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# The Byzantine Church at Enez: Problems in Twelfth-Century Architecture

Robert G. Ousterhout

*University of Pennsylvania*, [ousterob@sas.upenn.edu](mailto:ousterob@sas.upenn.edu)

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# The Byzantine Church at Enez: Problems in Twelfth-Century Architecture

## **Abstract**

The large and impressive Byzantine church known as Fatih Camii was built at Enez in Turkish Thrace was first published by Eyice in 1969. Since that time, it has been noted by Vango and Vocotopoulos, but has otherwise received little scholarly attention. The church is not securely dated and its original dedication is unknown, but its size alone indicates that the foundation was accorded importance. The plan measures approximately 21 x 38 meters, and is thus larger than almost all of the Middle and Late Byzantine churches of Constantinople.

## **Comments**

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## SIGLENVERZEICHNIS

|                  |  |
|------------------|--|
| <i>AASS</i>      | Acta Sanctorum   |
| <i>ABME</i>      | Ἀρχεῖον τῶν Βυζαντινῶν Μνημείων τῆς Ἑλλάδος                      |
| <i>ABSA</i>      | Annual of the British School at Athens                           |
| <i>ACO</i>       | Acta Conciliorum Oecumenicorum                                   |
| <i>AnBoll</i>    | Analecta Bollandiana   |
| <i>BBA</i>       | Berliner Byzantinistische Arbeiten                               |
| <i>BCH</i>       | Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique                            |
| <i>BHG</i>       | Bibliotheca Hagiographica Graeca                                 |
| <i>BKV</i>       | Bibliothek der Kirchenväter                                      |
| <i>BNJ</i>       | Byzantinisch-neugriechische Jahrbücher                           |
| <i>BollGrott</i> | Bollettino della Badia Greca di Grottaferrata                    |
| <i>BSI</i>       | Byzantinoslavica   |
| <i>BV</i>        | Byzantina Vindobonensia  |
| <i>Byz</i>       | Byzantion  |
| <i>BZ</i>        | Byzantinische Zeitschrift  |
| <i>CAG</i>       | Commentaria in Aristotelem Graeca                                |
| <i>CCSG</i>      | Corpus Christianorum, Series Graeca                              |
| <i>CFHB</i>      | Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae                              |
| <i>CIC</i>       | Corpus Iuris Civilis   |
| <i>CIG</i>       | Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum                                   |
| <i>CIL</i>       | Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum                                   |
| <i>CPG</i>       | Clavis Patrum Graecorum  |
| <i>CSCO</i>      | Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium                      |
| <i>CSEL</i>      | Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum                     |
| <i>CSHB</i>      | Corpus Scriptorum Historiae Byzantinae                           |
| <i>DACL</i>      | Dictionnaire d'Archéologie Chrétienne et de Liturgie             |
| <i>DChAE</i>     | Δελτίον τῆς Χριστιανικῆς Ἀρχαιολογικῆς Ἑταιρείας                 |
| <i>DHGE</i>      | Dictionnaire d'Histoire et de Géographie Ecclésiastiques         |
| <i>DIEE</i>      | Δελτίον τῆς Ἱστορικῆς καὶ Ἐθνολογικῆς Ἑταιρείας τῆς Ἑλλάδος      |
| <i>DOP</i>       | Dumbarton Oaks Papers  |
| <i>DOS</i>       | Dumbarton Oaks Studies   |
| <i>DOT</i>       | Dumbarton Oaks Texts   |
| <i>EEBS</i>      | Ἐπετηρὶς Ἑταιρείας Βυζαντινῶν Σπουδῶν                            |
| <i>EkkAI</i>     | Ἐκκλησιαστικὴ Ἀλήθεια  |
| <i>EO</i>        | Échos d'Orient   |
| <i>EΦΣ</i>       | Ὁ ἐν Κωνσταντινουπόλει Ἑλληνικὸς Φιλολογικὸς Σύλλογος            |
| <i>GCS</i>       | Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller                     |
| <i>GRBS</i>      | Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies                               |
| <i>Hell</i>      | Ἑλληνικά   |
| <i>IG</i>        | Inscriptiones Graecae  |
| <i>IRAİK</i>     | Izvéstija Russkago Archeologičeskago Instituta v Konstantinopolé |

ROBERT OUSTERHOUT/URBANA-CHAMPAIGN

THE BYZANTINE CHURCH AT ENEZ: PROBLEMS  
IN TWELFTH-CENTURY ARCHITECTURE\*

With twelve plates

The large and impressive Byzantine church known as Fatih Camii at Enez in Turkish Thrace was first published by Eyice in 1969<sup>1</sup>. Since that time, it has been noted by Mango and Vocotopoulos, but has otherwise received little scholarly attention<sup>2</sup>. The church is not securely dated, and its original dedication is unknown, but its size alone indicates that the foundation was accorded some importance<sup>3</sup>. The plan measures approximately 21 × 38 meters, and is thus larger than almost all of the Middle and Late Byzantine churches of Constantinople. There has not been general agreement as to the date of the church. Eyice supports a thirteenth- or fourteenth-century date but believes the exonarthex to be a slightly later addition of the Palaeologan period<sup>4</sup>. Mango accepts the Palaeologan date of the exonarthex, but somewhat tentatively proposes a twelfth-century date

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\* An earlier version of this paper was presented at the Seventh Annual Byzantine Studies Conference at Boston University in 1981. The author would like to thank Tim Blatner for assistance with the architectural drawings and Eunice Maguire for several helpful comments on the sculpture. The analysis of the architecture of Enez is based on visits to the site in November 1979 and August 1982.

<sup>1</sup> S. EYICE, *Trakya'da Bizans devrine ait eserler. Belleten* 33 (1969) 351-354; IDEM, *Les monuments byzantins de la Thrace turque. Corso di cultura sull'arte ravennate e bizantina* 18 (1971) 303-306.

<sup>2</sup> C. MANGO, *Byzantine Architecture*. New York 1976, 275; P. L. VOCOTOPOULOS, *The Role of Constantinopolitan Architecture during the Middle and Late Byzantine Periods. JÖB* 31/2 (1981) (XVI. Internationaler Byzantinistenkongress. Akten I/2. Wien 1981), 563 n. 48.

<sup>3</sup> F. W. HASLUCK, *Monuments of the Gattelusii. ABSA* 15 (1908-1909) 251-252, identifies the building as "formerly S. Constantine", but does not give the source of this information. VOCOTOPOULOS, *The Role of Constantinopolitan Architecture*, 563, n. 48, identifies it as St. Sophia, but there does not appear to be any evidence for this name. A more likely dedication is to the Virgin, who was pictured standing on a footstool above the main entrance to the naos. The fresco is unfortunately in ruinous condition and is still partially covered with plaster.

<sup>4</sup> As above, n. 1.

for the church itself<sup>5</sup>. Vocotopoulos, on the other hand, believes that both portions of the building were constructed at the same time in the Palaeologan period<sup>6</sup>. In all cases, it has been assumed that the portico facade (Fig. 3-4) of the exonarthex is Palaeologan in date; this has colored the discussion of the remainder of the building. However, an analysis of the plan, construction and decorative details offered here will establish a twelfth-century date for all parts of the building. In addition, it will be shown that the church was closely related to the architectural developments in Constantinople in that period, and that the building may be best viewed in the context of an architectural revival. Finally, the important implications of the twelfth-century dating for later Byzantine architecture will be discussed.

The church lies within the fortified acropolis of ancient Aenos, now all but deserted. The city was strategically positioned at the mouth of the Hebrus (Maritsa) River, and may date back as far as the third millennium B. C.<sup>7</sup> The river was a major water route in Byzantine times, connecting Adrianople and Philippopolis to the Aegean Sea<sup>8</sup>. The silting of the river and of the harbor have rendered both unusable to modern ship traffic, and the twentieth-century national boundaries have left Enez at the end of the road on the Turkish border with Greece. Consequently, the present situation of Enez gives little indication of its importance in Medieval times.

The church is now in ruins. When it was studied by Eyice in 1962, it was in a dilapidated state, but still functioned as a mosque. The building collapsed shortly thereafter and was subsequently abandoned. At that time, the north wall and the vaulting of the naos fell in. Between 1979 and 1982, the south walls of the narthexes also collapsed. No attempt has been made to preserve or restore this important monument, and an excavation of the site could certainly add to our knowledge. Eyice has published photographs taken prior to the initial collapse, and enough remains to determine the original form of the church (Figs. 2-3)<sup>9</sup>. On the south side, the walls still

<sup>5</sup> MANGO, *Byzantine Architecture*, 275.

<sup>6</sup> VOCOTOPOULOS, *The Role of Constantinopolitan Architecture*, 563 n. 48.

<sup>7</sup> For the limited excavations conducted by the University of Istanbul, see A. ERZEN, *Enez Araştırmaları ve Kazıları. Türkiye Turing ve Otomobil Kurumu Belleteni*, Sept.-Oct. 1976; also B. HARRELL, *Mini Tours near Istanbul*. Istanbul 1978, 338-341.

<sup>8</sup> HASLUCK, *Monuments of the Gattelusii*, 251-252; S. CASSON, *Macedonia, Thrace and Illyria*. Oxford 1925, 255-259 and *passim*. Aenos appears as a major station on the coastal road between Constantinople and Thessaloniki on the late Roman Peutinger Table; see A. and M. LEVI, *Itineraria Picta. Contributo allo studio della Tabula Peutingeriana*. Rome 1967, seg. 7.

<sup>9</sup> EYICE, *Trakya'da*, pls. 85-91. I would like to thank Prof. Eyice for his kind permissions to reproduce these illustrations and for his hospitality during my visits to Turkey.

stand to the height of the dome cornice, although the Byzantine dome disappeared before the building was studied.

The form of the church is unusual, and it might be termed a "domed basilica". The naos is cruciform in plan and is preceded by two narthexes (Fig. 5). The east arm of the cross forms the bema, which is flanked by large pastophoria. All three chambers terminate in apses which are semicircular on the interior and polygonal on the exterior. The western cross arm is longer than the others and is flanked by abbreviated side aisles, separated by arcades. The crossing was topped by a broad dome – greater than seven meters in diameter – supported on piers. On the lower level, the piers were L-shaped, and each was combined with two engaged columns which supported pilaster strips on the upper level (Figs. 11–12)<sup>10</sup>. The arms of the cross were topped by barrel vaults, as were the pastophoria. The side aisles were covered by double groin vaults. The inner narthex, divided into three bays, was topped by two groin vaults and a lateral barrel vault. The form of the western wall of the inner narthex is uncertain but may be clarified by excavation. The outer narthex, fronted by the graceful portico facade, is not bonded with the main body of the church. It was probably topped by a wooden roof originally.

### *Construction and decorative details*

Today the surfaces of the building are weather-worn and much repaired. In many areas the masonry is still covered with plaster, and the positions of windows have been shifted. However, the original construction technique is still evident: broad bands of recessed brick alternating with courses of squared stone (Fig. 10). Much or all of this may be reused material, and the construction often appears crude and clumsy – a distinct contrast to the many elegant features of design and detailing. The mortar is of inferior quality and has fallen away in many places. In general, the recessed brick technique, with alternating courses of brick concealed behind what appear to be exceedingly wide mortar beds, is associated with the architecture of the eleventh and twelfth centuries in Constantinople, although it has been demonstrated that the technique appears later in provincial architecture<sup>11</sup>.

<sup>10</sup> EYICE, as above, n. 1, believes these to be later additions; however, bonded masonry in the upper piers indicates that the arrangement of coupled supports is original.

<sup>11</sup> P. L. VOCOTOPOULOS, *The Concealed Course Technique: Further Examples and a Few Remarks*. *JÖB* 28 (1979) 247–260; *IDEM*, *The Role of Constantinopolitan Architecture*, 556–557 and n. 20, for the most recent analysis and additional bibliography.

The proximity to the Capital points to a Middle Byzantine date for the church at Enez.

The decorative brick designs and details of the external articulation of the church at Enez compare favorably with Constantinopolitan monuments, suggesting a similar date. The meander pattern which decorates the prothesis apse at Enez (Fig. 6) may be compared to similar brick patterns at Christos ho Pantepoptēs (Eski Imaret Camii, ca. 1080), the Philanthrōpos sea wall (ca. 1081–1118), and Christos tēs Chōras (Kariye Camii, ca. 1120)<sup>12</sup>. The lunette field of herringbone pattern, which survives in a fragmentary state on the south face of the diakonikon at Enez (Fig. 7), finds parallels at the churches of the Pantokrator Monastery (1118–1136), the Gül Camii (early twelfth century) and again at the Chora<sup>13</sup>. A similar chevron pattern was used in the construction of the conch of the prothesis (Fig. 8). The fragmentary decorative roundel from the north face of the prothesis (Fig. 9) also finds a comparison at the Philanthropos sea wall<sup>14</sup>. Although similar patterns appear in Palaeologan architecture, the form and position of the brick decoration find best comparison in the monuments of the twelfth century. The tripartite lunette windows, now destroyed, had a narrow central light flanked by two lower and slightly broader lights (Fig. 2). This arrangement is unusual but finds a parallel at the Kalenderhane Camii (late twelfth century) and, to my knowledge, nowhere else<sup>15</sup>. The use of external pilaster strips corresponding to the structural divisions of the interior is a hallmark of the Middle Byzantine period, but rare in Palaeologan architec-

<sup>12</sup> For this detail on the Chora, see H. BUCHWALD, *Sardis Church E – A Preliminary Report*. *JÖB* 26 (1977), fig. 17. For the Pantepoptēs, see T. F. MATHEWS, *The Byzantine Churches of Istanbul: A Photographic Survey*. University Park, Pa., 1976, figs. 9-5 and 9-6. For the Philanthrōpos Sea Wall, see MATHEWS, figs. 22-1 and 22-2. For the last, I accept the dating of ca. 1081–1118 proposed by R. DEMANGEL and E. MAMBOURY, *Le Quartier des Manganes et la première région de Constantinople*. Paris 1939, 49–68. For a discussion of brick decoration in the Middle Byzantine period, see R. OUSTERHOUT, *The Architecture of the Kariye Camii in Istanbul*. Ph. D. diss. University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign 1982, 117–118. A somewhat similar design also appears in Palaeologan architecture, as VOCOTPOULOS notes, *The Role of Constantinopolitan Architecture*, 563 n. 48.

<sup>13</sup> For the Chora, see MATHEWS, *Byzantine Churches*, fig. 8-10; for the Pantokrator churches, see MATHEWS, figs. 10-15 and 10-47; for the Gul Camii, see MATHEWS, figs. 13-14 and 13-16.

<sup>14</sup> See MATHEWS, *Byzantine Churches*, figs. 21-1 and 21-2. The roundel also appears in Palaeologan decoration on the south church at the Lips Monastery in Constantinople; see MATHEWS, fig. 35-32.

<sup>15</sup> See MATHEWS, *Byzantine Churches*, fig. 18-4. For the late twelfth-century date, see C. L. STRIKER and Y. D. KUBAN, *Work at the Kalenderhane Camii in Istanbul*. *DOP* 25 (1971) 258. At Enez, the forms and positions of windows have been altered.



ture (Fig. 1). Finally, the broad, multi-faceted apses are common from the twelfth century on, but rare in earlier times. The church at Enez has nine facets on the main apse and five facets on each of the flanking apses. A similar arrangement appears at the Gül Camii<sup>16</sup>. At Enez, the apses are presently buried to above the internal cornice level, so it is not possible to tell if they were articulated externally by niches. Nonetheless, the numerous details in construction, decoration and articulation confirm the twelfth-century date.

### *The plan and its implications*

The plan of the church at Enez is unusual. The Greek cross plan of the naos is extended to the west, forming a sort of domed basilica with a transept, recalling architectural forms of the sixth through ninth centuries. If one discounts galleries, the church finds parallels at H. Eirene in Constantinople, reconstructed in the eighth century; H. Titos at Gortyna on Crete, of the late sixth or seventh century; or the church at Vize in Turkish Thrace, probably ninth century in date<sup>17</sup>. The proportions of the plan and spatial organization of the church at Enez also find a close parallel in the church now known as Atik Mustafa Paşa Camii in Constantinople, dated to the ninth century<sup>18</sup>. Notably, the last example is similarly missing the extra bay in the bema, often considered characteristic of Constantinopolitan architecture. If our proposed twelfth-century date is correct, based on construction techniques and decorative details, the plan and formal organization of the church at Enez would seem to be following examples of perhaps three to five centuries earlier.

One interesting anachronistic detail also appears at Enez. The dome was raised on piers to which engaged columns were joined, defining the central bay (Fig. 11-12). Although the arches were reinforced in Turkish times, which accounts for their present corbelled and pointed forms, the columns are part of the original construction. The system of coupled supports – columns joined with piers – was common in Early Christian architecture.

<sup>16</sup> See MATHEWS, *Byzantine Churches*, fig. 13-6.

<sup>17</sup> U. PESCHLOW, *Die Irenenkirche in Istanbul: Untersuchungen zur Architektur (Istanbuler Mitteilungen, Beiheft 18)*. Tübingen 1977, dates the cross-domed form of H. Eirene to the eighth century; see also R. KRAUTHEIMER, *Early Christian and Byzantine Architecture*. Harmondsworth 1979, 263-268; also MANGO, *Byzantine Architecture*, 161-178, both with further bibliography.

<sup>18</sup> A. VAN MILLINGEN, *Byzantine Churches in Constantinople, Their History and Architecture*. London 1912, proposes a ninth-century date, which is supported by MATHEWS, *Byzantine Churches*, 15.

The closest comparable example is probably the east church at Alahan Manastiri of the late fifth century, where the columns help to support a baldachin-like tower over the eastern portion of the nave<sup>19</sup>. I know of no other Byzantine monument of such a late date which employed coupled supports in a similar manner<sup>20</sup>. The columns at Enez are spolia, and the planning solution may have been motivated by a desire to incorporate them into the decorative program of the interior.

The plan of the church at Enez may be unique in Middle Byzantine architecture; however, the twelfth century witnessed what may be regarded as a revival of earlier planning types. Both the cross-domed or Greek-cross plan and its abbreviated form, the atrophied Greek-cross plan, reappeared in large scale construction and in the architectural mainstream after an absence of well over two hundred years<sup>21</sup>. In Constantinople, cruciform plans were employed at the Chora (Fig. 15C), and at the churches now known as the Gül Camii and the Kalenderhane Camii (Figs. 13B–C), all from the twelfth century<sup>22</sup>. The latter two are large, imposing and – we may presume – important structures, although neither has been securely identified<sup>23</sup>. The large size and cruciform plan of the church at Enez find the best comparison within this group of buildings (see Fig. 13). To be sure, the church most closely parallels the Kalenderhane Camii in its plan, organization and blocky formal massing. All of these churches, including Enez, have cruciform plans, wide bemas, domes greater than seven meters in diameter, piers rather than columns as the major support units, broad lunettes to the north

<sup>19</sup> For Alahan Manastir, see KRAUTHEIMER, *Early Christian*, 258–260 and figs. 200–202.

<sup>20</sup> VOCOTPOYLOS, *The Role of Constantinopolitan Architecture*, 555, notes the articulation of inner surfaces with columns as a Constantinopolitan feature, citing examples at Nea Moni on Chios, S. Marco in Venice, as well as H. Andreas (Koca Mustafa Paşa Camii), the Chora, and Vefa Kilise Camii in Constantinople. Those at Nea Moni had primarily a decorative role. At the Chora, these represent later structural modifications in the Palaeologan exonarthex. At Vefa Kilise Camii, the columns were used to join the Palaeologan exonarthex to the Middle Byzantine core of the building, and I suspect their appearance at H. Andreas may be similar; see MATHEWS, figs. 1-8, 8-11, 8-14, 40-12, 40-13. At S. Marco, the appearance of columns is somewhat comparable to Enez, but only in the gallery level of the east bay; see MANGO, *Byzantine Architecture*, fig. 323. Significantly, like Enez, S. Marco looks to an earlier period for its architectural inspiration.

<sup>21</sup> For the definition of church types, see KRAUTHEIMER, *Early Christian*, 299–312, and esp. 388.

<sup>22</sup> KRAUTHEIMER, *Early Christian*, 388. The Gül Camii should be dated to the early twelfth century on the similarity of its detailing and brickwork to the Chora and the churches of the Pantokrator Monastery in Constantinople. H. SCHÄFER, *Die Gül Camii in Istanbul: Ein Beitrag zur mittelbyzantinischen Kirchenarchitektur Konstantinopels (Istanbuler Mitteilungen, Beiheft 7)*. Tübingen 1973, 77–81, supports a date of about 1100.

and south, opened by large, tripartite windows. The church interiors are spacious and light-filled, and the exteriors are blocky and massive, like their sixth- to ninth-century predecessors.

### *Twelfth-century architectural revival*

The architectural revival of the twelfth century deserves some further comments. Our picture of architecture in that century has been clarified by the recent archaeological work at the Chora and at the Kalenderhane Camii. The cruciform naos of the Chora had been previously dated to seventh century, and the Kalenderhane had been dated to the ninth century<sup>24</sup>. Both are now securely placed in the twelfth century. Similarly, the Gül Camii had been dated to the ninth century, but, as Schäfer has noted, its recessed brickwork surely indicates a later date for construction<sup>25</sup>. The plans of these buildings had suggested to earlier observers that they belonged in the period of the sixth through the ninth centuries when the cross-domed church was developed. The cross-domed plan may be best seen at the Koimesis church in Nicaea and at Hagia Sophia in Thessaloniki, both from the eighth century<sup>26</sup>.

A number of similar monuments may be related to this type, all variations on the domed basilica: St. Clement in Ankara, St. Nicholas in Myra, and the churches at Dere Ağzî and Vize<sup>27</sup>. All of these examples are inse-

<sup>23</sup> The Gül Camii is often identified as St. Theodosia of the Evergetes Monastery, but without sufficient evidence; see most recently B. ARAN, *The Church of Saint Theodosia and the Monastery of Christ Euergetes*. *JÖB* 28 (1979) 211–228. The Kalenderhane Camii used to be identified as St. Mary Diaconissa, but this has been disproved by STRIKER and KUBAN, *Work at the Kalenderhane*, 258.

<sup>24</sup> For an early date for the Chora, see F. I. SHMIT, *Kakhrie-dzami*. *IRAİK* XI (1906) 3–46; A. RÜDELL, *Die Kahrie-Dschamisi in Constantinopel: Ein Kleinod der Byzantinischen Kunst*. Berlin 1908, 22; VAN MILLINGEN, *Byzantine Churches*, 312–316. The date was corrected by D. OATES, *A Summary Report on the Excavations of the Byzantine Institute in the Kariye Camii: 1957 and 1958*. *DOP* 14 (1960) 223–231. An early date for the Kalenderhane Camii was proposed by J. KOLLWITZ, *Zur frühmittelalterlichen Baukunst Konstantinopels*. *Römische Quartalschrift* 42 (1934) 233–250. This has been disproved by C. L. STRIKER and Y. D. KUBAN, *Work at the Kalenderhane Camii in Istanbul*. *DOP* 21 (1967) 267–271; 22 (1968) 185–193; 25 (1971) 251–258.

<sup>25</sup> J. PARGOIRE, *Constantinople; L'église Sainte-Théodosie*. *EO* 9 (1906) 161–165, for a ninth-century date; but see SCHÄFER, *Gül Camii*, 77–81.

<sup>26</sup> MANGO, *Byzantine Architecture*, 165–172; and KRAUTHEIMER, *Early Christian*, 307–309, with further bibliography.

<sup>27</sup> KRAUTHEIMER, *Early Christian*, 299–310; MANGO, *Byzantine Architecture*, 161–178, with further bibliography.

curely dated, but are almost certainly from the period before 900. A number of examples of the so-called atrophied Greek-cross plan also belong to this early period: St. John at Alaşehir (Philadelphia), the former Cathedral of Ereğli (Herakleia on the Sea of Marmara) and the church of the Archangels at Sige<sup>28</sup>. Except for a few enigmatic examples of the atrophied cross form, constructed on a small scale, the cruciform plan disappeared from the Byzantine architectural vocabulary, only to reemerge in the twelfth century<sup>29</sup>.

The later monuments, including the church at Enez, the Chora, the Kalenderhane Camii and the Gül Camii, appear to be derived from the post-Justinianic cross-domed types. In addition to these, several monuments in the orbit of the Capital testify to the popularity of the cruciform plan in the twelfth century. The majority of these are of the atrophied Greek-cross plan, better suited to the reduced scale and simpler requirements of Middle Byzantine architecture. These include the church of St. Abercius at Kurşunlu (Elegmi) on the south shore of the Sea of Marmara, dated 1162 (Fig. 14 A), which is quite similar to the twelfth-century core of the Chora<sup>30</sup>. The church of St. Nicholas at Kuršumlija in Serbia, dated 1168 or slightly earlier, is also similar<sup>31</sup>. Both were probably constructed by builders from Constantinople. The plan of St. Nicholas influenced a number of Stephen Nemanja's later foundations, such as Djurdjevi Stupovi and the church of the Virgin at Studenica<sup>32</sup>. A recently excavated church at Nicaea has a similar plan. Only a short notice has been published on the building, without suggesting a date<sup>33</sup>. The plan of the naos is an atrophied cross, but

<sup>28</sup> H. BUCHWALD, The Church of St. John the Theologian in Alaşehir (Philadelphia). *JÖB* 30 (1981) 301–318; E. KALINKA and J. STRZYGOWSKI, Die Kathedrale von Herakleia. *Österr. Arch. Inst. Jahreshefte* 1 (1898) Beiblatt, 1–19; O. WULFF, *Altchristliche und byzantinische Kunst*. Berlin 1918, 453–454 and fig. 385; H. BUCHWALD, The Church of the Archangels in Sige near Mudanya. Vienna 1969.

<sup>29</sup> One such example is the double church at Üçayak; see S. EYICE, La ruine byzantine dite 'Üçayak' (= Utch-aiak) près de Kirşehir en Anatolie centrale. *Cahiers archéologiques* 18 (1968) 137–155.

<sup>30</sup> C. MANGO, The Monastery of St. Abercius at Kurşunlu (Elegmi) in Bithynia. *DOP* 22 (1968) 169–176.

<sup>31</sup> KRAUTHEIMER, Early Christian, 401–402. For an earlier dating, see S. ĆURČIĆ, Origins of Thirteenth-Century Architecture in Serbia, in: Abstracts of the Second Annual Byzantine Studies Conference, Madison 1976, 21–22.

<sup>32</sup> G. MILLET, L'ancien art Serbe. Les églises. Paris 1914, 49–61. Smaller churches in the Balkans frequently employed this plan from the twelfth century on.

<sup>33</sup> S. EYICE, Monuments byzantins anatoliens inédits ou peu connus. *Corso di cultura sull'arte ravennate e bizantina* 18 (1971) 314–315 and fig. 2. Prof. Eyice informs me that a more detailed discussion of this building will appear shortly.

is surrounded by ancillary chambers on three sides. In its organization it resembles and was probably influenced by the eighth-century Koimesis church in the same city.

In addition to the Constantinopolitan examples discussed above, a number of lost or ruinous monuments from the Capital were based on cruciform plans. The substructure of a church near the Fatih Camii, examined by Forchheimer and Strzygowski, followed an atrophied Greek-cross plan (Fig. 14B); the organization of the vaults of the substructure, which was used as a cistern, would not have allowed internal supports in the naos above<sup>34</sup>. The projected elevation, based on the 1898 plan, would have had a dome ca. 5 meters in diameter. Unfortunately, the date and the identification of the monument are unknown; nor has it been studied in this century.

Another lost example, known by its Turkish name, the Şeyh Murat Mescidi, was recorded by Paspates in 1877, but apparently vanished in the fire of 1917 without ever being photographed or systematically examined<sup>35</sup>. It was noted as having a cruciform plan, and the south elevation published by Paspates suggests this as well (Fig. 16). Paspates gave the overall dimensions as 15 × 13 meters, and his drawing indicates alternating courses of brick and stone in the wall construction. The spacing in the brick courses suggests recessed brick, as Mathews has noted<sup>36</sup>. As far as can be determined from the information provided by Paspates, the Şeyh Murat Mescidi was intriguingly similar to the church at Enez, although somewhat smaller; consequently, a date in the twelfth century may be suggested for this building as well<sup>37</sup>.

The remains of a church at Yuşa Tepesi on the Bosphorus, just north of modern Istanbul, may also be placed in this group (Fig. 14C). Identified by Macridy as the church of St. Panteleimon built by Justinian, it may be a later version of this foundation<sup>38</sup>. The broad, multi-faceted apse and the pastophoria which project beyond the width of the naos suggest a twelfth-century date, rather than the sixth- or ninth-century date proposed by

<sup>34</sup> P. FORCHHEIMER and J. STRZYGOWSKI, *Die byzantinischen Wasserbehälter von Konstantinopel*. Vienna 1893, 81 and fig. 18.

<sup>35</sup> A. G. PASPATES, *Βυζαντινά μελέται τοπογραφικά και ιστορικά*. Constantinople 1877, 382-383.

<sup>36</sup> MATHEWS, *Byzantine Churches*, 313.

<sup>37</sup> The form of the lunette window may be compared with Vefa Kilise Camii in Istanbul; see MATHEWS, *Byzantine Churches*, figs. 40-4 and 40-5.

<sup>38</sup> S. EYICE, *Remarques sur deux anciennes églises byzantines d'Istanbul: Koca Mustafa Paşa camii et l'église du Yuşa tepesi*, in: *Actes du XIe Congrès International d'Études Byzantines*. Thessaloniki 1953, 190-195.

Eyice<sup>39</sup>. The naos was an atrophied Greek cross in plan, and the dome would have been approximately 5 meters in diameter. Constructed in alternating courses of brick and stone, the masonry looks suspiciously like recessed brick in the photographs published by Eyice<sup>40</sup>. The site is at present inaccessible, located on a military installation.

The list of twelfth-century cruciform churches is by no means complete; it may be expanded to include a number of smaller monuments from the Balkans, such as St. Panteleimon at Nerezi and St. Nicholas at Sapareva Banja<sup>41</sup>. We may conclude, however, that cruciform plans were commonly employed in the twelfth century in Constantinople and related centers. Similar plans appear occasionally in Late Byzantine architecture as well, as at the church of the Archangels in Nesebâr (Mesembria) or the Spasovica church at Kjustendil<sup>42</sup>. The later examples, however, are limited to the atrophied Greek-cross plan. Moreover, the scale of the major twelfth-century buildings far exceeds anything produced in the later period. There is simply no Palaeologan monument that could be compared with the plan and scale of the church at Enez<sup>43</sup>. Thus, I believe we can confidently place the church at Enez in the twelfth century, related to developments in Constantinople.

### *Origin of the twelfth-century cruciform plan*

Certain notable changes distinguish the architecture of the twelfth century from that of the preceding century. As Mango has noted, the interesting experiments of the eleventh century involving the domed octa-

<sup>39</sup> EYICE, Remarques, *passim*.

<sup>40</sup> EYICE, Remarques, pl. 27.

<sup>41</sup> For Nerezi, see KRAUTHEIMER, *Early Christian*, 400–401; for Sapareva Banja, see Kt. MIJATEV, *Mittelalterliche Baukunst in Bulgarien*. Sofia 1974, 177, figs. 215 and 217.

<sup>42</sup> MIJATEV, *Mittelalterliche Baukunst*, 162–164. 174–175.

<sup>43</sup> The smaller and simpler ambulatory church also reappears in the twelfth century and would seem to fit with the revival of earlier building types. The plan of the Theotokos Pammakaristos (Fethiye Camii) in Constantinople, for example, may also be a variation of the domed basilica, similar to the churches at Qasr Ibn Wardan and Dağ Pazarî. S. EYICE, *Un type architectural peu connu de l'époque des Paléologues à Byzance. Anadolü Araştırmaları* 1 (1959) 223–234, believes the Pammakaristos to be late thirteenth century in date. This has been discounted by H. HALLENSLEBEN, *Untersuchungen zur Baugeschichte der ehemaligen Pammakaristos-Kirche, der heutigen Fethiye Camii in Istanbul. Istanbul Mitteilungen* 13–14 (1963–1964) 128–193, who gives an eleventh-century date; and by C. MANGO and E. HAWKINS, *Report on Field Work in Istanbul and Cyprus, 1962–1963. DOP* 18 (1964) 319–333, who give a more convincing twelfth-century date. For Qasr Ibn Wardan and Dağ Pazarî, see KRAUTHEIMER, *Early Christian*, 260–262, with further bibliography.

gon on squinches were abandoned by the Comneni; however, the desire for broad, unencumbered interior spaces persisted, but they were achieved in a different manner<sup>44</sup>. The architects seem to have reverted to older traditions. Mango writes, "One may suspect here a deliberate attitude, an attempt to maintain certain forms that were thought to be truly Byzantine and Orthodox in the face of the double thrust – from the Catholic West and the Muslim East – which the Empire had to sustain."<sup>45</sup>

Certain structural considerations may also account for the revival of cruciform plans and, more significantly, domes supported on piers, as opposed to the more standard cross-in-square or four-column format. The four-column churches of the early twelfth century in and around Constantinople exhibit a tendency to enlarge the dome. At the south church of the Pantokrator Monastery in Constantinople, built ca. 1118, the dome is greater than seven meters in diameter, perhaps the limit that the four-column structural system could adequately support<sup>46</sup>. After the construction of the slightly smaller north church at the Pantokrator, dated ca. 1124, the four-column church type seems to have all but vanished from the Capital<sup>47</sup>. The only certain later example in Constantinople is the tiny parekklesion of the Pammakaristos Monastery, dated 1310–1315<sup>48</sup>.

Another Comnenian church related to this development is the Kosmosoteira at Pherrai, located barely twenty kilometers from Enez (Fig. 15B)<sup>49</sup>. The church, constructed in 1152 or shortly before by the Sebastokrator Isaac Comnenus, shows a significant modification in its structural system. The large dome – again, over seven meters in diameter – is supported by two massive piers to the east and coupled columns to the west, offering a more stable variation of the four-column scheme.

A lesson in structural dynamics may have been learned by the Comnenian architects with the rebuilding of another church associated with the Imperial family and specifically Isaac Comnenus. At the Chora Monastery, archaeological investigation suggests that the church built by Maria Ducaena, ca. 1080, on a cross-in-square plan collapsed shortly after comple-

<sup>44</sup> MANGO, *Byzantine Architecture*, 249.

<sup>45</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>46</sup> For the Pantokrator Monastery, see VAN MILLINGEN, *Byzantine Churches*, 219–242; also A. H. S. MEGAW, *Notes on Recent Work of the Byzantine Institute in Istanbul*. *DOP* 17 (1963) 335–364.

<sup>47</sup> As above, n. 46.

<sup>48</sup> MANGO and HAWKINS, *Report on Field Work*, *passim*; HALLENSLEBEN, *Untersuchungen*, *passim*.

<sup>49</sup> A. K. ORLANDOS, *Τὰ βυζαντινά μνημεῖα τῆς Βῆρας*. *Θεολογικά* 4 (1933) 3–34.

tion due to an insufficient structural system on unstable terrain<sup>50</sup>. The plan of this church was identical in size and probably similar in detail to its contemporary, *Christos ho Pantepoptēs* (Fig. 15A)<sup>51</sup>. The naos of the Chora was rebuilt ca. 1120, probably by Isaac Comnenus, and the columns of the naos were replaced by massive corner piers, supporting a dome over seven meters in diameter (Fig. 15C)<sup>52</sup>. The cruciform plan may thus be seen as the result of a structural modification in the rebuilding. This may account for the introduction of at least the atrophied Greek-cross plan into the mainstream of twelfth-century architecture. If this is the case, the introduction of cruciform plans and pier supports may have come as a response to changes in the more standard cross-in-square plan.

The difficulty of acquiring marbles may have also played a role in the changes of planning in the twelfth century. Unfortunately, we know all too little about the quarrying of marble in the Middle Byzantine period<sup>53</sup>. At Enez, all the marbles are spolia, including columns, capitals, string courses and other decorative elements. A four-column church requires four sizeable, preferably matched columns. Without columns of sufficient size, the builders would have had to rely on pier supports. Thus, the availability of materials may have dictated the choice of plan.

### *The outer narthex*

The element of the church at Enez which has attracted the most attention is the graceful portico facade of the outer narthex, which consists of a triple arcade flanked by double arcades, rhythmically alternating piers and columns. The portico facade has been assumed to be a product of the Palaeologan period and has been compared favorably with the facades of the *Vefa Kilise Camii* in Constantinople and the *H. Apostoloi* in Thessaloniki<sup>54</sup>. The outer narthex of Enez is not bonded to the main portion of the church, and for that reason both Eyice and Mango suggest that it is a later addition<sup>55</sup>. However, although the two units are not bonded, the construction technique is identical throughout. Both units employ recessed brick-

<sup>50</sup> OATES, *A Summary Report*, 226–227; P. A. UNDERWOOD, *The Kariye Djami*. New York 1966, I, 8–10. Also OUSTERHOUT, *Architecture*, 101–106.

<sup>51</sup> OUSTERHOUT, *Architecture*, 106–122, for a more detailed comparison of the two buildings.

<sup>52</sup> OATES, *A Summary Report*, 227–229; UNDERWOOD, *Kariye Djami*, I, 10–13.

<sup>53</sup> MANGO, *Byzantine Architecture*, 24.

<sup>54</sup> MANGO, *Byzantine Architecture*, 271–277, and figs. 294 and 302.

<sup>55</sup> As above, n. 1.



work in broad bands alternating with stone courses<sup>56</sup>. In addition to the construction technique, certain details appear in both parts of the building: recessed, stilted arches; exterior articulation by means of an independent system of pilaster strips; and the use of a great variety of marble spolia. The evidence indicates that the two units must have been constructed at the same time, or at least by the same builders. As the foregoing discussion has indicated, a Palaeologan date for the church is untenable; consequently, the exonarthex must have been constructed in the twelfth century as well.

The lack of bonding may be explained by the differences in the mass of the two units. The exonarthex is lighter, more open in character than the rest of the building. In addition, there is no indication that this unit was ever vaulted, unlike the main body of the church which sustained rather heavy vaulting. Instead, the outer narthex was probably covered by a wooden roof. Its lighter construction would have settled differently than the massive main body of the building, and the two units would have consequently required different foundations<sup>57</sup>. Thus, the lack of bonding might best be explained as a practical consideration on the part of the builders.

The outer narthex of Enez is usually grouped with the portico facades of the fourteenth century. However, several important factors distinguish it from the later examples. It was not vaulted. It was not integrated into the main body of the church. It was neither formally nor presumably functionally a part of the church proper, but simply a porch attached to the front of the building. Its orientation is toward the exterior rather than the interior. In most Palaeologan examples, the situation is the opposite – or at least, there is a certain ambivalence in the relationship of the exonarthex space to interior and exterior. In addition, although the evidence is somewhat limited, similar porch forms are known from the Middle Byzantine period. A short review of the evidence indicates that the Enez portico is not without precedent.

In the Early Christian period, the narthex seems to have been frequently little more than a colonnaded stoa across the front of the building. This is how it was described by Procopius<sup>58</sup>. By the Middle Byzantine period, the narthex had become a formally integrated, interior space. At the Myrelaion

<sup>56</sup> VOCOTOPoulos, *The Role of Constantinopolitan Architecture*, 563 n. 48, notes the similarity of technique, but suggests a Palaeologan date for both portions of the building.

<sup>57</sup> The same argument may be applied to the naos and outer ambulatory of the H. Apostoloi in Thessaloniki, but see S. ČURČIĆ, *Gračanica: King Milutin's Church and Its Place in Late Byzantine Architecture*. University Park, Pa., 1979, 72–73 and n. 15.

<sup>58</sup> Procopius, *De aedificiis*, I, IV, 7; and V, VI, 21–23 (*Loeb Classical Library*, trans. H. P. Dewing, 45 and 347–349).

in Constantinople, for example, the narthex is enclosed, its three-bay plan clearly relates to the divisions of the naos, and there is no indication of an exterior porch<sup>59</sup>. At the Theotokos of Lips, the situation was analogous, but the foundations for a small, single-bayed porch have been excavated<sup>60</sup>. A number of Middle Byzantine churches included an additional outer narthex fronting the enclosed spaces. These appeared similar to and probably derived from their Early Christian predecessors – colonnaded porches across the front of the building – as the following examples will illustrate.

The Lavra Katholikon on Mt. Athos, from the end of the tenth century, seems to have had a porch of five bays, supported by eight columns (Fig. 16)<sup>61</sup>. The porch disappeared in the nineteenth century, but enough evidence has been recorded to reconstruct its original disposition. Millet, who published the pertinent information, regarded the porch as an unusual feature, a vestige of the atrium and of Early Christian architecture<sup>62</sup>. The foundations for a more substantial western porch were excavated at Yilanca Bayir, near Libyssa (Diliskelesi) in Bithynia (Fig. 17)<sup>63</sup>. This appears to have been very close in plan to the Enez portico, similarly alternating piers and columns. Coin finds at the site suggest a date of the twelfth century or earlier, and the identification as the Monastery of the Niketiati may indicate a date as early as the ninth century<sup>64</sup>.

Several of the Middle Byzantine exonarthexes appeared as additions to preexisting buildings. Perhaps our best surviving example is the Kapnikarea in Athens, dated 1060–1070, where the oddly gabled exonarthex is part of a second phase of construction<sup>65</sup>. The Katholikon of Hosios Loukas also had an exonarthex, unfortunately destroyed in the nineteenth century<sup>66</sup>. Apparently an addition of the twelfth century, it was somewhat awkwardly

<sup>59</sup> C. L. STRIKER, *The Myrelaion (Bodrum Camii) in Istanbul*. Princeton 1981, 21.

<sup>60</sup> A. H. S. MEGAW, *The Original Form of the Theotokos Church of Constantine Lips*. *DOP* 18 (1964) 279–298.

<sup>61</sup> G. MILLET, *Recherches au Mont-Athos*. *BCH* 29 (1905) 88ff., and figs. 5, 9, 10.

<sup>62</sup> As above, n. 61.

<sup>63</sup> The similarity with Enez has been noted by VOCOTPOYLOS, *The Role of Constantinopolitan Architecture*, 563, n. 48. See A. M. MANSEL, *Zur Lage des Hannibalgrabes*. *Archäologischer Anzeiger* 1972, 272–274 and fig. 15.

<sup>64</sup> As above, n. 61; also S. ČURČIĆ, *Architectural Significance of Subsidiary Chapels in Middle Byzantine Churches*. *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 36 (1977) 99 and fig. 7.

<sup>65</sup> A. H. S. MEGAW, *The Chronology of Some Middle Byzantine Churches*. *ABSA* 32 (1931–1932) 90–130, esp. 107, 118, for dating. See also KRAUTHEIMER, *Early Christian*, 414.

<sup>66</sup> L. P. BOURAS, *Ἡ ἐξωνάρθηκας τοῦ Καθολικοῦ τοῦ Ὁσίου Λουκᾶ Φωκίδος*. *DChAE* 6 (1970–1972) 13–28.

joined to the building. The Blachernae at Elis received a two-storied exonarthex shortly after the Latin conquest of Greece in 1205; its lower story is completely open, the columns are spolia, and neither level is vaulted<sup>67</sup>.

Two examples normally discussed in relation to Middle Byzantine architecture are probably later in date. The church of Zoodochos Pege near Samari is fronted by an open portico. While bonded to the church, it is somewhat awkward in form, with its central bay topped by a belfry. It has recently been redated to the thirteenth century<sup>68</sup>. The triple-domed exonarthex of Nea Moni on Chios was also originally fronted by a portico facade. An addition to the eleventh-century naos, this unit may well date to the thirteenth century, rather than the late eleventh<sup>69</sup>.

While the evidence is limited, we may nevertheless conclude that portico facades similar to that at Enez did appear in the Middle Byzantine period. It may well be that such porch forms were more common than we now realize. In Constantinople, most churches were enlarged with new outer narthexes in the Palaeologan period, destroying earlier evidence. Many of the early porches may have been constructed of ephemeral materials which have not survived, or they may have been plundered later for their columns. Nevertheless, it is tempting to view the portico at Enez and other similar examples as the predecessors of the integrated spatial unit characteristic of the Palaeologan period.

Mango supports Western Romanesque influence and Venetian Palazzi such as the Fondaco dei Turchi as the source of inspiration for the Late Byzantine portico facade<sup>70</sup>. The similarity with Western architecture is much closer in palace construction, as may be seen at the Tekfur Saray in Constantinople<sup>71</sup>. For ecclesiastical architecture, I suspect that the development is somewhat different. Rather than looking to a foreign culture and a different building type, it seems more likely that the source of the Palaeologan portico facade should be sought in forms of similar function in earlier

<sup>67</sup> A. BON, *La Morée franque*. Paris 1969, 561–574.

<sup>68</sup> C. VON SCHEVEN-CHRISTIANS, *Die Kirche der Zoodochos Pēgē bei Samari in Messenien*. Diss. Bonn 1979, 97–98, dates the church to the thirteenth century.

<sup>69</sup> Ch. BOURAS, *Nea Moni on Chios. History and Architecture*. Athens 1982, 111–115, proposes a late eleventh-century date; but see R. OUSTERHOUT, Review of “Nea Moni on Chios. History and Architecture” by Ch. BOURAS, *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 42 (1983), 298–299, who suggests a thirteenth-century date, based on the formal similarities with the exonarthex of the Vefa Kilise Camii in Constantinople, and the similarity of the masonry technique with a number of monuments from Lascarid Asia Minor.

<sup>70</sup> MANGO, *Byzantine Architecture*, 275.

<sup>71</sup> C. MANGO, *Constantinopolitana*. *Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts* 80 (1965) 330–336.

Byzantine architecture. In the process of creating functional ancillary spaces, Late Byzantine architects would have borrowed from a variety of familiar sources and utilized a variable system of components. The transformation from ephemeral Middle Byzantine porch to Late Byzantine exonarthex might thus be seen as a logical progression in the development of architectural forms.

### *Conclusions*

In all aspects, the Byzantine church at Enez fits well into the context of the twelfth century and furthers our understanding of architecture in the period immediately prior to the Latin Conquest. Numerous aspects of the building suggest close links with Constantinople. Its size and plan closely parallel the Kalenderhane Camii. Its construction technique and numerous decorative features find comparison at the Chora, the Gül Camii, and elsewhere in the Capital. In addition, our examination emphasizes the continuity in Byzantine architecture: the church at Enez maintains distinct connections with both earlier and later architectural achievements. On the one hand, the cruciform plan harks back to the architecture of the sixth through ninth centuries. On the other hand, the well preserved portico facade of the exonarthex indicates that the form so strongly associated with Palaeologan architecture has its origins in the Middle Byzantine period.

## APPENDIX: ARCHITECTURAL SCULPTURE

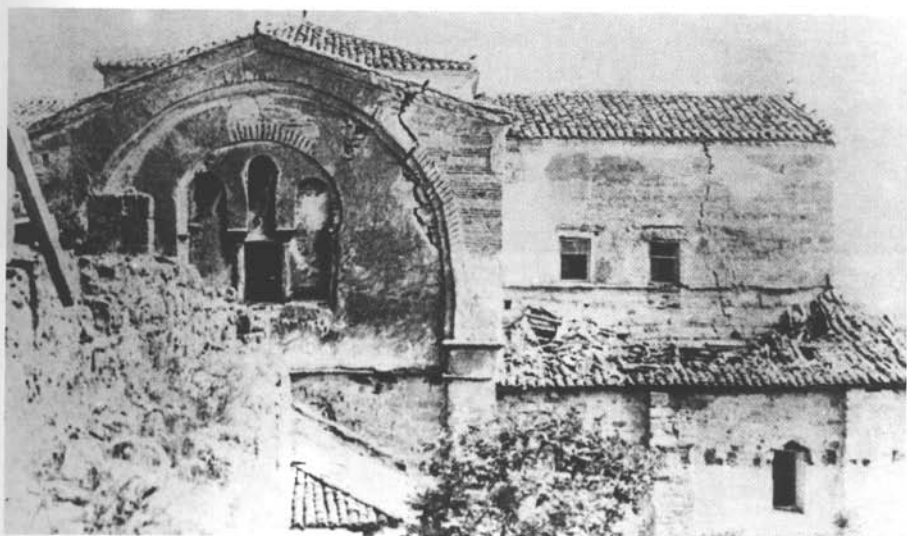
The following appendix lists the fragments of architectural sculpture which survive in the church at Enez. All are spolia from a variety of periods, dating between the fifth and eleventh or possibly twelfth centuries. Several pieces are decorated with motifs which are unusual, if not unique, in the vocabulary of Byzantine architectural ornament. I attempt here only to make these pieces available for further discussion, rather than to present a complete analysis of each. Unfortunately, it was not possible to measure the sculpture.

### A. *Exonarthex capitals*

All four of the capitals of the portico facade have similar cubic forms, which derive ultimately from a sixth-century capital type, as illustrated by



1 Enez. Byzantine church. General view from south



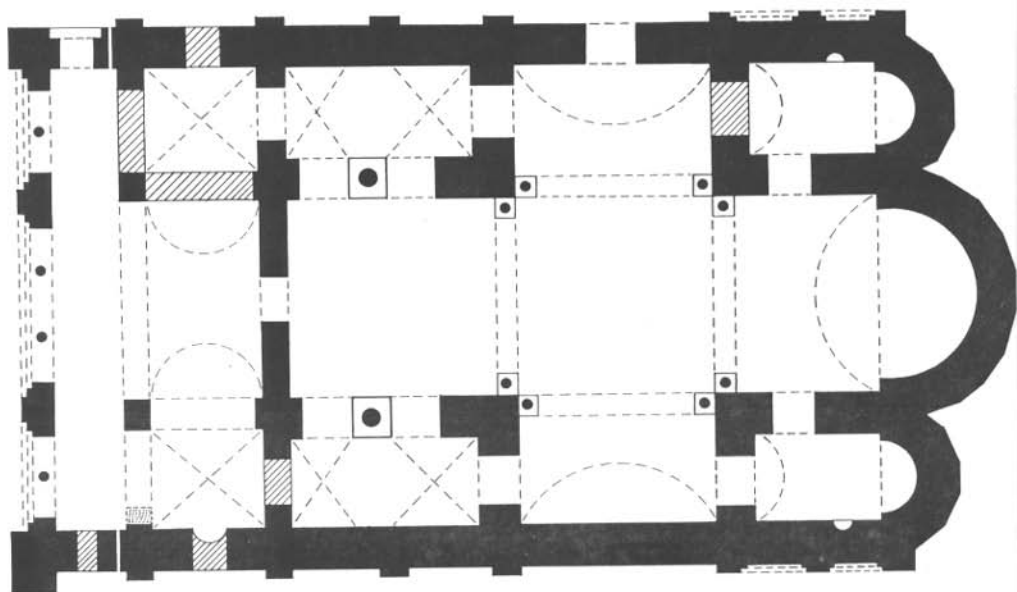
2 Enez. North facade



3 Enez. View from southwest



4 Enez. View from west



0 10 m

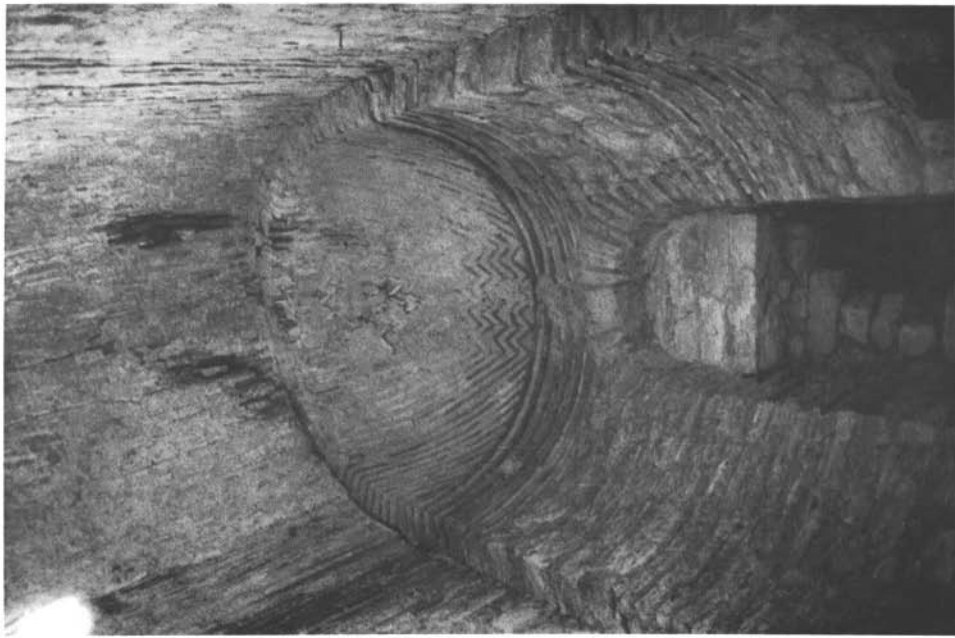
5 Enez. Plan (T. Blatner, redrawn from Eyice)



6 Enez. East facade, apse of the prothesis



7 Enez. South facade of the diakonikon



8 Enez. Prothesis, interior looking east

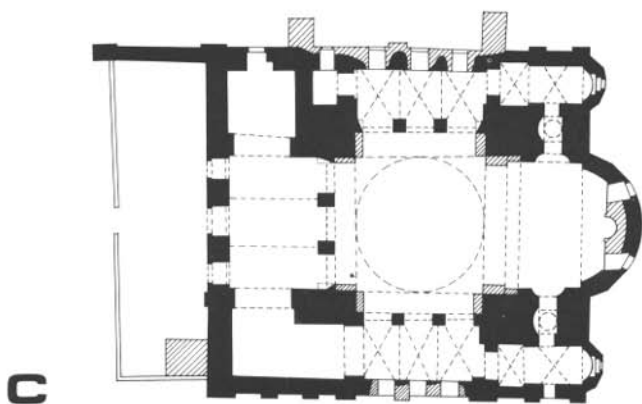
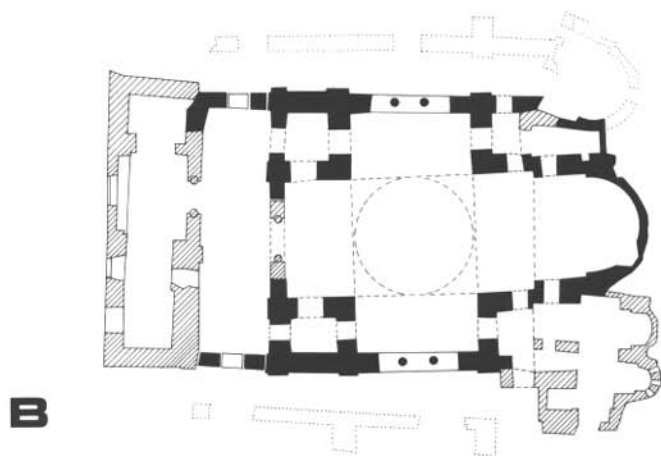
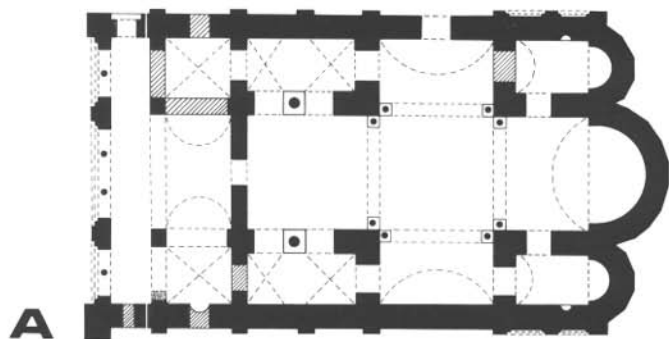


9 Enez. North facade of the prothesis



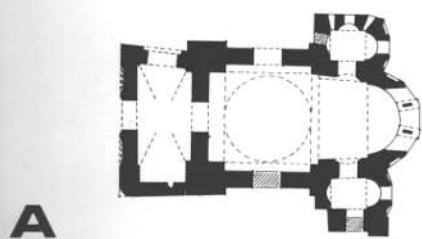
10 Enez. East facade, main apse. Detail of construction technique: recessed brick  
to right: later repairs to left



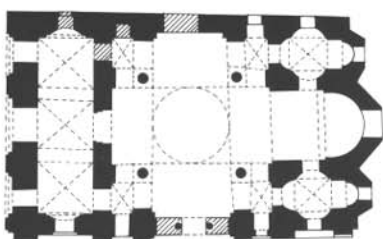


0 ——— 10 m

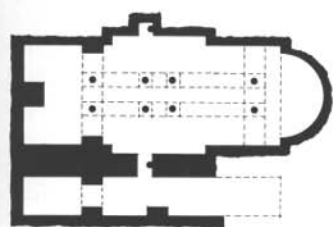
13 Comparative plans, drawn to scale. A. Enez. B. Constantinople, Kalenderhane Camii. C. Constantinople, Gül Camii (T. Blatner, redrawn from Eyice, Striker and Kuban, Schäfer)



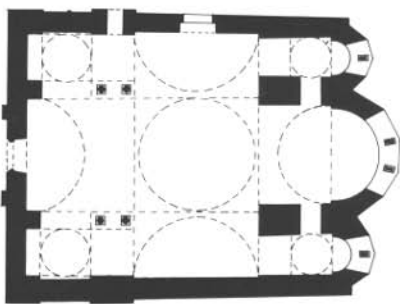
A



A



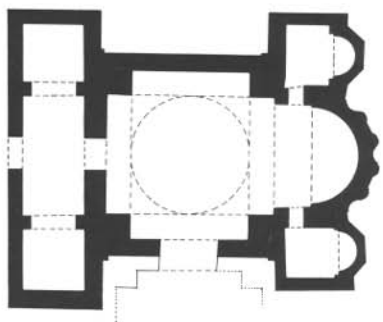
B



B



C

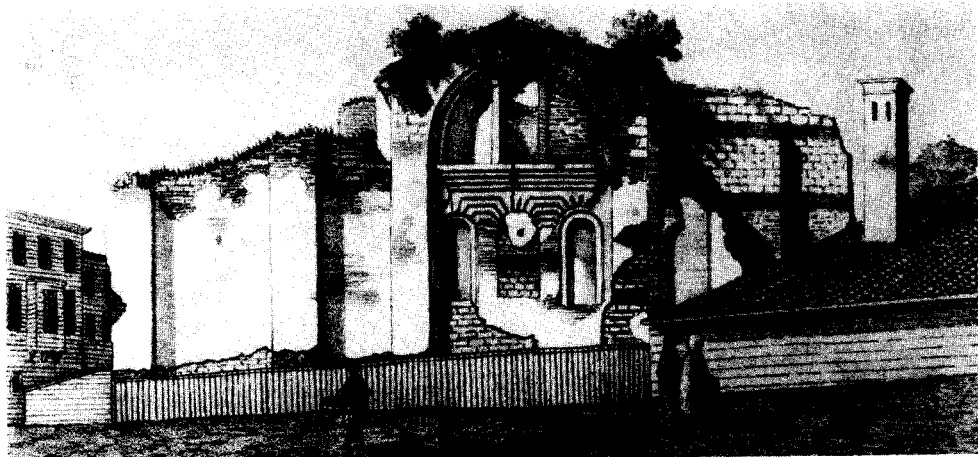


C



14 Comparative plans, drawn to scale. A. Kurşunlu, St. Abercius. B. Constantinople, Cistern near Fatih Camii. C. Yuşa Tepesi, St. Panteleimon (T. Blatner, redrawn from Mango, Forchheimer and Strzygowski, *Eyice*)

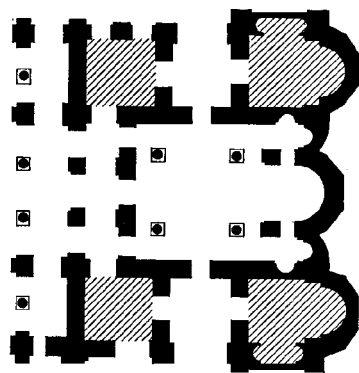
15 Comparative plans, drawn to scale. A. Constantinople, Christos ho Pantepoptēs. B. Pherrai, Kosmosoteira. C. Constantinople, Christos tēs Chōras, hypothetical plan of twelfth-century form (T. Blatner, redrawn from Van Millingen, Orlandos, Ousterhout)



16 Constantinople, Şeyh Murat Mescidi. South facade (Paspates).



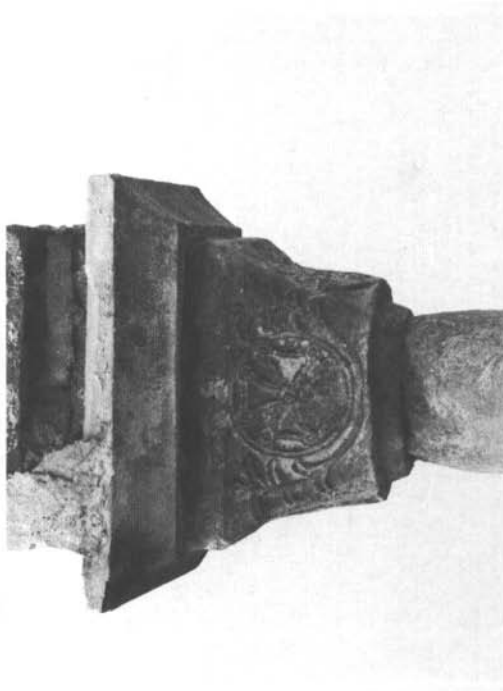
17 Mt. Athos, Lavra Monastery, Katholikon. West facade, print ca. 1810 (After Millet)



18 Yılanca Bayır, church. Plan (Çürçüé)



19 Enez. Exonarthex, south arcade capital



20 Enez. Exonarthex, south arcade capital



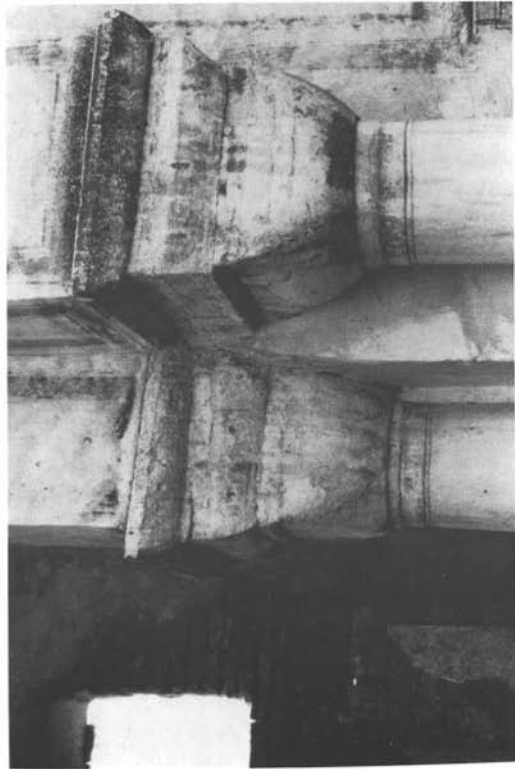
21 Enez. Exonarthex, central arcade, left capital



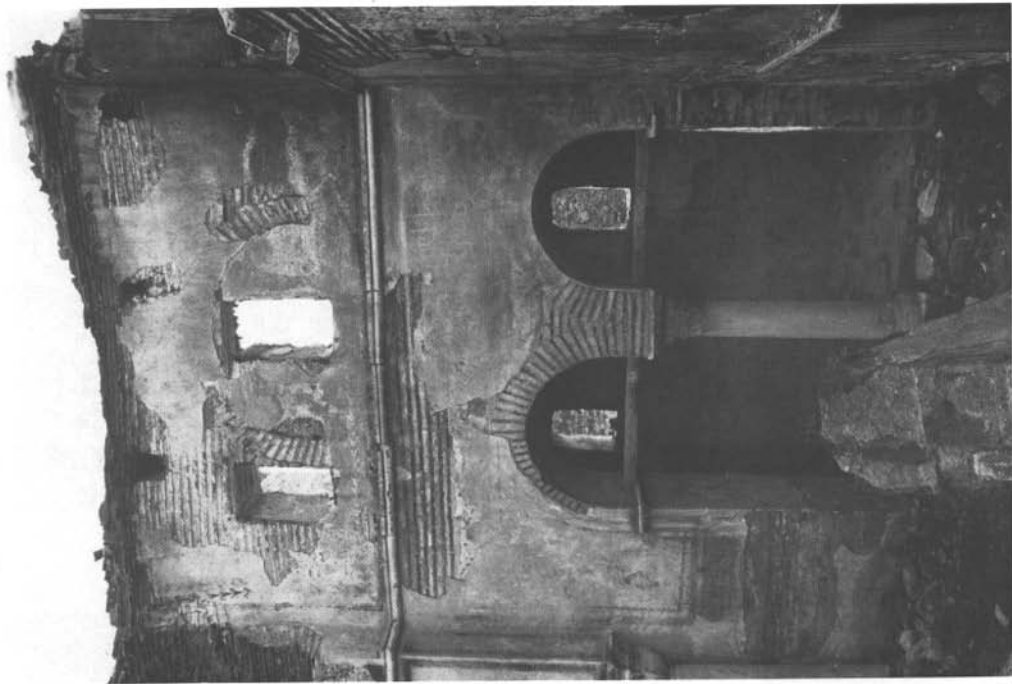
22 Enez. Exonarthex, central arcade, right capital



23 Enez. Exonarthex, north arcade capital



25 Enez. Naos, southwest pier. Detail of capitals



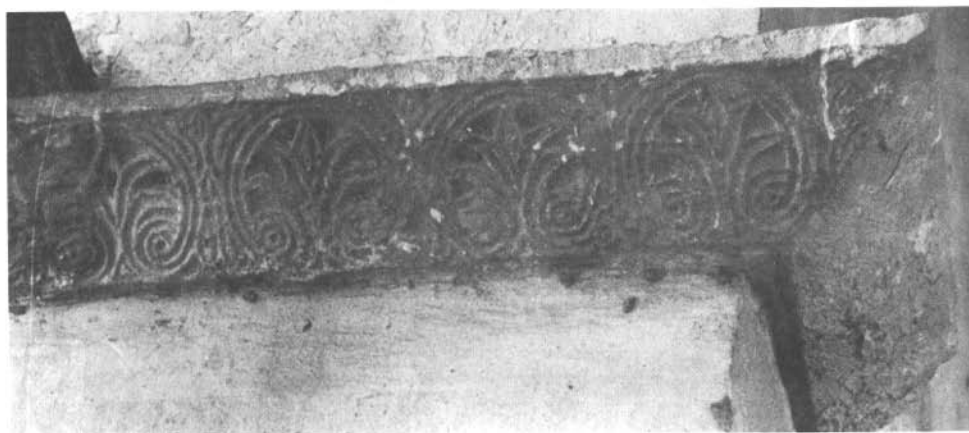
24 Enez. Naos, south aisle arcade



26 Enez. Naos, southwest corner. Detail of string course



27 Enez. Naos. Detail of string course



28 Enez. Naos, reveal of south aisle arcade. Detail of string course



29 Enez. Inner narthex, south portal. Detail of lintel



30 Enez. Closure slab. Loose fragment in naos



31 Enez. String course. Loose fragment in naos

Kautsch's fig. 618<sup>72</sup>. All are four-sided with alternating decorative panels employing a similar and limited repertory of motifs. These may have come from two different sets of capitals, as # 1 and # 3 are very similar, and # 2 and # 4 are identical. Of these, the second set is probably the earlier, with all belonging to the ninth or tenth centuries. Oddly, the capitals are not positioned as matched sets; nor are they well fitted to the columns.

1. South arcade capital (Figs. 19-20). The cubic capital alternates two motifs on its four faces: a double-ended leafy stem frames a medallion containing an equal-armed cross; and two upright water leaves frame a similar cross which rises from the stem. The concave profile of the capital is unusual, as it recedes inward from the abacus block; this may indicate a date slightly later than that suggested, or that the capital was recarved from an earlier example with this profile. Recessed necking rings are used to join the capital to the smaller diameter of the column. The form and design may be compared to Kautsch 732.

3. Center arcade, left capital (Fig. 21). The four panels of the cubic capital alternate two motifs: a double-ended leafy stem framing an equal-armed cross, which rises from the stem; and a Maltese cross set into a medallion flanked by diagonal water leaves. Both motifs are very similar to # 1, but the capital is proportionally shorter and lacks the concave profile. In addition, the handling of the carving is much shakier. Perhaps these two were recarved from spolia of different sizes, or # 3 was intended to imitate # 1.

2 and 4. Central arcade, right capital, and north arcade capital (Figs. 22-23). The two identical cubic capitals are proportionally broader than the other set, and their forms may be based on impostes. The carving is much crisper, and the motifs are simpler. Four trapezoidal panels are distinctly outlined on each, with two alternating designs: a six-petal rosette in a medallion flanked by diagonal water leaves; and a Greek cross within an arch flanked by upright water leaves.

### B. *Naos capitals*

The naos employs two different types of capitals: sixth-century Corinthian capitals and undecorated cubic capitals. The Corinthian, being the more intricate and attractive, were placed in the more visible locations.

<sup>72</sup> R. KAUTSCH, *Kapitellstudien. Beitrag zu einer Geschichte des spätantiken Kapitells im Osten vom vierten bis ins siebente Jahrhundert*. Berlin 1936, fig. 618; hereafter cited as KAUTSCH.



1-4. Northeast and southeast piers, capitals of engaged columns (Figs. 11-12). These represent an extremely common fifth or possibly early sixth-century variety of Corinthian capital. Our examples compare favorably with Kautsch 176, although somewhat less three-dimensionally modelled. It is noteworthy that the impostos do not match at Enez, and that the design has been accentuated by paint in Turkish times.

5. South aisle, capital (Fig. 24). This capital is also Corinthian, very similar to # 1-4. The north side aisle, now destroyed, probably had a similar capital.

6-7. Southwest pier, capitals of engaged columns (Fig. 25). These two are plain, unadorned cubic capitals, derived from sixth-century forms like Kautsch 646. The dating of these is uncertain; # 7 may be in fact sixth-century. There are a number of comparable examples in the cisterns of Constantinople, for example, Binbirderek Cistern<sup>73</sup>. The awkward bevel on # 6 suggests that it is later in date, perhaps executed in imitation of the form of # 7. The columns of the northwest pier, now fallen, had similar cubic capitals.

### C. *Naos string courses*

Two major forms of string course appear in the naos: a convex or ovolo molding and one with a chamfered profile decorated with a grapevine motif. Smaller sections of plain chamfered string course also appear; note Fig. 26, where the three varieties appear together in the southwest corner of the naos. In addition, a small section of chamfered string course with a palmette motif is also employed.

1. Ovolo string course (Fig. 26). The upper cornice of the south and east walls has a convex or ovolo profile, topped by an unadorned fillet. This type was in common usage during the sixth through ninth centuries, and similar moldings may be seen at H. Sophia in Thessaloniki and at the Byzantine church at Dere Ağzî<sup>74</sup>. The form was also used in Romanesque and later Serbian architecture.

2. Chamfered string course with grapevine patterns (Figs. 26-27). This type of cornice was employed on the west wall of the naos, and small sections appear elsewhere in the building. The asymmetrical pattern is unusual - to my knowledge, unique in the Byzantine decorative vocabulary. Note that on the string course of the west wall, a cross has been removed. The pattern

<sup>73</sup> MANGO, *Byzantine Architecture*, fig. 133.

<sup>74</sup> R. KRAUTHEIMER, *Early Christian and Byzantine Architecture*. Third edition. Harmondsworth 1979, figs. 247, 248, 257.

consists of a sinuous stem from which branch three-lobed leaves and hanging clusters of grapes. The grooved stems may be compared with an eleventh-century relief from Nea Moni which is much crisper in execution<sup>75</sup>. The grapevine motif is somewhat similar to several late ninth-century pieces from Skripou; however, in these, the design is denser and more symmetrically disposed<sup>76</sup>. A sculpted panel from the Athens Museum, dated to the ninth or tenth century, has similar leaves<sup>77</sup>. Our piece is perhaps from the tenth century.

3. Chamfered string course with palmette design (Fig. 28). This fragment is located in the reveal of the south side aisle arcade. The design consists of a palmette set into a looped enclosure. A variety of spiky palmette patterns were commonly employed for string courses and borders in the Middle Byzantine period<sup>78</sup>. The enclosing loop motif is somewhat rare, but may be compared to the eleventh-century string course from the inner narthex of the Eski Imaret Camii in Istanbul<sup>79</sup>. The central leaf of the palmette has a raised diamond shape in the center which compares favorably with an eleventh-century fragment from Nea Moni<sup>80</sup>. Our piece is probably from the eleventh century as well.

#### D. Miscellaneous fragments

1. Inner narthex, lintel of the south portal (Fig. 29). The loopy pattern with a triple bud design is extremely unusual. The center hole of each bud was probably executed with a drill. The looseness of the pattern compares with the somewhat different design of the eleventh-century narthex lintel of Eski Imaret Camii<sup>81</sup>. Somewhat closer to our example is the vine and leaf motif of the eleventh-century doorframe of the Anargyroi in Kastoria. This has a three-lobed leaf in the place of the bud motif<sup>82</sup>. The Enez lintel may be dated to the eleventh century as well.

<sup>75</sup> BOURAS, Nea Moni, figs. 101-102.

<sup>76</sup> A. GRABAR, *Sculptures byzantines de Constantinople (IV<sup>e</sup>-X<sup>e</sup> siècle)*. Paris 1963, pls. XXXIX, 4 and XLII, 2.

<sup>77</sup> GRABAR, pl. XLIV, 3.

<sup>78</sup> Ø. HJORT, *The Sculpture of the Kariye Camii*. *DOP* 33 (1979) 199-289, fig. 39 and *passim*.

<sup>79</sup> T. MATHEWS, *The Byzantine Churches of Istanbul. A Photographic Survey*. University Park 1976, fig. 9-22.

<sup>80</sup> BOURAS, Nea Moni, fig. 129.

<sup>81</sup> MATHEWS, fig. 9-21.

<sup>82</sup> A. GRABAR, *Sculptures byzantines du Moyen-Âge, II (XI<sup>e</sup>-XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle)*. Paris 1976, pl. XXXI, a.

2. Closure slab, loose fragment in naos (Fig. 30). The geometric design and rosette motif are extremely common in the Byzantine decorative repertory. The design and crisp carving suggest an eleventh-century date, with comparable examples to be found at Kiev, Kastoria, Lavra, and elsewhere<sup>83</sup>.

3. String course, loose fragment in naos (Fig. 31). Three rough palmette motifs alternate with a cross set into a medallion. The carving is shallow and crude, and there is little to suggest a date. The piece may not have been finished.

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<sup>83</sup> GRABAR, *op. cit.*, pls. LIX; XXXII, d; XXXIX, b.

## Siglenverzeichnis

|                 |   |
|-----------------|---|
| <i>JbAC</i>     | Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum                                   |
| <i>JHSt</i>     | Journal of Hellenic Studies   |
| <i>JÖB</i>      | Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik (1969ff.)                 |
| <i>JÖBG</i>     | Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinischen Gesellschaft (1951–1968) |
| <i>JRS</i>      | Journal of Roman Studies  |
| <i>LSJ</i>      | Liddell–Scott–Jones   |
| <i>LThK</i>     | Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche                                      |
| <i>MGH</i>      | Monumenta Germaniae Historica   |
| <i>MIÖG</i>     | Mitteilungen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung    |
| <i>MM</i>       | Miklosich-Müller, Acta et diplomata graeca medii aevi                 |
| <i>MMB</i>      | Monumenta Musicae Byzantinae  |
| <i>NE</i>       | Νέος Ἑλληνομνήμων   |
| <i>OC</i>       | Orientalia Christiana   |
| <i>OCA</i>      | Orientalia Christiana Analecta  |
| <i>OCP</i>      | Orientalia Christiana Periodica                                       |
| <i>OrChrist</i> | Oriens Christianus  |
| <i>PG</i>       | Patrologia Graeca   |
| <i>PL</i>       | Patrologia Latina   |
| <i>PLP</i>      | Prosopographisches Lexikon der Palaiologenzeit                        |
| <i>PO</i>       | Patrologia Orientalis   |
| <i>RAC</i>      | Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum                                |
| <i>RbK</i>      | Reallexikon zur byzantinischen Kunst                                  |
| <i>RE</i>       | Paulys Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft         |
| <i>REB</i>      | Revue des Études Byzantines   |
| <i>REG</i>      | Revue des Études Grecques   |
| <i>RESEE</i>    | Revue des Études Sud-Est Européennes                                  |
| <i>RhM</i>      | Rheinisches Museum  |
| <i>RSDN</i>     | Rivista di Studi Bizantini e Neocellenici                             |
| <i>SBN</i>      | Studi Bizantini e Neocellenici  |
| <i>SC</i>       | Sources Chrétiennes   |
| <i>Script</i>   | Scriptorium   |
| <i>SIFC</i>     | Studi Italiani di Filologia Classica                                  |
| <i>SK</i>       | Seminarium Kondakovianum  |
| <i>SPP</i>      | Studien zur Palaeographie und Papyruskunde                            |
| <i>St</i>       | Studi e Testi   |
| <i>TAPA</i>     | Transactions of the American Philological Association                 |
| <i>ΘHE</i>      | Θρησκευτική και Ἡθική Ἐγκυκλοπαίδεια                                  |
| <i>ThGL</i>     | Thesaurus Graecae Linguae   |
| <i>TIB</i>      | Tabula Imperii Byzantini  |
| <i>TM</i>       | Travaux et Mémoires   |
| <i>TU</i>       | Texte und Untersuchungen  |
| <i>VTIB</i>     | Veröffentlichungen d. Komm. f. d. TIB                                 |
| <i>VV</i>       | Vizantijskij Vremennik  |
| <i>WBS</i>      | Wiener Byzantinistische Studien                                       |
| <i>WSt</i>      | Wiener Studien  |
| <i>ZDMG</i>     | Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft               |
| <i>ZMNP</i>     | Žurnal Ministerstva Narodnago Prosvěšćenija                           |
| <i>ZPE</i>      | Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik                            |
| <i>ZRVI</i>     | Zbornik Radova Vizantološkog Instituta                                |