

THE BYZANTINE FORTRESSES OF
YOĞUNTAŞ, KEÇİKALEŞİ AND PINARHİSAR IN THE
KIRKLARELİ REGION

A THESIS PRESENTED BY HARUN KAYA
TO THE INSTITUTE OF
ECONOMICS AND SOCIAL SCIENCES
IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS
FOR THE DEGREE OF MASTER OF ARTS

BILKENT UNIVERSITY

October 1997

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Harun Kaya

başarımlarından dolayı teşekkür ederim

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I certify that I have read this thesis and in my opinion it is fully adequate, in scope and quality as a thesis for the degree of Master of Arts.

Dr. Alessandra Ricci



I certify that I have read this thesis and in my opinion it is fully adequate, in scope and quality as a thesis for the degree of Master of Arts.

Dr. Jean Öztürk



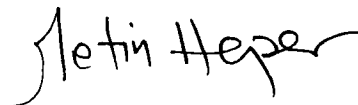
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Dr. Julian Bennett



Approved by the Institute of Economics and Social Sciences.

Prof. Dr. Metin Heper



ABSTRACT

The significance of the Byzantine period in Kırklareli is attested by a large number of well preserved fortresses in the region. Present study focuses three of these fortifications: Yoğuntaş (Polos), Keçikalesi and Pınarhisar (Brysis). The Kırklareli region represents a passageway through the Strandcha chain which is the last natural defence to the north-west and south-east of the Kırklareli-Demirköy line. The three fortifications under question may be brought into connection with the protection of the southern Strandcha and patrolling the trade routes between north and Constantinople. Building activities in these fortifications seem to have been intensified in two main periods. The first period represents the struggle with the northern neighbour in eastern Thrace. Establishment of the First Bulgarian State (680) had made the area under discussion the northern frontier of the Empire until the south bank of the Danube was re-conquered (971 - 1018). The second common period of construction activity in three of the fortifications under question is the 12th century. Further study is needed on the other members of the southern Strandcha defensive line in order to understand this system.

ÖZ

Kırlareli bölgesinde Bizans Dönemi iyi korunmuş durumda bulunan çok sayıda kalelerle temsil edilmektedir. Bu çalışma sözkonusu kalelerden Yoğuntaş (Polos), Keçikalesi ve Pınarhisar'ı (Brysis) ele almaktadır. Kırlareli bölgesindeki geçityolları Kırlareli-Demirköy hattının kuzeybatı - güneydoğu istikametindeki son doğal savunma hattı Istrança Dağları'ndan geçer. İncelenen üç kale güney Istrançalar'ın korunması ve Konstantinopol ile kuzey arasında kalan ticaret yollarının gözetilmeleri amaçlarıyla bağlantılı olarak ortaya çıkmaktadırlar. Söz konusu kalelerde inşaat faaliyetleri iki ana dönemde yoğunlaşmaktadır. İlk dönem Bizans'ın kuzey komşusu ile doğu Trakya'daki hesaplaşmasına denk düşmektedir. Birinci Bulgar Devleti'nin kuruluşu (680) kalelerin bulunduğu coğrafyanın Tuna kıyıları tekrar fethedilene dek (971 -1018) Bizans İmparatorluğu'nun kuzey sınırı olmasını getirmiştir. Her üç kalede de ortak olarak görülen ikinci dönem inşaat faaliyeti ise 12. yüzyıldır. Güney Istrançalar savunma hattının daha iyi anlaşılabilmesi için sistemin diğer üyeleri üzerinde araştırma yapılması gerekmektedir.

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I am grateful to Mr. James Crow and his family for their warm hospitality during my visit in England. I am indebted to Mr. Crow for pointing out to me research sources in the field of Byzantine fortifications in Turkish Thrace and the map archives of National Geographic Society at London to my attention, and also for his help to have access into the Society's archives. I thank Mr. Crow also for reading my thesis and for his comments.

I am indebted to Sancar Ozaner for indicating to me a series of geomorphological publications. He was kind to visit the sites under discussion with me and helped me interpreting the aerial photographs.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
ABSTRACT	ii
ÖZ	iii
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	iv
TABLE OF CONTENTS	v
LIST OF PLATES	viii
PLATES FOR COMPARISONS	xii
LIST OF DRAWINGS	xiii
LIST OF MAPS	xiv
LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS	xv
INTRODUCTION	1
CHAPTER 1	
SURVEY OF THE HISTORY OF EASTERN THRACE	5
CHAPTER 2	
SKOPELOS / POLOS / YOĞUNTAŞ / BEDERDİR / ESKİPOLOS	35
Citadel	41
Curtain Walls, Towers, Gateways, Buildings	44
East-West Inner Wall, Tower: T30, Buttress: T3	44
West Wall, Towers: T1, T2, T4, T5, Gateway (GW1)	44
North Wall, Towers: T5, T6, T7, T8, T9, T10, T11, T12, Building BA, Postern (?)	45
East Wall, Towers: T12, T13	46

South Wall, Towers: T13, T14, T15, T16, T17, T18, T19, T20, T21, T22, T23, T24, T25, T26, T27, T0, T1; Buildings: Cistern (C) with its tower (C1), BB	46
Cistern	47
Masonry techniques, their locations and descriptions	49
Masonry 1 (M1 and M1a)	49
Masonry 2 (M2)	50
Masonry 3 (M3)	52
Masonry 4 (M4)	53
Masonry 5 (M5)	55
Relative Chronology	56
Absolute Dating	57
Builder and Function	66
CHAPTER 3	70
KEÇİKALESİ / KARAKOÇ	70
South Wall 1 (SW1)	72
Gateway 1 (GW1)	73
Semicircular Tower (T1)	75
South Wall 2 (SW2)	76
Horseshoe-Shaped Tower (T2)	78
East Wall (EW)	79
Arched Gateway (GW2)	81
North Wall (NW)	81
West Wall (WW)	82
Spur	83
Dating, Function and Builder	84
CHAPTER 4	89
PINARHİSAR / BRYŞIS	89

Tower N	93
Tower NW	94
Tower C	95
Destroyed or little preserved remains	96
Dating	96
CONCLUSION	105
APPENDIX 1 GLOSSARY	111
BIBLIOGRAPHY	112

LIST OF PLATES

YOĞUNTAŞ: Plates 1 - 31.

- 1 - General view from south east.
- 2 - T1 from south west.
- 3 - T1 from north.
- 4 - T1 detail.
- 5 - T1 / T0 curtain, fragment of outer facing and core.
- 6 - T2 general from east.
- 7 - T2 1st and 2nd phases from south west.
- 8 - T2 south wall.
- 9 - T2 2nd phase (shell), from west.
- 10 - T2 2nd phase (shell), from north.
- 11 - T3 and East-West Wall from north west.
- 12 - T5 core.
- 13 - 'Platform' from north.
- 14 - T9 from west.
- 15 - T10 from west.
- 16 - T11 from north west.
- 17 - T10 / T11 curtain inner facing.
- 18 - T11 / T12 curtain outer facing.
- 19 - T13 from south east.
- 20 - T15 from south.

21 - T17 from south.

22 - T18 from south.

23 - T21 from south east.

24 - T25 from south west.

25 - T26 from south west.

26 - T0 from south east.

27 - Cistern (C) general view from north.

28 - C south wall.

29 - C arched channel between the barrel vaults, south wall from east.

30 - BA west wall.

31 - BA detail of west wall.

x

KEÇİKALESİ: Plates 33 - 46.

- 33 - General view from south.
- 34 - Spur from south east.
- 35 - SW1 from south east.
- 36 - GW1 from south.
- 37 - GW1 flanking bastion from south east.
- 38 - T1, SW2 from south east.
- 39 - SW2 detail.
- 40 - SW2 detail.
- 41 - SW2, T2 detail from south.
- 42 - T2, East Wall from north east.
- 43 - T2 inner facing from north.
- 44 - GW2 inner facing from west.
- 45 - Western end of the North Wall from north.
- 46 - Corner on the West Wall from north west.

PINARHISAR: Plates 47 - 54.

- 47 - Tower N from south.
- 48 - Tower N from north.
- 49 - Tower N detail from south.
- 50 - Tower N inner space from south.
- 51- Tower NW detail.
- 52 - Remains of tower SW from north west.
- 53 - Tower C outer facing from north.
- 54 - Tower C inner facing from south east.

PLATES FOR COMPARISONS

- 55 - Kayserkale, W2/3: masonry of coursed rubble with brick bands (Foss1985 fig. 93).
- 56 - Kayserkale, W2/3, row of beamhole set side by side near the base of the wall (Foss 1985 fig. 89).
- 57 - Hieron, section of lower walls (Foss and Winfield 1986 part three, fig. 26).
- 58 - Niketiaton, T1, from the NW (Foss 1996 fig. 32).
- 59 - Niketiaton, T1, masonry (Foss 1996 fig. 33).
- 60 - Lopadium, semicircular tower (Foss and Winfield 1986 part three, fig. 20).
- 61 - Kayserkale, W1/2, detail of face, showing the carefully cut stonework of headers and stretchers (Foss 1985 fig. 91).
- 62 - Kütahya, T53, inner chamber, detail of vaulting (Foss1985 fig. 42).
- 63 - Kütahya, T53, both facings from the north (Foss 1985 fig.39).
- 64 - Kütahya, T53, detail of outer face, south sideT53 (Foss 1985 fig.41).
- 65 - Constantinople, Karagümrük cistern, domical vaults (Mango 1978 fig.11).
- 66 - Strobilos, SW side of citadel (Foss 1988 plate 15 a).

LIST OF DRAWINGS

Fig. I - Yoğuntaş 1/1000 ground plan *in-situ* .

Fig. II - Yoğuntaş 1/1000 hypothetical ground plan.

Fig. III - Yoğuntaş, view magnified from the aerial photograph. Harita

Genel Komutanlığı-Ankara, Flight in 1964. Film no: 1964 / 77,
1/35.000.

Fig. IV - Keçikalesi 1/1000 ground plan (Topographical features are not to
the scale.).

Fig. V - Pınarhisar 1/1000 ground plan.

Fig. VI - Pınarhisar hypothetical ground plan of the hilltop fortress on the

basis of magnified view from the aerial photograph. Harita Genel
Komutanlığı-Ankara, Flight in 1968. Film no: 1965 / 242,
1/35.000.

LIST OF MAPS

Map 1- Roman Thrace (Janin 1920).

Map 2- Major sites mentioned in the text (Soustal 1991).

Map 3- The Balkans by the end of the seventh century (Koleradov 1977).

Map 4- The Balkans between 800-972 (Koledarov 1977).

Map 5- The Balkans between 972-1185 (Koledarov 1977).

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

- AMY* Ayasofya Müzesi Yıllığı.
- BAR* British Archaeological Reports,
International Series.
- BIAA* British Institute of Archaeology at Ankara.
- BZ* Byzantinische Zeitschrift.
- JÖB* Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik.
- MTA* Maden Tetkik Araştırma.
- ODB* A. Kazhdan, (ed.) *The Oxford Dictionary of
Byzantium* . Oxford 1991.
- TIB* P. Soustal, *Tabula Imperii Byzantini 6 Thrakien
(Thrake, Rodope, Haimimontos)* . Wien 1991.

INTRODUCTION

The present study focuses on three Byzantine fortresses in the Kırklareli region; Yoğuntaş (Skopelos), Keçikalesi, and Pınarhisar (Brysis). Yoğuntaş is located 22 km. north west of Kırklareli, Keçikalesi ca. 8 km. north, and Pınarhisar 31 km. south east. The significance of the Byzantine period in Kırklareli is attested by a large number of well preserved fortresses in the region. My preliminary observations indicated that the Byzantine fortifications in the area can be found mainly on a line which runs parallel to the southern ramification of the Strandcha (Yıldız) range. The Yıldız mountains decline parallel to the Kırklareli-Pınarhisar-Vize line and the mountainous topography is replaced by large plains to the south. In this part of Thrace, the Kırklareli region represents a passageway through the Strandcha chain which is the last natural defence to the north-west and south-east of the Kırklareli-Demirköy line. It is likely that this area was selected for fortifications in order to control the routes through the Yıldız mountains into the Ergene plain. Moreover, the Military Road running between Constantinople and Europe is to the south of the Kırklareli-Vize line. It appears that the security of these routes in the Kırklareli region was maintained by a defensive line consisting of a number of fortifications built roughly at the same time.

Among the fortifications of the region I have chosen the three sites under discussion in order to record the remains and to try to investigate the defence system in this part of the Empire. I perceive these sites as a coherent

group during the period between the eighth and 14th centuries in relation to the general defence network, trade routes and communication system mainly due to their locations and the similarities between the construction techniques and building materials used.

Despite there is a large number of relatively well preserved fortifications in the Kırklareli region, the area in question has not been studied sufficiently. To my present knowledge among the sites that I have chosen to study, only Pınarhisar is mapped, but incorrectly (Dirimtekin 1963; repeatedly Pralong 1988). Dirimtekin (1963) dates the Byzantine fortifications of Pınarhisar to the late 13th, early 14th century. Eyice (1962) mentioned the same site with no specific dating and not publish his visit to Thrace in 1961. Papazotos (in Greek) (1989) mentions Pınarhisar (Brusis) and gives a photograph of the corner tower. Ötüken and Ousterhout (1989) published Pınarhisar with a useful bibliography and pointed out the difficulties in dating the site. Thus, within the limited studies on Byzantine fortifications of the area, the scope rarely goes beyond notifying the scholarly community of the existence of the sites. There have been no surveys of these sites and publications offer brief observations. Furthermore, there is no detailed discussion either about their dating or the typology and system in which they operated.

The sites under question were visited a number of times in 1996 and in the first half of 1997. In terms of field study, destructions caused by modern work such as a watch tower and a sewage in Yoğuntaş, municipal arrangements in Pınarhisar such as levelling the site by dozers and

destructive activities of treasure hunters create difficulties in following the remains. Lack of spolia that would contribute to dating is a common feature of the sites under question. Furthermore, according to my present knowledge no known inscriptions, art work, or coins (in primary context) related to these fortifications are in existence. During the visits special attention was paid to consult the local inhabitants as potential source of information.

In historical sources there is no direct reference to the builders and the function of these fortifications. Textual evidence is almost exclusively gathered from a single source, the volume on Thrace of the *Tabula Imperii Byzantini* (Soustal 1991). Yoğuntaş and Pınarhisar are mentioned in ecclesiastical sources, Keçikalesi apparently has no history. In many cases I could not consult to the original sources cited in the *Tabula Imperii Byzantini*.¹

Relative chronology of the remains is mainly based on their locations, masonry style, and mortar used. Determining chronology, an important aspect of this study, will be based on comparative analysis of construction materials and techniques and parallels from dated contexts and on the historical background of the region.

The remains of the fortresses have been recorded and ground plans drawn. Total station Nikon DTM - A 20 LG has been used for the measurements, and the ground plans have been drawn with a NetCad. Study of aerial photographs were important in providing elements which have been added to the hypothetical ground plans. In the aerial photographs destroyed or

¹ Since many ancient sources were not available, and only a number of available ones were examined in order to follow a consistent reference system I used references to secondary sources throughout the text.

little preserved remains can be followed on the photographs.

The main goal of the present work is to create as complete as possible plans of the three sites. Besides, I will attempt to date them and try to identify their functions. I aim to produce for three fortifications of the Kırklareli area, basic but accurate information which will certainly contribute further work related to the defensive network and defence strategies of the Byzantine Empire in the area.

CHAPTER 1

SURVEY OF THE HISTORY OF EASTERN THRACE

The area in question remains in the eastern part of Thrace. Before we look in detail at the fortifications, it is necessary to give a brief historical account of this region starting from the late Roman period until the end of the Byzantine Empire. Parallel to this the Byzantine fortifications in eastern Thrace will be surveyed.

The Thracians, native people of eastern Thrace were never able to establish a centrally governed state. Confederacies or short-lived empires succeeded each other until 46 AD. when Rome took the control of Thrace.² The earliest inscription referring to the defensive activities in Kirklareli is dated to the time of Antoninus Pius (152-155).³ The other site dated to the same period in the region is Bizye (Vize).⁴

The administration system of the Roman Empire was reorganised by Diocletian (284-305) who divided the Empire into 12 dioceses and the larger provinces into smaller units.⁵ During the reign of Constantine (306/24-337) prefectures were established which consisted of several dioceses. Each diocese was divided into a number of provinces.⁶ After these arrangements Thrace was under the prefecture of the East (*Praefectura*

²Browning 1975: 22.

³ Biernecka-Lubanska 1982: 34 after G. Mihajlov, Les fortifications de la Thrace par Antonin le Pieux et Marc Aurèle, *Studi Urbinati* 35 (1961); H. Bujukliev, L. Getov (Two New Antiquities from the Defensive Activities of Antoninus Pius in Thrace), *Arheologia* 6 (1964). These sources could not be found.

⁴ Biernecka-Lubanska 1982: 34.

⁵ Ostrogorsky 1969: 35.

⁶ Ostrogorsky 1969: 35.

praetorio per Orientem).⁷

By the fourth century there were many fortified cities in Thrace controlling the terrain around them. Among these cities Adrianople (Edirne) was an important site which controlled strategic routes from and to the capital.⁸ Arcadiopolis (Lüleburgaz), on the route from Constantinople to Adrianople, was founded by Theodosius I (379-95) on the site of the ancient Bergoulion in order to protect the capital from the invasions coming from the north.⁹ Heraclea (Marmara Ereğlisi) was at the junction of the Via Egnatia and the main road to the Balkans.¹⁰ Another city, Gallipoli (Gelibolu) was a coastal settlement near the western extremity of the Sea of Marmara on the European side controlling the strategic Hellespont.¹¹ Coastal fortifications on the Sea of Marmara and Black Sea had vital importance in protecting the sea routes between Constantinople, Egypt, North Africa, Italy and eastern Europe.¹²

The defence of the Roman Empire in the Balkans was based on the limes fortifications along the Danube.¹³ The inner fortified settlements controlled important routes. Large areas which did not belong to any city were directly under the administration of imperial officials.¹⁴ Julian (361-363)

⁷ Ostrogorsky 1969: 35.

⁸ ODB I 23.

⁹ The city was seized by the Huns under Attila in 441 and besieged by Theodoric in 473. The Rus' army was defeated before the walls of the city in 970. The fortress was used during the Third Crusade (1189-1192) (ODB I:173).

¹⁰ ODB II: 915.

¹¹ ODB II: 913, 1094. Gallipoli and other fortresses in its vicinity were captured by Attila in the fifth century (ODB II: 1094).

¹² Kaegi 1993: 41.

¹³ Kaegi 1993: 41.

¹⁴ Browning 1975: 23.

visited Thrace and strengthened some fortifications. During the reigns of Valentinian (364-375) and Valens (364-378) the Empire faced invasions of various groups among which the Visigoths settled in the diocese of Thrace and started to disturb neighbouring imperial lands.¹⁵ The Visigoths were followed by the Ostrogoths and the Huns who had joined them.¹⁶ The Emperor Valens was at that time dealing with the Persians on the eastern frontier and he immediately returned to the capital in order to advance to Adrianople and face the enemy there. However, the Goths defeated the Roman army at Adrianople (378). The Roman army was destroyed and the Emperor Valens was killed during the war.¹⁷ Heraclea was attacked.¹⁸ As a joined force, the Goths, Alans and Huns marched towards Constantinople. The attackers were stopped by Theodosius the Great (379-95) in turn of heavy costs. A large group of Goths was accepted as *foederati* and stayed in Thrace for a generation.¹⁹ They disturbed economic activities in the Balkans. Some of the Goths were settled as Roman soldiers.

After a period of decline in defensive activity in Thrace, Theodosius II (408-450) started a major building and reconstruction program of the frontier forts. In the early fifth century Thrace witnessed new invasions. The Huns in 408-409, again in 412 penetrated into the region.

¹⁵ Ostrogorsky 1969: 52.

¹⁶ Ostrogorsky 1969: 52.

¹⁷ Browning 1975: 26; Ostrogorsky 1969: 52.

¹⁸ ODB II: 915.

¹⁹ An agreement (*foedus*) between the Emperor and the Goths granted certain rights to the Goths such as autonomy, high rate payment for the military service, and taxation advantages. The Goths were to be mentioned as *foederati* (Ostrogorsky 1969: 52).

Their invasions continued until the mid fifth century. The Huns did not intent to settle on the land, but preferred to campaign almost annually. They contributed the destruction of economic and social life in the northern Balkans that were already ruined by the Goths. As a result of annually repeating attacks, production circle and system of trade collapsed.²⁰ The pressure of the Roman tax collectors caused migration of the native people into more secure areas under the Roman control. Some of the population especially craftsmen and merchants who were welcomed by the Huns joined them. Finally, another group of people was taken captive by the Huns. Although the extent is not known, by the mid fifth century, the population of the northern Balkans must have been dramatically decreased.²¹

Despite the instable and insecure situation in the northern Balkans the Danubian frontier was still under Roman control. It is clear that the defensive system was not functioning effectively as the preceding four centuries. The raiders could easily penetrate into the frontier and return to their home basis to the north of the Danube with booty. However, strategically important points of defences were constantly repaired and rebuilt after the attacks. There was a major program of repair and strengthening activity for the city walls as well.

After the death of their leader, Attila in 453, groups of the Huns continued to raid into the northern Balkans, but did not penetrate deep in land.²² The inhabitants of Thrace together with the Moesians and the Illyrians,

²⁰ Browning 1975: 27.

²¹ Browning 1975: 28.

²² Browning 1975: 28.

in the second half of the century faced another wave of devastation. The Ostrogoths started their invasions from the western Balkans. In 461 they reached Dyrrhachium. After 470 they began invading eastern and northern Balkans systematically. One branch of the Ostrogoths penetrated into eastern Thrace as far as the walls of the capital. In contrast to the Huns who were mobile people and did not settle in the Roman land, the Ostrogoths remained in Lower Moesia, Dobrudja, and the northern Balkans and later became *foederati*.²³ In 488 the Ostrogoths were directed by the Romans to Italy under Theodoric.

The departure of the Ostrogoths, however, did not bring peace to the region in question. In 493 the Bulgars raided from the north of the Danube into Thrace and defeated the Roman army. A series of invasions took place in the coming years by the Bulgars and some other peoples. In 499 two thirds of a Roman army was destroyed by the Bulgars in Thrace. In 502 Thrace was once more plundered.²⁴ The immediate, but short-term Roman solution to the Bulgarian invasions was to accept them as *foederati*.

Under the heavy pressure of the different northern tribes, the Danubian frontier was not functioning effectively enough. As a measure by the second half of the fifth century to secure Constantinople from the invasions ca. 45 km. long linear fortification (The Long Wall) was built between the Black Sea and the Sea of Marmara only about 65 km east of the capital. Salmydessos (Midye) on the coast of Black Sea was probably built in the fifth century.²⁵ It

²³ Browning 1975: 28.

²⁴ Browning 1975: 29.

²⁵ Ötügen and Ousterhout 1989: 143.

would not be unreasonable to conclude that by the mid fifth century the land immediately west of Constantinople was regarded as expendable for the Romans. Economic devastation of the land, and collapse of the trade network between the Danube and the Long Wall seem to be the major reasons behind this.²⁶

Coming back to the accounts of the invasions of Thrace; the Bulgars in 528, and the Slavs, another northic people, in 529 raided its territory. It is possible that the Bulgars and the Slavs were acting together. In 533 the Roman commander in chief in Thrace was killed by the Slavs. The response of the Romans came quick. Between the Balkan chain and the Danube the Bulgars were defeated. However, in 540 an allied force of the Bulgars (or Kotrigurs) and the Slavs penetrated as far as the walls of Thessalonica and turned to Constantinople along the Via Egnatia. They managed to reach the walls of the capital, but could not capture the city and withdrew back to the Danube with thousands of captives. Another branch of the invaders attacking southwards into Greece, reached as far as Isthmus of Corinth and withdrew to the Danube with captives and booty.²⁷

Absence of any remark in the contemporary accounts related to the fortifications spread throughout Thrace supports the view that by the mid sixth century the Thracian fortifications of minor scale were either not manned or far from to function as a defensive network to stop the invaders.²⁸

The second half of the sixth century opened with major invasions.

²⁶ Browning 1975: 30.

²⁷ Browning 1975: 34.

²⁸ Browning 1975: 35.

In 558 the Avars appeared as a new group of invaders . They demanded land to settle in the Roman territory. In 559 the Kotrigus and the Slavs spread out into the Roman territory in three directions. One group reached as far as Thermopylae in Greece, another one invaded the Gallipoli peninsula, and the third group was directed to the capital. The Long Wall was ineffective to stop the invaders probably because it was not sufficiently manned.²⁹ Thanks to the threat of the Danubian fleet, which was a serious barrier on the way back to the north of Danube the invaders returned. Once more they took with them many prisoners and booty.³⁰ In 562 Thrace witnessed another raid in a minor scale.

During this period several cities of Thrace were strengthened. Walls were thickened (Novae, Philippopolis) and gateways were narrowed, fortifications were restored (Gallipoli).³¹ The defence of Thrace against the invaders was based on forts rather than scattered fortified cities. Procopius mentions 12 forts in Rhodope, 35 in Thrace, and 53 in Haemimontus which contributed the defence policy of Justinian (527-65).³² According to Procopius the fortifications of Rhaidestos (Tekirdağ), Selymbria (Silivri) on the north shore of the Sea of Marmara, were built by Justinian.³³ Salmydessos was probably reinforced during this period and Didymotichus (Dimetoka) was built.³⁴

²⁹ ODB II: 1250

³⁰ Browning 1975: 34.

³¹ ODB II: 1094.

³² Jones 1983:27.

³³ ODB III: 1787; ODB III: 1867.

³⁴ Ötügen and Ousterhout 1989: 143; ODB I: 620.

The distance between Constantinople and the Danubian frontier in the early seventh century was over 600 kilometres.³⁵ In order to give warning of the approach of the enemy probably some forts were used to light signal fires. Signal fires and their management is mentioned in an anonymous treatise on strategy which is dated to the time of Justinian.³⁶

In 582 together with the Slavs, the Avars captured Sirmium, and reached Anchialos on the Black Sea. During the following years they penetrated into the Balkan peninsula and in 586 besieged Adrianople.³⁷ In 559 the Slavs reached as far as Tzurullum (Çorlu) and Arcadiopolis.³⁸

One of the main reason Thrace was so easy to invade was the ongoing war with the Persians in the eastern frontier which weakened the military strength of the Empire in Thrace. Upon a treaty with the Persians in 591, the emperor Maurice (582-602) focussed on Thrace and forced the raiders to leave the territory they invaded. However, during a military riot Maurice was killed and Phocas (602-10) was proclaimed emperor. Meanwhile, the Persians broke the treaty of 591. Phocas, leaving the Danubian frontier defenceless turned to the Persians. The Avars and Slavs once more crossed the Danube and fanned out Illyria, Moesia, western Thrace and peninsular Greece.³⁹ In the coming years eastern Thrace, except the Black Sea coastal cities, the area north of the Balkan range was taken under control by

³⁵ Kaegi 1993: 41

³⁶ Dennis 1985: 3.

³⁷ Browning 1975: 37; ODB I: 23.

³⁸ ODB III: 2137.

³⁹ Browning 1975: 37.

the invaders.⁴⁰ In 626 Constantinople was besieged by the allied force of the Avars and Slavs under the Avar khagan Baian.

Meanwhile, the capital was already under the pressure of the Persians who were on the Asiatic side of the city. However, like the previous trials, this attempt also failed and the invaders withdrew. Soon, Egypt was captured first by the Persians (619), later by the Arabs and supply of corn for Constantinople using the sea route became impossible. Eastern Thrace gained importance in order to keep the routes open and safe from and to the capital. The Black Sea coastal road, Via Egnatia, and the Via Militaris were attempted to be controlled.⁴¹ Thus, a number of fortifications (Develtos, Adrianople, Traianopolis (Alexandroupolis)) west of Constantinople were held on.⁴² In 626 allied forces of the Avars, Slavs, Bulgars and Gepids besieged the capital.⁴³ Heraclius (610-41) defeated the invaders and once more pushed them to the north western Balkans.

However, the Bulgars under Asparuch, yet another group of people apparently who were involved with the Avar and Slav sieges of Thessalonica and Constantinople started to disturb the Byzantine control in the Lower Danube.⁴⁴ Constantine IV (668-685) attempted to control the Bulgars but failed. The Bulgars settled in eastern Moesia. Probably in 680 with a treaty between the Byzantines and the Bulgars the Byzantine Empire recognised the Bulgarian state between the Danube, Balkan range and the Black Sea coast. The

⁴⁰ Browning 1975: 38.

⁴¹ For the roads see Jireček 1877; Skrivanić 1977.

⁴² Browning 1975: 39.

⁴³ Ostrogorsky 1969: 102.

⁴⁴ Browning 1975: 42.

capital of the Bulgarian state was Pliska. Thrace became the most strategic inland region on the Balkans for the protection of Constantinople (Map 2).⁴⁵

The new administration system of theme was established first time in the European part of the empire in Thrace between 680 and 685 by Constantine IV.⁴⁶ It seems that, introduction of the theme in Thrace was a reaction against the Avars and the Bulgars.⁴⁷

During the most of the eighth century the Bulgars remained ally to the Byzantines. Zagoria (the area between the Balkan range and the Gulf of Burgaz) was given to them by Justinian II. Constantine V (741-75) recaptured some of this territory with a series of campaigns. He defeated the Bulgarian army in 763 and 773.⁴⁸ The southern coastal cities of the Black Sea (Mesembria, Develtos, and naval base Anchialos) remained in the Byzantine control.⁴⁹

By the late eighth century, the Avars, the barrier on the way to the west for the Bulgars was defeated by Charlemagne's son Pippin. Nicephorus I (802-11) attempted to invade Bulgaria and stop the Bulgarian advent in the western Balkans. His Bulgarian campaign of 807, ended in Adrianople upon a revolt that made him back to Constantinople.⁵⁰ Realising the coming danger the Bulgar Khan Krum marched on Macedonia, in 808 defeated

⁴⁵ Koledarov 1977: 297.

⁴⁶ Browning 1975: 41; Ostrogorsky 1969: 132. A theme is a military unit composed of local inhabitants administered by a *strategos* who had the highest military and civil power (ODB III: 2034; Koledarov 1977: 299).

⁴⁷ Browning 1975: 47.

⁴⁸ Ostrogorsky 1969: 168-69.

⁴⁹ Browning 1975: 48.

⁵⁰ Browning 1975: 49.

the Byzantine army in the Struma valley, and captured Serdica in 809. Meanwhile, by the end of the eighth century the theme of Macedonia was established with its centre in Adrianople.⁵¹ Former borders of the theme of Thrace was narrowed leaving a larger territory for the theme of Macedonia. After the new arrangement the theme of Thrace was limited with the land on the southeast of Europe on the coast of the Sea of Marmara and the southern coast of the Black Sea (Map 3).⁵²

Nicephorus, as a reaction moved against Pliska and captured the city. However, on the return way the whole Byzantine army was destroyed and the Emperor was killed by the Bulgarian forces.⁵³ During the war the successor of the Emperor, Stauracius, was wounded. He escaped to Adrianople and then was taken to Constantinople. Stauracius' brother-in-law, Michael Rangabe was proclaimed Emperor (811-13).⁵⁴

The Bulgarian expansion in Thrace continued during Michael I's short reign. In 812 Krum invaded Develtos, Anchialos and Mesembria. In 813 the Byzantine army met the Bulgars at Versinica near Adrianople. The Byzantine army consisted of the troops of the Anatolikon and Macedonian themes. The troops under Leo the Armenian, the *strategos* of the Anatolikon theme did not support the Macedonian army and Krum gained another victory.⁵⁵ Upon this defeat against the Bulgars Michael I was replaced by Leo V

⁵¹ Koledarov 1977: 300.

⁵² Koledarov 1977: 300.

⁵³ Browning 1975: 49; Ostrogorsky 1969: 196.

⁵⁴ Ostrogorsky 1969: 196-97.

⁵⁵ *Strategos* is the military governor of a theme who also responsible for financial and administration (ODB III: 1964).

the Armenian (813-20).⁵⁶ Krum marched on Constantinople, besieged Adrianople and Arcadiopolis (Lüleburgaz). Rhaidestos was burned down, Salmydessos was plundered (813), Didymotichus was captured.⁵⁷ Adrianople and Thracian countryside around the capital were plundered. The inhabitants of Adrianople and its close vicinity were brought to the Danube region. Meanwhile, the Emperor managed to defeat the Bulgars near Mesembria (813) which did not avoid another siege of Constantinople.⁵⁸ After the sudden death of Krum in 814 the Bulgarian army withdrew.⁵⁹

Omurtag, Krum's son succeeded his father after a turbulent political period in the Bulgarian aristocracy. He made a peace treaty (Thirty Years Peace) with the Leo V the Armenian in the winter of 815-16. The focus of Omurtag was on the north and west of Bulgaria rather than Thrace. The Bulgars built a permanently manned wall between Develtos and Makrolivada (the so called Great Wall - Erkesija).⁶⁰ According to the treaty, the land that was captured by Krum (Serdica, Philippopolis, Develtos, Anchialos etc.) was left inhabited. During the peaceful years in Thrace Mesembria and Adrianople were rebuilt by the Byzantines.⁶¹

In 820 Leo V was murdered and Michael the Amorian (820-29) was proclaimed Emperor. Internal political struggles between the iconoclasts

⁵⁶ Ostrogorsky 1969: 199-200.

⁵⁷ ODB III: 1787; Dirimtekin 1963: 47; ODB I: 620.

⁵⁸ Ostrogorsky 1969: 200-201.

⁵⁹ Browning 1975: 50.

⁶⁰ Ostrogorsky 1969: 201; Soustal 1991: 261-262..

⁶¹ Browning 1975: 50-51; Ostrogorsky 1969: 201.

and iconodules ended with a civil war.⁶² Thomas, the leader of the latter had himself proclaimed Emperor under the title of Constantine VI. The troops following Thomas besieged Constantinople in 811. The Bulgarian Khan Omurtag supported the legitimate Emperor and forced Thomas to withdraw. In 813 Michael II captured the leader of the rebellion in Arcadiopolis and put him to death.⁶³

Theophilos (829-42) succeeded his father Michael II. When Theophilos died his heir Michael III (842-67) was three years old and Theodora, his mother, the Emperor's widow, acted as the Empress-regent.⁶⁴ Theodora had resettled the Paulicians from Anatolia in Thrace.⁶⁵ Meanwhile, Omurtag's son Malamir turned again on Thrace and Macedonia. He took Serdica, Philippopolis and Philippi.⁶⁶ When Malamir's nephew Boris succeeded to the Throne in 852 the economic centre of the Byzantine Empire was still Anatolia, and the Byzantines were dealing to control the Arab raids in the east.⁶⁷ Theodora and her logothete Theoctistus offered the Bulgarians a buffer zone including Develtos and Anchialos in order to focus the Byzantine forces in the east. However, this did not stop Boris to march on Macedonia. Michael III was proclaimed the sole Emperor in 856 and continued his mother's policy of peace with Bulgaria. The Arabs both in the Anatolia and

⁶² Iconoclasts represented the supporters of the religious movement of the eighth and ninth centuries who rejected icon worship. Iconodules represented the counter movement who were for the icons (ODB II: 975,977).

⁶³ Ostrogorsky 1969: 203-205.

⁶⁴ Ostrogorsky 1969: 206, 219.

⁶⁵ Ostrogorsky 1969: 221-22.

⁶⁶ Browning 1975: 51.

⁶⁷ Browning 1975: 54.

southern Italy, and the Russians who attacked on Constantinople would not allow to act against Bulgaria. Nevertheless, upon Boris's alliance with the Franks the Byzantines invaded Bulgaria. Bulgaria was forced to convert Christianity (864). To the converted Bulgarians probably some territory were given in Thrace.⁶⁸ The relations between Bulgaria and the Byzantine Empire was peaceful until Symeon (893-927) changed the Bulgarian policy radically. He replaced Greek by Slavonic in the church affairs and moved the capital from Pliska to Preslav. Symeon defeated the Byzantine army in Bulgarophygon (Babaeski) (896) and with a peace treaty made the Byzantines to pay annual tribute to Bulgaria. As part of the treaty signed between Leo VI (886 -912) and Symeon, the territory in Thrace was organised in Bulgaria's favour.

When Leo VI's died in 912, his son and heir, Constantine VII was six years old. Alexander, uncle of Constantine VII ruled on behalf of him until his death in 913.⁶⁹ Alexander stopped paying the tribute to the Bulgarians which brought the end of the treaty. In 913 Symeon marched on Thrace. He did not face a serious resistance and reached the walls of Constantinople. He was accepted into the city by the Patriarch Nicholas Mysticus who was the head of the council of regency to the seven years old Constantine. Symeon was proclaimed co-Emperor of Constantine VII and Basileus of Bulgaria.⁷⁰ After Symeon withdrew Patriarch Nicholas lost his position and the widow of Leo VI,

⁶⁸ Browning 1975: 55; Ostrogorsky 1969: 256.

⁶⁹ Ostrogorsky 1969: 261.

⁷⁰ Basileus was the main title given to the Byzantine Emperors (ODB I: 264).

Empress Zoe came to the rule. Zoe cancelled Symeon's titles.⁷¹ In 914 Symeon once more invaded Thrace. Adrianople did not resist him and surrendered. Symeon became the supreme power of the Balkan peninsula.⁷² In 917 the Byzantines organised a large scale, but unsuccessful attack on the Bulgarians during which the Byzantine army was defeated near Anchialos.⁷³

Upon Zoe's failure against the Bulgarians she lost her power and Romanus Lecipanus, father-in-law of Constantine VII was proclaimed co-Emperor (920).⁷⁴ In 921 and 922 Symeon tried to capture Constantinople and in 923 took Adrianople. In 923-4 and in 924 Symeon marched again on Constantinople. Beneath the strong walls of the Byzantine capital Symeon once more requested negotiations with the Emperor.⁷⁵ The reign of Symeon's son Peter represents a peaceful period with Bulgaria which came after the treaty of 927.⁷⁶

During the peace years with Bulgaria the Byzantine Empire was becoming a powerful state in Asia Minor and the Bulgars dealt with the Magyar raids. After the conquest of Cilicia and Cyprus in 965 the Bulgarians requested from the Byzantines to pay tribute.⁷⁷ In 967 Nicephorus Phocas (963-69) attacked Bulgaria. In 969 the Russians supported by Pecheneg and Magyar mercenaries raided down from the Danube. Having captured Preslav they

⁷¹ Ostrogorsky 1969: 261-63.

⁷² Ostrogorsky 1969: 263.

⁷³ Ostrogorsky 1969: 263.

⁷⁴ Ostrogorsky 1969: 264.

⁷⁵ Romanus accepted to recognise Symeon as the Emperor within the Bulgarian territory (Ostrogorsky 1969: 265).

⁷⁶ Ostrogorsky 1969: 267.

⁷⁷ Ostrogorsky 1969: 291-92.

reached Philippopolis. Meanwhile, Nicephorus Phocas was murdered and John Tzimisce (969-76) was proclaimed co-emperor of princes Theophano.

Tzimisce took control and in 970 defeated the Russians in Arcadiopolis. The Russians withdrew into eastern Bulgaria. The Bulgarian leader Svjatoslav was demanding Constantinople and the territory in the European part of the Empire.⁷⁸ Supported by the fleet on the Black Sea coast, Byzantine army reached Preslav and took the capital in 972. After a series of battles the Russians agreed to leave the Bulgarian territory. This was also end of the Bulgarian state whose eastern territory was annexed to the Byzantine Empire. On the western part the Bulgarian control continued which also expanded to the east by taking Preslav and Pliska. The Bulgarian successor-state was finally destroyed around 1018 by Basil II (1076-1025). The territory of the former Bulgaria became Byzantine provinces.⁷⁹

Around 1064 the Uzes raided into the Balkans and plundered Thrace.⁸⁰ This period coincides the loses caused by the Turks in Anatolia which increased importance of Thrace. The eastern part of the Empire was lost to the Turks (Melitine 1058, Caesarea 1067, Manzikert 1071) and by 1080's Seljuks reached Nicaea. Thus, control of western trade routes had a special importance. Meanwhile, during the political struggles of the late 1070s Thracian aristocracy supported Nicephorus Bryennius who entered to his native city Adrianople in 1077 as the rival Emperor. An army under Bryennius marched on Constantinople. However, the other rival Nicephorus

⁷⁸ Ostrogorsky 1969: 295.

⁷⁹ Browning 1975: 56-78.

⁸⁰ Ostrogorsky 1969: 343.

III Botaneiates (1078-81) who was supported by the Anatolian troops and the Turks was proclaimed Emperor.⁸¹

The succeeding Emperor Alexius Comnenus (1081-1118) came to the rule after a meeting in Tzurullum.⁸² During the Comnenian period the fortifications were raised in hurry. Defeat at Manzikert and advent of the Turks in Anatolia forced Alexius Comnenus to secure the western part of the empire which is evident by the increased activity of fortification construction.⁸³ Meanwhile, the first Crusade Expedition arrived at Constantinople in 1096. The Crusaders used Gallipoli as their base on the way to Constantinople.⁸⁴

In the early years of Isaac II Angelus (1185-95) rebels in Bulgaria started to disturb the Byzantine Empire in Europe. Alexius Branas who defeated the Normans (1185) had himself Emperor proclaimed in Adrianople and marched on Isaac II. During the war Branas was killed. In 1186 the Emperor invaded Bulgaria. However, the Byzantine army was not strong enough to deal with the rebels on the mountainous region for a long time and Isaac II decided to make peace. According the treaty the Byzantine Empire left the land between the Danube and the Balkan mountains to the Bulgars (1188). After the Byzantine defeat at Arcadiopolis in 1193 much of the central Thrace was gained by the second Bulgarian state.

After the Latin conquest of Constantinople (1204), one Latin and

⁸¹ Ostrogorsky 1969: 348.

⁸² Ostrogorsky 1969: 350.

⁸³ C. Asdracha, 1976. Review of *La région des Rhodopes aux XIIIe - XIVe siècles Etude de géographie historique*, by A. Kazhdan. *Byzantina* 11 (1982) pp. 429-38.

⁸⁴ ODB II: 1094.

two Greek Empires started to dominate the Byzantine territory.⁸⁵ According to the agreement between the crusaders and Venice along many harbours, islands and coastal cities, Rhaidestos (Tekirdağ), Heraclea (Marmara Ereğlisi), Gallipoli and Adrianople were left to the control of Venetians.⁸⁶ Arcadiopolis was also given to the Venetians. Control of the city changed hands several times. The locals left the destroyed city and settled in Adrianople.⁸⁷ In 1205 Henry de Flandre captured Tzurullum and Bizye.⁸⁸

Soon, the Greek aristocracy in Thrace rebelled against the Latins in Didymotichus, Adrianople and in other towns of Thrace. The Latin troops were forced to withdraw. In 1205 the Bulgarian tzar Kalojan (1197-1207) defeated the Latins near Adrianople.⁸⁹ He plundered Rhaidestos in 1206.⁹⁰ Thus, the Latin control of Thrace collapsed only a year after Constantinople was captured by the fourth crusade.⁹¹ After less than two decades the Latins lost much of Asia Minor to the Nicaean Empire. After the treaty of 1225 John Vatatzes (1222-54) secured Asia Minor, expanded his control over Thrace and took Adrianople.⁹²

The Latins were already discarded for the control of Thrace but the

⁸⁵ Ostrogorsky 1969: 434.

⁸⁶ Ostrogorsky 1969: 416-17, 423; ODB II: 1094.

⁸⁷ ODB I: 173

⁸⁸ Dirimtekin 1963: 15.

⁸⁹ Ostrogorsky 1696: 427.

⁹⁰ ODB III: 1787.

⁹¹ Ostrogorsky 1696: 427.

⁹² Ostrogorsky 1969: 435.

Emperor of Thessalonica,⁹³ Theodore Angelus (1224-30), Vatatzes' powerful and victorious rival who was holding part of Thrace, forced him to withdraw.⁹⁴ The aims of these two Greek Emperors were same; to capture Constantinople.⁹⁵ On the other hand the Bulgarian tzar John Asen II (1218-41) was planning to establish a Bulgaro-Byzantine empire.⁹⁶ Asen planned to marry his daughter to the Latin Emperor Baldwin II (1228-61). At this point Asen seemed to have gained an advantage against his ally Theodore Angelus. Angelus broke the alliance with Asen but could not eliminate him in the battlefield. Rather, Asen defeated his army at Klokotnica on the Marica river in 1230, captured Angelus and blinded him. Having discarded Angelus from the power conflict, Asen conquered the land between Adrianople and Dyrrachium. The capital and its close vicinity remained under the control of the Latins.⁹⁷ Asen's advantageous situation changed after John of Brienne (1231-37), king of Jerusalem, was elected Emperor to the Latin Constantinople.⁹⁸ Asen changed his policy against the Latins by declaring war and made an alliance with Vatatzes and Angelus' brother Manuel.⁹⁹ According to the alliance treaty signed in Gallipoli in 1235, establishment of an independent Orthodox Patriarchate in Trnovo under the supremacy of Nicaean Patriarch was agreed.¹⁰⁰ In 1234-

⁹³ Theodore Angelus Ducas Comnenus, ruler of Epirus (from 1215) and Emperor of Thessalonica (1224-1230).

⁹⁴ Ostrogorsky 1969: 435.

⁹⁵ Ostrogorsky 1969: 435.

⁹⁶ Ostrogorsky 1969: 435.

⁹⁷ Ostrogorsky 1969: 436.

⁹⁸ Ostrogorsky 1969: 437.

⁹⁹ Ostrogorsky 1969: 437.

¹⁰⁰ Ostrogorsky 1969: 437.

35 Vatatzes took the Thracian coastal cities back.¹⁰¹

The alliance between Asen and Vatatzes was soon broken by Asen who realised that if they could have captured Constantinople, Vatatzes would be a more powerful rival to him than the Latins.¹⁰² Asen turned to the Latins and the Cumans for a new alliance. Tzurullum, which was an important base of the Nicean Emperor in Thrace was besieged by the joint forces of the allies.¹⁰³ At this point Asen once more changed his mind, withdrew from Tzurullum and made peace with Vatatzes (1237).¹⁰⁴ In 1243 he occupied Didymotichus.¹⁰⁵ Between 1242-46 Vatatzes managed to establish the Nicean rule over Adrianople.¹⁰⁶ In 1246 he defeated the Bulgarians and the Empire of the western Greece and took most of the Balkan peninsula under his control.¹⁰⁷ The Latin Empire was reduced to the close vicinity of the capital whose territory to and from was ruled by Vatatzes.¹⁰⁸

Theodore II Lascaris (1254-8) succeeded Vatatzes who in 1256 took back the land in Thrace that was lost to the Bulgarian tzar Michael Asen (1246-56).¹⁰⁹ In 1261 Michael VIII Palaeologus (1259-82) recaptured

¹⁰¹ ODB II: 1094.

¹⁰² Ostrogorsky 1969: 438.

¹⁰³ Ostrogorsky 1969: 438.

¹⁰⁴ Ostrogorsky explains (1969: 438) this sudden change of Asen's policy with the 'emotional shock' Asen faced after the epidemic in Trnovo which caused death of his wife, son, and the Bulgarian Patriarch.

¹⁰⁵ ODB I: 620.

¹⁰⁶ ODB I: 23

¹⁰⁷ Ostrogorsky 1969: 439, 441.

¹⁰⁸ Ostrogorsky 1969: 442.

¹⁰⁹ Ostrogorsky 1969: 446.

Constantinople from the Latins.¹¹⁰ In 1262 the Bulgarians captured Stenimachos, Pınarhisar, Yoğuntaş, Petra and a number of fortresses and towns in Thrace. Michael VIII send two group of troops against the Bulgarians. Philippopolis and Stenimachos were captured by one of these that was send to the Marica region. The other army under Michael Glabas Tarchaneiotes was send to the Black Sea coast which captured Agathopolis, Sozopolis, Debeltos, Kanstritzion, Skaphidas, Rodokastron, Kremna, Anchialos, Mesembria, Petra, Yoğuntaş and Skopos.¹¹¹ The Bulgarian danger further weakened after Constantine Tich (1257-77) was replaced by Michael Asen and Tich's marriage to Theodore II's daughter.¹¹²

Restoration of the Byzantine Empire introduced a new era for Thrace. While the empire were declining, Thrace became the heartland of what was left.¹¹³ Right after the capture of Constantinople the attempts of the Latins to destroy the restored Byzantine Empire failed. While the opponents of the Byzantine Empire were been organised under the leadership of Charles of Anjou, Michael VIII was planning to establish alliances with the Serbs, Hungaria and the Bulgaria. Meanwhile, the Bulgarian tzarina Irene Lascaris died (1269) and Constantine Tich married Michael VIII's niece Maria.¹¹⁴ Anchialos and Mesembria were the dowry promised by the Byzantine Emperor. However, the emperor rejected to leave these ports which caused a war with

¹¹⁰ Michael VIII was first made co-emperor (1258-9) with John IV Lascaris (1258-61) who he later dethroned (Ostrogorsky 1969: 447, 449, 455).

¹¹¹ Soustal 1991: 109; Ostrogorsky 1969: 453.

¹¹² Ostrogorsky 1969: 446.

¹¹³ Ousterhout 1991: 80.

¹¹⁴ Soustal 1991: 110.

Bulgaria in 1272. The Byzantine territory in Thrace was invaded by the Bulgarians for a short time. Michael VIII's ally Tartars forced Constantine to withdraw and leave these ports to the Byzantines.¹¹⁵

Andronicus II (1282-1328) succeeded Michael VIII whose reign coincides the period when the most of Asia Minor was lost forever to the Turkish principalities.¹¹⁶ By 1300 the whole of Anatolia except a number of fortresses were under Turkish control and the Byzantines concentrated their limited military power and financial sources in the west.¹¹⁷ In Asia Minor the struggle against the Turks was left to the paid troops of the Catalan Grand Company. Although they seemed effective in the beginning, later they turned to the Byzantines. After devastating activities in Asia Minor the Catalans reinforced by the Turkish groups plundered the countryside of Thrace for two years.¹¹⁸ Gallipoli was their headquarters in Thrace (1304).¹¹⁹ The Catalans besieged Adrianople and plundered Rhaidestos in 1307.¹²⁰ Meanwhile, the Bulgarians under Theodore Svetoslav (1300-22) invaded several coastal cities and ports on the Black Sea including Anchialos and Mesembria. The land Svetoslav conquered was left to the Bulgaria with a treaty signed by the Byzantines in 1307.¹²¹

Toward the end of Andronicus II's reign a throne struggle occurred between the emperor and his grandson Andronicus III (1328-41) who was

¹¹⁵ Ostrogorsky 1969: 457, 458.

¹¹⁶ Ostrogorsky 1969: 492.

¹¹⁷ Ostrogorsky 1969: 490-492.

¹¹⁸ Ostrogorsky 1969: 493, 494.

¹¹⁹ ODB II: 1094.

¹²⁰ ODB I: 23; ODB III: 1787.

¹²¹ Ostrogorsky 1969: 494.

supported by the Thracian aristocratic families.¹²² Under the leadership of the followers of the young Andronicus an army was gathered in Adrianople. In 1321 Andronicus III left Constantinople to join them.¹²³ Upon the army's march on the capital under Syrgiannes the emperor Andronicus II offered peace. He saved the territory around the capital and left Thrace and part of Macedonia to his grandson.¹²⁴ According to the agreement Andronicus III was subject to the capital in terms of foreign affairs. However, the treaty did not work and in 1322 civil war broke out.¹²⁵ The conflict between the two important leaders fighting on Andronicus III's side, Syrgiannes and John Cantacuzenus caused Syrgiannes to change his position who offered his services to the old emperor against his former leader.¹²⁶ This shift of power did not weaken Andronicus III who was supported by several cities in the close vicinity of the capital and a second peace was concluded in 1325.¹²⁷ Andronicus III was given the title co-Emperor.¹²⁸

The peace did not last long and the war again broke out in 1327. Andronicus II allied with the Serbians and Andronicus III with the Bulgarian tzar Michael Sisman (1323-30). In 1324 according to the peace treaty Philippopolis, Sozopolis, Agathopolis and Bukelon were left to the Byzantines whereas Aetos, Anchialos, Ktenia, Mesembria, Rodokastron and Diampolis

¹²² Ostrogorsky 1969: 500.

¹²³ Ostrogorsky 1969: 500.

¹²⁴ Ostrogorsky 1969: 500.

¹²⁵ Ostrogorsky 1969: 501.

¹²⁶ Ostrogorsky 1969: 501.

¹²⁷ Ostrogorsky 1969: 501.

¹²⁸ Ostrogorsky 1969: 501.

were given to the Bulgaria.¹²⁹ Meanwhile, Andronicus III was recognised as the emperor in Thessalonica (1328).¹³⁰ In the same year he returned to Constantinople and forced Andronicus II to abdicate.¹³¹

The increasing Serbian pressure on the Balkans forced Andronicus III to campaign against them. However, defeat of Andronicus III's ally the Bulgarian tzar Michael Sisman by the Serbian king at Velbuzd (Küstendil) in 1330 necessitated the Byzantines to withdraw. The Serbians took control of Anchialos and Mesembria. With a counter attack Andronicus III took back these ports. Soon after the alliance between the new Bulgarian tzar Ivan Alexander (1331-71) and the new king of Serbia Stephen Dusan (1331-55), Ivan Alexander gained back the land Andronicus III invaded and consolidated the former borders by a treaty (1332).¹³²

After the death of Andronicus III, a succession crisis occurred. The empress supported by the high officials and the Patriarch at Constantinople were in favour of Andronicus III's nine years old son John V (1341-91), the legitimate heir to the throne. Cantacuzenus who was the powerful real ruler during Andronicus III's reign and had an important role in consolidating the Byzantine rule in Thessaly had himself proclaimed Emperor at Didymotichus in 1341.¹³³ Didymotichus remained the headquarter of Cantacuzenus during the Civil War (1341-47).¹³⁴

¹²⁹ Soustal 1991: 115.

¹³⁰ Ostrogorsky 1969: 502.

¹³¹ Ostrogorsky 1969: 502.

¹³² Ostrogorsky 1969: 505.

¹³³ Ostrogorsky 1969: 508, 511.

¹³⁴ ODB I: 620.

Thrace once more supported him as did before during the struggle between Andronicus II and now deceased grandson.¹³⁵ Triggerred by the social tension between the hesychasts and the masses a civil war broke out.^{136, 137} A revolt occurred in Adrianople against the aristocratic families supporting Cantacuzenus which spread to the other cites of Thrace and Thassalonica.¹³⁸

Cantacuzenus was about to loose the fight against the regency at Constantinople. He hoped alliance with the Serbian king Stephen Dusan and asked his help. While Cantacuzenus was in Serbia he was proclaimed emperor in Thessaly. This changed his situation and accordingly the attitude of the Serbian king. Dusan shifted his alliance to the emperor at Constantinople and became an enemy for Cantacuzenus. The rival emperor turned his face to his former ally Emir Umur who helped him during the civil war between Andronicus family.¹³⁹ Starting from the end of 1342 Cantacuzenus had been assisted by Emir Umur. With the support of the Seljuks and later the Ottomans Cantacuzenus managed to take advantage of the civil war.¹⁴⁰ Umur captured

¹³⁵ Ostrogorsky 1969: 511.

¹³⁶ Hesychasm conventionally refers for a method of prayer which aims to see the Divine Light. The term also refers for the political and social movement of the 14th -15th centuries. Hesychasm was rejected by Rome and only accepted by the Byzantine Church after a long struggle (Ostrogorsky 1969: 512-14; ODB II: 923).

¹³⁷ Ostrogorsky 1969: 515.

¹³⁸ Ostrogorsky 1969: One important outcome of the war was the establishment of a new government in Thessalonica by the Zealots who were also supported by the aristocratic families on the side of Cantacuzenus (Ostrogorsky 1969: 515). 515.

¹³⁹ Ostrogorsky 1969: 507, 517.

¹⁴⁰ Emir Umur supported Cantacuzenus until he had to deal with the invasions of allied western forces in Smyrna (Izmir) which costed his life in 1348. After Umur's support was cut Cantacuzenus made alliance with the Ottoman Sultan Orchan and married his daughter Theodora to the Sultan (Ostrogorsky 1969: 519, 520).

Didymotichus in 1343. Although the support of the Seljuks was in cost of plundering the towns of Thrace, Cantacuzenus was able to control Thrace in 1345.

Meanwhile, the rebellious Bulgarian Hajduk Momcilo who raised his own army between the Byzantine and Bulgarian border was destroyed by Umur.¹⁴¹

After the years of struggle Cantacuzenus was crowned Emperor in 1346 in Adrianople by the Patriarch of Jerusalem in order to legitimise his first proclamation of 1341.¹⁴² As a counteract the Empress Anne hoped to gain the support of the Saruchan emirate against Cantacuzenus. However, rather than attacking to the devastated land of Thrace under Cantacuzenus, the Turks preferred to plunder much richer Bulgarian territories and close vicinity of Constantinople.¹⁴³ Cantacuzenus entered Constantinople in 1347 and was acknowledged as Emperor.¹⁴⁴

Meanwhile, Serbia established her own independent patriarchate (1346) and took control of Epirus and Thessaly (1348). The Byzantine Empire was reduced to a small state owing eastern Thrace, north eastern Aegean islands, and Constantinople. Dusan was planning to capture Constantinople. However, he did not have a fleet and for the necessary naval support he demanded alliance of Venice. After the long years of civil wars what

¹⁴¹ Ostrogorsky 1969: 518.

¹⁴² Ostrogorsky 1969: 520.

¹⁴³ Ostrogorsky 1969: 520.

¹⁴⁴ He ruled for ten years as the sole Emperor and later recognised legitimate Emperor John V's share in the government (Ostrogorsky 1969: 520).

was left as the Byzantine Empire was in favour of Venice and they resisted to replace this weak state with a powerful one which would be harmful to the Venetian benefits.¹⁴⁵ In Thrace agricultural activity was interrupted and trade was ruined during the years of the civil war and taxes could not be collected any more. Brigandage, and Turkish attacks were further devastating the land and social order.¹⁴⁶ Finally, a plague seriously decreased the population at Constantinople and spread to Europe apparently over Thrace.¹⁴⁷

Cantacuzenus divided the administration of the Empire among the members of his family in order to control the local feudal lords.¹⁴⁸ His elder son Mathews was given first the western Thrace, the Serbian frontier from Didymotichus to Christopolis. After a danger of new civil war occurred between John V and Cantacuzenus the land Mathews was responsible was given to John V and Mathews received the district of Adrianople.¹⁴⁹ Soon, with the help of Venetian financial support John V invaded Mathew's governmental territory. Adrianople did not resist to the legitimate Emperor. Orchan once more helped Cantacuzenus. He send his troops to Adrianople and rescued Mathews who was defending himself in the acropolis of the city. Adrianople and other Thracian towns which were on the side of John V were plundered by the Turkish troops as punishment. John V managed to find new troops from Serbia, but these were also defeated by the Turks under Orchan's son

¹⁴⁵ Ostrogorsky 1969: 525.

¹⁴⁶ Ostrogorsky 1969: 526; Bartutis 1981: 386-409.

¹⁴⁷ Ostrogorsky 1969: 527.

¹⁴⁸ Ostrogorsky 1969: 527.

¹⁴⁹ Ostrogorsky 1969: 528, 529.

Süleyman near Didymotichus (1352).¹⁵⁰

Cantacuzenus seemed victorious against John V with the help of mobile Turkish forces. However, after years of plundering attacks in Thrace, the Turks intended to settle permanently. In 1352 the Turks took the fortress of Tzympe near Gallipoli. In 1354 after a strong earthquake Byzantines left the area and Süleyman invaded Gallipoli. Thus, the Turks first time was owing a permanent base for their invasion of Thrace.¹⁵¹ The fear of the Turks and the public panic in Constantinople weakened Cantacuzenus' position. With the help of Genoese John V returned to Constantinople and Cantacuzenus was forced to abdicate.¹⁵²

The Turks appeared first time before the city walls of Constantinople in 1359. Strong walls of the capital saved the city but the rest of the towns in the countryside of Thrace had fallen to the hands of the Turks one by one. Tzurullum, Keşan, Didymotichus (in 1361), Pınarhisar, Bulgarophyon, Arcadiopolis (in 1361) and Adrianople (probably in 1362 or ca.1369) were conquered between 1361-62 by the Turks permanently.¹⁵³

During the reign of Murat I (1362-89) Turkish expansion in the Balkans and signs of permanent settlement continued in the Balkans. Philippopolis was captured in 1363.¹⁵⁴ Adrianople was made the capital of the

¹⁵⁰ Ostrogorsky 1969: 529,530.

¹⁵¹ Ostrogorsky 1969: ; Danişmend 1971: 27-30.

¹⁵² Ostrogorsky 1969: 531.

¹⁵³ The chronology of Turkish invasions in Thrace is not well established and the dates vary in different sources. After Süleyman's plunder probably covering all of these Thracian cities the Byzantine rule continued until Murat I conquered them (Ostrogorsky 1969: 536; Danişmend 1971: 30-31, 38-40; ODB I: 23).

¹⁵⁴ Ostrogorsky 1969: 537.

Ottomans in 1368.¹⁵⁵ Meanwhile, Didymotichus (captured in 1361) might have been used as a temporary capital.¹⁵⁶

In 1364 the Emperor John V managed to capture Anchialos from the Bulgarians.¹⁵⁷ In 1366 a crusading army under Amedeo of Savoy, a relative of the Emperor took Gallipoli from the Turks,¹⁵⁸ Mesembria and Sozopolis from the Bulgarians.¹⁵⁹ However, Turkish expansion in the Balkan peninsula continued and except several coastal cities on the Marmara (Selymbria, Heraclea, Rhaidestos) and the Black Sea coasts (Anchialos, Mesembria) Thrace was lost to the Turks forever.¹⁶⁰ Bizye, Pınarhisar, Gehenna (Kaynarca), Quaranta Chiese (Kırkklareli), Petra, Skopos and Sozopolis (Süzebolu) between 1366-72 and Çatalca in 1372 were captured by the Turks.¹⁶¹ In 1371 the Ottoman army defeated the Serbian forces at Cernomen (Çirmen between Adrianople and Svilengrad (Mustafa Paşa)) and in 1389 at Kosovo (Kosava).¹⁶² After the double revolt of Andronicus IV and Saudzi (Savcı) Çelebi against their fathers Johannes V and Murat I was crushed by

¹⁵⁵ Danişmend 1971: 49.

¹⁵⁶ Ostrogorsky 1969: 537; Bursa is the other candidate for the capital of the Ottomans between Dimetoka's capture and assignment of Edirne as the capital (Danişmend 1971: 39-40,49-50); Didymotichus was first captured by the Turks in 1359 (ODB I: 620).

¹⁵⁷ Ostrogorsky 1969: 537.

¹⁵⁸ Ostrogorsky 1969: 537-38; Danişmend 1971: 46-47.

¹⁵⁹ Savoy also forced the Bulgarians to liberate the Emperor John V who had been stopped on the way to Constantinople from Hungary where he hoped to find help against the Turks (Ostrogorsky 1969: 537-38).

¹⁶⁰ Danişmend 1971: 236, 272.

¹⁶¹ Danişmend 1971: 48-49, 27-29; Soustal 1991 : 121. The dates are not certain. During the 1360s, and 1370s the border on the southern Strandzha might be frequently changing.

¹⁶² Ostrogorsky 1969: 541-48; Danişmend 1971: 76, 77-81.

the latter (1373) the Ottoman conquests in Thrace continued.¹⁶³ Yoğuntaş (1373), Devletliğaç and number of other Thracian fortresses were captured by the Turks.¹⁶⁴

As a result of Turkish spread in Thrace and the Balkans one by one the Byzantine Empire, Serbia and Bulgaria became vassal states of the Ottomans.¹⁶⁵ Gallipoli was returned to the Turks by Andronicus IV in 1377.¹⁶⁶ By the treaty of 1424 the land west of Selymbria - Terkos line was left to the Ottomans.¹⁶⁷ The Marmara and Black Sea coastal cities ruled by the Byzantines in Thrace were captured in 1453 before the conquest of Constantinople. Only Selymbria resisted the Turks which surrendered after the fall of the capital.¹⁶⁸

¹⁶³ Ostrogorsky 1969: 542; Soustal 1991 : 122.

¹⁶⁴ Soustal 1991: 122.

¹⁶⁵ Ostrogorsky 1969: 547.

¹⁶⁶ Danişmend 1971: 61-62.

¹⁶⁷ Danişmend 1971: 191.

¹⁶⁸ Danişmend 1971: 236, 272.

CHAPTER 2

SKOPELOS / POLOS / YOĞUNTAŞ / BEDERDİR /
ESKİPOLOS

Yoğuntaş (Skopelos) is located 22 km. north west of Kırklareli^{169,170} Yoğuntaş is built on a strategic location, with a broad view over the large Ergene plain on its south and the mountain passes on the southern ramification of the Strandcha chain which descends towards the plain on the north. Due to its location the site would have been fortified during the late Roman period. Scopétos is shown in a map of Roman Thrace (map 1).¹⁷¹ The earliest inscription referring to defensive activities in Kırklareli is dated to the time of Antoninus Pius (152-155).¹⁷² The locals tell that second century coins are widely found on the slopes of the fortress. However, I could not identify any visible remains that would indicate a Roman period in Yoğuntaş.

The locals also report that the so-called *Çukur Bizans* coins are widely found in the fortresses around Kırklareli and Yoğuntaş after rains. *Çukur Bizans* refers Trachy (Trachea) because of its concave shape. This type of coins was introduced by Alexius Comnenus (1081-1118) and was in use between the 11th -14th centuries.¹⁷³

¹⁶⁹ Soustal 1991: 446.

¹⁷⁰ On the map of Harita Genel Komutanlığı-Ankara 1/25.000, Kırklareli - E 18 a4.

¹⁷¹ Janin 1920: Map of La Thrace Romaine. The origin of the name (Skopelos) appears to be Greek. Literally the name of the site means a look-out place, a crag, or headland (Liddell and Scott's Greek -English Lexicon)

¹⁷² Biernacka-Lubanska 1982: 34.

¹⁷³ ODB III: 2101.

To my knowledge the name of the site in the Byzantine context appears for the first time in the eighth century ecclesiastical records of the seventh Ecumenical Council at Nicea in 787. The site was represented in the Council by Bishop Rubim.¹⁷⁴ The name of the site as Skopelos is used in the ecclesiastical records throughout the Byzantine period.

In the ninth century Yoğuntaş was taken under the metropolitan of Trajanopolis.¹⁷⁵ In 842 when Theoktistos Bryennios,¹⁷⁶ *strategos* of Peloponnesos was on the way to the Bulgarians, Euarestos, later saint, accompanied him from Constantinople until Probaton.¹⁷⁷ Euarestos joined the monks there who were living around Yoğuntaş and stayed in the neighbouring village of Petra,¹⁷⁸ ca. 7 km south-east of Yoğuntaş.¹⁷⁹ In the Council of 879,¹⁸⁰ Yoğuntaş was represented by bishop Bardianos.¹⁸¹ From the 10th into the 12th centuries Yoğuntaş remained as the suffragan of the metropolitan

¹⁷⁴ Soustal 1991: 446. The council at Nicaea which brought to the end of the first period of iconoclasm was held under the Empress Irene, with the presence of Patriarch Tarasios and 350 bishops. Before the council the Empress Irene transferred the iconodule Thracian troops to the capital for the defence of the city, while sending the iconoclast troops against the Arabs and secured her position (Ostrogorsky 1969: 180).

¹⁷⁵ Soustal 1991: 446.

¹⁷⁶ ODB I: 328.

¹⁷⁷ Modern Sinanköy, earlier Pıravadı, Pıravadı, 21 km. north-north east of Adrianopolis, 4 km south-south west of Lalapaşa (Soustal 1991: 415).

¹⁷⁸ Modern Kayalı, earlier Petra, Bedre, Bedri (Soustal 1991: 397).

¹⁷⁹ Soustal 1991: 446.

¹⁸⁰ The Council of 879 was held at Constantinople under Patriarch Photius in the presence of Papal legates and 383 bishops. The decisions of the Council of 869 were annulled, including the one that the Bulgarian church was considered under the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of Constantinople (Ostrogorsky 1969: 234-39; ODB I-513).

¹⁸¹ Soustal 1991: 81, 446.

of Adrianopolis.¹⁸²

In 1262 the Bulgars captured Yoğuntaş.¹⁸³ Michael Glabas Tarchaneiotes who was send by Michael VIII Palaiologos (1259-1282) against the Bulgarian rebels in the Balkans recaptured the fortress in 1263.¹⁸⁴ During the reign of Andronikos II (1282-1328) Yoğuntaş was given the title of metropolis.¹⁸⁵ Besides, the function of the fortress was that of a watch station and it is evident by an account of 1328. The approaching Bulgarian army under the monarch Michael Sisman from the border city Diampolis (Jambol) was reported to the emperor in the capital by a messenger send by the *archon* of Yoğuntaş.¹⁸⁶ In 1342 the Skythai (apparently Tatars) were based in the close vicinity of the fortress and plundered the locals. The horsemen of the *Skythai* defeated the cavalry of Yoğuntaş in the treeless even terrain around the fortress.¹⁸⁷

In the mid 14th century the area between Fakijska reka and Veleka rivers a group of monastic communities flourished (map 2). This is the area of Paroria according to Gerov which occupies a land ca. 50. km running east - west south of Burgaz (Pyrgos) and north of Malko Tarnovo ca. 60 km. north

¹⁸² Soustal 1991: 446.

¹⁸³ Soustal 1991: 109; Ostrogorsky 1969: 453.

¹⁸⁴ During his expeditions Mesembria, Anchialos, Sozopolis, Krimna, Rossokastron, Scopou were also regained (Asdracha 1973: 290); the deeds of Glabas Tarchaneiotes are told in a panegeric, *Manuelis Philae carmina ex codicibus Escorialensibus, Florentinis, Parisinis et Vaticanis*, ed. E. Miller, I-II. Paris 1854 (reprinted Amsterdam 1967).

¹⁸⁵ Soustal 1991: 446.

¹⁸⁶ Soustal 1991: 446.

¹⁸⁷ Soustal 1991: 446.

east of Yoğuntaş.¹⁸⁸ In 1355 Gregorios Sinaites (after having introduced hesychasm on his arrival at the area in 1330), established an ecclesiastical centre in Paroria with four lavras.¹⁸⁹ The largest of these was on Mt. Katakekryomene which was supported by the Bulgarian Tsar Ivan Alexander (1331-71).¹⁹⁰ In the mid 14th century the *archon* of Yoğuntaş warns the monks of Paroria concerning the coming of the Agarenes (Turks) and advises them either to safe themselves in the tower built by Ivan or to flee from the area¹⁹¹. In 1373 Yoğuntaş was captured by Murat I.¹⁹² The Turks failed in their first attack. It became only possible to capture the fortress after the walls were damaged perhaps by an earthquake.¹⁹³ That is perhaps why the site was called *Tanrıyığı* (destroyed by the God) in the Ottoman sources of the latter part of the fourteenth century.¹⁹⁴ Since the Turks could not capture the fortress before the walls were damaged the fortress might have been well manned and the enceinte might have been maintained until 1373.

Apparently during the Ottoman period the site was named Eskipolos

¹⁸⁸ Soustal 1991: 388-89. According to Halkin (Byzantion 31 (1961) 119 n. 1) Paroria was the mountainous area part of Strands chain between the present Turkish border and Bulgaria. However, precise location of a site is impossible. (ODB III: 1590).

¹⁸⁹ Lavra is a type of monastery consists of a group of cells, a church, refectory, a common hall and other buildings such as storerooms, stables and bakery. The monks in a lavra were used to devote their time for prayer and manual labor during the week and the weekends were devoted to obtain food and materials for their handwork (ODB II: 1190).

¹⁹⁰ Soustal 1991: 388-89; Halkin 1961: 119.

¹⁹¹ Soustal 1991: 446; Halkin 1961: 129; Bartutis 1981: 406-407.

¹⁹² Soustal 1991: 122.

¹⁹³ Soustal 1991: 446.

¹⁹⁴ Soustal 1991: 446.

which is evident in a map of 1877.¹⁹⁵ By the early twentieth century the Greek name of the site might have been officially out of use.¹⁹⁶ After the population exchange of 1922-23 like most of the Greek place names the official name of the site must have been changed. Bederdir and Yoğuntaş are the modern names of the site after this change.¹⁹⁷ The latter is more often used on the modern maps. The locals prefer to use Polos.

The fortress is built on a 405 m. high hill, controlling the mountainous land on the north and the large fertile plain on the south. Teke Deresi on the north of the fortress at the present is integrated with the Kayalı bend. The enclosure is roughly rectangular, 390 m. long with a maximum width of 140 m. on the western end, 80 m. on the middle part and 30 m. on the eastern end (fig. II). On the south east of the fortress there is an inner citadel roughly 40 m. by 45 m. A cistern of 11 m. by 35 m. on the south of the enceinte is enclosed by the southern wall of the fortress. The total length of the curtain is ca. 1150 m. The thickness of the curtain varies between 2 -3 m. (1.5 m. for the cistern). Towers of different shapes are built often where the curtain changes its direction and on the most vulnerable places to defend.

The locals report that most of the preserved parts of the towers and the curtain walls of the fortress were destroyed by the Turkish Army by the late 1930s for security purposes, since the preserved walls were

¹⁹⁵ H. Kiepert, *Karte vom Östlichen Rumelien (Ant : Thracien)*, (Scale: 1 / 540.000). Berlin 1877.

¹⁹⁶ E. Stanford, *Stanford's Large Scale Map of the Country Between Bulgaria & Constantinople*, (Scale:1 / 383.000). London: 1912.

¹⁹⁷ I failed to record the reference of a Republican Period map in the Harita Genel Müdürlüğü which names the site Bederdir.

clearly seen from the Bulgarian border.¹⁹⁸ Thus, there is no curtain wall preserved to determine the original height of the enceinte. Where preserved, identical foundation blocks of the curtain indicate that the fortress might be work of the same period.

The towers vary in shape and size. Circular, triangular, semicircular, apsidal, rectangular towers, a polygonal and a shallow one are used to minimise the effects of siegecraft. Usually the contours of the terrain determine the location of the towers. Circular and semicircular towers and a polygonal one are located where the enceinte makes right angle turns following the contour of the hilltop. Triangular, rectangular and apsidal towers are used to strengthen the defence where the curtain follows a straight line on relatively even terrain. The main construction materials are local granitic gnays, reused brick, white lime mortar with pebbles, and white mortar with broken or powdered brick and pebbles, grey mortar with pebbles, gravel, and mineral inclusions. Use of new bricks seems to be limited. There is occasional use of local quartz stone, and sand stone either for repair or *ex-novo* work. There are two internal large buildings attached to the curtain walls on their long edges. The one on the north has an east - west orientation 11 m. by 6 m. (BA, fig. II - plates 30, 31), the one on the south ca.10 m. by 6 m. (BB, fig. II).

There are other buildings in the enceinte represented by piles of stones which can not be traced on the ground plan and on the aerial photographs. The church of the fortress reportedly was near the eastern end of

¹⁹⁸ This must have been before Lampusiades' visit of the site which was published in 1938. Height of the north western tower (T2) is reported as ca. 5 m. high.

the curtain.¹⁹⁹ Reportedly some 12 m. long foundations could not be localised during the survey because of vegetation and stone blocks of collapsed walls.

There are 32 towers along the enclosure. Towers T4, T5, T6, T7, T8, T15, T22, T23, T27, T28, T29, T30 (fig. II) are represented by piles of stone and exposed cores are seen on the aerial photographs.²⁰⁰ The remaining 20 towers can be located *in situ* with varying state of preservation (fig. I). The intervals of the towers vary between 10 m. and 75 m., the latter is not a precise measurement but based on the aerial photographs and chunk of stones indicating approximate location of the towers. The longest *in situ* interval is 67 m. There is evidence to suppose that with the exception of T0 and T12 the towers had a back wall which makes them solid structures (fig. II).

Citadel

The citadel is located on the southwestern extremity of the enceinte on the highest part of the hill. Its location enables to control the enceinte as well as the roads around the fortress. The road on the south west of the site leads to Edirne (Adrianopolis), the one on the south into the Ergene (Regina) Plain. On the north the routes lead to the Balkans, and on the east into the terrain where the Strandcha chain slopes down to the plain.

One circular tower (T1) (plate 2) on the southeast and one polygonal tower (T2) (plate 6) on the northwest of the citadel are connected by a slightly outward curved 41 m. long curtain wall, which is partly preserved on the ground level (fig. II). On the basis of a fragmentary

¹⁹⁹ Soustal 1991: 446-47.

²⁰⁰ For the aerial photographs; Harita Genel Komutanligi-Ankara, Flight in 1968. Film no: 1964 / 77, 1/35.000; Flight in 1990. Film no: 4118 / 9714 1/4.000.

preserved inner face and longer preserved outer face the thickness of the curtain between T1 and T2 appears to be 2.5 m.

T1 is a vaulted circular tower 9 m. in diameter which is built on a steep slope with a high outer face, preserved up to ca. 6.5 m, but with a lower inner face. The inner facing and part of the vaulting on the north of the tower are destroyed (plates 2-4).

T2 measures 15 m. by 8 m. The initial construction ground plan of the tower seems to be a pentagon (plate 6). T2 was altered in succeeding periods into a polygonal structure. Seven side walls of the tower are preserved up to ca. 5.10 m. The first phase of SE wall of T2 is slanting backwards indicating an earthquake damage. One third of T2 projects outside of the circuit wall connecting T1 and T2 (fig. II). The junction of T2 and the west wall of the citadel is exposed (fig. 7). The width of the destroyed part is ca. 2.5 m., same as the width of the western curtain wall.

On the south east the citadel is defended by an open circular tower (TO) 30 m. from T1 which is preserved in a curving inner facing fragment of 3.5 m. long and ca. 3 m. high. exposed core (plate 26). The thickness of the southern wall is also 2.5 m. A fourth tower, traditionally and logically should be located on the north eastern corner of the citadel. This area is on a higher platform on the natural rock. A modern watch tower was built by the Ministry of Forest on this platform where the north eastern corner tower (T29) of the citadel might have been located (fig. II). However, nothing survived to give an impression that the citadel had a corner tower here except for a small point detected on the aerial photograph which also may indicate a wall, a bastion, or

a gateway (fig. III). T29 seems to have been connected to T3, a solid semicircular buttress standing on the natural rock north of the citadel (plate 11). Due to modern sewage construction to the north of T29, between T29 and T3 nothing is preserved in this area.

T3 is also connected by partly preserved walls, 2 m. thick to another tower (T30) on the north east of the citadel which is represented by remains of white mortar on the bed rock. T30 seems to have been connected also to T28 which is on the division wall of the fortress. Almost perpendicular to T0 the division wall between the citadel and the fortress runs to the north ca. 50 m. According to the local inhabitants, somewhere in the middle of this wall a tower (T28) of uncertain shape was located which is confirmed by the aerial photograph of 1968. Nothing is preserved of this tower except a 1 m. semicircular cavity in the eastern wall which may indicate a guardroom near the tower (fig. II).

The east wall of the citadel seems to be ca. 3.5 m. which is represented by a fragment of the eastern face and chunk of stones along the western line of the wall. The wall is apparently thicker than the southern and the western walls of the citadel due to the level terrain on which the east wall is built. The entrance into the citadel from the fortress side was controlled by T28 and T30.

To sum up, the citadel seems to have had 4 towers on the corners (T1, T2, T29, T0). T28 and T30 might have controlled the entrance into the citadel from the fortress. Another possible entrance from the triangular space between the east-west inner wall of the fortress and the citadel wall might

have been controlled by T29 and T3.

CURTAIN WALLS, TOWERS, GATEWAYS, BUILDINGS

East-West Inner Wall, Tower: T30, Buttress: T3.

To the north of the citadel there is a triangular area which is not walled on its ca. 12 m. wide western end. This area is walled by the east-west inner wall on the north of the area. T30 and T3 appear as inner defensive measures on this ca. 55 m long wall. The wall runs east-west and perpendicular to the west wall of the fortress. The thickness of this wall is 2 m. (fig. II).

West Wall, Towers: T1, T2, T4, T5, Gateway (GW1).

The defence on the west of the fortress consists of two walls. The first one is the wall of the citadel with the adjacent towers T1 and T2. The other one is adjacent to the east-west wall. This section is ca. 85 m. long and is represented by a pile of local stone running the slope down from the corner of the east-west wall. On the second wall the towers of uncertain shape, T4 and T5 (plate 12) respectively, are located 55-60 m. to the north from the corner of east-west wall. The total distance between T1 and T5 is ca. 140 m. (fig. II).

Between T4 and T5 there might have been a platform which is seen on the aerial photograph. The locals report that the main entrance into the fortress was here. If it were to be the case, T4 and T5 represent outward towers flanking the main gateway (GW1) on the northwest extremity of the fortress. A diagonal internal path connects that area with the main road running east-west, south of T30. The internal path in the fortress are better

visible on the aerial photograph of 1968 rather than the one of 1990 which may indicate that it is ancient²⁰¹.

North Wall, Towers: T5, T6, T7, T8, T9, T10, T11, T12, Building BA, Postern (?).

The north wall is ca. 390 m. long, defended by 8 towers. Approximately 15 m. east of the corner tower (T5) on the line of the curtain there is a partly preserved platform of square bricks set in white mortar with broken brick and pebble ingredients (plate 13). The platform is built on the curtain which indicates that it is built later than the initial construction of the curtain. T6 is represented by pile of stones, only few metres east of the platform. The next tower (T7) to the east is ca. 30 m. from T6. Between T6 and T7 there is a rectangular structure (BA) with sunken side walls which might have been used as barracks for the soldiers (plate 30). BA is 6 m. by 11 m., the thickness of the walls is 1.40 m. BA is attached to the north wall and connected to the main road with a diagonal path which may be ancient. This path is better evident on the aerial photograph of 1968. There is no any visible practical usage of this path in the modern times since a sunken structure would not be attractive for the animals that are brought to the fortress by the local villagers.

T8 is approximately 75 m. from T7 and followed by T9 (plate 14) with an interval of ca. 60 m. (fig. II). The curtain wall between T8 and T9 is preserved in both facings on the ground level 10 m. long which measures 3 m.

²⁰¹ The visibility of the surface can be varied due to different seasons of the year that the photos of 1968 and 1990 were taken. However, the scale of the former is 1/35.000 and the latter is 1/4000.

wide. The next tower is T10 (plate 15), 61 m. to the east of T9. Further to the east T11 (plate 16) is 67 m. from T10. There is a large stone (2 m. by 1 m.) ca. 2 m. east of T11. To my knowledge this block is the largest one preserved in the curtain construction. The block is close enough to T11 which would support a sortie from the left above and allow the soldiers to protect themselves from their right with their shields. If it were the case this block may represent a postern (fig. II). T11 is connected to the main internal road, apparently ancient by a path. Finally, the eastern corner tower (T12) of the northern wall is 49 m. east of T11. The curtain is preserved in both facings on the ground level ca. 12 m. long in the middle of the wall with a thickness of 2.5 m. (plates 17-18). T12 is also connected to the main road with a path apparently ancient.

East Wall, Towers: T12, T13.

The inner length of the eastern wall is 18 m. between the north eastern and south eastern corner towers, T12 and T13 respectively. Most of the east wall is preserved on the ground level. The thickness is 2.5 m. on the south and increases towards the north up to 3 m. On the back of T12 the east and the west walls of the fortress do not intersect one another. Thus, T12 has an open back for the access (fig. II). T13 is backed by the corner of adjacent east and south walls (plate 19).

South Wall, Towers: T13, T14, T15, T16, T17, T18, T19, T20, T21, T22, T23, T24, T25, T26, T27, T0, T1; Buildings: Cistern (C) with its tower (C1), BB.

The south wall is approximately 530 m. long including walls of a

cistern ca. 80. m long. The distance between the southeastern corner tower (T13) and the first tower (T14) west of it is of 25 m. (fig. II). The curtain is traced on both facings on the ground for the most part of it. The thickness is 3 m. on the east part which decreases up to 2.5 m. The next tower (T15) (plate 20) to the west might have been some 15 m. from T14. Further to the west, T16 should be some 17 m. from T15. The distance between T16 and T17 (plate 21) is ca. 32 m. The thickness of the wall is 3 m. right to the east of T17. The facings on the ground level are preserved 22 m. long east and west of T17. The inner face of the back wall of T17 makes a corner of 0.5 m. and the curtain runs to the west with a thickness of 2.5 m. which gradually decreases up to 2 m. T18 is the next tower 23 m. west from T17. Further to the west, the distance between T18 (plate 22) and T19 is ca. 25 m. The thickness of the curtain is 2.5 m right after T18. The next tower (T20) to the west is located ca. 22 m. from T19. T20 and T21 (plate 23) ca.13 m. west of it may represent a gateway. T20 and T21 are adjacent to the walls of the outward flanking cistern (C) (fig. II). Between these two towers a gateway from the cistern into the fortress might have been employed. The local inhabitants do not confirm that there was an entrance here into the fortress from outside.

Cistern

The cistern is a 35 m. by 18 m. rectangular structure which is adjacent to the south wall of the fortress. The thickness of the walls on the long side is 1.5 m, and 2 m. on the shorter south wall. The walls are preserved up to ca. 3.2 m. On the outer facing courses of unsorted field stones, larger blocks and rubble are employed. Levelling courses consist of brick and flat stones

alternate courses of stone without any regular pattern. Between the stones brick and flat stones are used as filler (plate 28). The outer facing of the southern wall is anchored to the core with an extensive cribwork consisting of large rectangular and smaller round beams. Inner facing of the cistern walls are rendered with red mortar consisting of large fragments of ceramics / bricks up to two third of the preserved height, remaining below the large rectangular beamholes employed on a horizontal line. The joints of the inner facing are filled with a crude mortar consisting large fragments of quartz and stone. Brick fragments are occasionally used on the inner facings. The cistern has a single tower on its southwestern extremity in the form of an elliptical well (C1) (fig. II). On the inner surface of C1 water resistant red mortar is employed which indicates that C1 was used to gather water easily from the cistern. Two barrel vaulted chambers of the cistern are parallel to one another and run north / south (plate 27). The voussoirs of the vaults are 35 cm. by 40 cm., the thickness is 7 cm - 8 cm. The vaults are smoothly rendered with white mortar of finer ingredients. The vaulted chambers are connected through a 75 cm. wide passage to the southern end. The roof of the passage is carried by a vaulting supported by two arches (plate 29).

Some 25 m. west of T21, T22 is located. Further 25 m. to the west of T22, T23 might have been standing. The distance between the next tower (T24) and T23 is some 18 m. (fig. II). T24 is followed by T25 (plate 24) with an interval of some 13 m. The next tower (T26) (plate 25) to the west is ca. 23 m. from T25. There is a rectangular inner structure (BB) 6 m. by 9 m. behind T26, attached to the curtain. BB is partly preserved on the

ground level. This structure might have been barracks of the soldiers. Further to the west T27 might have been located some 40 m. from T26 which might have been some 13 m. from the next tower (T0) (plate 26) on the west. T0 represents the south eastern tower of the citadel which is 30 m. apart from the south west corner of the fortress and the citadel. The thickness of the curtain is 2.5 m between T0 and T1.

Masonry techniques, their locations and descriptions:

Masonry 1 (M1 and M1a)

M 1 (plates 6,8)

Well-dressed facing of unsorted local gnays stones are closely fitted together with reused bricks and thin flat stones that are alternating the stone courses with irregular intervals. The gaps between the stones are filled with rubble without disturbing the smoothness of the facing. Small square and round beamholes are employed with regular intervals in three rows to anchor the facing into the core of white mortared rubble with pebble ingredients. Beams are resting on either an alternating flat course of stone or of brick. Brick fragments are occasionally employed vertically and diagonally between the stone blocks .

Location: South wall of T2 (plate 8), East wall of T2 (plate 6).

M1a (plate 7)

A facing of small field stones and rubble are set in cream mortar with pebbles and gravel. Flat sides of the stones are set on the facing. Small fragments of broken bricks, occasionally two next to each other are employed between the stones diagonally and vertically on both facings. There is no

regular pattern on the facing. The core is of white mortared rubble with fragments of bricks, not too smaller than the ones used in the facing.

Location: SE wall of T2, first phase, wall. Inner phase of NW wall belongs to M2. The exposed core of NW is better seen. The core is of banded field stones and mortared rubble. Brick fragments are employed as filler in the mortar.

Masonry 2 (M2) (plates 3, 5, 11, 18, 21, 22, 24, 25, 26)

Facing of roughly shaped and unsorted rectangular, polygonal, and flat local stones are employed in courses that are anchored to the core with round or rectangular beams in horizontal rows. Beams are resting either on bricks or on flat stones. Occasional levelling courses of flat or thinner stones partially run along the horizontal plane. In the levelling courses bricks are set rarely next to each other. Brick fragments and flat stones are seldom used between the stones vertically or diagonally. The core is of roughly coursed larger blocks and rubble set in grey / white mortar with pebbles, and gravel ingredients.

Location:

-Core of T1 (plate 3).²⁰²

-T1 / T2 curtain.

- E-W inner wall.

-T3 is a solid semicircular buttress standing on natural rock, preserved ca. 4 m. on the precipitous side, ca. 2.2 m on the inner with an exposed core. The

²⁰² Circular facing of the vault has a different masonry. Almost regular size of local rectangular courses of stone are closely set with smaller blocks in the facing. White mortar with broken brick inclusions is laid in the joints.

back wall of T3 is 2 m. thick, the flanking curve is 1.5 m. Outer facing of the back wall is preserved ca. 1.5 m. long, 0.4 m high (plate 11).

-Core of T30, fragmentarily preserved on the ground level.

-Core of T4.

-Core of T8.

-Outer facing of curtain T11 / T12 preserved ca. 0.6 m. (plate 18).

-Facing of T17, rectangular tower flanks outward ca. 2.5 m, preserved 3 m. long, ca. 2 m. high. T17 has a spur wall of ca. 0.5 m on its western end (plate 21).

-Facing of T18, 6 m. wide, 7 m. projecting U-shaped tower with a longer eastern wall, preserved ca. 5 m. in the curving end with a height of ca. 1.4 m. Rest of T18 can be traced on the ground level. Masonry seems to be a variation: Courses of flat field stones in four bands are employed as foundation for the raising of coursed larger blocks of rectangular and polygonal local stone. Flat stones or bricks are inserted between the larger blocks with no regular pattern. The face is bonded to the mortared rubble core with large rectangular and small round beams (plate 22).

-Facing of T25; 6 m. wide, 5 m. projecting U-shaped tower with a longer eastern wall, that can be traced mostly on the ground level (plate 24).

-Facing of T26; rectangular tower flanks outward ca. 4 m, preserved 2 m. long (plate 25).

-Core of T0 and fragment of inner facing. The core is preserved for 3 m. (plate 26).

-T1/T0 wall is fragmentarily preserved ca. 0.40 cm. high on the outer

facing, the exposed core is ca. 2 m. high (plate 5).

Masonry 3 (M3) (plates 12, 13, 14, 16, 20)

Alternating stone courses and bands of brick in four or five courses set in white mortar with pebbles and fragments of broken bricks.

Location:

-Core of T5 with small fragments of bricks in the mortar (plate 12).

-Platform; a band of four courses of brick is preserved on the roughly banded core of foundation courses of stone. Large rectangular beamholes are employed on the foundation level close to each other. The bricks measure 0.26 X 0.26 cm. or 0.27 X 0.28 cm. The thickness of the bricks is 4 cm. The mortar between the brick courses is 8 cm. (plate 13).

-T9; core (2.75 m. high) and fragment of western facing (0.40 m. high) (plate 14).

Exposed core stands on the edge of a 3 m. high natural rock which has large blocks of roughly shaped local stones as foundation level. Five courses of brick running throughout the core alternates with roughly banded field stones set in mortar with brick fragments. The bricks are 26.5 cm. X 28 cm., 3.5 cm. thick. White mortar (6 cm. - 8.5. cm.) between the bricks has no broken brick fragments. The thickness of the core below the brick band is ca. 0.90 m., the thickness of the brick band is ca. 0.65 m., the thickness of the mortared core above the brick band is ca. 1.20 m. On the top of the core there are remains of another brick band. Large rectangular and round beamholes are used for bonding the facing to the core on the foundation level. It is likely that smaller round beamholes above the first brick band represent cribwork to

bond the facing to the core.

On the facing brick fill is employed between the stones. T9 flanks the northern wall ca. 5 m. on its western wall. The eastern wall is 7 m. long. The width of T4 is ca. 5 m. The side walls are getting closer towards the curved end.

-Core of T11, ca. 2 m. high and fragment of curving end, white mortared rubble and field stones. Mortar has brick fragments. Round and rectangular beamholes indicate cribwork (plate 16).

-Core of T15, 2.8 m.. high (plate 20).

A band of apparently four courses of brick alternates with roughly coursed mortared large blocks of the foundation courses. Large fragments of brick in the mortar are employed as filler between the stone blocks. Thickness of the bricks is between 3 - 4 cm. The mortar between the bricks in the band is between 2-7 cm..

- Core of T16

A band of apparently five courses of brick alternates with the mortared field stones of the foundation courses. Brick thickness is between 3-4.5 cm. Mortar between the bricks is min. 5 cm.

Masonry 4 (M4) (plates 2, 3, 15, 30, 31)

A facing of coursed field stones with some alternation of small and larger blocks alternate with two bands of brick consisting of five courses, one single band of brick, one fragmentary band of two brick courses, and many lacing courses consisting of brick fragments and flat stones set in grey mortar of pebbles, gravels, and mineral inclusions. Both bands of brick with five

courses run one third of the horizontal plane in six courses. Brick fragments are often employed vertically, horizontally and diagonally between the stones. Brick fragments are also occasionally used as filling material in the joints of the stones. There is a kind of occasional cloisonné framing single, three, or four blocks of stones. Round beamholes are regularly employed on the horizontal plane to anchor the outer facing to the inner facing of grey mortared banded masonry of roughly worked local stone. The bricks do not run throughout the core.

Location: Tower 1, shell (plates 2-3).

Rectangular large and flatter stone courses set in white mortar alternate with bands of brick. Bricks fragments are inserted diagonally and horizontally between the stones. White / cream mortar with powdered brick is employed in the core. The joints are of red mortar with larger fragments of roughly powdered brick.

Location: BA (plates 30-31).

-Sunken walls BA measure 6 m. by 11 m. which are preserved up to 2 m. The thickness of the walls is 1.40 m. The north wall of BA is adjacent to the northern circuit wall.

A facing of alternating courses of local gnays stone and of lighter color (quartz, limestone etc.) blocks, flat stones and brick is set in soft cream mortar with pebbles. Five courses of brick divide the facing into two parts. Below and above this band reused bricks and flat stones tend to form horizontal courses alternating the stone courses. Some of the brick bands with single or double courses of bricks run half of the wall horizontally. Occasionally flat

stones are employed in the brick bands. Brick fragments are inserted vertically or diagonally between stones sporadically without creating a regular pattern. Small round beamholes are regularly employed in four horizontal rows to anchor the facing to the core. A row of round beamholes are set in the brick band of five courses. In other occasions the beamholes rest on either brick courses or on courses of flat stone. Half of the surface in height below and above the brick band preserve the red surface mortar which was evidently applied to the whole facing. The thickness of the bricks in the band of five courses is 4-5 cm. Mortar thickness between the bricks is 3-6 cm.

Location:

-SE, W, NW, N walls of T2, second phase, shell (plates 6,7,9,10).

-T10 is preserved as a core. Fragmentary preserved facing is of alternating masonry of stone and brick courses. Bricks are occasionally vertically inserted between the stones. Round and rectangular beamholes indicate a cribwork (plate 15).

Masonry 5 (M5) (plates 23, 27-29)

-Cistern (plates 27-29), and triangular solid towers: T19, T20, T21. Core is of white mortar with pebbles.

-T19 is preserved only on the projecting joint little higher than the ground level.

-T20 is also a triangular structure which has some sort of alteration that can not be followed because of collapsed walls. The joint of two adjacent walls belonging to the triangle is of red mortar with fine ingredients.

-T21, triangular tower preserved fragmentarily on the ground level. On the north of T21 close to the south curtain wall there is a fragment of curved facing preserved ca. 4 m. long, 1.7 m. high (plate 23). This facing is of roughly coursed field stones that are anchored to the core with three round beams in the horizontal plane. The core is of white mortar with pebbles. Brick fragments are used occasionally between the stones.

Relative Chronology

The construction of the fortress displays different masonry techniques representing five or six different periods of work. Construction activities of succeeding periods are seldom represented on the same wall or tower. Therefore, to establish a relative chronology of the construction periods is difficult. Considering the fact that the curtains are not preserved above the ground level and the towers mostly have a few meters height only as core, relative chronology for these parts can only rely on the shapes of the towers, mortar content and thickness and brick size where applied. Apparently the enceinte is work of the same period since the size and shape of the foundation blocks are identical along the preserved locations. Use of occasional quartz blocks in the core of the foundation is widely observed. Towers in different shapes must have been added or rebuilt throughout the occupation. Limited number of assumptions on relative chronology are as follows:

-M1 should be the earliest period since it was rebuilt, but appears in no other locality as a work of rebuilding or repair.

M1 and M1a represent a pentagonal tower structure. It

would not be plausible to suppose that T2 was a single standing tower predating the enceinte. It is also possible that the initial shape of T2 would have been a square which is later converted to a pentagon. Ma may represent the addition of the peak to the existing south wall of T2.

-M2 represents the main body of the construction; later than M1, earlier than the rest.

-M3 represents T5, the 'platform', T9, T11, T15 and T16 . M3 is later than M2 since the 'platform' is partly built on the curtain

-M4 represents the shells covering T1 and T2, BA, and T10. M4 is later than M1 and M2. The thickness of the wall of T1 indicates that it is built as a shell over the existing vault and the core above it (M2). The shell of T2 must be later than M1 and M2. BA is attached to the north wall (M2).

-M5 represents the addition of the triangular towers (T19, T20, T21) and the construction of the cistern. Since the cistern is the best preserved structure of the whole fortress which has no reconstruction work and M5 does not appear in other localities, M5 must be the latest.

Absolute Dating

Establishing a date for the initial construction is not easy. For the first period of work (M1) at Yoğuntaş I could not find any parallel that would contribute dating. Analysis of the historical circumstances and dating the main body (M2) would be helpful for the first construction activity in the site.

The Byzantine fortress in Altıntaş (ca. 50 km southeast of

Kütahya) has parallel features for the main body of the construction (M2). Although Altıntaş is a poorly preserved site a number of U-shaped curtain towers and the north western elliptical tower resemble T18 and T13 at Yoğuntaş. The outer facing of the curtain between T12 - T13, facing of T3 and the East-West wall are close to the single preserved fragment of inner facing of the 'cistern' at Altıntaş.²⁰³ Facing of roughly coursed flattened fieldstones are set in hard and grainy grey mortar rich in inclusions. The core is of rubble.²⁰⁴ Altıntaş is dated to the Dark Ages (7th-9th centuries).²⁰⁵ The walls and towers of Altıntaş indicate that the main body (M2) of the fortress at Yoğuntaş was built during the Dark Ages. Since in general for the Byzantine walls between the seventh through ninth centuries parallels do not give a precise date, on the basis of analogy the main body of the fortress may only be roughly dated.²⁰⁶ Considering the fact that Yoğuntaş was first represented in the Council of Nicea in 787 it would be plausible to suppose that the enceinte was already existing in the latter part of the eighth century if not earlier.

Historical circumstances may help to assign a more precise date. The introduction of the theme system in the European provinces started with Thrace and it was intended mainly as a defensive measure against the Bulgars around the years 680 - 685.²⁰⁷ There is no textual evidence known to me that after the new system was introduced the construction of fortresses immediately started in Kırklareli region. However, geographically during the

²⁰³ Foss 1985: 95-98, fig 100.

²⁰⁴ Foss 1985: 97.

²⁰⁵ Foss 1985: 98.

²⁰⁶ Foss 1985: 97.

²⁰⁷ Ostrogorsky 1969: 132.

late seventh century the southern ramification of the Strandcha chain represented the north western frontier of the Byzantine Empire and remained under immediate threat. Yoğuntaş is located on the shortest route between the capital of the new Bulgarian state, Pliska and Constantinople.²⁰⁸ The first fortification activity (M1) in the site is represented by T2 and may be dated to the late seventh - early eighth century as a watch tower to control this route. Following this, the main body of construction (M2) might have taken place in the eighth century.

After the construction of the enceinte, the site must have been strengthened by the work of M3 and M4 which could not be relatively dated. During the period covering M3 some towers were rebuilt and a number of new towers were added as well as a 'platform' with alternating courses of stone and bands of brick preserved in four courses. T5 might have been rebuilt during this period. Rebuilding the curtain with a strong 'platform' and T5 on the northwest extremity of the fortress may indicate a gateway arrangement. During the same period T9 might have been rebuilt rather than *ex-novo* work. The distance between T8 and T10 is ca. 125 m. which indicates an earlier tower between them. T11 might have been also a rebuilding since the curtain makes a turn with T11. Same white mortar with large broken brick inclusions which is used on the platform, T9, T11, T15, T16 and T5 with smaller brick ingredients. The relatively even terrain of the south eastern curtain seems to have necessitated short intervals in that part of the fortress. T16 may be a rebuilding rather than *ex-novo* work between T14 and T17.

²⁰⁸ Soustal 1991: 144.

Although not certain, its shape seems to be an elongated U as T9. T15 has an uncertain shape. The distance between T14 and T16 little exceeds by the average of the south eastern part of the curtain which may indicate that T15 might have been added during the same period of work. Thus, if not both at least one of T15 and T16 must have been rebuilt, and the other one might have been *ex-novo* work during this period.

The towers T9, T11 were rebuilding and T16 was probably *ex-novo* work of the period succeeding the initial construction of the enceinte are solid U-shaped structures. The flanking walls of T9 come closer to each other as they approach to the curving end.

The parallels for this period of construction (M3) appear in the walls and towers of Selymbria, Kayserkale / Kütahya, and Kütahya. In Selymbria the east wall of the Middle Gate and the western tower have alternating bands of brick (bricks are 4.5 - 5 cm. thick) and stone set in mortar with medium sized or large broken brick ingredients. Mortar is thick between the bricks (8 cm.).²⁰⁹ Relevant period of construction at Selymbria is dated to the middle Byzantine period.^{210,211} Similarly in Kayserkale (W 2/3) banded masonry with occasional brick bands and white mortar with broken brick inclusions are employed (plate 55). The facing is anchored to the core with round beamholes that are set close to each other in a way

²⁰⁹ Dirimtekin 1969: 41.

²¹⁰ Dirimtekin 1969: 43.

²¹¹ Thickness of mortar beds and brick thickness can be used in dating for the Roman period. see. H. Dodge, *Brick Construction in Roman Greece and Asia Minor*. Pp 106-116 in *Roman Architecture in the Greek World*, eds. S. MacReady and F.H. Thompson. London, 1987. However, there is no consistency for use of these criteria during the Byzantine period which can give reliable dates.

identical to the 'platform' at Yoğuntaş (plate 56). This period in Kayserkale is dated to the 12th century.²¹² Finally, the solid U-shaped towers at Kütahya (T18, T20, T21, T26) employ alternating bands of bricks consisting of four or five courses and stones consisting of five to eight courses set in mortar with broken brick fragments.²¹³ This work at Kütahya is dated to the 12th century, probably to the reign of Manuel Comnenus (1143-1180).²¹⁴ These parallels are close to put M3 in the mid 12th century.

The period of construction represented by M4 covers BA, T10 and the shells built over T1 and T2. M4 might have indicate a repair work after a destruction by an earthquake or an attack. T1 and T2 were strengthen and T10 must have been rebuilt. However, building BA *ex-novo* indicates that M4 represents alterations in terms of administration and manning the fortress. BA seems to be the barracks of the soldiers as will be discussed below. Thus, M4 appears to be a major building program seeking to update the defensive technology of the fortress.

For the period covering M4 there are number of parallels in Constantinople, Hieron, Nicomedia, Niketation, Lopadium and Pergamum. It is difficult to assign a precise date, but this type of construction is usually dated to the twelfth century, to the reigns of John Comnenus (1118-43) and Manuel Comnenus (1143-80).²¹⁵

A section around the palace of Blachernae in Constantinople is of

²¹² Foss 1985: 92.

²¹³ Foss 1985: 70.

²¹⁴ Foss 1985: 83-84.

²¹⁵ Foss 1996: 41, 52.

banded masonry of single courses of stone and brick in the inner facing and alternating bands of brick courses usually consisting of seven or four courses and stones consisting of three courses on the outer facing. In some parts extra levelling courses of brick alternate stone courses. (towers B1-B12). Vertically inverted bricks are used occasionally without creating a regular pattern. Wooden beams are occasionally used to reinforce the construction and ensure better bonding between core and facing. This parallel is dated to 1160-1180.²¹⁶

The lower walls at Hieron (Anadolu Kavak) on the Asian coast of the Bosphorus bears similar features with M4 (plate 57). On the outer facing bands of brick in four, five or seven courses alternate with stone bands consist of four or six courses.²¹⁷ The interior has alternating courses of brick and stone. The related walls at Hieron are dated to the reign of Manuel Comnenus.²¹⁸

A parallel in Nicomedia (T5) with cloisonné and pink surface mortar is dated to the mid-late twelve century.²¹⁹ Another parallel with identical alternating bands of brick and stone is T1 in the inner fortress in Niketiaton (Eskihisar in the Gulf of Nicomedia) (plates 58-59). The surface has a shelter coat of grey mortar.²²⁰ This tower is dated to the twelfth century, probably to the reign of Manuel Comnenus.²²¹ These parallels are

²¹⁶ Foss and Winfield 1986: 56-58, fig. 12-14.

²¹⁷ Foss and Winfield 1986:148, fig. 26.

²¹⁸ Foss and Winfield 1986: 148.

²¹⁹ Foss 1996: 41, fig. 7.

²²⁰ Foss 1996: 52, fig. 33.

²²¹ Foss 1996: 58.

close enough to put M4 in the 12th century.

General characteristics of the fortresses build during the time of John Comnenus and masonry style suit with Yoğuntaş and related work in M4 (the shell over T2, and T10) respectively. The fortresses built by John dominated hilltops and aimed to control the roads, river crossings, and routes leading to coastal shipping.²²²

Banded masonry of stone and brick is employed with variation usually with little cloisonné. All examples have small cribwork consisting of small round beamholes on the facing. Surface rendering is only seen at Lopadium.²²³ The location of Yoğuntaş on a steep hill, protecting the junction of the routes between south-north, east-west, and the masonry style fit together to put part of M4 under John Comnenus (1118-43).

The preserved tower at Lopadium has alternating courses of stone and brick, usually single (plate 60). Bricks are vertically and horizontally inserted between the stones. On the curtain walls surface mortar is applied. Small round beamholes are employed in or adjacent to the brick bands.²²⁴ This is similar with the masonry of the shell covering T2 with the exception that T2 employs bands of brick consisting up to five courses. Preserved part of the facing of T10 is also close to this work. Lopadium was built in 1130 which would put the shell of T2 and T10 into the reign of John Comnenus.²²⁵

²²² Besides Lopadium, Achyraous (around 1140), Sultan Çayır, Pegadia /Balıkesir, Anaea / Aydın are dated to the reign of John Comnenus (Foss and Winfield 1986: 145-146).

²²³ Foss and Winfield 1986: 146-147.

²²⁴ Foss and Winfield 1986: 145-146, fig. 20.

²²⁵ Foss and Winfield 1986: 145.

The rest of M4 (BA and the shell covering T1) would be more appropriate for the reign of Manuel. By analogy M3 is also dated to the reign of Manuel. If it were the case the above mentioned suggestion on the alterations of the defensive technology and administration of the fortress by the mid 12th century gains more stronger basis. M3 and M4 may represent a period of major construction activity at Yoğuntaş conducted by the imperial authority. This is an issue that will be discussed below.

M5 covers the construction of the solid triangular towers (T19, T20, T21 and the cistern. The cistern is a rectangular structure adjacent to the solid triangular towers T20 and T2. The towers T20 and T21 seem to have been originally work of the main period of construction (eighth century). T21 is initially a solid, apparently semicircular tower preserved as a fragment in the outer facing. Although the original shape of T20 can not be followed because of the collapsed walls, it is highly possible that T20 has also some sort of circular solid structure which was altered to a triangular tower. It seems that the builders of the cistern altered these towers into triangular ones in order to connect the longer side walls of the cistern with the main enceinte. The triangular platforms of T20 and T21 are extended to the south. In that manner, the even terrain on which the junction of the cistern walls and T20 / T21 are better controlled. The third triangular tower of the whole curtain (T19) seem to be contemporary with the other two triangular towers.

The closest parallel to the triangular towers are in Yılanlı Kale in the Menderes region and the one in Strobilos near Bodrum. In Yılanlı four solid triangular bastions of the site are simple structures built of roughly

coursed flat stones and dated to the 12th-13th centuries.²²⁶ The one in Strobilos is also a solid structure and dated to the 14th century.²²⁷

The triangular towers may indicate a late Byzantine date for M5. The walls of cistern may be helpful to give a more precise date. The masonry of the cistern does not bear parallel characteristics of Turkish work. Facing and the core can be hardly differentiated in Turkish masonry. Furthermore, there is no brick fill between the stones. Textual evidence indicates that the fortress was severely damaged after an earthquake and the Turks managed to capture the site after this destruction. The damage must have been great enough to name Yoğuntaş as *Tanrıyığı* ('destroyed by the God') in the Ottoman sources.²²⁸ Lack of characteristic Turkish masonry at Yoğuntaş indicates that the fortress was not reconstructed by the Turks.

Since M5 appears as the latest addition to the fortress and there are no visible remains of Turkish work, M5 should belong to the period after M3 - M4 (12th century) and before 1373 when Yoğuntaş was captured by the Turks. This period covers the Palaeologan rule whose masonry technique was well established in Thrace.²²⁹ Typical Palaeologan masonry is in bands of brick consisting of single or double courses and single levelling courses of stone alternating with stone courses in a careless construction style. Bricks are inserted vertically between the stones. Usually cribwork of round beamholes are employed for bonding between the facing and the core.²³⁰

²²⁶ Barnes and Whittow 1994: 198-200.

²²⁷ Foss 1988: 160,162.

²²⁸ Soustal 1991: 446.

²²⁹ Ousterhout 1991.

²³⁰ Foss 1996: 48-49.

However, the masonry of the cistern does not exhibit major traits of Palaeologan masonry and probably remains as a local specimen.

Although I could not attest any parallel for the walls of the cistern, historically the reign of Andronicus II (1282-1328) would be plausible for M5. During his rule Yoğuntaş was given the title of metropolitan and a large water storage capacity would be appropriate for the site.²³¹ Lack of remains of buildings in the fortress may not support this view. However, the structures could have been of wood or partly wooden.

Builder and Function

There is no textual evidence referring to the builder of the fortress. It is plausible to claim that the imperial authority is involved with the construction of the fortress in Yoğuntaş. The theme system was organised by the Byzantine government and the site seem to have built as part of theme system.²³²

The fortress occupied a strategic location, with a broad view over the Regina plain and the southern ramification of Strandcha chain. It stood immediately above the course of the shortest route between the capital of the First Bulgarian State, Pliska and Constantinople. It was therefore probably built to protect the road, to stop the enemy along it and also perhaps to warn the capital upon advancing armies.

Parallel to the military function of patrolling the road, Yoğuntaş would have been an important site to control trade. In the area between

²³¹Soustal 1991: 446.

²³² Ostrogorsky 1969: 95-100.

Kırklareli and Vize the branch roads of military road and Via Egnatia gained importance after the establishment of the first Bulgarian State (680).²³³ It is highly possible that in the course of the ninth century, during the period of peace following the treaty of 815-816 with the Bulgars and especially after the conversion of Bulgaria to Christianity the long blocked Balkan routes that were built by the Romans started to be better maintained.²³⁴ Parallel to the care paid to two major routes in southern Thrace between Constantinople and West (Military Road and Via Egnatia) it is plausible to suppose that the branch routes of the Military Road leading into Bulgaria through the Strandzha chain served both for armies and civilian transport. Considering the fact that during the eighth and the ninth centuries Bulgarians dealing with trade were very active in the frontier, building fortresses along the frontier routes seem to have been necessitated in order to serve military purposes as well as to control the trade between the Bulgarians and the Byzantines.²³⁵

In the 12th century the imperial involvement appears more stronger. T1 and T2 appears to be work of succeeding emperors which indicates a continuous attention that was paid to the fortress in Yoğuntaş by the imperial authority.

A garrison under the command of imperial authorities, and exuberant masonry of the facing on the most visible locations of the fortresses are well established characteristics of the imperial building program of the

²³³ See for the inscription referring construction of a bridge by Constantine V (741-75) and Leo IV (775-80), C. Mango and I. Sevcenco, 1972: 384-386.

²³⁴ Obolensky 1988: 58-59.

²³⁵ Kazhdan 1985: 175.

12th century.²³⁶ Besides their contribution to the military organisation, these fortresses had a citadel for the imperial authorities and served to propagate the imperial authority or to legitimise the imperial claims.²³⁷ Finally, there must have been a shelter in the fortress for the soldiers.

In Yoğuntaş these requirements are evident. First of all the site is visible from an important road. The preserved walls in Yoğuntaş indicate that the most visible parts of the fortress from the road south and south west of the fortress are built more carefully. Thus, T1 and T2 reflect that care. Second, after Asia Minor was lost to the Turks the area had become the heartland of the empire and a battlefield which would necessitate to legitimise the authority. The fortress in Yoğuntaş has decorative facings (the towers T1 and T2) that would propagate the central authority. Third, there is a 'self-contained strong point' in the fortress, the citadel (with its own water source), for the imperial authorities. Finally, there are remains of two structures in the fortress which are attached to the north and south curtains plausibly barracks of the soldiers in the garrison (BA and BB).²³⁸

Under the reign of Manuel Comnenus major changes were applied in the construction of fortifications. In order to follow the technical development, there is the introduction of crossbow and trebuchet to replace catapult and ballista, the towers were fashioned in shape and size which may be assigned to the towers of M3 and M4 at Yoğuntaş.²³⁹ Thus, reconstruction

²³⁶ Crow and Hill 1995: 262.

²³⁷ Crow and Hill 1995: 262.

²³⁸ The idea belongs to Barnes and Whittow 1994: 200.

²³⁹ Foss & Winfield 1986 : 50.

and rebuilding activity took place in the 12th century in Yoğuntaş seem to be conducted by imperial authority and sources.

It is confirmed by textual evidence that the imperial authority was involved in the administration of Yoğuntaş by the mid 14th century. The texts inform us that the fortress was administered by an *archon*. The term *archon* refers to a governor who has personal contact with the Emperor.²⁴⁰ The texts make clear that in the mid 14th century the fortress was acting as an early warning station. The *archon* of the fortress send a messenger to the capital to inform the emperor about the coming Bulgarian army.

This information may encourage to hypothesize existence of an early warning system in the area between Kırklareli and Constantinople. The earliest datable fort with a beacon in order to warn the Bulgarian raids is Büyük Kale on the Sakar Mountains which is dated to the eighth century.²⁴¹ Another example is Monemvasia which was apparently built in the eighth century.²⁴² The system was in use in Greece in the 13th century.²⁴³ Pythion near Didymotichus might have served as a beacon which was probably in use in the mid 14th century.²⁴⁴ Although with the present state of preservation it may not be proved, T30 in Yoğuntaş may indicate a beacon whose parallels are seen in Bulgaria and Greece.²⁴⁵

²⁴⁰ ODB I: 160.

²⁴¹ Lawrence 1983: 217.

²⁴² Lawrence 1983: 217.

²⁴³ ODB I: 273-74.

²⁴⁴ Hetherington 1995: 311.

²⁴⁵ Lawrence 1983:217.

CHAPTER 3

KEÇİKALESİ / KARAKOÇ

Keçikalesi fortress is on the way to Kofças ca.8 km. north of Kırklareli, between Ahmetçe and Kadıköy.²⁴⁶ It is located south of Düştebak Dere on a rocky platform. The enceinte encloses respectively lower terrain by a long southern wall between two massive gnaystic blocks 453 m. high. Along the circuit rock is employed as a natural element of defence (plate 33).²⁴⁷ The terrain around the fortress is between 200-500 m. high and its dominating position enables to view its distant environment.²⁴⁸

The Byzantine name of the fortress did not survived. The site is mentioned by Soustal (after Ajanov and Christodulos) as the fortress by the village of Karakoç.²⁴⁹ Among the locals the fortress is called Keçikalesi.

The site seems not to have a recorded history. Although Ajanov's and Christodulos' remarks on the site are not available to me, Soustal would have quoted any historical reference in these publications. To my knowledge the fortress is not studied and published.

The fortress has a pentagonal shape defined by the topography. The enclosure is formed by using the bed rock as a natural barrier for the fortress

²⁴⁶On the map of Harita Genel Komutanlığı-Ankara 1/25.000, Kırklareli - E 18 - b4. For the aerial photographs; Harita Genel Komutanlığı-Ankara, Flight in 1968. Flight no:1964 / 88 - 89, 1/35.000.

²⁴⁷Albitgranitic Gnays which has sedimentary character in the area of Ahmetçe. (A. Ayhan, A. Dincel, Y. Tuğrul, Istranca Masifi'nin (Yıldız Dağları) Jeolojisi, MTA (5130) 1972 pp. 14-15.

²⁴⁸*Yurt Ansiklopedisi* (Istanbul: 1982-84) p. 4794. Yoğuntaş, on the north west of Keçikalesi can be seen bare eye.

²⁴⁹Soustal 1991: 421.

which is carefully integrated with roughly worked local stone masonry. Taking advantage of the bed rock ensures a better defence and saving from material and workmanship. The thickness of the walls vary between 1.5 m. - 4 m. Thicker walls are used at the most vulnerable places. The maximum length on the east west axis is 110 m., on the south north axis is 80 m. There is an outer walling ca. 45 m. long on the south east of the main enclosure in order to block the area between the southern massive bed rock on a higher terrain and the fortress. With the use of additional walling between the bed rocks this area is created as a ca. 60 m. long, ca.30 m. wide spur which might be enclosed by a wall on the west (plate 34).

The construction technique, and the mortar indicate that Keçikalesi has two main periods.

For the first period local gnays blocks of larger size are used for the foundations. Rectangular blocks have rounded edges. The color of these blocks are cream with reddish lines. The banded core of field stones is bonded with yellow mortar including broken brick fragments or ceramics.

Before the second period of construction the use of the fortress must have been interrupted. This interruption seems to have been for a long period since there is no reuse of the blocks of the first period. The second period is of darker gnays blocks with less rounded edges. For the upper parts usually smaller blocks are employed. Thin flat stones or bricks often alternate sporadically with the larger rectangular courses. Small triangular, rectangular, or irregular flat stones are employed vertically and horizontally to fill the gaps between stone blocks. Brick fragments are also employed in the

joints vertically and diagonally. In one occasion brick is used in a band of five courses as a bonding agent between the core and the facing blocks in the middle part of the southern wall. For bonding timber is employed in two different manners. Round beamholes run throughout the core or cribwork of rectangular beamholes with lintel blocks above them are used to bond the facing to the core. Where the facings have fallen away, the exposed parts of the core demonstrate that the core is either of banded masonry or of alternating courses of roughly banded masonry with mortared field stones and rubble. The mortar is rich in broken stones and pebbles. There is no surface rendering except occasional usage. Much care is paid to the main gateway (GW1), the horseshoe-shaped corner tower and the south wall between the gateway and the corner tower (SW2).

There are remains of inner structures which are preserved as chunks of stone that do not allow to interpret their plans and purposes. For the water supply of the fortress a well is built on a lower terrain of the fortress on the north which allows gathering of water naturally from the higher terrain.

South Wall 1 (SW1)

On the south east extremity of the fortress ca. 30 m. long approximately 10 m. high massive bed rock forms a natural barrier. Further to the east this massive makes a sloping step with a block of bed rock where the banded masonry of the southern wall starts which is preserved ca. 10 m. in length (plate 35). After a destroyed part of ca. 8 m. SW1 ends with a gateway (GW1) (plate 36). The thickness of SW1 increases from the point

where it is attached to the rock until the GW1 from 0.5 m. to 2.5 m.

At the starting point of the SW1 alternating courses of large blocks and flat stones are employed to integrate the step of the natural rock into the enclosure. Small flat stones are inserted into the gaps between the wall and the rock. The size of the blocks is almost the same from the foundation to the upper part of the wall. For the upper most part, smaller and flat stones are used perhaps to avoid a possible collapse that could occur because of sloping face of the natural rock. Probably to eliminate this weakness SW1 makes a slight turn here to SE making a wide-angled corner. The contact zone of the wall with the natural rock is exposed revealing white mortar. The adjacent wall to the wide-angled corner is not preserved in its foundation level, but represented by the upper part of large courses bonded to the rock. Further to the east the wall is destroyed and the core is exposed. Foundation level of the exposed wall has a banded core of three courses which is followed by mortared rubble employing yellow mortar. The upper part of the wall also has a banded core with finer mortar. Using the natural rock as the foundation on a higher level than the ground level of the outer terrain, SW1 runs to the further east ca 13 m. until the end of the natural rock. This part can be traced on the ground level. At the end of SW1 a doorway is located which is built with SW1 at the same time.

Gateway 1 (GW1)

GW1 is controlled by a rectangular outward flanking courtyard defended by a rectangular buttress like bastion on its west and a semicircular tower on the east (plate 37). The main entrance into the fortress is bended

thanks to the courtyard opening on the south. The western wall of the doorway (the end of SW1) is partly preserved. From the exposed core alternating banded masonry and mortared rubble is observed. Headers and stretchers are employed to strengthen the construction.

Adjacent to SW1 a 1.5 m. long wall flanks to the south on its large foundation blocks. Its southern face is integrated with the last part of the natural rock which is also integrated by the adjacent circuit wall (SW1). The southern face of the flanking wall has foundation blocks of a meter which rises to a height of ca. 4 m. The rest of the southern face rises on the rock. The joint of the southern face and the rock display a diagonal contact zone which ends on top of the rock where the upper part of the wall is not preserved. The joint line of the buttress like flanking wall and the adjacent SW1 displays how the courses of the two walls perpendicular to each other intersect. The masonry of SW1 is identical with the adjacent flanking wall. Small flat stones of various shapes and brick fragments are inserted vertically and horizontally as fillers into the large joints between the stones. There is no joint mortar. Facing is bonded with a cribwork of large rectangular beams. Quions are employed on the flanking corner of the bastion.

On top of the natural rock another wall, 8 m. in length is built partly on the natural rock stands perpendicular to the flanking wall. The southern 5 m. part of this wall rises on banded masonry which is preserved up to 2 m. high. The south wall of the courtyard adjacent to the perpendicular western wall is preserved in 4 m. length, 0.8 m. height. The masonry of these two walls and the corner created by them is identical with the SW1 and its

flanking wall with the exception that vertical stones are inserted between the gaps occasionally and there is no cribwork but small round beamholes running through the inner and outer facings of the wall. The thickness of the courtyard walls adjacent to SW1 is 1.5 m.

After a gap of ca. 3 m. which roughly defines the opening into the courtyard, the south wall of the courtyard runs to the east ca. 3 m. and turns to the northeast for another ca. 4 m. to meet the projecting curve of the semicircular tower (T1) on its middle point. The curved wall is preserved only in the outer facing with a low level, stands partly on the natural rock which also serves as a foundation for the semicircular tower. A large rectangular beamhole on the foundation level may indicate that the courtyard had a gate.

The courtyard and GW1 seem to have been contemporary with their identical masonry.

Semicircular Tower (T1)

An open semicircular tower (T1) backed by the southern wall (SW2) is built on the east of the gateway (GW1) (plate 38). The length of the flanking walls on the outer face is 5 m., the thickness less than 2 m., the inner back wall 1.5 m. wide. The highest preserved wall is ca. 2 m. T1 is contemporary with SW2, since the courses of the flanking walls intersect with the ones belong to the backing SW2. Banded masonry of roughly shaped rectangular courses run throughout the semicircular wall. More care is paid for the outer facing which employs irregularly alternating courses of rectangular and flat stones set in yellow mortar. Brick fragments and flat

stones are employed as filler in the large joints. Rectangular beamholes employing rectangular lintel stones are used to bond the facing.

South Wall 2 (SW2)

After a 3 m. gap to the east of SW1 defining roughly the main entrance into the fortress, the southern wall runs to the east for 4 m. backing the semicircular flanking tower (T1) and further to the north east for 42 m. before it finally makes its last turn to the east for 10 m. until it encounters a horseshoe-shaped tower (T2). The foundation of SW2 is laid on the natural rock as it starts on the western end (plate 38). The middle part of the wall is attached to the natural terrace of the same rock. Along its way to the eastern corner tower (T2) the natural rock is integrated into the wall leaving outward oval projections of the rock on the foundation level reaching up to half of the whole preserved body. Throughout SW2 rectangular beamholes indicating cribwork, headers and stretchers that are visible where the core is exposed are employed to bond the facing to the core and the natural rock. The height of SW2 on the outer face is 4.5 m., on the inner face 0.80 m. The facing of SW2 has fallen down and the core has eroded on the most vulnerable places of the 42 m. long section especially where the wall stands on the ground rather than the natural rock. This area remains remote both from the semicircular and the horseshoe-shaped towers. The middle part of SW2 has two main periods of construction and some repair work. Large rectangular courses of foundation blocks and mortar with broken brick fragments represent the first period which run between two bed rock on which T1 and T2 are built. The intersectices of the blocks do not employ mortar, brick fragments or flat stone

filling. The work of the first period stands up to one third of the preserved height of SW2. In the middle part of SW2 a section of exposed core displays unique use of banded brickwork of the fortress (plate 40). A single band of five courses of brick is revealed from the exposed facing. The bricks in the band are not reused and seem to be of local production with large inclusions of quartz. The bricks are set close to each other and the bands are separated by a layer of mortar as thick as a brick band. Above the foundation of the first period the brick band is employed where the wall stands on a small natural rock to bond the facing to the core. There are some five courses of stone between the brick band and the contact zone of the wall with the rock. The height of the brick band from the ground where it is employed on large stone foundation is ca. 2 m. Above the brick band the facing is exposed revealing small blocks of banded masonry employed in the core. The brick band becomes thinner towards the east and disappears between the stone courses.

Towards T2 on the foundation level the core is exposed revealing coursed masonry of mortared smaller blocks and rubble of the first period. The exposed facing is partially repaired with larger blocks employing no mortar on the foundation level (plate 39). This repair work aims to support the upper part of the wall which has lost the foundation of the facing. Above this repair work diagonally employed four rectangular beamholes which are supported with lintel blocks on the upper horizontal plane seem to represent the border of the repair work on this section and also the limit of the first period of construction. The courses east of this diagonal line and the ones remain on the west are of different color. The second period of construction on

SW2 has identical masonry and mortar with the rest of the southern wall. The raising on the foundations of the first period has alternating bands of flat courses consisting stone and brick fragments. These material are also employed to fill the gaps between the stone blocks. The yellow mortar does not contain fragments of broken bricks. The last 10 m. section of SW1 which encounters the horseshoe- shaped tower (T2) stands on the natural rock. Alternating bands of larger courses and flat stones consisting longer and small stones are employed. Brick fragments are used occasionally between the flat stones. Brick fragments and small stones are used as filler in the large joints. Large rectangular beamholes have lintels of flat stones.

This section is controlled by a small cavity ca. 2 m. high between two bed rocks where SW2 slightly turns to SE before it encounters to T2. The space of the cavity allows only one person to stand inside who would watch out the section of SW2 between T1 and T2.

Horseshoe-Shaped Tower (T2)

Adjacent to the east and the west walls of the fortress T2 is built on the natural rock (plates 41,42). T2 dominates the sloppy terrain of the nearest hill east of the fortress and the southern large plain and controls the arched gateway (GW2) on the east wall ca. 4 m from T2. Banded masonry of T2 is preserved up to 2.5 m height. The clearance between the open ends is 1. m., outward projected inner space is 4 m. long, the width inside of the tower is 2 m., the thickness of the walls is 1 m. (plate 43). Gnays stone of larger rectangular, occasionally square and smaller rectangular blocks are employed alternating with thin and thicker flat stone courses. In places where larger

blocks are not employed two blocks of smaller stones are laid. For the filling of the remaining gaps between the stone blocks, smaller stones varying in shape and size, occasionally flat and brick fragments are used. Brick fragments are also inserted vertically and horizontally between the stone blocks. Flat stones slightly project in the joints and create an articulating appearance. Mortar is laid flush on the corner of the outer facing where the eastern wall is attached to T2. Rectangular beamholes with flat or large lintel stones above are applied in two rows..

The inner face of T2 is built with less care, employing smaller blocks. Flat stones are used between larger stones, but they do not alternate larger stones regularly. The mortar is roughly laid flush on the surface. The beamholes are much smaller than the ones employed on the outer facing, except the one on the inner facing of the junction with SW2. The beamholes on the inner face may indicate seatings or bearings for an inner wooden platform.

East Wall (EW)

Adjacent to the southern wall with the corner tower (T2) the east wall runs to the north 45 m. The line of EW is determined by the nature of the rock. The thickness of the wall is ca. 2 m. on the south where the arched gateway (GW2) is located. The outer face of the wall here is preserved for more than 2 m. in height which has an identical masonry with the adjacent tower (T2) that is sporadically alternating bands of larger blocks and bands of flat stones mixed with brick and stone fragments. However the work is not as carefully done as the one of the adjacent tower.

The joint between EW and T2 indicates that the east wall is

attached to T2 rather than intersected each other. The outer facing of EW ca. 1.5 m. from the junction is exposed revealing its core of banded masonry. Another exposed section of the facing on the south of the arched gateway reveals a core of banded masonry bonded with soft mortar.

The inner face of EW is also identical with T2. Surface is roughly rendered with mortar. There is a rectangular beamhole between four rectangular blocks near GW2. Further to the north the thickness increases gradually and reaches up to 3 m. where the wall makes an inward corner 12 m. from the tower and 6 m. from the gateway. Although on a higher terrain than the thinner part of the wall this part is more vulnerable to attack because of the natural steps of the bed rock rising to the east. The 3 m. thick wall makes a soft turn to the northeast. The end of the wall is attached to the natural rock, integrating the rock with the enceinte. After having run 4.5 m. to the north with a thickness of 2 m. the wall makes a 3 m. long inward sharp turn with 2 m. thickness following the natural rock. Here, the wall once more turns to the north for 2 m. and integrates the natural rock with the wall on the inner corner where it turns to the east. The thickness decreases to 1.5 m. The length of the last turn to the east is ca. 10 m. including the natural rock that is integrated with the wall in its middle part. Finally, the east wall makes a slight curve of ca. 7 m to the northwest and having attached to the natural rock on a high terrain dominating northern landscape it ends.

In many places the eastern wall is preserved on the ground level or slightly higher, employing banded core of rubble bonded with yellow mortar.

Arched Gateway (GW2)

The entrance into the fortress on the east is controlled by an arched postern gate (GW2), which dominates the rocky slope leading down to the plain (plate 44). GW2 might have been opened into a small courtyard in the fortress. The height of GW2 is ca. 2 m., the width 1.5 m. and the thickness ca. 2 m. There are 26 voussoirs above the present ground level employed for the arch. The courses of the side walls intersect with the voussoirs. The curtain wall above the arch is collapsed revealing the banded masonry and yellow mortar. On the inner face two triangular beamholes are employed on each sides where the arch springs.

North Wall (NW)

NW starts from the 7 m. long natural rock which is adjacent to EW. After a 4 m. long, 1.5 m. thick wall it turns to the west integrating the natural rock. The length after the rock is ca. 7 m., the thickness 3 m. The rock is used as the foundation level of the thicker part which is not preserved, but can be traced on the ground level. After having integrated the natural rock for 7 m. NW runs 23 m. to the west on a lower terrain which is preserved ca. 2 m. high. on the slope side where the wall is attached to the natural terrace. Coursed small rectangular blocks and square stones are employed on the terrace facing with small stones and rarely brick fragments in the joints. The upper part is not preserved. The core is of banded with smaller blocks and yellow mortared rubble. There is a small section on the eastern end which indicates a repair work. Yellow mortar with broken brick fragments or ceramics is employed in the core. The thickness is 2 m. on the eastern end,

gradually increasing towards the western end where the wall is attached to the natural rock. Here, the slope is not as deep as it is on the eastern end and requires thicker walling. At the end of NW, integrating the rock into the masonry, a platform of 4.5 m. by 1.5 m is created on a higher level between two rocks to serve as a watch tower (plate 45). This natural tower dominates the lower circuit wall as well the natural passage way 5 m. west of it. The passage way which is only a meter wide between two natural rocks leads to the sloping area in the shape of a naturally fortified courtyard outside of the fortress on the west. There is evidence of blocking the passageway with a wall. The passageway also serves as an easy access to the small lagoon in the bed of the Düştebak Dere on the north of the NW. Although there is a well of 2 m. by 3 m. on the south of the 23 m. long section of NW for the water supply of the inhabitants, the river is also accessible from the north of the fortress apparently for the animals that were kept in the fortress.

West Wall (WW)

WW is ca. 70 m. long. Walling is employed in sections to integrate the bed rock into the wall. The first section is 23 m., the second one is 8 m. long having 1.5 m. and 3 m. thicknesses respectively. The first one runs diagonally to the south west starting from the natural rock that is adjacent to NW. The southern end is attached to the bed rock which is adjacent to the second section of WW. Having made a corner of 3.5 m. by 8 m. on a foundation of natural rock, the second section runs to the south. The corner section is preserved up to ca. 3 m. high, the rest of the section can be traced on the ground level or little higher. Larger foundation courses of stone are employed

on the bed rock. For the upper part smaller blocks occasionally alternate with flat stones with no regular pattern. On the corner larger blocks are employed as quoins (plate 46). Rarely beamholes are used to bond the facing to the core. Further to the south the enceinte is employing the bed rock as a natural wall for 30 m. At the southwest corner of the WW there is a natural shallow curving passage ca. 7 m long, 0.8 m. high requires to move on one's knees through the rock. This passage leads both to the outside of the fortress and into the spur on the south.

Spur

On the south east of the fortress a 45 m. long wall which can be traced on the ground level, blocks the gap between the fortress and the south eastern massive on a higher terrain. Having integrated the peak of the southern massive as a watch tower by use of two walls between the natural rocks 5 m. and 11 m. respectively the wall makes a turn to the east. High rocky terrain on this part is also blocked by a 2 m. long wall. A beak shaped fragment of 11 m. long wall is attached to the north western extremity of the rocks leaving 7 m. of clearance between the western wall. Entrance into the spur seems to be controlled at that point as a secondary measurement of security. There are chunks of stone on the area between the south eastern massive rock of the fortress and the eastern rocky terrain of the spur which may indicate a main wall and a gateway structure into the spur. Another explanation for the existence of the chunks there may be that, this area was a workshop used by the stone masons.

Dating, Function and Builder

The lack of historical records, datable inscriptions, spoils and coins makes the dating of the fortress rely on comparisons and the historical background of the region.

The first period of construction in Keçikalesi is difficult to date even by analogy. Remains of this period are represented on the foundation level or little higher and there are no diagnostic features preserved. Coursed local stones with rounded edges are faced on a core of fieldstones set in yellow mortar with broken brick inclusions. Historically a plausible date for this period may be established after having dated the second period.

For the second period of construction in Keçikalesi the closest parallel appears in Kayserkale (plate 61).²⁵⁰ The builders of Kayserkale seem to have shared the same technical problem of bonding the facing to the natural rock. In order to strengthen the wall facing and to avoid the collapse or to be undermined, headers and stretchers, brick bands, and cribwork are employed in the second period of the construction of Kayserkale.²⁵¹

The way the facings are anchored to the core are identical in Keçikalesi. The headers and stretchers are carefully cut to fit together in order to bond the facing and for the same purpose the brick band is employed in SW. The difference between the two constructions appears in the use of timber for better bonding. In Keçikalesi rectangular beams in rows are employed indicating a cribwork. In Kayserkale the cribwork consists of round

²⁵⁰ Kayserkale is five kilometres south of Incik in Sabuncupınar / Kayseri. The site was published by C. Foss (1985: 86-94).

²⁵¹ Foss 1985: 91.

beamholes adjacent to each other and appears to be a more effective solution of strengthening the facing.²⁵² This difference may occur due to the nature of the rock, the height of the wall and the steepness of the slope the facings were anchored. However, it is likely that the cribwork in Kayserkale is a more sophisticated way of bonding the facing to the core and indicates a later practice than the one used in Keçikalesi.²⁵³

According to Foss the relevant walls of Kayserkale would be dated to the 10th or 11th centuries.²⁵⁴ On the other hand, the distinctive cribwork in Kayserkale indicates a later date, the 12th century (the reign of Manuel Comnenus (1143-1180)).²⁵⁵ Considering that the difference in timber technique is due to a technological development rather than a variation of local practice it is plausible to suggest that the second period of work in Keçikalesi is earlier than Kayserkale and would be dated between the 10th - mid 12th centuries. The 10th century represents the rise of Byzantine power and control in Thrace. The treaty of 927 brought peace to the region for thirty years. In the course of the century although the Bulgarians often raided into the Byzantine territory, before the end of the century the Bulgarian State was destroyed by the Byzantines and the defensive line was set on the further north (map 5). Historically the 10th century is not a plausible date for the second period of construction in Keçikalesi. The site must have been rebuilt in the late 11th - mid 12th century when Asia Minor was ceding to the Turks and

²⁵² Foss 1985: 89.

²⁵³ Foss 1985: 92.

²⁵⁴ Foss 1985: 92.

²⁵⁵ Foss 1985: 92.

Thrace became more important to the Byzantines in order to control the western trade routes which were blocked for several centuries.²⁵⁶

With the present state of information gathered by the basic survey techniques any attempt to date the first period would remain artificial and not be supported either by textual evidence or comparanda material. If the second period of construction in Keçikalesi is of the 11th -12th centuries, the first period in theory can be dated to any of the preceding centuries. Among these, the historical background of the region indicates three periods which are worth mention.

The first period belongs to the late Roman time. As above mentioned the date of the earliest written evidence in Kırklareli related to fortification activity belongs to the mid second century. The second period is the time of Justinian (527-565) who strengthened the defence of Thrace by large number of forts. The third one appears to be in the late seventh century when the theme system was introduced in Thrace after the establishment of the First Bulgarian State (680).

During the second century the defence line of the Roman Empire was largely based on the limes fortifications on the Danube.²⁵⁷ A small fortress in the countryside remote from the frontier would not fit to the defence strategy of the period. Furthermore, the mortar used in the first period in Keçikalesi has broken bricks or ceramics. The technique of adding broken ceramics in the mortar in order to strengthen its hydraulic quality in

²⁵⁶ Van der Vin 1980: 7.

²⁵⁷ Biernacka-Lubanska 1982: 207-14; Gregory 1992: 235.

Northern Thrace is introduced after the mid third century.²⁵⁸ Therefore, a second century date for the first period in Keçikalesi is not plausible.

More attention should be paid on the sixth and seventh centuries. Procopius mentions 35 forts in Thrace scattered in the countryside. However, during Justinian's reign the raiders came to plunder the Byzantine territory rather than to settle. In order to protect the local inhabitants Justinian's fortifications in the Balkans have an outer wall (proteichisma) in common.²⁵⁹ Although lack of proteichisma in Keçikalesi does not suffice to eliminate Justinian's period, on the basis of the discussions on Yoğuntaş I would emphasise a late seventh / early eight century date for the first period of construction in Keçikalesi.

Finally, what was the function of the fortress and who built Keçikalesi? There are no textual evidence or inscriptions to answer these questions. If the fortress is of the late seventh / early eight century it is plausible to evaluate the main function of the fortress as patrolling the route leading into Bulgaria. After the establishment of the first Bulgarian State (680) the branch roads of the military road and the Via Egnatia gained importance in the area between Kırklareli and Vize.²⁶⁰ The road between Lüleburgaz (Arcadiopolis) and Kırklareli runs from the area of Keçikalesi and leads directly into the Bulgarian territory further to the north after Keçikalesi (map 2). Such a function would recall the imperial involment in

²⁵⁸ Biørnecka-Lubanska 1982: 119.

²⁵⁹ Lawrence 1983: 190.

²⁶⁰ See for the inscription referring construction of a bridge by Constantine V (741-75) and Leo IV (775-80), C. Mango and I. Sevcenco, 1972: 384-386.

the construction of the fortress. Although not suffice to support this, well cut and carefully laid blocks of the first period may indicate that Keçikalesi was built by the imperial authority.

The function of the fortress seems to have been same during the second period of usage, patrolling the route to the north. For the construction of the rebuilding the imperial authority seems to be responsible. Use of new bricks (SW2) and employment of extensive timber work indicate a well established tradition of masonry and imperial financial sources.

CHAPTER 4

PINARHİSAR / BRY SIS

Pınarhisar is located 31 km southeast of Kırklareli.^{261,262} To my knowledge the Greek name of the site, Brysis is first mentioned in the Byzantine ecclesiastical sources of the eight century.²⁶³ After the Latin conquest of Constantinople the site is mentioned as Verissa, Vericensis, Verissiensis in the letters of Pope Innocent III (from 1198).²⁶⁴ The Ottoman name of the site was Bunarhisar which became Pınarhisar in the Republican Period.²⁶⁵

Pınarhisar is represented in the councils of 787 and 879 by loannes and Nikekas respectively.²⁶⁶ In the ninth century Pınarhisar was under the metropolitan of Heraclea. Between the 10th and 12th centuries it was the suffragan of the metropolitan of Adrianople and besides until December 1323 an archbishopric.²⁶⁷ During the Bulgarian war in the 10th century bishop Stephanos was sent to Pınarhisar. During the synods of 1027 (Leon), 1072 (loannes), 1082, 1166-1167 (Konstantinos), 1264 (loannes) Pınarhisar was represented by its archbishops.

Pınarhisar was divided into two area as Mikra and Megale both

²⁶¹ Soustal 1991: 220.

²⁶² On the map of Harita Genel Komutanlığı-Ankara 1/25.000, Kırklareli - E 19 d1.

²⁶³ Soustal 1991: 221.

²⁶⁴ Soustal 1991: 221.

²⁶⁵ H. Kiepert, *Karte vom Östlichen Rumelien (Ant : Thracien)*, (Scale: 1 / 540.000). Berlin 1877; E. Stanford, *Stanford's Large Scale Map of the Country Between Bulgaria & Constantinople*, (Scale:1 / 383.000). London: 1912.

²⁶⁶ Soustal 1991: 221.

²⁶⁷ Soustal 1991: 221.

which in 1204 had fallen in the hands of the Crusaders. Michael Glabas Tarchaneiotos besieged Pınarhisar in 1263.²⁶⁸ Probably in 1307 fortress was attacked by the Catalans.²⁶⁹ Apparently in 1368 the site was taken by the Turks under Gazi Fazıl Bey.²⁷⁰

On the basis of building materials and construction techniques there are two different defence systems at Pınarhisar. The first one is on the lower even terrain on which the modern city is located. The modern road linking Kırklareli and Vize runs through the even terrain which is enclosed by low hills and large plains. The lower circuit is represented by two towers and some 70 m. of curtain wall which are located on the southwest of the hilltop fortress. Most of the preserved part of the curtain separates the military area from the city proper. Although modern constructions are built above the curtain, thanks to the military occupation of the area the remains are still well preserved.

The lower circuit is made of limestone ashlar blocks of facing set closely together, covering the core of mortared large blocks. On the base of the outer face there is a 20 cm. wide plinth which gives a distinctive character to the construction. The thickness of the curtain wall is 2.70 m. after the plinth.

Outside of the military area the curtain runs from north to south 11 m. Interrupted by the 6 m. wide modern road the circuit continues with a fan shaped tower (A). The southern end of the tower A makes a corner to the

²⁶⁸ Soustal 1991: 221.

²⁶⁹ Soustal 1991: 221.

²⁷⁰ Soustal 1991:121, 221; Danişmend 1971: 27.

north east. For this turn the tower is extended 3.5 m. From the end of this corner the wall runs to the south east ca. 29 m. long until it encounters the second tower (B) (fig. V).

Tower B is semi circular in shape. The diameter is 5 m. The circuit goes on to the south east of tower B. After ca. 30 m. the wall is cut by the modern main road between Kirklareli and Vize. Tower B is occupied by a modern house and the garden of this house extends to the tower A. The wall between the main road and tower B delineates the border of the military area.

The continuation of the circuit to both ends can not be followed. According to the local inhabitants, right after the modern main road there was another semi circular tower (C1). In present on the spot of tower C1 there is a modern building. In this case the length of the curtain wall between two towers differs as 29 m., and ca. 38 m. Relatively flat topography of the lower terrain seems to have necessitated to construct the towers A and B closer to each other. The shapes of the towers differ. The tower A is fan-shaped, towers B and as reported, C1 are semi-circular.

The second fortification at Pınarhisar is located on a plateau ca. 220 m. high between two valleys on the west and east of the site allowing an effective control of its environment. The upper defence is of a completely different character both in material and construction technique. The remains of the hilltop fortification consist of one circular (North), one semicircular (Northwest), one rectangular (Central) towers, fragmentary remains apparently of a tower (Southwest), a fragment of the south curtain wall adjacent the southwest tower. Scattered blocks of stone on the east of the

plateau run south / north (fig. V).

The archaeological evidence on the hilltop is disturbed by the restoration activities of municipality. The northern, north western, and the central towers were restored and the site was partly levelled by dozers. Representative fragments of the curtain walls adjacent to the north tower are completely work of rebuilding.

Eyice (1962), Dirimtekin (1963), Pralong (1988) and Ötüken & Ousterhout (1989) published the hilltop fortress in Pınarhisar.

Eyice devotes a single paragraph to Pınarhisar. He gives a very brief description of the hilltop fortress and dates the remains to the early middle ages. He reports that there are three towers on the hill and a fourth one is near the road down the hill. According to Eyice, half of the latter is preserved. He does not give a plan but two photographs of the north and northwest towers and a drawing on the construction technique of the towers.

No remains of a tower down on the hill, near the road is observed. This should be the SE tower which is in the present represented by scattered remains on the southeast extremity of the hill. Locals do not remember a tower here which was preserved above the ground level.

Dirimtekin discusses Pınarhisar in less than two pages with five photographs and a sketch plan dating the fortress to the late 13th or 14th centuries. His sketch plan is completely wrong. Three towers are shown as semicircular, the fortress is oval.

Pralong devotes less than two pages with three photographs of the towers dating the north and northeast towers to the middle Byzantine period.

Pralong repeats Dirimtekin's sketch plan.

Ötüken and Ousterhout mention Pınarhisar one page long reporting the inaccuracy of Dirimtekin's plan. According to Ötüken and Ousterhout, use of stones in the recessed courses may have a seventh century date which has a parallel in the Achieropoiotos church in Thessaloniki as well as 13th - 14th centuries.²⁷¹

In these publications except the seventh century parallel given by Ötüken and Ousterhout there are no specific comparisons from dated Byzantine fortifications nor detailed discussions to support the dating criteria.

Tower N

Tower N is on the north of the fortress (plates 47, 48). The original height of the tower is not certain. In earlier publications the sixth course of the brick band is not seen which appears after the reconstruction work of 1980s made by the municipality.²⁷² Photographs in Dirimtekin (1963) give better idea about the construction technique than the present situation.²⁷³

Tower N has a circular shape, 11 m. in diameter, and a dome made in pitched brickwork. The thickness of the walls is 3 m. The central area which is slightly projected to the north east is 1 m. in diameter, and accessed by an arched opening, 11.80 m. high, between the curtain walls (plate 50). The inner facing of the tower is built with less care. Inside the tower there is

²⁷¹ Ötüken and Ousterhout 1989: 143-44. The Church of Achieropoiotos was probably built between 450 and 470 (ODB I: 12).

²⁷² Dirimtekin 1963; Eyice 1962: fig. 56.

²⁷³ Ötüken & Ousterhout 1989: 144.

a 2 m. thick, 2.60 m. high circular wall attached to the inner surface of the tower. On the projected side there is a blocked opening probably connected to a tunnel. In the centre of the tower a wooden staircase was employed to reach the arched openings of the wall walks, and also to the parapet of the tower. Eyice mentions remains of a staircase but does not give details.

There are two arched openings on the southeast and southwest of tower N in order to give access from the wall walk of the adjacent curtain walls into the tower. The height of the arches is 3m. The base of the openings are 8.8 m. from the ground level (plate 49).

On the outer facing of the tower alternating bands of brick consisting of five courses of brick and stone consisting of nine or ten courses are embedded in white mortar. The thickness of the brick courses is around 40 cm. The thickness of the first stone band is 80 cm. and for the raising the thickness is around 2 m. Bricks are about 34 cm. long, 4 cm. thick. The joints measure between 5 and 7 cm thick. In the brick bands thin stones are used as filler. Stone blocks are framed with small fragments of stone. Rectangular beamholes are regularly distributed on the exterior face of the tower. The width of the beamholes vary between 14 - 31 cm., the height between 17-27 cm., and the depth of the hole in the wall is about 107 cm. The inner facing is of mortared rubble.

Tower NW

The northwest tower (NW) has originally a semi-circular ground plan. On the exterior face the junction places of the curtain walls are visible. The interior is rectangular and barrel vaulted. The construction technique is

same with the northern tower. Five courses of brick alternate with nine, eight or seven courses of stone. A type of concealed course technique is used in the brick bands, employing thin stones in thinner joints (plate 51).²⁷⁴ The bricks are about 4 cm. thick, the joints are between 5-7 cm. thick. beamholes are rectangular. The height of the tower on the slope side is 8 m. , the width 10 m. Tower NW was evidently used as a water storage tank. The opening on the eastern side of the tower to supply water measures 58 x 51 x 74 h cm. Iron pipes had been installed in the tower.

Tower C

The central tower (C) is closer to the western circuit of the fortress (plate 53). Tower C is also restored. Only the northeastern wall and part of adjacent northwest wall of the present rectangular structure is original which is 9 m. high. Thickness of the side walls is around 3 m. The interior of the tower is ca. 8 x 9 m. (plate 54)

The northeastern wall of tower C has a different construction technique. Smaller roughly shaped stones are employed on the facing that is anchored to the mortared core with a cribwork. Beamholes are rectangular in shape but squat rather than elongated as in the other two towers. Brick fragments are employed sporadically between the stone courses with no regular pattern. The northeast wall is coated with brown mortar on the inner facing. The stones of side walls are of different colour (whitish) and larger than the northeast wall.

²⁷⁴ Ötükən & Ousterhout 1988:143.

Destroyed or little preserved remains

Relying on the aerial photographs and archaeological evidence the site is approximately 180 m. long, ca. 40 m. wide on the north, ca. 80 m. on the south.

On the aerial photographs foundations of the southwest, south east, south, and northeast towers and some curtains are visible.²⁷⁵ The length of the circuit wall between the towers N and NW is 57 m. SW tower is preserved with scattered remains (plate 52). Between the towers NW and SW must be around 100 m. 11 m. long foundation can be traced on the ground. The distance between the towers SW and SE is around 80 m., between the towers SE and S some m.120 m., between the towers of S and NE around 50 m., between the towers NE and N some 30 m. (fig. VI).

The fortress of Pınarhisar reportedly had been intended to be used as a picnic place by the decision of the municipality in 1980s. More than half of the site was levelled by dozers. As a second decision the work was abandoned leaving the area where the tower N is situated higher than the rest of the fortress. During this work if not earlier the remains of the tower NE and the curtain wall between the tower NE and tower N must have been completely destroyed. The land on the north of the site has a higher topography and for the security of the fortress a strong NE wall should have been required between the towers NE and N.

Dating

The lower and upper defence systems in Pınarhisar represent

²⁷⁵ Harita Genel Komutanlığı-Ankara, Flight in 1968. Film no: 1965 / 242, 1/35.000.

different periods.

In the lower system the facing of ashlar blocks set in white mortar stands on larger foundation blocks forming the plinth. This type of construction appears in Lower Moesia and Thrace during the second century-middle of the third century.²⁷⁶ Another distinctive feature of the lower system is the horseshoe shaped corner tower. Biernacka-Lubanska dates horseshoe-shaped or fan-shaped bastions on the corners between the late third and the early fourth centuries.²⁷⁷ According to Petrokovits' analyses which largely relies on tower shapes, this type of tower is predominantly used in the fourth century.²⁷⁸ Appearance of the round towers is little later than the horseshoe-shaped towers, also in the fourth century.²⁷⁹ Advantages of these curved structures seem to have made them increasingly applicable. Visibility and firing range are greater than the square or rectangular corner towers and also they are more strong to resist the destructive effects of battling rams or catapults.²⁸⁰

Petrokovits documents that the horseshoe-shaped towers originate in the European part of the empire rather than Asia Minor. The fortifications of Moesia Superior,²⁸¹ Moesia Inferior, and Scythia Minor,²⁸² have fan-

²⁷⁶ Biernacka-Lubanska 1982: 207-214.

²⁷⁷ Biernacka-Lubanska 1982: 153.

²⁷⁸ Petrokovits 1971: 178-218.

²⁷⁹ Biernacka-Lubanska 1982: 153.

²⁸⁰ Biernacka-Lubanska 1982: 141, 153.

²⁸¹ Province of Moesia is founded in 15 A.D. on the present day northwestern part of Bulgaria (Purbi 1980: 243).

²⁸² Province of Scythia Minor is founded by Emperor Diocletian on the northern part of the Moesia Inferior (Purbi 1980: 245).

shaped or horseshoe-shaped towers which are a variant of U-shaped towers.²⁸³ The corner towers of Oescus II are in horseshoe-shaped which are dated to the last third of the third century.²⁸⁴ The fan-shaped corned towers at Iatrus and Vojvoda,²⁸⁵ are dated to the early fourth century. The horseshoe-shaped towers of Dinogetia is dated to the late third - early fourth centuries.²⁸⁶ The eastern fort at Troesmis has also fan shaped corner towers dated to the reign of Constantine the Great and his sons Constantius II and Constans (337-340).²⁸⁷ The fan-shaped corner towers at Abritus are dated to the mid third or the late third and early fourth centuries.²⁸⁸ The larger of the two fortified towns near Slava Rusa has two corner towers in the shape of horseshoe which are dated to the reign of Constantine the Great.²⁸⁹ The fan shaped corner towers of Capidava are built between the mid fourth and the late fifth centuries as additions to the mid third century initial construction.²⁹⁰

The shape of the tower A at Pınarhisar differs with all of these examples. Unsymmetrical arrangement of the two halves of the tower gives it a distinctive shape which is not often seen in the Late Roman or Early Byzantine fortifications. It may be plausible to suggest a common origin with the fan-shaped or horseshoe-shaped towers of the above mentioned parallels and tower A in Pınarhisar. Third and fourth century examples are employed on

²⁸³ Purbi 1980: 243-47.

²⁸⁴ Purbi 1980: 244.

²⁸⁵ Purbi 1980: 244-45.

²⁸⁶ Purbi 1980: 246.

²⁸⁷ Purbi 1980: 246.

²⁸⁸ Purbi 1980: 247.

²⁸⁹ Purbi 1980: 247.

²⁹⁰ Purbi 1980: 246.

the right angled corners of the circuits. It may be possible that after a period of experimentation this type of towers thanks to their wide range of visibility and fire were recognised sufficient to apply also on the locations where the circuit makes turn. According to Lander this type of towers were in use as early as 284.²⁹¹ On the basis of the shape of tower A I would suppose that the lower circuit would be dated after the end of the third century.

Semicircular outward flanking bastions derive from the 4th-6th centuries. Advantages of these curved structures seem to have made them increasingly applicable. Besides wide range of visibility and firing range they are more strong to resist the destructive effects of battling rams or catapults than the square or rectangular ones.²⁹²

On the basis of formal analysis Tower B and reportedly tower CI of the lower circuit at Pinarhisar are semicircular structures which may be dated to the fourth-sixth centuries. Since tower A may be earliest dated to the early fourth century, the lower circuit may belong to the fourth or sixth centuries.

Historically both centuries are possible. A more precise date for the lower circuit is difficult in the lack of historical evidence, inscriptions and datable spoils.

Dating the hilltop fortification at Pinarhisar is also not easy. On

²⁹¹ J. Lander (pp 246-252) classified this type of fan-shaped tower as splayed-fan (type C). Lander dates the earliest example of this shape to 284 (at Contra Aquincum on the Danube). J. Lander, *Roman Stone Fortifications* BAR International Series 206, 1986 Oxford. I am indebted to Dr. J. Bennett for pointing out this information.

²⁹² Biernacka-Lubanska 1982: 153.

the basis of building material and construction technique towers N and NW appear to be contemporary. Alternating banded masonry of brick and stone and recessed brick techniques in the brick bands are common features of these towers which allow us to group them in the same period of construction. Tower C represents a different period. Its central location may indicate that it was built later than the circuit towers.

Although the historical sources frequently mention Pınarhisar between the eighth and 15th centuries, among these accounts there is no reference of construction or repair work referring fortifications. Considering the fact that there is no reused material which would contribute the dating, comparison remains the single tool to attempt to date the remains of the fortress.

The closest parallel is the walls of the capital. However, banded masonry is a technique that was applied between the third and the thirteenth centuries in Byzantine fortifications and in Constantinople this type of construction is applied from the fifth through the twelfth centuries which is of little help in dating.²⁹³

The recessed brick technique employed in tower NW may provide more specific but still not accurate date for their construction.²⁹⁴ The technique seems to have been introduced in the latter part of the 10th century in Constantinople and its employment seems to have been continued probably

²⁹³ Foss 1985: 81.

²⁹⁴ Vocotopoulos introduces the term 'concealed course technique' in order to cover the technique employing recessed stone slabs as well as the brick courses (1979: 247 note 2).

into the fourteen century.²⁹⁵ However, the technique was not in general use in the 10th century and became fashionable in the 11th century.²⁹⁶ Although Vocotopoulos remarks the difficulties to attest the technique as a convenient dating criterion limited to the eleventh and twelfth centuries, the technique is generally accepted as an indicator for this period.²⁹⁷

For a more precise date a parallel in Kütahya may provide valuable information. The dome of rounded polygonal tower (53) at Kütahya made in pitched brickwork is similar with the dome of the tower N at Pınarhisar (plate 62). Outer facing of the initial phase of tower 53 is later strengthened by an additional shell covering the work of the first period.²⁹⁸ There is evidence of rebuilding in the interior of the tower before the shell was constructed.²⁹⁹

Both facings of tower 53 at Kütahya have alternating banded masonry of brick and stone (plate 63). The work of the second phase is more regular and closer to tower N at Pınarhisar on the basis of general appearance and the surface mortar recessing some of the bricks in the bands (plate 64). However, use of vertical bricks as seen in the tower 53 is not evident in Pınarhisar.

Foss dates the initial construction of the tower 53 to the latter part of the ninth century and the shell covering the first period to the 12th

²⁹⁵ Vocotopoulos 1979: 258-59.

²⁹⁶ Foss 1996: 49.

²⁹⁷ Vocotopoulos 1979: 248, 259.

²⁹⁸ Foss 1985: 42.

²⁹⁹ Foss 1985: 43.

century.³⁰⁰ Foss' description is not clear whether the dome is contemporary with the first period of construction or the dome is also part of the rebuilding activity covering interior facing before the work of the second period. If the dome of the tower 53 at Kütahya belongs to the initial construction, it must be work of the ninth century. If it is part of later work, it is later than the ninth century and earlier than the 12th century. The dome of tower 53 in Kütahya is the typical roofing style of the Middle Byzantine period employed for the massive towers.³⁰¹ A work of similar brick dome in Constantinople (Karagümrük cistern) is dated to the 11th or the 12th centuries (plate 65).³⁰² Parallels from Kütahya and Constantinople indicate that the dome of the tower N at Pınarhisar is work of the ninth - 12th centuries.

On the basis of the recessed brick technique in theory the towers at Pınarhisar would be dated between the 10th-14th centuries. The ninth century remains early for the recessed brick technique. Thus, the towers under discussion might have been built between the 10th-12th centuries.

Another parallel from Ritzion (Darica) is close enough to limit this time span more precisely for the towers N and NW at Pınarhisar. A horseshoe-shaped tower at Ritzion is entered through an arched opening in brick and has alternating banded masonry of stone and brick. Brick bands consist of four courses of brick set in recessed technique.³⁰³ This tower is dated to the time of Manuel Comnenus (1143-80).³⁰⁴

³⁰⁰ Foss 1985: 83.

³⁰¹ Foss and Winfield 1986: 29.

³⁰² Mango 1978: 14-15.

³⁰³ Foss 1996: 49.

³⁰⁴ Foss 1996: 50.

Historically the second half of the 12th century as already mentioned is appropriate for the fortification activity in the region under discussion. On the other hand, ecclesiastical arrangements took place in the 12th century indicate that the site became an important administrative centre. Pınarhisar became an archbishopric in the 12th century. Thus, it is reasonable to suppose that the towers N and NW at Pınarhisar were built during the reign of Manuel Comnenus.

Apparently tower C is built later than towers N and NW. If it were the case the next building activity in the fortress can be dated after the late 12th century. Small facing blocks of the northeast wall of tower C are bonded to the mortared core by a cribwork. Extensive cribwork, lack of banded masonry and new brick and use of brick as filler between the stones are the most distinctive features of tower C which may be of help in dating.

Employment of cribwork for the bonding of the facing to the mortared rubble core is regarded by many scholars as late Turkish work.³⁰⁵ Use of new bricks was abandoned after the fourteenth century and all stone construction dominated until the end of the Byzantine period.³⁰⁶ Furthermore, use of brick fill may indicate early Turkish period.³⁰⁷ These would not give a precise date for tower C but strengthens the views that tower C reflects Turkish style.

Analogy indicates a more precise date. The citadel walls of Strobilos near Bodrum (plate 66), Keçikalesi and Torbalı fortresses (works

³⁰⁵ Foss and Winfield 1986: 28.

³⁰⁶ Mango 1978: 10.

³⁰⁷ Foss 1988: 162

of emirs of Aydın) near Ephesus have similar masonry employing coursed fieldstones and rubble, cut stones as quoins and brick fill between stones.³⁰⁸ These parallels are close enough to put tower C in the 14th century.³⁰⁹ Historically, as above discussed mid 14th century in the area is plausible for the construction of tower C.

Although there is no historical evidence known to me related to the builders and the function of the fortress Pınarhisar appears to be an important religious and military centre throughout the Middle and the Late Byzantine periods. The massive towers and neat masonry of the mid 12th century work indicate imperial authority behind the construction. The function of the hilltop fortress in Pınarhisar during the Manuel's reign would be to control the routes to and from the capital. For the mid 14th century the fortress appears to be a stronghold for Andronicus II who was supported by Emir of Aydın, Umur. Turkish involvement with the construction of tower C therefore may indicate involvement of Seljuk masons probably brought by Umur (mid 14th century), as well as Turkish period after 1368.

308 Foss1988: 162.

309 Foss1988: 163.

CONCLUSION

The three sites under discussion have a number of common aspects and dissimilarities which would imply some conclusions.

To start with the physical similarities between the sites, Yoğuntaş, Keçikalesi and the upper fortress at Pınarhisar are located on hilltops that have abundant water sources nearby and in the fortifications. The area that the fortresses occupy and their shape are determined by the hilltops that they were built on. Their dominant position in landscape enables the occupants of these fortresses to control mountain passes as well as large plains. Finally, these hilltop fortifications have either massive towers as seen at Pınarhisar, or decorative facings as seen at Yoğuntaş and strong looking walls as seen at Keçikalesi. These fortifications were therefore probably built mainly in order to protect the roads as they emerge from the hills, and to block passage of the enemy along the roads.

On the basis of these common aspects the lower fortification at Pınarhisar which is located on a plain remains radically different. While the hilltop fortifications take the advantage of the topography in order to control the environment and seem to serve to the local inhabitants as refuge sites during the danger, the lower fortress at Pınarhisar more likely represents a "city" wall which would serve a permanent living base for the native inhabitants. Possible attackers to the walls and towers seem not to be taken serious. Either the walls might be too strong for their level of technology or the attackers might have not meant to invade the fortification at all.

The main criterion behind this suggestion is that the lower fortification at Pınarhisar is located on the even terrain surrounded by low hills, lacking a self defenced high position and there is no wide range visibility to control the routes around the fortress. Alone, choice of location for these two kind of fortifications (hilltop and plain type) implies different preferences in terms of defensive technology and measures of information gathering. A conclusion that can be reached from this analysis is that the suggested date for the lower fortification at Pınarhisar would fit with the general defensive characteristics of the fifth - sixth centuries when the northern people came to plunder the area but not to settle.

After the physical similarities, chronology may contribute to reach further conclusions. If the argument on the dating of Yoğuntaş, Keçikalesi and the hilltop fortress at Pınarhisar is accepted, the 12th century appears to be a common date of which the remains survive in three of the sites. Yoğuntaş and Pınarhisar have later occupation until the end of the Byzantine period in the area, while in Keçikalesi there is no evidence for later construction activity. For the earlier dates than the 12th century there is no concrete material evidence to suggest a precise date in three of the sites, but textual evidence indicates that Yoğuntaş and Pınarhisar were active in the latter part of the eighth century. Furthermore, parallels recall an eighth century date for the main body of the fortress at Yoğuntaş.

This chronological framework and the physical location of the two fortifications suggest that Pınarhisar and Yoğuntaş were active contemporaneously from the eighth century onwards, apparently members of

the same system of defence. If it were the case, the shift from the lower fortress to the hilltop fortress at Pınarhisar might have taken place between the fifth/sixth - early eighth centuries.³¹⁰ It is also important to keep in mind that for Yoğuntaş and Pınarhisar the textual evidence for the first time refers to the ecclesiastical affairs of the eighth century. In the Byzantine Empire military organisation was closely linked to the ecclesiastical administration and changes in military administration were usually followed by adaptations in the ecclesiastical sphere.³¹¹ First appearance of the name of these sites in the ecclesiastical records in relation to their representation in the Council of 787 suggests that these sites were members of a new system of defence. Unfortunately, the ancient name of Keçikalesi is not known and its recorded history is not in existence. The first period of occupation in Keçikalesi can not be dated precisely because of fragmentary state of preservation and lack of diagnostic features. However, as above discussed Keçikalesi may fit with this system mainly on the ground of historical background of the region and its location. If the discussion on the “new” system of defence is a plausible one, than Keçikalesi is a suitable candidate for this system for the eighth century, if it were a member of the system in the 12th century.

To sum up, three fortifications under question may be brought into connection with the protection of the southern Strandcha and patrolling the trade routes between north and Constantinople. Building activities in these

³¹⁰ It is also possible that the lower fortress was not abandoned, but the defence system was strengthened by the hilltop fortress which might have served as a citadel. However, there is no evidence to support this.

³¹¹ Crow and Hill 1995: 260.

fortifications seem to have been intensified in two main periods. The first period represents the struggle with the northern neighbour in eastern Thrace. Establishment of the First Bulgarian State (680) had made the area under discussion the northern frontier of the Empire until the south bank of the Danube was re-conquered (971 - 1018).

This new role (becoming the frontier) seems to have necessitated a new military, administrative and religious organisation in the area. Thus, dictated by increasing regional threats the defensive measures of the Empire were reorganised under the theme system. It is highly possible that Yoğuntaş and Keçikalesi were first built under the theme system by the late seventh early eighth centuries as members of a larger defensive project protecting the southern ramification of the Strandzha chain. Pınarhisar was either shifted to the hilltop or the hilltop was built while the lower fortification was still in use.

Browning discusses that eastern Thrace must have been well defended by a series of fortresses by the early ninth century when Krum was attacked on Macedonia.³¹² This system might have been well maintained until the territories of the Bulgarian state was annexed to the Byzantines in the late 10th century. Following this the theme system disintegrates in eastern Thrace and the defence of the frontier is given to the newly founded themes on the further north (Map 4).³¹³ The counterpart of this fortification activity in Asia Minor is well documented. The Byzantine reaction to the Persian and Arab invasions of its territory in the seventh century in Anatolia was a building

³¹² Browning 1975: 49.

³¹³ Koledarov 1977; Kaegi 1993: 49.

program of fortresses throughout the country under the theme system.³¹⁴

The second common period of construction activity in three of the fortifications under question is the 12th century. The loss of eastern lands, (Melitine in 1058; Caesarea in 1067; Manzikert in 1071) and Seljuk attacks that reached Nicaea in 1080 focused Byzantine attention once again on the western trade routes. A further major historical event is the introduction of the crusades which resulted in the loss of Constantinople in 1204 and the Latin occupation of the capital for the following 57 years. All these historical episodes indicate that between the 11th and 13th centuries the area under discussion was subject to activities of fortification construction and rebuilding campaigns. This activity appears to be the counterpart of the same program in Asia Minor. The imperial program of fortification activities in Anatolia and Thrace during the Comnenian and Palaeologan periods indicates seriousness of Byzantium in protecting communications between its Anatolian and European territories.³¹⁵

John Comnenus' (1118-43) policy was to construct fortifications rather than city walls to protect the roads, river crossings, and the routes vital for coastal transportation.³¹⁶ Manuel's concern was to consolidate the imperial authority. New fortresses were built or older ones were reconstructed in order to protect the routes. These fortification also aimed to offer refuge for the local inhabitants during danger.³¹⁷ The Turks were

314 Foss 1985: 82.

315 Foss 1996: 69.

316 Foss and Winfield 1986:146.

317 Foss and Winfield 1986: 147, fig. 23-25.

increasingly disturbing the imperial territory. As part of Manuel's building program Neocastra around Pergamum aimed to strengthen the defence of the Byzantine territory.³¹⁸ For the Comnenian period (1081-1185) the fortresses under discussion may be seen as Thracian members of a larger defensive project of imperial origin which is well documented in Anatolia.

Further investigations on the same line would reveal other members of Thracian system in the area of Yıldız chain. There are a number of questions that can be answered after the system is fully understood. What is the relation of such a defensive line and the concept of linear fortifications (the Long Wall) in defence of Constantinople? How was the logistic system operating along the line? What was the techniques of communication between the members and the capital? As discussed in chapter 2 it is possible to suggest that there was an early warning system running in the area. Parallels imply that this system might have been used in both periods when the defensive line was in fully use (eighth and 12th centuries).

The present study will fulfil its goal if it contributes further work on the defensive line of the southern Strandcha.

318 Foss 1996: 58.

111
APPENDIX 1

GLOSSARY

Ballista: Military engine often in the form of crossbow for hurling large missiles.

Catapult: Military device to hurl missiles.

Cloisonné: A masonry technique which means that the stones, laid in single courses, are individually framed by bricks, both horizontally and vertically (Mango 1978: 118).

Cribwork: A system of bonding with wooden beams in which the beams are joined together to form a network which usually runs directly behind the face of a wall or tower (Foss 1985: 25).

Crossbow: A weapon for discharging quarrels and stones that consists of chiefly of a short bow mounted crosswise near the end of a stock.

Trebuchet: Military device for hurling heavy missiles such as rocks.

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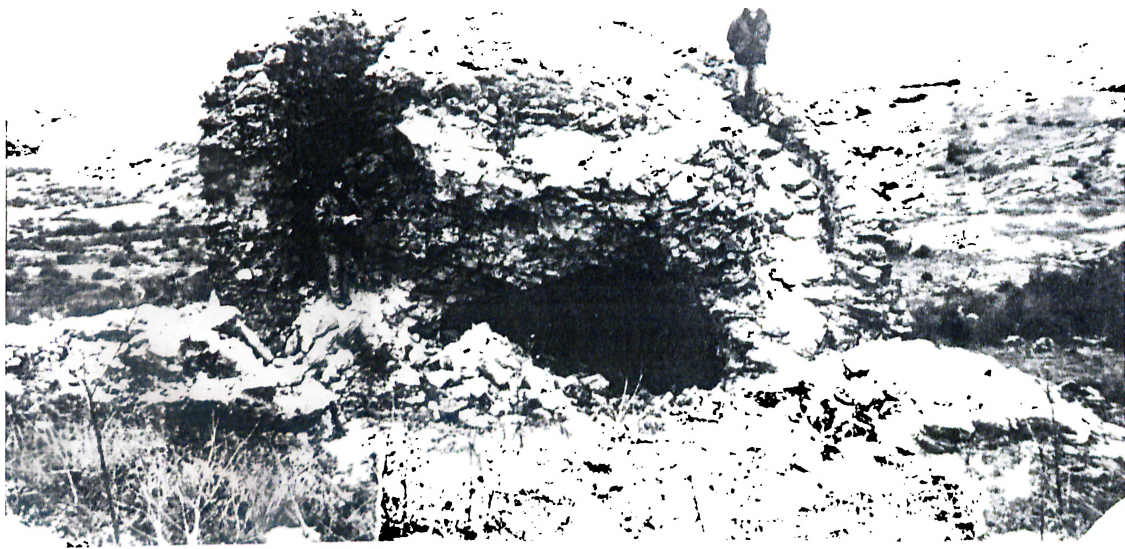
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1 - T1 from south west.



2 - T1 from south west.



3 - T1 from north.



4 - T1 detail.



5 - T1 / T3 curtain, fragment of outer facing and core.



6 - T2 general from east.



7 - T2 1st and 2nd phases from south west.



8 - T2 south wall.



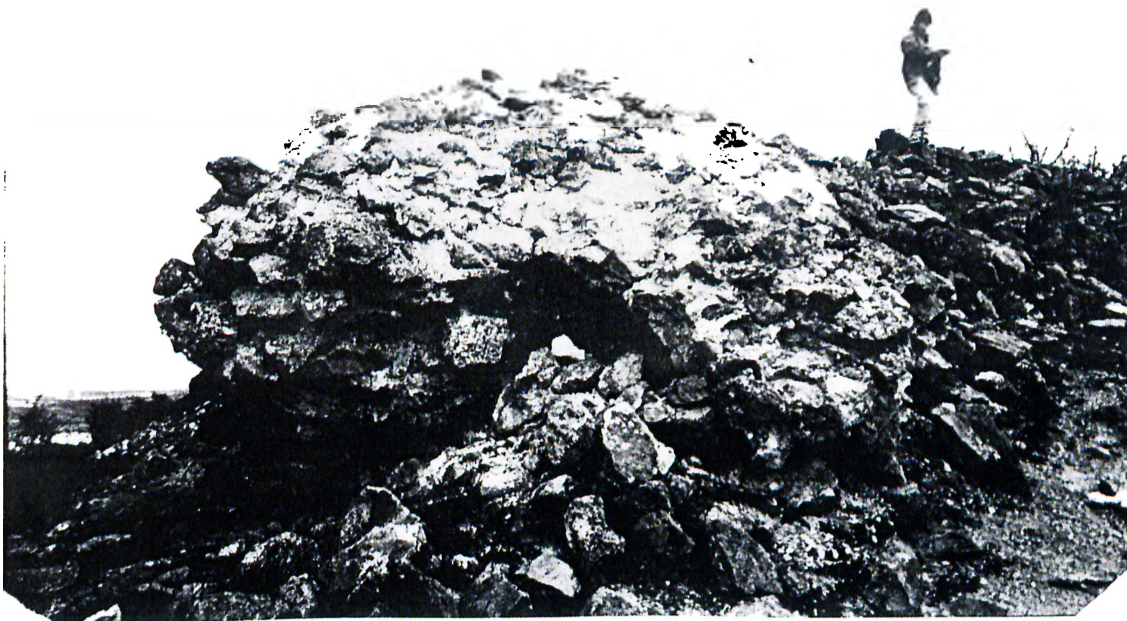
9 - T2 2nd phase (shell), from west.



10 - T2 2nd phase (shell), from north.



11 -T3 and East-West Wall from north west.



12 -T5 core.



13 - 'Platform' from north.



14 - T9 from west.



15 - T10 from west.



16 - T11 from north west.



17 - T10 / T11 curtain inner facing.



18 - T11 / T12 curtain outer facing.



19 - T13 from south east.



20 - T15 from south.



21 - T17 from south.



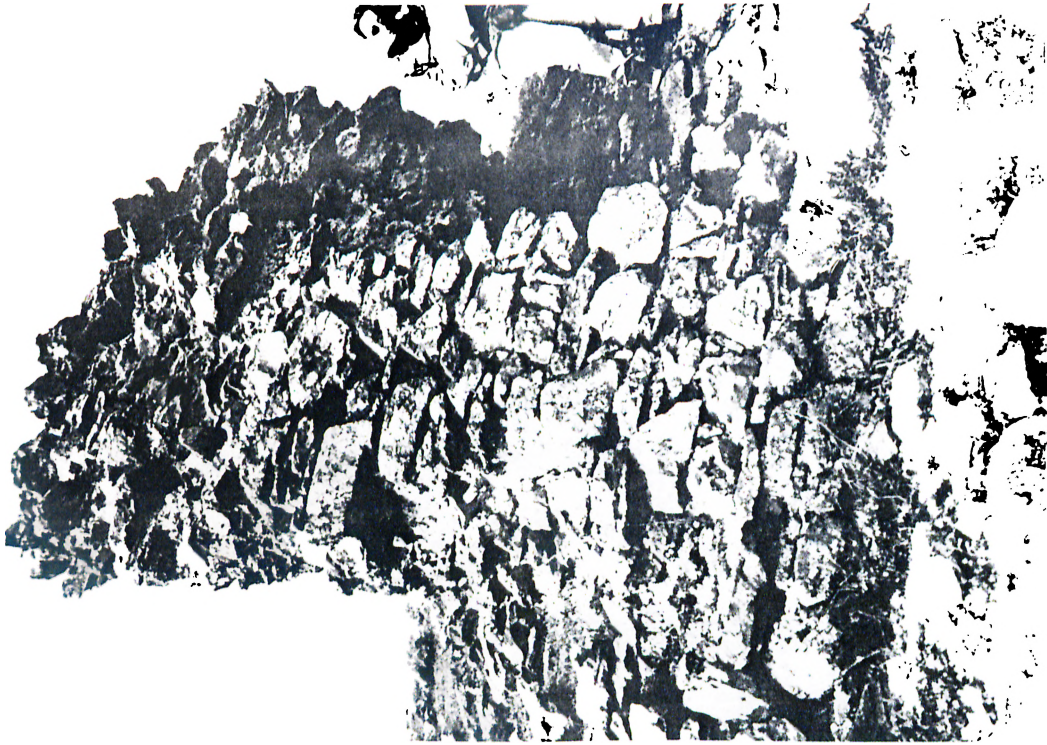
22 - T18 from south.



23 - T21 from south east.



24 - T25 from south west.



25 - T26 from south west.



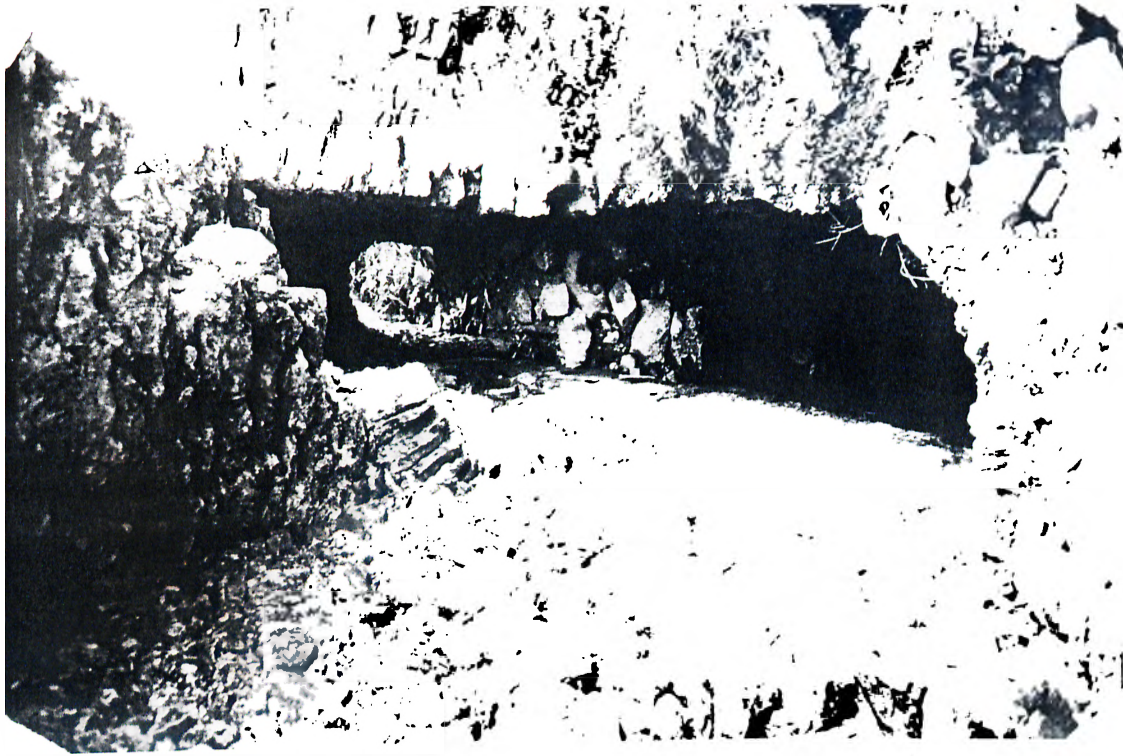
26 - T0 from south east.



27 - Cistern (C) general view from north.



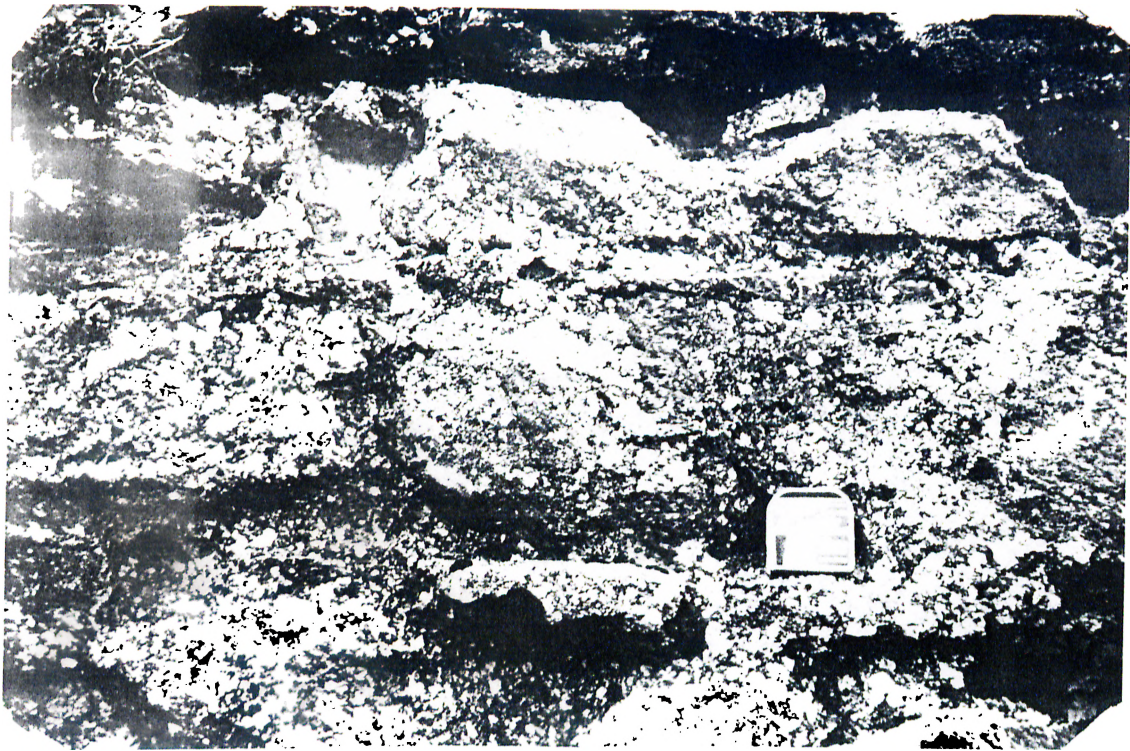
28 - C south wall.



29 - C arched channel between the barrel vaults, south wall from east.



30 - BA west wall.



31 - BA detail of west wall.



33 - General view from south.



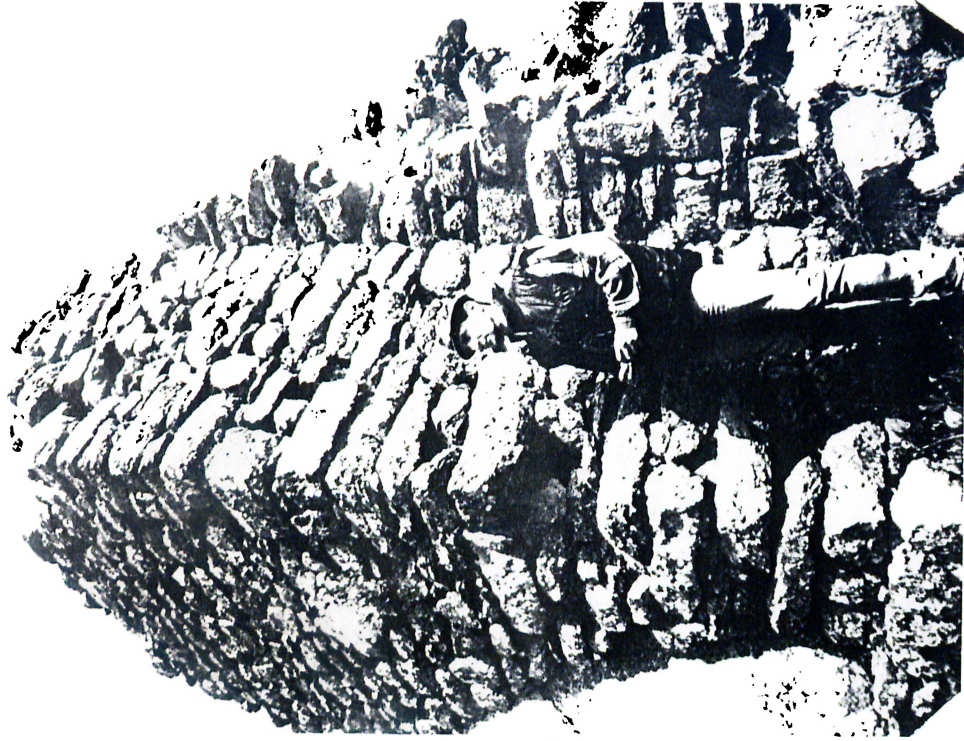
34 - Spur from south east.



35 - SW1 from south east.



36 - GW1 from south.



37 - GW1 flanking bastion from south east.



38 - T1, SW2 from south east.



39 - SW2 detail.

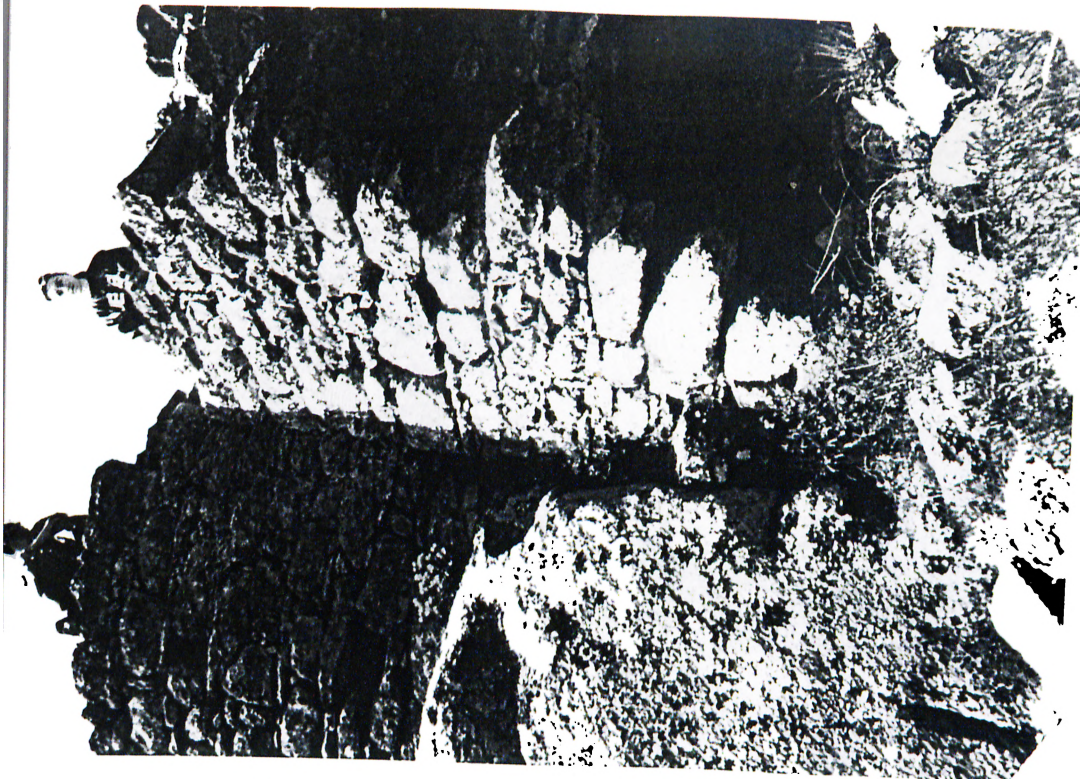


40 - SW2 detail.



41 - SW2, T2 detail from south.

42 - T2, East Wall from north east.





43 - T2 inner facing from north.

44 - GW2 inner facing from west.

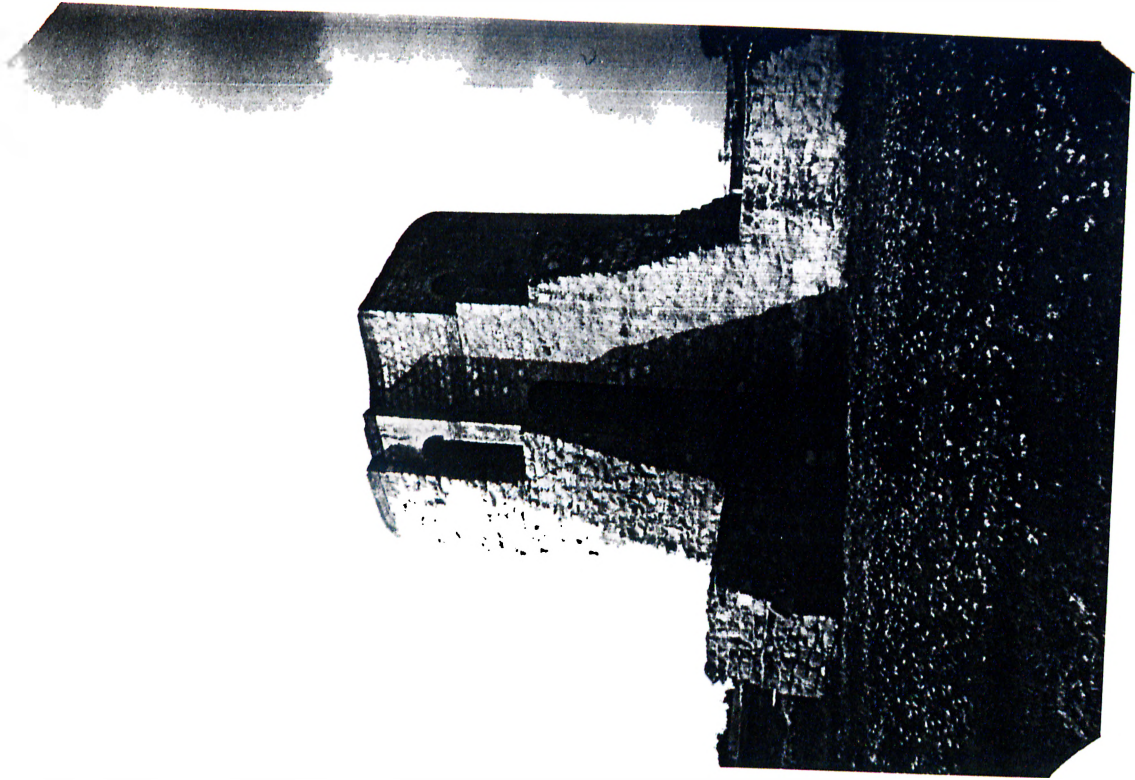




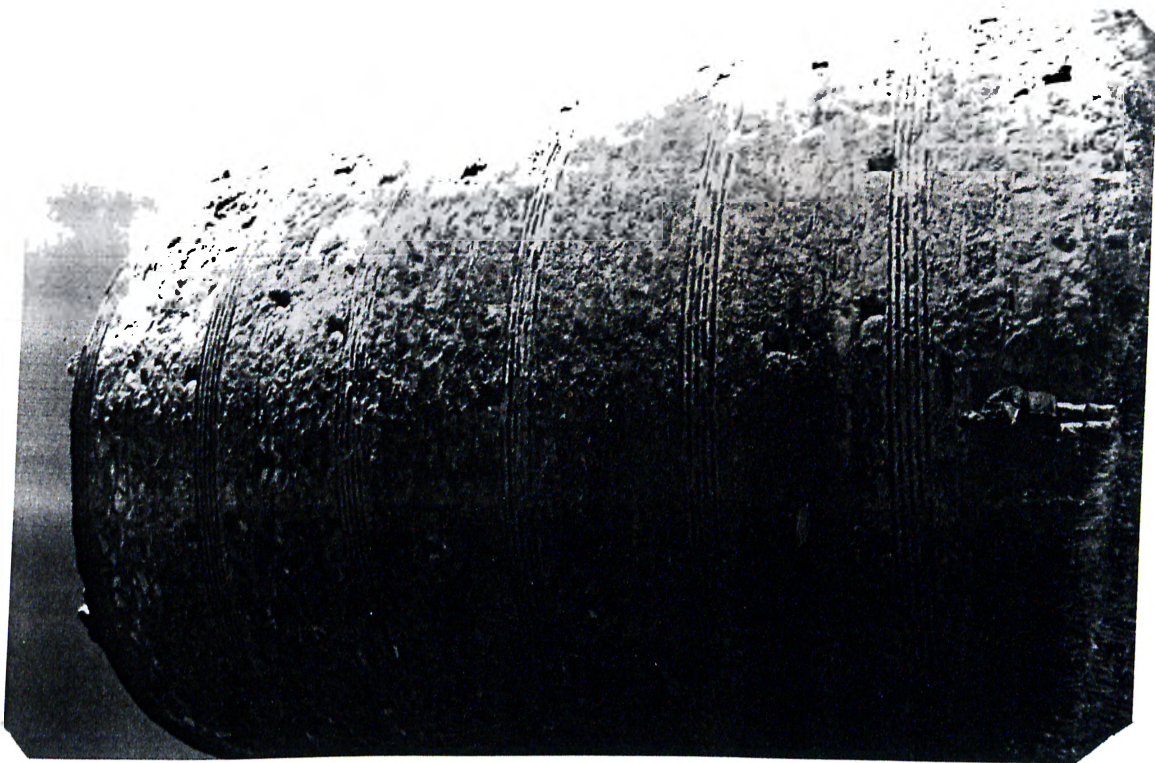
45 - Western end of the North Wall from north.

46 - Corner on the West Wall from north west.

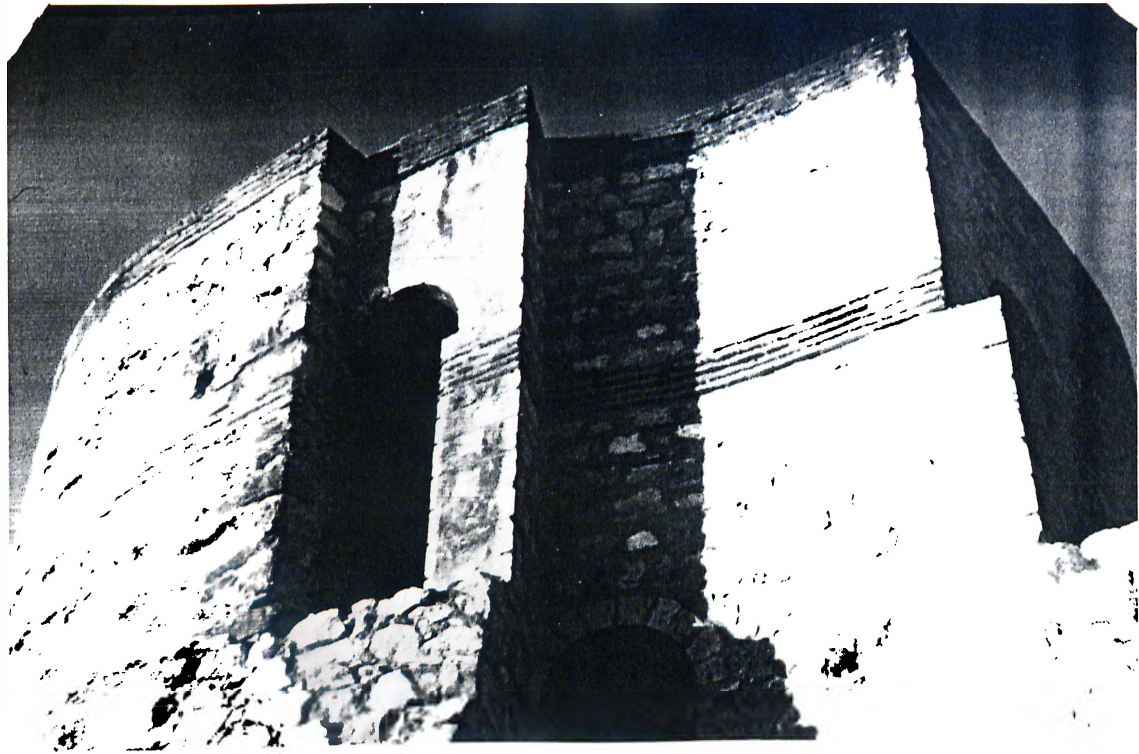




47 - Tower N from south.



48 - Tower N from north.



49 - Tower N detail from south.



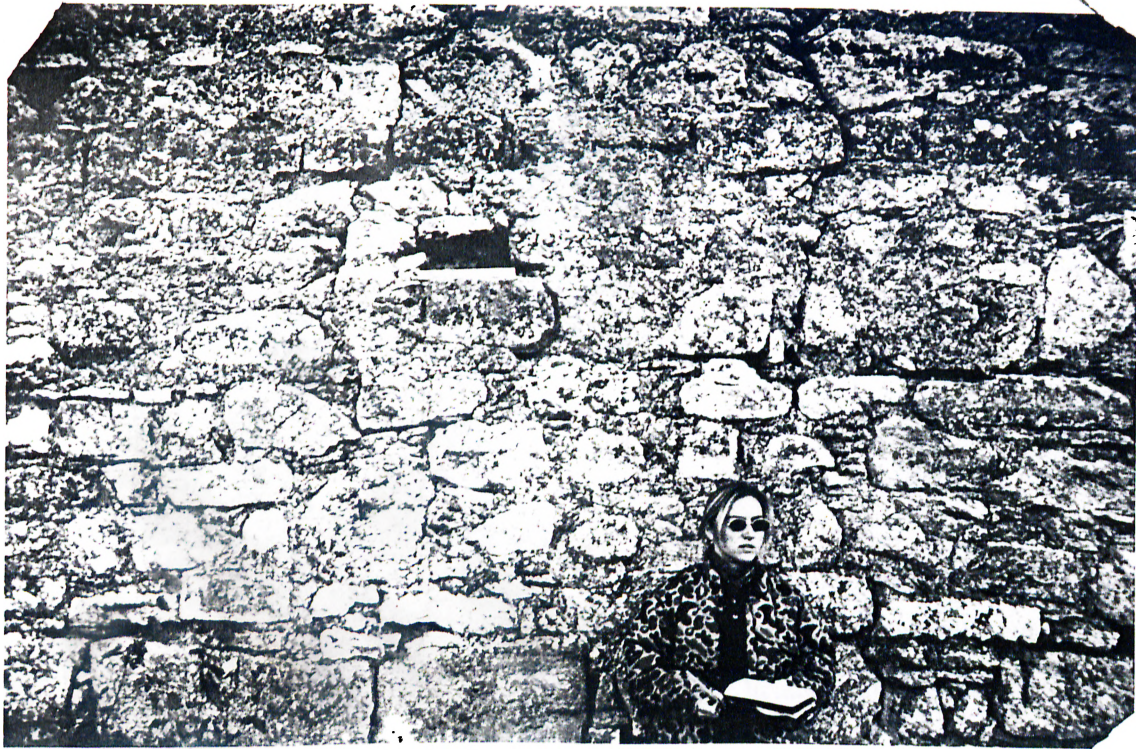
50 - Tower N inner space from south.



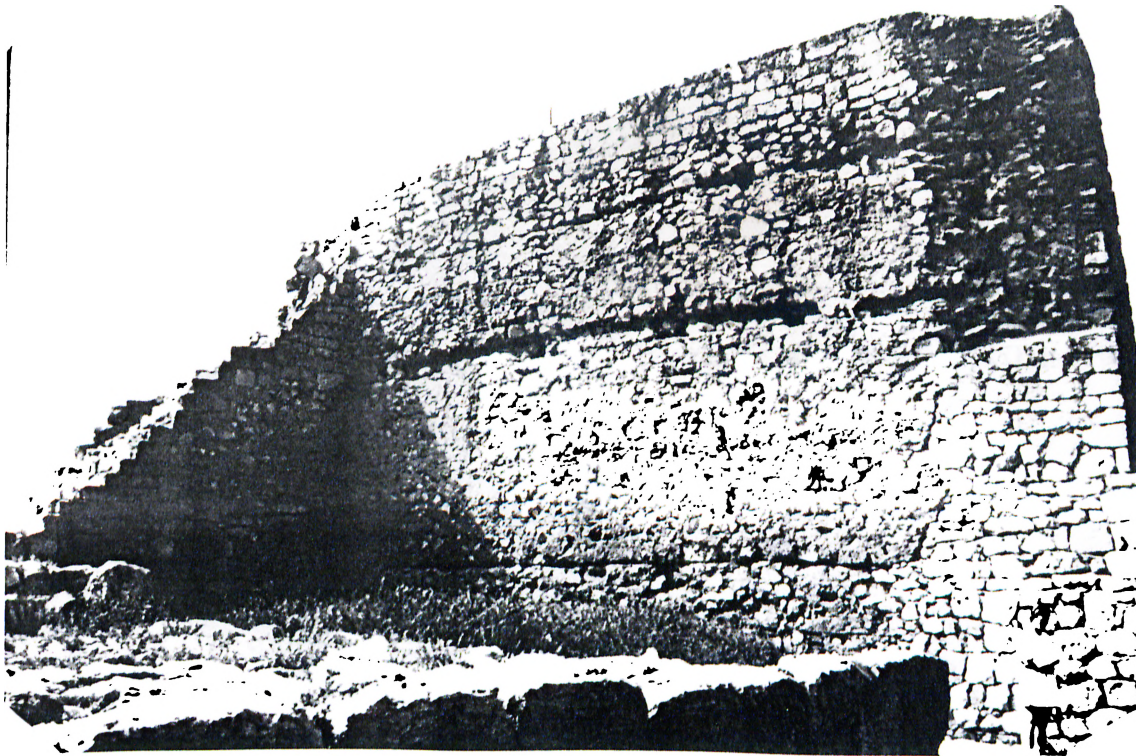
51- Tower NW detail.



52 - Remains of tower SW from north west.



53 - Tower C outer facing from north.



54 - Tower C inner facing from south east.



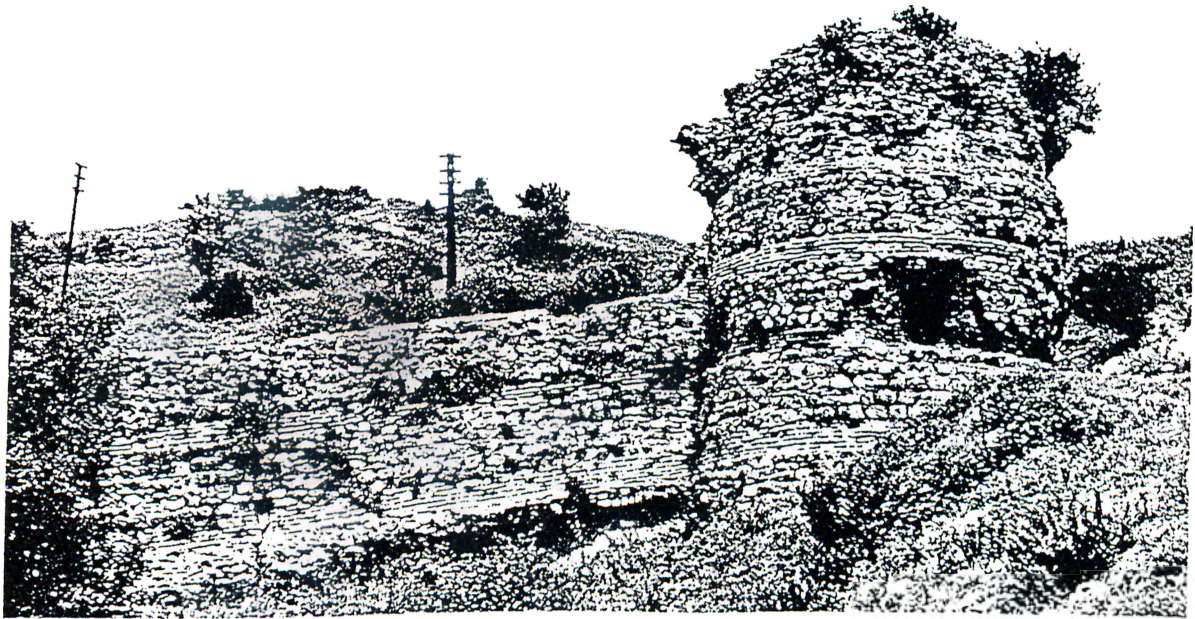
61 - Kayserkale, W1/2, detail of face, showing the carefully cut stonework of headers and stretchers (Foss 1985 fig. 91).



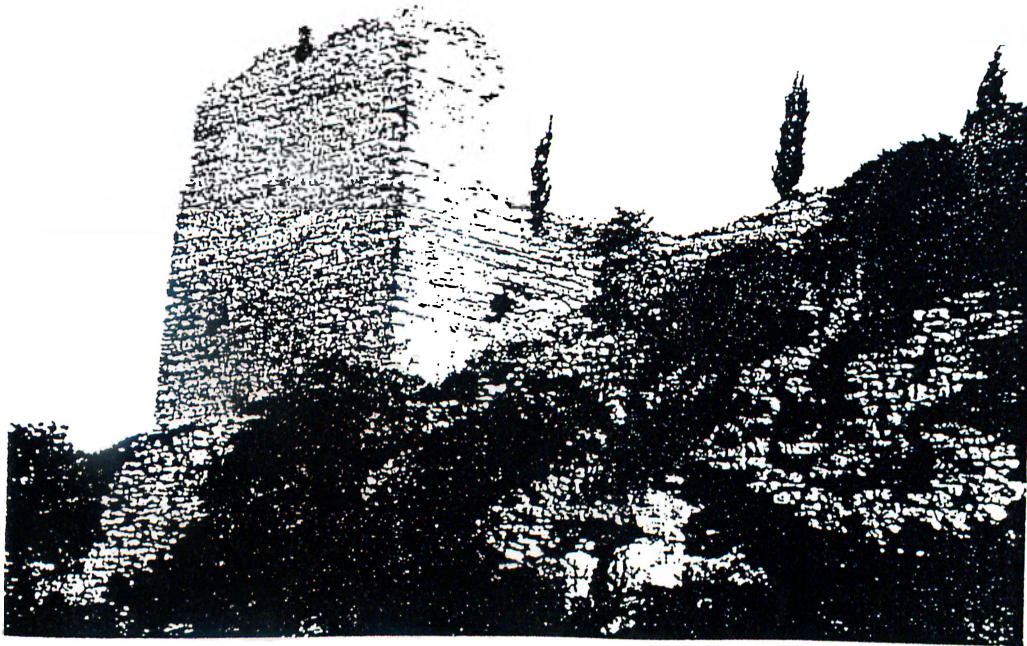
55 - Kayserkale, W2/3: masonry of coursed rubble with brick bands (Foss 1985 fig. 93).



56 - Kayserkale, W2/3, row of beamhole set side by side near the base of the wall
(Foss 1985 fig. 89).



57 - Hieron, section of lower walls (Foss and Winfield 1986 part three, fig. 26).



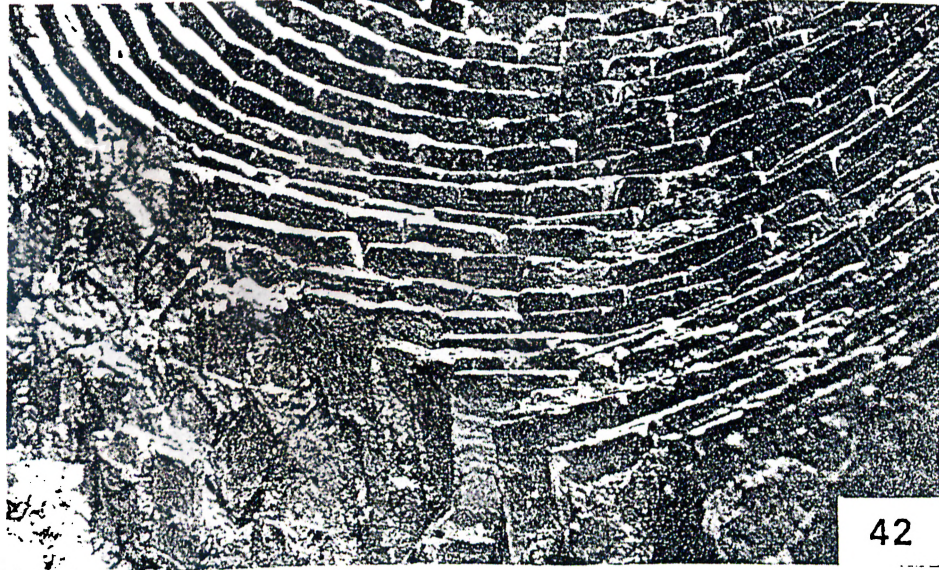
58 - Niketiaton, T1, from the NW (Foss 1996 fig. 32).



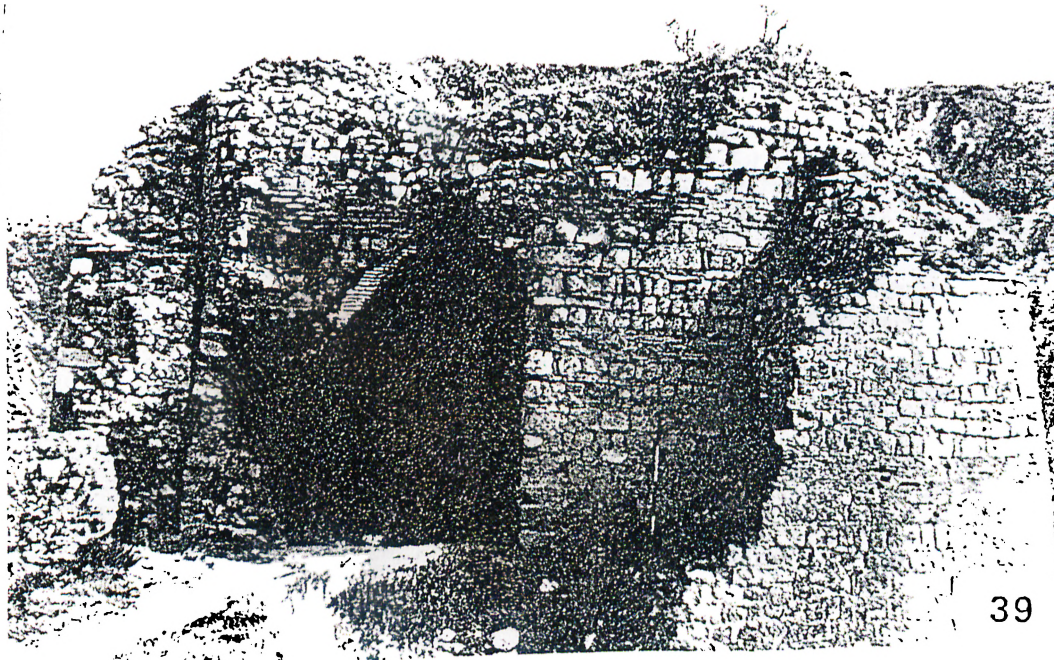
59 - Niketiaton, T1, masonry (Foss 1996 fig. 33).



60 - Lopadium, semicircular tower (Foss and Winfield 1986 part three, fig. 20).



62 - Kütahya, T53, inner chamber, detail of vaulting (Foss 1985 fig. 42).



39

63 - Kütahya, T53, both facings from the north (Foss 1985 fig.39).

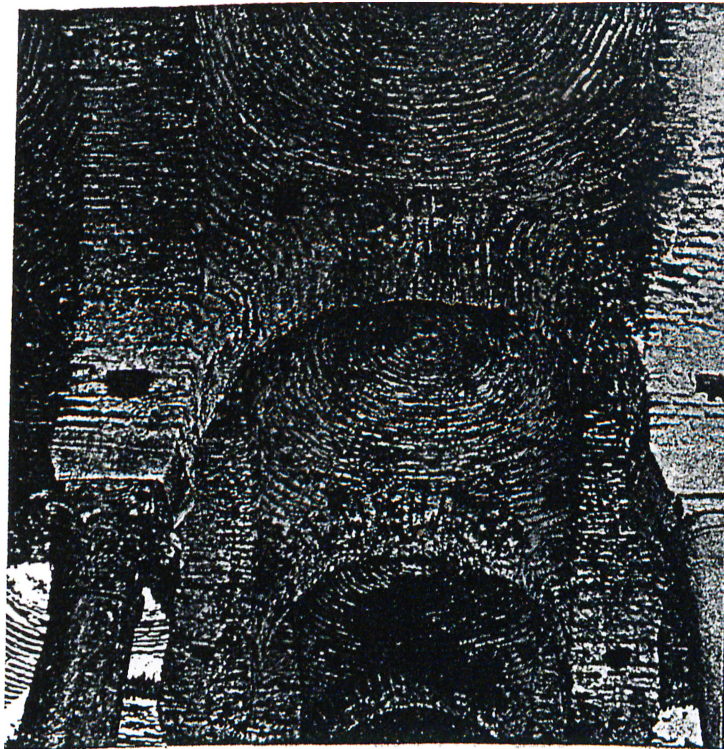


64 - Kütahya, T53, detail of outer face,
south side T53 (Foss 1985 fig.41).

41



66 - Strobilos, SW side of citadel (Foss 1988 plate 15 a).



65 - Constantinople, Karagümruk cistern, domical vaults (Mango 1978 fig. 11).

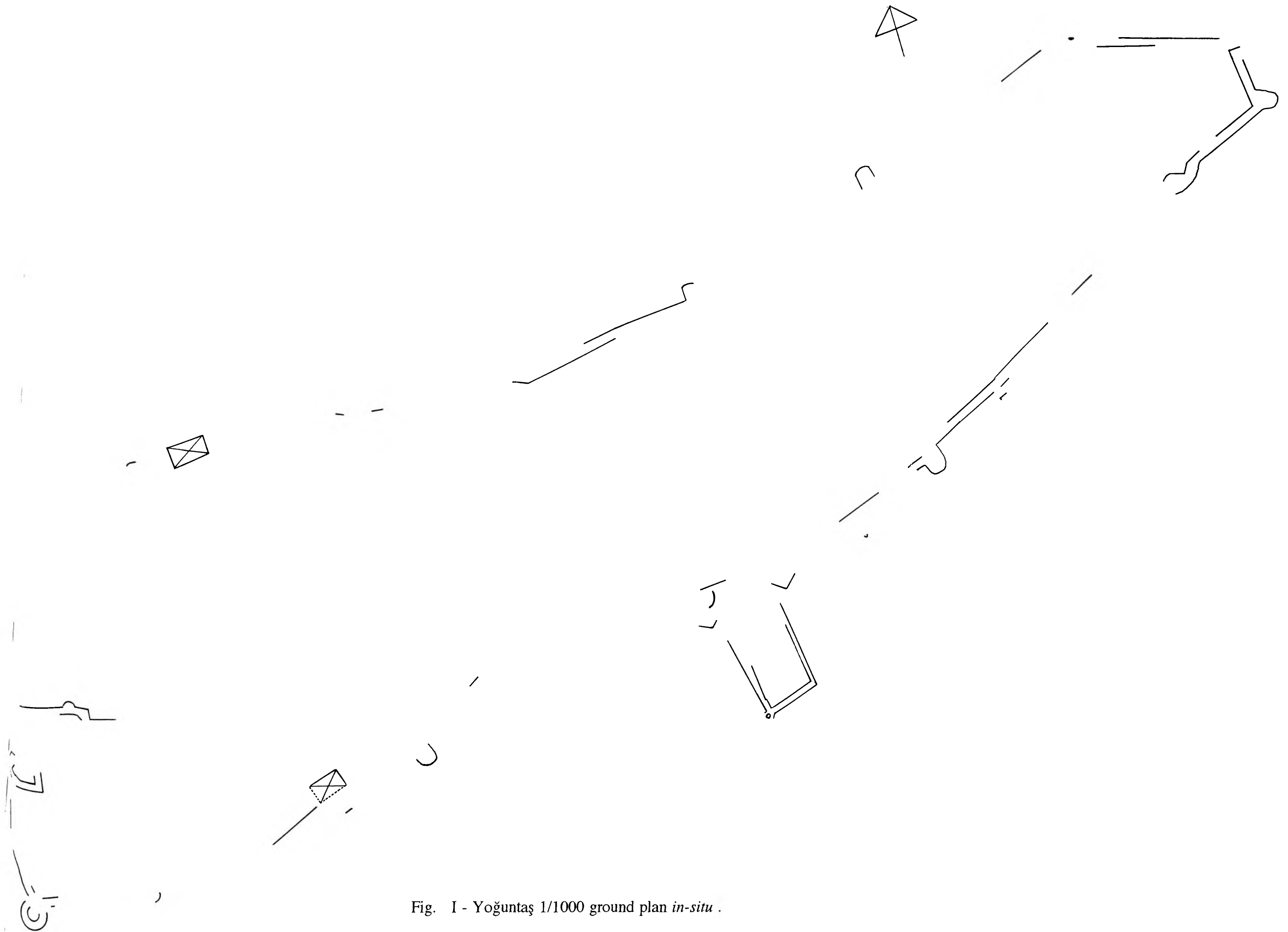


Fig. I - Yoğuntaş 1/1000 ground plan *in-situ* .

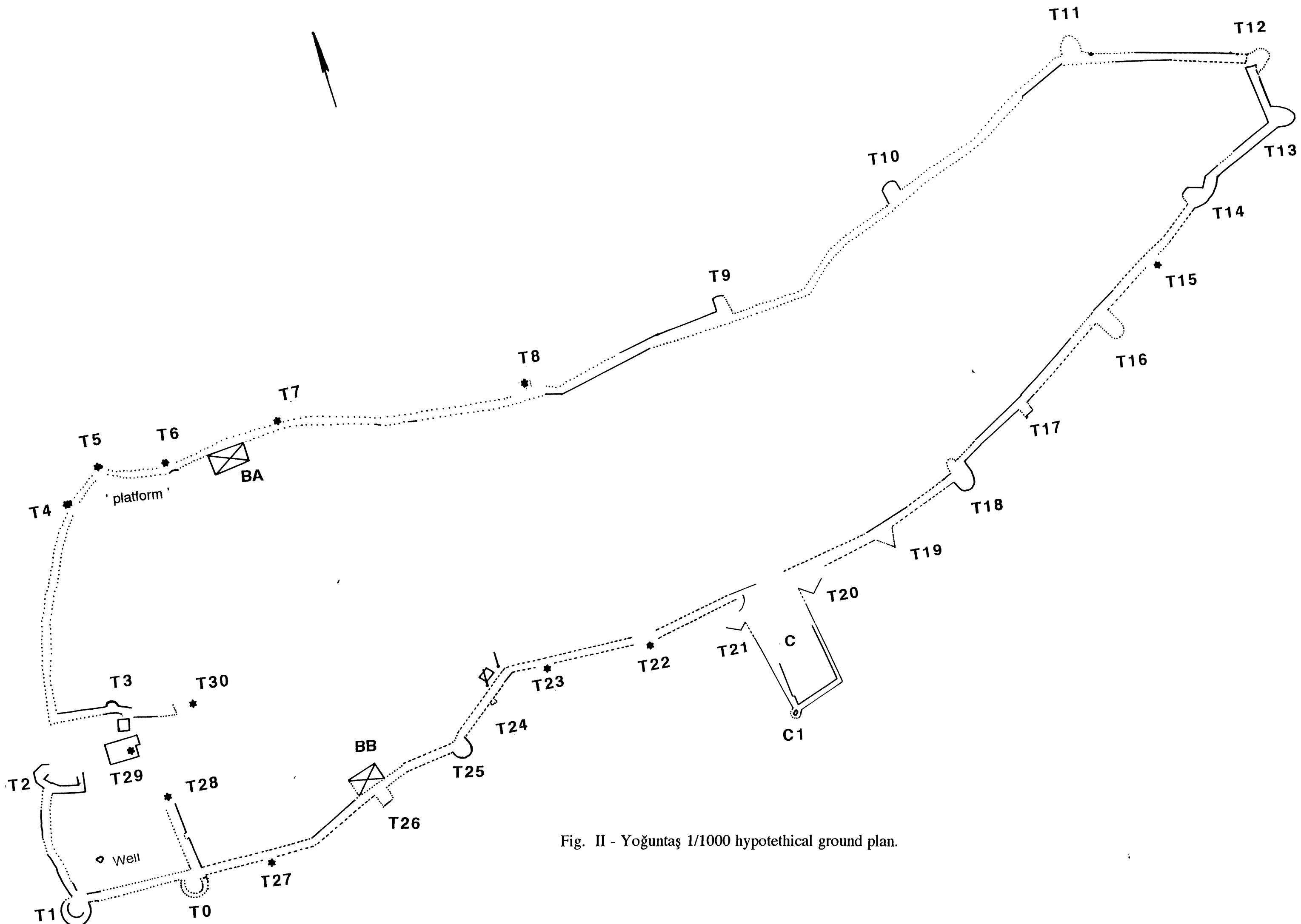


Fig. II - Yoğuntaş 1/1000 hypothetical ground plan.

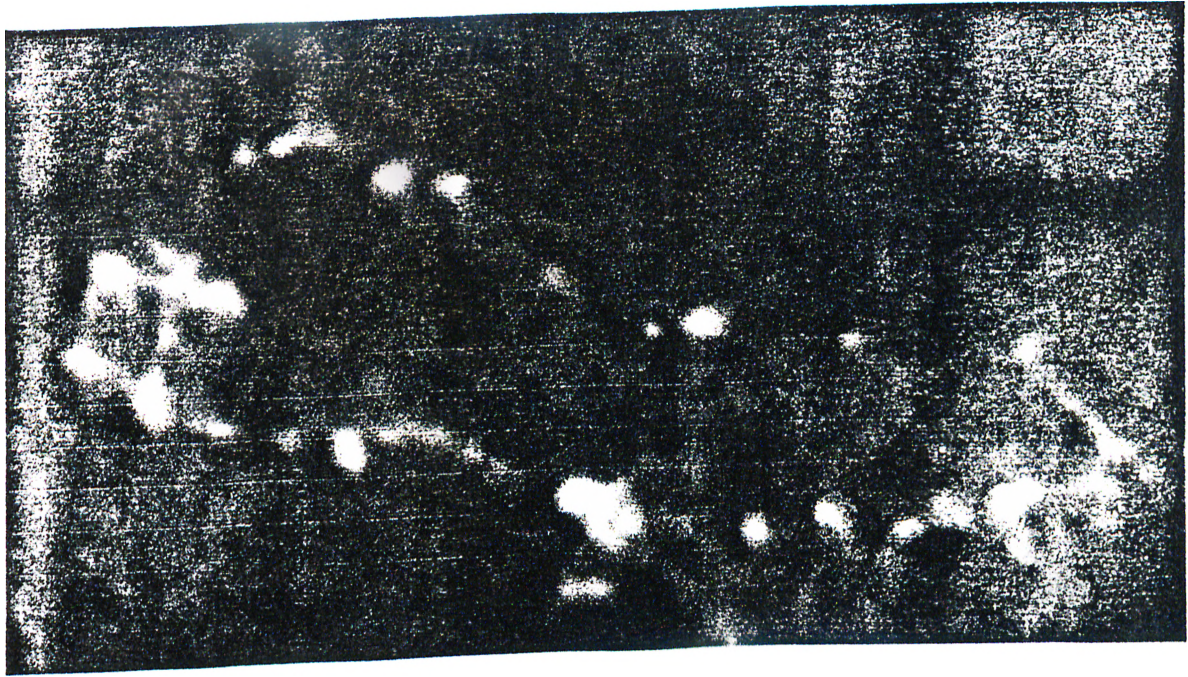


Fig. III - Yoğuntaş, view magnified from the aerial photograph.

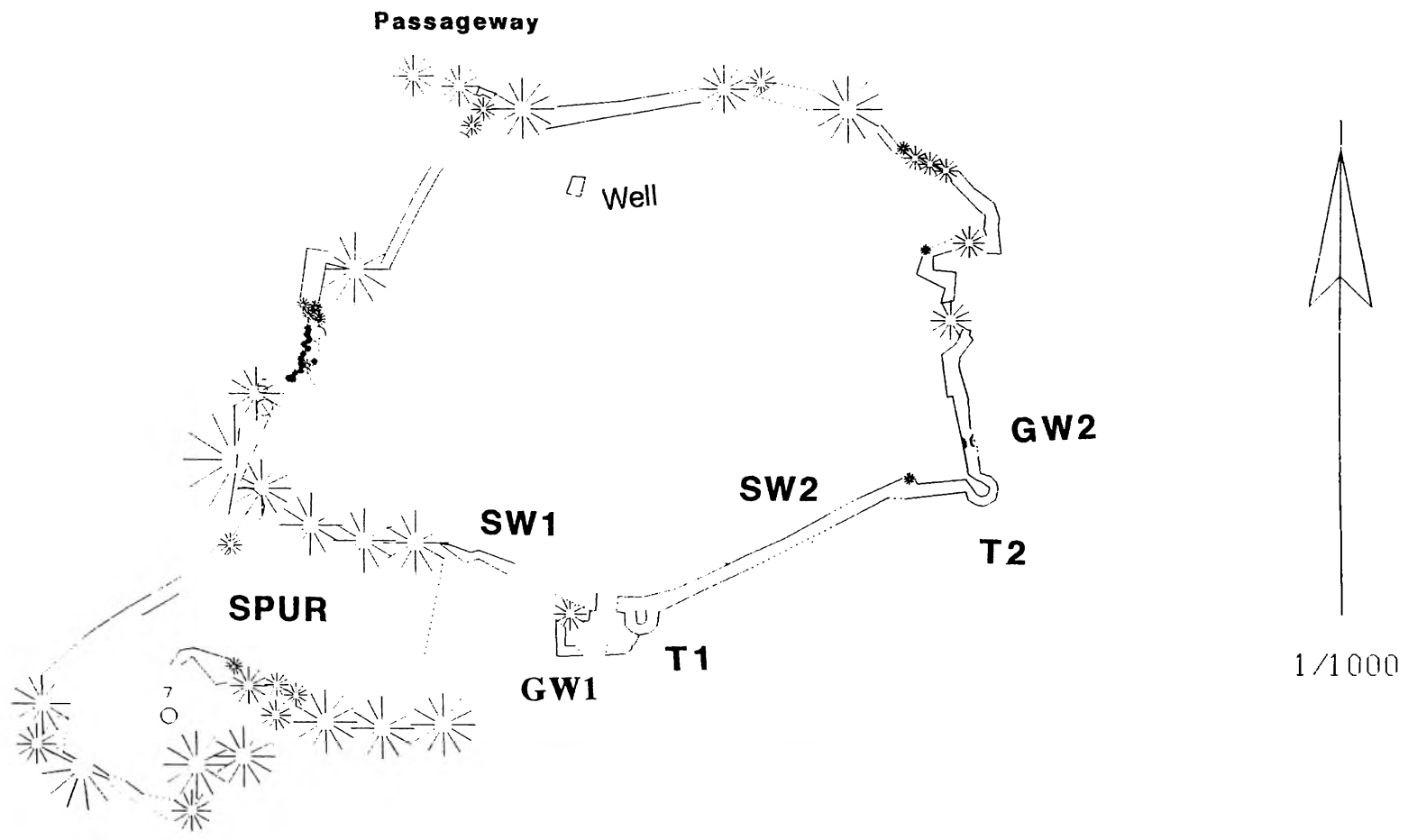


Fig. IV - Keçikalesi 1/1000 ground plan (Topographical features are not to the scale.).

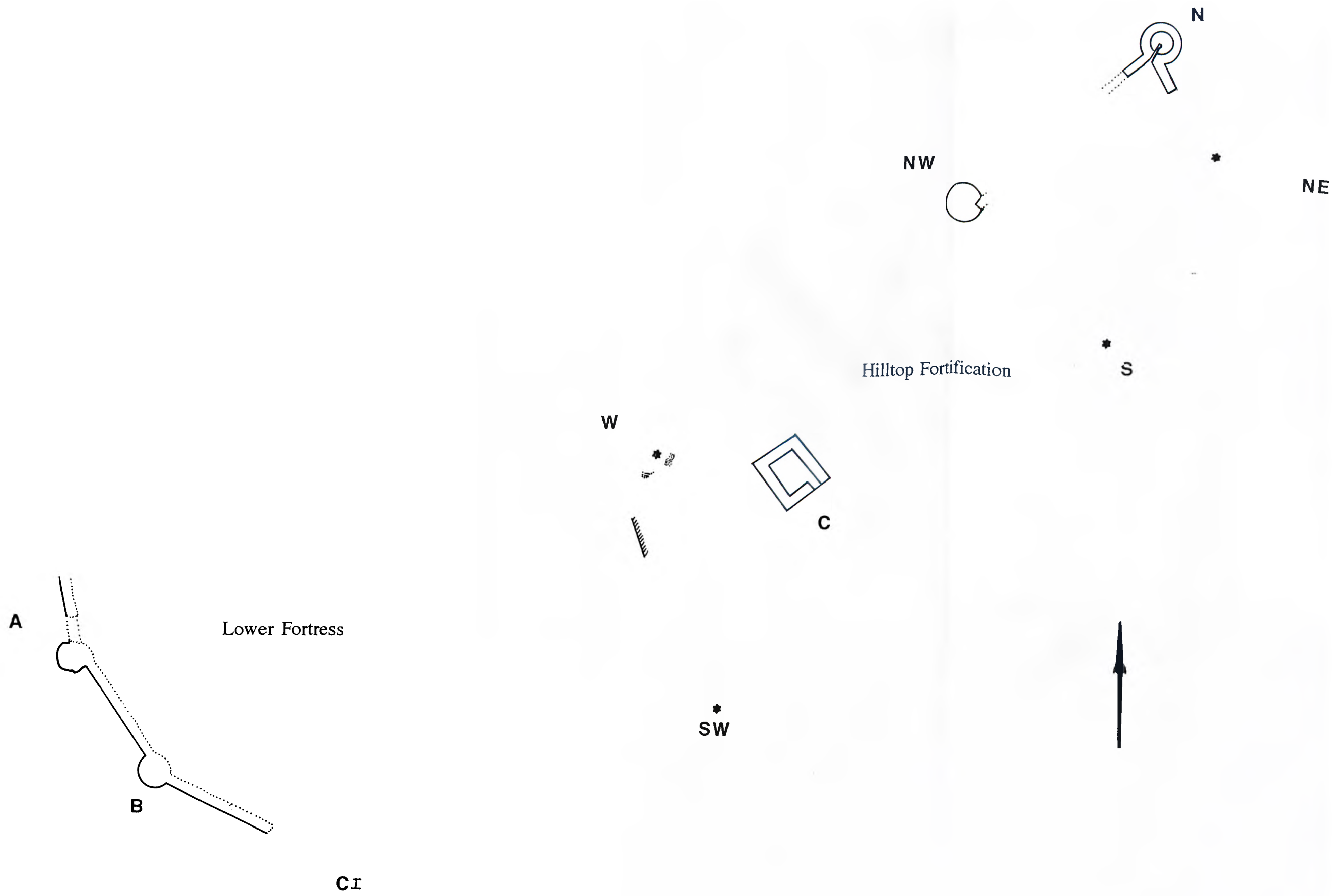


Fig. V - Pınarhisar 1/1000 ground plan.

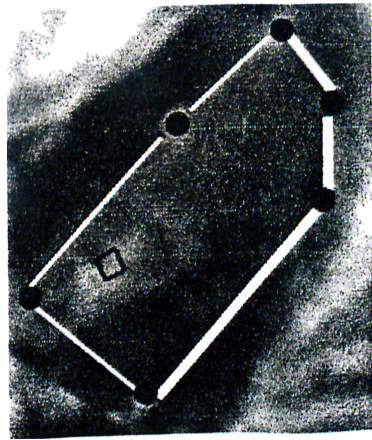


Fig. VI - Brysis hypothetical ground plan of the hilltop fortress on the basis of magnified view from the aerial photograph.



LA THRACE ROMAINE

Organisation de Dioclétien

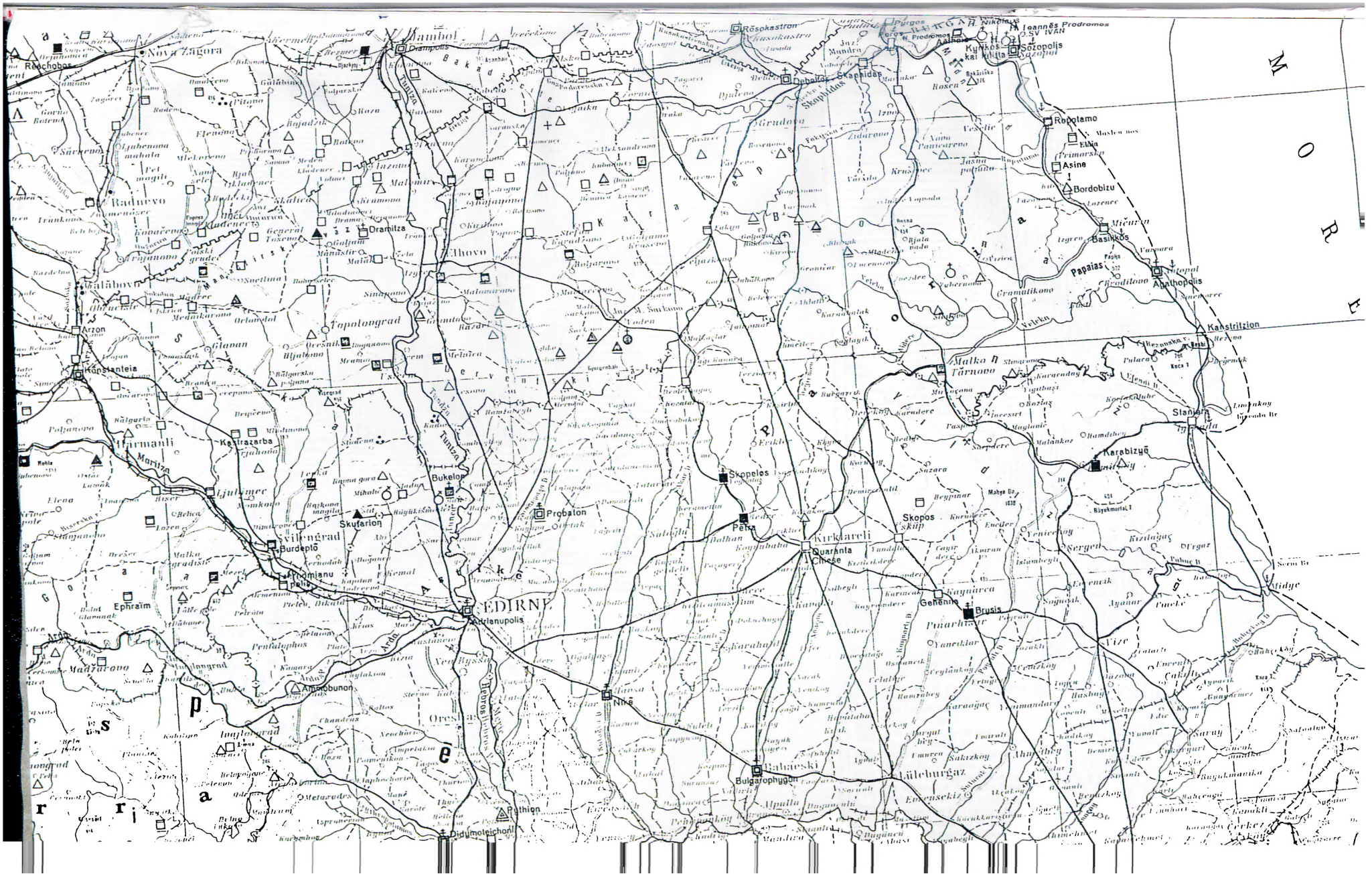
—+—+— Limites des diocèses

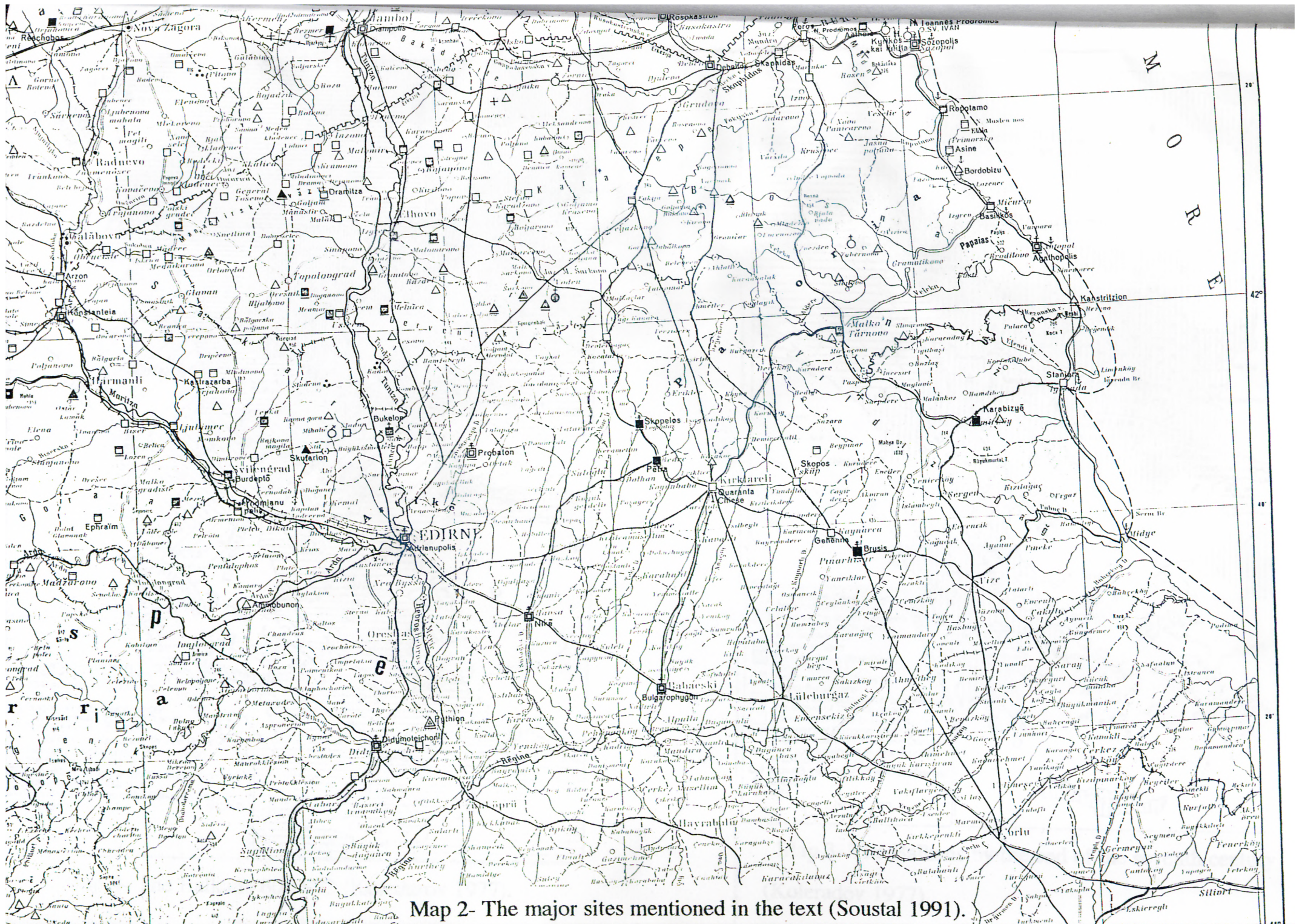
----- Limites des provinces

○ Adrianopolis, Capitale de province

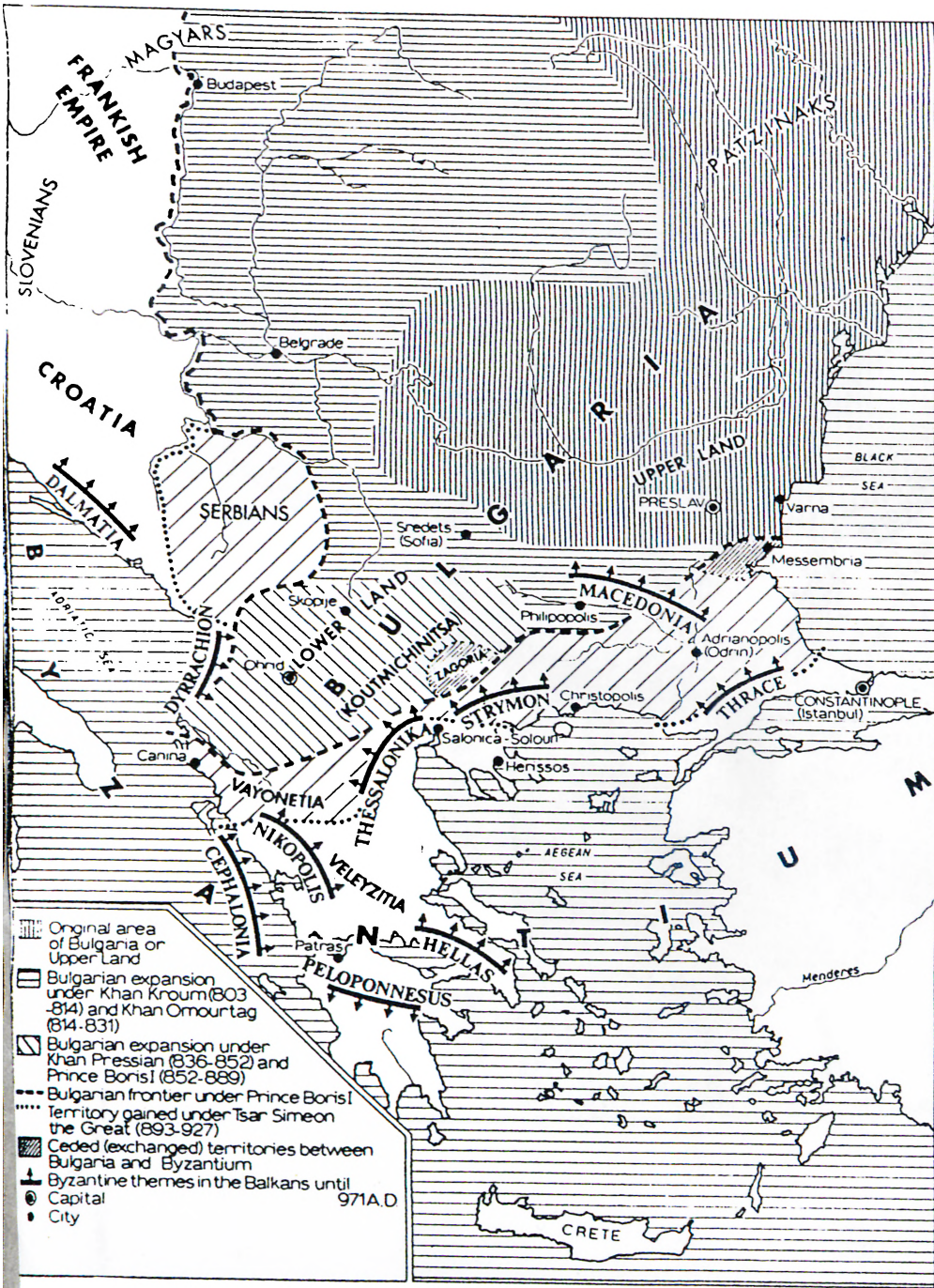
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Map 1- The Roman Thrace (Janin 1920).

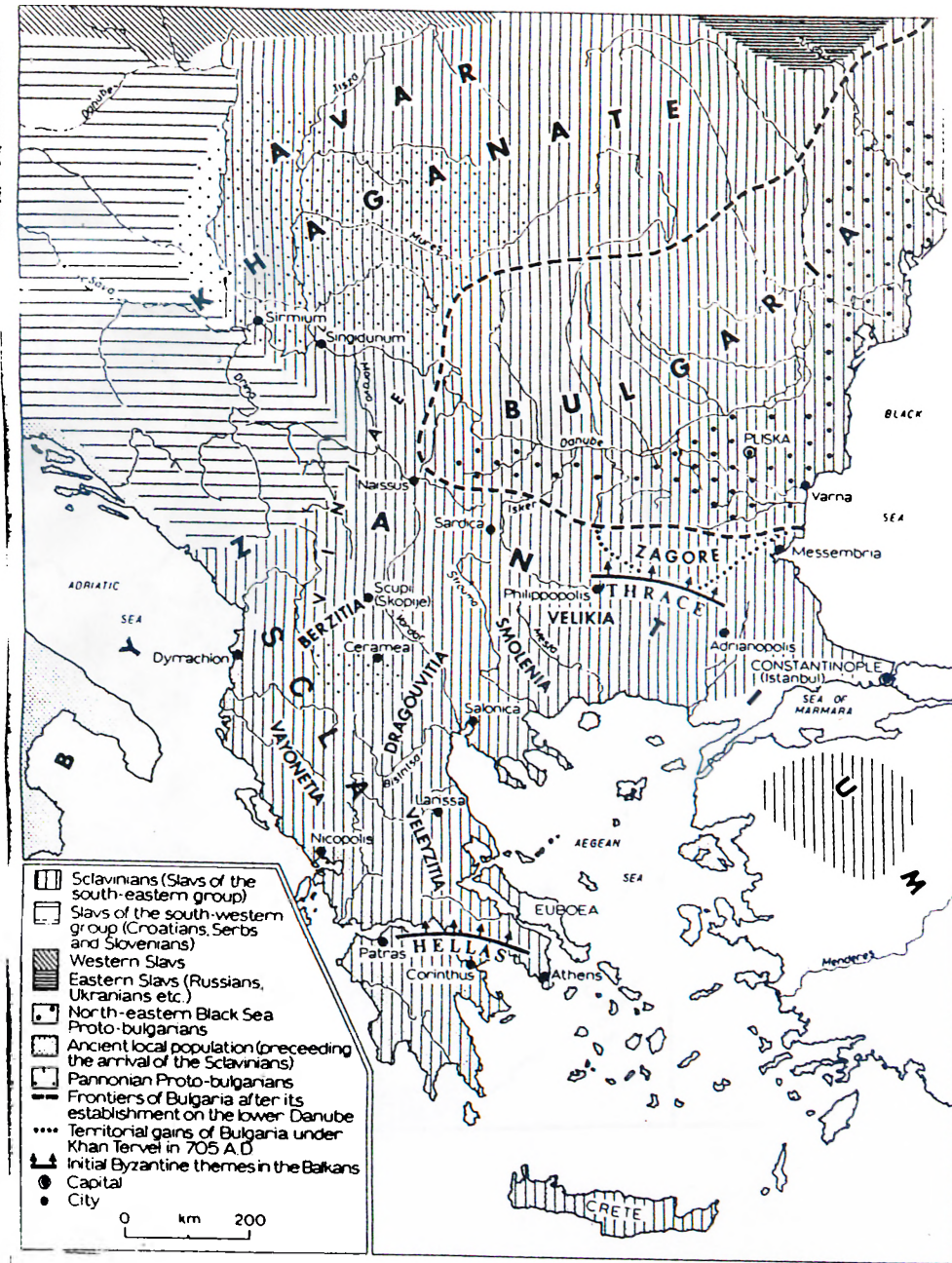




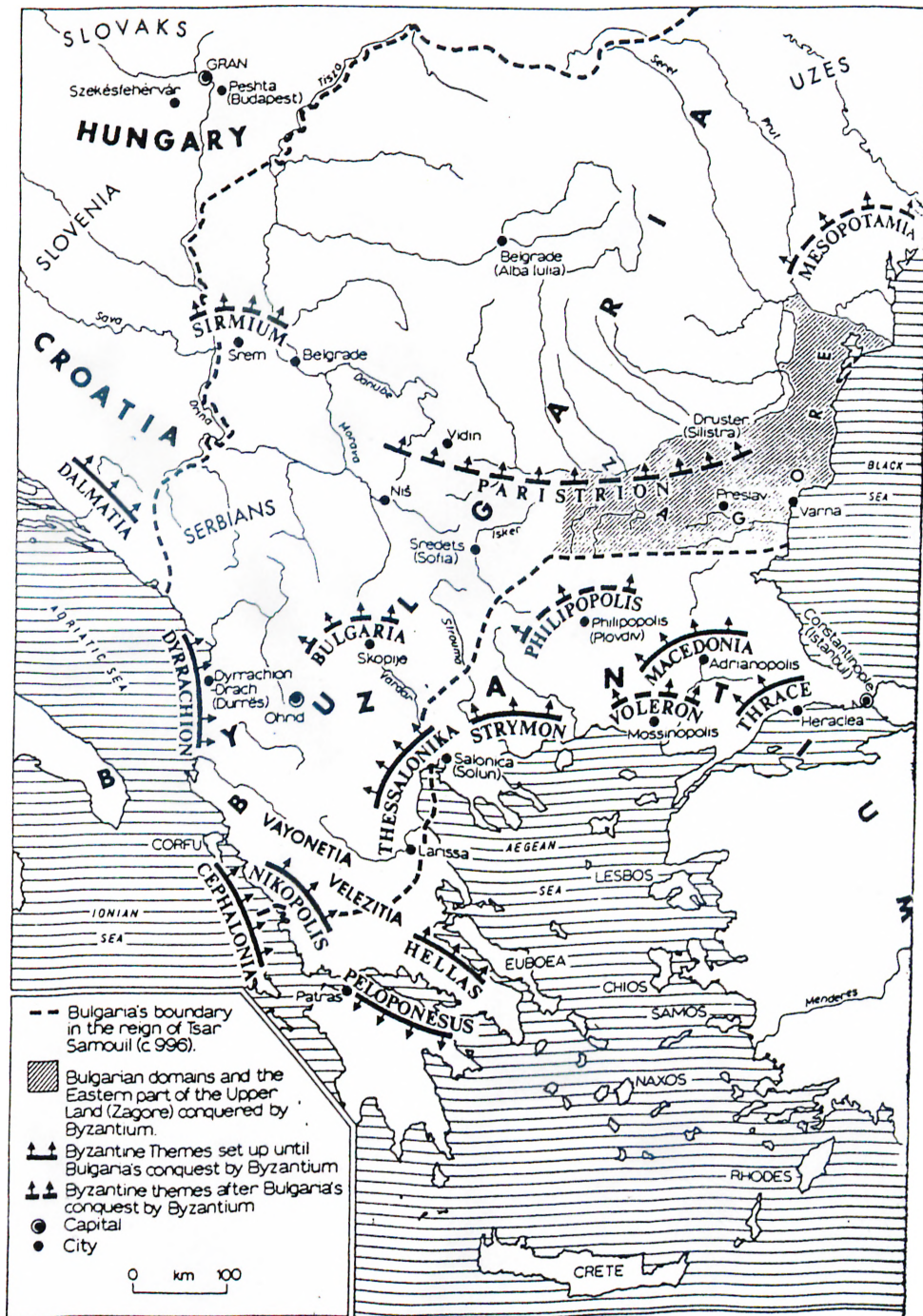
Map 2- The major sites mentioned in the text (Soustal 1991).



Map 4- The Balkans 800-972 (Koledarov 1977).



Map 3- The Balkans by the end of the seventh century (Koledarov 1977).



Map 5- The Balkans 972-1185 (Koledarov 1977).