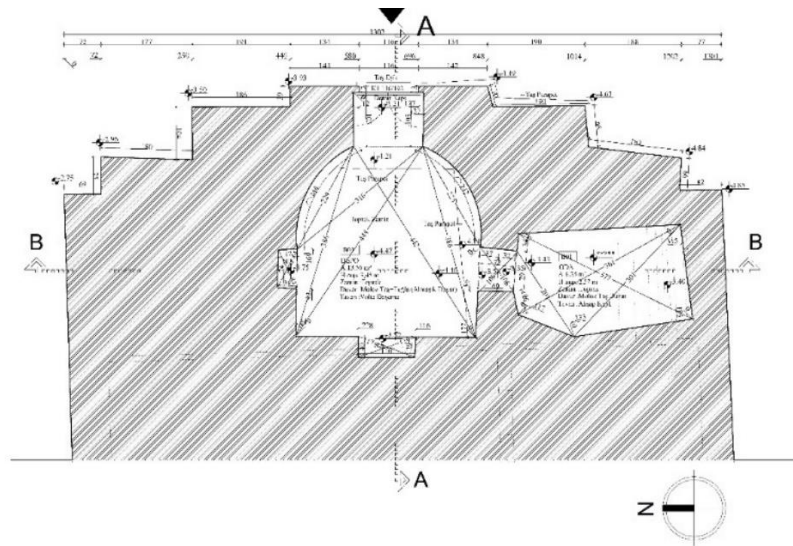


Figure 3.57. Tirilye, Hagios Georgios Ano, basement floor plan (Aydın, n.d.)

The general arrangement of the south wall is the same as the north façade, but the openings vary (Figure 3.59). On the narthex side, there is a small square window, a rectangular one above it and an arched regular size window at the top floor level. The arched window and marble frame door on the stair tower are blocked with brick

masonry similar to the north façade. A brick moulding runs along the whole façade horizontally, at a level just under this blocked door. There are four arched windows on the *naos* wall, high above from the street level. A Roman funerary stele is positioned under the moulding, at the east corner of the wall.



Figure 3.58. Tirilye, Hagios Georgios Ano, funerary stele on the west façade (left); stele on the west façade (center); stele on the north façade (right) (2019).

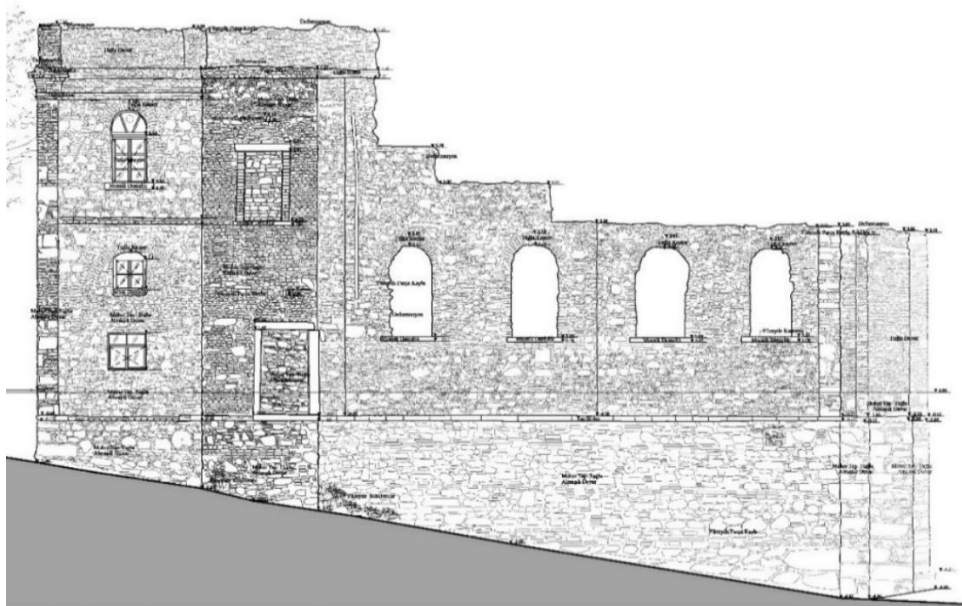


Figure 3.59. Tirilye, Hagios Georgios Ano, south façade (Aydın, n.d.)

The brick moulding is traceable on the east façade too in grey-coloured bricks. The east façade becomes narrower in three steps, making 90-degree angles between each face (Figure 3.60). There are two small depressed arched windows on the second

face, located above the moulding. Two very small openings, almost slit-like, are on the third face. The last face is the main wall which has an arched door under the moulding and an arched large window above the moulding.

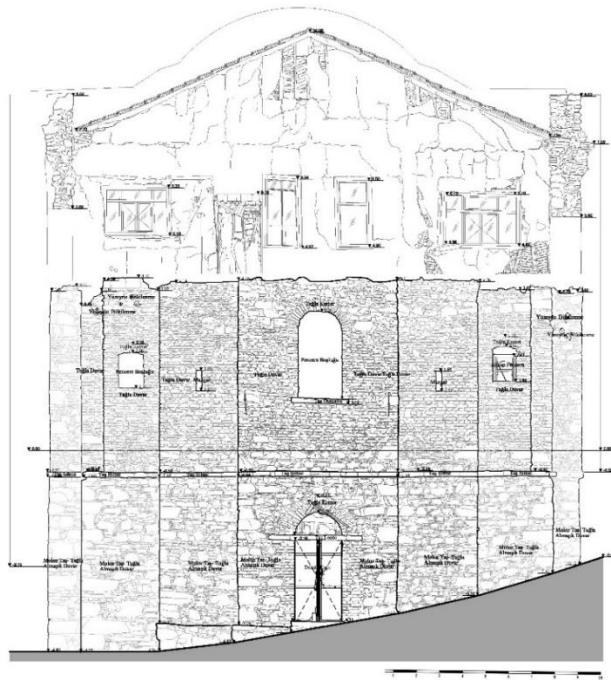


Figure 3.60. Tirilye, Hagios Georgios Ano, east façade (Aydın, n.d.)



Figure 3.61. Tirilye, Hagios Georgios Ano, view from the southeast (2021)

The church walls were much built in fired-brick. Many stones are used in the walls, but without any specific order. The basement floor walls on the east façade are

mainly stone masonry. Many spolia are embedded into the walls, heavily so on the west and south façades. The brick construction is completely exposed on the exterior, but plaster and white paint on the interior walls can still be seen.

3.3.1.4.3 Current State of Preservation

Today, the church is severely deteriorated and has undergone great alteration for the new function as a dwelling. New structures such as a residential section, and two sheds were added to the building. A single floor shed occupies most of the former *naos*. Several new windows were opened in the body walls of the building, particularly on the residential side.



Figure 3.62. Tirilye, Hagios Georgios Ano, ground floor, residential section (left); second floor, residential section (right) (BKVKBK, 2014)

The roof, ceiling and load-carrying structures are completely lost. The building is open to all environmental threats. Three large trees and many plants are growing inside the church, and the floor tiles does not exist anymore. There is no information about the iconostasis, *ambon*, columns and aisle vaults, all of which were possibly made from timber and do not survive.

A lot of holes, and material deliberately broken up by treasure hunters can be seen with respect to the walls. Window frames and glass are fragmented or lost; iron bars are rusty. The brick and stone pieces from the walls have fallen, and especially from

the upper levels. Some pieces, including spolia have been taken out intentionally. The staircase tower's steps are completely gone. Some windows and doors are closed up with brick. While there are surface level cracks, no structural cracks can be seen.

3.3.1.5 The Church of Panagia Metropolis (Theotokos), Tirilye

3.3.1.5.1 Historical Background

The church is located between the İskele and Eskipazar streets. The construction date is unknown, but there is an inscription dating to 1834 on the south façade, under the eave. As recorded in the KMS Archives, the Panagia Metropolis was the main church of the village and was located in the Meydan Neighbourhood.³⁶⁶ The roof was pitched without a dome, and it also had a bell tower. The church could accommodate 250-300 people. It served as the parish church until 1908, then became involved in the rotation program with the churches of Hagios Georgios Kato and Ano. After the Population Exchange, the building was used for social gatherings, then converted into a cinema hall between the years 1950-1970.

The church was registered by GEEAYK with Decision no. 1299, dated 11.03.1983. When the roof structure was damaged in the 1990s, the building was abandoned for a few years. The roof and the exterior plaster were repaired by BKVKBK with Decision no. 3152, dated 18.04.1993. These interventions prevented further damage and helped the building to survive. On the other hand, uninformed repairs and function changes have caused the loss of characteristic features of the walls, decorations, floor etc. Finally, the church was converted into the Faruk Çelik

³⁶⁶ According to the testimonies of N. Kaminis and V. Kollyvidis who were born in 1880s, the Church of Hagios Panagia Metropolis could have been built in their father's time. For further information, see B164 Triglia, p. 132.

Cultural Centre in 2009 by the Zeytinbağı Municipality. The building still functions as a cultural centre and is open to daily visitors.

3.3.1.5.2 Architectural Features

The church is located at the entrance of the village and there is a large plane tree at the southeast of it. The building (15.36 wide, 21.45 m long, 9 m high) lies in a northwest-southeast orientation. The church has a basilical plan with three aisles and is covered with a half-hipped gable roof (Figure 3.63). It is preceded by a rectangular narthex at the northwest and terminates in a semi-circular apse at the southeast.

A large arched door opening with a double-leaved timber door is in the centre of the northwest façade, but it is not open for daily use. The door at the northeast of the church is the main entrance today, opening into the narthex (Figure 3.68).

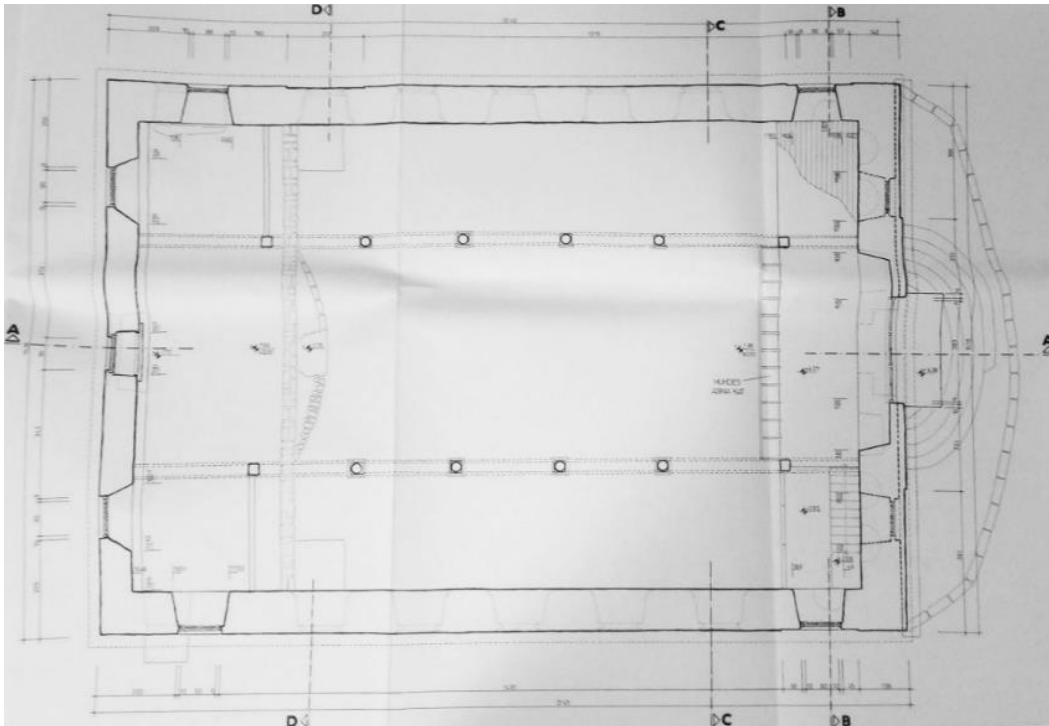


Figure 3.63. Tirilye, Panagia Metropolis, ground floor restitution plan, 2009
(Mudanya Municipality Archive, 2003)

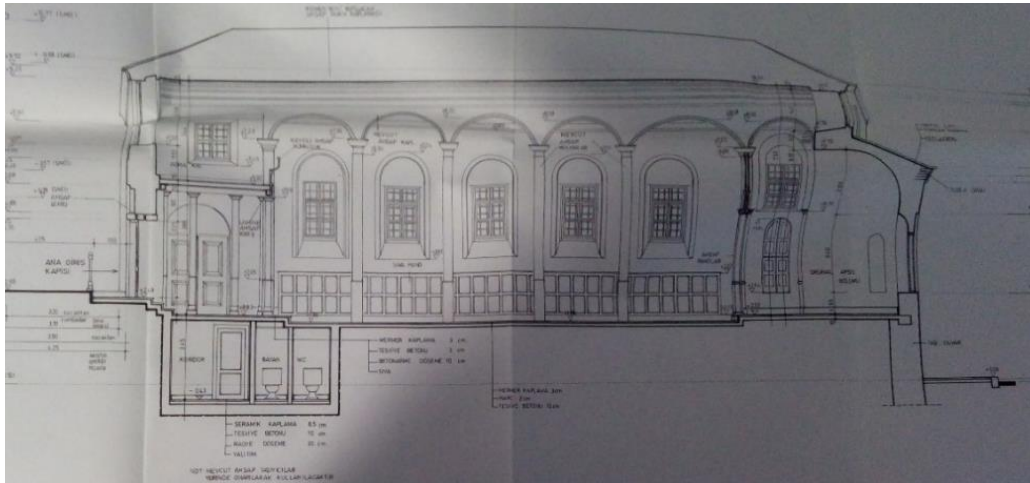


Figure 3.64. Tirilye, Panagia Metropolis, section AA' (west-east direction)
(Mudanya Municipality Archive, 2003)

The rectangular narthex has three doors, one being at the northwest, other the northeast, with the third being to the southwest. Just in front of the southwest door, a marble L-shaped staircase leads to the basement and a wooden U-shaped staircase reaches the gallery floor. The narthex is semi-open to the *naos*. There is no door between the narthex and the *naos*, but two walls partially separate these spaces at the southeast.



Figure 3.65. Tirilye, Panagia Metropolis, narthex and gallery floor as seen from the apse (2021)

The gallery floor is located just above the narthex (Figure 3.65). This floor is a timber-frame structure, together with all other architectural elements. Three windows open into the gallery floor: one from the northeast, one from the northwest and the other from the southwest. There are also timber balustrades running along the east edge of the gallery floor. The basement of the church is located just under the narthex and lies in a northeast-southwest direction. It is reached by a marble staircase at the southwest corner of the narthex. There are toilets and small storage rooms on this floor.

The *naos* is divided into three aisles by sixteen columns in two rows. The cylindrical columns have Tuscan-style capitals with bow decorations, and tall square bases. The columns on each row are connected to each other with semi-circular arches set in a northwest-southeast direction. There are six arched windows and a niche in the northeast wall of the *naos* (Figure 3.64). At the southeast of the *naos*, the semi-circular apse on the central axis can be seen, with its large arched frame (Figure 3.66). There is an arched window in the centre of the apse wall and an arched niche on each side. Two niches and a window are also located at both sides of the apse. The southwest wall of the *naos* is symmetrical to the northeast; thus the same window arrangement can be seen there.



Figure 3.66. Tirilye, Panagia Metropolis, apse and ceiling as seen from the naos, before restoration (left) (BKVKBK, 2001); apse as seen from the narthex (right) (2021)



Figure 3.67. Tirilye, Panagia Metropolis, view as seen from the south before restoration (left) (BKVKBK, 2001); view as seen from the south (right) (2021)

There are six arched, one rectangular window and an arched door in the northeast façade. This gate is the main entrance today (Figure 3.67). When turning to the northwest, there is a wide arched door on the central axis and three windows at the upper levels. A capital with a cross is placed just below the middle window. On this façade, there is a Roman funerary stele in the upper left corner. There is a rectangular slot in the arch of the door: something must have been removed from this slot. At the corner after turning to the southwest facade, there is a marble stone with the date 1834 on it, but a security camera is now fixed to this marble (Figure 3.69). The organisation of the southwest façade is the same as the northeast. The second important spolia of this façade is the marble with a cross in relief above the door. Marble spolia and column pieces are to be seen on all façades. In the southeast façade, the apse of the church faces the main road and protrudes semi-cylindrically. There are three rectangular windows on the level above the apse.

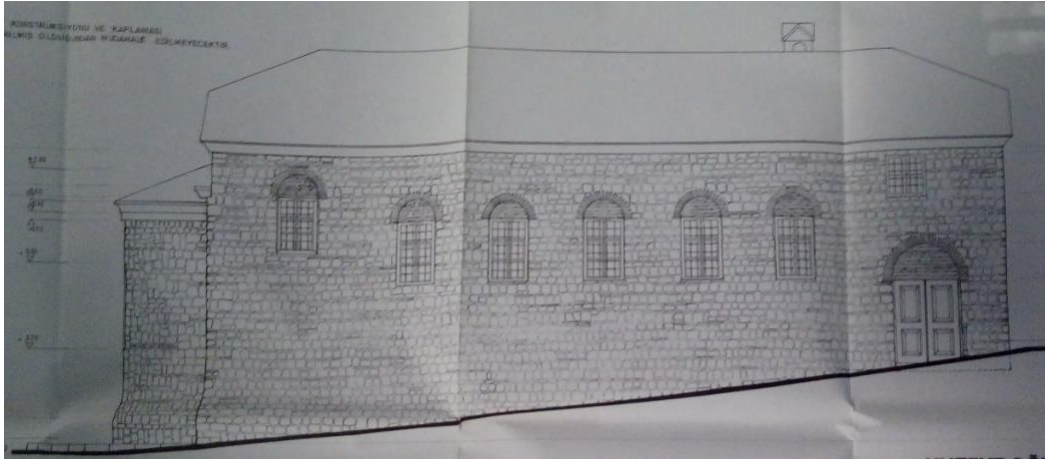


Figure 3.68. Tirilye, Panagia Metropolis, northeast façade (above) (Mudanya Municipality Archive, 2003); view from the north before restoration (below left) (BKVKBK, 2001); view from the north (below right) (2021)

The construction technique of the church is alternating courses of stone and brick masonry. The order is roughly two rows of brick and then five-six of stones. The walls are approximately 1 m thick. The façades do not have any plaster or paint except for the red-painted moulding that runs along all the façades under the eaves.

The arched openings are framed with brick masonry, while the doors and windows are timber. The roof is covered with Ottoman tiles. The interior walls are plastered and painted white. The whole floor inside the church is modern white and grey marble. The gallery floor, columns and ceiling are timber. However, there is no in-situ furniture in the building.



Figure 3.69. Tirilye, Panagia Metropolis, inscription on the south corner (left); southwest façade (right) (2021)

3.3.1.5.3 Current State of Preservation

The restoration of 2009 implemented some major changes, but even before that the original plan had been significantly transformed already. The apse was already destroyed and converted into an entrance in the 1950s, as seen in former images and a building survey from 2009 (Figure 3.63). With the restoration in 2009, a new apse was built at the southeast façade. The façade had had plaster and green paint before the restoration: this was removed later. There was a timber frame, a brick-filled wall between the bema and *naos* that created an entry hall behind. This wall was also taken down with the restoration.

Today, the building is physically and structurally in good condition. There is some minor water damage at the foundation level and under the eaves. The general façade organisation is not disturbed by later installations, except for a few cables and cameras. The interventions to the interior and façade are kept very simple. The building is still in use, open for visitors during the day, and only closed on Mondays. Cultural activities and large gatherings take place here occasionally. The building is known as *Yemekhane* (dining hall) by the local people. Moreover, a mass is held January under the leadership of Patriarch I. Bartholomeos, in the Church of Panagia Metropolis (Figure 3.70). Members of the Istanbul Greek Orthodox Ecumenical

Patriarchate and visitors from Rafina, Nea Mudanya, and Nea Triglia gather at Tirilye, annually on January 19th for the Epiphany services.



Figure 3.70. Tirilye, Panagia Metropolis, Epiphany mass, January 19, 2021
(URL 26)

3.3.1.6 Cemetery Chapel, Tirilye

3.3.1.6.1 Historical Background

The cemetery is located at 0.7 km west of Tirilye, across from the Medikion Monastery. The letters of the Triglian Christopher Moutztzis give information about the cemetery and the church. As stated in the letter and communal records, the chapel was built after the construction of the cemetery boundary walls, between March and April of 1908.³⁶⁷ After 1922, with the Population Exchange, the chapel was abandoned and later used as a house. Currently, some rooms are being used as storage, the rest is empty. The church was registered in 2010, but there is no building documentation or restoration projects so far.

³⁶⁷ Apostolatos 2009, pp. 119–120.



Figure 3.71. Tirilye, Cemetery Chapel, west view, 1978 (left); *spolia* on the Cemetery Chapel, 1978 (right) (URL 22)

3.3.1.6.2 Architectural Features

The chapel is in the middle of the old Greek cemetery and lies on sloping terrain, in the east-west direction. The rectangular building is very small (5.5 x 6 m in size), with a room plan that is wider in the middle, narrowing at the east and west sides (Figure 3.72). However, after changing hands, new walls were added to divide the plan into multiple rooms to create living spaces.³⁶⁸



Figure 3.72. Tirilye, Cemetery Chapel, west façade (2021)

³⁶⁸ After passing the main entrance of the church, a wall with an arched door can be seen inside: from the video footage from 1978 visit of Greeks to Tirilye (Figure 3.71).

The entrance to the church is from the west, through a small rectangular door inside an arched opening. There is also a small rectangular niche positioned just above the door. The door leads to the first room, inside, there is a small storage room at the south and two doors on the east wall opening into the second room. This room has two arched windows on the north and south walls. In the east wall, a small door opens into a very narrow room with a window in the centre.

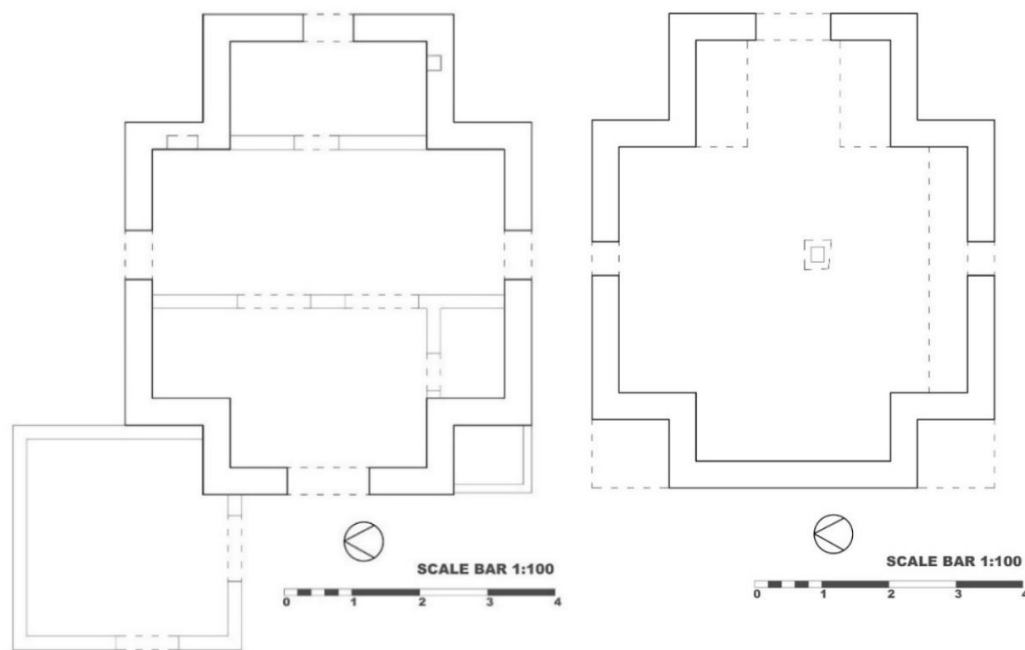


Figure 3.73. Tirilye, Cemetery Chapel, ground floor plan (left); basement floor plan (right) (2022)

The basement entrance is from the east through a depressed arched door (Figure 3.74). The basement is directly located under the main church space, and it too is a simple room (Figure 3.75). Similar to the upper floor, the plan narrows towards the east and west ends. There are two small oval window openings on the north and south walls. Concrete basins are placed on both sides of the entrance. This basement was the mortuary room but was used as a barn for animals after the church was abandoned.

The construction technique is mixed stone and fired-brick masonry; openings are framed with brick. The wall thickness is 0.5 m. The windows and doors are timber, and the windows have iron bars. The exterior walls are lime plastered but this is partially lost. The interior walls are plastered and painted white. The roof is gabled and covered with Mediterranean tiles. The floor and ceiling are timber framed. There used to be a Roman funerary stele and another spolia in the walls as seen in an image from 1978 and BKVKBK documents, but these do not exist today, nor are any traces of them left (Figure 3.71).



Figure 3.74. Tirilye, Cemetery Chapel, east façade, basement door (2021)



Figure 3.75. Tirilye, Cemetery Chapel, basement as seen from the east (2021)

3.3.1.6.3 Current State of Preservation

The building was used as a dwelling and a chicken pen until 2020, but it is empty now. The cemetery land is owned privately so the church building is under the protection of the owner. The church is surrounded by trees except for the west façade which makes it difficult to approach the building and see the façades. The roof structure is damaged, but is still capable of protecting the building. The timbers used for the floor, ceiling, structural elements, and windows are not in good condition. There is loss of surface material, moss growth, colour change, water damage and cement use on the façades. The basement is affected by water damage, interior walls show colour change due to groundwater (Figure 3.75). A single-floor shed was later attached to the north corner of the west façade, but this structure has partially collapsed (Figure 3.73). The addition of new spaces and walls changed the plan scheme and perception of the building in general. Treasure hunters have excavated the west wall of the basement and created a large hole. However, in general, the body walls, the openings of the church have remained as original, and the building is intact.

3.3.2 Partly Surviving Churches

3.3.2.1 The Church of Panagia, Yalıçiftlik

In Mudanya and its vicinity, the church of Panagia of Yalıçiftlik is the single example of a church standing today in ruins. Panagia was the only church in Yalıçiftlik and dedicated to Virgin Mary. The Dormition of the Virgin Mary was celebrated on August 15 annually.³⁶⁹ The stone masonry church could host approximately 2000 people as stated in the KMS Archives. It was richly decorated with donations from villagers. The construction date is not certain, but it was reconstructed in 1857.³⁷⁰

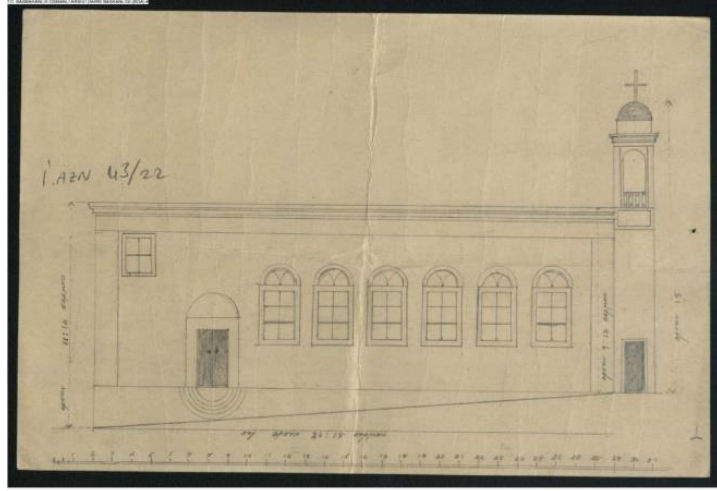


Figure 3.76. Yalıçiftlik, the Church of Panagia, south façade (İ. AZN., no. 43, Gömlek no. 22, p. 85.)

The High Gate *Muhimme* (*Bab-ı Asaî Mühimme Defterleri*) register from 1857 shows that the new church was built on the foundations of the former church.³⁷¹ As stated in the document, the former church was in bad condition and could not meet the demands of the villagers. The dimensions of the former church are 15.51 m long,

³⁶⁹ B166 Gialitsifliki, p. 14.

³⁷⁰ BOA, DVNSMHHM. d, Dosya No: 259, p. 85. See also Aydın 2019, p. 123.

³⁷¹ *Ibid.*

12.11 m wide, and 4.92 m in height, while the dimensions of the new one are 26.87 m long, 15.51 m wide, and 10.97 m high. The permission for the bell tower construction was given in 1901 and it was built (1.51 m wide and 11.37 m high) with church donation which cost 1895 *kuruş*.³⁷² There are also drawings of the church in the Ministry of Justice and Sects (*İrade, Adliye ve Mezahib*) registers (Figure 3.76).³⁷³



Figure 3.77. Yalıçiftlik, the Church of Panagia, west wall (above left); south wall (above right); north wall (below) (2019)

The nearby buildings are the *mukhtars* office at the east border and the mosque across the main road. The church plot is empty except for a small shed on the northeast corner. It is being used as a parking lot, currently. Only foundation walls 1.5 m high remain of the church. These walls are cut stone, with one row of stone and two rows of brick masonry in an alternating courses technique, which can be best seen on the west façade primarily (Figure 3.77).

³⁷² BOA, İ. AZN., Dosya No: 43, Gömlek No: 22, p. 6. See also Aydın 2019, p. 123.

³⁷³ *Ibid.*, p. 85. See also Aydın 2019, p. 123.

3.3.3 Lost Churches

In Mudanya and its vicinity, there were thirteen churches which do not survive. The information about these churches is obtained through KMS Archives, Ottoman Archives of the State Archives Directorate and Tirilye Community Records from the Collections of the Population Exchange Refugees.

3.3.3.1 The Church of Hagia Paraskevi, Mudanya

The church was built as a cemetery church in 1885, inside the Hagia Paraskevi neighbourhood and within the Greek cemetery, but its exact location is unknown. The construction cost of the building was 4,760 *kuruş* and was covered by the church foundation. The dimensions of the building and the drawing of the facade are shown in the High Gate Church Book (*Bab-ı Asafi Kilise Defterleri*) registers.³⁷⁴

3.3.3.2 The Church of Hagia Anna, Mudanya

The information about this church is very limited; only its location is known. The church of St. Anne was located on a hill, approximately at 50 m altitude.³⁷⁵

3.3.3.3 The Church of Hagia Theodosia, Mudanya

Hagia Theodosia was opposite to Hagios Georgios, to the west of Mudanya, located near the sea.³⁷⁶ According to an old saying, an icon was found in the sea and the church was built near that location.³⁷⁷

³⁷⁴ BOA, DVNSKLS. d., Dosya No: 2, p. 101. See also Aydın 2019, p. 125.

³⁷⁵ B157 Moudania, p. 70.

³⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 68.

³⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 68.

3.3.3.4 The Church of Hagia Paraskevi, Çınarlı (Veletler)

This church was built in 1833, as stated in KMS archives.³⁷⁸ It could accommodate approximately 500 people and had a separate women's section. The building was stone masonry and had a bell tower which was demolished in 1914. Also, a well-liked hagiasma was located inside the church.³⁷⁹ As stated in the High Gate Muhimme Book (*Bab-ı Asaḡi Mühimme Defteri*) from 1835, the church and the roof were in bad condition; as a result, it was reconstructed.³⁸⁰

3.3.3.5 The Church of Taxiarchis, Güzelyalı (Burgaz)

The construction date is unknown, but it was reconstructed over the remains of the former church in 1894, as stated in the High Gate Church Book (*Bab-ı Asaḡi Kilise Defterleri*) registers.³⁸¹ This church was used as a mosque after the Population Exchange and demolished in the early 2000s. Currently, the Güzelyalı Mosque is located on the former plot of the church (Figure 3.78).



Figure 3.78. Güzelyalı/Burgaz, The Church of Taxiarchis, southwest view (R. Kaplanoğlu Archive, 1998; Aydın 2010, p. 101).

³⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 30.

³⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 30.

³⁸⁰ BOA, DVNSMHM. d., Dosya no: 251. See also Aydın 2019, p. 30.

³⁸¹ BOA, DVNSKLS. d., Dosya no: 3, p. 75. See also Aydın 2019, p. 30.

3.3.3.6 The Church of Hagios Athanasios, İmralı

The church of Hagios Athanasios was next to the village square and was in regular use.³⁸² The construction date is unknown but in the early 20th century, the church was reconstructed at the despot's suggestion. In 1913, the walls were taken down to build a new church.³⁸³ The villagers brought stones from the mainland with local boats and the wood came with a ship from the Black Sea. As the war began in 1914, the villagers did not have time to finish the construction, so the church did not have a bell tower and a women's section. The Ministry of Justice and Sects (*Adliye ve Mezâhip Nezareti*) register from 1902 includes the permission letter for the reconstruction of the church on the existing foundations.³⁸⁴

3.3.3.7 The Church of Hagios Ioannes, İmralı

Hagios Ioannes was a small, stone masonry church, and the bell was hung on the wall. The church was reconstructed in the 19th century to increase the size, since it was not large enough to accommodate all the villagers.³⁸⁵

3.3.3.8 The Church of Hagios Athanasios, Sigi

Hagios Athanasios was a small church with a hagiaσμα inside the new cemetery.³⁸⁶ The previous cemetery was closer to the village, while the new cemetery was outside the village towards Mudanya.

³⁸² B158 Kalolimnos, p. 91.

³⁸³ *Ibid.*, p. 91.

³⁸⁴ BOA, İ. AZN., no. 44, Gömlek no: 16, p. 3. See also Aydın 2019, p. 127.

³⁸⁵ B158 Kalolimnos, p. 89.

³⁸⁶ B163 Sigi, pp. 28–32.

3.3.3.9 The Church of Panagia, Sigi

The Church of Panagia was in the upper neighbourhood (*ano mahala*), like the Byzantine Church Hagios Taxiarchi.³⁸⁷ The construction date is unknown. This building was shaped like a box without a dome. It was half the size of Taxiarchi and could fit 200-300 people. In the church, the Feast of the Assumption of the Virgin Mary masses were held on August 15, annually, and the afternoon services (*paraclisi*) were held two weeks before that.

3.3.3.10 The Church of Hagios Demetrius, Tirilye

Hagios Demetrius was a small church in the Çardak Neighborhood, built on four pillars while the street passed under the church.³⁸⁸ It looked more like a house than a church.³⁸⁹ The structure was in brick and could hold 60-80 people. It did not have a bell tower, but a small bell was hung above the window. Hagios Demetrius was used only during the annual memory and festival of the Great Martyr Demetrius, on the feast of the Zoodochos Pigi, the feast of the Apostles Constantine and Helen.

3.3.3.11 The Church of Hagia Episkepsis, Tirilye

This church was in the neighbourhood of Epano Hagios Georgios.³⁹⁰ After a fire in 1895, the building lay in ruins.³⁹¹ The villagers could only save the Virgin Mary icon from the church, and they took the icon with them when leaving for Greece. Currently, the icon is on display in the Byzantine Museum of Athens (Figure 3.79).

³⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 28.

³⁸⁸ B164 Triglia, p. 131.

³⁸⁹ Vassilios Kollyvidis and Chrysostomos Kapandrias commented that it was built at a time when churches were forbidden, maybe even earlier, B164 Triglia, p. 131.

³⁹⁰ B164 Triglia, p. 135.

³⁹¹ A large fire broke out in Triglia in 1896 and burned many buildings, mostly houses. B164 Triglia, p. 177–178.

The Triglian teacher Tryfonas Evangelides gives a detailed description of the image and states that the icon was worshipped for at least four centuries.³⁹²



Figure 3.79. Tirilye, Panagia Episkepsis Icon (Apostolatos 2019, p. 36)

3.3.3.12 The Church of Hagios Georgios Kato, Tirilye

The church was called Hagios Georgios Kato because it was in the lower district and to differentiate it from the other Hagios Georgios (Ano).³⁹³ The construction date is unknown. It was a large stone masonry building, larger than Hagios Georgios Ano. However, the church did not have a bell tower since it was close to the governor's office. The current location of the lost church is the park between Tirilye Park and Anit Streets.

3.3.3.13 The Church of Hagios Ioannes, Tirilye

This church was in the lower district (*Kato*) of 19th century Tirilye, in the plot where Tirilye Municipality is located today.³⁹⁴ The High Gate *Muhimme* Register (*Bab-ı Asafî Mühimme Defteri*) from 1835 states that the Churches of Hagios Georgios and

³⁹² Evangelides 1934, p. 58.

³⁹³ B164 Triglia, p. 130.

³⁹⁴ Apostolatos 2009, pp. 112–113.

Hagios Ioannes in Tirilye were very old and in ruins.³⁹⁵ The Church of Hagios Ioannes (24.22 m in length, 15.14 m in width and 4.54 m in height) had 22 windows and three doors in its four façades.

The church was damaged between 1915-1918, during the time the Greeks had left the village.³⁹⁶ ‘Codes and Regulations for Tirilye Churches’ shows that Hagios Ioannes existed in 1909, since there was a vote taken for the operation of a single church which involved Hagios Georgios Kato, Hagios Ioannes and Hagios Georgios Ano Churches.³⁹⁷

3.4 Interim Evaluations

In this chapter, the characteristics of the *Rum* churches in and around Mudanya have been examined in their sociocultural and physical contexts. Mudanya was inhabited by various cultures throughout its history. In the 19th century, the vast majority of the population was Greek Orthodox and the region was home to many churches in the past. Mudanya had a rich religious heritage with its churches, chapels and hagasmas. 19th century *Rum* communities and their civil organizations made significant decisions regarding the churches, and churches evolved with changing historical and economic conditions. Wars, politics and changes in daily life had an effect on both the use of churches and their architectural features. Based on the data gathered from historical research, it can be shown that in highly populated settlements such as the city centre of Mudanya, Tirilye and Sigi, one church was assigned to each neighbourhood. In addition, there used to be a church in every *Rum* village. The purpose of the churches' distribution and architectural features was bound to the needs of the community. The event that had the greatest impact on the

³⁹⁵ BOA, DVNSMHM. d., Dosya no: 251, p. 34. See also Aydın 2019, 129.

³⁹⁶ There is a mention of a flood in 24.05.1907, and Hagios Ioannes was filled with water. This event could be the reason for the damage. For further information, see Apostolatos 2009, p. 112.

³⁹⁷ Codex no. 427, 26 Mar 1919, art. 3, p. 272.

churches was the expulsion of *Rums* that took place in 1922 with the Population Exchange, after Mudanya Armistice. Afterwards, churches were either abandoned and demolished or adapted to the needs of the newly arriving Turkish immigrants. They were converted into meeting places, mosques and residences. However, only six of them are left intact today, one partially survives, and thirteen of the churches known are completely lost. These churches are Mudanya Hagios Georgios (converted into Uğur Mumcu Cultural Centre), Tirilye Panagia Theotokos (converted into Faruk Çelik Cultural Centre), Tirilye Hagios Georgios Ano (converted into a dwelling), Tiriye cemetery chapel, Hagios Ioannes in Aydınpinar, Hagia Paraskevi in Dereköy; and the partially surviving church of Hagia Paraskevi in Yalıçiftlik. The bell towers of these churches have not survived to the present day.

After the Population Exchange, the churches of Hagia Paraskevi in Dereköy, Hagios Ioannes in Aydınpinar and Hagia Paraskevi in Yalıçiftlik were used as mosques until the 1980s. They were abandoned when new mosques were built. The churches of Hagios Georgios and Panagia Theotokos at Mudanya were used for various functions such as meeting halls, warehouses, and finally converted into cultural centres in the 2000s. The interior of the Mudanya Hagios Georgios has been drastically altered due to its new function and the restoration project implemented; the original features are no longer recognizable. The churches of Hagios Georgios Ano at Tirilye and the cemetery chapel were first used as dwellings and later closed and abandoned. Although the changes in function have altered the architectural character of the churches, they have also contributed to their physical conservation. After being abandoned, only the foundation walls of the Yalıçiftlik church are left. The other abandoned churches of Hagia Paraskevi of Dereköy, Hagios Ioannes of Aydınpinar and Hagios Georgios Ano were exposed great damage. It is obvious that the loss of the upper structure in particular leads to large scale deterioration. With the collapse of the upper structure and the pillars carrying it, the building becomes vulnerable to external factors. Plant formations invade the interiors of the churches – particularly so in the case of Aydınpinar Hagios Ioannes, whose walls are covered with plants.

The architecture of the Mudanya churches is marked by simple and functional layouts. They are all of the basilica type in plan (except for the cemetery chapel and Hagios Georgios Ano), that is with a narthex from the west with a gallery floor above it and bordered with an apse from the east. The basilica plan provides the greatest use of space with a simple layout. The decoration of the Mudanya churches is generally plain, with movable icons or paintings on the interior wall-faces. Compared to the other churches, the Hagia Paraskevi of Dereköy is far richer in decoration, larger in scale and has a sizeable basement.

Except for the churches of Tirilye Panagia Theotokos and Mudanya Hagios Georgios, which are still in use as cultural centres, the abandoned ones have lost their connection with their surroundings and community. Even the churches that were mosques in the memories of the older generation have no functional value now. The younger generation, on the other hand, has never witnessed these churches being utilized. There is no Orthodox or Christian community living in and around Mudanya. Only, on the feast of Epiphany, does the Orthodox community from Istanbul come to visit Tirilye. Greeks whose families migrated to Greece with the exchange visit their villages and Mudanya at various times of the year.

All the churches that are still standing are registered, some are privately owned, and some were bought by the municipality. The walls of Aydınpinar Hagios Ioannes, Dereköy Hagia Paraskevi, Tirilye Hagios Georgios Ano churches are still standing and past documentation together with photographs can provide data for their restitution. The restoration projects for the churches of Tirilye Hagios Georgios Ano and Dereköy Hagia Paraskevi are in the BKVKBK board; there is no known project for Aydınpinar. However, no physical work has been done for any of them and the danger of destruction is increasing day by day for these structures, already in a poor state of preservation.

Under the influence of the nationalist movements of the 19th and 20th centuries, Turkey has also embraced an ideology centred on national values and religion for the construction of its national identity. This attitude influenced the conservation

attitude in Turkey which preserved the heritage of past cultures selectively for the construction of a national and religious identity. In this case, the *Rum* heritage, which remains in the position of ‘other’, has been ignored or subjected to deliberate damage. In addition, the prejudiced attitude of the public towards the buildings prevents the churches from integrating into local communities. For sustainable conservation, it is necessary to develop a conservation approach that integrates the cultural heritage in the life of the community but the antagonistic attitude of the Turkish residents can create an obstacle to effective conservation.

Abandoned churches, in particular, have serious structural problems and are in danger of being completely demolished. In recent years, it has already been observed that structural and decorative elements disappeared or were deliberately damaged. The aim of conservation is to preserve the integrity of the heritage resource, taking into account its material, values and quality, and to transfer it to future generations.³⁹⁸ If preventive interventions are not taken immediately, the churches may permanently lose their integrity.

Compared to abandoned churches, the churches with new functions are in a much better state of preservation. However, the interventions can also reduce authentic values, as seen in the church of Hagios Georgios in Mudanya. Replacement of historic material, additions that dominate the original design, interventions incompatible with the original workmanship and materials, and over-restoration can change the unique identity of cultural heritage. For this reason, interventions for preventing further damage or for developing new functions should be carried out by considering the preservation of authentic values.

The lack of a proper conservation plan that addresses the churches in their environment, neglect and vandalism result in the loss of tangible and intangible values. In order to develop an appropriate conservation method and strategy, a

³⁹⁸ Feilden and Jokilehto 1998, p. 15.

systematic and balanced assessment of the various values offered by the heritage must first be developed. Therefore, to promote the sustainable conservation of the churches for future generations, the values of the churches, and the threats and challenges related to them, will be analysed in detail. This analysis, and the opportunities arising from it, are the subjects of the next chapter.

CHAPTER 4

REASSESSMENT OF THE *RUM* CHURCHES IN MUDANYA: VALUES, THREATS AND OPPORTUNITIES

In the previous chapter, the 19th century *Rum* churches were discussed in the context of Mudanya and its villages. The results of being left abandoned and losing their original function were presented by narrating the history and current status of the churches. The setting, the architectural characteristics and the conservation status of the buildings were all examined in detail.

As a result of various political, legal and social changes and lack of conservation practices since the Population Exchange, thirteen known Greek churches have disappeared. Of the six churches that have survived to this day, four of them were abandoned after the 1980s. The property rights of these churches belong to the Municipality of Mudanya, except for one, which is private property. After the two remaining churches were converted into cultural centres, there were no physical interventions made to any other church.

Today, Mudanya's Christian religious heritage is in danger of being lost. Therefore, to develop principles for the conservation of the surviving churches, the values of the buildings should be analyzed, the potentials and threats identified. Since the churches share common problems with other abandoned churches elsewhere in Anatolia, this group of buildings can be instructive concerning the conservation problems facing any abandoned 19th century *Rum* church in Turkey.

Determination of the values is an essential part of heritage conservation processes. The value-based systems attempt to preserve the cultural significance of places by identifying the natural, cultural and socio-economic values. The earlier approaches to heritage that viewed it from cultural, scientific angles influenced and highlighted

the later recognition of value types as a fundamental part of the heritage conservation procedure, as set out by Camillo Boito, Alois Riegl, and Gustavo Giovannoni.³⁹⁹

Cultural heritage is under a constant process of evolution as stated in the Nara Document.⁴⁰⁰ In the past two decades, values-based approaches have transformed the scene, creating new ways of collaboration for a broad range of stakeholders, addressing conservation issues and enhancing cultural heritage's significance.⁴⁰¹ All this has arisen from the need to differentiate and categorise modern-day complex and problematic cases. In so doing, the efforts have produced more precise guidelines for decision-making.⁴⁰²

The art historian Alois Riegl pioneered the evaluation of historic monuments by categorizing values and creating the terminology for it.⁴⁰³ His analysis is made up of two potentially opposing categories: commemorative values (connected to past and memory) and present-day values. On the other hand, Randall Mason emphasizes that heritage values conflict and intersect with each other by their very nature and observes that conservation is both a sociocultural and a technical practice.⁴⁰⁴ Moreover, he states that the interaction of an artefact and its context creates values other than those considered to be 'inherent' and 'already present' in an artefact per se.⁴⁰⁵ In his provisional typology, Mason views the economic and cultural categories as two alternative methods of interpreting heritage values.⁴⁰⁶ They are not exclusively separate groups, but possess many overlapping aspects. Their critical difference lies in their methodologies and framework. The sociocultural category is defined in historical, social, cultural, religious/spiritual and aesthetic terms and values, the economic category is outlined in use and non-use (also sub-categorized

³⁹⁹ Avrami *et al.* 2019, p. 4.

⁴⁰⁰ Orbaşlı 2015, p. 145.

⁴⁰¹ *Ibid.* 2019, p. 17.

⁴⁰² *Ibid.*, p. 1.

⁴⁰³ Riegl 1903/1996, pp. 72–82.

⁴⁰⁴ Mason 2002, p. 7.

⁴⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 8.

⁴⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 11.

as existence, option and bequest values).⁴⁰⁷ Mason’s system does not include a separate political category as he believes that all heritage values are political by their nature.

Riegel (1902)	Venice Charter (1964)	Liipe (1984)	Burra Charter (1998)	Frey (1997)	English Heritage (1997)
Age	Historical	Economic	Aesthetic	Monetary	Cultural
Historical	Aesthetic	Aesthetic	Historic	Option	Educational And Academic
Commemorative		Associative-Symbolic	Scientific	Existence	Economic
Use		Informal	Social (Including Spiritual,	Bequest	Resource
Newness			Political, National, Other Cultural)	Prestige	Recreational
				Educational	Aesthetic

Table 3.1. Heritage values: examples from scholarly literature and guides
(Buckley 2019, p. 52; Mason 2002, p. 9.)

Bernard M. Feilden and Jukka Jokilehto’s classification system sets out a management guideline for World Heritage sites. They point out the lack of discussions around the issues resulting from the traditional heritage values.⁴⁰⁸ According to Feilden and Jokilehto, consideration of cultural and contemporary socio-economic values is necessary for cultural heritage preservation. To understand the level of interest expressed towards any cultural heritage object, it is necessary to recognize the subjective relationship between the present-day observer and the cultural value of the heritage item itself.⁴⁰⁹ The cultural values are classified as identity value, relative artistic/technical value, and rarity value. The contemporary socio-economic values result from the intricate relationship between socio-economic factors, political context and the present-day society.⁴¹⁰ Contemporary socio-economic values are classified as economic, functional, and educational.

The Mudanya *Rum* churches lost their original users, as the settlements completely lost their *Rum* community. Thus Feilden and Jokilehto’s classification system, which

⁴⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 11-13.

⁴⁰⁸ Feilden and Jokilehto 1998, p. 18.

⁴⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 18.

⁴¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 19.

is structured around the collective or individual relationship between the observer and a cultural heritage resource, will guide the value assessment of this study.

Firstly, the values of the surviving *Rum* churches of Mudanya will be assessed in two categories as cultural and contemporary socio-economic values. The values of the surviving and completely/partially destroyed churches will be discussed separately. Buildings that no longer exist cannot be analysed in the same way as buildings whose physical existence and interaction with their surroundings can be observed (obviously): the values they offer are radically different. Secondly, the problems regarding surviving and completely/partially destroyed churches will be assessed. Finally, the opportunities that arise from these buildings will be evaluated. It is also important to understand the concept of memory value as introduced by English Heritage to evaluate the case study group correctly. For the assessment of historical value, Mason, who provides a more elaborate definition, will be referred to also.

4.1 Values of the Surviving Churches

Table 4.4 Values of surviving churches

VALUES				DEFINITION
CULTURAL	Identity	Religious and Spiritual	V1	Relations of the Ecumenical Patriarchate
			V2	Recognition of the Hagiasmas by Locals
		Communal and Memory	V3	Commemorative Visits and the Activities of the <i>Rum</i> Diaspora
		Setting	V4	Preserved Landscape and Traditional Built Environment
	Relative Artistic or Technical	Architectural	V5	Architectural Characteristics of Its Period
			V6	Local Religious Building Practices
		Technical	V7	Construction Technique
			V8	Acoustic Solutions
		Aesthetic	V9	Rich In Decoration
	Rarity		V10	Representing The 19th Century <i>Rum</i> Churches of Bithynia
CONTEMPORARY SOCIO-ECONOMIC	Educational		V11	Traditional Architecture
	Functional		V12	Used Church Buildings
	Economic	V13		Valuable Land In Central Locations
		V14		Tourism
	Political		V15	Political Importance

4.1.1 Cultural Values

4.1.1.1 Identity Value

The identity values stem from the emotional attachment of a society to a particular heritage, as Feilden and Jokilehto state.⁴¹¹

4.1.1.1.1 Religious and Spiritual Value

Bithynia became one of the important centres of Byzantine monastic life in the 8th-9th centuries. In Mudanya and its vicinity, this sacred culture influenced the Orthodox religious and monastic life of the Byzantine period, which was then embraced later by *Rum* Christians of the Ottoman period. The presence and active use of such a large number of churches indicates the importance of Greek Orthodox religious practices and, therefore, the respect attained by churches in Mudanya and its vicinity. It can be said that a strong religious atmosphere existed in the area from antiquity through the Byzantine period until the end of the 19th century.

The Ecumenical Patriarchate has been appointing metropolitans to Bursa since 2004, even though it has no Orthodox community. The relationship started with commemorative ceremonies in abandoned Byzantine churches (e.g., Panagia Pantovasilissa of Tirilye) and has continued and developed with annual Easter Masses at the Panagia Theotokos in Tirilye. Although there is no *Rum* community living any more in the region, the continuity of contact with the region through religious sites and the accompanying efforts to preserve the religious identity of the region show that the area and the churches are of great importance to the Ecumenical Patriarchate and the *Rum* community.

⁴¹¹ Feilden and Jokilehto 1998, p. 19.

Hagiasmas: The KMS oral history archives provide a glimpse into the religious meaning and sacredness of chapels and hagiasmas for the people of that time, including Muslim Turks. The healing power of religious objects, saints, and water has been just as miraculous in the Muslim tradition.⁴¹² Today, Hagios Georgios in Dereköy, also known as ‘Kulak Ayazması’, is one of the hagiasmas that stories about the healing power of the water are still being told. The hagiasmas that are recognised by the local community still hold a spiritual value.

4.1.1.1.2 Communal and Memory Value

In the case of the Mudanya churches, the original owners have left the country and their following generations are separated from their heritage. They do not have physical access to churches in their everyday lives. However, another value category, communal value, is recognized by English Heritage, as follows: “Communal value derives from the meanings of a place for the people who relate to it, or for whom it figures in their collective experience or memory.”⁴¹³

Commemorative Visits and the Activities of the *Rum* Diaspora: Although the *Rum* community is long gone, the churches belonging to them carry communal value since these buildings were important places for a community that once made up the city. In particular, the Triglian diaspora group conduct research, produce and share knowledge publicly and try to keep the memory of their ancestors alive. Although there are no longer any users of the churches, there is still a community with a sense of belonging and emotional connection to them. The emigrant *Rums*, from Greece and in other countries, carry out commemorative visits to the villages and churches of their grandparents. The churches are clear evidence of the *Rum* past of the region,

⁴¹² The attribution of supernatural powers to a shrine (e.g. chapels and hagiasmas) and the subsequent recognition and utilisation of sacred sites by Muslims is described by Hasluck as the ‘transmission of rural shrines’: Hasluck 1929, p. 72.

⁴¹³ English Heritage 2008.

thus they carry a memorial value for the diaspora enabling their self-recognition and identity and for establishing physical ties with the past. While churches are valuable for the Greek diaspora, the presence of the diaspora is also important for the conservation of churches. The values that shape the identity of churches, including conflicting ones, are brought down to the present day, through commemoration.

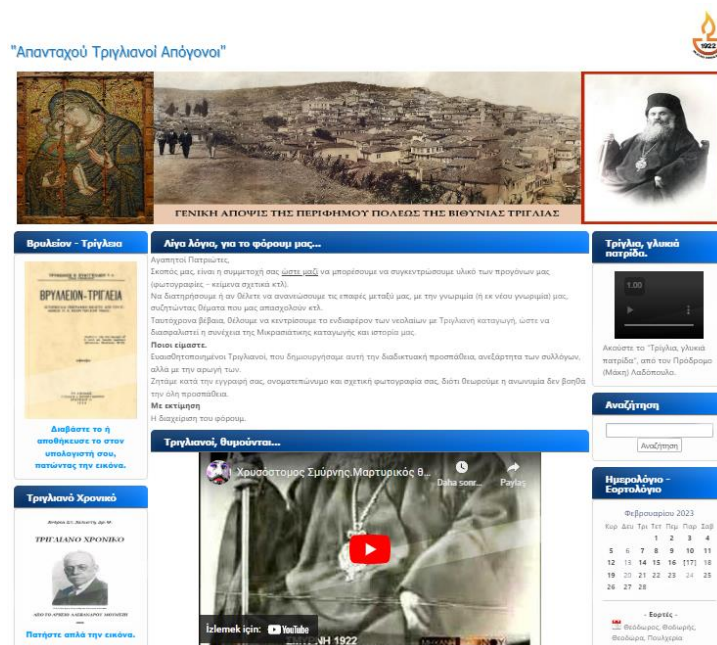


Figure 4.1. Triglianoi forum home page (URL 29)

4.1.1.1.3 Setting Value

Well-Protected Landscape and Traditional Built Environment: As a result of the designation of the Mudanya city centre and Tirilye as an ‘urban conservation area’, although the region has lost its Greek population and traditions, the built environment has not completely lost its authentic character. In particular, the traditional fabric of Tirilye has been preserved to a great extent. There are traditional *Rum* houses, fountains and sycamore trees around the churches that represent the character of the settlement. Especially in the villages, the natural environment is well protected. Olive trees, which were the main sources of income for the *Rums*, still

have an important place today and are an integral part of the landscape. The squares, traditional houses and fountains reflect the culture and life of the *Rum* inhabitants. The villages of Aydınpinar and Dereköy are not designated as ‘rural protected area’, but even so traditional houses can still be seen. It is important to identify the values of the setting to which the churches belong in order to understand their connection to their past and to *Rum* culture.

4.1.1.2 Relative Artistic or Technical Value


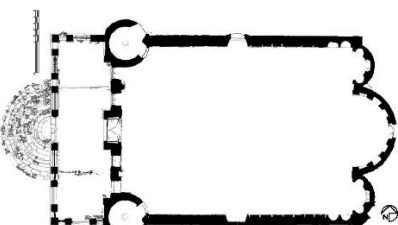
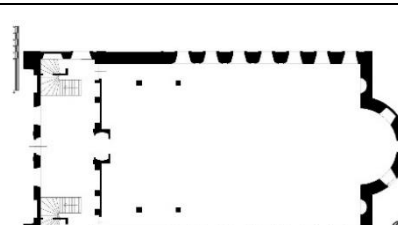


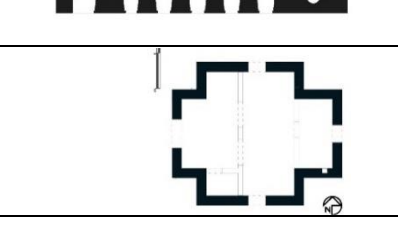
4.1.1.2.1 Architectural Value

Architectural Characteristics of the Period: The 19th century churches, which are the subject of the study, have a history of 150-200 years. They have been transformed over time and under the influence of various events of the past and so have reached their current status. In the case of the Mudanya *Rum* churches, the *Rum* religious and local organizations of the period shaped, used, and sometimes eliminated the structures. These churches also provide insight into the activities of 19th-century Greek Orthodox organizations. The well-known architects, carpenters and painters of the 19th century left their marks on some churches (Hagios Georgios of Mudanya and Hagia Paraskevi of Dereköy). Moreover, the churches are the witnesses of the Population Exchange and the major social changes following it. The Population Exchange affected the original users’ life, which naturally resulted in both physical and functional changes to the buildings left behind.

Local Religious Building Practices: Through the analysis of these churches, especially those that have undergone relatively minor alterations, it is possible to gain an insight into the functional, technical and artistic characteristics of the religious building practices of Mudanya. The choice of design, construction technique and material is the result of the interaction between the environment, the builder and the demands of the community.

The required east-west orientated layout of the churches affected the design decisions. For example, the western facades are more elaborate since the main entrance is usually in the west and site selection was made accordingly. Concerns regarding the relationship of the church with the environment, its visibility, accessibility and function have also affected the site selection and design choices. The properties and slope of the lands influenced decisions such as the addition of a basement floor and the wall heights required.

Table 4.5 *Rum* Churches of Mudanya

	Name	Plan	Plan Type	Size	Previous Function	Current Function
AYDINPINAR	Hagios Ioannes		Basilica	16 x 26 x 7 m	-Church -Mosque	Abandoned
DEREKÖY	Hagia Paraskevi		Basilica	17 x 26.5 x 7.2 m	-Church -Mosque	Abandoned
MUDANYA	Hagios Georgios		Basilica	16 x 30.27 x 13 m	-Church -Military Storage -Cinema Hall	Cultural Centre
TİRİLYE	Hagios Georgios Ano		Domed Basilica	13 x 19 x 9.34 m	-Church -Dwelling	Abandoned
TİRİLYE	Panagia Theotokos		Basilica	15.36 x 21.45 x 9 m	-Church -Cinema Hall	Cultural Centre
TİRİLYE	Cemetery Chapel		Single cell	5.5 x 6 x 7 m	-Cemetery Chapel -Chicken Pen	Storage

4.1.1.2.2 Technical Value

Construction Technique and Materials: The influences of the Byzantine construction technique with alternating courses of brick and stone (*almaşık*) used in religious buildings, of which several examples are present in the region, can be traced in the church construction practices of the Mudanyan *Rums*. The walls of surviving churches (with the exception of Hagios Georgios in Mudanya city centre) were built in alternating courses of stone and brick but did not follow a regular order. In fact, this technique was not used at all in some parts of the walls.



Figure 4.2. Alternating courses of stone and brick technique as seen in Aydınpınar, Hagios Ioannes (left); Dereköy, Hagia Paraskevi (right) (2021)

Acoustic Solutions: In the Hagia Paraskevi Church of Dereköy, the north and south walls facing the naos are covered with small holes spaced evenly up to mid-wall height. This perforated structure was designed to improve the acoustic quality of the space. The technique, not seen in the other buildings of the study group, is a notable example in the region and is informative about the acoustic solutions used in churches.



Figure 4.3. Dereköy, Hagia Paraskevi, perforated structure on the south wall of the *naos* (2021)

4.1.1.2.3 Aesthetic Value

The church of Hagia Paraskevi in Dereköy is particularly rich in decoration compared to the other churches in the study group. The west façade is decorated with stucco pillars and mouldings. The cylindrical projection under the bell tower is remarkable, and no similar example exists in the region. Floral patterns and medallions with seraphim figures are also unique to Hagia Paraskevi. The mural depiction of the Day of Judgement on the door facing the naos on the stair tower of Hagia Paraskevi church is a significant work of art.



Figure 4.4. Dereköy, Hagia Paraskevi, projection of the former bell tower and stucco mouldings on the west façade (2021)



Figure 4.5. Dereköy, Hagia Paraskevi, entrance to the *naos* as seen from the narthex (2021)



Figure 4.6. Dereköy, Hagia Paraskevi, medallion with seraphim figure as seen on the north wall of the *naos* (2021)

4.1.1.3 Representativeness Value

The *Rum* churches of Mudanya represent the religious lifestyle of 19th century *Rums* and the religious architectural practices in Bithynia. For this reason, it is important to evaluate them not only as the heritage of the Mudanya *Rum* emigrants but also more broadly as symbols of the 19th century Orthodox religious communities of Bithynia.

4.1.2 Contemporary Socio-Economic Values

4.1.2.1 Educational Value

According to Feilden and Jokilehto, the educational value contributes to cultural tourism and the acquisition of the knowledge and awareness necessary for adapting

buildings or sites to the present day.⁴¹⁴ Madran and Özgönül note that if a heritage resource has been preserved authentically, it can provide more information about the characteristics of its period and construction type.⁴¹⁵

Traditional Architecture: The case study group is one among many of the churches built in Anatolia after the Tanzimat and Islahat edicts. The architectural features provide insight into the typical characteristics of other *Rum* churches of the period. The façades, plan layout, construction technique, materials and some decorative elements can still be distinguished, despite the deterioration and alterations. All the churches have exposed walls, and the alternating courses of brick and stone technique are quite visible, which is informative for students and interesting for visitors.

4.1.2.2 Functional Value

Used Church Buildings: As noted by Feilden and Jokilehto, the continuity of the original function or another compatible use in the building creates functional value.⁴¹⁶ The surviving *Rum* churches of Mudanya are not being used in their original function, but two churches are still in use today as cultural centres. These are Hagios Georgios in Mudanya and Panagia Metropolis in Tirilye.

Although the church of Panagia Metropolis has undergone alterations throughout its history, it still maintains the basic spatial organization of a *Rum* church with the requisite three-aisled basilical plan. The simple and large open interior space is flexible enough to accommodate various functions, which makes it possible to organize cultural events and gatherings as well as services on important days. Hagios Georgios of Mudanya, known today as the Uğur Mumcu Cultural Centre functions

⁴¹⁴ Feilden and Jokilehto 1998, p. 20.

⁴¹⁵ Madran and Özgönül 2005, p. 66.

⁴¹⁶ Feilden and Jokilehto 1998, p. 20.

as a theatre hall for Mudanya. It hosts concerts, meetings and indoor theatrical performances. However, the main space, the naos, is largely occupied by the stage, seating areas and other fixed equipment. The use of the building for alternative purposes is limited due to the current interior organisation of the theatre.

4.1.2.3 Economic Value

Tourism: Easily accessible, Mudanya city centre and Tirilye attract tourists, especially from Bursa and Istanbul. The churches in the region are among the contributing factors to the increasing interest of local tourists in the settlements. The increasing number of visitors on weekends and in the summer season generates income for the local people. The former church of Hagios Georgios, currently Mudanya Uğur Mumcu Cultural Centre, hosts concerts, meetings and indoor dramatics, thus creating economic value both through ticket sales and by attracting visitors to Mudanya.

Valuable Land in Central Locations: Today, the demand to live in Mudanya and its villages has increased due to the growing interest in coastal settlements and the natural environment. The property value in the region is high for this reason. Therefore, the churches with their large land-holdings and central location in Mudanya have acquired considerable economic value.

4.1.2.4 Political Value

Political Importance: The Armistice of Mudanya in 1922, which has an important place in the political history of Turkey, made the city one of the symbolic locations of the Turkish Republic. After the armistice, the *Rums* had to leave the city, and the churches were abandoned. The churches carry political value as they are objects intimately connected to the catastrophic historical event of Population Exchange.

The 6th-7th September events in 1955 and the 1963 Cyprus dispute both created political tension between Turkey and Greece. As a result, the existence of the churches, which are the common heritage of both nations, became a politically charged matter.

4.2 Values of the Partially Surviving (and Lost) Churches

Table 4.6 Values of the partially surviving (and lost) or churches

VALUES		DEFINITION
Educational	V16	Religious character of the region and building practices
	V17	Conservation problems

Religious character of the region and building practices: Mudanya used to have a large inventory of Greek religious buildings. Since these buildings have largely disappeared, the important information they could provide has been lost. However, even the remaining information is valuable as it provides insight into Orthodox religious life. An assessment of the quantity of churches, their geographical distribution, the saints to whom they were dedicated, etc., may establish a general understanding of the churches and the religious character of the region.

Provides information about the conservation problems: The problems of the Population Exchange and subsequent events up to the present day have had a major impact on the churches in Mudanya, as well as on other churches in Anatolia. These monuments – be they abandoned, reused, altered, partially surviving, or quite destroyed – have educational value in that they present various conservation problems applicable to any *Rum* church that has similarly lost its community in Anatolia.

4.3 Threats and Challenges

Table 4.7 Threats and challenges

THREATS AND CHALLENGES			
CHALLENGES	CHALLENGES RELATED TO TANGIBLE AND INTANGIBLE COMPONENTS	C1	Accessibility
		C2	Population Decrease
		C3	Functional Change
		C4	Inadequacy of Legal Regulations
THREATS	THREATS RELATED TO TANGIBLE COMPONENTS	T1	Loss of Function
		T2	Loss of Upper Structure
		T3	Structural and Material Deterioration
		T4	Lack of Documentation
		T5	Inaccurate Restoration Implementations
		T6	Vandalism, Treasure Hunters and Lack of Supervision
		T7	Lack of Economic Sources
	THREATS RELATED TO INTANGIBLE COMPONENTS	T8	Alienation of the Christian 'Minority' and Their Sanctuaries
		T9	Loss of Historical Knowledge
		T10	Confiscation of Pious Foundations Properties and Registration of Churches as Private Property

4.3.1 Challenges

4.3.1.1 Challenges Related to Tangible and Intangible Components

4.3.1.1.1 Accessibility

The weak relationship between the churches and the city centre contributes to inadequate building management. For example, access to the village of Yalıçiftlik located in the mountainous parts of Mudanya is quite challenging. Due to its isolation from the city centre, the church of Hagia Paraskevi had been reduced to its foundation levels before the authorities noticed its disappearance. Another mountain village of Mudanya, Dereköy, is more accessible than Yalıçiftlik. However, the piece-by-piece deliberate dismantling of the wooden iconostasis of the Hagia Paraskevi was not noticed or controlled by the local authorities, until it was completely lost.

4.3.1.1.2 Population Decrease

In most of the villages of Mudanya, migration from rural areas to the central parts of Bursa has been observed. In particular, the younger generations want to live in areas that offer better education, employment, health, and sociocultural opportunities. The existence of a cultural heritage depends on its relationship with the society in which it is located. The loss of a settlement's community, in whole or part, threatens life in the region and the cultural heritage that is an integral part of it.

4.3.1.1.3 Functional Change

After the Population Exchange, churches were converted into mosques and were modified to serve their new function. Christian religious paintings and figures were

either hidden with paint or damaged. A mihrab was added to the east-west orientated church plan, set in the southeast direction. The existing bell towers were used as minarets; the structures without the towers had a minaret added to them.

The church of Hagios Georgios Ano in Tirilye, registered as a private property after the Population Exchange, was used as a dwelling, undergoing a functional change. The new users built a 3-storey residential building adjacent to its west façade, transformed the naos into a courtyard, and added storage spaces to accommodate their needs. The naos, now an open space, has become vulnerable to external factors. The church, whose load-carrying exterior walls are still standing, has lost its spatial integrity. The interior organization and façades of the church of Panagia Metropolis in Tirilye, converted into a cinema hall in the past, have been significantly changed for its new function. The church of Hagios Georgios (Uğur Mumcu Cultural Centre) has received a new function, whose needs are prioritized to the point that all other values are now overshadowed or eliminated.

4.3.1.1.4 Inadequacy of Legal Regulations

The Law no. 2863 on the Conservation of Cultural and Natural Property, Article No: 6, defines monasteries, basilicas, churches and monasteries as immovable cultural heritage, regardless of religion or belief.⁴¹⁷ This Law comprises the main legal regulation for the conservation of all cultural and natural heritage assets. For churches owned by the Pious foundations, according to the Law no. 5737 on Foundations, the VGM is the authority responsible for the management, protection and utilisation of cultural heritage assets. Yet no regulations have been made for these churches, which have lost their community. As a result of the lack of legal regulations, there are serious practical problems in the protection of abandoned

⁴¹⁷ T.C. Resmi Gazete, 23.07.1983-18113.

churches. There is no clear definition of what constitutes an abandoned church or specific regulations for protecting these buildings.

4.3.2 Threats

4.3.2.1 Threats Related to Tangible Components

4.3.2.1.1 Loss of function

The majority of the churches surviving today are derelict buildings. Among the five surviving churches, two were used as mosques after the Population Exchange, and one was abandoned in the 1980s after being used as a dwelling. Historic buildings and sites need regular maintenance and can deteriorate rapidly without proper care. Since abandoned buildings are not maintained or supervised, they are exposed to threats from man-made and natural factors. As seen from the examples, the buildings that lost their functional value have either completely disappeared or are physically in much worse condition than those still in some use. An outstanding example of this case is the Hagia Paraskevi Church at Yalıçiftlik, which was almost completely demolished after being left abandoned in the 1980s, and only a 1 m high wall remains today.

4.3.2.1.2 Structural and Material Deterioration

The two surviving churches that have lost their roofs (Hagios Georgios at Aydınpinar and Hagia Paraskevi of Dereköy) are physically under serious risk. In these buildings, the load-bearing systems have become dysfunctional, and the roof has collapsed. Buildings that have lost their roof structures become vulnerable to all kinds of threats. The deterioration process of the building accelerates when it cannot be protected from the destructive forces of nature, both within and without. The structural problems of these churches creates a serious safety problem too.

Currently, abandoned churches, of which only the exterior walls are still standing, are exposed to various climatic effects and the sun. As a result, the plasters are losing their colours or have cracked and are falling apart. There is a significant deterioration on all surfaces of the building. The loss of brick and stones from the walls, observed particularly at the upper and ground levels, threatens the building overall. The salt deposition and groundwater damage the integrity of the material. The signs of water damage are especially seen at ground level and basement floors. In addition, the damaging moss formation and the plants cover most of the interior spaces and walls.

4.3.2.1.3 Lack of Documentation

Today, detailed technical and scientific documentation with survey drawings has been conducted for Tirilye Hagios Georgios Ano, Aydınpınar Hagios Ioannes and Dereköy Hagia Paraskevi. Churches that were converted into cultural centres are not documented at the same level, as they only have been subject to restoration projects. Meanwhile, the cemetery chapel has never been studied and documented. To prevent the loss of the only cemetery chapel in the city, it is vital to keep an active record of the architectural and its physical state. Although most of the surviving buildings are documented, their physical features were recorded when they were already in a poor state of preservation. In addition, since there is no documentation now of the lost churches, the valuable information that a large group of buildings can provide has also been utterly lost.

4.3.2.1.4 Inaccurate Restoration Implementations

Improper or inadequate practices such as replacement of original elements in a way that does not respect the original workmanship and historic material, incompatible conservation and maintenance treatments during the planning and construction phases of the project are important problems of intervention. The church of Hagios Georgios Mudanya, one of the two churches restored and

converted into a cultural centre, underwent major changes in 1993, especially in its interior. Such alterations do not necessarily harmonize with the architectural characteristics of the church. The new walls, material, furniture, and lighting are not compatible with the characteristics of the building. The apse, floor and ceiling are now completely hidden from view with materials and construction techniques that are both inappropriate to the character of the church. The architectural features of the church were not investigated or given any consideration during the planning phase.

4.3.2.1.5 Vandalism, Treasure Hunters and Lack of Supervision

Access to the abandoned churches is not controlled or prevented in any way. Therefore, they are particularly open to damage and destruction caused by vandalism and treasure hunting. Some individuals do not hesitate to damage the property of another religion, especially when they perceive them as unfamiliar and outside of their own belief system. The inhabitants of Dereköy state that the seraphim figures in the medallions in the church of Hagia Paraskevi were deliberately damaged in the recent years.

In Anatolia, it is common to remove structural materials from abandoned buildings, especially stones from masonry walls. These stones are usually used for the construction and repair of new walls of a private property or for marking land boundaries. For example, it is known that the marble floor of the Aydınpinar church, nearly all of which disappeared, was removed piece by piece and used in the fountain of the new mosque built next to it.

The searching-out and excavation of abandoned buildings and places of worship belonging to non-Muslims by treasure hunters is a common problem in Turkey. The pits dug by treasure hunters can be seen on the floor and walls of all abandoned churches and chapels of Mudanya. In the churches in Tirilye, some of the carved marble spolia embedded in the walls and two Roman funerary steles were stolen.

4.3.2.1.6 Lack of Economic Sources

As per Article 6 of the Law no. 2863, a restricted number of cultural heritage assets reflecting the characteristics of their period are categorised as eligible for conservation. The reason for this selection is the state's limited economic resources. Article 12 of the Law no. 2863 explains that financial support required for the repair and maintenance of churches in the municipality's administrative responsibilities is to be provided from the 10% contribution allocated from the property tax. This money collected by the Special Provincial Administration (*İl Özel İdaresi*) is used for the projects prepared by the municipalities under the governorship supervision. For the churches under the jurisdiction of the Mudanya Municipality, no budget has been allocated for any physical intervention later than the conversion of the church of Panagia Metropolis into a cultural centre in 2009, except for the documentation and restoration project drafts of the three churches.

4.3.2.2 Threats Related to Intangible Components

4.3.2.2.1 Alienation of the Christian 'Minority' and Their Sanctuaries

In Turkey, there is a strong relationship between national identity and religion. When the definition of the nation is made in religious terms, other religious groups within nations are marginalized or omitted.⁴¹⁸ The alienation of the Christian 'minority' and their practices naturally applies to their places of worship. These religious buildings, which are not 'accepted' by the inhabitants of the region, cannot be integrated into their environment. This situation endangers the existence of the building.

⁴¹⁸ URL 7.

For example, the letter written by the *muhtar* and the village council of Aydınpinar to the Turkish Presidency is informative for indicating the general approach of the villagers and attitude of the local authority towards a church. The letter states that the villagers want to demolish the ‘ruined’ church and replace it with an Atatürk statue. They say that if the church is removed, the villagers will be relieved of a great burden.

In 1986, a concerned citizen wrote a letter for the protection of the church, after witnessing the poor condition of the Hagios Ioannes church in Aydınpinar, and the *muhtar*’s approach towards the church.⁴¹⁹ This letter states that the villagers want the church to be demolished to create an open area that can be used as a car park. As told by the *muhtar*, the letters sent by the ministry states that everything left by the Greeks should be destroyed and wiped out.

4.3.2.2.2 Loss of Historical Knowledge

Since the *Rums*, the original users of the churches, left Mudanya long years ago, the knowledge about the region and the buildings has not been transferred down to the present day. The generation that used the churches as mosques after the Population Exchange understood the buildings and the original values they possessed, but the younger generation has very little knowledge and awareness about these matters. To strengthen the bond between the community, culture and heritage, it is necessary to learn about the history of the churches and their characteristics that are lost today.

⁴¹⁹ BTKTVYK 1986, File no. 12289.

4.3.2.2.3 Confiscation of Pious Foundations Properties and Registration of Churches as Private Property

The ownership of the lands and properties belonging to the Greek minorities has been an issue since the establishment of the Turkish Republic. Established in 1912 with the sultan's edict, the legal entity of the Pious Foundations was not recognised after 1923, as they did not own their foundation deeds. In the Turkish Civil Code, community foundations of non-Muslim citizens of Turkey have a different status from the other foundations. Since the non-Muslim communities in Turkey and the Patriarchate do not have a legal entity, the deeds and inventory cannot be registered in the name of the legal entity of the parish. As a result, in the 1960s, the VGM confiscated all property acquired by Pious Foundations after 1936. It is also significant to note that this policy coincided with the period when Greece and Turkey were in conflict over the Cyprus Dispute.⁴²⁰ The exact state of the confiscated Pious Foundation properties is uncertain, but some of them have been transferred to individuals as private property.

For private cultural properties, the planning and implementation of restoration projects are under the owner's responsibility – and discretion. The owners have the right to apply for funding or to request the expropriation of the immovable property in order to benefit from support and benefits if they are in need. In brief, the private registration of property restricts the conservation and restoration activities of cultural heritage.

Hagios Georgios Ano in Tirilye is private property. The owner, who could not utilise the building as he intended, put the building up for sale but could not find anyone to purchase it. Neither the patriarchate nor Pious Foundations could purchase the building since they do not have a legal entity. Ultimately, conservation can be carried out only under the decisions and permission of the property owner. Since the owner

⁴²⁰ Kurban and Tsitselikis 2010, p. 14.

of Hagios Georgios Ano did not carry out any restoration work, the church was abandoned and left to its own devices.

4.4 Opportunities

Table 4.8 Opportunities

OPPORTUNITIES	DEFINITION	VALUES	THREATS AND CHALLENGES
Opportunities for Tangible Components	Reuse of abandoned churches	V6, V12, V13, V14	C1, C2, C4, T2, T4, T5, T7, T9, T10
	Religious and spiritual significance	V1, V2, V3, V10, V11, V16	C1, C3, C4, T1, T2, T4, T5, T6, T8
	Scientific and educational resource	V3, V4, V6, V7, V8, V10, V11, V16, V17	C3, T1, T2, T3, T4, T5, T8
Opportunities for Economic Development	Cultural and religious tourism	V1, V2, V3, V4, V5, V6, V9, V10, V14, V16	C1, C2, C4, T6, T7, T8, T10
Opportunities for the Community	Community involvement	V1, V2, V3, V12, V15	C1, C2, T1, T5, T6, T6, T7
	Relations with Greek Community	V1, V3, V10, V12, V15	T5, T7, T8, T9, T10

4.4.1 Opportunities for Tangible Components

4.4.1.1 Reuse of Abandoned Churches

As Feilden and Jokilehto point out, a new function (if suitable for the area or the building) contributes to the conservation process.⁴²¹ The derelict state of the churches brings out their potential for adaptive use. The churches with no functional value are subject to deterioration or loss because they are abandoned and not maintained. In the case of adaptive use, the building can be conserved through repair and regular maintenance.

It is not reasonable here, indeed impossible, for the original function to continue, as there is no effective Christian community in the area to regularly use the churches. The re-functioning of a church, taking into account the community's demands, provides a beneficial service to the inhabitants' daily life, and strengthens the relationship between the building and the people who use it.

The basilical plan type, which is the common feature of the Greek churches in the region, provides a large uninterrupted open space. Generally, no architectural elements are left inside today, just the surviving walls. The main space of those buildings is thus free from constraints, making them flexible and suitable for many different functions.

4.4.1.2 Religious and Spiritual Significance

The 19th century churches, extensions of the rich Byzantine religious heritage in Bithynia, have spiritual value even though the locals do not fully recognize them today. The co-existence of Byzantine and post-Byzantine churches representing the Orthodox Christian culture of the region is not unique to Mudanya. Nevertheless, an

⁴²¹ Feilden and Jokilehto 1998, p. 20.

understanding of their intrinsic values will help to safeguard the authenticity of the churches.

The spiritual value of the chapels and hagiomas is also accepted in the Muslim tradition. A clear representation of the relationship of the churches to the surrounding chapels and shrines can promote a more comprehensive understanding of the rich spiritual value of the region, raise local interest and awareness, so encouraging public appreciation.

4.4.1.3 Scientific and Educational Opportunities

Several Turkish scholars and *Rum* descendants have carried out research into the *Rum* churches at Mudanya and their physical context. These studies have produced written sources providing detailed information about the churches and the region's history. The publications have the potential to be a source of information for conservation, to engender a better appreciation of the churches, and promote the education of locals and visitors.

In Mudanya and its villages, there exists a large group of buildings comprising the Greek churches that are now destroyed, survived, abandoned or reused. Through these examples, we can see the results of how and in what ways various physical threats, primarily decay and deterioration, have affected these structures. These examples provide an insight into and lessons for similar conservation problems experienced in the other 19th century Anatolian *Rum* churches that have lost their community. In this respect, they carry the considerable potential to be an educational resource.

4.4.2 Opportunities for Economic Development

4.4.2.1 Cultural and Religious Tourism

Cultural tourism has the potential to be a significant economic contributor to the local community. The presence of authentic *Rum* religious buildings in Mudanya increases tourist attraction. Cultural activities and growing visitor interest can generate revenue for local businesses, landowners and bring new businesses to the area. Religious tourism also has economic potential, if the spiritual value of the region can be portrayed effectively.

However, the churches in the villages receive fewer visitors compared to Mudanya city centre and Tirilye. The risk of tourism-induced harm to these buildings is accordingly lower, with fewer restrictive factors. Therefore, the churches can be conserved by prioritizing their integration into daily life and preserving their authentic values.

4.4.3 Opportunities for Local Community

4.4.3.1 Community Involvement

Integration of churches into daily life can increase community involvement by providing space for events and gatherings, which brings people together and fosters a sense of community. In addition, making churches an active part of the daily life of the local community can help to reduce possible prejudices against the religious institutions of the non-Muslim ‘minority’.

4.4.3.2 Relations with the Greek Community

The Tirilye diaspora living in Greece and other countries are still in touch with their roots. They conduct annual visits and publish important information on Tirilye and

its *Rum* history. However, since there is no mutual relationship between the *Rums* and the Turkish communities, the present locals cannot access the knowledge that the *Rum* diaspora have collected. There is potential for strengthening the ties of the Greeks with the local community and raising awareness of Turkish communities through the proper management of a dialogue.

The Phanar Orthodox Patriarchate of Istanbul visits the city every year on January 19, celebrating Epiphany in the church of Panagia Metropolis in Tirilye and performing the ritual of retrieving a wooden cross from the sea. Such events provide an opportunity for the Orthodox community to strengthen its bond with Mudanya and maintain the religious value of the region.

4.5 Interim Evaluations

The primary focus of this chapter has been to identify the values of and threats to the 19th century *Rum* churches in Mudanya and its environs. Thus, by understanding the values and opportunities of the churches, principles and strategies can be developed appropriate for the region and the buildings.

The abandoned churches, deprived of their function, cannot be preserved and are in a poor state of preservation. Although the reused churches underwent various changes, they are preserved significantly better than the abandoned ones. While the reuse poses a problem for the authenticity of buildings, it has yet been the most effective factor in their preservation. In this case, adaptive reuse and functional change can both be a challenge and a benefit.

The primary objective in cultural heritage conservation processes is to preserve the historical identity of the building and the values it represents for different user groups. Although not widely recognised by the local community today, churches carry intrinsic historical and spiritual values. Identification of values is important because these are matters important for both the Greeks and other non-Muslim minorities.

The changes and the loss of original functions as a result of the displacement of their original users in 1922-23 have not only affected the churches in Mudanya but also other *Rum* churches in Turkey. Likewise, the challenges created by the inefficiencies of the legal regulations can be seen to afflict many other abandoned churches. In short, the political, ideological, sociological, and legal changes in Turkey have had a generally negative impact on the churches of Mudanya. In this respect, analysing the building group is instructive not only for those monuments, but also for appreciating the abandoned Greek religious heritage in Anatolia in general, and what might be positively achieved with it.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSIONS

The cultural heritage of the *Rum* community, formerly one of the most significant non-Muslim groups of the Ottoman Empire, has been subjected to both positive and negative effects of shifting political ideologies, economic interests and social changes. The relationship between the *Rum* and Turkish identities in the multicultural society of the Ottoman period experienced major breaking points with the First World War and the Independence War. In 1923, the *Rums* living in the Ottoman lands were forced to leave Anatolia, with the Population Exchange following the Lausanne Treaty. This conflicted relationship was maintained in the Turkish Republic period under changing ideologies and various political events.

It is known that there were nineteen *Rum* churches in Mudanya city centre and the surrounding eight Greek villages. Of these churches, five have survived, one has partially survived, and thirteen are lost. Two of the surviving churches which are used as mosques (Hagios Ioannes of Aydınpinar and Hagia Paraskevi of Dereköy) and one (Hagios Georgios Ano of Tirilye) used as a dwelling suffered great damage after being abandoned. The partially remaining church (Panagia of Yalıçiftlik) was used as a mosque and then demolished after being abandoned. Two churches, which function as cultural centres today, are restored and opened to the public after being used in the past for various functions, such as a cinema hall and warehouse.

The *Rum* churches of Mudanya, having experienced major sociocultural and physical changes, are already in a vulnerable state, especially the abandoned ones. If conservation strategies that preserve the authentic values of the churches and integrate them into the community are not developed, they may disappear. In order for the churches to fulfil their potential and maintain their values, a comprehensive

conservation strategy should be developed after the definition of the problem, assessment of the values and opportunities.

In an increasingly homogenised and globalised world, the preservation and appreciation of the authentic values of the various cultural heritages that exist are vital for the intellectual and spiritual development of humanity. This aspect has become one of the important focuses of conservation studies. Based on these themes, a theoretical framework was developed through the evaluation of a number of concepts (such as memory, cultural identity, national identity, religious nationalism and tolerance), various charters and guidelines, and national legal regulations. In chapter 3, the architectural, historical, and socio-cultural characteristics of the churches together with their surroundings and their preservation status are presented. These features were then evaluated in chapter 4 according to Feilden and Jokilehto's value-based assessment system (structured around the collective or individual relationship between the observer and a cultural heritage resource), and the values and potentials offered by the building group were determined. Accordingly, in chapter 5, the values, potentials and threats to the churches were interpreted while a basic framework for the utilisation of these opportunities and for the preservation of the churches was identified.

5.1 General Principles for the Surviving Churches

The assessment of the lack of intervention in abandoned churches, despite conservation decisions taken in the 1980s and 90s, shows us that the buildings are not taken care of by the responsible authorities. Although the national legislation on the conservation of cultural heritage (the Law no. 2863 of 1983, amended by the Laws no. 3534 in 1989 and 5226 in 2004) do not state against the protection of minority heritage and is based on various international documents, a holistic and systematic approach is not seen in practice.

There is at present a serious lack of participatory, modern, realistic and feasible planning policies based on a holistic conservation approach – a prerequisite for the sustainability of conservation activities. Institutions and organisations should have access to a common database so as to achieve a dependable body of knowledge; the urban historical fabric should be preserved; the demands and needs of the locals should be taken into consideration and a financial model must be established.⁴²²

The following actions can be implemented by the management stakeholders to conserve the Greek Churches of Mudanya and Tirilye after adopting a holistic and sustainable approach in their historic environment: conservation zoning plans and management plans can be revised to ensure the consistency of the management plan decisions; building heights can be reviewed to ensure that new constructions do not disrupt the urban silhouette; implementation of appropriate adjustments will make the churches and the open spaces around them convenient for the public use; coordinating the relevant organisations and establishing a collaborative and sustainable financial model; updating the registration documents by digitalisation of the archives belonging to the conservation board and municipality.

The lack of more specific and inclusive regulations leaves room for inconsistent, discriminatory and subjective treatment. Principles for the conservation and assessment of cultural heritage, including religious sites of minorities, remain uncertain due to subjective assessments and competing priorities of decision-makers. Within the nationalist political atmosphere of the 20th century in Turkey, state policies worked towards constructing a national identity centred on the Turkish-Islamic synthesis. In line with this ideology, heritage became a symbol of national identity and gained great value with the rise of nationalism. However, the main purpose of conservation should be preserving the authenticity of cultural resources. Therefore, first of all, it is necessary to identify, protect and preserve the cultural values of the heritage. From a balanced perspective, a critical and realistic

⁴²² URL 32.

assessment of each building will be made within its cultural, physical, and social context.⁴²³ For this, it is crucial to develop a treatment strategy and conservation methodology based on a hierarchy of values and systematic assessment rather than a subjective and inconsistent approach.⁴²⁴

When the conservation problems of the surviving or partially lost churches are analysed, it is evident that the preservation status of the buildings with no function is significantly worse. The buildings, which generally continued to function as mosques after the Population Exchange, were also used as storage, theatre halls, abandoned or completely lost for reasons like the construction of new mosques, the decrease in population in the region, neglect, vandalism and treasure hunting. The churches of Hagios Ioannes and Hagia Paraskevi, which were abandoned after being used as mosques from 1923 to the 1980s, are in critical condition currently, while the church of Panagia in Yalıçiftlik, which lost its function as a mosque 1990s, has almost disappeared except for its 1m high west wall. While the used buildings are constantly repaired and maintained, it is seen that the remaining buildings face the risk of demolition and losing their identity. In addition, abandoned buildings are subject to additional risks because even minor repairs are not carried out, and buildings are left open to threats. On the other hand, the churches that converted to cultural centres, Hagios Georgios and Panagia Metropolis, are in physically good condition. In this respect, it can be said that sustainable conservation is possible by keeping cultural heritage, which has lost its original function, alive within a function that meets contemporary needs.⁴²⁵

As Feilden and Jokilehto noted, “Continuity of traditional functions reinforces the meaning of sites in a manner that can never be accomplished by interpretative exhibits.”⁴²⁶ However, since currently no Christian community lives in Mudanya and

⁴²³ Feilden and Jokilehto 1998, p. 60.

⁴²⁴ *Ibid.*

⁴²⁵ Oral ve Ahunbay 2005, p. 7.

⁴²⁶ Feilden and Jokilehto 1998, p. 20.

its surroundings, there is no need for a church primarily for religious services. When an abandoned building cannot maintain its original function, a new use is an effective way to maintain the significance of a building as a living entity.⁴²⁷ The reuse of churches by giving them a new function in line with current needs has the potential to establish interaction between the buildings, people and their environment.

The requirements of the new functions are of critical importance as they may challenge the authentic cultural, architectural identity and historical values. The interventions will inevitably lead to the loss of certain cultural values, but they can be compensated to maintain the overall integrity of the cultural assets.⁴²⁸ The different values require different interventions, although they may also be in conflict with each other. If certain values are emphasised (nationalistic, tourism, political, economic, functional), interventions may result in over-restoration, forced development or even the loss of authenticity.⁴²⁹

As a result of the evaluations made within the scope of the thesis, it was understood that the lack of protection is an ongoing problem today, despite the registration and protection decision for the churches as ‘group I immovable cultural property to be protected’. The physical condition, deterioration type and expected environmental changes are decisive for the various ways of treatment of cultural heritage under threat. In abandoned churches, which have lost their doors and windows, roof structure and load-carrying elements, the building can no longer retain its protective structure against external threats, and, as a result, deterioration has accelerated. In this case, potential additional threats are expected, and necessary repairs can be applied before the damage occurs. Preventive actions can eliminate any further damage.⁴³⁰ The plants covering the walls, surroundings and insides of the churches

⁴²⁷ Langston *et al.*, 2007, p. 1712.

⁴²⁸ Feilden and Jokilehto 1998, p. 59.

⁴²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 60.

⁴³⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 69.

should be removed and the perception of the entire façades and the interiors of the buildings should be made clearer.

Meanwhile, accessibility to the building by anyone without any precautions and the lack of security measures make the abandoned churches vulnerable to vandalism which leads to a decrease or loss of their integrity. In this case, it is necessary to control access to the church in order to protect the building from intentional harmful acts.

The artistic value of surviving churches should be taken into account when assessing churches. Especially abandoned and ruined churches have a specific aesthetic value, even if they are in critical condition. These churches evolved throughout history and became a part of our culture in the form of ruins. The *Rum* churches belonging to the 19th century are limited in number, due to the limited size of the *Rum* community and due to the loss of structures after losing their original users. For this reason, buildings displaying authentic characteristics attract the attention of visitors. However, tourism poses the risk of potential damage to the building by visitors, deterioration of the original texture and loss of authentic values due to overbuilding and renovation.

Under the guidance of the Union of Historical Towns and ÇEKÜL, Mudanya Municipality aims to start the process of nominating Tirilye into the UNESCO World Heritage List with the ‘Tirilye Kentsel Tasarım Rehberi’(Tirilye Urban Design Guide). This project, composed of seven zones, has an urban experience concept at its centre.⁴³¹ To achieve this, the project proposes physical interventions in different buildings and streets, including churches (Panagia Pontobasilissa and Hagios Georgios Ano), and foresees the construction of new facilities to meet the needs of the growing number of visitors. Although it aims to bring Tirilye and the churches into the present day and to promote their cultural and social values to a wider

⁴³¹ Arısoy 2020, pp. 28-31.

audience, high-scale tourism poses a threat to the authentic values of the region and its buildings. This project is not only a physical intervention but also a narrative, and it is important to determine which values are prioritised and which parts of the past are portrayed and how. Remembering negative events may maintain the destructive forces of the past alive, or making the history of Tirilye a narrative of conquest may prevent the integration of multicultural heritage into the community and authentic values of heritage may not be recognised.

Heritage does not have a single origin and is influenced by different pasts. Understanding that heritage emerges from a dialogue between different identities helps us to recognise our multicultural national heritage.⁴³² The preservation of authenticity brings out and protects the collective memory of humanity. In order to preserve the authentic values of the churches as living entities in society, their historic significance, including contradictions, as well as the intangible values that are associated with *Rums*, need to be recognised. The places of cultural significance where the identities of the Greek diaspora are embodied, establish a tangible link between their past and present both in emotional, religious and memorial terms,. Especially for the Tirilye diaspora in Greece, Tirilye and its churches hold commemorative value.

- The information that the diaspora has uncovered through various memoirs, archival sources and photographs enables the churches to be analysed and understood from different perspectives and in a comprehensive framework.
- The commemorative Tirilye visits organised for the members of the Tirilye diaspora enable them to pass on their memories to future generations. The ongoing presence of the *Rum* community, who still identifies with the region and makes it part of its identity, contributes to the continuation of the authentic identity of the region and the churches.

⁴³² Lowenthal 1993, p. 54.

- Oral history records in the KMS archives can also provide knowledge to reveal the obscure meaning and history of other churches and *Rum* villages of Mudanya before 1923.

All these are methods that can provide a better understanding of the significance and values of the churches. The local authorities, however, need to provide a platform for dialogue between the diaspora and the locals.

Religious value needs particular attention when assessing the churches. While the religious value of the churches continues for the Greeks, who still have ties with the region, they have a contested meaning for the locals as places of worship of the Christian religion, even though they no longer fulfil their religious function. The churches have been subjected to neglect as places of worship outside Islam because Turkish identity has been characterised by Islam since the Ottoman *millet* system. In a society based on differences, identity symbols such as religion and places of worship are also politicised. In this case, the authorities need to foster an atmosphere of tolerance for the public because, as seen in the case of the Mudanya churches, structures left in the hands of the public have been ignored or deliberately damaged.

The dialogue with the Greek Patriarchate of Istanbul is of great importance in this regard. The Epiphany service is held annually on January 19 in the church of Panagia Theotokos of Tirilye, and the events held in the village highlight the religious value of the settlement and the churches, introduce them to the public and promote the continuity of authentic values. At the same time, the events have commemorative value as they establish a connection between the *Rum* communities and the churches. However, religious commemorative activities should not be limited to Tirilye. In the future, the authorities and Ecumenical Patriarchate can include other surviving churches in their agenda for the mutual participation of both the locals and the *Rum* communities.

The spiritual values of the chapels and hagiomas around the churches should also be evaluated. If the relationship between these structures is emphasised and a holistic evaluation is adopted, the significance of the churches can be enhanced. Assessing

the relationships between the structures of the same religion can reveal cultural and religious values and ensure the sustainability of authentic identities. In addition, it is seen that the use of hagiasma, which is believed to have healing powers, is shared by different communities, regardless of which religion they belong to.⁴³³ In this case, if the healing powers of the hagiasma can be introduced to public and a utilitarian relationship can be established; a natural connection between the spiritual values of the past and the present can be formed.

Strategies to conserve churches should not concentrate only on a single building and its immediate surroundings. Being created by the Greek community of Mudanya, all the churches in the region are based on common values, representing the traditions of a community and illustrating our national history. The benefits of assessing churches in their wider context are the ability to: provide an explanation of the cultural, historical and physical context; reinforce a sense of belonging; introduce the relationship between history and place to visitors and users; offer something to a more comprehensive view of how a *Rum* city functioned in the 19th century; be informative; and incorporate the commemorative values of the *Rums* into the overall context.

5.2 General Principles for the Partially Surviving (and Lost) Churches

Information on the existence of thirteen lost churches was obtained from archival sources. Even though these structures are gone, they are valuable as they are informative, and they should be taken into consideration while assessing the *Rum* cultural heritage of Mudanya. The lost churches provide information about the cultural, technical and historical significance of the churches and the religious character of the region. The loss of so many buildings provides examples of how various threats, particularly neglect, decay and deterioration, have affected these

⁴³³ Hasluck 1926, p. 68

buildings and helps us to assess what kind of destructive effects these buildings were subjected to and the scale of the destruction.

The plots of the lost churches should be identified and if the exact location can be determined, the relevant information about the church should be included in the zoning plans. It may be beneficial to identify the traces of the churches by making trial excavations in the believed plots of the churches. In case of future construction and fuller excavation, it is important that the competent authorities make decisions with an awareness of the situation and implement matters accordingly, taking into account the possible presence of remains.

5.3 Future Research

The aim of conservation is to preserve the integrity of the heritage for future generations by preserving the values of the resources and their immediate tangible character. When the current situation of Mudanya *Rum* churches is evaluated, problems related to the preservation of these very values and their re-integration into the local society are observed. The churches, which are the products of the *Rums* who left Anatolia with the Population Exchange in 1923, do not fit into the lifestyle based on Turkish-Muslim values. For this reason, they have been subjected to neglect and pejorative attitudes in both public and administrative spheres. The neglect of *Rum* churches can only be prevented if they are recognized and accepted as a national heritage of our multicultural past. For this, a holistic approach should be adopted to ensure a comprehensive understanding and a sustainable conservation approach for the churches.

In order to provide a comprehensive definition of the identity of the Greek churches of Mudanya, it is necessary to understand the intangible and tangible values of the buildings and their relationship with the physical and social environment in which they are located. As abandoned buildings, they are subject to deterioration and physical loss day by day, and so detailed documentation is necessary before they

further lose their tangible value. In particular here, the cemetery chapel of Tirilye has never been documented. The chapel, which is in better physical condition compared to abandoned churches, should be so treated as soon as possible. Similarly, though the documentation of the abandoned Aydınpınar Church was made in 2002, the building survey project existing in the municipal archives is not sufficient to explain the church in detail. For this reason, a more detailed and up-to-date documentation should be made by utilising modern digital tools. Likewise, the older projects of the churches now converted to cultural centres can be updated and documented in detail in a digital format. This will make the information easily accessible and convenient to use in the future. Abandoned churches are in a relentless process of deterioration and are experiencing structural damage and material decay. A detailed mapping and analysis of the deterioration should be prepared to clarify the severity and urgency of the situation which will again provide guidelines for future conservation.

There is a lack of information on the transfer process the churches underwent after the Population Exchange and which churches were associated with what non-Muslim foundations in the past. Therefore, a detailed research should be conducted in the archives of the General Directorate of Pious Foundations and Bursa General Directorate of Land Registry and Cadastre (*Bursa Tapu ve Kadastro Genel Müdürlüğü*). One of the problems experienced in the conservation of churches throughout Turkey is the property rights issues after the Population Exchange, the transfer then of churches to private ownership and the seizure of the properties of non-Muslim Foundations by the General Directorate of Pious Foundations. The clarification of this situation may be useful for understanding and addressing the property ownership issue.

Uncovering information about the locations, architectural features and religious dimensions of the churches that have been lost will provide insight for the fuller understanding of that character of Mudanya. Likewise, the hagiomas and chapels that have either disappeared today or whose locations cannot be identified. The preservation of these sites by providing more information about them will help to understand both the buildings and the spiritual value of the region.

Oral surveys with residents and with emigrant *Rums* will elucidate more completely the values of the churches for the community, including the controversial cases. The perspectives of these two groups of people should be taken into account in any conservation process. If such approaches are put in place, it will become more possible to understand the *Rum* churches of Mudanya and the history of the area in their original contexts.

REFERENCES

PRIMARY SOURCES

Ancient Sources

C. Plinius Secundus, *Naturalis Historia*, I, eds. L. Ianus and C. Mayhoff, Teubner, Leipzig 1906.

Dio Chrysostomus, *Dionis Prusaensis quem vocant Chrysostomum quae exstant omnia*, ed. J. de Arnim, Weidmann, Berlin 1893.

Diodorus Siculus, *Bibliotheca Historica*, III, eds. E. Bekker, L. Dindorf and F. Vogel, Teubner, Leipzig 1893.

Michel Psellos, *Chronographie*, ed. É. Renault, Paris 1926–1928.

Strabo, *Geographia*, I, ed. G. Kramer, Berlin 1843.

Archival Sources

Archeio Tou Kentrou Mikrasiatikon Spoudon (KMS)

Oral History Archive (proforiko vilko):

B157 Moudania.

B159 Eligmoi.

B160 Misopoli.

B162 Derekioi

B163 Sigi.

B164 Triglia.

Genika Archeia Tou Kratous (GAK)

Collections of the Refugees of the Population Exchange (Archeion tou Teos Tameiou Antalaximon):

Codex 426 Triglia.

Codex 427 Triglia.

Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi (BOA)

Presidency of the Republic of Turkey, Ottoman Archives:

BOA, D.CMH. d. (Cizye Muhasebe Defteri [Poll-tax Account Book]).

BOA, DH. EUM. KLU. d. (Dahiliye Nezareti, Emniyyet-i Umumiyye Müdüriyyeti, Kalem-i Umumi Defteri [The Ministry of the Interior, General Security Directorate, General Office Book]).

BOA, DH. SFR. d. (Dahiliye Nezareti, Şifre Kalemi Defteri [The Ministry of the Interior, Cypher Office Book]).

BOA, DVNSKLS. d. (Bab-1 Asafi Kilise Kalemi Defteri [The High Gate Church Office Book]).

BOA, DVNSMHM. d. (Bab-1 Asafi Mühimme Kalemi Defteri [The High Gate Mühimme Office Book]).

BOA, İ. AZN. (İrade Adliye ve Mezahib Nezareti [The Ministry of Justice and Sects, Imperial Orders]).

BOA, İ. HR. (İrade Hariciye Nezareti [The Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Imperial Orders]).

BOA, MKT. UM. d. (Sadaret Mektubi Kalem-i Umum Vilayet Defteri [Prime Ministry General Provincial Office Record Book]).

BOA, ML. VRD. TMT. d. (Maliye Nezareti Temettuat Defteri [The Ministry of Finance Tax Register Book]).

BOA, TT. d. (Tapu Tahrir Defterleri [Land Registry Books]).

HVS, Hüdavendigâr Vilayeti Salnamesi (Hüdavendigâr Province Yearbooks).

MODERN SOURCES

Akgönül, S. (2007). *Ulus-Devlet Çağından Küreselleşme Çağına Bir Azınlığın Yok Oluş Süreci*. İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları.

Akkılıç, Y. (1985). *Bursa Ansiklopedisi I*. Bursa: Bursa Hâkimiyet Kültür Hizmetleri Dizisi.

Akkuş, T. (2008). Birinci Dünya Savaşı Sürecinde Bursa'da Sevk ve İskân Uygulamaları ve Sonuçları. *OTAM Ankara Üniversitesi Osmanlı Tarihi Araştırma ve Uygulama Merkezi Dergisi*, 23(23), 1-52.

Akkuş, T. (2008). *Meşrutiyet'ten Cumhuriyete Bursa Kent Tarihinde Gayrimüslimler* (Doctoral dissertation). Dokuz Eylül Üniversitesi, İzmir.

Aktoprak, E. (2010). Bir 'Kurucu Öteki' Olarak: Türkiye'de Gayrimüslimler. *İnsan Hakları Çalışma Metinleri*, 16, 1-64.

Albayrak, S. (2018). *Mudanya'da Kentleşme Süreci ve Kentsel Gelişimi Etkileyen Faktörler* (Master's Thesis). Ege Üniversitesi, İzmir.

Alemdar, S. (2012). *Osmanlı Devleti'nde Kiliselerin Tamir ve İnşası, 1839-1856* (Doctoral Dissertation). Süleyman Demirel Üniversitesi, Isparta.

Altınyıldız, N. (2007). The Architectural Heritage of Istanbul and the Ideology of Preservation. In S. Bozdoğan and G. Necipoğlu (Eds.), *History and Ideology: Architectural Heritage of the Lands of Rum, Muqarnas*, 24, 281–305.

Anagnostopoulou, S. (1997). *Anadolu, 19.yy. Rum Ortodoks Toplulukları, Rum Milletinden Helen Ulusuna*. Athens: Greek Letters.

Apostolatos, G. N. (2009). *The Churches of Triglia Bithynia*. Thessaloniki: Lithodigital.

- Arı, K. (2014). *Büyük Mücadele: Türkiye'ye Zorunlu Göç (1923–1925)*. İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları.
- Arısoy, A. (2020) Kentsel Tasarım Rehberleri ve Planlama. *Yerel Kimlik*, 63, 28-31.
- Ashworth, G. J., Graham, B. and Turnbridge, J. E. (2007). *Pluralising Pasts: Heritage, Identity and Place in Multicultural Societies*. London: Pluto Press.
- Assmann, A., and Conrad, S. (2012). *Memory in a Global Age: Discourses Practices and Trajectories*. Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Assmann, J. (2011). *Cultural Memory and Early Civilization: Writing Remembrance and Political Imagination*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Avrami, E. C., Macdonald, S., Mason, R., and Myers, D. (2019). *Values in Heritage Management: Emerging Approaches and Research Directions*. Los Angeles: Getty Conservation Institute.
- Aydın, E. (2019). *Mudanya Ve Köylerindeki Osmanlı Dönemi Rum Kiliseleri*. (Master's Thesis). Uludağ Üniversitesi, Bursa.
- Aykaç, P. (2019). Contesting the Byzantine Past: Four Hagia Sophias as Ideological Battlegrounds of Architectural Conservation in Turkey. *Heritage & Society*, 11(2), 151–178.
- Bali, R. N. (2005). *Cumhuriyet Yıllarında Türkiye Yahudileri, Bir Türkleştirme Serüveni (1923-1945)*. İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları.
- Baykal, K. (1947). 1854 Zelzelesi ve Tahribatı. *Bursa Halkevi Dergisi*, 83(5–6), 73–118.
- Bible Society of South Africa. (2001). *Holy Bible: Contemporary English Version*. Cape Town: Bible Society of South Africa.
- Bozkurt, G. (1996). *Gülnihal Batı Hukukunun Türkiye'de Benimsenmesi*. Ankara: TTK.
- Braude, B. (2014). *Christians and Jews in the Ottoman Empire: The Abridged Edition*. New York: Holmes&Meier Publishers.
- Buckley, K. (2019). Heritage Work: Understanding the Values, Applying the Values. In E. C. Avrami (Ed.), *Values in Heritage Management: Emerging*

- Approaches and Research Direction* (pp. 50-65). Los Angeles: Getty Conservation Institute.
- Choay, F. (2001). *The Invention of the Historic Monument*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Covel, J. (1998). Voyages en Turquie 1675-1677. Texte établi, annoté et traduit par Jean-Pierre Grelais avec une préface de Cyril Mango. *Réalités Byzantines*, 6(1), 175–222.
- Çapar, A. (2018). The Ottoman Policy Towards Church Construction: The Issue of Church Construction and Restoration in Antakya (Antioch) in the 18th and 19th Centuries. *Asia Minor Studies*, 6(12), 53–71.
- Çınar, A. (2005). *Modernity, Islam, and Secularism in Turkey: Bodies, Places, and Time*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
- Çınar, A. (2011). The Justice and Development Party: Turkey's Experience with Islam, Democracy, Liberalism, and Secularism. *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, 43(3), 529–541.
- Çiftçi, C. (2012). *Osmanlı Döneminde Mudanya İskelesi ve Gümrüğü*. Bursa: Bursa Kültür Sanat ve Turizm Tic. A.Ş.
- De Cesari, C. (2012). Memory Voids and the New European Heritage: A Proposal for Studying Transnational Memory. *Journal Of Museum Ethnography*, 25, 152–162.
- Delatte, A. (1947). *Les Portulans grecs II: Compléments*. Liège: Bibliothèque de la Faculté de Philosophie et Lettres de l'Université de Liège.
- Egmont, A., and Heyman, J. (1759). *Travels through Part of Europe, Asia Minor, the Islands of the Archipelago, Syria, Palestine, Egypt*. London: Royal Society.
- Elitoğ, C. (1989). *Bir Yazlık Yerleşme Alanı Olarak Mudanya* (Master's thesis). İstanbul University, İstanbul.
- Evangelides, T. (1889). Peritinion arkhaitaton en Bithynia. *Soter*, 12(1), 93–96.
- Evangelides, T. (1934). *Brylleion Trigleia*. Athens: Aristeiloi.

- Feilden, B. M., and Jokilehto, J. (1998). *Management Guidelines for World Heritage Sites*. Rome: ICCROM.
- Gillis, J. R. (1994). Memory and Identity: The History of a Relationship. In J. R. Gillis (Ed.), *Commemorations: The Politics of National Identity* (pp. 3–27). New Jersey: Princeton University Press.
- Güllü, R. E. (2021), Osmanlı'dan Cumhuriyet'e Türkiye'de Rumların İdaresi. *Stratejik ve Sosyal Araştırmalar Dergisi Özel Sayısı: Türk-Yunan İlişkileri*, 1, 153-171.
- Gürsakal, N. (2013). Denize Açılan Kapı Mudanya. *Bursa'da Yaşam*, 7(2), 40.
- Halbwachs, M., and Coser, L. A. (1992). *On Collective Memory*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Hall, S. (1990). Cultural Identity and Diaspora. In J. Rutherford (Ed.), *Identity: Community, Culture, Difference* (pp. 222–237). London: Lawrence and Wishart.
- Hansen, M. H., and Nielsen, T. H. (2004). *An Inventory of Archaic and Classical Poleis*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Harrison, R. (2012). *Heritage: Critical Approaches*. New York: Routledge.
- Hasluck, F. W. (1906). Bithynica. *The Annual of the British School at Athens*, 13, 285–320.
- Hasluck, F. W., and Hasluck, M. (1929). *Christianity and Islam under the Sultans* (Vol. I). Oxford: The Clarendon Press.
- Hayden, R. M. (2002). Antagonistic Tolerance: Competitive Sharing of Religious Sites in South Asia and the Balkans. *Current Anthropology*, 43(2), 205–231.
- Hinks, A. R. (1929). *The Portolan Chart of Angelino de Dalorto, MCCCXXV, in the collection of Prince Corsini at Florence*. London: Royal Geographical Society.
- Hirsch M. (2012). *The Generation of Postmemory: Writing and Visual Culture After the Holocaust*. Columbia: Columbia University Press.

- İzıbrak, R. (1982). Bursa. In T. Parla (Ed.), *Yurt Ansiklopedisi III* (pp. 1671–1727). İstanbul.
- Janin, R. (1921). La Bithynie sous l'Empire Byzantin. *Échos d'Orient*, 20(122), 168–182.
- Kandes, V. I., Ahmet, I. K., Demirci, D., and Tansel, S. O. (2008). *Kuruluşundan XIX. Yüzyıl Sonlarına Kadar Bursa*. Bursa: Sır Yayıncılık.
- Karaca, Z. (2008). *İstanbul'da Tanzimat Öncesi Rum Ortodoks Kiliseleri*. İstanbul: YKY.
- Kaya, M. (2017). Lozan Mübadillerinin Bursa'ya İskânları. *Milli Kültür Araştırmaları Dergisi*, 1(1), 1–12 .
- Kaymak, Ö. (2017). Atina'da Yaşayan İstanbullu Rumların Göç Hafızasıyla Beslenen Kimlik İnşaları. *İktisat ve Sosyal Bilimlerde Güncel Araştırmalar*, 1, 165–195.
- Talbot, A. M. (1991). Metochion. In A. P. Kazhdan, A. M. Talbot, A. Cutler, T. E. Gregory and N. P. Ševčenko (Eds.), *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium* (Vol. II). New York: Oxford University Press.
- Keyder, Ç. (1987). *State and Class in Turkey: A Study in Capitalist Development*. New York: Verso.
- Kulišić M., and Tuđman M. (2009). Monument as a Form of Collective Memory and Public Knowledge. In D. Bawden, J. Lasić, S. Seljan, A. Slavić and H. Stančić (Eds.), *INFuture2009: Digital Resources and Knowledge Sharing* (pp. 125-133). Zagreb: INFuture.
- Kurban, D., and Tsitselikis, T. (2010). *Bir Mütakabiliyet Hikayesi: Yunanistan ve Türkiye'de Azınlık Vakıfları*. İstanbul: Türkiye Ekonomik ve Sosyal Etüdler Vakfı.
- Kültürel Mirası Koruma Derneği and Anadolu Kültür (2016) *Bursa Mimari Kültürel Mirası Değerlendirme Raporu*. İstanbul: Anadolu Kültür.
- Levi, M. (2020). *2019 Çalışma Raporu*. İstanbul: Cemaat Vakıfları Temsilciliği.

- Lowenthal, D. (1994). Chapter II: Identity, Heritage, and History. In J. R. Gillis (Ed.), *Commemorations: The Politics of National Identity* (pp. 41–58). Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Lowenthal, D. (2015). *The Past Is a Foreign Country – Revisited*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Mackay, R. (2019). Values-Based Management and the Burra Charter: 1979, 1999, 2013. In E. C. Avrami (Eds.), *Values in Heritage Management Emerging Approaches and Research Directions* (pp. 110–127). Los Angeles: Getty Conservation Institute.
- Madran, E. (2004). *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun Klasik Çağlarında Onarım Alanının Örgütlenmesi*. Ankara: ODTÜ Mimarlık Fakültesi Yayınları.
- Madran, E. (2010). Kültür ve Tabiat Varlıklarını Koruma Hukuku ve Kurumsal Yapı. In N. Özaslan, D. Özkut (Eds.), *Mimari Korumada Güncel Konular*. Eskişehir: Anadolu Üniversitesi.
- Madran, E., and Özgönül, N. (2005). *Kültürel ve Doğal Değerlerin Korunması*. Ankara: TMMOB Mimarlar Odası.
- Magie, D. (1950). *Roman Rule in Asia Minor, Volume II (Notes): To the End of the Third Century After Christ*. New Jersey: Princeton University Press.
- Mango, C. (2006), *Bizans Mimarisi*. Translated by. M. Kadiroğlu. Ankara: Özel Basım.
- Mansel, A. M. (1946). Mudanya Mezar Binası. *Belleten*, 37(10), 1–12.
- Mason, R. (2002). Assessing Values in Conservation Planning: Methodological Issues and Choices. In M. de la Torre (Ed.), *Assessing the Values of Cultural Heritage* (pp. 5-30). Los Angeles: The Getty Conservation Institute.
- Meier, C. (2010). *Das Gebot zu vergessen und die Unabweisbarkeit des Erinnerns. Vom öffentlichen Umgang mit schlimmer Vergangenheit*. Munich: Siedler Verlag.
- Menelaou, D. (1984) *Λεξικόν Ελληνο-Τουρκικόν, Τουρκο-Ελληνικόν: μετά συντόμου ελληνικής και τουρκικής γραμματικής*. Athens: Kakulidi Publications.

- Moudania Refugee Association of Thessaloniki (1931). *Αντίλαλοι απ' τα Μουδανιά και τα γύρω*. Thessaloniki: Moudania Refugee Association.
- Oğuzoğlu, Y. (2007). Mudanya Tarihinden Sayfalar. In Y. Oğuzoğlu (Ed.), *Ulusal Zaferimizi Taçlandıran Kent: Mudanya* (pp. 21–31). Bursa: Gaye Kitapevi.
- Oran, B. (2010). *Türkiye'de Azınlıklar: Kavramlar, Teori, Lozan, İç Mevzuat, İçtihat, Uygulama*. İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları.
- Orbaşlı, A. (2015). Nara+20: A Theory and Practice Perspective. *Heritage & Society*, 8(2), 178–188.
- Orhan, G., and Yücel, Y. G. (2019). Kırsal Mekânın Metalaşması ve Soylulaştırmanın Köy Hâli : Doğanbey Köyü'nün Dönüşümü. *MADjournal*, 1(1), 8–38.
- Ötüken, S. Y., Durukan, A., and Acun, H. (1986). *Türkiye'de Vakıf Abideler ve Eski Eserler-IV* (pp. 463–468). Ankara: Vakıflar Genel Müdürlüğü Yayınları.
- Ötüken, Y. S. (1979). İstanbul Kiliselerinin Fetihten Sonra Yeni Görevleri, Bânileri ve Adları. *Hacettepe Beşeri Bilimler Dergisi*, 10(2), 76–79.
- Özcan, Y. Z. (1990) A Quantitative Study of Mosques in Turkey. *İslâmi Araştırmalar Dergisi*, 4(1), 21–22.
- Özil, A. (2013). *Orthodox Christians in the late Ottoman Empire: A Study of Communal Relations in Anatolia*. London: Routledge.
- Öztürk, Y. (2019). Military Operations in the Occupation and Liberation of Bursa and its Vicinity. *Atatürk Üniversitesi Türkiyat Araştırmaları Enstitüsü Dergisi*, 65(2), 381–405.
- Özyürek, E. (2019). Introduction. In E. Özyürek, G. Özpınar, and E. Altındış (Eds.), *Authoritarianism and Resistance in Turkey: Conversations on Democratic and Social Challenges* (pp. 1–10). Cham: Springer.
- Paul of Aleppo (1836). *The Travels of Macarius, Patriarch of Antioch: written by his attendant archdeacon, Paul of Aleppo, in Arabic*. Translated by F. C. Belfour and A. M. Oxon. London: Oriental Translation Fund of Great Britain and Ireland.
- Pococke, R. (1772). *Voyage de Richard Pococke*. Paris.

- Portelli, A. (1991). *The Death of Luigi Trastulli and Other Stories: Form and Meaning in Oral History*. New York: State University of New York Press.
- Psellos, M. (1992). *Khronographia*. Translated by I. Demirkent. Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi.
- Pseudo-Skylaks (2012). Periplous. In M. Arslan (ed.), *Mediterranean Journal of Humanities*, 2(1), 239-257.
- Ruschenbusch, E. (1983). Tribut und Bürgerzahl im ersten athenischen Seebund. *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik*, 53, 140–141.
- Sarıkaya, L. Y. (2009). Tarihi Çevre Koruma Mevzuatına Genel Bir Bakış. *Dosya 14.1: Tarihi Çevrede Koruma: Yaklaşımlar, Uygulamalar-1*, 14(1), 62–68.
- Simeon of Poland (2007). *Polonyalı Bir Seyyahın Gözünden 16. Asır Türkiyesi*. Translated by H. Andreasyan. İstanbul: Kesit Yayınları.
- Sipahi, A. (2013) İmralı Cezaevi Tarihi. *Toplum ve Kuram*, 8(1), 111–136.
- Soykan, T. T. (2000). *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda Gayrimüslimler*. İstanbul: Ütopya Kitabevi.
- Soysal, İ. (1983) 1922 Mudanya Silah Bırakışımı Sözleşmesi. In *Türkiye'nin Siyasi Andlaşmaları I. Cilt (1920–1945)* (pp. 61–66). Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınları.
- Sönmez Pulat, E. (2020). *19. Yüzyıl İstanbul Mimarlık Ortamında Rum Ortodoks Kiliselerinin Yapım ve Onarım Süreçleri*. [Doctoral Dissertation]. İstanbul, İstanbul Technical University.
- Şahin, D., and Çitakoğlu, H. (2016). A Newly Discovered Mosaic from Myrleia. *Journal of Mosaic Research*, 9, 85–94.
- Şahin, M. (2012). 2010 Yılı Bursa İli Yüzey Araştırması Harmancık-Mudanya. In *29. Araştırma Sonuçları Toplantısı I. Cilt* (pp. 11–26). Ankara: T.C. Kültür Bakanlığı Yayınları.

- Şemseddin, S. (2012). Rum. In R. Gündoğdu, N. Adıgüzel and E. F. Önal (Eds.), *Kâmûs-ı Türkî: Osmanlıca-Türkçe Ansiklopedik Lûgat*. İstanbul: İdeal Kültür Yayıncılık.
- Tanör, B. (1998) *Osmanlı-Türk Anayasal Gelişmeleri*. İstanbul: YKS.
- Taşkın, Ü. (2005). *Osmanlı Devleti'nde Kullanılan Ölçü ve Tartı Birimleri* (Master's Thesis). Fırat Üniversitesi, Elazığ.
- Taşlıgil, N. (1996). Dünden Bugüne Bursa'da İpekböcekçiliği. *Marmara Coğrafya Dergisi*, 1, 237–246.
- Tekeli, İ. (1988). Kentsel Korumada Değişik Yaklaşımlar Üzerine Düşünceler. *Mimarlık*, 88(2), 57–58.
- Tepealtı, F. (2019). Lozan Nüfus Mübadelesi Göçleri ve Türk Mübadillerin İskânı. *Journal of Geography*, 39, 89–98.
- Truscott, M. C. (2004). Contexts for Change: Paving the Way to the 1999 Burra Charter. *Historic Environment*, 18(1), 30–34.
- Veer, P. (1994). *Religious Nationalism: Hindus and Muslims in India*. Berkeley: the University of California Press.

International Charters and Documents

- Council of Europe (1975). *The European Charter of Architectural Heritage (The Declaration of Amsterdam)*. Amsterdam.
- Council of Europe (2005). *Council of Europe Framework Convention on the Value of Cultural Heritage for Society*. Faro.
- English Heritage (2008). *Conservation Principles Policies and Guidance for the Sustainable Management of the Historic Environment*. London.
- ICOMOS (1931). *Carta Del Restauero*. Rome.

ICOMOS (1964). *International Charter for the Conservation and Restoration of Monuments and Sites (The Venice Charter)*. Venice.

ICOMOS (1979). *The Burra Charter: The Australia ICOMOS Charter for Places of Cultural Significance*. Burra.

ICOMOS (1994). *The Nara Document on Authenticity*. Nara.

ICOMOS (2008c). *Québec Declaration on The Preservation of the Spirit of the Place*. Québec City.

ICOMOS (2010). *New Zealand Charter Revised*. New Zealand.

ICOMOS (2013b). *Managing World Cultural Heritage*. Paris.

ICOMOS (2013c). *Mimari Mirası Koruma Bildirgesi*. Istanbul.

ICOMOS (2013). *Türkiye Mimari Mirası Koruma Bildirgesi*. Istanbul.

ICOMOS (2017). *The Delhi Declaration on Heritage and Democracy*. Delhi.

UNESCO (2005a). *The 2005 Convention on the Protection and Promotion of the Diversity of Cultural Expressions Convention on the Protection and Promotion of the Diversity of Cultural Expressions*. Paris.

UNESCO (2017). *Tangible Cultural Heritage*. Cairo.

Legal Regulations

2762 Sayılı Vakıflar Kanunu, 5.6.1935. T.C. Resmi Gazete, 5.6.1935-3027, last accessed on 15.02.2023.

1710 Sayılı Eski Eserler Yasası, 25.04.1973. T.C. Resmî Gazete 06.05.1973- 14527, last accessed on 15.12.2022.

2863 Sayılı Kltr ve Tabiat Varlıklarını Koruma Kanunu, 21.07.1983. T.C. Resmi Gazete, 23.07.1983-18113, last accessed on 20.10.2021.

3534 Sayılı Avrupa Mimari Mirasının Korunması Szleşmesinin Onaylanmasının Uygun Bulunduęu Hakkında Kanun, 18.05.1989. T.C. Resmi Gazete, 22.07.1989-20229, last accessed on 20.10.2021.

5226 Sayılı Kltr ve Tabiat Varlıklarını Koruma Kanunu ile Çeşitli Kanunlarda Deęişiklik Yapılması Hakkında Kanun, 14.7.2004. T.C. Resmi Gazete, 27.07.2004-25535, last accessed on 20.10.2021.

5737 Sayılı Vakıflar Kanunu, 27.2.2008. T.C. Resmi Gazete, 20.2.2008-5737, last accessed on 20.03.2023.

6360 Sayılı Bykşehir Belediyeleri Kanunu, 12.11.2012. T.C. Resmî Gazete, 06.12.2012-28489, last accessed on 20.10.2021.

Web Sources

URL 1: <https://kaikki.org/dictionary/Greek> (last accessed on 22.06.2022)

URL 2: www.greeklanguage.gr/greekLang/modern_greek/tools/lexica/triantafyllides/search.html?lq=εφορία&dq (last accessed on 12.06.2022)

URL 3: www.bible.com/bible/114/PSA.84.NKJV (last accessed on 15.06.2022)

URL 4:

<http://www.hellenicaworld.com/Greece/Religion/gr/ArchieratikosEpitropos.html> (last accessed on 13.05.2022)

URL 5: <https://triglianoi.gr/index.php?topic=1824.0> (last accessed on 15.06.2022)

URL 6: <https://www.tovima.gr/2012/03/22/opinions/kotzampasides-2/> (last accessed on 11.04.2022)

URL 7: <https://www.hurriyet.com.tr/ekonomi/bu-avm-affedilir-mi-40902670> (last accessed on 15.04.2022)

URL 8: <https://archive.saloni.ca/321> (last accessed on 18.05.2022)

- URL 9: <http://www.megalisxoli.gr/Pantheon.html> (last accessed on 22.05.2022)
- URL 10: <https://www.imerisia-ver.gr/αρθρο/18670-ενα-ταξιδι-στην-αντιπερα-οχθη-στα-χωρια-της-προυσας> (last accessed on 25.05.2021)
- URL 11: <https://mudanya.bel.tr/yerler/tarihi-yapilar/dundar-evi-kilisesi> (last accessed on 26.06.2022)
- URL 12: <https://mudanya.bel.tr/yerler/tarihi-yapilar/mudanya-ortodoks-kilisesi-ugur-mumcu-kultur-merkezi> (last accessed on 23.05.2022)
- URL 13: <https://mudanya.bel.tr/muhtarliklar> (last accessed on 11.04.2022)
- URL 14: <http://politistiko-ergasthri-nostos.blogspot.com/2012/> (last accessed on 11.07.2022)
- URL 15: piopcollections.piraeusbank.gr (last accessed on 25.05.2022)
- URL 16: www.tuik.gov.tr (last accessed on 12.07.2022)
- URL 17: <https://www.mudanya.gen.tr/mudanya-ulasim.html> (last accessed on 18.10.2022)
- URL 18: <https://www.google.com/maps/place/Mudanya,+Bursa> (last accessed on 19.10.2022)
- URL 19: <https://www.facebook.com/groups/32051618619/> (last accessed on 18.10.2022)
- URL 20: <https://kulturportali.gov.tr/turkiye/bursa/kulturenvanteri/derekoy-kilisesi> (last accessed on 19.10.2022)
- URL 21: <https://www.agos.com.tr/tr/yazi/12145/sahibinden-satilik-kilise-meclis-gundeminde> (last accessed on 10.05.2023)
- URL 22: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=7PFy9ivtss8> (last accessed on 23.10.2022)
- URL 23: <https://triglianoi.gr/index.php?action=gallery;sa=view;id=481> (last accessed on 22.10.2022)

URL 24: <https://www.evrensel.net/haber/362235/myrleia-antik-kentine-avmye-karsi-arkeopark-resti> (last accessed on 18.10.2022)

URL 25: <https://www.facebook.com/groups/299180360470/media/photos> (last accessed on 19.10.2022)

URL 26: <https://www.facebook.com/photo/?fbid=10216514529549275&set=pcb.614862145624436> (last accessed on 23.10.2022)

URL 27: <https://triglianoi.gr/index.php?topic=1812.0> (last accessed on 10.06.2022)

URL 28: <https://triglianoi.gr/index.php?action=gallery;sa=view;id=365> (last accessed on 22.10.2022)

URL 29: triglianoi.gr (last accessed on 10.05.2023)

URL 30: <https://belediyehaber.net/2023/01/19/mubadelenin-100-yilinda-turk-yunan-bulusmasi-mudanyada-gerceklesti/> (last accessed on 10.05.2023)

URL 31: <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-53366307> (last accessed on 10.05.2023)

URL 32: <https://whc.unesco.org/en/list/1452/> (last accessed on 10.05.2023)

APPENDICES

A. The Rules and Procedure for Rotating Service of the Churches of Triglia

The Regulation of 13.01.1908 describes the rotating operation of the five churches, with the aim of limiting the expenses of the community, a proposal put forward by Chrysostom.⁴³⁴ According to the “The Rules and Procedure for Rotating Service of the Churches of Triglia” under Chapter A “On the community”:

Art. 2) The Community has six sanctuaries a) The Church of Hagios Georgios of the lower district, b) The Church of The Holy Theotokos of the chosen Metropolis, c) The Church of Hagios Ioannes, d) The Church of Hagios Georgios of the upper district, of the chosen Kyparissia, e) The Holy Theotokos of the chosen Pantanassa "Pantovasilissi" and f) the of Hagios Dimitrios.

Art. 3) The Churches of the Community consist of two groups, the first group is the Churches of Hagios Georgios Kato, Panagia Metropolitan, Hagios Ioannes; the other group is the Churches of Hagios Georgios Kyparissia, Panagia Pantovasilissis and Hagios Dimitrios (liturgy only during the annual memory and feast of Great Martyr Demetrius, the feast of Zoodochos Pigi and the feast of Apostles Constantine and Helen).

Art. 4) Among these complexes, on every holiday and Sunday, two Churches are going to be open, one being from the lower three Churches and one from the upper two. They are going to function, rotating monthly until the end of the year 1908 and three months after the present year.

Chapter C is about “Church Commissioners” and gives information on the operation of the churches.

⁴³⁴ Code 427, Minutes 13.1.1908, pp. 39–40.

Art. I) In each cluster of churches, a committee is appointed consisting of three people. For this one member is selected from each church of each district. Three members for the lower cluster, the three parishes which are Hagios Georgios, Panagia Metropolitan, and Hagios Ioannes: three members for the upper cluster, three parishes of Hagios Georgios, Pantovasilissis and Hagios Dimitrios. These commissioners were elected in the General Assembly by secret vote again.

Art. J) Each three-member committee has duties and rights to take care of the propriety of the Houses of God, the appointment of the appropriate staff of singers, other church officials, and priests. These are addressed to the Diocese through the *Ephoro-demogerontia*. Each committee member reports the collection of ecclesiastical records, rituals, the necessary expenses for wax, oil, salaries of ecclesiastical servants, and any other expenses to the *Ephoro-demogerontia*. At the end of each month, the *Ephoro-demogerontia* calculates the money with the taxes and delivers the excess money to the central fund. General repairs, establishment of shops, purchase of estates, and in general any expenditure exceeding the hundred *Piros/grosis* is made only after the meeting and approval of the *Ephoro-demogerontia*.

Art. K) in each ecclesiastical complex, each priest appoints two servants, the most virtuous, the chosen ones sing in pairs, with two candles, given the title of first and second assistant with the corresponding and appropriate salary. Wages and church responsibilities shall be distributed among them accurately and with justice. Holy acts are performed in the ministering church, except for baptisms, marriages, and funerals, which may be performed in each district's church.

Art. L) For the sake of decency and order, the churches of Panagia Metropolitan and Pantovasilissis are permanently operating during August for the fasting period between August 1 and August 15, until the feast of the Assumption of the Virgin Mary. The church of Hagios Georgios (Kato) is going to be operating during the feasts of the Annunciation on March 25, birthday of the Virgin Mary on November 21, the Feast of Epiphany on January 6, the Feast of Hagios Nikolaos on December

6, the Feast of Hagios Georgios on April 23, the Feast of the Cross on September 14, the Feast of Zoodochos Pigi on first Friday after Easter. The church of Hagios Ioannes is going to be operating during the feasts of Hagios Ioannes the Baptist, the Annunciation, the Day of Prophet Daniel, and Hagia Paraskevi. The Church of Hagios Georgios of Kyparissia (Ano) is going to be operating during the great Easter, the feasts of Hagios Panteleimon and of Hagios Theodoros. The Church of Pantovasilissis is going to operate for the second feast of resurrection for the upper cluster.

Chapter D is on community resources:

(C) resources the Community has: first, the donation boxes of the churches; second, the income of the churches and other real estate and movable assets; third, the event tickets of the students; fourth, the property rights of the Office of the *Ephorate of gerontia*; fifth the monopoly of the wax; except for theatrical performances or any other extraordinary and unforeseen means always collected for the benefit of the schools, in addition to certain festivals or chapels, records are being for the benefit of the Schools.

Art. n) This Regulation, approved and voted in a general assembly of the citizens of Triglia and approved by His Eminence the Metropolitan of Prussia, comes into force today and is valid for four years, after which it may be revised on the request of the citizens. New appointments are going to be made according to the regulations in January. Regarding the system of operation of the churches on a monthly or quarterly basis, the churches are given the freedom to choose one of the systems during the four years, which should be in the interest of the Community and Christians.

Triglia, January 1908

"Eforodimos gerontia".

B. Regulation of The Community Cemetery in Triglia

Article A) Under the supervision of His Eminence the Metropolitan of Smyrna Mr. Chrysostom and sponsorship of the Greek Orthodox of Triglia, the Greek Orthodox Community of Triglia Cemetery was founded in the year 1907, the said cemetery belongs jointly to the Greek Community.

Article B) All the orthodox dead locals and foreigners as well as any Christian with the relevant permission of the church administration are buried in this cemetery.

Article C) The places in the cemetery are divided into three classes as follows: as well as other four rows on both sides of the road and Gymnasium, are decided for the A class. The part lying behind the four rows on both sides and extending from the parallel street of Anapafseos, is decided for the 2nd class. The rest of the cemetery, except for the Gymnasium, is for the third grade.

Article D) The person wishing to bury his dead in the 1st class in the existing order is obliged to pay half of the decided amount. The money is used in favour of the community fund, and the one wishing to erect a monument or family tomb is obliged to pay three pounds per square metre.

Article E) The person wishing to bury his dead in the 2nd class according to the existing order is obliged to pay a quarter. The money is used in favour of the community fund, and to erect a monument or family tomb is obliged to pay two pounds per square metre.

Article F) In the 3rd grade, the burial of the dead is done free of charge, but also in the 3rd class, if the family want to erect a monument or a tomb, they are obliged to pay one pound per square metre.

Article G) The dimensions of the monuments or family tombs for all three classes cannot be less than three square m.

Article H) The tombs in the A and B classes must be separated from each other in moderation.

Article I) After the completion of three years from the burial of the deceased, the governing authority of the cemetery discusses with the interested parties, regarding the excavation for the recovery or the construction of a grave. After six months from the notification, the Community Authority should proceed with the excavation and recovery of the grave and the deposition of the bones in a box in the cemetery.

Article J) The management of the cemetery is left, in general, to the eforia of Triglia, so they must maintain and inspect the duties of a gardener to take care of the garden of the cemetery.

Article K) The caretaker of the cemetery keeps a transcript, taking notes of the location, number and date of each deceased, and is entitled to the right to excavate a grave. As well as the right to excavate to retrieve of relics of other ten *grosis*. The poor are excluded.

Article IB) The Governing Authority will ensure that an iron cross with a serial number is collected and placed on each grave due to the value of the cross.

Article IG) The execution and application of this Regulation are assigned to the respective Ephoro-demogerontia of Triglia and the citizens Lykourgos N. Tsakonas, Filippos S. Karatzis, Demosthenes Takas, Nik. Kalpakis, Menelaos E., Vassilios Katoupas, Theodosios S. Orfanidou, Antonios A. Hastoglou, Themistoklis D. Pallikaras, Anastasios N. Polkas, Sotiris S. Mathias, Stylianos Stergios, Konstantinos Theologos Fountas, George A., Geor. D. Piniotidis, A. Keladis.